

ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: TEACHING THE EMPIRE: EDUCATION AND STATE
LOYALTY IN LATE HABSBURG AUSTRIA

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This dissertation examines how Austria utilized its system of public education to develop loyalty to the multinational Habsburg Monarchy from 1867-1918. It draws from a range of sources, including textbooks, pedagogical journals, curricula, school chronicles, school year-end-reports, school inspection reports, and other records related to school administration to show that Austria developed a strong system of civic education which attempted to build a supranational, Austrian identity among its citizens. Its first chapter provides an overview of the Austrian educational system from the eighteenth century to 1914. It also discusses the development of the history curriculum in these schools and illustrates that it possessed a unique ability to serve as a conduit for civic education. The second chapter examines how textbooks and history classes presented Habsburg rulers in a way that portrayed the dynasty as the embodiment of good governance. It shows that such presentations sought to create an interpretation of the Habsburg past that served future rulers while teaching about Austria's history. This chapter is followed by an analysis of how these textbooks and classes used the

Monarchy's history to support a supranational, Austrian identity in which its citizens were bound by common struggle and a shared past. Most importantly, this chapter shows that officials sought to create this identity in a way that supported existing local and national identities. The fourth chapter explores how school celebrations and patriotic events reinforced civic education efforts. It proves that there was a strong collaboration between schools and other agencies to create a consistent message about the Habsburg past which strengthened the supranational identity asserted by Austrian civic education. The final chapter discusses the efforts by the Austrian educational bureaucracy to ensure that teachers remained supporters of civic education efforts. Ultimately, this study shows that Austria possessed a nuanced, assertive system of civic education within its schools. This system of civic education attempted to create a layered identity among Austrians which blended loyalty to the imperial, dynastic state while also allowing for regional, and national identities to remain strong.

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HABSBURG AUSTRIA

by

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INTRODUCTION

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Austria designed and implemented a robust system of civic education in its elementary and secondary schools. This system sought to make students become patriotic citizens and to help them develop an attachment to the multinational Habsburg state. School officials attempted to accomplish these goals in way that constructively utilized existing national and regional identities, hoping these identities could strengthen, rather than diminish, the cohesion of Austria. Instead of attempting to forge an Austrian national identity, Austrian civic education promoted a layered identity that allowed for ethnic, national, and regional identities to exist within an imperial, supranational, Austrian framework. This layered identity was unique in the Western world and represented an alternative to models of civic education that relied on language, culture, and nationality to serve as the primary source of cohesion within a state.

Civic education, a state's effort to develop the loyalty of its citizens, prepare them to operate in political and civil society, and shape the way they regard their government, became a vital component of the public school curriculum in Europe and the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century. On a basic level, civic education in public school taught children how their state operated, how their government was organized, and their rights and obligations as citizens. Civic education also helped to articulate the common myths, heroes, and ideas that could bind a society together. It helped children think of themselves as members of the community of the state.¹ In

¹ Civic education continues to fulfill these goals in societies. For a comparative look at modern states and their systems of civic education, see Judith Torney-Purta, John Schwille, and Jo-Anne Amadeo, eds., *Civic*

Austria-Hungary, the Habsburg dynasty served as the strongest connective thread binding its diverse lands and peoples, making Austrian identity an imperial identity. This dynastic union also meant that Austrian identity was supranational in nature. An individual was Austrian because he or she lived in the Habsburg Monarchy, not because he or she belonged to a specific national, ethnic, or linguistic group. As a result, Austrian identity was inclusive, rather than exclusive and could be embraced by everyone within the Monarchy's borders.

At the same time, this imperial, supranational Austrian identity emerged from and in connection with national, ethnic, and regional identities. Rather than attempt to supplant or diminish these other forms of identity, Austrian civic education sought to use them to contribute to the development of a student's patriotism. Educational officials wanted to ensure that children developed a sense of "Austrian-ness" in the context of these other forms of identity, which decision makers considered crucial to the formation of Austrian identity. They assumed that children could only become loyal, patriotic Austrians if they were also loyal to their home province and national group.

Marsha Rozenblit has shown that the Jews of the Habsburg Monarchy developed a tripartite identity which allowed them to be patriotic Austrians who adopted German, Czech, or Polish culture while retaining a sense of Jewish ethnic identity.² Civic education in the Habsburg Monarchy reveals that such a layered identity was not typical of Jews alone. According to the Austrian educational establishment, everyone living in

Education Across Countries: Twenty-four National Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project (Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 1999).

² Marsha L. Rozenblit, *Reconstructing a National Identity: The Jews of Habsburg Austria During World War I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 9-10.

the Monarchy could possess strong ties to their home province and their national or ethnic group and still be patriotic Austrians without contradiction.

This study explores how educational officials designed and implemented a system of civic education which supported this layered identity in the Austrian half of the Habsburg Monarchy from 1867-1914. It looks at how elementary and secondary schools taught and commemorated the Habsburg past and how schools sought to create a pantheon of heroes that could serve as models of patriotism for all Austrians, regardless of nationality. It also looks at how educational officials designed this civic education curriculum and the role teachers played in implementing it. It accomplishes these tasks by analyzing contemporary history textbooks used in Austrian elementary and secondary schools, pedagogical journals, school chronicles, and school inspection reports as well as documents related to curriculum development, textbook adoption, school construction, and teacher discipline.

While this study examines the development and implementation of curricula for all regions of Austria, it looks specifically at German-speaking schools to see how Germans developed their national identity in the context of a supranational, Austrian identity. Many German-speakers considered the Monarchy to be a Germanic state and felt that German national culture deserved a privileged position within it.³ Such perceptions played a central role in the acrimonious nationality struggles that defined the Monarchy's final decades, as German nationalists blocked or resisted concessions to the

³ For discussions of this perception and its impact, see Robin Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy c. 1765-1918: From Enlightenment to Eclipse* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 10-16; Berthold Sutter, "Die Deutschen," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie, 1848-1918*, vol. 3, *Die Völker des Reiches*, pt. 1, Adam Wandruszka, and Peter Urbantisch, eds. (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989), 154-339.

Monarchy's other nationalities, especially the Czechs and Slovenes.⁴ Understandably, historians often explore the Germans of the Monarchy through the lens of German interactions and conflicts with the other nationalities of the Monarchy. But this emphasis on the nationality conflict comes at the expense of understanding how the German populations of Austria reconciled being both German and Austrian. Schools wanted German students to embrace the idea of a supranational and inclusive Austrian identity defined by many national cultures and to think of Austria as a multinational state even though many Germans considered it to be a German state.

Austrian civic education also had to contend with the fact that the unification of Germany in 1870 shut Austrian Germans out of the German nation-state. Even though they never enjoyed broad support in the Monarchy, German irredentist movements, like Pan-Germanism, existed in Austria and sought to incorporate the German-speaking regions of Austria into the German nation-state.⁵ While most Germans did not sympathize with or belong to the Pan-German movement, its existence meant that Habsburg officials could not assume that Austria's Germans would naturally be allies of the state. Austria had to develop the patriotism of Germans just as they did the patriotism of its other nationalities.

⁴See Gary Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861-1914*, 2nd ed. (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2006); Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848-1948* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

⁵ Of course, the Imperial German government had no desire become an irredentist power and was perfectly content with the fact that Austro-Germans lived outside of the German nation-state. For more on the Pan-German movement see Andrew Whiteside, *The Socialism of Fools: Georg Ritter von Schönerer and Austrian Pan-Germanism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Lothar Höbelt, *Kornblume und Kaiseradler: Die deutschfreiheitlichen Parteien Altösterreichs, 1882-1918* (Munich: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1993).

In order to show the complexity of German nationalism in Austria, this study specifically examines the German-speaking schools of Vienna, Prague, and Linz. Vienna, the capital of Austria, was both a center of German culture and a cosmopolitan world city. It often hosted patriotic celebrations and events providing constant interaction between the Monarchy's high-ranking officials, especially the emperor, and Vienna's population. Benefiting from this close proximity to the seat of government, Vienna's schools exemplified the goals of Austrian civic education and provide the strongest examples of the strategies employed by the government to enhance the patriotism of school children.

Prague, the capital of Bohemia, became an epicenter for the conflict between Czech and German nationalists in the late-nineteenth century as both groups clashed over issues related to municipal administration, education, and the position of Czech and German culture within the city. Linz, the capital of Upper Austria, was homogeneously German, and as a result, was spared the intense nationalist strife experienced in other parts of Austria. In spite of this, Linz became a bastion of Pan-Germanism and extreme German nationalism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Both Prague and Linz represented different dimensions of German nationalism in Austria, yet, as this study shows, these developments did not frustrate or hamper efforts to implement a robust system of civic education. In spite of the differences between these three cities, patriotic education remained consistent.

At the same time, educational officials realized that national identity, as well as regional identity, were important to their students. In Austrian schools, the development of a supranational, Austrian identity went hand in hand with the development of *Heimat*

identity. For simplicity's sake, *Heimat* is typically translated as "homeland," but its use and meaning are much more complex and diverse. The meaning of *Heimat*, developed throughout the nineteenth century, is dependent on the philosophical and political views of the user, and can connote a broad range of meaning. As Peter Blickle has written, *Heimat* has the appearance of a specific geographic location, but is fused with romanticized and idealized notions, allowing a seemingly specific location and idea to take on deeper meanings. At its core, the concept of *Heimat* emerged as philosophical opposition to the ideas of the Enlightenment and the impact of industrialization. This concept remained skeptical of modern, urban spaces and glorified nature and the permanent and profound connection between the land and those who lived on it.⁶

Starting with the philosophy of Herder, the concept of *Heimat* became deeply intertwined with nationalism in general and German nationalism in particular. Herder considered the fusion between the land, the language, and culture of a people to be inseparable from one other.⁷ During the nineteenth century, in German-speaking Europe, the idea of *Heimat* emerged as a way for nationalists to develop a sense of national community rooted in these perceived links between population and landscape. But even in regions that possessed theoretical national homogeneity, local and regional identities continued to compete with broader national identities. In the face of this competition, nationalists found themselves coopting these local forms of identity and folding them into

⁶ Peter Blickle, *Heimat: A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2002), 1-6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 51-56. For an in depth analysis of Herder's ideas regarding nationalism, see F.M. Barnard, *Herder on Nationality, Humanity, and History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).

the “nation.”⁸ Nationalist notions of *Heimat* were obviously incompatible with the ethnically and linguistically diverse Habsburg Monarchy, where nations did not live separately, but rather shared spaces and history with one another. The idea of *Heimat* was nimble enough, however, to be used in ways that did not necessarily carry nationalistic overtones. The Habsburg educational establishment used the term *Heimat* to refer to the hometown or village of the student, and, more broadly, to the crownland in which the student lived.⁹ As a result, one’s *Heimat* could be shared with multiple nationalities, if they happened to live in the same region.

Because of this, regional identity could be separated from national or ethnic identity. For example, Austria’s civic education curriculum would consider a German student living in Prague to have a German national identity and a Bohemian regional identity, all of which informed an Austrian state identity. Considering the growing acrimony of the nationality struggle in Austria, one would assume that the Habsburg Monarchy sought to diminish nationalism among its students. This is not exactly true, however. When developing civic education, school officials certainly sought to prevent the development of extreme, separatist nationalism. But they also assumed it was natural for children to be proud of their national literature and culture and to have a strong sense of belonging to their national community. Furthermore, they hoped that when taught properly, pride in one’s nation could lead to a strong sense of pride in the Monarchy as a

⁸ Alon Confino, *The National as Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 125-153.

⁹ For example, see D. Porsch, *Kleine Heimatkunde von Böhmen nach Landschaftsgebieten, für die häuslichen Wiederholung* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1907); Franz D. P. Lang, *Geographisch-statistische Vaterlandskunde für die VII Klasse der österreichische Realschulen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1907); Franz Frisch, *Geographische Bilder aus Österreich-Ungarn zur Belegung des Unterrichtes in der Vaterlandskunde* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1895).

whole.¹⁰ For this reason, the Monarchy did not perceive national identity to develop at the expense of the broader, supranational, Austrian identity.

For the most part, historians have dismissed the strength of Austrian identity in the Habsburg Monarchy. According to traditional views of Austria-Hungary, nationalism developed at the expense of the multinational state and proved a fatal weakness in the age of nationalism.¹¹ After all, diversity defined the Habsburg Monarchy. As Europe's second largest state, its borders stretched from the Alps to beyond the Carpathian Mountains. The extent of its political boundaries, however, does little to communicate its national diversity. In total, the Habsburg Monarchy officially contained eleven nationalities, with many populations living in linguistically, ethnically, and nationally mixed regions. Even though all states emerged from accidents of history, Austria-Hungary, lacking linguistic, cultural, or religious unity appeared to many historians to be more accidental than the rest. As a result, they doubted Austria's ability to establish a cohesive sense of identity among its diverse nationalities. And yet this was not the case.

Teaching a patriotic interpretation of the Habsburg past proved essential to Austrian civic education, and history classes in elementary and secondary schools served as the foundation for the civic education curriculum. These classes intentionally sought to present a view of the past which glorified the Habsburg dynasty and the Habsburg Monarchy. They also stressed that Habsburg rulers embodied the ideal of good governance. Students learned that Austria's rulers were pious, reluctant to wage war,

¹⁰ For example, see "Die Heimatkunde in der Volksschule," *Pädagogium – Monatschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, 1894, 526; "Zum Unterricht in der Heimatkunde," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, May 31, 1890, np.

¹¹ See for example Oscar Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929) and Robert Kann, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848-1914*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950).

eager to develop their lands, and deeply interested in the welfare of their peoples. These qualities transcended the individual rulers themselves and applied to the dynasty as a whole. By developing this image of the dynasty, history classes helped to establish a set of assumed characteristics all future rulers of the Monarchy would possess. In this way, history classes attempted to create loyalty to the dynasty, and not just the reigning monarch. Obviously, Emperor Franz Joseph, who reigned from 1848-1916, was an important part of any civic education curriculum in the late Habsburg Monarchy, but officials did not want him to be the sole focus of patriotic education. History classes represented an effort to develop long-term patriotism that was not dependent on an individual.

History classes also stressed the legitimacy of Habsburg rule. Habsburg emperors not only possessed the qualities needed for good leadership, they also possessed the legitimate right to rule their territories. To prove this, these classes stressed the history of the Habsburg lands and methodically demonstrated how and why the Habsburg dynasty obtained its territories. This task required history lessons to teach Austrian, Bohemian, and Hungarian history before the Habsburgs took control of these territories.

At the same time, Austrian civic education was more than a simple glorification of the dynasty. It also taught students how to be patriotic members of the Habsburg state by providing examples of loyalty from Austria's past. History lessons sought to establish a canon of patriotic heroes who embodied the principles of sacrifice and loyalty even though they were not members of the ruling family. These lessons also used the crises of the Monarchy's past to demonstrate how the peoples of the Monarchy rallied in defense of their country and their dynasty. These examples served two major purposes, they

showed that the Monarchy was united in the face of opposition while also providing model behavior for students to emulate.

Austria's civic education curriculum also embraced the Monarchy's diversity, presenting the state as a family of nations, diverse in its languages, customs, and religions, but united by a shared history, shared struggles, and a shared dynasty. Geography classes provided the clearest opportunity to discuss the Monarchy's diversity. In these classes, students learned about the Monarchy's nationalities and its diverse landscapes. At the same time, history and geography classes at all levels of elementary and secondary education subtly, but powerfully, reinforced the political and economic unity of the Monarchy. Every classroom contained maps of the whole Monarchy and for at least eight years, students learned about the Monarchy's history and geography.

School celebrations reinforced the civic education students received in the classroom. These celebrations occurred several times throughout the year, commemorating patriotic holidays and anniversaries. Events like the emperor's name day, the anniversary of the Habsburg inheritance of Austria, and imperial jubilees allowed speakers to praise the virtues of the Habsburg dynasty and reiterate the unity of the Monarchy. School administrators, local and provincial school boards, and the Ministry of Religion and Education organized these events and local dignitaries and officials attended them to lend a sense of importance. While planning larger community events, Monarchy officials often included schools and school children. Having children's parades or having school children attend concerts and other events allowed the Monarchy to display its vitality and future, by showcasing its children, while also supplementing the patriotic education of the children in attendance.

Schools were able to teach civic education because Austria possessed a strong system of public education in the final third of the nineteenth century. A developed bureaucracy, supervised by the Ministry of Religion and Education, managed Austria's schools and crafted educational curriculum in conjunction with the local and provincial school boards. Like other parts of the Monarchy's government, its educational system possessed a degree of centralization, but still allowed for local administration. The Ministry of Religion and Education controlled the secondary school curriculum, established general guidelines for the elementary school curriculum, and distributed funds to schools. It also reviewed and approved all textbooks and educational material used in schools. Local and provincial school boards, however, possessed enormous control over education. They established the elementary school curriculum and supervised the hiring, disciplining, and dismissal of teachers. Surprisingly, this division of authority did not result in substantial differences in education throughout the provinces of Austria. School hours, curricula content, and even the textbooks used in classes were consistent, regardless of school.¹²

The Ministry of Religion and Education, along with local and provincial school boards, also supervised teachers. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Ministry and school boards revised disciplinary protocols in an effort to limit the political activities of teachers. School officials were concerned that overly political teachers would be a negative influence on students or would foster the development of unsavory political opinions. This was especially true with regards to nationalism.

¹² See below, 55-63.

Recent scholarship shows that teachers were among the most active participants in nationalist movements in the Monarchy. Conflict among nationalists over the languages used in schools and the right of national minorities to have their own schools ensured that education remained at the forefront of the Monarchy's increasingly bitter nationality struggle. The work of Pieter Judson, Hannelore Burger, Tara Zahra, and others proves that nationalist organizations had a vested interest in recruiting teachers sympathetic to their cause.¹³ School officials actively sought to diminish nationalist influence over schools by punishing teachers who overtly politicized their classroom or were too closely affiliated with extreme nationalist organizations. The fact that officials did not want teachers participating in these organizations is not surprising, considering that many extreme nationalist groups often caused civic unrest, held disruptive demonstrations, and, in some cases, even espoused disloyalty to the Austrian state. However, prohibitions limiting the political activities of teachers did not single out nationalist organizations alone. Disciplinary guidelines prohibited all forms of extreme political participation and school officials were just as worried about radical socialist teachers, for example, as they were about extreme nationalist teachers.

Ultimately, Austrian civic education represented a sophisticated, well-developed effort by the state to increase the loyalty of its citizens while acknowledging that the Habsburg Monarchy was a diverse, multinational state. Austrian civic education did not try to create an Austrian national identity nor did it try to supplant the ethnic, national, or religious identities of the Monarchy's peoples. Instead, it attempted to create a layered

¹³ See Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*; Hannelore Burger, *Sprachenrecht und Sprachengerechtigkeit im Österreichischen Unterrichtswesen, 1867-1918* (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995); Tara Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1948* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

identity that allowed for ethnic, national, and religious identities to exist in concert with a supranational, Austrian identity. In fact, pedagogical leaders assumed that children could only become loyal, patriotic Austrians if they also possessed loyalty to their nations and their regions.

Traditionally, historians have considered the Monarchy's national diversity to be the primary cause for the state's collapse in 1918; a dynastic, multinational state was too anachronistic to survive in the era of nationalism and the nation-state. Oscar Jászi, a Hungarian sociologist, was among the first to articulate this view. His 1929 study *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* famously examined the problems of the Habsburg state through a crisp analysis of the centripetal forces working to keep the Monarchy together and the centrifugal forces working to pull the Monarchy apart. While Jászi identified several centripetal forces — the army, the dynasty, the bureaucracy, the aristocracy, the Roman Catholic Church, capitalism, and socialism — all of these were too weak to overcome the primary centrifugal force: nationalism. Jászi viewed the nationality conflict as a force tearing apart the cohesion of the Monarchy, ultimately destroying it.¹⁴

Jászi's conclusions shaped historical understanding of the Habsburg Monarchy for decades. For example, Robert Kann's 1950 landmark work, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848-1918*, presented the Monarchy's diversity as an insurmountable barrier to cohesion and success. Kann considered loyalty to the nation to be innate and assumed that those living within the Habsburg Monarchy readily and instinctively identified with their own nations. In

¹⁴ Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 271-379, 394-414.

fact, nationalism was so innate that the activities of national organizations were like a “surgeon restoring the natural function of a limb.”¹⁵ Nationalists did not create nationalist sentiment, they were simply reviving a naturally occurring impulse. Once nationalist movements developed, they gained widespread acceptance quickly, Kann argued.¹⁶ Because he assumed nationalism to be natural and widely accepted, Kann felt that the Habsburg Monarchy could never hope to be a centralized state, and he gave little consideration to the possibility of a supranational Habsburg identity. In fact, he assumed nationalism to be so significant in shaping the Habsburg Monarchy, he organized the chapters of his work by nationality, rather than by chronology or other themes. It is clear that he assumed the trajectory of history to be moving toward the establishment of independent nation-states, a trajectory that made it impossible for the Habsburg Monarchy to survive.

Recent scholarship shows that Kann overemphasized the extent to which the Habsburg Monarchy was a state beset by sharply polarized nationalist camps. Most of this scholarship has focused on the intricacies of the Czech/German nationalist struggle. Looking at nationalist development in Prague, Gary Cohen finds that the construction of national loyalty was a work in progress throughout the final decades of the nineteenth century. Far from being innate, the development of German nationalism occurred in reaction to the growth of Czech nationalism. While the Germans certainly believed in the superiority of their language and culture, they did not see themselves exclusively as a

¹⁵ Kann, *The Multinational Empire*, vol. 1, 157.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 273.

national or ethnic group.¹⁷ Germans only developed this sense in the 1860s once Czech nationalists began pushing for language equality, started moving into Prague in large numbers, and the Czech national movement threatened German cultural and political power. In this way, German nationalism in the Bohemian lands was a reactive force responding to the Czech nationalist challenge to German cultural dominance.

Interestingly, Jeremy King demonstrates that Czech nationalism was reactive as well, resulting from the fear of German domination during and after the Revolutions of 1848. The Frankfurt Assembly's attempt to include Bohemia in a unified German state spurred Czechs into nationalist activity. Czech nationalists assumed that if Bohemia was bound to a new Germany, Germanization efforts would intensify and Czech language and culture would disappear.¹⁸ Even though the Frankfurt Assembly failed, Czechs felt the need to fight against perceived threats to Czech national survival in Bohemia. King also shows that pre-national, local identities persisted through the nineteenth century, and nationalist groups had to work diligently to win over local populations. King states plainly that nations did not experience an "awakening" in the nineteenth century, but rather were forged by nationalist groups. Nationalism was not restorative, like Kann stated, but rather was constructive.¹⁹ King convincingly demonstrates that the city of Budweis/Budějovice became a city of Czechs and Germans only through the efforts of Czech and German nationalists, and later the Czechoslovak state.

¹⁷ Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival*, 21-22.

¹⁸ King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans*, 25.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 7-12.

Looking at the rural populations that occupied the "language frontiers," regions containing more than one linguistic group, Pieter Judson reveals the widespread nature of national indifference. Even though nationalist organizations long considered rural populations the "fortress" and "heart" of the nation, Judson finds that these populations were largely indifferent to the nationality struggle. Not only were the peasants on the language frontier uninterested in the German and Czech battle over language, education, and culture, they did not largely think of themselves in national terms at all.²⁰

Building on Judson's work, Tara Zahra finds that nationalist groups aggressively sought to end national indifference, which they considered a substantial challenge to their cause. Far from being bitterly divided, Zahra found that the Czechs and Germans outside of the nationalist groups were able to coexist in their communities without strife.²¹ In order to combat national indifference, Czech and German nationalists often resorted to coercion and legal force to make students attend Czech or German schools, at times overriding parental wishes.²²

It is clear from recent scholarship that the Habsburg Monarchy was not a state populated by well-defined nationalities. Nationalists had to work to develop national identification among the Monarchy's population. The fluidness of national identity provided Austrian officials with the opportunity to develop identification with the supranational Habsburg state among the children of the Monarchy. Nevertheless, historians have generally concluded that the Habsburg Monarchy did not effectively

²⁰ Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 66-70.

²¹ Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls*, 1.

²² *Ibid.*, 106-141.

develop a system of civic education to foster this identification. Jászi offered the first assessment of Habsburg civic education, concluding that it was too backward looking, too attached to tradition, and too reactive to adequately address the challenge at hand. He sharply criticized the efforts of the Habsburg state to build loyalty among its citizens as nothing more than outdated dynasty worship. Simply glorifying the Monarchy and emphasizing the historical foundation of the state was too old fashioned, too quaint, and too inconsistent to be effective in the age of nationalism.²³

It is worth noting that Jászi reached these conclusions without conducting substantive research on the Monarchy's system of civic education. In spite of this, his view of the Habsburg state and its efforts to forge a civic identity has persisted in Habsburg historiography. As recently as 2005, Robert Nemes reiterated the core of Jászi's thesis. While he credits the "resilience" of Habsburg authority, he ultimately concludes that in the late-Habsburg Monarchy

the Habsburgs had rarely felt the need to court their subjects.... Decision makers in Vienna were slow to engage in what Oscar Jászi once called "civic education" — namely to use schools, religious bodies, literature, the press, the army, and other institutions to produce state solidarity and internal cohesion.... They failed to realize that, even before the emergence of mass politics at the end of the century, they had to win the "hearts and minds" of their subjects.²⁴

Compared to the nationalist program of the Hungarians, Germans, and Czechs, Nemes finds the Habsburg officials to be outmatched and unprepared for the challenge such national programs posed to cohesion of the state. As with Jászi, Nemes makes these assertions without rigorous examination of the Monarchy's civic education efforts.

²³ Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 436-455.

²⁴ Robert Nemes, *Once and Future Budapest* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University, 2005), 185-186.

Scholars who have looked at the Monarchy's efforts to develop and enhance the loyalty of their citizens find that Habsburg officials were in fact deeply concerned with the "hearts and minds" of the Monarchy's inhabitants. Daniel Unowsky's excellent study of public celebration and ceremony in Austria shows that the Habsburg Monarchy deftly utilized public ceremony and celebration in an attempt to strengthen loyalty to the dynasty and to the state. Far from being inflexible and unable to adjust to emerging challenges, Habsburg officials adapted their strategies and critically evaluated the success and failure of their efforts. For example, when observers criticized Emperor Franz Joseph's early inspection tours for being too scripted and cold, plans for subsequent tours allowed local dignitaries to assist in the creation of the imperial itinerary, in an effort to make the monarch look more accessible.²⁵ Unowsky also shows that Habsburg officials used major Catholic festivals and imperial jubilees to reinforce the message of dynastic and state loyalty in school programs, popular publications, public performances, and even in memorabilia created and sold by private manufacturers. While all efforts did not succeed, Unowsky's work certainly presents an image of an engaged state, actively interested in ensuring loyalty to the Monarchy.

In the early twentieth century, the Habsburg Monarchy was certainly engaged in efforts to secure the loyalty of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which Austria-Hungary annexed in 1908. Robin Okey's study of the Habsburg administration of these two provinces shows that the officials understood that school instruction could be a valuable tool for teaching state loyalty. When Habsburg officials created schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina they established an educational curriculum that attempted to diminish

²⁵ Daniel Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism: Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848-1916* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2005), 42-50.

Bosnian identification with the Serbs and tied Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Dual Monarchy.²⁶ In short, Habsburg administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina specifically developed and endorsed a system of civic education within the new provinces.

In fact, in the late-nineteenth century, Austrian civic education was similar to that of other states, especially France, Germany, and the United States. Scholarship on civic education in these countries shows that creating patriotic and loyal citizens required more than simply appealing to nationalist sentiments. Just as in the Habsburg Monarchy, nationalism in France, Germany, and the United States did not occur naturally. It needed to be encouraged. Eugen Weber's examination of political and national culture in the French Third Republic from 1870-1914 demonstrated that the French state saw public education as an essential tool for crafting national identity. Weber argued that schools were a central force in making the citizens of France "French." Thus the teachers of state-run schools were national missionaries as well as educators.²⁷ Schools were a vital government "outpost" in rural France and allowed the central government a strong presence in the remote regions. By making primary and secondary education free and secular, a task largely achieved by 1881, republican officials ensured that regional dialects and linguistic variations were diminished and educational curriculum standardized.²⁸ While the primary goal of public education was, in fact, to educate and to eliminate illiteracy, Weber argued that schools also provided an unparalleled chance for the state to engender French nationalism among its people. Through effective use of

²⁶ Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 72-75.

²⁷ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 303.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 311-323.

history and geography curricula, schools taught that the first obligation of all French citizens was to defend France and that their loyalty lay with France, not their village or region.²⁹

James Lehning has challenged Weber's assertion that French national identity only developed in the late-nineteenth century. Lehning contends that French rural populations thought of themselves in national terms throughout most of the nineteenth century.³⁰ Nevertheless, Lehning agrees that teachers were "agents of the state in the provinces" and that government officials saw education as an effective tool in crafting and shaping the loyalty of its citizens.³¹ But while Weber saw the ultimate goal of such efforts to be securing national loyalty, Lehning argues the goal was achieving state loyalty. Since, according to Lehning, peasants adopted French national identity long before the 1870s, the Third Republic did not need to use education to make its citizens "French," but rather it needed to use education to make them republican. For Lehning, French officials used public education to teach a specific form of French nationalism, one that emphasized the values of citizenship, civic participation, and loyalty to the state. In other words, citizens had to be made.³² Lehning argues that building loyalty to the Republic came at the expense of traditional loyalties to the Church, the non-republican elite, and villages and regions. Through his examination of educational curriculum,

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 333.

³⁰ See James R. Lehning, *Peasant and French: Cultural Contact in Rural France during the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

³¹ James R. Lehning, *To be a Citizen: The Political Culture of the Early French Third Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 35-36.

³² *Ibid.*, 5.

Lehning shows how French officials fused the concept of the nation with the Republic.³³

Lehning's work adds a level of complexity to our understanding of French nationalism.

The teaching of national loyalty was inseparable from teaching state loyalty.

Stephen Harp's analysis of nation building in Alsace and Lorraine reveals that borderlands often presented the greatest challenge to such civic education efforts. Louis XIV annexed the two provinces, which were on the border of France and the German states, in the seventeenth century. Even though they remained part of France until 1871, the population of Alsace and Lorraine possessed the same level of national ambiguity and indifference as Pieter Judson shows existed in the linguistically mixed regions of the Habsburg Monarchy. As a result, the provinces became the target of intense Gallicization during the Third Republic. When Germany obtained Alsace and Lorraine in 1871, after defeating the French in the Franco-Prussian War, Harp finds that the new German state engaged in equally intense Germanization in these provinces.³⁴ Both Germany and France used public education in Alsace and Lorraine in an attempt to make the populations more closely identify with the German or French nation (depending on who controlled the provinces) and adopt either the German or French language. Interestingly, Harp discovers both states used similar tactics and approaches to this nation building, in spite of the differences in national and political culture.³⁵

Of course, in many ways, Third Republic France and Imperial Germany shared similar problems with regards to nation and state building. Like the Third Republic, the

³³ *Ibid.*, 50-57, 67-68.

³⁴ Stephen L. Harp, *Learning to be Loyal: Primary Schooling as Nation Building in Alsace and Lorraine, 1850-1940* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1998), 4-5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 205-206.

Second Reich had to find a way to use nationalism to strengthen loyalty to a new political body. Even though German nationalism helped produce the unification of Germany, loyalty to the Prussian king turned German kaiser was not guaranteed. United Germany was composed of twenty-seven constituent states, each with their own histories and character. Furthermore, educational policy was technically implemented at the state level. For the new Germany to succeed, it had to ensure that Germans were loyal to the empire, not just their state.³⁶ Troy Paddock argues that the new German education system sought to build loyalty to the empire by making connections between the German past and the new German state. Educational curricula sought to diminish the differences between the constituent states and emphasize the German Empire as the fulfillment of German nationalism.³⁷ He finds that an important part of this effort was drawing stark distinctions between Germans and their Slavic neighbors. German schools used history and literature classes to portray the unity of the German people in the face of an increasingly menacing Russia.³⁸ Thus, Paddock reveals that public education became a forceful tool for civic education within Germany.

In many ways, civic education in the United States provides the most interesting parallel with that of the Habsburg Monarchy. Like the Monarchy, the United States possessed a large, diverse population. As immigration to the United States rapidly

³⁶ Cecilia Hatrick Bason, *Study of the Homeland and Civilization in Elementary Schools of Germany* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937), 120; for more on the persistence of local identity in Germany and the efforts of the German state to cope with this persistence, see Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

³⁷ Troy R. E. Paddock, *Creating the Russian Peril: Education, the Public Sphere, and National Identity in Imperial Germany, 1890-1914* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010), 26-27.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 30-32, 40-47.

increased in the nineteenth century, education was a crucial tool for creating state loyalty. Also, like the Habsburg Monarchy, the United States' central government had a limited ability to shape education policy. In spite of these challenges, Paula Fass shows, educators made a coordinated effort to use education as a tool for Americanization. American education reformers, like their French counterparts, perceived schools to be the ideal way to create "good citizens."³⁹ Fass argues that education reformers in the United States sought to assimilate and Americanize the children of immigrants, although they differed on the best way to achieve these goals. Some felt that only "complete divestment" from native culture would allow for assimilation to take hold, while others felt that embracing cultural diversity while reinforcing core "American" values like democracy, civic duty, and order would help immigrants become "American."⁴⁰

Christina Ziegler-McPherson's analysis of the Americanization of immigrants also emphasizes the importance of these shared values. To teach these values American schools utilized history courses in the same way that Austrian schools did. Schools taught characteristics like "love of liberty, courage, honor, and justice" through the biographies of famous historical personalities.⁴¹ As in the Habsburg Monarchy, civic education in the United States also portrayed its diversity as a source of strength. Of course, in the United States, teaching immigrants English was an important part of

³⁹ Paula Fass, *Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 15. See also Frank von Nuys, *Americanizing the West: Race, Immigrants and Citizenship, 1890 - 1930* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2002) and Barbara Finklestein, *Governing the Young: Teacher Behavior in Popular Primary Schools in Nineteenth-Century United States* (New York: The Falmer Press, 1989).

⁴⁰ Von Nuys, 34-51; Fass 57-69.

⁴¹ Christina A. Ziegler-McPherson, *Americanization in the States: Immigrant Social Welfare Policy, Citizenship, and National Identity in the United States, 1908-1929* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009), 134-135.

making them “American,” and linguistic unity became a way of overcoming the challenges created by the diverse population of the United States.⁴² After 1867, this was not possible in the Habsburg Monarchy. The *Ausgleich* of 1867 and the Austrian December Constitution guaranteed citizens the right to be educated in their mother tongue and protected the right of nationalities to develop their national culture.⁴³ Civic education in Austria could never rely on language or culture to provide a source of cohesion or identity. Though they shared many similarities, civic education in the United States and in Austria differed in one major way: the United States sought to create a national identity out of its diverse population, Austria sought to create a supranational identity.

Austrian civic education was fundamentally different than that of its neighbors. No other state attempted to forge a supranational, layered identity capable of applying to anyone, as long as they lived in the borders of the state. Even though Austria used public education as a tool for civic education in a manner similar to its neighbors, Austria was the only country that did not try to fashion itself as a nation-state. Because of this, studying civic education and identity in Austria provides unique insight into the complex intersection of loyalty, identity, and the state in Europe at the dawn of the twentieth century.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 133, 138.

⁴³ See below, 68-69.

A Note on Place Names

Because of the ethnic and linguistic diversity of the Habsburg Monarchy, the names of regions, cities, and other places creates a thorny problem for historians. Even in regions without German populations, Habsburg officials often used German names. Obviously, local populations had their own names for these same places. Also, many cities and regions had mixed populations and these populations referred to these cities and regions by separate names. In order to reflect this diversity and to avoid unintentionally favoring one national group over another, this study will provide all of the names used by local populations to refer to their city, unless the city has an Anglicized alternative, like Vienna, Prague, or Cracow. In cases where city names are used to refer to peace treaties, diets, or other forms of diplomatic correspondences, this study will use the city name most commonly associated with the event — for example, the Diet of Pressburg.

Concerns over nomenclature even extend to the name of the Habsburg state. With the *Ausgleich* of 1867, the Habsburg Monarchy became the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, comprised of two autonomous and sovereign states sharing a common ruler, common foreign policy, and a common military. The western part of the Dual Monarchy, usually referred to as Austria, formally became “The Kingdoms and Lands Represented in the Imperial Parliament” and the Kingdom of Hungary formally became “The Lands of the Holy Hungarian Crown of St. Stefan.” When referring to the entirety of the Habsburg lands, this study will use the terms the Habsburg Monarchy, Austria-Hungary, or the Dual Monarchy. The terms Austria or Cisleithania will be used to refer to “The Kingdoms and Lands Represented in the Imperial Parliament,” and Hungary to

refer to “The Lands of the Holy Hungarian Crown of St. Stefan.” When discussing the history of the Monarchy before 1867, this study will often refer to policy makers or the Habsburg armed forces as “Austrian,” reflecting the fact that contemporary sources referred to these entities using this adjective. Additionally, this study will use the term “the Habsburg hereditary lands” when referring to the Austrian provinces of Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Salzburg, Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola.

Like the Habsburg Monarchy, the Ottoman Empire was a multinational state. Contemporary writers in the Habsburg Monarchy, however, often failed to differentiate between the term “Ottoman” and “Turk,” using them as synonyms. When paraphrasing authors or providing direct quotations, this study will use these terms interchangeably, as the authors did. Outside of these circumstances, this study will use the term “Ottoman,” to reflect the multinational and multiethnic composition of the Ottoman state.

CHAPTER 1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AND CIVIC EDUCATION IN AUSTRIA

Introduction

A robust system of civic education required an equally robust public school system, compulsory for all children in Austria. Creating a curriculum to develop the patriotism of students would have had little effect if students did not attend school or if there were not an adequate number of trained teachers to implement the curriculum. Even though Austrian pedagogical leaders often bemoaned the condition and quality of Austrian schools in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, Austria actually possessed a strong system of public education on par with, or in some cases superior to, its neighbors. While the quality of schools varied within Austria, especially between rural and urban areas, such was the case in any country. Most importantly, this variance did not hamper Austria's ability to implement a civic education program. It possessed reasonably well-funded school systems in each province and a bureaucratic apparatus to manage those systems. Furthermore, Austria continued to develop and enhance its schools throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century.

The origins of public education in the Habsburg Monarchy date back to Empress Maria Theresa's "general regulations" for schools, issued in 1774.¹ These regulations mandated compulsory school attendance for all Austrian subjects for the first time, and they established a state-run educational system that would remain throughout the Monarchy's existence. Even though at that point the state did not vigorously enforce school attendance, it established the principle that all inhabitants of the Monarchy should

¹ For a general overview of Maria Theresa's reign, see Edward Crankshaw, *Maria Theresa* (New York: Viking Press, 1969), for more on the general regulations, see below 33-34.

have an elementary education. The debates and disagreements surrounding the structure and nature of these education reforms continued well into the nineteenth century. Maria Theresa's actions directly challenged the primacy of the Church in matters of education, creating tension between the Church hierarchy, eager to defend its influence, and the state, eager to expand and centralize its authority. This conflict over education between ecclesiastical and secular authorities grew worse in the mid-nineteenth century with the advent of liberalism since Church officials thought education fell within its exclusive purview and liberals fought aggressively for secular, state-run schools. As was the case in other European states, when Austrian political culture became more pluralistic and democratic, the debate over the Church's role in education developed into a defining position for Austria's political parties and factions. The secularization of schools, achieved by the liberals in 1869, did not end this debate. Even though the Church never regained control over education, its political allies worked diligently to augment the influence of Church authorities over education, and the role the Church played in schools waxed and waned, depending on the strength of its political allies.²

The length of the school day and required years of school attendance became politicized as well and varied depending on the political position of the officials in power. Regardless of the benefit of education, rural populations and those representing them always considered compulsory education an unnecessary intrusion of the state, an intrusion which weakened the economic position of rural families by taking away a valuable source of free labor — farmers' children.

² For an overview of the Catholic Church's role in Austrian society in the nineteenth century, see Peter Leisching, "Die römisch-katholische Kirche in Cisleithanien," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie, 1848-1918*, vol. 4, *Die Konfessionen*, Adam Wandruszka, and Peter Urbantisch, eds. (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985).

In spite of these conflicts, the goals of the Austrian educational system remained consistent from the time of Maria Theresa until the end of the Monarchy. From the beginning, public education had two driving principles: to make the population more productive and useful and to teach “proper” attitudes and behavior, like piety, respect for authority, and the value of hard work. These pragmatic goals shaped attitudes toward public education well into the first decade of the twentieth century. Industrialization and urbanization only strengthened the government’s desire to ensure the “usefulness” of the population. Changes to the structure of the educational system in the last quarter of the nineteenth century almost always tilted toward a greater emphasis on technical and vocational education.

The goal of teaching “proper” behavior also remained. There was always a strong link between public education and civic education because educators considered loyalty to the crown and state to be the cornerstone of proper morality. The expansion of the schools system and the development of the curriculum meant that patriotic education reached more students and became more nuanced and comprehensive as time went on. Teachers and educational policy makers sought to further expand the teaching of Austrian history and civics in school curricula at all levels while also attempting to incorporate civic education into the broader curriculum.

The Ministry of Religion and Education and the local and provincial school boards supervised and directed the expanded network of schools and teachers. Though tasked with shaping public education in Austria, the Ministry had little direct control over its school boards. Instead, it relied on a complex, bureaucratic system rooted in influence and coercion. This diffusion of power reflected the complicated legacy of Maria

Theresa's reforms and of Austrian bureaucratic culture. The nature of school administration was symptomatic of the general tension between centralization and federalization in the Monarchy. Nevertheless, at the dawn of the twentieth century, Austria possessed a sophisticated, modern, secular system of public schools which openly embraced the task of making students loyal citizens of the Monarchy.

From Maria Theresa to the Revolutions of 1848

At its core, all of Maria Theresa's reforms represented a pragmatic attempt to centralize the administration of the Habsburg Monarchy. The impetus for these reforms came from the need to strengthen the Habsburg state, its economy, and especially its military.³ The wars of Leopold I and Charles VI in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries depleted the Monarchy's treasury meaning that Maria Theresa, who ruled from 1740-1780, inherited a state in dire financial straits. During the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714), the Monarchy's preeminent field marshal, Prince Eugene of Savoy, summarized the condition of its finances by opining that "if the Monarchy's survival depended on its ability to raise 50,000 fl. at once, it would nonetheless be impossible to save it."⁴ The War of Austrian Succession, which erupted upon Maria Theresa's ascension to the throne, compounded these financial troubles while also exposing the poor condition of the Monarchy's army.⁵ The new ruler realized that her

³ Though, as we will see below on 123-128, Austrian historians writing in the late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century assert the impetus originated in the empresses' deep concern for the welfare of her people.

⁴ As quoted in Charles W. Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618-1815*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 159.

⁵ The War of Austrian Succession began in 1740 when Prussia and its allies challenged Maria Theresa's right to inherit the Habsburg lands. Though her father, Charles VI attempted to avoid such a confrontation

monarchy required a robust series of reforms which would streamline administration and modernize the state.

Her first series of reforms began during War of Austrian Succession as she recast her advisory councils into a State Chancery, elevated the General War Commissary to an independent ministry, and expanded its authority by granting it powers previously held by provincial war offices, which her reforms weakened or disbanded.⁶ After the war, she established the Directory of Administration and Finance to supervise the Court Deputation and Supreme Court. In 1751, the Supreme Court obtained the ability to unify the penal codes of Austria and Bohemia, ensuring uniformity in legal statutes in those territories.⁷ Coupled with a vastly strengthened State Chancery, these bodies essentially assumed control over the matters traditionally handled by the court councils and chanceries of the Austrian and Bohemian lands. These administrative reforms streamlined decision making in the western portions of the Monarchy and set the stage for additional reforms to its financial and military institutions. These reforms also included a substantial increase in the size of the army and the collection of new taxes. By the 1750s, these reforms increased the size of the Habsburg army to 200,000 men and doubled tax revenues from 20 to 40 million gulden.⁸

by having the princes of Europe accept the Pragmatic Sanction, which guaranteed her right to succession, the Monarchy's opponents, led by Prussia, ignored it once she came to the throne. The war grew to involve most of the powers of Europe and ended in 1748 with Maria Theresa's claim to the throne secure but with the loss of part of Silesia to Prussia. For an in depth look at the course of the War of Austrian Succession, see Reed S. Browning, *The War of Austrian Succession* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995).

⁶ Armin Gebhardt, *Maria Theresa: Regentin zwischen Barock und Aufklärung* (Marburg: Tectum Verlag, 2007), 68-71.

⁷ Edward Crankshaw, *Maria Theresa* (New York: Viking Press, 1969), 194-195.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Maria Theresa made little effort to draw Hungary into this project of greater centralization. She wisely realized that the Hungarian diets would vociferously oppose any attempts to diminish their authority or increase their tax burden and conscription requirements too much.⁹ Hungary's loyalty proved decisive in securing her position in the War of Austrian Succession and Maria Theresa stood to gain little by alienating the Hungarian nobility. This calculated approach to Hungary at large did not extend to those regions of the Kingdom of St. Stefan controlled directly by the crown. In Transylvania, for example, which Maria Theresa governed through a military governor, reforms greatly diminished the authority of the local diets in a manner similar to the reforms in Austria and Bohemia.¹⁰

In the end, the first wave of Theresian reforms represented an enormous shift in authority from local assemblies, diets, and nobles to appointed bureaucrats accountable to their individual ministers and the crown. The professionalization of military and civil administration necessitated the creation of an educated and trained bureaucracy which, in turn, necessitated the creation of a more modern system of education. These needs, in part, provided the impetus for the series of educational reforms which took place in the 1770s.¹¹ These reforms occurred in concert with a series of other reforms aimed at elevating the general condition and well-being of the broader population. The motivation for these changes stemmed largely from a desire to improve the economic conditions of the Monarchy while simultaneously minimizing unrest among the peasantry. It is also

⁹ R. J. W. Evans, "Maria Theresa and Hungary," in *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Essays on Central Europe, c. 1683-1867* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 17-19.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹¹ Gebhardt, *Maria Theresia*, 73.

worth noting that they also emerged out of a genuine desire to improve the lives of those living within its borders.

As in the rest of Europe in the eighteenth century, religious authorities controlled the Monarchy's educational institutions. Any attempt to reform or alter these institutions required the state to restrict Church authority, which would alienate the Church hierarchy. In 1770, Johann Anton von Pergen, director of the Oriental Academy and a member of the State Chancery, prepared a proposal for reforming the Monarchy's education system which called for the replacement of clerical teachers with secular ones.¹² Maria Theresa ultimately rejected this proposal, fearing it would require hiring too many Protestant teachers, primarily from the German states, since there was a dearth of adequately trained, lay Catholic teachers. Furthermore, she doubted the Monarchy could meet the financial obligations which would result from these changes.¹³ Internal politics within the Catholic Church soon established an environment which made the secularization of Austria's schools more feasible. In 1773, Pope Clement XIV abolished the Jesuit order, opening the door for Maria Theresa to expel the order from the Monarchy.¹⁴ This

¹² Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 3, *Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs, Von der frühen Aufklärung bis zum Vormärz* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1984), 68.

¹³ It is worth mentioning that Maria Theresa remained devoutly Catholic throughout her life. Unlike Joseph II, she never wanted to diminish the power of the Church in order to limit the Church's influence in Austrian society. Instead, her interest was in strengthening the state, which she realized, at times, could only come from restricting the influence of the Church. See Derek Beales, *Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-century Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 212.

¹⁴ The pope's decision to dissolve the Jesuit order resulted from conflicts between the Catholic crowns of Europe and the papacy. Because of its unique history, emerging as the face of papal authority during the Catholic Reformation, the Jesuit order became a target of Catholic kings looking to expand their authority over the Church in their countries. By the 1770s, Spain, France, and Portugal had already expelled the Jesuit order from their lands and seized the order's assets. Many of Maria Theresa's advisors advocated that she follow suit, but she resisted. The pope's dissolution of the order in 1771 rendered the debate moot. For a comprehensive overview of the debate over the Jesuit order in the Habsburg Monarchy, see Beales, *Enlightenment and Reform*, 207-224.

expulsion not only broke the order's domination over the Monarchy's educational institutions, but also allowed the state to seize the order's land and assets. With Jesuit resources now in state hands, the Monarchy had the means to finance the secularization and expansion of its educational system.¹⁵

From the start, education reformers envisioned public, state-run schools as a tool for controlling the populace. They assumed that elementary schools could teach proper behavior and social responsibility which would motivate students to obey authority once they reached adulthood. Reformers did not intend state-run schools to be free from religious influence, and they fully expected Catholic teaching and the Church to remain integral to moral, ethical, and religious instruction. In fact, the Catholic hierarchy, Maria Theresa, and her advisors all assumed that mass literacy and education would also allow for the dissemination of Christian morality and Catholic teachings.¹⁶ The fact that these remained the primary objectives of school reform ensured the continued presence of religious institutions and instructions in the Monarchy's schools.

The establishment of compulsory education resulted from two "general regulations" for schools, the first issued in 1774 for the Austrian and Bohemian lands and the second in 1777 for Hungary. Interestingly, the author of these regulations, Bishop Ignaz Felbiger, was a school reformer in Prussian-controlled Silesia, meaning he had to secure permission from Maria Theresa's chief rival, Prussian King Frederick II, in order to work in the Monarchy.¹⁷ The introduction to the 1774 "general regulations" made

¹⁵ Crankshaw, *Maria Theresa*, 307-308.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 308.

clear that the purpose of these reforms was to improve the state as well as the lives of its people:

Nothing is so dear to us [Maria Theresa] as the welfare of those lands entrusted to our administration by God, and since we are accustomed to paying strict attention to their best possible improvement, so we hold it true that the education of youth of both sexes, which is the most important foundation for the true happiness of the nation, deserves a thorough examination.

This matter has drawn our attention all the more because the future life of all people, the molding of the spirit and mentality of the whole community, certainly depend [sic] on good education and guidance in the early years. This can never be achieved unless the darkness of ignorance is enlightened by thorough teaching....¹⁸

These regulations mandated that all inhabitants of Austria and Bohemia, both boys and girls, receive basic elementary education for six years. The curriculum for these elementary schools emphasized reading, writing, and arithmetic along with religious and moral instruction with limited exposure to history, geography, and science. The “general regulations” required rural areas to have at least a one or two-class elementary school, referred to as a *Volksschule*; small towns to have a three-class *Volksschule*; and provincial capitals to have a four-class *Volksschule* and a *Normalschule*. The purpose of the *Normalschule* was to train teachers, ensuring an unprecedented level of uniformity to these new schools.¹⁹ Theoretically these regulations required everyone to obtain a basic level of education, but they did not intend to provide such education in an egalitarian manner. Each student was to be educated according to the needs of “his station.”²⁰ The primary function of rural *Volksschulen* was to provide moral and vocational training, with

¹⁸ Quoted in Karl A. Roeder, Jr., ed. and trans., *Maria Theresa* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 57-58.

¹⁹ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 3, 103-106.

²⁰ Roeder, *Maria Theresa*, 58.

the hopes of producing loyal, pious, and productive subjects. Reformers did not consider these schools to be the foundation for advanced education.²¹

Nevertheless, the Theresian education reforms fundamentally restructured society in the Habsburg Monarchy. From this point forward, at least in theory, all children in the Monarchy from ages six to twelve had to go to school and received a basic education, and the state made a commitment to provide this education. Nineteenth-century educators clearly recognized the importance of these reforms. In 1880, the editors of the leading pedagogical journal *Pädagogium* considered Maria Theresa to be the architect of the Austrian school system. In an article on the development of the Croatian *Volksschulen* the journal noted that her reforms ensured that “each subject [would] obtain the necessary education for his class and office,” regardless of location.²² Such descriptions were consistent with the contemporary notion that Maria Theresa was the “mother of her peoples” and that the Habsburg rulers considered the welfare of their people to be one of their most important concerns.²³

While Maria Theresa was hardly liberal in the nineteenth-century sense, liberal reformers sought to coopt the legacy of her reforms. During the centennial celebrations of the “general regulations” at the German-language teaching institute in Prague, the school’s director described the empress’ educational reforms in detail and explained how they created the foundation of the Monarchy’s secular school system. He then described the liberal education reforms of the 1860s as the “fulfillment” of Maria Theresa’s

²¹ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 3, 103-106.

²² *Pädagogium — Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, 1880, 627.

²³ For more on such discussions of Maria Theresa, see below 123-128.

efforts.²⁴ In this way, the attempts by liberals to secularize the schools, lengthen the period of compulsory instruction, and deepen the rigor of the curriculum did not represent the political agenda of a coalition of political parties but rather completed the work of one of the Monarchy's most celebrated rulers. Such depictions were typical throughout Austria.²⁵

The fact that liberal reformers asserted the connections between their education reforms and those of Maria Theresa demonstrates that the empresses' educational reforms still met with some opposition, even a century later. Debates over the length of the school day and school year, the number of years students had to attend school, and the role of the Church in education continued to be the subject of intense political conflict until the end of the Monarchy. In the decades immediately following Maria Theresa's reign, however, little changed in educational policy. During his decade of solitary rule, Joseph II made no attempt to expand or alter her reforms, and his successors Leopold II and Franz II/I left them intact as well, in spite of their tendency to limit or rollback other reforms.²⁶

The core of Theresian reforms stayed in place even in the reactionary period after the Napoleonic Wars. By this point, even staunch conservatives like Clemens von

²⁴ *Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht*, November 28, 1875; December 5, 1875.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, December 12, 1875.

²⁶ While also a student of the Enlightenment, Leopold II rescinded or altered many of Joseph II's reforms in an attempt to stabilize the Monarchy after his brother's controversial reign. Coming to the throne at the height of the French Revolution, Leopold's son became Franz II of the Holy Roman Empire shortly before it disbanded under the weight of Napoleon's victories over Austria. In order to preserve his imperial title, Franz refashioned the Habsburg lands into the Austrian Empire, assuming the name Franz I. Seeing the carnage resulting from the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, he had little appetite for reform and became an avowed conservative. See Robin Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy c. 1765-1918: From Enlightenment to Eclipse* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 41-67.

Metternich recognized the value of compulsory education and decision makers paid little attention to those calling for its abolition or limitation. Across the Monarchy, enrollment in secondary schools included a growing number of middle-class students.²⁷

The strength of the Theresian educational system persisted because decision makers in the Monarchy recognized the pragmatic need for it, not because of a philosophical conviction. In the early-nineteenth century, as the state continued to grow, it required qualified bureaucrats, as the economy developed, workers required greater levels of skill, and in the aftermath of the French Revolution, Metternich and his allies considered the primary goal of the Theresian elementary school — the teaching of “proper” behavior — to be more important than ever.²⁸ While they may have recognized the need for the educational system, this did not mean that the conservative governments of Franz II/I and his successor, Ferdinand I, wholeheartedly accepted it or sought to expand it. Educational institutions faced budgetary restrictions which caused teacher shortages and, in some cases, led to the Church regaining control over secularized schools.²⁹ While access to secondary education may have expanded during this era, state officials viewed this expansion with an air of mistrust, leading to efforts in the 1820s to reduce enrollment in the *Gymnasien*, the elite secondary schools which prepared students to enter into universities. In order to facilitate this reduction, tuition costs rose and students had to pass an entrance exam.³⁰ Government consternation regarding

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 79.

²⁸ Alan Sked, *Metternich and Austria: An Evaluation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 139.

²⁹ Gary B. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848-1918* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1996), 16; Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 3, 229-232.

³⁰ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria*, 17.

Gymnasien enrollment stemmed from the fear of radicalism in educational institutions and the practical concern that the number of graduates would exceed the number of available jobs in the state bureaucracy. This latter concern was justified, considering that by the 1840s, the number of qualified applicants for jobs in the bureaucracy outpaced the number of posts, a situation hardly unique to the Habsburg Monarchy, but common throughout Western and Central Europe.³¹

The reactionary governments of the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s also made only half-hearted efforts to modernize or amend school curricula.³² These governments continued to see *Gymnasien* as tools for producing loyal, properly trained state officials, and they rejected efforts to establish a broader course of study which focused less on classical, humanistic education and more on the sciences and modern languages. The statement “I need no learned men; I need only good officials,” purportedly made by Franz II/I remains the most succinct way to describe official attitudes toward higher education.³³

Volksschulen and universities experienced similar stagnation. The result was an educational system that continued to grow in numbers of students but not in ideas, facilities, or management.

This lack of innovation in the educational system mirrored the condition of other sectors of the Austrian government. In the face of this stagnation, professional groups and even some segments of the bureaucracy developed theoretical plans for reform, but they lacked any mechanism to implement them. In addition, some students, educators,

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 3, 245-246; 251-257.

³³ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 17-18; Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 3, 251-257.

and members of the educational bureaucracy started to advocate liberal reforms in the 1840s which would modernize schools and their curricula while enhancing the prestige of non-university faculty.³⁴ Most of all, reformers wanted to implement a curriculum based on the principle of free inquiry, common in the schools of other German-speaking states.³⁵ Such calls went unheeded until the Revolutions of 1848, which allowed the first serious opportunity to align schools along liberal auspices.

Moving Toward a Liberal System of Education, 1848-1867

Economic and political frustration among liberals, nationalists, and workers provided the impetus for the Revolutions of 1848 in the Habsburg Monarchy. In Vienna, liberals quickly took the lead, preparing a government program reflecting their political and economic goals. They demanded freedom of speech, press, and assembly as well as a written constitution guaranteeing the creation of a legislative assembly with power over the budget, the newly established national guard, government ministers, and the end of the obligatory labor peasants owed their lords.³⁶ Other uprisings across the Monarchy, including those in Milan, Prague, and Hungary, followed in this liberal mold, but included nationalist demands, like the granting and protection of language rights, which often prevented constructive cooperation between liberals from the different nationalities.³⁷ Initially, the government lacked the capability to suppress these

³⁴ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 3, 245-246; 257-259.

³⁵ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 20-21.

³⁶ Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 130-131.

³⁷ For a general overview of these tensions, see Jonathan Sperber, *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 217-234.

challenges through force and instead compromised. By May and June of 1848, reform plans existed to end the last vestiges of serfdom and the censorship of the press, and to create a preliminary constitution.³⁸

Throughout the summer of 1848, liberals in Vienna continued to develop plans for further reforms, thanks largely to the fact that the imperial court fled to Innsbruck in May, effectively ceding control of the situation to those demanding change. The Austrian parliament elected in July of 1848 to craft these reforms reflected the interests of the professional elite. Of the 303 seats, a clear majority came from the educated, professional middle class. 160 seats went to those who identified themselves as German, with the remaining 143 divided among self-proclaimed Slavs, Italians, and Romanians. The Hungarians, in the midst of their own struggle for autonomy and later independence, were absent.³⁹ This composition ensured that Germans held a majority of the seats in the assembly. The assembly sought reforms which broadly reflected liberal principles, especially in matters related to education. For the most part, education reformers concentrated exclusively on secondary and university education, proposing almost no changes to *Volksschule* education. Franz Freiherr von Sommaruga, the new minister of public instruction, announced his intent to allow the freedom of study and teaching in secondary schools and universities, to permit university faculty to manage university affairs, and other reforms to strengthen the status of *Gymnasium* teachers.⁴⁰

³⁸ Mike Rapport, *1848: Year of Revolution* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 67-69.

³⁹ Barbara Jelavich, *Modern Austria: Empire and Republic, 1800-1986* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 44. See also Pieter M. Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848-1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 45-47. For more on the struggle in Hungary, see István Deák, *The Lawful Revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848-1849* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

⁴⁰ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 21.

Sommaruga also permitted the Ministry to develop further plans for reforming secondary education and universities. These reforms, outlined in the “Proposal of the Basic Features of Public Education in Austria,” sought to bring Austrian universities closer in form and shape to their counterparts in the German lands. This included demanding a more scholarly faculty, focused on research as well as teaching, a more rigorous curriculum, and allowing professors to administer universities (with government oversight).⁴¹ In order to ensure that *Gymnasien* adequately prepared students for these reformed universities, the *Gymnasien* curriculum would consist of a rigorous course of study emphasizing traditional humanist goals, like the study of Greek and Latin. In order to provide alternatives to the *Gymnasien*, alternatives more aligned with the needs created by industrialization and urbanization, the “Proposal” also called for the creation of three-year *Bürgerschulen* and *Realschulen*, which students could enroll in after finishing *Volksschule*. *Bürgerschulen* provided additional general and vocational education to those students not planning to attend university while the curriculum of the *Realschulen* emphasized teaching trades and crafts and after graduating from *Realschule*, students could enroll in technical institutes.⁴²

The zeal of revolutionary reformers waned under the strength of a resurgent Habsburg dynasty. Armies loyal to the crown suppressed the uprisings in Italy, Bohemia, and Vienna by the end of 1848 and the court returned to Vienna — now under the leadership of the 18-year-old Franz Joseph who became emperor on December 2, 1848,

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 21-22; Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, *Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs, Von 1848 bis zum Ende der Monarchie* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1986), 221-223.

⁴² Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 22.

after the ministers encouraged the mentally impaired Ferdinand I to abdicate.⁴³ In spite of the suppression of the uprisings and the return of a strengthened court to the capital, the Habsburg government, in theory, continued to support reform and change. An assembly still met to draft a constitution throughout the first months of 1849 while the court began to develop its own charter. The court's support for reform diminished quickly, however. In a sign of the return to conservative rule to come, troops disbanded the constitutional assembly in March, leaving the court to complete the constitution on its own. While a draft constitution eventually emerged, it hardly reflected the principles of liberalism and instead ensured the continued power of the monarch. Though completed, it remained unratified and never took effect. Franz Joseph officially rescinded the document in 1851.⁴⁴

The failure to secure a permanent constitution served as a symbol of the collapse of the Revolutions of 1848. During the 1850s, Franz Joseph and his ministers abandoned most of the promises for further reform and rescinded many of the reforms the government had granted at the height of the revolutionary challenge. Instead, the government pursued a system of neo-absolutism, which stressed governance through centralized bureaucracy. While neo-absolutism represented the nadir of liberalism in Austria, the new emperor and his ministers did not curb the educational reforms initiated by the "Proposal." In fact, the leading voices of neo-absolutism, including Prince Felix zu Schwarzenberg, Alexander Bach, and Count Leo Thun-Hohenstein, recognized that

⁴³ Sperber, *The European Revolutions*, 231-234.

⁴⁴ Rapport, *1848*, 379-380.

the educational system required these changes.⁴⁵ Throughout the 1850s, the Schwarzenberg government followed the educational reform plan established in 1848 in an effort to make the educational system more responsive to modern needs.

Of course, the government did not accept liberal philosophical views. Instead, it sought to stabilize the state, make the state bureaucracy more effective and responsive, and improve the Austrian economy with the hope of diffusing revolutionary tensions.⁴⁶ On the surface, Thun, who took control of a newly revamped Ministry of Religion and Education in 1849, seemed an unlikely choice to implement the promised reforms of the Monarchy's educational system. A staunch conservative and devout Catholic, he had little sympathy for the liberal goals of the defeated revolutionaries. On the other hand, having traveled broadly, Thun understood that the Monarchy's schools and universities lagged behind their counterparts in the German states, France, and Great Britain. His ministry therefore implemented reforms outlined in the "Proposal" proposed at the height of the Revolutions, including modernizing and strengthening the curricula of institutions of higher learning, especially the *Gymnasien*. By the end of 1849, the Ministry secured approval for a series of changes to the *Gymnasium* curriculum which placed greater emphasis on mathematics and science and established an exit exam to ensure satisfactory mastery of the material.⁴⁷ Most importantly, Thun ended the strict surveillance of these institutions. As long as universities and *Gymnasien* adhered to the principles and guidelines handed down from the Ministry, they operated with minimal interference.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 23.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 27-28; Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 27-28.

⁴⁸ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 25-26.

The enhancement and development of technical institutes and universities proceeded at a slower pace. In part, this lag resulted from the fact that technical universities remained under provincial control at this time, limiting the scope of what could be accomplished on the ministerial level. During the 1850s and 1860s, the Ministry developed a plan for discipline-specific schools within the technical institutes which could provide better vocational training. It also developed new plans for a system of *Realschulen*, though at that point they largely remained glorified vocational schools.⁴⁹

While the conservative, neo-absolutist government proceeded with these reforms, it also allowed the Catholic Church to regain influence over education. As stated earlier, the Church managed to reacquire control over many of the Monarchy's elementary and secondary schools during the Metternich era, thanks largely to the chronic underfunding of education. Even during that time, however, the government still maintained the theoretical principle of state-run education. This changed dramatically when Franz Joseph signed the Concordat of 1855. The Concordat granted Catholic Church authorities the right to review and revise school curricula at all levels in order to ensure that they did not conflict with Church doctrine.⁵⁰ Thun supported this measure, welcoming the Church's ability to influence schools and play a leading role in the moral education of the populace. Through the Concordat, the Catholic Church not only gained direct oversight of *Volksschulen* but the *Gymnasien* as well. With this new influence, the Church ensured that non-Catholics did not become *Gymnasien* professors unless the

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 27, 31; Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 153-156.

⁵⁰ Peter Leisching, "Die römisch-katholische Kirche in Cisleithanien," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie, 1848-1918*, vol. 4, *Die Konfessionen*, Adam Wandruszka, and Peter Urbantisch, eds. (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), 25-33.

institutions explicitly represented a minority confession. More importantly, educators who belonged to the clergy did not have to meet the new standards established for teachers. Coupled with budget shortfalls which prevented the hiring of lay teachers, these new rules ensured that Catholic clergy occupied more and more teaching posts. By Gary Cohen's estimation, the majority of *Gymnasien* professors in both the Alpine and Bohemians lands belonged to the clergy by the end of the 1850s.⁵¹

The Church's control over education even extended to the university level. On the surface, Thun's ministry resisted granting the Church full control over the universities and continued to permit the appointment of non-Catholic university faculty. However, it still promised Church leaders that the universities would not permit instruction contrary to its teachings and guaranteed that non-Catholic faculty would only be hired when qualified Catholics could not be found. Yet, even with these assurances, Thun faced increasing complaints from the increasingly powerful conservatives in the government who felt that more could be done to enhance the Church's role over education.⁵² The signing of the Concordat revived traditional, conservative voices in Austria which sought to dismantle the statist, secular, bureaucratic educational system established under the reign of Maria Theresa. Liberal reforms in the late 1860s, which revoked the Concordat and firmly secularized the Monarchy's schools, only strengthened the passion of these conservative elements. The struggle over the Church's role in education would become a hallmark of the debate over education in Austria during the dualist period.

⁵¹ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 34.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 34-35.

Equally as important was the debate over language. Like the issue of religious influence over schools, the question of the language of instruction began in the neo-absolutist period and grew into a source of great controversy in the following decades. Even though Thun personally appreciated the demands of non-German speakers for robust education in their own language, his ministry made little effort to accommodate those desires.⁵³ Nevertheless, Czech nationalists demanded the right of education in the Czech language. Thun's ministry eventually allowed secondary schools to teach in languages other than German while also appointing Czech-speaking professors to the faculty of Prague University in the early 1850s.⁵⁴ Education in a students' mother tongue at the elementary level was a well-established reality; but non-German secondary schools and universities remained a source of contention. To those committed to state centralization, allowing institutions of higher education to operate in languages other than German represented a challenge to the Josephian model. To the German-speaking population, such changes represented a threat to their predominance in Austria.

In 1853, opponents of these changes to the language of instruction in Prague managed to force the Ministry to adopt policies that would slowly reassert the primacy of German language instruction at the secondary and university level. Both the number of courses in non-German languages and the number of non-German faculty diminished rapidly at Prague University.⁵⁵ These changes also ensured that non-German instruction only served as a tool for preparing students for German language instruction and not as a

⁵³ Hannelore Burger, *Sprachenrecht und Sprachengerechtigkeit im Österreichischen Unterrichtswesen, 1867-1918* (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995), 33-34.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*; Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 34-35.

⁵⁵ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 35.

mechanism for fostering or developing an appreciation for non-German language and culture. Furthermore, the Ministry developed plans for slowly shuttering non-German secondary schools. At the elementary level, where instruction in the mother tongue was the norm, curriculum revisions began to emphasize the learning of German, ostensibly as a means of preparing all students for the possibility of secondary education.⁵⁶

Unsurprisingly, such changes only served to antagonize the burgeoning national movements, especially in the Bohemian lands. Nationalist newspapers and organizations decried these changes to the language of instruction. The demand for schools in the mother tongue became a cornerstone of these movements.⁵⁷

It is worth noting, however, that outside of nationalist circles, efforts to strengthen Czech-language education did not necessarily cause fury and outrage. Many non-German parents welcomed the opportunity to send their children to German-language schools with the hope that this education would help them to obtain better jobs as adults. German still remained the language of commerce and government, and graduating from a German-language secondary school or university ensured that students would be fully prepared to enter these fields.⁵⁸ Those who did resent the Germanization of education found creative means to avoid it. Robin Okey points out that, faced with reality of German-language *Gymnasien* and universities, many Czech nationalists moved into professions like business or private law which allowed them to avoid these German-dominated institutions. The side effect of this was to create a strong core of nationalist

⁵⁶ Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 162.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 3-5.

intellectuals who would serve as the backbone of the nationalist movements in the 1860s and 1870s.⁵⁹

Crafting a System of Secular Education

Efforts to secure German-language dominance of education ended abruptly with the *Ausgleich* of 1867, which established the Dual Monarchy and halted the neo-absolutist experiment. The adoption of the *Ausgleich* came on the heels of Austria's humiliating defeat at the hands of Prussia in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 which threatened the domestic tranquility of the Monarchy. The *Ausgleich* represented an effort to stabilize the state. Not only did it grant Hungary autonomy, it allowed the Magyar elite to take control of the newly created Hungarian parliament. To help stabilize the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy, Franz Joseph granted the December Constitution and allowed liberals to form a government in the Austrian parliament. The terms of the *Ausgleich* and the December Constitution revived many of the goals liberals proposed during the constitutional debates in 1848-1849, enshrining them into the dualist system. For nationalists, the most notable achievement came in the form of Article 19 of the December Constitution which guaranteed that "all nationalities [had] the right to cultivate their mother tongue and to have educational facilities in it."⁶⁰ After 1867, national groups could have state-funded, public schools in their language so long as they met certain population requirements. The Austrian parliament also obtained the ability to

⁵⁹ Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 180.

⁶⁰ Quoted in George V. Strong, *Seedtime for Fascism: The Disintegration of Austrian Political Culture, 1867-1918* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1998), 103.

initiate legislation.⁶¹ Under liberal dominance, the parliament began to pass legislation which not only protected language rights, but also protected the basic civil liberties long advocated by liberal reformers.⁶² The most important of these was freedom of assembly and press. These laws also ensured the independence of the judiciary, greater access to jury trials, and granted local elected bodies more control over education, social services, and local economic matters. Liberals also began legislating a series of sweeping reforms in the years after 1867.

The May Laws of 1868 were among the most important of these reforms. These laws sought to weaken the expanded power of the Catholic Church achieved by the Concordat of 1855, especially over what liberals considered to be secular institutions. The first of these laws secularized Austria's schools, removing Church influence over teachers and curriculum. From this point forward, the Church only had control over religious instruction. Since the Laws also granted equal standing to all religions, they forced the Catholic Church to share even this control with its counterparts from the other faiths of the Monarchy. This shared status, along with the fact that new protections for non-Catholics guaranteed the right for religious instruction in their faiths, meant that the Catholic Church could only provide religious instruction to Catholic students. Protestants and Jews would receive religious instruction from their own clergy.⁶³ The May Laws further weakened the Church by making marriage a civil institution. They also diminished most of the powers the Church obtained through the Concordat. Moreover,

⁶¹ Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 198-199.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 198-199; Jelavich, *Modern Austria*, 67.

⁶³ Leisching, "Die römisch-katholische Kirche in Cisleithanien," 41-43.

when Pope Pious IX proclaimed the doctrine of papal infallibility in 1870, the Austrian parliament used that pronouncement as a pretext to formally rescind the Concordat that year.⁶⁴

While the May Laws represented a general attack on the position of the Catholic Church in Austrian society, the secularization of schools offered the most far-reaching change to the status-quo. It transformed schools from bastions of conservative Catholicism into one of the more reliably liberal institutions in Austrian society. Undoubtedly, individual school boards, schools, and teachers may have been opposed to liberalism, but the educational system, the philosophy guiding it, and the management of it continued to reflect the basic tenets of liberalism until the end of the Monarchy. This included the notion that all students deserved access to education, regardless of their class or religion.⁶⁵ The diminishing of direct Catholic influence over schools was swift. As Gary Cohen shows, in 1861, Catholic clergy occupied 62% of *Gymnasien* teaching posts. By 1871 this number dropped to 36%. From 1870-1873, the number of *Gymnasien* operated by religious teaching orders dropped by half, with many of the remainder shuttered or secularized in the following decades.⁶⁶

Liberals envisioned a highly trained, professionalized teaching force replacing priests as teachers. Unlike their predecessors, these new teachers would be well educated and serve as agents of modernization. In order to train such teachers, the Ministry of Religion and Education established new teacher training institutions, aimed at ensuring a

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 113.

⁶⁶ While Cohen's work does not offer specific statistics regarding the decline in the number of *Volksschule* teachers who were clergy, their numbers would have declined as well with secularization. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 37-38.

basic level of competency for all *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* teachers.⁶⁷ These teachers did not receive academic training at a university, however. Most teachers began their training after completing *Bürgerschule* at the age of 15, receiving an additional four years of schooling at a teacher training institution.⁶⁸ Austrian educational policy viewed teaching as a vocation which required professional training, rather than the broad, humanistic education provided by the *Gymnasium* and university. While some policymakers and pedagogical theorists suggested that teachers should have university training, such suggestions received little support from professional teaching organizations and the educational bureaucracy.⁶⁹

The decision to provide teacher education through separate institutions was not exceptional, but instead reflected the standard throughout Europe and the United States.⁷⁰ In fact, a majority of the changes implemented by the new liberal government in Austria consciously reflected similar changes made in the German lands. Alois Hermann and Adolf Beer, tasked with crafting legislation to reform *Volksschule* education in Austria, modeled their proposed law on the laws of Baden and Bavaria. Baden secularized and

⁶⁷ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 63-65. The impact of the professionalization of the teaching profession is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

⁶⁸ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 39.

⁶⁹“Universität und Volksschullehrer,” *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, June, 1905; “Die Lehrerbildung,” *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, November, 1912; “Über die Reformen der Lehrerbildung,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, August 31, 1886, np; “Die Erziehung in der Lehrerbildung,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 10, 1909, np; *Pädagogium – Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, 1882 (Vienna: Julius Klinkhardt, 1882), 733-735.

⁷⁰ In the United States, for example, many rural teachers received little formal training beyond basic elementary education and, as in Austria, the development of formal teacher training institutions did not become common place until the 1870s. See Barbara Finkelstein, *Governing the Young: Teaching Behavior in Popular Primary Schools in Nineteenth-Century United States* (New York: The Falmer Press, 1989), 273.

professionalized its schools in two rounds of legislation in 1862 and 1864. Bavaria did the same in 1861, 1866, and 1867. Like Austria, both Baden and Bavaria were predominantly Catholic, with a tradition of Catholic-dominated education. Austrian reformers closely followed the progress of the reform laws in Baden. They wanted to see how such laws addressed the issue of continued religious education while still ensuring that religious authorities remained absent from general education.⁷¹

Austrian reformers also looked within the Monarchy itself, where on the provincial level, significant educational reforms had taken place. In 1866, the provincial assembly of Upper Austria enacted sweeping reforms to improve state schools. These included taking over the supervision of teachers, allowing teachers greater freedom in their teaching methodology, improving the quality of teacher training institutes, as well as salary and pension reforms to standardize teachers' pay. Most importantly, Upper Austria was the first to mandate compulsory schooling for all children ages 6 to 14.⁷²

The reforms prepared by Hermann and Beer ultimately became the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz*, passed by the parliament on May 14, 1869.⁷³ The law became one of the longest lasting changes implemented during the liberal era as well as a touchstone for controversy during the resurgence of Austrian conservatism in the 1880s and 1890s. The *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* mandated free, public, primary school education for both boys and girls. Though both boys and girls attended *Volksschule*, classrooms remained separated by gender. The *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* also added two years of

⁷¹ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 113-114.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 112.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 111.

compulsory school attendance, meaning in theory all citizens would receive eight years of schooling from ages 6 to 14. Students could achieve this by attending *Volksschule* for five years followed by an additional three years at a *Bürgerschule*.⁷⁴

Liberal interest in improving education in Austria stemmed from both a legitimate interest in improving the lives of Austrian citizens and also from the continued recognition that industrial and economic advancement was possible only if the workforce was educated. This interest became one of the dominant forces driving curricular reform throughout the dualist period. The elementary school curriculum continued to emphasize reading, writing, and arithmetic, plus a basic knowledge of history, geography, and natural science. The curriculum for *Bürgerschulen* also emphasized these subjects while also providing practical classes related to agricultural techniques, industrial skills, and even courses designed specifically for women, like sewing and needlepoint.⁷⁵

These reforms did not mean that liberal reformers envisioned egalitarian access to education beyond the *Volksschule* and *Bürgerschule* level. *Gymnasien* and universities remained exclusive institutions reserved for the sons of the upper and upper middle classes.⁷⁶ Boys would attend *Gymnasium* from ages ten to eighteen, which prepared them to enter university. Boys could also attend *Realschule*, which continued to offer technical and skill-based education.⁷⁷ While the *Gymnasium* and *Realschule* remained the most typical options for secondary education, other types of schools existed. By the

⁷⁴ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 38.

⁷⁵ Austrian State Archives, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv: Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht (hereinafter referred to as AVA, MKU), Fasz. 4190 17D2, Document 36453-03.

⁷⁶ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 38.

⁷⁷ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 157; 172-182.

dawn of the twentieth century, *Real-Gymnasien* became more common. These schools offered a more elite education than the *Realschule* and a more modern curriculum than the *Gymnasium*. Rather than focus on classical languages and rhetoric, *Real-Gymnasium* emphasized modern languages and science.⁷⁸ Only boys could attend *Gymnasium*, *Realschule*, and *Real-Gymnasium*. Girls interested in secondary school attended *Lyzeen*.⁷⁹ After completing *Bürgerschule*, children could also attend teacher training institutions, which would prepare them to teach *Volksschule* and *Bürgerschule*.

The secularization of schools achieved through the May Laws ushered in a new era for public education in Austria. With control over schools, as well as the parliament and the Ministry of Religion and Education, liberals had the opportunity to reshape the educational system. Beginning in 1868, secular school boards obtained the responsibility for managing elementary and secondary schools. Rather than creating a strict, centralized system, managed from Vienna, the May Laws maintained the traditional federalized system of education, in which each crownland administered its own schools. Each crownland had its own provincial school board, which supervised district school boards, which in turn supervised local school boards.⁸⁰ Such a structure provided a clear hierarchy for school management that theoretically streamlined school administration and allowed for easy implementation of educational policies. The provincial school boards reported directly to the Ministry of Religion and Education, but, the Ministry did not have direct control over the operation of these school boards. All matters related to

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 155-156.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 203-210.

⁸⁰ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 41-42.

Volksschulen and *Bürgerschulen* remained explicitly in the hands of provincial school boards, which determined school hours, curriculum, and the hiring of teachers. The Ministry had control only over the universities, *Gymnasien*, *Realschulen*, and other secondary schools. Even with this control, the Ministry still relied on lower school boards to enact curricular changes, hire faculty, and manage the schools.⁸¹

As a result, the Ministry exercised power through persuasion. It would set guidelines, create curricula, and issue decrees with the expectation that each province would find ways to implement them. Without a doubt, money was the most powerful tool the Ministry could use to ensure compliance with its initiatives. The Austrian education budget went directly to the Ministry, which then divided it among the provinces. While it could not mandate how each province spent these funds, it did determine how much each province received. Even though each locality and each province had its own education budgets drawn from local and provincial taxes, schools depended on ministry-level funds.⁸² Refusal to adopt new policies or noncompliance with Ministry decrees jeopardized such funds. The Ministry's policies applied to all public schools, regardless of its language of instruction.

Many of the initiatives pursued by the Ministry of Religion and Education at the elementary level reflected the goals of paternalistic liberalism. These ranged from efforts to improve hygiene among the lower classes to the establishment of school gardens to the

⁸¹ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 86-91.

⁸² Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 53. Each year, the Ministry of Religion and Education received countless requests for funds from provincial and local schools boards. These requests sought monies to pay for a broad range of educational needs, including new school buildings, school renovations, new supplies, hiring new teachers, or offering additional classes. Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 2330 10A-C5.

teaching of swimming.⁸³ The Ministry also vigorously supported the establishment of *Pfadfinder* corps in each school. These scouting organizations were analogous to others established in Europe and the United States during this period, and supporters hoped that such organizations would assist in the teaching of “proper” behavior and morals, such as loyalty to God, the emperor, and local authorities.⁸⁴ It is worth noting that each of these initiatives had little to do with deepening the academic achievement of students. Just as in the time of Maria Theresa, the primary task of the *Volksschulen* was to produce loyal, ethical, moral, and productive citizens. As industrialization and urbanization fundamentally restructured European life and led to the development of new ideologies such as socialism, communism, and anarchism, some educators believed that the moralizing mission of public schools was more important at the dawn of the twentieth century than ever before.⁸⁵

Structuring the School Day

For *Volksschulen*, provincial school boards determined the number of hours in each school day, which days of the week students attended, and how much time schools spent teaching each subject. The Ministry of Religion and Education had final approval of these curricula and offered general guidelines. Nevertheless, school boards possessed enormous latitude in determining what *Volksschule* education looked like in their province. In spite of this decentralization, *Volksschulen* were remarkably similar

⁸³ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 54; Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 4193 17D2 1905.

⁸⁴ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 1897, Documents 47972, 31794, 13007.

⁸⁵ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 4190 17D2, Document 38146.

throughout Austria. For the most part, despite revisions to *Volksschule* curriculum from the 1870s through the 1910s, the hours of instruction per week remained consistent as did the number of hours devoted to each subject. Such consistency meant that any attempts to add subject matter to the curriculum faced the daunting challenge of having to displace existing material. This reality often caused those reforming the curriculum to abandon efforts to add material and instead work on forcing it into existing lessons.⁸⁶

In 1875, most *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* offered between 25 and 29 hours of instruction a week. In Upper and Lower Austria, the middle grades (2nd-4th year) attended 23-25 hours a week, and the upper grades (5th-8th year) 26-28.⁸⁷ Silesia required slightly more hours for the middle grades, with children attending 24-26 hours a week.⁸⁸ First year students attended only 19-20 hours a week.⁸⁹ Local school boards also determined when the school day began and ended and which days of the week schools were in session.

Often a community's *Volksschule* and *Bürgerschule* shared the same building and the number of classrooms a school possessed determined how many hours each class attended. So, for example, if a school in Silesia only had two classrooms, the lower and middle grades would be in one room, attending 24 hours a week, the upper grades in the

⁸⁶ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz 4191-4198 17 D2.

⁸⁷ *Lehrpläne für Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Oberösterreich* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1876), 28, 38, 58, 70; *Lehrpläne für Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Niederösterreich* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1876), 23, 32, 41, 51, 63, 76.

⁸⁸ *Lehrpläne für Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Schlesien* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1876), 1, 16, 32, 41, 50, 60, 83, 97.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

other, attending 28.⁹⁰ If a school had three classrooms, the second year students would be grouped with the first year in a classroom, attending 24 hours a week, the third and fourth year students would be in the second classroom, attending 25 hours a week, and the fifth through eighth year students would be in the third classroom, attending 28 hours a week.⁹¹ Similar divisions occurred for each additional classroom the school had. In an eight room schoolhouse, every year had its own room, with the younger students attending fewer hours than the older students.⁹² Girls had a slightly longer school week than boys, usually by two to three hours. The curriculum for girls' schools added additional lessons in "female handicrafts" (*weibliche Handarbeiten*) which taught skills such as sewing and needlepoint. In the later grades, girls only went an hour longer than boys, even though they continued to receive two to three hours of vocational training. To compensate for the added material, girls in these grades received less instruction in mathematics.⁹³

Because school hours were consistent from province to province, but varied according to the size of an individual school, province mattered less in determining the amount of schooling than a rural or urban setting for schools. The larger the population served by a school, the more likely that school had more classes. As a result, urban students received more differentiated instruction and generally attended school for more hours a day than their rural counterparts.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 41, 50, 60, 83, 97.

⁹³ *Lehrpläne für Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Schlesien* (1876), 1, 16, 32, 41, 50, 60, 83, 97; *Lehrpläne für Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Oberösterreich* (1876), 28, 38, 58, 70; *Lehrpläne für Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Niederösterreich* (1876) 23, 32, 41, 51, 63, 76.

These divisions became starker if the school had only one or two classrooms and those classrooms divided their day into two sections — one for the lower grades and one for the upper grades. In this situation, students only attended halftime, with the morning devoted to the younger students and the afternoon devoted to older students. In those cases, students only attended for 16-19 hours a week.⁹⁴ Halftime schooling was more common in rural areas, since those communities usually had lower populations and smaller school buildings.

It is worth noting that many people who lived in rural areas did not consider these limited hours a problem. In fact, rural regions often opposed efforts to increase the amount of schooling mandated by the government. These regions resented the changes created by the school laws of 1868 and 1869, since farmers relied on their children for labor. Thus, rural parents considered having their children attend school from the ages of 12 to 14 a source of economic hardship rather than a long-term benefit.⁹⁵ The resurgence of conservatism in the 1880s and 1890s gave voice to these frustrations, and as conservatives gained control over local and provincial school boards and provincial legislative assemblies, they weakened school hour regulations and allowed rural schools to only require half-day attendance. In Upper Austria, for example, 98 of its 124 one room schools and 36 of its 168 two room schools obtained permission to offer half-day schooling by 1913.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ *Lehrpläne für Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Oberösterreich* (1876) 1; *Lehrpläne für Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Niederösterreich* (1876), 8; *Lehrpläne für Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Schlesien* (1876), 8, 24.

⁹⁵ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 19.

⁹⁶ “Klerikale Schulwirtschaft,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, March 10, 1913, np.

While such changes reflected the economic interests of some rural populations, they were also motivated by the political philosophy and political agenda of Austrian conservatism, which deeply distrusted the educational system established by the liberals in the 1860s. For conservatives, especially clerical conservatives, increasing the years of compulsory schooling ensured that schools served as tools for liberal indoctrination. The influential Catholic conservative newspaper *Das Vaterland* questioned the value of eight years of education, arguing that the typical rural child could obtain everything he or she needed to be successful in life in six years. The newspaper rejected the notion that increased years of education could offer any benefit to farmers, urban workers, or even military recruits. It felt that these individuals only needed to read, write, and understand basic arithmetic, which could all be sufficiently taught in the existing six year curriculum. Any additional education would actually harm the quality of recruits, because they would become too inquisitive and prone to question authority. Furthermore, the additional time spent in the classroom would diminish physical fitness, since boys would not be spending time working outdoors in the fields.⁹⁷ *Das Vaterland* also rejected liberal claims that eight years in school would improve the lives of the working class. It questioned how the liberal parties, which it considered responsible for exploiting the working class and child laborers, could be trusted to help them.⁹⁸

Supporters of the education laws forcefully countered conservative opposition. The socialist pedagogical journal *Freie Schule* asserted that the policies of the conservative provincial school board of Lower Austria systematically weakened the

⁹⁷ *Das Vaterland*, 1 June 1881, 1-2; *Das Vaterland*, 12 July 1881, 1.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

province's educational curriculum and diminished the quality of education at all levels. The journal considered these policies to be especially problematic in the teacher training institutions, arguing that the new, weaker educational standards resulted in poorly educated and poorly trained students who were failing their licensing exams.⁹⁹ Similarly, the pedagogical journal *Freie Lehrerstimme* accused this school board of slashing education funds in the hopes of increasing reliance on Church schools.¹⁰⁰ The continued political volatility of the issue of years of compulsory education and the length of the school day demonstrates the degree to which education served as a touch stone for the divide between liberals and conservatives in Austria. The educational system established by liberals in 1868-1869 embodied the clash over the role of the Church in society and conservative distrust toward the changes resulting from urbanization and industrialization.

Volksschule education concentrated on reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion. During the 1870s, the typical school week for all grade levels consisted of approximately ten hours a week of reading and language instruction, with an additional two for writing skills. The curriculum called for seven hours of mathematics per week, divided between basic arithmetic and more complex mathematics. In addition, students received approximately two hours a week of religious instruction, two hours a week of physical education classes, one hour a week of singing, and three to four hours a week of *Realien* lessons. *Realien* consisted of natural history and natural science, geography, and history.

⁹⁹ "Der n-ö Landesschulrat und die Lehrerbildung," *Freie Schule: Mitteilungen des Vereins "Freie Schule" in Wien*, May, 1912, 93-94.

¹⁰⁰ "Die christlich sociale Schandwirtschaft in der Schule," *Freie Lehrerstimme. Organ der jüngeren Lehrerschaft*, May 13, 1900, np.

These lessons did not begin until the second grade. By the upper grades, the curriculum added an hour to these classes.¹⁰¹

Curricular changes from 1885 until the outbreak of the First World War did little to change the number of hours per week children attended school. The typical number of hours per week in schools with undivided classes remained at 25-29 hours. The distribution of that time among the individual subjects remained consistent as well. These hours also remained consistent from province to province.¹⁰²

Since the Ministry of Religion and Education controlled the *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen*, their hours and curricula were similar across Habsburg Austria. During the 1860s and 1870s, students in secondary schools attended classes for approximately 26 hours a week, with students in the lower grades attending fewer hours a week than those in the upper grades. Reforms in the 1880s added to the school week, requiring an additional seven hours of instruction.¹⁰³ The curriculum for *Gymnasien* did not substantially change in the Monarchy's final decades. It maintained its traditional, humanist orientation, emphasizing classical languages and scholarship, with classical

¹⁰¹ *Lehrpläne für Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Schlesien* (1876), 1, 16, 32, 41, 50, 60, 83, 97; *Lehrpläne für Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Oberösterreich* (1876), 28, 38, 58, 70; *Lehrpläne für Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Niederösterreich* (1876), 23, 32, 41, 51, 63, 76.

¹⁰² *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen in Böhmen nach dem Erlass des k.k. Landesschulrathes vom 18. Juli 1885* (Prague: Heinrich Merch, 1885), 10, 31, 42, 54, 66, 79, 94, 112; *Normal Lehrpläne für Volksschulen in Oberösterreich* (Linz: Jos. Feichtiger Erben., 1885), 50, 66, 109, 131, 228, 245; *Lehrpläne für Volksschulen des Küstenlandes in deutscher, italienischer, slovenischer und kroatischer Sprache* (Vienna: k.k. Schulbücher-Verlag, 1889), 28, 110, 136, 164, 192; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen mit deutscher Unterrichtssprache in Böhmen* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1912), 17, 46, 61, 84, 96, 139, 154; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen mit deutscher Unterrichtssprache in Mähren* (Brünn: Verlag des k.k. Mähr. Landesschulrates, 1915), 15, 27, 35, 43, 53, 61, 69.

¹⁰³ *Programm des k.k. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schluß des Schuljahres 1867* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdruckerei, 1867), 36-43; *Programm des deutschen Staats-Obergymnasiums in Olmütz am Schluß des Schuljahres 1874* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdruckerei, 1874), 37-45; *Dreiundzwanzigster Jahres-Bericht der Wiener Communal-oberrealschule im ersten Gemeinde-Bezirke für das Schuljahr 1883-84* (Vienna: Carl Gerolds Sohn, 1884), 28.

language instruction occupying almost a full third of the student's school day. When combined with the study of German and other modern languages, the *Gymnasium* student devoted half of his time in school to the study of languages. The remaining school hours were divided among religious instruction, mathematics, the sciences, geography, and history.¹⁰⁴ Efforts to modernize the curriculum of the *Gymnasium* found little success, though those of the *Realschulen* and other technical high schools grew to reflect the growing needs of the modern, industrial state. These schools did not require students to take Latin and Greek. Instead students devoted more time to the sciences, engineering, mathematics, German literature, French, and English.¹⁰⁵

The curricula of Austria's secondary schools, as well as the required hours of attendance fell within the norm for secondary education throughout Europe. By the turn of the twentieth century, the school week for Austrian secondary schools consisted of approximately 33 hours, with younger students attending for one to two hours less than their older peers. This was comparable with secondary schools in the Netherlands (30-33 hours a week), in the German states of Baden, Prussia, and Saxony (30-35 hours a week), and with secondary schools in the Swiss canton of Basel (30-32 hours a week).¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, Austria required a longer school week than the secondary schools of

¹⁰⁴ *Programm des k.k. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schluß des Schuljahres 1867*, 36-43; *Programm des deutschen Staats-Obergymnasiums in Olmütz am Schluß des Schuljahres 1874*, 37-45.

¹⁰⁵ For example compare the curriculum of the *Realschule* in Elbogen in 1874 to that of 1880 and 1907. *Programm des kön. städt. Real-Gymnasiums und der Ober-Realschule in Elbogen für das Schuljahr 1873/1874* (Elbogen: Self-Published, 1874); *Programm der Communal-Realschule in Elbogen veröffentlicht am Schluß des Schuljahres 1880-1881* (Elbogen: Self-Published, 1881); *Programm der k.k. Staats-Realschule in Elbogen veröffentlicht am Schluß des Schuljahres 1907-1908* (Elbogen: Self-Published, 1908).

¹⁰⁶ Prussia required nine years of education, compared to Austria's eight. Ewald Horn, *Das höhere Schulwesen der Staaten Europas — Eine Zusammenstellung der Lehrpläne* (Berlin: Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1906), 3-19, 58-61; 57-88, 160.

Bavaria, which only required 25-28 hours a week, the secondary schools of Belgium (29 hours a week), France (20-23 hours a week), and Italy (21-25 hours a week).¹⁰⁷

It is worth noting, however, that such comparisons only apply to the Austrian schools and not those in Hungary. Since the *Ausgleich* granted the Hungarian parliament control over Hungary's schools, the Ministry of Religion and Education had no authority to require that Hungary's secondary schools keep pace with those of Austria. As a result, Hungary's secondary schools lagged behind Austria's, only requiring 28-30 hours a week. Croatian schools, which were autonomous from the Hungarian government, required an even shorter school week of 25-28 hours.¹⁰⁸

After the passage of the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* the number of schools and state expenditure on education grew significantly. Spending on education never represented a large portion of the Monarchy's budget. For example, in 1867, it stood only at 2.5%, compared to 17% for the military. The level of funding remained consistent throughout the dualist period, however, and even increased slightly in the decade before the First World War. Considering that the military's budget dropped by 4% during the same period, the consistency of and slight increase in funding for education is notable.¹⁰⁹ Spending at the provincial level varied, but was higher than that of Austria's parliament. On average, the provinces devoted 8% of their budgets to education.¹¹⁰ Unsurprisingly, school districts faced the continual challenge of meeting increased expectations regarding the quality and quantity of schools and teachers with limited resources. Officials

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 21-23, 169, 184-185, 192.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 104-105, 107, 108.

¹⁰⁹ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 53.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 54.

expected school facilities to be modern and well maintained and required schools to possess a wide variety of educational aides and supplies. As education became more streamlined and bureaucratized, officials put increasing pressure on schools to meet these expectations.

From 1870-1914, school inspectors focused more and more on the condition of school buildings, the quality of the school's teaching materials, and the comprehensiveness of the school's library. Reflecting the growing emphasis on the professionalization of teachers, regulations required each school, regardless of size, to possess a comprehensive library for teachers as well as a separate collection for students. Inspection reports for each school diligently noted the number of volumes available in these collections and the authorities rebuked schools with inadequate libraries.¹¹¹

The number of schools increased dramatically. Between 1849 and 1897, Austria constructed 170 new elementary and secondary schools, building most of these between 1868 and 1879. Local communities built 57.9% of the new schools. The Austrian state built 22.1%, and the Catholic Church only 9.2%.¹¹² It is worth noting, however, that these numbers do not take into account the number of schools built by local communities as a result of funds transferred by the Ministry or through donations from the dynasty.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Upon reading that the *Volksschule* in Saaz, Bohemia had a teaching library of only 21 books, one reviewer underlined this fact emphatically with red pencil, putting a large exclamation point next to the number for emphasis. Reviewers voiced similar concerns for the inspection of the *Volksschule* in Aussig/Ústí nad Labem. Czech National Archives, Zemská školní rada, Praha (hereinafter referred to as ZŠR), Karton 2512, IV 13 C2a 657.

¹¹² Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 55-56.

¹¹³ Consistent with the public image of patrons of education, Emperor Franz Joseph, Empress Elisabeth, and other high ranking members of the dynasty often donated funds to construct, renovate, or enhance schools.

These numbers also do not list the number of private schools constructed by political or nationalist groups.¹¹⁴

Reflecting the growing interest in public health and personal hygiene, new *Volksschule* buildings had large, open windows that provided plenty of light and fresh air and ensured that enough green space remained on the school grounds for the establishment of a proper garden and play space. A model school shown in Vienna's 1873 World Exposition provided a clear example of the typical new school. The one room school provided a three room apartment for the teacher, along with kitchen and bathroom, a 9.6m x 6.8m x 3.6m classroom deemed suitable for sixty students, a room teaching handicrafts to girls, a closet for teaching materials, separate bathrooms for boys and girls, and a large room suitable to serve as a gymnasium during bad weather and as a meeting place for school events. The school grounds had a large garden and a field for play and exercise.¹¹⁵ Plans for schools with more than one class followed similar patterns. The four class *Volksschule* in Eberschwang, Upper Austria, constructed in 1879, was almost identical to the model school displayed in 1873. Its first floor had two apartments one for a head of the school, the other for one of the teachers. Its second and third floors contained two classrooms each. Every classroom contained six windows and each floor had a girls' and boys' bathroom.¹¹⁶ Every year, inspectors reported on the

¹¹⁴ Pieter Judson shows that nationalist organizations played vital role in constructing schools in underdeveloped, rural areas. See Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 19-65.

¹¹⁵ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 56.

¹¹⁶ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, Landesschulrat (hereinafter referred to as LSR), Schachtel 96.

cleanliness of the school, the condition of the windows, and the health of the plants in the school garden.¹¹⁷

Of course, these schools required continual maintenance, renovation, and modernization in order to keep pace with the developments of the late-nineteenth century. Every year, local school boards inundated the Ministry with requests for emergency funds for school upkeep. Describing the poor conditions of schools became common place as school authorities sought out funds for school modernization at the turn of the century.¹¹⁸ The rapid advances of technology during this period also meant that the Ministry and school boards faced the perpetual task of providing schools with new equipment, like slide projectors, phonographs, and, in rare cases, even film projectors.¹¹⁹

The growth in the number of *Volksschulen* corresponded with a similar increase in the number of *Realschulen* and other secondary technical institutions, though it is notable that the development of new *Gymnasien* lagged behind. The lack of growth in the number of *Gymnasien* is not surprising, considering the Ministry still considered those institutions to be reserved for the elite and sought to minimize access to them.¹²⁰

Establishing a System of Civic Education

When weaving civic education into school curricula, policy makers and educators focused primarily on the *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen*. After all, all citizens of the Monarchy attended these schools. Furthermore, implementing a system of civic

¹¹⁷ Czech National Archives, ZŠR, Karton 2512, IV 13 C2a.

¹¹⁸ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 2330 10A-C5.

¹¹⁹ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens, Band 4*, 56.

¹²⁰ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 38-41.

education in the *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* remained consistent with the original intent of those schools: to produce moral, ethical, and productive members of society. Civic education existed in secondary schools as well, and it was folded into the more complex curriculum which sought to train students bound for universities or technical academies.

For the most part, school-based civic education in Austria occurred in the same manner as in the rest of Europe and in the United States. In the classroom, educators embedded civic education in history, geography, and civics lessons at all levels. The printed curriculum for *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* made such objectives explicit, making the enhancement of patriotism and loyalty to the dynasty one of the primary goals of these lessons. Understandably, history proved the easiest place to incorporate civic education. The 1875 curriculum for *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* in Carinthia stated that

the teaching of history should initiate a general appreciation for those persons and events which have, in a significant way, contributed to the development of mankind and of the fatherland. At the same time, this teaching should convey character education and love of the fatherland.¹²¹

The curriculum for *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* in Silesia, Moravia, Upper Austria, and Lower Austria announced similar objectives.¹²² The notion that history classes should both teach the past while simultaneously elevating the patriotism of students remained consistent over time.¹²³

¹²¹ *Normal-Lehrpläne für die kärntischen Volksschulen* (Klagenfurt: Joh. & Fried. Leon., 1875), 6.

¹²² *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Oberösterreich* (1876), 5; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Niederösterreich* (1876) 4; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Schlesien* (1876), 5; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Mähren* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1876), 6.

¹²³ *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen in Böhmen* (1885), 14-15; *Normal Lehrpläne für Volksschulen in Oberösterreich* (1885), 38; *Lehrpläne für Volksschulen des Küstenlandes* (1889) 20; *Lehrpläne für*

Geography (sometimes referred to as *Erdkunde*) provided a more subtle opportunity for civic education. Since its primary objective was “knowledge of the *Heimat* and fatherland,” followed by a clear understanding of Europe and the world, it provided the opportunity to present a conceptualized view of the Monarchy to students, which reinforced what they learned in history lessons.¹²⁴ Comprehensive knowledge of the geography of the student’s home province and of the Monarchy remained the dominant goal of *Volksschule* geography lessons throughout curriculum revisions in 1885 and in the first decade of the twentieth century.¹²⁵

Singing lessons provided a final place for policy makers to weave civic education into the curriculum of *Volksschulen*. The curriculum stated such classes should create a “patriotic disposition” among students, achieved through the teaching and singing of patriotic melodies and songs.¹²⁶ Even though students only spent an hour a week in singing lessons, these songs were then used for school celebrations.¹²⁷

allgemeine Volksschulen mit deutscher Unterrichtssprache in Böhmen (1912), 22; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen mit deutscher Unterrichtssprache in Mähren* (1915), 10.

¹²⁴ *Normal-Lehrpläne für die kärntischen Volksschulen* (1875), 6; *Lehrpläne für Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Oberösterreich* (1876), 5; *Lehrpläne für Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Niederösterreich* (1876), 4; *Lehrpläne für Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Schlesien* (1876), 5; *Lehrpläne für Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Mähren* (1876), 6. The way in which geography lessons established a “mental map” of Austria-Hungary is explored in Chapter 3.

¹²⁵ *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen in Böhmen* (1885), 14; *Normal Lehrpläne für Volksschulen in Oberösterreich* (1885), 37; *Lehrpläne für Volksschulen des Küstenlandes* (1889), 20; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen mit deutscher Unterrichtssprache in Böhmen* (1912), 22; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen mit deutscher Unterrichtssprache in Mähren* (1915), 10.

¹²⁶ *Normal-Lehrpläne für die kärntischen Volksschulen* (1875), 8; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen in Böhmen* (1885), 16; *Normal Lehrpläne für Volksschulen in Oberösterreich* (1885), 39; *Lehrpläne für Volksschulen des Küstenlandes* (1889), 22; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen mit deutscher Unterrichtssprache in Mähren* (1915), 21.

¹²⁷ See below 229.

In other European states and in the United States, literature and language lessons provided an important opportunity to incorporate civic education into the school curriculum. In countries with linguistic homogeneity, such as France, these classes could be used to diminish regionalism while elevating reverence and acceptance of French patriotic virtues.¹²⁸ In countries which contained a dominant national group as well as national minorities, such as Germany, these classes provided an opportunity to exult the virtues of German language, culture, and literature while building support for the new German Empire.¹²⁹ And, in the case of the United States, public schools helped to “Americanize” new immigrants, teaching them English and “American” virtues.¹³⁰ In each of these circumstances, language classes helped to minimize diversity.

Language classes could serve no such function in Austrian schools. The December Constitution ended Germanization efforts in Austria. It ensured that the government could not force a child to learn a language other than his or her mother tongue, and the other nationalities fiercely guarded their right to education in their own language.¹³¹ Rather than present a model of Austrian identity predicated on linguistic unity, civic education in Austria offered a vision of the Monarchy as a “family of nations,” where each constituent nationality was as “Austrian” as the next. German-

¹²⁸ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 330-338.

¹²⁹ David Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 321-323.

¹³⁰ Frank van Nuys, *Americanizing the West: Race, Immigrants, and Citizenship, 1890-1930* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002), 33-69.

¹³¹ This was not true in Hungary, where the Magyars actively pursued a program of Magyarization and required schools to teach Hungarian, regardless of the nationality of the student. László Kontler, *A History of Hungary* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 292-293, 298.

language schools made sure to teach the literary canon of “the fatherland,” by heavily focusing on Austrian poets and writers like Franz Grillparzer. But these classes also emphasized other major German literary figures such as Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller.¹³² The schools of the other nationalities similarly focused on the major literary figures of their own language. So, for example, Italian-language schools taught Dante and Boccaccio.¹³³ The inability to rely on a common language and literature as a means of producing a sense of unity meant that civic education in Austria was unique. It was the only state which offered a supranational conception of identity. Beyond being supranational, this Austrian identity was imperial in nature. One was Austrian if one lived in the lands governed by the Habsburg dynasty. During the period of the Dual Monarchy, Austrian identity openly embraced its diversity, defining “Austrian-ness” not through language, religion, and nationality, but rather through common history and shared struggle.¹³⁴ Because the foundation of Austrian identity was the shared history of the peoples of the Habsburg lands and the centrality of the Habsburg dynasty, history and geography classes had to stress themes of unity and commonality more than other states. In order for students to develop a sense of being “Austrian,” they had to know the history of the Monarchy and understand its regions and peoples.

The curricula for history and geography lessons in both elementary and secondary education demonstrated that educators and educational policy makers understood this fact. The *Volksschule* and *Bürgerschule* curriculum always required a strong emphasis

¹³² Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 1764, Documents 3678 67, 10128 84; Box 1765, Document 18830 91.

¹³³ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 1770, Documents 29278 10, 28885 10, 45114 10.

¹³⁴ This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

on Austrian history, beginning in the student's second year. History lessons in this grade consisted entirely of legends and folktales from the student's hometown and province. In the following years history classes also included stories about the major figures of the entire Habsburg Monarchy.¹³⁵ Typically, such stories focused on Habsburg rulers, but they also described military heroes and other heroic personalities. While, for the most part, the lessons and textbooks for both boys and girls were identical, those for girls included stories about famous and important women from the Habsburg past.¹³⁶ Teachers did not necessarily tell these stories and tales in chronological order, since understanding the order of historical events did not become a priority until a student's fifth or sixth year.¹³⁷ By the third year, the scope of history classes broadened to include lessons from the ancient world and from general world history. Even as the scope of history lessons expanded, curricular guidelines required teachers, when possible, to weave those lessons in with those from Austrian history.

Inspection reports show that as early as 1886, school board and ministry officials expected teachers to focus primarily on the history of Austria-Hungary in history lessons. Teachers frequently complained that the curriculum expected them to cover too much material in too short a time, but inspectors reported happily that teachers rarely sacrificed lessons about the history of the Monarchy (obviously implying that teachers instead

¹³⁵ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 70, *Jahreshauptbericht für Volksschulen in Wels, 1888/1889*.

¹³⁶ Compare, for example, Theodor Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1908) to Theodor Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Knabenbürgerschulen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1908).

¹³⁷ *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen in Böhmen* (1885), 14-15, 25, 36, 47-48, 59-60, 72; *Normal Lehrpläne für Volksschulen in Oberösterreich* (1885), 38, 53-54, 70-71, 199; *Lehrpläne für Volksschulen des Küstenlandes* (1889), 20-24, 48-52, 72-75, 100-103, 126-129, 157, 184-185.; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen mit deutscher Unterrichtssprache in Böhmen* (1912), 22, 86, 101-103.

chose to skip lessons from general history).¹³⁸ In fact, while inspectors lamented the general quality of history lessons in *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen*, criticizing the fact that teachers relied too heavily on textbooks and on rote memorization, inspectors noted that lessons from Austrian history stood as the exception. In 1894, the lead inspector of Lower Austria remarked that student understanding of Austrian history far surpassed that of general history and that, in his opinion, this understanding deepened their love and appreciation for the Monarchy.¹³⁹ Inspectors worried about the quality of history education in *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* and that students did not appropriately grasp the order and complexity of historical events. According to their assessments, the one area where history lessons displayed success was the effort to elevate patriotism.¹⁴⁰

Because of this success, when policy makers began adjusting the curriculum, they always sought a larger role for Austrian history in history and geography classes. Curricular reforms made in 1914 called for teachers to focus on Austrian history whenever possible. Asserting that “citizen education” (*staatsbürgerliche Erziehung*) should be the central focus of history lessons, educational officials asked teachers to focus on the history of Austria, even when it technically did not exist. So, for example, when teaching the history of Ancient Rome, teachers should spend time on the lands that

¹³⁸ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 69, *Jahreshauptbericht für Volksschulen in Freistadt, 1886/1887*; Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 69, *Jahreshauptbericht für Volksschulen in Kirchdorf, 1886/1887*.

¹³⁹ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 93, *Jahreshauptbericht über des Zustand der allgemeine Volks- und Bürgerschulen und der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen in Niederösterreich, 1893-1894*.

¹⁴⁰ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 67, *Jahreshauptbericht über des Volksschulwesen in Linz für das Jahr 1877-1878*; Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 93, *Jahreshauptbericht über des Zustand der allgemeine Volks- und Bürgerschulen und der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen in Niederösterreich, 1893-1894*.

would *become* Austria-Hungary.¹⁴¹ It is worth noting that when these individuals spoke of Austria, they meant the entire Habsburg Monarchy, not just the Archduchy of Austria. For them, it was just as important to discuss what would become the Bohemian lands, the Kingdom of Hungary, Croatia, and so on.

The changes made in 1914 continued the trajectory established by earlier curricular reforms, which also called for greater emphasis on the teaching of Austrian history. Two years earlier, when reviewing proposed changes to *Volksschule* and *Bürgerschule* education, pedagogical leaders asked that the curriculum more explicitly state that the primary goal of history lessons was to deepen a student's understanding of the history of the Monarchy.¹⁴² Reflecting the continued liberal orientation of the teaching profession and of educational leaders, these reviews also called for an equal emphasis on the teaching of the constitution and of the rights and obligations of citizens.¹⁴³

The teaching of civics became even more important in secondary schools, especially *Gymnasien*. Since those advancing to these institutions became lawyers, government officials, or other professionals, liberal educational reformers considered a robust understanding of the Monarchy's government and constitutional framework essential for the preservation of both. Students learned these important matters in a hybrid history and geography class called *Vaterlandskunde*. *Vaterlandskunde* reinforced what students had already learned about the history and geography of the Monarchy

¹⁴¹ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 4198 17D2, Document 35001, July 21, 1913.

¹⁴² Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 4197 17D2, Document 47543, October 12, 1912.

¹⁴³ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 4197 17D2, Document 35083, July 20, 1912; 13081, March 16, 1912.

while going into greater detail regarding its natural resources, economy, topography, as well as its nationalities. It also explained how the Monarchy's government operated and how its constitutional structure evolved. It also informed students of the rights and obligations of Austrian citizens.¹⁴⁴ Given the fact that students in secondary schools were older and from more elite backgrounds, the history curriculum was more rigorous here than in elementary schools.

Unlike *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen*, history classes at the secondary level always emphasized chronology and a precise knowledge of events. This started in a student's second year with a year of ancient Greek and Roman history, followed by a year of medieval history, and then a year of the early modern and modern world. After this three year cycle, students began another three year cycle starting again with ancient history.¹⁴⁵ While more scholastic and advanced than the history lessons in the lower divisions, history classes in secondary schools remained just as focused on the teaching of Austrian history. Even when teaching general world history, the curriculum prescribed teaching the ways in which Austrian history intersected with the history of other lands.¹⁴⁶ It wanted students to understand how world events shaped and were shaped by the Habsburg Monarchy.

¹⁴⁴ Archive of the City of Linz, B0053; Andreas Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die VIII. Gynasialklasse* (Laibach: Ig v. Kleinmayr & F. Bamberg, 1907); Anton Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die 8. Classe der Gymnasien* (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1886).

¹⁴⁵ Archive of the City of Linz, B0053, Stiftsgymnasium Kremsmünster, 1876-1905, *Sechszwanzigstes Programm des k.k. Ober-gymnasiums der Benedictiner zu Kremsmünster für das Schuljahr 1876*, 34-38; Prague City Archives, *Sbirka vyroenich zprav* (hereinafter referred to as SVZ), inv. 28, sign. 204D, *Programm des k.k. Prag-Neustädter Gymnasiums am Schlusse des Studienjahres 1876*, 64-68.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

This strong focus on Austrian history was consistent with the curricula of other states, which equally emphasized their own history. In the early twentieth century, German *Gymnasien* had a history curriculum almost identical to that of Austria. In Prussia, for example, students began with biographical sketches from German history. After this introductory year, history classes taught ancient Greece and Rome, the sixth year repeated these lessons and expanded the scope of the class to include the ancient Germans. The following year then taught the history of the Holy Roman Empire and medieval Europe, followed by a year explicitly devoted to the history of Germany until the reign of Frederick the Great, with the next year covering modern history from Frederick the Great through the nineteenth century. After this, students started another three year cycle, beginning again with ancient history. As with Austria, the Prussian curriculum explicitly stated that teachers should teach non-German history with consideration for its influence on Germany.¹⁴⁷ The Prussian curriculum also organized its lessons through the lens of the biography of important personalities from German history. So, for example, it expected teachers to discuss the recent German past through profiles of the Prussian kings and German emperors, such as Frederick Wilhelm I, Frederick the Great, and Wilhelm I.¹⁴⁸

This cyclical, yet chronological organization for history classes actually represented a shift in the history curriculum for German *Gymnasien*. In the 1870s and 1880s, history classes did not necessarily proceed sequentially, but rather alternated between more recent history and ancient history. For example, in the *Königliche*

¹⁴⁷ *Lehrpläne und Lehraufgaben für die höheren Schulen in Preussen, 1901* (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1901), 45-47.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium in Prussia, students began with the ancient Greeks and Romans, but the following year shifted to the history of Europe from 1648-1815. The following year they learned medieval history, then had another year on the ancient Romans. After that, the history curriculum devoted itself almost exclusively to German history for the next three years (except for one year spent on the ancient Greeks).¹⁴⁹ The *Gymnasien* in Barmen followed a similar curriculum during this period, with years alternating between recent, German history and ancient history.¹⁵⁰ It was during the 1890s that German schools shifted to the chronological, three year sequence typical of Austrian *Gymnasien*, but this only began after an introductory year devoted to German history.¹⁵¹

The strong similarities between Austrian secondary schools and their German counterparts is not surprising. Austrian pedagogical leaders and educational policy makers had a long history of looking to the German states and, later, the German Empire for models of school organization. As mentioned earlier, this often came in the form of hiring experts from these German lands to craft and oversee changes to Austria's schools. But it also came through careful examination and study of Germany's schools and pedagogical writings. Leading pedagogical journals in Austria, like Friedrich Dittes'

¹⁴⁹ *Jahresbericht über das Königl. Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium* (Berlin: J. Draegers Buchdruckerei, 1878), 39-44; *Jahresbericht über das Königl. Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium, 1885/86* (Berlin: C. Feicht, 1886) 6; *Jahresbericht über das Königl. Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium, 1888/89* (Berlin: C. Feicht, 1889), 4-10.

¹⁵⁰ *Jahresbericht über die Realschule I.O. und das Gymnasium zu Barmen* (Barmen: L. Langewiesche, 1876), 4-11; *Jahresbericht über die Realschule I.O. und das Gymnasium zu Barmen* (Barmen: Steinbern & Co., 1876), 7.

¹⁵¹ *Jahresbericht über das Königl. Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium, 1891/92* (Berlin: Martin Oldenburg, 1892), 6-15; *Barmen Gymnasium Bericht über das 326 Schuljahre, 1904-1905* (Barmen: D.B. Wiemann, 1905), 3; *Gymnasium mit Realklassen zu Mülheim am Rhein, Jahres-Bericht über das Schuljahr 1897/98* (Mülheim am Rhein: C.G. Künstler, 1897-1898), 3-13; *Städtisches Gymnasium mit Oberrealschule zu Bonn, Jahresbericht über das Schuljahr, 1898-1899* (Bonn: Car Georgi, 1899), 3-17.

Pädagogium, always contained numerous articles written by German pedagogical experts or reprinted from German pedagogical journals.¹⁵² In many ways, the tendency to use German schools as the model for Austrian education shows that many educational policy makers continued to believe that Austrian schools lagged behind or were inferior to their counterparts in Germany and the rest of Europe.¹⁵³

Pedagogical journals, like *Pädagogium*, frequently ran articles either describing or discussing school organization in other countries. Some of these articles made direct comparisons with Austrian schools, while others simply discussed that country's school system on its own. These articles mostly focused on the numbers of schools and the length of the school day in other countries. One such article, which ran in *Pädagogium* in the early part of 1879, compared the number of schools and the organization of those schools in Germany, Austria, Russia, Japan, and the United States.¹⁵⁴ The article expressed particular interest in how Russia's schools had changed over the past five years, ever since issuing a sweeping reform law in 1874. Considering that at this point the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* and the May Laws were less than a decade old, *Pädagogium* printed a robust discussion of reforms outside of Austria for comparison's sake. This included publishing the Russian reform law of 1879, verbatim, while also discussing reforms in Prussia and providing a comprehensive overview of Great Britain's schools.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² *Pädagogium – Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, 1881 (Vienna: Julius Klinkhardt, 1881), 124-127; 253-260; *Pädagogium – Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, 1889 (Vienna: Julius Klinkhardt, 1889), 308.

¹⁵³ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 53-54.

¹⁵⁴ *Pädagogium – Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, 1879 (Vienna: Julius Klinkhardt, 1879), 204-207.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 330-338, 408-411, 540-599.

Pädagogium was hardly alone in providing such comparisons. The pedagogical journal for the Styrian Teachers' Association frequently ran similar articles, as well as travel essays from Austrian teachers who went abroad to observe other countries. Such articles looked at other major European powers, like France, but also included more exotic locales, such as Hawaii.¹⁵⁶ The sheer number of such articles shows the extent to which teaching became an internationalized and professionalized vocation by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, as well as the fact that Austrian teachers and educational reformers possessed a genuine curiosity about the educational systems of other lands.

This international focus continued in later decades. For example, as the Ministry of Religion and Education began the process of reforming the curriculum of teacher training institutions in Austria in the 1890s, *Pädagogium* ran a full discussion of teacher training in Great Britain, complete with copies of relevant curricula.¹⁵⁷ Interestingly, the article mentions that British teachers only took history courses focusing on British history and were examined only on British history for their licenses.¹⁵⁸ Considering that most of Austria's pedagogical leaders wanted more Austrian history in the curriculum, such discussion seemed to provide justification for these requests.

This justification became even more explicit in the journal for the Styrian Teachers' Association, which argued that Austria did not place as strong an emphasis on its own heroes, in comparison with other countries. It argued that Austrian schools

¹⁵⁶ "Die Lehrerbildung in Frankreich," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, March 20, 1887, np; "Schulwesen in Königreiche Hawaii," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, July 20, 1891, np.

¹⁵⁷ *Pädagogium – Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, 1890 (Vienna: Julius Klinkhardt, 1890), 368-385.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 380.

should teach “the great men of the fatherland,” because “in England, France, and the United States, such [a curriculum] is put into place with the greatest attention” explicitly for the purpose of “increasing love of the fatherland.”¹⁵⁹ The journal described history classes in the United States in another article, noting that through teaching children the history of their state, of the United States, and of the presidents, the United States successfully used history as a groundwork for building loyalty and identification with the country.¹⁶⁰ Interestingly, in this description of American history classes, the Styrian Teachers’ Association offered a justification for the way in which Austrian schools organized their classes. Like American schools, as described in the article, Austrian schools began with local history, then moved to the history of the Monarchy as a whole, and did so by focusing on the major political figures of the state. Even though the two states were, literally and figuratively, oceans apart in terms of geography, heritage, and culture, both had to forge a cohesive polity from diverse foundations. For this reason, the interest in American civic education is unsurprising.

Conclusion

By the start of the twentieth century, Austria possessed a developed, modern, secular system of public education capable of acting as an agent of civic education. This educational system developed, in large part, because Austria’s liberals successfully gained control over the government and could enact the reforms needed to modernize

¹⁵⁹ “Österreichs Heldenjunglinge – Hermann und Hensel,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz* (November 10, 1879), np.

¹⁶⁰ Die Lehrerbildung in Frankreich,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, April 10, 1887, np.

schools and place them fully under the government's control. Liberals sought to connect their reforms to those of Maria Theresa in the eighteenth century. Even though the Empress and her reforms could hardly be described as liberal, the legacy of both continued to influence Austrian education. To a certain extent, Theresian education reforms made the education of all Austrians, regardless of class or nationality, a priority of the state. They also began the gradual process of restricting Church influence over schools. The government's commitment to these principles waxed and waned, even as officials put these reforms into place, and debate over these principles always accompanied any effort to change Austria's schools.

The conservative and traditional elements of Austrian society never fully embraced the notion of state-run, secular schools. Once secular education became the hallmark of liberalism, reintroducing some measure of church influence over education became a political priority of Austrian conservatives. Efforts to amend the school reforms of 1868 and 1869 found little success at the ministerial level. Throughout the period of the Dual Monarchy, the Ministry of Religion and Education did not significantly alter the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* nor did the Austrian parliament rescind the May Laws. Nevertheless, the diffuse nature of school administration meant that changes could occur at the local and provincial level. As liberal dominance over local schools boards waned, conservatives were able to weaken some of the compulsory school requirements and allow the Church more influence over schools.

In spite of these bitter political clashes, both liberals and conservatives agreed that schools should work to elevate the patriotism and dynastic loyalty of school children. The curriculum for elementary and secondary schools wove civic education into classes

whenever possible. For the most part, such lessons occurred most frequently in history and geography classes. As the curriculum for both became increasingly centered around the Habsburg Monarchy, these lessons became the cornerstone of civic education within Austria.

Because the December Constitution guaranteed the right to education in one's mother tongue, language and literature classes did not serve as significant tools of this civic education process. Instead, Austrian civic education put forward a unique supranational identity, one which anyone living in the Monarchy could possess and which complemented one's national identity. History classes served as the primary engine for articulating this supranational identity with lessons that highlighted the virtues of the Habsburg dynasty and the benefits of living under Habsburg rule.

CHAPTER 2
CONCEPTUALIZING THE MONARCH: HABSBURG RULERS AS THE
PERSONIFICATION OF GOOD GOVERNANCE

Introduction

In the Palazzo Pubblico, the city hall of Siena, Italy, there is a fourteenth-century fresco by Ambrogio Lorenzetti that presents an allegory of good and bad governance. It not only depicts the qualities possessed by good and bad government, but also shows their effects. The allegory of good government, unsurprisingly, is meant to represent the city of Siena, guided by the virtues of Peace, Fortitude, Prudence, Magnanimity, Temperance, and Justice, with Wisdom overlooking them all. Idealized city and rural scenes, showing a prosperous, orderly populace, reveal the beneficial impact of a government guided by these virtues. In the allegory of bad government, however, justice is the bound captive of Tyranny, who lords over the vices of Cruelty, Deceit, Fraud, Fury, Division, and War. In contrast to its vibrant, successful counterpart, the city and countryside guided by bad government are in ruin, desolate except for marching armies and their retinues. Lorenzetti's fresco simultaneously illustrates in vivid detail the qualities that lead to a prosperous and successful society and what citizens should expect from government. It also explicitly announces that the city of Siena possesses such a government. It is a masterful example of visual civic education.¹

To a certain extent, history classes in Austrian public schools functioned in a similar manner. Without question, their primary goal was to teach students about the past. But, these classes were also supposed to teach school children that Austria had

¹ For a comprehensive analysis of Lorenzetti's fresco, see C. Jean Campbell, *The Commonwealth of Nature* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 97-120.

always been led by a just, virtuous dynasty and that Austria found peace and prosperity under that dynasty's leadership.

History lessons were uniquely suited for this task of developing loyalty to the Austrian state and crafting a sense of identity among Austrian children. These classes served as the cornerstone of civic education in Austria's schools. Since the history of the Monarchy, its rulers, and its peoples were the focal point of most history classes, they provided an opportunity to highlight key figures and events from the Austrian past that would glorify the Habsburg dynasty and Austria's role in shaping European history. Hopefully such lessons would increase attachment to both the dynasty and state. As a result, highlighting the virtues of Habsburg rulers and the benefits of living under Habsburg rule was more than dynasty worship, it established the Habsburg dynasty as the foundation of a larger, supranational Austrian identity.

Pedagogical Foundations

Prevailing pedagogical theories in Austria regarding the teaching of history supported the goals of increasing loyalty to the dynasty and state and provided a theoretical foundation for the implementation of civic education in the classrooms of elementary and secondary schools. These theories argued that history lessons should be biographical in nature and filled with descriptive and emotional narratives. Such theories established an expectation that history classes and textbooks would provide rousing and heroic portrayals of key figures of the Habsburg past while also vividly portraying the villainy of Austria's enemies, especially France and the Ottoman Empire.

Pedagogical theorists considered history to be a biographical discipline in *Volksschule* and *Bürgerschule*, where students learned history through the actions of notable individuals who typified their times. These theorists also believed that a strong emphasis on heroic biography would allow students to learn ethical and moral behavior, which included the virtue of patriotic loyalty. Emmanuel Hannak, a noted historian and pedagogical leader in Austria, explained that through such biographies history students gained “important ethical concepts: piety (Rudolf von Habsburg), sacrificial love of the fatherland (Leonidas,..., Andreas Hofer), spousal love (...Maria Theresa), faithfulness (... Prince Eugene [of Savoy]), gratitude (Franz Joseph for [Joseph] Radetzky).”² Other theorists agreed. As early as 1874, the German Pedagogical Association in Prague advocated the use of biographical examples to “build and form the character of children.”³ The leading pedagogical journal, *Pädagogische Rundschau*, made a similar argument in 1888, writing that history classes should “develop a sense of nobility [in students]” by providing examples of good character for children to “emulate.”⁴ The point

² Emmanuel Hannak, *Methodik des Unterrichtes in der Geschichte* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1891), 7. Hannak’s models of ethical conduct come from either ancient history and mythology or Austrian history and folktales. Unsurprisingly, he discusses each of them in his textbooks, drawing attention to the qualities he mentioned in his pedagogical tract. As discussed on pages 105-106, various legends about Rudolf von Habsburg presented him as the model of pious devotion to the church. The Spartan king Leonidas achieved legendary fame for his stand against the Persian army at the Battle of Thermopylae during the second Persian invasion of ancient Greece (481-479 BCE), in spite of the fact that his forces were drastically outnumbered. For the Habsburg Monarchy, Andreas Hofer achieved similar fame for his opposition to the Bavarian occupation of Tyrol during the Napoleonic Wars, which resulted in his death (see Chapter 3). Maria Theresa’s marriage to Franz Stefan remains one of the more notable romances of the eighteenth-century, the empress famously refused to wear anything other than mourning colors following her husband’s sudden death in 1765. As discussed in the next chapter, Prince Eugene of Savoy, Austria’s notable field marshal, famously rejected Louis XIV’s offer to become a French field marshal — opting to remain in the service of the Habsburg emperor. Franz Joseph’s gratitude toward Field Marshal Joseph Radetzky refers to the fact that Franz Joseph made the general the viceroy of Lombardy-Venetia in 1848 in thanks for Radetzky’s role in suppressing the Italian uprisings during the Revolutions of 1848.

³ *Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht*, March 1, 1874.

⁴ “Die Geschichte in der Volks- und Bürgerschule,” *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, May, 1888, np.

of history was not just to provide knowledge of the past, but also to provide examples of how to lead an ethical and moral life that would serve the greater societal good.

As Hannak's pairings demonstrate, history lessons placed a strong emphasis on Austrian historical figures, as well as key figures (both mythical and historical) from the ancient past. This fact reflects the call of pedagogical leaders for a stronger emphasis on Austrian heroic figures when teaching such moral lessons. In the pursuit of this goal, the pedagogical journal for the Styrian Teachers' Association, *Pädagogische Zeitschrift*, began running articles which provided biographical sketches for key figures of Austria's past. It made clear it was doing so in an effort to increase teachers' knowledge of these individuals in the hope that students would learn not only about the "heroes of old, like Leonidas" but also of "the great men of the Fatherland."⁵

According to prevailing pedagogical theory, history served as a tool for moral education by providing clear examples of ethical and moral behavior. The most important aspect of such behavior was love of country. As *Pädagogische Rundschau* explained, teaching morality and ethics tied directly to lessons on patriotism. For example, when teaching about Emperor Maximilian I, children should not only learn about what he did for Austria, but also about the personal qualities of this "great and noble man."⁶ In this way, Maximilian provided a model of ethical behavior for students to follow and also demonstrated that Austria benefited from his noble leadership.

⁵ "Österreich's Heldenjunglinge, Hermann und Hensel," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des Steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 10, 1879, np.

⁶ "Zur Pflege des Patriotismus in der Volksschule," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, February, 1894, np.

Pedagogues insisted that historical examples should always serve the dual purpose of elevating a child's ethical education while deepening his or her patriotism.

Pädagogische Zeitschrift strongly argued that the elevation of patriotism was a primary goal of public education. Schools had an obligation to develop deep and authentic patriotism among their students to “ensure wellness in the land and among the people.”⁷ In an essay on the proper teaching of history from 1891, the pedagogical leader, Josef Reiterer, stated explicitly that one of the primary tasks of history education was to ensure that students learned to “love their emperor and fatherland.”⁸ The point was echoed in 1896 by another pedagogical theorist, Alois Friedrich, who wrote that the task of history was “the refinement of the mind and the teaching of the heart, in the awakening of the love of fatherland and the enthusiasm for the dynasty of our sublime ruling house. The deeds of great men from all times should always stand as luminous paragons before the eyes of our children.”⁹

Hannak provided the most melodramatic expression of this sentiment when he argued that patriotic education was essential to curtailing radicalism in society and vital for building respect for communities and tradition. One only needed to look to events such as the French Revolution and the Paris Commune to see examples of when

people, in their blind fanaticism, destroyed many of the great and glorious works that the tireless labor of their ancestors had built over centuries. Soon the Louvre itself, with its precious collections — a witness to the brilliant development of the human spirit — became a victim of the raging fury of the people. In order to ensure that in the future a time of barbarism does not fall over the civilized

⁷ “Erziehung zum Patriotismus,” *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, September 30, 1880, np.

⁸ “Zum Unterrichte in der Geschichte,” *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, June 30, 1891, np.

⁹ “Zur Methodik des Geschichtes Unterrichtes,” *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, August 10, 1896, np.

peoples of Europe, the awakening and care of a historical sense in the masses of the population is absolutely essential. This important task falls to education in history.¹⁰

The connection between moral rectitude and patriotism is explicit. History cannot teach students proper ethical behavior if it fails to teach love of country and monarch.

The pedagogical consensus surrounding the proper teaching of history aligned with efforts to use history courses to advance a supranational, Austrian identity by highlighting historical biographies that could inspire all nationalities. History curricula, especially for *Volksschulen*, required teachers to discuss the major historical personalities of the Monarchy. Unsurprisingly, most of these heroic figures were Habsburg rulers. It was the person of the monarch that united the diverse nationalities of the empire. Moreover, in many ways the history of the Habsburg Monarchy was the history of the acquisition of its lands by the Habsburg dynasty. Discussing the reigns of Habsburg rulers allowed teachers to showcase the virtues of these individuals while describing how the Monarchy acquired its lands and power. Such discussions also allowed teachers to build loyalty to the dynasty as a whole, and not just the reigning monarch, Franz Joseph.

Historians have long reflected on the role Franz Joseph played as a source of unity within the Monarchy. Oscar Jászi, for example, listed the dynasty as the primary centripetal force unifying the Monarchy, and Steven Beller argued that Franz Joseph was a unique, and possibly irreplaceable, source of unity within the diverse empire.¹¹ Due to a combination of longevity, personality, and tragic personal life, Franz Joseph, who ruled

¹⁰ Hannak, *Methodik des Unterrichtes in der Geschichte*, 12.

¹¹ Oscar Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), 135-140; Steven Beller, *Francis Joseph* (New York: Longman Press, 1996), 179-180.

from 1848-1916, was certainly crucial to all civic education efforts. Textbooks often had a picture of the emperor as its first page and he loomed large within all discussions of Europe after 1848. Within history classes and especially in history textbooks, however, civic education was more than simply an effort to build a cult of personality around the reigning monarch. Civic education in Austria sought to build lasting attachment and loyalty to the entire dynasty, past, present, and future.

At both the elementary and secondary level, history textbooks proved crucial for accomplishing this task. Usually, university professors or *Gymnasium* teachers wrote history and geography textbooks, in accordance with guidelines established by provincial school boards and the Ministry of Religion and Education. In order to ensure adherence to these guidelines, the Ministry of Religion and Education engaged in a thorough review process for each textbook. When publishers submitted a textbook for approval, the Ministry of Religion and Education distributed manuscript copies to other experts in the field and notable educators. These reviewers read through each manuscript looking for factual errors and to ensure that it satisfied all major curricular objectives. This process was standardized, but hardly a formality. Reviewers provided lengthy summaries of each textbook's strengths and weaknesses, along with pages of corrections.¹² Even textbooks that had been approved in the past faced challenges gaining approval for new editions. The Ministry would reject previously approved textbooks if newer editions did not appropriately match changes in curriculum.¹³

¹² Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 4852-4854.

¹³ For example Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 4852, Document 7644.

When approving history textbooks, the Ministry expressed particular interest in the accuracy of the information and in the textbook's ability to serve as a source of patriotic education. Reviewers frequently noted how much Austrian history the work contained and whether or not it devoted enough time to major figures from the Habsburg past. Because of the strong bureaucratic control over textbook content, there was often little difference between history textbooks, even if they were written by different authors. Not only did all textbooks have similar organization and content, they often contained nearly identical wording, since authors would use phrases provided by curricular guidelines. Because German-language history textbooks were often translated into other languages, this consistency went beyond German-language schools in Austria. When reviewing translations of approved books, reviewers carefully compared the translation with the original, to reassure the Ministry that the translator did not make spurious changes to the author's work. In particular, the Ministry wanted to make sure that translators did not change the textbook to serve as a tool of overt nationalization. It did allow translators to add material on national history to the non-German edition of textbooks, but would reject a translation reviewers deemed too nationalistic.¹⁴

For the most part, the textbooks for boys' and girls' schools were identical at most levels. Though the titles were different, identifying them as books appropriate for boys or girls, textbooks by the same author often shared identical text for most sections. The differences between the editions were minimal and reflected the different curricular goals the Ministry and provincial school boards established for boys' and girls' education. So, for example, the elementary school curriculum for history required teachers to teach girls

¹⁴ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 4852, Document 3383

about important women from history. For this reason, girls' textbooks often included biographical sketches of such women. Girls' textbooks also often included long descriptions of the clothing and fashions worn during historical epochs, complete with illustrations. Boys' textbooks, in contrast, often included longer and more graphic descriptions of battles.¹⁵ It is likely these differences resulted from an effort to make history more "exciting" and gender appropriate.

Textbooks used in elementary schools contained simpler language and also included a stronger emphasis on biography than those used in secondary school. In part, this was because contemporary pedagogical theory assumed that children learned history best through the lens of famous personalities. Language in *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* textbooks also tended to be more dramatic and illustrative, providing a dramatic flair often missing from textbooks used in *Gymnasien*, *Realschulen*, and *Lyzeen*. In contrast, the textbooks for secondary schools possessed economical, crisp prose and had a stronger emphasis on detail and facts. These differences are unsurprising, given the difference in educational level. Interestingly, the textbooks for teacher training institutions more closely resembled those for *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* than those of the secondary schools. In fact publishers often simply republished a *Volksschule* textbook under a new title.¹⁶ Individual teachers had little control over which textbooks were assigned in their class. School directors chose the textbooks for each school from the list approved by the Ministry of Religion and Education. As with the curriculum,

¹⁵ For an example of these differences, compare Theodor Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Knabenbürgerschulen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1908) and Theodor Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1908).

¹⁶ For example Theodor Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie. Verfassung und Staatseinrichtungen derselben Lehrbuch für den dritten Jahrgang der k.k. Lehrer- und Lehrerinnenbildungsanstalten*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Tempsky, 1891).

decisions regarding textbooks and other classroom materials rested in the hands of the school bureaucracy.

While the first objective of these textbooks, and history lessons in general, was to teach the progress of history, the fact that they presented a narrative overview of the past gave these textbooks and lessons the opportunity to offer a sustained overview of the Monarchy's key rulers. Regardless of author or edition, elementary and secondary school history textbooks offered a consistent presentation of these rulers, often with nearly identical language. They also presented a series of character tropes that linked all Austrian rulers together. The most common characteristics ascribed to Habsburg rulers were piety, material simplicity, a "peaceful nature," reluctance to go to war, and a deep concern for the welfare and well-being of their subjects. Most often, textbooks demonstrated this concern by discussing Habsburg patronage for the arts and sciences and the dynasty's investment in the economic and material infrastructure of their lands. Additionally, when permitted by individual biographies, textbooks showed how these rulers cared for their lands while coping with hardships and personal tragedy. As a result of these tropes, history textbooks ascribed an assumed set of characteristics to all members of the Habsburg dynasty.

Textbook discussions of Habsburg rulers also ensured that students had a clear understanding of how the Habsburg dynasty inherited its lands and stressed the legitimacy of Habsburg rule over them. Since the Habsburg Monarchy was a multinational state, there was no way for textbooks to present the Habsburg dynasty as an embodiment of national unity — as the Hohenzollerns did in the German Empire or the Savoys did in Italy — and textbooks did not attempt to make such a claim. Instead, the

emphasis rested on the history of Habsburg inheritance and succession and on the dynasty's history as imperial rulers. Rather than assert that the dynasty derived its legitimacy from the nation, textbooks asserted that the dynasty derived its legitimacy through history.

Heroic Foundations: Medieval Rulers of Austria

The Habsburg claim to an imperial title was tied directly to the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, which the dynasty held, almost continuously, from the late-fifteenth to the early-nineteenth centuries. History textbooks did more than illustrate the deep connection between the House of Habsburg and the imperial crown, however. They attempted to portray the Habsburg Monarchy itself as an outgrowth of and successor to the Holy Roman Empire. To accomplish this task, most textbooks initially pointed to the founding of the military frontier that became Austria, the *Ostmark*, by Otto I, the first emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. A *Gymnasium* textbook written by Andreas Zeehe in 1897 taught students that Otto's founding of the *Ostmark* "extended the border of the [Holy Roman] Empire to the Vienna Woods...thus Austria can ascribe its origins to Otto I."¹⁷ A different text from 1912 proclaimed Otto to be the "Father of the Fatherland," when referring to his victory over the Hungarians and subsequent establishment of the *Ostmark* — described as the "most spectacular victory that one had seen in two centuries."¹⁸

¹⁷ Andreas Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters für die oberen Classen der Gymnasien* (Laibach: Ig v. Kleinmayr & F. Bamberg, 1897), 87. A similar point is made by Anton Gindely, who explicitly stated that the *Ostmark* "became Austria" in his *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen, Ausgabe für Mädchenschulen*, 7th ed. (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1885), 35-36.

¹⁸ Oskar von Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit bis zum Jahre 1648 für die II. Klasse der österreichischen Realschulen* (Vienna: Buchhandlung Friese & Lang, 1912), 19.

The connection between Otto's founding of the *Ostmark* and his victory in Hungary is notable, because it explicitly tied Austria's origins to the founder of the Holy Roman Empire while also establishing Austria from its inception as the defender of the West from the East.¹⁹ This connection is made explicitly in Ignaz Pennerstorfer's 1884 textbook for *Volksschulen*, which claimed that the founding of the *Ostmark* was essential to the survival of the Holy Roman Empire. Otto founded the *Ostmark* to defend the population of the Empire from the "constant predatory invasions" of "wild, plundering peoples [who] pounced upon the unsuspecting inhabitants...kill[ing] them or dragg[ing] them into slavery."²⁰ Pennerstorfer declared that from its establishment, Austria's mission was to defend Europe from the onslaught of "barbarous," Eastern neighbors. Textbooks constantly reinforced this point as they discussed Austria's conflicts with the Ottoman Empire throughout the early modern period. These works also mentioned the fact that Otto's *Ostmark* was, in many ways, a re-founding of an early *Mark* established by Charlemagne.²¹

Austrian textbooks considered Charlemagne to be the model of medieval kingship. They portrayed him as pious, learned, modest, and brave, qualities necessary for good leadership. Theodor Tupetz's textbook for teacher training institutions, published in several editions in the 1890s, provided the typical description of Charlemagne, writing that he preferred "simple food" and clothing "sewed by his

¹⁹ Austria's role as defender of the West was a cornerstone of Austria's "historic mission," see below, Chapter 3.

²⁰ Ignaz Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (Vienna: Manzschke k.k. Hof-Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1884), 53-54.

²¹ Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1897), 87.

daughters” and that he was a man “happiest surrounded by his family.”²² Leo Smolle’s textbook for *Gymnasium* and *Realschulen* made similar statements. Smolle portrayed Charlemagne as a man possessing a “powerful build, his height amounted to seven foot lengths of this feet. He had an arched brow, an arched nose, large, mercurial eyes and a friendly, sanguine face. He was hardly ever sick....In food and drink, he was extraordinarily modest...as were his clothes.”²³ In his own work, as well as in his revisions of Emanuel Hannak’s textbook, Anton Rebhann echoed these other depictions, stating that Charlemagne possessed a “strong body and tall height. His face was cheerful and friendly, his demeanor manly and full of dignity, his voice light and melodious....He was modest in food and drink and his clothing not different from other Franks. The fabric of his clothes were mostly spun and woven by his daughters.”²⁴

The emphasis on Charlemagne’s virtues went beyond his appearance, personality, and tastes. All of these textbooks mentioned his military conquests, which established a “world empire” and made him “one of the greatest rulers of all time.”²⁵ They explained, in detail, his care for the arts and sciences, and education in general. Andreas Zeehe considered Charlemagne’s establishment of schools and support for intellectual culture to

²² Theodor Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte für Lehrer- und Lehrerinnenbildungsanstalten*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1891), 153. The 3rd edition, published in 1895, has identical text on 169.

²³ Leo Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichthe des Mittelalters für die unteren Classen der Mittelschulen* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1894), 28.

²⁴Anton Rebhann, *Dr Emmanuel Hannaks Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters für die unteren Klassen der Mittelschulen* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1904), 26; Anton Rebhann, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Realschulen andere verwandte Lehranstalten und Reformrealgymnasien*, vol. 2, *Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit bis zum westfälischen Frieden* (Laibach: Ig. V. Kleinmayr F. Bamberg, 1915), 49.

²⁵ Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 48.

be part of the ruler's commitment to "elevate all people to a higher level of education."²⁶ In a textbook from 1907, Zeehe asserted that through Charlemagne's patronage of churches and schools as well as his general support for the arts, he established the first "cultural empire" since the fall of Rome.²⁷ Oskar von Gratzky echoed this notion, writing that Charlemagne's empire was a "revival" of what was lost with Rome. The emergence of culture and civilization made his reign an outgrowth of the monarch's personality. Gratzky stated: "For his time, Charlemagne possessed a rich knowledge; besides German, he was conversant in Latin and even knew Greek."²⁸ Gratzky also claimed that Charlemagne had an interest in the development of grammar and the author described Charlemagne's building projects and patronage of the arts in detail.

Through such presentations of Charlemagne's rule, as well as the descriptions of his personality and appearance, textbooks established Charlemagne as the ideal ruler and considered the rulers of Austria to be his successors. Thus, he provided a model of good leadership which textbooks carried throughout their discussions of the rulers of Austria. Leo Smolle provided such a comparison directly, describing Otto I as "a powerful ruler, whose deeds had many similarities with those of Charlemagne. His appearance was awe-inspiring."²⁹ While textbooks did not compare all Austrian rulers directly with Charlemagne, the connections were obvious. Every ruler was noble in character (and often appearance) and possessed a deep concern for the social, cultural, and economic

²⁶ Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1897), 70-72.

²⁷ Andreas Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die VIII. Gynasialklasse* (Laibach: Ig v. Kleinmayr & F. Bamberg, 1907), 13-14.

²⁸ Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1912), 15.

²⁹ Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 36.

development of his or her lands. In an effort to make these connections with Charlemagne's empire as explicit as possible, later textbooks even portrayed Austria as the successor of the Carolingian empire.

Pennerstorfer referred to Charlemagne's *Ostmark* as the "native land" (*Stammland*) of Austria; Tupetz called it the "embryo of the Austrian imperial state;" and in 1899 Emanuel Hannak presented it as the "foundation for our imperial state, for Austria."³⁰ It is worth noting that in a previous edition of Hannak's work, published twenty years earlier in 1879, he only stated that Charlemagne created his *Ostmark* in the Danube basin and did not attempt to articulate the Carolingian origins of Austria. He made no reference to Austria or the Habsburg Monarchy.³¹ The added emphasis on Austria's supposed Carolingian origins became a way of legitimizing the Monarchy. Unlike the other states in Western and Central Europe, the Monarchy could not claim to be the representative voice of a nation to justify its power, and it did not try to. Instead, it relied on its long imperial history to provide its legitimacy.

The most explicit example of this connection to Charlemagne comes from Leo Smolle, who wrote that due to the establishment of *Ostmark*, Charlemagne was "the founder of later Austria, for the *Ostmark* created the core which the different parts of the our fatherland gradually joined."³² These statements attempted to prove that the imperial

³⁰ Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 49; Theodor Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, 2nd ed. (1891), 15, identical text in the 3rd edition (1895), 13. Emanuel Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters für oberclassen der Mittelschulen*, 5th ed. (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1899), 45.

³¹ Emanuel Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters für oberclassen der Mittelschulen*, 4th ed. (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1879), 54.

³² Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschicthte des Mittelalters* (1894), 25-26.

foundations of Austria-Hungary were ancient and traceable to the most notable ruler of the Middle Ages.

This thread of connection to the early Middle Ages was not only an effort to grant Austria imperial legitimacy, but it was also an effort to establish the notion that Austria, from its foundation, had always been served by brave, noble, and magnanimous rulers who only had the best interest of their people at heart. As Theodor Tupetz succinctly stated, the *Ostmark*, “under brave rulers, grew even larger and more powerful, and gradually emerged as the great imperial state of Austria, where we live.”³³ Charlemagne founded the original *Ostmark* and Otto I reconstituted the *Ostmark* in 1156 under the leadership of the Babenberg dynasty. This frontier zone became a duchy, and then later passed to the hands of the Habsburg dynasty in 1278. Textbook presentations of the Babenberg dynasty, which ruled the Margraviate (and later Duchy) of Austria from 976 to 1246, resembled the heroic and noble presentations of Charlemagne and Otto I. Each textbook methodically discussed each Babenberg ruler and his reign over Austria. This was true even in general history textbooks, where the emphasis was on the larger scope of European history and on developments in the Holy Roman Empire and the other European states. In fact, curriculum guides dictated that students be taught the achievements of these early Austrian rulers.³⁴

Since none of the Babenberg dukes of Austria were elected Holy Roman Emperor, textbooks could not connect the dynasty to Austria’s imperial legacy. Instead,

³³ Theodor Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die zweite Klasse der Mädchenlyzeen*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1906), 71.

³⁴ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, Library, 5.1Bibl (1-)-K1-1K1020; *Verordnungsblatt des k.k. Landesschulrat für das Erzherzogthum Österreich ob der Enns vom Jahre 1888* (Linz: Josef Feichtingers Erben, 1888), 33-39.

they described the growth and development of Austria as a duchy under the Babenbergs, as well as the dynasty's loyalty to the emperor and the Church. More often than not, such descriptions involved the retelling of legends which showcased the loyalty and piety of Babenberg rulers. For example, students read that the Babenberg family acquired Austria because Leopold Babenberg rescued Emperor Otto II during a hunt in 976. According to the legend, Otto's bow broke while he attempted to slay a bear, leaving the emperor at the mercy of the beast's savage attack. "In an instant," Leopold intervened, killing the bear and saving the emperor's life.³⁵ For this act of valor, as well as Leopold's loyalty to the emperor in general, Otto awarded Austria to the Babenberg family. From this point forward, because of their continued loyalty and bravery in battle, Babenberg lands grew to include all what became the archduchy of Austria.

Textbooks emphasized the bravery and the martial skill of the Babenberg dukes, but did so in a way that carefully portrayed the Austrian rulers as caretakers of peace and defenders of the weak. This presentation is clearest in sections covering the reigns of Leopold V (who ruled from 1177-1194) and Leopold VI (who ruled from 1194-1230), the two Babenberg dukes who participated in the Crusades. Textbooks provided detailed descriptions of the plight of Christians in Palestine, once it had been conquered by the "Turks," writing how this "crude people from the eastern bank of the Caspian Sea" brought "tribulations and abuse" to both native Christians as well as pilgrims.³⁶

³⁵ Leopold Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit bis zum westfälischen Frieden für die Unterstufe der österreichischen Mittelschulen* (Vienna: Manz'sche k.u.k. Hof-Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1910), 39.

³⁶ Textbooks made little effort to discuss the differences between the different Turkic and Kurdish groups which rose in power and predominance during this period. In most cases, they referred to any Muslim power emerging from Asia Minor as "the Turks." Though, as shown in Chapter 3, textbooks differentiated between Arab and Turkish rule over the Holy Land, viewing the Arabs as more noble and tolerant than the

Ultimately, Leopold V joined the Third Crusade in 1191 in an effort to “avenge the weak.”³⁷ Textbooks used his participation in the Crusades to discuss his bravery in battle, and interestingly, to provide the legend of the origins of the flag of the duchy of Austria. According to this legend, Leopold V killed so many of his enemies during battle that his white tunic became saturated with blood. Ultimately, the only portion that remained white was the section of his tunic that had been covered by his belt. Impressed with his bravery, the emperor granted him the right to use the colors of red and white as his standard.³⁸

Leopold VI, the Glorious, received similar treatment, with textbooks highlighting his participation in the Fifth Crusade from 1217-1221, which culminated in an attack on Egypt. Leopold attacked Egypt, Anton Gindely insisted, because it was the “main territory” (*Hauptland*) of the “Turks,” and victory there could help “liberate Jerusalem

Turks. See for example, Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1912), 29.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

³⁸ Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 52-53; Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1910), 61. Other versions of this legend claim that the blood on Leopold’s tunic came from a wound the duke obtained in battle. In spite of the seriousness of his injuries, he continued to fight on, a testament to his valor. In reality, the red-white-red banner did not become the standard for the Duchy of Austria until 1230 during the reign of the last Babenberg Duke of Austria, Frederick II. It is worth noting, however, that this flag only represented the Duchy of Austria, it never became the universal standard for the Habsburg Monarchy. Emblematic of its diversity, the Monarchy had several standards and flags. Each province, crownland, and region kept its historic colors and heraldry. Emperor Joseph II did make the red-white-red flag of the Duchy of Austria the flag for the Habsburg navy in 1786, an act which provoked considerable controversy. The only colors which flew over the entire Monarchy in the nineteenth century were black and yellow, the colors of the Habsburg dynasty. When Franz I reorganized the Monarchy into the Austrian Empire after the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire, he made the black and yellow flag of the Holy Roman Emperors the flag of the dynasty. Keeping these colors, while also keeping the double-headed eagle as the symbol of the dynasty and Monarchy, helped to confer imperial legitimacy to the reorganized Monarchy. The historic red-white-red flag of the Duchy of Austria became the national flag of the Republic of Austria when the Monarchy collapsed in 1918. Gordon Brook-Shepherd, *The Austrians: A Thousand-Year Odyssey* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 1996), 5, 37, 285; Thomas Hylland Eriksen, and Richard Jenkins, eds., *Flag, Nation, and Symbolism in Europe and America* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 18-21; Peter Jung, “200 Jahre rot-weiss-rot zur See,” *Marine – Gestern, Heute* 14, no. 2: 56-58.

from the hands of the Turks.”³⁹ After participating in a series of successful campaigns, Leopold returned to his lands to strengthen and improve them.⁴⁰ Leopold’s commitment to his lands was not surprising, since, according to textbooks, Babenberg dukes were dedicated developers of the Austrian lands. Typically, this development took two forms: the enhancement of cities, through investment in infrastructure, and patronage of the Church, through the establishment of churches and monasteries.

Leopold V and Leopold VI provided the best example of such behavior. Textbooks portrayed Leopold V as a tireless reformer of his lands once he returned from the Third Crusade. “All of his worries turned to his lands” where he enacted legal reforms, aided in the development of cities, like Wiener-Neustadt, and built churches, like St. Michael’s Church in Vienna.⁴¹

Textbooks depicted Leopold VI as an even more dedicated reformer, who granted legal rights to his people and free-city status to the cities of Enns, Wiener-Neustadt, Krems, and Vienna.⁴² This action was coupled with his development of industry throughout his lands, achieved primarily through his efforts to bring merchants from the

³⁹ Anton Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen*, vol. 2, 7th ed. (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1885), 49-50. Gindely writes a similar treatment in his *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die Achte Classe der Gymnasien* (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1886), 12.

⁴⁰ It is notable that these discussions of Leopold VI’s campaigns in Egypt make little mention of the overall failure of the Fifth Crusade, see Thomas F. Madden, *The Concise History of the Crusades* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013), 135-154.

⁴¹ Anton Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volks- und Bürgerschulen*, vol. 2, *Erzählungen aus der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit zunächst für die siebente Classe der österreichischen Volks- und Bürgerschulen*, 5th ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1882), 28.

⁴² Joseph Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie für Mittelschulen*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Sallmayer & Komp., 1872), 28-30; Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen*, 61-63.

Netherlands, Germany, Italy, and Hungary into his territories.⁴³ Such actions allowed these cities to prosper and grow and to become the center of Austrian economic life. Textbooks also credited Leopold VI with helping to establish Vienna as a “true capital” for the Austrian duchy, achieved by building the castle that would grow into the Hofburg, the residence of the rulers of Austria until 1918.⁴⁴ Following the lead of the other Babenbergs, and as a “true son of the Church,” Leopold VI also founded countless monasteries and churches.⁴⁵

The depictions of the Babenberg dukes encouraged students to think that noble and virtuous rulers led Austria since its founding. These dukes continued to rule in the heroic and noble tradition of Charlemagne and Otto, a tradition the Habsburg dynasty continued. Habsburg acquisition of Austria did not result from direct competition with the Babenberg family, but rather was the result of the collapse of the Babenberg line, so history textbooks and history classes could portray the Babenberg dukes in a positive light without diminishing the virtues of the Habsburg dynasty. In fact, by portraying Babenberg rulers as noble, pious, and selfless, it was easy to present the Habsburg rulers as the legitimate successor to the Babenberg line, since Habsburg rulers possessed these same qualities.

Textbooks made efforts to portray the medieval kings of Bohemia and of Hungary in a similar manner. It is important to remember that for textbooks all territories

⁴³ Rebhann, *Dr Emanuel Hannaks Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1904), 64; Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 61-63.

⁴⁴ Theodor Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die vierte Klasse der Mädchenlyzeen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1904), 86-87; Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 38.

⁴⁵ Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 39-40; Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1886), 12.

belonging to Austria-Hungary during the dualist period were “Austrian.” As a result, textbooks on the history of Austria-Hungary took time to discuss the histories of Bohemia and Hungary prior to their incorporation into the Monarchy in 1526. Furthermore, textbooks considered Bohemian and Hungarian kings to be the forbearers to the Habsburg rulers just as the Babenbergs were. Discussions of Bohemia and Hungary before the Habsburgs sought to depict pre-Habsburg rulers in a heroic light while also explaining how those kingdoms became part of the Habsburg lands. As a result, textbooks offered overviews of each king’s reign and usually provided detailed family trees to explain lines of succession and inheritance.⁴⁶

As they did for the Babenbergs, textbooks described specific Hungarian or Bohemian kings as pious and noble rulers. The most obvious example of such presentations is the legendary Stephen I of Hungary, king from 1000-1038. Textbooks remembered Stephen most for his role in the Christianization of Hungary, an act which they argued earned the pope’s support for elevating Hungary to a kingdom.⁴⁷ The pope not only made Stephen king of Hungary, he awarded Stephen the title “apostolic majesty,” an honor passed on to all future kings of Hungary, including Franz Joseph, who reigned as both the emperor of Austria and the king of Hungary. Unsurprisingly, textbooks made every effort to stress the importance of this honor and to connect the

⁴⁶ Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1886), 11-27; Franz D. P. Lang, *Geographisch-statistische Vaterlandskunde für die VII Klasse der österreichische Realschulen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1907), 78-79; Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 22-25, 50-55; Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1901), 26.

⁴⁷ Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 41-42; Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 22-25; Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1910), 41. For a look at Stephen’s reign and his importance to Hungarian nationalism, see László Kontler, *A History of Hungary* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 52-56; Miklós Molnár, *A Concise History of Hungary* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 21-27.

reigning Franz Joseph to his pious predecessor. Tupetz provided a typical example of this effort by explaining that Stephen's crown, "considered holy by the Magyars," was used to crown "all succeeding kings of Hungary, including Emperor Franz Joseph I," who, like all kings of Hungary inherited the right to call himself "apostolic."⁴⁸

Textbooks also portrayed Stephen as a strong leader, capable of uniting the Magyars and improving the kingdom. Authors used his political reforms, standardization of the law codes, and building projects as proof of this leadership.⁴⁹ The reforming efforts of future Habsburg rulers of Hungary, like Leopold I, Maria Theresa, Joseph II, and Franz Joseph therefore became continuations of those started under Hungary's most revered king. When discussing the development of Bohemia, textbooks focused on similar themes, describing its Christianization under Duke Wenceslaus I (who ruled Bohemia from 921-935) and the efforts of Bohemian kings to unify Bohemian society and government.⁵⁰

The pre-Habsburg rulers of Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary all served as models of good governance which continued under the Habsburg dynasty. These shared traits lent an added layer of legitimacy to Habsburg rule over these lands. Not only did the dynasty gain these territories through legitimate means of succession, but Habsburg rulers continued the tradition of good governance established by their predecessors. Connecting

⁴⁸ Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 25.

⁴⁹ Anton Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen*, vol. 2, 12th ed. (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1893), 32; Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1910), 41; Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 41-42.

⁵⁰ Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 33-40; Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1901), 24. For a brief discussion of Wenceslaus I's reign, see Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institute Press, 2004), 12-14.

Stephen I of Hungary and Wenceslaus I of Bohemia to their Habsburg successors also represented an effort to make these figures representatives of the supranational Habsburg state rather than only representatives of the Hungarian or Czech nationalism. History classes wanted these figures to be models of good kingship for the entire Monarchy, not just their respective nations.

The First Habsburgs: Rudolf von Habsburg and His Immediate Successors

Presentations of Rudolf von Habsburg (1218-1291), the first Habsburg ruler of Austria and first Habsburg ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, clearly echoed those of the previous rulers, especially Charlemagne.⁵¹ Several books referred to his royal appearance, commenting that he had an “arched brow, fiery eyes, a noble nose, and a large build” which “gave him a kingly appearance.”⁵² Rudolf’s physical appearance, as described by textbooks, was almost identical to that of Charlemagne, allowing Rudolf to embody the ideal of medieval kingship.

The parallels between the two did not end at appearance. Like Charlemagne, Rudolf was humble and modest, rejecting luxury and opulence. According to Pennerstorfer, Rudolf wore “simple and plain clothes” and led a “plain and moderate”

⁵¹ Reflecting the chaotic period in which he ruled, Rudolf was never elected as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire but ruled only as King of the Romans. The electors of the Holy Roman Empire bestowed the title “King of the Romans” on the presumptive heir to the Holy Roman Emperor. Elected King of the Romans during the *Kaiserlos* period, when there was no Holy Roman Emperor, meant that Rudolf was the defacto ruler of the Empire. See Gerhard Hartmann, *Die Kaiser des Heiligen Römischen Reiches*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden: Marixverlag, 2010), 101-104.

⁵² Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 49-50; a near identical description can be found in Josef Kraft, and Johann Georg Rothaus, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen*, vol. 1 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1892), 99, this same description was also added to the 12th edition of Anton Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen, Ausgabe für Mädchenschulen*, 12th ed. (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1892), 99.

life, eating the same meals as his troops. His “cheerful mood” allowed him to connect to his people, whom he cared for deeply, “especially the poor.”⁵³ Josef Kraft and Johann Rothaus’ revisions of Anton Gindely’s textbook for *Bürgerschulen*, published in 1892, provided a similar depiction, commenting that Rudolf would mend his own clothing and shared his food with his troops. It also mentioned his skill as a hunter as well as his quick wit and jovial personality.⁵⁴ Like Charlemagne, whom textbooks described as preferring the clothing made by his daughters to more luxurious clothing, Rudolf preferred simple dress. Yet Rudolf was not just a continuation of ideal medieval kingship. His election to King of the Romans in 1273 during the chaotic “*Kaiserlos* (emperor-less)” period meant he had to restore order and defend the weak, a key characteristic ascribed to Austrian rulers.

With the death of the last Hohenstaufen emperor in 1254, the Holy Roman Empire fell into a tumultuous period which ultimately led to the election of Rudolf von Habsburg. Textbooks vividly detailed the disorder of this interregnum, and the dangers that accompanied it. Pennerstorfer described this time as one of “disorder and confusion,” where “plunder and murder were daily phenomena” and princes ignored “rights and laws,” interested only in their own power and wealth.⁵⁵ The so-called plundering knights (*Raubritter*) bore responsibility for most of this chaos. These knights terrorized the cities, ransacked the countryside, and amassed huge amounts of wealth.

⁵³ Ignaz Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (Vienna: Manzschke k.u.k. Hof-Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1897), 116.

⁵⁴ Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 99.

⁵⁵ Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 115.

Ultimately, this was a time when only “the strong fist” held power.⁵⁶ Pennerstorfer’s description of the period was typical. All textbooks made clear that Rudolf’s election occurred at a time of “anarchy,” when the weak were exploited and those in power seemed to show no concern for the welfare of their lands.⁵⁷ The electors of the Empire elected Rudolf due to his reputation as a strong, honest, and capable leader, emerging as ruler when consensus was hard to find. Furthermore, textbooks asserted that the populace welcomed his election, hoping he would end the difficult times.

Rising to power in such difficult times, Rudolf sought to restore order and bring justice to those who had been victimized. To this end, he punished those who had profited from the chaos before his election. Textbooks described his attacks on the castles of the plundering knights, his seizure of their lands, and his distribution of those lands to just lords. According to textbooks, none of these actions were motivated by his desire to consolidate power or enhance his position within the empire. Instead, his chief aim was the “restoration of lawful order” in the Empire.⁵⁸ Starting with Rudolf, the role of the Habsburg family in restoring order in times of disruption emerged as a reason for the continued strength of Habsburg rule. The notion that the Habsburg dynasty and Austria had a historic mission to defend order and lawful government became a key characteristic of both the dynasty and Austria itself.

⁵⁶ Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 63.

⁵⁷ Karl Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien, Real-gymnasien, und Reform-real-gymnasien*, vol. 2, *Das Mittelalters, Die Neuzeit bis zum westfälischen Frieden*, 4th ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1919), 144; Anton Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volks- und Bürgerschulen* (1882), 72.

⁵⁸ Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volks- und Bürgerschulen* (1882), 73. See also, Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die vierte Klasse der Mädchenlyzeen* (1904), 128.

According to textbooks, Rudolf also embodied the most important characteristic of Habsburg rulers: piety. Von Gratzky's textbook stated that Rudolf's piety was known throughout his lands, as was his reverence for his faith.⁵⁹ Typically textbooks discussed Rudolf's piety through legends about his devout character. For example the legend of Rudolf and the priest noted that while hunting in the forest, Rudolf von Habsburg encountered a priest on his way to give last rites to a dying man. When a storm began, Rudolf immediately dismounted and sheltered the priest and the Holy Eucharist with his hunting cloak. To ensure that the priest reached the dying man on time, Rudolf gave the priest his horse.⁶⁰ Another legend frequently found in textbooks described how once, when he was investing new knights, Rudolf could not find the scepter typically used for this ceremony. In place of his scepter, Rudolf used the cross of a priest, a sign of his devotion to God.⁶¹ Such stories demonstrated Rudolf's piety while also using his faith to explain his successful acquisition of the Habsburg hereditary lands and election as King of the Romans in 1273. Students learned that the success of the House of Habsburg and the growth of Austria derived from the dynasty's virtue and piety.

Later textbooks also placed greater emphasis on Rudolf's establishment of Habsburg rule over Austria, discussing him with poetic flourish. For example, the 12th

⁵⁹ Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1912), 48.

⁶⁰ The pedagogical journal *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung* prepared sample lessons emphasizing Rudolph von Habsburg's piety and his successes in its April, 1901 edition. Similarly, the tale of Rudolph and the priest was singled out as a key teaching point for this period of history in *Jahresbericht der k.k. Bildungsanstalten für Lehrer und Lehrerinnen zu Laibach veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1873* (Laibach: R. Millitz, 1873), 13. This was added to the fifth edition of Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters für oberclassen der Mittelschulen* (1899), 129; Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen, Ausgabe für Mädchenschulen* (1892) 99. Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 101.

⁶¹ Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 101.

edition of Anton Gindely's *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* used in girls' schools added that following the reign of Rudolf von Habsburg, "Austria gradually grew to become a powerful state. For the most part, these [Habsburg] rulers also wore the German imperial crown and consequently directed the history of Germany."⁶² In a similar vein, Theodor Tupetz described how starting with Rudolf's acquisition of the Habsburg hereditary lands, "the glorious House of Habsburg has led the Austrian lands for more than 600 years."⁶³ Such statements were an obvious effort to emphasize the longevity of Habsburg rule in Austria and the importance of Austria and the Habsburgs to Europe. The leadership of the Holy Roman Emperor fell out of Habsburg hands soon after Rudolf's reign, and did not return until Friedrich III's election as Holy Roman Emperor in 1452. As a result, textbooks usually only provided a brief summary of the Habsburg rulers of Austria between Rudolf and Friedrich.

Even though these summaries tended to be brief, when possible, textbooks still sought to demonstrate the piety, industry, and effectiveness of the Habsburg rulers in Austria. Such attempts were clearest during descriptions of the reign of Rudolf IV (1358-1365), sometimes referred to as Rudolf the Founder. As with many of Rudolf IV's Babenberg predecessors, textbooks praised him for his efforts to develop his lands. They portrayed Rudolf IV as a tireless ruler who sought to elevate the status and importance of his territory, especially the city of Vienna. Almost every textbook noted his expansion of St. Stephen's church in the city as well as his role in persuading the Catholic hierarchy to

⁶² Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 102.

⁶³ Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die vierte Klasse der Mädchenlyzeen* (1904), 131.

elevate the church to a cathedral by establishing an archdiocese in Vienna.⁶⁴ Often, such discussions included a woodcut of St. Stephen's cathedral to ensure students knew what the cathedral looked like. Equally as important was Rudolf IV's establishment of the University of Vienna, which textbooks considered an important step in elevating the status of the city to that of Prague and other centers of learning throughout Europe.⁶⁵

Textbooks further praised Rudolf IV for his expansion of Habsburg holdings in Central Europe, especially his acquisition of Carniola and Carinthia.⁶⁶ According to Theodor Tupetz, once these lands were acquired, Rudolf IV took steps to increase the unity of his lands⁶⁷ This emphasis on attempts to bring uniformity to Austria established a resonance between the reign of Rudolf IV and future rulers, such as Maximilian I, Maria Theresa, and Franz Joseph, each of whom attempted to bring centralized administration to the diverse Habsburg lands.

The Foundation of Habsburg Power: Maximilian I, Charles V, and Ferdinand I

While Rudolf von Habsburg ruled the Holy Roman Empire as King of the Romans, Friedrich III was the first Habsburg to obtain the crown of the Holy Roman Emperor in 1440. After his death in 1493, the crown passed to his son, Maximilian, whom textbooks depicted as the architect of the Habsburg dynasty's acquisition of power

⁶⁴ Franz Martin Mayer, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die vierte Classe der Mittelschulen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1891), 29. Emmanuel Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters für unteren Classen der Mittelschulen*, 3th ed. (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1875), 95.

⁶⁵ Rudolf IV's father-in-law, the Holy Roman Emperor Karl IV, had taken steps to establish a university in Prague just before Rudolf IV's decision to do the same in Vienna. Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 59.

⁶⁶ Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters für oberclassen der Mittelschulen* (1899), 168-169.

⁶⁷ Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 62.

in the early modern era. This fact was primarily due to his arrangement of a series of diplomatic marriages which ultimately resulted in Habsburg control of Hungary, Bohemia, Spain, and Burgundy as well as his ability to ensure that the imperial crown remained in Habsburg hands.⁶⁸ Textbooks also consciously crafted a depiction of Maximilian I which presented him as a bridge between the rulers of the medieval and modern Austria. Descriptions of Maximilian's appearance and personality reinforced the notion that he was a transitional figure. His physical appearance echoed that of Charlemagne and Rudolf I. Theodor Tupetz described Maximilian as "exceedingly noble. He was tall with a powerful build. His hair was blonde, his eyes blue, his nose strongly bent, like his ancestor Rudolf."⁶⁹ Gratzky provided a similar description, portraying him as possessing a "strong brow" and a "wholly royal" appearance.⁷⁰ While Maximilian may have looked like a king, both authors made clear that his nobility came from actions and deeds. As Gratzky stated, "for all of his handsomeness and sublime enthusiasm, he was still a fierce fighter."⁷¹ Tupetz also called attention to Maximilian's

⁶⁸ Maximilian vastly expanded the power of the House of Habsburg through skillful use of marriage diplomacy. His marriage to Mary of Burgundy in 1477 gave him defacto control over the Duchy of Burgundy (along with its vast wealth) when Mary's father died the same year. In 1498, Maximilian arranged for his son, Philip, to marry the daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. In 1515, he arranged a double wedding with the Jagiellonian dynasty, which ruled Bohemia and Hungary. Maximilian's granddaughter married Louis, the future king of Bohemia and of Hungary, and Maximilian's grandson, the future Emperor Ferdinand I, married Louis' sister. These marriages, along with good luck, allowed for Habsburg inheritance of the Netherlands, Spain and the Spanish New World, Hungary, and Bohemia between 1482 and 1526. See Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 4-12; Steven Beller, *A Concise History of Austria* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 40-46; Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*, 59.

⁶⁹ Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 79; identical text in the 1895 edition, 91.

⁷⁰ Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1912), 64.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

physical prowess, describing the emperor's skill in tournaments, jousting, and hunting.⁷² Almost every profile of Maximilian mentioned his love of such sports as well as his love of scholarship and learning. As a result, Maximilian embodied the ideal of the well-rounded ruler.

For example, Zeehe noted that Maximilian was “a brave knight and cunning hunter; repeatedly his life was put into the greatest danger. He possessed an excellent memory, [with a] sharp awareness and good insight into human nature.”⁷³ Yet Maximilian also appreciated literature and the arts.⁷⁴ Rebhann's textbook for *Realschulen* used Zeehe's descriptions almost verbatim, referring to Maximilian as both a “brave knight and cunning hunter” who also loved old legends and ancient tales.⁷⁵ Emphasizing his noble appearance, his martial skill, and his love of learning linked Maximilian with his predecessors, such as Charlemagne and Rudolf. But textbooks also made clear that Maximilian was a transitional figure for Austria who brought his lands out of the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance.

Without exception, textbooks referred to Maximilian as the “Last Knight,” an indication that he was both a medieval and modern figure. As Pennerstorfer wrote, “Maximilian belonged to two different eras. His youth fell in the Middle Ages, his adulthood belonged to modern times.”⁷⁶ Thus descriptions of him not only included his

⁷² Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 79-80; identical text in the 1895 edition, 91-92.

⁷³ Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 70.

⁷⁴ Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1897), 22.

⁷⁵ Rebhann, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Realschulen* (1915), 157.

⁷⁶ Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 117. See also Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 71.

prohess as a hunter and knight, firmly establishing his credibility as a medieval figure, but also explained his love of humanism and the arts and sciences of the Renaissance period. As Woynar stated, Maximilian was “an extremely amiable and chivalrous prince, endowed with extraordinary gifts of the mind and body. [He was] an ardent [supporter] of hunting and tournaments (the Last Knight) [yet] Maximilian also took keen interest in the humanistic and artistic aims of his time.”⁷⁷ The clearest example of this interest was Maximilian’s support for the arts, especially the painter Albrecht Dürer. In order to demonstrate Maximilian’s esteem for the arts and for artists, Smolle included the following quotation attributed to the emperor: “In an instant I could probably make from seven peasants as many knights, but from those knights I could not sift out a single artist.”⁷⁸ The emphasis on Maximilian’s support for the arts not only echoed discussions of Charlemagne’s revival of scholarship and learning, but also helped to establish the notion that Habsburg rulers were caretakers and stewards of the arts, a notion that would be reiterated time and time again.

Textbooks made clear that Maximilian’s support for the arts and for humanism was not an idle passion, but rather emerged from his love for his people and his desire to improve their lives. As Zeehe stated, all of Maximilian’s actions emerged from “the influence of humanism, the idea that the ruler of the land should be concerned not only for the peace and law of the land, but also for the material and intellectual wellbeing of

⁷⁷ Karl Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien, Real-gymnasien, und Reform-real-gymnasien*, vol. 3, *Die Neuzeit vom westfälischen Frieden bis auf die Gegenwart*, 3rd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1915), 22.

⁷⁸ Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 98.

his subjects.”⁷⁹ Rebhann made a similar assertion, writing that the ruler’s support of humanism stemmed from “concern for the material and spiritual wellbeing of his subjects.”⁸⁰ Such concerns not only led Maximilian to support humanist writers and artists, but more importantly, led him to enact a series of reforms to align the administration of his lands with humanist principles. Such principles ensured that those living under Habsburg rule received just treatment and government guided by principles that would lead to prosperity.

As with Rudolf I, textbooks credited Maximilian with restoring order to a chaotic Holy Roman Empire. They characterized the Empire as lacking order and unity, where subjects relied on the will of their lords rather than rule of law. For these reasons, Maximilian began a series of wide ranging reforms to streamline law and order within the Empire. He established the Imperial Chamber Court and formed the Landsknecht, a mercenary military regiment to assist in the Empire’s military commitments. He also established a postal service and built roads and canals.⁸¹ Such pursuits allowed authors to paint Maximilian as a tireless reformer as well as the founder of the Austrian bureaucratic state. Both characteristics typified Habsburg rule in the modern era. In this way, the reigns of Austria’s great reformers, Leopold I, Maria Theresa, Joseph II, and Franz Joseph, continued in the tradition of Maximilian I.⁸²

⁷⁹ Andreas Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit für die oberen Classen der Gymnasien* (Laibach: Ig v. Kleinmayr & F. Bamberg, 1899), 25.

⁸⁰ Rebhann, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Realschulen* (1915), 159.

⁸¹ Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 10-11; Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 98. For a general discussion of Maximilian’s reforms, see Hartmann, *Die Kaiser des Heiligen Römischen Reiches*, 131.

⁸² Rebhann, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Realschulen* (1915), 159.

Textbooks also stressed Maximilian's connection with his subjects. He was constantly referred to as "folksy" (*volkstümlich*), and as having a close bond with the people. Often, such descriptions mentioned that he shared this characteristic with Joseph II.⁸³ Such direct comparisons demonstrated that Habsburg rulers were not only interested in the development of their lands, but that such interest derived from their deep concern for the wellbeing of their people. Of course, they also showed that Maximilian cared about the development of his family's power and prestige.

Along with his grandsons, Charles V and Ferdinand I, textbooks credited Maximilian with elevating the Habsburg dynasty and Austria to the status of a European great power. In particular, Maximilian strategically arranged marriages between his children and those from the ruling families of Spain, Hungary, and Bohemia, making Austria a power in its own right, independent of the Empire.⁸⁴ Such marriages laid the foundation for the rapid expansion of Habsburg influence which occurred during the reigns of Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor from 1519-1556) and Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Emperor from 1556-1564). The depth and detail of the discussions of these two rulers depended on whether the textbook focused on Austria or on Europe in general. General history textbooks place a stronger emphasis on Charles V, while those specifically covering Austrian history tended to showcase Ferdinand I.

With his protruding jaw and slight frame, it was difficult to portray Charles V as the physical embodiment of kingship. Instead, textbooks used the physical characteristics

⁸³ Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1886), 36; Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1897), 22; Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 117.

⁸⁴ Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 99; Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 119; Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1912), 66-67.

of Charles V to emphasize his devotion to his lands and to draw attention to his mental prowess and skill as a warrior. Gindely's 1882 general history textbook used in *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* described Charles V's "frail build" and noted that the emperor "already had arthritis by age 40, making riding uncomfortable," nevertheless, he possessed a great intellect, with interest in the arts and sciences.⁸⁵ Elsewhere, Gindely reiterated these points, emphasizing that Charles V's frail body did not stop him from traveling constantly in order to manage his lands and to forge connections with his "diverse peoples." Even in his suffering, he always behaved magnanimously and with generosity.⁸⁶ Gindely's characterization of Charles V appeared in other textbooks. Zeehe described Charles V as a man who possessed "preeminent military and diplomatic talents," who took time to deliberate and make decisions carefully. And "in spite of his weak body," continued to travel.⁸⁷ Rebhann provided an almost identical depiction, emphasizing that Charles V was "prone to silence and deep thought. He only acted when he felt it was necessary."⁸⁸ The most robust description is found in Smolle's text, which made the same points as other authors, while embellishing the prose. He wrote that Charles V

was not of great stature. He had a long face with a large, protruding chin, large soulful eyes and an arched brow. In spite of his weak health, he was hearty and endured strain and exertion with great stoicism. When going into battle, he trembled when his armor was put on, but in the middle of battle he was brave and death defying. To his motto *plus ultra* (always more) he remained true during his

⁸⁵ Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volks- und Bürgerschulen* (1882), 62.

⁸⁶ Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen, Ausgabe für Mädchenschulen* (1885), 85-87. See also Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1885), 87.

⁸⁷ Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 40.

⁸⁸ Rebhann, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Realschulen* (1915), 171.

entire reign. Under him, the House of Habsburg rose to its greatest power and dimension.⁸⁹

Enhancing the power of the Habsburg dynasty was the legacy of the reign of Charles V. And, according to textbooks, this achievement became more remarkable since Charles contended with such physical limitations.

Textbooks carefully pointed out that the expansion of Habsburg power was entirely legitimate and the result of skillful diplomacy and bravery on the battlefield. Such was certainly the case for the Habsburg inheritance of Bohemia and Hungary in 1526. Textbooks clearly delineated the marriages and historical precedents which allowed these acquisitions to occur.⁹⁰ They also contrasted the legitimate expansion of Habsburg power with the perceived illegitimate actions of France and the Ottoman Empire, who sought to expand their own influence in Europe. Anticipating discussions of later sections, textbooks depicted the sixteenth-century wars between the Habsburg dynasty and France as a French effort to expand its influence at the expense of legitimate Habsburg rule.⁹¹ Descriptions of these wars also allowed textbooks to glorify the martial abilities of Charles V. For example, during the Battle of Pavia in 1525, Gratzky insisted, Charles V was “always brave,” and continued to fight “even when he was wounded twice

⁸⁹ Leo Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit für die unteren Classen der Mittelschulen* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1895), 25.

⁹⁰ Emmanuel Hannak, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die oberen Classen der Mittelschulen*, 12th ed. (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1889), 53-54.

⁹¹ Emmanuel Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit für oberclassen der Mittelschulen*, 4th ed. (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1900), 14. The rapid expansion of Habsburg influence, which occurred when Charles V inherited Burgundy, Spain, and secured election as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, prompted a series of wars with France, which feared Habsburg hegemony in Europe and wanted to expand its own influence on the continent. These wars, generally referred to as the Habsburg-Valois Wars or the Italian Wars started in 1494 over competing claims for Milan and Naples and continued intermittently until the middle of the sixteenth century. See Michael Edward Mallett, and Christine Shaw, *The Italian Wars 1494-1559: War, State, and Society in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

in the face, once in the hand, and...his horse was killed from under him.”⁹² Ultimately, it was such bravery that allowed Charles V to triumph and frustration with such defeats that led France to ally with the Ottoman Empire.

Textbooks always portrayed France’s tendency to seek out alliances with the Ottoman Empire as a betrayal of shared Christian interest in defending Europe from the assaults of the Muslim Turks. By allying with the Ottoman Empire, France hoped to surround Habsburg forces with hostile neighbors. Textbooks used these alliances, however, to draw distinction between the Habsburg dynasty and France. While France was courting the Turks, Charles V was protecting his fellow Christians. Gratzky’s textbook provided a detailed description of Charles V’s efforts to free Christian slaves who had been captured along the Mediterranean by Turkish pirates in the 1530s. A fleet sent by Charles in 1535 captured Tunis in a “glorious victory,” giving “22,000 captured Christians freedom” and filling Charles with “unspeakable joy.”⁹³ The contrast could not be clearer. While France, driven by a desire to expand its power, courted an alliance with the Ottoman Empire, Charles V sent troops to free Christians whom the Ottomans enslaved. The notion that Charles V was a tireless and selfless ruler, who worked constantly for the wellbeing of his peoples, in spite of adversity, anticipated discussions of future Habsburg rulers, especially Leopold I, Maria Theresa, and Franz Joseph.

When discussing the reign of Ferdinand I (1558-1564), textbooks reiterated the Habsburg dynasty’s legitimate acquisition of Hungary and Bohemia and the fact that the dynasty continued to defend Europe from the Ottoman Empire. Ferdinand took control

⁹² Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1912), 92.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 94.

over the Habsburg hereditary lands in 1521 at the request of his brother, Charles V. He became king of Bohemia and Hungary in 1526 after the death of his brother-in-law, Louis II, and then became Holy Roman Emperor after Charles V's abdication in 1556. The reign of Ferdinand was especially consequential for Austria, since he became the first Habsburg to rule Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary — the core crownlands of Austria-Hungary in the nineteenth century. The legitimacy of Habsburg rule over these three lands and therefore the legitimacy of Austria-Hungary itself were essential to the Austrian state idea, and textbooks made sure to explain, in detail, how the House of Habsburg inherited these territories and to stress the legitimacy of these inheritances.

It was not unusual for textbooks to refer to the events of 1526 as the establishment of Austria-Hungary. Gindely's textbook for *Bürgerschulen* titled this section "Ferdinand I, the Founding of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy" and Zeehe's textbook referred to the Habsburg inheritance of Bohemia and Hungary as "The Founding of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy."⁹⁴ The textbooks clearly explained that when King Louis II, who ruled both Hungary and Bohemia, died at the Battle of Mohács (1526) the crowns of both kingdoms rightfully passed to Ferdinand.⁹⁵ Sometimes, such explanations even included detailed family trees of the royal lines of Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia in order to demonstrate Habsburg inheritance of these lands in visual terms. The language used by

⁹⁴ Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 109; Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 43.

⁹⁵ As stated early, Ferdinand I married the daughter of Louis II, who became the king of Hungary and king of Bohemia after the death of his father. This marriage, along with other treaties, made Ferdinand Louis's successor to both crowns. Louis II died in 1526, leading his troops against the Ottoman Empire at the battle of Mohács. Even though treaties gave Ferdinand a claim to the throne of Bohemia and the throne of Hungary, his claim to the Bohemian crown required the consent of the Bohemian nobility and he needed similar recognition from the Hungarian nobility to secure possession of the Hungarian throne. See Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 32-34; Kontler, *A History of Hungary*, 137-139; Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*, 59.

textbooks to discuss the inheritance of Hungary and Bohemia explicitly justified the Habsburg claim to these thrones. Zeehe, for example, stated that “Ferdinand was the rightful successor to this crown. 1526 is therefore the birth-year of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.”⁹⁶ Rebhann made a similar statement: “when Louis died at Mohács, Ferdinand *was the rightful inheritor of the crown,*” (italic emphasis is from the original).⁹⁷ The most elaborate explanation of Ferdinand’s inheritance is found in textbooks by Hannak, who connected the House of Habsburg with the previous ruling houses of Hungary and Bohemia while also presenting the union of these three lands as the foundation of the “Austrian mission.” Bohemia and Hungary were

legally united with the Austrian Lands. This laid the foundation of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy. The former realms of the Babenbergs, Přemyslids, and Arpads were united into a great power which had the difficult task of carrying occidental culture to the east and protecting Germany against the barbarism of the Turks.⁹⁸

With such a strong defense of the Habsburg inheritance of Bohemia and Hungary, it was easy to portray the carnage that resulted over the struggle for Hungary as the product of treachery and greed by the enemies of the Habsburgs.

The best example of such carnage is seen with portrayals of John Zápolya, the Hungarian noble who contested Ferdinand’s claim to the Hungarian throne, and sought to

⁹⁶ Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899). The use of the term “Austro-Hungarian” by each of these textbooks is notable. The Austro-Hungarian Empire, of course, would not become a political entity until the *Ausgleich* of 1867, which reorganized the Habsburg Monarchy into the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. By presenting 1526, the year the Habsburg dynasty obtained control over Bohemia and Hungary, as the birth year of the “Austro-Hungarian Monarchy,” authors created an image of the Monarchy which presented its borders and its organization as natural and rooted in history. It speaks to the idea of a “mental map” of the Monarchy, which is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

⁹⁷ Rebhann, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Realschulen* (1915), 173. Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1895), 29 contains similar text.

⁹⁸ Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 21.

secure it for himself in a series of battles in 1527 and 1528. Echoing previous descriptions of France, textbooks depicted Zápolya as motivated by pure greed and lust for power and a man willing to condemn the people of Hungary to misery in order to advance his own aims. Most treacherously, he became a vassal of the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman I in 1529 and supported the Ottoman army during its attacks on Hungary.⁹⁹ As Gindely wrote: “because of the ambition of Zápolya and because of the faction of the [Hungarian] magnates that served him, unending woes came over Hungary. Suleiman came in 1529 with a large army [and] received homage from Zápolya in Mohács, who kissed [Suleiman’s] hand as a vassal and then marched against Vienna....”¹⁰⁰ Zápolya took such actions even though an assembly of Hungarian nobles in Pressburg “elevated Ferdinand to the throne of Hungary.”¹⁰¹ In Josef Kraft’s 1892 revisions of Gindely’s work, Zápolya’s “betrayal” of Hungary became even more nefarious, since Kraft insisted that the ultimate goal of the Ottomans was control over Central Europe.¹⁰² Such treatments simultaneously reinforced the legitimacy of Ferdinand’s rule and Austria’s mission while condemning Zápolya as a traitor.

Gindely was not the only author to vividly describe the results of Zápolya’s actions. Leopold Weingartner described how the Turkish troops “burned towns, devastated the lands, and killed or enslaved 100,000 people” once Zápolya became his

⁹⁹ Rebhann, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Realschulen* (1915), 173.

¹⁰⁰ Anton Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte für die oberen Klassen der Real- und Handelsschulen*, vol. 3, *der Neuzeit* (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1871), 53.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 109.

vassal.¹⁰³ Textbooks blamed the resulting division of Hungary into three sections, one ruled by the Habsburgs, another by the Ottomans directly, and the third (Transylvania) a vassal to the Ottomans, entirely on the greed of Zápolya and the other Hungarian magnates who refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of Ferdinand's rule. As a result of this interpretation of Hungary's division, textbooks could argue that Habsburg efforts to acquire the rest of Hungary from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries were legitimate and justified. Additionally, since those regions were in the hands of the Ottomans, textbooks could present the Habsburg conquest of Ottoman-controlled Hungary during the reign of Leopold I as the forces of "civilization" rescuing Hungarians from the forces of "barbarism."

An Allegory of Good and Bad Government – Leopold I and Louis XIV of France

War almost entirely defined the reign of Leopold I (Holy Roman Emperor from 1658-1705). Since a majority of those wars ended with some measure of success for the Habsburg dynasty, greatly expanding the territory of the Monarchy, textbooks often referred to the period of his reign as Austria's "*Heldenzeit* (Time of Heroes)."¹⁰⁴ Even though these wars proved beneficial for the Habsburg dynasty, textbooks carefully presented the conflicts as both justified and unwanted. Deepening existing tropes regarding the characteristics of Austria and its rulers, textbooks asserted that the devious, greedy French and bellicose, barbaric Turks forced these wars upon Leopold and his lands.

¹⁰³ Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1910), 135.

¹⁰⁴ Leopold Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit für die Unterstufe der österreichischen Mittelschulen*, 3rd ed. (Vienna: Manzsche k.u.k. Hof-Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1910), 61.

Accordingly, Leopold embodied the ideal of the peaceful ruler who did not want war. Gindely provided a typical description of the emperor, declaring that he was

reared primarily for the spiritual class, but due to the death of his oldest brother (Ferdinand IV) he was crowned king of Hungary and Bohemia and gained possession of the Austrian lands. Louis XIV [of France] tried to bribe electors to prevent his elevation to the imperial crown, but with the help of Protestant princes, Leopold was elected... Even though he was a peace loving prince, his life was spent fighting the Turks, the French, and the angry Hungarians.¹⁰⁵

This image of Leopold as a “peace loving prince” reluctantly dragged into war fills the textbooks. Often such descriptions also included discussions of his piety and simplicity.¹⁰⁶ Reminiscent of Charlemagne and Rudolf von Habsburg, both of whom allegedly preferred simple clothing, textbook authors portrayed Leopold as eschewing luxury in favor of simplicity. Tupetz wrote that

the court protocol and clothing of this emperor was simple, he had a love for music and books. He established the court library and picture gallery in Vienna. In spite of the peaceful nature of the emperor, his reign was filled with war due to the endless aggression of the French and Turks.¹⁰⁷

In another text, Tupetz directly compared the Austrian and French monarchs and their courts:

Under Leopold I, the Viennese court offered a distinct contrast to the glitzy, grandiose, depraved court-life of Versailles. Already, the Hofburg, where the emperor lived, was distinctly without ornamentation. The emperor himself dressed frugally, his preference to be in total black. His third wife stitched and embroidered for her husband... In the west, Leopold had to defend the borders of the German Reich against the plundering invasions of Louis XIV of France... in the East he had to defend Austria against a greater danger, the Turks.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte* (1871), 80. Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1886), 56-57 provides a similar description.

¹⁰⁶ Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 104.

¹⁰⁷ Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die sechste Klasse der Mädchenlyzeen*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1915), 115.

¹⁰⁸ Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 105; identical text in the 1895 edition, 121.

Tupetz directly juxtaposed the positive qualities of Leopold's character and reign with the negative qualities attributed to Louis XIV. The degree of criticism leveled against the French king is notable. Such direct comparisons between rulers were rare, and presentations of the reigns of foreign rulers typically lacked such critical editorializing. Authors wanted the depictions of Louis XIV to do more than teach students about his reign. They clearly wanted discussions of his personality, his court, and his wars to embody the qualities of bad kingship. By comparing Louis XIV to Leopold's virtuous reign and personality, the two monarchs become as forceful of an allegory of good and bad governance as the images from Lorenzetti's fresco in Siena. While Leopold was frugal and simple, Louis XIV was extravagant and wasteful; while Leopold was peace loving and reluctant to fight wars, Louis XIV was a warmonger who launched a series of unjust wars for his own profit and aggrandizement; while Leopold actively fought to defend Christianity from the Turks, Louis XIV sought alliances with the Turks at the expense of his fellow Christians.

Most textbooks described the development of French absolutism, the construction of Versailles, and the French court under Louis XIV in great detail. They attempted to show that Louis XIV only wanted to expand his own power and had little interest in the welfare of his people. Even his religious policies, such as the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and support for Gallicanism, became power grabs by the crown at the expense of the people, especially its religious minorities.¹⁰⁹ Such acts contrasted with developments

¹⁰⁹ In order to successfully claim the French throne after the bitter religious wars of the sixteenth century, Henry IV, a leader of the Protestant faction of France's nobility, converted to Catholicism. In order to ensure that religious divisions did not threaten his claim to the throne, Henry issued the Edict of Nantes in 1598, granting toleration to Protestantism. Louis XIV interpreted the Edict as a challenge to royal authority and primacy and rescinded the Edict in 1685, prompting many Huguenots to emigrate to countries that were Protestant or more tolerant of Protestant minorities. Gallicanism, formally established by the Concordat of Bologna (1516) granted the French king the ability to appoint high ranking ecclesiastical

in the Habsburg lands, which authors portrayed as tolerant of Protestantism. In order to emphasize this point, some authors even stated that Louis' actions forced Huguenots (French Protestants), viewed as vital to the French economy, to flee to more welcoming lands in the East.¹¹⁰

Textbooks also argued that Louis XIV, not content to dominate only his own kingdom, desired control of all of Europe at the expense of his weaker neighbors. As a result, the wars of Louis XIV were completely predatory and lacked all justification. In fact, textbooks always called these conflicts "wars of plunder," not just wars. Zeehe provided a typical description of the Louis XIV's ambitions: "Louis' chief ambition was to make France the most powerful and glorious state in Europe. To this end, he launched many wars of conquest, especially plundering his weaker neighbor-states, Germany and Spain."¹¹¹ To illustrate the horrific results of these wars, textbooks vividly described the cities plundered during the carnage:

Countless cities, such as the venerable Speier, with its imperial cathedral, sank in ashes. He [Louis XIV] did not even spare the imperial crypt, where he ripped the bones [of past Holy Roman Emperors] from their coffins. The magnificent Heidelberg castle, a splendid creation of the German renaissance, was reduced to pieces. Appalling crimes were committed on the poor inhabitants of these lands,

authorities and influence over all church matters. Sharon Kettering, *French Society, 1589-1715* (Essex: Longman, 2001), 96-99; Roger Price, *A Concise History of France*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 62-63, 71-72. See also Dale K. Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996).

¹¹⁰ Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 95; Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien*, vol. 3 (1915), 67; Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1895), 55.

¹¹¹ Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 93; see also, Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 95; Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 60; Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 56; Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte* (1871), 78-79.

and the names of the French generals Mélac and Duras are covered with indelible disgrace.¹¹²

In an almost identical description of this destruction, Gratzky emphasized Louis XIV's direct culpability for the destruction caused by his troops. "The king wills it!" was the answer of the French generals to the pleas of the inhabitants for mercy," the author insisted.¹¹³ Louis XIV's ambitions also led him to ally with the Ottomans, in an effort to diminish the power of Austria. Such actions clearly contrasted with those of Austria, portrayed again as the defender of Christianity and as an alliance builder, eager to reach consensus with its neighbors to ensure mutual defense.¹¹⁴

The Reformers: Maria Theresa and Joseph II

The notion that Austria was a consensus maker and alliance builder surrounded by predatory neighbors was also prevalent in discussions of the reign of Maria Theresa, who ruled the Habsburg Monarchy from 1740-1780. As with Leopold I, a series of wars marked Maria Theresa's reign and textbooks made every effort to portray these conflicts as a fight for the survival of the Habsburg state. As a result, the War of Austrian Succession, which began immediately upon Maria Theresa's ascension to the throne in 1740, was a war launched by greedy neighbors, eager to attack what they viewed as a weak ruler. As they did when describing the Siege of Vienna in 1683, textbooks

¹¹² Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1895), 58; see also Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 61; Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien*, vol. 3 (1915), 19.

¹¹³ Oskar von Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit seit dem Jahre 1648 für die III. Klasse der österreichischen Realschulen* (Vienna: Buchhandlung Friese & Lang, 1913), 7.

¹¹⁴ Hannak, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1889), 77; Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie für Mittelschulen* (1872), 143-144.

dramatically described the war in a manner which emphasized the power of the enemies opposing Austria, and they stressed the perils facing the Monarchy.¹¹⁵ Pennerstorfer provided a typical description, writing that “the young Empress Maria Theresa barely had an army to oppose her countless enemies. Only...the traditional loyalty and self-sacrifice of her peoples” kept her from total defeat.¹¹⁶ Similarly, Weingartner dramatically declared that “half of Europe stood against the young queen on the battlefield.”¹¹⁷ Smolle also drew attention to the diplomatic isolation of Austria, asserting that Maria Theresa “had only England on her side, [and] found herself in distress; the treasury was empty, the army in terrible condition.”¹¹⁸

Textbooks wanted to make clear that the attacks on Austria were illegitimate and a violation of the Pragmatic Sanction signed by many of the aggressors. Maria Theresa’s father, Emperor Charles VI, prepared the Pragmatic Sanction in 1713 to secure Maria Theresa’s inheritance of the Habsburg lands. Since he did not have a son, this was the only way to ensure that the Austrian Habsburg line did not end with his death. Salic Law, practiced in the Holy Roman Empire and all Habsburg territories, prohibited women from inheriting property and the Pragmatic Sanction sought to ensure that the powers of Europe and the Empire accepted Maria Theresa as Charles’ legitimate heir. Even though they agreed to the Pragmatic Sanction, Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony rescinded their support upon Charles’ death, resulting in the War of Austrian

¹¹⁵ See Chapter 3 for the ways in which textbooks discussed the Siege of Vienna.

¹¹⁶ Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 97.

¹¹⁷ Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 80. See also Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 137.

¹¹⁸ Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1895), 80.

Succession.¹¹⁹ According to textbooks, the war resulted from the greed of German princes, eager to expand their territory and power, and foreign powers, like France, which sought to destroy the power of the Habsburg family. Julius John's revisions of Gindely's textbook described this perceived greed in detail, outlining a plan for partitioning the Habsburg land developed by Austria's enemies, who met in France.¹²⁰ Such emphasis on Austria's peril made the success of Maria Theresa all the more spectacular.

Textbooks credited Maria Theresa's strong character for Austria's success. Descriptions of her intelligence, piety, generosity, and determination reflected those of previous Austrian rulers. Since she was the only woman to rule the Habsburg Monarchy, however, authors also presented her as the fulfillment of the nineteenth-century feminine ideal. Almost every textbook described her as beautiful, charming, and graceful.¹²¹ As the mother of sixteen children, she also embodied the archetype of the caring mother. Weingartner described her as a "model" of the "pious, lovable housewife and tender mother," and argued that these strong maternal instincts served her as a ruler. They allowed her to love her subjects as she loved her children, making her a "true mother to her country (*Landesmutter*)."¹²² Coupled with these feminine characteristics were the traditional characteristics attributed to Habsburg rulers. As with Rudolf I and

¹¹⁹ Reed Browning, *The War of Austrian Succession* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 18, 37-41, 358-363.

¹²⁰ Julius John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1909), 7.

¹²¹ See Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 127; Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 99; Karl Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Unterstufe der Mädchenlyzeen*, vol. 3, *Die Neuzeit vom westfälischen Frieden bis auf die Gegenwart*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1917), 380; Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 112; Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1886), 75.

¹²² Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 86. See also Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Unterstufe der Mädchenlyzeen* (1917), 50-51.

Maximilian, textbooks paid special attention to the number of languages she spoke, her interest in the humanities, and her talents as a hunter and rider.¹²³ Ultimately, Maria Theresa embodied the best of both genders.

Even the language used in the textbooks reflected this image of Maria Theresa. For example, Gratzky described her as possessing a “beautiful and lustrous spirit” which was “joined with the competence of a statesman and with heroic valor.”¹²⁴ Hannak portrayed her similarly: “As both a wife and mother and as a regent, she bonded the mildness of a woman with the energy of a man.”¹²⁵ And Neuhauser argued that her ability to withstand her challenges came “only through magnanimous, masculine fortitude united with beautiful, feminine virtue.”¹²⁶ Since contemporary European culture perceived leadership and kingship as masculine traits, it was necessary to attribute these masculine qualities to Maria Theresa in order to explain her success as a ruler. It was also necessary that she embody the qualities expected of a woman, however, thereby creating this hybrid description.¹²⁷

¹²³ Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 112; Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 127.

¹²⁴ Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 15.

¹²⁵ Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 135.

¹²⁶ Neuhauser *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie für Mittelschulen* (1872), 164.

¹²⁷ Descriptions such as these were common for female rulers throughout Europe. When discussing Queen Victoria, for example, British authors and speakers also described her as the embodiment of the best qualities of both sexes. Like Maria Theresa, Victoria took the throne at a young age, and authors and speakers often described how Victoria was an uncommonly intelligent child, echoing what Austrians wrote about Maria Theresa. See Susan P. Casteras, “The Wise Child and Her ‘Offspring’: Some Changing Faces of Queen Victoria,” in *Remaking Queen Victoria*, Margaret Homans, and Adrienne Munich, eds., (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 182-199.

The fact that Maria Theresa was a woman likely explains why textbooks took time to provide detailed overviews of the personal qualities and successes of her male advisors. It was not unusual for textbooks to discuss notable statesmen and generals, but these advisors were only described in such detail for the reign of Maria Theresa. In fact, one of the positive qualities most frequently attributed to Maria Theresa was her ability to select strong, capable men to assist her in her efforts to strengthen Austria. First among these advisors was her husband, Franz Stefan. Textbooks fondly mentioned that this marriage saved the Habsburg dynasty, allowing Franz Stefan to assume the crown of Holy Roman Emperor, thus securing it for eventual passage to Joseph II. The marriage was also one of the great romances of Austrian history.¹²⁸

Discussions of the War of Austrian Succession and the Seven Year's War included heroic descriptions of Maria Theresa's advisors, especially Count Leopold Daun and Ernst von Laudon and discussions of diplomatic affairs highlighted the brilliance of her chief diplomat Count Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz.¹²⁹ These men were so integral to Maria Theresa's success that textbooks often included illustrations of each of them,

¹²⁸ John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1909), 7; Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 79.

¹²⁹ For example, see Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 82-83. Field Marshal Leopold Daun led the Habsburg forces during the War of Austrian Succession. He is often given credit for the successful defense of Bohemia, stalling the Prussian advance, and for the victory at the Battle of Kolin (1757). Daun also served as the president of the Court War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*) and implemented most of Maria Theresa's military reforms. Field Marshal Ernst von Laudon led Austrian troops during the Seven Year's War, achieving notable victories against Prussia. He continued to serve as a general under Joseph II, fighting against the Ottoman Empire. Count Wenzel von Kaunitz was Maria Theresa's chief diplomat and head of her State Council (*Staatsrat*) starting in 1752. He was the architect of many of Maria Theresa's centralization reforms as well as the "Diplomatic Revolution," which created an alliance between France and Austria. Angela Kulenkampff, *Österreich und das Alte Reich: Die Reichspolitik des Staatskanzlers Kaunitz unter Maria Theresia und Joseph II* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), 25-56; Edward Crankshaw, *Maria Theresa* (New York: The Viking Press, 1969), 242-245, 271-272.

ensuring that students knew what these notable advisors looked like.¹³⁰ Yet, textbooks always made clear that descriptions of their achievements only enhanced the prestige of Maria Theresa and did not overshadow her. As Julius John wrote, she “alone carried the burden of her inheritance,” her advisors could only help.¹³¹ In this way, the skill and acumen displayed by Maria Theresa’s advisors became another testament to her wisdom and strength.

While textbooks praised Maria Theresa’s diplomatic and political skills and extolled her ability to navigate Austria through the crises of her early reign, textbooks most remembered her as a reformer. In many ways, they treated the reforms of Maria Theresa as a byproduct of her maternal nature and “masculine” pragmatism. Every discussion of her reign provided an extensive list of the reforms she initiated. These ranged from those related to the administration of the state, including army reforms which streamlined command, finance reforms which made it easier to raise funds to support the military and state, chancellery reforms which simplified administration within Bohemia and Austria, as well as economic reforms which encouraged investment and entrepreneurialism.¹³² Textbooks insisted that such reforms were necessary to improve Austria’s economic and military position and to stave off its many crises. These reforms also ensured that all of Austria was working for the benefit of the state. They were also an expression of Maria Theresa’s devotion to and love for her peoples.¹³³

¹³⁰ Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1895), 83-85.

¹³¹ John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1909), 8.

¹³² Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 19; Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 104; Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte* (1871), 109.

¹³³ Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien*, vol. 3 (1915), 118; Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 135-138.

Textbooks described Maria Theresa's efforts to lighten the feudal obligations of serfs as an attempt to improve the lives of the poor. Anton Gindely's text for *Vaterlandskunde*, published in 1886, stated that Maria Theresa was acutely aware of the suffering of the poor, and wanted to improve their lives.¹³⁴ Similarly, Tupetz contended that Maria Theresa "vowed to use her power for her subjects," especially the peasantry, given the "great power" of the clergy and nobility.¹³⁵ And Zeehe noted that her chief goal when changing the status of the peasantry was to protect them from "exploitation" by the rich.¹³⁶ Even more significantly, she established the *Volksschulen*, which theoretically ensured basic education for all Austrian subjects. The establishment of compulsory schooling was the perfect reform to typify the character of Maria Theresa. They were pragmatic reforms which recognized the need for an educated population, yet they also resulted from her love of her peoples.¹³⁷

Discussions of Maria Theresa were overwhelmingly positive, and textbooks regarded her as an ideal ruler. Discussions of her son, Joseph II, were more complex, for several reasons. From the historical perspective, Joseph II's reforms changed the course of Austrian administration and established an ideal of centralized rule that would characterize Austrian bureaucracy and governance for the remainder of the Monarchy's existence.¹³⁸ However, his brother, Leopold II, and nephew, Franz II/I, rolled back or

¹³⁴ Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1886), 75.

¹³⁵ Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Fünfte Klasse der Mädchenlyzeen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1903), 137.

¹³⁶ Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 104.

¹³⁷ John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1909), 12.

¹³⁸ The quintessential example of Enlightened Absolutism, Joseph II initiated thousands of reforms during his reign from 1765-1790. During his first fifteen years on the throne, he co-ruled with his mother, who

rescinded a majority of his reforms starting in the 1790s and many historians during the period of the Dual Monarchy considered his reforming experiment to have failed.

Therefore, textbooks had to balance the desire to present him as an avid reformer, eager to improve the lives of his people, with the fact that many of his efforts ultimately were unsuccessful. Further complicating matters was the effort by German nationalists to coopt Joseph II's legacy in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As Nancy Wingfield has shown, German nationalists seized upon Joseph II's reforms, especially his Germanization efforts, as an example of German nationalism and sought to turn the emperor into a German nationalist idol. Such a presentation made Joseph II a polarizing figure in the nationally mixed regions of Austria, especially Bohemia and Moravia. In order for textbooks to utilize the reign and legacy of Joseph II as an effective tool for civic education, authors had to address his reign in a way that ameliorated the failure of his reforms and minimized his appeal as a German nationalist figure.¹³⁹

The most common way to accomplish this task was by blending the reforming legacy of Joseph II with that of his mother. Structurally, many authors arranged their

limited the scope and extent of his reforms. During his decade of solitary rule, he issued changes with faster speed. The majority of his reforms sought to centralize and strengthen the state while bringing its operation in line with Enlightenment principles. This included loosening censorship restrictions, reforming the penal code, limiting the power of the church, limiting the authority of nobility over the peasantry, and relaxing trade barriers and guild restrictions. He also sought to implement sweeping changes to the language of government administration and public discourse in Hungary and the Austrian Netherlands by making German the official language of these regions. Many of these reforms ended in the decades after his death, especially those relating to language and censorship. His most lasting reform was his Edict of Toleration, issued in 1782, which granted religious freedom to all of the Monarchy's religious minorities, including the Jews. See T. C. W. Blanning, *Joseph II* (New York: Longman, 1994), 56-125.

¹³⁹ Nancy M. Wingfield, "Statues of Emperor Joseph II as Sites of German Identity," in *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield, eds. (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2001); Nancy M. Wingfield, "Emperor Joseph II in the Austrian Imagination up to 1914," in *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy*, Laurence Cole and Daniel L. Unowsky, eds. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009).

chapters on Maria Theresa and Joseph II in such a way that each ruler's personality and biography were discussed sequentially, then the foreign policy of each, and finally the reforms of each. Such a narrative structure merged the accomplishments of Maria Theresa with those of Joseph II and helped to make them appear to be part of the same progression. It also meant that the failure of many of Joseph II's reforms did not diminish the overall appearance of accomplishment of the two rulers.¹⁴⁰

This blending of the two reigns was also accomplished rhetorically. It was not abnormal for authors to begin their descriptions of Joseph II's reforms and the motives for those reforms with the phrase "like his mother..."¹⁴¹ Such phrases usually accompanied discussions of his efforts to centralize the administration of the empire, including his advocacy of the German language in non-German speaking regions of the Monarchy. Such a presentation helped to diminish the notion that these reforms were driven by a nationalist zeal to Germanize the Monarchy. In fact, the emphasis on centralizing reforms not only tied Joseph to his mother, but also to previous rulers like Rudolf I and Maximilian I. Gratzky, for example, argued that Joseph II sought to make all of the "crownlands operate with the same legal codes, the same administration, and most importantly, that non-German people had to use the German language."¹⁴² Gindely made the connection between Joseph II and his mother even more explicit by saying that Joseph II sought to establish "a united institutional and legal organism [just] as Maria Theresa had done in the German and Bohemian lands. German would be the only

¹⁴⁰ Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 100, 107-108.

¹⁴¹ Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 143; identical text in the 1895 edition, 163; Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1882), 154.

¹⁴² Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 20. See also Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 89.

administrative language as a way of unifying the different peoples of Austria.”¹⁴³ Such phrases not only helped to create a sense of continuity between Maria Theresa and Joseph II but also helped to neutralize the nationalist interpretations of Joseph’s intent.

According to textbooks, Joseph II’s support for German language administrative reforms only grew out of efforts to ensure streamlined bureaucracy throughout the Monarchy.

Authors also discussed the emperor’s personality rather than the results of his reforms. They praised Joseph II for his education, extensive travel, and desire to “understand” his peoples.¹⁴⁴ Authors also repeated time and time again that Joseph II’s reform efforts emerged from his deep love for his peoples. Hannak explained that Joseph II’s reforms were “based on the desire to improve the happiness of the people.”¹⁴⁵ Zeehe similarly insisted that the “zeal” of Joseph II’s reforms was due to a deep concern for the poor.¹⁴⁶ Typically, the emphasis on the speed and “zeal” of Joseph II’s reform efforts led to a respectful way to criticize those efforts.

Most of the time, authors did not shy away from discussing the failure of Joseph II’s reforms. In fact, prevailing pedagogical theories demanded that historians present the good as well as the bad, compelling textbook authors to address the issues of Joseph II’s limitations.¹⁴⁷ In the midst of praising the intentions of Joseph II’s reforms, Gratzy

¹⁴³ Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte* (1871), 110.

¹⁴⁴ John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1909), 16.

¹⁴⁵ Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 153.

¹⁴⁶ Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 141.

¹⁴⁷ “Über den Geschichtsunterricht in der Volksschule,” *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, October, 1895, np.

attributed their failure to the “questionable speed” with which they were implemented.¹⁴⁸ Other authors more explicitly blamed the failure of Joseph II’s reforms on his refusal to follow the historical constitutions of his lands. Gindely argued that Joseph II possessed a legitimate desire to improve the lives of his peoples, but that his reforms were conducted in a way that ignored the way the Monarchy was organized.¹⁴⁹ Weingartner similarly contended that Joseph II’s reforms occurred “without regard for the historical development” of his lands, and Woynar concurred that they occurred “without concern for the wishes of the people, [or] the historical . . . , national, and regional (*landschaftlich*) diversity of his lands.”¹⁵⁰ Such violations of historical precedent, these author’s asserted, caused consternation and protest from all segments of society, ultimately leading to the end of several reform efforts.

In spite of these failed reforms, most authors typically ended their discussion of Joseph II in a way that reinforced the purity of his motives and the nobility of his intentions. They also reiterated that the people of Austria had a great love for their emperor, even if they did not understand or like some of his reforms.¹⁵¹ As Pennerstorfer concluded: “he [Joseph II] always had what was best for his subjects before his eyes and only sought to improve things.”¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 20.

¹⁴⁹ Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1886), 78; John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1909), 16-17.

¹⁵⁰ Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 89; Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien*, vol. 3 (1915), 122.

¹⁵¹ John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1909), 19; Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte* (1891) 300; identical text in 3rd ed., 164.

¹⁵² Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 102.

The Embodiment of Good Government: Franz Joseph I

In many ways, the legacy of Joseph II and his reforms established a way to praise Franz Joseph I as a reformer. Coming to the throne during the chaos of the Revolutions of 1848 and after the abdication of his uncle, Ferdinand I, Franz Joseph inherited a series of reforms that had been initiated in an effort to placate the revolutionaries.¹⁵³ These included a series of constitutional changes which established a parliament as well as the complete abolishment of feudal duties still performed by the peasantry. The establishment of neo-absolutism in the 1850s ended the talk of adopting a constitution, but the end of feudalism remained. Neo-absolutism collapsed as a result of the Monarchy's military failures during the Austro-Italian War of 1859 and the Austro-Prussian War in 1866, prompting Franz Joseph to embrace constitutional reforms in order to stabilize the state.

Following Austria's defeat in 1859, he issued the state's first constitution, the October Diploma, which established a parliamentary system. Austria's defeat in 1866 resulted in more sweeping changes when Franz Joseph negotiated the *Ausgleich* with Hungary, establishing the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. Other constitutional

¹⁵³ Because of numerous physical and intellectual disabilities, Ferdinand I, who reigned from 1835-1848, could not effectively manage the Monarchy. Instead, he relied exclusively on his ministers, especially Clemens von Metternich. At the height of the Revolutions of 1848, these advisors felt the Monarchy needed more decisive leadership in order to emerge victorious from the revolutionary challenge. As a result, they convinced Ferdinand to abdicate in favor of his nephew, Franz Joseph, who was 18 at the time. (They also had to persuade Franz Joseph's father, Archduke Franz Karl, technically the next in line for the throne, to surrender his claim to succession.) Franz Joseph's ascension to the throne on December 2, 1848 represented the reassertion of conservative, monarchical power and also allowed the crown to rescind many of the revolutionary reforms promised under Ferdinand, since he was no longer Emperor of Austria. It also allowed some revolutionaries, especially those in Hungary, to portray Franz Joseph as a usurper, and claim they were fighting in the name of the "rightful" Habsburg ruler. In spite of these assertions, Franz Joseph faced no significant challenge to his right to the throne after the end of the Revolutions of 1848. Beller, *Francis Joseph*, 45-49; István Deák, *The Lawful Revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848-1849* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 201-207.

reforms occurred throughout the remainder of his long reign, all in reaction to the discontent and frustration among the Monarchy's growing nationalist movements.¹⁵⁴

Textbooks extensively covered all of these reforms. The history curriculum for both elementary and secondary schools mandated that students understand the political organization of the empire and the evolution of the Monarchy's governmental structure. Since all of these changes occurred as a reaction to foreign policy and military failures, however, discussing them remained a sensitive topic. No textbook glossed over or minimized the turmoil of Austria's mid-century, but they clearly tried to frame these reforms positively. Typically, this involved crediting the wisdom and generosity of Franz Joseph for the changes to the Monarchy's government.

Theodor Tupetz's textbook for teacher training institutions discussed the abolition of the remaining vestiges of serfdom in a way that minimized its genesis in the upheavals of 1848 and instead connected it explicitly to the Habsburg tradition of reform. Thus, "in the first year of his [Franz Joseph's] reign as emperor, he abolished the compulsory service of the peasants, which makes the fulfillment of the great work of Emperor Joseph II, the abolition of feudalism, [Franz Joseph's] first accomplishment."¹⁵⁵ Gindely's series of textbooks provided a similar interpretation, but with one key alteration. He noted that Franz Joseph accomplished what Joseph II could not because Franz Joseph respected

¹⁵⁴ For a comprehensive overview of the *Ausgleich* and its consequences, see Alan Sked, *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 1815-1918* (New York: Longman, 1989), 283-309.

¹⁵⁵ Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte* (1891) 333; identical text in 3rd ed., 201. In 1781, Joseph II abolished serfdom as a legal designation in the Habsburg Monarchy. He issued decrees that limited the legal power lords had over the peasantry, allowed peasants to marry or move at will, allowed peasants to enter into trades or professions more easily, and prevented lords from using the children of peasants as sources of labor. In spite of these changes, the economic aspects of serfdom remained intact. Peasants still owed their lords dues and still had to provide compulsory labor. These remaining aspects of serfdom ended in 1848. Blanning, *Joseph II*, 103-112.

incremental reform and the historical constitutions of the Monarchy's lands. Kraft and Rothaus' revisions of Gindely similarly asserted that, like Joseph II (and by proxy other Habsburg rulers), Franz Joseph's desire to end the *Robot*, the compulsory labor peasants owed their lords, grew from his concern for the people's welfare and a desire to reign in "the name of wisdom and justice." Unlike Joseph II, however, Franz Joseph collaborated with the nobility and the people to ensure that they were not alienated by changes to the Monarchy's organization. Ultimately, these authors concluded that Franz Joseph "in his generous wisdom...shared his rightful, inherited power with the people."¹⁵⁶

When writing about the *Ausgleich*, Gratzky also contended that dualism's success emerged from the fact that it "strongly protected the old constitutional rights and freedoms of the lands of the crown of Stephan," and because the reforms emerged from Franz Joseph's "noble" intentions.¹⁵⁷ Textbooks emphasized respect for the historic foundations of the Monarchy's organization and the idea that proper reform emerged incrementally, and always from the emperor. Such an interpretation indirectly rejected aspects of Josephian reform, which supported rapid change without regard for historical precedent. This interpretation also represented an obvious attempt to diminish calls for revolution or drastic reorganization of the empire. Textbooks strongly illustrated the need for gradual change over time, combined with the paternalistic notion that the emperor knew when those changes should take place.

¹⁵⁶ Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 103-104. A similar notion is found in Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen Ausgabe für Mädchenschulen* (1892), 118-119, where he argues that the "grace" of Franz Joseph led him to give his subject part of his power.

¹⁵⁷ Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 63-64.

The emperor was best suited to make these judgments because of his office as well as his overwhelming concern for the wellbeing of his peoples. All of the textbooks glorified Franz Joseph's noble personality, his love for his peoples, and his desire for their happiness. In this way, Franz Joseph followed in the footsteps of the previous rulers of Austria, who were also only concerned for the wellbeing of their lands and their peoples. Implicitly, such assertions argued that the Monarchy's long history of concerned, noble rulers meant that the people should trust the emperor to do what was right for them and the state.¹⁵⁸ The peace and prosperity of the Dual Monarchy further proved that such faith in the emperor's wisdom was warranted.

In the decades after the *Ausgleich*, Austria experienced a period of development and prosperity that was unparalleled in its history, and textbooks eagerly attributed this growth to Franz Joseph. Textbooks constantly referred to Franz Joseph's use of the "times of peace" to invest in his lands and engage in important building projects. As with Rudolf IV, authors portrayed Franz Joseph as a ruler keenly interested in improving the physical and aesthetic qualities of his lands. The best example of this being the construction of the Vienna *Ringstrasse* which occurred in the last third of the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 138.

¹⁵⁹ When municipal and imperial authorities chose to demolish the old fortifications surrounding Vienna, it prompted the largest building project in the city's history. The *Ringstrasse*, the wide boulevard constructed where city walls once stood, created a new political, cultural, and social epicenter for the capital. Along the *Ringstrasse*, the government built a new city hall, the Austrian parliament building, an addition to the Hofburg palace, and a new building for the University of Vienna. It also erected new buildings for the court theater, the state opera, and for the Natural History and Art History museums. To pay for these projects, it sold land along the *Ringstrasse* to private developers who constructed new shops, housing, and theaters. See Elisabeth Springer, *Die Wiener Ringstrasse, Bild einer Epoche: Die Erweiterung der inneren Stadt Wien unter Kaiser Franz Josef*, vol. 2 of *Geschichte und Kulturleben der Wiener Ringstrasse*, Renate Wagner-Reigner, ed. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979); Carl Schorske, "The Ringstrasse and the Birth of Modern Urbanism," in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 24-115.

Typically, textbooks included detailed descriptions of the buildings along the *Ringstrasse* and as well as pictures or woodcuts.¹⁶⁰ As with discussions of Maximilian and Maria Theresa, Franz Joseph's support of the arts, sciences, and schools also became a sign of his deep commitment to the improvement of Austria. Tupetz described him as the primary patron of the sciences and arts in the Monarchy, even pointing to Austrian exploration of the Arctic as proof of the scientific accomplishments achieved during Franz Joseph's reign.¹⁶¹ Julius John's revisions of Anton Gindely's textbook dramatically claimed that Franz Joseph's steady support of the arts and sciences allowed "superstition [to] wane and the people...to improve their intellectual and physical attributes."¹⁶² The rapid construction of memorials to figures like Goethe, Schubert, and Mozart, as well as the historical stylings of the buildings along the *Ringstrasse* further proved Austria's growing appreciation for its past and a growing commitment to the arts and education.¹⁶³

Franz Joseph's ability to rule successfully in spite of the hardships of his personal life and reign further linked him to previous rulers. Personal tragedies like the execution of his brother Maximilian in 1867, the suicide of Crown Prince Rudolph in 1889, and the assassination of Empress Elisabeth in 1898 allowed textbooks to portray Franz Joseph as a tragic figure, who continued to care for his peoples even in the face of heartbreaking

¹⁶⁰ Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1895), 209-213. See also Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 231.

¹⁶¹ Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 181; identical text in the 1895 edition, 207.

¹⁶² John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1909), 79.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 80.

challenges.¹⁶⁴ As Pennerstorfer stated, Franz Joseph's "unwavering faith in God and the love of his peoples raise[d] him above all of the changes of destiny."¹⁶⁵ Zeehe concurred: "In 1854, [Franz Joseph] wed the Bavarian princess Elisabeth, who possessed excellent beauty and a good heart; she was murdered by an anarchist in Geneva (1898). The hopeful Crownprince Rudolf died in youth (1889). The noble and erudite brother of the emperor, Maximilian, [who] was the commandant of our navy for 10 years, was later shot."¹⁶⁶ Weingartner reminded students that in spite of all of the challenges of Franz Joseph reign, he "manage[d] his high office seriously and conscientiously and the Austrian people learned very quickly with deep faith that the mild and just lord undauntedly and tirelessly sought to promote the wellbeing of his subjects."¹⁶⁷ Such emphasis on his personal troubles echoed presentations of Charles V, who endured unending hardships, yet always served his people. Also like Charles V, and other Habsburg rulers, especially Leopold I and Maria Theresa, Franz Joseph was a reluctant warrior.

Textbooks considered Austria's enemies responsible for Franz Joseph's foreign policy challenges and for pushing the "peaceful" emperor to war. Accordingly, Austria's war with Sardinia in 1859 resulted from Sardinia's lust for Austria's Italian territories and

¹⁶⁴ By 1900, it was easy to portray Franz Joseph as a tragic figure. His brother, Maximilian, became Emperor of Mexico only to be executed by firing squad during the Mexican revolution of 1867. His son and heir, Rudolf, committed suicide in 1889, and his wife, Empress Elisabeth was assassinated by an Italian anarchist in Geneva in 1898. Beller, *Francis Joseph*, 15; Brigitte Hamann, *Mit Kaiser Max in Mexiko: Aus den Tagbüchern des Fürsten Carl Khevenhüller 1864-1867* (Munich: Piper, 2001); Brigitte Hamann, *Rudolf: Kronprinz und Rebell* (Munich: Piper, 1999), 437-97.

¹⁶⁵ Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 137.

¹⁶⁶ Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 117. See also Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 236.

¹⁶⁷ Weingartner, *Lehrbuch für Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 163.

Napoleon III's ambition to "bring France to supremacy in Europe."¹⁶⁸ Franz Joseph only desired peace. As in the time of Charles V, Ferdinand I, Leopold I, and Maria Theresa, Austria was surrounded by warmongering neighbors.¹⁶⁹

Conclusion

Even though the primary curricular aim of history textbooks and history classes was to teach students about the past, they also served to establish an understanding of that past that created a sympathetic view of Austria's rulers. In this way, Habsburg rulers became the embodiment of good governance. Starting with Charlemagne, portrayed as the founder of the Austria, Austria's rulers were humble, virtuous, intelligent, interested in the welfare of their peoples, aggressive reformers and developers of the state, peaceful, and reluctant to wage war. While textbooks did not invent or misrepresent the past to create such depictions, they did use the specific details of each individual ruler's biography in such a way as to draw attention to these qualities. This fact is especially true when looking at the way textbooks represented the hardships faced by individual rulers in order to present them in a sympathetic light.

Previous scholarship has long noted that Franz Joseph was constantly depicted as hardworking and dedicated prince who was reluctant to go to war, more interested in developing his lands.¹⁷⁰ Scholars have also explored, in detail, how the personal

¹⁶⁸ Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 223.

¹⁶⁹ Chapter 4 discusses these issues in detail.

¹⁷⁰ Beller, *Francis Joseph*, 1-3, 223-230; Brigitte Hamann, *Hitlers Wien: Lehrjahre eines Diktators* (Munich: Piper, 1998), 473-474; Ernst Hanisch, *Der lange Schatten des Staates: Österreichische Gesellschaftsgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Überreuter, 1994), Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 209-231; 216-217, 280-282; Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy c. 1765-1918: From*

tragedies of Franz Joseph's life increased affection for him among Austria's citizens. While this is certainly true, Austrian textbooks show something more. Such depictions of Franz Joseph were part of a larger effort to depict other Austrian rulers just as favorably. They indeed portrayed Franz Joseph as hardworking and dedicated, able to overcome extreme personal tragedy in order to continue to serve his peoples. But he was the latest in a long line of Austrian rulers who had done the same. Had Karl I (1916-1918) ascended to the throne under normal circumstances, and not at the height of World War I, it is likely that he would have been depicted in a similar manner. The civic educational goals of the depictions of Austrian rulers was not only to establish an understanding of past rulers, but to set a foundation that could be applied to future rulers as well. There was an assumed set of shared characteristics that all occupants of the Austrian throne possessed, characteristics that earned the respect and loyalty of the Austrian people, especially in times of crisis.

Enlightenment to Eclipse (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 251-253; Daniel L. Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism: Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848-1916* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2005), 113-144.

CHAPTER 3 CONCEPTUALIZING AUSTRIA AND AUSTRIANS

Introduction

By presenting Habsburg rulers as the embodiment of good governance, history classes sought to bolster support for the imperial, Habsburg state. The emphasis on the Habsburg dynasty and its beneficial impact on the Monarchy and its peoples is understandable, given the fact that it was Habsburg rule that united the Monarchy's diverse lands and served as the state's strongest unifying force. The fact that history classes devoted so much time teaching students about Habsburg rulers also reinforced the imperial aspect of the supranational, Austrian identity. But the goal of Austrian civic education was not simply to glorify the House of Habsburg nor to build support for the Monarchy only by appealing to a student's sense of loyalty to the monarch and his family. If this were the case, then Oscar Jászi's critique of the Monarchy's system of civic education would be well deserved.¹ Efforts to strengthen attachment to the dynasty only formed one part of Austria's civic education curriculum. This curriculum also sought to make students conceive of themselves as Austrians. History and geography classes carefully developed a view of the Habsburg past which would allow all citizens of the Monarchy to develop this sense of "Austrian-ness." These efforts were not all that different from similar efforts taking place all over Europe.

Eric Hobsbawm famously argued that the establishment of nineteenth-century national traditions and customs, such as national holidays, the recitation of nationalist poems, and the commemoration of historic figures was meant to create a sense of unity

¹ Oscar Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929), 436-455.

among those living in the same state or belonging to the same nation. These traditions symbolized social and cultural cohesion and helped to legitimize the national group while communicating national beliefs to the larger population.² These traditions also helped to establish a common view of the past which increased identification with the nation and provided a common sense of unity through past struggles. As an example, Hobsbawm pointed to the fusion between the “First Reich” (or Holy Roman Empire) and the Second Reich (the Prussian dominated German Empire created in 1871) as a means to convey legitimacy to the new German state. Presenting Kaiser Wilhelm I side by side with national heroes of the German people, like Frederick Barbarossa, further established this link.³ In Hobsbawm’s mind, such use of the past helped to justify Prussian hegemony in Germany.

Anthony Smith’s theories regarding the development of nationalism and national tradition point just as strongly to these traditions, concurring with the idea that nationalism was a nineteenth-century development, but considering it to be built upon an existing sense of ethnic identity. He contended that without the “primordial ties” of ethnic identity, like common religion, language, history, and customs, nationalists could not have evoked the myth of common origins so effectively. These cultural ties provided a sense of solidarity among nationalists.⁴ Both Hobsbawm and Smith address the thorny issue of how and why nationalism emerged as it did over the course of the nineteenth

² Eric Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 9.

³ *Ibid.*, 274.

⁴ Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 6-18.

century, but on a deeper level, their theories also address the ways that identities and communities are established.

The Habsburg Monarchy was not a nation-state nor did it seek to establish an Austrian nation that shared a common language or common customs. The *Ausgleich* allowed the nationalities to develop their national cultures and ensured that Austria-Hungary remained a polyglot state. Nevertheless, Austria sought to use the common history of the Habsburg lands and the common struggles of its peoples in the very way that Hobsbawm and Smith claimed nationalists used the history of their nation. In fact, in the absence of a common language, culture, or religion, this common history was all the more important. Identification and attachment to the monarch and the dynasty, as vital as it was, was not enough to create identification and attachment to Austro-Hungary itself. Those living in Austria had to be able to think of themselves as Austrians, which meant that Austrian identity had to be supranational and open to all of the Monarchy's nationalities. In order to make Austrian students into Austrian patriots, history lessons used key examples from the Habsburg Monarchy's past to establish examples of how to live as a patriotic citizen of the Monarchy. These lessons also articulated the Monarchy's "historic mission" in European affairs and made it clear that this mission did not belong only to Austria's German-speakers or any one particular national group, but rather belonged to all of those who lived within the borders of the state. History lessons sought to use the past in a way that bridged linguistic and cultural differences and established the notion that regardless of its diversity, the Habsburg Monarchy was an empire united in historical purpose.

Historical examples were not the only means of communicating this sense of unity. Geography education was just as vital. Logically, geography lessons presented the Habsburg Monarchy as a political entity, generating a “mental map” of Austria in the minds of students. One cannot underestimate the power of this “mental map” in creating a sense of indivisibility among the Habsburg lands. Just because teachers taught that the Monarchy was a geographic entity, however, did not mean that they attempted to diminish the diversity of those lands or sought to ignore the reality of its polyglot nature. Instead, the educational curriculum in Austria acknowledged this diversity and even sought to enhance and develop local and regional identities. Far from seeing these identities as a weakness, educators viewed them as stepping stones for creating a robust, supranational identity that could be embraced by all inhabitants of the Monarchy, regardless of nationality.

Defending Vienna and Christendom: The Siege of Vienna in 1683

Few events from Austria’s past loomed as large in its historical imagination as the Siege of Vienna in 1683. The event was the culmination of centuries of conflict with the Ottoman Turks, and lifting the siege led to a series of unparalleled Austrian victories, including the conquest of Ottoman controlled Hungary and the expansion of Habsburg authority in the East.⁵ Teaching the Siege of Vienna and the resulting war with the

⁵ The origins of the Siege of Vienna date back to the Habsburg dynasty’s efforts to secure control of Hungary in 1526, which left the kingdom divided into three sections: one ruled by the Habsburg dynasty, one ruled by the Ottoman Turks, and a nominally independent Transylvania, which was a vassal of the Ottomans. During the struggle for Hungary, the Ottoman army tried, unsuccessfully, to capture Vienna. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire lent support to rebellious elements within Habsburg-controlled Hungary, especially Protestant nobles angered by the Monarchy’s support for the Catholic Reformation. There were also constant skirmishes along the border of Habsburg-controlled Hungary and Ottoman-controlled Hungary. In 1681, Imre Thököly, a Hungarian noble and ruler of Transylvania, rallied anti-Habsburg forces in Hungary, with Ottoman support, in an effort to take over

Ottoman Empire gave teachers a powerful illustration of one of the cornerstones of the “Austrian mission:” Austria’s role as the “defender” of Christian Europe against the “barbarous” East. More importantly, the siege gave textbook authors and teachers an opportunity to show students how loyal citizens of the Monarchy should act in times of crisis and the importance of supporting their monarch and fellow citizens in times of need.

When textbooks described the Turks and their conquests prior to the siege, they used language that emphasized perceived Turkish barbarity and brutality and established the Ottoman forces as a seemingly insurmountable foe intent on the conquest of Europe and the destruction of Christianity. The Turks usually first appeared in textbooks during discussions of the Third Crusade, fought from 1189-1192. Authors made no attempt to differentiate the Seljuk Turks, who then ruled the Holy Land, from the Ottoman Turks, who would challenge Austria, and simply called both “the Turks.” Thus, Austria’s later struggles with the Ottoman Empire formed part of a centuries long struggle.

Interestingly, when describing Seljuk rule of the Holy Land, textbooks contrasted the “barbaric” policies of the Seljuks with those of the previous Arab rulers, whom authors depicted as more civilized and tolerant. In a typical description of the origins of the Crusades, Oskar von Gratzky wrote that Mohammed had a deep “reverence for the holy city [of Jerusalem]” and “considered Christ to be a divine prophet.” As a result, “as long as the Arabs were masters of Palestine, they were friendly to [Christian] pilgrims

Habsburg-controlled Hungary. When Thököly’s forces appeared unable to defeat the Habsburg army, the Ottoman Empire declared war. Ottoman forces quickly overran Habsburg-controlled Hungary and began to move toward Vienna. Realizing the threat to the Monarchy’s capital, Emperor Leopold I worked quickly to secure alliances with Venice and Poland, ensuring support for the Monarchy’s armies. See John Stoye, *The Siege of Vienna: The Last Great Trial Between Cross and Crescent* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2000).

and ensured their protection.”⁶ This treatment of pilgrims changed once the Turks took control of Palestine from the Arabs in the tenth century. Describing the Turks as “a crude people from the eastern bank of the Caspian Sea,” Gratzky contended that they brought nothing but “tribulation and abuse” to both native Christians and pilgrims. “Hardheartedly, they demanded steep tolls from pilgrims,” blocked access to holy sites, and denied travelers access to Jerusalem, leaving them “at the city gates to starve.”⁷ This description did much more than establish justification for Austria’s participation in the Crusades. It established the Turks as barbaric, greedy for conquest, and hostile to Christianity, characteristics textbooks constantly used to describe the Turks, especially when discussing the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and Ottoman expansion into Europe.

The Turkish conquest of Constantinople played an important role in Austrian textbooks for several reasons. On a basic level, the collapse of Christian, Byzantine authority in the East allowed the Ottomans to gain control over much of South East Europe in the early modern period. Constantinople was also the first major European city to fall into Ottoman hands. The conversion of the capital of a great Christian power into the capital of a great Muslim power deeply affected Austrian, indeed European, world views. The way that textbooks described the fall of Constantinople reveals fears of what might have happened if Austria and its allies failed in their efforts to lift the Siege of Vienna. Anton Gindely’s widely read textbook for girls’ *Bürgerschulen* provided a vivid and literary account of the fall of Constantinople. Typically, Gindely presented the rise

⁶ Oskar von Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit bis zum Jahre 1648 für die II. Klasse der österreichischen Realschulen* (Vienna: Buchhandlung Friese & Lang, 1912), 29.

⁷ *Ibid.*

and fall of empires and the conquests of foreign powers in economical and direct prose. Such was not the case with his description of the Ottoman victory over Byzantium. He depicted the Ottoman onslaught into the city as savage, with the population ravaged by the Turkish army. Most strikingly, Gindely wrote that “the rapacious Janissaries pushed unhindered into the Hagia Sophia and beat the trembling group of Greeks [seeking sanctuary] and robbed [them] of anything deemed valuable.” Once the Sultan arrived, he prayed there and “from that moment, this magnificent building of Christian worship was lost and was dedicated to Islam; on the dome, where a cross stood, the crescent was erected.”⁸ Implicit in Gindely’s description was the understanding that had Vienna fallen, the Ottomans would have similarly converted it to a Muslim city.

Gindely also criticized the other European powers for not assisting Byzantium, leaving it to face the Turks alone. By refusing to help Constantinople, these powers not only ensured the loss of the city, but they left the rest of Europe, especially Hungary, vulnerable to Ottoman conquest.⁹ Again, there are implicit parallels with 1683, when the Habsburg Monarchy assembled an alliance of other European states who recognized the threat posed to Vienna. Such parallels reinforced the notion that Austria was an alliance builder and a consensus maker, able to work with its neighbors for the good of Europe.

The parallels between the Siege of Vienna and the Fall of Constantinople become even more obvious when textbooks presented Vienna as the final bulwark between the Ottoman army and the rest of Europe. Ignaz Pennerstorfer’s textbook for *Volksschulen*

⁸ Anton Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen*, vol. 2, 7th ed. (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1885), 67.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 62, 69; Josef Kraft, and Johann Georg Rothaus, *Gindely’s Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen*, vol. 2 (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1893), 73-4.

explained that the Fall of Constantinople was “disastrous for Europe,” leaving the Balkans and Hungary ripe for Turkish conquest.¹⁰ Ottoman movement into South East Europe made them the “greatest danger” facing Christian Europe, especially once they made conquering Vienna their “pet project” (*lieblings Plan*).¹¹ Austria could not hope for lasting peace with the Turks, since the Turks only desired conquest. Pennerstorfer made this point more explicitly in his textbook for *Bürgerschulen*, by entitling the entire section about the growth of Ottoman power the “Encroachment of the Turks.”¹² Describing the Turks as “wild and belligerent,” he traced the development of their power from a small region near the Aral Sea to the Middle East, the Balkans, and by “the middle of the 15th century...to the border of Hungary,” which they overran after the battle of Mohács in 1526. Not content with these gains, once ensconced in Hungary, “their eyes turned to Vienna.”¹³ According to Pennerstorfer, the Ottomans possessed an unquenchable thirst for conquest and posed an existential threat to Christian Europe.

Theodor Tupetz’s depiction of the Turks echoed those of Gindely and Pennerstorfer, focusing strongly on Ottoman cruelty and lust for new territory. He described the Turks as a “mighty and terrible” people, who, after conquering cities, turned countless churches into mosques, “burned the houses, trampled and cut the seeds [destroying the population’s ability to eat], and forced the inhabitants, especially the

¹⁰ Ignaz Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (Vienna: Manzschke k. k. Hof-Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1884), 84.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 84-85.

¹² Ignaz Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (Vienna: Manzschke k. k. Hof-Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1897), 124.

¹³ *Ibid.*

children, into slavery.”¹⁴ Through their conquests, they moved closer to Vienna, which “through the centuries was almost a fortress for all of Christendom.” According to Tupetz, “as long as Vienna remained uncaptured, the Turks could not take the lands to their north and west.”¹⁵ Recognizing that Vienna was the bulwark of Christianity, the “whole of Christendom followed the heroic struggle [taking place] on the walls of Vienna with breathless attention” once the siege began.¹⁶

Textbooks portrayed the Habsburg lands as the victim of Turkish aggression and placed the origins of the conflict entirely in the hands of the Ottoman Empire. In the previous chapter, we have seen how textbooks emphasized the pacific nature of Emperor Leopold I, who had war “thrust upon” him by belligerent neighbors.¹⁷ When discussing the siege itself, textbooks similarly portrayed the peoples of Austria as peace-loving victims of their neighbor’s aggression. Josef Kraft wrote that during the time of Hungary’s partition between Habsburg and Ottoman forces, the inhabitants of the border territories faced constant attacks and endless pillages by the Ottomans and their allies. He announced that “the people of our fatherland were not only robbed of their belongings and had their lands devastated, but the Turks also enslaved many of them. People were kidnapped and taken to Constantinople to serve as bodyguards to the Sultan.”¹⁸ Such

¹⁴ Theodor Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die zweite Klasse der Mädchenlyzeen*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1906), 123.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Theodor Tupetz, *Lehrbuch allgemeine Geschichte für Lehrer- und Lehrerinnenbildungsanstalten*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1891), 286; identical text is found on 147 in the 3rd edition, published in 1895.

¹⁷ See 119-122.

¹⁸ Kraft, *Gindely’s Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1893), 89-90. For more on the role of slavery in Ottoman society, see Madeline Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

statements reinforced the notion that the Ottomans forced war upon Austria while simultaneously reminding readers that the inhabitants of the Habsburg Monarchy prevented such barbarism from spreading to the rest of Europe. Kraft's description also subtly asserts that Turks were a seemingly unstoppable foe with endless numbers. Such an image dehumanized the Ottoman forces, making them appear like a malevolent entity rather than an opposing army. Textbooks employed such imagery again when describing the siege itself.

By emphasizing the perceived strength of the Turkish forces, Austria's victory over them appeared all the more impressive. Almost every description of the siege included some reference to the fact that a small number of "heroic" Viennese rose up to defend the city, in spite of the numerical superiority of the Ottoman forces. Typically, textbooks estimated that a Turkish army of over 200,000 soldiers laid siege to Vienna, which was defended "at most" by 20,000 soldiers.¹⁹ In order to make the situation appear even more dire, Josef Neuhauser alleged that the Turkish numeric advantage was so strong, that had "the bellicose" Kara Mustafa, the Grand Vizier leading the Turkish forces, stormed the city rather than besieging it, Vienna would likely have fallen.²⁰ Neuhauser also used this opportunity to reinforce the idea that the citizens of Vienna were the final line of defense for Christendom, since Mustafa sought not only to conquer

¹⁹ Karl Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Unterstufe der Mädchenlyzeen*, vol. 3, *Die Neuzeit vom Westfälischen Frieden bis auf die Gegenwart*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1917), 21; Andreas Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die VIII. Gymnasialklasse* (Laibach: Ig. v. Kleinmayr & Fed. Bamberg, 1907), 82; Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 92; Leo Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters für die unteren Classen der Mittelschulen* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1894), 61.

²⁰ Joseph Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie für Mittelschulen*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Sallmayer und Komp., 1872), 144-145. Describing Kara Mustafa as "bellicose" is typical of most books. It was yet another way that authors chose to remind their readers of the martial nature of Austria's foes. See also Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 61.

Vienna, but to establish “an autonomous Muslim empire” in Austria.²¹ In spite of such overwhelming odds, the people of Vienna rose to defend their city and all of Christendom.

Because the emperor and the rest of the imperial court fled Vienna, fearful of capture, the mayor and the small number of troops stationed in the city led the defense of the capital. The emperor’s absence meant that textbooks could highlight the contribution of individuals who were not in the court and textbooks could illuminate the role of ordinary people in the defense of the city, people protecting their home, religion, and emperor. Textbooks lauded both the leadership of the city of Vienna and its people. Tupetz provided a typical description of the siege in a section entitled “The Heroic Defense of Vienna” which illustrated the precarious situation facing Vienna and the bravery of its people:

Although the Turks tried to invade Vienna in 1529 the danger to Vienna was never as great as in 1683. The resulting threat was so immense that the imperial court was reluctantly forced to flee the endangered city. Along with the court, many thousands of inhabitants fled, especially women and children. In the greatest haste the necessary entrenchments were built in the final moments by all citizens, rich and poor, high and low born.²²

Pennerstorfer similarly emphasized the egalitarian defense of the city, writing that “the approach of the Turks caused unspeakable consternation among the inhabitants of Vienna. Thousands fled and those remaining were cared for by the mayor, Count Rüdiger von Starhemberg Liebenberg. In the city, old and young, rich and poor lent their

²¹ Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 145.

²² Theodor Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1908), 131.

hands to defend the city.”²³ In his textbook for *Volksschulen*, Pennerstorfer provided a more dramatic account which described the intense devotion of the Viennese to the city’s defense. The people of Vienna literally used themselves as human shields to block Turkish entry into the city:

Thousands of cannonballs were fired into the city, countless mines dug to shatter the fortifications. Undaunted, the soldiers and citizens stood with their brave commanders and covered the gaps which the gunpowder had torn into the city’s walls with their own bodies.²⁴

Gratzy’s narration was similarly heroic, stating “the entire population of Vienna rose to the city’s defense so that what the enemy had destroyed throughout the day would be repaired during the night as quickly possible.”²⁵ Leopold Weingartner provided a similar picture, telling students that the city was only saved by the “boldness, cleverness, and determination” of both the city’s leaders and its inhabitants.²⁶ As with other authors, Weingartner contrasted this bravery with the savagery of the Turks, arguing that the citizens of Vienna behaved valiantly, even though “no house, no church” was safe from the attacks of the Turks, who attacked with “countless” numbers.²⁷

For all of these textbooks, the boldness and selflessness of the city’s people explained how the city held out long enough for relief to arrive. Textbooks also explicitly stated the importance of this victory and what it meant for Austria. The defeat

²³ Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 124-125.

²⁴ Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 92.

²⁵ Oskar von Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit seit dem Jahre 1648 für die III. Klasse der österreichischen Realschulen* (Vienna: Buchhandlung Friese & Lang, 1913), 8-9.

²⁶ Leopold Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit für die Unterstufe der österreichischen Mittelschulen* (Vienna: Manzschke k.u.k. Hof-Verlags-und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1910), 63.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 63-64.

of the Turks signified the end of Ottoman dominance in South East Europe and the salvation of Christendom. Weingartner triumphantly proclaimed that because of their defeat, “the Turks ceased to be a terror to Christianity,” and Emmanuel Hannak insisted that Europe was “forever freed from the Turkish threat.”²⁸

Gindely concurred, but he placed greater emphasis on the “liberation” of Christian territory from the Turks. He reminded students that after the defeat of the Turks, “piece by piece, lands held by the Turks for 150 years were recovered [for Christendom].”²⁹

Hannak’s textbook for *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen* provided a more dramatic description:

One can describe this time of glorious victories as Austria’s *Heldenzeit* (Time of Heroes). Through these victories, the power of Islam was broken and the Turks were pushed back into the Balkan Peninsula. Austria proved to be the bulwark of Christian culture and of civilization against oriental barbarism.³⁰

Attempting to demonstrate this perceived barbarism one final time, Gratzky chose to punctuate his description of Austria’s victory with the reaction of Kara Mustafa, who “spit in anger, pulled out his hair and beard, and let myriad Christian slaves, the old, women, and children, be inhumanely cut down.”³¹ While it may seem odd to include such statements while writing of Austria’s triumph, it helped to remind the reader of what would have been the fate of Vienna’s population had Austria failed.

²⁸ Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 64. See also Emmanuel Hannak, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die oberen Classen der Mittelschulen*, 12th ed. (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1898), 76.

²⁹ Kraft, *Gindely’s Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1893), 90.

³⁰ Emmanuel Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit für Oberclassen der Mittelschulen*, 5th ed. (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1900), 98.

³¹ Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 9.

By so vividly describing the extent of the danger facing Vienna, the selflessness of the people in defending the city, and the way in which the defense of the city transcended class and status, textbooks not only presented a heroic vision of an important episode of Austria's past, but provided a template of behavior for the future. The victory during the siege of Vienna was a victory made possible by all of Vienna's people working together. Because they stood by their emperor, Austria was able to continue its heroic mission.

Defending the Monarch: The People of Austria and Maria Theresa

Just as with the Siege of Vienna, textbooks considered the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748) to be a conflict in which success was only possible because of the loyalty of Austria's people. The war began in 1740, when Prussia and its allies challenged the legitimacy of Maria Theresa's claim to the Habsburg lands. Austria's opponents rescinded their approval of the Pragmatic Sanction which named Maria Theresa as her father's rightful heir, and they sought to divide Austria's territory among themselves. They also encouraged Bohemia and Hungary to reject Maria Theresa's claim to the crowns of their kingdoms.³²

Even though textbooks often praised King Frederick II of Prussia for his support for Enlightenment principles, they painted him as the unquestioned aggressor in this conflict.³³ Textbooks depicted Prussia's attack on Austria as a betrayal of both Maria

³² For an overview of the War of Austrian Succession, see Reed S. Browning, *The War of Austrian Succession* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995).

³³ For an example of discussions of Frederick II's personality see Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 14-15.

Theresa and Austria itself, and made clear that Prussia was a well-organized, well-equipped foe preying upon Austria's vulnerabilities.³⁴ While authors may not have rhetorically vilified Frederick II, he was obviously an enemy of Austria. Even though some radical German nationalists in Austria considered Frederick to be a German national hero, textbooks taught only that he threatened Austria's position in Europe.

Since the war was a direct challenge to Habsburg inheritance of the Monarchy, it became another instance in which Austria was encircled by countless foes. As previously discussed, textbooks used the challenge to Maria Theresa's succession to the throne as an opportunity to describe the grit and determination of the monarch.³⁵ But they also used it as an opportunity to describe the deep devotion the Austrian people felt toward their monarch and dynasty. Textbooks drew attention to Austria's diplomatic isolation at the outbreak of the war, portraying the Monarchy as beset by opportunistic and predatory neighbors interested only in their own aggrandizement. Obviously, Prussia's role in starting the conflict was a key focal point, but Bavaria's use of the situation to take the imperial crown was equally important. As always, textbooks discussed the role of Austria's perpetual nemesis, France, in encouraging Austria's foes and providing military and financial support for their efforts to remove the Habsburg dynasty from power.³⁶ Surrounded by such foes, Maria Theresa turned to her people, and their loyalty saved the Monarchy.

³⁴ Julius John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1910), 9.

³⁵ See above 123-128.

³⁶ John, *Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1910), 10; Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 15; Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 80.

Almost all accounts of the War of Austrian Succession included some mention of the loyalty of Austria's peoples to Maria Theresa. Typically there was some variation of the phrase "in this danger, Maria Theresa found salvation through the loyalty of her subjects" or "the hard-pressed ruler found unwavering support from her subjects and a powerful alliance with England."³⁷ Pennerstorfer presented this notion in great detail, emphasizing the connection between the monarch and her peoples and their role in her victory:

The young empress, Maria Theresa, barely had an army to oppose her countless enemies and only due to the traditional loyalty and self-sacrifice of her peoples was she not completely defeated.... The Austrian lands willingly sacrificed, with pleasure, their money and blood for their princess.³⁸

There are strong, rhetorical similarities between descriptions of Austria rallying around Maria Theresa and descriptions of the people of Vienna rallying to defend the city from the Ottoman Empire, including the idea that Austria's forces rallied in the face of "countless" enemies and that Austria's people possessed unwavering loyalty to the crown and Monarchy.

Textbooks wanted to make clear that Maria Theresa did not take this loyalty for granted. Indeed she actively beseeched her people for assistance. She especially sought the help of the Hungarians in her efforts to defend her inheritance and her claim to the thrones of the Monarchy. The story of Maria Theresa's appeal to the Hungarian Diet in

³⁷ Theodor Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie. Verfassung und Staatseinrichtungen derselben Lehrbuch für den dritten Jahrgang der k.k. Lehrer- und Lehrerinnenbildungsanstalten*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1891), 128; identical text in the 3rd edition, published in 1895, 146; Emmanuel Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit für Oberclassen der Mittelschulen*, 3rd ed. (Vienna: Alfred Holder, 1889), 136; identical text in the 4th edition, published in 1895 and the 5th edition published in 1900; Hannak, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1898), 90; Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 80.

³⁸ Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 97.

Pressburg in 1741 became the personification of this effort, and textbooks recounted the events of the Diet in vivid detail. Pennerstorfer, in his typical dramatic fashion, wrote that once attacked by her enemies, Maria Theresa

set all her hopes on God and on the loyalty of her peoples. In Pressburg she received the Hungarian Diet. The crown of St. Stefan on her head, dressed in mourning clothes and as the daughter of the deceased king, she asked for help and said “We are abandoned by all; we take refuge in the loyalty of the diet, in the arms of the ancient heroic spirit of the Hungarian nation.” ... To which they replied “Let us die for Maria Theresa, our queen.”³⁹

In order to emphasize the commitment of the Hungarian nobles to Maria Theresa, textbooks would usually provide some estimate of the numbers of troops they pledged to Maria Theresa as well as the financial support they provided.⁴⁰

The descriptions of the Diet of Pressburg are important not only because they illustrate the humility and faith of Maria Theresa, but because they demonstrate that all of the Habsburg lands remained loyal to the monarch and Monarchy, not just the inhabitants of the capital. While the Siege of Vienna was a dramatic example of citizens coming together to defend the city, Hungarian support for Maria Theresa’s war effort was an example of the unwavering loyalty of the non-German population for the Habsburg state.

³⁹ Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 129. An almost identical account is found in Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 15.

⁴⁰ Kraft, *Gindely’s Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1893), 112; Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie für Mittelschulen* (1872), 163. Even though textbooks made clear that it was Hungarian nobles who pledged loyalty to Maria Theresa at the Diet of Pressburg, authors still portrayed the event as the Hungarian people rallying to her side. In reality, Maria Theresa was less concerned with support of the common man, and more concerned with ensuring that the Hungarian nobility would not use the opportunity to rebel against Habsburg rule. Browning, *The War of Austrian Succession*, 66-68.

Defending the Monarchy: Andreas Hofer and the Tyrolean Uprising

The precarious position of the Habsburg Monarchy during the War of Austrian Succession paled in comparison to the series of failures and defeats it suffered at the hands of Napoleon during the Napoleonic Wars. Although Austria was one of the first states to go to war with Revolutionary France, the complicated course of its participation in the conflicts that followed left an ambiguous historical legacy. Austria's crushing defeat at the Battle of Austerlitz in 1806 caused the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire and the loss of the imperial crown. The temporary loss of Tyrol and Vorarlberg to Bavaria, which at that time was a French satellite, accompanied the loss of the Empire. After a brief period of peace, Austria rejoined the fight against France, but was defeated again in 1809. As a result of these defeats, Emperor Franz II/I agreed to a marriage between his daughter, Maria Louise, and Napoleon, and to Austria's entrance into the Continental System in order to secure a new peace treaty. Austria remained at peace with France until Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia in 1812, when it joined the Sixth Coalition in its fight against France, which ultimately led to Napoleon's defeat.⁴¹

Although Austria was part of the winning coalition and central to the peace settlement which ended the wars, thanks to its role as host of the Congress of Vienna, the Napoleonic Wars took their toll on Austria's international prestige and reputation. The series of military defeats coupled with the fact that a Habsburg princess had become Empress of France meant that Austria had to work to recover its position among the Great Powers of Europe. Thanks to the efforts of Clemens von Metternich, Franz's adroit foreign minister, Austria recovered its diplomatic position quickly and Austria remained

⁴¹ See Gunther Rothenburg, *The Napoleonic Wars* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2006).

crucial to European affairs until the end of the First World War.⁴² Coping with the legacy of the Napoleonic defeats, however, was more complicated. When discussing the Napoleonic Wars, textbooks faced the difficult challenge of presenting Austria in a heroic light despite its military failures.

Textbook authors partially achieved this task by emphasizing the overwhelming size and power of the Monarchy's foe, as they did in discussing most conflicts.

Textbooks presented Napoleon as invincible and the French armies as unbeatable on the battlefield. They also focused on Austria's diplomatic isolation, once again making it appear to be a force of stability and order fighting alone against the forces of chaos. Josef Neuhauser clearly sought to portray this isolation when describing Austria's renewed conflict with France in 1809. He glossed over Austria's periods of peace with France and proclaimed that when the Monarchy declared war in 1809, it "not only [fought] against the new French Empire, but also the whole of Western Europe (except England)...."⁴³

Austria was a state valiantly opposing a stronger enemy. Anton Gindely similarly minimized Austria's periods of peace with France by claiming they were merely moments when Austria could recuperate and rebuild, so it could rejoin the fight against France. Austria never intended for the territorial concessions and the marriage of Maria

⁴² For an overview of the Congress of Vienna and Metternich's efforts to recover Austria's diminished diplomatic position, see David King, *Vienna 1814: How the Conquerors of Napoleon Made Love, War, and Peace at the Congress of Vienna* (New York: Harmony Books, 2008).

⁴³ Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 196. A similar reference to Austria fighting without allies is in Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 132.

Louise to Napoleon to be permanent. These actions were ways of staving off the enemy until Austria could recover its strength.⁴⁴

Textbooks also addressed Austria's defeats at the hands of Napoleon by drawing attention to the bravery of its people in their opposition to Napoleon and by glorifying its handful of military victories against France. Textbooks described, in detail, the Tyrolean Uprising of 1809/1810 and the victory of Austrian troops at the Battle of Aspern-Essling in May 1809. The Tyrolean Uprising not only became a way of demonstrating Austria's struggle against France, even during periods of peace, but it also became an important illustration of patriotic loyalty. Textbooks treated the uprising's leader, Andreas Hofer, and all of those who opposed French troops and the Bavarian occupation, as secular martyrs.

Authors communicated this reverence for Hofer and the others by calling the uprising "The War of Independence" or "The People's War in Tyrol."⁴⁵ They also blended the narratives of the uprising with the general war against Napoleon, so that the revolts against French rule could be considered an extension of the Austrian war effort. In this way, textbooks directly connected the actions of the Austrian state with the actions of the people of Austria making them appear united in their struggle.

Even though authors blended these events, they always portrayed the uprising itself as the spontaneous action of the people of Tyrol. It was important that students understood that the uprising sprang from the people who thereby demonstrated their

⁴⁴ Anton Gindely, G. Schimmer, A. Steinhauser, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die Achte Classe der Gymnasien* (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1886), 84-85.

⁴⁵ Anton Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen, Ausgabe für Mädchenschulen*, 11th ed., vol. 2 (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1893), 96; Andreas Zeehe, Franz Heiderich, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die VIII. Gymnasialklasse* (Laibach: Ig. v. Kleinmayr & Fed. Bamberg, 1901), 115.

loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty. Those who participated provided an example of patriotism students should model. Textbooks always used dramatic and literary language to describe the course of the uprising and the dire conditions facing the participants. As in the Siege of Vienna, the Tyroleans faced a powerful, immoral foe. Considering the typical portrayal of the French, it is not surprising that the authors considered the French armies to be domineering, exploitative, and cruel. But, since Tyrol was technically under the control of Bavaria, and not France, textbooks depicted the Bavarian occupiers just as harshly. They lamented that the “hated” Bavarian troops exploited the Tyroleans and the fact that Bavaria opportunistically and willingly agreed to be pawns of the French.⁴⁶ As Tupetz wrote: “After his victory in 1805, Napoleon gave Tyrol, which he had wrested from Emperor Franz, to Bavaria. At that time, the ruler of this land, whom he [Napoleon] had given the title king instead of elector, had to do what Napoleon wished....”⁴⁷ However, the people of Tyrol were unhappy with their new rulers and “yearned to return to Austrian rule and conspired on how to free themselves from the foreign yoke.”⁴⁸

Tupetz’s description is notable for several reasons. He undercut any German nationalist interpretation of the Tyrolean uprising by making clear the role of the Bavarians in the occupation. Even though the Bavarians were puppets of French will, they still played a decisive and negative role in the Tyrolean occupation. Furthermore, his use of the phrase “foreign yoke” referred to the Bavarians as well as the French. It was Austrian patriotism that drove the uprising, not German nationalism.

⁴⁶ Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 157; identical text in the 3rd edition, 179.

⁴⁷ Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1908), 162; Theodor Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Knabenbürgerschulen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1908), 159.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

This fact became more explicit in the description of the events, when Tupetz and other authors communicated the strong desire of the Tyroleans to return to Austrian rule. Gratzky stated that even under occupation, the “heroic mountain folk of Tyrol maintained their love for their prince,” and under the leadership of the “heroic peasant, Andreas Hofer” they resisted foreign oppression.⁴⁹ Even though they faced unbeatable odds and a powerful foe, their love of Austria enabled them to keep fighting even to the point of capture and execution. But even facing certain death, the love and loyalty that Hofer and the others felt toward their emperor remained. In melodramatic fashion, Gratzky described Hofer’s execution to demonstrate his patriotic death:

He stood in the *Richtplatz* before twelve gunman, who were to shoot him. He did not let them bind his eyes, nor did he kneel. “I stand before that which has created me,” he yelled out with a steady voice, “and I want to remain standing at my death.” Then he pulled his cross to his lips and commanded: “Fire!” His body was returned to Innsbruck where it stands in a heroic monument in the court church.⁵⁰

Leo Smolle provided an equally vivid narration of Hofer’s defiance in the face of his captors. According to Smolle, Hofer announced at his execution: “I am and remain loyal to the House of Austria and my Emperor Franz.” The author also drew attention to the fact that Hofer remained standing and commanded the firing squad to fire.⁵¹ These accounts presented Hofer as the model of defiance in the face of oppression, the truest example of unflinching loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty. The Tyrolean Uprising helped to teach students that even under occupation, Austrian lands were still Austrian and their

⁴⁹ Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 33.

⁵⁰ This description also illustrates Hofer’s piety and faith in God by showing him invoking his Creator and venerating his cross. *Ibid.*, 33.

⁵¹ Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 119. Similar descriptions are found in Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 118.

proper ruler would always be from the House of Habsburg. The patriotic example of Hofer and the other heroes of the uprising also helped to bridge the activities of the common people with those of the Habsburg army during the Napoleonic Wars.

Creating Austrian Heroes: Eugene of Savoy and Archduke Karl

Fewer personalities were more important to Austrian history than two of its most famous field marshals, Eugene of Savoy and Archduke Karl. Both served as reminders of Habsburg military prowess and personified two of the Monarchy's greatest victories, victory over the Turks following the Siege of Vienna in 1683 and victory over Napoleon in 1815. It should not be surprising, given the biographical nature of history education that textbooks discussed the lives of these two men in great detail and lauded their virtues. But Eugene of Savoy and Archduke Karl allowed textbooks to do more than retell stories of Austria's military prowess. They provided examples of bravery, determination, and loyalty to the Monarchy. As with the descriptions of average Austrians rallying to defend their fatherland in times of crisis, the success of these two generals also demonstrated the virtue of patriotic sacrifice. In this way, they served as patriotic figures for students to emulate.

Typically, textbooks described Eugene of Savoy as Austria's "greatest field marshal." They usually provided a detailed biography of Eugene with an overview of his role in Austria's wars during late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁵² As with discussions of other heroes, textbooks explained his skills and abilities. Authors

⁵² Andreas Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit für die oberen Classen der Gymnasien* (Laibach: Ig. v. Kleinmayr & Fed. Bamberg, 1899), 107; Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1885), 102.

considered it important for students to understand where and how he developed his military acumen and how he came into the service of the Habsburg emperor.⁵³ Most importantly, these biographies provided detailed descriptions of Eugene's military victories in the wars against the Ottoman Empire and France. Students learned how Eugene's "bravery and cleverness" allowed him to overcome Austria's enemies at Belgrade, Zenta, and in the Banat, "where 30,000 Turks were stationed" in a "well-defended" fortress.⁵⁴ In each situation, Eugene proved to be a master of strategy and brought glory and victory to Austria and the House of Habsburg.

These descriptions of Eugene of Savoy are what one would expect for any military leader, but the specifics of his biography helped to make him more than just a war hero. Eugene of Savoy was a paragon of loyalty, and textbooks and teachers used him to teach students the virtue of faithfulness to one's country, even in the face of adversity and temptation. Zeehe pointed out that Eugene's loyalty to Austria was so deep, that his personal motto was "Austria above all."⁵⁵ His loyalty to the Monarchy was unflinching even when Louis XIV tried to convince Eugene of Savoy to abandon the Habsburg Monarchy and lead a French army instead. Offended by the suggestion, Eugene told the French king's envoy: "Tell your king that I am an imperial field marshal, which is worth as much as the French marshal's staff." After this refusal,

⁵³ Tupetz, *Lehrbuch allgemeine Geschichte* (1891), 2nd ed, 286; identical text in the 3rd edition, 148; Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, 2nd ed. (1891), 109-113; identical text in the 3rd edition, 126-129; Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 86; Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 65-68.

⁵⁴ Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 68-70; Kraft, *Gindely's Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1893), 91; Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 12; Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 61-67.

⁵⁵ Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 107.

Eugene led a campaign against France in Italy, where he became “a second Hannibal.”⁵⁶ Even though he came from a territory near France, he stood by his Austrian emperor and this devotion made him one of the truest Austrian generals.⁵⁷

Because of this happenstance of biography, Eugene of Savoy ended up becoming a perfect model for patriotism in a multinational empire. His career demonstrated that loyalty and identity was not necessarily rooted in language or birthplace. In 1908, the fourth grade class of the *Freie Schule* in Vienna used Eugene of Savoy as an example of the complexity of patriotism and identity. After introducing the students to the life of Eugene of Savoy, the teacher asked the provocative question “What is an Austrian?” After thinking, a student answered: “An Austrian is [someone] born in Austria.” The teacher pointed out that by that logic, Eugene of Savoy could not be Austrian. The teacher then asked what determined a person’s fatherland. Again, a student replied “Where one is born,” while another offered that one’s fatherland could be determined by where an individual’s father was born. In reply to these answers, which were all rooted in birthplace, the teacher asked what the fatherland would be of an individual who was born in one place, but worked to improve and defend another? She then told the students that one was Austrian when he or she worked for Austria, labored for it, defended it, and fought for it, concluding “you can come into this world as an Englishman and die an Austrian.”⁵⁸ This entire lesson was built around the rejection of the idea that loyalty and identification were rooted in birthplace. It taught students that Austrian identity did not

⁵⁶ Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 94-95.

⁵⁷ Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1908), 137; Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Knabenbürgerschulen* (1908), 126.

⁵⁸ “Stunden in der freien Schule,” *Freie Schule: Mitteilungen des Vereines “Freie Schule” in Wien*, April, 1908, np.

come from national origin, but from loyalty. Anyone could be Austrian as long as they fought and worked for Austria.

Discussions of Archduke Karl and his victories over Napoleon reinforced this message. As with Eugene of Savoy, textbooks presented Karl as a heroic example of loyalty to Austria and the crown. Textbooks typically provided a detailed biography, so students would understand who he was, how he was trained, and his life prior to the fight against France. In some textbooks, Karl's biography also became a way to describe the conflict against Napoleon, with the narrative of the war presented through the narrative of the battles Karl fought.⁵⁹ In these works, Karl became the personification of Austria's valiant struggle in the face of overwhelming odds. Drawing attention to these odds, Gindely lamented that in the fight against France, "the greatest burden fell to Austria," since all other powers were either vanquished or not directly threatened (his way of diminishing the threat Napoleon posed to England).⁶⁰ His description relied on the recurring trope that Austria fought valiantly, even in the face of overwhelming enemies and desperate situations. As an example of this fact, he proclaimed that Archduke Karl doggedly pursued the French, regardless of the odds.⁶¹ Such determination was key to driving back the French forces and holding them at bay. Weingartner similarly described Karl's bravery and his role in pushing France back to the Rhine River, while marveling that such victories occurred when Karl was only 25.⁶²

⁵⁹ Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, 2nd ed. (1891), 149-164; identical text in the 3rd edition, 171-188.

⁶⁰ Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1885), 113.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 114. A similar presentation can be found in Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 196.

⁶² Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 105-106.

As with Eugene of Savoy, teachers expected students to know the specific battles won by Karl and their impact on the Napoleonic Wars. Among them, none was as important as the Battle of Aspern, where in May 1809, the army of Archduke Karl interrupted Napoleon's march to Vienna. Even though the Austrian victory was tactical and actually did little to change the course of the overall conflict, Austrian textbooks considered it a great military triumph, responsible for helping to turn the tide against Napoleon, at least on a psychological level. Descriptions of the victory at Aspern employed grandiose language, heaping praise upon Austrian troops and their general. Almost all accounts contended that Europe considered Napoleon's armies invincible and that opposing him was futile. Archduke Karl changed such beliefs. In his typical dramatic prose, Pennerstorfer wrote how "from the House of Habsburg rose a man who robbed the Emperor Napoleon of the glory of invincibility. He was Archduke Karl."⁶³ Such language was not unusual. Andreas Zeehe described how "the victory had a great significance on morale: Napoleon had lost the illusion of invincibility, the news left a powerful impact throughout Europe. Soon after, even Napoleon himself named Austria a devilishly strong power."⁶⁴ Gratzky concurred that "after so many wars and victories, Emperor Napoleon was the master of Europe," but Aspern "showed a stunned world that Napoleon, so far undefeated, could be beaten."⁶⁵ Gindely created a similar impression, stating that "as Aspern and Esslingen came to their bloody conclusion, Napoleon suffered

⁶³ Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 131.

⁶⁴ Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 185.

⁶⁵ Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 32-33.

his first defeat and the world lost its belief in his invincibility.”⁶⁶ According to the textbooks, the Battle of Aspern lifted the spirits of Napoleon’s weary foes and helped to rally them to oppose French oppression.

Ultimately Karl emerged as an individual who united Europe against Napoleon. Reinforcing the idea that Austria was an alliance builder, textbooks described Karl giving rousing speeches encouraging those who were living under French occupation to rise against Napoleon. He asked that “the Germans, the Italians, the Poles, and the rest of the oppressed...join the fight,” and “his words found lively echoes, especially in the Alpine lands of Tyrol. The loyal mountain inhabitant, Andreas Hofer of Spitze, chased the hated Bavarians from the land.”⁶⁷ Other textbooks also explicitly connected Archduke Karl’s call for resistance and the Tyrolean uprising. This connection created a direct link between the “heroic” struggle of those in occupied territory with the “heroic” struggle of the Austrian army. In this way, the fight against Napoleon was a fight waged by a united Austria, loyal to its emperor. This point was made explicitly in Gindely’s textbook for *Bürgerschulen*, which reminded students that all of Austria was “unanimously united in defense of the homeland...All classes were glowing with the fire of patriotic enthusiasm.”⁶⁸ Victory at Aspern proved the unity of Austria and helped to contribute to Napoleon’s downfall by showing that he could be defeated.

⁶⁶ Anton Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte für die oberen Klassen der Real- und Handelsschulen*, vol. 3, *Der Neuzeit* (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1876), 164.

⁶⁷ Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1889), 198; identical 4th and 5th editions published in 1895 and 1900.

⁶⁸ Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1893), 117. See also Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 115.

Coping with Defeat and Contending with Disloyalty

The glorification of the Battle of Aspern provided a template for how textbooks addressed the Habsburg Monarchy's numerous military failures during the nineteenth century. As has been discussed, the severity of these defeats on the battlefield provided the impetus for many of Austria's constitutional reforms in the middle of the nineteenth century. They also meant that educators needed to explain these strings of defeats. One of the most common ways to address military failure was to emphasize the bravery of Austrian soldiers and praise their devotion to their country and monarch. Hannak, for example, insisted that in spite of Napoleon's power, "Austrian troops, with heroic bravery, took to the battlefield."⁶⁹ He made a similar case about the bravery of Austrian troops in the war with Sardinia in 1859 and Prussia in 1866.⁷⁰ Other authors repeatedly praised the bravery of Austrian troops during the wars with Sardinia and Prussia and reminded students that Austria's defeat did not diminish the valiant sacrifice of its soldiers.⁷¹

Another common method for addressing Austria's defeats was to draw attention to the individual victories won by Austria's military on the battlefield, even if those victories did not lead to overall triumph. The Battle of Aspern provides the best example of this technique. Victory at Aspern did little to end the Napoleonic Wars and did not prevent another crushing defeat for Austria months later, yet textbooks presented it as a major turning point in the conflict with Napoleon. When discussing the war with

⁶⁹ Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1889), 194.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 224, 228.

⁷¹ John, *Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1910), 34-38.

Sardinia in 1859, textbooks focused on the naval battle of Lizza and praised the Austrian navy for its overwhelming victory in that battle.⁷² As with Aspern, Lizza did not alter the outcome of the war, but it allowed for a heroic discussion of Austria's military and enabled students to see some triumph in an unsuccessful war. When discussing Austria's crushing defeat at the battle of Königgratz in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, Gratzky immediately reminded students that Austria fared much better on the Italian front and only lost territory to Italy because it was a condition of the peace treaty with Prussia.⁷³

A final way that textbooks addressed the failure of Austrian armies on the battlefield was by reiterating that the Monarchy was a force of stability beset by predatory enemies interested only in their own advancement. In the face of such foes, it was only natural that Austria would not always be victorious. Accordingly, under Napoleon III (1852-1870), France remained the primary source of destabilization in European affairs, as it had been during the reigns of Louis XIV and Napoleon I. Gratzky portrayed Napoleon III as a hypocritical monarch, who claimed to be an "emperor of peace" yet used a period of diplomatic calm and economic prosperity to "plan offensive wars of vengeance against each power on the European continent, those who once had brought down his uncle [Napoleon I] at Leipzig and Waterloo...Russia, Prussia, and Austria."⁷⁴ Napoleon III's greed, ambition, and desire for revenge explained the outbreak

⁷² Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1908), 183; Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Knabenbürgerschulen* (1908), 175.

⁷³ Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 48.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 45. Tupetz makes a similar statement regarding Napoleon III's claim to be an "emperor of peace" in Tupetz, *Lehrbuch allgemeine Geschichte*, 2nd ed. (1891), 329; identical text in the 3rd edition, 198. See also Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1889), 223-224; Karl Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien, Real-gymnasien, und Reform-real-gymnasien*, vol. 3, *Die Neuzeit vom westfälischen Frieden bis auf die Gegenwart*, 3rd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1915), 189.

of the Crimean War, the Austro-Sardinian War, and the Franco-Prussian War. In the Austro-Sardinian War, Napoleon III exploited King Victor Emmanuel I of Sardinia's ambition to rule all of Italy. Victor Emmanuel "rel[ie]d] on French protection and aid...to destroy Austrian rule in Italy and make himself lord of all of Italy."⁷⁵ Sardinia could not have defeated Austria alone, it only achieved victory through the help of France.

Tupetz made this point more explicitly, writing that after their defeat at the hands of Austrian forces, led by the legendary Field Marshal Joseph Radetzky in 1848, Sardinia was hesitant to fight Austria alone. "As long as Radetzky lived, the King of Sardinia did not wage another attack against Austria," but with the help of Napoleon III, "a nephew of Napoleon I, who had taken possession of the throne in a similar manner to his uncle and also similarly sought renown through his ceaseless and also unjustified wars," Sardinia succeeded.⁷⁶ Gindely was even more direct, writing that Austria "would not have lost these possessions if the Emperor of France, Napoleon III, had not interfered in the Italian dispute." Furthermore, Napoleon III only interfered because he "hoped to enhance the prestige of his empire."⁷⁷ While these textbooks acknowledged that nationalism and the desire for an Italian nation-state factored into the conflict, they still considered Sardinia's interest in enhancing its power to be the main motivating factor prompting war.⁷⁸ And most importantly, Sardinia's desire to rule Italy only became reality with French

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁷⁶ Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1908), 183; Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Knabenbürgerschulen* (1908), 174.

⁷⁷ Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte*, vol. 3 (1876), 196.

⁷⁸ John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1910), 54.

assistance. Had Austria faced only the one foe, instead of two, it would have been victorious in the war.

Textbooks relied on this technique again when discussing Austria's defeat in the Austro-Prussian War in 1866. In this case, Prussia provoked a war with Austria in order to obtain mastery over Germany. According to Weingartner, Prussia was envious of Austria's preeminence in German affairs and the esteem Emperor Franz Joseph had among the other German princes. As a result, the Prussian chancellor Otto von Bismarck engineered war between Austria and Prussia so he could push Austria out of German affairs.⁷⁹ Again, Austria was the victim of its neighbors' aggressions, forced to defend itself against unwarranted attacks. Even when textbooks made it clear they considered Prussia the aggressor in this conflict, they refrained from attacking Bismarck in the same manner they did Napoleon III. After 1879, Austria and Germany were allies and vilifying Prussia or Bismarck would have undermined the spirit of this alliance. Nevertheless, textbooks made clear that the war resulted from Prussia's desire for greater influence over Germany.

While textbooks rationalized military failures, they could not diminish or ignore the fact that the Habsburg Monarchy faced a profound series of military defeats in the middle of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, they used the opportunity to reinforce the notion that whatever the outcome, Austria's motives were noble and its armies loyal and brave. In this way, Austria's military defeats became a tool for teaching loyalty to the

⁷⁹ Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 150. Similar depictions of the Austria-Prussian War are found in Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 122; John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1910), 58; Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien*, vol. 3 (1915), 196-198.

crown in the face of adversity and a means of reinforcing the notion that Austria and its historic mission were virtuous and vital to European stability.

While the Habsburg military's many defeats certainly made it difficult to portray the Monarchy in a heroic and victorious light, the periods of revolution and civil unrest which confronted the Monarchy throughout its history directly challenged the notion that those living under Habsburg rule were content and united in their enthusiasm and devotion to the dynasty and the state. Textbooks and history classes had to present a reasonably truthful version of these events that still emphasized unity and loyalty, they therefore typically minimized the role of anti-dynastic impulses and emphasized the role of other factors in stoking discontent among the Monarchy's population. Considering the continued political importance of the Thirty Years War, especially the Battle of White Mountain, and the Revolutions of 1848 for nationalists, these events, in particular, required careful presentation by textbooks and teachers.

The Thirty Years War, which began in the spring of 1618, reshaped the European state system and redefined the balance of power in Europe until the French Revolution. It was one of the final wars of religion between Protestants and Catholics and, by its end, yet another conflict between France and the Habsburg dynasty for influence and power. It was also one of the most destructive wars in European history and it left a lasting impact on the culture and psyche of the belligerents, especially the German states who bore the brunt of the destruction and devastation. In the Habsburg Monarchy, especially Bohemia, the War reshaped the dynamic between the nobility and the crown in the

crown's favor and profoundly affected Czech nationalism as it emerged in the nineteenth century.⁸⁰

The War began when a Protestant faction of the Bohemian nobility sought to replace the Catholic, Habsburg king of Bohemia with a Protestant one. When the Habsburg dynasty resisted with force, the resulting conflict activated a series of alliances forged largely along religious lines, broadening the conflict to include most of Europe. The challenge to Habsburg rule in Bohemia ended early in the War, at the Battle of White Mountain in November 1620, where the forces supporting the Habsburgs crushed those supporting the Protestant claimant to the Bohemian crown. In the aftermath of the battle, the Habsburg ruler, Ferdinand II, severely punished the defeated nobles. Twenty-seven of their leaders were executed, and those not executed had their properties confiscated and were forced into exile. The Bohemian Estates lost most of their power, efforts were made to restore the property and position of the Catholic Church, and most importantly, the Habsburg dynasty proclaimed Bohemia to be a hereditary possession, removing the power of the Bohemian nobility to elect their king.⁸¹ Over three hundred years later, Czech nationalists saw the execution and banishment of such a large percentage of the Bohemian nobility as the point in which the Czech nation lost control over its own destiny and became subjected to German domination. As Czech nationalists fought with German nationalists over language rights, local autonomy, and other issues, many did so

⁸⁰ For an exhaustive overview of the Thirty Years War see Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2011).

⁸¹ Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2004), 69-70.

with the belief that they were fighting to restore what had been lost after the Battle of White Mountain.⁸²

These factors made the Thirty Years War a politically volatile event, and textbook authors tried to minimize nationalist interpretations of the War and the Battle of White Mountain. Typically, they did so by keeping the focus on the War itself, the important battles, strategies, and turning points.⁸³ Consistent with the pedagogical belief that history was best told through biography, discussions of the Thirty Years War also heavily discussed the achievements of the notable generals of the conflict, especially Albrecht von Wallenstein and Johann Tserclaes, Count von Tilly, diverting attention away from politically sensitive issues.⁸⁴

Textbooks only briefly mentioned the efforts by the Bohemian nobility to end Habsburg rule and generally portrayed it as an overpowered nobility's attempt to diminish the authority of the crown. Zeehe proclaimed that the Thirty Years War began because of the "great power of the nobility in the [Bohemian] lands," which was so strong that "the ruler of Bohemia (*Landesfürst*) could almost be considered as nothing more than the president of an aristocratic republic."⁸⁵ In the face of such a powerful nobility, the Habsburg dynasty had no choice but to resist and reassert royal authority. Textbooks regularly portrayed the conflict as one in which the rightful ruler of Bohemia

⁸² Hugh Agnew, *Origins of the Czech National Renaissance* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993), 48-50, 90-92, 112-115.

⁸³ See for example Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 124-138.

⁸⁴ Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1908), 125-131; Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Knabenbürgerschulen* (1908), 114-120.

⁸⁵ Andreas Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters für die oberen Classen der Gymnasien* (Laibach: Ig v. Kleinmayr & F. Bamberg, 1897), 76.

resisted the actions of rebellious nobles. In this light, the Battle of White Mountain and its aftermath became less about national rights and almost exclusively about punishment for treason.

Textbooks did not attempt to minimize or gloss over the execution of noble leaders nor the confiscation of property and the banishment of rebellious aristocrats. But they contended that such punishments only resulted from the Bohemian nobility's rebellious challenge to the crown. They were not connected to a nationalist agenda and did not represent an effort to denationalize Bohemia, as Czech nationalists claimed in the late-nineteenth century.⁸⁶ Textbooks also focused solely on the nobility when discussing the Bohemian phase of the war. They never mentioned the Bohemian people in general, making the event seem like a challenge by a small segment of the elite and not a reflection of general dissatisfaction with Habsburg rule.

Textbooks further minimized the nationalist interpretation of the Thirty Years War by repeating the standard tropes which explained most of the wars fought by the Habsburg Monarchy. Considering the number of states involved in the Thirty Years War, it was easy for authors to portray the Habsburg dynasty as the victim of predatory neighbors. In this case, these neighbors exploited the internal problems of Bohemia for their own benefit. Gindely blamed the conflict on Denmark and other Protestant powers who stoked the conflict in order to expand their influence in the Holy Roman Empire.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1889), 56-68; Hannak, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1898), 69; Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, 2nd ed. (1891), 96-105; identical text in 3rd ed., 112-121; Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte* (1876), 61-62; Leopold Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit bis zum westfälischen Frieden für die Unterstufe der österreichischen Mittelschulen* (Vienna: Manzschke k.u.k. Hof-Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1910), 153-154; Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien*, vol. 3 (1915), 56.

⁸⁷ Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen*, 2nd vol., 7th ed. (1885), 95.

Moreover, rather than draw attention to the conflict's impact on the Bohemian nobility, textbooks focused on the devastation of the German and Habsburg lands and the fact that the war ended any hope for a unified Holy Roman Empire. Rebhann equated the devastation of the war with the "baneful effects" of the "Peloponnesian War and the War of the Roses in England," making the exaggerated claim that the German population dropped from twenty-five million to six million and the Bohemian population from two-and-a-half million to seven hundred thousand.⁸⁸ Gratzky also described the devastation in detail, and reminded students that the resulting Peace of Westphalia ensured that the Holy Roman Empire remained "three hundred loosely confederated states" and not a centralized power.⁸⁹ By focusing on the international aspects of the War, by treating the Bohemian uprising as a struggle between the kingdom's ruler and rebellious nobles, and by emphasizing the War's devastation, textbooks minimized the challenge to Habsburg authority.

When discussing the Revolutions of 1848, textbooks found it more difficult to ignore the fact that the revolutions represented substantial discontent with the Habsburg dynasty. After all, the Revolutions of 1848 were the most significant challenge to Habsburg rule since the War of Austrian Succession. Yet the revolutions did not occur as a single, united challenge to the Monarchy. The liberal reformers barricading Vienna and Prague had very different goals from the Hungarian nationalists who ultimately sought to establish an independent Hungary or the Italian irredentists who sought to merge

⁸⁸ Anton Rebhann, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Realschulen andere verwandte Lehranstalten und Reformrealgymnasien. Zweiter Teil: Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit bis zum westfälischen Frieden* (Laibach: Ig. V. Kleinmayr F. Bamberg, 1915), 207.

⁸⁹ Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1912), 111; see also John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1909), 6; Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 48-50.

Austria's Italian provinces with Piedmont-Sardinia in order to establish an Italian nation-state.⁹⁰ Textbooks often addressed this complexity by discussing the revolutions as three different events: the liberal uprisings in the major cities of the western portion of the Monarchy, the revolution in the Italian provinces, and the revolution in Hungary.

Textbooks candidly attributed uprisings in Vienna, Prague, and other cities to the frustrations of the populace over the remaining vestiges of feudalism and the desire for constitutional reforms. They also acknowledged that the uprising in Prague resulted from the desire of Czech nationalists for greater autonomy in Bohemia.⁹¹ Some authors chose to tie the uprisings to the legacy of the struggle against Napoleon. Karl Woyнар argued that the desires for greater participation in the government and for national sovereignty were only natural, considering how valiantly the populace fought to defend their fatherland, and Pennerstorfer sympathized with the urban *Bürger* who were frustrated by their lack of influence in the government and with the peasants who still toiled under the *Robot*.⁹² Reflecting the liberal orientation of most of the authors, textbooks acknowledged the legitimacy of the grievances of these groups, but they carefully admonished the use of revolution to effect change. Gratzky lamented the use of violence, finding that “confused ideas of freedom and equality, like the expansion of the rights of citizens and the restriction of royal power, enflamed the wildest passions and led to bloody clashes everywhere.”⁹³ Implicit in Gratzky's discussion of the revolutions is

⁹⁰ For an overview of the Revolutions of 1848 see Jonathan Sperber, *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁹¹ Weingartner, *Lehrbuch für Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 142.

⁹² Woyнар, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien*, vol. 3 (1915), 181, 184; Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 136.

⁹³ Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 41.

support for the system of top-down reforms that he and other authors praised as a virtue of the Austrian state system. The 1892 edition of Gindely's textbook for *Bürgerschulen* made this point explicit, first by listing the desires of the revolutionaries and then showing that Franz Joseph's reforms addressed their concerns.⁹⁴ As was the case with the reforms of Maximilian I, Maria Theresa, and Joseph II, textbooks clearly promoted orderly change directed by the monarch even while expressing implicit support for liberalism. Discussing the Revolutions of 1848 became another way for textbooks to remind students that reform came in time, that it resulted from patient progress, and to argue against those who advocated for rapid change or revolution.

While textbooks acknowledged the existence of discontent among the population in their presentations of the Vienna and Prague uprisings, they portrayed the revolution in Italy as the result of Sardinian intervention. They also minimized the activities of Italian nationalists within the Habsburg Monarchy. The emphasis on Sardinia's role in stoking the revolution in Italy was so strong that the Italian revolution seemed like a foreign war. Textbooks employed the tropes typical for descriptions of Austria's military conflicts, portraying the Monarchy as a victim of its neighbor's aggression and extolling the virtues of the Austrian military in defending its country. Austria's Italian provinces were content and prosperous under Habsburg rule, textbooks argued, and lacked any motive or reason to break away. The only possible cause for revolution was misguided nationalism enflamed by foreign meddling. Tupetz contended that "under the benevolent and orderly rule of Austria, Lombardy and Venetia enjoyed a level of prosperity unlike any of the other Italian states; nevertheless, a faction sought to unify Italy under a native prince, the

⁹⁴ Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte* (1892), 118-119.

king of Sardinia, who made it his goal to wrest both provinces from Austria.”⁹⁵ Notions of the illegitimacy of the Italian revolution permeated Tupetz’s prose. He described those seeking an Italian nation-state as a “faction,” making them appear as a small group, and Sardinia’s attempt to “wrest” the provinces from Austria as an illegitimate action in violation of the wishes of the population. Tupetz made this point even more explicitly in another textbook, boasting that “the Sardinians had hoped that the [Italian] Tyroleans would rise up against Austria,” but they did not and remained loyal to the crown.⁹⁶ Once again, textbooks could demonstrate the unbreakable bond between the people and their monarch remained intact even with the meddling of a foreign power.

Since textbooks viewed the Italian revolution as a result of foreign intervention and not of legitimate grievances of Italian-Austrians, they discussed the suppression of the revolution as they did any military victory over Austria’s foes. Many textbooks included a robust discussion of Field Marshal Josef Radetzky, who led the Austrian troops that ended the revolution in the Italian provinces. As with Eugene of Savoy and Archduke Karl, textbooks often included a biography of Radetzky and an overview of his career and achievements.⁹⁷ These overviews, such as the one provided by Weingartner, described Radetzky’s long career battling the Monarchy’s foes, reminding students that by 1848, Radetzky “had already fought against the Turks under Joseph II, struggled against the French at Novi and Hohenlinden, played a laudable role at Aspern and

⁹⁵ Theodor Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die sechste Klasse der Mädchenlyzeen*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1915), 45.

⁹⁶ Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, 2nd ed. (1891), 150; identical text in the 3rd edition, 194.

⁹⁷ Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1908), 178-181; Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Knabenbürgerschulen* (1908), 170-173.

Wagram, and contributed...to the victory at Leipzig.”⁹⁸ Anton Gindely wrote of Radetzky’s victory over Sardinia in equally triumphal terms, boasting that Sardinia’s defeat was so decisive that it led “the usurper in Sardinia [King Charles Albert] to abdicate in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel I.”⁹⁹ The struggle in Italy ended in victory for the Habsburg Monarchy.

It was difficult for textbook authors to apply such a victorious tone to the revolution in Hungary, where they could not blame the revolution on a foreign power. The struggle to regain control over Hungary, which at one point even declared independence, was long and bloody, and only succeeded with assistance from the Russian army. Politically, the legacy of the revolution and its suppression strained the relationship between the Hungarian nobility and Habsburg authorities until the creation of the Dual Monarchy in 1867.¹⁰⁰

Textbooks did not shy away from addressing the severity of the situation in Hungary, nor did they attempt to diminish the extent of the Hungarian challenge to Habsburg rule. Gindely warned that the revolution in Hungary took the Monarchy “to the edge of the abyss,” and Woynar asserted that the Monarchy was lucky to emerge from the event as a cohesive political entity.¹⁰¹ As with the discussions of the revolutions in

⁹⁸ Weingartner, *Lehrbuch für Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 143. See also Kraft, *Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1892), 101.

⁹⁹ Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte*, vol. 3 (1876), 192.

¹⁰⁰ For a comprehensive overview of the revolution in Hungary, see István Deák, *The Lawful Revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848-1849* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); for the impact and legacy of the revolution, see Alice Freifeld, *Nationalism and the Crowd in Liberal Hungary, 1848-1914* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

¹⁰¹ Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte*, vol. 3 (1876), 193; Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien*, vol. 3 (1915), 188.

Prague and Vienna, textbooks candidly addressed the causes of the revolution in Hungary, which they ascribed to frustration among the Hungarian nobility with the ongoing centralizing efforts of Habsburg authorities since Joseph II, their desire to make Magyar the official language in Hungary, and the attempt by Hungarian nationalists to elevate the status of Hungarian culture.¹⁰² Julius John even praised the work of Franz Deák and other Hungarian leaders, but argued that Hungarian nationalists went astray under the influence of radicals, such as Louis Kossuth.¹⁰³

Most textbooks depicted Kossuth as the villain of the revolution in Hungary, the personification of nationalist excess and treachery. They portrayed him as a ruthless dictator, who took control of Hungary with the support of only the most radical nationalists and whose nationalist reforms alienated large portions of Hungary, especially its national minorities.¹⁰⁴ As a result of this alienation, these national minorities,

¹⁰² Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte*, vol. 3 (1876), 193.

¹⁰³ John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1909), 47. Franz Deák, born to a Hungarian noble family, was a strong advocate for the Hungarian nationalist cause in the 1830s and a liberal reformer. He fought for the abolition of serfdom, Hungarian language rights, and other issues supported by the revolutionaries in 1848. When the revolution began, he advocated a moderate stance, seeking to negotiate with the dynasty rather than provoke violence. He withdrew from the revolutionary government when his efforts at compromise failed. He later became a strong advocate for reform in the 1860s, eventually strongly supporting the *Ausgleich* of 1867, which granted Hungary autonomy and established the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. Like Deák, Louis Kossuth was a Hungarian noble who was a staunch Hungarian nationalist and a strong supporter of liberal reform. While Deák became a voice of moderation during the Revolution of 1848, Kossuth emerged as the leader of the challenge to Habsburg rule in Hungary. Initially favoring compromise and reform, Kossuth eventually supported the establishment of an independent, republican Hungary. He continued to lead the Hungarian revolutionary government until its defeat in 1849. After the revolution he went into exile, continuing to advocate for Hungarian independence abroad, especially in the United States and Great Britain. Both Deák and Kossuth emerged as nationalist heroes for Hungarian nationalists in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For more on Franz Deák see Deák, *The Lawful Revolution*, 34, 56-57, 347-349; Freifeld, *Nationalism and the Crowd*, 4, 227-229. For more on Louis Kossuth see Deák, *The Lawful Revolution*, *passim*; Freifeld, *Nationalism and the Crowd*, 45-46, 82, 112-116, 221-222.

¹⁰⁴ John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1909), 49-52; Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 227-229; Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien*, vol. 3 (1915), 186-187.

especially the South Slavs, rose against Kossuth's rebellion and rallied to the defense of the Monarchy.

Almost every textbook portrayed the resulting fight for Hungary as a clash among Hungary's nationalities, making the Habsburg Monarchy appear to be the defender of national rights and the protector of national minorities. Zeehe described the Hungarian developments as a "wild outburst of national animosity between the Magyars, on one side, and the Serbs and Romanians on the other."¹⁰⁵ Hannak provided a similarly harrowing account, arguing that the South Slavs "turned against Magyar preponderance," and fought to defend their status in Hungary.¹⁰⁶ In the face of this struggle, the national minorities of Hungary remained loyal to the Habsburg Monarchy, considering the state vital to their protection from the Hungarian nationalists.¹⁰⁷ Thus, the revolution in Hungary became less about the desire of Hungarians for greater control over Hungary and more of a warning of what could happen to national minorities in the absence of Habsburg rule. As if to punctuate the extent of the treachery of the Hungarian revolutionary leaders, Gratzky made a point of indicating that following their defeat Kossuth and others "fled to Turkish territory," directly tying Kossuth to one of Austria's greatest historical enemies and to the treacherous Hungarian leaders who relied on Turkish support during the period of the Hungarian partition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die VIII. Gynasialklasse* (1907), 126.

¹⁰⁶ Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 226; see also Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 208; Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte*, vol. 3 (1876), 194.

¹⁰⁷ Weingartner, *Weingartner's Lehrbuch für Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 144.

¹⁰⁸ Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 44.

In spite of these challenges, however, textbooks made clear that the Monarchy survived. Julius John boldly proclaimed that in spite of the threat posed by 1848, “the state demonstrated a brilliant viability,” and most of those living in the Monarchy displayed “loyalty and devotion to the ancestral dynasty.”¹⁰⁹ Ultimately, this was how most textbooks addressed periods of internal challenge to Habsburg rule. Even though they candidly addressed many of the underlying causes for unrest, they overemphasized the role of foreign powers in stoking discontent and they always gave the impression that those challenging the Habsburg dynasty were in the minority. Most of the population remained loyal and devoted to their ruler and Habsburg rulers were always sensitive to the nationalist concerns of their subjects.

Teaching the Austrian Mission

Textbooks used dramatic events from the Habsburg Monarchy’s past to illustrate the bravery and loyalty of the average citizen and to bring heroic personalities of Austria’s past to life. They demonstrated Austria’s military prowess and provided examples of the courageous and loyal characteristics students should emulate. These examples also helped to establish a common set of historical heroes who could transcend national affiliation and be accessible to all those who lived under the Habsburg banner. The creation of a common, supranational set of Austrian heroes was an important part of the Monarchy’s civic education efforts. Taken together, these examples also articulated Austria’s “historic mission.” This mission crossed national boundaries; in fact it was the duty of all of those who lived in the Habsburg lands to assist in its fulfillment. On its

¹⁰⁹John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1909), 52.

most basic level, the Austrian historic mission consisted of two parts: defending Christian civilization from the East and preserving European order from the chaos of the West.

There was a broadly held belief among contemporary historians that from its foundation as the Carolingian *Ostmark*, Austria stood as the barrier protecting the “civilized,” Christian world from its “barbarous” neighbors. Initially, these neighbors were the Avars and the Hungarians, but once these were subdued and Christianized, the aggressor was the Turks. The notion of the Turkish horde featured prominently in the Austrian historical imagination, and every discussion of Austria’s numerous wars with the Turks helped to articulate this aspect of the Austrian mission.

Equally important was Austria’s role in defending the European state system from the machinations of France. Beginning with Charles V’s wars with Francis I of France in the sixteenth century, historians portrayed France as Austria’s primary nemesis; and they considered France, especially during the reigns of Louis XIV and Napoleon I, to be the key source of destabilization on the European continent. Regardless of time and place, textbooks viewed French wars as unjust wars, fought for the profit and aggrandizement of France. Furthermore, they portrayed France as a power that bucked international convention and consensus, more than willing to fight alone in pursuit of its own interests. Austria was the counterforce to French aggression, and even rhetorically, the Habsburg Monarchy was the opposite of France. Whereas France was warmongering and power hungry, Austria was dragged to war reluctantly and interested in preserving order. While France pursued a reckless foreign policy that alienated its neighbors, Austria was the perpetual consensus builder, forging alliances that would unite the European states in

common purpose. These tropes were especially prevalent when textbooks discussed Austria's role in the coalitions that defeated Louis XIV and Napoleon I.

The articulation of Austria's "historic mission" was not left to inference or implication. It was an important idea that teachers and textbooks had to emphasize during history classes. In test-preparation books for the final series of examinations taken by *Gymnasium* students, Richard Raithel compiled dozens of questions that students could expect to be asked and provided concise answers to those questions. Each edition of his book contained the question "What was the course of the 250 year struggle between France and the House of Habsburg?" which then described the events of the wars between France and the Habsburgs from Charles V to Napoleon I. He emphasized the points mentioned above: French jealousy of Habsburg power, French desire to expand influence and control in Europe, and French willingness to fight unilaterally to achieve its objectives.¹¹⁰ Raithel also prepared questions about the Habsburg Monarchy's role as a force of order and consensus. He asked "How did the Habsburg [Monarchy] develop into a world power (*Weltmacht*) and what influence did it exert over the political affairs of Europe?"¹¹¹ He also addressed the notion of Austria's "historic mission" by asking: "Which political mission has the Habsburg Empire fulfilled in the course of its development?" He answered by discussing Austria's role in defending the Holy Roman Empire during the period of the *Ostmark*, Austria as the "bulwark against the Ottomans," as the "protector of German interest against France," and as "the keeper of the European

¹¹⁰ Richard Raithel, *Maturitätsfragen aus der allgemeine Geschichte*, 1st ed. (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1906), 164-169; 2nd ed., 181-186.

¹¹¹ Richard Raithel, *Fragen aus der Vaterländischen Geschichte*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1909), 35-36.

balance of power.”¹¹² These questions linked events from the Habsburg Monarchy’s past in a way that reinforced the validity of the “historic mission.” This mission was not an implied concept or an abstraction, but something students could use as a tangible explanation for the purpose and importance of the state.

Educators made clear that this mission was ongoing and Austria’s role in European affairs was just as important at the dawn of the twentieth century as it had been in the past. Even though the Ottoman Empire no longer threatened Austria’s eastern border, and the international affairs of the mid- and late-nineteenth century made European diplomacy more complicated, textbooks continued to show that the Austrian mission still had relevance and power. The concept of Austria’s mission to defend Europe while spreading “civilization” and maintaining order and peace provided built-in explanations for all of the foreign policy decisions of the Habsburg Monarchy. This is certainly the case for the occupation and eventual annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Treaty of Berlin gave Austria-Hungary control of the two Ottoman-held provinces in 1878. Acquisition of these Balkan territories was the Habsburg Monarchy’s largest territorial gain since the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and Austrian decision makers considered it to be a foreign policy success.¹¹³ Textbooks portrayed the Austrian

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 82-86

¹¹³ The Treaty of Berlin (1878) essentially transferred total control over the Ottoman provinces of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Austria-Hungary, but forbade annexation. While Habsburg authorities remained more or less content with the terms of the treaty for the next thirty years, they felt that the emergence of the Young Turk government in the Ottoman Empire, which sought to reassert Ottoman control over its territories, along with the Serbian coup of 1903, which placed a dynasty hostile to Austria-Hungary on the Serbian throne, threatened their position in the Balkans. In order to ensure that their control over Bosnia-Herzegovina remained unchallenged, Austria-Hungary annexed the provinces in 1908, sparking an international crisis. While the crisis abated, the annexation greatly destabilized the Balkans and severely damaged Austria-Hungary’s relationship with many European powers, especially Russia. For more on the annexation and its consequences, see F. R. Bridge, *The Habsburg Monarchy among the Great Powers, 1815-1918* (New York: Berg Publishers, 1990), 288-304.

occupation as a continuation of Austria's historic role in the region. They lavishly praised the actions of Austrian authorities and they considered the occupation of Bosnia to be a triumph for the forces of "civilization." Textbooks lamented the deplorable conditions of the provinces when Austrian forces arrived and extolled their rapid development under Austrian control.

Tupetz, for example, described Bosnia-Herzegovina's recovery from the "wounds" of centuries of mismanagement by the Turks, boasting that thanks to Austria's stewardship

the cultivation of lands was increased through the settlement of peasants from old Austrian lands, mines were opened, streets constructed, a railway connecting Sarajevo to Austria was built, and elementary and secondary schools founded. The capital city of Sarajevo underwent the greatest change. Until its occupation by Austria, it was a completely Turkish city in a wonderful location, but with dirty, unpaved streets. Now it boasts gas light works, a horse track, European-style inns, a *Gymnasium*, in short, all of the advantages of a European provincial city.¹¹⁴

Other textbooks echoed Tupetz's description of Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austrian rule. Weingartner explained how "the effects of Austrian management appeared quickly....The grievances arising from Turkish dominance disappeared...the lands began to vigorously flourish."¹¹⁵ Because Austrian rule was so successful, Austria chose to annex the provinces in order to eliminate the confusion resulting from the fact that the lands were technically under the rule of the sultan.¹¹⁶ Such an explanation was an obvious attempt to

¹¹⁴ Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Knabenbürgerschulen* (1908), 179. Similar language is used in Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, 2nd ed. (1891), 187; identical text in the 3rd edition, 215.

¹¹⁵ Weingartner, *Lehrbuch für Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 164.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

justify the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908, an act which threw Europe into a diplomatic crisis and was a direct violation of the Treaty of Berlin.

Other authors used different means to explain the occupation and eventual annexation, all of which connected back to the notion that the Habsburg Monarchy was a defensive, not an offensive power, only interested in preserving the European balance of power. To make Habsburg Balkan policy appear defensive, most authors pointed to the growing destabilization of the region and argued that Austria's presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina increased stability there. Echoes of the idea that Austria stood as a bulwark against Eastern barbarism permeated this explanation, even though the old enemy from the East, the Turks, had been replaced by a newer enemy, the Serbs and the Russians.

In Andreas Zeehe's formulation, the Habsburg Monarchy had to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to blunt Russia's quest for mastery over the Balkan Peninsula, which threatened peace in the region. He warned that Russian Panslavism sought "to bring the different Slavic peoples closer together in a cultural and political relationship" under Russian leadership and that Russian dominance would destabilize the region.¹¹⁷ Hannak presented a similar picture of Russian aggression, defending the Treaty of Berlin as an effort to "limit the conquests" of Russia, which would have taken "the majority of Turkey's European territory."¹¹⁸ Hannak's explanation is notable because it also reinforced the notion that the Habsburg Monarchy was a power that operated through international agreement, not military force or unilateral decision making. Julius John and

¹¹⁷ Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 197.

¹¹⁸ Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit für oberclassen der Mittelschulen* (1900), 233. Hannak's description ignores the fact that Bulgaria, not Russia, was the largest beneficiary of the Treaty of San Stefano, which the Treaty of Berlin sought to modify.

Oskar Gratzky echoed these views, emphasizing Russian destabilization of the Balkans, and Austria's need to counter Russian aggression.¹¹⁹

Thanks to the idea of the Habsburg Monarchy's "historic mission," the Monarchy's current and future foreign policy decisions could be explained through the role Austria had fulfilled since its creation. More importantly, it gave unity of purpose to a diverse empire in the age of nationalism.

Establishing the Austrian Heimat

By teaching the shared history of the peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy and establishing a canon of Austrian patriots, history classes created the foundation of a supranational, Austrian identity. This was a complicated task. After all, the Habsburg Monarchy was still a multinational state in an age of nationalism, and national identification and attachment was obviously very important to many of its inhabitants. Traditionally, historians have viewed the dichotomy between the supranational, Austrian identity and national identity to be a zero-sum game. If national identification increased, attachment to the Habsburg Monarchy and the supranational Austrian identity would suffer.¹²⁰ But those shaping civic education in the schools of the Monarchy did not think that nationalism inherently prevented or precluded Austrian patriotism. In fact, they viewed identity in the Monarchy as a complex combination of religious, regional, national, and supranational affiliations. Officials did not want the supranational, Austrian

¹¹⁹ John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1909), 66; Gratzky, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 65.

¹²⁰ Robert Kann, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848-1914*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950); Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*.

identity to supplant or diminish those other aspects of identity, and pedagogical theories at the time felt it necessary to develop them. They believed if taught properly, national and regional identification would enhance and strengthen overall attachment to the supranational Habsburg state. Such notions permeated the way they developed the curriculum for *Heimatkunde*.

Heimatkunde, taught in *Volksschule*, was a class that blended local history, geography, geology, and natural history. As its name suggests, it emerged and was inseparable from the German concept of *Heimat*, which, as discussed in the introduction, carries complex connotations often tied to German nationalism. In Austrian schools, however, *Heimat* referred only to a child's home province or hometown, avoiding nationalistic connotations of the concept. The term was still highly Romantic in orientation, however. Pedagogical discussions of *Heimatkunde* often included flowery exposition about the value of the subject and the need to instill a love for the *Heimat* in students. Thus, the *Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht*, the pedagogical journal for the German Teacher's Association in Prague, insisted that

the love of fatherland and *Heimat*, the inner devotion to the place where we spent our childhood...is a feeling which resides in the heart of every person, it is a sentiment that sprouts in each breast...Love for the *Heimat* is a beautiful and noble feeling, which has been planted by our God...and must be cultivated.¹²¹

This statement exposes the interesting paradox in pedagogical understanding of patriotism and identity. Pedagogues considered the love of *Heimat* innate, yet also felt that it needed to be cultivated through robust education. Love of the *Heimat* was an integral part of moral and ethical education, and absolutely necessary for patriotic

¹²¹ *Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht*, January 24, 1875, np.

development. Without a proper love for one's birthplace, one could not sufficiently develop a sense of patriotism toward the Monarchy.

Similarly, the leading pedagogical journal *Pädagogium* opined that individuals learn to love their country by first learning to love their *Heimat*. The journal argued that it was through the *Heimat* that children learned that they “belong to a community in the *Heimat*, where a member should lift and carry the other....There the flower of friendship, and of loyal piety thrive, there one can most surely develop a moral character.”¹²² These innate characteristics could be nurtured and developed through learning to love the *Heimat*. Since *Heimatkunde* developed this love while simultaneously enhancing the moral character of the student, *Pädagogium* deemed *Heimatkunde* “essential” to *Volksschule* education.¹²³

The Catholic, conservative *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte* shared this opinion, and also viewed *Heimatkunde* as a means of combating liberalism and teaching morality. *Heimatkunde* could serve as a counterweight to the damages wrought by modernity and industrialization. For example, one article suggested, *Heimatkunde* would facilitate a “return to nature and [one's] native soil,” and showcase the united “and holy people in their customs, their way of life, their history, their art, their lifestyle, a display whose lovingly warm, heartfelt, and sunny cheerfulness remains free from the turmoil of dirty, animal passions.”¹²⁴ *Heimatkunde* taught simplicity, ethical behavior, and an honest life.

¹²² “Die Heimatkunde in der Volksschule,” *Pädagogium – Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, 1894, 514-515.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 513.

¹²⁴ “Von der getreuen Heimat Kunst,” *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte, Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen Zeitung*, November 15, 1908, np.

Implicit in the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*'s discussion of *Heimatkunde* and of *Heimat* in general, was the assumption that the *Heimat* was rural. In fact, the journal made little allowance for the notion of an urban *Heimat*. It openly questioned how to teach *Heimatkunde* to students living in cities and wondered if those students would ever develop the same sense of belonging as those in rural communities. It argued that "the heart must have a *Heimat*," and that the increased urbanization of the Monarchy had weakened the attachment of people to their *Heimat*.¹²⁵ It lamented the fact that increased migration broke an individual's connection to family history and historic home. For the journal, devotion to the *Heimat* was not portable. The city's cold and impersonal streets were not substitutes for the streams and hills of the countryside. In an attempt to provide some semblance of *Heimatkunde* for students in cities, the journal advocated robust education in the history of the city and its development, and argued that students should specifically learn the history of the city district in which they lived.¹²⁶

It is not surprising that the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte* had difficulty reconciling notions of rural *Heimat* with teaching *Heimatkunde* in a country experiencing rapid urbanization. The journal's conception of *Heimat* resembled that of other conservative, anti-industrial thinkers who considered the *Heimat* to be the antidote to the modern city. For some, the *Heimat* ended up being an out-of-time idealization of a pre-

¹²⁵ "Wie wir den Kindern das Heimatgefühl erhalten soll," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte, Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen Zeitung*, January 1, 1909, np.

¹²⁶ "Haben die Leuten von die grossen Stadt ein Heimat?," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte, Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen Zeitung*, February 1, 1909, np.

modern world, yet one that conformed to middle-class concepts of family, home, and community. In short, it became “a modern idea that resists modernity.”¹²⁷

Of course, educators attempting to develop a specific curriculum had little space to address such abstractions. For pedagogues without a pointed political affiliation, the substitution of the city for the local village was an easy one to make. Regardless of political leanings, few pedagogical thinkers contested the need for robust *Heimatkunde* courses in schools, and all agreed in the intrinsic value of teaching students about their *Heimat*, adopted or native. They also agreed that patriotism began with love of the *Heimat*.

Loving one’s *Heimat* was so integral to patriotic education because of prevailing theories about how students learned. Pedagogical theorists assumed that history and geography were too complex and abstract for *Volksschule* students to grasp right away. As a result, the prevailing methodology advocated beginning with what was “accessible” to students, their home town, and moving to broader subjects. So, for example, to teach students how to read maps, the teacher should begin with a map of the school room, then the town, then the province, then the Monarchy, and so on. In order to teach geographic formations and the diverse flora and fauna of the world, students should be taught what is in their towns first, using objects easily shown to them. With regards to history, teachers should begin with the history of the town and the *Heimat*, only later broadening to a wider discussion of the Monarchy and the world. As the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte* succinctly stated: “Interest in the wider and more remote easily springs from the

¹²⁷ Peter Blickle, *Heimat: A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2002), 15, 28-31.

Heimat; it seizes [first] the near and then the distant....”¹²⁸ The perceived ability of *Heimatkunde* to bridge the near to the far and to introduce students to more complex subjects was the reason the pedagogical leaders supported the subject so aggressively. In essence, *Heimatkunde* was a primer course for history, geography, and the natural sciences.¹²⁹

In order for *Heimatkunde* to successfully develop interest in these broader subjects, pedagogical theorists assumed that students must have the history, geography, and landscape of their *Heimat* presented to them through pictures, local artifacts, and excursions. *Heimatkunde* was a subject rooted in demonstration and first hand interaction, and schools encouraged teachers to do as much as possible to show the *Heimat* to their students. In order for students to gain an appreciation for the history of their *Heimat*, pedagogues expected teachers to show students local sites of historical importance, either through pictures or, preferably, in person. According to the Styrian Teachers’ Association, *Volksschule* should “awaken an animated interest [for the *Heimat*] in the student, and with it, his imagination for the old buildings, ruins, weathered memorials, and memorial columns [of the *Heimat*], these venerable witnesses will speak to him and tell him of old, times [which have] long faded away.”¹³⁰ For example, in the town of Peltau, Styria, a teacher could describe the early Celtic and Roman inhabitants,

¹²⁸ “Über Heimat- und Weltkunde,” *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, May 5, 1914, np.

¹²⁹ “Die Heimatkunde in der Volksschule,” *Pädagogium – Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, 1894, 517-519; “Zum Unterricht in der Heimatkunde,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, May 31, 1890, np. Modern pedagogy still supports teaching geography and history in this manner. See Linda S. Levstik, and Cynthia A. Tyson, eds., *Handbook of Research in Social Studies Education* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 15-63.

¹³⁰ “Der erste Geschichtsunterricht in der Volksschule,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 25, 1903, np.

the establishment of a bishopric in 303, and show students the “countless artifacts” that have been discovered, such as “two excavated Mythra temples, sarcophagi, streets, coins, and weapons.”¹³¹ The same techniques applied to the teaching of geography. Describing trees, mountains, rivers, and other geographic formations paled in comparison to showing students those very things in their hometown. After all, “would not the sky above be the best model of the sky?”¹³²

The German Teachers’ Association in Prague made a similar argument for an excursion-based *Heimatkunde*. They called for schools to develop their own collections of local artifacts and for teachers to familiarize students with local historical sites in order to increase student interest in geography and history.¹³³ In an article published in the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, the pedagogical leader Guster Grüneis gave examples of how *Heimatkunde* lessons could broaden student interest in these subjects. St. Stephan’s Cathedral in Vienna, for example, allowed students to learn about the Babenberg Archduke Heinrich II, who started its construction, as well as the Habsburg Archduke Rudolf IV, who embellished it. Discussions of Rudolf IV allowed for related conversation about Rudolf I, the founder of the Habsburg dynasty in Austria. After discussing the importance of these rulers to St. Stephan’s, students could have a comprehensive review of the other achievements of these individuals and their contributions to Austria. Likewise, teachers could take students to the memorial of Maria Theresa, and use that visit to discuss her contributions to the Habsburg Monarchy.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² “Der Papier-geographische Unterricht,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, February 16, 1902, np.

¹³³ *Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht*, January 24, 1875, np.

Afterward, it would be natural for teachers to discuss how Joseph II continued her reforms.¹³⁴ Grüneis and others thought that taking students to notable locations in the *Heimat* allowed teachers to make history lessons more exciting and memorable while helping to reinforce lessons learned in the classroom.

Pedagogical leaders also assumed that such guided tours and lessons would help develop a student's patriotism, another important goal of *Heimatkunde*. Just as educators felt that students could not understand broad, abstract ideas without having a strong foundation in the *Heimat*, they also thought that students would not become patriotic if they did not first love their *Heimat*. Love of the *Heimat* was the foundation of love of the Monarchy as a whole. An article in *Pädagogium* succinctly communicated this idea: "From love of the *Heimatland* one will discover love of the fatherland." The Styrian Teachers' Association concurred that *Heimatkunde* established the foundation for patriotic education since local legends, historical landmarks, and the community would "awaken and nourish the true feeling for the *Heimat* (*Heimatgefühl*) and noble, devoted patriotism in the tender youth....With love of *Heimat*, patriotic feelings will be vigorously nourished."¹³⁵

For most educators, *Heimatkunde*'s ability to develop the patriotism of students was a byproduct of its interdisciplinary nature. Just as *Heimatkunde* prepared students to understand world history, geography, and the natural sciences, it prepared them to be patriotic adults. Despite broad pedagogical consensus in support for the class, the

¹³⁴ "Die neusten Errungenschaften auf dem Gebiete des Realienunterrichtes," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, November 15, 1908, np.

¹³⁵ "Die Heimatkunde in der Volksschule," *Pädagogium – Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, 1894, 526; "Zum Unterricht in der Heimatkunde," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, May 31, 1890, np.

socialist leaning *Die Freie Schule* argued that, in fact, *Heimatkunde* did little to assist the scholastic achievement of students. It considered *Heimatkunde* to be too vague and “formless” to help students in later grades. It was only “a political effort which favors federalism at the expense of Dualism.”¹³⁶ The journal even rejected the prevailing pedagogical theory of “near to far,” arguing that even the near is abstract, and that a student could just as easily learn about other regions and concepts first, not just those found in the *Heimat*. It asked how it was any easier for students to understand life in the medieval city than to understand life in the Native American tribes of North America.¹³⁷ This rejection, however, ended up confirming the class’ value as a tool for civic education. According to the journal, any methodological or pedagogical justifications for *Heimatkunde* was merely a smoke screen for its political purpose, teaching students to accept and support the existing political status-quo. The journal obviously feared that the social indoctrination provided by *Heimatkunde* would only serve to perpetuate the existing political system and delay reform. The views of *Die Freie Schule* remained in the distinct minority. Most pedagogical journals and education leaders robustly supported *Heimatkunde* and sought its development and expansion in the classroom.

In fact, these journals thought that not enough was done to develop *Heimatkunde* in *Volksschulen*. The pedagogical journal of the Styrian Teachers’ Association lamented the lack of field trips and guided tours to accompany *Heimatkunde* lessons as well as the lack of *Heimat*-specific textbooks to help teachers teach the material effectively. To

¹³⁶ “Die Welt- und Heimatkunde,” *Die freie Schule, Zeitschrift für Unterricht und Erziehung*, May 18, 1868, np.

¹³⁷ “Die Welt- und Heimatkunde,” *Die freie Schule, Zeitschrift für Unterricht und Erziehung*, July 3, 1868, np. A broader rejection of “near to far” methodology can be found in the May 25, 1868; June 11, 1868, and June 18, 1868 as well.

remedy this deficiency, the journal prepared sample tours and lessons that involved hikes and visits to landmarks throughout Styria, in order to make *Heimatkunde* less “dry and yellow.”¹³⁸ It also published historical essays about notable figures from Styria, which teachers could incorporate into their lessons.¹³⁹ But the journal acknowledged that these efforts would not replace the robust development of specific learning materials and books designed for *Heimatkunde*. The journal also supported demonstration- and example-based history and *Heimatkunde* classes, which would bring students closer to the heroes and landscape of their *Heimat* and ultimately the Monarchy.¹⁴⁰ The journal praised the provincial school board’s decision to require each school library to purchase a recently published book about Styrian history and argued that schools should require students to purchase it. Since all too frequently “what [students] have...learned in this week, [they have] already forgotten the next,” students needed a personal copy of the book to review what they learned in class.¹⁴¹ The journal called on historians to write similar books for each crownland, so that every student could have a book that detailed the history of his or her *Heimat*.

¹³⁸ “Der Unterricht in der Heimatkunde — noch immer zu viel Papier und zu wenig Anschauung,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, June 20, 1887, np.

¹³⁹ “Die Erzählungen aus der Geschichte der Steiermark,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, May 20, 1875, np; “Österreich’s Heldenjünglinge Hermann und Hansel,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 10, 1879, np.

¹⁴⁰ “Über die Anschaulichkeit des Geschichtesunterrichtes,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, January 31, 1875; “Über die Anschaulichkeit des geographischen Unterrichtes,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 20, 1876, np; “Ein neues wichtiges Buch für steiermarks Lehrer,” “Über die Anschaulichkeit des Geschichtesunterrichtes,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 30, 1891, np.

¹⁴¹ “Das ‘Kronlandsbuch’ für Steiermark,” “Über die Anschaulichkeit des Geschichtesunterrichtes,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, April 20, 1893, np.

Textbooks for *Heimatkunde* were not unheard of in the late-nineteenth century, but they were not common. One of the first, written for the Archduchy of Salzburg, was authored by a teacher in Salzburg in 1875, who printed and distributed the book himself.¹⁴² A more thorough *Heimatkunde* textbook was published for Lower Austria in 1884, also written by a school teacher. It provided the history of the region as well as a comprehensive overview of the geography, hydrology, economy, natural resources, infrastructure network, and government of the province.¹⁴³ This particular textbook was intended for students in teacher training institutions, with the understanding that teachers would use it to prepare their lectures and class materials. The publisher did not intend for the *Volksschule* students to purchase it.

By the first decade of the twentieth century, however, a range of *Heimatkunde* textbooks had been published. Starting in 1906, A. Pichlers Witwe and Son produced a series of small books, each under 40 pages, for each crownland of the Austrian half of the Monarchy. These textbooks provided a comprehensive overview of each province, and at times read more like travel guides than textbooks. Organized by geographic region, the books surveyed the major towns, geological features such as mountains and rivers, and key natural resources and economic products of the region. When appropriate, they provided detailed descriptions of buildings, monuments, or natural wonders found in each part of the *Heimat*. For example, students in Upper Austria would read how the Roman emperor, Marcus Aurelius, founded its capital, Linz, and of the city's development from the Middle Ages through the twentieth century. They would find descriptions of the

¹⁴² Valentin Rehle, *Heimatkunde des Herzogthumes Salzburg* (Salzburg: Self-Published by Author, 1875).

¹⁴³ Karl Schober, *Heimatkunde von Nieder-Österreich. Zum Gebrauche an Lehrerbildungsanstalten* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1884).

main buildings of Franz Joseph's Square, the major churches, and the Neptune Bridge. They would also learn that the city contained a bishopric, schools of all levels, and factories.¹⁴⁴

Authors of these works used embellished and romantic language to describe the buildings and landscapes of each province. They sought to convey a sense of pride and accomplishment. For example, the booklet for Bohemia described most of the province's churches and palaces as "magnificent" or "famous," while the one for Lower Austria told students of the "renowned" food products made in the Danube valley town of Tulln.¹⁴⁵ Most *Heimatkunde* textbooks contained similar romantic language. For example, when discussing Klagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, Balthasar Schüttelkopf asserted that "the capital of our *Heimat* is beautiful and its environs are attractive. Whoever is born there and must venture to the distant unknown sings [a Carinthian folksong] in the memory of the place of his childhood."¹⁴⁶ These books sought to convey the perceived beauty and uniqueness of the *Heimat* in the hope that students would develop a strong affinity and attachment to it.

But these books also taught students that their *Heimat* was part of the Habsburg Monarchy and explained the *Heimat's* role in Austria-Hungary. Each of the Pichler series contained a thorough description of the provincial government and a brief

¹⁴⁴ Julius Aichberger, *Kleine Heimatkunde von Oberösterreich: Ein Wiederholungsbüchlein für Volksschuler* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1907), 28-29.

¹⁴⁵ D. Porsch, *Kleine Heimatkunde von Böhmen nach Landschaftsgebieten, für die häuslichen Wiederholung* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1907), 15, 21; Johann Doiwa, *Kleine Heimatkunde von Niederösterreich: Ein Wiederholungsbüchlein für Volksschuler* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1906); 2-3.

¹⁴⁶ Balthasar Schüttelkopf, *Heimatkundliche Lesestücke. Eine Ergänzung zu dem Lesebuche für allgemeine Volksschulen in Kärnten* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1906), 7.

overview of how decisions were made in the province. In every instance, this section began: “Our *Heimat*, together with fourteen other provinces, make up the state of Austria. This is our fatherland. Austria is bound with the Hungarian state in an empire that is called the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. This is our shared fatherland. It has been ruled by our Emperor, Franz Joseph I, since December 2, 1848.”¹⁴⁷ This statement tied the idea of *Heimat* and fatherland together and showed the complexity of the identity taught in Austrian schools. There was a clear effort to establish a local, *Heimat*-based, identity as well as a broader, Austrian-based identity.

Students learned *Heimatkunde* in the lower grades of *Volksschulen* in preparation for the history, geography, and natural science classes taught in *Bürgerschulen*, *Gymnasien*, *Lyzeen*, and *Realschulen*. *Heimatkunde* also provided the foundation for *Vaterlandskunde*, taught in the seventh and eighth years of school. *Vaterlandskunde* was an outgrowth of *Heimatkunde* as well as history and geography lessons, and taught about the government and organization of the Monarchy.¹⁴⁸

Like textbooks developed for *Heimatkunde*, *Vaterlandskunde* textbooks contained two parts, the first providing the history of the Habsburg Monarchy, and the second a comprehensive overview of the geography, economy, and population of the Monarchy. This second part presented in-depth statistics and figures regarding all aspects of life in Austria-Hungary. These statistics gave the major geographic features of each province, including mountains and waterways (complete with detailed measurements), major cities,

¹⁴⁷ Aichberger, *Kleine Heimatkunde von Oberösterreich*, 30.

¹⁴⁸ *Detail-Lehrpläne für den Unterricht in Naturgeschichte, Naturlehre, Erdkunde, und Geschichte an den Volksschulen des Schulebezirkes Wels* (Wels: Johann Haas, 1891); Verordnung des Ministers für Cultus und Unterricht vom 23. April 1898, Z. 10331; 20. März 1909, Z. 11662.

raw materials, manufactured goods, major railways, the numbers of schools and churches, and population statistics, including a breakdown of the nationality of the province's inhabitants.¹⁴⁹

These statistics explicitly described the Habsburg Monarchy's diversity and illustrated that many provinces had multiple nationalities. More importantly, these descriptions and statistics made clear that each of these nationalities had a legitimate and important place within the Habsburg Monarchy. As a result, *Vaterlandskunde* became an important tool for promoting the supranational aspect of Austrian identity. It is worth remembering that in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, many German-speakers still considered Austria to be a Germanic state and many German nationalist groups were fighting to preserve German cultural dominance in Austria. In order for the layered identity promoted by Austrian civic education to succeed, Austro-Germans needed to embrace the multinational dimension of this identity. *Vaterlandskunde* helped German-speaking students to think of Austria as a multi-ethnic and multinational state, as opposed to a state defined by German language and culture. Population statistics provided explicit proof of the Monarchy's diversity and helped to promote a layered Austrian identity.

Teachers expected students to know these statistics as well as those related to the Monarchy's economy and geography. When providing sample *Vaterlandskunde* lessons, the pedagogical journal *Pädagogische Rundschau* explained that teachers should drill students in class about the facts and figures of Austrian geography, and they should

¹⁴⁹ Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde*; Franz D. P. Lang, *Geographisch-statistische Vaterlandskunde für die VII Klasse der österreichische Realschulen* (Vienna: Tempsky, 1907); Franz Frisch, *Geographische Bilder aus Österreich-Ungarn zur Belegung des Unterrichtes in der Vaterlandskunde* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1895).

utilize repetition and visual aids to help students remember these details. For example, when teaching about Moravia, teachers should show on a map the borders of the province, its major waterways, and its goods and products. Afterward, teachers should discuss which nationalities lived in the province and the customs and habits of those nationalities. They should close with a discussion of the major cities, especially the capital, Brno/Brünn. Teachers should then review this material thoroughly by asking students specific questions. Overall, the journal estimated that the lesson would require one to two hours (two to four class sessions).¹⁵⁰ Teachers expected students to memorize detailed geographic, demographic, and historical information about the entire Monarchy, not just their own *Heimat*. These lessons reinforced the idea of Austria-Hungary as a political and economic entity.

Vaterlandskunde textbooks organized their discussion of the history of the Monarchy in a way that further reinforced this idea. They provided a detailed history of each section of the Monarchy, in turn telling the events of the Habsburg hereditary lands, then the Bohemian lands, and finally Hungary.¹⁵¹ The Ministry of Religion and Education mandated the inclusion of this material and schools could not use textbooks lacking sufficient coverage of the Bohemian lands and Hungary.¹⁵² In essence, these textbooks created a “mental map” of the Habsburg Monarchy that corresponded to its borders in the late-nineteenth century. When thinking of the Monarchy’s past, students should think not only of the lands that were ruled by the Habsburg family at that point in

¹⁵⁰ “Wie ist bei der Anferstigung von Kartenskizzen in der Schule vorzugehen?” *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, September 1887, np.

¹⁵¹ See Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907).

¹⁵² Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 4853 24 D, Document 22694, May 29, 1909.

time, but also of the lands that would be ruled by the Habsburg family in later periods. This fact, along with the way schools taught the geography of the Monarchy, meant that students left school conceptualizing the Monarchy as a political, economic, and geographic entity comprised of different nationalities. *Vaterlandskunde* reflected the reality that the Monarchy was a cohesive state.

Conclusion

There is no question that the primary educational objective of history and geography lessons was to ensure that students had a competent grasp of both disciplines. Schools expected students to understand the fundamental ideas of geography and to know the political and geological landscape of the earth. Likewise, they expected students to know the general course of Austrian, European, and world history, its major personalities, and the primary events and discoveries that shaped the past. But schools linked these objectives to the civic education goals of the Monarchy. They considered efforts to develop the patriotism of students and to enhance their attachment to the Habsburg Monarchy and dynasty to be important goals. Indeed, if students completed their education without history and geography classes positively shaping their notions of Austria-Hungary, pedagogical theory argued those classes had failed to achieve their purpose. Civic education was more than a quaint exaltation of the monarch and dynasty. It was a well-developed process which sought to establish a set of distinctly Austrian patriotic heroes and Austrian traits that all students in all parts of the Monarchy could embrace. More importantly these heroes and traits were distinctly supranational. Those

figures most emphasized from Austria's past shared a love of dynasty and the greater Monarchy and proved this devotion through willing sacrifice and unquestioned loyalty.

History lessons reiterated these themes of sacrifice and loyalty time and time again, whether discussing the bravery of the citizens of Vienna facing down the Turkish Siege, the Hungarian diet pledging its troops and resources to protect the inheritance of Maria Theresa, or the Tyroleans rising up in armed opposition to foreign occupation. Each of these instances proved the loyalty of Austria's peoples in times of crisis and demonstrated the unbreakable link between the crown and the Monarchy's inhabitants. The heroes of the Monarchy, especially Eugene of Savoy and Archduke Karl, reinforced this emphasis on loyalty and valor. History classes used these two figures to demonstrate the virtue of patriotism, but more importantly to help create a pair of distinctly Austrian heroes who could be admired and respected by all, regardless of nationality. Taken together, they personified Austria's "historic mission" to defend against barbarism and chaos.

Austria's "historic mission" provided another link between the diverse peoples of Austria. The Austrian mission transcended ethnic and national difference and established a justification for the Monarchy's continued relevance in Europe. Most importantly, this mission explained the Monarchy's foreign policy. The belief that Austria was the sole guarantor of European stability and the most stalwart protector against "Eastern barbarism" provided philosophical justification for Austria-Hungary's continued expansion in the Balkans and its growing hostility toward Russia and Serbia.

Despite the clear attempt to establish a supranational, Austrian identity, educators never diminished local identity in the process. Civic education in Austria recognized the

inherent diversity of the Monarchy and it acknowledged it and even regarded it as a tool for developing a broader, Austrian identity. In fact, educators believed that Austrian patriotism was impossible if these local identities were not sufficiently developed. For those shaping civic education in the Monarchy, the idea of identity was complex and layered. Efforts to establish a supranational, Austrian identity went hand-in-hand with efforts to establish distinct regional identities.

Geography, history, *Heimatkunde*, and *Vaterlandskunde* classes helped establish this layered identity in more subtle ways as well. Each classroom had a map of the Habsburg Monarchy on its wall, students learned the history and geography of Austria-Hungary as a cohesive whole, and *Heimatkunde* and *Vaterlandskunde* courses reinforced the historical and economic links between the diverse lands of the Monarchy. It showed that Austria-Hungary was indeed a functioning political and economic entity, just like any other state. As a result for at least eight years, students learned to conceptualize the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole and not as a collection of nationalities. These lessons provided the basic foundation for civic education. In order to strengthen these lessons, schools actively reinforced the patriotic messages taught in the classroom whenever possible. School celebrations, school excursions, and community events strengthened the efforts to establish a strong Austrian identity.

CHAPTER 4
CELEBRATING AND COMMEMORATING THE MONARCHY: SCHOOL
EXCURSIONS AND CELEBRATIONS

Introduction

The *Heldenplatz* (Heroes' Square) in Vienna sits on the grounds of the Hofburg palace, the primary residence for the rulers of the Habsburg dynasty until the Monarchy's collapse in 1918. Established between 1860 and 1865, the *Heldenplatz* commemorated and honored Habsburg martial glory by prominently featuring two equestrian statues of the Monarchy's most famous military heroes: Prince Eugene of Savoy and Archduke Karl. Each statue depicts the hero trampling the Monarchy's foes, with Archduke Karl triumphantly standing over banners, flags, and standards of the Napoleonic army, and Prince Eugene over those of the vanquished Ottomans. On the base of each statue are plaques with the names and years of the notable battles won by each general. Compared with similar squares in other cities, the number of heroes honored in Vienna's *Heldenplatz* is sparse. The *Hősök tere* (Heroes' Square) in Budapest contains statues of fourteen Hungarian national heroes, and the *Plaza de Oriente* (Eastern Plaza) of Madrid's national palace has statues of twenty medieval Spanish kings. While there is no shortage of monuments to Habsburg rulers in Vienna's public spaces, no Habsburg ruler is honored at the *Heldenplatz*.

The two statues in Vienna's *Heldenplatz* stand as a visual representation of Austria's "historic mission" as articulated by the Monarchy's historians and as taught in Austrian schools at the time of the square's creation. Those walking through it would be reminded of Austria's defense of the Christian world from the East, represented by Prince Eugene, and its defense of order and stability from the chaos of France, represented by

Archduke Karl. The monuments on the public spaces on Vienna's *Ringstrasse*, constructed in stages beginning in the 1860s, contain a similar political iconography. The park in front of the city hall holds a collection of statues honoring the heroes of Vienna itself, such as Niklas Salm and Rudolf IV.¹ A large monument of Maria Theresa, depicting the glory and power of her reign, stands between the Museum of Art History and the Museum of Natural History, across the *Ringstrasse* from the Hofburg. The ruler is portrayed seated, magnanimously waving to onlookers. Surrounding her, at the base of the statue, are statues of her most notable advisors and generals. Along the facade of the Museum of Art History stand statues honoring Charles V, Charles VI, Rudolf I, and Charlemagne.² The decision to display Maria Theresa with her advisors or to include Charlemagne with Habsburg rulers notable for their patronage of the arts is understandable given the way that the history of the Monarchy was taught at the time of the *Ringstrasse*'s construction. Including Charlemagne with three Habsburg rulers visually reinforced the efforts by historians and textbooks to depict Austria as the inheritor of the Carolingian legacy. Likewise, the presence of Maria Theresa's advisors on her monument reflected their contribution to her success, at least according to the historians and educators of the time.³

¹ As discussed in Chapter 2, the building projects of Rudolf IV, or Rudolf the Founder, helped to elevate Vienna to a major Central European city. Niklas Salm (1459-1530), a military officer in the Habsburg army, served in many campaigns against the French during the reign of Charles V. He is most remembered for leading the defense of the city during the Turkish Siege of 1529. For more on Salm, see Helmut Neuhold, *Österreichs Kriegshelden: Landsknechte, Haudegen, Feldherren* (Graz: Ares Verlag, 2012).

² As illustrated in Chapter 2, textbooks lavished praise on all four of these rulers, considering them paragons of good governance. The fact that their statues align the Museum of Art History draws attention to one of the most important tropes of good governance — support for the arts.

³ A planning commission directed by representatives of the Habsburg dynasty oversaw the construction of all of the official buildings and public spaces along the *Ringstrasse*. This commission consciously selected architectural styles and motifs for individual buildings and monuments that they felt augmented the purpose of the structure. For more on the construction of the *Ringstrasse* and its political iconography, see Carl

The strong alignment between the political iconography of the public spaces of the *Ringstrasse* and the formal presentation of the Monarchy's history in the classroom suggests a strong coordination of civic education efforts within the Monarchy. In the nineteenth century, governments realized that the construction of public monuments could reinforce patriotic narratives about a state's or nation's history.⁴ As Jay Winter argues, historical sites helped shape collective memory by allowing a community to commemorate events together, developing a common interpretation of the past.⁵ Both school houses and public spaces in Austria reinforced an accepted, official interpretation of the Monarchy's history. History classes ensured that students knew about these important monuments. When textbooks concluded a discussion of historical figures, they described the monuments honoring that individual, often with illustrations.⁶ Pedagogical theorists also considered monuments essential to the teaching of history and advocated field trips so that students could see them in person. Monuments were an essential component of civic education in the Monarchy.

Pedagogical emphasis on sightseeing and field trips did not only include trips to notable landmarks. Museum exhibits and other relevant events were just as important. Like monuments, there was a strong correlation between the presentation of history in

Schorske, "The Ringstrasse and the Birth of Modern Urbanism," in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 24-115; Elisabeth Springer, *Geschichte und Kulturleben der Wiener Ringstrasse*, vol. 2 of *Die Wiener Ringstrasse, Bild einer Epoche: Die Erweiterung der inneren Stadt Wien unter Kaiser Franz Josef*, Renate Wagner-Reigner, ed. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979).

⁴ Nancy M. Wingfield, "Statues of Emperor Joseph II as Sites of German Identity," in *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield, eds. (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2001), 178.

⁵ Jay Winter, *War and Remembrance: The Great War between Memory and History in the 20th Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 4-5, 135-138.

⁶ See Josef Kraft, and Johann Georg Rothaus, *Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1893).

textbooks and its presentation in exhibits. Educational theorists felt that such exhibits would not only reinforce the curriculum, but would make history more relevant to students since they would see and interact with artifacts from the periods they studied. This interaction would in turn deepen a student's understanding of history and passion for those discussed. When securing permission to attend exhibits, teachers and schools explicitly argued that historical exhibits would elevate the patriotism of students and strengthen their love for Austria and its heroes.⁷

Just as these exhibits made the past more relatable to students, patriotic celebrations in schools sought to make the Monarchy and the monarch more tangible. The tangibility of the Monarchy was essential for creating identification with and loyalty to it. School leaders and officials from the Ministry of Religion and Education felt that school celebrations held throughout the year established a strong relationship between the Monarchy and the students. Whenever appropriate, schools utilized these events to supplement patriotic education. These celebrations included annual events such as commemorating the opening and closing of the school year and the emperor's and empress' name days. Schools also commemorated notable anniversaries and historical dates, which would vary by year. In each case, these celebrations followed a standardized format which was consistent throughout Austria, the ultimate goal being to reiterate the patriotic history students learned in class.

The Monarchy did not rely on these celebrations alone to provide interaction between the dynasty and the student. It also used imperial tours and visits which always

⁷ For examples of such notions, see "Der erste Geschichtsunterricht in der Volksschule," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 25, 1903, np; "Der Papier-geographische Unterricht," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, February 16, 1902, np.

included a celebration, visit, or parade that would allow students to see the monarch. Obviously, these public events, as well as museum exhibits, were not exclusively meant for school children, but organizers expected and encouraged students to attend them. As a result, these events provided crucial reinforcement that corroborated and strengthened what students learned about the Monarchy. More importantly, they also helped to provide a sense of community and belonging that organizers hoped would deepen the students' attachment to their country and emperor.

Interacting with History: Museum Exhibits

The two hundredth anniversary of the Siege of Vienna in 1883 coincided with the opening of Vienna's new city hall. Built along the *Ringstrasse*, the neo-Gothic building became the site for a series of "patriotic celebrations" hosted by the city to commemorate the siege.⁸ One of the highlights of these celebrations was an extensive exhibit dedicated to the "laudable defenders" (*ruhmvolle Vertheidiger*) who saved the city from the Ottomans.⁹ Held from September 15 to October 15, 1883, the exhibit displayed artifacts and objects collected from most of the belligerents, and consisted primarily of weapons, armor, military insignia and banners, documents, and objects found on the battlefield. It also displayed artwork related to the siege, including cityscapes of Vienna, portraits of the personalities involved, and paintings made after the siege that presented idealized versions of the struggle.¹⁰

⁸ "Die historische Ausstellung der Stadt Wien," *Wiener Zeitung*, September 4, 1883, 3.

⁹ Karl Weiss, *Katalog der Historischen Ausstellung der Stadt Wien, 1883. Aus Anlass der zweiten Säcularfeier der Befreiung Wiens von den Türken vom Gemeinerathe der Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien veranstaltet* (Vienna: Wallishausser, 1883), v.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, v-vii.

Both the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Wiener Zeitung* praised the exhibit's vast collection of artifacts, noting the extraordinary effort organizers put into obtaining items from museums and private collections throughout Europe.¹¹ Organizers arranged the exhibitions by object type, rather than theme or chronology. So, for example, one room contained maps and battle paintings, another held portraits and artifacts from individuals, and another displayed trophies collected from the Turks.¹² While the exhibit's organization may have lacked a narrative structure, the objects selected portrayed the city and its defenders in a heroic light. In a manner consistent with the standard presentation of the siege by historians and teachers, the exhibit showcased an event where civilization hung in the balance and noble leaders, along with everyday people, defeated a seemingly insurmountable enemy.

For the most part, the exhibit communicated these views through the descriptions of the objects on display. Just like the biographies of individuals in textbooks, these objects became proxies for larger ideas. A description accompanying a seventeenth-century woodcut of Vienna created by a Nürnberg printer could have been lifted verbatim from history textbooks used in Austria's schools. It indicated that the city of Vienna "was besieged on July 14 by the Turkish Grand Vizier Kara Mustapha Basa with two hundred thousand men" who "fired upon and continuously stormed [its walls]." The city was saved only through "the commendable (*loblich*) precautions (*Vorsorg*) and diligence" of its leaders and people.¹³ Portraits of those leading the defense of the city

¹¹ "Die historische Ausstellung der Stadt Wien," *Neue Freie Presse*, September 7, 1883, evening edition, 2; "Die historische Ausstellung der Stadt Wien," *Wiener Zeitung*, September 4, 1883, 3.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Weiss, *Katalog der Historischen Ausstellung der Stadt Wien*, 30.

contained descriptions that similarly glorified their bravery and determination while emphasizing the severity of the situation. For example, the text accompanying the portrait of Georg Franz Koltschizki praised his willingness to serve as a messenger between the city and the approaching allied army coming to fight the Turks, while a description of a painting of Duke Karl V of Lothringen explained how the duke helped organize the defense of the city and led the fight to push back the Turks until Polish troops could arrive. The description also emphasized that the duke performed these actions while also trying to control the spread of diseases, such as dysentery, demonstrating that Vienna was threatened by more than the Turks.¹⁴ The portrait of the Abbé Johann Schmidberger made the peril created by disease even more explicit. Visitors learned that the abbé, who refused to flee the city, eventually died of dysentery after the Turks burned down his monastery, forcing him and his fellow monks to flee to other religious houses in the city.¹⁵

This description of the abbé's portrait also illustrated the perceived barbarity of the Turks and the threat they posed to Christian Europe. Just as in textbooks, the exhibit considered the Ottoman destruction of churches an indication of the clash between the civilized West and the heathen East. The exhibit also echoed the historical parallel textbooks established between the fall of Constantinople and the siege of Vienna by showing a booklet from Hungary that described the "imperial residence cities of Constantinople and Vienna" and their respective sieges. The image of a Christian empire vanquished by Turkish hoards juxtaposed to the image of the Turkish army at the gates of

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 34, 41-42.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 40.

Vienna reminded visitors of the peril Christian Europe would have faced had Austria and its allies failed.¹⁶

With the fate of Christendom dependent on the result of the siege, the exhibit showcased items that portrayed Austria's victory as a sign of divine intervention and providence. One painting, named "An Allegory of the Victory of Christian Arms (*Waffen*)," showed "angels hold[ing] an image of Mary and the Christ child" over a Turkish army fighting the Christian forces, and an eagle in the sky carrying a crescent in its talons.¹⁷ Some medallions on display showed the Habsburg double-headed eagle holding the city as a sign of "God's protection."¹⁸

Considering the images of Turkish power and weaponry displayed by the exhibit, it was clear such divine assistance was needed. The exhibit contained hundreds of bows, arrows, muskets, lances, and other weapons wielded by the Turks, and it displayed a canopy tent purported to be that of Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa, taken by Austrian troops after the Turks fled the gates of Vienna.¹⁹ The exhibit even claimed to have the skull of Kara Mustafa, obtained by a Jesuit missionary in Belgrade after the Vizier's death.²⁰ Such curiosities tried to give visitors an impression of Vienna's foe, and they were among the most popular items displayed. Both the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Wiener Zeitung* noted the "magnificence" and "splendor" of the Turkish artifacts. The *Neue Freie Presse* commented that the vast array of weaponry and especially Mustafa's tent

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 382.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 70-71.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 106-169.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 170.

and skull brought the enemy before the eyes of attendees.²¹ Ultimately, both newspapers considered the exhibit a successful commemoration of the siege and its heroes. It was “well worth the effort” to attend.

The correlation between the exhibit and the history curriculum meant that the exhibit was a perfect supplement to history lessons for schools in Vienna. Schools took advantage of this fact and brought students to the city hall to see the exhibit.²² The objects on display were exactly the type of objects pedagogical theorists claimed could “awaken” a student’s interest in history and the past. More importantly, they thought such exhibits could enhance the students’ patriotism and make them proud of their city. By the first decade of the twentieth century, such historical exhibits became more sophisticated, organized with a strong narrative structure that made this goal more explicit.

In the spring of 1909, the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry in Vienna held an exhibit to commemorate the centennial of the Battle of Aspern.²³ Originally, organizers planned to showcase the battle itself and role of Archduke Karl in leading Austrian troops to victory against Napoleon. They quickly broadened the exhibit to include artifacts from Karl’s entire life as well as his other victories, however. In particular, they wanted visitors to see Karl’s Theresien Cross, awarded after his victory at Neerwinden in 1793 and Aldenhoven in 1794. Organizers also wanted to illustrate Karl’s devotion to his

²¹ “Die historische Ausstellung der Stadt Wien,” *Neue Freie Presse*, September 7, 1883, evening edition, 2; “Die historische Ausstellung der Stadt Wien,” *Wiener Zeitung*, September 4, 1883, 4.

²² For example, see *Dreiundzwanzigster Jahres-Bericht der Wiener Communal-Oberrealschule im ersten Gemeinde-Bezirke für das Schuljahr 1883-1884* (Vienna: Carl Gerolds Sohn, 1884), 57.

²³ The Austrian Museum for Art and Industry (*Österreichischen Museum für Kunst und Industrie*) is now called the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts (*Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst*).

family and the piety and virtue he demonstrated in his private life. Before long, the scope of the exhibit extended to include artifacts not only from the Battle of Aspern and Archduke Karl's life, but also from the Austrian army as a whole during the Napoleonic Wars.²⁴ What began as an exhibit narrowly focused on a key event in Austrian military history grew into a major exhibit illustrating the glory of the Habsburg struggle against Napoleon and Austria's efforts to restore order to Europe. It became a patriotic display meant to remind visitors of the importance of Austria to European stability.

This transformation was not surprising, given the important symbolic role Karl and the Battle of Aspern held in the Austrian historical imagination. By the time the exhibit opened, the equestrian statue of Karl had already stood in Vienna's *Heldenplatz* for almost forty years. Furthermore, textbooks and history classes in Austrian schools used Archduke Karl and the Battle of Aspern to emphasize the very same points as the exhibit. As a result, Austrians already associated Archduke Karl with Austria's "historic mission" to defend Europe from the machinations of France, and they knew that the Battle of Aspern was not only a major victory for the Habsburg Monarchy but also a key turning point in the fight against Napoleon. The exhibit reinforced these notions.

Two articles written as an introduction for the exhibit guide, available for purchase by museum visitors, set the tone for the exhibit. The first was a biography of Karl, the second an overview of the Battle of Aspern. For the most part, they were written in straightforward prose relating key events, facts, and figures, but they both also explained the threat posed to Europe by the seemingly invincible France. The biography

²⁴ *Katalog der Erzherzog Carl-Ausstellung zur Jahrhundertfeier der Schlacht bei Aspern* (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1909), iii-v; "Die Erzherzog Karl-Ausstellung in Wien," *Neue Freie Presse*, April 4, 1909, 10.

of Karl described the coalition army as “badly supplied” and “severely shaken” by its string of defeats at the hands of Revolutionary France in the 1790s. The article asserted that Karl renewed the fighting spirit of Austria and its allies and gave them the confidence to win a string of battles that pushed the French “back over the Rhine in a few days.”²⁵ As a humble man, however, Karl continued to serve in political and diplomatic posts, even though “all of Germany cheered ‘savior’ to him.”²⁶ He returned again in the first decade of the nineteenth century to rally troops, demoralized after their losses to Napoleon, and brought them to victory at Aspern and in other battles.²⁷ Karl continued to unite and inspire, even after his death, evidenced by the fact that “all of the peoples of the Habsburg Empire” supported the construction of his statue in the *Heldenplatz* to honor his “noble purity” (*edler Reinheit*) and to show that he was “beloved and revered” (*verehrt*) by the citizens of the “most beloved imperial dynasty in the world.”²⁸ The article concluded by reminding readers that Karl was so beloved that even his enemies praised him. After all, Napoleon said of Karl: “Here is a man who would never bring a word of blame upon himself, the Archduke Karl! This man has a spirit from the time of heroes and a heart from the Golden Age. He is a virtuous person... true in his word.”²⁹

The historical profile of the Battle of Aspern also drew attention to the dire position of the Austrian army and its allies and the essential role Karl played in bringing

²⁵ Oskar Criste, “Erzherzog Carl,” in *Katalog der Erzherzog Carl-Ausstellung*, 1.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

coalition forces to victory.³⁰ While the bulk of the article provided details about troop and artillery numbers, the specifics of the battle plans, and the course of the battle, it made Karl appear to be a military genius. It also presented an image of a united Habsburg Monarchy reluctantly called to war in order to defend Europe. Austrians therefore greeted the news of victory at Aspern with “solemn parades and prayers in honor of the fallen and in thanks.”³¹ The article also reinforced the idea that the Battle of Aspern was a key turning point in the Napoleonic Wars. Using almost identical language to the history textbooks, the article boasted that the Battle of Aspern “destroyed the image of Napoleon’s invincibility,” and how Austria’s victory meant that “for the first time in years, Austria, and with it all of Europe, breathed a sigh of relief and of joyful hope.”³² The content of both articles revealed an accepted interpretation of Karl and the Battle of Aspern shared by both educators and professional historians. The alignment between the history of the Napoleonic Wars, as taught in history classes, and the exhibit went beyond the museum guidebook. The layout and thematic approach used to organize the exhibition illustrate this unity of interpretation as well.

Organizers arranged the exhibit thematically and, for the most part, chronologically, with each room containing artifacts and artwork related to a person or event connected with either Archduke Karl, the Battle of Aspern, or the Austrian army in the Napoleonic period. The entrance hall welcomed visitors with a striking collection of objects meant to emphasize the triumphal theme of the exhibit. The focal point of the

³⁰ Hauptman Peters, “Aspern,” in *Katalog der Erzherzog Carl-Ausstellung*, 6.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

³² *Ibid.*, 12.

room was a life-sized portrait of Karl on the wall behind a French cannon, flanked by French banners, which the Austrian army captured following the battle. The room also prominently displayed large paintings of the Battle of Regensburg, Eggmühl, and Aspern, each fought in 1809, as well as artifacts from each battle and uniforms worn by each army. The room spoke to the legacy of the battle by displaying a model of Karl's equestrian statue from the *Heldenplatz* and a model of the "Lion of Aspern" monument which stood in Aspern itself.³³ For the *Wiener Zeitung*, the entrance hall provided a striking starting point for the exhibit, establishing the tone for the rest of the exhibit.³⁴

The next rooms showcased the battles won by Karl prior to Aspern, including those at Aldenhaven and Neerwinden in 1793, at West Emele and Würzburg in 1796, at Ostrach and Stockach in 1799, and at Trebbia in 1799. Like the entrance hall, these rooms contained paintings depicting the battles, documents and artifacts related to them, and sculptures and other artwork related to the battles.³⁵ By including uniforms from the various Bohemian, Hungarian, and Austrian regiments that fought in the conflict, this room portrayed a united Habsburg Monarchy fighting France. This concept of unity continued into the third room through a series of portraits of Archduke Karl which depicted him as the leader of all of these groups. One portrait, for example, showed him as the head of the Bohemian legion and another allegorically presented him as the embodiment of German knighthood.³⁶ These rooms, along with those containing objects

³³ *Führer durch die Erzherzog Carl-Ausstellung im k.k. Österreichischen Museum für Kunst und Industrie* (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1909), 3-5.

³⁴ "Erzherzog Karl-Ausstellung," *Weiner Zeitung*, April 19, 1909, 5.

³⁵ *Führer durch die Erzherzog Carl-Ausstellung*, 6-9.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

related to Karl's life and diplomatic and political service to the Monarchy, portrayed the moments when the Austrian military was at its finest, and sought to communicate the notion that the Monarchy was united in opposition to its foes.

Even with its obvious emphasis on the victories of the Monarchy, the exhibit did not minimize the serious setbacks Austria suffered at the hands of Napoleon. In fact, the exhibit housed four rooms dedicated to Austria's defeat at the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805 and to those areas of the Monarchy occupied by French troops or by those allied with France. Just like textbooks, however, these rooms used these defeats and occupations to showcase the unwavering loyalty of the Austrian peoples to the Habsburg dynasty and to show that, even in defeat, Austrians remained valiant defenders of their fatherland.

The room commemorating the Battle of Austerlitz and Peace of Pressburg, which forced Austria to temporarily cede Vorarlberg and Tyrol to Bavaria and precipitated the end of the Holy Roman Empire, displayed items reflecting the unity and loyalty of the diverse Habsburg lands. It held flags from the voluntary military corps, demonstrating the willingness of the Austrian population to fight for their crown, and even contained "prayers of thanks from Vienna's Jews [written] on the occasion of Emperor Franz's return to Vienna."³⁷ The inclusion of these prayers showed the diversity of the Monarchy, and, more importantly, the unity of its peoples.

The rooms related to the foreign occupation of Austrian lands continued the theme of unity through diversity. When viewers looked at portraits of the Hungarian leaders and artifacts from the Hungarian troops who participated in the Battle of Raab in 1809, they read in their guidebooks and on plaques that these Hungarians fought the

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

French. The Hungarians struggled just as fiercely as the members of the Tyrolean uprising showcased in the neighboring room.³⁸ Unsurprising, considering the way schools taught the Tyrolean Uprising, the exhibit portrayed these Tyroleans as patriots *par excellence*, and those executed by the French as patriotic martyrs. The room not only included busts and portraits of these leaders, but also the letters the condemned wrote before their death and the birth certificates of some of the participants.³⁹ Just as in the textbooks for history classes, the uprisings gave the impression of universal devotion to the Monarchy during the conflict. Furthermore, even when not at war with France, the Habsburg Monarchy actively opposed Napoleon's domination of Europe. These periods of peace did not reflect Austria's unwillingness to fight, but simply Austria's need to regain its strength so as to emerge victorious against its enemy.

The exhibit items related to Napoleon's defeat at the Battle of Nations at Leipzig in 1813 continued to highlight Austria's role in the French emperor's downfall. These items also showed Austria's vital role as an alliance builder. Two portraits of Emperor Franz II/I, one depicting him with King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia and Tsar Alexander I of Russia and the other depicting him wearing a Prussian army uniform, articulated these messages clearly.⁴⁰ The exhibit's attempt to illustrate these important aspects of Austria's "historic mission" became even clearer in the so-called "Room of Allegories," the final room of the exhibit which contained artistic allegories of Austria's historic role in Europe. Just as history lessons sought to portray the Napoleonic Wars as

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 19-20.

another point in Austria's struggle to defend Europe from French aggression, the exhibit indicated this connection by placing a painting of Charles V's victory over France at Pavia (1525) next to an image of Archduke Karl's army halting the advance of French troops in the 1790s. To complete the full articulation of Austria's "historic mission," the room even included an allegorical painting of Austria's triumph over the Turks at the Siege of Vienna in 1683.⁴¹ By the time visitors left the exhibit, they saw, through the use of historical artwork and artifacts, Austria's unity and historical purpose made manifest.

The *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Wiener Zeitung* both considered the exhibit to be a success. In particular, the *Neue Freie Presse* appreciated the way the exhibit's organization brought both Karl's life and military career "before the eyes" of attendees.⁴² The *Wiener Zeitung* offered similar praise, noting that walking through the exhibit provided a glimpse into the life of Karl as both a military leader and as a person by providing artifacts and items from Karl's military career and family life. The newspaper also remarked that the exhibit's display of objects related to the Austrian military at-large painted a picture of life during the Napoleonic Wars.⁴³

The Archduke Karl exhibit obviously sought to portray a patriotic view of the Battle of Aspern and the Napoleonic Wars, a depiction wholly consistent with the way that textbook authors and teachers presented these topics in Austrian schools. This consistency not only reflected the existence of an accepted, one could say "official," view of these topics among Habsburg historians but also a level of coordination between

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 182-183.

⁴² "Die Erzherzog Karl-Ausstellung in Wien," *Neue Freie Presse*, April 4, 1909, 10.

⁴³ "Erzherzog Karl-Ausstellung," *Weiner Zeitung*, April 19, 1909, 5.

organizers of the exhibit and the Ministry of Religion and Education, which reviewed the history curriculum and textbooks for Austrian schools. Representatives of the Ministry were on the planning board for the exhibit and among those invited to its gala opening.⁴⁴ The participation of the Ministry is unsurprising, considering its access to the resources and experts necessary to create such an exhibit. The exhibit reinforced everything visitors had learned in school about Archduke Karl, the Napoleonic Wars, and the Habsburg past.

As with the “Defenders of Vienna Exhibit” in Vienna’s city hall in 1893, organizers intended for school children to attend these exhibits, along with members of the public. Schools wrote to the Ministry of Religion and Education to obtain permission to take students to these exhibits and for assistance in receiving free or discounted tickets. In explaining the motivation for such visits, the provincial school board of Lower Austria explained to the Ministry that the exhibit would provide essential reinforcement of material learned in history classes, and more importantly would develop the patriotism of the students.⁴⁵ Visiting the exhibit was an act of patriotic education.

Discovering the Heimat and the Monarchy: School Hikes and Tours

As discussed in the previous chapter, pedagogical leaders advocated visits to museum exhibits for the same reasons that schools asked for permission to attend: to reinforce lessons from class and to develop the patriotism of students. Pedagogical

⁴⁴ *Führer durch die Erzherzog Carl-Ausstellung*, 1-2; Archive of the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, document 2209-1909.

⁴⁵ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 1897 10D2, Document 18051, April 30, 1909. See also *Jahresbericht über das k.k. akademisches Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1908-1909* (Vienna: Verlag des k.k. akademisches Gymnasium, 1909), 48.

journals and advice given to the Ministry of Religion and Education urged the Ministry and local school officials to reform curriculum to include more of these trips.

Pedagogical leaders, such as Dr. Josef Bartmann, who wrote to the Ministry with suggestions for preparing a new curriculum for *Bürgerschulen* in 1911, begged the Ministry to increase the number of excursions and fieldtrips related to *Heimatkunde*, geography, and history for all students. Repeating a refrain found time and time again in pedagogical literature, Dr. Bartmann told the Ministry that students could only “love” their *Heimat* and fatherland when they had “exact” (*gewisse*) knowledge of it. Visits to relevant museum exhibits, hikes in the countryside, and guided tours of notable sites provided such knowledge and should be encouraged.⁴⁶ A year earlier, the German and Austrian Alpine Association in Innsbruck wrote to the Ministry, unsolicited, asking it to encourage schools to send students on mountain hikes and extended visits to the Alps. The Association argued that such treks were essential to the “intellectual and physical development of school children,” because they would provide crucial reinforcement of natural science, geography, and history classes.⁴⁷

The Ministry and other school officials appear to have taken such advice to heart, and they encouraged these activities. In the years before the First World War, schools of all levels began emphasizing in reports to the Ministry and local school boards how frequently they took such field trips and excursions. The yearly reports of the *Staats-Realgymnasium* in Linz, which opened in 1911, provided detailed descriptions of spring excursions taken by their students. These trips, usually taken on a Saturday in late May

⁴⁶ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 4197 17D2, Document 52535, December 7, 1911.

⁴⁷ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 1770 10D2, Document 1792, January 13, 1910.

or early June, took students to various locations on the outskirts of the city and always included both nature hikes as well as visits to historic sites. For example, in 1913, one group from the first class took a local train to the town of Eferding, where they went on a hike before returning to Linz by way of a Danube cruise. A second group took tours through Gaisbach-Warberg, Notmühle, and Pragärten to enjoy “the beauty of nature,” and to see Reichenstein castle.⁴⁸ The next year, students took similar trips.⁴⁹ The 1912 year-end inspection reports for German language *Realschulen* in Prague also mentioned that the school used excursions for the purpose of reinforcing the curriculum in the natural sciences, history, and geography.⁵⁰

During the same period, there was a similar increase in the number of requests the Ministry received from the Lower Austrian school board asking permission to allow students to attend exhibits, museums, and concerts in Vienna. In February 1912, the school board requested permission for select classes from *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* in Vienna to go to the Natural History and Art History museums in Vienna, and in March it made another request for 25 *Gymnasium* and *Realschulen* students to go to the same museums.⁵¹ An additional request made in 1913, seeking permission to attend a “historical exhibit” at the court library, explicitly stated that visiting this exhibit would “elevate the patriotic sentiments (*patriotische Empfinden*)” of

⁴⁸ Archive of the City of Linz, B0024 Bundesreal-gymnasium Linz (Khevenhüllerstraße), *Jahres-Bericht des k.k. Staats-Realgymnasiums in Linz über das zweite Schuljahr 1912-1913*, 42.

⁴⁹ Archive of the City of Linz, B0024 Bundesreal-gymnasium Linz (Khevenhüllerstraße), *Jahres-Bericht des k.k. Staats-Realgymnasiums in Linz über das dritte Schuljahr 1913-1914*, 50.

⁵⁰ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 2322 10A1, Document 26671, June 4, 1912.

⁵¹ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2103 10D2, Document 8028 February 17, 1912; Document 12559, March 13, 1912.

the attending students.⁵² These requests show that schools obviously sought to take advantage of the cultural resources available in the capital. The frequency of these requests reveals that schools felt the Ministry would approve of such trips.

Hikes, excursions, and visits most certainly occurred prior to this period. For example, as early as 1880 the yearly reports for the *Staats- Real- und Obergymnasium* in Freistadt, Lower Austria, mention excursions.⁵³ These reports, however, do not provide the same level of detail as those of the *Staats-Realgymnasium* in Linz, nor are they as frequent. The increased emphasis on fieldtrips and excursions in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century speaks to a pedagogical shift within the school culture of Austria. At all levels, there was an increased desire to reinforce classroom lessons through such visits. It is also worth mentioning that the pedagogical emphasis on such trips may have increased because they became cheaper and easier to plan. The development of mass-transit in cities and the construction of railways meant that it was possible for schools to take a day trip to the surrounding countryside or a museum in the city.

The fact that educators made explicit mention of the value of these trips for the patriotic development of students also shows that civic education was something the Ministry wanted to strengthen in schools. After all, schools and school boards wrote these requests hoping to obtain permission to buy tickets or to get assistance paying for them, not merely to inform the Ministry that these trips would occur. It is not unreasonable to assume that those asking for permission put forward what they thought

⁵² Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2103 10D2, Document 43378, September 20, 1913.

⁵³ Archive of the City of Linz, B0051 Bundesgymnasium Freistadt, Oberösterreich, *Zehnter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats- Real- und Obergymnasiums in Freistadt in Oberösterreich veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1880*, 38.

would be the most compelling justification in the eyes of Ministry officials. The fact that schools emphasized the development of patriotism as a reason for these trips demonstrates that those preparing the requests knew such appeals would make approval more likely.

The Ministry's interest in the patriotic development of students was most obvious in the year-end reports prepared annually by each provincial school board. Following a consistent formula, these inspection reports, usually composed by the chief inspector of each crownland, provided a detailed overview of each school district and the general quality of the facilities, faculty, and instruction of the schools. In these reports, inspectors also commented on how schools enhanced loyalty to the Monarchy and contributed to the patriotic education of students. Like pedagogical theorists of the time, these reports considered patriotism to be a direct reflection of the moral quality and character of the student. For example, in an 1895 report on the condition of schools in Upper Austria, an inspector, reflecting on the character of the students, used their patriotism as proof of their high moral quality. He wrote that "the students [were] devout (*gläubig*), pious (*fromm*), wholly patriotic (*patriotisch gesamt*), honest (*ehrlich*), and friendly."⁵⁴ In 1914, the inspection report for the *Volksschulen* in Königswalde/Świerki, Silesia, similarly praised the moral quality of the students, while also remarking on the "harmony" the faculty members established in the school, which had Czech and German students.⁵⁵ It was not unusual for inspectors to comment on the relationship between

⁵⁴ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 26, *Jahreshauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Oberösterreich, 1894-1895*.

⁵⁵ Czech National Archives, ZŠR, Karton 2512, IV 13 C-2-a, Document 2418-1914. For similar examples, see Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 31, *Jahreshauptbericht für Gymnasien in Schlesien, 1907-1908*. The fact that the provincial school board of Upper Austria received a copy of the inspection reports prepared by Silesia speaks to the bureaucratization of the Austrian school system. Each

national groups in schools that served regions with more than one nationality. In Bukovina, for example, inspectors regularly commented on the efforts of schools to diminish extreme nationalism among their students and touted their schools' success in developing student patriotism.⁵⁶ These inspection reports were typical of those created by inspectors across Austria starting in the 1880s, reflecting the Ministry of Religion and Education's strong interest in the moral and patriotic character of its students.⁵⁷

Often, inspectors placed such statements immediately before or after those regarding the moral conduct of students, further illustrating that patriotism was a vital component of moral education.⁵⁸ Such sections typically began with phrases like: “[schools] used every opportunity to strengthen (*festigen*) and to stimulate (*beleben*) the [student's] love of fatherland, emperor, and dynasty.”⁵⁹ While only consisting of a few paragraphs, inspectors provided detailed and nuanced information describing how classes, such as history, geography, *Heimatkunde*, and singing contributed to such development. The annual report for *Realschulen* in Czernowitz/ Chernivtsi/ Czerniowce, Bukovina, for 1905-1906 even made sure to mention that these schools developed a

year, the Ministry of Religion and Education distributed copies of each province's year-end reports to all provinces.

⁵⁶ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 29, *Jahreshauptbericht für Gymnasien in Bukowina, 1904-1905*; Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 30, *Jahreshauptbericht für Gymnasien in Bukowina, 1905-1906*; Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 31, *Jahreshauptbericht für Gymnasien in Bukowina, 1906-1907*.

⁵⁷ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 1970 10A1, Document 13884, June 29, 1885; Document 9756, April 26, 1889; Document 8215, April 20, 1889; Document 13827, June 1891. Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 23, *Jahreshauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Oberösterreich, 1885*; *Jahreshauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Oberösterreich, 1887*.

⁵⁸ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 30, *Jahreshauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Oberösterreich, 1905-1906*.

⁵⁹ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 1970 10A1, Document 4327, June 24, 1913.

specific “patriotic theme” for each language group every semester, and that regardless of the language of the school, school libraries contained patriotic books and music classes taught patriotic songs.⁶⁰ The reports also explained how schools used school celebrations on holidays and special occasions to further these goals.

Celebrating and Commemorating the Monarch

School celebrations represented a vital component of Austria’s civic education efforts. As with visits to museums or tours of historical sites, educators considered them to be essential reinforcement of patriotic messages taught in history and geography classes and a vital tool in strengthening “the loyalty, unbreakable attachment, and love of the fatherland and exalted dynasty.”⁶¹ Schools typically held several of these celebrations throughout the year, most linked to dates of historical or dynastic significance. Schools would, at minimum, celebrate the name day of the emperor and the empress.⁶² They would also hold celebrations to commemorate the important events and anniversaries of the Habsburg Monarchy, such as the acquisition of Austria by the Habsburg dynasty, the adoption of the Pragmatic Sanction, or the Battle of Nations at Leipzig in 1813. In addition to these explicitly patriotic dates, schools also held opening

⁶⁰ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 30, *Hauptbericht für Ober-Realschulen in Czernowitz für 1904-1905*.

⁶¹ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 22, *Jahreshauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Oberösterreich, 1884*; Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 23, *Jahreshauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Oberösterreich, 1887*.

⁶² Since Emperor Franz Joseph was born on August 18 and Empress Elisabeth was born on December 24, it was difficult for schools to celebrate their birthdays, since school was not in session. In order to ensure that an annual celebration of the couple occurred, schools used their name days instead. Name day celebrations, common in Catholic and Orthodox countries, honor individuals on the feast day of the saint sharing their name.

and closing ceremonies which often provided additional opportunities for educators to extol the virtues of the Habsburg dynasty. Local school boards, with advice and consent from the Ministry of Religion and Education, announced the dates of these celebrations every year and permitted instruction to be postponed while schools held their celebrations.⁶³

These celebrations were tightly scripted and organized, their content and structure consistent regardless of when or where they took place. They began in the morning with a religious service held at the schools' parish churches. The purpose of this service depended on the topic of commemoration. For commemoration of positive events, such as the emperor's name day or the commemoration of a battlefield victory, the service would contain messages of gratitude and thanks. For somber events, such as the commemoration of a death, the service would be one of remembrance. Reflecting the ecumenical tolerance of the Monarchy, students would attend these services in their respective churches — Catholics at the local Catholic church, Protestants at the local church of their denomination, Jews at the synagogue (or in the home of a Jewish leader, if the town or city did not have a synagogue). While school officials made allowances for the individual confession of the student, these religious services were not optional and students and teachers would have to obtain special permission to miss them.⁶⁴

After religious services, students and teachers gathered at the school, usually in the main hall or gymnasium, for an official school ceremony. The room was “festively decorated,” typically with at least the black and gold flag of the Austrian half of Austria-

⁶³ For example Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 4189, Document 6196-1886.

⁶⁴ Archive of the City of Linz, B0019, *Disziplinar-Vorschriften für die Schüler des k.k. Staats-Gymnasiums Linz*, 1872, 14-15; *Disziplinar-Vorschriften für die Schüler des k.k. Staats-Gymnasiums Linz*, 1881, 15-16.

Hungary and a picture or bust of the emperor.⁶⁵ It was not unusual for schools to also use other decorations, such as flowers and bunting. If the day commemorated or honored someone other than the emperor, decorations included a picture or painting of that individual or event. The ceremonies opened with a patriotic song, followed by a series of patriotic speeches which would explain the significance of the occasion with “warm words...from the heart,” punctuated with the recitation of patriotic poems or songs.⁶⁶ They would close with the singing of the *Volkshymn* and three cheers to the continued health of the emperor.⁶⁷

Besides the faculty and student body, parents of the students and local dignitaries attended these events as well.⁶⁸ The school board and the mayor of the town or city sent representatives who typically joined the headmaster or school director in giving speeches reflecting on the importance of the day. Even though individual speakers had autonomy over their speeches, there was a general consistency in the message communicated to students. The speakers used the opportunity to reinforce and reiterate the patriotic

⁶⁵ When writing about the various school celebrations, most year-end reports from schools made some comment about the room being “festively decorated,” often with detailed descriptions of those decorations. See for example Archive of the City of Linz, B0027, *Dreizehnte Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am “Collegium Petrinum,”* 1910, 43; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, Stadtschulrat (hereinafter referred to as SSR), 2.2.2.3.1601, *Schulchronik – Abelegasse*, entry for October 4, 1900.

⁶⁶Prague City Archives, SVZ, NAD 1042, Německá škola chlapecká v Karlíně, Palackého 33 Karton: Kronika, 1877, October 4, 1877.

⁶⁷ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.402, *Schulchronik - Hauptschule für Mädchen, Vierte Bezirk, Graf Starhembergasse*, entries for November 11, 1887; May 12, 1888; January 15, 1891; July 14, 1900. 2.2.2.3.203.B51, *Schulchronik – Holzhausergasse*, entries for November 10, 1877; November 30, 1880; December 27, 1882; July 14, 1900.

⁶⁸ The individual school chronicles and year-end reports often listed these visiting dignitaries. See for example Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.506.B51, *Schulchronik – Einsiedlergasse*, entry for October 4, 1910.

education students received in history and geography classes. In fact, one of the explicit goals of these ceremonies was to ensure that such reinforcement occurred.⁶⁹

The consistency from speaker to speaker and school to school is not surprising. As we have seen in textbooks, there was an accepted historical consensus regarding the Monarchy, its major figures, and its major events. The speeches reflected this consensus. Visiting dignitaries also often had a “canned” speech prepared for them. Mayor Karl Lueger of Vienna, for example, distributed a sample speech to his representatives on the occasion of Franz Joseph’s 60th jubilee in 1908. While the mayor’s office made clear that this speech only contained suggestions for his representatives, it was obvious the mayor intended for them to give this prepared speech, making only minor changes as necessary.⁷⁰

For the emperor’s name day, these speeches typically reinforced the existing narrative about Franz Joseph and his personality. As one teacher reflected, these occasions provided a perfect opportunity “to plant the splendid flower of ‘patriotism’ in the garden of the child’s heart and to awaken...the feeling of love and truest devotion to the fatherland and the beloved dynasty.”⁷¹ Usually, speakers praised the emperor’s piety, devotion to his subjects, and concern for the welfare of the Monarchy. Since these speeches were given in school, speakers also frequently lauded Franz Joseph as a patron

⁶⁹ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 76, *Jahreshauptbericht über des Zustand der allgemeine Volks- und Bürgerschulen und der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen in Steiermark*, 1904-1905.

⁷⁰ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, Kleine Bestände: Kaiserhaus (hereinafter referred to as KBK), 3.1.5.5.A63.4, Document 16500.

⁷¹ Prague City Archives, SVZ, NAD 1042, Německá škola chlapecká v Karlíně, Palackého 33 Karton: Kronika, 1877, October 4, 1877.

of schools, education, and the sciences.⁷² The emphasis of these speeches changed notably over time and reflected the monarch's growing popularity as he grew older. Early speeches tended to describe Franz Joseph's connection to other Habsburg rulers and the beneficial qualities of Habsburg rule rather than the monarch directly. For example, in 1867, a name day speech given by a history teacher at the *akademisches Gymnasium* in Vienna discussed the importance of Franz Joseph in connection to Rudolf IV, Maximilian I, and Maria Theresa, tying Franz Joseph's reform efforts to similar efforts by these earlier rulers. The decorations for this event even included visual representations of these individuals.⁷³ The speech clearly honored Franz Joseph, but it honored him more as a representative of Habsburg good governance rather than as an individual.

As time went on the speeches came to be about Franz Joseph and events of his reign, specifically. The speech given on his name day celebration in 1900 at the elementary school on Liechtensteinstrasse in Vienna spoke of the emperor as a "father of his country (*Landesvater*)" who "over the long years always showed concern for the welfare and happiness of his peoples." In return, his peoples gave him their "complete love and steadfast (*unerschütterlich*) loyalty." They forged this bond by sharing moments of "happiness and joy as well as grief and sorrow."⁷⁴ A speech in 1910 commemorating his 80th birthday at an elementary school on Zollergasse in Vienna's

⁷² *Jahresbericht über das k.k. akademisches Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1870-1871* (Vienna: Verlag des k.k. akademisches Gymnasium, 1871), 82.

⁷³ *Jahresbericht über das k.k. akademisches Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1867-1868* (Vienna: Verlag des k.k. akademisches Gymnasium, 1868), 66.

⁷⁴ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.907.B51, *Schulchronik – Liechtensteinstrasse*, Band 1, entry for July 14, 1900.

eighth district spoke passionately of Franz Joseph's concern for his realm, shown even at a young age, and how a string of personal tragedies, such as the deaths of his son and wife, had not diminished this concern. On the contrary, "his faith and sense of duty" allowed him to "endure" these tragedies and continue to work for his peoples. The speaker told the students that Franz Joseph's only concern was the "welfare of Austria" which manifested in his concern for the poor, his establishment of hospitals and schools, and in the reforms enacted during his reign. Reflecting the paternalistic role ascribed to Franz Joseph in Austrian society, the speaker also reminded students that "the emperor loves you all, his peoples, as a father loves his children."⁷⁵ While the speaker did note the consistency of Franz Joseph's stewardship with that of his predecessors, including Maria Theresa, the primary emphasis of the speech was Franz Joseph himself. Other speeches given on the same occasion similarly detailed Franz Joseph's life and accomplishments, showing that Franz Joseph had become a singular figure in the Dual Monarchy.⁷⁶

As he entered old age, Franz Joseph's popularity increased throughout Austrian society, not just in schools. Daniel Unowsky has traced Franz Joseph's transformation into a "media monarch," similar to Queen Victoria of Great Britain or Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany. Austrians revered the emperor as the embodiment of piety and diligence, an image consciously crafted by Monarchy officials. By 1900, Austrians not only displayed this reverence by purchasing pictures and busts of the emperor, biographies of him and

⁷⁵ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, Materialien-Schulveranstaltungen (uncollected materials), *Festrede* by Franiska Wolf.

⁷⁶ Archive of the City of Linz, B0054 Bundesgymnasium und Realgymnasium Ried/Innkreis, *XL Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Ried, 1910-1911*, 29-30.

his family, and other forms of imperial “kitsch,” but also by giving to charities in his honor.⁷⁷ School celebrations simply became another way of strengthening this affection for the emperor.

In fact, celebrating the life of the monarch became so important that as Franz Joseph entered his 70s, schools often commemorated both his name day in October and his actual birthday on August 18. On these occasions, students had to attend religious services and accompanying celebrations while technically on summer break.⁷⁸ As Franz Joseph became older, school celebrations honoring his life also intersected more and more with larger celebrations held by cities, towns, and the Monarchy as a whole.

The city council of Vienna and the city’s school board coordinated and planned the school celebrations for Franz Joseph’s 70th birthday in 1900 together, in order to ensure that the celebration in each school was as similar as possible. Working through a planning commission tasked with organizing birthday celebrations throughout the city, the city council and school board produced a tightly scripted and streamlined ceremony. Since school would not be in session on Franz Joseph’s birthday, the school board originally planned to celebrate his birthday on his name day in October.⁷⁹ Vienna’s mayor, Karl Lueger, and the planning commission, however, wanted schools to celebrate on the emperor’s actual birthday and pushed the school board to revise its plans. By holding school ceremonies on the emperor’s birthday, they would coincide with citywide

⁷⁷ Daniel L. Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism: Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848-1916* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2005), 105-144. Steven Beller discusses the legacy of Franz Joseph’s benevolent image in *Francis Joseph* (New York: Longman, 1996), 1-3.

⁷⁸ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.907.B51, *Schulchronik – Liechtensteinstrasse*, Band 1, entry for July 14, 1900.

⁷⁹ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A62.2, Document 3534, Document 7042.

celebrations and contribute to the overall jubilant atmosphere surrounding the event.⁸⁰ To help establish such an atmosphere, Lueger, acting in conjunction with the planning commission, asked the citizens of Vienna to decorate their homes with flags and to put lights in the windows, in order to show their support for the emperor.⁸¹

Within the schools, the planning commission and school board dictated which decorations schools should use and gave explicit instructions for the ceremony's organization. These instructions mandated that each school open the celebration with a song, followed by a greeting from the headmaster or director. After a speech on the life and contributions of Franz Joseph, attendees were to watch as the school's flag was decorated with a special commemorative band donated by the city of Vienna. Subsequent speeches by visiting dignitaries followed, and the event ended with a singing of the *Volkshymn*.⁸² The instructions also designated which city officials would represent the city and the mayor at specific schools. While the instructions followed the typical format for school celebrations, the fact that the city council helped to create it was unusual. In most cases, schools and the school board crafted the program for school events.

Large celebrations for Franz Joseph's 70th birthday were not restricted to Vienna. In Prague, for example, schools augmented their typical celebrations by having students attend concerts and plays performed outside of school. In the *Volksschule* in Karolinethal/Karlíně, located in the suburbs of Prague, students attended the patriotic

⁸⁰ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A62.2, Document 3534.

⁸¹ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A62.2, unnumbered poster.

⁸² Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A62.2, Document 6944.

play “*Die Donaufluten*” and offered a “patriotic tribute” to the emperor.⁸³ As in Vienna, school celebrations in Olmütz/Olomouc, Moravia, especially honored Franz Joseph as a benefactor and patron of schools and students. The speaker at the *Gymnasium* in Olmütz/Olomouc reflected how Franz Joseph had worked “tirelessly” for Austria since he was 18, improving the lives of his peoples like “all Habsburgs before him.”⁸⁴

The level of coordination between city officials, representatives from the Monarchy, and local school boards displayed during celebrations of Franz Joseph’s 70th birthday built on efforts begun during Franz Joseph’s 50th jubilee celebrations in 1898 and increased for Franz Joseph’s 60th jubilee in 1908. The growing attention to the consistency and planning of these important milestones in Franz Joseph’s reign speak to the increased attention officials placed on patriotic holidays in Austria.⁸⁵ Honoring Franz Joseph was an essential way to put the Monarchy on display. The emperor embodied the Monarchy and served its physical representation. In a certain sense, his longevity served as a proxy for the longevity of Habsburg rule itself. This longevity, coupled with his image as a pious, hardworking, and caring monarch allowed him to personify Habsburg good governance.

Some historians have argued that the importance of Franz Joseph’s unique biography, longevity, and connection to the people of the Habsburg Monarchy essentially made him an irreplaceable figure, and that without him the state would have lost its most

⁸³ Prague City Archives, SVZ, NAD 1042, Německá škola chlapecká v Karlíně, Palackého 33 Karton: Kronika, 1899-1900, June 30, 1900.

⁸⁴ *Programm des kaiserl. königl. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1901* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdruckerei, 1901), 59.

⁸⁵ Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism*, 113-144.

important source of stability.⁸⁶ His irreplaceability became even more pronounced after the suicide of his son Rudolph in 1889, when his successor became his nephew Franz Ferdinand, who enjoyed, at best, tepid popularity as well as a reputation for being prickly and short-tempered.⁸⁷ Franz Joseph was certainly a source of stability and unity within the Monarchy, and his longevity and biography contributed to this fact, but labeling him as “irreplaceable” overlooks the manner in which he became such a stabilizing and unifying force. It is worth remembering that when Franz Joseph came to the throne at the height of the Revolutions of 1848, he and the Habsburg dynasty were hardly at the height of their popularity. In fact, in pockets of the Monarchy, opinions of Franz Joseph remained in flux and unformed for the first few decades of his reign.⁸⁸

As the speeches delivered during his name day ceremonies show, it was in these earlier years of his reign that the tropes associated with the Habsburg dynasty mattered most. Speech makers could talk about Franz Joseph as pious, caring, and interested in the development of his lands because all Habsburg rulers were pious, caring and interested in the development of their lands. When describing Franz Joseph, speakers could rely on stories and anecdotes from his predecessors to help prove their points. Examples from the lives of previous Habsburg rulers helped to explain the importance and virtues of the reigning monarch until specific examples from his reign could be used

⁸⁶ Brigitte Hamann, *Hitlers Wien: Lehrjahre eines Diktators* (Munich: Piper, 2004), 131-132; George V. Strong, *Seedtime for Fascism: The Disintegration of Austrian Political Culture, 1867-1918* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1998), 47-67.

⁸⁷ For a discussion of the perception of Franz Ferdinand's unpopularity and his personality see F. R. Bridge, *The Habsburg Monarchy among the Great Powers, 1815-1918* (New York: Berg Publishers, 1990), 6-7; Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (New York: Harper Collins, 2013), 378-381.

⁸⁸ Alice Freifeld, *Nationalism and the Crowd in Liberal Hungary, 1848-1914* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 127-138; Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism*, 33-51.

to replace them. It took decades for Franz Joseph to acquire the image he enjoyed in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. Any successor would have had to work to cultivate a similar image. But the nimbleness of Austrian civic education meant that Franz Joseph's successor could continue to rely on the same tropes of Habsburg good governance that Franz Joseph himself relied upon. In fact, Habsburg officials could have continued to use stories from Franz Joseph's reign and portray his successor as a continuation of Franz Joseph's benevolence.

The fact that Franz Joseph died at the height of the First World War means that we will never know if such attempts would have succeeded. Karl I never had the opportunity to cultivate an image of his own. The speeches given for Karl's name day in 1917, however, show that speakers attempted to depict Karl as a youthful and vibrant ruler, who possessed the same devotion to his lands as Franz Joseph. In essence, speakers tried to both pass the mantle of good governance onto Karl while also highlighting the benefits of his youth.⁸⁹ These speeches give an idea of how students would have celebrated their new emperor had he come to throne in less turbulent times.

Celebrating and Commemorating the Dynasty and the Monarchy

As the reigning monarch, Franz Joseph was certainly the central focus of patriotic celebration and education within Austria, but he was not the only focus. Reflecting the fact that civic education in the Monarchy sought to create loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty as a whole, and not just one of its members, schools held celebrations and

⁸⁹ For example Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.604.B51, *Schulchronik – Sonnenuhrasse*, Band 2, entry for November 3, 1917; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.1601.B51, *Schulchronik – Abelegasse*, Entries for November 3, 1917, November 21, 1917.

ceremonies to honor and memorialize a range of figures from the ruling dynasty. As mentioned previously, before her assassination in 1898, schools honored Empress Elisabeth with the same regularity as they honored Franz Joseph. On November 19, schools celebrated the empresses' name day as they did the emperor's.⁹⁰ The speeches given at these ceremonies mirrored the speeches given for Franz Joseph. For example, early speeches generally spoke of the empresses' role as a patron of education and her piety in a way that tied her to previous Habsburg figures.⁹¹

School commemorations of the imperial couple's twenty-fifth wedding anniversary on April 24, 1879 made similar references to their patronage of education. A speech given at a girls' *Volksschule* in Vienna praised a recent endowment given to the school by the monarchs. The speaker also reminded students of the important changes Franz Joseph had made to education within Austria, starting with the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* of 1868.⁹² According to the school, this event "fanned the noble flame of patriotism and loyalty in the hearts of the young listeners," and inspired by imperial couple's generosity, the school gave bread, compote, fruit, and baked goods to "130 of the poorest children."⁹³

⁹⁰ *Jahresbericht über das k.k. akademisches Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1868-1869* (Vienna: Verlag des k.k. akademisches Gymnasium, 1869), 50; *Erster Jahresbericht der sechsklassigen städtischen Volksschule für Mädchen, X., Himbergerstraße Nr. 64.* (Vienna: Self-Published, 1879), 7; Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 76, Document 1599, discussing schools in Perg; Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 76, *Jahreshauptbericht über der allgemeine Volks- und Bürgerschulen und der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen in Steiermark*, 1906.

⁹¹ *Jahresbericht über das k.k. akademische Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1870-1871*, 82; *Jahresbericht über das k.k. akademisches Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1871-1872* (Vienna: Verlag des k.k. akademisches Gymnasium, 1872), 41.

⁹² *Erster Jahresbericht der sechsklassigen städtischen Volksschule für Mädchen, X., Himbergerstraße Nr. 64*, 8.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

Schools across Austria commemorated the silver anniversary of Franz Joseph's marriage to Elisabeth at the order of their individual school boards. As with the girls' *Volksschule* in Vienna, these celebrations offered an opportunity to praise the monarchs and reinforce the importance of patriotism to the students.⁹⁴ In Žižkov, outside of Prague, the German-language *Volksschule* commemorated the imperial couple's wedding anniversary several times in 1879. In February, students wrote poems in honor of the couple and submitted them for a poetry competition. A large school event followed in April. Along with the standard school celebration, the *Volksschule* performed a patriotic play which presented an allegory "emphasizing the virtue and piety of the House of Habsburg. [This allegory was] told through the perspective of trees, illustrating the longevity of [Franz Joseph's and Elisabeth's] rule."⁹⁵ The celebration for schools in Kremsmünster, Upper Austria, began on the evening of April 23, when students participated in a torchlight parade through the main thoroughfare of the city. The next day, students met in the school's main hall, which was decorated so festively that those reporting described the room as an "Emperor's Hall" (*Kaisersaal*). In the company of portraits of both the emperor and empress, students heard poems and songs specifically chosen for the occasion. These included "The Call of Spring to its People" (*Des Frühlings Aufruf an sein Volk*), which had been recited upon Elisabeth's arrival in Austria from Bavaria, and "Austria's Tribute for the Celebration of the Silver Anniversary of the Marriage of Their Imperial and Royal Majesties" (*Österreichs*

⁹⁴ *Neunter Jahres-Bericht der öffentlichen Volksschulen in Linz für das Schuljahr 1878/79* (Linz: k.k. Stadtschulrat Linz, 1879), 17; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.101.B51, *Schulchronik – Schul St. Stefan*, entry for April 24, 1878; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.405.B51, *Schulchronik – Pressgasse 24*, entry for April 24, 1878.

⁹⁵ Prague City Archives, SVZ, NAD 1051, Německá obecná škola pro chlapecká a dívky Praha XI — Žižkov: *Chronik der deutschen Schule zu Žižkov*, entry for February 26, 1879 and April 24, 1879.

Huldigung zur Feier der silbernen Hochzeit Ihrer k. und k. Majestäten), written specifically for the occasion. Additionally, speakers praised both as the “guardians and defenders of the fatherland.”⁹⁶

The celebration at the *Gymnasium* in Ried, Upper Austria, opted for poems and songs used for general school celebrations, rather than ones specifically chose for the occasion, but the speeches echoed the standard themes. The director impressed upon students that both Franz Joseph and Elisabeth had earned the student’s loyalty and devotion through their “excellent governance,” as well as their deep devotion to the welfare of their people made manifest their donations for the construction of the *Gymnasium*.⁹⁷ The fact that Franz Joseph and Elisabeth donated funds to the *Gymnasium* provided tangible proof of the monarchs’ generosity and reinforced their image as patrons of education. In order to draw more attention to the imperial couple’s generosity, most schools performed acts of charity and giving. The *Gymnasium* in Prag-Neustadt, for example, raised funds for Austrian soldiers wounded during the struggle to occupy Bosnia-Herzegovina.⁹⁸ In *Volksschulen* in Žižkov in the suburbs of Prague and in the *Gymnasium* in Olmütz/Olomouc, Moravia, teachers donated money so that the school

⁹⁶ Archive of the City of Linz, B0053, Stiftsgymnasium Kremsmünster Programme, 1858-1873, *Neunundzwanzigstes Programm des k.k. Obergymnasiums der Benedictiner zu Kremsmünster für das Schuljahr 1879*, 83.

⁹⁷ Archive of the City of Linz, B0054, Bundesgymnasium und Realgymnasium Ried/Innkreis, Jahresbericht, 1872-1953, *Achter Jahres-Bericht des k.k. Real- und Obergymnasiums in Ried am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1878/79*, 27-28.

⁹⁸ Prague City Archives, SVZ, 204D, 28, *Programm des k.k. Prag-Neustädter Gymnasiums am Schlusse des Studienjahres 1878-1879* (Prague: k.k. Schulbücherverlags, 1879), 62.

could give its students copies of the commemorative book “*Unser Kaiser*” (Our Emperor) prepared for the occasion.⁹⁹

Prior to his suicide in 1889, Crown Prince Rudolf was another dynastic figure that schools periodically honored with school celebrations. As heir to the throne, he represented the future of the Monarchy, and schools sought to establish a connection between him and the students just as they did with the emperor and empress. Opportunities to forge this connection were more limited, however. Since he was not a reigning monarch, schools did not celebrate his name day or birthday with any regularity.¹⁰⁰ Instead, schools commemorated important events in his life.

In 1880, the *Gymnasium* in Freistadt, Upper Austria, along with schools across Austria, celebrated the announcement of Rudolf’s engagement to Princess Stephanie of Belgium with an “improvised...school festival.”¹⁰¹ After these impromptu celebrations, schools held more substantial events for the marriage itself. Following the typical format of patriotic songs, poems, and speeches, schools wished the new couple well while also celebrating the marriage’s importance to the future of the Monarchy. In “richly decorated” rooms, speakers used the opportunity to provide an overview of Rudolf’s life

⁹⁹ Prague City Archives, SVZ, NAD 1051, Německá obecná škola pro chlapecká a dívky Praha XI — Žižkov: *Chronik der deutschen Schule zu Žižkov*, entry for April 24, 1879; *Programm des kaiserl. königl. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1879* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdruckerei, 1879), 64.

¹⁰⁰ The *akademisches Gymnasium* in Vienna did celebrate his name day in 1872. *Jahresbericht über das k.k. akademische Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1871-1872*, 41.

¹⁰¹ Archive of the City of Linz, B0051, Bundesgymnasium Freistadt-Oberösterreich, *Zehnter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-Real- und Obergymnasiums in Freistadt in Oberösterreich, 1800*, 37; see also Prague City Archives, SVZ, NAD 1042, Německá škola chlapecká v Karlíně, Palackého 33 Karton: Kronika, 1899-1900, March 8, 1880.

in “eloquent words” that conveyed a strong, “patriotic feeling” to those in attendance.¹⁰²

In Olmütz/Olomouc, Moravia, the celebration of Rudolf’s marriage ended with the students receiving commemorative medallions made especially for the occasion.¹⁰³

These celebrations mirrored those held in schools across Austria. The occasion provided an opportunity to honor the crown prince, while also allowing schools to strengthen the connection between their students and their future emperor.¹⁰⁴

Schools commemorated other dynastic marriages as well. For example, in 1902, students in Vienna received a copy of an allegorical play written for the fiftieth wedding anniversary of Franz Joseph’s cousin Archduke Rainer Ferdinand and Archduchess Maria. This booklet contained a series of poems and songs which illustrated the power of love, fidelity, and the couple’s devotion to one another.¹⁰⁵ Such celebrations and commemorations were important because they forged a connection between the dynasty and students, not just between the reigning monarchy and students. Organizers understood that affection for Franz Joseph alone could not sufficiently produce lasting enthusiasm for the dynasty or the Monarchy.

¹⁰² *Programm der Communal-Realschule in Elbogen, veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1880-1881* (Elbogen: Self-Published, 1881), 38-39; Archive of the City of Linz, B0054, Bundesgymnasium und Realgymnasium Ried/Innkreis Jahresbericht, 1872-1953, *Zehnter Jahres-Bericht des k.k. Real- und Obergymnasiums in Ried am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1880/81*, 37.

¹⁰³ *Programm des kaiserl. königl. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1881* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdruckerei, 1881), 54-55.

¹⁰⁴ See Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.203.B51, *Schulchronik – Holzhausergasse*, entry for May 10, 1881; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.604.B51, *Schulchronik – Sonnenuhrgasse*, Band 1, entry for May 10, 1881; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.1601, *Schulchronik – Abelegasse*, Band 1, entry for May 10, 1881.

¹⁰⁵ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, Materialien-Schulveranstaltungen (uncollected materials), Marie Sidonie Heimel-Purschke, *Vindobonas Huldigung. Allegorisches Festspiel zur Feier der goldenen Hochzeit Ihrer k. u. k. Hoheiten des durchlauchtigsten Herrn Erzherzogs Rainer und der durchlauchtigsten Frau Erzherzogin Marie*.

The desire to develop the connection between the students and the dynasty also led schools to hold events marking deaths in the imperial household. They used these solemn occasions to remind students of the important role the dynasty played in both the development of the Monarchy and in shaping the course of European history. Schools attended requiem masses and held commemorations for Franz Joseph's mother, Archduchess Sophie, in 1872, for Franz Joseph's brother, Archduke Karl Ludwig, in 1896, and for Empress Elisabeth's sister, Duchess Sophie, in 1897. In Prague, the service for Duchess Sophie was officiated by the Statthalter, the highest ranking Habsburg official in the city.¹⁰⁶ As with all commemorations and celebrations, local school officials issued decrees requiring that schools participate.¹⁰⁷

The suicide of Crown Prince Rudolf in 1889 and the assassination of Empress Elisabeth in 1898 represented a much deeper loss for the Monarchy and schools held solemn services to mourn the deaths of both. In each case, the Ministry of Religion and Education cancelled school on the days of the services, which were set aside as days of mourning.¹⁰⁸ As with other events, the services for Rudolf began first with a requiem

¹⁰⁶ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.405, *Schulchronik – Pressgasse 24*, Band 1, entry for May 1872; *Fünftehnter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-untergymnasiums in Prag Neustadt, veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1895/96* (Prague: Self-Published, 1896), 41; *Sechzehnter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-untergymnasiums in Prag Neustadt, veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1896/97* (Prague: Self-Published, 1897), 68; Prague City Archives, SVZ, NAD 1051, Německá obecná škola pro chlapecká a dívky Praha XI — Žižkov: *Chronik der deutschen Schule zu Žižkov*, entry for February 28, 1896, May 22, 1896; Prague City Archives, SVZ, inv. 28, sign. 204D, *Programm des k.k. Prag-Neustädter Gymnasiums am Schlusse des Studienjahres 1894-1895* (Prague: k.k. Schulbücherverlags, 1895), 70, *Programm des k.k. Prag-Neustädter Gymnasiums am Schlusse des Studienjahres 1895-1896* (Prague: k.k. Schulbücherverlags, 1896), 49.

¹⁰⁷ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.405, *Schulchronik – Pressgasse 24*, Band 1, entry for May 1872.

¹⁰⁸ *Neunzehnter Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Volksschulen in Linz für das Schuljahr 1888/89*, 6; *Neunundzwanzigster Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Volksschulen in Linz für das Schuljahr 1898/99* (Linz: k.k. Stadtschulrat, 1899), 50-51.

mass, followed by gatherings at the school. Unlike festive events, schools used somber hymns and songs while speeches reflected on his life and the impact of his death on the emperor.¹⁰⁹

Elisabeth's assassination, which occurred just as events for Franz Joseph's 50th jubilee began in 1898, cast a long shadow over the remainder of the year. Rather than the typical decorations used for school events, for this solemn occasion, schools flew "black mourning flags" from September 11 until September 24.¹¹⁰ Services honoring Elisabeth struck a tone that moved between sadness for her loss and anger over the violence responsible for her death. Speakers at the German-language *Volksschule* in Karolinenthal/Karlíně outside of Prague tried to remind students of the joy she brought to the Monarchy during her "spectacular" arrival in Vienna in 1854, but could not help but remark that her loss was especially painful for Austrians and the emperor since Crownprince Rudolf died only ten years earlier.¹¹¹ The service held at the *Gymnasium* in Olmütz/Olomouc, Moravia, recalled Elisabeth's generosity, especially her support of the arts, schools, and veterans groups, and called on attendees to express their support for the emperor. One speaker remarked that "dark days [were] a test of faith and a call to rally

¹⁰⁹ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.402, *Schulchronik – Hauptschule für Mädchen, Graf Starhembergasse*, entry for February 5, 1889; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.604.B51, *Schulchronik – Sonnenuhrgasse*, Band 3, entry for February 5, 1889; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.702.B51, *Schulchronik – Lerchenfelderstraße*, entry for February 5, 1889; Archive of the City of Linz, B0054, *Bundesgymnasium und Realgymnasium Ried/Innkreis Jahresbericht, 1872-1953, XVIII Jahres-Bericht des k.k. Real- und Obergymnasiums in Ried am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1888/89*, 2.

¹¹⁰ Prague City Archives, SVZ, NAD 1051, Německá obecná škola pro chlapecká a dívky Praha XI — Žižkov: *Chronik der deutschen Schule zu Žižkov*, entry for September 24, 1898.

¹¹¹ *Sechszwanzigstes Programm der fünfklassigen deutschen Volksschule in Karolinenthal für das Schuljahre 1898-1899* (Prague: Self-Published, 1899), 55.

behind the throne.”¹¹² The service held for the Catholic students of the *Gymnasium* in Prag-Neustadt reminded students of the fallen empress’ “elevated virtues,” a sentiment echoed at the services for Protestant and Jewish students as well.¹¹³ The service held for the students of the private, Catholic *Gymnasium* in Urfahr, Upper Austria, expressed anger. The director attacked “the destructive elements in society, which threaten[ed] existing Christian social order.” He called for the students “to do their duty” and help the “church and fatherland...defend their post against the power of darkness (*Macht der Finsternis*).”¹¹⁴

At the conclusion of this service, most students received a memorial booklet, purchased by either the city or the school. This booklet reflected the sadness and anger that punctuated the service itself. It provided a biography of the empress which described her character and virtues as well as her contributions to Austrian society. It also sharply condemned the violence that caused of her death and deplored the growing strength of anarchism and political violence in Europe.¹¹⁵ According to the year-end report for Kremsmünster, Upper Austria, these commemorations of Elisabeth stirred a “deep

¹¹² *Programm des kaiserl. königl. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1899* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdruckerei, 1899), 74-75.

¹¹³ *Achtzehnter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-untergymnasiums in Prag Neustadt, veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1898/99* (Prague: Self-Published, 1899), 56.

¹¹⁴ Archive of the City of Linz, B0027, Kollegium Petrinum (1898-1918), *Zweiter Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am “Collegium Petrinum” in Urfahr für das Schuljahr 1899*, 66.

¹¹⁵ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.1.402.B51, *Schulchronik – Diesterweggasse*, entry for November 19, 1898 (sample of the booklet pasted into the chronicle); samples are also Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.702.B51, *Schulchronik – Lerchenfeldstraße, 1884-1922*, (sample of the booklet pasted into the chronicle for 1898); *Neunundzwanzigster Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Volksschulen in Linz für das Schuljahr 1898/99*, 50-51.

sadness” among the students that only served to strengthen their attachment to Franz Joseph and intensify their patriotism.¹¹⁶

School celebrations did not solely focus on Franz Joseph or current members the dynasty. They also marked important historical events and historical personalities of the Monarchy. Schools held these events in notable anniversary years and used them as an opportunity to remind students of Austria’s heroic past and to connect the contemporary Monarchy, its leaders, and its peoples to those past events. These events also highlighted the important connection between the Habsburg dynasty and the peoples of Austria. As with other excursions and school events, the speeches corroborated and reinforced the patriotic lessons students learned in history classes.

In 1880, schools marked the centennial of Joseph II’s elevation to the throne as King of Bohemia, King of Hungary, and Archduke of Austria.¹¹⁷ Honoring Joseph, these events focused on the positive aspects of his legacy while diminishing or ignoring the more divisive elements of his rule. While textbooks and lectures mentioned the controversies surrounding his efforts to elevate the status of German language in the non-German parts of the Monarchy or the limitations of his reform efforts, centennial events refrained from discussing him in the context of German nationalism. Instead, they focused on his concern for the welfare of the people of Austria. As one school stated, the

¹¹⁶ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 27, *Jahreshauptbericht für des Gymnasium in Kremsmünster, 1898/99*, np.

¹¹⁷ Joseph II became Holy Roman Emperor when his father died in 1765, however, he was only co-regent of the Habsburg Monarchy. His mother, Maria Theresa, still held the crowns of the Habsburg lands. It was not until her death in 1780 that Joseph II became sole ruler of the Monarchy. T. C. W. Blanning, *Joseph II* (London: Longman, 1994), 49-51.

goal was to honor “the great friend” of the common man.¹¹⁸ Others made this point as well. The speech given at the *Bürgerschule* near St. Stefan’s in Vienna called Joseph II the “great emperor of the people” and described how “all Austrian hearts are thrilled” at the mention of his name. It went on to praise Joseph II’s efforts to help his peoples, especially his commitment to improving education. Acknowledging the limitations of his reforms, the speech mentions that when he died, many did not appreciate what Joseph II had done for them. They “realized too late” his noble intentions.¹¹⁹ As with textbook presentations of Joseph II’s rule, these speeches focused on his sense of obligation to his realm and to his peoples and minimized the efforts to paint him as a German nationalist.

Like the textbooks, these celebrations also had a difficult time separating Joseph II from the legacy of his mother. In fact, some schools recorded the event as a commemoration of the centennial of Maria Theresa’s death as well as the centennial of Joseph II’s elevation to the throne. As a result, the speeches praised both of their contributions to the dynasty and the Monarchy.¹²⁰

Schools paid homage to the Habsburg dynasty’s contributions to the peoples of the Monarchy once again in 1882 while commemorating the 600th anniversary of Rudolf von Habsburg’s investiture of the Habsburg hereditary lands upon his sons. These celebrations honored all Habsburg rulers, not just Rudolf himself. Consistent with the

¹¹⁸ *Sechster Jahresbericht der Sechsclassigen Volksschule für Knaben und Mädchen und der Kinder-Bewahr-Anstalt in Nussdorf bei Wien* (Vienna: Self-Published, 1882), 9.

¹¹⁹ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.1.101.B51, *Schulchronik – St Stefan, 1854-1939*, entry for November 29, 1880. These themes are also reflected in Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.604.B51, *Schulchronik – Sonnenuhrgasse 31, 1874-1902*, Band 1, entry for November 30, 1880.

¹²⁰ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.1601, *Schulchronik – Abelegasse*, Band 1, entry for November 30, 1880.

tropes used in history textbooks, speeches praised the piety, selflessness, and concern shown by these rulers. These speeches reinforced the notion that there was an unbreakable connection between the lands of the Monarchy and the dynasty, creating a sense of permanence surrounding Habsburg rule. One speaker accomplished both of these tasks in a single sentence, musing that Rudolf bequeathed his “glorious qualities and virtues” as well as the Habsburg hereditary lands to the dynasty.¹²¹ The poems and songs used at these celebrations strengthened these messages. Most recited Friedrich Schiller’s “*Graf von Habsburg*” (“Count Habsburg”) and such songs as the *Habsburghymn*, “*Habsburg Mauern*” (“Habsburg Walls”), and “*Mein Österreich, Mein Vaterland*” (“My Austria, My Fatherland”), each of which spoke to the strength, power, and dignity of Austria under Habsburg rule.¹²²

As a memento to commemorate this occasion, some schools even gave their students copies of Leo Smolle’s commemorative work *Die Habsburger. 600 Jahre ihrer ruhmreichen Geschichte* (*The Habsburgs: 600 Years of Their Glorious History*), written specifically for the 600 anniversary.¹²³ This thirty-two page book opened with a poem praising Franz Joseph for the “powerful hand” he used to “protect the fatherland.” The poem also described how the peoples of Austria were content and happy under his rule and how fortunate the Monarchy was to have a sovereign who “lived only for the

¹²¹ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.203.B51, *Schulchronik – Holzhausergasse*, entry for December 27, 1882. See also Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.604.B51, *Schulchronik – Sonnenuhrergasse 31, 1874-1902*, Band 1, entry for December 27, 1882.

¹²² Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.203.B51, *Schulchronik – Holzhausergasse*, entry for December 27, 1882; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.102.B51, *Schulchronik – Pfarrhauptschule Heiligenkreuzerhof*, Band 1, entry for December 27, 1882.

¹²³ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.1601, *Schulchronik – Abelegasse*, Band 2, entry for December 27, 1882; *Programm des kaiserl. königl. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1882* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdruckerei, 1882), 62.

people.”¹²⁴ Like the speeches, poems, and songs used in school celebrations, the book praised the inseparable bond between the Habsburg dynasty and the peoples of the Monarchy and argued that the Habsburgs were unique among ruling houses in their concern for the welfare and wellbeing of their peoples and lands.¹²⁵ The book itself told the history of Rudolf’s reign and of his acquisition of the Habsburg hereditary lands and the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. While telling this history, the book imbedded illustrations of other notable Habsburg rulers, such as Maximilian I, Maria Theresa, Joseph II, Franz I, and Franz Joseph I, and even included an illustration depicting the Siege of Vienna in 1683.¹²⁶ It concluded with a brief overview of the virtues of these individuals and their contributions to the Monarchy. By distributing this book to students, schools tried to ensure that students had a ready resource to remind them of the virtues of the dynasty.

While events commemorating Rudolf’s acquisition of Austria honored the dynasty, the centennial celebrations of the Tyrolean uprising led by Andreas Hofer and the Battle of Aspern held in 1909 and 1910 gave schools the opportunity to honor the bravery of the peoples of the Monarchy. As with the celebrations of 600 years of Habsburg rule in 1882, schools selected songs and poems relevant to each event, rather than general songs of a patriotic nature. So, for example, the events honoring Andreas Hofer included songs and poems such as “*Hofer, Kommandant von Tirol*” (“Hofer, Commander of Tyrol”), “*Hofers Tod*” (“Hofer’s Death”), and the *Andreas Hofer*

¹²⁴ Leo Smolle, *Die Habsburger. 600 Jahre ihrer ruhmreichen Geschichte. Gedenkschrift zur Jubelfeier am 27. December 1882. Für das Volk und die Jugend Österreichs* (Vienna: Karl Graefer, 1882), 4.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 13, 16-17, 21, 23, 25, 27.

Hymn.¹²⁷ These poems and songs praised Hofer for his devotion to his fatherland and his willingness to sacrifice himself for his emperor and country. Speeches honoring Hofer described these themes of devotion and sacrifice. They held Hofer to be a paragon of devotion to God, emperor, and fatherland and a model of patriotic virtue.¹²⁸

The commemoration of the Battle of Aspern in 1909 was actually a shared event commemorating the centennial of composer Josef Haydn's death.¹²⁹ As a result, this event reflected the importance of the Battle of Aspern as well as Haydn's contribution to music and to Austria. Even though, on the surface, these two topics would appear to have little in common, speakers cleverly used both as a demonstration of the unity of the Monarchy. The peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy united in their opposition to Napoleon just as Haydn united the Monarchy by writing a common anthem, the *Volkshymn*.¹³⁰ As with other school celebrations, most students received a commemorative booklet summarizing the importance of the day.

¹²⁷ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.1.101.B51, *Schulchronik – St Stefan, 1854-1939*, entry for February 19, 1910; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.604.B51, *Schulchronik – Sonnenuhrgasse 31, 1904-1920*, Band 5, entry for February 19, 1910.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ Josef Haydn died in May 1809, soon after the Battle of Aspern.

¹³⁰ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.506.B51, *Schulchronik – Einsiedlergasse*, entry for May 26, 1909. See also Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.604.B51, *Schulchronik – Sonnenuhrgasse 31, 1904-1920*, Band 5, entry for May 26, 1909; *Sonnenuhrgasse 31, 1874-1902*, Band 5, entry for February 19, 1910; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.907.B51, *Schulchronik – Liechtensteinstraße, Band 3*, entry for May 26, 1909.

Making the Monarchy Tangible: Imperial Visits and Imperial Jubilees

School celebrations, whether honoring the reigning emperor or commemorating a historical event, sought to reinforce patriotic messages students had already learned in the classroom and to create a sense of pride in the monarch, the Monarchy, and Austria's past. These events attempted to make Austria's history appear relevant and important in the lives of the students and to make them less abstract. In short, they sought to make the Monarchy and the monarch tangible. These celebrations reminded students of the benefits of Habsburg rule. While speakers certainly talked in broad terms of the positive qualities of dynastic rulers, invariably, their speeches used Habsburg patronage of schools as proof of these qualities. Such an emphasis, educators hoped, would make students realize how living under the Habsburg banner directly improved their lives.

Schools sought to increase the tangibility of the Monarchy in other ways. Throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century, school leaders placed increased importance on the uniformity of patriotic materials in schools. Local and provincial school boards, as well as the Ministry of Religion and Education and pedagogical leaders began advocating the purchase of patriotic books for school libraries. Through ordinances, decrees, and book reviews, they prodded schools to buy these books so schools would have a collection of texts that extolled the virtues of the Monarchy and provided a history of its past.¹³¹ School leaders also began calling for increased standardization of the *Volkshymn*, which had several arrangements and adaptations.

¹³¹ *Verordnungsblatt des k.k. Landesschulrat für das Erzherzogthum Österreich ob der Enns vom Jahre 1878* (Linz: Josef Feichtingers Erben, 1878), 33; *Verordnungsblatt des k.k. Landesschulrat für das Erzherzogthum Österreich ob der Enns vom Jahre 1879* (Linz: Josef Feichtingers Erben, 1879), 1; *Verordnungsblatt des k.k. Landesschulrat für das Erzherzogthum Österreich ob der Enns vom Jahre 1888* (Linz: Josef Feichtingers Erben, 1888), 15.

In 1891, the Styrian provincial school board issued an ordinance advocating the adoption of a standardized version of Haydn's anthem for the Monarchy. The board noted that because so many variations of the *Volkshymn* existed, simply asking schools to sing the anthem did not ensure each school would be using the same version. Ultimately, it hoped the creation of an official version of the *Volkshymn* would ensure its standardization throughout the Monarchy, not just in Styria.¹³² A few years later in 1895, pedagogical leaders called for schools to ensure that each classroom displayed the same picture of the emperor. An article from the pedagogical journal of the Styrian Teachers' Association bristled at the fact that it was not unusual for different classrooms in the same school to display different portraits of Franz Joseph. In an age when photography could provide "a true natural likeness of [Austria-Hungary's] most famous Head of State," making due with different "approximate likenesses" was unacceptable.¹³³ The article concluded by providing a list of recent photographic portraits of the emperor that schools could purchase at a reasonable price.

In calling for the purchase and display of current likenesses of the emperor, the Styrian Teachers' Association was trying to make the person of the monarch more tangible and more real to the students of Styria. Of course, the monarch was most tangible when he could be seen, and as a result, imperial tours and visitations were a vital part of civic education throughout the Monarchy. Franz Joseph, members of the dynasty, and high-ranking government officials traveled constantly, hoping to increase the

¹³² "Das Kasierlied in unsern Gesangbüchern," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, March 10, 1892, np.

¹³³ Marcus Zinnauer, "Unser Kaiserbild," "Das Kasierlied in unsern Gesangbüchern," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, February 20, 1895, np.

visibility of the dynasty and the government. As with most official events in the Monarchy, such visits were highly choreographed. Daniel Unowsky has shown the general importance of these tours and their impact on the popularity of Franz Joseph, and how local officials contributed to the itinerary of these tours by suggesting sites the emperor should visit and by planning public events, like parades.¹³⁴

Organizers always ensured that school children could see Franz Joseph on such visits, by having students attend imperial processions or by having Franz Joseph visit schools. Naturally, cities and schools ensured that students greeted the emperor with as much acclaim as possible. For example, students from the *Gymnasium* in Prag-Neustadt always greeted Franz Joseph during his numerous visits to Prague. In 1867, 1868, and 1892, this meant being among those waving flags and cheering the emperor as his procession went through the city.¹³⁵ According to school reports, students always enjoyed attending such events. One teacher from the *Ober-Realschule* in Prague reported that when Franz Joseph visited the city in 1892, “students had the good fortune” to have a good view of the procession, which allowed them “to greet the august and beloved monarch with spirited cheers.”¹³⁶ Similarly, when Franz Joseph visited Linz, Upper Austria, to attend the opening of the Francisco-Carolinum museum, students and faculty watched his arrival and departure from the museum, cheering with others along his

¹³⁴ Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism*, 33-76.

¹³⁵ Prague City Archives, SVZ, inv. 28, sign. 204D, *Programm des k.k. Prag-Neustädter Gymnasiums am Schlusse des Studienjahres 1867*, 32, *Programm des k.k. Prag-Neustädter Gymnasiums am Schlusse des Studienjahres 1868*, 30, *Programm des k.k. Prag-Neustädter Gymnasiums am Schlusse des Studienjahres 1892*, 49.

¹³⁶ Prague City Archives, SVZ, inv. 44, sign. 579, *Dreissigstes Programm der k.k. deutschen Ober-Realschule in Prag, 1891*, 54; for a similar report of the event, see Prague City Archives, SVZ, NAD 1051, *Německá obecná škola pro chlapecká a dívky Praha XI — Žižkov: Chronik der deutschen Schule zu Žižkov*, entry for September 28, 1891.

parade route.¹³⁷ When he returned in 1903 to visit the city again, along with neighboring Urfahr, “both cities were richly decorated.” Linz’s trade academy, which stood along Franz Joseph’s parade route, decorated its doors and balconies, and the school reported, with pride, that when Franz Joseph spoke to the school’s director, the emperor complemented the beauty of the decorations.¹³⁸ As with Franz Joseph’s earlier visit, students and faculty lined the streets to see the emperor’s procession. According to the school’s year-end report, students were so overcome with patriotic feeling, they could not suppress their “lively cheers” for the monarch.¹³⁹

Reports from a private, Catholic *Gymnasium* in Urfahr made similar comments about the emperor’s visit. They also noted how “flags, triumphal arches, flowers, and wreaths” adorned the entire town “down to the smallest [house]” in order to show Upper Austria’s “loyalty and attachment” to the emperor.¹⁴⁰ Students decorated the *Gymnasium* in honor of the emperor’s visit. They lined the road to the school with black and yellow flags along with the other flags of the empire, the flags of the provinces, and, reflecting its status as a Catholic institution, the flag of the Vatican.¹⁴¹ Franz Joseph visited the *Gymnasium* during this tour of Urfahr, and as a result, the school adorned the interior of

¹³⁷ Archive of the City of Linz, B0034, Bundeshandelsakademie *Dreizehnter Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Handels-Akademie in Linz a. d. Donau*, 1895, 86.

¹³⁸ Archive of the City of Linz, B0034, Bundeshandelsakademie, *XXI Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Handels-Akademie in Linz a. d. Donau*, 1903, 57.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Archive of the City of Linz, B0027, Kollegium Petrinum (1898-1918), *Sechster Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am “Collegium Petrinum” in Urfahr für das Schuljahr 1902/03*, 4.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

the building as well. Organizers decorated the main hall of the school with oil paintings of Habsburg emperors and displayed their mottos as well.¹⁴²

Franz Joseph received similar greetings elsewhere in Austria. Just as in Linz and Urfahr, school children and teachers greeted him upon his arrival in Žižkov, a suburb of Prague, in 1901. Children waved black and yellow flags, and the school building itself flew the imperial colors and had other decorations to mark the visit.¹⁴³ Prague hosted another imperial visit in 1907, and organizers similarly decorated schools and other buildings with the colors of the Monarchy and with candles.¹⁴⁴ The school chronicle for the *Volksschule* in Žižkov boasted how the decorated buildings, flags, and candles created a celebratory atmosphere when the emperor processed through the town.¹⁴⁵ According to the *Prager Tagblatt*, school children could hardly contain their enthusiasm as the emperor came into view, and remarked how girls wore black and yellow hair ribbons to help mark the occasion.¹⁴⁶ Reflecting the obvious importance of a visit by the emperor, provincial school boards would decree these days to be a holiday to ensure that students and teachers could see the emperor without any problems.

¹⁴² Archive of the City of Linz, B0027, Kollegium Petrinum (1898-1918), *Sechster Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am "Collegium Petrinum" in Urfahr für das Schuljahr 1902/03*, 5.

¹⁴³ Prague City Archives, SVZ, NAD 1051, Německá obecná škola pro chlapecká a divky Praha XI — Žižkov: *Chronik der deutschen Schule zu Žižkov*, entry for June 18, 1901.

¹⁴⁴ *Jahres-Bericht über das k.k. Staats-Gymnasium mit deutscher Unterrichtssprache in Prag, Neustadt, Stephansgasse für das Schuljahr 1906-1907* (Prague: Self-Published, 1907), 28.

¹⁴⁵ Prague City Archives, SVZ, NAD 1051, Německá obecná škola pro chlapecká a divky Praha XI — Žižkov: *Chronik der deutschen Schule zu Žižkov*, entry for April, 1907.

¹⁴⁶ Prague City Archives, SVZ, NAD 1042, Německá škola chlapecká v Karlíně, Palackého 33 Karton: *Kronika*, 1907, April, 1907.

Imperial visitations created an unparalleled opportunity to strengthen civic education efforts in schools. They made the monarch and Monarchy tangible in a way no other event could. They augmented the efforts made in schools each year through the celebration of the emperor's name day and through the commemoration of other notable events. Equally as important were the jubilee celebrations of Franz Joseph's ascension to the throne which provided schools a unique opportunity to honor the emperor and to promote the notion that the Monarchy was united through its diversity. Local and provincial organizers as well as officials coordinating events across the Monarchy planned these school events in conjunction with school officials to ensure that they presented a single, cohesive message which reflected the broader themes of jubilee events throughout Austria. Such events would span across months of the jubilee year, starting in the summer and continuing until the actual anniversary of Franz Joseph's ascent to the throne on December 2. Organizers of jubilee celebrations in Vienna expected schools and their students to participate in many of these public events. They considered the growth of public education to be evidence of the success of Franz Joseph's reign. It was also important for spectators at these events to see school children, the future of the Monarchy, honoring the emperor. For Franz Joseph's golden jubilee, the most important of these events was the Children's Parade (*Kinderhuldigungsfestzug*) held in Vienna on June 24, 1898.

Organizers invited each of the *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* in Vienna and its suburbs to participate in this parade with the goal of having 2,092 children (50 to 60 from each school) march down the *Ringstrasse* to Franz Joseph's review tent at the Burgtor in front of the Hofburg. The students, grouped together by district, school, and gender

marched accompanied by music provided by military marching bands in blocks of four lines, with teachers in between each block.¹⁴⁷ In order to ensure the appearance of uniformity and to minimize the potential for nationalist agitation, organizers required teachers to wear only black, with sashes of black and yellow, blue and yellow, red and white, or blue and white — the colors of the Monarchy, Austria, or the province of Lower Austria. Teachers could not wear national tricolors or any other type of sash.¹⁴⁸ The children wore all white or “their Sunday clothes” along with a commemorative medallion given by the city, and each row of children carried either black and yellow or red and white flags, the colors of the Monarchy and of Austria, and the school flag.¹⁴⁹ For those participating, the highlight of the parade was the opportunity to march past the emperor watching the event from his review stand. The Children’s Parade set the tone for the rest of the jubilee year which included several in-school events.

Along with the annual celebration of Franz Joseph’s name day, schools held large commemorations of Franz Joseph’s ascent to the throne on December 2. School events for the golden jubilee built upon previous jubilee ceremonies in schools which continued to emphasize his piety, concern for his peoples, and his patronage of schools. A decade earlier, on the occasion of Franz Joseph’s 40th jubilee, the Styrian Teachers’ Association encouraged teachers to remind students that the emperor was “the greatest benefactor of

¹⁴⁷ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.2, Document 88, May 20, 1898; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.2, *Vorläufiges Programm für den Huldigungsfestzug der Schuljugend*; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.2, Letter from the Militär-Veteranen-Corps der k.k. Residenze und Reichsstadt Wien, June 15, 1898.

¹⁴⁸ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.2, Letter to the heads of *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen*, June 21, 1898.

¹⁴⁹ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.2, *Vorläufiges Programm für den Huldigungsfestzug der Schuljugend.*; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.2.

schools” in the Monarchy and that schools improved significantly during his reign.¹⁵⁰ The Ministry of Religion and Education also wanted teachers to contribute to these events. For the 50th jubilee in 1898, it expected teachers to discuss, whenever appropriate, the life and reign of the emperor and to do so in a way that would increase students’ affection and love for him.¹⁵¹ Taking these requests to heart, speakers went out of their way to praise the emperor as a patron of the arts and sciences, and they implored students to use his piety and devotion to his faith as a model for their own lives.¹⁵² Speeches also discussed his importance to Austria, not just his importance as a model of character. One speech given at the *Volksschule* on Holzhausergasse in Vienna praised Franz Joseph for the “excellent” qualities he demonstrated as an individual, father, and as the “ruler and father of the Austrian family of peoples.”¹⁵³ Reflecting the importance of the occasion, the school chronicle proudly described how organizers of the event decorated the main hall with “imperial colors,” a bust of the emperor, a plaque containing the dates 2 December 1848 – 2 December 1898, the Habsburg eagle, and a banner with the emperor’s motto “Viribus unitis” (with united forces).¹⁵⁴ The theme of unity through diversity also resonated throughout the celebration given for the golden jubilee at the

¹⁵⁰ “Zur Kaiserfeier am 2. Dec,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes* Graz, November 30, 1888, np.

¹⁵¹ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 74, 1897-1900, *Hauptbericht über den Zustand der allgemeinen Volks- und Bürgerschulen, sowie der Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen Bildungsanstalten in Oberösterreich im Jahre 1897/98*.

¹⁵² Archive of the City of Linz, B0027, Kollegium Petrinum (1898-1918), *Zweiter Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am “Collegium Petrinum” in Urfahr für das Schuljahr 1899*, 67. See also *Programm der Communal-Realschule in Elbogen veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1898-1899* (Elbogen: Self-Published, 1899), 49.

¹⁵³ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.203.B51, *Schulchronik – Holzhausergasse*, entry for December 2, 1898.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Gymnasium in Olmütz/Olomouc, Moravia. The school published a long article giving a comprehensive overview of the emperor's reign. In particular, it praised Franz Joseph for his efforts at reform and for strengthening the economy. It also noted that the growth of "political freedom (through constitutional reform) [had] led to ideas of national freedom," which at times threatened the unity of the Monarchy.¹⁵⁵ It concluded, however, by saying that the motto "Viribus unitis" resonated throughout German-speaking Austria, Habsburg Italy, the Bohemian lands, Hungary, and Galicia. The citizens of the Monarchy were ready to confront the challenges of the future together.¹⁵⁶

The boys' *Volksschule* in the Neustadt district of Linz reported an equally patriotic event. Its "school house was decorated with flags and lights" and "in the classrooms, which were decorated with the portrait of the emperor, there was a dignified school festival," with speeches about the emperor's life and contributions to Austria and with students singing songs in his honor. Each student of the school also received a copy of the commemorative booklet "Our Emperor," donated by the city, which provided pictures and the story of Franz Joseph's life and reign.¹⁵⁷

Of course, the assassination of Empress Elisabeth marred commemorations of Franz Joseph's golden jubilee and, unsurprisingly, they occurred in a sober atmosphere. The journal of the Styrian Teachers' Association captured the mood of these events writing that "all across Austria, in the poorest huts and in the most spectacular palaces," the people celebrated the fact that "for a half-century [their] fatherland has been led,

¹⁵⁵ *Programm des kaiserl. königl. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1898* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdruckerei, 1898), 8.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ The Kaiser Franz Josef *Volksschule* for girls reported similar events. *Neunundzwanzigster Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Volksschulen in Linz für das Schuljahr 1898/99*, 50-51, 61.

unbowed, by a mild leader with wise discretion and a steady hand, with a warm heart and a pious sense — even though he was not exempt from the heaviest blows of fate that anyone could carry.”¹⁵⁸

Due to Elisabeth’s assassination, Franz Joseph cancelled all court jubilee celebrations and asked that others follow this lead and use the occasion to promote charitable giving.¹⁵⁹ In honor of this request, many schools ensured that their events included charitable activities.¹⁶⁰ The *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* of Linz, Upper Austria, reported giving clothes, shoes, and baked goods to over 128 poor students “in the spirit of his majesty’s desire for good deeds.”¹⁶¹ It was not unusual for schools to perform such acts of charity during state or religious holidays, but such acts attained a heightened level of importance in 1898 due to the emperor’s request.

Given the subdued nature of Franz Joseph’s golden jubilee, organizers wanted the occasion of his diamond jubilee a decade later to be as glorious as possible. The success of the Children’s Parade on the Ringstrasse, which Franz Joseph proclaimed to be “excellent” and a “comfort...in a year with so many heartaches,” prompted a more elaborate children’s event at Schönbrunn palace in May, 1908.¹⁶² As with the parade in 1898, organizers invited all of the schools of Vienna to participate. In an effort to dwarf

¹⁵⁸ “Zur 2 Dec 1898,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 27, 1898, np.

¹⁵⁹ Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism*, 145.

¹⁶⁰ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.203.B51, *Schulchronik – Holzhausergasse*, entry for December 2, 1898; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.604.B51, *Schulchronik – Sonnenuhrgasse 31*, Band 3, entry for December 2, 1898.

¹⁶¹ *Neunundzwanzigster Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Volksschulen in Linz für das Schuljahr 1898/99*, 6.

¹⁶² Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.907.B51, *Schulchronik – Lichtensteinstrasse*, Band 1, entry for June 24, 1898.

the size of the previous parade, Mayor Karl Lueger and other organizers hoped that 82,000 children would gather at Schönbrunn of whom 14,000 would sing the *Volkshymn* to the emperor.¹⁶³ Unlike the previous parade, this event was not open to the general public, and entrance to the palace and seating areas required tickets obtainable only from the jubilee organizers.¹⁶⁴

The logistical planning needed to get students to the event site was more complicated than the previous parade. While organizers in 1898 also needed to arrange for transportation for the participating school children, that parade site was the center of Vienna and arranging transportation was less taxing. Most students simply walked or rode the streetcars. Since Schönbrunn was in the suburbs of Vienna, walking was not a possibility for most students. Students met at their school or another central location from their district and rode to Schönbrunn together by street car or bus.¹⁶⁵

The event began with the singing of the *Volkshymn* by selected children. Afterward, the 82,000 children, grouped by school and district, marched by the emperor and other guests to the Gloriette, the decorative structure at the back of Schönbrunn's gardens. As with the previous parade, the students wore their best clothes and special sashes and insignia to note their school and district.¹⁶⁶ Afterward, representatives from each school gathered in the front of the group in order to participate in the general

¹⁶³ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 3.1.5.5.A63.5, memo from Karl Lueger, May 4, 1908.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.5, Letter from Bernhard Pohle to the Organization Committee, April 27, 1908.

¹⁶⁶ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, Materialien-Schulveranstaltungen (uncollected materials), General Plan of the Schönbrunn *Kinderhuldigung*, 1908.

program. This program included an allegorical play entitled “In the Garden of Schönbrunn,” performed by twelve boys and twelve girls, each wearing sashes, banners, and flowers. The play thanked Franz Joseph for his years of leadership and proclaimed the devotion of the attending children. It also pledged the loyalty and service of the children, even though “with empty hands [they] stand on tip toe...poor children [who] do not have much.”¹⁶⁷

Another play, “The Children’s Bouquet,” reiterated this pledge while displaying the unity of the Habsburg lands. The central character of “The Children’s Bouquet” was an allegorical representation of Austria (played by an actress from the *Volksoper*), who described how in spite of the Monarchy’s diversity, all of its nations knew that they were part of the same realm [*Reich*]. To emphasize this unity, the play called for “children of all of the Austrian nations to enter, wearing their national costume.”¹⁶⁸ These plays, and the entire gathering at Schönbrunn in general, projected the image of a Monarchy united behind its sovereign and optimistic about its future. It also provided an opportunity to immerse the children of Vienna in the pomp and pageantry of Habsburg ceremony and connect them directly with the emperor. While organizers wanted the children to project an image of unity by representing the hope and future of Austria-Hungary, they also wanted the day to be a special event the children would remember. Along with medallions or sashes to keep as mementos, children received confectionary treats. The

¹⁶⁷ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.5, *Im Garten zu Schönbrunn*.

¹⁶⁸ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.5, *Des Kinder Blumenstrauß*, 14-16; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.5, Letter from the *Volksoper* to Dr. Bibl of the Magistrates Council, April 11, 1908.

event also gave these children the opportunity to experience Schönbrunn palace in a way few others did.¹⁶⁹

According to school reports from the event, the celebration left a strong impression on the students. One school official wrote that once the emperor became visible on the balcony, the students could not contain their “cheers of joy,” which hopefully made Franz Joseph as happy as the event made the children.¹⁷⁰ This event was but one of many public events occurring across the Monarchy to honor Franz Joseph. Each of these celebrations reinforced the message of unity and hope, and many utilized school children to communicate that message.

Children also played an active role in other official jubilee events in Vienna. They both attended and participated in the *Kaiser Jubiläums Huldigungs Festzug*, a parade along the *Ringstrasse* which presented an allegorical look at the course of Habsburg history. The parade contained a series of wagons, each displaying the major events and personalities from Austria’s past. The first wagon displayed a woman dressed as Clio, the Greek muse of History, surrounded by sixty girls in white — one for each year of Franz Joseph’s reign. Four wagons, each representing three key periods of Habsburg history, followed Clio. These wagons contained portraits and paintings of key figures from Austria’s past which, when viewed together, created a visual manifestation of tropes expressed in history classes.

¹⁶⁹ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, Materialien-Schulveranstaltungen (uncollected materials), General Plan of the Schönbrunn *Kinderhuldigung*, 1908.

¹⁷⁰ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.907.B51, *Schulchronik – Lichtensteinstrasse*, Band 2, May 21, 1908.

The first had pictures of Rudolf von Habsburg and his sons, as well as depictions of Rudolf's battles for the Habsburg hereditary lands. The wagon also had a portrait of Rudolf IV surrounded by models of St. Stephan's Cathedral, the University of Vienna, and other buildings constructed or embellished during his reign. The second wagon contained portraits of Friedrich III, the first Habsburg to hold the imperial crown, as well as Maximilian I and his wife, Maria of Burgundy. Pictures of Albrecht Dürer and other artists surrounded the image of Maximilian and Maria to illustrate their role as patrons of the arts. The wagon also displayed portraits of Charles V, with images of the New World, personifying Habsburg support of science and exploration, and Ferdinand I, with the symbols of Bohemia and Hungary, communicating his role in the "establishment" of Austria-Hungary. The third wagon contained portraits of Leopold I accompanied by images of Eugene of Savoy, musicians and artists from the period, and the defeat of the Turks. It also had depictions of Charles VI, Maria Theresa, and Joseph II, each accompanied by images of the events from their reigns. The final wagon in this series idealized the recent past, with portraits of Josef Radetzky and the Tyrolean sharpshooters fighting against the Italians in 1858, and positive depictions of Austria's improvement of Bosnia-Herzegovina, annexed in 1908.

The last group of wagons contained allegorical representations of Austria-Hungary's "mastery of the seas," represented by images of travel and exploration, along with similar representations of the Monarchy's success in trade, mining, industry, music and theater, architecture, and science and literature. There was also a wagon depicting "peace abroad," due to Austria-Hungary's alliance with Germany and Italy. The final wagon showed the unity of the Monarchy by having children from each of Austria's

nations wearing their national costumes.¹⁷¹ The parade represented an ambitious attempt to not only reinforce the theme of unity and prosperity, which punctuated all jubilee celebrations, but to also remind attendees about Austria's past and the importance of all Habsburg rulers, not just Franz Joseph. As with most public history exhibits, the degree to which these public presentations of the past aligned with the history curriculum from schools is striking.

The school commemoration of Franz Joseph's diamond jubilee reinforced the messages of unity and prosperity promoted by the *Kaiser Jubiläums Huldigungs Festzug*. A decree from the Ministry of Religion and Education not only set December 2, 1908 as the date for these events across Austria but also dictated that there should be speeches describing the "significance of the day and the reign of Franz Joseph" accompanied by appropriately patriotic songs and poems.¹⁷² In Vienna, Mayor Karl Lueger sent a sample speech to his representatives at these events which reinforced the Ministry's decree. He recommended that speakers discuss the history and longevity of Habsburg rule in Austria, Franz Joseph's devotion to his peoples, his piety, as well as his commitment to "education, freedom, and civilization." As evidence of this commitment, Lueger's sample speech specifically mentioned the development of Vienna during Franz Joseph's reign, especially the construction of the *Ringstrasse* and his patronage of schools and hospitals.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.4, *Programmwurf zum Kaiser Jubiläums Huldigungs Festzug*.

¹⁷² Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.4, Decree from May 7, 1908, #8331.

¹⁷³ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.4, Document 16500.

Speeches given in schools across Austria honored Franz Joseph's personal characteristics and devotion to his peoples. Speeches at the trade academy in Linz, for example, praised Franz Joseph for "lifting Austria" into modernity in spite of the setbacks and challenges he faced as both a ruler and as a father and husband. They also asked students to remember Austria's "advances, not its misfortunes," lamenting that there was too much emphasis on what was wrong in the state and not what was good.¹⁷⁴ In a speech emphasizing the character of the monarch, the director of the *Gymnasium* in Freistadt, Upper Austria, told students to follow the example of the emperor's "dutifulness and devotion," and to live their lives as faithfully and productively as he had.¹⁷⁵ Reflecting the theme of unity, the private, Catholic *Gymnasium* in Urfahr, outside of Linz proudly reported that "appropriate for a jubilee celebration of a ruler of a polyglot state, such as Austria, the declamation of the program was given in the six languages taught at the institution."¹⁷⁶ Similarly, in Žižkov, in the suburbs of Prague, organizers decorated the German language *Volksschule's* gymnasium with yellow and black banners, flowers, and wreaths and speakers noted how the occasion allowed Austrians to proclaim their "love and loyalty" to the emperor.¹⁷⁷

Across Austria, Franz Joseph's diamond jubilee provided the opportunity to portray a united and prosperous state governed by a wise and caring ruler. Considering

¹⁷⁴ Archive of the City of Linz, B0034, Bundeshandelsakademie, *XXVII Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Handels-Akademie in Linz a. d. Donau*, 1909, 83.

¹⁷⁵ Archive of the City of Linz, B0051, Bundesgymnasium Freistadt, Oberösterreich, *XXXIX Jahresbericht der k.k. Staats-Real- und Obergymnasiums in Freistadt in Oberösterreich*, 1909, 42.

¹⁷⁶ Archive of the City of Linz, B0027, Kollegium Petrinum (1898-1918), *Zwölfter Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am "Collegium Petrinum" in Urfahr für das Schuljahr 1908/09*, 47.

¹⁷⁷ Prague City Archives, SVZ, NAD 1051, Německá obecná škola pro chlapecká a dívky Praha XI — Žižkov: *Chronik der deutschen Schule zu Žižkov*, entry for December 2, 1908.

the speeches given at his golden jubilee as well as those given annually on his name day, the tone and tenor of the school events appear at first to be repetitive. The same themes and same notions were endlessly reiterated. Considering how quickly the students entered and left the school system, however, an individual student only witnessed a handful of these events. Schools meant for such celebrations to set the tone for a student's patriotic life and to, hopefully, ensure students would grow into patriotic citizens of the Monarchy.

Conclusion

School events as well as extracurricular tours and trips to museum exhibits and historical sites provided crucial reinforcement of civic education efforts within the classroom. Pedagogical leaders assumed that extracurricular events would enable students to interact with the past and gain a deeper appreciation for the history of the Monarchy. They hoped that seeing artifacts, ruins, statues, and buildings of historical relevance would make the past less abstract and in turn increase students' passion and love for their *Heimat* and fatherland.

School events similarly sought to increase the tangibility of the past while also making the emperor and the Monarchy, as a whole, more relevant to students' lives. These events represented a sophisticated and concerted effort to augment the patriotism of school children and show that government officials, school leaders, and pedagogical thinkers considered patriotic education a vital task of the educational system. As was the case throughout Europe, as the nineteenth century turned into the twentieth, these efforts became more elaborate, more scripted, and more detailed, with a growing emphasis on

pageantry and pomp. Organizers wanted these celebrations to feel grand. They also wanted these celebrations in schools to coincide with larger celebrations and commemorations hosted by municipal and provincial governments as well as by the Monarchy itself. In these events, students played a crucial role in transmitting the idea of a vibrant and cohesive future for the Monarchy. They personified the hope for the continuation of Habsburg rule in Central Europe. At the same time, organizers intended for participation in local and state events to further develop the children's patriotism.

These events, ceremonies, and exhibits were not unique to Austria. Similar patriotic celebrations occurred throughout the western world. The "Pageant of Empire," held in Winnipeg, Canada in May 1913, bore a striking similarity to Vienna's *Kaiser Jubiläums Huldigungs Festzug*. Winnipeg's pageant simultaneously sought to glorify the British Empire while also helping to develop a sense of Canada's place within that empire.¹⁷⁸ While Vienna's *Kaiser Jubiläums Huldigungs Festzug* had a series of allegorical wagons traversing the *Ringstrasse*, the "Pageant of Empire" set up a series of live-action allegorical tableaux meant to illustrate the British Empire. The first tableau depicted Britannia surrounded by the imperial armed forces. The next displayed representations of the four nations of Great Britain (England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland), followed by a tableau reflecting the empire. This tableau began with images from Canada: Inuits, mounted police, and girls in maple leaf costumes. After Canada came images from other dominions including South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand as well as British colonies in the Caribbean and Africa. The display of Britain's empire ended with a representation of India, its imperial crown jewel. The tableaux concluded

¹⁷⁸ Charles Emmerson, *1913: In Search of the World before the Great War* (New York: Public Affairs, 2013), 230.

with depictions of Britain's naval might and global reach.¹⁷⁹ Hundreds of people attended the pageant, which the Manitoba Free Press asserted left a feeling of “solemn loyalty and thrilling appreciation of the meaning of the British Empire and its flag” among the attendees.¹⁸⁰

The “Pageant of Empire” served as a precursor to Empire Day, held on May 23, 1913. Like Austria's jubilee celebrations, on Empire Day schools distributed flags and other mementos to their students and speakers extolled the virtues of the British Empire. In a Winnipeg elementary school, one speaker told students: “No Empire in the world has laws so good as ours,” reminding them that the British dominion was united under “one king, one flag, one fleet, one empire — a mighty confederation of nations linked together in the most wonderful way.”¹⁸¹ With a few minor alterations, such remarks could have been given at a patriotic school celebration in Austria. The consistency between state celebrations in the British Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy speaks to the fact that by the twentieth century, such events became a standard method of developing the patriotism of citizens. It also shows that, contrary to previous scholarly assumptions, civic education in Austria resembled that of its neighbors. The Habsburg Monarchy was also unique, however. It used tactics generally associated with national groups and nation-states to develop closer affinity and affection for a supranational identity. The public exhibits and the celebrations and commemorations taking place in schools reveal that such an identity existed in the mind of decision makers. Far from

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 230-231.

¹⁸⁰ Quoted in Emmerson, *1913*, 230.

¹⁸¹ Quoted in Emmerson, *1913*, 231-232.

being an aloof abstraction, the Austrian supranational identity permeated educational culture within Austria and represented a clear effort to make this identity more concrete and tangible to students. Of course, for the civic education curriculum crafted by educational officials to be successful, it had to be implemented by teachers in the classroom. Educational policy makers realized this fact, and as schools became one of the fiercest battlegrounds in the Monarchy's nationality conflict, the Ministry and school boards worked to ensure that schools and teachers served as agents of Austrian patriotism and not just as agents of nationalism and nationalization.

CHAPTER 5 REGULATING TEACHERS

Introduction

Those creating the curriculum and managing schools in Austria sought to use education as a tool for civic education and wanted schools to become the foundation for the establishment of lifelong Habsburg patriotism. The curriculum and textbooks used for history and geography lessons presented a Monarchy united in its diversity and established a pantheon of heroes that could transcend national boundaries and serve the multinational state. While educational leaders understandably drew these heroes from within the dynasty, they also lavished praise on key figures not belonging to the Habsburg family, ensuring that students had role models who embodied loyalty and devotion to dynasty and state. History lessons also built a mythology around the Monarchy itself. The notion of Austria's historic mission imbued the Habsburg Monarchy with a purpose and legitimacy that not only explained its past but also justified its present while setting guideposts for an envisioned future. More importantly, if more subtly, the geography lessons taught in tandem with the history of the Monarchy helped to establish a "mental map" of Austria-Hungary, one that made the state appear to a logical and legitimate outgrowth of the history of Europe. Administrators ensured that schools reinforced these lessons through appropriate celebrations and, whenever possible, coordinated these events with those held by cities, the province, and the Monarchy as a whole.

In order for all of these efforts to be effective, however, teachers had to be willing to follow the curriculum as prescribed. School administrators at all levels realized this

need and spent considerable energy trying to ensure that teachers fulfilled their role as advocates for the Monarchy. As with any large bureaucracy, administrators possessed limited ability to control the day-to-day actions of individual employees, and those in charge of schools worried about the content and quality of instruction. The work of Pieter Judson and Keely Stauter-Halsted show that such concern was warranted. As tension among nationalist groups flared, schools often served as the front line of national battles and teachers often became the most ardent supporters of nationalist movements. In many cases, teachers served as national evangelists, going to areas where support for nationalist causes was weakest in the hopes of developing the nationalist sentiment of the population.¹ Even when teachers remained in their home villages, they often served as the earliest and most vocal advocates for nationalist causes, as was the case in Galicia.² On the surface, such realities seem to support Oscar Jászi's assertion that the nationalists were more interested in developing the loyalty of their nations than the Monarchy was in securing the patriotism of its citizens.³ However, such was not the case.

Jászi assumed national identification and nationalist support to be strong and unwavering, while Judson and Stauter-Halsted demonstrate that nationalists had to work hard to earn the loyalty of their compatriots. National indifference and ambivalence was widespread. The fact that nationalist groups sent nationalist teachers to rural schools

¹ Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 19-65.

² Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Nation in the Village: The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848-1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 161-170.

³ Oscar Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), 435-439.

reflected their fear that these populations were not sufficiently loyal to the nation.⁴ If the peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy were not as passionately nationalistic as earlier scholars assumed, then there was room for Austria to assert a form of identity that could unite its diverse population. Jászi perceived the Monarchy to be passive in the face of vociferous nationalism. And while their work is invaluable to understanding the role of teachers in nationalist education, neither Judson nor Stauter-Halsted grapple with Austria's response to the increased nationalism of its teachers.

Jászi's characterization of the Monarchy was wrong. Austrian school officials and administrators did not sit by complacently in the face of nationalist challenges in schools. Far from being passive, officials at all levels increased the supervision and scrutiny of teachers during the dualist period, performing regular school inspections. Each province had a team of inspectors tasked with visiting each class of each school at least once a year. Each school board collected these inspectors' reports, sent them to the provincial school board which then compiled a master report for the Ministry of Religion and Education. In preparing these reports, inspectors regularly commented on the behavior of teachers which meant that the Ministry and school boards were notified of problematic employees.

Furthermore, the Ministry and provincial school boards adjusted hiring and disciplinary procedures in an effort to diminish the nationalist activities of teachers in the classroom and in the community. Applications for teaching positions asked candidate references to evaluate the political conduct of potential teachers, and in certain cases local police stations submitted written reports to school officials detailing if candidates had any

⁴ Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 42-48.

unsavory political affiliations. Laws and disciplinary codes restricted the political activity of teachers and violations of these restrictions resulted in disciplinary actions against the offender. These restrictions reflected the Ministry's conviction that teachers were state bureaucrats who had to be politically neutral. Such prohibitions did not apply only to nationalist groups, but to all political organizations, especially the socialist parties. It is worth mentioning that for school officials, nationalism was only one of many problematic political views teachers could hold. Officials were just as concerned about the growth of socialism, anarchism, and other extreme political movements among teachers.

Understandably, teachers and teachers' organizations resented increased efforts to control the behavior of teachers, and by the dawn of the twentieth century, many of these organizations evolved into explicit political advocacy groups for teachers. Pedagogical journals followed this trend as well, supporting the political activities of teachers. These journals also opposed increased bureaucratic control, frequently criticizing efforts to streamline curriculum and standardize lessons, even though Ministry efforts to increase such standardization often resulted from a desire to decrease the number of unqualified teachers.

In fact, school officials feared the impact of poorly trained teachers who lacked the necessary knowledge to perform their duties more than they feared politically active or excessively nationalist teachers. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Ministry engaged in a series of robust curricular and school reforms aimed at changing teacher training institutions in the hopes of improving teacher quality. Additionally, both the Ministry and local and provincial school boards placed increased importance on the

continuing education of teachers. Throughout Austria, universities began to offer professional development courses and lectures for teachers, and school administrators devoted more funds to allow teachers to attend.

The tension between teacher and administrator or school and school board was not a flaw within Austria's school system, but rather reflected the bureaucratic organization of educational institutions. Realizing the limits of their control, school officials sought to maximize the tools available for oversight, while individuals within the bureaucracy found such efforts restricting and chafed against increased supervision. If anything, the increased attention paid to teacher conduct and quality demonstrates that officials recognized that every educational initiative could collapse if not supported by individual teachers in the classroom.

The Role of Teachers in Their Communities

It is difficult to overstate the importance of teachers within their communities. Rural communities in particular looked to teachers as resident intellectuals and as educators of the entire population, not just the children in the school house. In many ways, teachers, especially those teaching in *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen*, were the emissaries of modernity within their communities, giving public lectures on health and cleanliness, how to raise pubescent children, and on modern agricultural techniques.⁵ Communities and school officials expected teachers to give such lectures, and their quality and frequency factored into promotion and hiring decisions as teachers attempted to advance in their careers.

⁵ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 31, *Hauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Oberösterreich*, 1908/1909; *Hauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Schlesien*, 1907/1908.

Just as community leaders expected teachers to educate the public on matters of health and good parenting, they also wanted teachers to be experts on and give lectures about the history of the *Heimat* and the Monarchy. For example, in 1906, the Central Commission for Research and Preservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments asked the Ministry of Religion and Education to adjust hiring procedures in order to place teachers trained in history and art history in “archaeologically important regions,” like the southern Danube. The organization hoped that these teachers could educate the public on archaeological findings. It envisioned these teachers working closely with archaeologists and historians, giving lectures to the community, and serving as points of contact for anyone interested in learning more about local history.⁶ The Upper Austrian provincial school board shared this perspective. In 1907 it issued a decree calling for teachers to learn more about local monuments and historical sites. The school board lamented the fact that local populations rarely visited these locations and feared this lack of interest would threaten efforts to preserve and maintain historical sites. The school board felt that the best way to help residents understand the “worth” of such monuments was to ensure that teachers could speak about their value and history. The school board expected teachers to offer lectures to both their students and to the general public.⁷

Teachers themselves embraced the notion that they should educate the whole community, especially on local history. The *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, a leading conservative pedagogical journal, argued that teachers occupied a dual role in

⁶ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 1716, Document 19731.

⁷ Erlass des k.k. Oberösterreich Landesschulrat vom 18. Mai 1907 #1918, *Verordnungsblatt des k.k. Landesschulrat für des Erzherzogthum Österreich ob der Enns vom Jahre 1907* (Linz: Self-Published, 1908), 7-8.

their community: that of educator and that of the “agent and keeper of *Heimat* culture.” It implored teachers to collect the folksongs and folktales of their region and to catalogue and detail any local traditions or customs. It also asked them to record their findings and to help organize local archives and libraries to ensure that the history and traditions of the *Heimat* would be preserved for future generations. For the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, the teacher’s role as *Heimat* historian was vital for the survival of local history and tradition since most professional historians did not have an interest in local matters.⁸

It was not unusual for teachers to heed such calls and to engage in serious scholarly research on the *Heimat*. For *Volksschule* teachers, such activities often related to the needs of the classroom. As discussed in Chapter 3, prior to 1910, these classes often lacked quality textbooks for each crownland, so it is not surprising that they lacked maps and other materials as well. Considering the pedagogical importance of starting all history and geography lessons with the *Heimat*, teachers and school inspectors constantly complained about the dearth of visual aids and other materials for teaching *Heimatkunde*.⁹ To compensate for a lack of “official” maps and visual aids, teachers often created their own and made them available to the district. The district map created by a *Volksschule* teacher in Gmunden, Upper Austria, was sophisticated enough that the

⁸ “Der Lehrer als Vermittler der heimatlichen Kulturgüter,” *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte. Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen-Zeitung*, September 20, 1911, np.

⁹ See Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 73, *Hauptbericht über den Zustand der Volksschulen, Bürgerschulen, und Lehrer und Lehrerinnen Bildungsanstalten in der Bukowina im Jahre 1893/94*.

district chose to print it and distribute it to other schools.¹⁰ For the most part, however, the average *Volksschule* teacher had neither the time nor the academic training to embrace such scholarly activities, and inspectors typically did not expect them to do so.

On the other hand, teachers in *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen* often engaged in robust scholarly activities. Public lectures given in Upper Austria and Silesia show the range of historical topics covered by teachers. They included talks on subjects as diverse as the art of Pompeii, the French Revolution, and historic monuments in Bohemia.¹¹ These public lectures only represented a portion of the scholarly activity conducted by secondary school teachers. The printed, public, year-end report of each secondary school almost always included one or two scholarly articles written by a member of that school's faculty. As with public lectures, the topics of such articles were diverse and far reaching. On any given year, year-end reports from schools published scholarship relating to the poetry of Cicero to the life cycle of plants.¹²

These reports also offered educators the opportunity to share pedagogical theories and practices. Theodor Tupetz, the author of many widely assigned history textbooks, published a guide for the proper teaching of history in the year-end report of the teacher

¹⁰ See for example Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 73, *Jahreshauptbericht über den Zustand der k.k. Bezirksschulrathen Gmunden unterstehenden öffentlichen und privat Volksschulen im Schuljahre 1894/95*.

¹¹ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 31, *Hauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Oberösterreich, 1908/1909*; *Hauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Schlesien, 1907/1908*.

¹² Gustav Lidner, "Cicero als Dichter," *Siebenter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-Untergymnasiums in Prag Neustadt, veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1888* (Prague: Self-Published, 1888), 3-29; Fridolin Šimek, "Die Keimpflänzchen einiger Caryophyllaceen, Geraniaceen und Compositen. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Cotyledonenk," *Achter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-Untergymnasiums in Prag Neustadt, veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1889* (Prague: Self-Published, 1889), 3-19.

training institution where he served as a professor.¹³ Reports from other institutions included similar articles for teaching *Vaterlandskunde*, natural science, and geography.¹⁴

While these scholarly articles covered all subjects taught in the school, articles about history were among the most common. For example, the *Real-Gymnasium* in Elbogen, Upper Austria, published research related to the political relationship between Persia and Greece before 387 B.C., while the private, Catholic *Gymnasium* in Urfahr, Upper Austria, published a series of articles in 1899 and 1900 on the reign of Rudolf II.¹⁵ Research in local history was also typical. The year-end report for the *Gymnasium* in Freistadt, Upper Austria, published a series of articles detailing the history of the city, including a history of the monastic orders of Freistadt and religious life there during the Reformation.¹⁶

The Ministry of Religion and Education encouraged and supported such academic endeavors by granting research sabbaticals and research grants. Often, research sabbaticals could last several years, with teachers receiving either a full release from their teaching obligations or, at the very least, a reduction in the number of classes they taught. The range of these research projects was as diverse as the articles published in the year-

¹³ Theodor Tupetz, "Über die Methode des Unterrichts in Geschichte," *Bericht über die k.k. deutsche Lehrerbildungsanstalt in Prag für die Schuljahre 1874-1875, 1875-1876, und 1876-1877* (Prague: Self-Published, 1877), 3-64.

¹⁴ *Bericht der k.k. Bildungs-Anstalten für Lehrer und Lehrerinnen zu Klagenfurt am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1874* (Klagenfurt, T. & F. Leon, 1874), 1-49; *Jahresbericht der k.k. Bildungsanstalten für Lehrer und Lehrerinnen zu Laibach veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1873* (Laibach: R. Millitz, 1873), 3-20; *Zehnter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals, Schuljahr 1883-1884* (Vienna: J. B. Wallischausser, 1884), 10-20.

¹⁵ *Programm des kön. Städt. Real-Gymnasiums und der Ober-Realsschule in Elbogen für das Schuljahr 1873/74* (Elbogen: Self-Published, 1874), 3-42; Archive of the City of Linz, B0027, *Zweiter Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am "Collegium Petrinum," 1899*, 11-43; *Dritter Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am "Collegium Petrinum," 1900*, 7-47.

¹⁶ Archive of the City of Linz, B0027, Bundesgymnasium Freistadt, Oberösterreich.

end reports, and the Ministry did not prefer some subjects over others. In any given year, officials granted reduced teaching assignments or full years of leave to teachers throughout Austria to study physics, mathematics, chemistry, biology, linguistics and language, literature, history, and geography. The quality and value of the research subject determined who received research sabbaticals.¹⁷ Reductions in teaching responsibilities or time off did not necessarily mean that the teacher continued to receive his or her salary, however. Anyone receiving a sabbatical needed to find ways to supplement lost income, either from publishers, universities, the Ministry, or local school boards. Each district had funds, supplemented by the Ministry, to support the scholarly research of teachers. These funds also helped to cover the cost of hiring substitute teachers.¹⁸

Reflecting Austria's polyglot nature, as well as the government's increased commitment not to favor one nationality over another, teachers' research projects in language, linguistics, literature, and history spanned the range of the Monarchy's national groups. For example, Professor Johann Novák, who taught literature and language at a Czech-language *Gymnasium* in Prague, taught half-time from 1902 to 1912 in order to study the literature of medieval Bohemia.¹⁹ A colleague received a full sabbatical in 1914 to complete work on a Czech language dictionary, which he hoped would "be for the Bohemian language what Grimm's dictionary [was] for the German language."²⁰

¹⁷ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2286, 2293, Fasz. 2332, 2335, 2337.

¹⁸ See, for example Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 2330 10A-C5, Document 19052.

¹⁹ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2293 10B1-C1, Documents 26124, 22630, 23610, 25562, 22214.

²⁰ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2294, 10 C4-G, Document 42108.

Similarly, another Czech teacher requested time off to study monuments commemorating Czech composers and how these monuments resembled others throughout Austria.²¹

Teachers also took time off from their schools to teach at universities and to work with local museums and research organizations. While those teaching at universities would not become university professors, they did become affiliate faculty, usually with the rank of docent. Cooperation between *Gymnasium* and *Realschule* faculty and university professors was very common. As with scholarly research, such cooperation spanned the range of academic fields but was especially strong in the humanities. For example, Professor Julius Glücklich, who taught history at a *Realschule* in Prague, spent 1914 teaching the history of Austrian foreign policy at the Charles University.²² In the same year, Dr. Otto Funke became a guest lecturer at the university as well, offering classes on English language.²³ In many cases, these relationships could span years, with the teacher effectively becoming a part-time teacher at his official teaching post and a part-time affiliate of the other institution. Dr. Ernst Novák, also a *Realschule* teacher, received a reduced teaching load for over seven years so that he could lecture at the Charles University of Prague for two to four hours a week. The request to continue this arrangement from 1910 noted, with pride, how effectively Novák lectured on German literature, especially Goethe, and how reduced teaching hours also allowed him to publish “two great works of scholarship on Czech literature.”²⁴ Teachers also worked with

²¹ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 2337 A-B, Document 1550.

²² Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 2330 10A-C5, Document 6952.

²³ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 2332 10A-C2, Document 30236.

²⁴ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 2335 10 C5-LST, Documents 823, 19369, 27397, 56556, 7447.

museums and archaeological groups, helping to study and preserve local history. In the case of Professor Josef Soukup, this took the form of organizing a research team to maintain and study monuments in Bohemia, which occurred intermittently from 1904 to 1914.²⁵

These examples reflect only a small percentage of the scholarly activity performed by Austrian school teachers. Especially during the last two decades of the Monarchy's existence, the Ministry, as well as local school boards, prioritized granting leave and vacation to those interested in scholarship and tried to make such sabbaticals financially viable. The extent to which teachers conducted research in history, folklore, culture, and language also shows the commitment of schools to these topics. Such research directly connected to Austria's civic education goals. It fulfilled the call by pedagogical leaders and civic education advocates for increased research and exploration of *Heimat* culture and history. It also helped teachers become leaders in these fields. Officials hoped that these research efforts would improve the quality of *Heimatkunde* and *Vaterlandskunde* at all levels of pre-university education. Furthermore, as teachers completed their research, schools could expect that they would offer public lectures to help share this research with the community and, ideally, increase interest in the *Heimat* and the Monarchy.

Considering what existing scholarship tells us about the nationalist leanings of many teachers, it is not surprising that many teachers devoted themselves to national topics. However, the fact that these teachers received time off from their teaching responsibilities and often received financial support during their research is notable.

²⁵ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 2331 10C6-LST, Documents 5414, 41173.

Since local school boards and the Ministry approved such requests, they obviously did not consider nationalism to be inherently destabilizing. Instead scholarly research related to language, folklore, culture, and art was important and necessary work, and officials hoped that such research would, in turn, increase attachment to the Monarchy.

Teachers as Moral Agents and as Nationalist Agents

The efforts to make teachers leaders of their community was in line with liberal theories of education and fully supported by leaders within the teaching profession. They thought that by making educators the teachers of the community as a whole, teachers would spread modern ideas and combat backwardness. Pedagogical theorists had long supported this expanded role for educators within their communities. As early as 1881, pedagogical leaders argued that teachers were the “patrons of the welfare of the people (*Volkswohles*)” in their communities. Educators at all levels possessed the solemn duty to teach all members of their community and to enrich the quality of life in the regions they taught by not only giving lectures and talks but also embodying the qualities of good behavior.²⁶ Teachers, all agreed, should be models of moral rectitude as well as examples of scholastic achievement.

As Stauter-Halsted observes, this expectation represented a change in the traditional power structure of many communities, as secular teachers began to supplant the educational role that parish priests had previously occupied.²⁷ Due to this elevated role in the community, the local population, school administrators, ministerial officials,

²⁶ “Der Lehrer als Förderer des Volkswohles,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des Steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 31, 1881.

²⁷ Stauter-Halsted, *The Nation in the Village*, 143-151.

and pedagogical leaders expected teachers to exemplify proper moral conduct and behavior. Within pedagogical circles, this expectation transcended political boundaries. Every major pedagogical journal printed articles discussing the obligation of teachers to be good moral stewards.

An article published in 1883 in the leading journal, *Pädagogium*, edited by the renowned educator Friedrich Dittes, summarized this consensus. In writing on the importance of *Volksschule* education, the author, A. Grüllich, argued that the *Volksschule* should do more than simply teach the foundations of reading, writing, and mathematics and provide vocational training. It should also improve the moral and ethical character of the student. Grüllich broadly defined the terms “moral” and “ethical” to include respect for all existing socio-political institutions.²⁸ The ability of the *Volksschule* to impart respect for such institutions was critical since it was the only education many of the lower classes would receive. Implicit in Grüllich’s article is the liberal, positivist belief that only education could improve the overall quality of the lower classes and society as a whole. Yet it also reflects the continued traditionalism of Austrian society, which viewed ethical education through the lens of Christian values and morality. Grüllich even said that the Christian moral system should be the “cornerstone” of *Volksschule* education.²⁹ In order for such education to succeed, moral education could not simply be limited to the religious instruction students received in school two hours a week, but must be infused into all subjects. All teachers would have to be paragons of moral character.

²⁸ A. Grüllich, “Wichtige Grenzen im Volksschulunterrichte,” *Pädagogium – Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, 1883, 85-87.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 89-92.

Pädagogische Rundschau made this point more explicitly. It pointed out that teachers sat “in a glass house,” in which the entire community observed their behavior and students modeled themselves on their conduct. In light of this fact, teachers occupied a role in their towns once held by the church, and as a result, teachers must be pillars of moral strength. In the classroom, they needed to bring “what [was] good to the students, [and] develop their spirits and minds.”³⁰ With such comparisons between parish priest and village school teacher, *Pädagogische Rundschau* essentially argued that teaching was a calling, not a profession. It was a calling which bore the responsibility of improving the quality and character of the community teachers served. Moreover, the journal found a direct link between patriotism and ethical conduct. A vital component of a teachers’ moral responsibilities was to educate “loyal sons for the fatherland.”³¹

Both of these journals articulated a new place for teachers in Austrian society, one in which secular schools and school officials largely replaced ecclesiastical authorities as the guardians of morality in the community. While accepting the importance of moral and ethical education, and while still defining such terms through the lens of Christian doctrine, liberal educators sought to maintain the secular school system established by the May Laws of 1868.³² The *Freie Lehrerstimme*, the pedagogical journal of the anticlerical teaching organization *Jüngere Lehrerschaft*, forcefully articulated this point by arguing that the modern school was the best force to maintain the moral quality of the community

³⁰ “Wodurch ehren wir Lehrer unsern Stand?,” *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, October 1, 1887, np.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² See Peter Leisching, “Die römisch-katholische Kirche in Cisleithanien,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie, 1848-1918*, vol. 4, *Die Konfessionen*, Adam Wandruszka, and Peter Urbantisch, eds. (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), 41-43.

because it was the only institution that reached all of the people.³³ Unsurprisingly, journals reflecting more conservative perspectives also viewed teachers as a vital component of moral education and called for teachers to be of the highest moral caliber. However, these journals also considered schools to be the frontline against the growth of radicalism in Austrian society. The *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte* concurred that teachers developed a child's morality but felt that a key goal of schools should be to diminish the influence of "liberalism, socialism, great party demagoguery, [and] class radicalism," which "destroy[ed] the social fabric."³⁴ The only way to diminish such dangerous forces was for teachers to oppose them.

Many teachers chafed under these high expectations, complaining about living their lives in a "fishbowl" where their communities and superiors scrutinized their actions and behavior, both inside and outside the classroom.³⁵ With such expectations, it is unsurprising that the moral and ethical conduct of teachers factored strongly into hiring decisions. Applications for teaching positions included a section for personal and professional references to offer commentary on the morality of teaching candidates and any ethical blemish would jeopardize a teacher's hiring or promotion possibilities.³⁶ By the dawn of the twentieth century, applications explicitly linked questions of moral behavior with questions related to the political behavior of applicants as well. School officials did not want to hire teachers who participated in disruptive political activities,

³³ "Die Erziehung zur Sittlichkeit," *Freie Lehrerstimme. Organ der jüngeren Lehrerschaft*, August 15, 1895, np.

³⁴ "Über die Lehrerbildung," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, April 5, 1911; "Lehrer und Volk," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, May 5, 1913, np.

³⁵ Stauter-Halsted, *The Nation in the Village*, 163-164.

³⁶ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2294 10C4-G, Documents 14134, 961086, 28515.

like strikes or protests. They also did not want teachers to use their classroom as a platform for voicing political grievances. For the purpose of these applications, officials broadly defined “political behavior” to include participation in nationalist movements as well as non-nationalist political movements.³⁷ Thus, a fiercely socialist teacher was just as likely to be denied a job as an ardently nationalist teacher. Furthermore, officials considered any form of nationalist agitation disruptive, regardless of whether the candidate was German, Czech, Slovene, or any other nationality.

Efforts to control or limit the teaching of nationalism contradicted the convictions of many teachers. For them, teaching nationalism was a vital component of moral and ethical education. As Pieter Judson demonstrates, the role of national educator often trumped other obligations for some teachers. Nationalist organizations certainly placed tremendous importance on recruiting teachers with strong nationalist feelings and on the establishment of new private, nationalist schools, which could “defend” the nation against the perceived threat of assimilation.³⁸ There is no doubt that many teachers believed that creating or augmenting strong national loyalty among their students was a primary teaching objective, one which ultimately threatened loyalty and attachment to the broader, multinational Monarchy. As with other professional organizations within Austria, teaching and pedagogical circles became explicitly nationalist in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. So, for example, in 1899, the Styrian Teachers’

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 19-65; Tara Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1948* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 13-79.

Association became the Association of German Teachers in Styria, devoted to protecting the rights and position of German teachers and German culture in the province.³⁹

The increased nationalist orientation of many German pedagogical leaders and teachers occurred in response to the fear that the other nationalities threatened the position and strength of German culture and language in Austria.⁴⁰ In 1885, the social commentator Eduard von Hartman published a controversial article which argued that Austria-Hungary's future was best secured by its transformation into a Slavic federal state. He looked at the growth of the Monarchy's Slavic population, in comparison to its other nationalities, and envisioned a state in which German language islands would persist, but the Slavs would become the dominant national group. He even made the bold prediction that Vienna would transform from a German city to a Slavic one over the course of the twentieth century, "just as Prague [did] in the nineteenth."⁴¹ Rather than deny or fight this reality, Hartman felt Germans should accept and prepare for it. Embracing the Monarchy's transformation into a federal state dominated by a Slavic majority, he argued, could halt the "destructive spread of Panslavism." Furthermore, he suggested that German schools begin teaching Slavic languages immediately to ensure

³⁹ "An die deutschgessinnte Lehrerschaft in Steiermark!", *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, February 18, 1899, np. See also Hannelore Burger, *Sprachenrecht und Sprachengerechtigkeit im Österreichischen Unterrichtswesen 1867-1918* (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995), 88.

⁴⁰ Such fears were hardly limited to the German nationalists of Austria. As the nationality struggle intensified, nationalist groups representing each nationality became increasingly concerned with "protecting" their nation. See Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 33-52; Burger, *Sprachenrecht und Sprachengerechtigkeit im Österreichischen Unterrichtswesen 1867-1918*, 29-33, 62-66, 88-90; Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls*, 13-48. Gary Cohen demonstrates that the German concern regarding the position of German culture and society in Austria was hardly limited to teachers; Gary Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861-1914*, 2nd ed. (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2006).

⁴¹ "Ein Wort zur Nationalitäten-Frage," *Pädagogium – Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, 1885, 371.

that as Austria-Hungary transitioned into this federal state, Germans would not feel alienated or threatened. Schools should mitigate and temper nationalist agitation and establish an atmosphere that accepted the diminished role of German culture in the Habsburg Monarchy.⁴²

Needless to say, Hartman's article prompted a fierce reaction, even among moderate voices in the nationality struggle. Leading pedagogical leader Friedrich Dittes firmly rebuked such suggestions in his journal *Pädagogium*. Typically, Dittes and his journal did not answer explicitly political questions or argue a radical, German nationalist position. Like many German-language pedagogical journals, however, *Pädagogium* offered articles written by both Austrian teachers as well as those from the German Empire, and it certainly considered teaching German language, culture, and history essential to a strong curriculum.

Rejecting Hartman's call for schools to prepare for Austria-Hungary's transformation into a Slavic state, Dittes argued that schools should defend German culture and language. Learning about one's nation was just as vital as learning about one's *Heimat* or fatherland. For Dittes, each nationality had the right to raise its children free from the influence of other nations. Furthermore, he considered such education essential for the "elevation of humanity."⁴³ Teachers must preserve and protect national culture. They were obligated to

defend the inalienable legacy of our forefathers with words and deeds [and] to bequeath it, undiluted, to our children....And therefore, today, German teachers, and the entire German people (*Volk*) in Austria must protest against the unreasonable demands of Mr. Eduard von Hartman. [They] must say to him that German children will not become Slavs because they will be educated by German

⁴² *Ibid.*, 372.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 373.

men and women. The German tribe (*Stamm*) in Austria **will** not perish because it does not **want** to perish.⁴⁴

He concluded his response by pointing to the continued survival of German culture in Transylvania and in other regions as proof that the growth of one national population did not necessarily mean the destruction of another. He cautioned that continued strength in such a situation could only occur if teachers stood as the vanguard of their nation, however.⁴⁵

Dittes' article resonated in German-language pedagogical circles and was even reprinted in the journal of the Styrian Teachers' Association.⁴⁶ As that association became increasingly nationalist in tone and action, its journal published articles echoing the call for teachers to defend the nation. In June, 1887, it reminded teachers of their duty to emphasize "the deeds and accomplishments of the German people."⁴⁷ Both the journal and association became increasingly nationalist and advocated for local as well as state-wide cooperation among German teachers. Its decision to reprint a speech given a decade later by the teacher Emil Russel at the annual meeting of the German Teacher's Association held in Bohemia reflected these new goals.

Russel, who did not teach in Austria, but rather in Ehrenberg, in the German Empire, told this association that "each teacher in Austria should hold the title 'teacher of his people, [of] his fatherland'" and must "educate the young in the spirit of their fathers,

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Emphasis in original text.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 374-375.

⁴⁶ Reprinted as "Aufgabe der deutschen Schule in Österreich," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, April 20, 1885, np.

⁴⁷ "Lehrer – Erzieher unseres Volkes!," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, June 20, 1887, np.

in the spirit of the history of their people.”⁴⁸ In order to accomplish this task, teachers needed to put aside their political differences and “stand above individual parties for the good of the nation.” Furthermore, the government must grant teachers the freedom to fulfill this national mission.⁴⁹ He also asked that teachers follow in the footsteps of great German leaders in promoting and protecting the “virtues” of the German people. In delineating this point, Russel made the controversial decision to appropriate figures from Austrian, as well as German history. He called on teachers to emulate Friedrich Schiller, Martin Luther, the Hohenstaufen Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich II, and Joseph II, whom he described as a “powerful champion of German greatness.”⁵⁰

The inclusion of both Friedrich Schiller and Joseph II in such a list directly contradicted the curriculum of Austrian schools, which sought to minimize the role of both as German nationalist figures and present them as examples of Habsburg figures.⁵¹ Russel’s speech reveals the uphill battle the Monarchy faced in requiring such presentations in schools and demonstrates that it was difficult to prevent individual teachers from changing curricular goals.

Russel may have realized he was challenging the accepted curriculum, because he also proclaimed that “the teacher belongs to the people (*Volk*),” and that a teacher’s ability to fulfill his or her obligation to his or her people must not be “constrained by

⁴⁸ “Die Pflichten des deutschen Lehrers gegen seinen Volksstamm,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 31, 1897, np.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ “Die Pflichten des deutschen Lehrers gegen seinen Volksstamm,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 10, 1897, np. (continuation of the article from October 31, 1897.)

⁵¹ See Chapter 2 for a larger discussion of the way history lessons taught about Joseph II.

outdated thinking” or by government officials.⁵² Concluding his speech, Russel offered a forceful, nationalist statement, which asserted that Austria was a “state in which each city, each building, each great deed gives testimony to the German spirit and to German perseverance (*Fleiß*).” Moreover, he argued that Germans remained the authentic bearers of culture (*Culturträger*).⁵³

Russel’s speech not only articulated a desire to defend and enhance the role of German nationalism in schools, it also reflected the growing national unity among teachers and teachers’ associations. The Styrian Teachers’ Association published his speech, which was given in Prague. In announcing its decision to adopt a formal, nationalist position, the organization made clear that it did not intend to just reflect the position and interests of German teachers in Styria, but of German teachers across Austria. It hoped that the transition to an explicitly nationalist organization would correspond with the transition of other groups, creating unity among German teachers in Austria.⁵⁴

It would be easy to see this transition as a victory for nationalism, weakening the bonds holding the Monarchy together. After all, these associations did not become patriotic teachers’ associations, interested in defending the unity of the Monarchy. However, the fact that organizations did not become explicitly patriotic could have resulted from the fact that they did not consider the Monarchy to be threatened, while they certainly perceived the status of German culture in the Monarchy to be under attack.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ “An die deutschgessinnte Lehrerschaft in Steiermark,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, June 12, 1898, np.

Perversely, the growth of nationalist teachers' associations may show the strength of the Austrian state idea, not its weakness.⁵⁵ The continued existence of the Monarchy was a forgone conclusion, while the status of Germans within that Monarchy was not. These teachers' associations sought to advance the position of their nation *within* the existing socio-political network of the Habsburg state. Furthermore, while the journal and association may have become increasingly nationalist it did not become less patriotic. Articles related to the elevation and teaching of patriotism continued to be a topic of interest until the collapse of the Monarchy. Also, conflict among national teachers' associations was often motivated by political differences rather than by national differences. This was certainly the case in Styria, where the conflict between Slovene and German teachers' association was due, in part, to Slovene support for conservative, clerical political parties and German support for liberal political parties.

When the Styrian provincial diet gridlocked in 1910 and failed to address key issues related to teachers' pay and rights, the German Styrian Teachers' Association blamed Slovene intransience. But, according to the association's journal, the gridlock was not due to national conflict, but rather to the desire of conservative parties to roll back liberal reforms. The journal compared the conservative, Slovene parties to "a herd of wild bulls destroying the seeding fields and treading over all of the budding plants,"

⁵⁵ Lothar Höbelt has made similar observations regarding the perceived weakness of the Austrian parliamentary system. He argues that even with periods of legislative paralysis and dysfunction, the Austrian political system showed its vitality by continuing to function and continuing to work toward change and compromise. Lothar Höbelt, "Well-tempered Discontent': Austrian Domestic Politics," in *The Last Years of Austria-Hungary: A Multi-National Experiment in Early Twentieth-Century Europe*, Mark Cornwall, ed. (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), 47-74.

ensuring that there would be no “speedy and efficient” action on matters concerning education.⁵⁶

Whenever the journal made such criticisms, it made clear their enemy was not Slovenes or even Slovene national parties in general, but rather Slovene clerical parties. It perceived the actions in the Styrian provincial diet to be part of a coordinated effort by conservative, clerical political forces to diminish the gains of liberalism, especially in schools. Articles describing the clash between liberal and clerical factions in the diet ran along with articles describing similar conflicts in the provincial school board.⁵⁷ The German Styrian Teachers’ Association also published articles that connected the struggles with clericalism in Styria with those elsewhere in Austria and Europe. The clashes with clericals in the Styrian provincial diet and school board were analogous to liberal conflicts with ultra-montane parties in Belgium and liberal frustration with the Christian Social dominated provincial diet in Lower Austria and city council of Vienna.⁵⁸

The *Pädagogische Zeitschrift*’s criticism of the Slovenes in the Styrian provincial diet must be viewed in the context of the journal’s broader, liberal political position. It did not oppose the Slovene political parties exclusively along national lines, but rather along political lines. The journal even ran an article written by Slovene teachers advocating greater cooperation among likeminded German and Slovene teachers’

⁵⁶“Die Obstruktion der Slowenen in steierischen Landtage,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, February 25, 1910, np.

⁵⁷“Neues von der Obstruktion der Slowenen in steierischen Landtage,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, September 10, 1910; “Der Kampf um den Landesschulrat,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 10, 1910, np.

⁵⁸“Klerikal Hetzer vor Gericht,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, March 25, 1911, np; “Klerikale Schulpolitik im Belgien,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, May 25, 1911, np; “Christlichsoziale intrigenpolitik,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, July 10, 1911, np.

associations. One Slovene teacher acknowledged that fear of Germanization often led Slovene national groups to work with the conservatives, but argued that this was a misguided tactic. For him, attempts by clerical parties to divide and gridlock the provincial diet and school board represented a direct challenge to the independence and freedom of teachers. Unity among the teachers' associations, regardless of nationality, would provide a united force to advocate for pension reform, greater freedom in the classroom, and changes in the disciplinary code.⁵⁹

Such calls for nationalist groups to work together for common political goals had a long history among teachers' associations. In 1899, a Czech teacher addressed the annual meeting of the Association of German-Austrian Teachers in Vienna expressing similar sentiments. He argued that the common "enemies" of liberalism thrived when liberalism was divided. Every teacher, Czech and German alike, had a shared interest in preventing the "dumbing down" of the population (*Volksverdummung*). He concluded his remarks by stating that "we Czech teachers are genuinely liberal-minded; we do not want our freedom lost and to be hired out as laborers. We want a free school," a statement met by "thunderous applause" from the German teachers in attendance.⁶⁰

The different national teachers' associations also found common ground in fighting for improvements in the lives of teachers. In particular, they jointly advocated for increased salaries and improved working conditions. On November 2, 1907, teachers

⁵⁹ "Was die slowenisch-klerikalen ansreben," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, September 25, 1910, np.

⁶⁰ "Die Außerordentliche Versammlung des Deutsch-österreichischen Lehrer," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 12, 1899, np. Though not mentioned in the article, one assumes this Czech teacher delivered his address in German.

of “all seven nations” of Austria met in Vienna to call on the government to equalize the salaries of teachers to the salaries of other civil servants.⁶¹

Obviously, such cooperation does not change the fact that animosity between nationalist groups in Austria existed and that conflicts over schools and language rights produced enormous challenges. It does show that some teachers’ associations at least paid lip service to the notion of cooperation between national groups, however. While these groups struggled over deeply divisive issues, they also shared common foes and often benefited from working together.

Many German teachers’ associations and pedagogical journals also accepted the right of all national groups in Austria to be educated in their own languages. This acceptance did not diminish the intensity of the struggle over language rights, however, and often, an appeal to the rights of nations to be educated in their national language was a subtle effort to increase the position of German schools in areas of mixed national populations. The leading pedagogical journal *Pädagogische Rundschau* argued forcefully that every nation had the right to be educated in its own language in its *Heimat* as well as the right to form private schools for education in its own language in regions where migration has established a significant population of that nation. Efforts to restrict or ban such private schools represented “barbarism.”⁶² While on the surface, such an argument appears to rise above the struggle between different national groups, the journal primarily emphasized the efforts to abolish German language schools (both private and

⁶¹ “Ein Kampf ums Leben,” *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, December, 1907, np.

⁶² “Der Schulkampf in Österreich,” *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, December, 1913, np.

public) as evidence of the need for laws to guarantee such rights. Private German language schools were vital to the efforts of German nationalist organizations, which established and supported these institutions in rural regions in the Bohemian lands, Carinthia, and Carniola where they feared other nations would eventually assimilate small communities of Germans.⁶³

It is worth mentioning again, that such views did not directly challenge the Austrian state idea, the integrity of the Habsburg Monarchy, or even endorse increased Germanization. In fact, *Pädagogische Rundschau* advocated such laws because they would strengthen the stability of the Monarchy and, in its view, diminish the animosity between Austria's nationalities. It worried that the fight over school language would destroy the "fabric of the state," and wanted all those "who [had] not abandoned Austria's future, who [wanted] to keep the state as an important creation (*Schöpfung*) in the long run," to work to overcome the "tiresome" debate over schools.⁶⁴

Pädagogische Rundschau's call to put the good of the state first in the efforts to solve questions of national education in schools echoed earlier voices which expressed similar concern over the long-term impact of the nationality struggle over schools. Decades earlier, the journal of the German Pedagogical Association of Prague realized that "the situation of the German language in Bohemia and especially in its capital [was] proof of the danger of only thinking of the nation first."⁶⁵ It accepted that teachers were the "natural protectors of the nation," with an intrinsic interest in teaching the culture of

⁶³ Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 33-42.

⁶⁴ "Der Schulkampf in Österreich," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, December, 1913, np.

⁶⁵ Josef Egermann, "Die Geschichte in der Volksschule," *Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht*, April 10, 1872, 174.

the nation, developing pride in the nation, and “awakening the historical sense” of the nation. But it also reminded its readers that it was just as vital that teachers be steadfast educators and “heralds” of the constitution and enthusiastically teach the history of the whole Monarchy.⁶⁶ Teaching national culture and history was important because it helped to teach the history of the entire state, and would increase loyalty and identification to both.

In 1912, the conservative *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte* even went so far as to suggest that while tensions between nations were high, the teaching of national history and culture might have to be subdued, in order to preserve the cohesion of Austrian society. One of its contributors summarized this position by writing “despite my personal fondness for German history, I must, as an Austrian, be attentive to Austrian history,” which meant that he must teach the history of Czechs, Hungarians, and Poles “as enthusiastically” as he taught the history of the Alpine lands.⁶⁷

Of course, it is worth noting that when these authors advocated placing the good of the Monarchy above nationalist strife, they were subtly arguing to keep status quo, which would allow for the continued primacy of German culture and language in Austria. Without a doubt most of these writers displayed, at the very least, latent German nationalist sympathies, and many believed in the perceived superiority of German culture. Nevertheless, one cannot discount the fact that they all argued for a diminution in the intensity of nationalist rhetoric in the interest of protecting the cohesion of the state. While they obviously wanted to protect the status of German-speaking Austrians,

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 174-178.

⁶⁷ “Zur Lesebuchfrage,” *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte. Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen-Zeitung*, March 5, 1912, np.

they also realized the potential danger of increased nationalist strife. The fact that journals published such articles demonstrates that even those in the heat of nationalist confrontation recognized the need to ensure that the cohesion of Austria was not a casualty of nationalist competition.

Controlling Teachers

School authorities were not passive in confronting the danger of nationalist teachers. They regularly used hiring, promotion, and dismissal procedures to control teachers' political behavior. The provincial school boards and the Ministry of Religion and Education also used the comprehensive system of school inspections to monitor this behavior. Most importantly, at the end of the nineteenth century, the Ministry began to revise and reform the disciplinary code for teachers to restrict their political activities. In the Ministry's thinking, such changes brought the regulation of teachers more in line with the regulations of other state bureaucrats and would have the added benefit of diffusing the political volatility of teachers' associations. For teachers, such changes represented a direct attack on their civil liberties. As a result, teachers' associations often became more, not less, politically active, pledging to defend the rights of their members against state control.

Consistent with the style of bureaucratic centralization that defined much of administration of the Habsburg Monarchy, the effort to ensure that teachers and schools stayed loyal and within the bounds of political respectability fell into a telescoping

system of control.⁶⁸ Rather than directly participate in the hiring and dismissal of teachers, the Ministry focused on the hiring and promotion of school administrators. The hope was that administrators who supported the policies of the Ministry and local school boards would hire like-minded teachers.

Applicant packets for school directorships included long, deliberative statements on the moral and political character of candidates, emphasizing their emphatic loyalty to the Monarchy and dynasty. Such statements were as long and as prominently placed as discussions of the applicants' teaching and pedagogical skills and ability to do scholarly research. References did not simply give pro-forma, standardized statements on the patriotic character of the application, but went out of their way to provide specific, illustrative examples. Selection committees obviously evaluated such characteristics seriously and wanted to select a school director who was not just loyal, but who would firmly establish patriotism within the school.

For example, when Robert Ritter became the director of the *Gymnasium* in Prague Neustadt in 1900, his referees praised the consistency of his "proper" moral and political conduct as well as his enthusiasm for the Monarchy. One noted that Ritter, a history teacher, possessed the ability to infuse his history lectures with "an authentic sense of patriotism," which inspired his students.⁶⁹ When Ritter retired in 1909, almost a decade

⁶⁸ For more on the nature of the Habsburg bureaucracy, see Waltraud Heindl, "Bureaucracy, Officials, and the State in the Austrian Monarchy: Stages of Change since the Eighteenth Century," *Austrian History Yearbook* 37 (2006): 34-57.

⁶⁹ The other candidates evaluated for this position received similar praise from referees. Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2290 10C4-G, Document 20493.

later, the Bohemian school board again emphasized his patriotic service to the Monarchy and praised the patriotic character of the school under his leadership.⁷⁰

The references provided at the time of Karl Haehnel's promotion to and subsequent retirement from the *Realgymnasium* in Prague Altstadt mirror those of Ritter. When announcing his promotion in 1911, school officials noted the fervor of his patriotism.⁷¹ Upon his retirement in 1915, the Bohemian school board described, in detail, his "untiring attention to the moral development of the young people entrusted to his care. He placed special importance on awakening and strengthening their patriotic-dynastic convictions (*Gesinnung*)."⁷² Authorities praised the "poetic talent (*dichterische Begabung*)" he displayed when he spoke during school ceremonies, especially at the celebration of Franz Joseph's eightieth birthday. All in all, the description of Haehnel's patriotism and his attention to the patriotism of his students comprised a third of school board's remarks on his career as an administrator.

Officials became more concerned with the patriotism of school administrators as Austrian political culture became increasingly rancorous and as teachers became more engaged in nationalist and non-national politics. The application packet for Haehnel's predecessor, who was hired in 1899, contained a thorough examination of his patriotic character, but lacked the level of specificity of Haehnel's case.⁷³ The 1866 application packet for Franz Pauly, Ritter's predecessor at the *Gymnasium* in Prague Neustadt contained only superficial and rudimentary statements of his political and ethical

⁷⁰ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2290 10C4-G, Document 49518.

⁷¹ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2297 10D3-G, Document 31416.

⁷² Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2296 10C1-D2, Document 13468.

⁷³ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2296 10C1-D2, Document 16398.

character. Far from giving vivid details, it simply said that his character was “completely proper.”⁷⁴ Similarly, the analysis of the seven candidates for the directorship of a school in Linz from 1871 contained no mention of their moral or political character.⁷⁵

The increased attention placed on the political character of applicants for school directorships directly corresponded with a similar focus on the political character of candidates for teaching positions. This fact is most clearly reflected in the summary tables submitted to the Ministry of Religion and Education after searches were completed. By law, when teaching positions became available, the school announced the open position in local newspapers and through news briefs issued by the Ministry and provincial school boards.⁷⁶ Applicants would then submit their credentials and references to the school, which compiled a master table of all applicants for easy comparison and consultation. In the decade immediately following the *Ausgleich*, these tables were more or less standardized, but varied from school to school and even from search to search. In general, they gave each applicant’s name, hometown, educational background, employment history, and a general statement on their character based on statements from referees.⁷⁷

During the 1880s and 1890s, these tables became more standardized, modeled from a template provided by the ministry. By the first decade of the twentieth century this template included a section specifically reserved for comment on the applicant’s

⁷⁴ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2290 10C4-G, Document 9462.

⁷⁵ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 1985 10D5, Document 17837.

⁷⁶ “Gesetz vom 1 December 1901,” *Verordnungsblatt des k.k. Landesschulrat für das Erzherzogthum Österreich ob der Enns vom Jahre 1901* (Linz: Josef Feichtingers Erben, 1902), 24.

⁷⁷ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2113 10 LST, Fasz. 2271 10 LST, Box 2139 10D3-G.

political and ethical conduct. In particular, schools wanted to know if the applicant possessed loyalty to the dynasty and to the state or if they had unsavory political affiliations. For the most part, the references provided *pro-forma* statements regarding the candidate's character, usually by stating it was "blameless" (*tadellos*), "entirely proper," or "completely loyal."⁷⁸ However, it would be inaccurate to assume such standardized answers meant that schools did not seriously consider these matters when selecting candidates. School officials were concerned about the growth of extreme nationalist parties, as well as the growth of other political movements, like socialism, and wanted to ensure that teachers did not belong to these groups.

A teacher's political affiliations, particularly those related to nationalist parties, could jeopardize his or her ability to be hired, promoted, or transferred. When Franz Rosieky applied to become a natural history teacher at the *Staats-Gymnasium* in Prague, one of his referees anonymously reported that Rosieky was active in the Czech nationalist movement, prompting the school board to request a police report on Rosieky's political activities. This report alleged that Rosieky was indeed "resolutely nationalist," and an active member of the Young Czech party.⁷⁹ Eventually, he did obtain a teaching spot, but only after the investigation concluded that he was not a radical nationalist and was loyal to the Monarchy.⁸⁰

Primus Lessiak, a teacher at a German language *Realschule* in Prague, was not as lucky. Lessiak's attempt to transfer to a school in Vienna in 1905 was rejected on the

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2294 10C4-G, Document 14134.

⁸⁰ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2294 10D4-G, Document 961086.

grounds of his political actions and behaviors. The denial of his request did not explain what these actions were, only that his political affiliations were the reason for the rejection of his transfer.⁸¹ While in Lessiak's case, political behavior prevented a successful transfer, the involuntary transfer of teachers was an important way school boards regulated the political behaviors of teachers. Ernst Keil, who taught at a German language school in Brünn/Brno, Moravia, was involuntarily transferred to a school in Lower Austria because of his German-nationalist beliefs. The hope was that he would be less antagonistic in a rural school outside of the mixed language Bohemian lands.⁸²

While local schools and school boards hired and punished teachers, they still informed the Ministry of Religion and Education of all actions regarding the appointment and dismissal of teachers. Typically they did this through formal reports and disciplinary records as well as through annual school inspection reports. Each inspection report contained a section addressing the quality and character of the faculty of the school. Such sections contained generalized statements that asserted the proper behavior of the faculty. They also noted when teachers faced disciplinary action, however. The inspector would identify the teacher by name and provide a brief account of his or her infraction and punishment. It is worth noting that when these accounts discussed teachers disciplined for their political behavior, the descriptions did not say which political group or organization the teacher belonged to. Radical or extreme political behavior of any sort, whether German or Czech nationalist or socialist, was forbidden. School officials did not want any sort of political agitation in the classroom.

⁸¹ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 2232 10A-C2, Document 28515.

⁸² Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2097 10C1, Document 28695.

For example, a report for the *Lyzeum* in Linz in 1898 noted that a disciplinary committee sanctioned Dr. Hausman (no first name given) for failing to maintain objectivity and for allowing his personal political beliefs to shape his history lectures, resulting in parental complaints. The report also noted that rather than face a reduction in his school responsibilities, Hausman resigned his position.⁸³ The 1903 inspection report for the *Realschule* in Rattenberg, Tyrol, mentioned that Prof. Franz Zaráhal received a formal warning and received disciplinary action for bringing personal political beliefs into his lectures.⁸⁴ Similarly, a report from 1914 explained that the provincial school board reprimanded Josef Suhuh for improper political behavior.⁸⁵ The range of these punishments was consistent with the guidelines established, by law, for disciplining teachers.

Regulations regarding teachers were consistent throughout Austria. The Ministry established general disciplinary guidelines which provincial school boards used to craft their regulations. The emperor then gave them the force of law. While local bodies had enormous authority over matters of discipline, it would be inaccurate to assume that such decentralization led to inconsistency. Disciplinary regulations had to conform to general standards, and school boards had to inform the Ministry of all decisions and actions.

Individual schools would refer serious discipline matters to the local school board, which in turn could refer the matter to the provincial school board for adjudication. If the school or local school board felt that the infraction did not warrant

⁸³ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 27, *Hauptbericht der Mädchen-Lyzeums in Linz, 1897-1898*.

⁸⁴ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 2320 10A1, Document 39934.

⁸⁵ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 2322 10A1, Document 32362.

formal punishment, they had the ability to issue oral rebukes and warnings to teachers. These would not be placed in the teacher's record and would not necessarily diminish a teacher's chance for promotion or transfer.⁸⁶ The actual act of issuing formal punishments rested in the hands of the provincial school board. If it determined a teacher had violated the terms of conduct, it had a range of actions it could pursue. The least severe punishment was a formal, written reprimand which would stay on record for three years. After that period, provided good service, it was expunged. Teachers could also be fined up to 100 crowns, which went in the province's school fund. For more severe infractions, the teacher could be removed from the school, but permitted to continue to teach in the locality; he or she could be forcibly transferred to another province at the teacher's own expense; he or she could be forced to forfeit all future pay raises linked to length of service; or he or she could be formally dismissed.⁸⁷ If the school board determined that the teacher had not violated the disciplinary code, he or she would only be notified orally.

For the most part, school authorities explicitly linked the severity of the punishment to the severity of the infraction. While continued referrals for disciplinary hearings could result in increased punishments, for the most part, disciplinary action reflected the immediate infraction at hand. In particular, the law governing teacher behavior and discipline noted that "great problems" related to the moral and ethical conduct of a teacher were most likely to result in dismissal.⁸⁸ As teachers became more

⁸⁶ "Gesetz vom 1 December 1901," 35.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 36.

politically active, the disciplinary code broadened to include political conduct as well. In fact, in the first decade of the twentieth century, the Ministry tried to restrict all political activity by teachers, forbidding them from participating in or belonging to political organizations. Regulators did not explain how they defined political activity. It is likely that they left the term intentionally vague so that it could be applied to a wide variety of behaviors. It certainly did not apply to voting. Instead it was an obvious effort to prevent teachers from becoming political agitators in their communities. It is important to remember that society considered teachers to be intellectual leaders in their communities and agents of moral education. Officials regarded extreme political beliefs, whether motivated by nationalism or other factors, especially those that resulted in disruptive behavior, to contradict a teacher's place in the community.

A large number of teachers and teachers' associations deeply resented these efforts to regulate and control the political activities of educators. They felt that it represented an overreach of authority and a flagrant violation of teachers' civil liberties. Pedagogical journals reflecting the views of associations from all political and national backgrounds wrote editorials and articles decrying these efforts. In general, these organizations felt that politically active teachers benefited their community and their profession and exemplified a model of active citizenship needed in a constitutional state. *Freie Lehrerstimme*, a leftist pedagogical journal, encouraged teachers to write petitions to the government and to establish political and professional organizations to reflect their views. It rejected the idea that teachers should be apolitical, like state bureaucrats, whose personal views were subsumed by their role as servants of the state. The journal provocatively concluded that "we [teachers] must act politically because we think

politically; and we must think politically because we are compelled to do so by our citizenship with all of its duties, because we are compelled by our education.”⁸⁹ In essence, teachers should be the models of civic engagement thereby sustaining democratic institutions.

The journal of the Styrian Teachers’ Association voiced similar views. From its perspective, teachers had to be politically engaged because the current political system reacted to political agitation and lobbying. By remaining absent from the political sphere, teachers could not adequately voice their views, concerns, and opinions. The Association argued that teachers had to stand as the voice for education at a time where “political parties are sometimes more involved with schools than is beneficial. [They] are looking to use it for purposes alien to the actual task of the school, or [at least] should be alien to it.”⁹⁰ Teachers must be free to petition and argue before school boards and the Ministry without fear of disciplinary action.

As Austrian political culture became more diffuse and democratized, teachers became more concerned with disciplinary regulations controlling their political behavior. They feared that the political parties that controlled school boards and provincial diets would use schools as tools for their political agenda. Liberal teachers’ associations began to perceive the efforts to restrict the political actions of teachers as a plot by conservative and clerical politicians to diminish the authority and power of liberals over education. In an article published in 1903, the Styrian Teachers’ Association argued that those who

⁸⁹ “Der Lehrer als Staatsbürger,” *Freie Lehrerstimme. Organ der jüngeren Lehrerschaft*, October 1, 1895, np.

⁹⁰ “Wie kam der Lehrer auch außer der Schule für die Schule wirken?,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 20, 1889, np.

asserted that politically engaged teachers would “poison” children forgot that “each party alleged that they, and they alone, have a lease on ‘right’ and ‘truth’.”⁹¹ In light of this fact, the article concurred with the *Freie Lehrerstimme* that teachers must be active political participants in their community. If political debate and disagreement formed the cornerstone of constitutionalism, a teacher had a duty, as a loyal citizen, to fight “through thick and thin” for causes he or she supported and “in this sense, the ‘political behavior’ of the teacher [could] only enrich the honor of and be a blessing to the youth and the people.”⁹² If Austria was to be a constitutional state with vibrant political organizations and an engaged citizenry, teachers must be models of civic and political participation.

Such arguments also contended that without robust political engagement, political opponents would persecute and marginalize teachers who espoused different political positions. Most of the journals and associations actively opposed to the increased limitations on teacher behavior were either liberal or socialist, parties with little political power starting in the late-nineteenth century. With the resurgence of clerical political strength beginning with the “Iron Ring” coalition of Edward von Taaffe in 1879 and the emergence of rightwing mass political movements, like Karl Lueger’s Christian Social Movement, liberal and socialist teachers’ associations feared for the future of the liberal, secular school system established in 1870s.⁹³ In their view, efforts to silence the political

⁹¹ “Politik und Schule,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, January 4, 1903, np.

⁹² “Politik und Schule,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, January 18, 1903, np. (continued from January 4, 1903).

⁹³ After the political collapse of the liberal coalition in the Austrian parliament, Franz Joseph appointed Edward von Taaffe prime minister in 1879. After a failed attempt to work with the liberal parties, Taaffe formed the “Iron Ring” coalition made up of conservative parties, clerical parties, and several non-German nationalist parties. To keep the coalition together and the parliament functioning, Taaffe pursued a legislative agenda marked by support for conservative/clerical positions on matters relating to schools and

opinions of teachers was part of a coordinated effort by conservative and clerical politicians to reintroduce Church control over schools.

The Styrian Teachers' Association asserted that allowing teachers to influence the political process would protect teachers from arbitrary punishment from political opponents.⁹⁴ The Association shared the fear that right-wing groups used school boards and school inspections to silence and purge schools of political opponents. In the years before the First World War, their journal ran countless articles describing the efforts of clerical and conservative parties to use school inspectors as tools to intimidate schools. It argued that Catholic teachers' associations and politicians pushing for increased "moral education" wanted to dismantle the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* and return control of the schools to the church.⁹⁵ It also ran articles published in other, like-minded journals, especially that of the *Freie Schule* Association in Vienna.

the Church and greater concessions to the non-German nationalities of Austria. Karl Lueger's Christian Social Movement gained control over Vienna's government when Lueger was elected mayor of the city in 1895. Lueger's party appealed to a disaffected shopkeepers and artisans, politically active parish priests and their allies, the lower bureaucracy, and other elements of the population frustrated with the growth of industrialization and capital. The movement punctuated its platform with vicious antisemitism and its policies represented a sharp turn to the political right. For more on the "Iron Ring" see William A. Jenks, *Austrian Under the Iron Ring: 1879-1893* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1965); for more on Lueger and the Christian Socials, see John W. Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848-1897* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

⁹⁴ "Ein Wort zur Schulpolitik des Verbandes," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 21, 1906, np. Interestingly, this concern over the resurgence of conservative, clerical groups does not grapple with the fact that many of the supporters of these groups were former liberals. Karl Lueger himself started out as a liberal politician, and he tailored his movement to appeal to disaffected liberal voters. Nationalist parties pursued similar tactics. As the nationality conflict intensified, liberal parties splintered and coalitions began to form around national lines, not traditional liberal and conservative lines. The liberal parties of Austria were defeated by the resurgent conservative parties because conservatives coopted the liberal movement. See Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna*; Pieter M. Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848-1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

⁹⁵ "Das Reichsvolksschulgesetz und die Bezirksschulinspektoren," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, August 10, 1909, np; "Die Erziehung in der Lehrerbildung," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 10, 1909, np; "Ein klerikaler Landesschulinspektor," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, December 25, 1909, np; "Der Kampf um den Landesschulrat," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des*

The *Freie Schule* Association represented a group of independent schools in the capital that operated with greater autonomy than state-sponsored schools. Nevertheless, these schools had to submit financial information to the Ministry of Religion and Education and the provincial school boards could discipline their teachers. The organization was fiercely anti-clerical, and it considered itself the guardian of secular schools in Austria.⁹⁶ The *Freie Schule*'s journal frequently attacked Karl Lueger's Christian Social administration in Vienna and accused the party of persecuting the *Freie Schule* movement. It claimed that Lueger personally delayed permission for the *Freie Schule* to build new school facilities and that the Christian Social dominated school board targeted *Freie Schule* teachers purely because of their association with the group.⁹⁷ In solidarity with the *Freie Schule* Association, the Styrian Teachers' Association's journal reprinted articles from the *Freie Schule*'s journal, and supported teachers perceived to be persecuted for their political beliefs.⁹⁸ The socialist pedagogical journal *Freie Lehrerstimme* also attacked the Christian Social party for what it considered to be attacks on the freedom and independence of teachers. It accused the party of being a party of

steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz, October 10, 1910, np; "Klerikal Wetzler vor Gericht," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, March 25, 1911, np.

⁹⁶ "Rechtsfragen: Der Zwang zu religiösen Übungen," *Freie Schule: Mitteilungen des vereins "Freie Schule" in Wien*, January 5, 1906, np.

⁹⁷ *Freie Schule: Mitteilungen des vereins "Freie Schule" in Wien*, October 7-8, 1906, np; "Aus einem klerikalen Musterländchen," *Freie Schule: Mitteilungen des vereins "Freie Schule" in Wien*, February 5, 1906, np; "Wiener Lehrer wegen Übernahme von Funktionen in Verein Freie Schule in Disziplinaruntersuchung," *Freie Schule: Mitteilungen des vereins "Freie Schule" in Wien*, February 1910, np.

⁹⁸ For example "Klerikal Kinderpredigen," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, January 25, 1911, np.

demagoguery and not solutions, and argued that it was only interested in the accumulation of power and using that power to reward its allies.⁹⁹

As if to accentuate the growing political diversity of teacher and pedagogical associations, conservative, Catholic teachers' associations wrote in favor of the increased efforts to restrict the political actions of teachers. Their support for these restrictions highlight the stark divide between liberal and clerical teachers' associations and illustrate that conflict among groups representing the same nationality were just as bitter and divisive as those conflicts between groups of different nationalities. The leading Catholic pedagogical journal, *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, lamented the growing politicization of schools. It begrudgingly praised the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* for improving literacy, increasing access to schools, and improving the quality of teachers, but criticized the "decline" of Catholic, moral education which resulted from secularization. It also considered the growth of political teachers' associations to be the most negative result of the law. It attacked these groups for "banefully" making every issue a political battle, disrupting the "peaceful work" of the schools while damaging the "strength of character" of teachers and students alike.¹⁰⁰

According to the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, the only way to combat such problems was through the robust system of inspections that liberal and socialist associations opposed. While the journal did not advocate restricting the civil rights of educators, it noted that any inspection system would inherently limit "the freedom of

⁹⁹ "Politiker und Demagog," *Freie Lehrerstimme. Organ der jüngeren Lehrerschaft*, November 26, 1899, np.

¹⁰⁰ "Das Reichsvolksschulgesetz," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte. Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen-Zeitung*, May 15, 1909, np.

teachers.”¹⁰¹ It also supported the Christian Teachers’ Association petition for disciplinary laws that ensured the “proper behavior” of teachers, while also fighting for a greater standardization of disciplinary procedures.¹⁰² According to the journal, the actions of groups like *Freie Schule* warranted such restrictions, due to these groups’ unabashed support of socialism and their “open hostility” to Christian, moral education. From the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*’s perspective, the type of school supported by *Freie Schule* would persecute “Christian-minded” teachers and prevent them from finding teaching jobs.¹⁰³

Interestingly, while arguing for increased restrictions on teachers’ political behavior, the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte* was simultaneously pushing its readers to organize so the views of Christian teachers would find representation in Austria’s legislative bodies. This paradox demonstrates the complexity of the efforts to control teachers. As Austrian political culture became more representative and more democratic, political groups emerged to advocate for their members. In such a political culture, teachers had to become active as well. Efforts to control such behavior only served to increase the intensity of these efforts.

It is also worth noting that the intensity of these political battles had little to do with nationalism. Teachers’ groups, even nationalist teachers groups, had a diverse range of interests and positions, many of which led them to struggle with groups representing

¹⁰¹ *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte. Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen-Zeitung*, February 20, 1911, np.

¹⁰² “Entwurf eines Disziplinergesetzes für Lehrpersonen an Volksschulen,” *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte. Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen-Zeitung*, December 5, 1911, np.

¹⁰³ “Der ‘freisinnige’ Landeslehrerverein und der Verband christlicher Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen Verein Niederösterreich,” *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte. Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen-Zeitung*, January 5, 1912, np.

the same nation. National concerns only represented one aspect of their interests. The issues dividing liberals, conservatives, and socialists, especially over the role of religion in schools, mattered just as much as issues related to nationalism. In many ways, the pedagogical journals reflected a greater concern with the attacks on secular, liberal schools than with issues of nationality and language.

German teachers' associations expressed concern about the status of German-language schools in Austria. Many of these associations devoted enormous amounts of resources and countless hours to defending these schools against the perceived encroachment from the other nationalities.¹⁰⁴ However, there were intense divisions within German speaking pedagogical circles, which proved to be as, if not more, acrimonious than the struggle between nationalist teachers' associations. The complexity of the struggles over nationalism, politics, and education reflect the extent to which the Habsburg Monarchy had become a pluralistic political society.

Controlling Teacher Quality

The amount of attention school officials devoted to regulating and observing teachers' political activity represented only one aspect of a generalized effort to streamline and standardize education throughout the Monarchy. The desire to create politically neutral classrooms went hand-in-hand with a broader attempt to ensure that, regardless of a school's location or the nationality of its students, teachers followed the same curriculum and students received the same skills and lessons. In many ways, the Ministry of Religion and Education and the local and provincial school boards were more

¹⁰⁴ Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 33-42.

concerned with inadequate or poorly trained teachers than they were with strongly nationalist teachers. This fact suggests that the scholarly focus on the presence of nationalism in the classroom overlooks many of the other serious concerns that Austrian education officials had about teachers. While these officials were obviously worried that teachers were using their classroom as a platform for their political beliefs, nationalist and otherwise, officials were also deeply concerned that many teachers were badly trained or ill-equipped to teach their students.

Efforts to regulate the quality of teachers began in tandem with the efforts to secularize schools in the late 1860s. At this point, the Ministry focused on the *Volksschulen* in its attempts to reform and revise the training of teachers. *Volksschule* teachers only received four years of additional training, beyond the eight years of schooling required for all students. All teacher training took place at specially designed teacher training institutions. The curriculum of these institutions served primarily as a review of the curricula of the *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen*, with some focus on pedagogy and teaching skills. As a result, it was common for elementary school teachers to have, at best, a passing command of most subjects taught in *Volksschulen*. In 1867, the Ministry set out an ambitious plan to revise the curriculum of these institutions, with an increased emphasis on more instruction in history, geography, and the sciences, as well as a stronger foundation in pedagogy. In addressing the need for such reforms, the committee tasked with this effort stated that “modern times have so significantly increased the requirements place[d] on the *Volksschule* that a reconfiguration (*Umgestaltung*) and expansion (*Erweiterung*) of teacher training institutions [was] vitally

needed.”¹⁰⁵ The Ministry wanted a *Volksschule* that corresponded to the needs of time and realized that these schools needed better trained teachers to achieve this goal.

While the Ministry developed a bold plan for change, achieving that change took time. Due to the cumbersome bureaucratic organization of school administration, the Ministry could not simply issue the new curriculum. The *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* gave the Ministry power over local and provincial school boards, but this power was largely advisory or supervisory. The extent of this control depended on the region; some regions were entirely subordinate to the Ministry, while others, like Galicia, were entirely autonomous, only informing the Ministry of their decisions.¹⁰⁶ While the Ministry’s curricula prevailed over those of the provinces, each province had the ability to implement the Ministry’s plans in its own manner.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, when editing and amending curricula, each provincial school board had the right to review, edit, and offer commentary on the proposed changes. Any adjustment of the proposed curriculum had to be resubmitted to the provincial school boards again for additional comment. During their review, provincial school boards would submit the curriculum to local pedagogical experts for commentary and suggestions. As a result the process of finalizing curricular

¹⁰⁵ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 4188 17D2, Document 2712. This reform effort corresponded with similar revisions of *Bürgerschulen* and *Volksschulen* curricula, also found in Fasz. 4188.

¹⁰⁶ Polish nobles secured autonomy for Galicia after Austria’s defeat in the Austro-Prussian War and the establishment of the Dual Monarchy. This autonomy gave Polish elites control over most domestic affairs of the region, including total control over schools and education. See Piotr S. Wandycz, *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795-1918* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974), 214-239; *Jahresbericht des k.k. Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterrichts für 1870* (Vienna: Verlag des Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterrichts, 1870), 47-70.

¹⁰⁷ *Jahresbericht des k.k. Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterrichts für 1870*, 133.

changes took years, meaning that teachers continued to receive old fashioned training until the mid-1870s.¹⁰⁸

From this point on, the Ministry continually revised and improved the curriculum for teacher training institutions, *Volksschulen*, and *Bürgerschulen*. Sometimes sweeping changes occurred, as in 1867; other times, there would only be adjustments for one or two subjects. As with these initial changes, the process was slow and took several years. But the attempt to improve the quality of teachers and the schools remained a strong commitment of Ministry officials.

The task of implementing any curricular changes fell to the school boards, school directors, and school inspectors. Provincial school boards had control over funding for schools and for formally establishing and publishing school curriculum and expected schools to conform. To ensure that they did, school inspectors rigorously evaluated how well schools adhered to the established curriculum. The school inspection reports submitted to the provincial school boards and to the Ministry provided a robust evaluation of each teacher along with general assessments of the school. In *Volksschulen*, inspectors most frequently criticized the fact that teachers relied too heavily on textbooks when teaching history, geography, and natural science. This remained a consistent problem until the end of the Dual Monarchy. In spite of curriculum changes aimed at improving teachers' knowledge, inspectors continued to report weakness in this area. On the whole, across Austria, inspectors wanted to see a greater command of the material, a greater engagement of visual aids and models, and

¹⁰⁸ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 4188 17D2, Document 7033; 3394.

teaching without simply reading from the textbook.¹⁰⁹ These concerns were not only limited to *Volksschulen* teachers. Even at *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen*, inspectors frequently criticized teachers' poor pedagogical techniques and knowledge of their content area.

Inspectors' reports for secondary schools often included savage critiques of a teacher's aptitude and skill. For example, one inspector criticized a history teacher at the *Gymnasium* in Freistadt, Upper Austria, for his "pompousness" and tendency to "waste precious time."¹¹⁰ The inspector for the city of Wels, Upper Austria lamented another *Gymnasium* teacher's "tangible lack of liveliness, warmth, and flexibility (*fühlbaren Mangel an Lebhaftigkeit, Wärme, und Elastizität*)."¹¹¹ They could also offer lavish praise. One inspector wrote of a history teacher's ability to seamlessly work pictures and other aides into his lectures, creating "the warmest pictures of history and geography."¹¹² More often than not, reports praised the "dutiful" work of teachers and their attention to detail and the curriculum.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 66, *Jahreshauptbericht Volksschulen in Freistadt, 1876-1877*; *Jahreshauptbericht Volksschulen in Gmunden, 1877-78*. Schachtel 68, *Jahreshauptbericht Volksschulen in Brauman 1882-1883*. Schachtel 69, *Jahreshauptbericht über die Volksschulen in Oberösterreich 1885-1886*; Schachtel 79; *Jahreshauptbericht Volksschulen in Kirchdorf 1889-1890*; Schachtel 72, *Jahreshauptbericht über die Volksschulen in Niederösterreich, 1893*.

¹¹⁰ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 22, *Jahreshauptbericht Staatsgymnasium in Freistadt, 1882*.

¹¹¹ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 31, *Jahreshauptbericht Gymnasium in Wels 1906-1907*.

¹¹² Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 20, *K.K. Real- und Obergymnasium Freistadt Wintersemester Bericht, 1878*.

¹¹³ Examples can be found in any of the year end reports from: Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 29.

While inspectors may have been critical of the under-utilization of visual aids and supplementary materials, they also criticized the school boards for not providing them. For example, the inspection reports for schools in Bukovina routinely expressed frustration with the fact that a “good” map of the province was unavailable. As a result, geography, history, and *Heimatkunde* classes in provincial schools were deficient. The inspector wondered how the school board and Ministry expected teachers to do their jobs when the best they could offer students was a map of the whole Monarchy.¹¹⁴

Inspectors also observed how closely teachers followed the prescribed curriculum. Many school districts asked that teachers submit brief written statements to the inspector outlining how they followed the curriculum and any challenges they encountered in fulfilling its stated goals.¹¹⁵ Inspectors compiled these statements and provided commentary on their accuracy. In the *Volksschulen* especially, school officials sought to minimize variation from school to school, offering specific guidelines on what topics should be taught when, even to the point of telling teachers what times they should teach certain subjects during the school day. Schools also expected teachers to compile weekly lesson plans which would also be reviewed by the inspector.¹¹⁶

Unsurprisingly, many teachers viewed the centralization and bureaucratization of schools as a restriction on their professional independence. Regardless of their political or national affiliation, pedagogical journals and teachers’ associations bristled against the “bureaucracy” of school management. Articles attacking the centralized curriculum most

¹¹⁴ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 73.

¹¹⁵ Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, LSR, Schachtel 20.

¹¹⁶“Über Lehrpläne,” *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, May 1897, np.

frequently argued that it diminished the ability of teachers and schools to adjust to the needs of the student and school. The Styrian Teachers' Association summarized this general consensus best when it stated that there was no one "best methodology" for any topic. Curricula should be "tailored to the school, like good clothes."¹¹⁷ The centralization of the curriculum stifled innovation in the classroom and prevented teachers from infusing their personality and individuality into the classroom.¹¹⁸

The Association considered the guidelines that mandated when teachers should teach each subject to be equally constraining. It questioned why arithmetic, writing, and singing had to be in the afternoon, language in the midmorning, and history, geography, and the sciences in the third hour of the school day. Each teacher should be able to decide when it was best to teach each subject himself, based on the performance of his class.¹¹⁹ The leftist journal *Die freie Schule* made similar points in a series of articles published in 1868. It rejected the idea that a centralized curriculum better served students and schools, since that curriculum limited the ability of teachers to adjust lessons to fit the needs of the students. *Die freie Schule* demanded that schools be free to differentiate lessons and educational goals based on the individual demands of their classroom and rejected the attempt to make all students into a single mold.¹²⁰ To illustrate its point, *Die freie Schule* wrote that "all schools (due to bureaucratization), be they in [Vienna] or in

¹¹⁷ "Controle. – Lehrpläne. – Methode. –," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, April 10, 1874, np.

¹¹⁸ "Maigesetze," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, May 20, 1874, np.

¹¹⁹ "Die Selbständigkeit des Lehrers beim Unterrichte, in der Abfassung der Stundenpläne und Lehrstoffvertheilungen und in der Auswahl des Lehrstoffes," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, August 20, 1870, np.

¹²⁰ *Die freie Schule, Zeitschrift für Unterricht und Erziehung*, January 18, 1868, np.

the flatlands, in the Alps or in the plains, in the Slavic or in the German provinces, in the service of agricultural populations or working populations, in a wine growing [region] or in an industrial district” had a curriculum based on a single model and lacked the ability to change it as necessary.¹²¹ Ultimately, the journal concluded that the decision on what to teach and how to teach it remained in the hands of Ministry officials and not with teachers, where it belonged.

The apolitical *Pädagogische Rundschau* concurred with these conclusions and questioned the value of centralized plans written by “bureaucrats...who know little of schools first hand.”¹²² It did not question the need for a robust curriculum itself and stated poetically that “whoever wants to reach a goal must hike on the path that leads to this goal. And whoever, as a teacher, wants to help children obtain a certain degree of knowledge and skill must base his methods with a well thought out lesson plan.”¹²³ The only question was who would craft this plan. Like the Styrian Teachers’ Association, *Pädagogische Rundschau* contended that the curriculum must be flexible and tailored to the school and teacher. Only the teacher, who was responsible for executing the lesson plans, had the right to form these plans. And furthermore, only these plans could be successful. Drawing parallels between battle plans and lesson plans, *Pädagogische Rundschau* concluded that

this plan must be made by the teacher himself. The bureaucrat makes the official curriculum for schools that he has never seen, same as the...Court War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*), which makes the plans for fighting a battle which will be fought 100 miles away. Why did Prince Eugene win the battle of Zenta? Because he

¹²¹ *Die freie Schule, Zeitschrift für Unterricht und Erziehung*, February 11, 1868, np.

¹²² “Über Lehrpläne,” *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, May 1897, np.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

was at the location himself...in view of the enemy and with precise attention to all local conditions designed his plan of attack. And of the plan he received from the Court War Council in Vienna — pfiiff.¹²⁴

Success on the battlefield came from commanders using their talents and firsthand knowledge of the conditions of battle. So too, success in the classroom flowed from a well-trained teacher using his or her skills in a way best suited for the individual conditions of his or her school.

These critiques overlooked the fact that the process of adopting and altering curricula was, in many ways, decentralized. Provincial school boards had the freedom to decide how they would implement the curricular goals of the Ministry and could make adjustments they felt necessary. Furthermore, as already noted, these boards influenced the adoption of these goals and greatly influenced their composition.

Ultimately, frustration with the centralization of the schools stemmed from the conviction that such actions stifled teachers with the “constraining net of the bureaucratic form,” which in turn damaged the quality of education.¹²⁵ These critiques also reflected the notion that the Ministry and the school boards questioned the professionalism and skill of the teachers. In the eyes of many teachers, efforts to control what was taught at which point of the day reflected a general lack of trust in the teacher. Karl Tumlitz, who served as a provincial school inspector, summarized this assertion in an article originally written for the *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Lehrerbildung*. Tumlitz accepted the necessity of some degree of bureaucratization, but he distinguished between the ideal and the reality of such centralization. Ideally, a centralized, bureaucratic school system

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Pädagogium – Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, 1893, 10.

ensured consistency, fairness, and quality regardless of the school. But in reality, Ministry officials and those representing local and provincial school boards operated under “laws from thirty years ago,” which had little relevance for “modern schools.”¹²⁶ More importantly, Tumlitz argued that a “good” school bureaucracy remained unachievable because, at its core, bureaucracy emerged from distrust and schools from trust. States felt the need to maintain large bureaucracies out of the belief that, without supervision, state officers would not adequately or justly fulfill their mandates. Conversely, on all levels, schools required trust. Parents trusted schools with their children, the community trusted teachers to educate their young. As a result “bureaucracy and schools, by reason of their contrasts, could never completely understand each other, [and] between them, no compromises could be reached.”¹²⁷ Tumlitz defiantly stated that, regardless of their efforts, school bureaucrats and administrators could only ever control the “body” (*Körper*) of the school, never its “intellectual power...inner being, and soul.”¹²⁸ That would always reside with the teacher. A speech made by E. Müller, a school rector, in 1913 succinctly summarized what most teachers wanted from school reform: freedom in making and implementing the curriculum, control over which methodologies to practice, and the ability to select their own textbooks.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ “Bureaukratismus und Schule,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, December 13, 1908, np.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ “Die pädagogische Freiheit des Lehrers,” *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, December 25, 1913, np.

Teachers' associations representing educators from all national and political backgrounds expressed consternation about increased centralization and bureaucratization, a rare area of agreement among these organizations. Their shared concern reminds us that issues of politics and nationalism were incredibly important to the lives of teachers, but they were not all consuming. Equally if not more important were the comparatively mundane issues related to their supervision and ability to perform their jobs. Ultimately, school administrators considered badly trained teachers a more pressing issue than politically engaged teachers.

Teacher Mobility

While many teachers and their representatives decried the centralization of the educational system, it provided a benefit often overlooked by those same teachers: mobility. The standardization of teacher training and hiring procedures meant that teachers could apply for jobs across the Habsburg Monarchy, regardless of where they were trained (or in the case of *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen* teachers, where they went to university). Furthermore, since German language schools existed throughout Austria, German teachers could maximize the benefit of this reality. Unless they happened to possess the necessary language skills to teach in a different language, non-German speakers were more or less limited to teaching in the parts of Austria where their language was prevalent. So, for example, Czech teachers could really only teach in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia.¹³⁰ While this afforded some mobility, it did not create nearly as much as that afforded to German speakers. German-language schools were in

¹³⁰ For example, hiring records for Czech language schools in Bohemia show that 100% of applicants came from Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 2335, Fasz. 2337.

every crownland, even in regions where Germans represented a small minority of the population. The fact that these schools often existed alongside schools for other nationalities meant that education remained a major front in the nationality struggle. The nationalities bitterly competed for enrollment and to preserve the status of their schools in these communities.¹³¹

An examination of hiring records for *Realschulen* and *Gymnasien* in Prague, Linz, and Vienna demonstrates that German-speaking teachers took full advantage of the mobility offered by the Monarchy. Looking at records for these three cities provides an interesting comparison and shows that in each case, applicants from across Austria sought to relocate to these cities. In the case of all three cities, teaching positions brought a steady flow of applicants from every major German-speaking region of the Monarchy — Upper and Lower Austria, the Bohemian Lands, the Alpine regions, and Carinthia and Carniola — as well as applicants from regions with German-speaking islands — Galicia, Hungary, and Bukovina. There are also no discernable patterns of migration or movement that suggest widespread political or nationalist motives behind the desire for applicants to relocate. Applicants for jobs in Linz's *Realschulen* represented a broad cross-section of the German speaking regions of Austria, with 12.5% coming from Upper Austria, of which Linz was the capital, 24% from Bohemia, 14% from Tyrol/Vorarlberg, 13.5% from Moravia, and 9.6% from Lower Austria, with the remaining number coming from other provinces or crownlands.¹³² The large number of applications from Bohemia and Moravia does not suggest that German teachers were fleeing the nationalist strife of

¹³¹ Burger, *Sprachenrecht und Sprachengerechtigkeit im Österreichischen Unterrichtswesen*, 62-76, 92-116; Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 44-52.

¹³² Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 1985, Documents 7683, 7921, 8931, 106162, 12495, 11309.

those provinces, but rather that Bohemia was a province with a large population where teaching jobs were competitive. Applications for jobs in Prague show that many teachers wanted to remain in the Bohemian lands. In fact, from the 1880s until the 1910s, 63% of the applicants for Prague's *Realschule I* and 69% of the applicants for Prague's *Realschule II* came from Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia. Between 24% of the applicants for *Realschule I* and 18% of applicants for *Realschule II* came from Upper and Lower Austria, with the remainder of applicants came from the other Habsburg hereditary lands, Galicia, Bukovina, or Hungary.¹³³

Positions in Vienna appealed to the most diverse group of applicants. For Vienna's *Elisabeth Gymnasium*, 26.4% of applicants came from Lower Austria, of which Vienna was the capital, 26.4% from Bohemia, 14% from Moravia, and the remainder divided among the other Habsburg hereditary lands, Galicia, and Hungary.¹³⁴ These numbers are consistent with Vienna's other *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen*.¹³⁵ This is not surprising, given the dynamism of the city, its cultural offerings, and its position as both the capital of the Austrian half of the Monarchy and as a major world city.

An examination of transfer requests helps to illustrate the wide range of reasons motivating teachers to apply for jobs in these cities, even though it meant leaving their current locations. In some cases, the teacher wanted to return home to be near family.

¹³³ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Fasz. 2333, Documents 30819, 24160, 14588, 20800, 15565, 16145, 10927, 14198; Austrian State Archives, MKU, AVA, Fasz. 2329, Documents 13442, 38998, 37436, 36237, 1870, 16477, 13378, 32781, 12594, 11322, 10216, 8157, 23480, 13518, 11525, 12833, 12831.

¹³⁴ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2149, Documents 24232, 42067, 26716, 27211, 14562, 9661, 14500, 9762, 13208, 11061, 11539, 9290.

¹³⁵ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2139, Documents 14108, 12562, 9671, 9431, 10891, 8201, 6528, 10472, 13622; Box 2140, Documents 26289, 26946, 24330, 32510, 29762, 10372, 12762, 14526; Fasz. 2252, Documents 8452, 24736, 10057, 10219, 30137, 29333, 9078, 14820; Fasz. 2271, Documents 23436, 23031, 10279, 12960, 13732, 11755, 22973, 24118, 16541, 34191, 15861, 12551.

For example Maximilian Mangl requested to be transferred from Laibach/Ljubljana, Carniola, to Vienna in 1908 in order to be closer to his aging mother.¹³⁶ Anton Kapple, a *Realschule* teacher in Bruck, Styria, made a similar request in 1912.¹³⁷ Of course, officials did not always grant such requests and often teachers were denied transfers repeatedly. When Maximilian Mangl asked for his transfer in 1908, officials noted that previous attempts to transfer to a school in Vienna were denied. More often than not, the denial of transfers directly related to the quality of the teacher. This was the case with Mangl as well as with Arthur Hruby, a secondary school teacher in Trieste. Hruby petitioned several times between 1910 and 1914 for a transfer, in order to be closer to his family. Each time officials rejected his request on the grounds that his evaluations were not strong enough to warrant a more prestigious position and because his supervisors questioned whether he could be successful in a larger city.¹³⁸

Other teachers wanted to relocate to Vienna to be close to a major university and other scholars. Max Lederer, a teacher in Bielitz/Bielsko/Bílsko, Silesia, and Alfred Kleinberg, a teacher in Kaadan, Bohemia, sought a position in Vienna in 1911 in order to be near other researchers.¹³⁹ Again, the success of these attempts depended largely on the skill of the teacher. Kleinberg's transfer request offered glowing praise of his skills as a researcher and noted that the Prague school board would have offered him a position if one were available.¹⁴⁰ These examples reflect just a small fraction of the requests the

¹³⁶ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2097, Document 36369.

¹³⁷ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2097, Document 9431.

¹³⁸ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2135, Document 19825.

¹³⁹ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2097, Documents 39215, 39081.

¹⁴⁰ Austrian State Archives, AVA, MKU, Box 2097, Documents 39081.

Vienna school board received each year. Vienna's status as the Austrian capital and as a world city made it an attractive location for teachers who wanted to leave rural locations. While undoubtedly many of these teachers possessed strong nationalist feelings or considered themselves German nationalists, it is clear that the motivations driving teachers to relocate mostly related to practical considerations of their daily lives. They wanted to be in a location that provided a better standard of living, greater possibility for career advancement, or resources for their scholarly pursuits, or so they could be closer to family.

Conclusion

The fact that so many teachers moved from one region of the Monarchy to another meant that these teachers helped to reinforce the "mental map" of Austria. Teachers helped to expose students to people from all parts of the Monarchy and served as a reminder of the reality of the Monarchy's diversity. This adds another layer of complexity to understanding their role in Austrian society. For the most part, the scholarly focus on teachers' role as nationalizing agents has caused much of this complexity to be overlooked. Without a doubt, many teachers possessed an ardent nationalism which they sought to communicate to their students. An examination of contemporary pedagogical literature supports this fact.

At the same time, while they may have been nationalistic, few teachers expressed hostility to the Austrian state. More often than not, expressions of nationalist sentiment went hand-in-hand with support for the Habsburg dynasty and the Monarchy as a whole. It would be a mistake to assume that nationalism implied a disregard, latent or overt, for

the state. As previously noted, the fact that so few teachers felt the need to argue for the Monarchy could simply mean that they accepted the continued existence of the Monarchy as a forgone conclusion. In this light, the nationality conflict becomes a sometimes rancorous series of negotiations for power within a political system each group assumed would continue to persist.

The roles of the state bureaucracy and education officials are equally as important when examining these issues. The Ministry of Religion and Education and other school officials were hardly passive in the face of such challenges. Given the bureaucratic nature of school organization, their initial impulse, when faced with increased political activity from teachers, was an attempt to control it. For the Ministry, regulations and disciplinary codes served as a tool for containing the political aspirations of teachers. These regulations also coincided with a broad effort to standardize and streamline education in Austria.

It is ironic that these efforts ended up provoking broader action among teachers, who became more vocal as officials restricted their independence. Ultimately, officials could not control the political organization of teachers because the nature of the Austrian political system was changing. As Austrian political culture became more democratic, it grew to include all sorts of advocacy groups, with teachers just one of many such groups. According to teachers, such organization ensured that their interests would be heard in a system governed by political parties and interests. While teachers' associations talked in universal terms and claimed to represent the profession as a whole, ultimately, they reflected the political, regional, and national interests of their members. The diffusion of teachers' associations into multiple groups, reflecting different political parties and

nationalities corresponds directly with the diffusion of Austrian political culture. This diffusion reminds us that issues of nationality represented but one facet of the political interest of teachers. Equally as important were the struggles against political opponents from the same nation. These conflicts were as divisive and bitter as those between national groups. By the late-nineteenth century, teachers were fully engaged in Austrian political culture, and the political interests of teachers were as diverse as the teachers themselves. More importantly, teachers' associations and pedagogical leaders wholeheartedly endorsed the principles of patriotic education. While obviously some teachers may have resisted or undermined Austria's civic education efforts, most teachers lacked the expertise or the incentive to do so. Most followed the ascribed curriculum. As a result, it is unlikely that teachers hindered the implementation of the robust system of civic education established by educational authorities.

CONCLUSION

Austria possessed a nuanced and sophisticated system of civic education in its elementary and secondary schools during the dualist period. Educational officials crafted this system with the goal of creating an Austrian identity that the Monarchy's diverse population could embrace regardless of nationality. This identity was imperial, not national or ethnic in character. One was Austrian because one lived in the Habsburg Monarchy. At the same time, Austrian identity was predicated on regional and national identities, making it a layered construct which attempted to use regionalism and nationalism as forces for patriotic development.

Developing a sense of identification with and loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty was essential to this imperial identity. Schools attempted to develop this identification and loyalty in part by presenting the Habsburg dynasty as the embodiment of good governance. Textbooks and history classes portrayed the Habsburg dynasty as the rightful successor to Charlemagne, himself the personification of ideal kingship. Charlemagne possessed all of the characteristics necessary to lead a kingdom. He was wise, humble, pious, and concerned about the welfare of his subjects. Textbooks and history classes methodically claimed that the Babenberg dukes of Austria continued the Carolingian tradition of benevolent rule. The Habsburgs, however, were also the successors of the kings of Hungary and Bohemia. As a result, textbooks and history lessons asserted that the kings of Hungary and Bohemia also possessed the qualities of good kingship and continued the legacy of benevolent governance. Since Habsburg rulers possessed these same attributes, they could be considered the legitimate successors

to the thrones of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia. While these traits linked the Habsburg dynasty to its predecessors, textbooks also made clear that the dynasty had a legal and legitimate claim to its territories. History classes painstakingly delineated the complicated web of marriages and treaties that allowed the Habsburg dynasty to acquire its territories.

The qualities of good governance not only linked Habsburg rulers to those of previous dynasties, but also linked Habsburg rulers to each other. Textbooks illustrated that all Habsburg rulers possessed the qualities necessary to be virtuous and good leaders. They were all pious, dedicated rulers, and patrons of the arts and sciences. Most importantly, they all worked diligently to develop their lands and improve the lives of their peoples. At times, textbooks also used comparisons between Habsburg rulers and the rulers of other countries, like France, to further develop the perceived virtues of the Habsburg dynasty. By portraying French rulers as the embodiment of bad governance — wasteful, warmongering, and eager to expand their own power and influence — textbooks could more clearly highlight the virtue of Austria's rulers.

These contrasts also helped to explain why the Habsburg Monarchy fought so many wars over the course of its six-hundred year rule. The Monarchy, school textbooks declared, was an unwilling belligerent, dragged to war in order to defend Europe's stability, protect vulnerable neighbors, or to defend itself from predatory attacks. This trope also provided a justification for Austria-Hungary's contemporary foreign policy, especially its decision to declare war on Serbia in 1914.

The tropes used to characterize Habsburg governance also helped to mitigate calls for rapid change to the Monarchy's internal political dynamics. Textbooks and history

classes considered Habsburg rulers to be avid reformers. In this way, Franz Joseph's constitutional reforms in the last half of the nineteenth century continued in the tradition of Maximilian I, Maria Theresa, and Joseph II. Textbooks taught students that change came to the Monarchy when the time was right. They should trust the wisdom of their emperor in deciding when to implement reform. This trust and patience would allow for peaceful and steady progress, avoiding the excesses and chaos of revolution.

Just as the tropes attributed to Habsburg rulers attempted to bolster support for the Monarchy's contemporary foreign and domestic policy, they also had the potential to smooth the transition from one monarch to the next. Since all Habsburg rulers shared the same set of noble characteristics, students could assume that Franz Joseph's successor would carry on in the tradition of those before him. Early in Franz Joseph's reign, schools explicitly connected him to his more illustrious predecessors, and it is likely schools would have done the same for Karl. We will never know if these efforts could have been successful, but Austria's system of civic education certainly tried to ease the transition from one monarch to the next.

This system also established a sense of "Austrian-ness" that went beyond the dynasty. If the imperial aspect of Austrian identity rested solely on veneration of the ruling family, then Oscár Jászi's critique that Austrian civic education was nothing more than sentimental dynasty worship would be well founded. In conjunction with praise for the Habsburg dynasty, Austrian civic education also attempted to build a pantheon of supranational, Austrian heroes to serve as models of patriotism and loyalty. These heroes not only included military heroes, like Archduke Karl and Prince Eugene of Savoy, but also ordinary people who rose to defend their Monarchy in times of need. The citizens of

Vienna who worked to fend off the Ottoman armies in 1683, the Hungarians who rallied to support Maria Theresa in the War of Austrian Succession in the 1740s, and Andreas Hofer and his compatriots in the Tyrolean Uprising against France and Bavaria in 1809 each personified the virtues of patriotic devotion and sacrifice. Most importantly, they also helped to demonstrate the unity of the Habsburg Monarchy in times of crisis.

Considering the Monarchy's national, ethnic, and religious diversity, it was important for students to learn that this diversity did not prevent the peoples of the Monarchy from working together. Such notions helped German-speaking students, in particular, to think of Austria as a multinational state.

Obviously, periods of civil unrest and times of military defeat threatened to undermine this image of a united Monarchy, valiantly fighting its foes. Educators tried to discuss these events in a way that did not threaten this heroic image of Austria. Coping with military defeat proved easier than explaining periods of civil unrest. After all, predatory neighbors could always be blamed for military failures. Austria-Hungary faced its foes, often against overwhelming odds, which sometimes led to defeat. Furthermore, defeat did not make the struggle of the Habsburg army any less valiant.

Educators tried to explain civil unrest and the challenges to Habsburg rule in a way that addressed the cause of the unrest while still positively portraying the dynasty and state. So, the Bohemian challenge in the Thirty Years War became a conflict between an overpowered nobility and the crown and not an expression of Czech national frustration; the Revolutions of 1848 became uprisings motivated in part by overzealous reformers, Italian irredentists from Sardinia hoping to take advantage of the Monarchy's troubles, and Hungarian nationalists who sought to victimize and oppress the other

nationalities in Hungary. In each of these cases, the Habsburg dynasty remained a source of stability and most citizens remained loyal and content.

Textbooks also made clear that all the Monarchy's citizens shared a role in fulfilling Austria's historic mission to maintain European stability, usually under threat from France, and to serve as the bulwark of "civilization" from the "barbarous" East. Even though the traditional threat to "civilization" came from the Ottoman Turks, by the late-nineteenth century, Serbia and Russia became the new foes in the East, a view which became reality in 1914.

Taken together, the positive portrayals of Habsburg rulers and the peoples of the Monarchy, coupled together with Austria's historic mission articulated the imperial identity established by Austria's system of civic education. In order to develop the supranational aspect of that identity, the curriculum sought to forge a complex, layered identity which simultaneously strengthened local, regional, national, and religious identities as well. Support for these identities stemmed from pedagogical theories which held that the development of local, more "relatable," identity would allow for more authentic support for the Monarchy as a whole. This support also meant that educators did not force teachers or students to choose between these local and national loyalties and the Monarchy. For educational officials, learning to love one's *Heimat* and nation went hand-in-hand with learning to love the dynasty and the Monarchy.

Pedagogical leaders considered seeing and interacting with the *Heimat* an important step in developing an appreciation for it. School excursions to the countryside increased steadily as the end of the nineteenth century and became a regular part of the school calendar in the early-twentieth century. These excursions usually occurred in the

late spring and combined visits to natural sites as well as historical landmarks. Visits to these locations gave teachers an opportunity to reinforce natural science, geography, and history lessons from earlier in the year. Students in major cities, like Vienna, also had the opportunity to visit museum exhibits relevant to school curriculum. Often, museums developed these exhibits in consultation with education officials, allowing the exhibits to draw from and reinforce the existing educational curriculum.

School celebrations also reinforced school curriculum and played a vital role in Austria's system of civic education. These events gave schools and students an opportunity to commemorate the anniversaries of major events from the Monarchy's history and to honor the emperor, empress, and other important figures from the dynasty. Such celebrations and commemorations were important affairs, taking place in decorated rooms and attended by local dignitaries. Speakers used the opportunity to extol the virtues of the Habsburg dynasty and Austria, reiterating the notion that the Austrian government embodied the ideal of good governance. In this way, these speeches reinforced the history curriculum. The poems and songs used for these occasions reinforced these notions as well. Students already knew these poems and songs from class and readily understood their patriotic significance.

Schools participated in patriotic events outside of school as well. Children were an important part of imperial jubilees, walking in parades and performing patriotic plays or songs. Participating in such events served two roles: it enhanced a child's patriotism while also providing a symbol the Monarchy's future. Even when they did not participate in jubilee events, students often attended them. Jubilee organizers ensured that schools brought students to watch parades and processions. As with school

celebrations, schools and jubilee organizers wanted students to understand the importance of these events and sought to make them as special as possible. To do this, schools and organizers would often give the students mementos or keepsakes that would remind participants of the event.

Jubilee events and school celebrations helped to make the monarch and the Monarchy tangible to students. Imperial visits further enhanced this tangibility. Emperor Franz Joseph was the most important symbol of the Monarchy and his constant travels ensured he remained a visible presence in the lives of Austrians. A visit from the emperor was a major event and became an occasion for celebration. Schools brought their students to see the emperor's procession through the city, teachers and students decorated their schools to honor the emperor's arrival, and often students had the chance to see the emperor in person. These visits, like jubilee events and school celebrations, brought a degree of pomp and pageantry to civic education. They also reinforced the notion that Austria was a dynamic, united state made strong by its diversity.

Obviously, officials realized that extreme nationalism existed and posed a threat to the united Monarchy. To combat the growth of this nationalism, they increased supervision of teachers and implemented hiring and dismissal procedures that allowed school officials to monitor the actions and behavior of teachers. Nationalism, however, was only one concern for officials. They considered other forms types of extreme political views to be just as threatening. School officials were just as concerned about the threat posed by socialist or anarchist teachers as they were by extreme nationalist teachers. Even though robust policies were in place to curtail participation in extreme political organizations, efforts to totally restrict or control the political activities of

teachers failed. By the twentieth century, teachers were fully part of Austria's pluralistic, mass political culture.

In many ways for educational officials the threat of poorly trained teachers seemed greater than the actions of politically active teachers. Starting in 1867, the Ministry of Religion and Education and local school boards began reforming teacher training institutions and implementing careful inspections in an effort to improve teacher quality. Even though the cumbersome bureaucracy of Austria's educational system often delayed or stymied these reforms, efforts continued until the Monarchy's collapse in 1918. The impetus for these reforms often stemmed from a long standing belief among officials that Austria's school system lagged behind its neighbors. While there were obvious areas that needed improvement, Austria's schools were actually on par with those of Europe and the United States.

It is also clear that Austria's system of civic education was on par with these states as well. It utilized its history in an effort to develop patriotism in a manner similar to its neighbors, and it celebrated that history in the same sorts of commemorations and celebrations. Austria was not the outlier that earlier scholarship held it to be. Of course the most notable difference between Austria and these other states is the fact that Austria-Hungary was a supranational state. Unlike other multinational or multi-ethnic states, Austria did not try to create linguistic or cultural homogeneity when developing Austrian identity. Instead, it crafted an identity that allowed its nationalities to remain members of their nation while also allowing them to be fully Austrian.

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 altered civic education in Austrian schools. Prior to the war, educational officials sought to implement an unobtrusive

system of patriotic education which used history classes and special occasions to promote loyalty to the state and to the dynasty. When the war began, civic education became part of the wartime propaganda aimed at demonizing Austria-Hungary's foes and touting the virtues of the Monarchy and its allies. Even though Austria-Hungary's wartime propaganda was more aggressive and less subtle than previous civic education efforts, it utilized the techniques and, more importantly, the tropes and themes employed by these earlier efforts.

After the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in June 1914, school celebrations took on a somber tone. Even events like the celebration of the emperor's name day became occasions to remind students that difficult days lay ahead and that the entire Monarchy needed to unite behind their army and monarch. Schools also used such occasions to collect money and supplies for the war effort, honoring the emperor's philanthropic image.¹ Additionally, schools began hosting public lectures on the patriotic duty of Austrians during the war, and on ways to support the Monarchy and the war effort.²

By 1915, pedagogical journals and teachers' associations began discussing how best to teach about the war in classrooms and how to better fold patriotic messages into their lessons. The conservative *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte* suggested ways to incorporate the war into history and geography classes for *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen*. It argued that teachers needed to use every opportunity to discuss the war and the efforts of the Austrian army, and to ensure that children understood why the

¹ See for example *Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-Untergymnasiums in Prag Neustadt, veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1914-1915* (Prague: Rohliček und Sievers, 1915), 27.

² *Ibid.*

Monarchy was involved in the conflict. So, for example, teachers should discuss the assassination of the archduke, which would allow teachers to then discuss succession law, how Franz Ferdinand's assassination was a direct attack on the future of the Monarchy, and why Archduke Karl became the presumptive heir to the Austrian throne. Discussing the events at Sarajevo would also allow teachers to explain why the war began, especially Serbia's culpability in provoking the conflict.³

Portraying these discussions as an opportunity to teach several topics at once, the journal suggested that teachers discuss Serbia's provocation in connection with showing Serbia on a map and its proximity to the Monarchy. Afterward, teachers should show the Monarchy's other enemies, as well as its allies, on the map. The journal also recommended that teachers use army movements, transport supply lines, and other logistical aspects of the war to reinforce geography skills. Most importantly, for the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, teaching about the war allowed teachers to remind students of their civic obligations to the emperor and Monarchy. The journal's suggested lessons called for a comprehensive review of the rights and duties of citizens. They urged teachers to use the speeches given by the emperor and others to reinforce the fact that Franz Joseph entered into the conflict reluctantly and only out of concern for the welfare of his peoples and his Monarchy.⁴

In writing this article, the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte* drew from clearly established tropes regarding Franz Joseph's character. It was already standard for teachers to present the emperor, and all of his predecessors, as peaceful rulers, pulled into

³ "Die Kriegsereignisse in der Schule," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte. Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen Zeitung*, September 20, 1914, np.

⁴ *Ibid.*

conflict against their will. With such tropes in place to explain Austria's past conflicts, educators could easily draw on them to explain the Monarchy's current war. When writing and teaching about the conflict, educators also found it easy to explain the war in the context of Austria's historic mission, especially its obligation to defend Europe from chaos and to protect "civilization" from "barbarism." The pedagogical journal for the Styrian Teachers' Association ran excerpts from *Alt-Österreich Erwachen*, billed as a patriotic play.⁵ This excerpt, along with the association's reflections on it, drew heavily from perceptions of Austria's historic mission. While these findings demonstrate that Austria's wartime civic education built upon its existing system of patriotic development, a robust, scholarly examination of Austria's propaganda and civic education during the war is necessary to understand how it evolved over the course of the war. It is likely, however, that Austria continued to rely on the system it developed prior to the war. Educational officials designed Austria's system of civic education to be adaptable and enduring.

Once the war ended and the Monarchy collapsed in 1918, the supranational, layered identity promoted by Austria's civic education curriculum also had a profound impact on the efforts to build support for the rump Austrian state. Austria had an enormously difficult time reconciling its position in interwar Europe, and many Austrians resisted embracing the reality of an Austrian nation-state. These Austrians thought of themselves as members of the German nation, albeit not members of the German nation-state, and supported the idea of *Anschluss* with Germany. The concept of Austrian national identity only enjoyed widespread support after the Second World War and the

⁵ "An Österreich — von 'Alt-Österreich,' eines vaterländisches Festspiel," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 11, 1914, np.

horrors of Nazism.⁶ The difficulty of creating an Austrian national identity after 1918 is not surprising. Before 1918, the concept of “Austrian” referred to a supranational, imperial identity. No one thought of the “Austrian” in connection to a national culture. It is little wonder many Austrians asked themselves what it meant to be Austrian without the Monarchy and the Habsburgs.

In order to forge an Austrian national identity, Austria had to reconcile its Habsburg past with its status as an independent republic. After World War I, Austrian leaders consciously distanced themselves from Austria’s Habsburg legacy. In part this was a reflection of the fact that many of Austria’s earliest interwar leaders were socialists, eager to align the state more closely to socialist, democratic principles. But this distancing also emerged from the fact that these leaders wanted to create a sense of “Austrian-ness” not tied to the concept of empire and dynasty.⁷ Austria’s experience during and after World War II, especially the desire to obscure its role in the Third Reich, helped bolster the establishment of an Austrian national identity distinct from German nationalism. Embracing its Habsburg past, though detached from its imperial connotations and without any desire for a Habsburg restoration, helped in this process.⁸

⁶ For more on Austrian national ambivalence after World War I see John C. Swanson, *The Remnants of the Habsburg Monarchy: The Shaping of Modern Austria and Hungary, 1918-1922* (New York: East European Monographs, 2001), 13-41; for more on the impact of World War II in shaping Austrian national identity after 1938, see Bruce F. Pauley, *Hitler and the Forgotten Nazis: A History of Austrian National Socialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), 216-229; Evan Burr Bukey, *Hitler’s Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era, 1938-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 155-234.

⁷ Douglas Patrick Campbell, “The Shadow of the Habsburgs: Memory and National Identity in Austrian Politics and Education, 1918-1955” (Ph.D. diss., The University of Maryland, College Park, 2006), 1-201.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 413-601.

Interestingly, preliminary research indicates a continuity between civic education in Habsburg Austria and that of Austria in the Second Republic formed after World War II. It appears that school events for Franz Joseph created a template for celebrating the republic and its leaders. School celebrations held in 1950 to honor the birthday of President Karl Renner mirrored those held half-a-century earlier for Emperor Franz Joseph.⁹ The itinerary of the celebrations were almost identical, even including some of the same patriotic songs and poems.¹⁰ As with celebrations for Franz Joseph, those for Karl Renner included speeches about his life and his service to Austria. Speakers described Renner's tireless service to Austria and credited him with "the reestablishment of Austria" after World War II.¹¹ Such remarks resonate with earlier efforts to show that Franz Joseph embodied the ideal of good governance. In many ways the only major difference between the celebrations was the fact that events to honor Renner ended with a signing of the *Bundeshymn*, the national anthem of the Austrian republic, rather than the *Volkshymn*.

On June 21, 1951, schools held an almost identical celebration for President Theodor Körner's birthday.¹² Speeches honoring Körner utilized familiar themes: drawing attention to his military service during World War I and praising his efforts to

⁹ Karl Renner was a major figure in Austria's Social Democratic Party before World War I and became Austria's first chancellor when the Monarchy collapsed. At the end of World War II, he established a provisional government and became the first president of the Second Republic in 1945. Both contemporaries and historians credit Renner for helping to ensure Austria's relatively benign treatment by the Allies.

¹⁰ *Renner-Feier, November 27, 1950*, Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, Materialien-Schulveranstaltungen (uncollected materials).

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Theodor Körner was the second president of the Second Republic, serving from 1950 until he died in 1957. He was also the first post-war mayor of Vienna, serving from 1945-1950.

rebuild Austria when he was elected mayor of Vienna in 1945. Speakers also reflected on Körner's deep interest in improving the lives of the citizens of Vienna, evidenced by the schools, parks, and youth organizations established when he was mayor.¹³ More research needs to be done to see how long such commemorations continued and whether or not the content of such events remained the same. It is possible that they tapered off in favor of explicitly republican national holidays, like those commemorating the state treaty of 1955. It is notable, however, that when emerging from the chaos of World War II and while negotiating what it meant to be Austrian after 1945, Austrian schools relied on the same tropes used when celebrating the Habsburg Monarchy. Austria's new republic had the good fortune to be led by just, honorable leaders, interested only in peace and in the development of the state, just like the Monarchy in the time of the Habsburgs.

The consistency between these events speaks to the strength of Habsburg Austria's system of civic education. It was a sophisticated, intentional system on par with those in Europe and in the United States. More importantly, it was a nimble and flexible system meant to adjust to the needs of Austria's future conditions. Educational officials sought to create a layered, supranational Austrian identity that could work in concert with regional, national, and religious identities. They also hoped to create a patriotic sense among Austrian students that would last beyond their time in school and withstand the pressures created by a tumultuous social and political landscape.

¹³ *Feier für Theodor Körner's Angelobung*, Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, Materialien-Schulveranstaltungen (uncollected materials).

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ZŠR, Zemská školní rada, Praha

Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna

KBK, Kleine Bestände: Kaiserhaus
SSR, Stadtschulrat

Prague City Archives

SVZ, Sbirka vyroenich zprav

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LSR, Landesschulrat

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