

"By Drip and by Drop":
The Discourse of German Nationalism in the Press of Habsburg
Austria-
Salzburg, Styria, Vienna: 1877-1897

by

Jill E. Mayer

A thesis
presented to the University of Manitoba
in fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
History

Winnipeg, Manitoba

(c) Jill E. Mayer, 1993



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-92278-8

Canada

Name Jill Earleen Mayer

Dissertation Abstracts International is arranged by broad, general subject categories. Please select the one subject which most nearly describes the content of your dissertation. Enter the corresponding four-digit code in the spaces provided.

European History

SUBJECT TERM

0 3 3 5

U·M·I

SUBJECT CODE

Subject Categories

THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS

Architecture 0729
Art History 0377
Cinema 0900
Dance 0378
Fine Arts 0357
Information Science 0723
Journalism 0391
Library Science 0399
Mass Communications 0708
Music 0413
Speech Communication 0459
Theater 0465

EDUCATION

General 0515
Administration 0514
Adult and Continuing 0516
Agricultural 0517
Art 0273
Bilingual and Multicultural 0282
Business 0688
Community College 0275
Curriculum and Instruction 0727
Early Childhood 0518
Elementary 0524
Finance 0277
Guidance and Counseling 0519
Health 0680
Higher 0745
History of 0520
Home Economics 0278
Industrial 0521
Language and Literature 0279
Mathematics 0280
Music 0522
Philosophy of 0998
Physical 0523

Psychology 0525
Reading 0535
Religious 0527
Sciences 0714
Secondary 0533
Social Sciences 0534
Sociology of 0340
Special 0529
Teacher Training 0530
Technology 0710
Tests and Measurements 0288
Vocational 0747

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS

Language
 General 0679
 Ancient 0289
 Linguistics 0290
 Modern 0291
Literature
 General 0401
 Classical 0294
 Comparative 0295
 Medieval 0297
 Modern 0298
 African 0316
 American 0591
 Asian 0305
 Canadian (English) 0352
 Canadian (French) 0355
 English 0593
 Germanic 0311
 Latin American 0312
 Middle Eastern 0315
 Romance 0313
 Slavic and East European 0314

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

Philosophy 0422
Religion
 General 0318
 Biblical Studies 0321
 Clergy 0319
 History of 0320
 Philosophy of 0322
Theology 0469

SOCIAL SCIENCES

American Studies 0323
Anthropology
 Archaeology 0324
 Cultural 0326
 Physical 0327
Business Administration
 General 0310
 Accounting 0272
 Banking 0770
 Management 0454
 Marketing 0338
Canadian Studies 0385
Economics
 General 0501
 Agricultural 0503
 Commerce-Business 0505
 Finance 0508
 History 0509
 Labor 0510
 Theory 0511
Folklore 0358
Geography 0366
Gerontology 0351
History
 General 0578

Ancient 0579
Medieval 0581
Modern 0582
Black 0328
African 0331
Asia, Australia and Oceania 0332
Canadian 0334
European 0335
Latin American 0336
Middle Eastern 0333
United States 0337
History of Science 0585
Law 0398
Political Science
 General 0615
 International Law and
 Relations 0616
 Public Administration 0617
Recreation 0814
Social Work 0452
Sociology
 General 0626
 Criminology and Penology 0627
 Demography 0938
 Ethnic and Racial Studies 0631
 Individual and Family
 Studies 0628
 Industrial and Labor
 Relations 0629
 Public and Social Welfare 0630
 Social Structure and
 Development 0700
 Theory and Methods 0344
Transportation 0709
Urban and Regional Planning 0999
Women's Studies 0453

THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Agriculture
 General 0473
 Agronomy 0285
 Animal Culture and
 Nutrition 0475
 Animal Pathology 0476
 Food Science and
 Technology 0359
 Forestry and Wildlife 0478
 Plant Culture 0479
 Plant Pathology 0480
 Plant Physiology 0817
 Range Management 0777
 Wood Technology 0746
Biology
 General 0306
 Anatomy 0287
 Biostatistics 0308
 Botany 0309
 Cell 0379
 Ecology 0329
 Entomology 0353
 Genetics 0369
 Limnology 0793
 Microbiology 0410
 Molecular 0307
 Neuroscience 0317
 Oceanography 0416
 Physiology 0433
 Radiation 0821
 Veterinary Science 0778
Zoology 0472
Biophysics
 General 0786
 Medical 0760

EARTH SCIENCES

Biogeochemistry 0425
Geochemistry 0996

Geodesy 0370
Geology 0372
Geophysics 0373
Hydrology 0388
Mineralogy 0411
Paleobotany 0345
Paleoecology 0426
Paleontology 0418
Paleozoology 0985
Palynology 0427
Physical Geography 0368
Physical Oceanography 0415

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES

Environmental Sciences 0768
Health Sciences
 General 0566
 Audiology 0300
 Chemotherapy 0992
 Dentistry 0567
 Education 0350
 Hospital Management 0769
 Human Development 0758
 Immunology 0982
 Medicine and Surgery 0564
 Mental Health 0347
 Nursing 0569
 Nutrition 0570
 Obstetrics and Gynecology 0380
 Occupational Health and
 Therapy 0354
 Ophthalmology 0381
 Pathology 0571
 Pharmacology 0419
 Pharmacy 0572
 Physical Therapy 0382
 Public Health 0573
 Radiology 0574
 Recreation 0575

Speech Pathology 0460
Toxicology 0383
Home Economics 0386

PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Pure Sciences

Chemistry
 General 0485
 Agricultural 0749
 Analytical 0486
 Biochemistry 0487
 Inorganic 0488
 Nuclear 0738
 Organic 0490
 Pharmaceutical 0491
 Physical 0494
 Polymer 0495
 Radiation 0754
Mathematics 0405
Physics
 General 0605
 Acoustics 0986
 Astronomy and
 Astrophysics 0606
 Atmospheric Science 0608
 Atomic 0748
 Electronics and Electricity 0607
 Elementary Particles and
 High Energy 0798
 Fluid and Plasma 0759
 Molecular 0609
 Nuclear 0610
 Optics 0752
 Radiation 0756
 Solid State 0611
Statistics 0463

Applied Sciences

Applied Mechanics 0346
Computer Science 0984

Engineering
 General 0537
 Aerospace 0538
 Agricultural 0539
 Automotive 0540
 Biomedical 0541
 Chemical 0542
 Civil 0543
 Electronics and Electrical 0544
 Heat and Thermodynamics 0348
 Hydraulic 0545
 Industrial 0546
 Marine 0547
 Materials Science 0794
 Mechanical 0548
 Metallurgy 0743
 Mining 0551
 Nuclear 0552
 Packaging 0549
 Petroleum 0765
 Sanitary and Municipal 0554
 System Science 0790
Geotechnology 0428
Operations Research 0796
Plastics Technology 0795
Textile Technology 0994

PSYCHOLOGY

General 0621
Behavioral 0384
Clinical 0622
Developmental 0620
Experimental 0623
Industrial 0624
Personality 0625
Physiological 0989
Psychobiology 0349
Psychometrics 0632
Social 0451



**A STUDY OF BORDER ICE GROWTH
ON THE BURNTWOOD RIVER**

by

Terrence M. Miles

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment for the Degree of

Master of Science

Department of Civil Engineering

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg, Manitoba

© April 1993

"BY DRIP AND BY DROP": THE DISCOURSE OF GERMAN NATIONALISM IN
THE PRESS OF HABSBURG AUSTRIA-SALZBURG, STYRIA, VIENNA:
1877-1897

BY

JILL E. MAYER

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

© 1993

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this thesis, to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this thesis.

The author reserves other publications rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

ABSTRACT

This study approaches German ethnic identity as a cultural rather than a purely political construct. It challenges the conventional wisdom which holds the German-speaking lower-middle class or Mittelstand of the Habsburg monarchy responsible for the destructive German nationalism which developed before the first world war.

Using the popular press as a source, it traces the discursive strategies employed by both the Liberal political elites and by the Catholic-Conservative opposition and notes reader response to these strategies over three decades.

By comparing three regions of traditional Habsburg Austria with differing ethnic mixes, the work demonstrates patterns in the development of distinctive German-national terminology and rhetoric in public usage. It relates changes in popular awareness to different experiences of ethnicity and different political climates. It also establishes that, while the lower-middle class adopted the discourse of ethnic pride, it did not invent that language: its origins are to be found in elite cultural activities, especially those emanating from the German Empire and its dissemination owes much to the tactics of Liberal politicians.

Placing the dialogue about national identity among Germans into a more complete context, the thesis shows it to be but one aspect of a rich and complex social milieu in which German identity was continuously negotiated and nationalist discourse was continually contested.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The primary research for this dissertation was conducted in a single magnificent institution under close to ideal conditions. I am most grateful to the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, its management and staff for their unfailing courtesey and patience, for not laughing at my accent and for almost always finding the newspapers I required. The photography department kindly supplied the illustrations which add to this work.

For assistance in locating and obtaining the secondary sources consulted, I am indebted to the Center for Austrian Studies. Its accelerated publication schedule in recent years, particularly of the bibliography section of the Austrian History Yearbook and the distribution of its working papers have been invaluable. Closer to home, the staff at the interlibrary loan desk of the Elizabeth Dafoe library have not only been efficient and professional but warm and friendly as well.

The financial support which made the research possible at all came from the University of Manitoba in the form of Graduate Fellowships and from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

I am beholden to a great many members of the University of Manitoba faculty for encouragement, inspiration and challenge. To single out some is in no way to diminish the debt to others, but some cannot go without acknowledgement: Professor Fred Stambrook for his wisdom and guidance, his generosity and patience, for boosting my confidence when it lapsed and for letting my work develop its own contours; Professor John Wortley who first encouraged me to think of myself as a scholar; Professor Gustav Beckers whose passion for teaching and enthusiasm for the German language were a constant source of inspiration; Professors Lionel Steiman, Peter Bailey and Tom Nesmith who read parts of this work and made valuable suggestions; Professor Doug Sprague for sharing his vision of History.

I also feel extremely fortunate to have enjoyed the comradeship and exchange of ideas with a particularly supportive group of fellow graduate students. Their friendship and collegiality have made the past few years productive and pleasurable. I particularly owe debts of gratitude to Gundi Petak for her insight and advice from an

Austrian perspective and her patient checking of my German copy, and to Barbara Huber for immeasurable moral and intellectual support whenever it was called for.

During my research stay in Austria I had many opportunities to appreciate warm Viennese hospitality and I sincerely hope that I remembered to express my gratitude frequently enough to the Helfer and Coffey families and to Frau Käthe Krach.

I am truly thankful to my parents and a large circle of wonderful family and friends from whom I have yet to hear a discouraging word. Most of all, to my immediate family, Martin, Lisl, Kristine and Peter, who have adjusted to my undertaking with tolerance, generosity, grace and a sense of humour, I am grateful beyond all words - especially to Peter who took care of his mom through a long Viennese winter.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>page</u>
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THE POLITICAL SITUATION	27
III. THE SETTING - THREE AUSTRIAN REGIONS	46
IV. THE PRESS AS PUBLIC DISCOURSE	78
V. THE PRESS OF SALZBURG	114
VI. THE GERMAN-LANGUAGE PRESS OF RURAL STYRIA	157
VII. THE GRAZ PAPERS	194
VIII. THE ILLUSTRATED PAPERS	235
IX. SATIRICAL JOURNALS	275
X. THE NEWSPAPERS OF VIENNA	313
XI. CONCLUSION	347

<u>Appendix</u>	<u>page</u>
A. APPENDICES	367
BIBLIOGRAPHY	381

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The basis of all national aspirations is a conviction of superior endowment, its purpose is domination. Joseph von Eötvös, 1851.¹

The words of the Hungarian patriot, Eötvös, written in the middle of the nineteenth-century, have an ominous ring to late twentieth-century ears. As this century moves towards a troubled close in Europe, the attention of historians has turned towards the denouement of the previous one. In particular, the final years of the Habsburg monarchy have proven to be a fertile field of study. Scholarly interest is made even more relevant today by the massive changes taking place in the successor states since 1989. The fate of the nineteenth century multi-national empires has appeared to offer lessons which would be applicable to the dilemma in which modern multi-national states are finding themselves.²

¹ Joseph von Eötvös Über die Gleichberechtigung der Nationalitäten in Oesterreich. (Wien: 1851) cited in Emil Brix, Die Umgangssprachen im Altösterreich zwischen Agitation und Assimilation. (Wien-Köln-Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1982) p. 24. This translation and all subsequent ones are by the author unless otherwise attributed.

² Richard L. Rudolph and David F. Good (eds.) Nationalism and Empire: The Habsburg Monarchy and the Soviet Union (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992)

The intent of this study is to examine the concept of the nation from the viewpoint of the dominant German minority. Its objective is to better understand the attitude of Germans towards their own national identity and towards the national identity of fellow citizens of different ethnic origins. The research examines the role which such perceptions of nation played in the daily life of the German Austrian

The political and social problems created by eastern European ethnic diversity have already been studied from a variety of perspectives in disciplines from political science to anthropology and from history to literature, but efforts to explain the behavior of nations always seem to leave something wanting. Scholars still do not really understand the effects of ethnic identity on the day to day functioning of society, nor has the international community been able to develop any useful techniques for coping with nationalism as it emerges anew in the post cold-war world. The problems are so massive, the processes involved so complex that those on the sidelines shrink from involvement and those who are involved resist efforts at analysis. The complicated mix of the political and the psychological, the personal and the public, in the dynamic by which ethnic identity becomes national identity and then becomes a political and social force as nationalism is not explained convincingly by any of the approaches attempted so far.

Some urgency attends this research. The whole world is involved in the problem, one way or another; the formerly communist states are far from alone in witnessing a resurgence of the phenomenon of nationalism as Canadians or Spaniards or Belgians or Malaysians or the British could quickly attest. The stakes could hardly be higher.

The German-speaking lower-middle classes or Mittelstand of the monarchy are particularly appropriate for study because, as a group, historians have tended to blame them for twentieth-century atrocities. For this and other reasons they have not yet been subjected to much serious analysis in the Austrian context, even though the assumption of lower-middle class culpability in Germany itself has come under serious attack over the last two decades, notably by Richard Hamilton and Thomas Childers.³

The non-Germans of the monarchy have dealt with the problems and the triumphs of their own nationalities through several shifts of theoretical orientation.⁴ Likewise, the fate of Vienna's Jews and the wider problem of anti-semitism

³ Richard F. Hamilton, Who Voted For Hitler? (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) p. 462 ff. and Thomas Childers, The Nazi Voter: The Social Foundations of Fascism in Germany (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983) p. 4.

⁴ See the special issue of the Austrian History Yearbook for 1967, pts I and II. Historiography in the successor states was stretching the limits of official Marxism long before 1989, but scholarship from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland etc. should be even more interesting and exciting as the century draws to a close.

have received their share of attention.⁵ German-Austrian historians, however, with a few notable exceptions such as Robert A. Kann, who based his career on the study of the nationalities problem in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and the noted historian of ideas, Friedrich Heer, who is revered in his homeland for his courageous engagement with some of the less savoury aspects of Austrian history, have tended to maintain an embarrassed silence on the question of ethnic relations, preferring the less emotive fields of diplomacy, politics, intellectual or labour history. (It is probably an advantage in this case to belong to none of the ethnic groups which had a place in the Habsburg lands so that the author's own ethnic identity is not a complicating factor.)

This study takes seriously what Edward Said has called:

...our intellectual and interpretive vocation to deal with as much of the evidence as possible, fully and actually, to read what is there or not there, above all to see complementarity and interdependence instead of isolated, venerated or formalized experience that excludes and forbids the hybridizing intrusions of human history.

This investigation avoids, as much as possible, falling into the use of what he refers to as a "rhetoric of blame".⁶

⁵ For just two of the many recent treatments of the topic, see George E. Berkley, Vienna and Its Jews. The Tragedy of Success: 1880s-1890s (Cambridge, MA: Abt Books; Lanham MD: Madison Books, 1988.) and Stephen Beller, Vienna and the Jews, 1867-1938: A Cultural History (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

⁶ Edward W. Said, Culture and Imperialism (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1993) p. 96.

Not only is it the case that the various ethnic groups have had their own historians, but the various social strata have as well. The court, the celebrities, and the intellectuals are all the subjects of numerous studies, scholarly and otherwise.⁷ The working class now commands the attention it so richly earned as one of the best-organized and most successful in Europe.⁸ Social history reached Austria somewhat late but has more than come up to speed.⁹ As yet only the much-maligned Mittelstand has proven relatively resistant to analysis.¹⁰

Cultural historians were originally drawn to the study of the Habsburg fin-de-siècle because they sensed similarities between the cultural upheavals of that period and the youth revolutions of the sixties in Europe and America. Some

⁷ Two recent articles outline the profusion: Steven Beller, "Modern Owls Fly by Night: Recent Literature in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna" in Historical Journal 31 (1988): 665-683; and Michael P. Steinberg, "'Fin-de-Siècle Vienna' Ten Years Later: Viel Traum, Wenig Wirklichkeit" in Austrian History Yearbook vol XXII, 1991: 151-162.

⁸ The most notable historian of the Austrian working class is Helmut Konrad of Karl Franzens University in Graz, who among many others works published, with Wolfgang Maderthaner, Neuere Studien zur Arbeiter Geschichte 3 vols. (Wien: Europaverlag, 1984) but the XXIII volume of the Austrian History Yearbook listed fifty-three entries under "workers and workers' movement" in its index to publications and dissertations in 1992 alone. Some writers have actually been inventive enough to combine treatment of the court with treatment of the working class, notably Ghislaine de Windisch-Graetz Kaiser-adler und rote Nelke. Das Leben der Tochter des Kronprinz Rudolf (2nd ed. Vienna: Amalthea, 1988)

⁹ See footnote 80 below.

¹⁰ The exceptions are discussed in footnote 82 below.

discerned the birth of modernism in the Viennese milieu. Students of German literature, theatre, art and music needed no convincing about the vitality and the originality of Austrian cultural life, but for some observers it was unavoidable to note the jarring dissonance between the elegant and attractive elite culture of nineteenth-century Vienna and the pictures of intolerance and hatred which emerged in 1918, and deepened in 1938. Something obviously needed more explanation.

It is not that historians have not tried. The most eminent political historian of the Habsburg empire is Robert A. Kann. Writing from a perspective after the darkest days in Austrian history, he came down very hard on his fellow Germans.¹¹ He saw the triumph of irrationality and nationalism over the Liberal centralism of the Habsburg bureaucracy. Kann was far from alone in his perspective. But how did this picture correspond to the one of poets, painters, novelists, musicians, philosophers and scientists setting standards for artistic and intellectual achievement recognized the world over? Was there a possible relationship between the political irresponsibility and the creative productivity of the society? Carl E. Schorske in his path-breaking work posited the thesis that there was a psychological basis for the upheaval in the privileged

¹¹ Robert A. Kann, A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974)

strata of Austrian society. A generational conflict between the driving and successful but materialistic and insensitive first generation of the early Liberal establishment and its much more cultured and spiritual sons unleashed the wellspring of creativity and cultural change which we all know as the fin-de-siècle. In Schorske's view this was similar to the American experience of the sixties.¹² Generational conflict, however, can be found in every generation. In his work on the relationship between culture and politics, William McGrath has shown the precise links between the intellectual and artistic ideas of a particular group of liberal university students and their political careers. The "Dionysian" ideas espoused by students following Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Wagner influenced both their doctrines and their tactics in the political realm. This younger generation, the sons of wealthy upper-middle class fathers, came to dominate the monarchy's political life well before the end of the century.¹³ Pieter Judson has built on McGrath's work and gone on to document the involvement of these same groups in the activities of the many associations (Vereine) which were the seedbeds of liberal political and intellectual activity. He shows how these clubs became vehicles for the transmission of German

¹² Karl E. Schorske Politics and Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980)

¹³ William J. McGrath Dionysian Art and Populist Politics In Austria (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974)

nationalist ideology to a broader public as a part of their political agenda.¹⁴ In this he is pursuing a more analytical process than that used by the many writers on the period who explain away the contradictions between the wonderful creative culture and political chaos. They tend to see the world of art as an escape; culture was created in a flight from the political arena which had become uncomfortable.¹⁵ Under examination, the class bias inherent in this picture of charming and innocent intellectuals stranded in an unworthy environment becomes evident.

This study extends the analytical framework beyond Judson's and examines how this shift from rational, laissez-faire liberalism to activist, irrational nationalism among the liberal elites was reflected in the very public discourse of the press, and shows how, over time, nationalism extended from upper-middle to lower-middle class consciousness. The analysis traces the changes in the political and cultural climate through the mirror of mass communications. The nation is, after all, a cultural as well as a political construct and the media provide the locus at which the two interface. Thus it is the mass media, in this case the press, which provide the appropriate vehicles for analyzing those developments.

¹⁴ Pieter Moulton Judson, "German Liberalism in Nineteenth Century Austria: Clubs, Parties and the Rise of Bourgeois Politics" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1987)

¹⁵ See the discussion on p. 30 below.

It is precisely in the difference alluded to between upper- and lower-middle class sensibilities that the apparent contradictions between Austrian cultural and political behavior have previously been located. But we have to question this assessment. It is typical of the history of the German empire to identify the shopkeepers, artisans, school teachers, priests and petty bureaucrats of the Mittelstand and, in effect, to associate them and their values with excessive German nationalism.¹⁶

It is not entirely surprising that such attitudes have migrated easily into the Austrian context. Intellectuals generally find it much easier to be critical of the behavior and the values of shopkeepers and artisans than to attribute evil to the elite intellectual and artistic individuals with whom they prefer to identify. Until relatively recently the practitioners of cultural history and literary criticism had not explored the means for dealing in a systematic way with the culture of non-elite groups. Particularly in Austria the history of the Mittelstand has been written, when at

¹⁶ See, for example, Celia Applegate, "Localism and the German Bourgeoisie" in David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans, (eds.), The German Bourgeoisie (London and New York: Routledge, 1991) p. 246, Mack Walker, German Home Towns: Community, State and General Estate 1648-1871 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), pp. 247-249, Shulamit Volkov, The Rise of Popular Anti-Modernism in Germany (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), Robert Gellately, The Politics of Economic Despair: Shopkeepers and German Politics 1890 to 1914 (London and Beverley Hills: Sage Publications, 1974) and Hamilton, Who Voted who outlines the stubborn persistence of the assumption on p. 5.

all, from a political or economic point of view. Social and cultural perspectives, however, are now gaining in credence there. Some of the newer theoretical directions have informed what is at its core a relatively traditional textual analysis in this study.

Theoretical Perspectives

A particular area in which cultural studies has been very active is in the study of the media. The press of Habsburg Austria, however, in spite of the universally high regard in which some of the papers have been held and the abundance of examples, remains only marginally exploited. Perhaps the very richness of the cultural diet of the period has distracted historians from the more mundane fare of the newspaper. After all, there is no shortage of publications on the elite culture while a mere one or two attempt to discuss the reading material of a broader public.¹⁷ As chapter four explores, the monarchy experienced an enormous increase in periodical publication and readership. A leading characteristic of the newspapers was the mass character of their distribution. All of the papers were available to lower-middle class or even working-class readers. Even those who could not afford to buy a daily

¹⁷ In this regard, see Marina Tichy, Alltag und Traum: Leben und Lecture der Wiener Dienstmädchen um die Jahrhundertwende (Wien: Böhlau, 1984) and Kurt Paupié Handbuch der Österreichischen Pressegeschichte 1848-1959 2 vols. (Wien und Stuttgart: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1960 and 1966)

paper could read one at their favourite coffee-house, tavern or parish hall. The socialist party established reading-rooms as one of its first priorities. Many publications specifically targeted lower-middle class professions and occupations. Throughout this study attention is drawn to the class orientation of the newspapers surveyed.

A cardinal problem for conventional historians has been the attempt to reconcile the different versions of reality to be found in objective data and the perceptions of contemporaries and following generations. The work of economic historian David Good, for example, has shown that commonly held perceptions about the economic relationship between the two halves of the Habsburg monarchy were seriously flawed.¹⁸ In the history of Germany, there are even more examples. Gerald Feldman has looked at both economic and literary sources and found that posterity's view of the inter-war inflation in Germany is highly biased, often inaccurate, but nevertheless entirely entrenched in public consciousness.¹⁹ Hamilton's work on the 1932 German parliamentary elections debunks the myth that the lower-middle classes flocked to support the National

¹⁸ David F. Good The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1750 - 1914 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984)

¹⁹ Gerald D. Feldman, "Weimar Culture and the German Inflation" in Gisela Brude-Firnau and Karin J. McHardy Fact and Fiction: German History and Literature (Tübingen: Francke, 1990) pp. 173-183.

Socialists in disproportionate numbers, but in spite of excellent data and analysis he has not been overwhelmed with popular acceptance.²⁰ But there are pitfalls in the assumption that there exist clear-cut differences between contemporary perceptions and an objective "reality" which we as historians can understand, just as there are intellectual problems in theorizing on the role of deception in the media. Conspiracy theories are not usually defensible history. Furthermore it requires unbridled arrogance to suggest from the ivory tower that people do not understand their own situation or do not have valid reasons for making the choices they make. Practitioners in the field of Cultural Studies, particularly those in Britain, have tried to grapple with this dilemma in a much more systematic way than historians have, but their approach remains tentative. The complex and bi-lateral relationship between the media and the audience, as well as the pressing question of just whose voice the media uses is discussed sensitively in the work of John Tomlinson.²¹

Language itself is an especially appropriate vehicle for an examination of the culture of late Imperial Austria. An impression which grows on the historian of Austrian culture is that a serious concern for the accuracy of language

²⁰ Hamilton Who Voted?

²¹ John Tomlinson, Cultural Imperialism: a Critical Introduction (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991)

permeated intellectual circles around the first World War. The well-known journalist Karl Kraus, the poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal and the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein are only three of the Viennese whose concerns have been mirrored in later twentieth-century critical theory.²² There is little doubt that they were grappling with concepts similar to those expressed by such French theorists as Roland Barthes²³ and Michel Foucault.²⁴ Austrian intellectuals, struck with the hopelessness of their political environment, reached similar conclusions to the French ones - that language can be a tool for the exercise of power, that it can manipulate, conceal, invent and distort. Language can contain encoded meanings, can convey mythology and ideology and probably conforms to a narrative structure of which even the author may be unconscious. Like historians, literary

²² Works on the topic by Karl Kraus include; Beim Wort Genommen (München: Körel Verlag, 1955); Literatur und Lüge (München: Körel Verlag, 1958); Sittlichkeit und Kriminalität (München, Körel Verlag, 1970); Die Sprache (München, Körel Verlag, 1954) and No Compromise: Selected Writings, Edited and introduction by Frederick Unger (New York: Frederick Unger, 1977); the best description of Wittgenstein's philosophy in its historical context is to be found in Alan Jankik and Stephen Toulmin, Wittgenstein's Vienna, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973) while Hofmannsthal is widely believed to have been expressing a personal crisis in his letter of Lord Chandos, "Ein Brief" first published in 1902. The text is to be found in the volume Prosa II of his collected works, Ausgabe von Herbert Steiner. (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fisher Verlag, 1954) pp. 7-22.

²³ Roland Barthes, Mythologies (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1957)

²⁴ Michel Foucault History of Sexuality translated by Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978)

critics in all languages have always known this, even if they expressed such ideas in different terms and somewhat more hesitantly. Historians have traditionally been open to nuance and connotation in the texts they analyzed. The debt owed by historians to literary critics is a significant one but need not extend to an appropriation of their current discourse. We ought to remind ourselves constantly that sources may be ambiguous; we do not need to be reminded by others that nothing can be taken entirely at face value. That every text represents a point of view is something which historians, at least, are accustomed to recognizing.

As much as possible, the objective in this work is to express ideas in a vocabulary which is clear and accessible. Any idea clearly understood can be clearly stated and the use of specialist idiom often serves only to restrict the readership and screen out the un-initiated. This can be seen in itself as an example of the use of language to exercise power over others and is avoided in this study as much as academic practice will permit.²⁵ In the following chapters, where specific terms such as "codes" are used in the analytical process, they are restricted to the sense in

²⁵ The reader will have to keep in mind, however, that this text, as much as any other, contains subtexts which are consciously or unconsciously embedded by its author to meet particular, if unannounced, purposes. In a doctoral dissertation there exist conventions and usages which are compulsory; and there are expectations that the candidate will exhibit a mastery of the literature and the terminology of the discipline which can be ignored only at his or her own peril.

which they have already entered the public domain of the media and conversation. More technical usage is usually rather imprecise, either highly idiosyncratic or so general that it reduces rather than enhances accuracy of expression.

In this connection, it is important to remember that even when it has a particular technical usage, a term will be accompanied by a host of associations and connotations which may mean different things to every reader. The terms used in this study are no exception and are subject to an initial qualification or two. The term "culture" itself is, according to Raymond Williams, "one of the two or three most complicated words in the English Language".²⁶ His explanation of its background and uses in Keywords runs to six pages in length. In this work, except when modified by by adjectives such as "elite" or "high" or in contexts which establish its meaning as relating to artistic and creative activities, it carries the more anthropological meaning which it has in phrases such as "cultural studies" or "lower-class culture". Culture is viewed as everyday social interaction in this work.

There is, in the discourse about the Habsburg monarchy, a difference between the terms used for particular provinces and the ethnic groups most often associated with them. The difference can be very confusing to modern readers. While

²⁶ Raymond Williams, Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976) p. 76

the identity of the provinces derived from their status as independent kingdoms, duchies or principalities prior to the Habsburg consolidation of power in 1526, the ethnic or national identities of their peoples developed much later, in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and the borders were not co-terminous. Czech, Slovak, Slovene and Magyar always refer to ethnic identities while the names Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary refer to the provincial territory or its administration.²⁷

Any attempt to grapple with the concept of the "nation" is fraught with difficulty. The researcher has both an academic history and common currency with which to contend. The standard political definition of a nation refers to a group of people possessing in common some of the following: language, religion, racial heritage, tradition, roots in antiquity, and a defined territory.²⁸ The most useful concept encountered recently, however, is that proposed by

²⁷ The distinction was pointed out succinctly to the author by Jaksch Siegler of Speyer.

²⁸ Although the discussion has roots which go back to Herder by common consent, there is a rich post-war literature on the subject ranging from Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism (New York: Macmillan, 1944) through F. Stambrook, European Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century (London: F. Warne, 1969) to Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), the important contribution of Miroslav Hroch Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) and, more recently, Eric Hobsbawm, who reviews the state of the literature up until the fall of the Berlin wall in Nations and Nationalism since 1870: Programme, Myth, Reality (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Benedict Anderson who sees nations as "imagined communities". These communities are imagined in two senses; that any nation has a real existence only in the imaginations of its members and that all nations are arguably to some extent consciously invented. One need not accept all of Anderson's sophisticated argument that the nation owes its invention to international capitalism in order to appreciate the very valid contributions his book has made to the concept itself. His discussion is particularly valuable where he links the nation to the development of print languages from vernaculars and to the needs of the bureaucratic structures of dominant societies. Novels and newspapers, he says, shape the nation. The functions of the census, the map and the museum in the creation of nationality had been underestimated before Anderson demonstrated their crucial role in the creation of a discourse. The census counts and classifies people, forcing them to identify themselves, the map imprints those distinctive coloured shapes on sheets of paper with which they become emotionally involved, and the museum reifies that rootedness in antiquity which justifies all of the absurdities perpetrated in a nation's name.²⁹

²⁹ Benedict Anderson Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (revised edition London: Verso, 1991. first published 1983)

Marxists, however, with their materialistic orientation, tend to take a very rational view of national identity and cannot seem to come to terms with its more spiritual and emotional dimensions. Neither Hobsbawn nor Anderson appears to appreciate the extent to which nationality is a personal, intimate and voluntary matter. While there is definitely less to nationality than the blind and intractable hatred of one group for another with which we are so often presented by media news analysts or the eternal community of various national propagandists, there is also much more to it than a cynical construct created by political elites for their own purposes. As Homi K. Bhabha has recognized, there is an "impasse between the shreds and patches of cultural signification and the certainties of nationalist pedagogy".³⁰ Indeed it is the literary profession which has produced the most perceptive descriptions of the nation; these descriptions make up for their lack of social-science precision with insight and sensitivity, recognize the ambiguous and tentative aspects of ethnic identity and touch upon the very experience of nationality. "The nation is", according to Bhabha, who is himself living the cross-national experience,

a form of living that is more complex than "community"; more symbolic than "society"; more connotative than "country"; less patriotic than "patrie"; more rhetorical than the reason of

³⁰ Homi K. Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation" in Homi K. Bhabha (ed.) Nation and Narration (London and New York: Routledge, 1990) p. 294

state; more mythological than "ideology"; less homogeneous than "hegemony"; less centred than the citizen; more collective than "the subject"; more psychic than civility; more hybrid in the articulation of cultural differences and identifications - gender, race or class - than can be represented in any hierarchical or binary structuring of social antagonism.³¹

To add to the complexity one more degree, there is the almost-interchangeable word "ethnic". Almost but not quite. Everything about Bhabha's description above of the "nation" could also apply to the term "ethnic"; but common usage tends to reserve the latter term for the more cultural and personal uses while the former is used for political contexts. This useful distinction is adhered to in these pages.

The last of the terms which requires some definition is the word "discourse". Its use here is as unadorned as possible. Discourse refers to the characteristic language, in the broad sense which includes structures and institutions and non-verbal conventions, of a specific historical situation. The time, the place and the function of the environment are reflected in the vocabulary used. Doctors, lawyers, and academics, for example, all distinguish their colleagues from their clients by the use of a distinct vocabulary. Thus we can refer to the discourse of the hospital or the court or the academy or to the discourse of the press of a particular era.

³¹ Bhabha, "DissemiNation", p. 292

The Search for Sources

A liberal sampling of the veritable wealth of literature, theatre, art and music of the period, however, only proved that such attitudes could be more than successfully ignored and hidden. Slavs of all nations, for example, were equally invisible whether on stage or on the printed page. Nor was ethnicity any more visible or German identity more explicit in the autobiographies of working and rural Austrians.³² There are many good reasons why this anonymity might be the case, of course. Furthermore, literary works were representative of the life-style of a small elite and one questions to what extent they spoke to the daily experience of the Mittelstand. An attempt to look at popular rather than elite culture led to the consideration of newspapers as sources for the language of a wider public. The choice was propitious because there is an excellent collection of publications housed in the Austrian National Library (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek). Virtually every issue of every periodical published in the entire empire was deposited there and the collections remain almost complete and in excellent condition.

Newspapers and novels, claims Benedict Anderson, are fundamental to the development of national consciousness. If so, they are crucial to the understanding of the

³² See the series of biographies edited by Michael Mitterauer entitled Damit es nicht verloren geht (Wien; Böhlau, 1983 ff.)

phenomenon and an invaluable source for the historian. The newspaper was the first mass communication medium. As such it had specific characteristics which are discussed in chapter four, including many features which more properly belong in the category of entertainment than information or news and which served some of the same functions that other media have taken over today. The newspapers published in the Habsburg monarchy can be read and subjected to analysis in the light of recent media studies.³³ Even a highly structured and officially censored medium, as the Austrian press surely was, still constituted a channel for ideas and interpretations; the one really common experience of its many readers. No reading of this material can properly ignore the constraints under which it was produced, but neither can it neglect to take into account the individual readings, invested with their own experience, of its audience. Media communication is rightly seen by some of the analysts mentioned above more as conversation between producer and consumer than either as simple transmission of information and ideas or as representation of "public opinion". Newspaper readers of any time and place are not passive vessels but active participants in their own education; they choose what to read and what to believe out

³³ The number of these is now legion. They range from Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961) through Steven L. Kaplan Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century (1984); to Tomlinson, Cultural Imperialism

of all that they have read. Newspapers rely upon the continued approval and loyalty of readers for their survival, while readers connect themselves to their community selectively through the choices in reading material which they make on a day by day basis.

Research Design

The planning for this project involved some practical considerations. As it was not possible to read all of the newspapers produced in the Habsburg monarchy in a quarter century, choice and selection had to be exercised. It was decided to adapt the sampling techniques of social scientists and political pollsters³⁴ to my own requirements and to distribute the samples to be studied on both a chronological and a geographical basis. Both decisions involved a complex rationale.

The decision to study the period between the Compromise agreement with Hungary (Ausgleich) and the first world war was made because that seemed to be the period in which tensions between Germans and Slavs developed and became destructive. Since the compromise itself apparently did

³⁴ Some relevant studies include: Ruth Thibodeau, "Blacks in New Yorker Cartoons.", in Public Opinion Quarterly. vol. 53 no. 4 (1989): 482-494; R. Humphrey and Howard Schuman, "The Portrayal of blacks in Magazine Advertisements 1950-1982" in Public Opinion Quarterly. vol. 48 no. 3 (1984): 551-563 and Lee Benson, "An approach to the Scientific Study of Past Public Opinion." in Public Opinion Quarterly. vol.31 no.4 (1967): 522-567.

nothing to advance harmony between the nations which were not a party to it, and even caused resentment and increased tension, it seemed reasonable to choose the decennial anniversaries of the agreement, the years in which it was being renegotiated, as the years to sample. Furthermore, the interval of a decade was ideal in that it allowed time for the language used in the press to change sufficiently so that an outsider to the society would be able to perceive the differences. As it happens, the third decennial anniversary of the Ausgleich, 1897, also marks a significant turning point in the political history of the monarchy, one directly related to ethnic tension. It ushers in the period leading up to the war when the political system was no longer capable of evolving positively. The onset of political paralysis provided a logical point at which to conclude the analysis. Thus the years 1877, 1887 and 1897 were chosen for sampling. The appropriateness of the choice is confirmed when those dates are fitted into the political landscape. As chapter two makes clear, the years fall neatly into the three distinct political climates through which the monarchy travelled in that period: Liberal hegemony, the Conservative "Iron Ring", and bureaucratic authoritarianism.

In order to avoid skewing results on the basis of attitudes which were peculiar to one region of the monarchy or another, geographical distribution of the samples became a

necessity. For if the twentieth-century history of Austria has shown anything, it is the profound differences between its rural and its urban cultures. Therefore, Vienna was only one of the areas to be studied. It was balanced by the use of newspapers from the provinces of Salzburg and Styria, provinces chosen for their differences from each other as well as their differences from Vienna. Chapter three deals with the characteristics of the three areas in some detail. Salzburg, a small, very Catholic province on the border with Germany was virtually unilingual while Styria lay square across the linguistic frontier between German and Slovene speakers. These choices made it possible to compare the press on the basis not only of rural, urban and metropolitan differences but also on the basis of different experiences of ethnicity. While Styrians faced neighbours of Slovene background on a daily basis, they were more intimate and interdependent in the rural areas than in Graz; while the Viennese coped with multiple ethnic identities, the citizens of Salzburg faced real diversity only in the newspapers.

The very concept of "mass" media suggests that the distribution of newspapers was not limited to elites, especially in those provinces which had, if sometimes only in theory, close to universal literacy. Every attempt has been made in the selection of the individual newspapers for this study to make sure that the particular groups which comprised the Mittelstand were among the readers. In the

provinces, where the selection of newspapers was not as great and the number of the socially elite was limited, this was not a problem. Care was taken to round out the selection of daily papers with the journals of the clergy and the teachers. In Vienna, on the other hand, the abundant selection of papers and the concentration of the empire's press in the capital made the question of which papers could be considered lower-middle class vehicles somewhat more complicated. On the whole, where a paper was clearly the voice of upper-middle class concerns, though not exclusively limited to elites in its readership, the bias has been noted and used as a basis for comparison.

The second, third and fourth chapters of this work provide a framework for the data in the remainder of the work. The following three chapters focus on the newspapers in the provinces of Salzburg and Styria. The penultimate three chapters of the dissertation examine the newspapers of Vienna. A single chapter deals with each of the capital's distinct periodical genres; the newspapers, the satirical journals and the illustrated papers.

It is almost a tradition among historians of fin-de-siècle Austria to embellish their scholarship with a tribute to the novelist Robert Musil. This is a thoroughly appropriate convention which has proven impossible to abandon. No writer has ever captured the delicate

inter-relationship between private life and public influence on attitudes towards ethnicity more deftly than Musil when he wrote:

Klementine Fischel came from an old civil service family...she had married Leo for two reasons: first of all because the families of high civil servants sometimes have more children than means, but secondly, too, out of romanticism....and in the nineteenth century a cultivated person did not judge another person's value according to whether he was a Jew or a Catholic - indeed, as things were then she practically felt there was something particularly cultivated in disregarding the crude anti-semitic prejudice of the common people.

Later the poor woman found a spirit of nationalism welling up all over Europe, and with it a surge of hostility to Jews, which transformed her husband, so to speak in her arms, from a respected liberalist into a member of a destructively analytical-minded alien race. At first she had rebelled against this with all the wrath of a 'great heart'; but with the passing of the years she was worn down by the naively cruel and continually extending hostility and intimidated by the general prejudice. Indeed, it was even bound to happen that...she came to explain many things that wounded her by assuming, with a shrug of the shoulders, that Leo's character was after all alien to her own, even if, where outsiders were concerned, she would never yield an inch of the principles of her youth.³⁵

³⁵ Robert Musil The Man Without Qualities vol.1, translated by Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser (London: Pan Books, Picador Classics, 1988) first published 1930 pp.239 & 240.

Chapter II

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The ethnic attitudes and sentiments which are the subject of this study did not arise in a vacuum. Such ideas develop in a specific historical context, a political, social and cultural environment. They are contingent upon the particular situation, with all of its complexity and ambiguities, in which individuals and groups find themselves. It is therefore important to establish some of the contours of that cultural context before proceeding to examine its content. The very unique environment of late Imperial Austria has been the subject of not inconsiderable attention, indeed of a certain amount of controversy over the last few years, as described in the introduction, and is relatively familiar territory to historians in the field. What follows is therefore only an outline of the more relevant features of the cultural and political landscape in which ethnic attitudes developed and nationalist ideas gained credence. It does not attempt to trace the influence or probe the content of intellectual currents such as Josephinism, or romanticism, or the philosophies of Kant and Fichte, to say nothing of the legacy of the sensuous and anti-rational Baroque culture of the counter-reformation, as

important as they may have been to the formation of the mind-set of the period. These have all been well examined elsewhere.³⁶

The reign of the Emperor Franz Josef I (1848 - 1916) began in the political turmoil of the revolutionary year 1848. It was not the first occasion on which the various nations of the multi-national Empire had come into conflict, but it was uniquely significant. In the first place the revolution threw the legitimacy of the entire political and social order into question not only in Austria, but all over Europe.³⁷ In the second place the first real challenge to ethnic German hegemony in the monarchy was posed by the independent stands of the Czechs and Hungarians. The gruesome effectiveness of the Croatian military forces in support of the dynasty did nothing to reassure the Germans either. To some extent the true nature of the threat was papered over by the common Liberal aims of the revolutionaries and it was buried under the neo-absolutist regime which followed; but it foreshadowed stands to come.

³⁶ See, for example, the excellent work by Albert Fuchs, Geistige Strömungen in Österreich 1867-1918 (Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 1984) first published Vienna: 1949, for the nineteenth century intellectual influences; R.J.W. Evans, The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550-1700 (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1979) for the foundations of Baroque cultural hegemony under the Habsburgs; and Wm. Johnston, The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972)

³⁷ for a general treatment of the revolutions, see Peter N. Stearns 1848: The Revolutionary Tide in Europe (New York and London: Norton 1974)

The extent of the challenge to the established order of the house of Habsburg took quite a long time to sink in; but as the young Emperor's domains were chipped away by the French and Italians in 1859 and 1860 and when the Empire's prestige was shattered by the Prussian victory at Koniggrätz in 1866, the handwriting began to be legible on the wall. 1866 was, for Austria, not just another quarrel among fellow Germans nor was it just another in the long string of conflicts with Prussia dating to the accession to the Habsburg possessions by Maria Theresa (1740-1780) and to the throne of Prussia by Frederick II (1740-1786).³⁸ The defeat was the decisive and final exclusion from that greater German nation for which Austria had provided the Emperor and the court for centuries. Where they had once been the leading citizens of the German Empire in its various incarnations whether as the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation or as the German Confederacy, the Germans of Austria became outsiders. Not only that, as it gradually dawned on them, they had become a minority at home. The impact on Austria's cultural and political life was enormous, even though it took some time to make itself felt. Contemporaries such as Friedjung said as much at the time.³⁹ Viennese intellectuals such as Ernst Mach were prone to

³⁸ Kann, History p. 96.

³⁹ For a description of the effect of 1866 by a contemporary, see Heinrich Friedjung The Struggle for Supremacy in Germany 1859-1866 trans. A.J.P. Taylor and W. L. McElwee, first published Vienna: 1897 (London: McMillan and Co., 1935) pp. 302-307.

reflect on its effect in retrospect during the uncertain final years of the monarchy, connecting the over-compensation on culture which followed to the fallout from 1866. At dinner with author Hermann Bahr in 1908, Mach described his generation as "a sort of transitional species not yet divorced from yesterday." He saw them "connected with Austria's ejection from Germany," and felt that "1866 was...the beginning of a completely new Austrian incarnation, with tragically determined characteristics spiritually and artistically. Thrown out of an historically connected whole, they fled into a land that was untouchable, into the motherland of poetry and art untouched by reality."⁴⁰

The body blow to German egos in Austria of 1866 was followed by an even harder one, if Friedjung is to be believed.⁴¹ The Hungarians had never been ones to let slip an opportunity to increase their independence from Austria. In 1867, faced with the threat of Hungarian separation, the monarchy felt forced to agree to a compromise constitution which gave the Hungarians virtually complete autonomy in half of the Empire and a veto on further constitutional change. From the signing of the compromise with Hungary (Ausgleich), along with all of the other non-Magyar

⁴⁰ Quoted from Berta Zuckerkandl, Österreich Intim: Erinnerungen 1892-1942 (Frankfurt/Main-Berlin-Wien: 1970) in Andics, Luegerzeit p. 132

⁴¹ see Heinrich Friedjung Der Ausgleich mit Ungarn (Leipzig: Verlag von Otto Wigand, 1877) p. 4.

nationalities, the Germans in the Hungarian half of the monarchy were subjected to intense pressure to assimilate to Magyar culture.⁴² Magyarization was not a problem for the Germans in the western half of the monarchy, which became known as Cisleithania because the Leitha river was the traditional border between Austria and Hungary, but their national identity was. Not only had they become a minority at home, but their country did not even have a name anymore. In the new constitution it was known by the awkward designation of, "Die im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreiche und Länder" (the kingdoms and lands represented in the Parliament).⁴³ The financial arrangements of the two halves of the monarchy had to be renegotiated at ten-year intervals, and these occasions became further painful reminders of German vulnerability.

⁴² see Friedrich Gottas, "Die Deutschen in Ungarn", in Wandruszka, Adam and Peter Urbanitsch, Die Habsburger Monarchie 1848-1918 vol.III pt. 2 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1980) p. 393 and passim

⁴³ Robert Musil described the situation with his characteristic insight: "The Austrian sense of nationhood actually became homeless. The Austrian himself was only to be found in Hungary, and there as an object of dislike....the mysteries of this dualism (such is the technical expression) are at least as difficult to understand as those of the trinity." Man without Qualities p. 199. For use of the term "Austria" see also Robert A. Kann, The Multinational Empire, Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848-1918 vol I (New York: Octagon Books 1964) pp.3, 17, and 27-28.

At the same time, reaction to the failures of neo-absolutism and Conservative governments had resulted in the installation of a Liberal, constitutional government by the Emperor in December of 1867.⁴⁴ With the new Bürgerministerium (middle-class ministry), Liberalism was established from above with a vengeance and the Ringstrasse (ring road) era with its unabashed capitalist ethos had arrived. These enlightened, laissez-faire Liberals brought Austria its belated Gründerzeit (take-off period) with all of the social strains and stresses which rapid industrialization entails. They financed the building boom, wrenched the control of the school system from the church in 1869, made education compulsory and free, gave copious lip-service to progress and the rule of law, and even allowed the formation of trade unions in 1870.⁴⁵ Kann, the pre-eminent political historian of the period writing in English, calls them the real state party of Austria from 1867 to 1879.⁴⁶ They represented the industrialists and the financiers, the chambers of commerce, professionals and the upper levels of the bureaucracy, in general the upper-middle class educated elite strata of society. If their laissez-faire philosophy actually represented a forward step in the context of Austrian society which was still dominated

⁴⁴ Kann, History p.335.

⁴⁵ Barbara Jelavich Modern Austria, Empire and Republic 1815-1986 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) p. 84.

⁴⁶ Kann, History p. 347

by an hereditary aristocracy, their arrogance and intransigence were an effective counter-balance. Their fatal flaws were total oblivion to social problems and contempt for small trades, artisans and agriculture.

The political, if not the philosophical domination of the Liberals was relatively short-lived. Badly shaken in position and prestige by the stock market crash of 1873, they lost political power for good at the parliamentary level with the formation of the Taaffe regime in 1879.⁴⁷ And, with the election in Vienna of the Christian Social party under Karl Lueger, they lost power at the local level as well in 1895.⁴⁸ They continued to dominate the economic scene for the remainder of the century and exercised a decisive influence on an entire culture, but they had lost the crucial grip on the formation of policy. Contemporaries began to speak of a "crisis of Liberalism".⁴⁹

In the decade after the compromise, Liberal promise was never able to live up to domestic expectations and fading Austrian prestige became a salient feature of parliamentary

⁴⁷ Kann, History p.361. For a thorough and generally sympathetic account of the Taaffe regime see Wm. A. Jenks, Austria Under the Iron Ring 1879-1893. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965)

⁴⁸ Boyer, John W. Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna (Chicago and London: 1981) chapter 6, and Andics, Luegerzeit p. 196.

⁴⁹ Pieter Judson, "'Whether Race or Conviction should be the standard': National Identity and Liberal Politics in 19th Century Austria" in Austrian History Yearbook vol XXII, 1991 pp. 76-95.

political life. The Hungarian example was not lost on the other nationalities which comprised the newly-named dual monarchy. The Poles were granted effective control of Galicia in 1867 to 1869, effectively buying them off, and a serious attempt was then made in 1871 to introduce a compromise arrangement with the most vocal of the Slavic nations, the Czechs.⁵⁰ The government's good intentions came to nought, thanks to the opposition of the Hungarians, who were not anxious to share their good fortune, and to the muscle-flexing of the newly-formed German empire. The predictable result was the radicalization of the Czech political scene and an increase in Slavic self-consciousness throughout the monarchy.⁵¹ Another failed attempt to bring peace to Bohemia by Taaffe in 1890 only succeeded in exacerbating an already tense relationship between Czechs and Germans there, and by extension throughout the monarchy.⁵²

On the international scene the country was preoccupied with the disintegration of the Turkish Empire on its southern border. Rebellious Serbs took on their overlords in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1875, and by 1877, Russia and Turkey were at war.⁵³ While Austria found it impossible to

⁵⁰ Kann, History p. 358-360.

⁵¹ Kann, History pp. 349 & 358-360 and Jelavich Modern Austria p. 93.

⁵² Jenks Iron Ring ch. 13.

⁵³ Kann, History p. 279.

extend a great deal of sympathy towards her traditional enemies, the Turks, she also could derive no satisfaction from the independence of Serbia due to the efforts of a pan-Slavic movement supported by Russia. Such foreign policy anxieties were compounded by the complexities of the relationship with Germany, a delicate balancing act not made any the easier for Austria by the military triumphs of Bismarck in 1870 and the formation of the German Empire in the following year.

Direct parliamentary elections had been introduced by the government in 1873 in place of the traditional dietal delegations, but Liberal goodwill extended only so far. The franchise was restricted to those paying over ten Gulden per year in direct taxes, and the voters were divided into curias which ensured that large landowners, chambers of commerce and the representatives of towns and rural communities could continue to control parliament's lower house through assured blocks of seats. Only 6% of the adult male population was eligible to exercise the vote.⁵⁴ By the first decennial review of the compromise in 1877, both the Liberal government and its Conservative opposition were falling in prestige and acute dissatisfaction was surfacing among the educated elites.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Kann, History p. 357, and Jelavich, Modern Austria p. 83.

⁵⁵ See especially, Friedjung, Ausgleich This work was published outside of the monarchy and therefore was able to avoid censorship of its expression of the frustration and humiliation felt by the younger generation of German

In 1878, foreign policy considerations helped to bring down the Liberal ministry of Prince Adolph Auersperg who was reluctant to occupy the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina and thus increase the Slavic population of the monarchy.⁵⁶ Such national exclusiveness was typical of the Liberal mentality of the day which prided itself on rationality. In stark contrast was the Conservative idea that more territory amounted to more power and prestige for the dynasty. Nationality was an important issue for the Liberals, who had not really come to terms with their divorce from the greater German community, but the dynasty had always set great store by its cosmopolitanism. The Emperor himself genuinely wished to "try in a limited way to gratify the desires of the non-Germans in Austria."⁵⁷ The coalition of Clerical-Conservative Germans and landowning Slavic delegates which was put together after new elections in 1879 by the close confidant of the Emperor, Count Eduard Taaffe, was to rule Austria for almost 14 years. It became known as the "iron ring." In the same year, the dual alliance binding Austria to Germany was concluded.⁵⁸

intellectuals. Its author did not escape official wrath unscathed, however, and was dismissed from his university teaching position in 1879. See A.J.P. Taylor, introduction to Friedjung, Struggle and Jenks, Iron Ring p. 141.

⁵⁶ Kann, History p. 361.

⁵⁷ Jenks Iron Ring p. 69.

⁵⁸ Kann, History p. 361.

By the beginning of the 1880's, both Czech radicalism and German nationalism had begun to make themselves felt, beginning in Bohemia but soon spreading throughout the western half of the monarchy. The Slovenes in the southern provinces took up the Czech cause in their own interest and subsequently enjoyed Czech support for their demands. In Vienna, culturally-based German nationalism grew among university and young professional circles. In 1882, the Linz Program was developed by one group of such influential young Viennese nationalists. The group included Georg von Schönerer, Viktor Adler, Engelbert Pernerstorfer, the writer Robert Pattai and the historian Heinrich Friedjung. The first four of these men were to have significant political careers within the decade, Schönerer as a radical Pan-German, Adler and Pernerstorfer as Social Democrats, and Pattai as a Christian Socialist. Friedjung was the eminent historian referred to above who expressed the feelings of the group and his generation so eloquently.⁵⁹ The program itself called for the unity of the German-speaking lands of the monarchy, the supremacy of the German language, the reduction of ties with Hungary to the purely dynastic, the establishment of the alliance with Germany in the constitution, and the abandonment of mainly Slavic areas.⁶⁰ In the following year, 1883, some of the same students were

⁵⁹ Kann, History p. 433. For more on the Pernerstorfer Circle, see McGrath, Dionysian Art.

⁶⁰ Kann History p. 433.

involved in organizing nationalist demonstrations to mark the death of Richard Wagner at a ceremony which degenerated from a memorial service to something close to street riots after police intervention.⁶¹ In Bohemia, the Czech delegates were finally in control of the provincial Diet, to the chagrin of the Bohemian Germans, and in Styria the small town newspaper, the Cillier Zeitung (Cilli Local News), took a new name, the Deutsche Wacht (German Watch).

Liberal ideas now faced determined opposition not only from aristocratic opponents, who with the hierarchy of the church formed the clerical-conservative political club, but from the small business community and from the more socially aware elements of the church as well. The lower-middle class artisans and tradesmen had taken part in the revolution of 1848 and were far from unaffected by the political climate, but they had less leisure time in which to contemplate it than the student sons of well-to-do fathers. The economic and social effects of the rapid industrialization and the stock market crash, however, meant their bread and butter. This was the constituency which the Christian Socialists set out to represent. In 1879, Carl von Vogelsang, an expatriate German, had founded his Conservative journal, Oesterreichisches Monatsschrift für Gesellschaftswissenschaft und Volkswirtschaft (Austrian Monthly for Social Science and Business). His main concern

⁶¹ McGrath, Dionysian Art pp. 187-190.

was to develop a dialogue on social policy issues securely within the confines of the Catholic fold.⁶² In 1882, the franchise had been extended to include men paying between five and ten Gulden annual tax. Although the curial system was left unchanged the portion of the lower middle class which was involved in politics but not necessarily Liberal organizations was thereby greatly increased.⁶³ To make matters worse for the Liberals, they were beginning to split among themselves over the national question, while, in the wings, the Socialists were making headway among the working population.⁶⁴

1887, the year of the second decennial renegotiation of the compromise with Hungary, saw the founding of Karl Lueger's Christian Social Party in Vienna and the establishment of the anti-semitic German-national paper Kyffhäuser in Salzburg. Both of these events were indicative of the new currents in the internal political life of the monarchy. A sharper political tone was issuing forth from the streets.⁶⁵ The Liberals recognized the threat from the aristocrats above and the artisans below

⁶² For more on the career of Vogelsang see Fuchs, Geistige Strömungen pp. 49 and 50.

⁶³ Kann, History p. 425.

⁶⁴ For a brief but comprehensive outline of the development of the socialist party see Fuchs, Geistige Strömungen pp. 85-129.

⁶⁵ See Schorske, Politics and Culture. chapter III, "Politics in a New Key."

them, but in response seemed only capable of fighting among themselves. The more progressive elements among the Catholic party were appalled by the social results of Liberal economic policies and frightened by the growing influence of the Socialists. The alliance of the Conservatives with the Slavic representatives in parliament gave the conflict a national tone. The Liberals thus saw themselves isolated culturally and encircled politically and their ranks grew increasingly vulnerable to German nationalism. The internal backlash to Count Taaffe's "iron ring" was already well under way even as external tensions, particularly with Russia, increased. Then, in early 1889, Crown Prince Rudolf, the heir to the throne and widely believed to be a Liberal sympathizer, committed suicide. This tragic act dashed Liberal hopes for a rescue from above just as the hopes of Liberals in Germany had been dashed the previous year by the premature death of the Emperor Frederick III. It was as though the last chance for an orderly return to influence had eluded the German Liberal elite.⁶⁶

Political developments moved quickly in the 1890's. The Liberals divided into a number of factions with different positions on the national question, but their tactics were limited to parliamentary obstructionism. The Socialists, although without parliamentary representation, had united to

⁶⁶ Kann, History p. 428.

form a workers' party along Marxist lines under Viktor Adler at Hainfeld in 1888-89. They organized their first-ever May day parade in 1890 with massive and disciplined participation by over 30,000 workers in Vienna. They published their own paper and had already proven their organizational mettle in the very important tramway strike in 1889.⁶⁷ The radical Pan-German agitator, Georg von Schönerer, having attracted a great deal of attention to the causes of nationalism and anti-semitism was removed from the political scene by the courts after a conviction for assault on a Liberal newspaper editor. He had already alienated an increasing number of the more respectable members of the Mittelstand by his blatant disloyalty to the dynasty and exaggerated affection for the Hohenzollerns as well as his anti-Catholic Los von Rom (away with Rome) movement. The road was left clear for the Christian Socials to capitalize on the growing anti-semitic political movement.⁶⁸

In Bohemia the more radical, more middle-class "Young Czechs" had won out over the "Old Czech" party in parliament by 1890, and were showing an enthusiasm for the French which was disturbing to Bismarck and the Germans across the border. They were also inclined to display a highly indiscreet, if less than sincere, interest in pan-Slavic

⁶⁷ Andics, Luegerzeit pp. 74-85.

⁶⁸ For Schönerer's career see Andrew Whiteside Socialism of Fools (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975)

movements emanating out of Russia.⁶⁹

Count Taaffe, Franz Josef's longest-serving Prime Minister, finally resigned in 1893, but the end of the "iron ring" did not bring any improvement in the health of the body politic. In an attempt to extend the franchise to agricultural and industrial workers, a move he believed would take some of the steam out of the nationalities conflict, Taaffe lost the confidence of both Liberals and Conservatives, even though his proposals fell far short of the universal manhood suffrage demanded by the Socialists.⁷⁰ With his resignation, an era had ended and political instability became the rule rather than the exception.

The Prime Minister had never been legally dependent on parliamentary support; under the Austrian constitution he was appointed by the Emperor. Taaffe's government, however, had managed through a series of slippery coalitions to obtain parliamentary majorities, if only narrow ones, for its legislation. In the years after 1893, the country was governed increasingly by officials who had the confidence of the Emperor and who frequently bypassed a recalcitrant, obstructionist parliament by using emergency decrees. The

⁶⁹ Kann, History p. 443; and for the general relationship of Germans and Czechs in Prague, see Gary B. Cohen, The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague 1861-1914 (Princeton: 1981) p. 123 ff.

⁷⁰ Kann, History, p. 425.

politicians of the monarchy responded to their lack of real responsibility in kind.⁷¹ They gleefully resorted to the most juvenile of tactics and the lowest level of public debate imaginable. The public in its turn reciprocated by giving both politicians and the system exactly the respect which they deserved. The following witticism made the rounds: "The Burg is a theatre in which one can't hear, the opera is a theatre in which one can't see, and the parliament is a theatre from which one would prefer to see and hear nothing." ⁷²

In this atmosphere, social and national conflict grew apace. In 1895 the Windischgrätz ministry was forced out of office by German parliamentary opposition to the establishment of a Slovene-language Gymnasium (academic high school) in the Styrian town of Cilli.⁷³ In January of 1897 another defeat of Slovene aspirations, the removal of budget support for the recently opened school, was greeted with elation by the German representatives in parliament and by cheering German mobs in the streets of Vienna. Similar German-national street demonstrations took place in Graz, the Styrian capital.⁷⁴ At the end of the same year, after new elections under a further expansion of the franchise had

⁷¹ Kann, History, p. 441.

⁷² Andics, Luegerzeit, p. 74.

⁷³ Kann, History, pp. 428 and 439.

⁷⁴ Tagespost (Graz), Jan. 7 and 8, 1897.

increased Czech representation and for the first time allowed fourteen Socialists into parliament, Count Badeni's government lost the confidence of the Emperor. Badeni's attempt to introduce the Czech Language Ordinances, giving substantial but hardly unreasonable rights to Czech speakers in Bohemia, resulted in fist fights in parliament and riots in the streets of Vienna. The German Liberals could no longer accomplish anything positive, but they could still obstruct.⁷⁵

After 1897 the pattern of government was established and lasted out the monarchy. Ministries were appointed by the Emperor and governed under emergency decrees. In spite of the achievement of universal manhood suffrage in 1907 and the increased representation of the Social Democrats in parliament, obstructionist tactics continued.⁷⁶ The various national groups were locked in enduring conflict and could develop no better tactic than permanent parliamentary blockage. At the local level, the Christian Social party, put together by Karl Lueger from a coalition of Catholic, artisanal and anti-semitic forces, finally gained control of the Vienna city council in 1895.⁷⁷ Although the Emperor

⁷⁵ There is considerable literature on the Czech Language ordinances: see, for example, Gary B. Cohen Ethnic Survival, pp. 238-244 for the view from Prague; Andics, Luegerzeit, pp. 229 ff. for the impression from Vienna; and Kann, History, pp. 440 ff. for the political context.

⁷⁶ Jelavich Modern Austria, p. 97

⁷⁷ For Lueger's career see Boyer, Political Radicalism, Richard S. Geehr, Karl Lueger: Mayor of Fin-de-Siècle

refused to confirm Lueger as Mayor until 1897 because of his anti-semitic rhetoric, the Christian Socials were already in charge and they, not the Liberals, were to shape the face of the capital for the remainder of the monarchy. Local politics to some extent replaced parliamentary politics as a worthy field of endeavour in which real opportunity to influence policy and carry out important social and economic initiatives still existed.^{7 8}

Vienna (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990) and Karin Brown, Karl Lueger, the Liberal Years (New York: Garland Press, 1982)

^{7 8} See Andics, Luegerzeit, for the general atmosphere and Boyer, Political Radicalism pp. 317 and 318.

Chapter III

THE SETTING - THREE AUSTRIAN REGIONS

In a study of language such as this, which attempts to throw some light on the activities and attitudes of ordinary people living everyday lives, the more material on the context of that discourse which is taken into account, the richer and more comprehensive the resulting portrayal will be. The geographical, social and demographic settings of the periodicals which will make up the bulk of the subject matter for this study are essential to the interpretation of their contents. Each of the areas chosen has unique characteristics which contribute to its regional identity. A brief outline of the statistical data, as well as some of the background and atmosphere of the individual regions can underline both the similarities and the differences between the parts and thus enhance our understanding of the monarchy as a whole, especially from the perspective of its German-speaking citizens.

Vienna

The Imperial capital, Vienna, was Austria's only metropolis and the capital of the province of Lower Austria. It has been described very frequently.⁷⁹ The diplomatic

⁷⁹ See William M. Johnston, Vienna, Vienna: The Golden

manoeuvres of its politicians have been charted, the lifestyles of its aristocracy and especially the ruling dynasty put under the magnifying glass, and tomes have been written about its culture. The history of the working class and the story of its everyday life is now available through the works of contemporary sources such as journalist Max Winter and a generation of current Austrian historians.⁸⁰ There exists these days a regular cult of Fin-de-Siècle Vienna so that anyone working in the field could be excused for assuming that everything possible has already been said,⁸¹ but, as pointed out in the introduction to this work, that is not quite the case. The far less romantic and glamorous, far less tragic and oppressed Mittelstand is still under-represented in the literature except for a number of monographs including works on individual occupations and the work of Joseph Ehmer based on the

Years 1815-1914 (New York: C.N. Potter, 1981); Ilsa Barea, Vienna, Legend and Reality (London: Secker and Warburg, 1966); and Andics, Luegerzeit for the cultural scene; John Boyer, Political Radicalism and Lueger biographers Karin Brown, Liberal Years and Geehr, Mayor, for the urban political picture.

⁸⁰ Max Winter, Das Schwarze Wienerherz: Sozialreportagen aus dem frühen 20 Jahrhundert (Vienna: Bundesverlag, 1982) For the dynasty see several works by Brigitte Hamman for the best current, if somewhat over-friendly, interpretations; for works on the socialist movement and working-class see Helmut Konrad, and for Austrian works on the daily life of women and peasants known as Geschichte von Unten (history from below) see the series edited by Michael Mitterauer, Damit es nicht and also Marina Tichy, Alltag und Traum

⁸¹ See Steinberg, "Fin-de-Siècle Vienna" pp. 151-162.

records of the guilds.⁸² In order to situate the data which the following chapters present on the reading material of the lower-middle classes of Vienna in its contextual framework, a little background material on the city is necessary.

There are difficulties in using nineteenth century Austrian statistical data. Statistics for Vienna are available from census material gathered in 1869, and decennially from 1880 on.⁸³ However in 1890 the city boundary was extended to include the suburbs beyond the old city wall, about where the Stadtbahn (rapid transit) line and the Gürtel (beltway) run today. These suburban areas were counted as part of the province of Lower Austria in the 1869 and the 1880 census figures. Even though there were some very exclusive residential areas in the outskirts of Vienna, most of the regions just outside the wall comprised

⁸² See, for example, Karl Megner, Beamte: Wirtschafts- und sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte des k.k. Beamtentums (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985.) and Joseph Ehmer, "The Artisan Family in 19th Century Austria - Embourgeoisement of the Petit-Bourgeoisie?" in Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, eds, Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in 19th Century Europe (London: Methuen Press, 1984) pp. 195-218; and also, "Ökonomischer und sozialer Strukturwandel in Wiener Handwerk" in Ulrich Engelhardt, (ed.) Handwerker in der Industrialisierung (Wien: Klett Cotta, 1984.) and Ehmer, "Lage und Bewusstsein des gewerblichen Kleinbürgertums aus Zeugnisse Wiener Innungen um 1800" in Christliche Demokratie vol II (1984) pp. 351-358.

⁸³ This and all following statistical material taken from Oesterreichische Statistik (Wien: Statistische Central-Commission, k.k. Hofdruckerei 1876-1914), except where otherwise noted.

the low-rent area. It is reasonable to assume that a higher proportion of the non-German immigrant population found itself living there in crowded tenements than in the inner city. The apparently disproportionate growth of the city's population between 1880 and 1890 can thus be explained by the change in the city boundaries. Since the differences in ethnic representation amount to two or three percentage points at the most, this does not present an insurmountable obstacle to use of the data.

A more serious problem is presented by the figures for nationality. In an 1878 article, the statistician, G.A. Schimmer, had suggested not only that better training in tact and sensitivity be given the census takers, but also that the term Muttersprache (mother tongue) be used in place of a question on nationality in the coming census. He felt that the latter term was subject to both political manipulation and emotional responses.⁸⁴ His suggestion was not accepted by the authorities, however, and the question actually posed used a much more imprecise term. The determination of a respondent's Umgangssprache (language most commonly used in daily life), the term chosen, was not only easier to fudge, but subject to a much wider variety of interpretations than "nationality" or "mother tongue" would have been. The resulting figures are subject to

⁸⁴ Schimmer, G.A., "Gedanken über die Durchführung der nächsten Volkszählung in Oesterreich", Statistische Monatschrift, Vol IV (1878), p. 169.

considerable skepticism. The best discussion of the subject is in Emil Brix's exhaustive work in which he discusses some of the ways in which pressure was put on respondents besides the wording of the questions to skew the results in favour of the dominant linguistic group in each province. This was not always the Germans, as it happened, but where they were dominant, every non-German employee of a German employer was vulnerable to pressure to declare that his language of everyday functioning was German as was every tradesman or shopkeeper who depended upon a German clientele. Whether the pressure was actually exercised or not often depended on who was present when the forms were being filled out.⁸⁵

To defend the use of these figures at all, it must be accepted in the first place, that they are all that is available and in the second place, that it is fairly easy to estimate in which direction they err, even if not by how much. Third, they were the basis of perceptions about ethnic population relationships at the time they were released. Since the attitudes and perceptions which are the concern of this study were influenced by those statistics rather than by an unknowable objective reality it is justifiable to look at the statistics keeping in mind the relevant reservations. It is also important to note that the collection of census data itself became an issue in the ongoing political

⁸⁵ Emil Brix Umgangssprache

conflict and served to inflame passions and inspire nationalist rhetoric during collection years.

Vienna expanded in geographical area over the last quarter of the nineteenth century and it experienced real population growth as well. In fact, rapid growth in population was one of the characteristic features of the Vienna of the period. The published census shows Vienna's population growing from 607,514 in 1869 to 632,100 in 1880 and then, in the decade which included the new city limits, almost doubling to 1,123,878 in 1890. By the turn of the century Vienna had a population of 1,497,282. The province of Lower Austria, which included Vienna, showed an increase from 2,330,261 in 1880 to 2,661,799 in 1890 and a further increase in population to 3,100,493 by 1900. Lower Austria with its solid German-speaking majority accounted for 10.52% of the population of the Austrian half of the monarchy in 1880, as compared to 25.11% for Bohemia, 26.91% for Galicia and only 5.48% for Styria. Salzburg contributed only 0.74% of the total population of Cisleithania at that date. It is important to note that Galicia had both the fastest-growing population and the highest proportion of Slavs in the Austrian part of the monarchy. Thus perceptions about the relative strengths of the various nationalities would be quite different if Austria as a whole were to be considered rather than any individual province. The long-term demographic trends for the whole of Cisleithania were much

less favourable for the Germans than they were in any of the areas under consideration in this study.

The ethnic profile of the capital as determined by the ambiguous Umgangssprache question changed only marginally over the census reports from 1880 to 1900. In 1880, Germans made up 95.23% of the Viennese population while Czechs and Slovaks made up 3.98% and Slovene speakers only 0.18%. By 1890, German speakers made up 94.43% while Czechs contributed 5.26% and the Slovenes 0.05%. At the turn of the century the German-speakers had dropped slightly in relative numbers to 92.58%, the Czechs had risen to 6.88%, the Slovenes to 0.09%. In these years of the Umgangssprache question it is safe to assume that the proportion of German-speakers was over-stated to include probably every soul who could so much as shop for groceries in German. Nonetheless the numbers show a relative drop in the proportion of Germans of 2.65%, a relative increase in Czech speakers of 2.90% and a fluctuating number of speakers of Slovene which was insignificant in any case. By comparison the figures for the whole of Lower Austria, including Vienna, show that 96.86% declared themselves to be German-speaking in 1880 while 2.82% spoke Czech or Slovak and 0.07% used the Slovene tongue. By 1890 the Germans still accounted for 96.01% and the Czechs for 3.80% while the Slovenes had all but disappeared at a mere 0.03%. At the end of the century the Germans still had a good 95% of

the population, the Czechs had risen to 4.66% and the Slovenes were back to only 0.06%. Under the circumstances a few conclusions seem tentatively supportable. The city was, as might be expected, more cosmopolitan than the countryside, but not all that much more so. It may also be inferred that most people who were bi-lingual or multi-lingual reported their functional language as German. The literature suggests that virtually all of the Jewish population of Vienna identified themselves as German, for example, but that increasing numbers of them chose to be identified as Magyars in Budapest, Polish in Galicia and Czechs in Prague.⁸⁶ This, of course, was influenced by the fact that Yiddish was not recognized by the census as a legitimate language.⁸⁷ The religious breakdown of the population of Lower Austria shows a mere 40,000 Protestants compared to 95,000 Jews and 2,190,000 Roman Catholics.

To compare the population of Lower Austria by occupation is difficult because the categories collected were changed from one census to the next. The figures for occupational structure in 1880, however, show that the occupational profile of Lower Austria was about what could be expected of

⁸⁶ Marsha L. Rozenblit The Jews of Vienna, 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity (Albany: State of New York University Press, 1983) for the Jews of Vienna; Andrew Handler, Dori, The Life and Times of Theodor Herzl in Budapest 1860-1878 for the Jews of Budapest; and for those of Prague, Gary B. Cohen, Ethnic Survival.

⁸⁷ Bihl, Wolf-Dieter, "Die Juden " in Wandruszka and Urbanitsch Habsburger Monarchie Vol III pt. 2, pp. 904 and 905.

the province containing the capital of an empire the size of Austria-Hungary. Occupations requiring "higher" education accounted for 6.10% of the population; agriculture and forestry, 30.20%; industry, including mining and smelting 40.38%; trade, transportation and credit, 12.08%; investments and pensions, 5.01%; persons working in charitable and educational institutions, 1.28%; service and security, 4.51%; and people of no fixed occupation 0.44%. Because of its large urban population, Lower Austria had the lowest percentage of its population engaged in agriculture and the highest engaged in industry, trade, credit and occupations requiring higher education in the Austrian half of the monarchy, although in the case of industrial occupations Lower Austria barely edged out Bohemia. In the category of investors, landlords and pensioners the capital was also well in the lead with over five percent of the population realizing their income without working for it. It also led, with the exception of Upper Austria, in the percentage of persons without a recognized trade. While these figures paint a picture of an urban and industrialized population, they give no grounds for conclusion on the relative strengths of the bourgeoisie and the Mittelstand. Here the work of Josef Ehmer based on research in the guild records gives at least an estimate. He suggests that,

If one compares the various statistics which are available, one can estimate that around the turn of the century about half of those employed in

business in Vienna were in small business.⁸⁸

In contrast to the inferences made in other works on the Mittelstand in Austria and Germany, Ehmer finds that the economic and social position of the small-business community has not been satisfactorily established and was in fact very different for different sectors at different times. Some artisans profitted from the change to capitalist production while others, of course, suffered. Because the rate of expansion or contraction of business size and income was different in different businesses, generalizations about the economic position of the entire "class" are impossible to make at any particular time.⁸⁹

It is also important to note that Vienna's relationship with its surrounding countryside was never altogether comfortable. Whatever comforts it may itself have lacked, whatever grime and overcrowding had to be endured, the attitude of the Viennese was always condescending to all of those not fortunate enough to share their problems. But none of the provinces seemed to be held in comparable contempt by the Viennese to that in which they held their immediate neighbours. The good agricultural land of Lower

⁸⁸ Josef Ehmer, "Ökonomischer und sozialer Strukturwandel im Wiener Handwerk - von der industriellen Revolution zur Hochindustrialisierung", Ulrich Engelhardt, Handwerker in der Industrialisierung, (Wien: Klett-Cotta, 1984), p.89.

⁸⁹ For the theory of the general immiseration of the Mittelstand, see Volkov, Popular Anti-Modernism and Gellately, Shopkeepers

Austria with its excellent market opportunities might have offered its occupants a decent living, but it brought them no respect.⁹⁰ No happy collaboration on the part of the various inhabitants of Lower Austria occurred. At the political level there was competition for control of the suburban reaches of the city and at the individual level the farmers were regarded with suspicion and distrust by their best customers. No ethnic group or foreign community was ever subjected to the level of ridicule heaped by the Viennese Press upon its rural neighbours.⁹¹ In many ways, Vienna was what we today would call a large small town. The people who mattered all knew one another, at least by reputation. Connections were not only more important than pure merit, they were the glue which held the system together. A small and interconnected elite ran the city, the government, the church, the business and financial world and, perhaps most importantly, that cultural milieu on which the Viennese had set such store since the days of the Counter-reformation.

⁹⁰ See the discussion on rural images in the Vienna satirical journals pp.275 - 276 below.

⁹¹ It is interesting to note that this attitude persists to some extent even today when the province of Lower Austria is in the process of moving its capital out of Vienna to St. Polten and the municipality shaped like a donut around Vienna is also moving its administrative offices out of the city.

Another very important aspect of the capital's position was that it acted as the trend-setter for the entire Empire. It was the centre of government, the centre of the dynasty, the centre of cultural life in all its manifestations, and the major communications centre. Viennese dailies were delivered by train to the provincial centres where they were avidly devoured. Many organizations which had members throughout the monarchy had their headquarters in Vienna; these groups developed their ideas, ran their administrations and published their newspapers there.⁹² The city showed signs of a certain self-importance Canadians would recognize as almost Torontonians. The attitudes and impressions of the Viennese carried far more weight in the monarchy than their relative numbers would suggest. It was accepted not only by the Viennese that everything emanating from Vienna was superior, but also by the provincials. In everything from architecture to theatre productions and from musical tastes to clothing and foods, Viennese fashions were shamelessly aped in the provincial capitals. The cities of eastern Europe still bear mute witness to the stamp of Viennese culture on the provinces of the Empire.

Styria

⁹² The Beamtenzeitung (Civil Service News) is a good example of the centralizing function of Vienna.

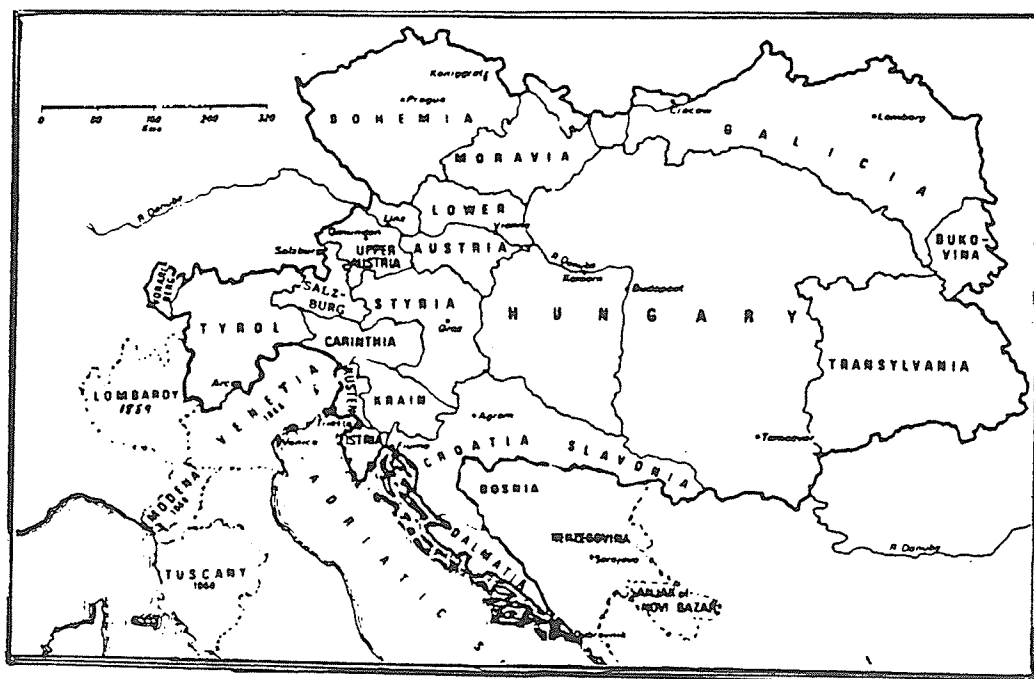
Styria was one of the oldest provinces of the Habsburg Empire. It had been one of the original hereditary possessions of the Habsburg dynasty, forming the mountainous eastern frontier of the medieval Ostmark (Eastern March). The Styrian branch of the family had succeeded to the Imperial throne under Emperor Ferdinand II (1619-1637), who brought along the counter-reforming zeal which led to the Thirty Years War. By the late nineteenth century, however, Styria was dwarfed in area and in population by both Bohemia and Galicia (5.48% of the Cisleithanian population as compared to 25.11% for Bohemia and 26.91% for Galicia in 1880).⁹³ In spite of its long history as a domain of the German-speaking dynasty, it was situated squarely on the frontier between German and Slovene-speaking areas and had a linguistically mixed population.

A large, crescent-shaped province, Styria curved around Carinthia to the south-west, bordered on Hungary to the east, both Upper and Lower Austria to the north and on Salzburg directly to the west. Krain (Carniola) and Croatia-Slavonia formed the southern boundaries.⁹⁴ A predominantly mountainous landscape characterizes the province, and its mountains have been responsible for its main distinguishing features. The first of these is its excellent defensive position which made it an ideal frontier

⁹³ Oesterreichische Statistik

⁹⁴ See map p. 59.

against the Turks. Many of its fortified hilltops were never conquered and the one in the capital of Graz last held out against Napoleon in 1809. Sturdy, not to say stubborn, independence continues to characterize Styria's people. The expression "Steierer Blut ist k'Nudelsuppe" (Styrian blood is no noodle soup) still makes the rounds today. Styria's mountains have had more than strategic value. Since Roman days when the town of Cilli (today Celje, in Slovenia) was known as Claudia Celeja, they have been a source of iron ore.⁹⁵ Its iron and steel industry made Styria a valuable possession of the monarchy throughout its entire history.



Map. The Habsburg Monarchy in the reign of Franz Josef I. Losses and acquisitions in broken lines.

⁹⁵ Theodor Müller-Alfeld Österreich vom Bodensee zum Burgenland Berlin Darmstadt Wien: Deutsche Buch-Gemeinschaft, 1959. p. 162. and Unsere Monarchie (Wien: k.k. Hofdruckerei, 1897)

Styria had a relatively small urban population located in the capital of Graz and in Marburg (today Maribor in Slovenia), Cilli and a handful of other small towns: and a large rural population scattered in villages and farms throughout its many valleys. Of Styria's 1,131,309 inhabitants according to the census of 1869, only 81,119 resided in Graz, 12,824 in Marburg and 4,424 in Cilli. In contrast the administrative district of Cilli reported a total population of 118,075. It is reasonably safe to estimate that far less than 10% of the population in the nineteenth century could be considered to have been urban dwellers.

The city of Graz, however, was the fourth-largest city in Cisleithania for most of the period under consideration and the monarchy's southernmost German city.⁹⁶ Its university, its position on the rail connection to the port city of Trieste and its significant bureaucratic establishment made it one of Austria's major centres. In many ways it reflected in microcosm the forces shaping the life of the monarchy as a whole; the religious tensions, the national struggles, and the political ramifications of social and economic change.⁹⁷ The city had a long and proud history and possessed not only a beautiful site but a renaissance

⁹⁶ Wm. H. Hubbard, "Politics and Society in the Central European City: Graz, Austria 1861-1918" in Canadian Journal of History/ Annales Canadiennes vol. V. (1970) p. 26.

⁹⁷ Ibid p. 31.

city-centre. It had received a great deal of attention from the ruling dynasty in the days of the Emperor Ferdinand II, whose mausoleum in Graz is one of its landmarks, but more recently it had been the home and the bailiwick of the Archduke Johann, the slightly unconventional but talented and democratically-inclined brother of the Emperor Franz II/I (1792 - 1835) in the early nineteenth century.

By the last quarter of the century, the German-speaking bourgeoisie of Graz was well-off, well-established and very self-confident. From 1861 to 1918, Liberal politicians ruled Graz so securely that from 1870 to 1890 the Conservatives did not even bother to field candidates in local elections. A German anti-Semitic Artisan party campaigned locally from 1893 to 1898, encouraged by the success of Lueger in Vienna, but it elected only three councillors in 1893 and disappeared in the nationalist landslide which opposed the language concessions of Badeni in 1897. Social democracy began its inroads into Graz's local politics in 1895 and elected one deputy to the Reichsrat in 1895 and two city councillors in 1897, remaining a feature of the local political scene thereafter.⁹⁸

A long history of anti-clericalism went along with the liberal political affiliations of Graz. In fact the city had hosted anti-clerical demonstrations in 1875 which roused

⁹⁸ Ibid p. 39-41.

the wrath of the Emperor and resulted, for a time, in the suspension of student associations. Later, Graz was to experience significant local participation in the Los-von-Rom movement which combined anti-clericalism and nationalism at the turn of the century.⁹⁹ However, in official responses the province of Styria as a whole was as solidly Roman Catholic as its counter-reformation history would suggest. The census shows that Roman Catholics comprised over 99% of the population for most of the period under consideration, dropping to 98.7% only at the census of 1900. Almost 7000 Lutherans, 300 Calvinists and just over 700 Jews accounted for the exceptions in 1869. Religion did not divide Styria's ethnic groups, Germans and Slovenes alike were staunch and devout Roman Catholics. In fact the church and some of its more active clergy had long played a pivotal role in the development of Slovene ethnic consciousness and cultural development.¹⁰⁰ That this led inexorably to political consciousness goes almost without saying.

⁹⁹ Ibid p. 39.

¹⁰⁰ see Fran Zwitter, "The Slovenes and the Habsburg Monarchy" in Austrian History Yearbook vol III pt. 2 (1967), pp. 159-188; Stanley Z. Pech, "Political Parties among Austrian Slavs" in Canadian Slavonic Papers vol. XXXI no. 2 (June 1989); Hanns Haas and Karl Stuhlpfarrer Österreich und seine Slowenen (Wien: Löcker & Wögenstein, 1977), especially the introduction.

The ethnic breakdown of Styria's population remained largely constant from 1869 through the end of the century, with a slight movement in favour of German-speakers. In 1880 the census showed 67.0% German and 32.74% Slovene-speakers with 0.21% Czech or Slovak speakers. In 1890 the relative figures were 67.8% Germans to 32.1% Slovenes and 0.1% other Slavs, while by 1900 there were 68.71% Germans to 31.18% Slovenes and only 0.06% other Slavic tongues. This represents an overall advance of 1.17% for the Germans and a loss of 1.56% for the Slovenes and of 0.04% for Czechs and Slovaks. These were the years of the Umgangssprache question by census takers and so the figures must be treated with some skepticism. It is probable that rural respondents were not as vulnerable to manipulation as were those of Vienna. Independent communities living in an area with their own linguistic compatriots would have been much less subject to pressure to declare their language of everyday usage to be German than would the isolated Czech servant-girls of Vienna.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, the route into middle-class status lay through assimilation to the German-speaking milieu of the towns, and economic pressure played a large role. By the end of the century the immigration of disaffected Germans from Bohemia was also "playing a significant role".¹⁰² The many Slavic names in

¹⁰¹ On the vulnerability of Viennese servants, see Tichy, Alltag und Traum passim.

¹⁰² Rauchberg, Heinrich, "Die Gebürtigkeitsverhältnisse der Bevölkerung Österreichs nach der Ergebnissen der

the German papers bear witness to the frequency of the voluntary assumption of an ethnic identity which was convenient and profitable.¹⁰³ Even taking into account that the Slovenes formed a solid majority in the southern districts of Styria, is apparent that German hegemony was not threatened except in the market town enclaves such as Cilli and Marburg in Lower Styria. It was in fact the Slovenes who were gradually losing ground, but by such a slight margin that it could not have been perceived as threatening either. These slight shifts of population were analyzed and published by the government at the time in articles which assumed that the language question settled the ethnic question "without question".¹⁰⁴

The discussion of Styria's ethnic breakdown is complicated by many contemporary references to a third group known in German as the "Windisch" and in English as the Wends.¹⁰⁵ They are variously presented as either the

Volkzählung vom 32. Dezember 1890". Statistische Monatschrift vol 18 (1892) p. 543. quoted in Wandruszka and Urbanitsch, Habsburger Monarchie p. 250.

¹⁰³ See Urbanitsch, "Die Deutschen in Österreich - Statistisch-Deskriptiver Überblick," Ibid. and also the Cillier Zeitung, innumerable references in 1877 to persons of middle-class status, to a lesser extent the Marburger Zeitung and the Grazer Tagespost of the same year.

¹⁰⁴ G.A. Shimmer, "Die einheimische Bevölkerung Oesterreichs nach der Umgangssprache" Statistische Monatschrift Vol VIII (1882), p. 108.

¹⁰⁵ This group is not to be confused with the Slavic group of eastern Germany also referred to as "Wends" in English, but which is called "Sorbs" in German.

descendents of inter-married German/Slovenes or as Slovenes who had assimilated into German society, a situation which to all appearances was not problematical. No-one has argued that they were of a completely different ethnic stock; but while some argue fiercely for their distinctiveness,¹⁰⁶ Fran Zwitter bluntly denies that they existed at all, declaring that the Slovenes of the towns were under such intense German pressure to assimilate that they even voted for the German parties and declared their language as German for purposes of the census.¹⁰⁷ The official census did not recognize the Wends at all. It is also important to acknowledge that while Heidrich's research was from the most virulent pro-German perspective and published in the Nazi years, Zwitter's was from a Slovene point of view. The "Wends" in all probability can no more be extricated from their ambivalent position in the historical record than they could escape it in real life.

In the background to the ethnic consciousness of Styria was a growing insistence on political and cultural recognition as a nation on the part of the Slovenes of the monarchy which had implications for schools, jobs and the language of the bureaucracy. The presence of much higher concentrations of Slovenes in the provinces directly to the

¹⁰⁶ Anne Heidrich Der völkische Kampf im steierischen Unterland vor dem Weltkrieg mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Presse (Brunn: 1944)

¹⁰⁷ Fran Zwitter, "The Slovenes" Austrian History Yearbook (vol III pt. 2 1967)

south of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, also added to the pressure felt by the Germans in Styria.¹⁰⁸ Both the political upheavals in the Balkan area and the ongoing and relentless situation in Bohemia contributed to an atmosphere of ethnic tensions as the years went on. It must be acknowledged from the outset that any attempt to study ethnic relations in the monarchy by dividing it into regions is to some extent artificial and contrived. In many respects the peoples of the monarchy reacted to common stimuli without in the least putting their provincial identity in question. Whether it was in the case of Czech nationalists supporting fellow Slavs in Styria over the Cilli affair, or in the case of contagious German nationalism, Styria was not a closed community but an integral if independent part of the larger scene. The activities of the patriotic national associations such as the Schulvereine alone would have insured the spread of ideas from one province to another.

The available statistical sources reveal that in 1880 only 3.6% of Styria's population was engaged in occupations requiring higher education while fully 68.73% were involved in agriculture and forestry and 19.79% were in industrial occupations including mining and smelting. A modest 3.14% were involved in trade and credit, while 2.95% lived on rents, investments or pensions. There are no reliable

¹⁰⁸ Today, along with Lower Styria, the former Carinthia is partly and the former Carniola is wholly in the new state of Slovenia.

estimates of income levels, but it is within reason to assume that only some of those practicing in professions requiring higher education and only a small fraction of those involved in business, industry or trade could be considered upper-middle class by Austrian standards of the day. Rural priests, country school teachers and most of the bureaucracy, although they required higher education, were modestly remunerated.¹⁰⁹ The majority of those involved in industry were probably workers, but if Ehmer's estimate about the proportion of Mittelstand to the greater business community in Vienna were applied to Styria, then about half would have been artisans and small shopkeepers. Since mining and smelting is included in the general industrial category, however, any such conclusions are highly speculative.

In agriculture, on the other hand, apart from the aristocratic estate owners, about whose social status there is no doubt, the concept of class is difficult to apply. Of the many and varied levels of involvement with the land, from charity case to substantial landowner, "class," as it tends to be understood today, cut through families and communities. Day-to-day living standards varied less than the level of responsibility. A normal farm operation would be owned by a married couple and could include aged parents, unmarried siblings, children and hired hands of both genders

¹⁰⁹ Megner, Beamte pp. 126 & 127.

(Mägde und Knechte), even welfare cases (Inwohner), living as a single household, sleeping under the same roof and eating the same meals together. Part of the same farm unit could consist of a number of other dependent households whose occupants held homes (Kleinhäusler) or houses with fields (Pächter) with or without rights to pasture and forest in exchange for specified services to the farmer/landlord. The farm community suffered then, as it does to this day, under fluctuating commodity prices and a shortage of affordable credit.¹¹⁰ The typical farm unit was re-mortgaged with each generation as the siblings of the heir were paid out, and therefore carried an enormous debt load. The exceptions were the aristocratic landowners who tended to very conservative political views, and the larger landowners who had used available capital to modernize their operations and were, regardless of inherited status, convinced Liberals. With the exception of these affluent landowners, this study will consider the rural population as socially homogeneous and lower-middle class in outlook and behavior. Most of the rural population who were not small landholders themselves were the immediate family of small landholders or were so completely dependent upon them as to be incapable of independent social or political views.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ See Mitterauer Damit, Anton L. Schuller, Franz Hagenhofer: Leben und Werk des steierischen Bauernführers (Graz: Raifeissen-Zentralkasse Steiermark, 1982) and Karin Schmidlechner "Frauen in Graz um 1900" in Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Graz (XIV, 1984) s. 81-100.

The financial welfare of the basic farmstead, the majority of which were smaller than the minimum size required to pay taxes, was the prime concern of all of its members, even though the size of their stakes varied.

Autobiographical accounts of life in rural Austria of the nineteenth century¹¹² reveal a difficult life and attitudes which today would be considered harsh and ungenerous, but which were seen as normal at the time. It was, after all, a time in which the children of the poor were placed in service from as early as their eighth year of age, when Christian compassion rarely extended to feeding "useless" mouths and when self-sufficiency and subsistence were the norm in a largely cash-less rural economy. Religious belief was as much superstition as faith and literacy was only moderately esteemed. Many farm youngsters received in practice much less than the required six years of schooling because they were regularly kept home to work on the farm and often lived far from the nearest school. The poorest did not have the clothes or the shoes necessary to make the journey regularly in the winter. The local clergy supported the farmers in their opposition to increased years of compulsory schooling or stricter enforcement of attendance

¹¹¹ This situation is described in the Austrian literature by the term "hausherrschaftliche Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse", see Ernst Bruckmüller Landwirtschaftliche Organisationen u. Gesellschaftliche Modernisierung (Salzburg: 1977) p. 39.

¹¹² Mitterauer series Damit

laws and clerical deputies carried that position as far as parliament itself. Styria, like other mountain areas of the monarchy, had a relatively high rate of infant mortality and of illegitimacy. The allusions to routine infanticide, and the frequent use of the euphemism "angel-maker" (Engelmacher) which one finds in the autobiographies¹¹³ are given credibility by analyses of statistical data in scholarly contemporary articles which describe the higher rates of illegitimacy and the relatively higher mortality and abandonment rates of these children. The exploitation of the labour of children and young adults and the system of land tenure which allowed only one sibling to establish a family was held responsible.¹¹⁴ Günther Burkert estimates that, at least in the southern part of Styria, small and very small farmers made up at least two thirds of the population to one third for the workers and the bourgeoisie. He also gives some evidence that rural populations of both ethnic groups could and did find common cause in their economic situation and joined the same farmers' associations to combat the political and economic disadvantages they suffered.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ *ibid*

¹¹⁴ J. V. Goehlich, "Die Entwicklung der Bevölkerung der Steiermark" Statistische Monatschrift Vol V, (1879) pp. 60-61.

¹¹⁵ Günther Burkert, "Österreichische Bauernvereine 1869-1914" in Geschichte und Gegenwart 2 (1983) and 3 (1984) pp. 220 & 222.

In 1890, statistics on employment were collected quite differently from those of the 1880 census, so that decennial comparisons are difficult to make, but other kinds of information are made available which compensate for the loss. For instance, in the 1890's, out of 564,000 agricultural and forest workers, only 117,000 were self-employed or independent, a ratio of just more than one in five. In industry, 27,000 out of 133,000 were listed as independent, about one in five; while in trade 11,000 out of 34,000, or one in every three was self-employed. These statistics would indicate the existence of a middle class of entrepreneurs, very few of whom would have ranked with the industrialists and financiers of the Viennese bourgeoisie, but instead, along with the local priests, the teachers, the bureaucrats and the small landholders could be considered to have constituted the Mittelstand.

Salzburg

Salzburg was the smallest and the newest of the "kingdoms and territories represented in Parliament" in the nineteenth century. It had finally lost its independence as a result of the Napoleonic wars, during which it had also belonged briefly to Bavaria. It was the most German and the most homogeneous Austrian province and was situated far from any linguistic frontiers. The former Archbishopric on the edge of the Alps lived then, as it does now, to a large extent

from tourism. Its beautiful mountain valleys were dotted with spas and resort hotels. The city prided itself on its cultural achievements and saw itself as Austria's second capital in music, as it also does to this day. But it was really a small rural town with pretensions. The hinterland had a significant agricultural industry with characteristics very similar to those of rural Styria already described, and the salt mines of the Salzkammergut had been a source of revenue for centuries.

The province of Salzburg had a population of 151,410 in 1869, of whom only 20,336 resided in the city of the same name. Of the provincial total, 150,950 declared themselves to be Roman Catholics, 384 were Lutherans, 17 were Calvinists and 44 were Jewish. A decade later, Salzburg's population had risen to 163,570 of whom 162,688 were Catholic, 757 were protestant and 115 were Jewish. At the 1880 census 99.70% were German-speaking, and .22% spoke Slavic tongues including Czech and Slovene. By the end of the century twenty years later these relationships had not changed significantly, although the population had grown to almost 200,000. It seems obvious that no possible threat could have been perceived to the dominance of the German language or to the Catholic religion in this province. The number of Jewish and Slavic residents combined did not total one percent of the population. And yet tiny Salzburg, with only 0.74% of the population of Cisleithania, was to become

a centre of German-national and anti-semitic agitation and, from 1887 to 1892, the home of the anti-semitic paper, Der Kyffhäuser. From 1871 until well into the last decade of the century, the countryside voted decisively Clerical-Conservative while the city of Salzburg and the other towns voted equally decisively for the Liberals. Until 1878 the Liberal representatives of the bigger business interests were able to dominate the provincial political scene; afterwards and until the end of the century it was mostly the Conservatives and German-Conservatives.¹¹⁶

The occupational profile of the province of Salzburg in 1880 shows that 4.80% of wage-earners were in professions requiring higher education, while 57.29% were engaged in agriculture and forestry and 23.31% were involved in industry including mining and smelting. No attempt was made in the census to separate out the tourist industry, however. Only 5.48% were engaged in trade and credit while 4.66% received income from rents, pensions or interest. As Haas points out in his article, these figures do not lend themselves to the formulation of reliable conclusions on the social relationships and divisions in Salzburg society, or to the evaluation of its economic development.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Haas, "von Liberal zu National" p. 111.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

Salzburg does not yet have a comprehensive provincial history although studies are in progress that will eventually make one possible.¹¹⁸ The available statistical sources can reveal only what it was considered important to ask at the time. They do show religious and linguistic affiliation but social stratification must be inferred from more imprecise sources. Luckily there exist good modern studies of some of the groups which are considered here to have comprised the Mittelstand, namely the civil servants and the small business and farming communities.

Voluntary associations or Vereine have come to be seen as a hallmark of German middle-class society in much of the literature on nineteenth-century German culture.¹¹⁹ In Austria, these clubs were paradigmatic for the development of liberal bourgeois society as a whole. Democratically organized with constitutions and rules of order, they provided an outlet for the civilizing and progressive

¹¹⁸ Heinz Dopsch u. Hans Spatzenegger, Gesamthrg., Geschichte Salzburgs: Stadt und Land. (Salzburg: Universitätsverlag Pustet, 1981 ff.)

¹¹⁹ For the importance of associations as social formations see Thomas Nipperdey, Gesellschaft, Kultur, Theorie. (Göttingen, 1976) pp. 174-205; for their importance in liberal culture see James J. Sheehan, German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century. (Chicago: 1978) pp. 32 & 33; and Georg Iggers, "The Political Theory of Voluntary Associations in Early Nineteenth Century German Liberal Thought", in D.B. Robertson, (ed.) Voluntary Associations: A Study of Groups in Free Societies (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1966.); for associations in Catholic culture see also Nipperdey, Religion im Umbruch: Deutschland 1870-1918 (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1988) p. 24.

mission of the German world-view as interpreted by middle-class Liberals. Apparently non-political and relatively free of government interference, they dealt with a myriad of practical, every-day concerns while socializing their members in liberal methods and liberal values. Overt control by the propertied rarely surfaced.¹²⁰ Many historians stress the importance of these associations in provincial Austrian culture. Hanns Haas, for example, examines the takeover of Salzburg's Vereine by German-national and Anti-semitic political forces in the last quarter of the nineteenth century,¹²¹ and Ernst Bruckmüller looks at the formation of associations and their role in the modernization process.¹²² In the work of these historians, differences in the interests of upper and lower-middle class groups are discernable, even though they are impossible to quantify in any way. The work by Haas is almost a case study which demonstrates how political participation in the city of Salzburg was controlled by the larger business interests, and that the "arrival" of the nationalists was at least partly due to the opening up of club membership to the small-businessmen, many of whom could not even vote. His work supports Judson's finding that nationalism and anti-semitism were often used as tools to wrench power from the possessors by newly-emerging leaders.

¹²⁰ Judson, "German Liberalism" especially chapter VI.

¹²¹ Haas, "Von Liberal zu National"

¹²² Bruckmüller, Organizationen

In another essay, however, Haas hints at another factor in raising the national consciousness of Salzburg, the mobility of the civil service.

In the eighties and nineties, young civil servants and teachers from the German educated proletariat of Bohemia fled the increasing Czech competition at home for the mountain provinces. There they were to become true Salzburgers in the course of long careers - not, however, without bringing along a politicized concept of German identity.¹²³

Bruckmüller points out that the restrictive franchise effectively eliminated overt political participation for the large proportion of landowners who did not have enough income or enough land to pay the required five or ten Gulden (4/5 of the farmer's tax had to be payable on the land itself in order to qualify the landowner to vote) . Even the more substantial landowners were divided among themselves into the old aristocracy, which retained its ultra-conservative values and methods, and the newer, bourgeoisified landowners with Liberal political sentiments and capitalistic ways. Joseph Megner, for his part, points out the conflict of interest within the civil service itself between the members of the "Hofratzirkel" (senior administrative positions, usually held by nobility) on the one side and a more radical element, holders of the "Jugend und Subalternen" (younger and junior) positions, on the other. The former of these groups satisfied itself with petitioning the government in respectful tones while the

¹²³ See article by Hanns Haas in Dopsch and Spatzenegger Geschichte Salzburgs p. 736.

latter turned to public action and assemblies under the organizational rubric of the Beamtentagclub (civil service conference association).¹²⁴

The three areas described above were chosen for an examination of the press coverage of ethnic attitudes because of their unique demographic characteristics. The use of diverse areas not only allows for more valid generalizations about the monarchy than an examination of the press in a single area would allow but it also allows for comparisons and contrasts. A sophisticated, cosmopolitan city served by an equally sophisticated press, a rural, clerical monoculture with a limited demand for reading material, and a developing frontier region have different social and economic concerns quite apart from the different linguistic and ethnic mix which each included. Any balanced examination of the complex and varied culture of the Austrian monarchy demands the inclusion of all three areas.

¹²⁴ Megner Beamte p. 106

Chapter IV

THE PRESS AS PUBLIC DISCOURSE

The public discourse of the Habsburg Monarchy in the nineteenth century was naturally very different from that employed in North America at the end of the twentieth century. The language which shaped the common experience of the monarchy's German-speaking citizens, which made of individuals a society, was disseminated and shared through a variety of means. The communications media of the day did not include such staples of our own experience as radio, television, movies or videos to say nothing of computer networks, however. Modes of public communication did include church services, public performances such as theatre, concerts and the opera, club and association meetings, and the press, including newspapers, books and journals. Of these, the most influential and universally available was the newspaper. It carried the weight borne by the popular media of our day to inform, to entertain, to educate and to relate individuals of innumerable different circumstances to one another through a shared experience. The importance of this influence is difficult to appreciate.

Of course, the Roman Catholic church played an important role in Austrian public life from the highest to the lowest

levels of society. Its place in the formation of the discourse of that society is immeasurable. Without even considering the effect of centuries of Roman Catholic hegemony on Austrian sensibilities, especially from the period of the Counter-reformation, the church was perhaps the single most important force shaping public opinion in the period up to the first world war and even beyond. The church had controlled the school system for much of the nineteenth century and continued to influence education strongly even when it lost outright control. It censored reading material, it published its own periodicals at several levels of sophistication and, through tactical alliances with loyal publishers, determined the content of the print output of entire publishing houses and major daily newspapers. The church played an important role in politics and government in the Habsburg monarchy, nor was it content to stay behind the scenes. The Catholic press, propounding a Catholic perspective, was a major force in the shaping of public expression and consciousness. But even the church did not speak with a single voice in any one of the languages in which it spoke.

The pre-requisite for a close reading of any body of texts is a familiarity with the genre to which they conform. Newspapers have some characteristics which are consistent from culture to culture and from age to age, but these are fewer than we may imagine. All newspapers present

information for a known readership and all of them present that material from a particular point of view. All of them also reflect, to a certain extent, the needs and ideas of the readership and of their advertisers or sponsors. However the structures of meaning within which those viewpoints and pieces of information are prioritized and ordered, the codes and formulas with which they are presented can be quite different, even from one newspaper to another in the same town. One could readily assert, with Stuart Hall,¹²⁵ that the researcher requires a "long preliminary soak" in such material.

Each period has its social norms, its customs and mores, its Weltanschauung (outlook on the world). Each political jurisdiction has its own legal and fiscal framework within which the press must operate. Language differences are only a part of the vast difference in discourse between late twentieth century Canada and late nineteenth century Austria. The differences in technological capabilities alone determined a great deal of the characteristic appearance of the news media, but a significant factor among the interpretational problems is the slippage in meaning which occurs over time in the usage of any language. Frequent references to nineteenth century dictionaries can only partially compensate for subtle changes in the meaning

¹²⁵ Stuart Hall, introduction to Smith, Anthony C.H., Paper Voices: The Popular Press and Social Change 1935-1965 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1975) p. 15

of language. Other problems are caused by the proliferation of dialects and accents in Austria. Still another surprise is the frequent references to classical Greek and Latin literature in some periodicals, references which leave a modern-day readership at a loss. It is essential to keep in mind the level of literacy and the educational background of the targeted readers.

Every geographical area, every linguistic community and most major interest groups had their own publications in the Habsburg monarchy. The provincial capitals were all served by at least one daily newspaper of their own and they received the major national papers by rail every day. Newspapers were read in public in coffee houses, reading halls, taverns and churches as well as in private homes and offices, often several times a day. Major dailies would publish two editions per day. Thanks to coffee-house culture, newspaper reading was a social activity for many readers in the cities, where it was in any case a much more popular pastime than it was in the countryside. Even in the rural areas, however, the significance of the press was increasingly appreciated. Franz Achaz, publisher and editor, wrote in Graz in 1876:

"The press, which is speech in print, is such a very important matter, especially in a constitutional state, that it ought not to be ignored by even a single citizen....The press is the voice of the public.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Bauernwille (Graz) Feb 18, 1876

When Leo Woerl published his comprehensive review of the press of 1880 in Austria-Hungary,¹²⁷ there were a total of 1022 different periodical publications to choose from. By 1886 the k.k. Staatsanwaltschaften was reporting a total of 1370.¹²⁸ Woerl reviewed 78 publications which he classified as Catholic newspapers or periodicals, 230 non-catholic periodicals and newspapers and a total of 714 "non-political" ones. His choice of categories is in itself a reminder of the different circumstances prevailing in the period. The Catholic press, of which Woerl was an engaged participant as well as an active publisher, saw the political struggle very clearly as between Catholic and non-Catholic, if not anti-Catholic forces. Woerl himself was not an Austrian but an Imperial German Catholic and the wounds of Bismarck's Kulturkampf were still very fresh.

The statistical records of the monarchy classified the periodical press in a somewhat more objective fashion according to its own lights. It broke down the 1370 publications by content, by language, by frequency of appearance and by province. The Cisleithanian half of the monarchy alone saw 433 political periodicals, 171 dealing with economic matters, 95 devoted to agriculture, 90 technical and business periodicals, 18 military and veterans

¹²⁷ Woerl, Leo Die Publicistik der Gegenwart: Die Pressverhältnisse im Kaiserstaat Österreich-Ungarn (Würzburg & Wien: Verlag von Leo Woerl, 1881)

¹²⁸ Oesterreichische Statistik, 1887.

papers, 35 medical or scientific journals, 25 periodicals devoted to justice and administration, fully 50 to clerical concerns, 83 to pedagogy and youth. A total of 34 publications dealt with geography, history, statistics or literary topics, while 70 were devoted to theatre, art, music, fashion or sports. Another 103 periodicals were devoted to light literature or humour. "Non-political" local papers numbered 63, while official, commercial and miscellaneous advertising media weighed in at 102, and women's magazines at only three.

While the bulk of this publication was in German, there were publications in 14 other languages as well as a number of multi-lingual ones. Of the 577 published in Lower Austria, which included Vienna, 559 periodicals were in the German language, one each was printed in Czech, Hebrew, Magyar, English, and Spanish and eight were published in French. Five were published in more than one language. Salzburg was the home to a total of 10 publications, all of which were in German. Styria published a total of 39 periodicals of which five were in the Slovene tongue and the remainder were in German. Out of the total of 1370 publications, 98 appeared every day and the number of dailies was rising from year to year.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Ibid.

By 1905, there were a total of 3,539 publications for the western half of the monarchy, 1452 of which were published in Lower Austria alone. Of these, 1,387 were in German, nine were in Czech, three were in Polish, four were in Serbo-croatian (Illyrisch), ten were in French, two were in Hebrew, twelve were in more than one language, and one each appeared in Ruthenian, Slovene, Italian, Magyar, and Yiddish (jüdischer Jargon). Salzburg's press contingent had grown to 20 papers, all of them printed in German; Styria had 103, of which 89 appeared in German, 12 in Slovene, one was multi-lingual and one in the regional language known as Volapük. Numbers were up in all of the categories collected for the Staatsanwaltschaften and 174 of the total appeared daily.¹³⁰

The steady growth in the publishing industry of the monarchy can be highlighted if we compare the numbers of periodicals for two earlier years, 1872 and 1879. In the former year the Cisleithanian half of the monarchy printed a total of 835 periodicals, 369 in Lower Austria, only six in Salzburg and 28 in Styria, of which 14 were in the Slovene tongue. By 1879 the total had risen to 1,074 with Lower Austria accounting for 451, Salzburg for ten and Styria for 30, of which 16 were in Slovene.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Oesterreichische Statistik 1907.

¹³¹ Statistische Monatschrift vol VII, 1881 p. 260.

In format and in content, the press of the monarchy had its own particular characteristics. Newspapers appeared in tabloid format while many periodicals published less frequently appeared in a book-sized form. The number of pages varied with the size and status of the publication as well as with its advertising content. Pictures were very rare, and except in the illustrated papers (Illustrierte) and the satirical journals (Witzblätter) they were limited to the advertising sections or sometimes the masthead, and consisted of stock images. Photographic reproduction only became technically possible toward the end of the monarchy and widespread only after the first world war.¹³² The images which one did find in the press of the day were painstakingly produced handwork; cartoons, drawings or engravings done by a special staff employed for the purpose. Many of these were portraits of the nobility or reproductions of famous works of art and were very skillfully done. The publication of even one or two pictures of this sort per issue qualified a paper to be called an "illustrated".

All but a very few of the German-language publications continued to use Gothic typescript until the end of the period. The text consisted of a standard "high German" usage with some spellings now considered archaic, including

¹³² Transmission of photographs by wire was only possible after 1924. Smith, A.C.H., The Newspaper, an International History (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979)

much more frequent use of the letter "c" than is now the case (for example in the word Cultur), and an additional "t" sound which was written as "th" and pronounced slightly softer than normal (as in the word Theil). Occasionally in the Illustrierte and quite frequently in the Witzblätter a column or cartoon would feature the Viennese dialect or reproduce Bohemian, Yiddish or Lower Austrian speech patterns, but this would never occur in the more serious media.

There was a standard layout for a daily paper. No screaming headlines or lurid pictures attracted the passer-by. A solid line divided the page of text horizontally about one-third of the way up from the bottom. Beneath the masthead and above the line appeared the most important news of the day under modest headers.¹³³ There was no distinction between news and editorial content, so the top left-hand item represented what the paper felt to be the day's most important news as well as how it was to be interpreted. The first item of the year to appear in that position was always a tone setter, taking stock of the previous year and speculating on the one to come. It was a reliable statement of the really important issues to that particular paper. Less important items might also find their way on to the front page with continuations on the inside as space permitted. Beneath the line (unter'm

¹³³ See figure 1. Figures begin on page 104.

Strich) was reserved for the light reading of the day. Variously known as the feuilleton in more pretentious publications or, in the everyday German ones, as Unterhaltung und Belehrung it could consist of an impressionistic piece, an unabashed editorial comment or moral exhortation, or, most frequently, a short story or a serialized novel. Virtually every publication included some fiction in each edition. Many, like Die Heimat (Motherland), were nearly totally fiction with the addition of some more edifying informative material. One consisted solely of serialized fiction and went out of publication when its major novel was completed.¹³⁴

The interior pages of the newspaper held a variety of informative sections. Papers with government connections would publish official notices and decrees, usually in a separate section called the Amtsblatt. Then there would be a column on the news from court, including the daily agenda of the Emperor. His audience schedule, official visits or guests, state dinners, even his charitable donations, sometimes especially his charitable donations, and his religious observances all rated coverage. Formal events were described in great detail, including who spoke to whom and what everyone was wearing. Ritual ceremonies with religious significance were featured at length year after year. The same sort of information was published in the

¹³⁴ Wiener Romanzeitung 1878-1879

Viennese papers about all of the Austrian royalty including their vacation excursions, hunting trips and even the afternoon walk when it involved the Empress. In the provinces this space was dedicated to mentioning any member of the royal family who happened to be in the area as well as an abbreviated agenda for the Emperor himself. The dynasty was always treated warmly and protectively and even foreign royalty rated frequent and respectful attention. The German royal family rated special coverage in some of the nationalist press, while in Salzburg the Bavarian royalty was regularly covered. The usual social items about noble and prominent citizens followed in order of rank. The social function of this kind of coverage was clearly the maintenance of the hierarchical structure, the satisfaction of the public need for vicarious experience and reflected glory, and the unification of minorities in loyalty to the dynasty.

Local news and civic affairs were covered to the right of the court news on the interior pages but only just ahead of the theatre columns. Coverage of crime and criminal proceedings was ubiquitous. In the provinces the court cases were mostly local ones and were often rather luridly covered. The names and occupations of all of the participants were included so that a researcher can make quite accurate conclusions on the ethnic origin and the economic standing of both accused and accusers. Accidents,

disasters, misfortunes and miracles provided a great deal of the copy in the interior of the papers, even when, for lack of a local event, one had to be copied from other papers. Austrian papers did not appear to make use of wire services, and it was often possible to follow the progress of a particular story from one paper to the next through the provinces. The thrust of these items did not have any of the subversive nature which is obvious in some of the satirical journals. They were not attempting to undermine authority and middle class morality; rather, they seemed to point out the negative consequences of sins such as avarice and lust and thereby to reinforce social norms and conventions.

International news was also relegated to the interior pages except where it involved the monarchy's own foreign policy, in which case it was usually the top story. The sensitivity to international tensions and the anxiety about military matters was especially obvious in the 1877 papers. Even provincial papers followed international stories which involved the possibility of a war anywhere in Europe, but the Balkans were the most sensitive area. There were marked regional preferences in international stories. Salzburg featured news about France and Bavaria in some detail, and many of the papers kept up to date on Imperial German politics. But in Styria readers preferred to keep abreast of what was happening in the domestic politics of Bohemia above any international coverage.

There was a wide variety of regular informational features in all of the newspapers. The Viennese papers were likely to cover the stock market, the provincial papers commodity prices. Railway timetables were more important in the provinces than in Vienna. Provincial papers featured the activities of the local associations or Vereine, which did so much to shape the culture of provincial Austria. Fire protection, city beautification, musical pursuits from opera to folksongs, local school improvements and even beekeepers were all organized in these clubs. Not only did they serve the useful functions which their names imply, but such clubs were also the path to political participation in the provincial towns.¹³⁵ Their importance is suggested not only by the extent but also by the type of coverage they received. Reports included the names and occupations of the club's officers and often of many of the participants as well as that of the local public house which hosted the meeting. One did not get the impression that these meetings were always serious affairs, but the government did not take them lightly and always had a representative present.¹³⁶

There were some items which cause surprise to the modern reader. It was standard practice to list the local deaths and their official causes; these lists appeared at regular

¹³⁵ Judson, "German Liberalism"

¹³⁶ See the numerous references to "Bericht des observierenden Beamten" in Judson, "German Liberalism"; Hanns Haas, "Von Liberal zu National" and Burckert, "Österreichische Bauernvereine"

intervals, monthly, quarterly or even annually and gave the occupation, residence and survivors of the deceased. In the case of a married woman, the husband's occupation was given even when she was widowed. There was no notice of the funeral arrangements, however, and births and baptisms were not customarily listed either. The local hotel registers were faithfully reproduced, even in Vienna, giving the name, home address and occupation of each visitor for each hotel. It was in many ways a more innocent era than our own. Frequently one would see an item to the effect that the Archduke so-and-so was travelling in the strictest incognito as Count such-and-such and would be staying at the Hotel XYZ. One such announcement may actually have made possible the identification of the Empress by her assassin in Geneva in 1898. Even the dead letter office was not immune to coverage. Its contents would be listed helpfully giving the addressee and the sender of each undeliverable letter along with a notation of the reason. ("Mr. XYZ of Anytown to Miss ABC of Her Address, insufficient postage.") Privacy was somewhat less prized and confidentiality unknown. Provincial newspapers frequently engaged in a dialogue with their readers on an individual level, but, with a few rare exceptions, published only their own answers. The reader was left to guess at the question or the comment. The exceptions, when readers' letters were published, invariably referred either to the theatre or to sidewalks.

Theatre news and reviews had pride of place in the press of all areas of the monarchy. The careers of performers were discussed at great length with their connections rating as much attention as their capabilities. Casting decisions and the choice of theatrical offerings were major public topics. Scandals were self-righteously exploited and innuendo ran wild. The provinces shamelessly aped Vienna and Berlin in cultural matters. Music was an important topic which had been thoroughly politicized in Vienna even before Wagner became the hero of the German nationals or Mahler that of the modern generation.¹³⁷ In the 200th year after the death of Mozart and in the midst of an extraordinary "Mozart year" in Austria, it was interesting to note that the 100th anniversary of his death was similarly exploited and was already under discussion four years ahead of time in the press of Salzburg.¹³⁸ Some things endure. The prominence which questions of entertainment assumed in the Austrian press is difficult to imagine. It can be compared, perhaps, to modern North American television coverage where interviews with movie stars assume the importance of news. It is fully compatible with the picture of escapism in Austrian culture painted by modern American cultural historians.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ See the discussion in Andics Luegerzeit pp. 286 and 287.

¹³⁸ Salzburger Zeitung, 1887. several references

¹³⁹ see, for example, Schorske, Politics and Culture McGrath, Dionysian Art and Johnston, Austrian Mind.

Patent medicines provided the bulk of newspaper advertising copy, but not their entirety. Among the most frequent advertisers was a gout remedy called Kwizda's Gichtwasser and Kwizda's name still stands over a very prestigious Ringstrasse office building. Others sought customers in the papers as well: "discreet" doctors and "reliable" cures for unmentioned diseases, information on the "protection" of women and "rubber" products competed for the reader's attention with the illustrations of international beauties, and advertising for cosmetics and hair restorers. However, handy household helps, fashionable clothes, uniforms and shoes and dozens of other useful products were also promoted by their makers. Where the upper-class papers advertised appropriate resorts for the summer season and elegant hotels in the capital cities of Europe, the middle-class was likely to find promotions for spot-remover and kitchen gadgets. The Tagblatt (The Daily) published by Moritz Szeps pioneered the classified advertising section in Vienna. Known as the Kleine Anzeiger (small advertiser), it advertised individual items for sale, lost and found, rooms for rent, financial planning and "personals" which advertised some very personal services indeed; another tradition which has endured.

The classifieds never became popular in the provinces and in spite of the claims of critics from the clerical party such as Woerl and moralists like the satirist Karl Kraus,

they never made anyone very rich, either. The outrage of their opponents was probably their best promotion. According to Kurt Paupié very few periodicals and even daily newspapers of the day were financially self-supporting. The majority of periodicals were house organs for various organizations. The daily press was often subsidized either by the political interests of the moment or by the government itself.¹⁴⁰

It was in the matter of government control and censorship that the press of the monarchy was most distinctive. Until 1874 advertisements were taxed virtually out of existence, a situation which on its own depressed the publishing industry.¹⁴¹ Even after the removal of the tax (Inseratensteuer), the press was subject to a ban on street or door-to-door sales (Kolportageverbot), which forced them into selling through the state tobacco monopoly which had (and still has) a network of shops and stalls all over the country. Of course, licences were required to sell in these shops and they could be revoked almost at the will of a single official. On top of that, periodicals were subject to a circulation tax similar to the stamp taxes in Britain (Zeitungstempel), a tax which already brought the government 300,000 Gulden in revenue in 1874 and was not lifted entirely until 1899.¹⁴² A punitive damage deposit (Kaution),

¹⁴⁰ Paupié, Handbuch

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

was required of publishers until 1894, and a form of preventive censorship was exercised as well. Copy had to be previewed before publication and if an issue containing offensive material had already been printed, it was confiscated. The press of the day abounds in evidence that this was not an idle threat. Sometimes publications appeared with blank spaces where the offending article had been. Often, of course, the paper simply did not appear and apologies or grievances graced the following issue while the missing copy, if it ever did resurface, was discreetly repackaged.

A favourite technique of the provincial authorities was described in 1877 by Franz Achaz, editor and publisher of the Styrian farmer's journal, Bauernwille. The censor would refuse to rule on the admissability of an issue until the publisher in desperation went to press. Then the issue would be confiscated and the publisher would lose twice as much as he would have had the official made his ruling on time.¹⁴³ This was particularly effective against the smaller local publications which were never financially stable to begin with, and the tactic eventually succeeded in driving the contentious Achaz out of print in 1884. In a lighter vein, the Steirer Seppel (Styrian Joe), also of Graz, complained that it might as well turn itself into the

¹⁴² Ibid. p.13.

¹⁴³ Bauernwille (Graz) 1877

weather watch and joke only about the weather to avoid confiscation.¹⁴⁴

The main concern of the censors seems to have been the prevention of criticism of the dynasty or of government officials, but their authority was exercised so capriciously and arbitrarily that it is very difficult to form any general conclusions as to its purposes or as to its effects. The threat of censorship and of confiscation always was a real one, but, in spite of it, quite critical articles on politicians or officials could appear - especially in Vienna. The famous description of Austrian bureaucracy by Viktor Adler as "absolutism moderated by sloppiness" seems to have applied well here.¹⁴⁵ The treatment of the dynasty, on the other hand, usually went far beyond the demands of the censors and could only be described as sycophancy at all levels. Critical articles of any sort only appeared outside the country. The prime example of such consideration was the coverage and coverup of the suicide of the Crown Prince in January 1889, in which the press of all stripes went to embarrassing extremes in order to protect the sensibilities of the Imperial family.

The Habsburg monarchy did not have to rely on the censorship of bureaucrats in order to protect its image with the public. According to both Woerl and Paupié, the

¹⁴⁴ Steirer Seppl (Graz) Aug 11, 1877

¹⁴⁵ Quoted in Johnston, Vienna Vienna, p. 216.

government was accustomed to doing a little judicious investing. The most obvious way was to use a periodical as an official Amtsblatt to print government decrees for assured financial support. One such paper, the Fremdenblatt (Foreign News), was considered to be the official organ of the department of foreign affairs, others were judged to be more general government organs by contemporaries and by modern researchers alike. In the case of the uplifting illustrated journal, Die Heimat, if Woerl is to be believed, the dynasty itself went one step further. It subsidized the paper out of private funds in order to compete with the popular Berlin magazine, Die Gartenlaube, which had commented about the unconventional lifestyle of the Austrian Empress.¹⁴⁶ Woerl's thesis is entirely tenable judging by the contents of Die Heimat. Uplifting light fiction and ennobling images provided the mainstay of its copy. Until the end of the century it clung to classical imagery and whitewashed portrayals of the peoples and the landscapes of the monarchy. It went to the extent of publishing a little human interest item in 1887 about a commission by the royal family for portraits of local beauties from the performing arts community. The item described Katharina Schratt, for some time the Emperor's mistress (with the complicity of the Empress herself) as a well known Burgtheater actress and favourite of the entire Imperial family. It went on to describe in detail her pose and her costume for the portrait

¹⁴⁶ Woerl, p. 139

(for which, of course, frequent sittings in the palace were required).¹⁴⁷

There was surprisingly little material on what might be considered popular culture in the newspapers, even in the provinces. While major holidays such as Christmas and New Year were recognized, the social season, the carnival season (Fasching), and the summer break (Sommerfrische), were lively topics only in the satiricals and, by implication, in the advertisements for resort hotels or ball gowns. The newspapers published no regular notice of church services or activities, even in the most Catholic of the Catholic papers. Masses were only mentioned when the Emperor or some other dignitary attended. One might have expected announcements of births, baptisms, funerals, confirmations and first communions, Corpus Christi parades and church bazaars or dramas, but nothing of the sort is mentioned. Even the church publications, which often provided the appropriate saint for each day of the year and the appropriate homily for the season, never seemed to comment on specific celebrations. Only the humorous publications took any notice of such popular institutions as that devilish character, Krampus, who visited children along with St. Nicholas on December 6th or the three kings who, in the guise of children, visited everybody else a month later. These events and milestones in everyday life which usually

¹⁴⁷ Die Heimat, 1887 p.256.

feature so prominently in biographies and autobiographies must have been so normal that they did not seem newsworthy to editors, or else the press could simply not compete with the efficiency and the immediacy of the grape-vine and the pulpit when it came to such items.

Contemporary humour, on the other hand, was included in virtually every publication of any size. Usually it was in the form of a separate column of jokes or anecdotes, including many items which still circulate in one version or another to this day. The sophistication and the content varied, of course, with the pretensions and the prejudices of the journal, from the satirical journals of Vienna to the provincial clerical-conservative papers, but no class or political stripe was totally without a sense of humour. Since it is in its idea of humour that a culture often reveals its attitudes, its fears and its desires most readily, this was a fortunate state of affairs for the researcher.¹⁴⁸

The many periodicals which catered to membership-based, usually professional, organizations such as those of the civil servants, teachers or priests concentrated on the specific interests of the group. The trials and

¹⁴⁸ For a discussion of the role of humour in society, particularly a Germanic society under the control of government censorship, see Ann Taylor Allen Satire and Society in Wilhelmine Germany: Simplicissimus and Kladderadatsch (Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 1984) pp. 1-13

tribulations of its members and their achievements and awards in professional settings comprised its most important subject-matter. Career opportunities and career moves were prominently featured, as were the promotions, deaths, illness, or even the adventures of individual members of the community. Articles of professional importance predominated. Each journal served both the intellectual needs of its members for information and recognition and as a source of solidarity and moral support. For the civil servants and teachers, the pay scales and working conditions in public service were on-going concerns, while for the priests it was the wicked Liberals and the Kulturkampf.

There were two distinct types of publication which might generally be classified as entertainment: the Illustrierte, or illustrated papers and the Witzblätter, or satirical journals. The former, which one would expect to have had a lot of pictures, were, in fact, only sparingly illustrated. They were actually devoted largely to fiction. They also contained informational features, usually of an undemanding level, on travel or the curious cultures of faraway peoples and places. Historical topics were also popular choices. Some of the illustrated papers, such as Die Heimat, limited themselves to this bland copy and were aimed mostly at women readers in the successful Gartenlaube pattern. Others, such as the Illustrierte Wiener Extrablatt (Illustrated Vienna Extra) included many of the same kinds of news items as the

unillustrated papers, were supported by a modest amount of advertising, and could have been aimed at the consumer with lighter tastes or a lighter pocketbook. By contrast, the Salonblatt (Society News) was frankly aimed at the aristocracy. The illustrations consisted of portraits of royalty and the copy of the glorification of noble values and noble deeds. Women's magazines are included in this category because they usually contained a great deal of fiction along with the features on fashion, sewing, crafts, and household hints which one would expect. They were quite generously illustrated and included patterns and instructions for handiwork and clothing. They did not have either a large share of the market or a very long lifespan, however.

The satirical journals were the most popular of the entertainment media and came in a wide variety of forms. Except for a few particularly durable titles, they also tended to have a limited lifespan. Some were bitterly political while others devoted their attention to social satire; concentrating on sexual innuendo, middle class "situation comedy" and the world of the arts. There was a satirical vehicle for every level of the middle class. Biting local critiques with a rather unattractive layout characterized the very successful Kikeriki, which appealed to the Mittelstand. On the other hand, very elegant and artistically produced social satire in which one expects to

meet Arthur Schnitzler's characters or Sigmund Freud's patients on every other page was produced for the Bürgertum (upper middle class). Just risqué enough to sell, just modest enough to survive the censors, which was much less modest than we might imagine, the best examples were Bombe (Bomb) and Wiener Caricaturen (Viennese Caricatures).¹⁴⁹ It would appear that the working class was not expected to read at all until the socialists got at them, while the aristocrats preferred their genteel and escapist illustrateds.

Humour can bypass the responsibility for attitudes expressed even as it expresses them. It can expose to ridicule and expose by ridicule; it can retain important ambivalences and layer meanings, but a word of caution to the modern student of the history of the Habsburg empire is in order. We must remain aware that no matter how familiar a text may appear, the discourse of the day is not our discourse. No matter how translatable the words or decipherable the dialect, the meaning may well be obscured by a myriad of factors beyond our experience. Besides the interpretational problems mentioned at the outset of this chapter, we have our own perceptual screens to contend with, especially in the examination of ethnic attitudes. It is necessary to remember that we are dealing with the discourse of a generation which could not imagine the holocaust from

¹⁴⁹ See figure 2.

the perspective of a generation which cannot ever forget it. This was brought home forcefully to the author while leafing through one of those establishment papers with its bland if uplifting content. One of the peaceful and attractive landscapes shown was the stone quarry at Mauthausen!

Figure 1: Grazer Tagespost Jan 21, 1897. This and all further illustrations courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Beachtliches:
Graz, den 21. Jänner 1897.
Der Herr Redakteur des Grazer Tagespost.
Ich habe die Ehre, Ihnen hiermit zu danken, dass Sie mir die Gabe gemacht haben, dass ich in Ihrer Zeitung meine Artikel veröffentlichen darf. Ich bin sehr dankbar, dass Sie mir die Gabe gemacht haben, dass ich in Ihrer Zeitung meine Artikel veröffentlichen darf.

Tagespost.

Morgenblatt.

Preis:
Einzelnummer 10 Heller.
Abonnement für ein Jahr 10 Kronen.
Abonnement für sechs Monate 6 Kronen.
Abonnement für drei Monate 3 Kronen.
Abonnement für einen Monat 1 Kronen.

Nr. 21. Graz, Donnerstag 21. Jänner 1897. XLII. Jahrgang.

Das Ministerium Baden und die Deutschen.

Das Ministerium Baden hat die Ehre, Ihnen hiermit zu danken, dass Sie mir die Gabe gemacht haben, dass ich in Ihrer Zeitung meine Artikel veröffentlichen darf. Ich bin sehr dankbar, dass Sie mir die Gabe gemacht haben, dass ich in Ihrer Zeitung meine Artikel veröffentlichen darf.

Das Ministerium Baden hat die Ehre, Ihnen hiermit zu danken, dass Sie mir die Gabe gemacht haben, dass ich in Ihrer Zeitung meine Artikel veröffentlichen darf. Ich bin sehr dankbar, dass Sie mir die Gabe gemacht haben, dass ich in Ihrer Zeitung meine Artikel veröffentlichen darf.

Das Ministerium Baden hat die Ehre, Ihnen hiermit zu danken, dass Sie mir die Gabe gemacht haben, dass ich in Ihrer Zeitung meine Artikel veröffentlichen darf. Ich bin sehr dankbar, dass Sie mir die Gabe gemacht haben, dass ich in Ihrer Zeitung meine Artikel veröffentlichen darf.

Politische Tagesgeschichte.

Das Ministerium Baden hat die Ehre, Ihnen hiermit zu danken, dass Sie mir die Gabe gemacht haben, dass ich in Ihrer Zeitung meine Artikel veröffentlichen darf. Ich bin sehr dankbar, dass Sie mir die Gabe gemacht haben, dass ich in Ihrer Zeitung meine Artikel veröffentlichen darf.

Calderonjünger.

Das Ministerium Baden hat die Ehre, Ihnen hiermit zu danken, dass Sie mir die Gabe gemacht haben, dass ich in Ihrer Zeitung meine Artikel veröffentlichen darf. Ich bin sehr dankbar, dass Sie mir die Gabe gemacht haben, dass ich in Ihrer Zeitung meine Artikel veröffentlichen darf.

Das Ministerium Baden hat die Ehre, Ihnen hiermit zu danken, dass Sie mir die Gabe gemacht haben, dass ich in Ihrer Zeitung meine Artikel veröffentlichen darf. Ich bin sehr dankbar, dass Sie mir die Gabe gemacht haben, dass ich in Ihrer Zeitung meine Artikel veröffentlichen darf.

Das Ministerium Baden hat die Ehre, Ihnen hiermit zu danken, dass Sie mir die Gabe gemacht haben, dass ich in Ihrer Zeitung meine Artikel veröffentlichen darf. Ich bin sehr dankbar, dass Sie mir die Gabe gemacht haben, dass ich in Ihrer Zeitung meine Artikel veröffentlichen darf.

Figure 3: Steirer Seppel Jan 8, 1887 and April 23, 1887.

Einer,
der sich's Maul zer-
reisst, weil bei Staats-
prüfungen Kenntniss
der deutschen
Sprache verlangt
wird

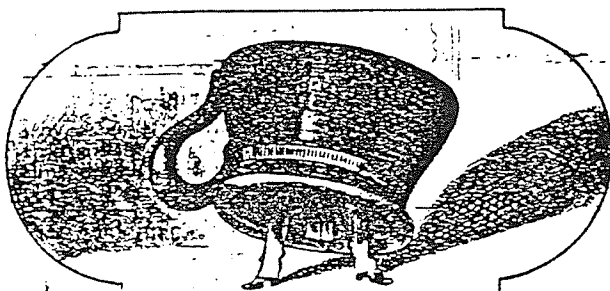


In Prag
zerreißen sie sich schon wieder
das Maul, weil Studenten
aus Deutschland an die
deutsche Prager Universität
kommen wollen.

Figure 4: Steirer Seppel June 25, 1887.

Graz, 25. Juni 1887. Illustrirtes humoristisches Volksblatt. XXII. Jahrgang, Nr. 21

Monolog im Häfen.



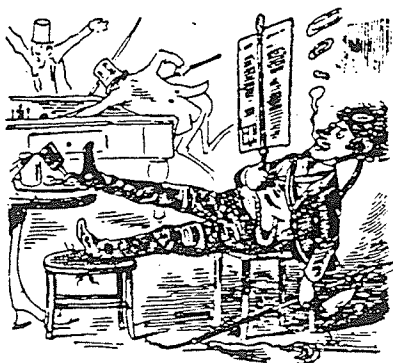
Sich sein Lebenlang für seine Nation aufopfern und jetzt so schmafu behandelt werden, das ist grauslich; da soll der Teufel ein Gzechensführer sein, nicht ich.

Ladislauš Riger.

Schuster's Klage.



Wie man sich plagen muss, bis man einen Stiefel fertig bringt. Andere ruiniren mit ein Paar Bleistiftstrichen d' schönsten Anlagen, und der Stiefel ist fertig!

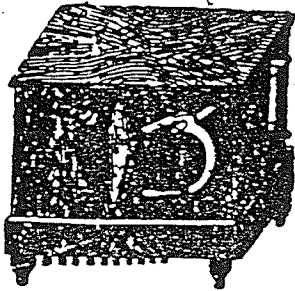


Was les' i da? Drei Studenten verwundet, weil's deutsche Lieder gesungen haben, was den slavischen Gesellen nicht recht war? — Das wird ja nach und nach schon recht gemüthlich; wo sind wir denn? — In Graz? oder wo denn ???




Figure 5: Steirer Seppel July 9, 1887.

Vorzügliches
Werkel



wird billigst ver-
kauft, weil es den
Fehler hat, daß es auch
das manchen Leuten so
unangenehme
Deutsche Lied auf
der Walzen hat.

Seduz!



Junge Leut! Warum
duelliren? Ein Krüppel
kann man später auch
noch werden im Völker-
Zweikampf!

Figure 6: Steirer Seppel August 27, 1887.

Die Unentbehrliche.



Den macht mich gar nix, ob Deitsche gründens Schul-
vereinigung, ob's fluchens af Gregor alewo af pane
Rigera, oder ob treibens Landtagsenthaltjamkeit, wann
friegens deitsche flane Gindel, mußens doch haben
bemische Uml.

Figure 7: Wiener Caricaturen Sept. 4, 1887.

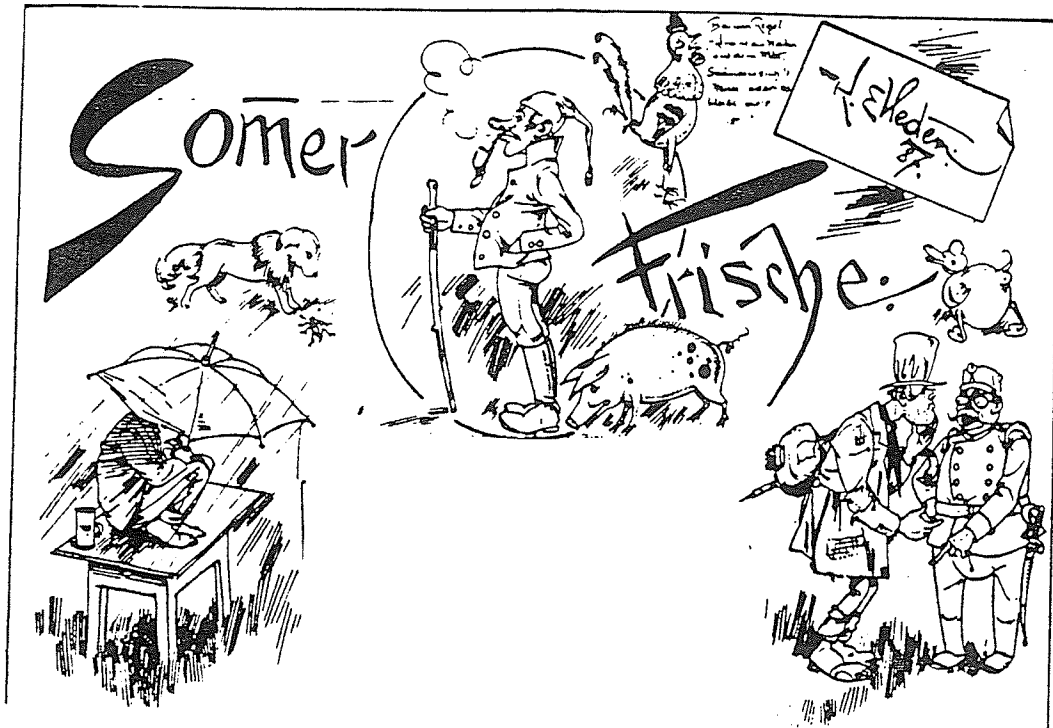


Figure 8: "Polly, say Good morning Paul. Oh, but no, you can leave off the name; perhaps in a month he'll be called Eugene. And you, you silly bird, could end up giving me away." Wiener Caricaturen May 16, 1897.

Vorsicht schadet nicht!



— Papert, sag: Guten Morgen, Paul! Aber nein, den Namen laßst Du weglassen, vielleicht heißt er in vier Wochen Eugen. Und du, dummes Tier, mußt am Ende noch compromittiren.

Verantwortlicher Herausgeber: Carl Orosch.
Verantwortlicher Redakteur: G. Orosch.
Druck: J. Orosch.

Verantwortlicher Herausgeber: Carl Orosch.
Verantwortlicher Redakteur: G. Orosch.
Druck: J. Orosch.

Verantwortlicher Herausgeber: Carl Orosch.
Verantwortlicher Redakteur: G. Orosch.
Druck: J. Orosch.

Figure 9: Wiener Caricaturen May 23, 1987.

Kennen Sie schon **„Opal“** in der Tonne?

„Opal“ ist das beste Fleckwasser der Welt!



„Du“ hast Diamanten
und Perlen“
bräut es in Liebe Du
wirst aber erst dann voll-
kommen glücklich, wenn
Du Dich Toilette durch
„Opal“
auftrichst

Opal

*Nein, keine Wismuthen, keine arsenigen, arsenigen
oder ähnlichen, sondern reinen, reinen, reinen
Opal, der die einzige, die die Welt kennt!*

„Opal“ ist wohlriechend und nicht feuergefährlich, entfernt alle möglichen Flecken, ohne Farbe und Stoff anzugreifen, während Benzol feuergefährlich und schlecht riechend ist, nur Fettflecke entfernt und Hände hinterlässt. — Hüte, Anzüge, Ueberzieher, blank gewordene Stoffe werden, mit Opal abgebürstet, wie neu. — Schmutzige, verblasste Möbelstoffe, Portieren, Teppiche erhalten, mit Opal abgebürstet, vielfach ihr früheres Aussehen wieder. Man kaufe daher nie mehr Benzin, sondern nur noch Opal in der Tonne à 20, 35 und 60 kr. Opalschwämmchen, extra präpariert, 10 kr.

☛ Käuflich in Apotheken und Droguerien. ☛
A. Wasmuth & Co., Hamburg.

Figure 10: Die Bombe Dec. 26, 1897.

XXVII. Jahrgang Nr. 52.

Wien, Sonntag

DIE BOMBE.



Slavisches Verbrüderungslied.



In Musik gesetzt von einem — Krakauer.)

Rom a pëklo! Hej slovane,
 Lass't uns treu zusammengeh'n!
 Frischer Wind bläh' uns're Fahne,
 Wir versteh'n uns schon auf's Bläh'n
 Rafft euch auf zu stolzem Schwunge,
 Bis der letzte Deutsche weicht,
 Zeigt den Feinden kühn die Zunge
 So weit die slav'sche Zunge reicht.
 Lächerlich! Von Deutschen hätten
 Wir die Bildung, die Cultur?
 Findet man an uns'ren Stätten
 Auch davon die kleinste Spur?
 Krasser Undank nur, der laute,
 Streut dergleichen Märchen aus,
 Denn fast allen Deutschen baute
 Nur der Czechen Hand das Haus:
 Heut' mit seines Hasses Flamme
 Seht ihr gegen uns ihn zieh'n
 Und dabei war seine Amme
 Theils aus Czaslau, theils Kolin.

Zellwaller von 1896 & 1897. — An wie Helten.



Hygien. **Frauenschutz** (Siehe
 pass.)
 von Apotheker **H. Noffke, Berlin S.**
 Ritterstrasse 41, ist der beste, sicherste, bequ
 und unschädlichste, von Aerzten anerkannt
 Preis per 1/2 = 20 St. d. 2. — (Mk. 3.30),
 12 St. d. 1.50 (Mk. 2.40). — General-D
 Wien, I., Apotheke „Zum König von Ung.
 Bitte auf obige Schutzmarke zu achten.) 271

Volle Mahlzeit Magenleidenden Sofortige Bill.
 Nach Mithing aller Medicamente, Mineralwasser, Salze und Spe
 verboten! Nur nach Genuss aller der Menschheit zustehender Sp
 sen vermag, wie langjährige unheilbare Erfolge beweisen, zu
 Verdauung anregend und erhaltendes Speisepreparat.
„Magenheil“
 alle Magenbeschwerden (da solche nicht einmal krankhaft in jed
 Alter und Stadium vom Säugling bis zum Greise zu heiligen
 dauernd beschwerdelose Verdauung herzustellen!
 Broschüre gegen 3 Pfennig-Marko gratis und franco, a. Dose M.
 6. W. d. 1. — durch
Heinr. Senf, Köln, 23 Rheingasse 23.
 Bei m. m. 3 Dosen für Deutschland franco, Nachnahme extra.



Chapter V

THE PRESS OF SALZBURG

Salzburg, the small, Conservative, Catholic and thoroughly German province on the border with Bavaria, makes an appropriate place to begin an examination of public discourse about ethnicity and nationality in the monarchy. Its uniform ethnic and religious demographic structure meant that its attitudes were not shaped by daily interaction or by conflict with other ethnic groups. By century's end it had a reputation as a centre of Pan-German organization and agitation.¹⁵⁰ This chapter examines the press of the province at ten-year intervals paying particular attention to the subject of nationality and the depiction of ethnic difference. The focus is on the use of language and the ways in which it changed over time and according to political perspectives.

1877 - National Indifference

Five newspapers could be considered representative of the information media serving the province of Salzburg in 1877. They cover the broad spectrum of opinions and occupations generally associated with the occupational groups comprising the Mittelstand of the province. The first of these

¹⁵⁰ Haas, "Von Liberal zu National", p. 117-119.

publications was the Salzburger Kirchenblatt (Salzburg Church Voice), a church publication with a circulation of about 1100 copies (in 1880), published weekly at a cost of 5 Fl. 20 kr. annually.¹⁵¹ The Liberal voice in the province was provided by the Salzburger Volksblatt (Salzburg People's Review), a paper with the subtitle "Organ of progress for all classes",¹⁵² which came out three times weekly, had a circulation of approximately 700, and cost 7 Fl. 29 kr. annually.¹⁵³ Conservative competition was presented by the Salzburger Chronik (Salzburg Chronicle) classified by Leo Woerl as politically Catholic, which had a circulation of about 700 and was also published three times a week at a price of 6 Fl. annually.¹⁵⁴ Besides these papers was an official daily, the Salzburger Zeitung (Salzburg News), which cost 15 Fl. yearly but for which Woerl ventured no circulation estimate,¹⁵⁵ and the Zeitschrift des Salzburger Lehrervereines (Salzburg Teachers Association News), which

¹⁵¹ Woerl Publicistik p. 214

¹⁵² The German word "Stände", which really means "estates" in the medieval sense, is frequently used in clerical contexts. I will translate it as "class" because it has a less archaic ring, but I in no way intend to imply the Marxist concept of "class" which I find problematical when applied to rural populations although it was well understood at the time in urban and industrial contexts. The use of the word in this case serves to emphasize the ambivalence of Salzburg's Liberals, used in the same breath as it was with the word "Fortschritt" which typically denotes liberal sympathies.

¹⁵³ Woerl Publicistik p. 193

¹⁵⁴ Woerl Publicistik p. 187

¹⁵⁵ Woerl Publicistik p. 193

was the teachers society organ, non-political in the party sense, and came out monthly at a cost of 1 Fl. 50 kr. annually reaching about 300 local public-school teachers.¹⁵⁶

Before describing the content of these publications it might perhaps be useful to refer to a description of their readership by Leo Woerl in his 1880 work. Woerl represented the view of the embattled Imperial German Catholics of the Kulturkampf. Clerical-Conservatives like Woerl agitated against the Liberals first and other denominations second and for the traditional and God-given role of the aristocracy in public life. His work was not only typical of the Catholic press of the period, but his own career was also closely tied to the publication and promotion of politically correct Catholic papers. In the literature sections of those very same Catholic papers, a regular feature, Woerl's publications were frequently recommended. In his classification of the press of his day, he was never shy about including some historical and social background material:

In Austria the liberal press had exercised a corruptive influence only at that particular middle-level of education which is to be found in all classes. Even today the liberal press counts among its faithful almost exclusively the residents of the cities and towns, and that portion of the nobility and the clergy who have let themselves get caught up in the sticky wheel of business booms, or the desire for profit without working for it. The total number of these is, granted, not small; the great bulk of the population, however, that is to say the rural

¹⁵⁶ Woerl Publicistik p. 214

population, reads no newspapers at all. At most they pick up one of those little, usually catholic-conservative weeklies every week or two, or even less often, in the public house of the parish which, all in all, meet their requirements thoroughly appropriately.¹⁵⁷

Woerl went on to deny that the "scant demand for newspaper-reading of Austria's rural population" was to be construed "as a sign of ignorance or even of a dullness of mind" as some of his liberal opposition would have declared. Instead he insisted that the farmers in the mountain areas were the salt of the earth; "isolated from the stimulation of curiosity," which Catholicism found unseemly, "grounded in their proper calling and class consciousness", and "firmly rooted in religious convictions". Woerl even went so far as to assert that, to these noble, loyal folk, "the uneasy, sceptical, excited drive of the newspaper world" appeared "not only strange, but actually repulsive."¹⁵⁸ Woerl continued with all of the eloquence and the conviction which characterized the conservative discourse which he represented:

It suffices when, in a whole community, the priest subscribes to a Catholic paper and at most leaves another one lying in the public house, which admittedly is often identical to the first one, in order for the entire community to keep the proper priorities alive. Luckily individualism has made little inroad here.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Woerl Publicistik p. 357 for the text in German see appendix I(a)

¹⁵⁸ Woerl Publicistik p. 357

¹⁵⁹ Woerl Publicistik p. 365 for German text see appendix I(b)

Woerl's writing style is typical of that used in his own and most other papers and serves as a reminder that the press of the day used a style which was much more rhetorical than the journalism of our own day. It also serves to underline the political dichotomy of Austrian publications. His judgement of the rural population of the monarchy has to be seen in the context of his political position and would certainly have been contested by the Liberals, but it does represent an important mode of thought in the solidly Catholic, mainly rural province of Salzburg, if not in the monarchy as a whole. When he wrote, in 1880, the significance of Count Taaffe's political "iron ring" was most likely not yet obvious, but as the decade wore on this mode of thought was to become that of the politically dominant faction.

The pervasive conservatism of Salzburg society was reflected in the language it used in daily communication. The same conservatism helps to explain the relative rarity of agitation for the improvement of rural conditions mentioned in the secondary literature about Salzburg as compared, for example, to Styria.¹⁶⁰ Daily existence on the farm was just as difficult in the Salzburg area as it was anywhere else, and perhaps just sufficiently more difficult to preclude the extra effort of political activity.

¹⁶⁰ See for example, Burkert, "Österreichische Bauernvereine", p. 198.

The Salzburger Kirchenblatt appears to have been just one of those newspapers which Woerl would gladly have seen lying on the local innkeeper's table. It presented the partisan Catholic view of the world on a weekly basis to a flock engaged in and familiar with the rhetoric of the Kulturkampf. The content seemed aimed at the priesthood or at least the highly active lay reader, but its circulation figures would suggest considerably more readers than the priesthood included, at least in the province of Salzburg. Significantly the book reviews were printed in Latin, a hint that perhaps not everything discussed was suitable for the laity. There was very little local news in the paper, and no notices of church events or reports on church activities: only the contents of the local collection boxes were deemed worthy of regular coverage! The struggle of Catholicism on the international front was the main subject matter of the paper. It even included reports from missionary priests in America on the political activities of the church there - the Democrats were described as thoroughly Clerical-Conservative. There was absolutely no hint in any of the articles or features of derogatory attitudes towards Slavs. The prejudices were open and above-board and were all on confessional grounds. The most bitter criticism of all was reserved for German Protestants in Europe and abroad. They were not only considered to be beyond the pale in terms of belief, but faced a special opprobrium for

acting politically against their fellow Germans. The tone here had some of the injured quality which would become apparent later vis-à-vis the Slavs, but without the distinctive markers of German-national discourse. The paper was also quite critical of Jews on two counts - as infidels and as liberals; but racial anti-semitism did not rear its ugly head in this publication. The language used was at its most dismissive when it came to Islam, and particularly to the Turks. Racial prejudice was far from unthinkable in the discourse of this paper; it merely took a back-seat to religious prejudice. It is interesting to note that this paper was one of the ones most highly recommended by Woerl and which in turn recommended his publications regularly in its reviews.¹⁶¹

The Salzburger Chronik was also a Catholic and conservative paper, but seemed designed for a more popular readership. In Woerl's day, however, it had a smaller circulation than the Kirchenblatt, 700 as compared to 1100 issues, although both would have had a much larger total readership than the number of issues printed. The Chronik appeared three times a week and contained local news coverage including crimes and trials, the Vereine and their activities, grain and food prices, social items, theatre news, about one and a half pages of advertising and an entertaining feuilleton. It did not neglect the

¹⁶¹ Salzburger Kirchenblatt issues for 1877

contemporary international scene and like most of the newspapers of the monarchy in 1877, expressed considerable concern about the situation in Turkey. War was fascinating but frightening to readers of the Chronik. Its international items included steady coverage of Bavarian and French affairs and personalities. In 1877, the Chronik had the distinction of being the only Salzburg paper to have been confiscated for insulting the royal family. This was an exceptional position for a conservative paper to find itself in, and the offending material is, of course, not available for perusal nor was it explained.

The position of the Chronik on political affairs was less polemical than that of the Kirchenblatt but followed the same general line. Its dislike of the Liberals was exceeded only by its fear of the Socialists as an article in January in response to the elections in Germany emphasized. After classic "red scare" coverage of the Socialist gains, the Liberals were still painted as the villains because they "recognized the very existence of a 'social problem' only with the Paris commune, and still did nothing about it."¹⁶² The paper's dislike of the Liberals extended unmistakably to the Ausgleich. The grounds for this position, however, seemed to be entirely financial and political; no criticism of the Hungarian people was ever expressed. Slavs, whether those of the monarchy itself or elsewhere, did not seem to

¹⁶² Salzburger Chronik Jan. 18, 1877

rate the least attention. Neither approval nor disapproval was indicated, or any feeling at all, for that matter. It is not at all apparent from a perusal of the Chronik that there was the least discomfort around the issue of nationality in the entire monarchy, if one discounts, perhaps, the Hungarians with their continual political demands.¹⁶³

The other side of the political spectrum was represented by the Salzburger Volksblatt which had a similar circulation and a similar publication schedule. Its masthead proclaimed its liberal orientation, but its content was not really all that different from that of the Chronik. The Volksblatt had more advertising than the Catholic paper, most of it for patent medicines, but all sorts of practical items were also offered for sale in its pages. Like the competition, its coverage in 1877 was dominated by the eastern situation and by the compromise negotiations with Hungary. Surprisingly for a liberal paper, its attention to social questions was also obvious. Its target, though, was more specifically the excesses of Vienna and the capital's domination of the monarchy's political agenda than was the case in the Chronik. For example, a report from Vienna emphasized

the reverse side of that sparkle which beams at us from the mirrored shops of Vienna City, from the blazing sea of the Ringstrasse, from the night life of the financial elite. Eight hundred

¹⁶³ Salzburger Chronik issues for 1877

families in Rudolfsheim and Penzing are truly caught in a battle with hunger....the victims of the crisis, the bankrupt tradesmen, the ruined artisans, the shattered lives.¹⁶⁴

There was no comment on the nationalities at all, let alone on the Slavs. Economic and social questions dominated the national agenda just four years after the stock market crash of 1873; the worry about war and peace dominated the international one. Two themes of the Viennese press, fear of the Russians and the dislike of Bismarck, seemed much less marked in Salzburg. Problems of minorities, nations or oppressed peoples simply did not impinge on the public consciousness in 1877. In Salzburg, even the liberals were profoundly conservative.¹⁶⁵

The only daily paper published in Salzburg at the end of the 1870's, the Salzburger Zeitung, fell into the category of those organs more or less under the thumb of the government. It published official edicts in a special insert, the Amtsblatt (gazette), and thus ensured its financial viability. This paper included a great deal of local material including coverage of crimes, accidents, the theatre, and the hotel registers. It printed letters from readers, but only in response to the theatre reviews, and had its own serialized novel. Its tone was very conventional and uncontroversial, verging upon the

¹⁶⁴ Salzburger Volksblatt Jan. 20, 1877 See appendix I(c) for the text in German.

¹⁶⁵ Salzburger Volksblatt issues for 1877

pretentious, and it tended to fawn on the nobility. Like the other Salzburg papers of the day it covered events in neighbouring Bavaria as well as in France, although the monarchy was not pursuing a particularly pro-French foreign policy line. This perhaps reflects particular reader interest in these areas due to the geographic proximity of Bavaria, and to the influence of France in the former Archbishopric which dated back to the Napoleonic era. Such interest was peculiar to Salzburg papers. Like the papers already mentioned, the Salzburger Zeitung took no notice whatsoever of the Slavic population of the monarchy. Of course, one would not expect to find a government organ criticising the Hungarian Compromise or drawing attention to social problems and the Zeitung did not. The entire political debate of the other two papers was glossed over and the social events and activities of the prominent were featured. Music and the theatre were safe topics and were well covered. The literary review column recommended Viennese papers such as Die Heimat, which was noted for its very conventional and escapist content.¹⁶⁶

The monthly Zeitschrift des Salzburger Lehrervereines concentrated on the concerns of its teacher-members. It included items of practical concern such as publishers' advertisements and notices of job vacancies and promotions. Teachers' conferences were well covered and feature articles

¹⁶⁶ Salzburger Zeitung issues for 1877

dealt with budget matters and school facilities. Its political content was oriented entirely towards the school system and of course represented the opposite point of view to the Catholic papers on education issues. A good portion of the journal was devoted to articles on pedagogical topics, and in 1877 these included the values of a timetable, the uses and advantages of school gardens, and methods of teaching reading. There was not the slightest hint of condescension towards Slavs in the whole journal, in fact there was no coverage of them at all.¹⁶⁷ Neither was there any evidence of German-national sentiments in this or any of the Salzburg papers for 1877. The code-words which would later be used to include a publication firmly within the embrace of its own national community were completely lacking in the issues for 1877.

To summarize the outlook of the Salzburg press in 1877 is to describe the language of a provincial, conservative community firmly embedded in the Catholic camp although not without moderate liberal representation. Ethnicity played virtually no role in the public consciousness, the German press neither affirmed its own Germanness nor actively denigrated any other group. It cannot be concluded that this picture necessarily held true for private consciousness and private attitudes, of course, but in the public sphere bread and butter issues predominated. The threats to the

¹⁶⁷ Zeitschrift des Salzburger Lehrervereines issues for 1877

future well-being of the community which were perceived and expressed were economic and social in nature, the nationality question was not being raised.

1887 - The National Issue Rises on the Agenda

When issues of the same five publications for the following decade are reviewed, changes are immediately apparent. In style, format and content, ten years had made very little difference to the press of Salzburg. But a new political climate was obvious, and a new generation of leaders was taking its place throughout society. From the very first page of any 1887 paper it is evident that those national questions had not only been raised but had come to pervade the public discourse.

The Salzburger Kirchenblatt was still published weekly in 1887 and seemed more than ever to be aimed at the clergy. It included advertising for such things as church candles and other liturgical items which were not seen in 1877, along with some patent-medicine promotions. The Kulturkampf was still a favourite topic in the Catholic press and the target of journalistic ire was still the Liberals, the Socialists and the Freemasons, all of whom were seen to contribute to the formation of a society of greedy non-believers. The "social problem" was seen as a consequence of this greed and lack of faith. The Prussians were every bit as unpopular with the Catholic press as they

had ever been. But it was in the field of national politics and the resulting conflict between nationalities that the biggest change occurred. Right from the beginning of the year the paper took up the Bohemian problems in its lead article and came down very strongly against the penetration of the church by national conflict:

The German like the Czech priest is first and foremost a priest, and secondly a priest and thirdly a priest, and only in the last instance in Austria he is an Austrian, but in Bohemia he is neither a German nor a Czech.¹⁶⁸

National conflict was thus portrayed as contrary to the teachings and the interests of the church and was deplored in the strongest of terms. The same lead article went on to contest the contention of a "self-styled" priest which had appeared anonymously in the periodical Bohemia and which it quoted at some length:

Only in a German diocese can a German priest do justice to his all-round duty above him towards his German superiors and below him to his German parishioners, only in that situation can and dare he take the risk of thinking, speaking, feeling and dealing in German with them, united to them by the bond of nationality, to be active among them rich in heavenly blessings, without having to fear that his declaration of nationality will meet with objections from above and turn his superiors into enemies.¹⁶⁹

This letter is a good place to begin an analysis of the code words relating to the nationalities contest; they are very easy to find.

¹⁶⁸ Salzburger Kirchenblatt, Jan. 20 1887 See appendix I(d) for the text in German.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

Code words are ones which carry a second meaning; they are freighted with associations and implications which no longer have to be made explicit to a readership of initiates. They are a form of shorthand for a set of meanings or values and they can be combined with rhetorical techniques of persuasion to form a very powerful message. Several of these code words can be identified in the two passages above. In the first and most important place stands the word deutsch (German). It forces itself upon the reader. No-one could fail to notice its presence over and over again in this passage and generally in the papers of 1887. The word was as omnipresent in 1887 as it was conspicuous by its absence in the 1877 papers. In this case the opposition to Slavic culture was indirectly expressed as an affirmation of Germanness. The word deutsch and its compounds, hardly ever seen a decade previously, had become, by 1887, an obligatory inclusion in any piece of German writing. It had become the code for proper Germanic attitudes and the identifying mark of national loyalty. Even when the reader at times has the sense that its use might have represented just a form of lip-service, the tribute to national sentiment was usually paid.

The anonymous priest who authored the passage, if indeed he was a priest, a doubt raised by the editors of the Kirchenblatt themselves, was adept in the use both of the nationalist discourse and the rhetoric which is part of the

clerical craft. The word deutsch did not just appear in the quoted passage, it was repeated five times, thereby gaining the same sort of emphasis which the word Priester (priest) had attained in the editorial paragraph given above it. Then the word deutsch was used in conjunction with a number of words which have an emotional and social connotation; "denken" (to think or reflect), "fühlen" (to feel), "reden" (to talk colloquially) and "handeln" (to trade, bargain or deal), a series which built to achieve emphasis and to reinforce the positive values of community implied in these words. These were values which nicely coincided with the perceived role of the priest in society. Reden is, for example, a more social word than the more formal sprechen (to speak) would have been in the same sentence because it implies intimacy, the use of familiar speech patterns and the idea of interaction. It also seems strange to use the word handeln to describe the duties of a priest, but it includes the idea of mutual interaction which the author wanted to stress. In the following line the very emotive connection of the words, nationale (national) and vereint (united) with segensreich (rich in heavenly blessings) stressed the positive aspects of national and confessional unity. The last line hinted at the external threat to the group, a motif which was to become increasingly popular, by introducing the word Feind (enemy). Along with the use of the phrase, darf er es wagen (dare he risk it), it raised

the spectre of dark opposing forces. Altogether it added up to very effective polemic.

In spite of its assertion in the same article that "Religion and the church have nothing to do with nationality squabbles."¹⁷⁰ the very inclusion of the item demonstrated not only that the Nationalitätenhader (nationalities strife) had become an ineradicable part of the public consciousness, but that the Kirchenblatt itself may have been more than a little ambivalent about its stand. The passage also illustrates just how much the press can contribute to the continuation of conflict, even when it allegedly deplores it. For both the vehemence of the tone and the fact that it did, after all, choose to reprint the letter from Bohemia rather than ignore it, led this reader to wonder if perhaps the paper wasn't protesting just a mite too much. In fact, by 1887, some clerical delegates were already voting with the national clubs in various legislatures, so the church was hardly free from nationalist influence. The fact that the church, as an institution, was comprised of congregations which stood on either side of national questions and represented their interests with equal conviction and ability must have made it very difficult for church publications to hold an even line. Furthermore, by reprinting letters such as the one above and by translating and broadcasting some of the more derogatory comments of

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

Czech and Slovene nationalist leaders, a paper could give exposure to nationalist arguments and publicity to inflammatory rhetoric even as it appeared to condemn divisiveness. In all fairness, however, the Kirchenblatt obviously preferred to avoid the issue altogether; such comments did not appear frequently.¹⁷¹

Der Kyffhäuser, a paper which was not in print in 1877 but began publishing in Salzburg in 1887, provides an excellent example of the sort of nationalist rhetoric which was by this time becoming acceptable. This anti-semitic journal appeared weekly until 1889 when it dropped to monthly publication. It disappeared from the scene altogether in 1892 and reappeared only briefly in 1894, published in Vienna. In 1887, it did not mention Slavs at all. Its entire approach was to disguise some very nasty attitudes as a noble cause, the promotion of German culture. It was overt and negative only about the Jews, and even there it was more subtle and low-key than might have been expected. It made its anti-semitic points through a consistent pounding away at the message of German cultural superiority, but avoided sensationalism and scandal or the sorts of unsupportable charges which other less sophisticated elements of the press were wont to pursue. It was neither produced by nor aimed at the "masses". It was polished and professional, and it is a very useful source of

¹⁷¹ Salzburger Kirchenblatt issues for 1887

material which can be used to identify national sentiments, the appeal to German national consciousness, and the code words for national distinctions. Its program was announced in the very title. The paper was named for the mountain in Thuringia under which, legend asserts, the Emperor Barbarossa sleeps until such time as the German nation can use his leadership again. Germanic legends and myths, an idealized version of German history with an emphasis on past glories, the sagas and stories of the Völkerwanderung (the invasion of Europe by the Germanic tribes in the early middle ages), the superiority of German music and literature were all important elements of the German national program as expressed in the paper. Turnvereine (athletic clubs), Liedertafel (song circles), and literacy clubs were all part of the organizational structure which supported this ideology.¹⁷² Key words and concepts which appeared in Der Kyffhäuser and then turned up everywhere carrying the baggage of German nationalism included the word Kultur (culture) and all of its compounds; the word Besitz which means property, but in an intellectual and social sense as well as in the sense of wealth; the word Sitte, which not only means a custom but also implies proper moral conduct and has a large number of derivatives; and the following partial list: Stamm (tribe), Sprache (language), Geist (spirit), Moral (morality), Volk (people), Bildung (education), Bund (union), Wacht (watch or guard) and the

¹⁷² Kann, History p. 434

ever-popular unverfälscht. This last word in particular, which had gained notoriety in the title of Georg von Schönerers radical Pan-German publication, Unverfälschte Deutsche Worte (The Unfalsified German Word), referred in its original context to language and ideas. In the hands of the nationalist writers, it also came to imply, without doubt, the idea of racial purity. They used it to mean both "unfalsified" and "unadulterated". Its use became a marker for the most radical national and anti-semitic groups which veered into racial theories. Words representing diligence such as Fleiss and its compounds along with words about cleanliness, such as sauber, also appeared but much less frequently than might have been expected. They do not seem to have had the ennobling qualities which the publishers aimed at, rather they referred to the accepted virtues of the German lower and lower-middle classes.¹⁷³

In analyzing the content of the German national message it is also interesting to note that Richard Wagner and his works had by the 1880's assumed a programmatic significance far beyond music appreciation and beyond even the politicized competition of one composer with his rivals. The German national cause had taken up Wagner in its student phase because his work combined the elements of the German-national appeal: emotionalism, expansiveness, Germanic legends and myth, Nietzschean philosophy,

¹⁷³ Der Kyffhäuser issues for 1887

Schopenhauerian idealism and, in his concept of the Gesamtkunstwerk (total art experience), the image of wholeness and completeness, self-sufficiency and unity. Enthusiasm for Wagner can almost always be taken for an expression of German-national sympathy in the Austrian context.¹⁷⁴

Of course, in the interests of balance, one must recognize that code words existed among the not insignificant opposition to the nationalists as well. One of them which has already surfaced is Hader, which means conflict, quarrel or squabble, but has none of the ennobling connotations of a word such as the rather high-toned word for a fight, Kampf. The word Streit, or conflict, was another word which lent no nobility to the quarrelling parties it portrayed. Frequently associated with opposition to national campaigns of all colours was the word Hetze, which means baiting, agitating or instigating. These words frequently appeared in contexts condemning excesses on one side or the other, even where the writer did not take issue with the nationalist sentiments in themselves.

The new discourse of the day appeared to some extent in all parts of the press, even if it was not equally represented in Liberal and Catholic circles. The Catholic press generally continued to hold to a line of official toleration, at least where nationality was concerned. It

¹⁷⁴ see McGrath, Dionysian Art chapters 4 and 5.

was not so tolerant of religious diversity. In 1887, the Salzburger Chronik was published daily, up from three times a week in the previous decade. It continued to represent the Clerical-Conservative perspective. Its targeted social stratum was well illustrated by the lead article of the year. It is worth reiterating that, while the lead article of every issue reflected the editorial line on the news of the day, the first article of the New Year traditionally tried to reflect concerns of a more general significance. A review of the past year and projections for the next were typical of the more reflective coverage on that date. In this case the lead article was entitled Gegen Schmutzkonkurrenz (against dirty competition)¹⁷⁵ and was, as the title would suggest, a diatribe against unfair business practices. Price wars, the imprudent extension of credit by merchants and unfair, not to mention "unsittlich" (unseemly), advertising had incurred the wrath of the morally correct editor. Thus the German-national point was made subtly through the use of the code word while the paper's small business perspective, particularly that of the small retailer, was clearly spelled out.

The copy of the Chronik continued to be very Catholic with a local orientation supported by lots of advertising. As an innovation, it printed the railway timetable down the middle margins of the centre page. The Kulturkampf remained

¹⁷⁵ Salzburger Chronik Jan 1, 1887

a major concern of the editors. Coverage of news from Germany, especially of the Hohenzollern dynasty, of which they were respectful and of Bismarck of whom they decidedly were not, was extensive. The attitude of the paper remained unabashedly anti-Liberal with added anti-semitic and anti-Socialist jibes thrown in for good measure. An example of the latter is a comment regarding the founding of the paper Die Gleichheit by the Social Democrats under Viktor Adler:

This paper is being published, it is worth noting, by a young Jewish doctor by the name of Viktor Adler who is reputed to be a millionaire. Israel at the head of the Social Democratic movement, this is food for thought.¹⁷⁶

It is difficult to decide whether the thoughts which the comment summoned were supposed to be more damaging to the Socialists or to the Jews. The Socialist party was treated rather like a bogey-man in the cellar which was trotted out to frighten the children from time to time, but was not taken too seriously as an adversary. On the other hand the Catholic press was quite cognizant of the content of the Socialist message, used the vocabulary of Marxist theory, and pulled no punches when it spelled out the threat. It frequently linked socialists and Jews.

Since the German-national agitation came largely from within the ranks of the Liberal opposition, the coverage of events by the Chronik was far from anti-Slav, in fact quite

¹⁷⁶ Salzburger Chronik, Jan 6, 1887. For the text in German, see appendix I(f)

the contrary. The lead article of January 11th was entitled "The Nationality Conflict" and, using the unflattering term "Streit", began with the comment that "This particularly Austrian illness is unfortunately digging in deeper."¹⁷⁷ The article went on to heap blame upon both sides in such disputes for their nationalist stands. It claimed that the German clergy had held itself aloof from the strife in spite of intense German-national pressure to become involved in the different national conflicts then in progress. The author supported the use of Slavic clergy in Trieste and Gorizia in spite of demands for their own priests by Italian irredentists but deplored the activities of Slavic clergy who had gone over to the nationalist cause elsewhere in the monarchy, presumably in Bohemia and Styria. The writer concluded,

For a priest, no path can be too far, no trouble can be too great and no language can be too difficult when it is a question of God's work and the well-being of one's neighbour.¹⁷⁸

A few days later, the Chronik published a very sarcastic report of a Liberal party conference in Moravia which split up into "Deutschösterreicher" (German-Austrians), "Deutschnationaler" (Pan-Germans) and "Antisemiten" (antisemites), all of whom received short shrift from the author who positively delighted in the Liberal

¹⁷⁷ Salzburger Chronik Jan. 11, 1887

¹⁷⁸ Salzburger Chronik Jan 11, 1887 For the German text, see appendix I(g)

disorganization.¹⁷⁹ Then on June 8, the paper published another piece which contained all of the emotional, rhetorical elements previously seen employed in the German-national cause, but in support of the other side. In response to a call for an all-German party made by what it scathingly referred to as the "German liberals with their anti-religious and anti-Slavic program" the paper expressed its own position thus:

We don't understand why the Germans should form the "real and true party of state", why the unity of all of Austria's nationalities under the conservative banner should not be the real party of state. We cannot grasp why the other peoples, who reside in Austria and love her and in truth are much more numerous than the Germans, should not be equally capable and equally called to preserve, to promote and to deepen the ideal of the Austrian state.¹⁸⁰

The general thrust of the Chronik's treatment was to emphasize that nationalist agitation, and Pan-German agitation in particular, was un-Christian and un-Austrian, which was an accurate assessment. Although this judgement was meant to repel all good Christian, Catholic citizens of the monarchy, it would not have been contested for a moment by the young admirers of the Hohenzollern dynasty, Richard Wagner and the pagan myths of the emerging culture of German nationalism. The extent to which the national question had invaded the public dialogue and the emotional quality of the

¹⁷⁹ Salzburger Chronik, Jan 14, 1887.

¹⁸⁰ Salzburger Chronik June 8, 1887 For the text in German see appendix I(h)

responses on all sides, the German-Austrian, the Pan-German, the other-national and the anti-national is clearly spelled out. That the church itself had not remained immune to contagion is also quite obvious in spite of its alleged position of neutral Christian purity.

The Salzburger Volksblatt in 1887 was published in daily and weekly editions but without the clearly liberal subtitle on the masthead which it had displayed in 1877. Until the end of 1886 it had included an illustrated entertainment supplement and it continued to publish an agricultural and a literary supplement on a weekly basis. Its financial position was clearly more firmly established than it had been a decade previously and its advertising section was well filled. The effects of the increasing national tension were obvious in the content of the Volksblatt but its standpoint was sometimes ambiguous. At one point it commented unfavourably on the attention paid by the German press to the "alleged hardships" endured by the Germans of Bohemia using the term "hetz", and in almost the same breath expressed harsh criticism of the Czech side using the term "Verrohungs-Komodie" (brutalization comedy) to describe their tactics. Code words from both camps in the same paragraph leave the reader to ponder, but both of the comments suggested that the tactics, rather than the ideology, of the participants were the target of the

disapproval.¹⁸¹

In the literary columns of the Volksblatt, an alert reader could sometimes find a recommendation for the Deutsche Wochenschrift (German weekly), a magazine with the very nationalist-sounding subtitle, "Organ for the national interests of the German people." The frustration of the Austrian Liberals and their fragmentation into competing clubs was not only reflected in the contents of the Volksblatt by such items. In fact, the plight of the liberals was more than once spelled out, most explicitly in a blunt article declaring that "since the last election the Liberal party in this province seems to have gone into hibernation." The writer of the front-page piece claimed that the Liberals no longer had an executive and had even ceased to call meeting because of their "disappearing membership."¹⁸² The Liberal camp, unable to achieve any of its political goals at the national level because of Count Taaffe's highly effective coalition of Polish, Czech, Slovene and Clerical-Conservative deputies, frustrated by what it perceived as a Slavic conspiracy, had split into the same factions everywhere which had so amused the Chronik when it commented on Moravia. The German-Austrian, the German-national, or Pan-German as it is often referred to by modern historians, and the anti-semitic factions fought one

¹⁸¹ Salzburger Volksblatt Jan. 5 1887

¹⁸² Salzburger Volksblatt, Nov. 12, 1887

another almost as bitterly as they fought Conservatives. Left-Liberals and a handful of democrats complicated the picture, and the liberal press was left to sort its way between and among the blocs. At the same time its attitude toward the other nationalities, particularly the Slavic ones, sharpened.

Not only was the attitude of the Liberal papers in general sharper, there was a tone of outrage and indignation when discussing Slavic protests or complaints. There appeared a hurt edge and an uncomprehending element in its coverage which seemed to ask "how could they?" In contrast to the previous decade, almost no attention was paid by the Volksblatt to the decennial renegotiation of the Ausgleich with Hungary, but questions involving schools, language and jobs were raised in response to the pressure by the Czechs, Slovenes and Italians. Vague references to Pan-Slavic plots and international threats, presumably from Russia, appeared from time to time. The paper remained equally scornful of the "feudal-clerical" position and lambasted the Conservatives and the government for their tactics when it felt justified in so doing. The commentary remained on a political level, however, and did not appear to involve overt racial or cultural prejudice. The emphasis here is on the word "overt", because such prejudice could well have been implicit in much of the coverage of the nationalities but it remained unspoken more out of a lack of necessity for

doing so than out of politeness. Hostility at a personal or individual level was never expressed or encouraged.

As examples of the generalizations expressed above are warranted, I begin with a bitter reference to the alleged excesses of the Slovene press and its "scurrilous, anti-German" tone that "does not lend itself to repetition in a paper which prides itself on respectability".¹⁸³ While the comment masqueraded as a moderate stand and referred to the fact that many periodicals had no reluctance whatsoever to translate and repeat the most insulting material imaginable, in its implication that the content was too distasteful to bear repetition it also left the impression that the insult could have been even worse than it actually was. The comment perfectly expressed the incomprehension and outrage typical of the German response to challenges based on nationality. Almost a month later, a comment on Czech reaction to a government politician implied both dismissal of the Czech position and criticism of the usual government treatment of the Czechs as too tolerant:

In fact the Czechs have good reason to be in a foul mood, for Herr von Dunajewski [then the Austrian Finance Minister] struck a tone with regard to the bank demands which our Czechs are seldom used to hearing. On that account, great dismay and bitterness. In any case the matter won't be eaten as hot as it is cooked. [This is a common Austrian expression still in use]¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ Salzburger Volksblatt, Jan. 17, 1887

¹⁸⁴ Salzburger Volksblatt, Feb 11, 1887 For the text in German see appendix I(i)

In the same issue of the paper reference is made to "the reactionary state of the times which expresses itself in antisemitism."¹⁸⁵ The comment implied by its choice of vocabulary not only that the times were out of joint and not a little unhealthy, but also strong disapproval of the anti-semitic position. Three days later the Volksblatt found itself trying to paper over a split between two German factions of the liberal fold using nationalist vocabulary and without taking issue with the basically nationalist stands of both sides:

The German club will not forget even in the future that the secessionists are Germans whose national ideology has many points in common with their own, even if it was and will be impossible to proceed hand in hand. The German club especially will not want to forget with respect to the German-Austrian club that members are also to be found therein to whom the fate of the German people is not a matter of indifference, even if they struggle for its welfare by other avenues.¹⁸⁶

That comment deplored and regretted disunity among German Liberal politicians, but in other instances the same sort of factionalism, when it occurred among the Czechs, was derided as political immaturity.

By the end of 1887, the Volksblatt was still coming to grips with the collapse of the Liberals and it warned of the disturbing consequences of the forces released thereby from its own partisan point of view in a passage which deserves

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Salzburger Volksblatt Feb. 14, 1887 for the text in German see appendix I(j)

to be cited at some length:

A Warning Cry

The heritage of the Liberals is to be shared between the anti-semites and the clericals. Although the one holds to a supposedly unadulterated German-national viewpoint while the other will have nothing to do with a promotion of the national idea among the German people, they are tied together by their common hatred of Liberalism, and not only against the kind of doctrinaire Liberalism that we ourselves see as the source of all the evil which has surfaced in Austria's internal politics in the last few years. The anti-semites like the clericals swear allegiance to the basic premise "who is not for me is against me". The first sees in Judaism the sole cause of all of our business problems and makes it responsible on an anti-corruption basis, the latter hates the Jew precisely because he is a Jew and therefore from a strictly confessional viewpoint must be regarded as an unbeliever. The progressive-minded person, however, who is reasonable enough to admit to not only a Jewish but also a Christian corruption....is treated by both sides like a leper with whom no contact is possible.

We have always been known as decided opponents of antisemitism as well as of clericalism. The basis of this opposition can be expressed in a few words. We oppose the antisemitic direction because it is moving into paths which can only lead to a brutalization of our developing youth and, in the lesser-educated masses, must eventually awaken altogether savage instincts. We oppose clericalism because it sees as its highest goal keeping the populace stupid and to that end sets every lever in motion to lower the level of public education as much as possible. Merely by thundering against Jews, Liberals and Freemasons, however, they produce not a single loaf of bread for the starving.¹⁸⁷

This piece is not only interesting for its prescient attitude towards the forces of intolerance and extremism operating in Austrian society, but because it also

¹⁸⁷ Salzburger Volksblatt Nov. 12, 1887 For the full text in German see appendix I(k)

recognized that at least a good part of the problem originated in the Liberal camp itself. It is commendable to find that a Liberal paper was continuing to resist anti-semitism and intolerance so forcefully, even when the author was unable to free himself completely from the Liberal view and the Liberal rhetoric. The point made about the hardening of political attitudes could have been extended to the hardening of attitudes towards ethnic minorities. Even though the author was not dealing directly with the nationalities question in this editorial, the attitudes described were never too far removed from the behavior of the anti-semites or the Pan-Germans. The piece also points out how opposition to Liberal hegemony became identified with anti-semitism and then formed the basis of a common ground for loyal clerical and loyal national voters.

In striking contrast to the two previous papers stands the Salzburger Zeitung, which was still in print daily and continued to reflect the official position. It was a very dull paper. Between its government edicts and the news from the Imperial court not a hint of the ethnic conflict which had been raging for the past eight or nine years was allowed to appear. A page and a half or so of advertising, a feuilleton with a novella or some interesting travel descriptions, and the theatre reviews comprised its content. Even the theatrical works reviewed were completely conventional and suffered from not a hint of originality.

As far as the government was concerned, the peoples of the monarchy were getting along just fine. At the least one can say with conviction that the official press was not contributing to national dissension in any active sense, just as one can say that it was doing nothing to combat it.¹⁸⁸

The Zeitschrift des Salzburger Lehrervereines, in the 12 issues in 1887, covered only two topics which might be considered to bear upon the attitudes of the profession towards the nationalities conflict or towards Slavs in general. The first of these was its coverage of two publications for schoolchildren which had not existed in the previous decade. One of them, Österreichs deutsche Jugend (German Youth of Austria), was published in Bohemia by the teachers' association of that province and might well have been a vehicle for German-national propaganda since Bohemia was the source of much ethnic propaganda and the code word, deutsch, was in the title. In fact, to judge from the reviews and from the tables of contents which were also published monthly in the Zeitschrift, its contents appear to have been quite innocuous. The attitude of the Lehrerverein toward the publication was tinged only with the concern that its popularity might endanger the viability of the youth magazines published by the other provincial associations. One of the latter, called Grüss Gott (which simply means

¹⁸⁸ Salzburger Zeitung issues for 1887

"hello" in the German usage of southern and eastern Europe), was also reviewed and appeared to be equally conventional if somewhat more concerned with science and nature study than its more literary competition. Both magazines apparently included serialized fiction, puzzles and games and other useful pedagogical devices. The second area in which national attitudes might have been expected to reveal themselves concerned the teaching of the German language. A series of articles published throughout the year on pedagogical technique for language teachers, however, dealt not with the problem of minority or foreign language speakers but rather with the treatment of children who used a dialect in their everyday life.¹⁸⁹ The teacher's journal was just as professional and detached in all respects in 1887 as it had been in 1877, and although an alert reader would realize that the national situation had changed if only by the way in which Bohemia was treated, there was not a hint of national pressure or of the least instance of derogatory treatment of minorities to be found.¹⁹⁰

The Salzburg press of 1887 was distinguished by the dichotomy between the professional and the official publications which kept well clear of national issues, and

¹⁸⁹ Anyone who has tried to understand some of the mountain dialects in Austria even today can well imagine the problem these speech patterns present for language teachers.

¹⁹⁰ Zeitschrift des Salzburger Lehrervereines issues for 1887.

the political press, including the Catholic press, which had become entangled in the nationalities problems of the monarchy. The latter found themselves taking an advocacy role on one side or the other. However, with the exception of Der Kyffhäuser, which had German-national and anti-semitic propaganda as its raison d'etre, and was financed and distributed outside the community, the nationalities issue was not a daily or even weekly topic in any one of the Salzburg papers. One could not accuse any of the other journals of coverage which would incite an active negative response to ethnic minorities in the way that the copy in Der Kyffhäuser did.

1897 - Partisanship Entrenched

The year 1897 was an eventful one in the nationality struggle of Cisleithanian Austria-Hungary. Two events coloured the entire political climate for the worse. The first of these occurred on January 5th. The parliament, meeting unusually early after the Christmas break in order to pass its budget estimates, suddenly rejected an allocation for the operating budget of the Slovene-language Gymnasium program in Cilli, Styria. The parliamentary delegates of the orthodox rite were absent because it was Christmas Eve in their calendar, the Italian delegates were simply absent and the Germans managed to scrape up a majority to vote against the funding of this

recently-established school. The predictable result was unbridled jubilation on the part of the monarchy's German-nationals and absolute outrage on the part of its Slavs.¹⁹¹ The second incident was the notorious reaction to Prime Minister Badeni's Czech Language Ordinances both in and outside of the Parliament in Vienna on November 26th.¹⁹² The press coverage in 1897, thus, at the beginning and again at the end of the year reflected the entire range of reactions to what were really very dramatic provocations at the political level. Both events had the added characteristic that they involved long-standing issues on which the level of bitterness and acrimony had been steadily increasing. In other words they were representative of the political climate of the day. The Slovene Gymnasium in Cilli had two years previously been the immediate cause of the fall of the Windischgrätz government and had only just begun operation at the time of the budget debacle in January. The Czech situation had, of course, been building and developing with increasing momentum almost since the Compromise of 1867.

In this charged climate, the newspapers of Salzburg continued to publish news and views from their own perspective on the periphery of the empire. Of the six papers which were looked at for 1887, two were no longer

¹⁹¹ Salzburger Volksblatt Jan. 7, 1897

¹⁹² Salzburger Chronik Nov. 26, 1897

available for comparison in the following decade.¹⁹³ The four papers for which copies are available for 1897, however, cover the full range of Salzburg political opinion; the Salzburger Chronik echoing, as it did, the Catholic position taken by the Kirchenblatt but for a more popular readership.

As the reader might surmise from the positions taken in 1887, neither the Salzburger Zeitung nor the Zeitschrift des Salzburger Lehrervereines gave much hint of the heated political climate in which they were appearing. The former continued to print official proclamations and court news, still had ample advertisers and gave no hint that it reflected anything but the best of all possible worlds. The latter continued to be preoccupied with bread-and-butter issues of concern to the teaching profession, but it seemed to be reflecting increasing financial difficulty. Strain on both school facilities and the available human resources appeared to be intensifying. Accounts of pensioned teachers or the widows and orphans of teachers who found themselves in poverty and misery appeared regularly. There were

¹⁹³ The short and chequered publishing career of Der Kyffhäuser had long since ended with the reversal of fortune of some of its prominent backers. It had never been commercially viable. See Haas, "Von liberal zu national". The Salzburger Kirchenblatt in contrast, was still in publication and was destined to survive until 1929, changing its name in 1899 to the Katholische Kirchenzeitung, but the copies for 1897 have disappeared in one of those odd and unexplained gaps which sometimes occur in the collections, normally complete, of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

specific financial appeals for needy individuals along with general pressure for better insurance and pension provisions.¹⁹⁴ There were also reports of conferences, discussions of pedagogical methods and celebrations of milestones in the careers and lives of colleagues. There was nothing at all in the journal which would have suggested the extent of the political turmoil in which the world of these teachers was embroiled. The careful reader, though, does detect the occasional reference to an organization called the "Deutsch-Österreichische Lehrerbund" (German-Austrian Teachers Society) which had not been mentioned ten years previously. It was not possible to ascertain from the Zeitschrift whether the members of the other organization were Pan-Germans or Austro-Germans, but it is possible to surmise, if only from the name, that some of the more nationalistic members of the profession had found an alternative vehicle for expressing their ethnic solidarity.¹⁹⁵

The Salzburger Volksblatt was the most revealing of the four papers. Published in daily and weekly editions by 1897, it had grown in size and in advertisers. Its lead article of the year was devoted to the problems of the agricultural community and was illustrated with the old

¹⁹⁴ Zeitschrift des Salzburger Lehrervereines. issues for 1897.

¹⁹⁵ Zeitschrift des Salzburger Lehrervereines issues for 1897

saying, "When the farmer has money so does everyone else."¹⁹⁶ The author cited political weakness and speculation as chief among the problems faced by the rural population. Now "speculation" was often an encoded term for anti-semitic sentiments, though it was not nearly as strong a term as "Wucher" (usury), and a trace of anti-semitism cannot be ruled out here. Most probably the phrase reflected the increasing penetration by such vocabulary of the entire public discourse. Politically the paper commented that "A handful of estate owners have exactly the same rights as thousands of ordinary farmers"¹⁹⁷ - not a surprising position for the Liberal voice in the region, although it was probably quite daring in conservative Salzburg. Soon, however, the problems of farmers were no longer the number one concern and the nationality question had taken over. Five days later the paper was commenting:

Obviously no-one had considered the possibility that the legislature would refuse the budget for the Slovene high school in Cilli. And the incident which took place on the day before yesterday aroused dismay in the ranks of the Slavs, who seem to have given voice to an outburst of fury against the German legislators. Among German voters the decision of the day before yesterday has justifiably been met with general jubilation. It is to be seen as redress for the real injustice which was done to the Germans of Styria by the establishment of a Slovene high school in German Cilli.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Salzburger Volksblatt Jan 2, 1897.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Salzburger Volksblatt, Jan. 7, 1897.

This comment is illustrative of the change in tone which one finds in the comments by the Volksblatt. There was no more bemoaning of the conflict or regret expressed at the hard feelings. Its critique was levelled at the Slavic tactics while upholding the German position. This paper had frankly taken sides with the German-national politicians, regardless of the justice or injustice of their position. The vote made no financial or administrative sense, and every one of the deputies realized it. They also realized that the ministry would in all probability simply find the necessary funds from another source or allocate them by decree. The population of the region of Cilli, though not of the town itself according to the census, was overwhelmingly Slovene.¹⁹⁹ The sole purpose of the move was to flex German muscle and aggravate the national conflict, and in spite of this, the paper treated the move not only as fully justified but as welcome. It repeated the assertion that the founding of the Gymnasium was an insult to the Germans in the first place, rather than a just entitlement of the Slovenes; it used the word "deutsch" four times in as many sentences. The confusion and the agony of ten years hence had disappeared completely from the 1897 coverage of Slav-German differences, to be replaced by cold calculation of tactics and strategy.

¹⁹⁹ The population of the region of Cilli was 97.36% Slovene according to the census of 1880. Statistische Monatschrift Vol VIII, 1882, p. 108

For the remainder of the year the Volksblatt stuck to its course in the nationality question, without sensationalism, without any incitement or intensification of the conflict, but without any questioning of its position either. The emotionalism associated with the national issue had disappeared completely from its coverage. A new element in the paper's content from the previous decade was the publication of letters from readers, but any idea that they would be concerned with the burning questions of the day is doomed to disappointment. Without exception, they dealt with Bürgersteige and Gehwege (sidewalks).²⁰⁰

The dramatic events of the year 1897 were covered in a much subdued tone by the Salzburger Chronik. The official Catholic position was still to reject national conflict by all sides on moral and ethical grounds while supporting the Slavic side for political reasons. The coverage in the Chronik reflected this view. On the parliamentary vote against Cilli's Gymnasium it simply reported who voted for, who voted against and who was absent at the count. It is obvious by reading between the lines that some of the Catholic politicians had absented themselves from the vote so that the nationalist side could prevail, but this was not pointed out by the writer of the article.²⁰¹ At the end of the year, when the nationalist uproar over the Language

²⁰⁰ Salzburger Volksblatt issues for 1897

²⁰¹ Salzburger Chronik Jan.7 1897

Ordinances became particularly outrageous in parliament, it was described appropriately by the Chronik. One passage in particular seemed to have been designed to make Georg von Schönerer look like a mad dog while the Polish delegate, Potoczech, a Catholic, came across as a hero. The passage ran:

FISTS FLY IN AUSTRIAN PARLIAMENT !

Under indescribable uproar Schönerer shoved his way to the podium. He was red and blue with fury and screamed at the chairman "I'll show you!". He grabbed the chairman's arm, ripped the bell from him and rang it energetically around the room to the joyful applause of a portion of the Left. The Polish delegate, Potoczech, a tall peasant type, hurried up to the raging figure, acquired the bell after a brief struggle and set it back on the podium.²⁰²

In both of the papers which chose to deal with the national issue, and although they approached it from opposite sides, a similar change in tone is perceptible. The righteous indignation of the supporters of Slavic rights and the injured outrage of the German nationalists of 1887 had given way to far less emotional approaches by 1897. Both sides seemed to have become resigned to the conflict and devoted themselves to promoting the interests of their own group. The Conservative side was still able to assume the moral high tone and express regret at the extreme behavior of the opposing forces because it was, after all, on the winning side for the time being. The fractured Liberals could unite at all only on the national issue, and

²⁰² Salzburger Chronik Nov. 26, 1897 For the text in German see appendix I(m).

they were increasingly prepared to swallow their scruples and to do so. And for good measure, just to demonstrate that no political party was entirely innocent of nationalist gamesmanship, among those listed by the Chronik as voting against the Cilli budget allocation was Abgeordnete Pernerstorfer, then the only representative in parliament of the Social Democrats!²⁰³

There are two significant elements in the press coverage of the national question in Salzburg which stand out in this examination. The first of these is the change in attitude of the German press, especially the liberal German press, from apathy in 1877 to outrage and indignation in 1887 and to partisanship in 1897. The second obvious change as the reader moves through the twenty-year period is the increasingly successful infiltration of Liberal political forces by nationalist ideas and their grudging acceptance as a fact of life by the Conservatives. But the popular press of the province of Salzburg, isolated as it was demographically from direct experience of the pressures of the nationalities, did not cover national conflict more often than it had to and, with the exception of the one, relatively short-lived, periodical Kyffhäuser, it did nothing to incite racial hostility or promote the hatred of any individual or group.

²⁰³ Salzburger Chronik Jan. 7, 1897.

Chapter VI

THE GERMAN-LANGUAGE PRESS OF RURAL STYRIA

The province of Styria was and still is much larger and more diverse than the tiny province of Salzburg. In the period before the first world war it was served by a number of what today would be called community newspapers that spoke for smaller towns and markets and by the professional journals and daily papers published in the capital, Graz. Styria was also much more politically diverse and aggressive than its sister province tucked away on the German frontier, and in the course of the time period under consideration produced three different papers aimed specifically at raising the consciousness of the agricultural community. Along with those three, this chapter considers two papers produced in the capital but aimed at the rural population and two small-town papers from the Slovene side of the linguistic frontier. The papers of Graz itself are discussed separately.

As was the case in Salzburg, however, the pattern of discourse regarding nationality was remarkably different in the three decades surveyed and on opposite sides of the political debate. The distinction between the regions lies in the depth of the reaction to the nationalist challenge

and the immediacy of the issues in Styria. Whether German or Slavic, identity was not an academic point in Styria, it was an everyday fact of life.

1877 - Cautious Coexistence

The most compelling characteristic of the treatment of nationality by the rural press of Styria in 1877 was its almost total absence. Taken at face value, the papers would have suggested an ethnically unified or at least a harmoniously integrated community. Social and economic strains it may well have had, but ethnic strife appeared not to exist.

Farm Agitation

A paper which aggressively represented a point of view outside the usual dichotomy between Catholic/Conservative and Liberal was the Bauernwille (The Will of the Farmer), subtitled "The Voice of the Taxpayer". The Bauernwille appeared six times a year at a cost of 1 Fl. for the year and had a circulation of approximately 2000 in 1880.²⁰⁴ It appeared from 1873, the year of the stock market crash, through 1884 and was the work of one man, the Graz printer and publisher, Franz Achaz.²⁰⁵ This was a populist paper which expressed an eclectic mixture of left- and right-wing

²⁰⁴ Woerl Publicistik p.86

²⁰⁵ See the comments on Achaz' career in Burckert, "Österreichische Bauernvereine", pt. 2, pp. 201-204.

views promoting the interests of the small landholder. Achaz tended to rail with equal conviction against Liberals and Conservatives. He saw solutions to the very real social and economic problems of the rural population in strong farm organizations which could exercise focussed political pressure. He was committed to peaceful and democratic agitation within the system. The paper attracted an ever-increasing number of contributions by readers over the years. Perhaps this was a way in which the over-extended editor could come up with sufficient copy. Displaying both spirit and intelligence, the contributors usually expressed their whole-hearted agreement about the need to organize farmers to protect their interests. As one would expect, they also agreed about the basic problems confronting rural society: the lack of affordable credit and the uncertain commodities market. The paper also attracted increasingly frequent confiscations, not surprising given its extremely critical appraisal of both the government and the upper classes.

By and large, the Bauernwille appeared ethnically neutral, more concerned with occupational than national solidarity, but in 1877 it did occasionally comment about the drive of Austria's Slavs to win autonomy on the same basis as that already achieved by the Hungarians. The tone of the comment was quite critical of the government and of

the Ausgleich but not of the Slavs and their demands.²⁰⁶ On the other hand, in the course of the year, the paper changed its subtitle to "party organ of the farmers of German-Austria" and restated its mandate as the representation of the German rural population.²⁰⁷ This change represented one of the earliest of a series of name-changes to include the word "German" in the titles of journals and in the constitutions of associations all over the monarchy.²⁰⁸ But since this example preceeded the main wave of germanizations by half a decade, it is most likely that the term had not yet acquired the code status or the connotation of German-national sentiments which it was soon to take on. Perhaps it was a recognition of the possibility of differing ethnic paths to similar goals for the rural population. Why the editor should have felt it necessary to clarify his mandate and to specify his German constituency is not at all clear, especially since in January of 1881, still before the rush of name-changes, he took the word "German" out of the title again and changed the subtitle to "Independent Farmer's Paper."²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ Bauernwille (Graz) issues for 1877

²⁰⁷ Bauernwille February 1877

²⁰⁸ Judson, "German Nationalism" p.373 ff.

²⁰⁹ Burckert, "Bauernvereine" p. 203

Achaz' position represented one of the few instances in which the interests and the needs of the rural population were publicly treated as though they were of a similar character to those of organized labour. Indeed, his definition of who should be called a farmer included everyone who worked the land from the lowliest servant right up to the landowner. There were only two classes on the land, he said, workers and Faulenzer (do-nothings).²¹⁰ The latter term is a particularly German insult which one would have expected to find applied to other ethnic groups. Achaz, however, clearly intended it for the idle rich and the urban speculators.

The Catholic Press

The weekly Sonntagsbote (Sunday Messenger), which first appeared in 1869 as a Sunday supplement to the Grazer Volksblatt (Graz People's Voice), was aimed at the farm reader with the time and perhaps the money for only one paper a week.²¹¹ By 1880 it was distributing about 8500 copies at the relatively modest price of 1.50 Fl. for the year.²¹² Like other Catholic papers in the monarchy it was published with a mission to cultivate the conservative and religious Catholic reader and to fight the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie with all its strength. The special

²¹⁰ Bauernwille Jan. 1, 1873

²¹¹ Schuller, Franz Hagenhofer. p. 8.

²¹² Woerl Publicistik p. 30

calling of the Sonntagsbote was to carry the Kulturkampf to the farm gate, as it were. Its articles and its advertising reflected its rural emphasis, but in the political content and in its treatment of ethnicity there was no discernable difference for urban and rural readers in 1877. Liberals, Freemasons and, often, Jews were the villains whose godless influence had to be countered at every opportunity. There was no national bias to all of this at all, there was no room for one!²¹³ The political and cultural hegemony of the Liberals in Vienna, not to mention Graz, weighed heavily on Styria's Conservatives. They saw themselves in 1877 on the losing end of issues on political, religious and regional grounds all at once. They had not yet begun to see an ethnic dimension to their disadvantaged position.

The Liberals

A much more chatty quality enlivened the content of three rural and Liberal-leaning papers. The first of these, the Dorfbote (Village Messenger) had been published since 1866. It appeared weekly out of Graz for 2 Fl. 60 kr. a year and reached about 3000 homes.²¹⁴ Its subtitle read "for truth, education and enlightenment", as befits the organ of the Styrian Volksbildungsverein (popular educational society). The Dorfbote printed informational articles and political analysis on current events such as the Oriental situation

²¹³ Sonntagsbote (Graz) issues for 1877

²¹⁴ Woerl Publicistik p.86

and the handling of the negotiations with Hungary on the Ausgleich. It also ran serialized fiction, longer articles of general interest, reports on crimes and accidents, and the latest commodity prices. The class to which the paper appealed is best illustrated by a comment which it cited approvingly and attributed to a Liberal member of the Reichsrat (Parliament in Vienna), Alois Posch. The local politician had claimed that the concept of Bauernstand (farmer) "did not extend so far as to include every toiler of the soil but only to those who owned the land which they farmed."²¹⁵ This was quite a contrast to the attitude of Franz Achaz of the Bauernwille cited earlier, and perhaps illustrative of the grounds for the latter's frequent problems with the censors. The possession of property was a defining characteristic of membership in Liberal middle-class circles and it was for the Liberal middle-class that the Dorfbote was intended.

In another issue the Dorfbote published the complete membership list of the Volksbildungsverein, a total of seventy-five, under whom were included a significant number of members with decidedly Slavic names (Dworaczek, Pefrzik, Mesiak, Nizinski, Jug, Pferschy, Poje, and Nike, for instance) but exclusively Liberal, middle-class professions. This is not evidence that the club was bi-lingual necessarily, but at a minimum does suggest the easy

²¹⁵ Dorfbote (Graz) July 5, 1877

assimilation of Slavs into the middle classes and perhaps intermarriage of Germans and Slavs. It is significant because of the quite different behavior of the association in following decades. Among the school supplies provided for needy schools by the organization and listed in its annual report in the same issue were "six large orthographic wall charts in German and one large orthographic wall chart in Slovene".²¹⁶ While the ratio of six to one in favour of German schools over Slovene ones is undoubtedly of significance, the contrast with the behavior of the later school defense associations could not be more pronounced. There was not a hint of discrimination against Slavs in the paper's content or tone, and the activities of the association which it represented and reported were liberal in deed as well as in rhetoric, without being national in any sense.²¹⁷

The newspapers from the towns of Marburg and Cilli were the local organs of German communities in regions where Germans were in a decided minority. The hinterland of both towns was thoroughly Slovene, with Marburg somewhat more isolated than Cilli. The Marburger Zeitung (Marburg News) appeared three times weekly in a four-page edition, two and one-half of which consisted of advertising. Its circulation was not estimated by Woerl in 1880, but probably amounted to

²¹⁶ Dorfbote June 4, 1877

²¹⁷ Dorfbote issues for 1877

a few hundred copies at most. In Woerl's judgement it rated as a very insignificant publication, a good indication that it was Liberal in its leanings.²¹⁸ The paper had a very conventional small-town tone. It covered the local amateur theatre scene very seriously indeed and serialized trivial literature in its light reading section. Otherwise it printed very down-to-earth items such as lost and found notices and "I will no longer be responsible for the debts of so-and-so" ads. It tended to be light on local political news and seemed to print fewer Slavic names than the other rural papers.²¹⁹ The Marburger Zeitung was not above taking the odd swipe at the Hungarians, commenting dryly that "the Hungarian market does not belong to Austrian industry, but rather to the smugglers".²²⁰ But its most interesting items from the perspective of ethnic relations in 1877 involved two trials for the offense of libel which took place in the spring of that year. In the first case, a teacher by the name of Ivanetitsch was charged with having disturbed the public peace and order by pouring scorn and ridicule on a public official in the performance of his official duties. This insult to a government agent occurred in an article which the teacher had written for a Slovene-language publication attacking a public school inspector by the name of Kuster. By a vote of ten to two, the jury declared the

²¹⁸ Woerl Publicistik p. 86

²¹⁹ Marburger Zeitung issues for 1877

²²⁰ Marburger Zeitung March 16, 1877

teacher "not guilty" and, to the "approving applause" of the onlookers, the man was set free.²²¹ Two days later another charge, this time of Majestätsbeleidigung (lese majesty), was heard against one Johann Perschitsch of Branga by the local court in Cilli. The defendant was summarily sentenced to two months at hard labour with no further ado.²²² In neither item did the coverage suggest that there was an ethnic component to the charges, although there probably was one in the first as the offending piece appeared only in Slovene, and in neither case did the paper take editorial issue with the verdict. The difference in outcomes suggests that while one could possibly get away with insulting a government official, insulting the royal family was quite another matter whatever one's ethnic origin. The language used in covering a trial in far-off Würzburg on a charge of adulterating wine, another serious violation of accepted behavioral norms but without an ethnic angle, was essentially the same as in the libel cases.²²³ The ethnicity of the defendants or of the issues appeared to have been immaterial. Ten years later such coverage would have been unimaginable.

²²¹ Marburger Zeitung March 14, 1877

²²² Marburger Zeitung March 16, 1877

²²³ Marburger Zeitung May 6, 1877

The Cillier Zeitung (Cilli News) appeared three times weekly at the beginning of 1877, but dropped to twice by the end of the year. It had a circulation of about 400 subscribers at a price of 6 Fl. 40 kr. for the year when Woerl described it as struggling for its very existence in 1880.²²⁴ The paper appeared to be a typical, unsophisticated, small-town paper with most of the usual features. A weekly survey of hotel registers let everyone know who was in town and why. The city council meetings, crimes and accidents and local affairs comprised most of the content. The obligatory coverage was accorded to meetings of the Vereine and included a list of members present and of the club's officers. It was obvious in these membership lists that the number of Slavic names was at least as great as the number of German ones. The same held true for the court cases or the accidents, and social status, indicated by the occupations which always accompanied the names, could not be differentiated on the basis of ethnicity.²²⁵

The Cillier Zeitung projected to all appearances a community of unity and harmony in spite of obvious ethnic diversity. Of course, one cannot assume that a Slavic name meant in all, or even most, cases a Slavic ethnic identity. In fact, it more likely meant an assimilated German one. But the many Slavic names and associated occupations do

²²⁴ Woerl Publicistik p. 86

²²⁵ Cillier Zeitung issues for 1877

provide compelling evidence that racial background did not constitute a barrier to integration into the German business and professional classes. This is not to discount at all the suggestion that there was considerable pressure on Slovenes, especially those in the towns, to assimilate culturally and linguistically, as suggested by Fran Zwitter, but it does indicate that race was not a determining factor in 1877.²²⁶

When a researcher engages in the analysis of textual records, what is not said can be just as significant as what is. Furthermore, to do more than speculate upon the reasons why ethnic tensions did not surface more obviously in the press of rural Styria in 1877 is almost impossible. Censorship, official funding of some papers, and the still unshaken confidence in the strength of the German position could be possible grounds for the total lack of negative portrayals of Slavs. There was certainly no inhibition when it came to the negative treatment of Jews, Moslems or protestants. Some things are not expressed simply because they are taken for granted by society at large. That there was no need to make anti-Slav feelings explicit because they were so commonplace is possible, but difficult to verify. Obvious changes in the ideas which are expressed and in the vocabulary utilized are significant, however, especially where external factors influencing the press remain

²²⁶ See Fran Zwitter, "The Slovenes", pp. 159-188

relatively constant. The comparison of the discourse of the press of 1877 with that of the following decade is therefore especially illuminating.

1887 - Injury and Outrage

There were no papers published in Styria in 1887 by farmers' associations or dedicated to the interests of the farmers as a group. The paper edited by Franz Achaz had been forced out of print in 1884 and no replacement had appeared to take its place by 1887. The lacuna was not to be filled for another entire decade.

The Clerical-Conservative Camp

In 1887, the Sonntagsbote continued to adapt the position of its parent publication, the Volksblatt, for a rural readership. Abbreviated coverage of political issues complemented items of more specific interest to rural communities such as the amount of tax on livestock salt and the current commodity prices. As an example of the Christian charity of which it approved, it published an article by a Conservative Member of the Reichsrat named Pscheiden in its important first issue of the New Year. He argued that the community was suffering from the evil effects of unlimited freedom to marry. The proletariat was reproducing in a terrifying manner and sucking the life-blood of the community, he wrote. Such families,

created without property and living hand-to-mouth, were not viable. The burden they imposed threatened the welfare of the entire population.²²⁷ The paper went on during the course of the year to attack liberal policies unrelentingly, to rail against the farmers' movement for suggesting that farmers should elect other farmers to represent them instead of priests, and to damn Schönerer and his Los-von-Rom movement. On the national question it said much less than its parent publication, but did run one article on the language issue which urged concessions on language rights for minorities. The article went on to quote Prince Alois Liechtenstein, at the time a Conservative Member of Parliament,²²⁸ at some length. Liechtenstein pointed out for the benefit of readers who may have forgotten it that Austria had been thrown out of Germany by the Prussians in 1866. Previous to that, it had made sense for the German people and the German language to maintain their hegemony in Austria, for they were the leading citizens in a larger German entity. Now, he wrote, "Austria can and must behave justly towards its non-German peoples, they are in the majority!"²²⁹ On analysis this seemingly moderate and

²²⁷ Sonntagsbote (Graz) Jan. 6 1887 For the German text see appendix II(a)

²²⁸ The Prince was later to become one of the leaders of the Christian Social party in Parliament, a key figure in combining clerical policies and activist, anti-semitic tactics. See Kann, History. p. 435.

²²⁹ Sonntagsbote Apr. 3, 1887. For the text in German see appendix II(b)

reasonable position on the language question, however, reveals itself as a part of the Clerical-Conservative party line by its context. The stand taken by the paper on other issues makes it clear that support for the minorities was the price which German Catholics were being asked to pay in exchange for the preservation of the Conservative vision of society, hierarchical, monarchical, patriarchal and corporatist. The tactical alliance with the Slavic deputies which Count Taaffe had put together for parliamentary purposes was to be supported at all levels of society.

The Liberals

The mood was quite different in the offices of the Dorfbote. Celebrating its seventeenth year as the organ of the Volksbildungsvereine, the paper projected a gloomy mood. In its tone-setting lead editorial it bemoaned that the "spirit of the times had changed." The wonderful social and economic consequences of a constitution and the improved popular education instituted by the Liberal ministry remained unrealized. "We must honestly concede that the peoples of the Empire do not understand how to draw the benefit of wealth and spiritual progress which were expected of Liberalism," the writer claimed. He went on to charge that "the streets which were cleared for truth and personal development (Bildung) have been occupied by fraud and the economic oppression of the weaker by the stronger." Turning to the national question the writer went on to charge that:

the idea of the equality of nations, which made possible the promotion of their individual characteristics and languages for the non-Germans has been exploited and developed into a concept of an equalization in all areas of public life, to the extent that the German people of Austria are now endangered in their position and in their prestige.

The Dorfbote perceived this situation as particularly unfair, seeing that the Germans were responsible for the very founding of the empire and had made countless sacrifices for it over the years.²³⁰ The last sentences were rendered without an obvious resort to the more blatant code words of German-national agitation, however typical the sentiments may have been. The tone was more injured than aggressive, more melancholy than hostile. The editor went on to state, almost reluctantly, "regarding the question of nationality, the Dorfbote has always promoted the rights and advantages of the Germans." After an eloquent plea for unity among the Germans, the paper continued: "But with those who have misused the trust of the German voters and formed a common front with the Slavs there can be no reconciliation."²³¹ Where those who disagree are to be treated as outcasts and traitors, there must be significant disagreement. The implication in the last sentence that not all Germans were of the same opinion on national questions is unmistakable.

²³⁰ Dorfbote (Graz) Jan. 6, 1887. For the text in German see appendix II(c)

²³¹ Dorfbote Jan 6, 1887. For German text see appendix II(d)

The Dorfbote struck a high moral tone in its coverage for the year, but a noticeably more German-national attitude was carefully woven into the discussion of issues which ranged from the type of advertising it was prepared to accept to its treatment of the German Imperial family. Coverage of the nationalities problem continued throughout the year in much the same injured tone. "Mournfully, the Germans have to admit that they can no longer obtain a hearing with their most justified demands or their urgent complaints anywhere. They have become stepchildren in Austria."²³² This was a much stronger lament in the German usage of nineteenth century Austria than a modern reader might assume. A universally negative attitude towards stepmothers pervaded the contemporary discourse which pictured step-children in a pathetic situation. The fairy tales of the brothers Grimm reflect only the shadow of an attitude rooted all too firmly in social reality. Unlike the larger papers, the Dorfbote did not hesitate to link the situation in Bohemia with the one at home. It discussed the issue of the service language of the bureaucracy in great detail. Understandably, it argued that the only possible language for internal communication would be German. As a justification for its position it asserted that "the German language is far advanced in its development over the Slavic languages." It went on to lament in the same issue that the "partial

²³² Dorfbote May 12, 1887. For the text in German see appendix II(e)

slavicization of the higher offices" had made another significant advance.²³³ By the autumn the term Slovenisirung (Slovenizing) had surfaced with regard to the language of the land-titles offices in Lower Styria and Carinthia, raising an issue which was certain to cause anxiety among the Germans, especially the Liberal Germans because of its relationship to property, in spite of the high proportion of Slovenes in those areas.²³⁴

The tone of the Dorfbote is particularly remarkable when compared to that of the Deutsche Wacht (The German Guard), formerly, and until 1883, the Cillier Zeitung. The change of name says it all. The tactic which the former seemed reluctantly to have embarked upon in 1887, the latter had already pursued with vigour for four years, and had developed quite a flair for nationalist agitation. Indeed one could open the Deutsche Wacht on any page throughout the year and find an ethnic insult aimed at the Slovenes in particular or at Slavs in general. Any connection with the paper of the previous decade was hard to see, except that the advertising continued unchanged. The Deutsche Wacht kept the pot boiling throughout all of 1887 by printing a regular column called "From the Slovene Press", in which it supposedly translated items from the local Slovene-language papers. It did not bother to repeat any of the compliments

²³³ Dorfbote May 12, 1887

²³⁴ Dorfbote Oct. 13, 1887

or constructive suggestions which may have appeared; it only seemed interested in the insults and the taunts. There is no reason to believe that the editor had to look very far for such material. The content of the items suggests that the Slovenes, like all of the other minorities, had developed no inconsiderable talent for raising German hackles, but the thin skins of the Germans were kept tender by such diligent press activity on both sides. The basic thrust of the arguments altered little. The Germans accused the Slavs of being an uncultivated and underdeveloped people; the Slavs accused the Germans of holding the primitive belief that "might is right" and accordingly of exhibiting crude behavior. Each side accused the other of arrogance and agitation; both sides used a wide variety of invective techniques and both sides equally twisted history and current affairs to belittle and insult the opposition.²³⁵

A survey of the first issue of the year suffices to establish the tone of the Deutsche Wacht's coverage. "The German movement in Austria means no more and no less than an end to the lamb-like patience of the Germans," began the writer, repeating the word "deutsch" for added emphasis. The article went on to demand "resistance to the arrogance of the Slavic oppressors and to their rabid hatred."²³⁶

²³⁵ Deutsche Wacht (Cilli) issues for 1887.

²³⁶ Deutsche Wacht Jan. 6, 1887.

Although it requires quite a stretch of the imagination for a modern historian to perceive the Slavs, particularly the Slovenes, as "oppressors", this paper was doing everything in its power to create precisely that impression. It repeatedly used the term "Panslavism" throughout the year and frequently invoked the Russian threat by repeating the word "Russenliebe" (Russophile). It dwelt on the situation in Bohemia and did not hesitate to draw parallels. After building up a powerful image of the enemy, the article went on to outline the shape of the desired resistance in a series of terms whose vocabulary, while not suggesting specific actions, is nevertheless increasingly violent. "To go on the defensive," for example, is followed by "to go over from words to deeds," and then by a reference to "the battle for our most precious possessions." An increasing number of the code words used by German national agitators began to appear, words like "Kampf", "Güter", and "Schlag" which, like the new name of the paper, referred to nationalist mythology and ideology. The lead article of the year went on to insist that the battle "must not be allowed to flag," but that the noble defenders of the German position must "hold out to the bitter end and must be prepared "not only to mouth slogans but to commit convincing deeds." This last phrase got a rhetorical boost from the double appearance of the word "Schlag" in the compounds "Schlagwort" and "schlagende Thaten" thereby striking, as it

were, a double blow for the cause.²³⁷

Such a look at the everyday discourse of Cillis's German community in 1887 makes its later position as a centre of ethnic controversy in 1897 somewhat easier to understand. It is significant that this paper was not only surviving economically, but it appeared to be thriving and it certainly was not getting any government business. It was also not losing any of its inflammatory copy to the censor's muzzle, so, if the Deutsche Wacht did not represent Cilli's everyday discourse, it did represent the opinions of at least a portion of the community and was not far enough out of line with community norms to be considered outrageous by the censors. The virulence of the 1887 tone also helps to throw some light on the tone of the 1877 coverage. If it is impossible to guess the reasons for the lack of ethnic animosity at that time, we can at least eliminate the threat of censorship or the reluctance to discuss sensitive issues in public. This was a new discourse, appearing in the same paper, in the same town, paid for by the same advertisers and under the same government controls which existed a decade earlier. It cannot remotely be compared to the flood of journalistic excess which greeted the relaxation of censorship a century earlier under Joseph II, for example.²³⁸ A better explanation is sheer desperation. The

²³⁷ Deutsche Wacht Jan. 6, 1887. Text in German in appendix II(f)

²³⁸ On the "Broschürenflut" see Paul P. Bernard Jesuits and

best part of a decade under the "iron ring" of Count Taaffe had resulted in a crippling feeling of powerlessness on the part of Styria's Germans, and particularly the German Liberals. The resulting feeling of abandonment by the central government was not something which they could take lightly. The force of their reaction suggests the truism that it is much easier to keep the powerless in a state of subjugation than it is to reduce to that state a community which has once experienced authority.

The Marburger Zeitung emphasized precisely this feeling of abandonment in its thrice-weekly coverage in 1887. Less regretful than the Dorfbote and less aggressive than the Deutsche Wacht, it seemed to concentrate on whining about the threats to the Germans and the disadvantages which they suffered. It used the word "deutsch" much more frequently than had been the case in 1877, especially in the names of organizations and associations. Reports on crime and court cases now had no hesitation to point out that a suspect or criminal was of Slavic nationality. Starting immediately at the beginning of the year, the lead article dealt with the fear of "Slavic money," or the Slovene Credit Unions, and the "Slavic Press."²³⁹ The following issue complained bitterly about the "displeasure" caused to the community when a "solid German jurist, one of the most competent," was

Jacobins. (Chicago, U. of Illinois Press, 1971) pp.67-73.

²³⁹ Marburger Zeitung Jan. 2, 1887

bypassed for consideration for a vacant position in the government notary's office in Cilli. The three successful candidates had included two German Liberals and "the last is a Slovene."²⁴⁰ The same issue did not let the ethnic question lie, but continued to rail on about the grievances of the Germans using terms like "provocation" and "alienation of the population" on the perfidy of the Slavic side. Its reports from the outlying communities were full of terms like "national-clerical agitation," and "Pan-Slavic chauvinism." Slovenes in positions of authority were subject to derogatory comments about their performance and even accused of "unlawful behavior."²⁴¹

But it was in an early summer report on the activities of the Young Czechs in Bohemia, which emphasized the dangers inherent in considering them as Liberals and hence, as allies, that the rhetoric reached a new height in paranoia:

The Germans, who still also live in the greater part of the land, must be politically eliminated and over the corpse the crown of Wenceslas will be raised in newly-minted splendour.²⁴²

The vehicle for such expressions continued to be well filled with advertising and it continued to entertain by serializing prescriptive fiction and publishing the occasional feuilleton. The town of Marburg continued to

²⁴⁰ Marburger Zeitung Jan. 5, 1887

²⁴¹ Marburger Zeitung Jan. 5, 1887

²⁴² Marburger Zeitung June 26, 1887 For text in German see appendix II(g)

take its local theatre with its very conventional German program very seriously indeed. In fact, the theatre, literary and even musical coverage give the distinct impression that they represented a defiant cultural last stand in the face of perceived hostility and aggressiveness in the surrounding Slovene culture.

1897 - Cold and Calculating

The Conservative perspective continued to be presented to the farmers of Styria in its accustomed fashion by the Sonntagsbote in 1897, but a pair of publications aimed at the farming population and representing rural interests had also appeared. This viewpoint had been missing in the previous decade. Both papers were the work of the politician, Baron Rokitsansky and, although both populist and activist in intent, reflected a quite different perspective from the farm paper published by Franz Achaz in the seventies and early eighties.²⁴³ The papers both began publishing only in 1897, the Bauernfreund (Farmer's Friend) in January and Der Bauernbündler (The Farmer's Defender) at the end of April. It is possible that the Baron was practicing a form of tax avoidance by publishing two papers instead of one; the stamp tax was much greater for a weekly paper than for two which appeared less frequently. The

²⁴³ No biography of Baron and member of the provincial legislature Rokitsansky has yet appeared to my knowledge. His career is referred to in Schuller, Franz Hagenhofer. pp. 17, 26, 30 and passim, but only from the opposition's point of view.

first came out three times a month with about two full pages of paid advertising and usually over a dozen pages of copy. Its masthead proclaimed it to be the organ of the Christian Farmer's League (Bundesorgan des Christlichen Bauernbundes) and its motto was "Let there be light" (es werde Licht).

Rokitansky was a crusader for the old aristocratic corporate values, but within Liberal parameters: Christian, German, loyal to the dynasty, concerned and responsible for the welfare of the whole of society. In his era there were not many proponents of the old elitest Liberal point of view left. The Liberals were becoming street brawlers devoid of philosophy. The bureaucracy had long since conceded most of its idealism and was engaged in a holding action. In his programmatic introduction the publisher spelled out his aim. He wanted to see an "economically healthy, strong, unified Christian (Glaubenstarke) rural population which remained loyal to the dynasty (Kaisertreu).\" This he saw as "the last barrier against Social Democracy", which would be ripped away if society allowed the farmers to be "proletarianized", a situation which he predicted would take "thirty years at the longest" under the current circumstances. His organization was fighting for "throne and altar" and whoever failed to recognize the fact "had been struck blind", he declared.²⁴⁴ The blindest of the blind, to the good Baron, were the editorial staff of the Sonntagsbote and the

²⁴⁴ Bauernfreund (Graz) Jan. 1, 1897

Volksblatt whose Catholic solidarity did not preclude a campaign of calumny against the unconventional aristocrat.

As its first year of publication proceeded, coverage in the Bauernfreund quickly began to work the divisions in the opposition Conservative camp and at the same time moved ever further into the national force-field. The church was actively supporting the Slavic side at the official level, even if such support was beginning to falter at the local parish-church step. By May the Bauernfreund was attacking the priesthood and the Sonntagsbote for their failure to stand up for the German people (Volks) and from that point on the national jargon appeared more frequently and the attacks on the clerical party became more bitter and personal. Phrases such as "severe damage to the empire," "unbearable humiliation of the Germans in Austria," "rape of the Germans" and "anti-German government politics" were combined with references to clerical politicians. The paper declared that Members of Parliament for Styria had, by their "anti-German behavior" in voting in favour of the Language Ordinances for Bohemia and Moravia, richly deserved the "contempt" expressed in numerous resolutions passed by local chapters of the Christian Farmers League from Leibnitz to Seiersberg.²⁴⁵ Clearly, two different issues were being systematically linked by the paper. On the one hand there was very real discontent with the government on social and

²⁴⁵ Bauernfreund June 6, 1897

economic grounds which had caused disillusionment with the clerical support for the regime; on the other hand there was German-nationalist agitation which the church opposed on moral as well as political grounds. Nationalism, whipped up by the language question, was being harnessed to the political and economic grievances by the baron's writers in an attempt to divide the Conservative voters from their elected representatives.

The discourse here was somewhat less emotional in tone although more partisan than much of the commentary of the previous decade. The exception appeared in an article which used the emotive phrases "only feeling and acting German is forbidden to the priesthood" and "the unfortunate people of Austria! Where are their priests?"²⁴⁶ The difference, of course, is only one of degree but nevertheless the self-pitying tone of ten years previously surfaced less frequently in 1897 than a hardened "them versus us" line. Race and ethnicity, in themselves, did not seem to be the most important issues. Descriptions of the conflict were usually framed in purely political terms. Even an incident in which a Slovene-speaking priest chastised and insulted German children at a school celebration because they were carrying oak leaves was handled in an ostensibly objective tone. The author decried such behavior and partisanship, but did not compare cultures in terms of relative merit. It did

²⁴⁶ Bauernfreund Sept. 5, 1897

not make Rokitansky want to weep nor did it move him to describe incidents in which Slovene-speaking students may have been abused by German patriots.²⁴⁷

By the autumn of 1897 Rokitansky's activities had led to his landslide election to the provincial parliament. He then declared his grand task to be the "uniting of the German middle class (Bürgerschaft) with the farmers (Bauernstand) of Styria". He came out in favour of a tax on incomes in place of the taxes on land, and promoted pension and insurance plans.²⁴⁸ In a telling commentary about the real battle-lines as he saw them, the voters were divided into "Roki-Bauern" for himself and "Bote-Bauern" for the devotees of the Sonntagsbote. In the same issue his victory message to his followers was "trust in God and keep your powder dry" - an interesting appeal to defensive attitudes in the countryside by an eccentric Liberal with rather eclectic political views!²⁴⁹

Rokitansky's other paper, the Bauernbündler, of which he is listed as owner/editor, came out once a month after April of 1897 under the subtitle "Voice of Instruction and Entertainment for the Farmers of Styria." It proclaimed a purely practical mission to educate and entertain in a non-political fashion. It was graced with a single page of

²⁴⁷ Bauernfreund Sept. 5 1897

²⁴⁸ Bauernfreund Sept 7, 1897

²⁴⁹ Bauernfreund Sept. 19, 1897

advertising and did, in fact, deal with many practical and down-to-earth issues: taxes and duties, credit and interest rates, animal health and husbandry, commodity prices, hail insurance and the state monopoly on salt for livestock. But much of its tone and the copy which it reprinted from the journal Bohemia was decidedly German-national. The fine distinction between German-Austrian and Pan-German sentiment almost disappeared under the similarity of the nationalist discourse. "Permeated with the love of our narrower homeland (Heimatland), the Bauernbündler will not forget that we are a part of the larger German family of peoples (Volksfamilie) in our blood, our ethnic identity (Stammesbewusstsein), our feelings and ideas (Fühlen und Denken)," asserted the paper, using the codes for German nationalism even as it moderated the Pan-German thrust of the message by the emotive evocation of the monarchy itself. Continued the editor in the introductory message:

We have the right and the duty to share in the inexhaustible treasure of German knowledge and creativity...accordingly this paper will bring you sketches from the history of German agriculture and will attempt to arouse in the countryside the love and appreciation of German literature and the authors and poets of the fatherland.²⁵⁰

It is intriguing that neither of the Baron's papers responded directly to the year's political flashpoints in Graz. Perhaps it was impossible to prepare copy to respond in a timely fashion and so a conscious decision was taken to

²⁵⁰ Bauernbündler (Graz) April 25, 1897

deal with matters neglected in the daily and the local press. Perhaps the decision was to deal with rural rather than urban issues, cultural rather than political ones or more simply general rather than topical ones. In any case, the references to the Cilli budget debacle and the Badeni language ordinances were markedly less current than was the case in the daily press. Rokitansky was, after all, not in the business of reporting the news, but rather the making and the shaping of it. National solidarity seemed to be more tactical than a matter of conviction. Certainly, in his own papers, the rural economic issues assumed more importance than the ethnic ones, even if Rokitansky was not above using the latter to further his goals for the former. In his priorities he actually showed remarkable similarity to his arch-enemy, Styrian Clerical-Conservative Member of the Reichsrat, Franz Hagenhofer.²⁵¹ There were very real structural problems in the rural economy which no leader could avoid. Modernization had made relatively little progress in a traditional society. A scarcity of affordable credit and the insecurity of the commodity market kept the rural areas backward and dependent whatever their ethnic makeup, and in the spirit of noblesse oblige both Styrian politicians addressed the problems as they saw them.

The Liberals

²⁵¹ Anton Schuller Franz Hagenhofer p. 23.

The smaller Liberal papers showed no sign of moderating the nationalist position; rather, the increased desperation of the small-town German businessman shone through in his press. The Deutsche Wacht, appearing twice weekly out of Cilli in 1897, boasted that its circulation was growing as a result of its twenty-one years of staunchly defending the German minority,²⁵² an opportunistic claim which a look at the Cillier Zeitung of 1877 could have thrown into perspective. A new element in the German-national discourse of Styria was the paper's growing anti-semitism and anti-capitalism. This was not an attitude which one might expect to find preoccupying the business and farming community of the hinterland unless there had been some serious prompting. True, the availability of credit was a standing problem for the farmers and the scarcity of capital investment concerned the business community, but the linkage of these problems to the national divisions and to the Jews was new to the Liberal camp in Styria. An example of such linkage turned up early in the year:

Whatever is damaging to the middle classes, business and rural, must be limited whether it is the excess of capitalism or the influence of the Jews: the backwardness in legislation and administration must be overcome by a serious reform. The fact is that the leading circles and the moderate parties have up to the present done little for the wage-earner and almost nothing at all for the middle-class business and farming communities except make promises.²⁵³

²⁵² Deutsche Wacht Jan. 2, 1897.

²⁵³ Deutsche Wacht Jan. 28, 1897

The tone of these remarks is far less hysterical but even more deadly than was the case in 1887. Extremism was becoming acceptable. The paper spent far less space insulting the Slavs and on grievances in 1897, as if it no longer needed to convince anyone of the threat. It devoted more space to tactics in the struggle. The division and alliances among the various Liberal political clubs had become more newsworthy. A distinct impression emerges that the "iron ring", although like the Kulturkampf long gone, still influenced political thinking. The threat of domination by the Slavs was seen with some justification to be a serious one. For the small-town German there was a lot of disillusionment; the Liberals had let them down but so had the church and the government. The community seemed increasingly prepared to look beyond Austria and the Habsburgs to the German Empire and even to protestantism! On every page of the Deutsche Wacht the reader could find a partisan comment. Its reaction to the Language Ordinances and to the Badeni government's policies in general could be summed up in one succinct comment, "Austria - German or nothing! Austria can simply not be governed without the Germans."²⁵⁴

In 1897, the Dorfbote, too, was decidedly more national in tone and also more interested in Germany than it had been a decade earlier, even if it was somewhat more moderate than

²⁵⁴ Deutsche Wacht April 4, 1897

the Deutsche Wacht. It, too, demonstrated real concern for the economic plight of the farmer and discussed a number of possible solutions. The Dorfbote showed itself to be particularly disenchanted with the politics of the church. On the Cilli Gymnasium budget measure, it pointed out the hypocrisy of the clerical Members of Parliament:

The majority of the Clerical Members did not vote for the government either, but remained outside of the chamber. The gentlemen must indeed suspect that even their voters have had a bellyfull of anti-German, pro-Slav politics.²⁵⁵

In February the paper printed a long article aimed at the Christian Socialists called "The Warning of a German-national against Clericalism"²⁵⁶ and as the year went on the language question gained steadily in importance. At the beginning of April the paper commented:

The throne speech contained a number of measures with which one gladly agrees. One could only wish that they would be realized. The problem lies in the hands of the government which must give up its one-sided promotion of Slavic national strife, for under conditions of national conflict no business legislation is being passed. Unfortunately the prospect that Count Badeni will protect the national peace is not very good.²⁵⁷

The reaction of the paper to the Language Ordinances proposed for Bohemia was quite clear. The Dorfbote summed up most succinctly what the Liberal German press seemed to feel was the case:

²⁵⁵ Dorfbote Jan. 7, 1897

²⁵⁶ Dorfbote Feb. 11, 1897

²⁵⁷ Dorfbote April 1, 1897

The Bohemian Language Ordinances mean a definite deterioration of the overall German position....It is exactly as if it were determined that every official in Middle and Upper Styria had to understand Slovene. The result would be that the German officials would gradually disappear and the Germans of Styria would be overrun by a Slovene civil service. And that is exactly what is going to happen in German northern Bohemia.²⁵⁸

On the same topic the analogy which was usually implicit if unexpressed in the press was converted to a direct threat in the comment that:

A similar affliction must also be feared in Styria and Carinthia for the Slovenes will not give up, they grub around in secret, they sneak up back stairways and knock on back doors and they hope by such methods to achieve their goals.²⁵⁹

This particular comment uses unflattering references to the political tactics of the Slovenes to express anxiety about the ultimate outcome of the drive for equality on the part of the nationality which made up the majority in the area.

Later in the year the Dorfbote drew attention to a factor in the nationality conflicts which had hitherto been ignored or covered up in the papers surveyed for this study. There was an international dimension to the monarchy's distress. The fact is that as the German Empire gained in power and arrogance it also liked to see itself as the protector of the German minority outside of its own borders. Where it had once played a decisive part in the de-centralization of the Austrian administration for its own reasons in 1867, it

²⁵⁸ Dorfbote April 15, 1897

²⁵⁹ Dorfbote May 6, 1897

was in 1897 choosing to resist greater autonomy for the nationalities, particularly where they shared a common border with Germany. The article in question, which the Dorfbote claimed had been written and widely disseminated in Germany itself, was entitled, "What are the Germans of Bohemia to us?" It claimed that the situation:

demonstrates that the recognition is growing in the larger German community that the Czechs are not only defending their rights, as they claim, but rather that they are advancing, that they are conquering German territory and that the Slavic sphere of influence is achieving a decided expansion at the expense of the Germans.²⁶⁰

Such partisan political language emanating from Prussia was a form of political pressure. It could not have been printed without tacit government approval. The language, however, was still far from racist in tone and the anti-semitism which had been expressed in the Cilli paper did not seem to surface in its neighbours' coverage of the same events.

The Marburger Zeitung served the community of Germans which was the most isolated of all in the sea of Slovenes. In 1897 it appeared twice a week rather than three times as it had in 1887 but it was still endowed with plenty of advertising. Its copy was as national as possible in tone. In the New Year's lead article the intention was stated to serve unabashedly in the front lines of the German movement as, it claimed, it had already done for many years. It went

²⁶⁰ Dorfbote Sept. 23, 1897

on to evoke the defensive and self-pitying line of thought so typical of the previous decade:

For far, far too long the Germans of the eastern March of this empire have allowed themselves to play second, third and even, in fact, last class citizens, although they are obviously called to be the leaders of the State due to their past service, their breeding and their spiritual strengths.²⁶¹

On the same page the air of perpetual grievance was given concrete expression in the coverage of an incident in which a Slovene, "glowing with hatred for Germans," was appointed as a deputy in the office of the provincial governor. The appointment was described as a bribe to the Slovene delegates boycotting the sessions of the provincial legislature and, the paper continued: "Once again the Styrians must experience the denial by the government of their deepest wishes." The article ended with the suspicion that other, as yet undisclosed, favours had also been promised to the Slovenes.²⁶²

This paper was rooted in its own local conflicts and could not find the space to pay attention to either the Austrian dynasty or to the German one, although it did find room to mention the planting of a "Bismarck oak" at a German national gathering in Graz.²⁶³ Almost every page of the paper in 1897 had a comment or an insult relevant to the

²⁶¹ Marburger Zeitung Jan. 3, 1897

²⁶² Marburger Zeitung Jan. 3, 1897

²⁶³ Marburger Zeitung April 1, 1897.

ethnic tension. Sometimes it expressed resentment of the role of the church in encouraging the Slavs,²⁶⁴ sometimes it printed negative reactions to the situation in Bohemia,²⁶⁵ sometimes the scornful tone of a report on a Slovene political conference was sufficient to get the message across,²⁶⁶ but by 1897, the view from German Marburg was extremely gloomy indeed.

While the papers of rural Styria reflected the particular circumstances of the rural economy and society throughout the entire last quarter of the nineteenth century, an earlier national coexistence and political pluralism had become an aggressive and relentless struggle by 1897. Liberals battled Conservatives, Germans battled Slovenes, and the newspapers battled one another. Liberal papers pictured the Germans as abandoned by their church and the victims of aggressive Slavic nationalism: the Conservatives pictured German claims as a cover for an unreasonable will to dominate. Even the church was not immune to the effects of the nationalist propaganda and the extremist behavior left its mark on local priests and parliamentary delegates alike.

²⁶⁴ Marburger Zeitung April 4, 1897.

²⁶⁵ Marburger Zeitung August 1, 1897.

²⁶⁶ Marburger Zeitung Sept. 16, 1897.

Chapter VII

THE GRAZ PAPERS

Hardly a metropolis, the Styrian capital was a thriving and self-assured urban centre nonetheless. The preoccupations of its press were somewhat different than those of the community and farm papers described in the previous chapter. Graz was served by daily papers representing both ends of the political spectrum, by its own satirical journal and by its own semi-official gazette. All of these are surveyed in this chapter. A professional journal for teachers and a church publication round out the selection of Graz newspapers although the last two were undoubtedly designed for a readership throughout the province. The journals published by the teachers and the priesthood are particularly significant not only because they represent distinct political positions but also because they reflect on the thinking of community leaders. By 1877 a relatively consistent pattern of publication had been established in Graz and endured throughout the period under review.

1877 - The Era of the "Kulturkampf"

In 1877, the Grazer Zeitung (Graz News), published daily at a price of 12 Fl. a year, was a two part paper consisting of an official Gazette which printed government notices and a non-official section. According to Leo Woerl, when he surveyed the Austrian press in 1880, it had a circulation of about 1800 copies and leaned toward the government perspective in its coverage.²⁶⁷ In the news section of the paper, international events had pride of place followed by important national issues involving parliament or the royal family. Local news was presented in the "kleine Zeitung" (little news) section. In a paper presenting the government's perspective one expects to find ethnically neutral coverage, and that is just what one finds. In its uncontroversial theatrical and literary reviews, as in its stock market reports and its feuilleton, the language and the content were uniformly conventional. In its local reportage the only hint of ethnic diversity was the occasional name of Slavic origin. More often these names appeared among the charged or arrested in the local court cases than among those who attracted the attention of the paper for more positive reasons, but the margin of difference was not really significant over the course of the year. The paper had very few advertisers.²⁶⁸

The Humorous Press

²⁶⁷ Woerl, Publicistik p.85

²⁶⁸ Grazer Zeitung issues for 1877

A marked contrast is presented by another of the supposedly non-political papers surveyed, the region's own satirical, the Steirer Seppl (Styrian Joe). Published on a weekly basis from 1866 until 1893, it cost 4 Fl. per year or 9 kr. per issue in 1877. Woerl has estimated its circulation at about 1150 copies in 1880.²⁶⁹ The masthead pictured a well-rounded, jolly-looking burgher holding his pipe and wearing the traditional hat with a feather in the band. The subtitle read "Illustrated Humourous People's Paper" (Illustriertes humoristisches Volksblatt). A full twenty-five percent of its copy consisted of advertising.

The language used by the Seppl was anything but conventional. Full of dialect and popular expressions, the paper frequently played fast and loose with the rules of German grammar and sometimes used words which appear to be of Slavic derivation.²⁷⁰ As a satirical, the paper was quite catholic in its choice of targets, gleefully skewering anyone and everyone from the fire department and the unsophisticated crowd at a local church fair to ladies fashions, from the Russian-Turkish war to the monarchy's political elite. Only the church itself was exempt from providing the stuff of comedy. The paper suffered

²⁶⁹ Woerl, Publicistik p.146

²⁷⁰ One example, the word "hoppatatschig", Steirer Seppl Jan. 13, 1877, can be found in none of the contemporary dictionaries of standard or dialect usage for Austria, but Styrian natives contend that it means social ineptitude.

occasional problems with the censors but managed to milk even that situation for extra laughs.²⁷¹

The Seppl was overtly neutral on ethnicity, but a close reading reveals some ethnic biases all the same. The Russians, for example, seemed to be ridiculed more often and more critically than the Turks over the conduct of a war in which neither party exactly smelled of roses.²⁷² The conduct of the Czech nationalists was seldom mentioned at all, but was ridiculed in a small piece of text early in the year. The joke was many-layered. "Why are the ultra-Czechs so obnoxious? Because all Bohemians are born with their noses in the air!"²⁷³ The item could be read as a slap at Czech nationalism, but it is also possible to read into it the implication that Bohemian Slavs were more obnoxious than Styrian ones. Such an interpretation would reflect inter-provincial rivalry as well as ethnic prejudice. The Hungarians also took some shots, usually on the subject of the compromise, a sore point with the Germans which had not healed over time. Another item in the same issue under the heading "Hungary dominant" commented that while the Styrians would soon all have to wear tight trousers (as the Hungarians did), it would make no difference as their "newly-found freedoms had not made them any the fatter."²⁷⁴

²⁷¹ Steirer Seppl Aug. 11, 1877

²⁷² Steirer Seppel July 1, and Sept. 16, 1877.

²⁷³ Steirer Seppl Jan. 13, 1877

Nor had the German Reich earned any popularity with the satirists of Styria. Several variations of a joke that the potato beetle was just retribution for the sins of Moltke and Krupp illustrated the rural emphasis as well as the political stance which the paper expected its readers to appreciate.²⁷⁵

It was local characters as well as local issues that received the bulk of the Seppl's fire, and in its use of language there was really nothing to indicate either German-national sentiments or anti-Slavic ideas. In the visuals, however, the very round faces and vacuous expressions of some of the rural and lower-class characters depicted leave open the question if the Slavic rurals rather than the Germanic ones were being singled out for ridicule. Country dwellers, of course, took a real beating in the satirical press of the day. Farmers were frequently portrayed as boorish, ignorant and clumsy, as well as homely. Two examples which stood out particularly for their derogatory representation of the rural population and its customs by the Seppl in 1877 were a cartoon about a house party²⁷⁶ and an illustration of a church fair.²⁷⁷ But, at

²⁷⁴ Steirer Seppl Jan 13, 1877

²⁷⁵ Steirer Seppl July 1, 1877. For the text in German see appendix III(a)

²⁷⁶ Steirer Seppl June 25, 1877. For an example of the discourse about farmers contained in the caption to the cartoon, see appendix III(b)

²⁷⁷ Steirer Seppl July 1, 1877

least in Styria, the rurals were not entirely at the mercy of pretentious city-folk as was the case in the Viennese press!

The Catholic Press

The Clerical/Conservative camp was graced with a small paper, single-handedly produced by a dedicated editor. The Katholischer Wahrheitsfreund (Catholic Truth-teller) had been produced for about 300 subscribers every week for 24 years by a Dr. Alois Hebenstreit. Its profits, from sales at 6 Fl. for the year, were donated to the Paulinum home for orphaned boys.²⁷⁸ The content of the Wahrheitsfreund was purely inspirational Catholic copy. It varied from tributes to individual members of the clergy and advice on family and social matters to reports on the donations of the nobility to various worthy charitable causes. Local religious celebrations or festivals were covered only in passing. It reserved an especially contemptuous tone for Liberals and protestants, completely in the spirit of the Kulturkampf, but it did not have a detectable bias on ethnicity at all.²⁷⁹

The real flagship of Catholic journalism in Graz was the Grazer Volksblatt (Graz People's Voice). A daily paper with about 1500 subscribers, it cost 14 Fl. per year and included

²⁷⁸ Woerl Publicistik p. 30

²⁷⁹ Katholischer Wahrheitsfreund (Graz) issues for Jan. and Feb., and May to Dec. of 1877

the much more widely distributed weekly Sonntagsbote (Sunday Messenger), discussed in the previous chapter, for free as a supplement.²⁸⁰ The subtitle consisted of a quotation from pope Pius IX, "Love ye the truth, the daughter of God". (Liebet die Wahrheit, die Tochter Gottes) The regular content of the Volksblatt included a conventional serialized novel, rail timetables, commodity prices, lottery results, stock market quotations and coverage of current events which would today be considered more in the nature of commentary than news. Its general tone was also in the spirit of the Kulturkampf, a conflict waged with a bitterness which puts some of the ethnic rhetoric of the following decades into perspective. Its stance was extremely hostile to Liberals and protestants and sometimes to Jews as well. Socialism it regarded as simply beyond the pale. There was no pretense of even-handedness in its coverage; instead, a bitter combativeness surfaced whenever the paper sensed a threat from the left, which was frequently. Defensive diatribes against the "Jewish press", usury, mixed marriages and the Rothschilds were punctuated, however, by more positive representations of Jews such as that contained in a warm tribute to a deceased businessman, one Johan Jacoby of Königsberg.²⁸¹ It was not possible to discern a bias one way or the other towards the Slavic population, either Czech or

²⁸⁰ Woerl, publicistik p. 30

²⁸¹ Grazer Volksblatt Mar. 10, 1877

Slovene in the 1877 coverage.²⁸²

The Liberals

The public school teachers of this era, because of the position of the church on education, have to be considered as part of the Liberal political camp. The journal of the Styrian Teachers Society, the Pädagogische Zeitschrift (Pedagogical News), was no exception. It appeared in small format with about twenty pages thrice monthly. It cost only 4 Fl. for a year and there are no circulation figures available.²⁸³ The paper focussed rather sharply on the interests of teachers. It printed long reports on the proceedings of teachers' conferences, published scholarly articles on teaching methods and ran ads for teaching positions. Very significantly, two of these articles on methods, which were each serialized over several issues, treated ethnic differences in the same tone as any other methodological issue. One article dealt with the limited availability of reading materials and of professional literature in the Slovene language, another treated the general challenges of teaching German to children from non-German homes. Both series employed language which was value-neutral with respect to Slavic ethnicity and there was nothing in the entire year's coverage to suggest a lack of respect for Slavic students or a lack of confidence in their

²⁸² Grazer Volksblatt issues for 1877

²⁸³ Woerl Publicistik p. 206

ability. One looks in vain for the vocabulary of German-national ideology, or, in fact, for any expression at all of ethnic pride.²⁸⁴

The Liberal standard-bearer in Styria was the Grazer Tagespost (Graz Daily Mail) with a circulation of 12,800 and a yearly price of 18 Fl.²⁸⁵ It had to be by a wide margin the best read and the most influential paper in the province. Although it was described by Leo Woerl as radical,²⁸⁶ in fact, a survey of the entire output for 1877 reveals to the modern eye a totally conventional daily paper. It had abundant advertisers, the obligatory feuilleton, national and international news items on the front page, with local and social items relegated to the interior pages. Its tone was slightly formal, not to say pretentious, and its coverage leaned to academic and literary topics, the activities of the ubiquitous Vereine and of sporting events. The paper's Liberalism was relatively muted and its attitude towards ethnic issues was not obvious. Even a close reading does not penetrate the formality of its expression. The late seventies of the last century were hardly years in which the Liberals of Graz had cause to crow, but on the other hand, neither had they begun to lose confidence in themselves or in the social order they

²⁸⁴ Pädagogische Zeitschrift (Graz) issues for 1877

²⁸⁵ Woerl Publicistik p. 85

²⁸⁶ Woerl, Publicistik p.30

supported. They represented the establishment.

1887 - Injury and Outrage

Massive changes in the public discourse, in the way words were used and in the tone in which nationality was mentioned were not obvious in the government-controlled press of 1887. The Grazer Zeitung of that year looked not unlike its earlier version. It continued to publish both a Gazette section and a non-official portion of the paper. It enjoyed no more advertisers than it had a decade earlier. It continued to publish the conventional fiction and it continued to pander to the dynasty. It went so far as to recommend such a conventional aristocratic journal as the Salonblatt and government sponsored publications such as Die Oesterreichische Monarchie im Wort und Bild (The Austrian Monarchy in Text and Image) in its literary reviews.²⁸⁷ It contained no politics, no analysis and no agitation. Nevertheless there was evidence of the changed political climate. The Gazette now published a regular column of decrees in Slovene and articles sometimes appeared simultaneously in German and Hungarian versions.²⁸⁸ A review of the entire year's issues did not yield even a hint of the ethnic conflict which was taking place in the monarchy, or provide evidence of contributing to it.

²⁸⁷ Grazer Zeitung Jan. 3 1887 and July 2 1887 respectively

²⁸⁸ Grazer Zeitung Jan. 10, 1887

The Humorous Press

From the very first pages of the Steirer Seppel for 1887, in contrast, the new climate was obvious. The paper appeared in a smaller format than it had in the previous decade, and instead of almost weekly appearance it came out "at least forty-two times annually."²⁸⁹ It was printed on better-quality paper, still carried lots of advertising, and still cost 4 Fl. a year. Its visuals were cleaner; line-drawings rather than engravings and had the appearance of modern cartoons. The same jolly character graced the masthead, but the spelling of the paper's title had changed; an "e" had been added to the word "Seppel".

The front page of the year's first issue consisted of two cartoons. The first showed a merry group downing beer in a tavern. One of the figures had features which could be seen as semitic, another slavic. The customers' dress suggested a variety of occupational endeavours from mining to something more genteel and the tavern-keeper's lady was engaged in spirited conversation. The caption, in dialect, read "In spite of all the misfortune you can still find good company in Graz, but you have to know where to look."²⁹⁰ Beneath that drawing was another of a wild-eyed figure in black wearing the cap and sash of a student and long unkempt

²⁸⁹ Steirer Seppel Jan. 8, 1887

²⁹⁰ Steirer Seppel Jan. 8 1887. For text in German see appendix III(c)

hair. He was tearing at the sides of his mouth with both hands. This very negative and derogatory image was accompanied by the caption "one of those who is tearing his mouth because the State examinations demand a knowledge of the German language."²⁹¹ These words were printed in modern typescript, rather than the usual gothic script, as though to underline the rudimentary skills of the Slavic students. It was not made explicit if the student was Slovene or Czech, but the theme of language competency had long since become one of the mainstays of the German-national camp's propaganda in both provinces. It is typical for a dominant group to believe firmly that the possession of skill in its own language is a virtue of monumental proportions while all other language skills are incidental. The juxtaposition of the two cartoons could be read as a favourable contrast of the climate in Graz with that of Bohemia, but more likely refers to local university students and the population at large in the town. The very same uncomplimentary drawing was recycled in the spring with a different caption: "In Prague they are tearing their mouths again because students from Germany wish to attend the German University of Prague."²⁹² As in the previous case, the word "Maul" was used for "mouth" to heighten the derogatory effect. In both cases there was an outraged quality to the treatment of the

²⁹¹ Steirer Seppel Jan. 8 1887. See appendix III(d) and figure 3.

²⁹² Steirer Seppel April 23, 1887. For the text in German see appendix III(e) and for the visual see figure 3.

language issue. The German case was presented in a manner almost incompatible with humour. Both cases appear to be a reaction to Slavic comments or complaints, a backlash rather than an offensive, but the vehemence of that reaction suggests not only pent-up resentment but downright contempt for the other side.

The next time the nationalities issue was addressed at all by the Seppel was two months later. On that occasion the entire front page was devoted to the situation. Three cartoons shared the spotlight. One referred obliquely to the desecration and vandalism of the monument to author Anastasius Grün in Laibach, an action which had aroused universal indignation among the Germans of the entire monarchy. An insult to German culture was the unkindest cut of all!²⁹³ The outrage, however, was moderated and subtle. The second cartoon on the page showed the legs of a gentleman sticking out from under an overturned chamberpot with a caption which expressed sympathy for ousted "old Czech" leader, Ladislav Rieger, who, it said, had been "shamefully treated" (schmafu behandelt) after a lifetime of sacrifice for his people.²⁹⁴ The sympathy which the item expressed for a respected Slavic leader was balanced by the disapproval which it implied for his successors, the more

²⁹³ See the commentary on the coverage of the incident in Vienna's Die Heimat discussed pp. 258-260 and appendix IV(b) as well as figure 4.

²⁹⁴ Steirer Seppel June 25, 1887. See figure 4.

radical and aggressive, more middle-class "young Czechs." The third cartoon on the page showed an inebriated pool-hall patron reading the newspaper. The caption read, "What's this I see? Three students injured for singing German songs which were offensive to some Slavic journeymen? Are we in Graz, then, or where?"²⁹⁵ Again the defensive and outraged reaction surfaced in response to an incident which was undoubtedly portrayed from an entirely different perspective for the Slavic public. It reads as if the most difficult thing for the reader to swallow was the gall exhibited by those who dared to complain about affronts by Germans; for all one can determine from the cartoon, the offensive song could well have been Die Wacht am Rhein (the Watch on the Rhine) or some similar pan-German anthem favoured by the German university students.

The paper did not let this issue rest; it was handled again on an inside page of the same issue in a textual report on the anniversary celebrations of the Gymnasium in Kremsier. The celebrations culminated in an outing at which the students were not permitted to use oak leaves to decorate their hats. The commentator complained that up until this time only the cornflower had been subject to "persecution", but that "now the oak is also out of favour!"²⁹⁶ Between the lines a picture emerges of a

²⁹⁵ Steirer Seppel June 25, 1887. For the text in German see appendix III(f) and also figure 4.

²⁹⁶ Steirer Seppel June 25, 1887

confrontation between those celebrating their German culture and using well-known symbols of German strength and others objecting to shutting out minority students. The commentary inside the Seppel repeated the injured tone of the cartoon on the front page, except that it was more explicitly verbalized. It made the writer want to weep, he wrote.

Two of the items dealing with ethnic strife in this one issue directly involved students, the most aggressive German-national group in the monarchy, and three of them involved the alleged assault on German culture. It is clear that the most sensitive issues, the ones on which the Germans were most vulnerable, were those around their deeply internalized concepts of culture and education. It is also important to reiterate at this point that the preoccupation with culture and with education was unequally shared by Liberal and Conservative ideologies. It was the Liberals who, having put so much of their faith into educating men instead of believing in God, were the most threatened by an assault on culture, and the opposition was very good at probing their particular sore point.

A similar tone was next struck two weeks later when, again in front-page cartoons, the ethnic issue surfaced. A "superior quality music box," was offered "for sale cheap" because "it has the fatal flaw that it plays German tunes which are unpleasant to some people."²⁹⁷ This defensive tone

²⁹⁷ Steirer Seppel July 9, 1887

was balanced on the page, however, by an item which linked the controversial duelling issue with the ethnic strife and thereby pointed out the destructive quality of both. A figure in a military uniform and two wooden legs was accompanied by the caption "patience, young people, why duel? You can always get yourself crippled later in the nationalities conflict."²⁹⁸ The hurt at the insult to German culture in the first cartoon was thus linked to the incipient violence of the conflict suggested by the second. Both images projected a tone of pain, and regret, not to say bitterness, if from a definitely partisan perspective.

Another relatively common theme surfaced six issues later under the heading "the Indispensible" (die Unentbehrliche). The full-size, front-page cartoon pictured a round-faced, pug-nosed woman in a maid's uniform standing beside an elaborate cradle holding a lace-trimmed baby. Her comment was in ungrammatical, broken, German; "it's all the same to me if the Germans establish School Associations or if they curse Gregar and Rieger, or if they choose to abstain from attending parliament; when they have children they still need their Bohemian wet-nurse!"²⁹⁹ While the reality that Slavic and German society were interdependent was often the thrust of such jokes about the customary Czech nurse in

²⁹⁸ Steirer Seppel July 9, 1887 For the text in German see appendix III(g) and figure 5.

²⁹⁹ Steirer Seppel Aug 27, 1887. See figure 6 and for the German text see appendix III(h).

upper middle-class homes, the visual presentation of the maid in this case was far from flattering. In the round face with small eyes and up-turned nose can be discerned the prototypical visual depiction of Slavic features. The fractured language of her comment spoke for itself; there was inherent virtue in speaking German properly.

The vast majority of the coverage in the year's Seppel was social and cultural humour rather than overtly political humour. The satirical poked fun at local idiosyncracies, and the local politicians. The theatre and opera were not immune; "our tenors don't sing like those of Vienna, but then they are not paid like those of Vienna."³⁰⁰ The civil servants were depicted as preoccupied with their own promotions.³⁰¹ A hint of anti-semitism appeared from time to time, but it was rare and had to be inferred. Such was the case in a year-end cartoon which pictured a merchant with the stereotypical large nose and floppy hat who was leading a steer. The caption read, "What's this? The price of beef is down in Cilli and Laibach? Come my little friend, we'll go to Graz. There they know how to appreciate a steer!"³⁰²

The Clerical-Conservative Camp

³⁰⁰ Steirer Seppel Dec. 10, 1887

³⁰¹ Steirer Seppel Dec. 3 1887

³⁰² Steirer Seppl Dec. 10, 1887.

In 1887, the Katholischer Wahrheitsfreund continued to publish uplifting and inspiring Catholic copy for Graz's particularly pious readers as it had a decade previously. The homilies and articles reinforced the hierarchical and patriarchal structure of society and provided positive models of devotion and obedience. Its message purported to be purely of spiritual significance, although anarchists, nihilists and socialists were frequently trotted out as the bogey-men. Occasionally an article would deal with the quiet piety and the common touch of some member of the Imperial family, again in indirect support of the conservative view of the state. Interestingly enough, the paper did not once see fit to deal with the nationalities question in the entire year's output.³⁰³

In contrast, the Grazer Volksblatt, as the Catholic standard-bearer, jumped right into the fray with its New Year's message. Among the disturbing trends of the times it emphasized the growth of the Social Democratic Party in Germany and the sabre-rattling tendencies of the Prussians. The main concern of the editorial seemed to be with the politics of left versus right and with the status of the church, but the nationalities problems in the monarchy ranked high enough to rate discussion in that all-important spot. It also rated the most emotive vocabulary. It introduced the subject in a sentence containing both the

³⁰³ Katholischer Wahrheitsfreund issues for 1887

terms "Himmel" (heaven) and "Heimatlicher Boden" (soil of the homeland) making the issue immediate to the reader, as every use of the word Heimat tended to do, and invoking both religion and patriotism. The article went on to bemoan the lack of moderation and understanding on both sides of the conflict and by all of the political parties involved. In its description of the behavior of the participants it used particularly negative terms usually associated with bickering and petty neighbourhood quarrels: "klagen" (complain), "schimpfen" (scold), and "verneinen" (deny) for example. The constitution of the Empire, it charged, was no longer capable of moderating between the conflicting forces, described as "one-sided German nationals" and "immoderate Slavs." Austria's people were left with an "inner desolation" (innerlich zerrütteten) by it all, asserted the lead editorial writer.³⁰⁴

The following week the Volksblatt returned to the topic of nationality and the coverage became more specific with a calmly objective article on the issues at stake in Bohemia.³⁰⁵ Only two days later most of the apparent objectivity had evaporated and in a long and bitter article the paper attacked the German-national side in Bohemia on several fronts. It was high time to make peace, said the article, or the ill-will would get completely out of hand.

³⁰⁴ Grazer Volksblatt Jan. 1, 1887. For the text in German see appendix III(i)

³⁰⁵ Grazer Volksblatt Jan. 6, 1887

The writer charged that to equate the interests of the state with the "absolute hegemony of the Liberal Germans" was false and while it was undoubtedly irritating when professionals in Bohemia spoke halting German, it was really the fault of the Germans there who had held the reins for so long. This long and polemical piece introduced a new twist to the discussion, at least for Styria, in associating the German demands with "Jewish cunning" and "egotism" which was "supposedly German." The implication that the Jews of Prague, who so loyally identified with the German cause, were responsible for the ugly turn the struggle was taking is particularly ironic in light of the abuse they had to take from the Czechs.³⁰⁶ The Catholic position, on political and on religious grounds, left only one ethnic group available to discriminate against, and that was the Jews.

Once having established its pace, the paper continued its coverage in the same vein off and on throughout the year. It supported the concept of equality of rights (Gleichberechtigung) and pointed out that the principle of equality would never be voluntarily relinquished. Of the Germans, it pointedly declared that those who attempted to deny equality of rights were not interested in peace but rather in outright domination. Such domination was, however, "henceforth inachievable and impossible."³⁰⁷ Later

³⁰⁶ Grazer Volksblatt Jan. 8, 1887. For the text in German see appendix III(j)

³⁰⁷ Grazer Volksblatt Jan. 29, 1887

in the year it asserted that,

to be a good Catholic means to render unto each his own and not to claim indefensible privileges for oneself; to be a good Catholic is, furthermore, to restrain oneself from promoting any one-sided nationalism.³⁰⁸

No connection to the home front in Styria was made openly, though, and the Slovenes were not mentioned by name in any such connection, however clear the analogy appeared.

The coverage in the Volksblatt was far less moderate on the position of the church in society than it was on the national question. The war for political advantage in Austrian society was fought with few holds barred. The language waxed bitter and sarcastic about the Liberal agenda in general and about the Ausgleich with Hungary in particular.

The Liberals

The Teachers Society had still not noticed the nationalities issue by 1887, to judge by its membership publication, the Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Neither language nor ethnicity rated an article in the entire year,³⁰⁹ but political and social questions in general received more attention than they had a decade earlier, underlining just how accurately the problems of wealth distribution in the monarchy were perceived by thinking educational leaders of

³⁰⁸ Grazer Volksblatt July 8, 1887

³⁰⁹ Pädagogische Zeitschrift issues for 1887

the day.³¹⁰

The Liberal daily Grazer Tagespost was much more circumspect than its opposition in covering the nationalities. While it recognized in its New Year's editorial that the "domestic scene held out the prospect of a lengthy continuation of the national discord", use of the codeword "Hader" indicated some discomfiture with agitational tactics.³¹¹ The coverage for the remainder of the year was muted, sympathetic to the cause of the Germans in Bohemia, and not at all sensationalized. It did not waste a lot of space translating insults to the German people from the Czech or the Slovene. Like its opposition it did not draw parallels between the German-Czech situation in Bohemia and the German-Slovene situation in its own backyard.

Nothing in its tone or vocabulary could be considered German-national, but reading between the lines a sensitive reader can feel the tension in the community nonetheless. In the regular notices of association meetings, for instance, one finds listed on a single day the founding meeting of a "deutscher Club" as well as a meeting of the "deutscher Nationalverein" called specifically "to support the Germans of Bohemia." One can hardly doubt that the nationalist rhetoric absent from the coverage in the

³¹⁰ Pädagogische Zeitschrift Jan. 31, 1887

³¹¹ Grazer Tagespost Jan 2, 1887

Tagespost would be more than amply compensated for at the meetings in question.³¹² The Liberal frustration and perhaps embarrassment with being blamed for the national ill-will was illustrated in a charge that while the Conservatives mouthed holier-than-thou rhetoric about brotherly love and charity, their deputies consistently voted the national line.³¹³ The tactic appeared to allow the church to have it both ways: noble on policy but national when it counted and when it meant votes. The charge was to recur fairly regularly over the course of the year in different contexts. But Liberal powerlessness in the face of the "iron ring" did not yet sound like desperation in the pages of the Tagespost. This was still a very confident establishment paper in 1887.

Within the Liberal camp, real political divisions were reflected in the press by wide differences in attitude and tactics. The distance between the very careful public school teachers who no longer worked in a climate of unconditional support for education, even in theory, to the activists of Cilli discussed in the previous chapter encompassed a wide range of opinions. They had in common a defensive tone and an increasingly outraged, if not hysterical desperation. The world had not unfolded at all as they had believed it would. A unifying theme which would

³¹² Grazer Tagespost Jan. 6, 1887

³¹³ Grazer Tagespost Jan. 5, 1887

serve to mobilize liberal opposition effectively had not yet emerged, but the more isolated the community felt, the more nationalism was called upon to fill that role.

1897 - Cold and Calculating

Styria's official press organ looked much the same in the final decade of this study as it had in the first one. Layout and style, price and content were unchanged. It continued to print official notices, some in Slovene or Hungarian, in its Gazette section. Its un-official section included very formal news reports and coverage of parliament which read like Hansard without any commentary on the content. A conventional feuilleton still appeared and conventional publications such as the new Illustrierte Frauen-Zeitung (Illustrated Ladies News) were recommended for light reading.

Even in the Grazer Zeitung the reader could no longer totally escape the social and ethnic conflict which was rampant in the province but did have to look for acknowledgement of problems and read a little between the lines. There was no New Year's message which set out the concerns of the day in this paper. Finally, in July, it carried a report on the well-attended German-Austrian Farmers' Conference (Deutsch-Österreichische Bauerntag) where Baron Rokitsky was unanimously elected to the position of president. The coverage included some of the

proposals made by participants for improvements in the lot of the farmers and the rural population.³¹⁴ That the meeting was covered at all in an official organ suggests that rural unrest was so important that it could simply not be ignored. While such coverage may have drawn attention to economic and social discontent, the paper must have concluded that Rokitsky and his supporters were at least loyal to the dynasty.

Only once did the ethnic situation surface in the pages of the Grazer Zeitung, and that was in an account of the Cilli Gymnasium dispute which ended in the pious hope that:

The final ruling on the manner in which the need for Slovene-German instruction at the secondary level will be met in the future will be made on purely objective and cost effective grounds. For the remainder of this provisional arrangement we hope that it will meet with understanding on the part of both nationalities of the province.³¹⁵

It was clear that reality and such aspirations were irreconcilable by the time this passage was written. It was characteristic of the government press to ignore unpleasantness in domestic affairs entirely; the slightest allusion to social and ethnic discomfort must be viewed as reluctant affirmation of the state of affairs, presented in the best possible light. In this attitude, the Grazer Zeitung was not un-typical of the bulk of Austria's social elites for whom politics had long since become anathema and

³¹⁴ Grazer Zeitung July 4, 1897

³¹⁵ Grazer Zeitung July 17, 1897 For text in German see appendix III(k)

ethnicity a bore.

The Humorous Press

By 1897, Graz no longer had its own satirical publication. The venerable Steirer Seppel had gone out of print in 1893, its last issue giving no clue as to the reason. It reflected, at that time, a local economy becoming aware of the benefits and the cost of tourism as an industry, but still smarting under the assault on German culture waged by the Slavs. Its final word on the situation came in a cartoon entitled "the peace-loving village host" and pictured a tavern-keeper energetically subduing his customers with the caption, "Hey, you can't do that here! There's no fighting in my place! You mustn't think that this is the Bohemian parliament!"³¹⁶

The Clerical-Conservative Camp

As had been the case in 1877 and in 1887, the Katholischer Wahrheitsfreund in 1897 served the needs of those Styrians in need of regular religious solace. It was supported by a moderate amount of advertising and kept its copy firmly within the inspirational genre. Many of its articles were now related to the religious festival cycle and appropriately timed to coincide with church holidays. It almost never referred to political events and seldom dealt with social or ethnic issues. It was somewhat

³¹⁶ Steirer Seppel June 3, 1893

exceptional, therefore, when it commented on the national bickering (zanken) in a regretful tone and described it as a family quarrel which nevertheless did not negate the fundamental unity and mutual affection of Austrians for one another.³¹⁷

The Catholic daily Grazer Volksblatt of 1897 with its Sunday edition or supplement the Sonntagsbote no longer appeared to be fighting the old battles of the Kulturkampf it was far too embroiled in the current daily politics of the monarchy. The enemies were the same, but the ground had shifted significantly. It appeared to be preoccupied with the threat from the left and lashed out frequently at both the Liberals and the Socialists, whom it tried to link to one another wherever possible. The bitterest of its rhetoric was aimed at the liberal daily Tagespost which, it claimed, was bravely defending both Baron Rokitsky and the Socialist paper, the Arbeiterwille, "against the meanness of the Clericals."³¹⁸ The paper neither avoided the issue of ethnicity nor contributed in any way to the conflict. It openly regretted the trend to the politicization of nationality but seemed resigned to the fact that the issue was a successful political strategy.

³¹⁷ Katholischer Wahrheitsfreund Sept 21, 1897

³¹⁸ Grazer Volksblatt Jan. 15, 1897

The Volksblatt actually published some rather insightful analyses of contemporary political trends. Many of the Conservative commentators of the day took great pleasure, for example, in deriding the Liberals over the serious divisions in their ranks. In an interesting comment on the outcome of the Cilli budget fiasco, however, the Volksblatt commented that the issue had forced the German-national activists (Deutschnationalen) from their firm pedagogical terrain onto that of nationalist power plays (nationalen Machtbewusstsein) with the intention of undercutting the German Liberals (Deutschliberalen). The Liberals, however, recognizing the danger "rushed right back into the national arena, broke the coalition and, to the detriment of right and justice, forced Prince Windischgrätz to resign." But instead of the expected gloating, the paper went on to point out that "just as Cilli basically separated the old from the young Liberals" (or the traditional from the radical ones), so the effect of Karl Lueger's work would be to widen the "already prepared divisions in the German Catholic camp."³¹⁹

In spite of the danger to Conservative electoral success that the paper perceived in the national issue, it bravely continued to defend the Slavic cause: "Before the agitation, the Slovenes had proved the absolute necessity of an Untergymnasium in Cilli on both pedagogical and on ethical grounds." The whole affair did not mean so much to either

³¹⁹ Grazer Volksblatt Jan. 24, 1897

side, declared the article, that they could not still "shake hands in a brotherly fashion." "The Cilli question was simply inflated by both sides", continued the writer in a piece which repeated the uncomplimentary word "Hetze" to emphasize the artificial and constructed nature of the conflict.³²⁰

There are suggestions in some of that autumn's provincial election coverage that the national issue was not the deciding factor in all political contests. The defeat of some clerical Members of Parliament was explained with no little bitterness as a result of the defection of Slovene voters to other "völkisch", or Liberal, candidates. If, in fact, the votes did not break down on ethnic lines, then both individual Germans and Slovenes were choosing to make common cause with one another on some other basis, perhaps holding to the Liberal-Conservative dichotomy in line with their economic interests or registering a protest vote against the government.

The Liberals

The most obvious change from the discourse of previous decades is presented by the Pädagogische Zeitschrift. The journal still appeared three times a month, but it was no longer printed in the familiar Gothic script. In its thirtieth year of publication it no longer ignored the

³²⁰ Grazer Volksblatt Feb. 12, 1897

nationalities conflict but instead had become an active participant and agitator. Teachers were no longer referred to simply as "Lehrer", but always "deutsche Lehrer". They were organized into "German-Austrian" associations, read the new nationalist publications such as the Freie deutsche Volksblatt, and were exhorted to "do their duty towards their nation (Volksstamm)."³²¹ Indeed, they were encouraged to seek their "entire greatness and strength in their heritage."³²¹ In a flood of already-familiar vocabulary which carried a much greater emotional charge in the German language of the day than it does in English translation, and which in the context of the times was even more evocative, the writers of the teachers' journal promoted nationalist ideas shamelessly.

One particular article, published in three segments beginning in October, had been reprinted from a teachers' association in Bohemia. The most inflammatory national conflict took place there in 1897 and the most inflammatory rhetoric was imported from there. This piece of writing not only used and re-used the nouns already noted in the course of this study in association with German-national agitation: "Geist", "Güter", "Stamm", "Volk", and their various compounds along with "Vaterland", "Sitte", "Sprache", "Kraft" and so on, but used them in conjunction with verbs such as "bilden", "bauen", "erziehen" and "schaffen" (this

³²¹ Pädagogische Zeitschrift Oct. 31, 1897. For the text in German see appendix III(1).

list is hardly exhaustive), which all evoke positive images in the German cultural context.³²² In the segment of the article which followed were featured terms from the ancient Germanic myths so arduously promoted by the Pan-German associations; the "Nibelungenhort" (treasure trove of the Nibelung), "Totilla", "Kriemhild" and countless other "Helden" (heroes) and "Sieger" (victors) were trotted out. In the concluding segment of the article, the insults to other ethnic groups surfaced:

Unfortunately, instead of admiring the strength of our own people we must all too frequently explain to the child the dubious cultural beginnings of nomads and other half-cultivated peoples.³²³

Yet another series of articles on the teaching of the German language in the schools, no longer emphasized the "theoretical treatment of language instruction", but rather the "teaching of the proper usage of the mother tongue." The author continued:

This sounds like some fairy-tale from the bad old days when we had no language associations to protect our mother tongue from foreign influences. Naturally it matters a great deal that we speak clean and correct German and that we feel ourselves to be German.³²⁴

The material reads just as though the radical students writing in Der Kyffhauser in the previous decade had now become the teachers and were aggressively expounding the

³²² Pädagogische Zeitschrift Oct. 31, 1897

³²³ Pädagogische Zeitschrift Nov. 10, 1897

³²⁴ Pädagogische Zeitschrift Aug. 20 1897

ideas of the Pan-Germans. Such sentiments also represent a stunning contrast to the easy attitude towards German usage reflected in the Seppl of 1877!

Inadvertently, however, the magazine also gave a hint that there may have been another side to the story. An article bearing the popular title "A Warning", claimed that:

in these oppressive times the German Schulverein has to cut costs and save all that it can if it is not to be forced to surrender our worthy compatriots in mixed-language regions to the Slavic floodtide.

The author's noble attempt to play upon both sympathetic and antipathetic emotions was followed, however, by evident frustration with its limited effectiveness.

The largest part of the German people stays passively on the sidelines, is either misled or lies crippled by quarrels due to its overwhelming obstinacy."³²⁵

This is very telling evidence that far from all of the German-speaking population shared the desperation of the teachers or had bought into the sectarian strife. The charge of apathy is often leveled against those who decline to support a particular political position even today in order to claim the allegiance of a "silent majority" and gloss over opposition opinions.

The Grazer Tagespost in 1897 continued to be the most widely read paper in Styria. Its price had not changed and it still came out twice a day during the week. It took up

³²⁵ Pädagogische Zeitschrift Oct. 20, 1897

the banner of German-national defense in its very first issue of the year. The programmatic New Year's article was simply loaded with the vocabulary and the themes of German national agitation:

The enormity of the danger demands sustained resistance...

the recognition that the non-Germans, through unremitting, tireless pushing of their nation which knows no weakness or fear, are achieving success after success...

the defense against the immoderate demands of the Slavic race must stand as the first commandment of a German political strategy...

the formidable level of culture which the German race has attained, the enormous harvest of knowledge and art which it has reaped, its simply fabulous success on the battlefield (Schlachtfeld) and the high number of middle-class virtues which characterizes it are the result of several hundred years worth of free spiritual and intellectual development...

the battle against advancing Slavdom...always on the lookout to emasculate the German people and push them down to the level of half-civilized peoples..."³²⁶

All of this and much more of such discourse appeared in the first three columns of the year's coverage. All of the psychological buttons of German-national manipulation were pushed, all of the pre-conceptions and prejudices reinforced in the column which traditionally set the year's prospects into perspective and expressed the paper's goals and intentions. What was missing in comparison with the copy of the previous decade was a tone of regret and the injured

³²⁶ Grazer Tagespost Jan. 1, 1897, morning edition

quality of the language. This was tough language which advocated a tough stand, a no-holds-barred battle. Words which evoked a purely injured response had been replaced by those which suggested determination and endurance. Strategy had replaced injury. There no longer seemed to be any need to convince the reader of the danger or of the correct response; the mission of the paper was henceforth to encourage and strengthen resolve. Also new in the appeal of the Tagespost was its direct appeal to lower-middle class values and interests. In the same piece the paper greeted the new situation where "new technology, new transportation and the mobility of massive amounts of private capital" had changed the conditions of the middle classes with a call for the government to intervene in their support. "The concentration of capital in the hands of powerful corporations impedes the struggle for existence of the middle classes", it asserted and then implicitly linked the fight for economic interests with the fight for national ones.³²⁷

Nor was the Tagespost about to relax its vigilance in the service of the German cause. On the following day it led off its evening edition with an inflammatory report on the situation in Moravia claiming:

the priesthood of today deals with the bureaucracy only in the Czech language and does as it is told. Personal documents in the German language can be obtained from the parish only with the greatest

³²⁷ Grazer Tagespost Jan.1, 1897 morning edition

effort, the German service is neglected and a German-sponsored sermon is changed into a Czech one.³²⁸

In the evening edition of the following Monday, the paper decried an attempt by the government to form a more lasting coalition of the Members who had voted for a temporary budget measure - "the large landowners, the Slovenes, the Clericals and a few delegates from the city, that is the Chamber of Commerce." Badeni, it went on, "has not the slightest understanding of Styrian circumstances if he believes that our landowners would ever unite with the Slovenes and the Clerical Members of Parliament."³²⁹

By the sixth of January, when the paper reported on the defeat of the budget item for Cilli's Gymnasium, it was already in high gear. The vote was seen as "a strong protest against the severe insult, not only to the Germans of the border areas but to all the rest of Austria's Germans as well which had been delivered by the establishment of this facility." The action of the German Members of Parliament in blocking funding was praised on several grounds by the authors including that "even if they have not achieved lasting success by the measure, they have at least done what their honour and the national interest demanded." The item went on to declare that any future ministry which attempted to govern through a "narrow alliance of Poles,

³²⁸ Grazer Tagespost Jan 2, 1897, evening edition

³²⁹ Grazer Tagespost Jan 4, 1897 evening edition

Czechs and Slovenes," would "in the long run be incapable of standing up to the united German opposition."³³⁰

For the rest of the month the Tagespost covered Slovene preparations for the coming provincial elections³³¹ and used the term "utraquist Gymnasium" about the disputed school in Cilli. This common reference, often made about bi-lingual schools, was to the fifteenth-century Hussite heresy in Bohemia.³³²

Similar coverage continued day after day throughout the year in the Tagespost, particularly in the period leading up to the elections and around the discussions of the Badeni government's Language Ordinances for Bohemia. It was unrelenting and uncompromising propaganda for the German-national cause which had as its basic assumption the inferiority of the Slavs and the injustice of the Czech and Slovene positions. It relied on a combination of scare tactics about the loss of language rights, as illustrated by the item of January second on the church in Moravia cited above, and which were typified by little comments such as one about the "Slovenizing of rooted German place-names"³³³ and by the bolstering of national pride as illustrated by the effort on the first of the year. As a main-stream,

³³⁰ Grazer Tagespost Jan. 6, 1897 morning edition

³³¹ Grazer Tagespost Jan. 15 and Jan. 18, 1897

³³² Grazer Tagespost Jan. 9 and Jan 20, 1897

³³³ Grazer Tagespost Nov. 15, 1897

middle-class paper, the Tagespost did not bother with the discourse of cultural superiority indicated by terms from myths and legends as the Pädagogische Zeitschrift was doing. It concentrated on tactics. In its coverage on other issues, its advertising, its feuilletons, and its reviews, it remained entirely conventional in tone and rich and varied in subject matter.

Given the nature of the coverage of the nationalities conflict during the course of 1897, it is hardly surprising that the events of the end of the year aroused impassioned commentary. On the 26th of November, before the fall of the Badeni government and the riots on the Ringstrasse in Vienna, the Tagespost was reporting on student demonstrations in Graz where Badeni was hung in effigy to cries of "long live the obstruction" and "long live Schönerer" and to the strains of "The Watch on the Rhine", hymn of the Pan-Germans. Its coverage expressed total support for the students. However, the paper also printed a plea by the mayor for peace and an end to all demonstrations after twenty injuries and one death had occurred at the hands of a "Bosnian" regiment which had been called in by the government to restore order.³³⁴

Issues of the paper for the next three days were confiscated and the next to appear was the evening edition of November 29th. This issue reported the fall of the

³³⁴ Grazer Tagespost Nov. 26, 1897

Badeni government with undisguised jubilation and commented on the counter-demonstrations in Prague where, it claimed, mobs were breaking windows in German businesses.³³⁵ The following day, the paper declared that "the German (community) has awakened, and no sleeping preparation will ever put it under again." The writer went on to state the goals of the Germans to be "an honest and serious peace" which they were "ready to agree upon and to keep honestly." Should such an agreement be refused, they

would find the strength to resist and the endurance to carry through to a victorious conclusion. The last months mean an important turning point in the history of Austria. They mean nothing less than the final and complete pulling together of the German spirit."³³⁶

The same chords continued to be struck throughout December as the demonstrations worsened and more civilians were killed in clashes with the military.³³⁷ Unrepentant communities hastened to pass votes of thanks to the obstructionist Members of Parliament and the paper cheered them on.³³⁸ Demonstrating lost its patriotic character and became "fomenting revolution" only when it was engaged in by the Czechs; reporting on the demonstrations was legitimate in the Tagespost but "agitation" in the Czech papers.³³⁹

³³⁵ Grazer Tagespost Nov. 29, 1897, evening edition

³³⁶ Grazer Tagespost Nov. 30, 1897

³³⁷ Grazer Tagespost Dec. 2, 1897

³³⁸ Grazer Tagespost Dec 4, 1897

³³⁹ Grazer Tagespost Dec. 3, 1897

For a complete change of perspective, a book review appeared on the very day on which the paper was allowed to reappear after the riots in Graz. Austrian Cuisine (die Österreichische Küche) by the wife of the aristocratic populist, Baron Rokitansky, was highly recommended by the reviewer. "From the national dishes of all of the Austrian provinces and peoples (Volksstämme) the Baronness Rokitansky brings us the best and not a little new as well."³⁴⁰ The book in question is an interesting study in its own right. It appeared in repeated editions until 1926, presenting a culturally tolerant and open attitude towards daily life in the old monarchy. Intended to assist beginning homemakers to cope with their responsibilities, it gave advice on handling money, selecting and managing servants, dealing with tradesmen and the proper schedule for cleaning and airing a home as well as on its main topic of food preparation. The authoress presented "foreign" recipes from England and France as well as specialties from all of the regions of Austria-Hungary just as the review claimed, and she did so without a hint of prejudice or condescension. While the book was obviously not aimed at the working class wife, the impecunious young middle-class bride was given helpful advice on how to stretch her heller, cook less expensive cuts of meat and re-cycle leftovers.³⁴¹ The

³⁴⁰ Grazer Tagespost Nov. 29, 1897

³⁴¹ Marie von Rokitansky Die Oesterreichische Küche, Eine Sammlung Selbsterproben Kochrezepte (Innsbruck: Edlinger, 1897)

editions up until the war contained no major revisions, only up-dated introductions. In the midst of political chaos and ethnic unrest and for the remainder of the life of the monarchy, the most popular work reflecting on day-to-day existence presented a picture of the diligent and dutiful housewife getting on with the job in a multi-cultural setting.

Like the press of rural Styria, the papers of Graz presented an image of ethnic harmony in 1877, although rural versus urban and Catholic versus Liberal antagonisms clearly surfaced. When the issue of nationality had infiltrated the coverage of the Catholic and the satirical papers by 1887, prejudice and hostility were still far from triumphant. The Liberal press of Graz had not really become radicalized like its small-town counterparts by then; it was in the next decade that the German-national propaganda reached a fever pitch in the Tagespost.

Even there, in 1897, the hysteria ebbed and flowed with the political tides. In the semi-official papers, by comparison, nationalist agitation of all stripes was either studiously ignored or steadfastly denied throughout the entire period. The Catholic press, on the other hand, did not ignore German nationalism; it carried on an unrelenting opposition, even when the contest appeared extremely uneven.

But, when placed in a context which includes laughter and prayer , the stock market and home cooking, over the course of a year's coverage nationalist discourse assumes much less impressive proportions - not only in the harmonious seventies but even in the contentious nineties. It is clear that, whatever the political passions of the moment, the multi-national idea had not been abandoned, toleration was esteemed in many contexts and a great many issues outweighed the nationalities question in everyday importance.

Chapter VIII

THE ILLUSTRATED PAPERS

The periodicals known in Austria as Illustrierte are a rich and rewarding source of data for the historian's purposes. The characteristics of the genre, described in chapter IV, allowed for greater latitude in expression than was the case for the more serious news media. Like the satirical journals, in their use of humour, fiction and visual imagery, these papers provide a present-day researcher with avenues for the detection and interpretation of attitudes of many kinds. The Illustrierte combined news and a limited number of images in a vehicle which was primarily intended to be entertaining. These papers were much more conventional than the satirical journals; they avoided the controversial or the risqué and their readership was a broader one than that of the pure newspapers. The very proper and respectable character of the content suggests a readership which was more comfortably off than the working class but less likely to take risks than was the bourgeoisie. They depended on sales to a greater extent than those newspapers which survived through subsidies and judiciously placed government advertising. The Illustrierte were both less overtly political and less identifiable by

any affiliation. Hence they provide a perspective on events which was perhaps a little more responsive to the opinions of their readers. Because of their lighter tone and because of the inevitable difficulty presented to the authorities of determining the message in humorous or visual material, the illustrated papers were not as vulnerable to the efforts of the censors, although they were by no means immune to such attention.

There are some limitations on extending the form of analysis used in the previous chapters to the study of the illustrated papers. In the first place, there were no illustrated papers published in Salzburg or in Graz, therefore it is not really possible to extend a comparison of ethnic attitudes by region using these papers as vehicles. It was customary, though, for many periodicals published in Vienna to be read throughout the monarchy as a whole, and the illustrateds were often advertised and reviewed as "literature" in the provincial newspapers.³⁴² In the second place, a single example which was published for the entire twenty year period under review was available for analysis in early 1991, when this research was conducted, and that was the government-friendly Die Heimat. Other titles had much shorter print runs, but there were, in fact, many different illustrated papers available during the

³⁴² See, for example, the Grazer Zeitung Jan. 3, 1877, and the Salzburger Zeitung which in 1877 included the illustrated papers in its regular column of reviews entitled "vom Büchertisch"

period under review. Therefore comparisons are not always made between different years of the same paper, but instead between different papers with the same target readership. With these minor reservations, the illustrated papers are an invaluable asset to the study and Die Heimat in particular was indispensable as a source for the official government and dynastic positions on social and cultural questions.

Fiction has often been regarded, particularly by literary critics, as a good source of information about past societies. Historians have been a little more circumspect in their use of such material but they are adapting the techniques of critical theory more and more profitably. Fiction, when viewed with an appropriate level of sophistication, can indeed tell us a great deal about the social and cultural milieu in which it was produced. Fiction was in rich supply in the papers of the late nineteenth century Austria. Even the news media published fiction regularly; the Illustrierte made it a large share of their copy. For both sorts of papers, serialized novels served a double function as entertainment and as "hook" which ensured regular readership. It must be emphasized, however, that literary critics have rarely spent much energy on the fiction known in English as popular fiction and in German as Trivialliteratur. The characteristics of the genre include its social acceptability, its prescriptive

nature and its adherence to a rather rigid formula.³⁴³ This material was intended to entertain and to titillate (but only mildly) and never to draw attention to the harsh realities of life. It is escapist in its highest aspirations. It features virtuous maidens, noble heroes, dastardly villains and an exotic setting either in the world of the nobility or well distanced in time or in geography. This fiction could not be too demanding nor could it be dull, although it had to follow accepted standards of decency and propriety. Adventure and emotion, suspense and sentiment were important ingredients. The sheer volume of such work which found its way into print indicates that it was an enormous success.

The serialized novels never attained the literary sophistication often displayed in the feuilleton section of major newspapers and some of the Illustrierte as well. Often the shorter essays published as feuilletons achieved real artistic or informational merit; those of the most

³⁴³ For the German language, see Walter Nutz, Der Trivialroman: Seine Formen und seine Hersteller (Köln, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1962); Hainer Plauel, Illustrierte Geschichte der Trivialliteratur (Hildesheim, Olms Presse, 1983); Wolfgang Schemme Trivialliteratur und literarische Wertung: Einführung in Methoden und Ergebnisse der Forschung aus didaktischer Sicht (Stuttgart, 1975); Rudolf Schenda, Volk ohne Buch: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der populären Lesestoffe 1770-1910 (München, 1977) and also Die Lesestoffe der kleinen Leute: Studien zur populären Literatur im 19. u. 20. Jahrhundert. (München, 1976); and finally, Gustav Sichelschmidt, Liebe Mord und Abenteuer: Eine Geschichte der deutschen Unterhaltungsliteratur (Berlin, 1969).

prominent newspapers such as the Neue Freie Press became very prestigious vehicles indeed. Since the fiction published in the periodical press of the time period under discussion avoided dealing openly with ethnicity, or indeed any social reality, its content is not analyzed in this study. The presence of fiction alone indicates a publication's commitment to entertainment of an intellectually undemanding sort, escapist and non-controversial.

Humour is often the vehicle for social commentary which for one reason or another cannot be made or sold more openly. Literature has used satire as a technique for as long as it has been written, from the ancient Greeks and Romans through Chaucer, Swift, Rabelais, Nietzsche, to Austria's own Musil and Canetti. The periodical press adopted satire enthusiastically, not the least because a censored medium is read especially sensitively. Humour can be used to reveal or to conceal, to defuse or to incite. It is especially effective where it can expose uneasiness or embarrassment without openly causing pain or humiliation. Thus jokes about ethnicity, like jokes about mothers-in-law, are common and perhaps actually essential to human survival in close quarters. Humour is difficult to censor because the meaning is difficult to pin down. For the same reason it is not easy for historians to use humour as a source of information about attitudes, particularly those of another

age, another generation, another discourse.³⁴⁴ In its use of the humour of the Austrian press, therefore, this study favours conservative and cautious interpretations. Many times the point of an item is elusive and accessibility seems to depend upon a mastery of the Viennese dialect, along with the Czech and Magyar, in use at the turn of the century.

While visual images may be the defining characteristic of late twentieth-century mass media, they were used much more sparingly in late nineteenth century communications. Without the technology to transmit and to reproduce photographs which we take for granted today, images were rarer, at once more expensive and more important. Engravings were frequently attributed to a particular artist, and when his work was a copy of a more famous one, that, too, was recognized. Towards the end of the century artists even credited a photographic original on occasion in order to add credibility to their handiwork.³⁴⁵ We can assume from their scarcity and the expense of their production that the images presented were considered significant and were chosen carefully. In establishment periodicals they would be selected to uphold and maintain traditional values and attitudes, just as in the oppositional press they might be selected to undermine

³⁴⁴ For a discussion of the social function of humour see the introduction to Ann Taylor Allen Satire and Society.

³⁴⁵ Die Heimat undated, 1897, p. 537.

pretension, to expose injustice or to ridicule authority. Illustrators often employed humour to sweeten a basically banal message and frequently used comic images.³⁴⁶ Images can suggest all sorts of unstated messages, as the advertising industry today understands so well. The nineteenth century media images can also reveal implicit messages and denigrating attitudes which are particularly important in trying to determine the regard in which particular groups were held.

Even if some of the visual codes which images contained are no longer accessible to the twentieth-century reader of this material, some of them are still painfully obvious. When the rural character in a cartoon is portrayed looking like a yokel in tattered clothing and in the company of pigs and chickens, for example, it suggests rather forcefully that working farmers are not held by the readership in especially high esteem.³⁴⁷ The same could be said for attitudes toward local authorities when the police are portrayed with the faces of dogs.³⁴⁸ The publication of religious imagery and art work with religious themes also carried messages about values which went far beyond the benefits of art appreciation.³⁴⁹ It is just this sort of

³⁴⁶ Die Heimat undated, 1897 p. 113 .

³⁴⁷ Neue Illustrierte Zeitung 1877 p. 189. and Wiener Caricaturen, Sept. 4, 1887. See figure 7.

³⁴⁸ Wiener Caricaturen Sept. 4, 1887. See figure 7.

³⁴⁹ Die Heimat undated, 1897 p. 249

evidence for which the entertainment papers are best mined. This chapter discusses the source material in a slightly different format than that used in the previous chapters. Three important illustrated papers in terms of circulation and origins and four less significant, but nonetheless characteristic ones are discussed in turn. Each paper is thus to be compared to itself or a similar medium at ten-year intervals.

"Suggestive and Scandalous"

The first of the Illustrierte to be considered was the most durable of all, the Illustrierte Wiener Extrablatt (Illustrated Voice of Vienna) which was published twice daily from 1872 to 1928. In 1880 each edition had a circulation of 25,000 readers at a price of 21 Fl. 60 kr. a year for the morning and 25 Fl. 60 kr. for the evening paper.³⁵⁰ In his review Leo Woerl considered the paper to be an anti-Catholic publication, but even worse, it was also "suggestive and scandalous," offering its readers two pictures a day, "today a murderer and tomorrow some 'big' man or other, but always sensational." Its readers he dismissed as "recruited from the lowest levels of society, not too choosy and easily satisfied with pictures."³⁵¹

³⁵⁰ Woerl, Publicistik p. 194. To put the prices into some perspective, it is useful to consider that the average daily wage ranged from a low of 85 kr. in 1880 to a high of 93 kr. in 1890, but that in the early 1870s, that is before the stock market crash of 1873, it had been close to 1 Fl. See Jenks, Austria Under p. 8.

Writing with more distance and less involvement in the 1960's, Kurt Paupié put it more mildly:

even if the paper had more the character of a local sensation sheet at the beginning of its run, it soon changed to a paper which put its popular national (völkstümlich) character in the foreground.³⁵²

The difference in era is perhaps significant. The analysis of the papers' copy for 1877 done for this study did not find anything particularly racy or sensational about it, particularly in comparison with the nineteenth-century British press.³⁵³ It did have a local orientation, in itself evidence of a lower-middle class clientele, and it had a vaguely liberal approach. One got the impression that it may have been the paper of choice for those who could not afford both a newspaper and an Illustrierte every day.

The content of the paper in 1877, along with its hand-drawn illustration on the front page and its serialized novel, consisted of regular columns on the theatre and the stock market, columns which can only be considered gossip, and news blended with editorial comment. In the latter department emphasis placed on the situation in the Balkans and on the negotiations with Hungary was typical of all

³⁵¹ Woerl, Publicistik p. 71.

³⁵² Paupié, Handbuch p. 172

³⁵³ For a discussion of sensationalism and its social functions in the nineteenth-century British setting, see Thomas Boyle, Black Swine in the Sewers of Hampstead: Beneath the Surface of Victorian Sensationalism (New York: Viking Penguin, 1989).

media coverage that year. The Extrablatt took a small-business position, especially on questions of taxation, and it did not sweep social problems under the rug completely, remarking poignantly at one point that "hunger hurts!"³⁵⁴ The paper showed a typical liberal fascination with modern technology and reported enthusiastically on all sorts of modern developments from improvements in sewing machines to refrigerated shipping. Race and ethnic relations were quite obviously not at the top of the agenda for the paper and its readers. It never mentioned or portrayed Slavs at all.

The paper did, however, find the space to praise an up-and-coming young politician named Georg von Schönerer fulsomely, stressing his "good German background and schooling."³⁵⁵ While there is no doubt a significant hint of at least ethnic pride in the comment, it was too early a point in Schönerer's career to read support for racist policies into such praise. The following day's coverage put the remark into perspective. The paper published a rich tribute to a recently deceased Jewish publisher which stressed not only his respected position in the Jewish community but also his contributions to the monarchy as a whole.³⁵⁶ The juxtaposition clearly shows that in 1877

³⁵⁴ Illustrierte Wiener Extrablatt March 31, 1877

³⁵⁵ Illustrierte Wiener Extrablatt March 9, 1877

³⁵⁶ Illustrierte Wiener Extrablatt March 10, 1877.

Germanness and Jewishness were not regarded as mutually exclusive identities with incompatible value systems. After all, even in 1882, Jewish student leaders such as Adler and Friedjung were able to work with Schönerer on the "Linz Program" with its marked German-national overtones.³⁵⁷

By 1887, the paper seemed to have even more fiction as well as more illustrations. Local celebrities, local architecture, especially the newly constructed Ringstrasse buildings and their like, royalty of all nations, and the more dramatic news stories including murders, suicides and accidents were among the more frequent subjects of the drawings. In all, the paper seemed much more sensational in tone in 1887 than it had been when Woerl complained about it almost a decade earlier.

Perhaps sensation was a successful sales strategy, for the overall tone of the paper was much more conventional in 1887 than it had been in 1877. There was less recognition of social problems and almost no coverage at all of the civic political scene. The politicians of Germany and Britain were more likely to get coverage than local ones. In spite of, or more likely because of, the increasing ethnic tension in the monarchy, there was not a hint of it to be found. The paper seemed to be treading a cautious line, as though attempting to avoid alienating its readers from either side of the national divide. This was a

³⁵⁷ Kann, History p. 433.

reasonable policy in 1887 when ever more Viennese citizens were of Czech origin. The complex relationship which existed between a paper, its readers and the censors can, of course, never be authentically reconstructed although a close reading of the copy does allow for at least a certain amount of informed speculation. A discourse in the media is never a one-sided lecture, it is a conversation engaged in only with the active participation of the reader; in this case exercised by his choice of where to spend his entertainment allowance.

The coverage of Vienna's busy social life was greatly increased in 1887 relative to the coverage in the Extrablatt of the previous decade. Events like Fasching (carnival) balls, skating parties, and the observance of local popular religious customs in which the reader might well have participated or have aspired to participate were covered. Fasching, for example, was one of Vienna's greatest social events of the year and a famous democratizer. Special events were held for groups of all classes from the court to its servant-girls, but because they were all costumed and masked events it was accepted practice that social boundaries were systematically crossed. This made for one of the year's richest sources of social commentary masked as humour. The hunt by the idle cads of the elite for a süsse Mädel (sweet young thing) from the working class and the aspirations of social climbers were perennial cartoon

subjects in the winter season.³⁵⁸

Exploiting Local Identity

The Extrablatt had apparently found one of the more successful commercial formulas, for it remained in print until 1928. To its rather careful approach, the weekly Illustrierte Wiener Wespen (the Illustrated Viennese Wasps), which had an eleven-year press run from 1882 to 1893, made a rather informative contrast. Truly a local vehicle, it nevertheless was advertised in the provinces as the "cheapest and funniest" of the Viennese humorous papers.³⁵⁹ The Wespen used a great deal of dialect and many insider jokes, and regular columns were carried in Czech, Yiddish and Magyar dialects.

With the exception of the Jews, the paper quite obviously had more fun at the expense of Viennese bourgeois society than it did at the expense of minorities or particular ethnic groups. Unfaithful ladies, especially gold-diggers, were a favourite topic for satirical treatment, closely followed in popularity by callow youths. Politicians of all parties and nationalities were ridiculed quite equitably; this paper could attack anti-semites on one page and then

³⁵⁸ Unfortunately in the spring of 1991 the volumes for 1897 in the collections of the Österreichisches National Bibliothek were at the bindery for conservation work and thus unavailable.

³⁵⁹ Marburger Zeitung issues of 1887. Unfortunately, no price or circulation figures for the Wespen are available.

publish familiar Jewish stereotypes on the next. It is also reasonable to conclude that the paper was aimed at a lower class than the previous one because the derogatory jokes about servants and rurals were less frequent, while the type of joke which gives trenchant criticism of social mores as the commentary of servants was fairly common.³⁶⁰

In terms of the visual images used in the Wespen, stereotypical representations according to class and profession were easy to pick out, as were specifically Jewish ones. Other races were not distinguishable from one another in appearance but the speech patterns given in the accompanying captions or dialogue provided an overt and obvious signal. It is significant that the Jews alone were treated distinctively. With all of the other ethnic groups, references could have been interpreted purely politically, even if there was another, less innocent, layer to the material. In the case of the Jews, however, special treatment was routine; Jews could be called Jews openly both in positive and in negative contexts.

This is relatively compelling evidence that, if Slavs were not depicted or even mentioned, it was not due to a taboo on dealing with racial or ethnic differences. Nor was it due to censorship on such grounds. The Slavs more probably were not mentioned because the issue was too sensitive a topic to touch by 1887. Perhaps some of the

³⁶⁰ Illustrierte Wiener Wespen issues for 1887

ethnic tension was actually deflected from groups perceived as more dangerous to the status quo and dealt with through targeting the Jews who were making no territorial or political claims. The paper did not convey the impression, however, that the ethnic strife disrupting the monarchy constituted any real threat to the economic or social order, or that it was, in fact, even very interesting. In the dialogue which it was conducting with its readers, the paper could ignore the issue altogether in favour of countless other facets of daily life which were common to residents of the monarchy.

The Voice of the Establishment

For the official view of the Austrian scene the illustrated journal, Die Heimat (Homeland), was published throughout the period under consideration on a weekly basis. This paper, according to Woerl, was financed by the dynasty itself in an attempt to replace the German magazine Die Gartenlaube (The Bower) because the latter had published unflattering articles about the Austrian Empress.³⁶¹ Woerl did not support his contention, but as a Catholic publicist and as a monarchist he would have had no reason to invent it. Die Heimat sold for the relatively modest price of 5 Fl. 80 kr. per year in 1880.³⁶² Its name alone is programmatic. The term Heimat in German has an

³⁶¹ Woerl, Publicistik p. 139

³⁶² Woerl, Publicistik p. 219

untranslatable quality, connoting local and personal roots, loyalty and solidarity, family home and hearth. It is in stark contrast to the connotations contained in a word like Vaterland (fatherland) which received growing attention from the nationalist side and implied military might, strength and constancy.

A classical masthead which portrayed a happy, upper-middle class family (mother, father, three nicely-dressed children and a dog) seated at the dinner table graced the issues of Die Heimat. A stunning view of Vienna through a window in the background gave the tableau its context. Holding a richly ornamented frame around the idyllic family scene were two figures resembling ancient gods, an elderly man holding a potter's wheel and a younger female holding a sheaf of wheat and fruit. Thus the peasantry and the artisans were included, but in an idealized and symbolic fashion so as not to draw unnecessary comparisons with the middle class family. Grape leaves, a coat of arms and the subtitle, Illustriertes Familienblatt (Illustrated Family Review) completed the picture.

Unlike the majority of papers in its genre, Die Heimat for 1877 was richly illustrated. Most of the illustrations were signed engravings of very high quality attributed to particular artists. Many were accompanied by an appropriate article in which case the text and visuals complemented one

another and reinforced the intended message. There were several types of illustration which dominated the copy. One of these representational topoi was the idealized scene of rural life, often with some comic relief. An example was the picture entitled "Disturbing the Peace" (Gestörter Hausfrieden), a barnyard scene in which a donkey kicks over the food dish of the other animals. It was described as "a woodcut by Franz Quaglio from a painting by Benno Adam."³⁶³ Another common type of illustration was exotic or romantic scenery featuring either the more picturesque locations in the monarchy or a very foreign locale. "Courtyard in Cursola" was described as "an original drawing by Anton Perko" and was replete with romantic detail.³⁶⁴ Wildlife formed another popular topic for illustration, and a prime example was the painting "Mountain Hare and Raven" taken from the "recently published tenth edition of the work, 'Switzerland' by F. Engelborn."³⁶⁵ A very popular category of illustrations consisted of reproductions in engraving of famous paintings from the genre of high art. These included copies of Raphael's Madonnas and similar treasures held in the Viennese galleries with an emphasis on Austrian classics by Waldmüller, Ammerling and, of course, the court favourite, Hans Makart.

³⁶³ Die Heimat undated 1877 p.137

³⁶⁴ Die Heimat undated, 1877 p. 61

³⁶⁵ Die Heimat undated, 1877 p. 89

It would be easy to read such coverage as either a cynical attempt to distract the public from more serious issues or as an arrogant assertion of the official idea of good taste. While both may be partly the case, it cannot be ruled out that the art coverage of Die Heimat also represented a rather high-minded attempt to democratize access to the high arts which played such an important role in Viennese society by presenting the classics in a relatively inexpensive vehicle.³⁶⁶

The only obvious clue to official attitudes on minority cultures in 1877 is to be found in a rather disingenuous series entitled, "Austro-Hungarian Folklore" (Volkstypen aus Österreich-Ungarn). The series featured laudatory passages and idealized drawings of happy and quaint minority figures in national costume. "Goosegirl on the Save", "Ruthenian Shepherd" and "Farmer from the Csongrade Comitatus" were only three of many such kind and paternalistic characterizations.³⁶⁷ But revelling in diversity can be a form of cultural domination as well as a

³⁶⁶ See, for example, Patricia Anderson's discussion in a nineteenth-century British context, of the Penny Magazine in The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture 1790 - 1860 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1991) chapter 2

³⁶⁷ Die Heimat undated, 1877, pp. 333, 449, and 505 respectively. Such treatment of minority groups represents a strategy which has been much emulated in modern multi-national states. Canada has its Folkloramas, China sends Tibetan dance troupes on international concert tours and the former Soviet Union paid fulsome lip-service to the independence of its republics.

mask for less benign oppressions. Celebrating differences can emphasize the marginality of some groups, the power and hegemony of others. A typical characteristic of such treatment at the official level is its condescension and paternalism. It trivializes and patronizes the experience of other cultures, the apparent satisfaction or dissatisfaction of individual members of the groups themselves with such attention notwithstanding.

When Leo Woerl characterized the paper as pure entertainment, he was quite correct within the parameters of his own study.³⁶⁸ He was not interested in the paper's attempts at socializing the citizenry or promoting the dynasty. As he noted, Die Heimat made no attempt to publish news or to be especially current; the numbers were not even dated. It did publish a lot of serialized fiction, the functions of which have already been discussed, a special section on poetry and copy aimed at "the ladies" on household and fashion news. Favourite topics were articles on history, usually of the ruling house, and geography, of beautiful and exotic locations or the different parts of the monarchy. The copy was of very high quality, well researched and beautifully written. The very real educational value of the paper cannot in all fairness be ignored. In spite of the high quality of its production, it had very few advertisers, an indication which lends credence

³⁶⁸ Woerl, Publicistik p. 139

to Woerl's contention about the source of the paper's financing. Another factor which would tend to support this interpretation of the paper's hidden agenda was its marked pro-Hungarian bias. It was the only paper surveyed to take a positive stand on the Ausgleich in 1877, a year noted for the divisive budget negotiations on the compromise. As Heinrich Friedjung had so succinctly pointed out, the members of the ruling house were the only real beneficiaries of that arrangement in the whole of Austria.³⁶⁹

In 1887 the masthead of Die Heimat remained unchanged and so did its tone, content and high quality. Some of the illustrations were the same ones seen ten years previously and prudently re-cycled. It printed even more illustrations and portraits than it had before: the classic, the pious, the exotic, the historic, the noble or ennobling, the landscape, bucolic country life and scenes from nature with very distinct romantic elements. Its stock of illustrations had grown to include those produced especially for the paper as well as copies of paintings and even photographs.

One particular series of pictures is especially significant for its implications about ethnic attitudes. Entitled "Pictures from the Occupied Zone" (Bilder aus dem österreichischen Occupationsbereich) and dealing with the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it typified the official interest in portraying the situation as positively as

³⁶⁹ see Friedjung, Ausgleich p.15

possible. The illustrations showed the landscape and the people of the Mostar region and the text accompanying the pictures gave long and detailed descriptions in respectful and folklorish tones of life among the region's Moslems.³⁷⁰ The thesis of the treatment was that the peoples of the Balkans were divided by religious affiliation into "Greek", "Catholic" and "Turkish" groups, by which they meant the Serbs, the Croats and the Moslems respectively. The people of Bosnia were described as being of similar racial stock to one another, and were usually depicted visually with somewhat darker skins than generally found in society portraits, but the images presented of Balkan Slavs were in no way derogatory. On the contrary they tended to exaggerated idealization.³⁷¹

While minorities continued to be depicted in 1887, as in 1877, in an idealized form, some of the textual material began to show evidence of the political ethnic strife rampant in the monarchy. The character of this treatment, in the one journal most positively inclined towards the many and varied peoples which the dynasty felt entitled to rule, gives some clue as to the extent and nature of the problem. The coverage demonstrates unmistakably that the dynasty, and therefore the government which it headed, did not

³⁷⁰ Die Heimat undated, 1887 p. 72

³⁷¹ A classic example is the portrait entitled "Beautiful Bulgarian" (schöne Bulgarin) of a very attractive young Slavic woman in Die Heimat undated, 1887 p. 185.

respect its non-German peoples in their own right but held them, in fact, for inferior. An example of this attitude, one of very few which actually surfaced, was an article on the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. A certain "k.k. Oberleutnant, Karl Schwarda" was quoted:

The Turks [Bosnian Moslems] are brave, honest and generous but lazy, religious, impatient and unreliable; the Greeks [Serbs who follow the Byzantine rite] are sly, cleaner and more receptive to middle-European culture, but on the other hand avaricious, dishonest and disloyal; finally the Catholics [Croats] are good-natured, dependent and docile, however they are the least educated and are physically and spiritually degenerate.³⁷²

His comments give the impression of balance, including positives and negatives on each group. And, considering the way that Moslems and especially Turks were often portrayed in the press of the day, they were in fact quite positive. But in each of the descriptions the conclusion was both negative and patronizing. The use of words like "religious" which in the context really meant "superstitious" and "unreliable" (unbeständig) with its implication of unpredictability as well as inconstancy indicated that all non-Catholics could not be trusted.

The word "lazy" (faul) was a standard reproach used about all people lacking the quintessential "German" virtue of diligence. Its use in this context only reinforced common stereotypes about Moslems, just as the term "Turk" distanced

³⁷² Die Heimat undated, 1887, pp. 135-136 for the text in German see appendix IV (a)

the reader from them. The word "sly" (schlau) has never had a positive connotation and in fact represents a stereotype in the German depiction of Greeks that dates back to the first crusade. The use of the term "Greek" itself links the Serbs to that image and distances them from Serbia for obvious political purposes. The words which completed the description, "avaricious, dishonest and disloyal" (gewinnsüchtig, unehrlich und treuelos) are also somewhat stronger negatives in the original German than in translation. The most positive thing that the worthy officer was prepared to say about the "Greeks" was that they were cleaner than the "Turks" (thereby working in another standard stereotype about the virtue of cleanliness commonly attributed exclusively to Germans), and that they were receptive to middle-European culture, which hardly implied respect for their own way of life. Even the "Catholics" he damned with the faint praise that they were good but simple folk, if relatively uneducated and physically and spiritually fallen, if indeed "degenerate" is perhaps too strong a translation. Now one could scarcely expect to find that the officer, if he existed at all, would present an analysis which would undermine the sense of the Austrian "mission" to bring culture and stability to these lesser folk, or that Die Heimat would print any such thing. The significance of his statements is that they highlight the underlying attitude of German-Austrians towards the

non-germanic peoples of the monarchy and that they were presented in the very vehicle which was mandated to give the most positive reading of the situation.

Nothing which has been presented so far could be interpreted as actual degradation of the Slavic population by the official media, but it does indicate the lack of respect with which they were regarded at the highest levels. Later in 1887, an article commenting on the monarchy's own Slavic citizens appeared which supported this interpretation:

The peasantry of Bohemia are, like all Slavs, a happy-go-lucky, good-natured and pleasant people among themselves. Those without property, the working and serving classes, worry little about the means of their existence or about the future. These lower classes have only a very rudimentary schooling and form serviceable putty in the hands of cowardly rabble-rousers and political agitators against the Germans. The Slavs are natural enemies of the Germans, but under the influence of agitators, if they are without humanitarian education, they often become raw beasts for whom the fist settles everything.... They know from their own experience, certainly, nothing about "Old" or "Young Czechs", but those who know how to use them with cunning are able to exploit them for one side or the other, even to the point of violence. It is the same in the case of the Slovenes in Laibach. The shameful desecration of the memorial to Anastasius Grün should not be blamed upon the apprentices discovered to have been the actual vandals but rather on the more intelligent instigators.... Only a certain amount of real education frees these lesser people from the intellectual dependence in which they find themselves.³⁷³

³⁷³ Die Heimat undated 1887, p. 654 for the text in German see appendix IV (b)

The significance of the foregoing excerpt is clear. In the first place, it made the bald assertion, extremely unusual in a publication of its stature and political orientation, that Germans and Slavs were "natural enemies", which it never elaborated or qualified. The statement was just allowed to colour the entire commentary. Furthermore, while the criticism was overtly aimed at unnamed and despicable political agitators and tried to show that the honest and simple folk were being misled, it implied unmistakably that these good folk were too simple to comprehend their own situation, let alone the greater good.

While the piece appeared to be trying to dampen hostilities, it nevertheless echoed some of the outraged vocabulary of the more engaged papers concerning Slavs. The German words "Bestien", "Feind", "Entweihungen", "Faust", "Schänder", "Gewaltttätigkeiten", and "geringe Schulbildung" are scarcely complimentary, and clearly fall into the category of code words for nationalist attitudes. Of course, the attitude that a problem exists only in the eye of the complainer is not an unusual one for a government or an elite to take; neither is the perspective that national conflicts are often invented for political purposes. However, the particular vocabulary of this piece of writing revealed a much less benign attitude. The subtext was making the case that the activism of the Czechs in Bohemia was due to the easy-going, thoughtless nature of the Slavic

lower classes with their lack of real (read "German") education. It was very close to a classic statement of the liberal elitist attitude that everything would be fine when enough people had the education and information needed to cope correctly with the world, but until that time the classes blessed with the culture and the property would be obliged to dominate. One suspects that the authors of this article would have been equally distressed to find their work deconstructed to reveal traces of liberal philosophy as they would have been to have it condemned for the racial discrimination it exposed.

Another significant facet of national strife in the monarchy is highlighted by the excerpt cited above. While by 1887 the monarchy had almost become used to boycotts, demonstrations and street violence, especially in Prague, the desecration of the monument to Anastasius Grün in Laibach was greeted with a wave of veritable outrage all over the monarchy.³⁷⁴ It typified the sort of incident which the German population found particularly reprehensible, if not physically threatening. The main characteristic of the incident was its blow to their cultural pride, a pride even then in the process of revival and aggrandizement through the campaigns of the German-nationals. The predictability of the German reaction made such acts ever more attractive

³⁷⁴ This was especially the case in Styria. See the reference on p. 206 to a cartoon, illustrated in figure 4, in the Steirer Seppel of June 25, 1877.

as tactical weapons in the arsenal of minorities struggling for recognition.

In the same way as the use of Christian prayer in North American public schools is attacked by today's ethnic and religious minorities as oppressive, and just as such criticism is received with a chorus of outrage from the dominant social group, language and culture became the scene of a struggle for power. The nineteenth-century Austrian equivalents to Christian prayers were the singing of programmatic German songs and the use of germanic symbols such as oak leaves and cornflower blossoms in the schools. These cultural icons ranked with language as a source of friction between the communities. Since both the Slavs and the Germans of the monarchy were for the most part Roman Catholic, religious practices were not exploited in the same way. The symbols for "Germanness" had to be drawn from literature, custom and myth or legend. A particularly infuriating Slavic insult which surfaced frequently claimed that the Germans were dressed in oak leaves and eating acorns at the time of the barbaric invasions (Völkerwanderung) while their Slavic hosts were baking Torten. Further waves of indignation could always be elicited by translating a German place-name into a Slavic equivalent.³⁷⁵ When the Czechs went to the extent of

³⁷⁵ Even to this day the Austrian media refuses to use the Slavic names of once-German cities in the former Yugoslavia, although their reporters in those areas sometimes had trouble remembering to use the old German

translating "Salzburg" as "Solnohrad" in 1913 and printed up the train timetables using the Czech name it generated the desired response.³⁷⁶ By that time the tactic was as well established as was the reaction.

By 1897, however, Die Heimat, while running the same masthead as ever, seemed slightly smaller in format and appeared only thirty-nine times in the year. This may well indicate that its utility to its sponsors as well as its popularity was slipping. Its content for 1897 was completely in the tradition which had marked it since its founding, but without the foray into contemporary problems which had occurred in 1887. In the era of Secessionist art (Jugendstil) and literary realism in Vienna, Die Heimat was still reproducing pre-1848 (Biedermeier) imagery and classical art, and pandering to royalty, especially the German emperor. It had become totally escapist and irrelevant, increasingly closed off, like the imperial family itself, from both the world of real life and the developments in art and literature which were sweeping Vienna.

Popular and Populist

name when they were live on camera in the 1990-91 news reports on ORF.

³⁷⁶ See Haas, "Von Liberal zu National", p. 129, and the Salzburger Volksblatt of Sept 22, 1913.

The Neue Illustrierte Zeitung (New Illustrated News) which appeared weekly from 1873 to 1892 at a price of 5 Fl. 80 kr. per year represents a total change of pace. Its circulation of 29,000 in 1880 was considered impressive by Woerl, who attributed its editorial policies in 1880 to the management of the Neue Freie Presse, and its purpose to "entertainment and information."³⁷⁷ Its progressive big-Liberal bias can be seen right on the masthead which includes illustrations of Ringstrasse buildings under the protection of the very classical goddesses which adorn the buildings themselves. The Neue Illustrierte Zeitung published more and bigger illustrations than even Die Heimat, but they employed cruder technology and were more current in topic and explicit in content. Some of the copy definitely verged on sensationalism but the editorial staff seemed to have a very good sense of where lay the line which could not be crossed. In the pattern which has by now become familiar, serialized fiction, theatre and literary reviews were given pride of place.

The Neue Illustrierte Zeitung devoted more coverage in 1877 to the war in the east than to any other question. Its treatment was both unromantic and explicit. Harsh and unmerciful images portrayed the consequences of war on its victims: prisoners, combatants and refugees. One of its war stories, in which it pictured the rather disgusting

³⁷⁷ Woerl Publicistik p. 138.

disfigurement of Turkish soldiers by the Montenegrins, also gave an indication of the attitude with which it regarded at least some Slavs. It described the Montenegrins as:

This interesting southern Slavic tribe, which enjoys the very special protection and support of certain European courts, betrays in its incapacity for civilization, in its abhorrence of any work, in its expressed preference for robbery and plunder and in its methods of fighting a remarkable likeness to the wild Indian tribes of America.³⁷⁸

The anti-war position of the paper is obvious in the excerpt, but the comparison of the Montenegrins to native Americans can only be seen as highly revealing of the attitude towards local native populations in both dominant societies. The piece used the standard stereotypical images used by Germans to denote supposedly inferior peoples: their lack of culture, incapacity for learning, their laziness, their brutality and destructiveness. The force of its argument is quite obviously motivated by outrage at the continuation of the war and its manipulation by other European powers, but it is its unquestioning characterization of a Slavic group which is of interest here. Only the adjectives for "dirty" were missing from the description. In fairness, this was the only mention of Slavs which occurred in the entire year's publication of the paper. Under similar provocation, the beginning of the Yugoslavian wars in 1991, one could find similar sentiments expressed much more often and openly in modern-day Austria.

³⁷⁸ Neue Illustrierte Zeitung (Vienna) Jan. 21, 1877 p. 54.
For the text in German see appendix IV (c)

The Neue Illustrierte Zeitung appeared to be a more broadly-based publication than any yet analyzed. Along with the illustrations of establishment achievements like Ringstrasse architecture and works from the public art galleries, it also published scenes of everyday life and activities. One of these illustrations dealt with the various types of transportation to be found on Vienna's streets. Another, on Viennese women's work (wiener Frauenbeschäftigung), showed lower-class and working women in a realistic fashion, without idealization or condescension.³⁷⁹ The paper dealt at some length with popular Fasching celebrations.³⁸⁰ In one comment on the international scene, it published pictures of the brutalities committed during the persecution of Jews in Romania. Although without the textual accompaniment of the article on the Montenegrins, the visuals alone left no doubt that the perpetrators were to be regarded as nothing less than barbarians.³⁸¹ Another everyday topic was the rural population. One series entitled "On the Heath at Wels" (Von der Welserheide) showed rural scenes from Upper Austria in cartoon fashion which could only be described as degrading. In a manner typical of the Viennese media, rural Austria was treated more frequently than any ethnic minority and in a

³⁷⁹ Neue Illustrierte Zeitung September 1877, p. 564

³⁸⁰ Neue Illustrierte Zeitung issues for February 1877.

³⁸¹ Neue Illustrierte Zeitung January 1877, p. 33.

more derogatory fashion.³⁸²

The 1887 incarnation of the Neue Illustrierte Zeitung appeared much more frivolous than that of 1877. It had more pretty ladies, more landscapes, more fashion and more royalty. Though it continued to publish a great deal of fiction, including serialized novels and novellas with their escapist content, it had begun to include more serious writers such as Theodore Herzl and Bertha von Suttner in its roster of authors. A rather glamorized morality lesson was presented in one series which dealt with the cruel fate awaiting wayward women.³⁸³ But the paper also continued to display more awareness of the every-day activities of Viennese than most of the other papers of its genre. Such popular traditions as the visit of St. Nicholas and his uniquely Austrian companion, Krampus, on December 5th, and the festival of the three Kings on January 6th were prominently featured. Its coverage of the more affluent segment of the population caricatured their foibles as though imitating the tone of the satirical journals of the day, but, with the exception of the wayward women, it had retreated totally from any recognition of social or political realities. The entire output for the year of 1887 gave not a hint of the ethnic or political tension present in the monarchy. The paper remained in print for another

³⁸² Neue Illustrierte Zeitung 1877, p. 189.

³⁸³ Neue Illustrierte Zeitung 1887, p.696.

five years.

Haute Bourgeoisie and Aristocracy

Three more illustrated papers were surveyed in the targeted years without at first sight adding very much to an understanding of ethnic attitudes. Issues of the Illustrierte Frauen Zeitung (Illustrated Ladies Journal), for example, are available for the years from 1897 to 1906 and they did not prove even very elucidating on attitudes towards women's issues. A monthly, subtitled "Family and Fashion Journal", it cost 7 Fl.60kr. in 1880.³⁸⁴ Almost entirely devoted to fashion, in 1897 the trendy-looking cover hid an extremely conventional content which betrayed not in the slightest that even a servant existed, let alone social, economic or ethnic differences. The most intriguing feature about the Illustrierte Frauen Zeitung was its dichotomous treatment of imagery; one could readily imagine a raging power struggle among the editorial staff. The first issue and the covers for the year were done in the new Jugendstil but the content of the fashion pages kept a very conventional approach both in the fashions it presented and the manner in which they were illustrated. After April, the Jugendstil artwork disappeared entirely from the inside of the paper where it had added very attractive illustration to the fiction pieces and survived only on the covers.³⁸⁵ It

³⁸⁴ Woerl, Publicistik p. 220.

³⁸⁵ Illustrierte Frauen Zeitung (Vienna) April, 1897.

seemed as though a battle for the support of the readership had been won by those with thoroughly conventional tastes in art and in fashion.³⁸⁶

Another entertaining journal which appeared sporadically from the 1880s until 1937 was called the Salonblatt (Society News) and was subtitled in some issues Österreichische Adelsblatt (News of Austrian Nobility). It was unclear from its content whether the intent was to cultivate the nobility as the readership or as the subject matter, but it did not suffer in the least from a shortage of advertisers. Its signature feature was a cover portrait of a member of one royal family or another and its content was as totally undistinguished as it was remote from the real world of politics, government or everyday life.³⁸⁷

Der Humorist also appeared irregularly from 1884 to 1918 and cultivated a more cosmopolitan image. It was an attractive paper in 1887, with lots of coverage on Prague and Budapest, lots of pretty ladies, lots of copy on the monarchy and lots of theatrical coverage, but no cartoons. It actually had more pages of illustrations than it had pages of advertising but contained no coverage of political

³⁸⁶ Perhaps this is an example of popular culture foreshadowing the trends to come in the world of elite art. It certainly deserves more research than has been possible for this study. See chapter 5 of Schorske's Politics and Culture for the struggle surrounding Gustav Klimt's paintings for the new University in which the side of convention was to triumph in 1902-3.

³⁸⁷ Salonblatt (Vienna) issues for 1887 and 1897

or social affairs at all.³⁸⁸

The 1897 version had added a full page of cartoons, all about sex, to a better-looking paper published on better quality newsprint. Its cultural coverage had been expanded to include not only the provincial capitals but Hamburg, Dresden, Munich and other German centres as well. Coverage of the Austrian monarchy, on the other hand, had decreased and the theatre section had become predominant. The art work modernized visibly as the year went on, but was still far removed from the frankly Jugendstil appearance of some of the satirical journals such as Die Bombe.

As in the previous decade, the 1897 version of Der Humorist betrayed not a trace of concern for political or social affairs, let alone ethnic conflict. A close reading of its cultural orientation and its language, however, reveals a discourse which, compared to the previous decade, privileges German nationalism. This is hardly surprising given the paper's increased reception across the border in the German empire.³⁸⁹

Generalizations on the role of the Illustrierte in the portrayal of ethnic attitudes in the monarchy are not easy to reach. The genre had entertainment as its primary function with information as a secondary consideration.

³⁸⁸ Der Humorist (Vienna) issues for 1887

³⁸⁹ Der Humorist issues for 1897.

Humorous material was naturally an important element in its content, but it did not predominate. Like other media forms, the Illustrierte did not cover ethnic issues often in any of the periods under review; references to the conflict were the exception rather than the rule. Where those references do reveal underlying attitudes, conclusions can still be drawn only with due reservations. Nevertheless, it would appear that in 1877, although ethnic issues were not a current topic and minority concerns were blanketed by the benign neglect of public and publishers alike, two distinct tendencies emerged. Die Heimat exposed its paternalistic and patronizing approach through its treatment of minorities as quaint, colourful, and good-natured, all of which can be read to mean "simple" and function as codes for paternalism. The Neue Illustrierte Zeitung likened the South Slavs to the "wild" Indians of North America; an allusion, we can assume, to the same stereotypes of barbarity which until recently were the norm in mass media portrayals of natives on this continent.³⁹⁰ The most common attitude towards the Slavs, however, was outright neglect. They just did not count, they did not rate any attention.

³⁹⁰ This material was published before the so-called "Karl May syndrome", named for his popular romantic fiction in the Zane Grey tradition of Wild West adventure but with natives in the role of noble savages, had coloured Germanic perceptions of North American natives irrevocably in shades of romanticism.

In 1887, the most pronounced tendency among the Illustrierte was still to ignore ethnic tensions altogether. Whether the motive continued to be neglect as it appeared to be a decade earlier, or whether it was a newly-embraced caution or whether it was simply pandering to the escapism of the public is difficult to judge. Only Die Heimat and the Illustrierte Wiener Wespen betrayed any awareness of the situation at all, and the latter was a journal which inhabited a shady area between the genres and crossed the line into satire frequently. Die Heimat started out the year by trying to glamorize the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the same tradition as its 1877 coverage of quaint folklore, but with a much more obvious edge of prejudice. The paper ended the year in a state of outrage at the abuse of German good intentions by ungrateful agitators in Styria and in Bohemia. Its tone was reflective of a great deal of coverage in the news media for that year: both aghast and hurt at Slavic demands and shocked by Slavic behavior. The paper managed to convey outrage and paternalism at the same time. The Wespen treated the topic of ethnicity much more frequently but also much more ambiguously in 1887. Its approach seemed to be to attack all sides and by offending everyone to alienate no-one. Thus it used visual stereotypes and textual cues to establish ethnic identity, and mocked the politicians of all nations: German-national, anti-semitic, Hungarian, Czech or

Slovene. The attitude projected by the coverage was somewhere between "a pox on all their houses" and "we are all in this together so we might as well laugh about it." It fairly even-handedly tried to find the ridiculous wherever it could and concentrated on making the pretentious bourgeoisie its prime target.

By 1897, the genre as a whole seemed to be relying on avoidance and escapism. There no longer appeared to be a vehicle which was aimed specifically at the lower-middle class reader. None of the surviving Illustrierte, and many had fallen by the wayside, dared to touch the nationality question at all. Die Heimat was in a state of total regression, the Salonblatt was simply irrelevant and the others were actively diverting attention to the cultural scene where there was competition and conflict enough for all. Such coverage undoubtedly also reflected the taste of a public which was thoroughly tired of the constant political conflict and increasingly contemptuous of its politicians. This reading is congruent with frequently expressed contemporary opinions and with the findings of Karl Schorske and other historians that the upper-middle classes sought escape from an impossible political world in the pursuit of the arts.³⁹¹ The injured tone had largely disappeared from the national debate in favour of blatant

³⁹¹ See the comment by Ernst Mach cited on page 30 and Schorske, Politics and Culture chapter one, "Politics and the Psyche"

partisanship and an emphasis on purely tactical considerations. Minds which are already made up do not seek out further arguments, especially in media which they purchase primarily for pleasure.

It is tempting to see in these pages conclusive evidence that the leading edge in national agitation came from the upper-middle rather than the lower-middle class, and that the Liberals were equally prone to prejudice as the Conservatives. On the basis of the illustrated papers alone, however, the evidence is somewhat less conclusive. While the upper-class vehicle, Die Heimat, did seem to take a stronger nationalist position and to take it earlier than the more popular papers, it was the very populist Neue Illustrierte Zeitung which was comparing the South Slavs to wild Indian tribes to the detriment of both as early as 1877. It is quite possible that condescending attitudes towards Slavs were common in most German-speaking economic and social groups but were just not frequently exposed by these sources. On one question, however, the conclusion is inescapable; the issue of ethnic preferences did not rank at the top of anyone's list of preferred topics, even in the tense times of 1887, and by 1897 it had clearly achieved a level of opprobrium which banished it altogether from the illustrated pages of the popular press. Unfortunately, not dealing with the problem, while typical of Austrian fortwürcsteln (muddling through), was also not solving

anything. It was to be twentieth-century Austria which learned to its detriment the price of ignoring the just concerns of national groups and disdaining to acknowledge the ugly backlash those demands were calling into existence.

Chapter IX

SATIRICAL JOURNALS

Satirical journals were known as humoristische Blätter or Witzblätter in late nineteenth-century Austria. Many of these papers enjoyed very long publication runs and healthy subscription rates. They attracted a good level of advertising and with such independent financial status could cater to public taste within the confines of the press laws. They were devoted to humour from front to back and were usually aimed at a quite specific readership. In general they were much less conventional and proper than the illustrated newspapers and thrived on appearing offensive rather than fearing it. There was not a pure humour magazine for either the aristocracy or for the working class, but the many layers and interests of the middle class were all served by an appropriate comedic vehicle. The most popular and widely distributed periodical of the purely comic genre was Kikeriki (Cock-a-doodle-doo) with its lower-middle class orientation. The opposite end of the social scale was served by such elegant and stylish vehicles as Bombe (Bomb) and Wiener Caricaturen (Sketches of Vienna). Seven of these magazines are compared at ten-year intervals in this chapter.

The Cocky Lower Classes

Kikeriki was published from 1861 to 1933 and already had a readership estimated at 21,000 by 1880.³⁹² It appeared twice weekly at a cost of 8Fl. per year and also published an annual calendar for most of the period. It was not an especially attractive or aesthetically pleasing paper. The humour often had a decidedly biting edge to it and concentrated on local affairs. Kikeriki was very well endowed with advertising. In 1877 it was only six pages long and earthy in tone, if not downright coarse. However, it eschewed the sexual innuendo and the social criticism inherent in the digs at the decadent bourgeoisie found in some of its more up-scale contemporaries. Kikeriki took its best shots, for example, at local traffic problems, schemes to regulate the Danube, the loss of Viennese landmarks to development, and similar typically small business issues. It also displayed the concern with the international scene which characterized Viennese journalism of the day. The satirical had a great deal of fun at the expense of the Russians throughout the year; and this may well have masked an underlying attitude towards Slavs closer to home. It very frequently ran jokes about the compromise with the Hungarians.³⁹³

³⁹² Woerl Publicistik p. 220.

³⁹³ Kikeriki (Vienna) issues for 1877.

The tone of these jokes about the Ausgleich was usually one of grudging admiration. "Just look at how those Hungarians make fools of us poor hard-working Germans" was the theme. It played upon an enduring characterization of German popular culture, that of the "deutsche Michel", a simple, hard-working, tax-paying soul who was always being exploited by his less diligent but more calculating neighbours. The tone taken towards the Slavs was less tolerant than that towards the Magyars, but it surfaced much less frequently. At the first of the year, Kikeriki published a cartoon about Prague which epitomized its attitude throughout the remainder of the century. Represented was a round-faced Slavic woman juggling seven round-faced babies. The expression on her face was vacant and her mouth was hanging open so as to give her an unintelligent appearance.³⁹⁴ This characteristic round face would later be given jagged teeth in the open mouth to indicate the ferocity of the Czech attacks on the Germans of Prague. Also appearing with the nose upturned to suggest a snout or with closed or crossed eyes to indicate lack of intelligence, in time the image alone could be used without other identifying information to suggest Slavs, usually Czechs.

³⁹⁴ Kikeriki Jan 18, 1877.

More frequent than the image of the Slav, however, though often appearing in combination with it, was the image of the stupid farmer. Farmers were pictured with a pig's snout or an especially large and deformed nose. The images were given stooping posture and drooping lips, ill-fitting clothing and hay in their mouths or pockets. This phenomenon has already been encountered in other types of media representation of the day. It is interesting to note that the negative image of the farmer in Kikeriki was produced with more frequency than of the Slav and it was more derogatory. While it appeared less frequently than images of obviously Jewish appearance the depiction of rurals was also less complimentary.³⁹⁵ One set of cartoons on the representation of farmers in the theatre (Theater-Bauern) may have had a double target, both the farmers themselves and also the upper-middle class tendency to idealize rural life in its art.³⁹⁶

By 1887, nothing had changed very much about Kikeriki except that it was somewhat longer. It remained true to its lower-middle class orientation, avoiding the sexual innuendo and the social critique of the more expensive papers and concentrating on the issues important to those whose life was largely unaffected by the stock market or the Blumencorso (an annual society parade of flowers organized

³⁹⁵ Kikeriki Feb. 1, 1877, cartoons dealing with stupid farmers.

³⁹⁶ Kikeriki Feb. 4, 1877

by princess Pauline Metternich). In 1887 the paper had the distinction of having an issue confiscated on the grounds that it was anti-clerical, although the implication in the following issue was that it had attacked the papacy rather than the local church. Coverage of ethnic issues was not very prominent in 1887, nor was it easy to characterize, in spite of the increasing tension between Germans and Slavs throughout the monarchy. Like the illustrated media discussed in chapter VIII above, Kikeriki kept its comments about nationality at a political level. It, too, may well have had many Slavic customers and it could take more chances in its international coverage. There, it consistently disparaged the German Chancellor. Bismarck's unpopularity could well have reflected a negative attitude towards pan-German agitation or towards German arrogance in general.³⁹⁷ It was left up to another publication by the same organization to provide slightly more insight on ethnic relationships.

The 1887 Kikeriki Calendar provided its readers with the Catholic, protestant and Jewish holidays for each month. It listed the saints' names and gave a short poem, a cartoon, a joke and a weather prediction for each day. The second half of the publication consisted of satirical copy in true Viennese style. It poured scorn on the intrigues of local as well as national and international political figures

³⁹⁷ Kikeriki issues for 1887.

between full pages of advertisements. In one section, it gave comparisons of modern times with the year one in which the latter era consistently came off the better. The first example will demonstrate the pattern:

In the year one there were neither racetracks and jockey clubs nor associations for cyclists, tourists, rowers or skaters; on the other hand neither were self-inflicted broken arms and legs and head injuries a daily occurrence like they are today.³⁹⁸

The second example applied the pattern, effectively distancing the reader from all sides of a question, directly to the issue of ethnic strife:

In the year one there were neither anti-semites, democrats or socialists nor were there reform clubs, German associations, Catholic Casinos or Czech societies and consequently there was also no permanent nationality conflict!³⁹⁹

Both passages seemed to be saying that there was, regrettably, a price to be paid for certain aspects of "modern" society, although they neither advocated a return to the past nor approved of the price. There was a certain degree of resignation to a less than satisfactory situation in spite of the many advantages of a "progress" which was never quite as attractive to the lower-middle class as to other segments of society. The second piece implied quite clearly that political agitation was responsible for the differences between peoples rather than the other way

³⁹⁸ Kikeriki Calendar 1887, p. 36. For the text in German see appendix V (a)

³⁹⁹ Kikeriki Calendar 1887, p. 37. For the complete text in German see appendix V (b)

around. In making light of the situation it also implied, however, that society as they knew it was stable enough to tolerate even objectionable expressions of opinion.

Both the periodical and the annual calendar published by Kikeriki in 1887 concentrated on giving expression to the trials and tribulations of the "little man" in Viennese society, but without a hint of racism or of anti-semitism, and seemingly without taking sides in the political struggles of the various nationalities. One might even surmise that a certain amount of sensitization to such issues had taken place in the ten years since 1877 because they no longer published such blatant anti-Slavic imagery. The more careful attitude of the paper coincides with what was seen in the illustrated journals of 1887, but is in stark contrast to the coverage in the news media for that year where political tensions were not only reflected but were actually steadily intensified.

It is perhaps also significant to note that the Christian Social Party under Karl Lueger, into whose camp the Kikeriki editorial staff were moving, consistently downplayed anti-Czech rhetoric. Lueger was not only famous for declaring that he would decide for himself who was Jewish but also for demanding that "his" Czechs be left in peace, and for spelling his name "Karel Luegera" on the ballot forms in some of his early election campaigns.⁴⁰⁰ Just as

⁴⁰⁰ Andics, Luegerzeit p. 260.

Lueger himself was acting in recognition of the demographic trends in the city he so wished to rule, the management of Kikeriki may well have been quite conscious that many of its readers were newly-minted Viennese of Czech background and moderate economic means. It was much safer to ridicule Jews than Slavs; anti-semitic politics played just as well in Czech as in German constituencies and perhaps even served to give them common ground.

The role of anti-semitism, although it is not the topic of the present study, cannot be overlooked in any attempt to understand the complicated interplay of ethnic relationships. Anti-semitism was at the same time quite a different phenomenon than the other ethnic conflicts, and a barometer for some racist or at least prejudicial attitudes. In contrast to its treatment of the Slavs, the press of the monarchy had never ignored the Jewish population. The Jews enjoyed a status which was always distinct but not always disadvantaged. Respect and admiration were frequently a part of their treatment by the Liberal press just as religious slurs were an integral part of the Catholic press treatment. The large Jewish staff of many papers ensured that Jewish humour and culture did not remain unappreciated, at least in Vienna. Also somewhat of a truism but nevertheless worth repeating, was that anti-semitism at the time was not based on racial theory but had cultural and political roots. Anti-semitism was closely related to

religious and political opposition to laissez-faire capitalism and Liberal hegemony. As German-national ideology began its penetration of the political scene, however, racial overtones did move into its political rhetoric and did not stop at denigrating Jews but also put down the Slavs and other non-Germanic races as well. For this reason, anti-semitism is a good indicator from the 1880s on of German-national sympathies and the prejudicial attitudes that went with them. Coming, as it did, into the political consciousness from both directions, the Catholic/Conservative side on religious grounds and the Liberal/National side on opportunistic ones, anti-semitism finally proved to have the power to unite the volatile lower-middle class voters of Vienna by the end of the century.

This remarkable change is illustrated dramatically by the contents of 1897's version of Kikeriki. The satirical took a full three issues to respond to the uproar over the Cilli high school budget fiasco, and then, on the back page, published a cartoon showing the image of a big-mouthed, round-faced Slavic student before locked school doors. "For the love of God," moans the student, "now I'll never be the Slovene scientific Star of my day."⁴⁰¹ This treatment was followed throughout the remainder of the year by numerous jibes and jokes at the expense of Czechs and Slovenes, but

⁴⁰¹ Kikeriki Jan 14, 1897

absolutely no comment whatsoever on the unruly and violent behavior of German-national demonstrators in Graz or elsewhere. Furthermore, although it had started out the year with a comment that anti-semites were the sort of people "one finds milling around the threshold of the poor-house,"⁴⁰² it gradually increased its own anti-semitic comments and use of stereotypes. A favourite tactic was to attack the socialists and then to link them to the Jews to the discredit of both.

The journal, however, turned out to be mild in comparison to the Kikeriki Calendar for 1897 which, of course, had to have been prepared well in advance of the dramatic events of the first weeks of January. There was a sea change in tone from the edition of the previous decade. The program on the title page made the case, pledging the calender to promote:

Everything which feels German and Christian, everything which will help to establish an idealistic outlook after the thirty-year domination of Jewish-materialistic heartlessness and perfidy.....This completely independent humorous people's publication will attack, with the sharp and terrible weapons of wit and satire in both words and pictures, the still all-powerful Jewry and those sad elements allied or dependent upon it. ⁴⁰³

The changes in the character of the calender were only beginning with the programmatic declaration of intent. It richly fulfilled its promise to provide a diet of

⁴⁰² Kikeriki Jan. 5, 1897

⁴⁰³ Kikeriki Calendar 1897, title page. For the text in German, see appendix V (c)

anti-semitic humour and enthusiastically supported the rising star of mayor-elect Karl Lueger. While advertising copy continued to fill its accustomed share of the publication, the calender itself had undergone a remarkable transformation in content. The 1897 version showed the Catholic and protestant holidays, as before, but gone were the Jewish ones. In their place were a set of special holidays celebrating feasts of the "Germanen" (Germanic tribes) with the necessary explanations, as well as the ancient Roman seasons. The take-over by the German-national ideological line could not have been more complete, especially in the calender's repeated comparison of idealistic and materialistic values. There was not the slightest attempt to treat either the Slavs or the Jews in an even-handed manner. The battle-lines were drawn and no quarter was about to be given. The German-national or even pan-German cultural offensive had been decisively joined by yet another publication.⁴⁰⁴

It is hard to imagine how such inflammatory language would have played on the street, so to speak, and how it would have affected every-day business and social relationships. It is tempting but difficult to accept without a degree of skepticism the statements of Viennese authors that the vast majority of citizens regarded such propaganda rightly as just so much "garbage" which was being

⁴⁰⁴ Kikeriki Calendar 1897.

foisted on them from above.⁴⁰⁵ But even the stand taken by Lueger himself towards his loyal Czech constituents had hardened subtly by 1897 when Andics quotes him as recognizing his duty:

on such vulnerable ground as Vienna's, to act in such a way as to prevent the nationality conflict from breaking out; instead, the Germanization is proceeding peacefully, as it always has (wie bisher). We have made a hundred thousand Czechs into good Germans.⁴⁰⁶

The wording is a very significant indicator that his earlier apparent tolerance had not extended to recognizing any Slavic demands for cultural recognition. Rather, the change in political climate by 1897 made it possible, if not necessary, for him to express such long-held ideas openly.

Moving Upscale

One notch up the social scale from Kikeriki was Figaro, published weekly from 1857 to 1919. Not exactly an elegant publication, it was nonetheless a relatively polished-looking vehicle with a broader focus. Figaro's circulation figures and price were not addressed by Woerl in his survey of the monarchy's press in 1880, but he did make one highly significant comment. Without being more specific, he declared that "several satiricals have very serious ties with the government", and went on to surmise that their mission was to make the opposition look

⁴⁰⁵ Helmut Andics Luegerzeit p. 260.

⁴⁰⁶ Helmut Andics Luegerzeit p. 260

ridiculous in text and in visual images. He assessed the success of the satiricals as somewhat higher than that of the officially subsidized news media on the grounds that the public put little stock in the latter.⁴⁰⁷

Figaro's appearance and content bespoke a higher level of education and wider horizons for its readership than for that of Kikeriki. It appeared on Sundays when professional and business people had a little extra leisure time, especially those who did not attend church. In 1877 it had a full two pages of advertisements every week. Figaro had no discernable anti-semitic content in that year, and it mentioned Slavs and their politics not at all. The Hungarian compromise, on the other hand, was a constant topic with the familiar German treatment which was a combination of satire, sarcasm and submission. Besides the compromise, the weekly concerned itself to a great extent with foreign affairs and had great fun at the expense of both the Turks and the Russians. It also mocked both Bismarck and the Catholic church and, in the true spirit of Vienna, it ridiculed farmers. One of its recurring devices was a conversation between a "Grinzinger" and a "Kahlenberger", that is between the residents of two wine-growing villages on the outskirts of the city, in which the earthy and practical outlook of the small farmer was used to skewer city pretensions, to ridicule local

⁴⁰⁷ Woerl Publicistik p. 137

politicians and celebrities, to make fun of trends and fads and the preoccupations of the press itself; but also to make country folk look like hayseeds at the same time.⁴⁰⁸

In 1887, the paper still appeared weekly with about equal parts copy and advertising. The number of pages of advertising had grown to four and their content is worth a word or two. Among the usual advertisements for patent medicines and household articles were also ones for travel, furs, fine watches, art and literature, and even for high-quality handguns. The advertising clearly indicated a target readership with disposable incomes and fairly ostentatious lifestyles, that is, the wealthier bourgeoisie.

Figaro's copy also showed an increasing proportion of cleverly-written text to cartoons. It was a relatively intelligent paper with a political rather than a purely social focus. It still ran a column featuring the "local yokels" from Kahlenberg and Grinzing with frequently hilarious results. It continued to enjoy ridiculing Bismarck, particularly for his church policies, but it also got in swipes at the Jesuits. Its treatment of the Russians betrayed a noticeable degree of anxiety, and one wonders if they were not a screen behind which Slavs closer to home were the intended target. The jokes about Czar Alexander III, noted for his anti-German views, ranged from broad hints that his sanity was in doubt to outright amusement at

⁴⁰⁸ Figaro (Vienna) issues for 1877.

the failed attempts to assassinate him!⁴⁰⁹

But it was in its domestic content that change was most apparent. The prominence of the nationality question and the defensive liberal position of the paper had become unmistakable. The editorial stand was very critical of what it called the "Versöhnungspolitik" of Count Taaffe, a term we might well translate today as "appeasement" and include all of the connotations which have accrued to the word in English in the intervening century.⁴¹⁰

Figaro began its 1887 coverage with lots of humour aimed at the Czechs and their political and cultural aspirations. It wondered aloud what constituted "Bohemian culture" in the same tone in which a Canadian cabinet minister once wondered aloud, to his regret, what "culture" native people possessed before contact with Europeans. It asked "where does 'Bohemia' end and 'Germany' begin?", disingenuously confusing the concepts of province and nation, of geography and cultural identity, but thereby also pointing out that Czech nationalists were themselves insisting on the integrity of the ancient political entity of Bohemia in the cause of a battle which was essentially that of the Czech nation. The province of Bohemia itself was often represented in Figaro's cartoons as a lion with two tails; not an unjustifiable image in itself as it derived from the

⁴⁰⁹ Figaro issues for 1887.

⁴¹⁰ Figaro issues for 1887.

Bohemian coat of arms and was ideally suited to exploitation for the sake of humour. The two tails, whatever their original symbolic meaning, would be labelled "Young Czechs" and "Old Czechs", for example, while the lion would be drawn as a tired pussycat, or girded for battle with a cooking pot for a helmet.⁴¹¹ Slavs in general were portrayed with the round face already described: large-mouthed, small-eyed, and with wide, flat noses. Occasionally they would be displaying pointed teeth. When the subject was the southern Slavs, a frequent occurrence in the satirical press of 1887 when Bulgaria was conducting a Europe-wide search for a suitable king, they were pictured with more hair and darker skins.

The paper's attitude towards the language issue had become decidedly defensive. The Liberal establishment had been locked out of power since 1879 by the Clerical/Conservative alliance with Slavic deputies in parliament. Count Taaffe's "iron ring" had begun to create a backlash which was illustrated in a piece of doggerel appearing early in the year. The "right" would never be satisfied, it claimed until Slavic languages were required along with "Jesuit" Latin in the Viennese ministerial offices located on the prestigious Minoritenplatz (A square near the palace named for the Minor Friars' church there). The second verse expanded the idea by imagining a porter at

⁴¹¹ Figaro issues for January 1887.

the minister's office who greeted visitors with a broken German phrase roughly equivalent to "no speekee Goiman here." The third made the point that the Slavs and the "ultramontanes" were conspiring to achieve their goals on linguistic domination under the ruse of economy.⁴¹² There was obviously some civil service intrigue behind the humorous protest, but the implication of real danger to German interests in parliament, the perception of an anti-German alliance, if not an absolute conspiracy, the evocation of the language issue and the very defensive tone of the debate were quite clear.

Figaro's coverage of the Hungarian compromise continued in much the same vein as it had a decade before. It was as plentiful as one would expect in a year in which the decennial negotiations were in progress. The tone still reflected that rueful resignation which was its hallmark in 1877. A very funny verse appeared in April, and part of the humour depended on its ever-lengthening lines, indicative of the ever more complicated bargaining process. "The Hungarians are not giving in/ We are not giving up,/ Both sides are determined not to give" ran the first stanza. "The Hungarians now understand that they must give up some of their demands" the second stanza continued, "the Austrians don't understand why they should continue to pay 70% of the common expenses, but it is clear to them that

⁴¹² Figaro March 19, 1887. For the German text of the verse see appendix V (d)

they must." The second stanza concluded that "Understanding is making great progress." Verse three pictured the Hungarians as regretting that they had not won anything but happy nevertheless that they had given nothing away. It concluded "the rest of the country is possessed of exactly the same feeling, but at a higher percentage rate."⁴¹³

In order to appreciate the humour in the copy it is necessary to remember the terms of the Hungarian Compromise. Hungary had a veto on further constitutional change, had complete autonomy in its domestic affairs, even as they regarded ethnic minorities, and it had the right to re-negotiate the terms and conditions of the joint responsibilities decennially. The Hungarians would arrive at the bargaining table every ten years with a new list of demands, the acceptance of which would have meant their absolute independence. The Austrians would arrive merely wishing to see the Hungarians pay a fairer share of the joint expenses. In the ensuing year-long discussions, the Hungarians would give up all but one or two of their demands and the Austrians would become resigned to continuing to pay twice their share of the joint budget. The Hungarian drive to sovereignty remained constant and at a high level thanks to political manipulation at home.⁴¹⁴ The experience served to prove the rule that, in a bargaining situation, the party

⁴¹³ Figaro April 23, 1887. For the German text of the verse see appendix V (e)

⁴¹⁴ See, among others, Kann, History p. 335.

with a fixed agenda will always do better than one which merely wants to appear reasonable. This was all perfectly obvious to the Austrian population and contributed in no small measure to the growing cynicism about politics in general and the viability of the dual monarchy in particular. The frustration of the German minority with the situation peaked with every new round. All of this notwithstanding, the humour in the situation was not to be missed and it did seem to overshadow any hostility which the negotiations stirred up - at least that is the case in the press coverage. The vital interest of the dynasty in the compromise and the tendency of the censorship structure to protect the dynasty above all else cannot be ignored. Such humorous treatment of the Compromise in the press allowed for what was perhaps a very essential venting of frustration and resentment in a relatively harmless fashion. It also gives cause to consider Woerl's charge that some of the satiricals were linked to the government.

It is important to emphasize that the purpose and the main concern of a paper like Figaro was really the humour and not the political podium. It was selling entertainment and not engagement. Politically-based humour was its staple fare, but ethnic topics were relatively rare. A great deal of copy consisted of self-deprecating "insider" items which reflected on Viennese experience in general. Some of them would not be unappreciated today: "Due to its palpable lack

of a proper dinner-hour, Vienna has still not been able to develop into a world-city."⁴¹⁵

In 1897, Figaro managed to maintain its slightly detached and sophisticated approach to social and political life in Vienna. It made fun of the Lord Mayor, Karl Lueger, but also of his Liberal opposition. As for the up-and-coming socialists, its attitude was aptly summed up in the phrase "social politics begins with a box on the ears." Regarding the Hungarian compromise its attitude had not changed. "The old saying 'where there's a will there's a way' is somewhat outdated; these days it should run 'where Hungary wills there's a way'".⁴¹⁶

On the status of Slavs, the paper had become somewhat more ambiguous. On the one hand it had a new column which appeared regularly called, "Der Wenzel des Herrn Oberleutnants" (the lieutenant's knave) in which a soldier with the stereotypical round face, the "Wenzel" or Wenceslas of the title, exchanged comments with an officer. The copy was written in the Viennese dialect as it would sound spoken with a heavy Czech accent. For the outsider it is virtually undecipherable. The sketch was decidedly in the genre of the defunct "Kahlenberger u. Grinzinger" series of previous decades but dealt mostly with international issues. One can surmise that the foreign policy of several nations including

⁴¹⁵ Figaro April 9, 1887

⁴¹⁶ Figaro Jan. 2, 1897

the monarchy and the internal workings of the army shared the spotlight of ridicule with the local Czech community. On the other hand, the reaction of Figaro to the Cilli budget affair was to ridicule the German-national position and the shameful behavior of the nationalist students in a clever little verse. "Just let any quibbler suggest for a moment that we haven't recognized our duty," it runs, "and we'll make sure that the whole world appreciates our true Germanic behavior." The translation is necessarily somewhat free.⁴¹⁷ The use of the code word völkisch in this case singled out the Pan-Germans for the ridicule. The subject was then dropped for the remainder of the year. It was not funny any more; it had become too hot to handle in the confines of an entertainment vehicle.

That the editorial staff knew how to appreciate the ridiculous not only in German behavior but in Slavic claims as well was illustrated in a comment which says, to the modern reader, much more than was intended. "Who is going to stand up for the gypsies who are also oppressed by the wicked Germans?", asked the item.⁴¹⁸ The intent of the question, however, was not to claim any rights for the gypsies, but rather to make all of the national claims appear ridiculous by including them. In the hierarchy of prejudice in eastern Europe, the gypsies rank at the very

⁴¹⁷ Figaro Jan. 23, 1897. for the German text see appendix V (f)

⁴¹⁸ Figaro Jan 16, 1897

bottom even to this day; the idea that they had any rights at all was considered ludicrous in the nineteenth century. This comment spoke to a common German perception of the demands by other nationalities for recognition.

The Germans could simply not see themselves as oppressors, especially in the cultural sense. They were accustomed to seeing themselves as the bearers of rare and precious gifts, gifts for which the less advanced peoples ought to have been duly grateful. The chance to assimilate to German culture was seen as an opportunity, not an imposition or some form of cultural imperialism. This perception was by no means held by the Germans alone - aside from the many Jewish supporters of German culture, many German-national activists in Styria were actually of Slovene parentage and genuinely believed that a German education was the path to upward mobility for their people.⁴¹⁹ Thus the portrayal of Germans as villains was at first received with outrage and disbelief in 1887, but by 1897 was more likely to be dismissed as amusing, as agitation or as propaganda.

In the same issue, the familiar figure of the deutsche Michel recurred.⁴²⁰ This persistent image from German popular culture symbolized then, as it still does today, the

⁴¹⁹ See the discussion and examples in Arnold Suppan, "Zwischen Assimilation und Nationalpolitischer Emancipation" Österreichische Ost-efte Jahrgang 20, 1978.

⁴²⁰ Figaro Jan. 16, 1897

virtues of the German "little guy" who bears the burdens of society for little of the rewards. His appearance in this issue served to reinforce the message which the use of the comment on gypsies was intended to deliver: the claims of the minorities were unfair and hard-working Germans were being victimized. The deutsche Michel is a simple, hard-working fellow, just a little too dull to get involved in intrigues or to avoid paying his taxes. His image is obviously well-suited to anti-semitic as well as anti-foreign or even anti-capitalist uses. He was the quintessential representation of the Mittelstand.

At the end of 1897 the ownership of Figaro passed to its long-time chief editor, Theodor Taube. Accompanying the announcement of the change was a promise by the new owner that "Figaro will be genuinely German (echt deutsch), independent and free."⁴²¹ There was a less exuberant tone about the last issues of the paper for 1897, deeply evocative of circling the wagons and battening down the hatches.

Two Kinds of Comic Relief

In contrast to Figaro, two competing satiricals took the safer route. Wiener Punsch (Viennese Punch, like "Punch" everywhere, after the British model), published from 1869 to 1912 had a circulation of about 6000 by Woerl's day and cost

⁴²¹ Figaro Dec. 25, 1897.

5 Fl. a year. Similar figures are not available for Der Floh (The Flea) which published bi-weekly for most of the period.⁴²² The 1877 issues of Punsch were unfortunately not available for this survey, but in that year Floh published absolutely nothing of note about the issues of nation, race, language or ethnicity, not even about the Hungarians.

By 1887 both magazines were publishing frequent cartoons featuring obviously Jewish subjects but almost nothing at all about the conflict in Bohemia or of the familiar round-faced Slav. Floh opted to cover the Berlin scene in some detail and ran a regular feature called "The Sultan at Breakfast." Far from being an attack on Islam, although it perpetuated the stereotype about plural marriages, the column had a wide variety of targets and was really very witty! The Sultan, godless infidel keeper of a harem though he was, came across as quite a clever figure. In each column he discussed the current state of European diplomacy with his vizier and the interview invariably ended with a reference to his harem. In between were telling quips about relations among the states of Europe. In one paradigmatic episode he was ruminating on his recent receipt of a subsidy from Berlin. The problem was, he remarked, that if he paid Krupp, then his troops would grumble, if he paid the troops then Krupp would complain, so he would just have to use the money to expand the harem.⁴²³

⁴²² Woerl Publicistik p. 219

Wiener Punsch followed the line of least controversy as well in 1887. Domestic political affairs were not a rich source of comic material, even if domestic disagreements were. Although there was a regular column about the stock market in Jewish dialect, and the stock market and speculation were frequent targets of lower-middle class anti-semitism, it did not appear to be particularly derogatory or even anti-semitic at all. It is difficult for the reader today to accept that such stereotypical representation did not carry negative connotations, but such was in fact the nature of the discourse with which this study is engaged.

There was absolutely nothing about Slavs in general or about the Czechs in particular except for one brief comment: "Such a strenuous Blumencorso has broken out between the young and the old Czechs that one begins to fear for the parliamentary position of the Princess Metternich."⁴²⁴ That one comment, however, was a perfect example of the tendency to trivialize the Czech situation. Poor Princess Pauline's earnest efforts to brighten the social scene of her native city were a running source of material on the decadence of the rich and the silliness of the upper classes. To liken the serious political conflict among the Czechs to her Blumencorso was actually even more damaging than the usual

⁴²³ Floh (Vienna) issues for 1887

⁴²⁴ Wiener Punsch (Vienna) June 6, 1887

run of comments about the inability of "these people" to present a united front. It reduced the issue to irrelevance and comic relief. But then again, Punsch tended to treat demonstrating students of every ethnic origin, including the German ones, in the same facetious manner; it was clearly trying to offend no-one too seriously and everyone just a little.

By 1897, both papers were published without dates, so it is difficult to ascertain if the publication schedule was even regular, let alone as frequent as it was a decade previously. Both papers also avoided real controversy very carefully. Der Floh did cover the activities of Mayor Karl Lueger fairly frequently, but distracted its readers from political and ethnic controversies by involvement in aesthetic ones. It went over to the newly-arrived Jugendstil in its illustrative style. Wiener Punsch did not go quite that far, but concentrated instead on what it called "harmless humour" about such modern trends as dress reform. "Will you look at that, those two have forgotten half of their clothes at home!"⁴²⁵

Floh's contribution to the problem of ethnic conflict was a single cartoon which was rather reminiscent of Lueger's supposed comment to Viktor Adler that the two should campaign together and after the victory the Socialists could hang the gentile capitalist exploiters and the Christian

⁴²⁵ Wiener Punsch #954, p. 8, 1897

Socials could hang the Jewish ones.⁴²⁶ The cartoon in question pictured two figures, one in an Austrian hat and the other with a very round face, each busy kicking a victim in the dress of the opposite group but with a prominent nose. The caption read, "The German to the Czech: 'You beat my Jews and I'll beat your Jews'."⁴²⁷ The expression was so common that it was given in a recent Cassell's standard German-English dictionary as the equivalent of "tit for tat". Discourse does change for the better over time, and expression does become more sensitized. Such language could never be used in Vienna today, at least about Jews and at least in public!

Elegant Crowd

Occupying somewhat higher rungs in the ladder of Sunday entertainment media were two quite similar and much more elegant journals. Die Bombe was published from 1871 to 1925 and its imitator and competitor Wiener Caricaturen began publishing a decade later and ceased publishing at the same time. Both sold for 7 Fl.50 kr. a year or 15 kr. per issue according to their mastheads in 1897. The safer road was taken by Die Bombe which looked like a veritable illustration of the thesis that, to the Viennese upper classes, art was a substitute for real life. In 1877, it featured Jewish stereotypes but mentioned Slavs not at all.

⁴²⁶ cited in Andics, Luegerzeit p. 224

⁴²⁷ Der Floh #5, p. 4, 1897.

It served up very conventional light humour for which it had obviously found abundant advertisers. By 1887 its approach had not changed substantially. Any political discussion usually involved Germany; on the domestic scene, only theatre news counted. A regular feature in verse on the stock market had as its column head the image of a large-nosed Satyr carrying money in one hand and a medical staff in the other. No commentary was deemed necessary then and it still is not. Language issues were discussed as though they were nothing but a servant problem and a few digs at the Czech politicians on the usual topic, their disunity, surfaced, but the paper was basically playing it safe. Its front page was usually devoted to a theatrical personality and the basic fare of the paper was sexual innuendo with the usual cast of unfaithful ladies and lecherous old men, money and title-hungry mothers and callow young cads.⁴²⁸

Wiener Caricaturen, on the other hand, while following the model typified by its rival and replete also with Don Juans and nubile young things, took very direct issue with the German-national agitation very early in the course of 1887. In the middle of the Fasching season it made its pitch for the first and only time. It referred to "the other playhouse on the Ring, not the new Burgtheater but the political one," to put parliament into its proper

⁴²⁸ Die Bombe (Vienna) issues for 1887.

perspective. The deputies' tongues were not like swords, it said, "because swords are sharp and polished," their tongues were like cudgels or clubs, their words were hurled like rocks. "Even if no veins have been opened yet, except the veins of verbosity,...it still appears from one moment to the next as though heads are going to crack." The paper excused its dealing at all with this "dirty matter" on the grounds that it was no longer just a political matter but, unfortunately, a question of contemporary culture (Sittengeschichte des Tages). "In the house over there, it has become a question of 'German culture' which is so passionately and fiercely defended against Czechs, Poles and Slovenes." The piece continues:

And the hatred of the entire united Slavdom would not be in any position to endanger this treasure-chest of German culture so severely or to bring its true inner worth into discredit and compromise to the extent that is being done by these "unadulterated German men". Even their "unadulterated" Christian Catholic fellow citizens and parliamentarians, if they don't swear to every last word of the confessional/national catechism are treated as "Jews" which, to them, naturally means the same thing as miserable and inferior knaves.⁴²⁹

This was a very strong presentation of the loyal Austrian Liberal position. It recognized all of the loaded words and terms of the German-national discourse and turned them around against the nationalist party line. It was an exercise in deconstruction which was never repeated. One

⁴²⁹ Wiener Caricaturen Feb. 13, 1887. For the complete text in German see appendix V (g)

cannot help but wonder whether stating the position once was considered enough, or whether even that was more than the paper could afford. In any case the remainder of the year's content avoided ethnic issues completely except for a single cartoon. In this image a Viennese carrying a large umbrella in the rain knocks over a farmer carrying a basket of produce on his head. The caption, "obviously a Hungarian umbrella - extremely hostile to Slovaks" was an exceptionally rare reference to the treatment by the Hungarians of the minorities whose fate had fallen to their control under terms of the compromise.⁴³⁰ The paper presented in all other respects an elegant and sophisticated piece of journalism which could well have served Arthur Schnitzler as the source for his characters.

In 1897, Wiener Caricaturen still resembled the elegant set for a Schnitzler short story, except that Schnitzler was somewhat kinder to his female characters. The theme of illicit sex permeated the entire paper which was generally light, frothy and sophisticated.⁴³¹ The gags about Fasching adventures and the many possibilities for intrigue during the Sommerfrische (summer vacation) went on for a good two months each.⁴³² Its art work was of a very high calibre and it followed the contemporary trend to Jugendstil about three

⁴³⁰ Wiener Caricaturen April 24, 1887

⁴³¹ See Figure 8.

⁴³² Wiener Caricaturen issues for February, March, July and August, 1897.

months after the competition.⁴³³ Even the Socialists were now deemed worthy of light and frothy coverage, gone were the bogey-men and the blackout treatment of the daily newspapers. The May Day parade was depicted with a drawing of happy and relaxed men and women dressed in their Sunday best and carrying balloons. The caption read "the Socialist Spaziergang (recreational walk) or the peaceful campaign of the workers' brigade."⁴³⁴

This lighter tone was maintained in the coverage of the nationalities conflict as well, but an undertone suggested a now-solid alignment with patriotic German sentiment. The reaction to the budget fiasco was textual, the supposed translation of a letter from a Slovene student to his friend. As might be expected, the beginning of the letter depicted a student hoping for free time, but the student went on to boast that he was not worried because "what the Slovenes have once acquired they never relinquish, no matter how many votes can be scraped up in parliament." The real kernel of the piece was a statement that "five of us count for more with the government than one hundred Germans," a direct expression of the growing paranoia of liberal Germandom.⁴³⁵ The piece also represented the only slip of

⁴³³ See Figure 9 for an example of the new style in advertising.

⁴³⁴ Wiener Caricaturen May 2, 1897.

⁴³⁵ Wiener Caricaturen Jan. 10, 1897. For the text in German see appendix V (h)

the year in a resolutely trivial journalistic facade.

Die Bombe of 1897 dropped a real bombshell in March not with a political change of pace, but with an aesthetic one. Its artistic staff was completely replaced and from that date on Jugendstil imagery reigned supreme. The quality of the artwork was simply outstanding and spoke to a discriminating readership, but the quality of the content remained purely escapist. Even the advertising used the new style for illustrations. The breakaway Sezession artists under Klimt were treated with the same kind of seriousness usually accorded to theatre coverage, that is with a little nine verse ditty.⁴³⁶ Light and humorous coverage was the rule throughout the year. The world of entertainment and its internal machinations were given the coverage which one would normally expect for government. On a typical page the Raimund Theatre's production of a shallow romance called, "Die Cilli Tante" (Auntie from Cilli), which had nothing at all to do with the situation in Styria, was damned with very faint praise. Then the Theater an der Wien was dismissed with the comment that Miss von Schönerer's choice of programs could be excused on the grounds that, as a millionairess, she didn't have to worry about attendance. Finally, the paintings at an exhibition by the Kunstlerhaus were evaluated in clever verse which speculated on their saleability.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁶ Die Bombe April 4, 1897. Partial text in appendix V (i)

After the worst of the disturbances over the Badeni language ordinances were safely over, on page seven, in amongst the advertising for stomach powders, contraceptives, dentists, remedies for mouldy walls and handguns, appeared a rendition of a "Slavic song of Brotherhood", supposedly, "set to music by a citizen of Cracow."⁴³⁸ The piece deserves a close reading. The first lines gave the impression that it was ridiculing the Slavic cause, but the images of Slavic tongues sticking out at their German enemies while hot air waved their flags were soon contrasted to the flaming hatred of the German side. The vaunted culture and education of the Germans was contrasted with the tiniest trace it had left on Czech cities.

The second impression of the piece is that it belongs to the middle of the road, "a pox on both their houses" genre of commentary. It concluded with the disappointment of the Slavs at the ingratitude of neighbours who would turn on the very people whose hands not only rocked their cradles but built their houses as well. It contradicted the German view of their own cultural superiority and marveled at the hatred displayed by the German demonstrators towards people with whom they otherwise lived in intimate contact. How can the Germans hate the people who share their homes, it seemed to ask. But in the very argument it used, it betrayed the

⁴³⁷ Die Bombe April 4, 1897.

⁴³⁸ Die Bombe December 26, 1897. For the text and context, see Figure 10.

essential condescension of the German attitude even in its most benign form: they simply could not overcome a view of Slavs as a less cultured people, in fact, as servants.

This piece represents a paradigm for the fate of the cosmopolitan, Liberal ideology of the Austrian haute bourgeoisie. Their Liberalism had its limits and their cosmopolitanism did not extend to real respect for other cultures. Their appeal to reason was fated to appear wishy-washy in comparison to the strongly-held prejudices of the nationalists on both sides. Their political agenda lacked an emotional underpinning and a rational one did not convince anyone.

It is tempting to see this as yet another expression of the merely reasonable stand which is swept away by an outrageous one which brooks no opposition. But it is also logical to assume that the Die Bombe was taking the cowardly way out and trying to offend no-one. It did not appear to be taking a principled stand any more than it seemed to be convincing. The seriousness of the topic was belied by its location at the back of the paper and also by the accompanying drawing of a pixie on the header. This piece was as deep and as pointed as Die Bombe ever intended to get on political issues and the formula was to keep the paper in print for another quarter century.

The "Reichsdeutsche"

A weekly very similar to the previous two was published in both Vienna and Dresden from 1892 to 1918. Called Danneberg's Pschütt Caricaturen it followed the model of the other two right down to its Jugendstil conversion in the spring of 1897. It was upper-middle class from the top of the masthead to the bottom of the advertising, and it represented the tastes of Germany as much as it did those of Austria. In August of 1897, and before the real uproar had developed over the language ordinances, it commented in its own fashion on the issue for the only time. (Later in the year the paper appeared several times with blank spaces marked "confiscated" where the censors had perhaps struck down similar comments.)

The lengthy verse made and repeated the point that the Czechs had no state of their own and were only considered capable of participating in government by the grace of the Badeni government. But Austria could only be governed "in the German spirit" or not at all, it affirmed, and only "sheep" would listen to "siren songs" to the contrary. The piece closed with the demand that the language ordinances simply be withdrawn as they alone were the cause of the feuding. "The Czechs must simply comfort themselves with the saying, 'the Lord giveth, the Lord taketh away'."⁴³⁹ The ambivalence of the loyal cosmopolitan Austrian soul is not

⁴³⁹ Danneberg's Pschütt Caricaturen (Vienna and Dresden) August 7, 1897. For the text in German see appendix V (j)

evident in this expression of opinion, but neither is the emotional involvement which is called up by images of nannies.

This example reflects an attitude more typical of the reaction of the newspapers of 1897 when sides had been drawn and positions taken than does the piece in Die Bombe. The attitude of the Germans in Germany itself, the Reichsdeutsche, was probably a deciding factor in the attitude of Danneberg's. The German Empire had played a back-up role in Czech-German ethnic politics in the Habsburg monarchy ever since 1866.

The pattern of attitudes to ethnic issues reflected in the satirical journals was at once richer and more complex than that observed in the illustrated ones. It may well be a factor of the market share of each individual periodical. In all of them, however, it is plain that the ethnic prejudices and stereotypes expressed were relatively mild and appeared less frequently the higher the social standing of the readership in 1877. Only rurals were heaped with scorn from all angles in that more innocent decade. By 1887 when tensions were obvious to all, the pattern of response was quite varied. The lower-middle class Kikeriki retreated from almost any allusion to the conflict except to criticize ethnic strife itself. Figaro, on the other hand, followed a Liberal line, critical of the government and its Slavic

supporters. Its coverage of the crisis reflected the same concerns that were expressed in the news media; the language issue, Russian interference, cultural degradation and so on, but in a lighter and less desperate tone. By 1897, however, the Viennese Mittelstand was spouting the German-national/anti-semitic party line word for word and slight for slight in Kikeriki. The other, classier, satiricals, meanwhile, had retreated almost completely into aestheticism but the sub-text of sympathy for the German side was still perceptible. Figaro, after dithering on the brink all year, finally, if somewhat reluctantly, joined the nationalist camp in December, but the harshest tone of all came from across the border in Dresden.

In the variety of attitudes expressed in the satirical journals and in their response to political agitation on ethnic grounds, a sense can be derived of the many shadings and degrees of opinion which prevailed in the country which had no name. It is also possible to trace gradual changes in these attitudes as the conflict and the uncertainty continued for one decade after another. The gradual poisoning of social discourse in his homeland was aptly described by Robert Musil in his classic portrayal of the era:

This poison is the appearance, by drip and by drop, of new views in morality, art, politics, the family, newspapers, books and social intercourse, which is from the very beginning accompanied by indignant denials, which cannot avoid to a certain extent acknowledging the existence of what is

denied.⁴⁴⁰

⁴⁴⁰ Robert Musil. Man without Qualities book 1 p. 241.

Chapter X

THE NEWSPAPERS OF VIENNA

In Vienna there was really only one journal of high grade, the Neue Freie Presse, which, because of its dignified principles, its cultural endeavours and its political prestige, assumed in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy a role not unlike that of the Times in England or the Temps in France. No paper, even in the German Reich, was as particular about its intellectual level....As a matter of course it was progressive and liberal in its views, prudent and cautious in its politics; and it represented the high cultural aspirations of the old Austria in an exemplary fashion. - Stefan Zweig, 1943.⁴⁴¹

Stefan Zweig's opinion of the Neue Freie Presse of 1901, when he was only nineteen years old, was that of his class and his generation. There was simply no rival for the authority and the prestige of that paper among the upper-middle class elites of Vienna. The paper spoke to and for the Liberal cultural, political and business leadership of the monarchy. It alone of Vienna's newspapers attained real international status. Writing his memoirs in exile, preparing to end his own life in the face of the unfathomable barbarity in his homeland, Zweig in 1942 still saw the paper through the same rosy aura. The majority of his contemporaries would have agreed. Yet this very epitome of cultured cosmopolitanism also helped to nurture the first

⁴⁴¹ Stefan Zweig, The World of Yesterday (New York: Viking Press, 1943) pp. 99 - 100

tender shoots of ethnic German nationalism, this pinnacle of excellence helped to foster the cultural pride which was to grow into arrogance and intolerance, even jingoism. Nothing can be more ironic than that the very cultural milieu which set itself such high standards was to help forge the political weapons of the lowest common denominator - nationalism and anti-semitism.

Zweig and the rest of the cultural elite to the contrary, Vienna did indeed enjoy a rich and varied news media. The data noted in chapter four are quite conclusive on the point. And not only was the liberal ideology represented by more than the one paper, the official government position was also capably presented and the Catholic/Conservative position found ample expression at all social levels. By the end of the century, even the socialists had their own newspaper. This study examined ten Viennese newspapers which served a broad spectrum of middle-class readers.

The pattern of attitudinal change which has been demonstrated for the provincial media held by and large in Vienna as well. A relative scarcity of references to ethnicity or national conflict in all of the periodicals in 1877 became in some of them a scream of outrage and despair by 1887. A decade later the discourse surrounding nationality had hardened into firm political camps. But Vienna's press provided a contrast to that of the outlying

regions. In this chapter the analysis will be structured somewhat differently to allow more emphasis on the divergence between the political approaches over time. Supposedly non-political, Catholic/conservative and finally Liberal newspapers will be grouped together and examined at intervals of a decade.

As an opening, it is important to note what was not to be found in the newspapers of Vienna in the final three decades of the nineteenth century and thereby stress once again the difference between the media of that day and the media of today. There was no public outcry about immigration or ethnic migration reported, no violence in the streets against foreigners leading to trials in the criminal courts, no complaints linking housing shortages and high taxes to outsiders voiced in the press in any of the decades surveyed. No problems associated with intermarriage were discussed except in the context of confessional differences. That is not to say that such issues did not surface at all; the press of the Habsburg monarchy was, as has been established, a very closely controlled medium and direct input from the public was extremely rare. But in the public voice such items were nowhere to be found.

The "Non-political" Papers

Papers which were considered non-political in the context of nineteenth-century Vienna and specifically classified as

such by contemporaries like Leo Woerl, were far from neutral by current notions of press bias. Woerl categorized as "political" only those papers which were, according to his lights, either Catholic or anti-Catholic. The modern researcher, however, perceives just as much political content in a government organ or a professional journal, even where a careful attempt not to disturb the authorities had to be made by publications of all stripes.

The first of these supposedly neutral journals, Die Volksschule (The Public School) had a healthy circulation of 13,000 copies weekly at an annual price of 4 Fl. 40 kr. in 1880.⁴⁴² The journal proclaimed itself to be the organ of the "teachers of the Fatherland" (vaterländischen Lehrerstand). In spite of the programmatic subtitle there was not a hint of ethnic preference to be found in its 1877 output. It declared itself to be a pedagogical and literary weekly and its content was concentrated in those areas. It did include some world news and many articles on the state of the public schools in Lower Austria, but mild constructive criticism was its most radical position.⁴⁴³ All the same, Die Volksschule was far from non-political. In fact, public school teachers were by the very nature of their employment most likely to be anti-clerical if not anti-Catholic and they held liberal views on the

⁴⁴² Woerl, Publicistik p. 224

⁴⁴³ Die Volksschule (Vienna) issues for 1877

desirability of education for the masses and the degree of church influence to be permitted.

The contrast between the language of the issues in 1877 and in 1887 could not have been more striking. In 1887, the nationalist discourse permeated the paper completely, even in announcements and invitations, from the very beginning of the year. In its New Year's message, the paper declared its purpose to be the representation of the interests of the teachers and the public schools against the control of the church and the bureaucracy.⁴⁴⁴ By the end of the month it had made clear its stand on the national front as well. In extremely strong terms the paper referred to teachers' justifiable pride in their own German heritage which had been "disgraced and enchained for centuries."⁴⁴⁵ In September, an article dealt with the methodology necessary to awaken and strengthen the love of country (Vaterlandsliebe) in the pupils in their care.⁴⁴⁶ Although such articles appeared at most three or four times in the course of the year, the steady use of the words "German" and "Fatherland" and other national cues in the meat and potatoes content of the paper kept the reader well anchored in the German-nationalist camp.

⁴⁴⁴ Die Volksschule Jan. 1, 1887

⁴⁴⁵ Die Volksschule Jan. 31, 1887 . For the German text see appendix VI(a)

⁴⁴⁶ Die Volksschule Sept 5, 1887

By 1897, Die Volksschule was published only three times a month and one can only assume that its subscriptions were down. The tone was as different from that of 1887 as the latter had been from the previous decade. In the new political climate, especially in the city of Vienna after Lueger's election, the teachers saw themselves as the targets of Christian-Social reaction and the schools as victims of a renewed bid for control by the church.⁴⁴⁷ The paper was no less nationalistic for all its new political anxieties, it published selections of patriotic poetry and stirring phrases for classroom use in a multi-part article, but it seemed to take the German-national orientation as a given rather than an approach for which one was required to agitate further. "Lower Austria is German and will remain so for the foreseeable future" it declared baldly.⁴⁴⁸ The political struggle for survival the teachers were waging by 1897 was with the "blacks" or clericals who had co-opted the nationalist rhetoric and were positioning themselves to control the school system.

A real contrast to the position of the teachers was presented by the Beamtenzeitung (Civil Service News), the house organ of the Allgemeine Beamten Vereine der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie (General Association of Austro-Hungarian Civil Servants). While the paper was the

⁴⁴⁷ Die Volksschule issues for 1897

⁴⁴⁸ Die Volksschule undated, 1897 p. 98. The article on appropriate national teaching material began on page 82.

house organ for another liberal-leaning professional group and while it also concentrated on the professional concerns of its membership, its position on ethnicity was quite different. The readership of about 2000 paid 4 Fl. annually in 1880 to subscribe to a very dispassionate weekly journal which privileged the topics of pensions and insurance.⁴⁴⁹ Even in 1877 it was printed in modern typescript as though to emphasize its up-to-date attitude. The Beamtenzeitung maintained a position of genuine ethnic neutrality throughout the entire period under study. Of course, it represented professionals who had to deal with all citizens of the monarchy and were to some extent recruited from all of the ethnic groups. Nevertheless, a bias in favour of the "historic nations" and the nationality of the ruling house would not have been surprising. Instead the paper managed to maintain its objective tone in 1877 through two series of articles, one on the usury laws, discussions of which were often a coded form of anti-semitism, and another which compared the working conditions of Hungarian and the Austrian civil servants.⁴⁵⁰

In the following decade a slightly more formal appearance did not accompany a change in tone or attitude on the part of the editors of the Beamtenzeitung. Nor did it mean that the paper avoided the nationality issue. Although it dealt

⁴⁴⁹ Woerl Publicistik p. 218

⁴⁵⁰ Beamtenzeitung (Vienna) issues for 1877

with the issue only once, it made the acceptable position perfectly clear. An article entitled "The Federal Civil Servant in Language Conflicts" was devoted to the problem and approached the question in its accustomed dispassionate tone. It was hardly a non-partisan approach, however. Like the government which they served, civil servants were expected to see national conflict as an artificially created evil which only detracted from their ability to perform their jobs. "Count Taaffe...to enthusiastic applause, emphatically rejected the idea that one could refer to 'Czech soldiers', or to royal 'Czech' or 'Polish' officials because he recognized only 'Imperial-Royal Austrian soldiers and officials', whichever nation they belonged to and whichever province they stemmed from" claimed the paper. The long article went on to describe how difficult the conflict made the everyday working conditions of civil servants. "No-one knows better than officials themselves, at all levels, how artificially national intolerance is whipped up time after time as soon as it threatens to die down".⁴⁵¹

Similarly, in 1897, the Beamtenzeitung dealt with the controversial language ordinances of the Badeni government only once, but that was emphatically and with the familiar objectivity. Surprisingly, considering the passion with which German nationalists had invoked the threat of a

⁴⁵¹ Beamtenzeitung May 20, 1887. For the German text see appendix VI(b)

foreign civil service and the loss of German jobs, the article claimed that the ordinances were eminently fair, protected the jobs of existing officials and favourably affected their working lives. It was completely in harmony with the tone in which it customarily discussed issues which affected the working conditions, remuneration and prospects of professional civil servants.⁴⁵²

A similar position to that of the Beamtenzeitung was taken by the Fremdenblatt (Foreign Review), a paper with extremely close ties to the government and sometimes seen as the voice of the foreign ministry itself. A nineteenth-century paper with such a close relationship to the government or to a particular ministry could with some justification be considered non-political in the sense that it belonged to no political party. The ministries of the day liked to see themselves as above party and factional divisions; they were responsible to the Emperor not to Parliament. Leo Woerl considered the Fremdenblatt to be anti-Catholic but a less biased analyst felt that it wavered between liberal and conservative/liberal positions.⁴⁵³ Circulation figures are available only for 1890 when they ran to 20,500 issues.⁴⁵⁴ The paper appeared twice a day for the entire period under review and yearly prices were 21 Fl.

⁴⁵² Beamtenzeitung March 31, 1897

⁴⁵³ Woerl Publicistik p. 70; Paupié Handbuch p. 124

⁴⁵⁴ Paupié Handbuch p. 122

20 kr. for the morning and 25 Fl. 20 kr. for the afternoon edition.⁴⁵⁵

The Fremdenblatt took no discernable position on individual ethnic groups and never even mentioned many of them for years at a time. It was typical of its genre, printing lots of news from the court, lots of fiction, crime and scandal and some business news. It had abundant advertising copy and its strength lay in its entertainment coverage. International news held pride of place and was always presented in strict accordance with the official government point of view. In 1897 its position was spelled out in the New Year's leading article as tradition required and, regarding the nationalities situation, it was optimistic. The conflict continued, but was weakening, the authors thought, and the feeling of belonging together was winning out over the sentiments of more divisive elements in both states of the monarchy.⁴⁵⁶ Small wonder that, towards the end of his days, the Fremdenblatt became the favourite newspaper of the old Emperor.⁴⁵⁷

The Clerical-Conservative Camp

⁴⁵⁵ Woerl Publicistik p. 194

⁴⁵⁶ Fremdenblatt Jan. 1, 1897. German text in appendix VI(c)

⁴⁵⁷ Paupié Handbuch p. 124

To a fair degree, the Catholic papers of Vienna followed the pattern of commentary on the question of ethnicity which has already been observed in the provincial papers. While some might have been inclined to moderate anti-semitism, they in no way discriminated against Slavs in general or any individual group of them in particular. When the conflict between ethnic groups was mentioned it was generally in a tone of regret. Four Catholic standards published over the period from 1877 to 1897 were surveyed and their content analyzed. Three of the four, Der Pilger (The Pilgrim), Die Neuen Weckstimmen (The New Awakening), and the Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für christliche Sozialreform (Austrian Monthly for Christian Social Reform) were linked to a Catholic Press consortium which also put out the monarchy's largest Catholic daily, Das Vaterland (the Fatherland). The papers surveyed here were aimed at a more popular or lower-middle class readership in Vienna and the province of Lower Austria while Das Vaterland catered to the international German Catholic establishment.⁴⁵⁸

A fourth paper, the Gemeindezeitung (Community News) was published from 1869 to 1890 and was read mostly in the rural parts of Lower Austria by about 8000 readers daily, another 8000 three times a week and a further 8000 weekly. The

⁴⁵⁸ Woerl Publicistik pp. 15-20. The name of the paper has no connection with the usual nationalist connotation to the word "Vaterland" and pre-dated its usage in that sense. The paper is not reviewed here because its viewpoint was already represented much more succinctly by the other three papers.

daily subscribers paid 19 Fl. 20 kr. annually, the weekly ones paid only 6 Fl. and the thrice-weekly subscribers paid 11 Fl. 60 kr. according to Woerl's figures for 1880.⁴⁵⁹ Paupié claims its readership came almost exclusively from the small business community. The claims are not entirely mutually exclusive in the Lower Austrian setting and in any case situate the readership clearly in the ranks of the Mittelstand upon which this study focusses. In 1877, the Gemeindezeitung had already begun to display its anti-semitism to some degree by publishing inflammatory letters from readers in the Banat of Temesvar.⁴⁶⁰ It also referred to the notorious persecution of Jews in Romania, while not positively, to be sure, not quite as disapprovingly as one might have hoped. Otherwise this "Independent Political Journal," as its subtitle proclaimed, took a very conventional stand and mentioned nationality not at all.⁴⁶¹

In 1887, however, it was not ignoring the question of nationality any longer, although it still did not merit a large proportion of the paper's public affairs coverage. The New Year's lead article in the Gemeindezeitung commented on the conflict between Italians and Slavs in the Littoral.

⁴⁵⁹ Woerl Publicistik p. 22 for the rural character of the readership and p. 187 for the prices and frequency of publication.

⁴⁶⁰ Gemeindezeitung (Vienna) Jan. 6, 1877

⁴⁶¹ Gemeindezeitung issues for 1877

Its tone was one of utter indignation that the church was being "dragged into the nationalities war" by those who "ostensibly believe that the nationality of a priest has the slightest thing to do with the holy service."⁴⁶² But the article did not take sides on national grounds. Within a few days, however, the nationalities issue surfaced again and this time the paper expressed bitter criticism of those German deputies who were boycotting the parliamentary sessions in Bohemia and making unreasonable demands "in the realization of which they themselves have never believed."⁴⁶³ On the same day the paper noted that one of its competitors, the Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung (Vienna News), had had its morning edition confiscated by the officials due to unacceptable coverage of the latest language regulations, thus providing dramatic evidence of the restrictions under which its own comments were published.

After another few days the paper reacted to events in Bohemia in an emotional fashion:

It is with a feeling of the deepest shame that we are gripped as we have to say that it was Germans who struck away the proffered hand, who wanted nothing to do with peace and reconciliation and unity; it was Germans who preached hate instead of love.... The childish joking of the German-national papers we will ignore as the matter is far too serious for us to respond to that kind of thing.

⁴⁶² Gemeindezeitung Jan. 1, 1887

⁴⁶³ Gemeindezeitung Jan. 4, 1887

In an unprecedented attack on the German leader in Bohemia, Dr. Schmeykal, the article went on to claim that while the very idea of "German" included the concept of tolerance, to him it was a completely foreign notion. He would settle for a compromise, asserted the writer, only if it involved the "total subjugation of the Czechs."⁴⁶⁴

Political loyalty to the Clerical/Conservative cause continually outweighed national loyalties in the coverage of domestic politics in the pages of the 1887 Gemeindezeitung. Events in Croatia, for example, were also presented from a strictly conservative point of view and without a trace of disrespect for the Slavic position or the Slavic people.⁴⁶⁵ The anti-semitic edge to the paper's coverage of the previous decade was no longer obvious in its pages in 1887.

Among the papers supported by the Catholic press consortium, Die Neuen Weckstimmen, published from 1877 until 1889, was basically an inspirational monthly which reached 5000 readers at a cost of only 1 Fl. per year. Catholic groups got an additional discount in the rate.⁴⁶⁶ Its copy consisted of sermons with an anti-liberal and an anti-left bias in 1877. In its passionate support of the interests of the Mittelstand, the paper bemoaned the decline of the small

⁴⁶⁴ Gemeindezeitung Jan. 9, 1887; German text in appendix VI(d)

⁴⁶⁵ Gemeindezeitung Jan. 23, 1887

⁴⁶⁶ Woerl Publicistik p. 187

tradesmen and recommended that social problems be solved by recourse to true Christian brotherhood.⁴⁶⁷ In 1887 it saw the dynasty as the mainstay of the status quo and the Liberals as the real villains, responsible for everything from the nationality problems and economic woes to social and moral excesses. The paper had begun to link anti-semitism to its attack on liberalism by using the term "Judenliberalismus" when it referred to the opposition press and to link both to international Freemasonry and social radicalism in terms which invoked the excesses of the French revolution (Sansculottenthum), or the depths of decadence (Phäakenthum). The pattern of anti-semitic discourse in support of Catholic political positions, not to mention religious ones, is by now familiar.⁴⁶⁸

Der Pilger was yet another Catholic paper which came out twice a month at 1 Fl. per annum and was received by about 15,000 households when Woerl's survey was made.⁴⁶⁹ Its objective was to instruct good Catholic families in the religious and political realms.⁴⁷⁰ Unlike the Weckstimmen, it did not lecture or print sermons but was rather a tabloid-style news and entertainment vehicle where one found helpful hints on the treatment of childhood diseases mixed

⁴⁶⁷ Die Neue Weckstimmen (Vienna) issues for 1877

⁴⁶⁸ Die Neue Weckstimmen issues for 1887

⁴⁶⁹ Woerl Publicistik p. 187.

⁴⁷⁰ Woerl Publicistik p. 20.

in with local and international news coverage, crime reports, lottery results and commodity prices. All this from a carefully Catholic perspective, of course. There was no news on church activities or holidays as such, though perhaps it was not published frequently enough to have been useful in that regard; only the Katholikentag or annual Catholic conference, as much a political as a spiritual event, made the news columns of Der Pilger. In 1877 it took no notice of nationality at all and was not even inclined to point to the Jews.⁴⁷¹

By 1887 it was no longer possible for even a pilgrim to miss the conflict between the nationalities but it was still possible to try to take the high road. Der Pilger began the year with a condemnation of "these comfortable gentlemen who wish to earn their living in Bohemia but don't wish to learn Czech". It went on to wonder if the people themselves, who had already lived together for centuries in brotherly unity, had been consulted and agreed to such tactics and to declare that such bickering was particularly unforgivable in an international climate where unity and strength were increasingly important.⁴⁷² Before the year was out, however, the paper had criticized the Czech side quite as severely, concluding "God help the Bohemians if these crazies ever come to power". Then, just to show its even-handedness, the

⁴⁷¹ Der Pilger (Vienna) issues for 1877

⁴⁷² Der Pilger Jan. 1, 1887. German text in appendix VI(e)

item concluded that they would not be one bit better as rulers than the "Magyar chauvinists."⁴⁷³

In its coverage for the year 1897, the high road, while still in use, was sullied by frequent references to "red Jews" and "Jewish liberalism" in the context of a rather paranoid perception of a campaign of liberal agitation against the clergy.⁴⁷⁴ The general position on strife between the nationalities was consistent with past practice, even in regard to the controversial Gymnasium in Cilli. It condemned extremism and agitation from whatever nation it originated. In deploring the situation among the nationalities, it declared in its New Year's issue "the political struggle is taking ever uglier forms. The stage of verbal abuse has long since been passed, we are now at the stage of boxing ears and how far off can the knives still be?"⁴⁷⁵

As the year wore on Der Pilger did little enough to stall the arrival of the knives. Its political coverage was increasingly strident in tone, even if it was not taking sides on national questions. It published a call from the bishops beginning "The battle has begun! Catholic men do your duty!" urging readers to cast their votes for the

⁴⁷³ Der Pilger June 4, 1887

⁴⁷⁴ Der Pilger Jan. 1, 1897

⁴⁷⁵ Der Pilger Jan. 1, 1897

Catholic candidates.⁴⁷⁶ It expressed increasing hostility in the language it used to refer to political opponents. In response to the German-national outcry over the Badeni Language Ordinances it was impatient: "If the Germans don't like it in Bohemia, let them move to Prussia" was the suggestion in a classic example of political loyalty triumphing over nationality.⁴⁷⁷ References to "Judapest" for Budapest and other antisemitic terms increased as did the anti-liberal vocabulary which began to refer, like the other Catholic papers, to the dangers of international Freemasonry.⁴⁷⁸ The stridency of tone seemed to have become unavoidable in the changed political climate of 1897, even if, in the popular catholic press, its basis was still political and confessional differences rather than national hostility.

The more intellectual Catholic reader was offered the already mentioned Oesterreichische Monatsschrift, from 1879 the vehicle of Carl, Freiherr von Vogelsang, who was also the editor of Das Vaterland from 1875 to 1890.⁴⁷⁹ This journal was well-known and aspired to raise the level of discussion and concern about social issues among Catholics.

⁴⁷⁶ Der Pilger Jan.30, 1897.

⁴⁷⁷ Der Pilger April 24, 1897.

⁴⁷⁸ Der Pilger June 19, 1897.

⁴⁷⁹ For more on the career of this interesting and influential editor and thinker see, u.a. Fuchs Geistige Strömungen p. 49-54.

In spite of its reputation for excellence and innovation among both contemporaries and more recent writers, and in spite of its alleged influence on the Austrian political scene, it is, to say the least, disappointing to read today. Its social content amounted to little more than blame-laying and pious wishes. Its contribution to the nationalities conflict, at least in the years surveyed, was precisely nil. In 1887 the trenchant critique of Liberalism it presented was tinged with both a smattering of anti-semitism and a healthy dose of anti-modernism. By 1897 it was publishing cutting critiques of capitalist excesses but was still short on significant suggestions for solutions. What it did propose amounted to little more than the declaration that Christian brotherhood and charity should prevail in society for all to be well once again. Its focus was on the social and moral aspects of public policy so it avoided comment on nationality altogether. Its very modest circulation was offset by a very distinguished readership and a sterling reputation.⁴⁸⁰

The Liberal Press

There were two leading Liberal papers in Vienna in the period under discussion. To the Neue Freie Presse reference has already been made. The other, the Wiener Tagblatt (Vienna Daily News), had a chequered publication history and appeared variously as the Morgenpost (Morning Mail), the

⁴⁸⁰ Oesterreichische Monatsschrift issues for 1887 and 1897

Neues Wiener Tagblatt (New Vienna Daily News), and in the evening edition as the Wiener Abendblatt (Vienna Evening News). What all of these had in common was the editorship of Moritz Szeps. They also shared a political orientation which represented a more populist brand of liberalism than that espoused by the Neue Freie Presse and tended to look to France for its models rather than to Prussia.⁴⁸¹ Szeps himself is important for two reasons. In the first place he pioneered the classified advertising section and made the publishing business almost self-sufficient in Vienna. In the process he outraged conservatives and moralists by printing what were, in the most benign possible interpretation, "naughty" personal ads. In the second place he is now recognized, since the publication of their private correspondence in 1922, to have been the confidant of Crown Prince Rudolf and to have published the Prince's political ideas under cover of anonymity.⁴⁸²

In 1877, Szeps' original employer, the Morgenpost, was appearing temporarily without his participation on a daily basis for 18 Fl. per annum but no circulation figures are available.⁴⁸³ It was a typical lower-middle class paper, mildly liberal in orientation but very careful and popular in its content. It appeared to be more sympathetic toward

⁴⁸¹ Paupié Handbuch pp. 140-143

⁴⁸² Andics Luegerzeit pp. 23-25.

⁴⁸³ Woerl Publicistik p. 194

Hungary than many of the Viennese papers, but it was otherwise completely neutral on the ethnic front. It was distinguishable from the bulk of the genre only by the size of its classified advertising section.⁴⁸⁴

By 1887, however, it had been re-born as the Wiener Tagblatt under Szeps' direct control with an even bigger advertising section and a much more distinguished reputation. It did not subscribe to emotional coverage of the nationality question in the fashion typical of the liberal press in the provinces, but remained calm and moderate through the first half of the year. It covered Bohemian politics objectively, with some sympathy for the German side, but without a trace of contempt or ridicule for the Czechs.⁴⁸⁵ It did find grounds for regret that the separate Czech school system of Bohemia found it appropriate to make a study of Greek and Latin compulsory in the Gymnasium but a study of German optional. It saw such a measure as an expression of hostility towards both the German minority of the province, who were, after all, close neighbours, and towards the Austrian state which functioned in the German language.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸⁴ Morgenpost (Vienna) issues for 1877

⁴⁸⁵ Wiener Tagblatt Jan. 4, 1887

⁴⁸⁶ Wiener Tagblatt Jan. 8 1887

The moderate tone took on a sharper edge in the second half of the year, as Panslavic activity continued to increase in Prague. An article on the leadership of Dr. Rieger mentioned the "Slavic race" for the first time. The same article, however, also stressed the importance for Germans of learning and speaking Czech and recommended appropriate textbooks for the purpose.⁴⁸⁷ The evening edition of the same date carried the matter much further in an article which despaired of ever achieving objective treatment for the German minority in Bohemia by the Czech majority. The passionate utterances of the latter's leadership, it claimed, disclosed their boundless hatred of the Germans as a race and not just of their liberal political policies. The open references by the Young Czechs to the alternative of joining Russia constituted the unbearable element in the Czech rhetoric and the writer for the Abendblatt felt that such language could not be explained away by mere national differences. Although the implication that this constituted intentional and manipulative political agitation was clear, the paper's coverage left open other possible explanations.⁴⁸⁸

Such despairing coverage appeared to have been in response to particular provocations, but this was not all. In July the paper had been moved to a passionate rejection

⁴⁸⁷ Wiener Tagblatt Aug. 5, 1887

⁴⁸⁸ Wiener Abendblatt Aug. 5, 1887. For the German text see appendix VI(f)

of anti-semitism, something which it had hitherto treated as beneath its dignity even to recognize.⁴⁸⁹ In their 1887 coverage, the papers edited by Moritz Szeps represented the moderate, loyal-Austrian body of liberal political opinion. Pro-Hungarian, it was also pro-French and more than a little suspicious of the German empire. It was for many reasons at odds with the growing German-national current, not the least of which was the attendant anti-semitism of the latter. Those with this political tendency counted on returning to power with the accession of the next Emperor.

1897 was opened in the pages of the Tagblatt with an attack on the Ausgleich, particularly the price which the government appeared to be prepared to pay on its behalf - a clear indication that the days of collaboration with the Crown Prince were long past.⁴⁹⁰ The paper showed a marked inclination to move with the times and devoted less space to the activities of the royal family than it had ten years previously. It devoted more space to the Jewish community and, in a sense, to its defense. On the day after New Year it covered a speech by Gemeinderat Bremmer, an elder of the Jewish community, on the dangers to the Jews inherent in the continuing nationality conflicts. These tended to spill over into a hunt for advantage on the part of "so-called" real Germans, he said. In the course of the speech he had

⁴⁸⁹ Wiener Tagblatt July 2, 1887

⁴⁹⁰ Wiener Tagblatt Jan. 1 1897

also recommended the formation of more Jewish societies in order to forestall the anticipated expulsion of Jews from the German ones!⁴⁹¹ Such coverage displayed a marked difference from the attitude of the provincial liberal papers, none of which could be found to be actively supporting Jewish rights or even covering tactics which were proposed for their defense.

By the sixth of the month, however, and for nearly all of the rest of it, the question of the Cilli Gymnasium budget dominated the political coverage of the Tagblatt. The tone of that coverage was both moderate and balanced, mildly pro-German but vehemently opposed to German national and extremist tactics. The paper pointed out that the German victory was accidental and that the orthodox Christmas celebrations had had a role in the outcome.⁴⁹² It took the reasonable position that "the Slovenes have suffered a little slap in the face and the budget has a little hole in it, but the injury can be healed and the hole can be stopped up." Then it went on to criticize the reaction of the Czech papers as "overly dramatic."⁴⁹³ It continued to pour scorn on the German-nationals at every opportunity.

⁴⁹¹ Wiener Tagblatt Jan. 2, 1897

⁴⁹² Wiener Tagblatt Jan. 6, 1897

⁴⁹³ Wiener Tagblatt Jan. 7, 1897

Throughout the year it pressed the view that national politics was a matter of politics first and nationality only second. In July it was moved to comment on the exploitation of nationalism in the schools by the conduct of delegates to a meeting of German-Austrian teachers in Wiener Neustadt. There a teacher with the moderate opinion that there was no reason for the educational system to scorn the Czech or Polish languages was shouted down from the floor and physically threatened.⁴⁹⁴ The bitterness of the political division surfaced over and over again through 1897 as the paper accused the "nurdeutsch" (German-only) activists of sacrificing the gains made by the liberals and returning the church to a position of hegemony in the field of education and in the government of the city of Vienna.⁴⁹⁵ It repeatedly characterized national politics by all sides as a mere front for political and personal advantage at any price.⁴⁹⁶

Szeps' paper was a rare example of the liberal position divorced from its growing nationalist element. Perhaps this was motivated by more than decency and tolerance; there was a growing perception of the dangers which the anti-semitism in that movement posed. Most of the Liberal papers in the monarchy had long since jumped onto the national bandwagon

⁴⁹⁴ Wiener Tagblatt July 20, 1897

⁴⁹⁵ Wiener Tagblatt July 20, 1897

⁴⁹⁶ Wiener Tagblatt July 18, 1897

even if some of the staff members had perhaps already been reconsidering their position in the light of unpleasant experiences long before 1897.⁴⁹⁷ The Wiener Tagblatt, the only newspaper to print a list of the Social Democratic candidates for elections, even reacted almost favourably to the socialist election slogan: "Against the allmighty trinity - nobility, property and popery."⁴⁹⁸

Moritz Benedikt's Neue Freie Presse had no such qualms. Its reputation and influence precluded the slightest re-thinking of its traditional position: "German-liberal in an economic, anti-clerical sense, capitalistic and strongly dynastic."⁴⁹⁹ Benedikt's assimilationist opinions were so strong that he forbade the very mention of Zionism in his paper even when Herzl himself was the feuilleton editor.⁵⁰⁰ Die Neue Freie Presse appeared in Vienna from 1864 until 1938 continuously, if not consistently of the same quality in the latter years.⁵⁰¹ Benedikt's era was decidedly its heyday and in the pre-war period its circulation ranged from 30,000 to 40,000 issues twice daily. A year's subscription to the morning edition cost 28 Fl.; the evening one 32 Fl.

⁴⁹⁷ Heinrich Friedjung Ein Stück Zeitungsgeschichte Wien: Genossenschafts Buchdruckerei, 1887

⁴⁹⁸ (gegen die allmächtige Dreiheit, Grundadel, Geldsack und Pfafferei) Wiener Tagblatt Jan 27, 1897.

⁴⁹⁹ Kann History p. 548.

⁵⁰⁰ Zweig Yesterday p. 103.

⁵⁰¹ Paupié Handbuch pp. 144-149 and Woerl Publicistik pp. 65-68.

in 1880.⁵⁰²

Of course, the reputation of the Neue Freie Presse for excellence was not unfounded. The treatment of cultural and intellectual matters in its pages was deservedly legendary. The quality of the news coverage and the political analysis it contained was also unmatched anywhere in the monarchy. Either the editor was endowed with a great deal more insight than his fellows or he had a great deal more courage, or his prestige was sufficient to protect his ideas from the censor.

In 1877, when few of the mass media even dared to acknowledge ethnic tensions, Benedikt was already dealing with issues around nationality. Die Neue Freie Presse reported fully on the deportation from Prague of a Russian, Count Tschernajeff, on the grounds that he was a Pan-Slav agitator. Its tone was extremely critical of the behavior of the Count and his Czech supporters while stopping just short of making ethnic slurs.⁵⁰³ The paper followed up the story by reporting with glee the refusal of the French diplomatic community to receive the Count when he visited Paris.⁵⁰⁴ In a report on elections in Dalmatia, however, it less moderately referred to the "blind passion with which the Slavic majority proceeds against the educated, wealthy,

⁵⁰² Woerl Publicistik p. 195

⁵⁰³ Neue Freie Presse (Vienna) Jan. 15, 1877

⁵⁰⁴ Neue Freie Presse Feb. 5, 1877

Italian population which is loyal to the constitution". It blamed the unrest on the efforts of "panslavic" elements. Among the more extreme terms used in the article were several references to "terrorists", as well as "extermination", "fanatical", "Slavic nationalists" and "disorder". These terms represent a style of discourse which had not been seen in other media regarding the Slavs.⁵⁰⁵

The context of the anti-Slav rhetoric, however, was a rather insightful commentary on the monarchy's foreign policy which the writer already saw having domestic repercussions. No other paper of the day made such overt connections between the Turkish-Russian conflict in the Balkans and domestic affairs, although all of the papers reviewed covered the situation with much anxiety and were obviously hostile to Russia. The Presse was also much more honest about the true nature of the compromise with Hungary, reflecting to some extent the elite German milieu to which it catered. It usually accorded the Hungarians and their demands respectful coverage, but then produced logical reasons why the demands were impractical, as it did on the question of a separate central bank for Hungary.⁵⁰⁶ On one occasion at least, though, it assessed the state of the monarchy quite bluntly:

⁵⁰⁵ Neue Freie Presse Feb. 4, 1877. For the German text see appendix VI(g)

⁵⁰⁶ Neue Freie Presse Jan. 15, 1877

...the Magyar and German elements stand in glaring hostility to one another and a large portion of the Slavic population is in conflict with both,... the national idea and not the political one determines the formation of parties in Austria.⁵⁰⁷

Except for its unshakeable loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty, the Neue Freie Presse expressed an attitude not unlike that of Heinrich Friedjung in his little book, Der Ausgleich mit Ungarn, published in Leipzig the same year. A precursor of the Linz Program, the book was unabashedly pro-German. It advocated complete independence for the Hungarians as well as the Slavic nations of the monarchy. Friedjung proposed concentrating on the German character of Austria and the establishment of a firm alliance with Germany. Published as it was outside of the monarchy, it was not subjected to Austrian censorship. The book can be taken to represent a current of opinion prevalent among the young liberal elites of Vienna, those who in fact rose to political prominence over the next decades. The young author was very critical of the Habsburg dynasty, past and contemporary, and he referred to the Hungarians as "a people deeply inferior to us in education and business ability,"⁵⁰⁸ but his book and Benedikt's paper were the only sources surveyed for 1877 which put the national question at the top of the political agenda and unabashedly represented the German side. Both Friedjung and Benedikt represented the

⁵⁰⁷ Neue Freie Presse Feb. 18, 1877

⁵⁰⁸ Friedjung Ausgleich p. 4.

viewpoint of the Liberal elite, the upper rather than the lower-middle class.

In 1887 the Neue Freie Presse was placed in the oppositional role facing the government of Count Taaffe and his "iron ring". The paper was no longer immune to confiscations and was removed from sale for the first time on January 8th. It did not yet subscribe to the hysterical coverage which characterized many of the Liberal papers in the provinces. This was Vienna, after all, confident, cosmopolitan and thoroughly conventional! Furthermore the Neue Freie Presse had a reputation for solid, influential political coverage of an intellectual level suited to its educated readership - a readership disinclined to get involved in the sordid business of nationalism. Nevertheless, the subject could not be avoided and the Presse tried to deal with it in a moderate and even-handed way. Using terms like "provocative" and "incompetent", it was quite critical of the Slavic majority for its behavior towards minority populations of Germans in Laibach and Italians in Zara.⁵⁰⁹ Then it referred to the "thoroughly justified demands" of the Ruthenians vis-à-vis the Poles. The problem was put into context by pointing out that many people in the monarchy had language concerns whether it was the Ruthenians with the Poles, the Croats with the Italians or the Hungarians with everybody else and they were

⁵⁰⁹ Neue Freie Presse Jan. 5, 1887, A.M. edition.

"no less pressing than those in Bohemia."⁵¹⁰

The coverage in January typified the coverage for the entire year which continued in the same vein. First it ran a critique of Czech behavior in passing school laws which it described as "hypocritical, un-constitutional, unfair and un-pedagogical,"⁵¹¹ and then followed up with a comment on the stupidity of German-national policies in Moravia. A province that had no German majority and no geographical concentration of German-speakers, it constituted a paradigm for the monarchy as a whole: nothing could have been more ill-advised, thought the writer, than to push there for German advantage.⁵¹²

By 1897, although the appearance of moderation and distance had been retained, it was clear that the Neue Freie Presse was firmly in the German camp. The initial reaction to the Cilli Gymnasium budget fiasco was to suggest that the German win was accidental largely because the Slavic delegates were too lazy and incompetent to show up and vote.⁵¹³ The second impulse was self-congratulatory: "Today's vote has shown once again," it crowed, "the powerful influence which Austria's Germans can exercise when

⁵¹⁰ Neue Freie Presse Jan. 5, 1887, P.M. edition.

⁵¹¹ Neue Freie Presse Jan. 9 1887

⁵¹² Neue Freie Presse Jan 11, 1887

⁵¹³ Neue Freie Presse Jan. 5, 1897. For German text see appendix VI(h)

they are able to stick together on national issues as the other nations do." It went on to suggest that many issues would be solved differently and some would be resolved much more satisfactorily if the Germans could only continue in the same vein. The same article made reference to the "alleged" oppression of the Croats in the Küstenland and the Slovenes in Carinthia.⁵¹⁴

The cloak of moderation and objectivity was to slip more and more frequently as the year wore on, and the German-nationalist sentiment would inevitably peek through. But in the case of the Neue Freie Presse, unlike some of the other papers reviewed, there was a disturbing suggestion that Germanic national superiority rather than simply national politics was involved. Two examples will suffice. The first was contained in a letter from the renowned German historian Theodor Mommsen. Its publication implied approval because reader participation was unusual. The letter was headed "To the Germans of Austria" and concluded "stay firm! The Czech skull does not accept reason well, but for blows even it is receptive."⁵¹⁵

The second example appeared in the course of reporting the disturbances leading to the fall of the Badeni government in November over the Language Ordinances, coverage in the course of which the Presse was itself

⁵¹⁴ Neue Freie Presse Jan. 6, 1897.

⁵¹⁵ Neue Freie Presse Oct. 31, 1897.

confiscated at least once for its particularly partisan brand of coverage. The Prime Minister, it claimed, had, "with typical Slavic irresponsibility (Leichtsinnigkeit) continually put off the final decision". "Count Badeni," it went on, "seemed to have had no inkling of what was coming."⁵¹⁶ The remark clearly demonstrates the paper's partisanship as well as its underlying assumption that Slavic politicians were just not up to the standard of German politicians. This tone is all the more noteworthy in a vehicle of the stature and the sophistication of the Neue Freie Presse where even quite subtle messages were significant.

Vienna's liberal press was much more moderate in tone than that of the provinces, but it was less moderate higher up on the social scale rather than the other way around. The tone of ethnic commentary was also dependent upon occupational interests: the teachers were markedly nationalistic, the bureaucrats the epitome of toleration in print. The generally self-centred nature of Vienna's society also contributed to a tone of moderation and reason; Vienna concentrated on the bigger picture and was less swayed by events in the outlying regions than those same regions were by the slightest hiccups in Vienna. The more sophisticated the vehicle, the more its national prejudices were integral to its outlook but likewise, the more subtle

⁵¹⁶ Neue Freie Presse Nov. 29, 1897

their presentation.

The political struggle of the Catholic press, in contrast, was fought in terms which were every bit as violent as those used by the liberals, but they were aimed at political and religious targets rather than political and national ones. The Jews, of course, fit into both categories and so tended to get very much the worst of it in the Catholic press; Slavs, on the other hand, were treated with remarkable respect.

Chapter XI

CONCLUSION

The nineteenth-century Austrian readers of the newspapers and journals used in this study could never have imagined the European holocaust of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, some of the language which was becoming current in those periodicals by century's end is eerily familiar to survivors of the Nazi era today. Since language is the medium in which concepts of group, faith and nation are created, the use of public discourse as a window on the formation of these constructs is particularly appropriate. Understanding the processes by which those perceptions are produced and organized could help us to cope with the negative aspects of ethnic identification at both the individual and the community level. The fine line between positive, justifiable group solidarity and ethnic pride and the "conviction of superior endowments" as a nation apparently must be drawn and re-drawn over and over again. Language is a slippery medium. Meanings change, terms are appropriated, power relationships are played out in the realm of discourse. So it is precisely in that realm that nationalist ideologies and ethnic intolerance must be

challenged and contested day after day. Obviously this is not merely an academic question for those of us who live in multi-national or multi-cultural states.

This study has made possible some general observations about the nature of the relationship between the newspapers of late imperial Austria and the readership. Examination of the data provides a new appreciation of changes in German nationalist discourse in the public domain related to political tactics and according to the proximity of publications to a linguistic frontier. Furthermore, it permits investigation of the use of nationalist ideology both by class and by political orientation. The emergence of a pattern in the change in public attitudes of ordinary Germans towards their Slavic fellow citizens as mirrored in the periodical press may encourage the exploration of similar experiences in other political jurisdictions in other times. Finally and most importantly, this analysis of public discourse allows an appreciation of the relationship between political and cultural trends, not just in terms of "high" cultural activity but in popular terms. The nationalities conflict now unfolds within the context of a broader perspective as just one of many active issues and interests of concern from day to day. The political and cultural constructs of the German nation can be seen for what they are - as partial truths and incomplete representations of extremely complex relationships, as

convictions of convenience as well as convenient convictions. The ordinary Austrian emerges from these sources in full possession of multiple, conflicting and even overlapping loyalties, if not identities.

The Nature of the Conversation

It would be both unfair and misleading to attribute to the press of the Habsburg monarchy the role of one-sided disseminator of a developed ideology or discourse. Even where that was clearly the intention of an individual publisher, the picture is much more complex and ambiguous. While the press, the only real mass medium of the day, had a great deal of influence in determining what people read and the terms that they used, its discourse was never uncontested. Always in the nature of a conversation, although obviously not always one between equals, the relationship was a bi-lateral one. Each reader brought his own preconceptions to the reading of the daily paper, even where the power relationship decidedly favoured the authority of the printed page, and those ideas conditioned the reception of the message in ways which were not always anticipated by the sender.

The receiving end of the conversation between the newspapers and their readers was, if not in a position of absolute equality, hardly powerless. While the state could teach people to read, it could not force them to do so, as

Leo Woerl, to his immense satisfaction, has pointed out. Grounded in his faith and rooted in his community, the rural Austrian could remain almost totally oblivious to the events swirling around his world. So could the urban proletariat. Messages had to be delivered in an attractive package to keep customers reading and buying a paper. While the opinions of advertisers undoubtedly influenced publishers, financial considerations dictated that the vehicle for their message had to be acceptable and accessible to their target market. The newspapers of the monarchy actually provide an object example in the content and extent of their advertising pages of the very real influence exercised by consumers in the production and distribution of cultural goods.

The readership had to cope with the influence of government censors over what it was permitted to see. Here the reader was not without power either. An active system of censorship such as that in the monarchy, while it could obviously prevent the publication of any material which the authorities did not consider appropriate, could not prevent readers from making their own inferences. Even very subtle signals are well received in a censored press.

Understanding that the press really constituted an on-going dialogue between publishers and readers necessitates an examination of the nature of the exchange.

While the papers which are analyzed here were among the disseminators of particular forms of discourse, the process was by no means linear. The press did not speak with one voice; on the contrary it enjoyed such proliferation and diversity precisely because it represented so many different points of view. The German nationalist language with which this work has been concerned was not only contested by the opposing sides of the issue and qualified even by some of its users, it was actively disputed in some papers, studiously ignored in others and co-opted for ulterior motives by still others. An analysis such as this one that extends over time, however, demonstrates that the specific vocabulary with its nationalist code words did gain a certain currency even in disputed contexts and grudging acceptance was evident even in the denials and denunciations.

The ultimate triumph of nationalist vocabulary in spite of all of the obstacles placed in its path by political, religious, intellectual and ethnic opponents lay in its success at permeating everyday public discourse. This made possible its later appropriation by the National Socialists who found that it was much easier to adapt an existing discourse than to create a new one.

The Changing Power Structure

As the locus of political power in the monarchy changed over the decades there is no doubt that the quantity and the quality of nationalist language changed as well. Over the years, the view of Slavs held by Germans was conditioned by the interpenetration of nationalist and political struggles in Bohemia, Moravia and Styria. The German-national discourse and the concept of "German" identity were also part of the political conflict between classical laissez-faire Liberalism on the one side and traditional Catholic Conservatism on the other. Nationalist ideas were developed by the Liberal intelligentsia and drew upon the humiliation which they felt at Austria's expulsion from Germany and the frustration they experienced as a result of their own loss of power in the Reichsrat. When the press is examined at intervals of a decade, it becomes evident that particular terms and the ethnic assertiveness which they reflected moved across the political spectrum and infiltrated the Catholic vocabulary as well.

In 1877, a period of Liberal hegemony, the press of the monarchy appeared to a large extent ethnically blind. A very charged climate of intolerance and combatativeness, however, was reflected in the language which "liberals" and "clericals" used about one another. The mind-set which opposed an "us" and a "them" was well established in the discourse of Catholics about Protestants and vice versa. This concept of "otherness" was easily transferred to other

religious "infidels" such as Moslems, Jews, Byzantine-rite Russians or "wild" American Indian tribes. No noticeable quotient of compassion or of compromise inhibited the invective of either side. Later this polarized tone was to be conflated with the discourse on nationality, but in the 1870's, only one of the papers reviewed tackled the issue of the monarchy's nations head-on, and that was the Neue Freie Presse which used objective and dispassionate terms. The dynasty-friendly Die Heimat, meanwhile, projected a picture of the Emperor's happy children getting along with one another and sharing their toys - while simultaneously exposing the unrelenting paternalism and condescension of the aristocratic establishment.

By 1887, when the Conservative "iron ring" had been in place for the best part of a decade, the language of ethnic confrontation had thoroughly permeated the Liberal newspapers and crept into much of the remaining print media. But in the Liberal press, that language still had the tone of an outraged backlash and lacked the coherency of an ideological construct. It reflected passion and engagement, reaction not tactics and injury without an alternative vision. In Austria, the German nation remained less self-consciously constructed than any of its opposing numbers, even though, at the intellectual level, the nationalist discourse was already well-established. The Linz Program (1882), the Wagner memorial service (1883), the

student support for Schönerer and the publication of the nationalist paper Der Kyffhäuser all testify to the existence of an ideological and cultural base for nationalist agitation. The intellectual apparatus was in place at the centre; the climate was prepared at the periphery. An ideology of national superiority found not only fertile ground but a propitious moment. Germans were looking for an appropriate response to the painful challenge of Slavic nationalism. The preoccupation of Liberal politicians with the national conflict grew in a culture already accustomed to confessional polarization.

By the end of the century, the vocabulary of German-nationalism had prevailed and gained a hard edge in all of the Liberal media except Szeps' Tagblatt. Drained of outrage and injury but more determined than ever in tone, it had become offensive rather than defensive at the extremes. The Catholic press did not like the language, but adopted it by the back door almost in spite of itself. A weariness and disenchantment with ethnic conflict was obvious at all levels. The intellectual elite had meanwhile moved on, retreating from political expectations to aesthetic ones. The crude vocabulary of the nationalist movement was avoided in sophisticated publications and works of art, but the slack was more than taken up by the vehicles which catered to the lower-middle classes. The journals produced for teachers, shopkeepers, small-town notables and politicians were distinguished by the quality of their invective.

The Effect of A Linguistic Frontier

The treatment of nationality by the press was markedly different in Vienna and in the two provinces surveyed. Much of that difference can be attributed to different experiences of ethnicity. Salzburg papers tended to be more distanced and cerebral in their coverage of the issue in all three decades. The press of that province was neither as carefully multi-cultural in the the early part of the period nor as viscerally engaged in the later decades as were the papers of Styria. Hardly indifferent to the conflict, to be sure, editors maintained an obvious sympathy for the German side. The very Catholic and conservative nature of Salzburg society even coloured the Liberal press there. Except in Der Kyffhäuser, which was in any case not indigenous to the province, the most extreme language was that used in the confessional conflict rather than the national one. Even the teachers journal of that province eschewed the partisan adoption of the German-national cause which had gripped its counterparts in Vienna and Graz by 1897.

The press of Styria, on the other hand, which had given the impression of cultural harmony in the seventies was in a state of seeming national hysteria by 1887. And in 1897, when the Cilli Gymnasium affair had dominated the news off and on over a five year period, the verbiage was even more extreme. Yet the coverage was not uniform; the press of

rural market towns, those communities most threatened by Slovene demands and most closely associated with Slovenes on a daily basis, exhibited far more desperation and panic than that of more confident and stable, more thoroughly German, Graz. There, a significant Catholic presence was able to continue to contest the German-national discourse and plead for reason and toleration. The only satirical journal in the province could still make rueful jokes about the conflict as late as 1893 and homemakers could celebrate the monarchy's dietary diversity even in the midst of riots in 1897.

In Vienna the linguistic frontier was a human or even a class one rather than a geographical one. It ran through households and through families. It meant that, even when using the German language, the readership of any particular periodical was much less ethnically homogeneous than was the case in the provinces. While the extremes of nationalist opinion were certainly expressed, the general climate was much more layered. Papers which depended on readers and advertisers for their continued existence tended to hedge their bets and moderate the nationalist discourse. They diffused the blame or the ridicule by distributing it among the nationalities, or else avoided dealing with contentious issues altogether. Papers which depended financially on government support had equal motivation to underplay ethnic differences and did so. Those papers which had independent

financial security had no particular reason to endanger the stability of the monarchy either, and so such vehicles as the Tagblatt, the Neue Freie Presse and the various satiricals affected a relatively distanced level of discussion even if, on occasion, the nationalism came through quite clearly. The Viennese exceptions to the more moderate discourse by 1897 included Kikeriki, which had no difficulty attracting scores of advertisers for its extreme nationalist position, and the teachers' journals which were supported by a radicalized membership capable of exquisite polemics.

Class and Culture

The discussion about the relationship between social class and nationalist discourse initiated early in this work can now be seen from yet another perspective. Briefly, there are three basic approaches in the existing work on nationalism in the Habsburg monarchy which at first blush seem to be incompatible. The first and commonly-held view that the lower-middle classes were the source and the strength of nationalist aggression has already been mentioned. The second approach, from the history of ideas, or Geistesgeschichte, traces these currents from the nationalist culture of Imperial Germany: the work of Nietzsche, Schopenhauer and Richard Wagner, through the Pernerstorfer circle and the University of Vienna into the

Liberal political elites. The third commonly held truism, that the elites of the monarchy simply retreated from such unpleasant realities as political participation has had the advantage for historians of reconciling the attractiveness of fin-de-siècle high culture with some of the less pleasant public manifestations of extremism and intolerance which surfaced in the period. This analysis of the use of language in the public media, far from reading these views as incompatible, suggests that there is an element of truth in each competing view and that the relationship between the social classes and nationalism was not only very complex, but changed and evolved continuously over time.

Nationalist terminology clearly entered the public realm in the company of the artistic and cultural trends called "dionysian", "irrational" or "anti-modern". These ideas appeared first in the quintessentially Liberal papers and in political analysis by Liberal activists, but their reception and codification in the vocabulary of the less exalted media was eventually enthusiastic. While the often-maligned Mittelstand had not invented the language of national assertiveness, it did adopt it as its own. This reflected not only the success of Liberal tactics which utilized German-national propaganda, but also, according to both Judson and Haas, those of newly enfranchised Mittelstand voters breaking into the Liberal

establishment.⁵¹⁷ Most Liberal politicians eventually embraced the nationalist cause whole-heartedly in one or another of its versions. Some, like Adler and Pernerstorfer, broke away to follow Marx into the support of the working class, leaving behind most of their nationalist rhetoric but still clinging to their cultural pretensions. However, the cultural elites moved on and beyond "vulgar" nationalism and many artists followed a muse along paths which led them to deal with repressed sexuality rather than nationalism. The personal replaced the public as the realm of contested ideas among the intelligentsia. The Freudian direction in the investigation of the irrational engaged those who were alienated with their class not from it, as Schorske has said. Their energies were directed into expressionist painting, realist literature, modernist architecture and new forms of musical and theatrical expression.⁵¹⁸

These trends are clearly represented in the public discourse of the day. The teachers' journals of 1897 reproduced the exact vocabulary of the students of the previous decade and asserted it vigorously while, in contrast, the satirical journals dealt exclusively with the current social and artistic questions, particularly as they

⁵¹⁷ See Judson, "German Liberalism" and Haas, "Von Liberal zu National".

⁵¹⁸ See Schorske, Politics and Culture, introduction, especially p. xxvii.

involved repressed sexuality and new aesthetic styles. Better late than never, the Mittelstand following of Karl Lueger picked up and adapted an ideological construct which had been conceived and promoted by social superiors, even as those very creators were in the process of abandoning it. The lower-middle classes are traditionally almost defined by their prudery; they were not about to accompany Freud into the subconscious! It was far more respectable to mouth the nationalism rhetoric of a Schönerer or a Lueger.

The Political Perspective of Nationalist Discourse

The main currents of discourse which were conflated to produce the German-national political language used so effectively first by Karl Lueger in his civic campaigns and later by the Christian-Social party as a whole, entered the public consciousness from two distinct political perspectives. Both sides developed a mythology of their own and produced language conforming to a particular narrative structure. Both pursued discursive strategies designed to make the favoured world-view appear inevitable. The Catholic side emphasized Christian virtue in a society based on hierarchy. The Liberals posited a progressive society with a teleology based on science and education. The Catholics drew their mythology from the biblical tradition, the Liberals drew on sagas and legends to conjure up images

of heroic ancestors and courageous deeds. The Catholic press long maintained a position of national egalitarianism but promoted confessional and political intolerance in terminology noted for its extremism. The Liberal side tended to treat all religion as superstition, and was relatively unrestrained in its negative imagery about clerical politics. The specific codes of the German national and ethnic renaissance were produced in the Liberal milieu and celebrated pride in the origins and achievements of Germanic peoples. Many Austrians apparently were able to reconcile the two opposing views, for they voted Liberal and worshipped Catholic.

In the early years examined in this study, it seemed that the two streams of thought coincided only on the issue of anti-semitism. As Liberalism was increasingly discredited intellectually and rendered powerless politically through the 1880's, its enlightened foundations were called into question and an emotional, irrational quality was added to both its ideological content and its tactical approach. This more spiritual dimension was already taken for granted by Catholicism, and became the second important element in the vocabulary which the two sides shared. Language which aroused emotion and appealed to a higher power, whether it was God or the nation, was much more accessible to the less educated strata of the middle class than was the positivist, laissez-faire ideology of Liberalism; it satisfied universal

needs for community and identity at the same time. Thus the same cultural constructs which contributed to the establishment of a German identity for the newly-created empire across the border simultaneously contributed to the fragmentation of multi-national identity in the Habsburg state.

A Pattern of Attitudinal Change

The public response of the dominant German minority to the challenges of the Slavic nations for political and economic equality followed a definite pattern. This pattern is probably quite familiar to Canadians or citizens of former multi-national states such as Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union. The first phase was represented by the relative absence of coverage in the press of 1877. Very little mention of nations or ethnic differences was to be found at all and inferences had to be drawn from quite subtle clues. This attitude was one which might be described as benign neglect combined with a certain paternalism and condescension. The ethnic differences in the monarchy were rarely deemed significant enough to mention in the German-language press and the exceptions were nearly all of the "happy family" sort of official portrayal common to multi-cultural states. The status quo was taken for granted by those in power and threats were simply not countenanced. There was no overt hostility or contempt

expressed, there was no need for any; the minorities were largely invisible as a group and acceptable as individuals. Assimilation was not only possible with the appropriate language skills, it was almost mandatory.

The emotional quality of the reaction in the second phase was in striking contrast to the calm of the first. Such intensity suggested that more personal and spiritual aspects of national identity had become predominant. Nationality had become something more than just a partisan political matter. The response in the German press to nationalist challenges by the Slavs was indignant, outraged and passionate, as though every writer took each taunt and gibe personally and painfully and expected the same reaction from his readers. The coverage was not continuous enough to be called obsessive, but the commentary and humour on the national issue, when it did appear, seemed to have a depth of feeling which belied its infrequency and suggested pent-up emotions. In spite of this climate, however, there remained a sense that dialogue and discussion were still somehow possible.

This possibility of communication no longer seemed to be the case in the final phase reviewed. Attitudes were harder and less emotional, tactics replaced reproaches. The German readership seemed either to have mounted the barricades or to have retreated into a separate world and begun to view

the whole scene with weariness and withdrawal. Whatever the personal ties between individual members of the different communities, and whatever the extent of individual indifference to the conflict, the political nations now had separate public existences. Not two but many solitudes marked the social, political and cultural life of the monarchy's people. The defensive walls had been raised and strengthened at the personal and the communal level and the possibility of violence was inherent in some of the discourse. Combat fatigue began to set in and there was a sense that in some quarters almost any solution which promised peace would be welcomed.

The pattern suggests that national agitation by an underprivileged group, however justified, will inevitably provoke a backlash in the dominant one, and that the time for accomodation and consolidation is before those attitudes have had time to harden into immutable positions.

A Final Thought

The advantage of choosing popular culture as an entrée into the understanding of national identity in the Habsburg monarchy lies in the widened perspective with which it permits the historian to view the phenomenon. The result is a much more nuanced portrayal of the role of German ethnicity in Austrian culture, not just among the upper-middle classes who consciously chose either political

or cultural career paths, but of their compatriots in less distinguished occupations as well. Immersion in the daily papers equips the reader to produce an image of the ordinary citizen: reacting to the news, peeking at the classified ads, reading the romantic fiction, attending fasching balls, looking forward to May Day parades, Blumencorsos and summer holidays, cooking the varied menu of the monarchy's peoples, sewing the latest fashions, flirting on the Ringstrasse and buying patent medicines, all the while trying to make ends meet financially. While being courted and manipulated by appeals to a variety of loyalties, the readers of these periodicals themselves chose what to read and what to heed in the context of a full, rich, vibrant and challenging culture.

It is high time to take off the nostalgia-tinted spectacles and put away the prisms of tragedy which have severely impaired our ability to deal openly and analytically with the social dynamic of nineteenth-century Austria. At the time, and to those who experienced it, the Habsburg monarchy was a functioning multi-cultural society with an abundance of layers and many dimensions. Austria's options remained open, its fate was not sealed and its course was not determined. The problem of how a society deals with difference and how it perceives "otherness" was being confronted actively, noisily at times, and openly. The views expressed had opponents as well as champions. The

experiences of that world can still provide insights applicable to the problems and concerns of this one. History need not be written in the blinding glare of hindsight; it can indeed be expected to give fuller expression to the complex and varied reality which made up the living society of fin-de-siècle Austria.

Appendix A

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Texts to accompany chapter V

I (a) In Österreich hat die liberale Presse hauptsächlich nur auf jene gewisse Mittelstufe der Bildung verderblich eingewirkt, die sich in allen Ständen findet, ... Noch heute zählt die liberale Presse ihre Gläubigen fast ausschliesslich unter den Bewohnern der Städte und Märkte, nebst demjenigen Theil des Adels und Clerus, der sich entweder in der Leimspindel des Volkswirtschaftlichen Aufschwungs, d.h. der Sehnsucht nach Gewinn ohne Arbeit, hat anfangen lassen.... Die Zahl dieser ist allerdings nicht klein; die grosse Masse des Volkes aber, namentlich des Landvolkes liest gar keine Zeitung, höchstens alle 8 oder 14 Tage oder noch seltener im Wirtshaus des Pfarrdorfes eines der kleinen, meistens katholisch-conservativen Wochen- oder Monatsblättchen, welche mitunter recht zweckmässig diesem Bedürfnis entsprechen.

Man wolle das geringe Verlangen nach Zeitungslecture bei der Landbevölkerung Österreichs nicht etwa für ein Zeichen von Unbildung oder gar von Stumpfheit des Geistes halten. Der Bauer in den Alpenländer z.b. lebt so abgeschlossen gegen die Anreizungen der Neugierde, so fest in seinem Standesberufe und Standesbewusstsein, er ist so fest gegründet in seinen religiösen Ueberzeugungen und seiner kirchlichen Ordnung, dass das Unruhige, sceptische, aufgeregte Treiben der Zeitungswelt ihm fremdartig, ja geradezu abstossend erscheint. Woerl, Publicistik p. 357

I (b) Es genügt, wenn in einer Gemeinde der Pfarrer sich ein katholisches Blatt hält und höchstens im Wirtshaus noch eins aufliegt - welches freilich oft mit dem ersteren identisch ist - um in der ganzen Gemeinde die richtigen Grundsätze lebendig zu erhalten. Der Individualismus ist hier zum Glück noch wenig vorgeschritten. Woerl, Publicistik p. 365

I (c)
...die Reversseite jenes Glanzes, der uns aus den Spiegelläden der Wiener City aus dem Flammenmeere der Ringstrassen, aus den Soiréen der Finanzelite eingestrahlt... Achthundert Familien in Rudolfsheim und Penzing sind thatsächlich im Kampfe mit dem Hunger begriffendie Opfer der Krise, die zu Grunde gerichteten

Gewerbsleute, die ruinierten Handwerker, die zerschmetterten Existenzen. Salzburger Volksblatt Jan. 20 1877

I (d)

...der deutsche, wie der czechische Priester zuerst und vor allem ein Priester und abermals ein Priester und zum dritten Mal ein Priester und erst in letzter Linie in Österreich ein Österreicher ist, aber in Böhmen weder ein Deutscher noch ein Czeche. Salzburger Kirchenblatt Jan. 20, 1887.

I (e)

...nur in einer deutschen Diözese kann der deutsche Priester seinen Pflichten nach oben gegen seine deutschen Vorgesetzten und nach unten gegen seine deutsche Pfarrgemeinde allseitig gerecht werden, nur da kann und darf er es wagen, mit ihr deutsch zu denken, zu fühlen, zu reden, und zu handeln, mit ihr durch das nationale Band vereint auch segensreich in ihr zu wirken, ohne befürchten zu müssen, durch seine nationale Kundgebung oben anzustossen und sich seine Vorgesetzten Feinde zu machen. Ibid.

I (f) Dieses Blatt wird bezeichnender Weise von einem jungen jüdischen Arzt namens Viktor Adler herausgegeben, der Millionär sein soll. Israel an der Spitze der sozialdemokratischen Bewegung, dies lässt tief blicken. Salzburger Chronik Jan. 6, 1887

I (g) Für den Priester kein Weg zu weit, keine Mühe zu gross und keine Sprache zu schwer sein darf, wenn es sich um Gottes Sache und um das Heil des Nächsten handelt. Salzburger Chronik Jan. 11. 1887

I (h)

...sehen wir nicht ein warum die Deutschen die, "richtige und wahre Staatspartei" bilden sollten, warum die Verbindung aller Völkerstämme Österreichs unter dem Banner des Konservatismus keine wahre Staatspartei sein sollte? Wir begreifen nicht, warum die anderen Völker, welche Österreich bewohnen und lieben und die in Wirklichkeit viel zahlreicher sind als die Deutschen, nicht mitbefähigt und mitberufen sein sollten, die österreichische Staatsidee zu erhalten, zu befördern, zu vertiefen? Salzburger Chronik June 8 1887

I (i) In der That, die Tschechen haben auch allen Grund übel gelaunt zu sein; denn Herr v. Dunajewski schlug gegen den tschechischen Bankforderungen einen Ton an den unsere Tschechen sonst selten zu hören gewöhnt sind. Darob grosse Bestürzung und Erbitterung! Allerdings wird die Geschichte nicht so heiss gegessen als gekocht. Salzburger Volksblatt Feb. 11, 1887

I (j) Der deutsche Klub wird auch in Hinkunft nicht vergessen, dass die Ausgetretenen Deutsche sind, deren

nationale Gesinnung vielfach Berührungspunkte mit den eigenen bietet, wenn es auch nicht möglich war und sein wird hand in hand zu gehen. Der deutsche Klub insbesondere hat ja auch dem deutsch-österreichischen Klub gegenüber nicht vergessen wollen, dass auch in demselben Männer sich befinden, denen das Schicksal des deutschen Volkes nicht gleichgültig ist, wenn sie auch dessen Wohlfahrt auf anderem Wege anstreben. Salzburger Volksblatt Feb 14, 1887

I (k)

Ein Mahnruf

...sich in die Erbschaft der Liberalen zu theilen...sind die Antisemiten und die Klericalen. Wiewohl die einen sich angeblich auf den unverfälscht deutsch-nationalen Standpunkt stellen und die anderen von einer Pflege des nationalen Gedankens im deutschen Volke nichts wissen wollen, verbindet doch beide der gemeinsame Hass gegen den Liberalismus, und zwar nicht bloss gegen jenen doctrinären Liberalismus, den auch wir als die Quelle all' des Unheils betrachten das in den letzten Jahren in der inneren Politik Österreichs zu Tage getreten ist. Der Antisemit wie der Klerikale huldigt dem Grundsatz, "wer nicht für mich ist, der ist gegen mich." Der erst erblickt im Judenthum die alleinige Ursache all' unseren wirtschaftlichen Schäden und macht vom anti-korruptionistischen Standpunkte aus dasselbe verantwortlich; der letztere hasst den Juden weil er eben Jude und daher aus streng konfessionellen Rücksichten gleich einem Ungläubigen zu betrachten ist. Der Freisinnige, aber, der nüchtern genug ist, nicht bloss eine jüdische, sondern auch eine christliche Korruption gelten zu lassen.... wird von Beiden wie ein Aussätziger behandelt, mit dem kein Verkehr möglich ist.

Wir haben uns jederzeit als entschiedener Gegner des Antisemitismus wie des Klerikalismus bekannt. Der Grund unser Gegnerschaft lässt sich in wenigen Worten ausdrücken. Wir bekämpfen die antisemitische Richtung weil sich diesselbe in Bahnen bewegt, die zu einer Verrohung unserer heranwachsenden Jugend ...führen und in den mindergebildeten Volksmassen geradezu brutale Instinkte wachrufen muss....Den Klerikalismus bekämpfen wir, weil dieser sein höchstes Ziel in der Verdummung des Volkes erblickt und daher alle Hebel in Bewegung setzt das Niveau der Volksbildung möglichst herabzudrücken....Mit dem blossen Losdonnern gegen die Juden, gegen den Liberalismus und die Freimaurer verschafft man aber den Hungernden kein Brot. Salzburger Volksblatt, Nov. 12 1887

I(1) An die Möglichkeit dass das Abgeordnetenhaus die für das slovenische Gymnasium in Cilli eingestellte Budget-Post ablehnen würde, hätte wohl niemand gedacht. Und dennoch ist dieses Ereignis vorgestern eingetreten und hat in den Reihen der Slaven grosse Bestürzung wachgerufen, welche sich

scheinbar in einem heftigen Wutausbruch gegen die deutschen Abgeordneten Luft machte. In den deutschen Wählerkreisen wird das vorgestrigte Abstimmungsergebnis mit Recht mit allgemeinem Jubel aufgenommen. Ist es doch als eine Genugthuung für das schwere Unrecht anzusehen, das den Deutschen Steiermarks mit der Errichtung eines slovenischen Gymnasiums in dem deutschen Cilli zugefügt wurde. Salzburger Volksblatt Jan. 7, 1897.

I (m)

FAUST- UND MESSERKAMPF IM ÖSTERREICHISCHEN ABGEORDNETENHAUS
 ...unter unbeschreiblichen Tumult eilte Schönerer auf das Präsidium zu. Er ist roth und blau vor Wuth und brüllt den Präsidenten an: "Ich werde ihnen schon zeigen!" Er fällt dem Präsidenten in den Arm, reißt die Glocke an sich und läutet unter dem Freudengeschrei eines Theils der Linken heftig in den Saal hinein. Der polnische Abgeordnete Potoczech, eine hohe Bauerngestalt eilt auf den Rasenden zu, entreißt ihm nach kurzem Ringen die Glocke, und stellt sie wieder auf den Präsidententisch. Salzburger Chronik Nov. 26, 1897

Appendix II: Texts for chapter VI

II (a) Wir leiden an den Folgen der schrankenlosen Heiratsfreiheit. Das Proletariat hat sich...in erschreckender Weise vermehrt und saugt an den Lebensadern der Gemeinden...durch diese Freiheit sind Familien geschaffen worden, die sich selbst und den Gemeinden zur Last fallen, Familien ohne Besitz, nur angewiesen auf den momentanen Erwerb; Familien, welche selbst existenzunfähig, gar oft nur die Existenz der übrigen Gemeindebewohner gefährden. Sonntagsbote Jan. 7 1887

II (b) ...unser unglücklicher Krieg mit Preussen im Jahre 1866 warf Österreich aus dem deutschen Bund hinaus, dessen einstiges Haupt es gewesen war. In jenen früheren Zeiten hatte es einen Sinn und einen Grund, wenn Österreich als Deutschlands erste Macht und als dessen Haupt sein eignes Deutschthum besonderes hervorkehrte. Aber das Jahr 1866 zeriss den alten Bund und der glückliche Krieg Preussen=Deutschlands gegen Frankreich im Jahre 1870 stellte Preussen an die Spitze eines neuen "Deutschen Reiches"....Österreich kann und muss jetzt seinen nichtdeutschen Völkern gerecht werden. Sie bilden die Mehrheit im Reiche! Sonntagsbote April 3 1887

II (c) ...der Geist der Zeit ist anders geworden. Wir müssen es offen zugeben, dass die Völker des Reiches die Früchte welche man von dem Liberalismus erwartete, zu ihrer Wohlfahrt und ihren geistigen Fortschritte nicht zu ziehen verstanden. Die Strasse, welche für die Wahrheit und die Bildung freigemacht worden war, wurde vom Schwindel und von der wirtschaftlichen Unterdrückung der Schwächeren durch die Stärkeren...betreten und ausgefahren, die Gleichberechtigung der Nationalitäten, welche den Nicht-deutschen die Förderung ihrer Eigenart und ihrer Sprache ermöglichte, wurde im Sinne einer Gleichstellung auf allen Gebieten des öffentlichen Lebens ausgebeutet, und dadurch das deutsche Volk Österreichs in seiner Geltung u. Stellung gefährdet, ja in seinen Rechten, welche es sich durch die Gründung des Reiches und die zahlreichen für dasselbe gebrachten Opfer erworben hat, empfindlich geschädigt. In Bezug auf die Nationalität trat der Dorfbote von jeher entschieden für die Rechte und Vorteile der Deutschen ein. Dorfbote Jan 6, 1887

II (d) ...doch mit Jenen, welche das Vertrauen der deutschen Wähler zur Bundesgenossenschaft mit den Slaven missbrauchen, gibt es keine Versöhnung. Ibid

II (e) Trauernd müssen die Deutschen sagen, dass sie mit ihren vollberechtigten Wünschen, mit ihren dringenden

Beschwerden nirgends mehr Gehör finden. Sie sind in Österreich Stiefkinder geworden. Dorfbote May 12, 1887

II (f) Die Bewegung der Deutschen in Österreich, welche nichts anders zu bedeuten hat, als dass es zu Ende mit der deutschen Lammesgeduld und dass man sich im Widerstand gegen den Uebermuth der slavischen Bedränger und gegen den tolmüthigen Hass derselben zur Wehre setzen und von Worten zu Thaten übergehen wolle.....dass wir in dem Kampfe um unsere höchsten Güter nicht erlahmen dürfen, sondern ausharren müssen bis zum Aeussersten, dass wir fürderhin nicht bloss Schlagworte sprechen, sondern schlagende Thaten ausüben müssen.... Deutsche Wacht Jan. 6, 1887

II (g) Der Deutsche, der eben auch noch in einem grossen Theil des Landes lebt, soll politisch todt gemacht werden und über seiner Leiche die Wenzelskrone sich in neu gewaschener Herrlichkeit aufbauen. Marburger Zeitung June 26, 1887

Appendix III: Texts for Chapter VII

III (a)

Strafe

Deutschland Heimat alter Barden
 Sieh, trotz aller Milliarden,
 Trotz Culturkampfs Eldorado
 Kommt der Käfer Colorado,
 Fürchtet Krupp und Moltke nicht.
 Das ist Gottes Strafgericht,
 Weil Du Erbswurst cultivierst
 Und Kartoffeln ignorierst.

Steirer Seppl July 1, 1877

III (b) Wenns dem Esel z'gut geht so tanzt er auf dem Eis,
 und wenn eine Familie nit weiss, wie sie sich unnötige
 Sorgen machen soll, so gibt's einen Hausball. Zum Glück
 kommt diese Selbstfopperei immer mehr aus der Mode und die
 Leut wissen heut zu Tag was g'scheidteres, als sich selber
 zu incommodieren und die ausrichterische Nachbarschaft zu
 tractiren. Leute, die gar keine Idee von einem Salon haben,
 haben ihren Hausball haben müssen. Steirer Seppl June 25
 1877

III (c) Bei allem Lamentabel gibt's in Graz schon auch noch
 fidele Leut, aber z'finden muss man's wissen. Steirer Seppl
 Jan. 8 1887

III (d) Einer der sich's Maul zerreisst, weil bei
 Staatsprüfungen Kenntniss der deutschen Sprache verlangt
 wird. Steirer Seppl Jan. 8 1887

III (e) In Prag zerreißen sie sich schon wieder das Maul,
 weil Studenten aus Deutschland an die deutsche Prager
 Universität kommen wollen. Steirer Seppl April 23, 1887

III (f) Was les'i da? Drei Studenten verwundet, weil's
 deutsche Lieder gesungen haben, was den slavischen Gesellen
 nicht recht war? Wo sind wir denn? In Graz? oder wo
 denn??? Steirer Seppl June 25, 1887

III (g) Geduld! Junge Leut! Warum duelliren? Ein Krüppel
 kann man später auch noch werden in Völkerzweikampf!
Steirer Seppl July 9, 1887

III (h) Den macht mich gar nix, ob Deitsche gründens
 Schulvereinigung, ob's fluchens af Gregr alewo af pane
 Rigera oder ob treibens Landtagsenthaltksamkeit, wann
 kriegens deitsche klane Gindel, mussens doch haben bemische
 Aml! Steirer Seppl Aug 27, 1887

III (i) Auch den Himmel, der über dem heimatlichen Boden
 sich spannt, bedecken graue, unfreundliche Wolken. Die

Nationen und Parteien kennen keine Mässigung und wollen sich nicht verständigen. Einer klagt den anderen an und jeder sieht es für einen Schimpf an, nur zwei Schritte zurückzuweichen....das blosses verneinen kann auf die Dauer keine Bündnisse erhalten und stärken....dem innerlich zerrütteten Volksthum in Oesterreich zu Hilfe zu kommen enthält eine zu starke Dosis für die Constitution des Reiches; den einseitigen deutsch-nationalen Standpunkt erträgt dieses nicht mehr. Andererseits vergessen die slavischen Fractionen nur zu leicht über ihr wirkliches oder geträumtes Recht jedes Mass und Ziel. Grazer Volksblatt Jan. 1 1887

III (j) Man nennt diese Politik jüdischer Pfiffigkeit - "deutsch"! Freilich hängt man die Egoismus ein Mäntelchen um, indem man auf das "Staatsinteresse" hinweist undbehauptet, dieses erfordere unbedingt die Hegemonie des liberalen Deutschtums....Es verursacht mit Recht ein grosses Aergernis, dass die slavischen Theologen, Juristen, Mediciner u.s.w. heute jämmerlich deutsch sprechen oder gar nicht. Aber wer hat diesen misslichen Umstand verschuldet, wenn nicht die Deutschböhmen zur Zeit, als die das Heft in den Händen hatten?...Es ist hohe Zeit, dass endlich Friede gemacht werde; denn die Verbitterung der Gemüther hat in Böhmen nach vielseitigen Zeugnissen bereits einen bedenklichen Grad erreicht und - so kann es wirklich nicht mehr fortgehen! Grazer Volksblatt Jan. 8 1887

III (k) Die definitive Regelung in welcher Art künftig die Bedürfnisse nach einem slovenisch-deutschen Gymnasialunterricht in der südlichen Steiermark Befriedigung finden sollen, wird während der Dauer dieses Provisoriums -wie zu hoffen steht, nicht ohne Einverständnis beider Nationalitäten des Landes - nach sachlichen und billigen Gründen erfolgen. Grazer Zeitung July 17, 1897.

III (l)

DIE PFLICHT DES DEUTSCHEN LEHRERS GEGEN SEINEN VOLKSSTAMM
Ja der Lehrer muss sein ganze Grösse und Stärke in seinem Stamme suchen, er hat mit den Gütern dieses seines Volkes zu schaffen, zu bilden und zu bauen, er erzieht die Jugend im Geiste der Väter, im Geiste der Volksgeschichte und braucht zu dieser Erziehung den Nibelungenhort deutschen Geistes, deutscher Sitte und deutscher Sprache. u.s.w. u.s.w.
Pädagogische Zeitschrift Oct. 31, 1897

Appendix IV: Texts for chapter VIII

IV (a) Die Türken sind tapfer, ehrlich, grossmütig aber faul, religiös, unduldsam und unbeständig; die Griechen sind schlau, reinlicher und für mitteleuropäische Kultur empfänglich, dafür gewinnsüchtig, unehrlich und treulos; die Katholiken endlich sind gutmütig, anhänglich, und willig, jedoch am wenigstens gebildet, körperlich und geistig herabgekommen. Die Heimat undated 1887, pp. 135-136

IV (b) Die Bauern in Böhmen sind, wie alle Slaven, ein leichtlebigen, unter sich verträgliches und gemütliches Volk, die nichtbesitzende, arbeitende, dienende Klasse macht sich wenig Sorge um die Mittel des Daseins und um die Zukunft.....Diese niederen Klassen besitzen nur eine ganz geringe Schulbildung und bilden ein brauchbares Material in der Hand feiger Hetzer und politischer Agitatoren gegen die Deutschen. Feind der Deutschen sind die Slaven von Natur, aber unter dem Einfluss der Hetzer werden sie, wenn ohne humanitäre Bildung, oft zu rohen Bestien, denen die Faust alles gilt..... Sie wissen aus eigenem Geiste sicherlich nichts von Alt- oder Jungtschechen, aber wer sie mit Raffiniertheit zu benutzen weiss, kann sie für eine oder andere Richtung missbrauchen, selbst zu Gewalttätigkeiten. So wie bei den Slovenen in Laibach die schändlichen Entweihungen des Anastasius Grün-Denkmal nicht auf Rechnung der als Schänder ermittelten Lehrbuben, sondern auf die der intelligenteren Verhetzer kommen.....Nur ein gewisses Mass echter Bildung macht jene niederen Leute frei von der geistigen Hörigkeit in der sie sich befinden. Die Heimat undated 1887, p. 654

IV (c) Montenegriner....Dieser interessante süd-slavische Volksstamm, welcher sich der ganz besonderen Protection und Unterstützung einiger europäischer Höfe erfreut, verrät in seiner Unfähigkeit für Cultur, in seiner Scheu vor jeder Arbeit, in seiner ausgesprochenen Vorliebe für Raub und Plünderung und in seiner Kampfmethod eine merkwürdige Aehnlichkeit mit den wilden Indianerstämmen Amerikas. Neue Illustrierte Zeitung Jan. 21, 1877, p. 54

Appendix V: Texts for chapter IX

V (a) Anno 1 gab es weder Renn- und Jockeyklubs, noch Radfahrer-, Touristen-, Bicycle-, Ruder- oder Eislaufvereine, dafür waren aber auch muthwillige Arm- und Beinbrüche, Abstürze von Felsen u. dergleichen nicht so an der Tagesordnung wie Heute! Kikeriki Kalendar 1887, page 36.

V (b) Anno 1 gab es weder antisemitische, demokratische, socialistische noch Reformvereine, keine deutschen Klubs, katholische Kasinos oder Besedas, aber dafür gab es auch noch keine permanenten Nationalitätenhader! Kikeriki Kalendar 1887, page 37

V (c) Alles was deutsch und christlich empfindet, was einer idealistischen Weltanschauung wieder zur Geltung verhelfen will nachdem dreissigjährigen Herrensabbath jüdisch-materialistischer Herzlosigkeit und Perfidie.... Dieses vollständig unabhängig humoristische Volksblatt bekämpft mit den scharfen und furchtbaren Waffen des Witzes und der Satyre in Wort und Bild das noch immer omnipotente Judenthum und die mit ihm vereinigten oder von ihm abhängigen traurigen Elemente. Kikeriki Kalendar 1897, Title page.

V (d)

So lange nicht am Minoritenplatz auch,
Das Slavische kommt absolut in Gebrauch,
Verbunden nur mit Jesuiten Latein,
So lang kann die Rechte zufrieden nicht sein.

Erst wenn an Minister-Palais der Portier,
Zum Deutschen wird sagen: "nix daitsch red't me hier",
Erst dann wird bewilligt der Kult-Excellenz,
Ein zweiter Sektionschef mit gleicher Tendenz.

Damit aber Slavisch und Ultramontan,
Sich nebeneinander auch populär machen kann,
So trägt man die Maske der Sparsamkeit noch,
Ein zweiter Sektionschef! Das käme zu hoch!

Figaro March 19, 1887

V (e)

Die Ungarn geben nicht nach,
Wir geben nichts zu,
Beide Theile sind entschlossen nichts herzugeben.

Die Ungarn sehen nicht ein, dass die von der Aufhebung des Präzipium abdrehen müssen.

Die Zisleithanen sehen zwar nicht ein, warum sie 70 perzent leisten sollen, aber ist ihnen klar dass sie das müssen.

Die Verständigung macht riesige Fortschritte.

Die Ungarn bedauern zwar nichts gewonnen zu haben, freuen sich darüber, dass sie nichts verloren geben müssen.
Die Zisleithanen sind von den gleichen Gefühlen, nur nach höherem Perzentsatze, beseelt.

Figaro April 23, 1887

V (f)

Soll noch ein Nörgler heute,
Behaupten das wir nicht
Im strengsten, strammsten Deutschsein,
Erkennen uns're Pflicht!

Wir wollen schon besorgen,
Das es die Welt erfahr,
Wie wir gehandelt haben,
Deutschvölkisch ganz und gar.

Figaro Jan. 23, 1897

V (g) In dem anderen Schauspielhaus am Franzensring - nicht im neuen Burgtheater, sondern in dem politischen- hat man sich an der Producirung noch ganz anderer Curmethoden erbauen können. Zungen, nicht just wie Dolche - denn Dolche sind ja fein und geschliffen- aber wie Keile, wie jene Keile, die auf gewisse, vom Sprachengebrauch näher bezeichnete Klötze gehören, Worte wie Steinwürfe, und wenn auch hier keine Ader geöffnet wurde ausser den Adern einer Beredsamkeit so sah es doch momentan aus als gings an ein Schädel spalten.

Wir sprechen von der unsauberen Geschichte weil sie nicht mehr zur politischen, sondern leider zur Sittengeschichte des Tages gehört, weil sie eine Frage der in dem Hause da drinnen mit so tapferer Leidenschaftlichkeit gegen Tschechen und Polen und Slovenen vertheidigten "deutschen Cultur" geworden ist. Und der Hass des ganzen verbündeten Slaventhums wäre nicht im Stande diesen deutschen Culturschatz so böse zu gefährden und seinen echten, inneren Werth so compromittierend in Misscredit zu bringen, wie sie von Seite dieser "unverfälschten deutschen Männer" geschieht welche ihre "unverfälschten" christ-katholischen Mitbürger und Parlamentscollegen, wenn dieselben nicht auf jedes Wort des confessionel-nationalen Kathechismus schwören, als "Juden" und, was ihren natürlich gleich-bedeutend, als "gemeine, niederträchtige Kerl" tractiren. Wiener Caricaturen Feb. 13, 1887

V (h)

Der Gymnasiast von Cilli
(übersetzt aus dem Briefe eines slovenischen Gymnasiasten an einen Kameraden)... Was wir Slovenen einmal in die Hand gekriegt haben das lassen wir nicht mehr aus, sondern wir

kriegen nur noch mehr dazu, denn ein Slovene nimmt's gegen zwanzig Deutsche auf, indem fünfe von uns bei der Regierung mehr gelten als ein hundert Deutsche. Unser Cilli-Gymnasium steht einmal und das kriegen sie nimmer los wenn sie auch einmal mehr Stimmen zusammengebracht haben. Wiener Caricaturen Jan 10, 1897, p. 3.

V (i)

Hurrah! es gährt im Reiche der Kunst,
Es braust die stürmische Jugend,
Sie setzt entgegen die sprudelnde Kraft,
Der alten, langweiligen Tugend.

..... usw. noch 9 strophe

Nehmt euch ein Beispiel nun daran,
Ihr akademischen Zöpfe,
Marschieret nur flott mit der Jugend mit,
Und schüttelt nicht traurig die Köpfe.

Die Bombe April 4, 1897

V (j)

Die Czechen die sich durch Badeni's Gunst,
Regierungsfähig nun entfalten,
Sie glauben staaterhaltend wohl zu sein,
Sofern sie einen eig'nen Staat - erhalten!

Wenn Österreich je zu regieren ist,
So kann es das in deutschen Geist nur geben.
Gibt diesen Geist es einmal auf,
Dann hört es wirklich auf zu leben.

Soll Frieden sein, muss die Verödung weg,
Der Slav wird deutsch nicht und was deutsch nicht Slave.
Klingt noch süß die listige Schalmel,
Auf eine solche hören nur die - Schafe!

.....

D'rum fort mit diesem Sprachengesetze,
Durch welches diese Fehde entglommen.
Die Czechen trösten sich mit dem Spruch:
"Der Herr hat's gegeben, der Herr hat's genommen"!

Danneberg's Pschutt Caricaturen August 7, 1897.

Appendix VI: Texts for chapter X

VI (a)

SCHREIBET DEUTSCH - EIN MAHNRUF UND WECKRUF AN
DIE DEUTSCHE LEHRERSCHAFT ÖSTERREICHS

Das deutsche Volk, als dessen Stammesangehörige wir Lehrer uns mit Stolz bekennen müssen, hat mit Blut und Eisen sein Selbstbewusstsein wieder gefunden, nachdem es Jahrhundertlang geschmachtet in Fesseln, welche ihm Zwietracht im eigenen Hause und wohlbedacht anerzogenen Knechtschaftsinn anlegten. Die Volksschule Jan 31, 1887

VI (b)

DER STAATSBEAMTE IM SPRACHENSTREITE

Graf Taaffe...mit Nachdruck und unter beifälliger Zustimmung sich dagegen verwahrte, dass man von "czechischen Soldaten", von königlichen "czechischen" oder "polnischen" Beamten rede, indem er nur k.k. österreichische Soldaten oder Beamte erkenne, welcher Nation immer dieselben angehören, welchem Lande immer dieselben entnommen sein mögen....Eine treffendere Abfertigung konnte jenen extrem nationalen Elementen nicht zu Teil werden, welche in nationaler Hetze "machen" und die ohnehin so schwierige Position der Staatsbeamtenschaft in jedem zwei- oder mehrsprachigem Kronlande zu einer schier unerträglichen gestalten. Niemand weiss besser, als der Staatsbeamte aller Dienstzweige in erster Instanz, wie künstlich die nationale Unduldsamkeit fortwährend angefacht wird, wenn sie zu erlöschen droht. Beamtenzeitung May 20, 1887

VI (c) Der Unfriede zwischen den Nationalitäten dauert noch fort; aber doch schienen die Gegensätze sich abgeschwächt zu haben, und es ist Ansicht vorhanden, dass diese Abschwächung sich auch weiterhin vollziehe. Es ist auch nicht daran zu zweifeln, dass das Verhältnis der beiden Staaten der Monarchie zueinander in befriedigender Weise geregelt werde. Das Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl wird schliesslich über die, vorläufig hien wie drüben im Vordergrund stehenden Einzelinteressen, den Sieg erringen. Fremdenblatt Jan 1, 1897

VI (d) Ein Gefühl der tiefsten Beschämung ergreift uns da wir sagen müssen, Deutsche sind es gewesen, welche die ihnen dargebotene Hand von sich stiessen, welche nichts wissen wollen von Versöhnung, von Frieden und Eintracht, Deutsche sind es gewesen welche nicht Liebe predigten, sondern Hass....Die läppischen Witzeleien deutsch-nationaler Organe wollen wir ignorieren, da uns die Sache viel zu ernst dünkt, als dass wir auf derlei reagierten.

..... Ihnen ist nur ein solcher "Ausgleich" genehm, der mit der vollständigen Unterwerfung der Czechen verbunden wäre. Ob das edel und human, ob es auch nur deutsch ist, das bleibt wohl sehr dahingestellt. Denn mit dem Begriffe

"Deutsch" ist untrennbar verbunden der Begriff "Toleranz", und der Auffassung Schmeykal's ist Toleranz vollkommen fremd. Gemeindezeitung Jan. 23, 1887

VI (e)

...und zwar alles dieses deshalb, damit die bequemen Herren, welche in Böhmen ihr Brod verdienen wollen, nicht Czechisch zu lernen brauchen. Man frage doch das Volk, das Jahrhunderte in brüderlicher Eintracht lebte, ob es mit dem Treiben dieser nationalen Fanatiker einverstanden ist? Es ist geradezu unverzeihlich, dass diese Leute ihre nationalen Stänkereien nicht lassen, jetzt, wo man in allen Staaten auf Einigung und Stärkung bedacht ist. Der Pilger Jan 1, 1887

VI (f) Sie (die deutschen Abgeordneten) verlangen ausreichende Bürgschaften für eine rücksichtsvolle und sachliche Behandlung ihrer berechtigten nationalen Interessen von Seite der czechischen Majorität. Die Verwirklichung dieser Forderung ist heute weniger zu erwarten als je. Die leidenschaftlichen Ausdrücke welchen man in den letzten Tagen in der czechischen Presse begegnete, haben neuerlich gezeigt, welch' massloser Hass die Führer der czechischen Völker nicht bloss gegen die deutsch-liberale Partei, sondern gegen das Deutschtum überhaupt beseelt, das die Grundlagen dieses Staates geschaffen.... Das Organ des Altcechen preist die Idee der slavischen Solidarität, jener der Jungcechen spricht offen vom Anschluss an Russland. Das sind Erscheinungen, die nicht mehr aus dem Gegensatz blosser nationaler Bestrebungen zu erklären sind. Wiener Tagblatt Aug. 5, 1887, evening edition.

VI (g)

...blinde Leidenschaft mit welcher die slavische Majorität...gegen das gebildete, wohlhabende, verfassungstreu italienische Bevölkerungselement vorgeht, zeugt von der Gährung, welche sich der Gemüther der panslavistischen Bevölkerung bemächtigt hat....Ja wir hegen keinen Zweifel mehr dass der ganze nationale Antagonismus in seiner jetzigen acuten Form sich an der Orient-Frage entzündet hat. Neue Freie Presse Feb. 4, 1877

VI (h) Die Polen waren, wie dies oft geschieht, wenn sie nicht eingepeitscht werden, nur spärlich versammelt; von den Croaten fehlten einzelne die noch nicht in Wien eingetroffen sind. Neue Freie Presse Jan. 5. 1897

BIBLIOGRAPHY

bop Periodical Publications for Styria:

Bauernbündler Graz: 1897-1913

Bauernfreund Graz: 1897-1899

Die Bauernwille Graz: 1873-1884

Cillier Zeitung Cilli: 1867-1883

Deutsche Wacht Cilli: 1883-1937

Dorfbote Graz: 1871-1921

Grazer Tagespost Graz: 1856-1945

Grazer Volksblatt Graz: 1868-1939

Grazer Zeitung Graz: 1867-1959

Katholische Wahrheitsfreund Graz: 1874-1900

Marburger Zeitung Marburg: 1866 ff.

Pädagogische Zeitschrift Graz: 1875-1938

Sonntagsboten Graz: 1869-1913

Steier Seppel (Seppel) Graz: 1866-1893

for Salzburg:

Der Kyffhäuser Salzburg: 1887-1892, Vienna 1894

Salzburger Chronik Salzburg: 1865-1889

Salzburger Kirchenblatt Salzburg: 1853-1929

Salzburger Volksblatt Salzburg: 1872-1942

Salzburger Zeitung Salzburg: 1785-1918

Zeitschrift der Salzburger Lehrvereins Salzburg: 1871-1937

for Vienna:

Beamten-Zeitung Vienna: 1874 ff

Bombe Vienna: 1871-1925

Dannebergs Pschütt Caricaturen Vienna and Dresden: 1892-1918

Figaro Vienna: 1857-1919

Floh Vienna: 1869-1919

Fremdenblatt Vienna: 1848-1919

Gemeindezeitung Vienna: 1862-1890

Die Heimat Vienna: 1876-1901

Der Humorist Vienna: 1884-1918

Illustrierte Wiener Extrablatt Vienna: 1872-1928

Illustrierte Wiener Wespen Vienna: 1882-1893

Kikeriki Vienna: 1861-1933

Morgenpost Vienna: 1854-1882

die Neuen Weckstimmen Vienna: 1877-1889

Neue Freie Presse Vienna: 1864-1938

Neue Illustrierte Zeitung Vienna: 1873-1892

Oesterreichisches Monatsschrift für
Gessellschaftswissenschaft und Volkswirtschaft Vienna:
1879 ff

Der Pilger Vienna: 1867-1912

Salonblatt (Der Salon) Vienna: 1893, 1897, 1903-1937

Die Volksschule Vienna: 1874-1897

Wiener Caricaturen Vienna: 1881-1925

Wiener Illustrierte Frauenzeitung Vienna: 1897-1906

Wiener Punsch Vienna: 1869-1912

Wiener Romanzeitung Vienna: 1878-1879

Wiener Tagblatt Vienna: 1886-1901

Official Austrian Publications

Austria. Statistische Central-Commission Oesterreichisches Statistisches Handbuch. Vienna: k.k. Hofdruckerei, 1881-1913

_____. Statistische Central-Commission Oesterreichische Statistik Vienna: k.k. Hofdruckerei, 1876-1914.

_____. Statistische Central-Commission Statistische Monatschrift. Vienna: k.k. Hofdruckerei, 1874 ff.

_____. Oesterreichisch-ungarische Monarchie im Wort und Bild. multiple volumes Vienna: 1898.

_____. Unsere Monarchie. Die oesterreichischen Kronländer zur Zeit des funfzigjährigen Regierungsjubilaem Sr. Majestät des Kaisers Franz Josef I. Vienna: k.k. Hofdruckerei, 1897.

Published Primary Sources

Eberhard-Lyon. Synonymisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Leipzig: Th. Grieben's Verlag, 1896.

Friedjung, Heinrich. Der Ausgleich mit Ungarn. Leipzig: Verlag von Otto Wigand, 1877.

_____. Eine Stück Zeitungsgeschichte. Wien: Genossenschafts Buchdruckerei, 1887.

_____. The Struggle for Supremacy in Germany 1859-1866. London: McMillan & Co., 1935. translated by A.J.P. Taylor and W. L. McElwee. first published Vienna: 1897.

Fuchs, Albert. Geistige Strömungen in Österreich 1867-1918. Wien: Löcker Verlag, 1984. First published 1949.

Gremel, Maria. Mit neun Jahren im Dienst. Graz-Wien-Köln: Böhlau, 1983. from the series Damit es nicht verloren geht edited by Michael Mitterauer.

Grimm, J. & W. Deutsches Wörterbuch. Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1854.

- Horner, Marie. Aus dem Leben einer Hebamme. Wien: Böhlau, 1983. from the series Damit es nicht verloren geht edited by Michael Mitterauer.
- Kraus, Karl. Literatur und Lüge. München: Kösel Verlag, 1958.
- _____. Sittlichkeit und Kriminalität. München: Kösel Verlag, 1970.
- _____. Die Sprache. München: Kösel Verlag, 1954.
- _____. No Compromise: Selected writings of Karl Kraus. Edited and introduction by Frederick Ungar. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1977.
- Musil, Robert. The Man without Qualities. 3 volumes, translated by Eithne Williams and Ernst Kaiser. London: Pan Books, Picador Classics, 1988.
- Passgruber, Barbara. Hartes Brot: Aus dem Leben einer Bergbauerin. Wien: Böhlau, 1989. from the series Damit es nicht verloren geht edited by Michael Mitterauer.
- Pohanka, Agnes. Ich nehm' die Blüten und die Stengel. Kräutlerin am Schlingermarkt. Wien: Böhlau, 1987. from the series Damit es nicht verloren geht edited by Michael Mitterauer.
- Rokitansky, Friedrich Carl Freiherr von. Landwirtschaftliche Ortsvereine Graz: Steiermärkische Bauernbücherei, 1898.
- Rokitansky, Marie von Die Oesterreichische Küche. Eine Sammlung selbsterprobter Kochrezepte. Innsbruck: Edlinger, 1897.
- Schnitzler, Arthur. My Youth in Vienna. translated by Catherine Hutter. New York: Holt Rinehart Winston, 1970.
- Schnöller, Andrea u. Hannes Stekl. Es war eine Welt der Geborgenheit. Wien: Böhlau, 1987. from the series Damit es nicht verloren geht edited by Michael Mitterauer.
- Trakl, Georg. Dichtungen und Briefe Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag, 1969.
- Wass, Barbara. Mein Vater, Holzknecht und Bergbauer. Wien: Böhlau 1985. from the series Damit es nicht verloren geht edited by Michael Mitterauer.

- _____. Für sie gab es immer nur die Alm. Aus dem Leben einer Sennerin. Wien: Böhlau, 1988. from the series Damit es nicht verloren geht edited by Michael Mitterauer.
- Weber, Therese. Haüslерkindheit. Autobiographische Erzählungen. Wien: Böhlau, 1984. from the series Damit es nicht verloren geht edited by Michael Mitterauer.
- _____. Mägde. Lebenserinnerungen an die Dienstbotenzeit bei Bauern. Wien: Böhlau, 1987. from the series Damit es nicht verloren geht edited by Michael Mitterauer.
- Winter, Max. Das schwarze Wienerherz. Sozialreportagen aus dem frühen 20. Jahrhundert. Helmut Strutzmann, ed., Vienna: Bundesverlag, 1982. reprinted from contemporary newspapers.
- Woerl, Leo. Die Publizistik der Gegenwart: Die Presseverhältnisse im Kaiserstaat Oesterreich-Ungarn. Würzburg u. Wien: Verlag von Leo Woerl, 1881.
- Wunberg, Gotthart u. Johannes J. Braakenburg, Hrsg. Die Wiener Moderne Literatur, Kunst und Musik zwischen 1890 und 1910. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1981.
- Zweig, Stefan. The World of Yesterday. New York: Viking Press, 1943.

Books and Theses

- Allen, Ann Taylor. Satire and Society in Wilhelmine Germany: Simplicissimus and Kladderadatsch. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984.
- Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso, 1991. revised edition (first published 1983).
- Anderson, Patricia. The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture 1790-1860. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Andics, Helmut. Luegerzeit: Das Schwarze Wien bis 1918. Wien-München: Jugend und Volk, 1984.
- Barea, Ilsa. Vienna, Legend and Reality. London: Secker and Warburg, 1966.
- Barthes, Roland. Mythologies. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1957.

- Beck, Sam and Cole, John W. Ethnicity and Nationalism in Southeastern Europe. The Hague: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1981.
- Beller, Stephen. Vienna and the Jews, 1867-1938: a Cultural History. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Berend, Ivan, and Ranki, György. Economic Development in East Central Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. New York: 1974.
- Berkley, George E. Vienna and Its Jews. The Tragedy of Success: 1880s-1890s. Cambridge, MA: Abt Books; Lanham MD: Madison Books, 1988.
- Bernard, Paul P. Jesuits and Jacobins. Enlightenment and Enlightened Despotism in Austria. Urbana-Chicago-London: University of Illinois Press, 1971.
- Boyer, John W. Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna. Origins of the Christian-Social Movement 1848-1897. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Boyle, Thomas. Black Swine in the Sewers of Hampstead: Beneath the Surface of Victorian Sensationalism. New York: Penguin books, 1989.
- Brix, Emil. Die Umgangssprachen im Altösterreich zwischen Agitation und Assimilation. Wien-Köln-Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1982.
- Brown, Karin. Karl Lueger, the Liberal Years. Democracy, Municipal Reform and the Struggle for Power in the Vienna City Council. New York: Garland Press, 1982.
- Bruckmüller, Ernst. Landwirtschaftliche Organisationen und Gesellschaftliche Modernisierung. Salzburg: Verlag Wolfgang Neugebauer, 1977.
- _____. Sozialgeschichte Österreichs. Wien-München: 1985.
- Burke, Peter. Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe. London: Temple Smith, 1978.
- Childers, Thomas. The Nazi Voter: The Social Foundations of Fascism in Germany Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983.
- Cohen, Gary B. The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague 1861-1914. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.

- Dopsch, Heinz u. Spatzenegger, Hans, Gesamtherausgeber. Geschichte Salzburgs: Stadt und Land. Salzburg: Universitätsverlag Pustet, 1981 ff.
- Ehalt, Hubert Chr., Hg. Geschichte von Unten: Fragestellung, Methoden und Projekte einer Geschichte des Alltags. Wien-Köln-Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1984.
- Engelhardt, Ulrich, ed. Handwerker in der Industrialisierung. Lage, Kultur und Politik vom späten 18. bis ins frühe 20. Jahrhundert. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1984.
- Evans, R.J.W. The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550-1700. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.
- Field, Frank. The Last Days of Mankind: Karl Kraus and his Vienna. London: MacMillan, 1967.
- Fischer, Michael W. Zur Jahrhundertwende in Salzburg. Stadt und Land auf alten Photographien. Salzburg: Residenz, 1984.
- Foucault, Michel. History of Sexuality. New York: Pantheon books, 1978. translated by Robert Hurley.
- Gay, Peter. Style in History. New York: Basic Books, 1974.
- Geehr, Richard S. Karl Lueger: Mayor of Fin-de-Siècle Vienna. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990.
- Gellately, Robert. The Politics of Economic Despair: Shopkeepers and German Politics 1890-1914. London and Beverley Hills: Sage Publications, 1974.
- Gellner, Ernst. Thought and Change. London: Wiedenfeld and Nicholson, 1964.
- _____. Nations and Nationalism. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983.
- Good, David F. The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire 1750-1914. Berkely: University of California Press, 1984.
- Haas, Hannes. "Die politische und gesellschaftliche Satire der wiener humoristisch-satirischen Blätter vom Zusammenbruch der Monarchie bis zum Justizpalastsbrand: 1918-1927." Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Wien, 1982.
- Haas, Hanns und Stuhlpfarrer, Karl. Österreich und seine Slowenen. Wien: Löcker & Wögenstein, 1977.

- Handler, Andrew. Dori: The Life and Times of Theodor Herzl in Budapest 1860-1878. Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1983.
- Hamilton, Richard F. Who Voted for Hitler? Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Hanisch, Ernst und Fleischer, Ulrike. Im Schatten berühmter Zeiten. Salzburg in den Jahren Georg Trakl's (1877-1914). Salzburg: Otto Mueller Verlag, 1986.
- Hardy, Charles and Stern, Gail F. (eds.) Ethnic Images in the Comics. Philadelphia: The Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, 1986.
- Heidrich, Anne. Der völkische Kampf im steierischen Unterland vor dem Weltkrieg: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Presse. Brunn: 1944.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. Nations and Nationalism since 1870: Programme, Myth, Reality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Hoggart, Richard. The Uses of Literacy. London: Pelican, 1958.
- Hroch, Miroslav. Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Iggers, Wilma. Karl Kraus: A Viennese Critic of the Twentieth Century. The Hague: Martins Nijhoff, 1967.
- Janik, Allan and Toulmin, Stephen. Wittgenstein's Vienna. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973.
- James, Harold. A German Identity 1770-1990. New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Jelavich, Barbara. Modern Austria: Empire and Republic 1815-1986. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Jenks, Wm. A. Austria Under the Iron Ring, 1879-1893. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965.
- Johnston, William M. The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
- _____. Vienna Vienna. The Golden Age 1815-1914. New York: C.N. Potter: Crown Publishers, 1981.

- Judson, Pieter M. "German Liberalism in 19th Century Austria: Clubs, Parties and the rise of Bourgeois Politics." Ph. D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1987.
- Kann, Robt. A. The Habsburg Empire: A Study in Integration and Disintegration. New York: Octagon, 1973. 2nd edition.
- _____. A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.
- Kann, Robt. A. and David, Z.V. The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands, 1526-1918. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984.
- Kaplan, Steven L., Ed. Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century. Berlin, New York: Mouton, 1984.
- Keller, Ursula. Böser Dinge hübsche Formel. Das Wien Arthur Schnitzlers. Berlin: Verlag Guttundin & Hoppe, 1984.
- Klein, George and Reban, Milan J. eds. The Politics of Ethnicity. Boulder, Colorado: East European Monographs, 1981.
- Knapp, Vincent J. Austrian Social Democracy 1889-1914. Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1980.
- Kohn, Hans. Nationalism, Its Meaning and History. Malabar, Florida: Robert E. Krieger, 1982. (revised edition)
- _____. The Idea of Nationalism. New York: MacMillan, 1944.
- Konrad, Helmut u. Maderthaner, Wolfgang. Neuere Studien zur Arbeiter Geschichte 3 vols. Wien: Europaverlag, 1984
- Komlos, John, Ed. Economic Development in the Habsburg Monarchy in the Nineteenth Century. Boulder: East European Monographs, 1983.
- Koszyk, Kurt. Die Deutsche Presse im 19. Jahrhundert. Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1966.
- Langewiesche, Dieter. Zur Freizeit des Arbeiters: Bildungsbestrebungen und Freizeitgestaltung österreichischer Arbeiter im Kaisertum und in der Ersten Republik. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980.
- Latimer, Dan. Contemporary Critical Theory. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch, 1989.

- Leichtenmüller, Erich. "Die Wiener Zeitungen und der böhmische Ausgleich. Eine entscheidende Phase des Nationalitätenkampfes in der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie im Spiegel der öffentlichen Meinung." Ph. D. Dissertation, Universität Wien, 1953.
- McGrath, W.J. Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974.
- McLuhan, Marshall. Understanding Media. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964.
- Megner, Karl. Beamte: Wirtschafts- und sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte des k.k. Beamtentums. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985.
- Mitterauer, Michael. Hg. Kreuztragen, Drei Frauenleben. Wien-Köln-Graz: Böhlau, 1984.
- Mosse, G.L. The Nationalization of the Masses. Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich. New York: 1975.
- Müller-Alfeld, Theodor. Österreich vom Bodensee zum Burgenland. Berlin-Darmstadt-Wien: Deutsche Buch-Gemeinschaft, 1959.
- Nipperdey, Thomas. Gesellschaft, Kultur, Theorie. Göttingen: 1976.
- _____. Religion im Umbruch: Deutschland 1870-1918. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1988.
- Nutz, Walter. Der Trivialroman: Seine Formen und seine Hersteller. Köln: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1962.
- Paupié, Kurt. Handbuch der Österreichischen Pressegeschichte 1848-1959. Wien Stuttgart: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1960-1966 2 vols.
- Pearson, Raymond. National Minorities in Eastern Europe 1848-1945. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983.
- Petersen, William, ed. The Background of Ethnic Conflict. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979.
- Plauel, Hainer. Illustrierte Geschichte der Trivialliteratur. Hildesheim: Olms Presse, 1983.
- Pulzer, P.S.J. The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria. Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1989. revised edition.

- Roebke, Ruth D. "Austrian Social Democratic Thought on Nationality in Foreign Policy 1890-1914." Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1976.
- Rozenblit, Marsha L. The Jews of Vienna 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity. Albany: State of New York University Press, 1983.
- Rudolph, Richard L. and Good, David F., Eds. Nationalism and Empire: The Habsburg Monarchy and the Soviet Union. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.
- Rumpler, Helmut und Suppan, Arnold, hrsg. Geschichte der Deutschen im Bereich des heutigen Slowenien. 1848-1941. Wien: Verlag für Geschichte u. Politik, 1988.
- Sackett, Robert Eben. Popular Entertainment, Class and Politics in Munich 1900-1923 Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Said, Edward W. Culture and Imperialism New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1993
- Sandgruber, Roman. Die Anfänge der Konsumgesellschaft: Konsumgüterverbrauch, Lebensstandard und Alltagskultur im Österreich im 18. u. 19. Jahrhundert. München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1982.
- Schemme, Wolfgang. Trivialliteratur und Literarische Wertung: Einführung in Methoden und Ergebnisse der Forschung aus didaktischer Sicht. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1975.
- Schenda, Rudolf. Volk ohne Buch: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der populären Lesestoffe 1770-1910. Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1970.
- _____. Die Lesestoffe der kleinen Leute: Studien zur populären Literatur im 19. u. 20. Jahrhundert. München: 1976.
- Schorske, Carl. Politics and Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980.
- Schuller, Anton L. Fanz Hagenhofer. Leben und Werk des steierischen Bauernführers. Graz: Raiffeisen-Zentralkasse Steiermark, 1982.
- Seton-Watson, Hugh. Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism London: Methuen & Co., 1977.

- Seton-Watson, R.W. The Southern Slav Question and the Habsburg Monarchy. New York: Howard Fertig, 1969. first published 1911.
- Sheehan, James J. German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century. Chicago: 1978.
- Sichelschmidt, Gustav. Liebe, Mord und Abenteuer: Eine Geschichte der deutschen Unterhaltungsliteratur. Berlin: 1969.
- Smith, Anthony C.H. Paper Voices: The Popular Press and Social Change 1935-1965. London: Chatto and Windus, 1975.
- _____. The Newspaper, An International History. London: Thames and Hudson, 1979.
- Snyder, Louis L. Roots of German Nationalism. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978.
- Spitzer, Rudolf. Des Bürgermeisters Lueger Lumpen und Steuerträger. Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1988.
- Stambrook, F. European Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century. London: F. Warne, 1969.
- Stearns, Peter N. 1848: The Revolutionary Tide in Europe. New York and London: Norton, 1974.
- Stone, Norman. Europe Transformed 1878-1919. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Stourzh, Gerald. Die Gleichberechtigung der Nationalitäten in der Verfassung und Verwaltung Österreichs 1848-1918. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989.
- Sugar, Peter F., Ed. Ethnic Diversity and Conflict in Eastern Europe. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1980.
- Tannenbaum, Edward R. The Generation before the Great War. New York: Anchor Press, 1976.
- Tapié, Victor Lucien. The Rise and Fall of the Habsburg Monarchy. Translated by Stephen Hardman. New York: Praeger, 1971.
- Taylor, A.J.P. The Habsburg Monarchy 1809-1918. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1948.

- Tichy, Marina. Alltag und Traum: Leben und Lektüre der Wiener Dienstmädchen um die Jahrhundertwende. Wien-Köln Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1984.
- Timms, Edward. Karl Kraus: Apocalyptic Satirist. Culture and Catastrophe in Habsburg Vienna. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Tomlinson, John. Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991.
- Urbanitsch, Peter. Wien-Prag-Budapest um 1900. Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte. Wien: 1987.
- Verdery, Katherine. Transylvanian Villagers: Three Centuries of Political, Economic and Ethnic Change. Berkeley: 1983.
- Volkov, Shulamit. The Rise of Popular Anti-Modernism in Germany. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- Walker, Mack. German Home Towns: Community, State and General Estate 1648-1871. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971.
- Wandruszka, Adam u. Urbanitsch, Peter, Eds. Die Habsburger Monarchie 1848-1919. several volumes. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973ff.
- _____, Plaschka, Richard and Drabek, Anne, Eds. Die Donaumonarchie und die südslawische Frage von 1848-1918. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Geschichte Österreichs, 1978.
- Waissenberger, Robert, Ed. Wien 1870-1930. Traum und Wirklichkeit. Salzburg: Residenz, 1984.
- _____. Wien 1890-1929. Vienna: Überreuter, 1984.
- Weys, Rudolf. Cabaret und Kabarett in Wien. Wien-München: 1970.
- Whiteside, Andrew G. The Socialism of Fools. Berkley: University of California Press, 1975.
- Williams, Cedric. The Broken Eagle: The Politics of Austrian Literature from Empire to Anschluss. London: 1974.
- Williams, Raymond. Keywords. A Vocabulary of Culture and Society. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

- _____. The Long Revolution. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.
- Windisch-Graetz, Ghislaine de. Kaiser-adler und rote Nelke. Das Leben der Tochter des Kronprinzen Rudolf. Vienna: Amalthea, 1988. 2nd edition
- Wiskemann, Elizabeth. Czechs and Germans. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1938.
- Witzmann, Reingard, Ed. Die Frau im Korsett Wiener Frauenalltag zwischen Klischee und Wirklichkeit 1848-1920. Ausstellungskatalog. Vienna: Museen der Stadt Wien, 1984.
- Wohl, Robert. The Generation of 1914. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josefs pt 1: Von der Revolution zur Grunderzeit. Landesausstellung 1984, Beiträge. Wien: Amt der Niederösterreichischen Landesregierung, Kulturabteilung, 1984.
- Das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josefs pt.II: Glanz und Elend 1880-1916. Wien: Amt der Niederösterreichischen Landesregierung, Kulturabteilung, 1987.

articles

- Applegate, Celia. "Localism and the German Bourgeoisie." in David Blackbourn and Richard Evans (eds.) The German Bourgeoisie London and New York: Routledge, 1991
- Beller, Steven. "Modern Owls Fly by Night: Recent Literature on Fin-de-Siècle Vienna." Historical Journal 31 (1988): 665-683.
- _____. "Reinventing Central Europe." Center for Austrian Studies working paper, 1992.
- Benson, Lee. "An approach to the Scientific Study of Past Public Opinion." Public Opinion Quarterly 31, 4 (1967): 522-567.
- Bhabha, Homi K. "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation." in Homi K. Bhabha (ed.) Nation and Narration. London and New York: Routledge, 1990.

- Bihl, Wolf-Dieter. "Die Juden." in Wandruszka, Adam u. Urbanitsch, Peter, hrsg. Die Habsburger Monarchie. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1973 ff.
- Bodine, Jay. "Karl Kraus, Ludwig Wittgenstein and Paradigms of Textual Understanding." Modern Austrian Literature. 22, 3/4 (1989): 143-186.
- Bruckmüller, Ernst u. Stekl, Hannes. "Zur Sozialstruktur Wiens um 1900." Christliche Demokratie vol 5 (1987): 155-176.
- Burkert, Günther R. "Österreichische Bauernvereine 1869 bis 1914." Geschichte und Gegenwart 2 (1983) and 3 (1984)
- _____. "Deutschnationale Beeinflussungsversuche steierischer Bauern 1880-1914." Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur vol 30, (1986): 94-108.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. "Towards Mixtures and Margins." American Historical Review (Dec. 1992) : 76-95.
- Ehmer, Josef. "The Artisan Family in 19th Century Austria - Embourgeoisement of the Petit-Bourgeoisie?" Geoffrey Crossick and Haupt, Heinz-Gerhard, Eds. London: Methuen Press, Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in 19th Century Europe London: Methuen Press, 1984: 195-218.
- _____. "Lage und Bewusstsein des gewerblichen Kleinbürgertums aus Zeugnissen Wiener Innungen um 1800." Christliche Demokratie II (1984): 351-358
- _____. "Schuster zwischen Handwerk und Fabrik - zum Verhältnis von sozialem Profil und politisch-organisatorischen Verhalten einer Berufsgruppe." Helmut Conrad and Maderthaner, Wolfgang, eds. Neuere Studien zur Arbeitergeschichte. Vienna: Europaverlag, 1984: 3-24.
- Feldman, Gerald D. "Weimar Culture and the German Inflation." in Brude-Firnu, Gisela and McHardy, Karin. Fact and Fiction: German History and Literature. Tübingen: Francke, 1991.
- Goehlich, J.V. "Die Entwicklung der Bevölkerung der Steiermark." Statistische Monatschrift vol. V. (1879): 60-61.
- Good, David F. "'Stagnation' and 'Take-off' in Austria 1873-1913." Economic History Review 27 (1974) : 72-87.

- _____. "Economic Transformation in Central Europe: The View from History." Center for Austrian Studies working paper, 1992
- Gottas, Friedrich. "Die Deutschen in Ungarn" in Wandruschka, Adam u. Urbanitsch, Peter. Die Habsburger Monarchie Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973 ff. vol. III pt. 2 : 340-410.
- Haas, Hanns. "Von Liberal zu National: Salzburgs Bürgertum im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert." in Ackerl, Isabella, Hummelberger, Walter u. Mommsen, Hans, hrsg. Politik und Gesellschaft im alten und neuen Österreich. München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1981.
- Hattenhauer, Hans. "Deutsche Nationalsymbole. Zeichen und Bedeutung." Analyse und Perspektiven vol 9 München, (1984).
- Höbelt, Lothar. "Parliamentary Politics in a Multinational Setting: Late Imperial Austria." Center for Austrian Studies working paper, 1992.
- Hoffman, George W. "The Political-Geographic bases of the Austrian Nationality Problem." Austrian History Yearbook vol III pt.1 (1967) : 121.
- Hubbard, Wm. H. "Social Mobility and Social Structure in Graz 1857-1910." Journal of Social History XVII no 3 (1984) : 453-462.
- _____. "Politics and Society in the Central European City: Graz, Austria 1861-1918." in Canadian Journal of History/Annales Canadiennes vol. 5 (1970) : 26.
- Humphrey, R. & Schuman, Howard. "The Portrayal of Blacks in Magazine Advertisements 1950-1982." Public Opinion Quarterly. vol 48 no.3 (1984): 551-563.
- Iggers, Georg. "The Political Theory of Voluntary Associations in Early Nineteenth Century German Liberal Thought." in Robertson, D. B. Ed. Voluntary Associations: A Study of Groups in Free Societies. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1966.
- Ignatieff, Michael. "The Rise and Fall of Vienna's Jews." New York Review of Books. June 29, 1989.
- Inama-Sternegg, Karl Th. "Die landwirtschaftlichen Arbeiter und deren Löhne in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königsreiche und Länder." Statistische Monatschrift XXI (1895)

Jenke, William A. "Economic Constitutionalism, Administrative and Class Structure." Austrian History Yearbook vol. III, pt.1 (1967) : 32.

Judson, Pieter M. "'Whether Race of Conviction Should Be the Standard': National Identity and Liberal Politics in Nineteenth-Century Austria." Austrian History Yearbook vol XXII, 1991 : 76-95.

_____. "Inventing Germanness: Class, Ethnicity and Colonial Fantasy at the Margins of the Habsburg Monarchy." Centre for Austrian Studies working paper, 1993.

Kann, Robt. A. "The Dynasty and the Imperial Idea." Austrian History Yearbook vol.III,pt.1 (1967): 11.

_____. "Carl Schorske's Fin-de-Siècle Vienna." Central European History XIV no 2 (June, 1981): 169-180.

Knoll, Reinhard. "Nachwirkender Biedermeier. Der Kleinbürger." in Sottriffer, Kristan, ed. Das grössere Österreich. Geistiges und Soziales Leben von 1880 bis zum Gegenwart. Vienna: Tusch, 1982. pp. 28-31.

Komlos, John. "Financial Innovation and the Demand for Money in Austria-Hungary 1867-1913." The Journal of European Economic History 16 (1987): 587-605.

Lämmert, Eberhard. "'Geschichte ist ein Entwurf': Die neue Glaubwürdigkeit des Erzählens in der Geschichtsschreibung und im Roman." German Quarterly vol. 63 no.1, (1990): 5-18.

Levine, Lawrence W., "The Folklore of Industrial Society: Popular Culture and its Audiences." American Historical Review (Dec. 1992): 1369-1399.

Malli, Rudiger. "Die Sozialstruktur und das nationale Erwachen der Slowenen." Österreichische Osthefte Jahrgang 20 (1978): 284-291.

Mitten, Richard and Wodak, Ruth. "On the Discourse of Prejudice and Racism: Two examples from Austria." Centre for Austrian Studies working paper, 1993.

Pech, Stanley Z. "Political Parties among Austrian Slavs." Canadian Slavonic Papers vol XXXI no. 2, (June 1989): 170-193.

Plaschka, Richard Georg; Suppan, Arnold u. Haselsteiner, Horst. "Zum Begriff des Nationalismus and zu seiner Struktur in Südosteuropa im 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts." Österreichische Osthefte Jahrgang 20 (1978): 48-75.

Rauchberg, Heinrich. "Die Gebürtigkeitsverhältnisse der Bevölkerung Oesterreichs nach der Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 23 December 1890." Statistische Monatschrift vol. XVIII (1892): 543.

Riggs, Fred W. "What is Ethnic? What is National? Lets Turn the Tables." Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism. vol V, 13 (1986): 111-123.

Ritter, Harry. "Austria and the Struggle for German Identity." Centre for Austrian Studies working paper, 1992.

Roebke-Berens, Ruth. "Austrian Social Democratic Foreign Policy and the Bosnian Crisis." Austrian History Yearbook XVII-XVIII (1981-82): 104-123.

Rothenberg, Gunther. "The Habsburg Army." Austrian History Yearbook vol.III pt.1 (1967): 70.

Rudolph, Richard. "National Minorities in East Central Europe and the Balkans in Historical Perspective." Centre for Austrian Studies working paper, 1992.

Schmidlechner, Karin M. "Frauen in Graz um 1900." Historischer Jahrbuch der Stadt Graz XIV (1984): 81-100.

Schmidtbauer, P. "The Changing Household: Austrian Household Structure from the 17th to the early 20th Century." in Wall, Richard; Robin, Jean and Laslett, Peter, eds. Family Forum in Historic Europe New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983. pp. 347-378.

Schimmer, G.A. "Gedanken über die Durchführung der nächsten Volkszählung in Oesterreich." Statistische Monatschrift vol. IV (1878): 169.

_____. "Die Einheimische Bevölkerung Oesterreichs nach der Umgangssprache." Statistische Monatschrift vol VIII (1882): 108.

Segal, Daniel A. "Nationalism, Comparatively Speaking." Journal of Historical Sociology vol.1, no.3 (Sept 1988): 301-321.

Smith, James Allen. "History and the Novel: Mentalité in Modern Popular Fiction." History and Theory 22 (1983).

- Schwanz, Robert. "Vienna, Culture in Tension." Journal of Urban History IX no 3 (1983): 383-389.
- Stark, Gary D. "Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Literatur für die Geschichtswissenschaft: A Historian's View." German Quarterly vol 63 no.1 (1990) : 19-29.
- Steinberg, Michael P. "'Fin-de-Siècle Vienna' Ten Years Later: Viel Traum, Wenig Wirklichkeit." Austrian History Yearbook vol XXII, 1991 : 151-162.
- Sugar, Peter F. "The Rise of Nationalism." Austrian History Yearbook vol.III pt.1 (1967) : 91.
- Sutter, Berthold. "Die Badenischen Sprachenverordnungen von 1897, ihre Genesis und ihre Auswirkungen vornehmlich auf die innerösterreichischen Alpenländer." Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs. 2 bde. 46 & 47 Graz-Köln: 1960-1965.
- Suttner, Ernst Chr. "Religiöse und ethnische 'Minoritäten' in der Donaumonarchie an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert." Kirche im Osten Band 35 (1992) : 84-110.
- Thibodeau, Ruth. "Blacks in New Yorker Cartoons." Public Opinion Quarterly vol 53 no 4 (1989): 482-494.
- Urbanitsch, Peter. "Die Deutschen in Österreich: Statistisch-Deskriptiver Überblick." in Wandruszka, Adam and Urbanitsch, Peter, Hrsg. Habsburger Monarchie. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973 ff.
- Wank, Solomon. "The Nationalities Question in the Habsburg Monarchy: Reflections on the Historical Record." Centre for Austrian Studies Working Papers in Austrian Studies, 1993.
- Whiteside, Andrew G. "The Germans as an Integrative Force in Imperial Austria: The Dilemma of Dominance." Austrian History Yearbook vol.III pt. 1 (1967) : 157.
- Wolf, Ken. "Ethnic Nationalism: An Analysis and a Defense." Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism. vol 13 no 1 (1986): 99-109.
- Zollner, Erich. "The Germans as an integrating and disintegrating force." Austrian History Yearbook vol. III pt.1 (1967): 201.
- Zwitter, Fran. "The Slovenes in the Habsburg Monarchy." Austrian History Yearbook vol. III, pt.2 (1967): 159.