Teaching the Empire

Education and State Loyalty in Late Habsburg Austria

Scott O. Moore

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To my mother, Marie

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Introduction

Introduction

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

Civic education, a state's effort to develop the loyalty of its citizens, prepare them to operate in political and civil society, and shape the way they regard their government, became a vital component of the public school curriculum in Europe and the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century. On a basic level, civic education in public school taught children how their state operated, how their government was organized, and their rights and obligations as citizens. Civic education also helped to articulate the common myths, heroes, and ideas that could bind a society together. It helped children think of themselves as members of the community of the state.[1] In Austria-Hungary, the Habsburg dynasty served as the strongest connective thread binding its diverse lands and peoples, making Austrian identity an imperial identity. This dynastic union also meant that Austrian identity was supranational in nature. An individual was Austrian because he or she lived in the Habsburg Monarchy, not because he or she belonged to a specific national, ethnic, or linguistic group. As a result, Austrian identity was inclusive, rather than exclusive, and could be embraced by everyone within the Monarchy's borders.

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

Marsha Rozenblit has shown that the Jews of the Habsburg Monarchy developed a tripartite identity that allowed them to be patriotic Austrians who adopted German, Czech, or Polish culture while retaining a sense of Jewish ethnic identity.[2] Examining civic education in the Habsburg Monarchy reveals that such a layered identity was not typical of Jews alone. According to the Austrian educational establishment, everyone living in the Monarchy could possess strong ties to their home province and their national or ethnic group and still be patriotic Austrians without contradiction.

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

While this study examines the development and implementation of curricula for all regions of Austria, it looks specifically at German-speaking schools to see how Austria's German population developed its national identity in the context of a supranational, Austrian identity. Many German-speakers considered the Monarchy to be a Germanic state and felt that German national culture deserved a privileged position within it.[3] Such perceptions played a central role in the acrimonious nationality struggles that defined the Monarchy's final decades, as German nationalists blocked or resisted concessions to the Monarchy's other nationalities, especially the Czechs and Slovenes.[4] Articulating the contours of these struggles has dominated the historiography of the late Habsburg Monarchy. As a result, historians often explore the Germans of the Monarchy through the lens of German interactions

and conflicts with the other nationalities of the Monarchy. But this emphasis on the nationality conflict comes at the expense of understanding how the German populations of Austria reconciled being both German and Austrian. Schools wanted German students to embrace the idea of a supranational Austrian identity defined by many national cultures and to think of Austria as a multinational state even though many Germans considered it to be a German one. Considering the traditional cultural and economic dominance of the Monarchy's German population, their support for the multinational vision of the state's future was essential for its success.

Austrian civic education also had to contend with the fact that the unification of Germany in 1871 shut Austrian Germans out of the German nation-state. Even though they never enjoyed broad support in the Monarchy, German irredentist movements, like Pan-Germanism, existed in Austria and sought to incorporate the German-speaking regions of Austria into the German nation-state.[5] While most Germans did not sympathize with or belong to the Pan-German movement, and Imperial Germany had no interest in becoming an irredentist power, the existence of the Pan-German movement meant that Habsburg officials could not assume that Austria's Germans would naturally be allies of the state. Austria had to develop the patriotism of Germans just as they did the patriotism of its other nationalities.

At the same time, educational officials realized that national identity, as well as regional identity, were important to their students. In Austrian schools, the development of a supranational, Austrian identity went hand in hand with the development of *Heimat* identity. For simplicity's sake, *Heimat* is typically translated as "homeland," but its use and meaning are much more complex. The meaning of *Heimat*, developed throughout the nineteenth century, is dependent on the philosophical and political views of the user, and can connote a broad range of meaning. As Peter Blickle has written, *Heimat* has the appearance of a specific geographic location, but is fused with romanticized and idealized notions, allowing a seemingly specific location and idea to take on deeper meanings. At its core, the concept of *Heimat* emerged as a philosophical opposition to the ideas of the Enlightenment and the impact of industrialization. This concept remained skeptical of modern, urban spaces while glorifying nature and the permanent and profound connection between the land and those who lived on it.[6]

Starting with the philosophy of Johann Gottfried Herder, notions of *Heimat* became deeply intertwined with nationalism in general and German nationalism in particular. Herder considered the fusion between the land, the language, and culture of a people to be inseparable from one other.[7] During the nineteenth century, in German-speaking Europe, the idea of *Heimat* emerged as a way for nationalists to develop a sense of national community rooted in

these perceived links between population and landscape. But even in regions that possessed theoretical national homogeneity, local and regional identities continued to compete with broader national identities. In the face of this competition, nationalists found themselves co-opting these local forms of identity and folding them into the "nation."[8] Nationalist ideas of *Heimat* obviously were incompatible with the ethnically and linguistically diverse Habsburg Monarchy, where nations did not live separately, but rather shared spaces and history with one another. The concept of *Heimat* was nimble enough, however, to be used in ways that did not necessarily carry nationalistic overtones. The Habsburg educational establishment used the term *Heimat* to refer to the hometown or village of the student, and, more broadly, to the crownland in which the student lived.[9] As a result, one's *Heimat* could be shared with multiple nationalities, if they happened to live in the same region.

Because of this, regional identity could be separated from national or ethnic identity. For example, Austria's civic education curriculum would consider a German student living in Prague to have a German national identity and a Bohemian regional identity, all of which informed an Austrian state identity. Considering the growing acrimony of the nationality struggle in Austria, one would assume that the Habsburg Monarchy sought to diminish nationalism among its students. This is not exactly true, however. When developing civic education, school officials certainly sought to prevent the development of extreme, separatist nationalism. But they also assumed it was natural for children to be proud of their national literature and culture, and to have a strong sense of belonging to their national community. Furthermore, they hoped that when taught properly, pride in one's nation could lead to a strong sense of pride in the Monarchy as a whole.[10] For this reason, the Monarchy did not perceive national identity to develop at the expense of the broader, supranational, Austrian identity.

The Nature of Austrian Civic Education

Early scholarship dismissed the strength of Austrian identity in the Habsburg Monarchy, and while recent historiography has successfully challenged this assertion, it still colors discussions of Habsburg civil society. According to traditional views of Austria-Hungary, nationalism developed at the expense of the multinational state and proved a fatal weakness in the age of nationalism.[11] After all, diversity defined the Habsburg Monarchy. As Europe's second largest state, its borders stretched from the Alps to well beyond the Carpathian Mountains. The extent of its political boundaries, however, does little to communicate its national diversity. In total, the Habsburg Monarchy officially contained eleven nationalities, with many populations living in linguistically, ethnically, and nationally mixed regions. Even though all states emerged from

accidents of history, Austria-Hungary, lacking linguistic, cultural, or religious unity, appeared to many historians to be more accidental than the rest. As a result, they doubted Austria's ability to establish a cohesive sense of identity among its diverse nationalities. And yet this was not the case.

Teaching a patriotic interpretation of the Habsburg past proved essential to Austrian civic education, and history classes in elementary and secondary schools served as the foundation for the civic education curriculum. These classes intentionally sought to present a view of the past that glorified the Habsburg dynasty and the Habsburg Monarchy. They also stressed that Habsburg rulers embodied the ideal of good governance. Students learned that Austria's rulers were pious, reluctant to wage war, eager to develop their lands, and deeply interested in the welfare of their peoples. These qualities transcended the individual rulers themselves and applied to the dynasty as a whole. By developing this image of the dynasty, history classes helped to establish a set of assumed characteristics all future rulers of the Monarchy would possess. In this way, history teachers attempted to create loyalty to the dynasty, and not just the reigning monarch. Obviously, Emperor Franz Joseph, who reigned from 1848–1916, was an important part of any civic education curriculum in the late Habsburg Monarchy, but officials did not want him to be the sole focus of patriotic education. History classes represented an effort to develop long-term patriotism that was not dependent on an individual.

History classes also stressed the legitimacy of Habsburg rule. Habsburg emperors not only possessed the qualities needed for good leadership, but they also possessed the legitimate right to rule their territories. To prove this, these classes included curriculum about the history of the Habsburg lands, and methodically demonstrated how and why the Habsburg dynasty obtained its territories. This task required history lessons to teach the history of every region that would become the Habsburg Monarchy. So, for example, the curriculum mandated that students learn the history of the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Kingdom of Hungary prior to their acquisition by the Habsburgs. This process was an important part of establishing a "mental map" of the Monarchy, which encouraged students to conceptualize the state as a natural byproduct of history.

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

country and their dynasty. These examples served two major purposes: they showed that the Monarchy was united in the face of opposition while also providing model behavior for students to emulate.

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

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

The alignment between school events and school curriculum illustrates the degree to which Austrian civic education was an effort to shape collective memory as much as it was a tool for patriotic development. The notion of collective memory refers not only to an accepted interpretation of the past shared by a community, but also to the ways in which this interpretation influences how that community views itself and others.[12] While scholars have debated the nature and concept of collective memory, there is general agreement that it is an important part of the creation and maintenance of social groups. Moreover, political authorities play an important role in crafting this memory. Not only do historical legends and myths help to legitimize political structures, but as Pierre Nora has noted, collective memory, especially memorials and commemorations, helps a society compensate for the lack of "organic unity."[13] The teaching of history in public schools is perhaps the most important tool for the cultivation of collective memory, and this task often causes the teaching of history to differ from the act of historical research. While historical research

aims to discover the past objectively, teaching history often seeks to confirm existing beliefs. While collective memory is shaped by political battles and the social context of the time, as Roland Barthes reminds us, it also aims to provide "blissful clarity" to a complicated past.[14]

The Structural Foundations of Austrian Civic Education

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

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

Recent scholarship shows that teachers were among the most active participants in nationalist movements in the Monarchy. Conflict among nationalists over the languages used in schools and the right of national minorities to have their own schools ensured that education remained at the forefront of the Monarchy's increasingly bitter nationality struggle. The work of Pieter Judson, Hannelore Burger, Tara Zahra, and others proves that nationalist organizations had a vested interest in recruiting teachers sympathetic to their cause.[15] School officials actively sought to diminish nationalist influence over schools by punishing teachers who overtly politicized their classroom or were too closely affiliated with extreme nationalist organizations. The fact that officials did not want teachers participating in these organizations is not unusual,

considering that many extreme nationalist groups often caused civic unrest, held disruptive demonstrations, and, in some cases, even espoused disloyalty to the Austrian state. However, prohibitions limiting the political activities of teachers did not single out nationalist organizations alone. Disciplinary guidelines prohibited all forms of extreme political participation, and school officials were just as worried about radical socialist teachers, for example, as they were about extreme nationalist teachers.

Contextualizing Austrian Civic Education

Ultimately, Austrian civic education represented a sophisticated, well-developed effort by the state to increase the loyalty of its citizens while acknowledging that the Habsburg Monarchy was a diverse, multinational state. Austrian civic education did not try to create an Austrian national identity, nor did it try to supplant the ethnic, national, or religious identities of the Monarchy's peoples. Instead, it attempted to create a layered identity that allowed for ethnic, national, and religious identities to exist in concert with a supranational, Austrian identity. In fact, pedagogical leaders assumed that children could only become loyal, patriotic Austrians if they also possessed loyalty to their nations and their regions. Traditionally, historians have largely overlooked the complexity of Austrian identity, focusing instead on the acrimony of the nationality struggle.

In the decades after World War I, studies considered the Monarchy's national diversity to be the primary cause for the state's collapse in 1918; a dynastic, multinational state was too anachronistic to survive in the era of nationalism and the nation-state. Oscar Jászi was among the first to articulate this view. His 1929 study *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* famously examined the problems of the Habsburg state through a crisp analysis of the centripetal forces working to keep the Monarchy together and the centrifugal forces working to pull the Monarchy apart. While Jászi identified several centripetal forces—the army, the dynasty, the bureaucracy, the aristocracy, the Roman Catholic Church, capitalism, and socialism—all of these were too weak to overcome the primary centrifugal force: nationalism. Jászi viewed the nationality conflict as a force tearing apart the cohesion of the Monarchy, ultimately destroying it.[16]

Even though recent scholarship has exposed the limitations of Jászi's conclusions, they nevertheless shaped historical understanding of the Habsburg Monarchy well into the last decades of the twentieth century. For example, Robert Kann's 1950 landmark study, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848–1918*, built upon Jászi's work, presenting the Monarchy's diversity as an insurmountable barrier to cohesion and success. In this formulation, loyalty to the nation was innate,

and those living within the Habsburg Monarchy instinctively identified with their own nations. In fact, nationalism was so fundamental that the activities of national organizations were like a "surgeon restoring the natural function of a limb."[17] Nationalists did not create nationalist sentiment; they were simply reviving a naturally occurring impulse. Once nationalist movements developed, they gained widespread acceptance quickly.[18] Because nationalism was natural and widely supported, the Habsburg Monarchy could never hope to be a centralized state, nor was there the possibility for a supranational Habsburg identity. For Kann, the trajectory of history was moving toward the establishment of independent nation-states, a trajectory that made it impossible for the Habsburg Monarchy to survive.

The intricacies of the Czech/German nationalist struggle reveal the extent to which Kann overemphasized the national polarization of the Habsburg Monarchy. Looking at nationalist development in Prague, Gary Cohen finds that the construction of national loyalty was a work in progress throughout the final decades of the nineteenth century. Far from being innate, the development of German nationalism occurred in reaction to the growth of Czech nationalism. While the Germans certainly believed in the superiority of their language and culture, they did not see themselves exclusively as a national or ethnic group.[19] Germans only developed this sense in the 1860s once Czech nationalists began pushing for language equality, started moving into Prague in large numbers, and the Czech national movement threatened German cultural and political power. In this way, German nationalism in the Bohemian lands was a reactive force responding to the Czech nationalist challenge to German cultural dominance.

Interestingly, Czech nationalism was reactive as well, resulting from the fear of German domination during and after the Revolutions of 1848. The Frankfurt Assembly's attempt to include Bohemia in a unified German state spurred Czech nationalists into activity. They assumed that if Bohemia was bound to a new Germany, Germanization efforts would intensify and Czech language and culture would disappear.[20] Even though the Frankfurt Assembly failed, Czechs felt the need to fight against perceived threats to Czech national survival in Bohemia. Moreover, pre-national, local identities persisted through the nineteenth century, and nationalist groups had to work diligently to win over local populations. Nations did not experience an "awakening" in the nineteenth century, but rather were forged by nationalist groups. Nationalism was not restorative, as previously assumed, but rather was constructive.[21]

The widespread national indifference among rural populations that occupied the "language frontiers," regions containing more than one linguistic group, illustrates this fact. Even though nationalist organizations long considered rural populations the "heart" of the nation, these populations were largely

indifferent to the nationality struggle. Not only were peasants on the language frontier uninterested in the battle over language, education, and culture, but they did not largely think of themselves in national terms at all.[22] Nationalist groups aggressively tried to end national indifference, which they considered a substantial challenge to their cause, but Czechs and Germans outside of these groups were able to coexist in their communities without strife.[23] In order to combat national indifference, nationalists often resorted to coercion and legal force to make students attend Czech or German schools, at times overriding parental wishes.[24]

It is clear from recent scholarship that the Habsburg Monarchy was not a state populated by well-defined nationalities. Nationalists had to work to develop national identification among the Monarchy's population. The fluidity of national identity provided Austrian officials with the opportunity to develop identification with the supranational Habsburg state among the children of the Monarchy. Nevertheless, historians generally have concluded that the Habsburg Monarchy did not effectively develop a system of civic education to foster this identification. Jászi offered the first assessment of Habsburg civic education, concluding that it was too backward-looking, too attached to tradition, and too reactive to adequately address the challenge at hand. He sharply criticized the efforts of the Habsburg state to build loyalty among its citizens as nothing more than outdated dynasty worship. Simply glorifying the Monarchy and emphasizing the historical foundation of the state was too old-fashioned, too quaint, and too inconsistent to be effective in the age of nationalism.[25]

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

> the Habsburgs had rarely felt the need to court their subjects. . . . Decision makers in Vienna were slow to engage in what Oscar Jászi once called "civic education"—namely to use schools, religious bodies, literature, the press, the army, and other institutions to produce state solidarity and internal cohesion. . . . They failed to realize that, even before the emergence of mass politics at the end of the century, they had to win the "hearts and minds" of their subjects.[26]

Compared to the nationalist program of the Hungarians, Germans, and Czechs, Nemes finds the Habsburg officials to be outmatched and unprepared for the challenge such national programs posed to cohesion of the state. As

with Jászi, Nemes makes these assertions without rigorous examination of the Monarchy's civic education efforts.

In spite of these assumptions, the Monarchy did in fact work to develop the loyalty of its citizens, and Habsburg officials were deeply concerned with the "hearts and minds" of the Monarchy's inhabitants. Daniel Unowsky's study of public celebration and ceremony in Austria shows that the Habsburg Monarchy deftly utilized public ceremony and celebration in an attempt to strengthen loyalty to the dynasty and to the state. Far from being inflexible and unable to adjust to emerging challenges, Habsburg officials adapted their strategies and critically evaluated the success and failure of their efforts. For example, when observers criticized Emperor Franz Joseph's early inspection tours for being too scripted and cold, plans for subsequent tours allowed local dignitaries to assist in the creation of the imperial itinerary, in an effort to make the monarch look more accessible.[27] Habsburg officials used major Catholic festivals and imperial jubilees to reinforce the message of dynastic and state loyalty in school programs, popular publications, public performances, and even in memorabilia created and sold by private manufacturers. While all efforts did not succeed, the state was actively interested in ensuring loyalty to the Monarchy.

This interest does not necessarily mean that the Monarchy wanted to combat nationalism, per se. Instead, they were eager to "tame" nationalism, mitigating the impact of radical or separatist nationalism, and harnessing it for the broader goal of state loyalty. This is not only true in Austrian schools, but also in those of the Monarchy's newest territories, Bosnia and Herzegovina. There, officials understood that school instruction could be a valuable tool for teaching state loyalty. When Habsburg officials created schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, they established an educational curriculum that attempted to diminish Bosnian identification with the Serbs and tied Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Dual Monarchy.[28] In short, Habsburg administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina specifically developed and endorsed a system of civic education within the new provinces.

In fact, in the late nineteenth century, Austrian civic education shared the same goals as that of other states, especially France, Germany, and the United States. This shared experience has often been overlooked by historians. Scholars of the Habsburg Monarchy have primarily focused on the nationality struggle in Austria schools, emphasizing the unique challenge this posed to the development of education in the state. Meanwhile, those offering comparative studies of the history of education typically have focused on the United States, France, the United Kingdom, and Germany, overlooking Southern and East-Central Europe. And yet, these studies have not only noted the link between education and the growth of nationalism, but also the ways in which

governments attempted to use education to overcome the challenges created by the development of modern, industrial societies.[29] The fact that Habsburg officials similarly grappled with these wider concerns suggests that its political struggles over education were not unique.

Each of these states attempted to use public education to create patriotic and loyal citizens, to overcome the social divisions produced by industrialization and urbanization, and to shape the way their citizens conceptualized their country and their neighbors. This process required more than simply appealing to nationalist sentiments. Just as in the Habsburg Monarchy, nationalism in France, Germany, and the United States did not occur naturally. It needed to be encouraged. Public schools were so essential to making the citizens of France "French" that the leaders of the Third Republic considered teachers to be national missionaries as well as educators.[30] Schools were a vital government outpost in rural France and allowed the central government a strong presence in the remote regions. By making primary and secondary education free and secular, a task largely achieved by 1881, republican officials ensured that regional dialects and linguistic variations were diminished and educational curriculum standardized.[31] While the primary goal of public education was, in fact, to educate and to eliminate illiteracy, schools also provided an unparalleled chance for the state to engender French nationalism among its people. Through effective use of history and geography lessons, schools taught that the first obligation of all French citizens was to defend France and that their loyalty lay with France, not their village or region.[32]

While some historians, like James Lehning, contend that French rural populations thought of themselves in national terms throughout most of the nineteenth century, there is nevertheless broad consensus that teachers were "agents of the state in the provinces" and that government officials saw education as an effective tool in shaping the loyalty of its citizens.[33] For Lehning, French officials used public education to teach a specific form of French nationalism, one that emphasized the values of citizenship, civic participation, and loyalty to the state. In other words, it made citizens.[34] Teaching of national loyalty was inseparable from teaching state loyalty.

French nation-building in Alsace and Lorraine reveals that borderlands often presented the greatest challenge to such civic education efforts, even in "natural" nation-states, like France. Louis XIV annexed the two provinces, which were on the border of France and the German states, in the seventeenth century. Even though they remained part of France until 1871, the population of Alsace and Lorraine possessed the same level of national ambiguity and indifference present in the linguistically mixed regions of the Habsburg Monarchy. As a result, when Germany obtained Alsace and Lorraine in 1871, after defeating the French in the Franco-Prussian War, the new German state engaged

in intense Germanization in these provinces. When France regained them following World War I, they were the target of equally intense Gallicization by the Third Republic.[35] Both Germany and France used public education in Alsace and Lorraine in an attempt to make the populations more closely identify with the German or French nation (depending on who controlled the provinces) and to adopt either the German or French language. Moreover, both states used similar tactics and approaches to this nation-building, in spite of the differences in national and political culture.[36]

Of course, in many ways, Third Republic France and Imperial Germany shared similar problems with regard to nation- and state-building. Like the Third Republic, the Second Reich had to find a way to use nationalism to strengthen loyalty to a new political body. Even though German nationalism helped produce the unification of Germany, loyalty to the Prussian king turned German emperor was not guaranteed. The new German state was composed of twenty-seven constituent states, each with their own histories and character. Furthermore, educational policy technically was implemented at the state level. For the new Germany to succeed, it had to ensure that Germans were loyal to the empire, not just their state.[37] The new German education system sought to build loyalty to the empire by making connections between the German past and the new German state. Educational officials attempted to diminish the differences between the constituent states and emphasize the German Empire as the fulfillment of German nationalism.[38] Moreover, German schools used history and literature classes to portray the unity of the German people.[39]

The parallels between civic education in "nation-states," like France and Germany, and in the Habsburg Monarchy shows that the Monarchy was hardly the outlier it was previously assumed to be. Shaping the civic values of a population, overcoming regionalism, and coping with ethnic and linguistic diversity were universal challenges, even in states that theoretically possessed homogenous national cultures. In many ways, however, civic education in the United States provides the most interesting parallel with that of the Habsburg Monarchy. Like the Monarchy, the United States possessed a large, diverse population. As immigration to the United States rapidly increased in the nineteenth century, education was a crucial tool for creating state loyalty. Also, like the Habsburg Monarchy, the United States' central government had a limited ability to shape education policy. In spite of these shared challenges, these two states embraced alternative strategies toward patriotic development. While the Monarchy chose to build a system of civic education predicated on its diversity, the United States embraced a system designed around aggressive Americanization. American education reformers, like their French counterparts, perceived schools to be the ideal way to create "good citizens."[40]

Education reformers in the United States sought to assimilate and Americanize the children of immigrants, although they differed on the best way to achieve these goals. Some felt that only "complete divestment" from native culture would allow for assimilation to take hold, while others felt that embracing cultural diversity while reinforcing core "American" values like democracy, civic duty, and order would help immigrants become "American."[41]

To teach these values American schools utilized history courses in the same way that Austrian schools did. Schools taught characteristics like "love of liberty, courage, honor, and justice" through the biographies of famous historical personalities.[42] Of course, in the United States, teaching immigrants English was an important part of making them "American," and linguistic unity became a way of overcoming the challenges created by the diverse population of the United States.[43] After 1867, this was not possible in the Habsburg Monarchy. The *Ausgleich* of 1867 and the Austrian December Constitution guaranteed citizens the right to be educated in their mother tongue and protected the right of nationalities to develop their national culture. Civic education in Austria could never rely on language or culture to provide a source of cohesion or identity. Though they shared many similarities, civic education in the United States and in Austria differed in one major way: the United States sought to create a national identity out of its diverse population, while Austria sought to create a supranational identity.

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

A Note on Place Names

Because of the ethnic and linguistic diversity of the Habsburg Monarchy, the names of regions, cities, and other places creates a thorny problem for historians. Even in regions without German populations, Habsburg officials often used German names. Obviously, local populations had their own names for these same places. Also, many cities and regions had mixed populations, and these populations referred to these cities and regions by separate names. In order to reflect this diversity and to avoid unintentionally favoring one national group over another, this study will provide all of the names used by local populations to refer to their city, unless the city has an Anglicized alternative,

like Vienna, Prague, or Cracow. In cases where city names are used to refer to peace treaties, diets, or other forms of diplomatic correspondences, this study will use the city name most commonly associated with the event—for example, the Diet of Pressburg.

Concerns over nomenclature even extend to the name of the Habsburg state.[44] With the *Ausgleich* of 1867, the Habsburg Monarchy became the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, comprised of two autonomous and sovereign states sharing a common ruler, common foreign policy, and a common military. The western part of the Dual Monarchy, usually referred to as Austria, formally became "The Kingdoms and Lands Represented in the Imperial Parliament" and the Kingdom of Hungary formally became "The Lands of the Holy Hungarian Crown of St. Stephen." Austria and Hungary each had their own prime ministers, cabinets, and parliaments, which controlled their individual domestic affairs.[45] When referring to the entirety of the Habsburg lands, this study will use the terms the "Habsburg Monarchy," "Austria-Hungary," or "Dual Monarchy." The terms "Austria" or "Cisleithania" will be used to refer to "The Kingdoms and Lands Represented in the Imperial Parliament," and Hungary to refer to "The Lands of the Holy Hungarian Crown of St. Stephen." When discussing the history of the Monarchy before 1867, this study will often refer to policy makers or the Habsburg armed forces as "Austrian," reflecting the fact that contemporary sources referred to these entities using this adjective. Additionally, this study will use the term "Habsburg hereditary lands" when referring to the Austrian provinces of Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Salzburg, Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola.

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

Chapter 1
The Development of Education and Civic Education in Austria

Introduction

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

The origins of public education in the Habsburg Monarchy date back to Empress Maria Theresa's "general regulations" for schools, issued in 1774.[1] These regulations were the first to require compulsory school attendance for all Austrian subjects, and they established a state-run educational system that would remain throughout the Monarchy's existence. At that point the state did not vigorously enforce school attendance, but it established the principle that all inhabitants of the Monarchy should have an elementary education. The debates and disagreements surrounding the structure and nature of these education reforms continued well into the nineteenth century. Maria Theresa's actions directly challenged the primacy of the Church in matters of education, creating tension between the Church hierarchy, eager to defend its influence,

and the state, eager to expand and centralize its authority. This conflict between ecclesiastical and secular authorities over education grew worse in the mid-nineteenth century with the advent of liberalism. Church officials thought education fell within their exclusive purview, and liberals fought aggressively for secular, state-run schools. As was the case in other European states, when Austrian political culture became more pluralistic and democratic, the debate over the Church's role in education developed into a defining position for Austria's political parties.[2] The secularization of schools, achieved by the liberals in 1869, did not end this debate. Even though the Church never regained control over education, its political allies worked diligently to augment the influence of Church authorities over education, and the role the Church played in schools waxed and waned, depending on the strength of its political allies.[3]

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

In spite of these conflicts, the goals of the Austrian educational system remained consistent from the time of Maria Theresa until the end of the Monarchy. From the beginning, the intention of public education was to make the population more productive and useful, and to teach "proper" attitudes, like piety, respect for authority, and the value of hard work. Industrialization and urbanization only strengthened these pragmatic desires in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Changes to the educational system may have placed a greater emphasis on vocational education, in order to prepare the working class for industrial labor, but teaching "proper" behavior remained, in an effort to diffuse potential social unrest. There was always a strong link between public education and civic education because officials considered loyalty to the crown and state to be the cornerstone of proper morality. Therefore, the expansion of the school system and the development of the curriculum meant that patriotic education reached more students, becoming more nuanced and comprehensive as time went on. In particular, teachers and educational policy makers wanted all schools to expand the teaching of Austrian history and civics, and to incorporate civic education into the broader curriculum as much as possible.

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

the complicated legacy of Maria Theresa's reforms and of Austrian bureaucratic culture.[4] The nature of school administration was symptomatic of the general tension between centralization and federalization in the Monarchy. Nevertheless, at the dawn of the twentieth century, Austria possessed a sophisticated, modern, secular system of public schools that openly embraced the task of making students loyal citizens of the Monarchy.

From Maria Theresa to the Revolutions of 1848

Maria Theresa's decision to issue her "general regulations" was only one aspect of the sweeping changes she brought to the Habsburg Monarchy. These reforms represented a pragmatic attempt to centralize its administration and a recognition of the need to strengthen its economy and military. The wars of Leopold I and Charles VI in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries depleted the Monarchy's treasury, meaning that Maria Theresa, who ruled from 1740–1780, inherited a state in dire financial straits. During the War of Spanish Succession (1701–1714), Prince Eugene of Savoy, the Monarchy's preeminent field marshal, summarized the condition of its finances by opining that "if the Monarchy's survival depended on its ability to raise 50,000 fl. at once, it would nonetheless be impossible to save it."[5] The War of Austrian Succession, which erupted upon Maria Theresa's ascension to the throne, compounded these financial troubles while also exposing the poor condition of the Monarchy's army.[6] The new ruler realized that her monarchy required reforms that would streamline administration and modernize the state.

Her first series of reforms began during the War of Austrian Succession as she recast her advisory councils into a single chancery, established new judicial courts and a uniform penal code in Austria and Bohemia, restructured the army, while also centralizing military planning and financial management.[7] Maria Theresa made little effort to draw Hungary into this project of greater centralization. Hungary's loyalty proved decisive in securing her position in the war, and she realized that the Hungarian diets would vociferously oppose any attempts to diminish their authority or increase their tax burden and conscription requirements.[8] This calculated approach to Hungary at large did not extend to those regions of the Kingdom of St. Stephen controlled directly by the crown. In Transylvania, for example, which Maria Theresa ruled through a military governor, reforms greatly diminished the authority of the local diets in a manner similar to those in Austria and Bohemia.[9]

In the end, the first wave of Theresian reforms represented an enormous shift in authority from local assemblies, diets, and nobles to appointed bureaucrats accountable to their individual ministers and the crown. The professionalization of military and civil administration necessitated the creation of an educated bureaucracy that, in turn, necessitated the creation of a more

modern system of education. These needs, in part, provided the impetus for the series of educational reforms that took place in the 1770s.[10] Changes to education occurred in concert with other efforts to strengthen the economic conditions of the Monarchy and to minimize unrest among the peasantry. It is also worth noting that these changes emerged out of a genuine desire to improve the lives of those living within its borders.

Since religious authorities controlled the Monarchy's educational institutions, as they did in the rest of Europe in the eighteenth century, any attempt to alter these institutions required the state to restrict Church authority. In 1770, Johann Anton von Pergen, director of the Oriental Academy and a member of the State Chancery, prepared a proposal for reforming the Monarchy's education system that called for the replacement of clerical teachers with secular ones.[11] Maria Theresa ultimately rejected this proposal, fearing it would require hiring too many Protestant teachers, primarily from the German states, since there was a dearth of adequately trained, lay Catholic teachers. Furthermore, she doubted the Monarchy could meet the financial obligations that would result from these changes.[12] Internal politics within the Catholic Church soon established an environment that made the secularization of Austria's schools more feasible. In 1773, Pope Clement XIV abolished the Jesuit order, opening the door for Maria Theresa to expel the order from the Monarchy.[13] This expulsion not only broke the order's domination over the Monarchy's educational institutions, but it also allowed the state to seize its land and assets. With Jesuit resources now in state hands, the Monarchy had the means to finance the secularization and expansion of its educational system.[14]

From the start, education reformers envisioned public, state-run schools as a tool for controlling the populace. They assumed that elementary schools could teach proper behavior and social responsibility, which would motivate students to obey authority once they reached adulthood. Reformers did not intend state-run schools to be free from religious influence, and they fully expected Catholic teaching and the Church to remain integral to moral, ethical, and religious instruction. In fact, the Catholic hierarchy, Maria Theresa, and her advisers all assumed that mass literacy and education would also allow for the dissemination of Christian morality and Catholic teachings.[15] The fact that these remained the primary objectives of school reform ensured the continued presence of religious institutions in the Monarchy's schools.

The establishment of compulsory education resulted from two "general regulations" for schools, the first issued in 1774 for the Austrian and Bohemian lands and the second in 1777 for Hungary. The introduction to the 1774 "general regulations" made clear that the purpose of these reforms was to improve the state as well as the lives of its people:

> Nothing is so dear to us [Maria Theresa] as the welfare of those lands entrusted to our administration by God, and since we are accustomed to paying strict attention to their best possible improvement, so we hold it true that the education of youth of both sexes, which is the most important foundation for the true happiness of the nation, deserves a thorough examination.
>
> This matter has drawn our attention all the more because the future life of all people, the molding of the spirit and mentality of the whole community, certainly depend on good education and guidance in the early years. This can never be achieved unless the darkness of ignorance is enlightened by thorough teaching.[16]

These regulations mandated that all inhabitants of Austria and Bohemia, both boys and girls, receive basic elementary education for six years. The curriculum for these elementary schools emphasized reading, writing, and arithmetic along with religious and moral instruction with limited exposure to history, geography, and science. The "general regulations" required rural areas to have at least a one- or two-class elementary school, or *Volksschule*; small towns to have a three-class *Volksschule*; and provincial capitals to have a four-class *Volksschule* and a *Normalschule*. The purpose of the *Normalschule* was to train teachers, ensuring an unprecedented level of uniformity to these new schools.[17] Theoretically these regulations required everyone to obtain a basic level of education, but they did not intend to provide such education in an egalitarian manner. Each student was to be educated according to the needs of "his station."[18] The primary function of rural *Volksschulen* was to provide moral education and vocational training, with the hopes of producing loyal, pious, and productive subjects. Reformers did not consider these schools to be the foundation for advanced education.[19]

Nevertheless, Theresian education reforms fundamentally restructured society in the Habsburg Monarchy. From this point forward, at least in theory, all children in the Monarchy from ages six to twelve had to go to school and received a basic education, and the state made a commitment to provide this education. The core Theresian reforms stayed in place during the reigns of Joseph II and Leopold II, and survived the reactionary period after the Napoleonic Wars. By this point, even staunch conservatives like Clemens von Metternich recognized the value of compulsory education, and decision makers paid little attention to those calling for its abolition or limitation. Across the Monarchy, enrollment in secondary schools included a growing number of middle-class students.[20]

The strength of the Theresian educational system persisted because decision makers in the Monarchy recognized the pragmatic need for it, not because of a philosophical conviction. In the early nineteenth century, as the state continued to grow, it required qualified bureaucrats. As the economy developed, workers required greater levels of skill. And in the aftermath of the French Revolution, Metternich and his allies considered the primary goal of the Theresian elementary school—the teaching of "proper" behavior—to be more important than ever.[21] While they may have recognized the need for the educational system, this did not mean that the conservative governments of Franz II/I and his successor, Ferdinand I, wholeheartedly accepted it or sought to expand it. Educational institutions faced budgetary restrictions that caused teacher shortages and, in some cases, led to the Church regaining control over secularized schools.[22] While access to secondary education may have expanded during this era, state officials viewed this expansion with an air of mistrust, leading to efforts in the 1820s to reduce enrollment in the *Gymnasien*, the elite secondary schools that prepared students to enter universities. In order to facilitate this reduction, tuition costs rose and students had to pass an entrance exam.[23] Government consternation regarding *Gymnasien* enrollment stemmed from the fear of radicalism in educational institutions and the practical concern that the number of graduates would exceed the number of available jobs in the state bureaucracy. This latter concern was justified, considering that by the 1840s, the number of qualified applicants for jobs in the bureaucracy outpaced the number of posts, a situation hardly unique to the Habsburg Monarchy, but common throughout Europe, especially in the German states.[24]

The reactionary governments of the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s also made only half-hearted efforts to modernize or amend school curricula.[25] These governments continued to see *Gymnasien* as tools for producing loyal, properly trained state officials, and they rejected efforts to establish a broader course of study that focused less on classical, humanistic education and more on the sciences and modern languages. The statement "I need no learned men; I need only good officials," purportedly made by Franz II/I, remains the most succinct way to describe official attitudes toward higher education.[26] *Volksschulen* and universities experienced similar stagnation. The result was an educational system that continued to grow in numbers of students but not in ideas, facilities, or management.

This lack of innovation in the educational system mirrored the condition of other sectors of the Austrian government.[27] In the face of this stagnation, professional groups and even some segments of the bureaucracy developed theoretical plans for reform, but they lacked any mechanism to implement them. In addition, some students, educators, and members of the educational

bureaucracy started to advocate for liberal reforms in the 1840s, which would modernize schools and their curricula while enhancing the prestige of non-university faculty.[28] Most of all, reformers wanted to implement a curriculum based on the principle of free inquiry, common in the schools of other German-speaking states.[29] Such calls went unheeded until the Revolutions of 1848, which allowed the first serious opportunity to align schools along liberal auspices.

Moving Toward a Liberal System of Education, 1848–1867

Economic and political frustration among liberals, nationalists, and workers provided the impetus for the Revolutions of 1848 in the Habsburg Monarchy. In Vienna, liberals quickly took the lead, preparing a government program reflecting their political and economic goals. They demanded freedom of speech, press, and assembly as well as a written constitution guaranteeing the creation of a legislative assembly with power over the budget, the newly established civic guard, government ministers, and the end of the obligatory labor peasants owed their lords.[30] Other uprisings across the Monarchy, including those in Milan, Prague, and Hungary, followed in this liberal mold, but included nationalist demands, like the granting and protection of language rights, which often prevented constructive cooperation between liberals from the different nationalities.[31] Initially, the government lacked the capability to suppress these challenges through force and instead compromised. By May and June 1848, reform plans existed to end the last vestiges of serfdom and the censorship of the press, and to create a preliminary constitution.[32]

Thanks largely to the fact that the imperial court fled to Innsbruck in May, a newly elected Austrian parliament took the lead in crafting these changes. This assembly sought reforms that broadly reflected liberal principles, especially in matters related to education. For the most part, education reformers concentrated exclusively on secondary and university education, proposing almost no changes to *Volksschulen*. Franz Freiherr von Sommaruga, the new minister of public instruction, announced his intent to allow the freedom of study and teaching in secondary schools and universities, to permit university faculty to manage university affairs, and other reforms to strengthen the status of *Gymnasium* teachers.[33]

Sommaruga also permitted the ministry to develop broad plans for reforming secondary education and universities. These reforms, outlined in the "Proposal of the Basic Features of Public Education in Austria," sought to make Austrian universities more closely resemble their counterparts in the German states. Essential to this task was demanding a more scholarly faculty that focused on research as well as teaching, establishing a more rigorous curriculum, and allowing professors to administer universities (with government

oversight).[34] In order to ensure that *Gymnasien* adequately prepared students for these reformed universities, their curriculum would consist of a rigorous course of study emphasizing traditional humanist goals, like the study of Greek and Latin. In order to provide alternatives to the *Gymnasien* that were more aligned with the needs created by industrialization, the "Proposal" also called for the creation of three-year *Bürgerschulen* and *Realschulen*, which students could enroll in after finishing *Volksschule*. *Bürgerschulen* provided additional general and vocational education to those students not planning to attend university, while the curriculum of the *Realschulen* emphasized teaching trades and crafts, which allowed students to either enter into a profession or enroll in technical institutes.[35]

The zeal of revolutionary reformers waned under the strength of a resurgent Habsburg dynasty. Armies loyal to the crown suppressed the uprisings in Italy, Bohemia, and Vienna by the end of 1848 and the court returned to Vienna—now under the leadership of the nineteen-year-old Franz Joseph, who became emperor on December 2, 1848, after the ministers encouraged the mentally impaired Ferdinand I to abdicate.[36] In spite of the suppression of the uprisings and the return of a strengthened court to the capital, the Habsburg government, in theory, continued to support reform. An assembly still met to draft a constitution throughout the first months of 1849 while the court began to develop its own charter. The court's support for reform diminished quickly, however. In a sign of the return to conservative rule to come, troops disbanded the constitutional assembly in March, leaving the court to complete the constitution on its own. While a draft constitution eventually emerged, it hardly reflected the principles of liberalism and instead ensured the continued power of the monarch. Though completed, it remained unratified and never took effect. Franz Joseph officially rescinded the document in 1851.[37]

The failure to secure a permanent constitution served as a symbol of the collapse of the Revolutions of 1848. During the 1850s, Franz Joseph and his ministers abandoned most of the promises for further reform and rescinded many of the reforms the government had granted at the height of the revolutionary challenge.[38] Instead, the government pursued a system of neo-absolutism, which stressed governance through centralized bureaucracy. While neo-absolutism represented the nadir of liberalism in Austria, the new emperor and his ministers did not curb the educational reforms initiated by the "Proposal." In fact, the leading voices of neo-absolutism, including Prince Felix zu Schwarzenberg, Alexander Bach, and Count Leo Thun-Hohenstein, recognized that the educational system required these changes.[39] Throughout the 1850s, the Schwarzenberg government followed the educational reform plan established in 1848 in an effort to make the educational system more responsive to modern needs.

Figure 1.1. Portrait of Leo Thun-Hohenstein. Courtesy of the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.

Of course, the government did not accept liberal philosophical views. Instead, it sought to stabilize the state, make the state bureaucracy more effective and responsive, and improve the Austrian economy with the hope of diffusing revolutionary tensions.[40] On the surface, Thun, who took control of a newly restructured Ministry of Religion and Education in 1849, seemed an unlikely choice to implement the promised reforms of the Monarchy's educational system. A staunch conservative and devout Catholic, he had little sympathy for the liberal goals of the defeated revolutionaries. On the other hand, having traveled broadly, Thun understood that the Monarchy's schools and universities lagged behind their counterparts in the German states, France, and Great Britain. His ministry therefore implemented reforms outlined in the "Proposal" suggested at the height of the Revolutions of 1848, including modernizing and strengthening the curriculum of institutions of higher learning, especially the *Gymnasien*. By the end of 1849, the ministry secured approval for a series of changes to the *Gymnasium* curriculum, which placed greater emphasis on mathematics and science, and established an exit exam to ensure satisfactory mastery of the material.[41] Most importantly, Thun ended the strict surveillance of these institutions. As long as universities and *Gymnasien* adhered to the principles and guidelines handed down from the ministry, they operated with minimal interference.[42]

The development of technical institutes and universities proceeded at a slower pace. In part, this lag resulted from the fact that technical institutes remained under provincial control at this time, limiting the scope of what could be accomplished on the ministerial level. During the 1850s and 1860s, the ministry developed a plan for discipline-specific schools within the technical institutes that could provide better vocational training. It also developed new plans for a system of *Realschulen*, though at that point they largely remained glorified vocational schools.[43]

While the conservative, neo-absolutist government proceeded with these reforms, it also allowed the Catholic Church to regain influence over education. As stated earlier, the Church managed to reacquire control over many

of the Monarchy's elementary and secondary schools during the Metternich era, thanks largely to the chronic underfunding of education. Even during that time, however, the government still maintained the theoretical principle of state-run education. This changed dramatically when Franz Joseph signed the Concordat of 1855, which granted Catholic Church authorities the right to review and revise school curricula at all levels in order to ensure that they did not conflict with Church doctrine.[44] Thun supported this measure, welcoming the Church's ability to influence schools and play a leading role in the moral education of the populace. Through the Concordat of 1855, the Catholic Church not only gained direct oversight of *Volksschulen*, but *Gymnasien* as well. With this new influence, the Church ensured that non-Catholics did not become *Gymnasien* professors unless the institution that hired them explicitly represented a minority confession. More importantly, educators who belonged to the clergy did not have to meet the new standards established for teachers. Coupled with budget shortfalls that prevented the hiring of lay teachers, these new rules ensured that Catholic clergy occupied more and more teaching posts. By Gary Cohen's estimation, the majority of *Gymnasien* professors in both the Alpine and Bohemians lands belonged to the clergy by the end of the 1850s.[45]

The Church's control over education even extended to the university level. On the surface, Thun's ministry resisted granting the Church full control over the universities and continued to permit the appointment of non-Catholic university faculty. However, it still promised Church leaders that the universities would not permit instruction contrary to its teachings and guaranteed that non-Catholic faculty would only be hired when qualified Catholics could not be found. Yet, even with these assurances, Thun faced growing complaints from the increasingly powerful conservatives in the government who felt that more could be done to enhance the Church's role over education.[46] The signing of the Concordat of 1855 revived traditional, conservative voices in Austria, which sought to dismantle the statist, secular, bureaucratic educational system established under the reign of Maria Theresa. Liberal reforms in the late 1860s, which revoked the Concordat and firmly secularized the Monarchy's schools, only strengthened the passion of these conservative elements. The struggle over the Church's role in education would become a hallmark of the debate over education in Austria during the dualist period.

Equally as important was the debate over language. Like the issue of religious influence over schools, the question of the language of instruction began in the neo-absolutist period and grew into a source of great controversy in the following decades. Even though Thun personally appreciated the demands of non-German speakers for robust education in their own language, his ministry made little effort to accommodate those desires.[47] Nevertheless, Czech

nationalists demanded the right of education in the Czech language. Thun's ministry eventually allowed secondary schools to teach in languages other than German while also appointing Czech-speaking professors to the faculty of the Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague in the early 1850s.[48] Education in the students' mother tongue at the elementary level was a well-established reality, but non-German secondary schools and universities remained a source of contention. To those committed to state centralization, allowing institutions of higher education to operate in languages other than German represented a challenge to the Josephian model. To the German-speaking population, such changes represented a threat to their predominance in Austria.

In 1853, opponents of these changes to the language of instruction in Prague managed to force the ministry to adopt policies that would slowly reassert the primacy of German-language instruction at the secondary and university level. Both the number of courses in non-German languages and the number of non-German faculty diminished rapidly at the Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague.[49] These changes also ensured that non-German instruction only served as a tool for preparing students for German-language schools, and not as a mechanism for fostering or developing an appreciation for non-German language and culture. Furthermore, the ministry developed plans for slowly shuttering non-German secondary schools. At the elementary level, where instruction in the mother tongue was the norm, curriculum revisions began to emphasize the learning of German, ostensibly as a means of preparing all students for the possibility of secondary education.[50] As one would expect, such changes only served to antagonize the burgeoning national movements, especially in the Bohemian lands. Nationalist newspapers and organizations decried these changes to the language of instruction. The demand for schools in the mother tongue became a cornerstone of these movements.[51]

It is worth noting, however, that outside of nationalist circles, efforts to strengthen German-language education did not necessarily cause fury and outrage. Many non-German parents welcomed the opportunity to send their children to German-language schools with the hope that this education would help them to obtain better jobs as adults. German still remained the language of commerce and government, and graduating from a German-language secondary school or university ensured that students would be fully prepared to enter these fields.[52] Those who did resent the Germanization of education found creative means to avoid it. Robin Okey points out that, faced with reality of German-language *Gymnasien* and universities, many Czech nationalists moved into professions like business or private law, which allowed them to avoid these German-dominated institutions. The side effect of this was to create a strong core of nationalist intellectuals who would serve as the backbone of the nationalist movements in the 1860s and 1870s.[53]

Crafting a System of Secular Education

Efforts to secure German-language dominance of education ended abruptly with the *Ausgleich* of 1867, which established the Dual Monarchy and halted the neo-absolutist experiment. The adoption of the *Ausgleich* came on the heels of Austria's humiliating defeat at the hands of Prussia in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, which threatened the domestic tranquility of the Monarchy. As a result, it represented an effort to stabilize the state. Not only did it grant Hungary autonomy, it allowed the Magyar elite to take control of the newly created Hungarian parliament. To help stabilize the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy, Franz Joseph granted the December Constitution and allowed liberals to form a government in the Austrian parliament. The terms of the *Ausgleich* and the December Constitution revived many of the goals liberals proposed during the constitutional debates in 1848–1849, enshrining them into the dualist system. For nationalists, the most notable achievement came in the form of Article 19 of the December Constitution, which guaranteed that "all nationalities [had] the right to cultivate their mother tongue and to have educational facilities in it."[54] After 1867, national groups could have state-funded, public schools in their language so long as they met certain population requirements. The Austrian parliament also obtained the ability to initiate legislation that liberals used to pass a series of sweeping reforms in the following years.[55]

The May Laws of 1868 were among the most important of these changes. These laws sought to weaken the expanded power of the Catholic Church achieved by the Concordat of 1855, especially over what liberals considered to be secular institutions. The first of these laws secularized Austria's schools, removing Church influence over teachers and curriculum. From this point forward, the Church only had control over religious instruction. Since the laws also granted equal standing to all religions, they forced the Catholic Church to share even this control with its counterparts from the other faiths of the Monarchy. This shared status, along with the fact that new protections for non-Catholics guaranteed the right for religious instruction in their faiths, meant that the Catholic Church could only provide religious instruction to Catholic students. Protestants and Jews would receive religious instruction from their own religious leaders.[56] The May Laws further weakened the Church's influence by making marriage a civil institution. They also diminished most of the powers the Church obtained through the Concordat of 1855, which was formally rescinded in 1870.[57]

While the May Laws represented a general attack on the position of the Catholic Church in Austrian society, the secularization of schools offered the most far-reaching change to the status quo. It transformed schools from bastions of conservative Catholicism into one of the more reliably liberal group

of institutions in Austrian society. Undoubtedly, individual school boards, schools, and teachers may have been opposed to liberalism, but the educational system, the philosophy guiding it, and the management of it continued to reflect the basic tenets of liberalism until the end of the Monarchy. It was guided by the notion that all students deserved access to education, regardless of their class or religion.[58] The diminishment of direct Catholic influence over schools was swift. As Gary Cohen shows, in 1861, Catholic clergy occupied 62 percent of *Gymnasien* teaching posts. By 1871, this number dropped to 36 percent. From 1870–1873, the number of *Gymnasien* operated by religious teaching orders dropped by half, with many of the remainder shuttered or secularized in the following decades.[59]

Liberals envisioned a highly trained, professionalized teaching force replacing priests as teachers. Unlike their predecessors, these new teachers would be well educated and serve as agents of modernization. In order to train such teachers, the Ministry of Religion and Education established new teacher training institutions aimed at ensuring a basic level of competency for all *Volksschule* and *Bürgerschule* teachers.[60] These teachers did not receive academic training at a university, however. Most teachers began their training after completing *Bürgerschule* at the age of fifteen, receiving an additional four years of schooling at a teacher training institution.[61] Austrian educational policy viewed teaching as a vocation that required professional training, rather than the broad, humanistic education provided by the *Gymnasium* and university. While some policy makers and pedagogical theorists suggested that teachers should have university training, such suggestions received little support from professional teaching organizations and the educational bureaucracy.[62]

The decision to provide teacher education through separate institutions was not exceptional. In the United Kingdom, for example, teacher training was accomplished through a blend of teacher colleges and apprenticeships, while in the United States, many rural teachers received little formal training beyond basic elementary education. In both countries, the development of formal teacher training institutions did not become commonplace until the 1870s.[63] Furthermore, the German states prepared their teachers in the same manner as Austria. In fact, a majority of the changes implemented by the new liberal government in Austria consciously reflected similar changes made in these polities. Alois Hermann and Adolf Beer, tasked with crafting legislation to reform *Volksschule* education in Austria, modeled their proposed law on the laws of Baden and Bavaria. Baden secularized and professionalized its schools in two rounds of legislation in 1862 and 1864. Bavaria did the same in 1861, 1866, and 1867. Like Austria, both Baden and Bavaria were predominantly Catholic, with a tradition of Catholic-dominated education. Austrian reformers closely followed the progress of the reform laws in Baden. They

wanted to see how such laws addressed the issue of continued religious education while still ensuring that religious authorities remained absent from general education.[64]

Austrian reformers also looked within the Monarchy itself, where on the provincial level significant educational reforms had taken place. In 1866, the provincial assembly of Upper Austria enacted sweeping reforms to improve state schools. These included taking over the supervision of teachers, allowing teachers greater freedom in their teaching methodology, improving the quality of teacher training institutes, as well as salary and pension reforms to standardize teachers' pay. Most importantly, Upper Austria was the first to mandate an additional two years of compulsory schooling for all children.[65]

The reforms prepared by Hermann and Beer ultimately became the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz*, passed by the parliament on May 14, 1869.[66] The law became one of the longest lasting changes implemented during the liberal era as well as a touchstone for controversy during the resurgence of Austrian conservatism in the 1880s and 1890s. The *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* mandated free, public, primary school education for both boys and girls. Though both boys and girls attended *Volksschule*, classrooms remained separated by gender. The *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* also added two years of compulsory school attendance, meaning in theory all citizens would receive eight years of schooling from ages six to fourteen. Students could achieve this by attending *Volksschule* for five years followed by an additional three years at a *Bürgerschule*.[67]

Liberal interest in improving education in Austria stemmed from both a legitimate interest in improving the lives of Austrian citizens and also from the continued recognition that industrial and economic advancement was possible only if the workforce was educated. This interest became one of the dominant forces driving curricular reform throughout the dualist period. The elementary school curriculum continued to emphasize reading, writing, and arithmetic, plus a basic knowledge of history, geography, and natural science. The curriculum for *Bürgerschulen* placed similar emphasis on these subjects while also providing practical classes related to agricultural techniques, industrial skills, and courses designed specifically for girls, like sewing and needlepoint.[68]

These reforms did not mean that liberal reformers envisioned egalitarian access to education beyond the *Volksschule* and *Bürgerschule* levels. *Gymnasien* and universities remained exclusive institutions reserved for the sons of the upper and upper middle classes.[69] Boys would attend *Gymnasium* from ages ten to eighteen, which prepared them to enter university. Boys could also attend *Realschule*, which continued to offer technical and skill-based education.[70] While the *Gymnasium* and *Realschule* remained the most typical options for secondary education, other types of schools existed. By the dawn of the twentieth century, *Real-Gymnasien* became more common. These

schools offered a more elite education than the *Realschule* and a more modern curriculum than the *Gymnasium*. Rather than focus on classical languages and rhetoric, *Real-Gymnasium* emphasized modern languages and science. Only boys could attend *Gymnasium*, *Realschule*, and *Real-Gymnasium*. Girls interested in secondary school attended *Lyzeen*.[71] After completing *Bürgerschule*, children could also attend teacher training institutions, which would prepare them to teach *Volksschule* and *Bürgerschule*. Classes in these institutions were divided by gender as well. In larger areas, there could even be entirely separate schools for educating men and women interested in becoming teachers. In spite of this separation, the curriculum was identical for both, and the issue of training women to become teachers was not as politically volatile as in other countries. In France, for example, this question became a source of explosive debate between the political parties of the Third Republic.[72]

In Austria, broader access to education for both boys and girls was only one example of the sweeping changes brought about by the May Laws. With control over schools, as well as the parliament and the Ministry of Religion and Education, liberals had the opportunity to reshape the educational system. Beginning in 1868, secular school boards obtained the responsibility for managing elementary and secondary schools. Rather than creating a strict, centralized system, managed from Vienna, the May Laws maintained the traditional federalized system of education, in which each crownland administered its own schools. Each crownland had its own provincial school board, which supervised district school boards, which in turn supervised local school boards.[73] Such a structure provided a clear hierarchy for school management that theoretically streamlined school administration and allowed for easy implementation of educational policies. The provincial school boards reported directly to the Ministry of Religion and Education, but the ministry did not have direct control over the operation of these school boards. All matters related to *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* remained explicitly in the hands of provincial school boards, which determined school hours, curriculum, and the hiring of teachers. The ministry had control only over the universities, *Gymnasien*, *Realschulen*, and other secondary schools. Even with this control, the ministry still relied on lower school boards to enact curricular changes, hire faculty, and manage the schools.[74]

As a result, the ministry exercised power through persuasion. It would set guidelines, create curricula, and issue decrees with the expectation that each province would find ways to implement them. Without a doubt, money was the most powerful tool the ministry could use to ensure compliance with its initiatives. The Austrian education budget went directly to the ministry, which then divided it among the provinces. While it could not mandate how each province spent these funds, it did determine how much each province received.

Even though each locality and each province had its own education budgets drawn from local and provincial taxes, schools depended on ministry-level funds.[75] Refusal to adopt new policies or noncompliance with ministry decrees jeopardized such funds. The ministry's policies applied to all public schools, regardless of its language of instruction.

Many of the initiatives pursued by the Ministry of Religion and Education at the elementary level reflected the goals of paternalistic liberalism. These ranged from efforts to improve hygiene among the lower classes to the establishment of school gardens to the teaching of swimming.[76] The ministry also vigorously supported the establishment of *Pfadfinder* corps in each school. These scouting organizations were analogous to others established in Europe and the United States during this period, and supporters hoped that such organizations would assist in the teaching of "proper" behavior and morals, such as loyalty to God, the emperor, and local authorities.[77] It is worth noting that each of these initiatives had little to do with deepening the academic achievement of students. Just as in the time of Maria Theresa, the primary task of the *Volksschulen* was to produce loyal, ethical, moral, and productive citizens. As industrialization and urbanization fundamentally restructured European life and led to the development of new ideologies such as socialism, communism, and anarchism, some educators believed that the moralizing mission of public schools was more important at the dawn of the twentieth century than ever before.[78]

Structuring the School Day

While the Ministry of Religion and Education had broad influence over education, provincial school boards had the most control over schools, especially at the elementary level. For *Volksschulen*, these bodies determined the number of hours in each school day, which days of the week students attended, and how much time schools spent teaching each subject. The Ministry of Religion and Education could only offer final approval of curriculum, ensuring they followed general guidelines. In spite of this decentralization, *Volksschulen* were remarkably similar throughout Austria. For the most part, from the 1870s through the 1910s, the hours of instruction per week remained consistent as did the number of hours devoted to each subject. Such consistency meant that any attempts to add subject matter to the curriculum faced the daunting challenge of having to displace existing material. This reality often caused those reforming the curriculum to abandon efforts to add material, folding it into existing lessons instead.[79]

In 1875, most *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* offered between 25 and 29 hours of instruction a week. In Upper and Lower Austria, the middle grades (2nd–4th year) attended 23–25 hours a week, and the upper grades (5th–8th year)

attended 26–28 hours a week.[80] Silesia required slightly more hours for the middle grades, with children attending 24–26 hours a week.[81] First-year students attended only 19–20 hours a week.[82]

Often a community's *Volksschule* and *Bürgerschule* shared the same building, and the hours each class attended depended on the number of classrooms in the school. So, for example, if a school in Silesia only had two classrooms, the lower and middle grades would be in one room, attending 24 hours a week, the upper grades in the other, attending 28.[83] If a school had three classrooms, the second-year students would be grouped with the first-year students in a classroom, attending 24 hours a week, the third- and fourth-year students would be in the second classroom, attending 25 hours a week, and the fifth- through eighth-year students would be in the third classroom, attending 28 hours a week.[84] Similar divisions occurred for each additional classroom the school had. In an eight-room schoolhouse, every year had its own room, with the younger students attending fewer hours than the older students.[85] Girls had a slightly longer school week than boys, usually by two to three hours. The curriculum for girls' schools added additional lessons in "female handicrafts" (*weibliche Handarbeiten*), which taught skills such as sewing and needlepoint. In the later grades, girls only went an hour longer than boys, even though they continued to receive two to three hours of vocational training. To compensate for the added material, girls in these grades received less instruction in mathematics.[86] These differences illustrate that Austria's schools were designed to teach existing notions of gender. Austrian educators were hardly unique in structuring their curriculum to serve this purpose. Throughout Europe, public schools shared the common goals of reinforcing gender roles as well the social hierarchy.[87] In fact, one of the most notable features of Austria's elementary schools was that boys and girls largely shared the same curriculum, except for these variations. In France, for example, boys and girls received dramatically different types of education.[88]

The most important factor in how much schooling a child received was not his or her gender, province, or language of instruction, but rather if he or she lived in an urban or rural region. The location of a school mattered because school hours were mostly consistent from province to province, but varied according to the size of an individual school. The larger the population served by a school, the more likely that school had more classes. As a result, urban students received more differentiated instruction and generally attended school for more hours a day than their rural counterparts.

These divisions became starker if the school had only one or two classrooms and those classrooms divided their day into two sections—one for the lower grades and one for the upper grades. In this situation, students only attended half-time, with the morning devoted to the younger students and the afternoon

devoted to older students. In those cases, students only attended for 16–19 hours a week.[89] Half-time schooling was more common in rural areas, since those communities usually had lower populations and smaller school buildings.

It is worth noting that many people who lived in rural areas did not consider these limited hours a problem. In fact, rural regions often opposed efforts to increase the hours of instruction mandated by the government. These regions resented the changes created by the school laws of 1868 and 1869, since farmers relied on their children for labor. Thus, rural parents considered having their children attend school from the ages of twelve to fourteen a source of economic hardship rather than a long-term benefit.[90] The resurgence of conservatism in the 1880s and 1890s gave voice to these frustrations, and as conservatives gained control over local and provincial school boards and provincial legislative assemblies, they weakened school hour regulations and allowed rural schools to only require half-day attendance. In Upper Austria, for example, 98 of its 124 one-room schools and 36 of its 168 two-room schools obtained permission to offer half-day schooling by 1913.[91]

While such changes reflected the economic interests of some rural populations, they were also motivated by the political philosophy of Austrian conservatism, which deeply distrusted the educational system established by the liberals in the 1860s. For conservatives, especially clerical conservatives, increasing the years of compulsory education was a tool for liberal indoctrination. The influential Catholic conservative newspaper *Das Vaterland* questioned the value of eight years of education, arguing that the typical rural child could learn everything he or she needed for a successful life in six years. The newspaper rejected the idea that more education had any benefit to farmers or military recruits. It wrote that these individuals only needed to read, write, and understand basic arithmetic—skills sufficiently taught in the existing six-year curriculum. In their view, additional years in school would actually harm the quality of recruits, because they would become too inquisitive and prone to question authority. Furthermore, the time spent in the classroom would diminish physical fitness, since boys would not be spending time working outdoors in the fields.[92] *Das Vaterland* also rejected liberal claims that eight years in school would improve the lives of the working class. It questioned how the liberal parties, which it considered responsible for exploiting the working class and child laborers, could be trusted to help them.[93]

Supporters of the education laws forcefully countered conservative opposition. The socialist pedagogical journal *Freie Schule* asserted that the policies of the conservative provincial school board of Lower Austria systematically weakened the province's educational curriculum and diminished the quality of education at all levels. The journal considered these policies to be especially problematic in the teacher training institutions, arguing that

the new, weaker educational standards resulted in poorly educated students who were failing their licensing exams.[94] Similarly, the pedagogical journal *Freie Lehrerstimme* accused this school board of slashing education funds in the hopes of increasing reliance on Church schools.[95] The continued political volatility concerning the years of compulsory education and the length of the school day demonstrates the degree to which education served as a touchstone for the divide between liberals and conservatives in Austria. The educational system established by liberals in 1868–1869 embodied the clash over the role of the Church in society and conservative distrust toward the changes resulting from urbanization and industrialization.

In spite of this political volatility, the curriculum of elementary schools was fairly standard. *Volksschule* education concentrated on reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion. During the 1870s, the typical school week for all grade levels consisted of approximately ten hours a week of reading and language instruction, with an additional two for writing skills. The curriculum called for seven hours of mathematics per week, divided between basic arithmetic and more complex mathematics. In addition, students received approximately two hours a week of religious instruction, two hours a week of physical education classes, one hour a week of singing, and three to four hours a week of *Realien* lessons. *Realien* consisted of natural history, natural science, geography, and history. These lessons did not begin until the second year. By the upper grades, the curriculum added an additional hour to these classes.[96] As mentioned earlier, curricular changes from 1885 until the outbreak of World War I did little to change the number of hours per week children attended school. The typical number of hours per week in schools with undivided classes remained at 25–29 hours. The distribution of that time among the individual subjects remained consistent as well. These hours also remained more or less the same from province to province.[97]

Since the Ministry of Religion and Education controlled the *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen*, their hours and curriculum were equally similar. During the 1860s and 1870s, students in secondary schools attended classes for approximately 26 hours a week, with students in the lower grades attending fewer hours a week than those in the upper grades. Reforms in the 1880s added to the school week, requiring an additional seven hours of instruction.[98] The curriculum for *Gymnasien* did not substantially change in the Monarchy's final decades. It maintained its traditional, humanist orientation, emphasizing classical languages and scholarship, with classical language instruction occupying almost a third of the student's school day. When combined with the study of the school's language of instruction and other modern languages, the *Gymnasium* student devoted half of his time in school to the study of languages. The remaining school hours were divided among religious instruction,

mathematics, the sciences, geography, and history.[99] Efforts to modernize the curriculum of the *Gymnasium* found little success, though those of the *Realschule* and other technical high schools grew to reflect the growing needs of the modern, industrial state. These schools did not require students to take Latin and Greek. Instead students devoted more time to the sciences, engineering, mathematics, German literature, French, and English.[100]

The curriculum of Austria's secondary schools and the required hours of attendance fell within the norm for secondary education throughout Europe. By the turn of the twentieth century, the school week for Austrian secondary schools consisted of approximately 33 hours, with younger students attending one to two hours less than their older peers. This amount was comparable with secondary schools in the Netherlands (30–33 hours a week), in the German states of Baden, Prussia, and Saxony (30–35 hours a week), and with secondary schools in the Swiss canton of Basel (30–32 hours a week).[101] Furthermore, Austria required a longer school week than the secondary schools of Bavaria, which only required 25–28 hours a week, the secondary schools of Belgium (29 hours a week), France (20–23 hours a week), and Italy (21–25 hours a week).[102]

It is worth noting, however, that such comparisons only apply to Austrian schools and not those in Hungary. Since the *Ausgleich* granted the Hungarian parliament control over Hungary's schools, the Ministry of Religion and Education could not ensure that Hungary's secondary schools would keep pace with those of Austria. As a result, Hungary's secondary schools lagged behind Austria's, requiring only 28–30 hours a week. Croatian schools, which were autonomous from the Hungarian government, required an even shorter school week of 25–28 hours.[103]

After the passage of the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* the number of schools and state expenditure on education grew significantly in Austria, though education spending never represented a large portion of its budget. For example, in 1867, it stood only at 2.5 percent, compared to 17 percent for the military. The level of funding remained consistent throughout the dualist period, however, and even increased slightly in the decade before World War I. Considering that the military's budget dropped by 4 percent during the same period, this change is notable.[104] Spending at the provincial level varied, but was higher than that of Austria's parliament. On average, the provinces devoted 8 percent of their budgets to education.[105] Due to these limited resources, school districts faced the continual challenge of meeting increased expectations regarding the quality and quantity of schools and teachers. Officials expected school facilities to be modern and well maintained, and required schools to possess a wide variety of educational aids and supplies. As education became more streamlined and bureaucratized, officials put increasing pressure on schools to meet these expectations.

From 1870–1914, school inspectors focused more and more on the condition of school buildings, the quality of the school's teaching materials, and the comprehensiveness of the school's library. Reflecting the growing emphasis on the professionalization of teachers, regulations required each school, regardless of size, to possess a comprehensive library for teachers as well as a separate collection for students. Inspection reports diligently noted the number of volumes available in each school and the authorities closely monitored those with inadequate libraries. For example, when reading that the *Volksschule* in Saar/Žďár in Bohemia had a teaching library of only 21 books, one reviewer underlined this fact emphatically with red pencil, putting a large exclamation point next to the number for emphasis.[106]

The number of schools expanded dramatically alongside these increased expectations. Between 1849 and 1897, Austria constructed 170 new elementary and secondary schools, building most of these between 1868 and 1879. Local communities built 57.9 percent of the new schools. The Austrian state built 22.1 percent, and the Catholic Church only built 9.2 percent.[107] It is worth noting, however, that these numbers do not take into account the number of schools built by local communities as a result of funds transferred by the ministry or through donations from the dynasty.[108] These numbers also do not list the number of private schools constructed by political or nationalist groups.[109]

Reflecting the growing interest in public health and personal hygiene, new *Volksschule* buildings had large, open windows that provided plenty of light and fresh air and ensured that enough green space remained on the school grounds for the establishment of a proper garden and playground. A model school shown in Vienna's 1873 World Exposition provided an example of the typical new school. The one-room school provided a three-room apartment for the teacher, along with kitchen and bathroom, a 9.6m x 6.8m x 3.6m classroom deemed suitable for sixty students, a room for teaching handicrafts to girls, a closet for teaching materials, separate bathrooms for boys and girls, and a large room suitable to serve as a gymnasium during bad weather and as a meeting place for school events. The school grounds had a large garden and a field for play and exercise.[110] Plans for schools with more than one class followed similar patterns. The four-class *Volksschule* in Eberschwang, Upper Austria, constructed in 1879, was almost identical to the model school displayed in 1873. Its first floor had two apartments—one for the head of the school, the other for one of the teachers. Its second and third floors contained two classrooms each. Every classroom had six windows, and each floor had a girls' and boys' bathroom.[111] Each year inspectors reported on the cleanliness of the school, the condition of the windows, and the health of the plants in the school garden.[112]

Figure 1.2. A three-class *Volksschule* in Münchhof/Mírová in Bohemia. Courtesy of the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.

Of course, these schools required continual maintenance, renovation, and modernization in order to keep pace with the developments of the late nineteenth century. Every year local school boards inundated the ministry with requests for funds for school upkeep. Describing the poor conditions of schools became commonplace as school authorities sought out funds for modernization at the turn of the century.[113] The rapid advances of technology during this period also meant that the ministry and school boards faced the perpetual challenge of providing schools with new equipment, like slide projectors, phonographs, and, in rare cases, even film projectors.[114]

The growth in the number of *Volksschulen* corresponded with a similar increase in the number of *Realschulen* and other secondary technical institutions, though it is notable that the development of new *Gymnasien* lagged behind. The limited expansion of *Gymnasien* is not surprising, considering the ministry still considered those institutions to be reserved for the elite and sought to minimize access to them.[115]

Establishing a System of Civic Education

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Austrian public schools were developed enough to serve as a tool for patriotic development, and the enhancement of civic education went hand-in-hand with the growth of schools. When weaving civic education into school curriculum, policy makers and

educators primarily focused on *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen*. After all, everyone attended these schools. Furthermore, implementing a system of civic education in the *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* remained consistent with the original intent of those schools: to produce moral, ethical, and productive members of society. Civic education existed in secondary schools as well, and it was folded into the more complex curriculum that sought to train students bound for universities or technical academies.

In the classroom, educators embedded the cultivation of Austrian identity into history, geography, and civics lessons. Such efforts were consistent with the rest of Europe and the United States, which utilized these classes in a similar manner. Prevailing pedagogical theories asserted that when students learned about the world around them, they should also learn to be proud of their country. The printed curriculum for *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* made such objectives explicit, listing the development of patriotism and loyalty to the dynasty as one of the primary goals of these subjects. The 1875 curriculum for *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* in Carinthia, for example, explicitly stated that

> the teaching of history should initiate a general appreciation for those persons and events which have, in a significant way, contributed to the development of mankind and of the fatherland. At the same time, this teaching should convey character education and love of the fatherland.[116]

The curriculum for *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* in Silesia, Moravia, Upper Austria, and Lower Austria articulated similar objectives, which were reinforced during curricular revisions.[117]

Geography (sometimes referred to as *Erdkunde*) provided a more subtle opportunity for civic education. Since its primary objective was "knowledge of the *Heimat* and fatherland," followed by a clear understanding of Europe and the world, it helped to create a student's "mental map" of the Monarchy and could reinforce history lessons.[118] Comprehensive knowledge of the geography of the student's home province and of the Monarchy remained the dominant goal of *Volksschule* geography lessons through the first decade of the twentieth century.[119] As a result, students learned to think of their home province as a part of the larger Monarchy, and to think of that Monarchy as a natural political entity. Singing lessons provided a final place for policy makers to weave civic education into the curriculum of *Volksschulen*. The curriculum stated such classes should create a "patriotic disposition" among students, achieved through the teaching and singing of patriotic melodies and songs.[120] Even though students only spent an hour a week in singing lessons, these songs were then used for school celebrations.

In other European states and in the United States, literature and language lessons provided an important opportunity to incorporate civic education into the school curriculum. In countries aspiring to linguistic homogeneity, such as France, these classes could be used to diminish regionalism while elevating reverence and acceptance of French patriotic virtues.[121] In countries that contained a dominant national group as well as national minorities, such as Germany, these classes provided an opportunity to exult the virtues of German language, culture, and literature while building support for the new German Empire.[122] And, in the case of the United States, public schools helped to "Americanize" new immigrants, teaching them English and "American" virtues.[123] In each of these circumstances, language classes helped to minimize diversity.

Language classes could serve no such function in Austrian schools. The December Constitution ended state-supported Germanization efforts in Austria. It ensured that the government could not force a child to learn a language other than his or her mother tongue, and national groups fiercely guarded their right to education in their own language.[124] Rather than present a model of Austrian identity predicated on linguistic unity, civic education in Austria offered a vision of the Monarchy as a "family of nations," where each constituent nationality was as "Austrian" as the next. All schools, regardless of language, were required to teach the literary cannon of "the fatherland," ensuring students were aware of Austrian poets and writers like Franz Grillparzer. But literature classes also taught the major works written in the language used by the school's students. So, for example, German-language schools read Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller, while Italian-language schools taught Dante and Giovanni Boccaccio.[125]

The inability to rely on a common language and literature as a means of producing a sense of unity meant that civic education in Austria was unique to its nation-state neighbors. It offered a supranational Austrian identity that was imperial in nature. One was Austrian if one lived in the lands governed by the Habsburg dynasty. During the period of the Dual Monarchy, officials wanted to develop an Austrian identity that embraced its diversity, defining "Austrian-ness" not through language, religion, and nationality, but rather through common history and shared struggle. Because the foundation of Austrian identity was the shared history of the peoples of the Habsburg lands and the Habsburg dynasty, history and geography classes had to stress themes of unity and commonality more than other states. In order for students to develop a sense of being "Austrian," they had to know the history of the Monarchy and understand its regions and peoples.

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

always required a strong emphasis on Austrian history, beginning in the student's second year. History lessons in this grade consisted entirely of legends and folktales from the student's hometown and province. In the following years history classes also included stories about the major figures of the entire Habsburg Monarchy.[126] Typically, such stories focused on Habsburg rulers, but they also described military heroes and other heroic personalities. While, for the most part, the lessons and textbooks for both boys and girls were identical, those for girls included stories about famous and important women from the Habsburg past.[127] Teachers did not necessarily tell these stories and tales in chronological order, since understanding the order of historical events did not become a priority until a student's fifth or sixth year.[128] By the third year, the scope of history classes broadened to include lessons from the ancient world and from general world history. Even as the scope of history lessons expanded, curricular guidelines required teachers, when possible, to weave those lessons in with those from Austrian history.

Inspection reports show that as early as 1886, school board and ministry officials expected teachers to focus primarily on the history of Austria-Hungary in history lessons. Teachers frequently complained that the curriculum expected them to cover too much material in too short a time, but inspectors reported happily that teachers rarely sacrificed lessons about the history of the Monarchy (obviously implying that teachers instead chose to skip lessons from general history).[129] In fact, while inspectors lamented the general quality of history lessons in *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen*, criticizing teachers who relied too heavily on textbooks and on rote memorization, inspectors noted that lessons from Austrian history stood as the exception. In 1894, the lead inspector of Lower Austria remarked that student understanding of Austrian history far surpassed that of general history and that, in his opinion, this understanding deepened their love and appreciation for the Monarchy.[130] Even though inspectors worried about the quality of history education in *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* and that students did not appropriately grasp the order and complexity of historical events, according to their assessments, the one area where history lessons displayed success was the effort to elevate patriotism.[131]

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

would *become* Austria-Hungary.[132] It is worth noting that when these individuals spoke of Austria, they meant the entire Habsburg Monarchy, not just the Archduchy of Austria. For them, it was just as important to discuss what would become the Bohemian lands, the Kingdom of Hungary, Croatia, and so on.

The changes made in 1914 continued the trajectory established by earlier curricular reforms, advocating even greater emphasis on the teaching of Austrian history. Two years earlier, when reviewing proposed changes to *Volksschule* and *Bürgerschule* education, pedagogical leaders asked that the curriculum more explicitly state that the primary goal of history lessons was to deepen a student's understanding of the history of the Monarchy.[133] Reflecting the continued liberal orientation of the teaching profession and of educational leaders, as well as the Monarchy's democratization, these reviews also called for an equal emphasis on the teaching of the constitution and of the rights and obligations of citizens.[134]

The teaching of civics also became an important goal in secondary schools, especially *Gymnasien*. Since those advancing to these institutions became lawyers, government officials, or other professionals, liberal educational reformers considered a robust understanding of the Monarchy's government and constitutional framework essential for the preservation of both. Given the fact that students in secondary schools were older and from more elite backgrounds, the history curriculum was more rigorous here than in elementary schools.

Unlike *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen*, history classes at the secondary level always emphasized chronology and a precise knowledge of events. This started in a student's second year with a year of ancient Greek and Roman history, followed by a year of medieval history, and then a year covering the history of the early modern and modern world. After this three-year cycle, students began another three-year cycle starting again with ancient history.[135] While more scholastic and advanced than the history lessons in the lower divisions, history classes in secondary schools remained just as focused on the teaching of Austrian history. Even when teaching general world history, the curriculum prescribed teaching the ways in which Austrian history intersected with the history of other lands.[136] The intention was for students to understand how world events shaped and were shaped by the Habsburg Monarchy.

This strong focus on Austrian history was consistent with the school curriculum of other states, which equally stressed their own history. In the early twentieth century, German *Gymnasien* had a history curriculum almost identical to that of Austria. In Prussia, for example, students began with biographical sketches from German history. After this introductory year, history classes taught ancient Greece and Rome, and the next year repeated these lessons and expanded the scope of the class to include the ancient

Germans. The following year then taught the history of the Holy Roman Empire and medieval Europe, followed by a year explicitly devoted to the history of Germany until the reign of Frederick the Great, with the next year covering modern history from Frederick the Great through the nineteenth century. After this, students started another three-year cycle, beginning again with ancient history. As with Austria, the Prussian curriculum explicitly stated that teachers should teach non-German history with consideration for its influence on Germany.[137] The Prussian curriculum also organized its lessons through the lens of the biography of important personalities from German history. So, for example, it expected teachers to discuss the recent German past through profiles of Prussian kings and German emperors, such as Frederick Wilhelm I, Frederick the Great, and Wilhelm I.[138]

This cyclical, yet chronological organization for history classes actually represented a shift in the history curriculum for German *Gymnasien*. In the 1870s and 1880s, history classes did not necessarily proceed sequentially, but rather alternated between more recent history and ancient history. For example, in the *Königliche Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium* in Prussia, students began with the ancient Greeks and Romans, but the following year shifted to the history of Europe from 1648–1815. The following year they learned medieval history, then had another year on the ancient Romans. After that, the history curriculum devoted itself almost exclusively to German history for the next three years (except for one year spent on the ancient Greeks). [139] The *Gymnasien* in Barmen followed a similar curriculum during this period, with years alternating between recent German history and ancient history.[140] It was during the 1890s that German schools shifted to the chronological, three-year sequence typical of Austrian *Gymnasien*, but this only began after an introductory year devoted to German history.[141]

The strong similarities between Austrian secondary schools and their German counterparts was to be expected. Austrian pedagogical leaders and educational policy makers had a long history of looking to the German states and, later, the German Empire for models of school organization. As mentioned earlier, this often came in the form of hiring experts from these German lands to craft and oversee changes to Austria's schools. But it also came through careful examination and study of Germany's schools and pedagogical writings. Leading pedagogical journals in Austria, like Friedrich Dittes' *Pädagogium*, always contained numerous articles written by German pedagogical experts or reprinted from German pedagogical journals.[142] In many ways, the tendency to use German schools as the model for Austrian education shows that many educational policy makers continued to believe that Austrian schools lagged behind or were inferior to their counterparts in Germany and the rest of Europe.[143]

Pedagogical journals, like *Pädagogium*, frequently ran articles either describing or discussing school organization in other countries. Some of these articles made direct comparisons with Austrian schools, while others simply discussed that country's school system on its own. These articles mostly focused on the numbers of schools and the length of the school day in other countries. One such article, which ran in *Pädagogium* in the early part of 1879, compared the number of schools and the organization of those schools in Germany, Austria, Russia, Japan, and the United States.[144] The article expressed particular interest in how Russia's schools had changed over the past five years, ever since issuing a sweeping reform law in 1874. Considering that at this point the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* and the May Laws were less than a decade old, *Pädagogium* printed a robust discussion of reforms outside of Austria for comparison's sake. This included publishing the Russian reform law of 1874, verbatim, while also discussing reforms in Prussia and providing a comprehensive overview of Great Britain's schools.[145]

Pädagogium was not alone in providing such comparisons. The pedagogical journal for the Styrian Teachers' Association frequently ran similar articles, as well as travel essays from Austrian teachers who went abroad to observe other countries. Such articles looked at other major European powers, like France, but also included more exotic locales, such as Hawaii.[146] The sheer number of such articles shows the extent to which teaching became an internationalized and professionalized vocation by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, as well as the fact that Austrian teachers and educational reformers possessed a genuine curiosity about the educational systems of other lands.

This international focus continued in later decades. For example, as the Ministry of Religion and Education began the process of reforming the curriculum of teacher training institutions in Austria in the 1890s, *Pädagogium* ran a full discussion of teacher training in Great Britain, complete with copies of relevant curricula.[147] The focus of the article highlighted the structure of history education in these schools. It mentioned that British teachers only learned British history and were examined only on British history for their licenses.[148] Considering that most of Austria's pedagogical leaders wanted more Austrian history in the curriculum, such comparisons provided support for these requests.

This comparison became even more explicit in the journal for the Styrian Teachers' Association, which argued that Austria did not place as strong an emphasis on its own heroes, in comparison with other countries. It argued that Austrian schools should teach "the great men of the fatherland," because "in England, France, and the United States, such [a curriculum] is put into place with the greatest attention" explicitly for the purpose of "increasing love of the fatherland."[149] The journal described history classes in the United

States in another article, noting that through teaching children the history of their state, of the United States, and of the presidents, the United States successfully used history as a basis for building loyalty and identification with the country.[150] In this description of American history classes, the Styrian Teachers' Association offered a justification for the way in which Austrian schools organized their classes. Like American schools, as described in the article, Austrian schools began with local history, then moved to the history of the Monarchy as a whole, and did so by focusing on the major political figures of the state. Even though the two states were, literally and figuratively, oceans apart in terms of geography, heritage, and culture, both had to forge a cohesive polity from diverse foundations. For this reason, the interest in American civic education is unsurprising. Furthermore, this intense focus on civic education in other states reveals that the Monarchy's pedagogical leaders were deeply concerned about the patriotic development of Austrian students. There was a broad consensus that schools had an obligation to do more to make students loyal supporters of their country.

History as a Tool of Civic Education

In service of this goal, pedagogical leaders frequently discussed the implementation of civic education in elementary and secondary classrooms. History classes were the most obvious starting point for patriotic development. Not only was it where students learned about the Monarchy's past, but it was also where they learned about its heroes. Education theorists considered history in *Volksschule* and *Bürgerschule* to be a biographical discipline, where students learned history through the actions of notable individuals who typified their times. They argued that history lessons should be taught through biographical sketches filled with descriptive and emotional narratives. They expected history classes and textbooks to provide rousing portrayals of key figures of the Habsburg past while also vividly portraying the villainy of Austria's enemies, especially France and the Ottoman Empire.

These theorists also believed that a strong emphasis on heroic biography would allow students to learn ethical behavior. Emanuel Hannak, a noted historian and pedagogical leader, explained that these biographies would teach students "important ethical concepts [like] piety (Rudolf von Habsburg), sacrificial love of the fatherland (Leonidas, . . . Andreas Hofer), spousal love (. . . Maria Theresa), faithfulness (. . . Prince Eugene [of Savoy]), gratitude (Franz Joseph for [Joseph] Radetzky)."[151] Other theorists agreed. As early as 1874, the German Pedagogical Association in Prague advocated the use of biographical examples to "build and form the character of children."[152] The leading pedagogical journal, *Pädagogische Rundschau*, made a similar argument in 1888, writing that history classes should "develop a sense of nobility [in students]"

by providing examples of good character for children to "emulate."[153] The point of history was not just to provide knowledge of the past, but also to provide examples of how to lead an ethical life that would serve the greater societal good.

One of the most important virtues students should learn in history was love of country. Both *Pädagogische Rundschau* and *Pädagogische Zeitschrift* argued that the primary goal of public education was the elevation of patriotism. Schools had an obligation to develop deep and authentic patriotism among their students to "ensure wellness in the land and among the people."[154] The pedagogical leader Josef Reiterer concurred, stating that one of the primary tasks of history education was to ensure that students learned to "love their emperor and fatherland."[155] Reiterer's colleague, Alois Friedrich, reiterated this point in 1896, writing that the task of history was "the refinement of the mind and the teaching of the heart, in the awakening of the love of fatherland and the enthusiasm for the dynasty of our sublime ruling house. The deeds of great men from all times should always stand as luminous paragons before the eyes of our children."[156]

Hannak provided the most melodramatic expression of this sentiment when he argued that patriotic education was essential to curtailing radicalism in society and was vital for building respect for communities and tradition. One only needed to look to events such as the French Revolution and the Paris Commune of the 1870s to see examples of when

> people, in their blind fanaticism, destroyed many of the great and glorious works that the tireless labor of their ancestors had built over centuries. Soon the Louvre itself, with its precious collections—a witness to the brilliant development of the human spirit—became a victim of the raging fury of the people. In order to ensure that in the future a time of barbarism does not fall over the civilized peoples of Europe, the awakening and care of a historical sense in the masses of the population is absolutely essential. This important task falls to education in history.[157]

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

As in other countries, history textbooks were essential for accomplishing this task.[158] Usually, university professors or *Gymnasium* teachers wrote history and geography textbooks, in accordance with guidelines established by provincial school boards and the Ministry of Religion and Education. In order to ensure adherence to these guidelines, the ministry engaged in a thorough review process for each textbook. When publishers submitted a textbook for approval, the ministry distributed manuscript copies to other experts in the

field and notable educators. These reviewers read through each manuscript looking for factual errors and to ensure that it satisfied all major curricular objectives. This process was standardized, but hardly a formality. Reviewers provided lengthy summaries of each textbook's strengths and weaknesses, along with pages of corrections.[159] Even textbooks that had been approved in the past faced challenges gaining approval for new editions. The ministry would reject previously approved textbooks if newer editions did not appropriately match changes in curriculum.[160]

When approving history textbooks, the ministry expressed particular interest in the accuracy of the information and in the textbook's ability to serve as a source of patriotic education. For general history textbooks, reviewers frequently noted how much Austrian history the work contained and whether or not it devoted enough time to major figures from the Habsburg past. Because of the strong bureaucratic control over textbook content, there was often little difference between history textbooks, even if they were written by different authors. Not only did all textbooks have similar organization and content, they often contained nearly identical wording, since authors would use phrases provided by curricular guidelines.

Such consistency remained, even among books of different languages. The most popular German-language history textbooks were often translated into other languages, meaning that they were the most widely assigned. When reviewing translations of approved books, reviewers carefully compared the translation with the original, to reassure the ministry that the translator did not make spurious changes to the author's work. In particular, the ministry wanted to make sure that translators did not change the textbook to serve as a tool of overt nationalization. It did allow translators to add material on national history to the non-German edition of textbooks, but would reject a translation reviewers deemed too nationalistic. Reviewers extensively compared the translations to the original, and the Ministry of Religion and Education ensured that textbooks were politically neutral, regardless of language.[161]

As Karin Almasy and Monika Govekar-Okoliš have observed, translators were acutely aware of this scrutiny and were careful to avoid including any material that would cause the book's rejection.[162] The inclusion of material specific to each nationality reflected the broader effort to develop national culture, an essential element of Austrian civic education. So, for example, while Slovene textbooks emphasized the development of Slavic culture and the contributions of Slovenes to the Habsburg state, they also advanced the idea that the Slovenes were part of the Monarchy's "family of nations."[163] In this way, textbooks assisted in the cultivation of a layered identity, teaching students about their region and nation, and their broader place in the multinational state. In particular, these translations emphasized the shared struggles endured by the

Monarchy's peoples, especially those against the Ottoman Empire and France. In order to illustrate this common history, translations often added discussions of heroes specific to the community reading the translation. So, for example, Slovene-language textbooks included South Slav heroes like Josip Jelačić alongside the Monarchy's famous military leaders.[164] Historical events that had the potential to threaten this harmonious picture, like the Thirty Years' War for Czech speakers or Austria's role resisting Italian unification for Italian speakers, were often omitted in an attempt to minimize their ability to produce conflict.[165]

The textbooks for boys' and girls' schools were almost identical, illustrating the consistency of the history curriculum for both. While their titles identified them as books appropriate for boys or girls, textbooks by the same author usually shared identical text for most sections. The differences between the editions were minimal and reflected the different curricular goals the ministry and provincial school boards established for boys' and girls' education. So, for example, since the elementary school curriculum for history required teachers to teach girls about important women from history, Theodor Tupetz added longer biographic sketches of famous women, such as the Elizabeth I of England and the wives of Austria's rulers. Girls' textbooks also often included long descriptions of the clothing and fashions worn during historical epochs, complete with illustrations. Boys' textbooks, in contrast, often included longer and more graphic descriptions of battles.[166] It is likely these differences resulted from an effort to make history more "exciting" and gender appropriate. The consistency between these textbooks offers yet another example of how similar the curriculum was for boys and girls.

Textbooks used in elementary schools contained simpler language and also included a stronger emphasis on biography than those used in secondary schools. In part, this was because contemporary pedagogical theory assumed that children learned history best through the lens of famous personalities. Language in *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* textbooks also tended to be more dramatic and illustrative, providing a dramatic flair often missing from textbooks used in *Gymnasien*, *Realschulen*, and *Lyzeen*. In contrast, the textbooks for secondary schools possessed economical, crisp prose and had a stronger emphasis on detail and facts. These differences are reflective of the difference in educational level. Interestingly, the textbooks for teacher training institutions more closely resembled those for *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* than those of the secondary schools. In fact publishers often simply republished a *Volksschule* textbook under a new title.[167] Individual teachers had little control over which textbooks were assigned in their class. School directors chose the textbooks for each school from the list approved by the Ministry of Religion and Education. As with the curriculum, decisions regarding textbooks and other classroom materials rested in the hands of the school bureaucracy.

Conclusion

By the start of the twentieth century, Austria possessed a developed, modern, secular system of public education capable of acting as an agent of civic education. This educational system developed, in large part, because Austria's liberals successfully gained control over the government in the 1860s and could enact the reforms needed to modernize schools and place them fully under the government's control. These changes built upon those implemented by Maria Theresa in the eighteenth century. Theresian education reforms made the education of all Austrians, regardless of class or nationality, a priority of the state. They also began the gradual process of restricting Church influence over schools. The government's commitment to these principles waxed and waned, even as officials put these reforms into place, and debate over these principles always accompanied any effort to change Austria's schools.

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

In spite of these bitter political clashes, both liberals and conservatives agreed that schools should work to elevate the patriotism and dynastic loyalty of schoolchildren. The curriculum for elementary and secondary schools wove civic education into classes whenever possible. For the most part, such lessons occurred most frequently in history and geography classes. As the curriculum for both became increasingly centered on the Habsburg Monarchy, these lessons became the cornerstone of civic education within Austria.

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

Chapter 2
Habsburg Rulers as the Personification of Good Governance

Introduction

In the Palazzo Pubblico, the city hall of Siena, Italy, there is a fourteenth-century fresco by Ambrogio Lorenzetti that depicts allegories of good and bad government and their effects. The allegory of good government is meant to represent the city of Siena, guided by the virtues of Peace, Fortitude, Prudence, Magnanimity, Temperance, and Justice, with Wisdom overlooking them all. Idealized city and rural scenes, showing a prosperous, orderly populace, reveal the beneficial impact of a government guided by these virtues. In the allegory of bad government, however, justice is the bound captive of Tyranny, who lords over the vices of Cruelty, Deceit, Fraud, Fury, Division, and War. In contrast to its vibrant, successful counterpart, this city and countryside are in ruin, desolate except for marching armies and their retinues. Lorenzetti's fresco simultaneously illustrates the qualities that lead to a prosperous society and what citizens should expect from government. It also explicitly announces that the city of Siena possesses such a government. It is a masterful example of visual civic education.[1]

To a certain extent, history classes in Austrian public schools functioned in a similar manner. Without question, their primary goal was to teach students about the past, but these classes were also supposed to teach schoolchildren that Austria had always been led by a just, virtuous dynasty, and that Austria found peace and prosperity under that dynasty's leadership. History lessons were uniquely suited for this task of developing loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty, and this loyalty served as the cornerstone of civic education in Austria's schools. The centrality of Habsburg rulers to Austrian patriotism is not surprising. It was the monarch who united the diverse nationalities of the empire. Moreover, in many ways the history of the Habsburg Monarchy was the history of the acquisition of its lands by the Habsburg dynasty. Discussing the

reigns of Habsburg rulers allowed teachers to showcase the virtues of these individuals while stressing the legitimacy of Habsburg power. Such discussions also allowed teachers to build loyalty to the dynasty as a whole, and not just the reigning monarch, Franz Joseph.

Historians have long reflected on the role Franz Joseph played as a source of unity within the Monarchy. As early as 1929, Oscar Jászi, for example, listed the dynasty as the primary centripetal force unifying the Monarchy, and more recently, Steven Beller has forcefully argued that Franz Joseph was a unique, and possibly irreplaceable, source of unity within the diverse empire.[2] Due to a combination of longevity, personality, and persona, Franz Joseph, who ruled from 1848–1916, was certainly crucial to all civic education efforts. Textbooks often had a picture of the emperor as its first page and he loomed large within all discussions of Europe after 1848. Within history classes and especially in history textbooks, however, civic education was more than simply an effort to build a cult of personality around the reigning monarch. Civic education in Austria sought to build lasting attachment and loyalty to the entire dynasty—past, present, and future.

Traditionally, these efforts have been dismissed as mere dynasty worship, relying on an anachronistic form of sentimentality unsuitable for the modern era. This is not the case. Since the history of the Monarchy, its rulers, and its peoples were the focal point of most history classes, they certainly provided an opportunity to glorify the Habsburg dynasty and Austria's role in shaping European history. But such lessons were meant to be the first step in a process that would increase attachment to the Austrian state idea as a whole. Highlighting the virtues of Habsburg rulers and the benefits of living under Habsburg rule was more than dynasty worship; it established the Habsburg dynasty as the foundation of a larger, supranational Austrian identity.

Figure 2.1. This portrait of Franz Joseph was included in many textbooks. Courtesy of Theodor Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie. Verfassung und Staatseinrichtungen derselben Lehrbuch für den dritten Jahrgang der k.k. Lehrer- und Leherinnenbildungsanstalten*, 2nd ed. Vienna: Tempsky, 1891.

The organization of history classes into chronological and biographical episodes provided plenty of opportunities to offer in-depth portraits of the Monarchy's key rulers. Since history textbooks provided the foundation for these lessons, they offer the best insight into how teachers taught the history of the Habsburg dynasty. Regardless of author or edition, elementary and secondary school history textbooks offered a consistent presentation of these rulers, often with nearly identical language. Authors frequently employed dialogue, vivid description, and other literary devices meant to enliven their prose. The historian and literary critic Hayden White has argued that such techniques, especially the use of tropes and archetypes, assign meaning and significance to the past, helping to create heroic or villainous "characters" from historic figures, thus transforming history into a form of literature.[3] We can find evidence of White's critique in these Austrian textbooks. Exploring their depiction of Habsburg rulers reveals that textbooks established a series of character tropes that linked all Austrian rulers together in an effort to portray the Habsburg dynasty as the embodiment of good governance. The most common characteristics ascribed to Habsburg rulers were piety, material simplicity, a "peaceful nature," reluctance to go to war, and a deep concern for the welfare and well-being of their subjects. Most often, textbooks demonstrated this concern by discussing Habsburg patronage for the arts and sciences, and the dynasty's investment in the economic and material infrastructure of their lands. Additionally, when permitted by individual biographies, textbooks showed how these rulers cared for their lands while coping with hardships and personal tragedy. As a result of these tropes, history textbooks ascribed an assumed set of characteristics to all members of the Habsburg dynasty. These tropes drew from long-established depictions of the Habsburg dynasty carefully crafted over generations. In many ways, Habsburg civic education in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the latest in a series of public relations efforts that date back to the emergence of Habsburg power. Beginning with Rudolf I in the thirteenth century, Habsburg rulers linked the virtue of the dynasty with their right to rule.[4]

They also relied extensively on historical legitimacy when making these claims. School textbooks were no different. Their discussions of Habsburg rulers ensured that students had a clear understanding of how the Habsburg dynasty inherited its lands and stressed the legitimacy of Habsburg rule over them. Since the Habsburg Monarchy was a multinational state, there was no way for textbooks to present the Habsburg dynasty as a representative of national unity—as the Hohenzollerns did in Germany or the Savoys did in Italy—and textbooks did not attempt to make such a claim. Instead, the emphasis rested on the history of Habsburg inheritance and succession and on the dynasty's history as imperial rulers. Textbooks asserted that the dynasty derived its legitimacy through history rather than the nation.

Heroic Foundations: Medieval Rulers of Austria

The Habsburgs directly tied their claim to an imperial title to the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, which the dynasty held, almost continuously, from the late fifteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. History textbooks did more than illustrate the deep connection between the House of Habsburg and the imperial crown, however. They attempted to portray the Habsburg Monarchy itself as an outgrowth of the Holy Roman Empire. To accomplish this task, most textbooks pointed to Austria's beginnings as the *Ostmark,* the military frontier established by Otto I, the first emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. A *Gymnasien* textbook written by Andreas Zeehe in 1897 taught students that Otto's founding of the *Ostmark* "extended the border of the [Holy Roman] Empire to the Vienna Woods . . . thus Austria can ascribe its origins to Otto I," which in the words of a different textbook from 1912, made Otto the "Father of the Fatherland."[5]

These words directly linked Austria's origins to the founder of the Holy Roman Empire. Furthermore, because the *Ostmark* was created to protect the empire, describing its origins provided the first opportunity to articulate part of Austria's "historic mission": to protect Western "civilization" from the "barbarous" East.[6] This connection is made explicitly in Ignaz Pennerstorfer's 1884 textbook for *Volksschulen*, which claimed that the founding of the *Ostmark* was essential to the survival of the Holy Roman Empire. Otto founded the *Ostmark* to defend the population of the empire from the "constant predatory invasions" of "wild, plundering peoples [who] pounced upon the unsuspecting inhabitants . . . kill[ing] them or dragg[ing] them into slavery."[7] Pennerstorfer declared that from its establishment, Austria's mission was to defend Europe from the onslaught of "barbarous," Eastern neighbors. Textbooks constantly reinforced this point as they discussed Austria's conflicts with the Ottoman Empire throughout the early modern period. These works also mentioned that Otto's *Ostmark* was, in many ways, a refounding of an early *Mark* established by Charlemagne.[8] Such remarks were part of a broader effort not only to portray Austria-Hungary as the successor to the Holy Roman Empire, but to the Carolingian Empire as well. With this connection established, history lessons could then directly connect the virtues of Charlemagne to the Habsburgs.

When describing Charlemagne, textbooks portrayed him as pious, learned, modest, and brave, qualities always associated with Habsburg rulers. Such depictions were drawn directly from Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*, one of the earliest and most famous biographies of the emperor. Einhard's work established a clear ideal of good governance and a model for future rulers to follow.[9] Accordingly, Austrian textbooks considered Charlemagne as the embodiment of benevolent, medieval kingship. Theodor Tupetz's textbook for teacher training institutions, published in several editions in the 1890s,

provided the typical description of Charlemagne, writing that he preferred "simple food" and clothing "sewed by his daughters" and that he was a man "happiest surrounded by his family."[10] Leo Smolle's textbook for *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen* similarly reflected on Charlemagne's character while also calling attention to his physical prowess. Smolle portrayed Charlemagne as a man possessing a "powerful build" with "an arched brow, an arched nose, large, mercurial eyes and a friendly, sanguine face."[11] These descriptions were not unique. In one way or another, almost every author referenced the fact that Charlemagne had an imposing figure, yet a mild temperament that preferred a simple life to one of luxury.[12]

Ultimately, it was these attributes that allowed him to establish a "world empire" and made him "one of the greatest rulers of all time."[13] More importantly, it was these attributes that motivated him to use this power to revive the arts and sciences, and education in general. Andreas Zeehe considered Charlemagne's establishment of schools and support for intellectual culture to be part of the ruler's commitment to "elevate all people to a higher level of education."[14] In a textbook from 1907, Zeehe asserted that through Charlemagne's patronage of churches and schools as well as his general support for the arts, he established the first "cultural empire" since the fall of Rome.[15] While echoing these points, Oskar von Gratzy directly connected the Carolingian Renaissance to the monarch's personality. Gratzy stated: "For his time, Charlemagne possessed a rich knowledge; besides German, he was conversant in Latin and even knew Greek."[16] It was this love of learning that motivated Charlemagne's support for building projects and patronage of the arts.

By connecting Charlemagne's success as a ruler to his personal virtues, textbooks established him as the ideal ruler. He also provided a model of good leadership that textbooks carried throughout their discussions of the rulers of Austria.[17] In essence, the virtues these later rulers shared with Charlemagne helped to legitimize their rule. Even though these comparisons were not always direct, the connections were obvious. Every Habsburg ruler was noble in character (and often appearance) and possessed a deep concern for the social, cultural, and economic development of his or her lands. In an effort to make these connections with Charlemagne's empire as explicit as possible, later textbooks portrayed Austria as the direct successor to the Carolingian Empire.

Pennerstorfer referred to Charlemagne's *Ostmark* as the "native land" (*Stammland*) of Austria, Tupetz called it the "embryo of the Austrian imperial state," while Emanuel Hannak argued it was the "foundation for our imperial state, for Austria."[18] It is worth noting that in a previous edition of Hannak's work, published twenty years earlier in 1879, he only wrote that Charlemagne created his *Ostmark* in the Danube River Basin. He did not mention Austria or the Habsburg Monarchy.[19] The added emphasis on Austria's supposed

Carolingian origins became a way of legitimizing the Monarchy. The most explicit example of this connection to Charlemagne comes from Leo Smolle, who wrote that due to the establishment of *Ostmark*, Charlemagne was "the founder of later Austria, for the *Ostmark* created the core which the different parts of the our fatherland gradually joined."[20] These statements attempted to prove that the imperial foundations of Austria-Hungary were ancient and traceable to the most notable ruler of the Middle Ages. Unlike the other states in Western and Central Europe, the Monarchy could not claim to be the representative voice of a nation to justify its power, and it did not try to. Instead, it relied on its long imperial history.

This notion drew from long-standing interpretations of Habsburg legitimacy that dated back to the reign of Maximilian I. When he became Holy Roman Emperor in 1508, Maximilian used art and literature to claim that the Habsburgs were the true successors to Charlemagne. These works not only cultivated the image of Charlemagne as German, as opposed to French, but also asserted the supposed genealogical connection between the Carolingians and the Habsburgs. One only needs to look at Albrecht Dürer's famous portrait of Charlemagne from 1513, which depicts the emperor anachronistically wearing the crown of the Holy Roman Emperor and cloaked in the heraldry of the empire, to find an obvious example of these attempts.[21]

While textbook authors did not claim familial bond between Habsburg rulers and Charlemagne, they certainly portrayed the dynasty as the rightful heir to the essence of Carolingian rule. This connective thread to the early Middle Ages was not only an effort to grant Austria imperial legitimacy, but it was also an effort to establish the notion that Austria, from its foundation, had always been served by brave, noble, and magnanimous rulers who only had the best interest of their people at heart. As Theodor Tupetz succinctly stated, "under brave rulers, [the *Ostmark*] grew even larger and more powerful, and gradually emerged as the great imperial state of Austria, where we live."[22] Charlemagne founded the original *Ostmark* and Otto I reconstituted the *Ostmark* in 1156 under the leadership of the Babenberg dynasty. This frontier zone became a duchy, and then later passed to the hands of the Habsburg dynasty in 1278.

Textbook presentations of the Babenberg dynasty, which ruled the Margraviate (and later Duchy) of Austria from 976 to 1246, resembled the heroic and noble image of Charlemagne and Otto I. Every textbook methodically discussed each Babenberg ruler and his reign over Austria. This was true even in general history textbooks, where the emphasis was on the larger scope of European history and on developments in the Holy Roman Empire and other European states. In fact, curriculum guides dictated that students be taught the achievements of these early Austrian rulers.[23]

Since none of the Babenberg dukes of Austria were elected Holy Roman Emperor, textbooks could not connect the dynasty to Austria's imperial legacy, but these dukes could serve as examples of virtue and good governance. As a result, textbooks described Babenberg support for the development of Austria, as well as the dynasty's loyalty to the emperor and the Church. More often than not, such descriptions involved the retelling of legends that showcased the loyalty and piety of Babenberg rulers. For example, students read that the Babenberg family acquired Austria because Leopold Babenberg rescued Emperor Otto II during a hunt in 976. According to the legend, Otto's bow broke while he attempted to slay a bear, leaving the emperor at the mercy of the beast's savage attack. "In an instant," Leopold intervened, killing the bear and saving the emperor's life.[24] For this act of valor, as well as Leopold's loyalty to the emperor in general, Otto awarded Austria to the Babenberg family. From this point forward, because of their continued loyalty and bravery in battle, Babenberg lands grew to include all of what became the archduchy of Austria.

Textbooks emphasized the bravery and the martial skill of the Babenberg dukes, but did so in a way that carefully portrayed the Austrian rulers as caretakers of peace and defenders of the weak. So, for example, when Leopold V (who ruled from 1177–1194) and Leopold VI (who ruled from 1194–1230) fought in the Crusades, they did so out of religious piety and a desire to protect the weak—not because they craved glory. Textbooks provided detailed descriptions of the plight of Christians in Palestine after it had been conquered by the "Turks," writing how this "crude people from the eastern bank of the Caspian Sea" brought "tribulations and abuse" to both native Christians as well as pilgrims. In these instances, authors made little effort to differentiate between the different Turkic and Kurdish groups that rose in power and predominance during this period. Instead, any Muslim power emerging from Asia Minor was simply "the Turk."[25] Such conflations made it appear as though the later wars with the Ottoman Empire were part of a struggle reaching back to the Middle Ages.

Ultimately, the "barbarity" of the Turks spurred Leopold V to join the Third Crusade in 1191 in an effort to "avenge the weak."[26] Textbooks used his participation in the Crusades to discuss his bravery in battle, and interestingly, to provide the legend of the origins of the flag of the duchy of Austria. According to this legend, Leopold V killed so many of his enemies during battle that his white tunic became saturated with blood. Ultimately, the only portion that remained white was the section of his tunic that had been covered by his belt. Impressed with his bravery, the emperor granted him the right to use red, white, and red as his standard. Other versions of this legend claim that the blood on Leopold's tunic came from a wound the duke obtained in battle. In spite of the seriousness of his injuries, he continued to fight on, a testament to his valor.[27]

Leopold VI, the Glorious, received similar treatment, with textbooks highlighting his participation in the Fifth Crusade from 1217–1221, which culminated in an attack on Egypt. Leopold attacked Egypt, Anton Gindely insisted, because it was the "main territory" (*Hauptland*) of the "Turks," and victory there could help "liberate Jerusalem from [their] hands."[28] After participating in a series of successful campaigns, Leopold returned to his lands to strengthen and improve them.[29] Leopold's commitment to his lands was to be expected, since, according to textbooks, Babenberg dukes were dedicated developers of Austria.

After returning from the Crusades, Leopold VI enacted legal reforms and granted free-city status to the cities of Enns, Wiener-Neustadt, Krems, and Vienna.[30] He also supported the development of industry throughout his lands, achieved primarily through his efforts to bring merchants from the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, and Hungary into his territories.[31] Such actions allowed these cities to prosper and grow and to become the center of Austrian economic life. Textbooks also credited Leopold VI with helping to establish Vienna as a "true capital" for the Austrian duchy, by building the castle that would grow into the Hofburg, the residence of the rulers of Austria until 1918.[32] Following the lead of the other Babenbergs, and as a "true son of the Church," Leopold VI also founded countless monasteries and churches.[33]

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

Textbooks portrayed the medieval kings of Bohemia and of Hungary in a similar manner. It is important to remember that for textbooks, all territories belonging to Austria-Hungary during the dualist period were "Austrian." As a result, textbooks took time to discuss the histories of Bohemia and Hungary prior to their incorporation into the Monarchy in 1526. Furthermore, textbooks considered Bohemian and Hungarian kings to be the forbearers to the Habsburg rulers just as the Babenbergs were. Discussions of Bohemia and Hungary before the Habsburgs sought to depict pre-Habsburg rulers in a heroic light while also explaining how those kingdoms became part of the Habsburg lands. Textbooks offered overviews of each king's reign and usually provided detailed family trees to explain lines of succession and inheritance.[34]

As they did for the Babenbergs, textbooks described specific Hungarian or Bohemian kings as pious and noble rulers. The most obvious example being Stephen I of Hungary, king from 1000–1038. Textbooks remembered Stephen most for his role in the Christianization of Hungary, an act that they argued earned the pope's support for elevating Hungary to a kingdom.[35] The pope not only made Stephen king of Hungary, but he awarded Stephen the title "apostolic majesty," an honor passed on to all future kings of Hungary, including Franz Joseph, who reigned as both the emperor of Austria and the king of Hungary. Accordingly, textbooks made every effort to stress the importance of this honor and to connect Franz Joseph to his pious predecessor. Tupetz provided a typical example of this effort by explaining that Stephen's crown, "considered holy by the Magyars," was used to crown "all succeeding kings of Hungary, including Emperor Franz Joseph I," who, like all kings of Hungary, inherited the right to call himself "apostolic."[36]

Textbooks also portrayed Stephen as a strong leader, capable of uniting the Magyars and improving the kingdom. Authors used his political reforms, standardization of the law codes, and building projects as proof of this leadership.[37] The reforming efforts of future Habsburg rulers, like Leopold I, Maria Theresa, Joseph II, and Franz Joseph therefore became continuations of those started under Hungary's most revered king. When discussing the development of Bohemia, textbooks focused on similar themes, describing its Christianization under Duke Wenceslaus I (who ruled Bohemia from 921–935) and the efforts of Bohemian kings to unify Bohemian society and government.[38]

The pre-Habsburg rulers of Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary all served as models of good governance, which continued under the Habsburg dynasty. These shared traits lent an added layer of legitimacy to Habsburg rule over these lands. Not only did the dynasty gain these territories through legitimate means of succession, but Habsburg rulers continued the tradition of good governance established by their predecessors. Connecting Stephen I of Hungary and Wenceslaus I of Bohemia to their Habsburg successors also represented an effort to make these figures representatives of the supranational Habsburg state rather than only representatives of the Hungarian or Czech nation. History classes wanted these figures to be models of good kingship for the entire Monarchy.

The First Habsburgs: Rudolf von Habsburg and His Immediate Successors

The characteristics ascribed to Rudolf von Habsburg (1218–1291), the first Habsburg ruler of Austria and first Habsburg ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, clearly echoed those of the Monarchy's previous rulers. The fact that he shared their noble qualities meant that he was their true successor in every sense.

Even Rudolf's physical appearance, as described by textbooks, was almost identical to that of Charlemagne, allowing Rudolf to also represent the ideal of medieval kingship. Authors frequently referenced his royal appearance, commenting that he had an "arched brow, fiery eyes, a noble nose, and a large build," which "gave him a kingly appearance."[39]

The parallels between the two did not end at appearance. Like Charlemagne, Rudolf was humble and modest, rejecting luxury and opulence. According to Pennerstorfer, Rudolf wore "simple and plain clothes" and led a "plain and moderate" life, eating the same meals as his troops. His "cheerful mood" allowed him to connect to his people, whom he cared for deeply, "especially the poor."[40] Josef Kraft and Johann Rothaus' revisions of Anton Gindely's textbook for *Bürgerschulen*, published in 1892, provided a similar depiction, commenting that Rudolf would mend his own clothing and shared his food with his troops. It also mentioned his skill as a hunter as well as his quick wit and jovial personality.[41] Like Charlemagne, whom textbooks described as preferring the clothing made by his daughters to more luxurious clothing, Rudolf preferred simple dress. Yet Rudolf was not just a continuation of ideal medieval kingship. His election to King of the Romans in 1273 during the chaotic period when the empire lacked an emperor meant he had to restore order and defend the weak, a key characteristic ascribed to Austrian rulers.

With the death of the last Hohenstaufen emperor in 1254, the Holy Roman Empire fell into a tumultuous period that ultimately led to the election of Rudolf von Habsburg. Textbooks vividly detailed the disorder of this interregnum, and the dangers that accompanied it. Pennerstorfer described this time as one of "disorder and confusion," where "plunder and murder were daily phenomena" and princes ignored "rights and laws," interested only in their own power and wealth.[42] The so-called plundering knights (*Raubritter*) bore responsibility for most of this chaos. These knights terrorized the cities, ransacked the countryside, and amassed huge amounts of wealth. Ultimately, this was a time when only "the strong fist" held power.[43] Pennerstorfer's description of the period was typical. All textbooks made clear that Rudolf's election occurred at a time of "anarchy," when the weak were exploited and those in power seemed to show no concern for the welfare of their lands.[44] The electors of the empire chose Rudolf due to his reputation as a strong, honest, and capable leader, essential qualities when consensus was hard to find. Furthermore, textbooks asserted that the populace welcomed his election, hoping he would end the difficult times.

Reflecting the chaotic period in which he ruled, Rudolf was never elected as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, but ruled as King of the Romans, a title bestowed upon the presumptive heir to the position of Holy Roman Emperor. Because Rudolf's election as King of the Romans occurred when there was no

Holy Roman Emperor, he was the de facto ruler of the empire.[45] The fact that he did not possess the imperial title did not limit his authority, however. More importantly, the circumstances of his reign allowed Rudolf to embody two of the most important tropes ascribed to Habsburg rule: maintaining order in the face of chaos and protecting those under his care. Accordingly, textbooks framed Rudolf's rule as an effort to restore stability and bring justice to those who had been victimized. To this end, he punished those who had profited from the chaos before his election. Textbooks described his attacks on the castles of the plundering knights, his seizure of their lands, and his distribution of those lands to just lords. None of these actions were motivated by his desire to consolidate power or enhance his position within the empire. Instead, his chief aim was the "restoration of lawful order."[46] Starting with Rudolf, the role of the Habsburg family in restoring order in times of disruption emerged as a reason for the continued strength of their rule. The notion that the Habsburg dynasty and Austria had a historic mission to defend order and lawful government became a key characteristic of both the dynasty and Austria itself.

Textbooks asserted that Rudolf's protection of his lands emerged from his deep piety, another defining quality of the Habsburg dynasty. This assertion echoed sentiments associated with Habsburg rule, which date back to Rudolf's reign. From this period, Habsburg rulers carefully developed their image as pious rulers, using religious devotion as a legitimizing principle for imperial rule.[47] Not only did they utilize public events, like the veneration of the cross, which drew from traditions dating back to Charlemagne and even the Roman Emperor Constantine, but they also cultivated legends and apocryphal stories to bolster this image. Maximilian I even went so far as to produce family trees that claimed an abundance of martyrs, popes, and saints with Habsburg lineage.[48] When authors, like von Gratzy, proclaimed that Rudolf's piety and reverence for his faith was known throughout his lands, they were reiterating claims that had been made for centuries.[49] As a result, textbooks could make use of these existing legends and stories when describing Rudolf's devout character. The most famous of these legends was of Rudolf and the priest, which claimed that while hunting in the forest, Rudolf encountered a priest on his way to give last rites to a dying man.[50] When a storm began, Rudolf immediately dismounted and sheltered the priest and the Holy Eucharist with his hunting cloak. To ensure that the priest reached the dying man on time, Rudolf gave the priest his horse. This story not only appeared in textbooks, but in sample lesson plans published by pedagogical journals and year-end school reports.[51] Another legend frequently found in textbooks described how once, while investing new knights, Rudolf could not find the scepter typically used for this ceremony. In place of his scepter, Rudolf used the cross of a priest, a sign of his devotion to God.[52] Such stories demonstrated Rudolf's piety while

also using his faith to explain his successful acquisition of the Habsburg hereditary lands and election as King of the Romans in 1273. Students learned that the success of the House of Habsburg and the growth of Austria derived from the dynasty's virtue and piety.

Later textbooks also placed greater emphasis on Rudolf's establishment of Habsburg rule over Austria, discussing him with poetic flourish. For example, the twelfth edition of Anton Gindely's *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* used in girls' schools added that following the reign of Rudolf von Habsburg, "Austria gradually grew to become a powerful state. For the most part, these [Habsburg] rulers also wore the German imperial crown and consequently directed the history of Germany."[53] In a similar vein, Theodor Tupetz described how starting with Rudolf's acquisition of the Habsburg hereditary lands, "the glorious House of Habsburg has led the Austrian lands for more than 600 years."[54] Such statements were an obvious effort to emphasize the longevity of Habsburg rule in Austria, and the importance of Austria and the Habsburgs to Europe. The leadership of the Holy Roman Emperor fell out of Habsburg hands soon after Rudolf's reign, and did not return until Friedrich III's election as Holy Roman Emperor in 1452. As a result, textbooks usually only provided a brief summary of the Habsburg rulers of Austria between Rudolf and Friedrich.

Even though these summaries tended to be brief, when possible, textbooks still referenced the piety, industry, and effectiveness of the Habsburg rulers in Austria. Such attempts were clearest during descriptions of the reign of Rudolf IV (1358–1365), sometimes referred to as Rudolf the Founder. As with many of Rudolf IV's Babenberg predecessors, textbooks praised him for his efforts to develop his lands. They portrayed Rudolf IV as a tireless ruler who enhanced the importance of his territory, especially the city of Vienna. Almost every textbook noted his expansion of St. Stephan's Church in the city as well as his role in persuading the Catholic hierarchy to make the church a cathedral by establishing an archdiocese in Vienna.[55] Often, such discussions included an illustration of St. Stephan's Cathedral to ensure students knew what the cathedral looked like. Equally as important was Rudolf IV's establishment of the University of Vienna, which textbooks considered an important step in elevating the status of the city to that of Prague and other centers of learning throughout Europe.[56]

Textbooks further praised Rudolf IV for his expansion of Habsburg holdings in Central Europe, especially his acquisition of Carniola and Carinthia.[57] According to Theodor Tupetz, once these lands were acquired, Rudolf IV took steps to increase the unity of his lands.[58] This emphasis on attempts to bring uniformity to Austria established a resonance between the reign of Rudolf IV and future rulers, such as Maximilian I, Maria Theresa, and Franz Joseph, each of whom attempted to bring centralized administration to the diverse Habsburg lands.

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

While Rudolf von Habsburg ruled the Holy Roman Empire as King of the Romans, Friedrich III was the first Habsburg to obtain the title of the Holy Roman Emperor. After his death in 1493, the crown passed to his son, Maximilian, whom textbooks depicted as the architect of the Habsburg dynasty's acquisition of power in the early modern era. This attribution was primarily due to the series of diplomatic marriages he arranged that ultimately resulted in Habsburg control of Hungary, Bohemia, Spain, and Burgundy, along with his ability to ensure that the imperial crown remained in Habsburg hands.[59] Textbooks also consciously portrayed Maximilian I as the bridge between the rulers of the medieval and modern Austria. His physical appearance echoed that of Charlemagne and Rudolf I. Theodor Tupetz described Maximilian as "exceedingly noble. He was tall with a powerful build. His hair was blonde, his eyes blue, his nose strongly bent, like his ancestor Rudolf."[60] Gratzy provided a similar description, portraying him as possessing a "strong brow" and a "wholly royal" appearance.[61] While Maximilian may have looked like a king, both authors made clear that his nobility came from actions and deeds. As Gratzy stated, "for all of his handsomeness and sublime enthusiasm, he was still a fierce fighter."[62] Almost every profile of Maximilian mentioned his love of sports as well as his love of scholarship and learning. As a result, Maximilian embodied the ideal of the well-rounded ruler.

For example, Zeehe noted that Maximilian was "a brave knight and cunning hunter; repeatedly his life was put into the greatest danger. He possessed an excellent memory, [with a] sharp awareness and good insight into human nature."[63] Yet Maximilian also appreciated literature and the arts. Rebhann's textbook for *Realschulen* used Zeehe's descriptions almost verbatim, referring to Maximilian as both a "brave knight and cunning hunter" who also loved old legends and ancient tales.[64] Emphasizing his noble appearance, his martial skill, and his love of learning linked Maximilian with his predecessors, such as Charlemagne and Rudolf. But textbooks also made clear that Maximilian was a transitional figure for Austria who brought his lands out of the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance.

Without exception, textbooks referred to Maximilian as the "Last Knight," an indication that he was both a medieval and modern figure. As Pennerstorfer wrote, "Maximilian belonged to two different eras. His youth fell in the Middle Ages, his adulthood belonged to modern times."[65] Thus descriptions of him not only included his prowess as a hunter and knight, firmly establishing his credibility as a medieval figure, but also explained his love of humanism and the arts and sciences of the Renaissance period. As Woynar stated, Maximilian was "an extremely amiable and chivalrous prince,

endowed with extraordinary gifts of the mind and body. [He was] an ardent [supporter] of hunting and tournaments (the Last Knight) [yet] Maximilian also took keen interest in the humanistic and artistic aims of his time."[66] The clearest example of this interest was Maximilian's support for the arts, especially the painter Albrecht Dürer. As evidence of Maximilian's esteem for the arts and for artists, Smolle included the apocryphal quotation attributed to the emperor: "In an instant I could probably make from seven peasants as many knights, but from those knights I could not sift out a single artist."[67] The emphasis on Maximilian's support for the arts not only echoed discussions of Charlemagne's revival of scholarship and learning, but also helped to establish the notion that Habsburg rulers were caretakers and stewards of the arts, a notion that would be reiterated time and time again.

Textbooks emphasized that Maximilian's support for the arts and for humanism was not an idle passion, but rather emerged from his love for his people and his desire to improve their lives. As Zeehe stated, all of Maximilian's actions were influenced by humanism, "the idea that the ruler of the land should be concerned not only for the peace and law of the land, but also for the material and intellectual wellbeing of his subjects."[68] Such concerns not only led Maximilian to support humanist writers and artists, but more importantly, led him to enact a series of reforms to align the administration of his lands with humanist principles. Such principles ensured that those living under Habsburg rule received just treatment and government guided by principles that would lead to prosperity.

As with Rudolf I, textbooks credited Maximilian with restoring order to a chaotic Holy Roman Empire. They characterized the empire as a land where subjects relied on the will of their lords rather than rule of law. For these reasons, Maximilian began a series of wide-ranging reforms to streamline law and order within the empire. He established the Imperial Chamber Court and formed the Landsknecht, a mercenary military regiment to assist in the empire's military commitments. He also established a postal service and built roads and canals.[69] Such pursuits allowed authors to paint Maximilian as a tireless reformer as well as the founder of the Austrian bureaucratic state. Both characteristics typified Habsburg rule in the modern era. In this way, the reigns of Austria's great reformers, Maria Theresa, Joseph II, and Franz Joseph, continued in the tradition of Maximilian I.[70] Textbooks also stressed Maximilian's connection with his subjects. He was constantly referred to as "folksy" (*volkstümlich*), and as having a close bond with the people. Often, such descriptions mentioned that he shared this characteristic with Joseph II.[71] Such direct comparisons demonstrated that Habsburg rulers were not only interested in the development of their lands, but that such interest derived from their deep concern for the well-being of their people.

By drawing such connections between Maximilian, his predecessors, and his successors, textbooks continued efforts begun by Maximilian himself. During his time as emperor, Maximilian supported countless efforts to publicize the virtues of the Habsburg dynasty. Using woodcuts, pamphlets, monuments, and other forms of media, Maximilian sought to connect the accomplishments of all Habsburg rulers.[72] As Larry Silver has proven, while Maximilian liked to portray himself as "The Last Knight," he was, in many ways, the first "media monarch," a ruler intent on managing his reputation and deeply concerned about his image and that of his dynasty.[73] Maximilian was intent on enhancing his family's power and prestige, a fact textbooks readily discussed.

They credited Maximilian with elevating the Habsburg dynasty and Austria to the status of a European great power. In particular, Maximilian strategically arranged marriages between his children and those from the ruling families of Spain, Hungary, and Bohemia, making Austria a power in its own right, independent of the empire.[74] Such marriages laid the foundation for the rapid expansion of Habsburg influence, which occurred during the reigns of Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor from 1519–1556) and Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Emperor from 1556–1564). The depth and detail of the discussions of these two rulers depended on whether the textbook focused on Austria or on Europe in general. General history textbooks placed a stronger emphasis on Charles V, while those specifically covering Austrian history tended to showcase Ferdinand I.

Figure 2.2. An image of a knight's castle used in textbooks. Courtesy of Ignaz Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen*. Vienna: Manzsche k.u.k. Hof-Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1897.

With his protruding jaw and slight frame, it was difficult to portray Charles V as the physical embodiment of kingship. Instead, textbooks used the physical characteristics of Charles V to emphasize his devotion to his lands and to draw attention to his mental prowess and skill as a warrior. Gindely's 1882 general history textbook used in *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* described Charles V's "frail build" and noted that the emperor "already had arthritis by age 40, making riding

uncomfortable"; nevertheless, he possessed a great intellect, with interest in the arts and sciences.[75] Elsewhere, Gindely reiterated these points, commenting that Charles V's physical limitations did not stop him from traveling constantly in order to manage his lands and to forge connections with his "diverse peoples." Even in his suffering, he always behaved magnanimously and with generosity.[76] Gindely's characterization of Charles V appeared in other textbooks, with the most robust description coming from Smolle's book for *Bürgerschulen*:

> [Charles V] was not of great stature. He had a long face with a large, protruding chin, large soulful eyes and an arched brow. In spite of his weak health, he was hearty and endured strain and exertion with great stoicism. When going into battle, he trembled when his armor was put on, but in the middle of battle he was brave and death defying. To his motto *plus ultra* [always more] he remained true during his entire reign. Under him, the House of Habsburg rose to its greatest power and dimension.[77]

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

With Charles V, the dynasty reached the height of its influence. As a result of Maximilian I's skill arranging diplomatic marriages, Charles not only became the ruler of Austria and the Holy Roman Empire, but also of Burgundy, Spain, and Spain's rapidly expanding colonial empire. It was also during the reign of Charles V that the Habsburg dynasty acquired Bohemia and Hungary, when Charles' brother Ferdinand became the ruler of these kingdoms in 1526. Textbooks carefully pointed out that the expansion of Habsburg power was entirely legitimate and the result of skillful diplomacy and bravery on the battlefield. Textbooks clearly delineated the marriages and historical precedents that allowed these acquisitions to occur.[78] They also contrasted the legitimate expansion of Habsburg power with the perceived illegitimate actions of France and the Ottoman Empire, which sought to expand their own influence in Europe. Such contrasts helped to frame the sixteenth-century wars between the Habsburg dynasty and France as a French effort to expand its influence at the expense of legitimate Habsburg rule.[79] This interpretation drew attention away from the fact that the French feared the growth of Habsburg power would limit their own influence on the continent. Descriptions of these wars also allowed textbooks to glorify the martial abilities of Charles V. For example, during the Battle of Pavia in 1525, Gratzy insisted, Charles V was "always brave," and continued to fight "even when he was wounded twice in the face,

once in the hand, and . . . his horse was killed from under him."[80] Ultimately, it was such bravery that allowed Charles V to triumph and frustration with such defeats that led France to ally with the Ottoman Empire.

Textbooks always portrayed France's tendency to seek out alliances with the Ottoman Empire as a betrayal of shared Christian interest in defending Europe from the assaults of the Muslim Turks. By allying with the Ottoman Empire, French leaders hoped to surround Habsburg forces with hostile neighbors. Textbooks used these alliances, however, to draw distinction between the Habsburg dynasty and France. While France was courting the Turks, Charles V was protecting his fellow Christians. Gratzy's textbook provided a detailed description of Charles V's efforts to free Christian slaves who had been captured along the Mediterranean by Turkish pirates in the 1530s. A fleet sent by Charles in 1535 captured Tunis in a "glorious victory," giving "22,000 captured Christians freedom" and filling Charles with "unspeakable joy."[81] The contrast could not be clearer. While France, driven by a desire to expand its power, courted an alliance with the Ottoman Empire, Charles V sent troops to free Christians whom the Ottomans enslaved. The notion that Charles V was a tireless and selfless ruler, who worked constantly for the well-being of his peoples, in spite of adversity, tied him to future Habsburg rulers, especially Leopold I, Maria Theresa, and Franz Joseph.

When discussing the reign of Ferdinand I (1558–1564), textbooks reiterated the Habsburg dynasty's legitimate acquisition of Hungary and Bohemia, and the fact that the dynasty continued to defend Europe from the Ottoman Empire. Ferdinand took control over the Habsburg hereditary lands in 1521 at the request of his brother, Charles V. He became king of Bohemia and Hungary in 1526 after the death of his brother-in-law, Louis II, and then became Holy Roman Emperor after Charles V's abdication in 1556. The reign of Ferdinand was especially consequential for Austria, since he became the first Habsburg to rule Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary—the core crownlands of Austria-Hungary in the nineteenth century. The legitimacy of Habsburg rule over these three lands and therefore the legitimacy of Austria-Hungary itself were essential to the Austrian state idea, and textbooks made sure to explain, in detail, how the House of Habsburg inherited these territories and to stress the legitimacy of these inheritances.

It was not unusual for textbooks to refer to the events of 1526 as the establishment of Austria-Hungary. Gindely's textbook for *Bürgerschulen* titled this section "Ferdinand I, the Founding of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy" and Zeehe's textbook referred to the Habsburg inheritance of Bohemia and Hungary as "The Founding of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy."[82] The textbooks clearly explained that when King Louis II, who ruled both Hungary and Bohemia, died at the Battle of Mohács (1526) the crowns of both kingdoms

rightfully passed to Ferdinand.[83] Sometimes, such explanations even included detailed family trees of the royal lines of Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia in order to demonstrate Habsburg inheritance of these lands in visual terms. The language used by textbooks to discuss the inheritance of Hungary and Bohemia explicitly justified the Habsburg claim to these thrones. Zeehe, for example, stated that "Ferdinand was the rightful successor to this crown. 1526 is therefore the birth year of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy."[84] The use of the term "Austro-Hungarian" is notable. Austria-Hungary, of course, would not become a political entity until the *Ausgleich* of 1867, which reorganized the Habsburg Monarchy into the Dual Monarchy. By presenting 1526, the year the Habsburg dynasty obtained control over Bohemia and Hungary, as the birth year of the "Austro-Hungarian Monarchy," authors created an image of the Monarchy that presented its borders and its organization as fixed, natural, and rooted in history. It reinforced a "mental map" of the Monarchy, crucial to the layered, supranational identity Habsburg civic education attempted to create.

Textbooks also used Ferdinand's inheritance to connect the House of Habsburg with the previous ruling houses of Hungary and Bohemia while also presenting the union of these three lands as the foundation of the "Austrian mission." In 1526, Bohemia and Hungary were "legally united with the Austrian Lands. This laid the foundation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The former realms of the Babenbergs, Přemyslids, and Arpads were united into a great power which had the difficult task of carrying occidental culture to the east and protecting Germany against the barbarism of the Turks."[85] With such a strong defense of the Habsburg inheritance of Bohemia and Hungary, it was easy to portray the carnage that resulted over the struggle for Hungary as the product of treachery and greed by the enemies of the Habsburgs.

The best example of such carnage is seen with portrayals of John Zápolya, the Hungarian noble who contested Ferdinand's claim to the Hungarian throne, and sought to secure it for himself in a series of battles in 1527 and 1528. Echoing previous descriptions of France, textbooks depicted Zápolya as motivated by pure greed and lust for power and a man willing to condemn the people of Hungary to misery in order to advance his own aims. Most treacherously, he became a vassal of the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman I in 1529 and supported the Ottoman Army during its attacks on Hungary.[86] As Gindely wrote: "because of the ambition of Zápolya and because of the faction of the [Hungarian] magnates that served him, unending woes came over Hungary. Suleiman came in 1529 with a large army [and] received homage from Zápolya in Mohács, who kissed [Suleiman's] hand as a vassal and then marched against Vienna . . . ."[87] Zápolya took such actions even though an assembly of Hungarian nobles in Pressburg "elevated Ferdinand to the throne of Hungary."[88] In Josef Kraft's 1892 revisions of Gindely's work, Zápolya's

"betrayal" of Hungary became even more nefarious, since Kraft insisted that the ultimate goal of the Ottomans was control over Central Europe.[89] Such treatments simultaneously reinforced the legitimacy of Ferdinand's rule and Austria's mission while condemning Zápolya as a traitor.

Gindely was not the only author to vividly describe the results of Zápolya's actions. Leopold Weingartner described how the Turkish troops "burned towns, devastated the lands, and killed or enslaved 100,000 people" once Zápolya became his vassal.[90] Textbooks blamed the resulting division of Hungary into three sections, one ruled by the Habsburgs, another by the Ottomans directly, and the third (Transylvania) a vassal to the Ottomans, entirely on the greed of Zápolya and the other Hungarian magnates who refused to acknowledge Ferdinand's rule. As a result, Habsburg efforts to acquire the rest of Hungary from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries were legitimate and justified. Additionally, since those regions were in the hands of the Ottomans, textbooks could present the Habsburg conquest of Ottoman-controlled Hungary during the reign of Leopold I as the forces of "civilization" rescuing Hungarians from the forces of "barbarism."

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

War almost entirely defined the reign of Leopold I (Holy Roman Emperor from 1658–1705), and since those wars greatly expanded the territory of the Monarchy, nineteenth-century historians, with enthusiastic support from the dynasty itself, began referring to this period as Austria's "Age of Heroes" (*Heldenzeit*).[91] Textbooks followed suit, describing Leopold's time on the throne as one when Austria emerged triumphant from justified conflicts. At the same time, in order for the Habsburg dynasty to maintain its image as a force of peace that ruled through legitimate acquisition of power, it was essential that students learn Austria was not the aggressor during Leopold's wars.[92] Deepening existing tropes ascribed to Habsburg rulers, textbooks asserted that Leopold and his subjects did not want war, but rather war was forced upon them by the devious, greedy French and bellicose, barbaric Turks.

To punctate this point, Leopold embodied the ideal of the intellectual-minded ruler interested only in stability. The events of Leopold's life provided authors plenty of opportunities to make these claims. He trained to be a priest before his brother died, making Leopold the heir to the Habsburg lands. Furthermore, given the limits on Habsburg power, Leopold was forced to pursue a series of coalitions and alliances in order to achieve his objectives. For textbooks, these realities became explicit evidence of the fact that he embodied Habsburg piety and consensus building. Gindely provided a typical description of the emperor, declaring that he was

> reared primarily for the spiritual class, but due to the death of his oldest brother (Ferdinand IV) he was crowned king of Hungary and Bohemia and gained possession of the Austrian lands. Louis XIV [of France] tried to bribe electors to prevent his elevation to the imperial crown, but with the help of Protestant princes, Leopold was elected. . . . Even though he was a peace loving prince, his life was spent fighting the Turks, the French, and the angry Hungarians.[93]

This image of Leopold as a "peace loving prince" reluctantly dragged into war fills the textbooks. This quality was often linked to discussion of his piety and simplicity in ways reminiscent of those of Charlemagne and Rudolf von Habsburg. Just as they allegedly preferred simple clothing and tastes, Leopold eschewed luxury in favor of an ascetic life.[94] While discussing the refined simplicity of Leopold's court, it was difficult for authors to resist the obvious comparisons with that of Louis XIV. Tupetz, for example, directly compared the tastes of the two monarchs:

> Under Leopold I, the Viennese court offered a distinct contrast to the glitzy, grandiose, depraved court-life of Versailles. Already, the Hofburg, where the emperor lived, was distinctly without ornamentation. The emperor himself dressed frugally, his preference to be in total black. His third wife stitched and embroidered for her husband. . . . In the west, Leopold had to defend the borders of the German Reich against the plundering invasions of Louis XIV of France . . . in the East he had to defend Austria against a greater danger, the Turks.[95]

The juxtaposition of the qualities of Leopold's character and reign with that of Louis XIV and the degree of criticism leveled against the French king is notable. Such direct comparisons between rulers were rare, and when writing about foreign rulers, authors typically refrained from critical editorializing. In this circumstance, authors wanted to do more than teach students about the reign of Louis XIV. They clearly wanted discussions of his personality, his court, and his wars to embody the qualities of bad kingship. By comparing Louis XIV vices to Leopold's virtues, the two became as forceful of an allegory of good and bad governance as the images from Lorenzetti's fresco in Siena. While Leopold was frugal and simple, Louis XIV was extravagant and wasteful; while Leopold was peace loving and reluctant to fight wars, Louis XIV was a warmonger who launched a series of unjust wars for his own profit and aggrandizement; while Leopold actively fought to defend Christianity from the Turks, Louis XIV sought alliances with the Turks at the expense of his fellow Christians.

Most textbooks described the development of French absolutism, the construction of Versailles, and the French court under Louis XIV in great detail. They attempted to show that Louis XIV only wanted to expand his own power and had little interest in the welfare of his people. Even his religious policies, such as the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and support for Gallicanism, became power grabs by the crown at the expense of the people, especially its religious minorities.[96] Such acts contrasted with developments in the Habsburg lands, which authors portrayed as tolerant of Protestantism. In order to emphasize this point, some authors even stated that Louis' actions forced Huguenots (French Protestants), viewed as vital to the French economy, to flee to more welcoming lands in the East.[97]

Textbooks also argued that Louis XIV, not content to dominate only his own kingdom, desired control of all of Europe at the expense of his weaker neighbors. As a result, the wars of Louis XIV were completely predatory and lacked all justification. In fact, textbooks always called these conflicts "wars of plunder," not just wars. Zeehe provided a typical description of the Louis XIV's ambitions: "Louis' chief ambition was to make France the most powerful and glorious state in Europe. To this end, he launched many wars of conquest, especially plundering his weaker neighbor-states, Germany and Spain."[98] To illustrate the horrific results of these wars, textbooks vividly described the cities plundered during the carnage:

> Countless cities, such as the venerable Speyer, with its imperial cathedral, sank in ashes. He [Louis XIV] did not even spare the imperial crypt, where he ripped the bones [of past Holy Roman Emperors] from their coffins. The magnificent Heidelberg castle, a splendid creation of the German renaissance, was reduced to pieces. Appalling crimes were committed on the poor inhabitants of these lands, and the names of the French generals Mélac and Duras are covered with indelible disgrace.[99]

In an almost identical description of this destruction, Gratzy emphasized Louis XIV's direct culpability for the destruction caused by his troops. "'The king wills it!' was the answer of the French generals to the pleas of the inhabitants for mercy," the author insisted.[100] Louis XIV's ambitions also led him to ally with the Ottomans, in an effort to diminish the power of Austria. Such actions clearly contrasted with those of the Habsburgs, portrayed again as the defender of Christianity and as an alliance builder, eager to reach consensus with its neighbors to ensure mutual defense.[101]

This image of Louis XIV was popular among German-speaking historians, especially those eager to justify Prussian actions during the Franco-Prussian War. Furthermore, authors did not invent the contrasts between Leopold I and

Louis XIV themselves, but rather relied on sources contemporaneous to the age. Propaganda produced by Louis XIV's opponents routinely condemned him as a warmonger who reigned over a decadent court deprived of virtue.[102] In Austria, as with previous Habsburgs, Leopold carefully managed the public image of his reign. Leopold's court used art and media to stress that he only went to war to bring harmony to Europe, and that he would rather use his wealth to support the arts than to supply armies. Books, pamphlets, and newspapers consistently described Leopold as Europe's only defense from the greed of Louis XIV, and the only check on the French king's ambition to achieve universal monarchy.[103] The connectivity between these efforts and nineteenth-century textbooks illustrates the longevity of the literary tropes ascribed to the Habsburg dynasty, especially the perception that Austria was essential to the stability of Europe.

The Reformers: Maria Theresa and Joseph II

The notion that Austria was a consensus maker and alliance builder surrounded by predatory neighbors helped to justify the Monarchy's participation in European wars. Unlike other great powers, eager to expand their own authority, the Habsburg Monarchy was only interested in preserving stability. Its military conflicts resulted either from a desire to maintain this order or because the other powers hoped to prey upon the Monarchy. Such assertions were particularly powerful when discussing the reign of Maria Theresa, who ruled the Habsburg Monarchy from 1740–1780. As with Leopold I, a series of wars marked Maria Theresa's time on the throne and textbooks made every effort to conceptualize these conflicts as a fight for the survival of the Habsburg state. As a result, the War of Austrian Succession, which began immediately upon Maria Theresa's ascension to the throne in 1740, was a war launched by greedy neighbors, eager to attack what they viewed as a weak ruler. Textbooks dramatically described the war in a manner that emphasized the power of the enemies opposing Austria, and they stressed the perils facing the Monarchy.[104] Pennerstorfer provided a typical description, writing that "the young Empress Maria Theresa barely had an army to oppose her countless enemies. Only . . . the traditional loyalty and self-sacrifice of her peoples" kept her from total defeat.[105] Similarly, Weingartner dramatically declared that "half of Europe stood against the young queen on the battlefield."[106]

Once again, the Habsburgs proved to be reluctant warriors, as textbooks stressed that the attacks on Austria were illegitimate and a violation of the Pragmatic Sanction signed by many of the aggressors. Maria Theresa's father, Emperor Charles VI, prepared the Pragmatic Sanction in 1713 to secure Maria Theresa's inheritance of the Habsburg lands. Since he did not have a son, this was the only way to ensure that the Austrian Habsburg line did not end with his

death. Salic Law, practiced in the Holy Roman Empire and all Habsburg territories, prohibited women from inheriting property, and the Pragmatic Sanction sought to ensure that the powers of Europe and the empire accepted Maria Theresa as Charles' legitimate heir. Even though they agreed to the Pragmatic Sanction, Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony rescinded their support upon Charles' death, resulting in the War of Austrian Succession.[107] According to textbooks, the war resulted from the greed of German princes, eager to expand their territory, and foreign powers, like France, which sought to destroy the power of the Habsburg family. Julius John's revisions of Gindely's textbook described this perceived greed in detail, outlining a plan for partitioning the Habsburg lands developed by Austria's enemies, who met in France.[108] Such emphasis on Austria's peril made the success of Maria Theresa all the more spectacular.

The loyalty of Austria's peoples to their monarch was essential to this success, especially since its enemies encouraged Bohemia and Hungary to reject Maria Theresa's claim to the crowns of their kingdoms. Even though textbooks often praised King Frederick II of Prussia for his support for Enlightenment principles, they painted him as the unquestioned aggressor in this conflict.[109] Textbooks depicted Prussia's attack on Austria as a betrayal of both Maria Theresa and Austria itself, and made clear that Prussia was a well-organized, well-equipped foe preying upon Austria's vulnerabilities.[110] While authors may not have rhetorically vilified Frederick II, he was obviously an enemy of Austria. Even though some radical German nationalists in Austria considered Frederick to be a German national hero, textbooks taught only that he threatened Austria's position in Europe. His actions were responsible for allowing Bavaria to claim the imperial crown and encouraging France to provide military and financial support to efforts to remove the Habsburg dynasty from power.[111] Surrounded by such foes, Maria Theresa turned to her people, and their loyalty saved the Monarchy.

Almost all accounts of the War of Austrian Succession included some mention of the loyalty of Austria's peoples to Maria Theresa. Typically there was some variation of the phrase "in this danger, Maria Theresa found salvation through the loyalty of her subjects" or "the hard-pressed ruler found unwavering support from her subjects and a powerful alliance with England."[112] Pennerstorfer offered a detailed description that illustrated the connection between the monarch and her peoples and their role in her victory:

> The young empress, Maria Theresa, barely had an army to oppose her countless enemies and only due to the traditional loyalty and self-sacrifice of her peoples was she not completely defeated. . . . The Austrian lands willingly sacrificed, with pleasure, their money and blood for their princess.[113]

Authors made clear that Maria Theresa did not take this loyalty for granted. Indeed, she beseeched her people for assistance. She especially sought the help of the Hungarians in her efforts to defend her inheritance and her claim to the thrones of the Monarchy. The story of Maria Theresa's appeal to the Hungarian Diet in Pressburg in 1741 became the personification of her determination, and textbooks recounted the events of the diet in vivid detail. Pennerstorfer, in his typical dramatic fashion, wrote that once attacked by her enemies, Maria Theresa

> set all her hopes on God and on the loyalty of her peoples. In Pressburg she received the Hungarian Diet. The crown of St. Stephen on her head, dressed in mourning clothes and as the daughter of the deceased king, she asked for help and said "We are abandoned by all; we take refuge in the loyalty of the diet, in the arms of the ancient heroic spirit of the Hungarian nation." . . . To which they replied "Let us die for Maria Theresa, our queen."[114]

In order to emphasize the commitment of the Hungarian nobles to Maria Theresa, textbooks would usually provide some estimate of the numbers of troops they pledged to Maria Theresa as well as the financial support they provided.[115]

The Diet of Pressburg became a powerful illustration of the loyalty of the Habsburg peoples, the unity of the Habsburg state, and the common destiny shared by all of its peoples. It was also an illustration of the humility and faith of Maria Theresa. After all, the Monarchy would not have supported her if she did not possess the intelligence, piety, generosity, and determination of previous Austrian rulers. Since she was the only woman to rule the Habsburg Monarchy, however, authors also presented her as the fulfillment of the nineteenth-century feminine ideal. Almost every textbook described her as beautiful, charming, and graceful.[116] As the mother of sixteen children, she also embodied the archetype of the caring mother. Weingartner described her as a "model" of the "pious, lovable housewife and tender mother," and argued that these strong maternal instincts served her as a ruler. They allowed her to love her subjects as she loved her children, making her a "true mother to her country."[117] Coupled with these feminine characteristics were the traditional characteristics attributed to Habsburg rulers. As with Rudolf I and Maximilian, textbooks paid special attention to the number of languages she spoke, her interest in the humanities, and her talents as a hunter and rider.[118] Ultimately, Maria Theresa reflected the best of both genders, and of the Habsburg dynasty.

Even the language used in the textbooks reiterated this image of Maria Theresa. For example, Gratzy described her as possessing a "beautiful and lustrous spirit," which was "joined with the competence of a statesman and with heroic valor."[119] Hannak portrayed her similarly: "As both a wife and mother and as a regent, she bonded the mildness of a woman with the energy of a man."[120] And Neuhauser argued that her ability to withstand her challenges came "only through magnanimous, masculine fortitude united with beautiful, feminine virtue."[121] Since contemporary European culture perceived leadership and kingship as male traits, it was necessary to attribute these masculine qualities to Maria Theresa in order to explain her success as a ruler. It was also necessary that she possess the qualities expected of a woman, however, thereby creating this hybrid description. Descriptions such as these were common for female rulers throughout Europe. When discussing Queen Victoria, for example, British authors also described her as the embodiment of the best qualities of both sexes. Like Maria Theresa, Victoria took the throne at a young age, and authors and speakers often described how Victoria was an uncommonly intelligent child, echoing what Austrians wrote about Maria Theresa.[122]

The fact that Maria Theresa was a woman likely explains why textbooks took time to provide detailed overviews of the personal qualities and successes of her male advisers. It was not unusual for textbooks to discuss notable statesmen and generals, but these advisers were only described in such detail for the reign of Maria Theresa. In fact, one of the positive qualities most frequently attributed to Maria Theresa was her ability to select strong, capable men to assist her in her efforts to strengthen Austria. First among these advisers was her husband, Franz Stefan. Textbooks fondly mentioned that this marriage saved the Habsburg dynasty, allowing Franz Stefan to assume the crown of Holy Roman Emperor, thus securing it for eventual passage to Joseph II. The marriage was also one of the great romances of Austrian history.[123]

Discussions of the War of Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War included heroic descriptions of Maria Theresa's advisers, especially Count Leopold Daun and Ernst von Laudon, and discussions of diplomatic affairs highlighted the brilliance of her chief diplomat Count Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz.[124] These men were so integral to Maria Theresa's success that textbooks often included illustrations of each of them, ensuring that students knew what these notable advisors looked like.[125] Textbooks always made clear that descriptions of their achievements only enhanced the prestige of Maria Theresa and did not overshadow her. As Julius John wrote, she "alone carried the burden of her inheritance," her advisers could only help.[126] In this way, the skill and acumen displayed by Maria Theresa's advisers became another testament to her wisdom and strength.

While textbooks praised Maria Theresa's diplomatic and political skills and extolled her ability to navigate Austria through the crises of her early reign, she was remembered most as a reformer. In many ways, authors considered the reforms of Maria Theresa to be a byproduct of her maternal nature and "masculine" pragmatism. Every discussion of her reign provided an extensive list of the reforms she initiated. These ranged from those related to the administration of the state, including army reforms that streamlined command, finance reforms that made it easier to raise funds to support the military and state, chancellery reforms that simplified administration within Bohemia and Austria, as well as economic reforms that encouraged investment and entrepreneurialism.[127] Textbooks insisted that such reforms were necessary to improve Austria's economic and military position and to stave off its many crises. These reforms also ensured that all of Austria was working for the benefit of the state. Finally, they were an expression of Maria Theresa's devotion to and love for her peoples.[128]

Textbooks described Maria Theresa's efforts to lighten the feudal obligations of serfs as an attempt to improve the lives of the poor. Anton Gindely's text for *Vaterlandskunde*, published in 1886, stated that Maria Theresa was acutely aware of the suffering of the poor and wanted to improve their lives.[129] Similarly, Tupetz contended that Maria Theresa "vowed to use her power for her subjects," especially the peasantry, given the "great power" of the clergy and nobility.[130] Even more significantly, she established the *Volksschulen*, which theoretically ensured basic education for all Austrian subjects. The establishment of compulsory schooling was the perfect reform to typify the character of Maria Theresa. They were pragmatic changes that recognized the need for an educated population, yet they also resulted from her love of her peoples.[131] Ultimately, the reign of Maria Theresa reinforced the image of Habsburg rulers as dedicated reformers only interested in the welfare of their subjects, offering an intersection of the tropes associated with the dynasty.

Discussions of Maria Theresa were overwhelmingly positive, and textbooks regarded her as an ideal ruler. Discussions of her son, Joseph II, were more complex, for several reasons. From the historical perspective, Joseph II's reforms changed the course of Austrian administration and established a goal of centralized rule that would characterize Austrian bureaucracy and governance for the remainder of the Monarchy's existence. The quintessential example of Enlightened Absolutism, Joseph II initiated thousands of reforms during his reign from 1765–1790. During his first fifteen years on the throne, he coruled with his mother, who limited the scope and extent of his reforms; however, in his decade of solitary rule, he issued changes with faster speed. The majority of his reforms sought to centralize and strengthen the state while bringing its operation in line with Enlightenment principles. The scope of his

reforms included loosening censorship restrictions, reforming the penal code, limiting the power of the Church, limiting the authority of nobility over the peasantry, and relaxing trade barriers and guild restrictions. He also sought to implement sweeping changes to the language of government administration and public discourse in Hungary and the Austrian Netherlands by making German the official language of these regions. His most lasting reform was his Edict of Toleration, issued in 1782, which granted religious freedom to all of the Monarchy's religious minorities, including the Jews.[132] Any one of these reforms would have been a notable achievement; the fact that he attempted to implement them all speaks to Joseph II's ambition.

The success of these reforms was decidedly mixed, however. In fact, his brother, Leopold II, and nephew, Franz II/I, rolled back or rescinded a majority of his decrees starting in the 1790s, and many historians during the period of the Dual Monarchy considered his reforming experiment to have failed. Therefore, textbooks had to balance the desire to present him as an avid reformer, eager to improve the lives of his peoples, with the fact that many of his efforts were ultimately unsuccessful. Further complicating matters was the effort by German nationalists to coopt Joseph II's legacy in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As Nancy Wingfield has shown, German nationalists seized upon Joseph II's reforms, especially his Germanization efforts, and sought to turn the emperor into a German nationalist idol. Such an interpretation made Joseph II a polarizing figure in the nationally mixed regions of Austria, especially Bohemia and Moravia. In order for textbooks to utilize the reign and legacy of Joseph II as an effective tool for civic education, authors had to address his reign in a way that ameliorated the failure of his reforms and minimized his appeal as a German nationalist figure.[133]

Figure 2.3. A portrait Joseph II used in textbooks. Courtesy of Theodor Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie. Verfassung und Staatseinrichtungen derselben Lehrbuch für den dritten Jahrgang der k.k. Lehrer- und Leherinnenbildungsanstalten*, 2nd ed. Vienna: Tempsky, 1891.

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

many authors arranged their chapters on Maria Theresa and Joseph II in such a way that each ruler's personality and biography were discussed sequentially, followed by the foreign policy of each, and finally the reforms of each. Such a narrative structure merged the accomplishments of Maria Theresa with those of Joseph II and helped to make them appear to be part of the same progression. It also meant that the failure of many of Joseph II's reforms did not diminish the overall appearance of accomplishment.[134]

This blending of the two reigns was also accomplished rhetorically. It was not abnormal for authors to begin their descriptions of Joseph II's reforms and the motives for those reforms with the phrase "like his mother . . . "[135] Such phrases usually accompanied discussions of his efforts to centralize the administration of the empire, including his advocacy of the German language in non-German-speaking regions of the Monarchy. This language diminished the notion that these reforms were driven by a nationalist zeal to Germanize the Monarchy. In fact, the emphasis on centralizing reforms not only tied Joseph to his mother, but also to previous rulers like Rudolf I and Maximilian I. Gindely, for example, wrote that Joseph II sought to establish "a united institutional and legal organism [just] as Maria Theresa had done in the German and Bohemian lands. German would be the only administrative language as a way of unifying the different peoples of Austria."[136] Such phrases not only helped to create a sense of continuity between Maria Theresa and Joseph II, but also helped to neutralize the nationalist interpretations of Joseph's intent. According to textbooks, Joseph II's support for German language administrative reforms only grew out of efforts to ensure streamlined bureaucracy throughout the Monarchy.

Authors also discussed the emperor's personality rather than the results of his reforms. They praised Joseph II for his education, extensive travel, and desire to "understand" his peoples.[137] Authors repeated time and time again that Joseph II's reform efforts emerged from his deep love for his peoples. Hannak explained that Joseph II's reforms were "based on the desire to improve the happiness of the people."[138] Zeehe similarly insisted that the "zeal" of Joseph II's reforms was due to a deep concern for the poor.[139] Typically, the emphasis on the speed and "zeal" of Joseph II's reform efforts led to a respectful way to criticize those efforts.

Most of the time, authors did not shy away from discussing the failure of Joseph II's reforms. In fact, prevailing pedagogical theories demanded that historians present the good as well as the bad, compelling textbook authors to address the issues of Joseph II's limitations.[140] In the midst of praising the intentions of Joseph II's reforms, Gratzy attributed their failure to the "questionable speed" with which they were implemented.[141] Other authors more explicitly blamed the failure of Joseph II's reforms on his refusal to follow the

historical constitutions of his lands. Gindely argued that Joseph II possessed a legitimate desire to improve the lives of his peoples, but that his reforms were conducted in a way that ignored the way the Monarchy was organized.[142] Weingartner similarly contended that Joseph II's reforms occurred "without regard for the historical development" of his lands, and Woynar concurred that they occurred "without concern for the wishes of the people, [or] the historical . . . , national, and regional (*landschaftlich*) diversity of his lands."[143] Such violations of historical precedent, these author's asserted, caused consternation and protest from all segments of society, ultimately leading to the end of several reform efforts. This emphasis on the historic rights and constitutions of the Habsburg lands reflected an ongoing debate in Austrian politics and society over the best way to organize the state. As John Deak has shown, voicing support for these rights was a way to critique the centralization of the state and the neo-absolutist policies of the 1850s. By criticizing Joseph II for ignoring the traditional privileges of his lands, authors were asserting a specific understanding of how the government should be organized. They were subtly advocating for a more federalized vision of the Habsburg state.[144]

In spite of this commentary, most authors typically ended their discussion of Joseph II in a way that reinforced the purity of his motives and the nobility of his intentions. They also reiterated that the peoples of Austria had a great love for their emperor, even if they did not understand or like some of his reforms.[145] As Pennerstorfer concluded: "he [Joseph II] always had what was best for his subjects before his eyes and only sought to improve things."[146] Regardless of the failure of some of his reforms, Joseph II still embodied the trope of the Habsburg ruler as a dedicated reformer interested only improving the lives of his peoples.

The Embodiment of Good Government: Franz Joseph I

The ambiguous legacy of Joseph II provided an opportunity to lavish praise on Franz Joseph I as a reformer. Considering the emperor's personal conservatism, and the circumstances surrounding his elevation to the throne, this tendency toward reform was not instinctual. Franz Joseph became emperor at the height of the Revolutions of 1848 and after the abdication of his uncle, Ferdinand I. With the Monarchy in crisis, Ferdinand I's advisors felt it needed stronger and more decisive leadership than the emperor could provide, given his numerous physical and intellectual disabilities. As a result, they convinced Ferdinand to abdicate in favor of the nineteen-year-old Franz Joseph. This transition was meant to represent revived conservative, monarchical power, nevertheless, Franz Joseph inherited a series of reforms that had been initiated in an effort to placate the revolutionaries.[147] These included a series of constitutional changes that established a parliament as well as the complete

abolishment of feudal duties still performed by the peasantry. The establishment of neo-absolutism in the 1850s ended the talk of adopting a constitution, but the end of feudalism remained. Neo-absolutism collapsed as a result of the Monarchy's military failures during the Austro-Italian War of 1859 and the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, prompting Franz Joseph to embrace constitutional reforms in order to stabilize the state.

Following Austria's defeat in 1859, he issued the state's first constitution, the October Diploma, which established a parliamentary system.[148] Austria's defeat in 1866 resulted in more sweeping changes when Franz Joseph negotiated the *Ausgleich* with Hungary, establishing the Dual Monarchy. Other constitutional reforms occurred throughout the remainder of his long reign, all in reaction to the discontent and frustration among the Monarchy's growing nationalist movements.[149]

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

For example, when discussing the abolition of the remaining vestiges of serfdom, authors minimized its genesis in the upheavals of 1848 and instead explicitly connected it to the Habsburg tradition of reform. In 1781, Joseph II abolished serfdom as a legal designation in the Habsburg Monarchy. He issued decrees that limited the legal power lords had over the peasantry, allowed peasants to marry or move at will, permitted them to enter into trades or professions more easily, and prohibited lords from using the children of peasants as sources of labor. In spite of these changes, many economic aspects of serfdom remained intact, and peasants still owed their lords dues and had to provide compulsory labor. These obligations were abolished in 1848, allowing authors to argue that Franz Joseph had fulfilled the great ambition of Joseph II.[150] When drawing these connections, many authors seized the opportunity to covertly criticize Joseph II's high-handed strategy for reform by praising the fact that Franz Joseph respected incremental reform and the historical constitutions of the Monarchy's lands. Unlike Joseph II, Franz Joseph collaborated with the nobility and the people to ensure that they were not alienated by changes to the Monarchy's laws. Because of this, he was able to achieve what Joseph II could not. Nevertheless, both reformers were motivated by their concern for the peoples' welfare and a desire to reign in "the name of wisdom and justice."[151]

Authors further argued that Franz Joseph's respect for the Monarchy's traditions explained the success of the *Ausgleich*. Gratzy, for example, wrote that the strength of dualism was that it "strongly protected the old constitutional rights and freedoms of the lands of the crown of Stephen," and because the reforms emerged from Franz Joseph's "noble" intentions.[152] Such assertions emphasized respect for the historic foundations of the Monarchy's organization and the idea that proper reform emerged incrementally, and always from the emperor. Such an interpretation indirectly rejected aspects of Josephian reform, which supported rapid change without regard for historical precedent. This interpretation also represented an obvious attempt to diminish calls for revolution or drastic reorganization of the empire. Textbooks stressed the need for gradual change over time and the paternalistic notion that the emperor knew when those changes should take place.

The emperor was best suited to make these judgments because of his office as well as his overwhelming concern for the well-being of his peoples. All of the textbooks glorified Franz Joseph's noble personality, his love for his peoples, and his desire for their happiness. In this way, Franz Joseph followed in the footsteps of the previous rulers of Austria, who were also only concerned for the well-being of their lands and their peoples. Implicitly, such assertions argued that the Monarchy's long history of concerned, noble rulers meant that the people should trust the emperor to do what was right for them and the state.[153] The peace and prosperity of the Dual Monarchy further proved that such faith in the emperor's wisdom was warranted.

In the decades after the *Ausgleich*, Austria experienced a period of development and prosperity that was unparalleled in its history, and textbooks eagerly attributed this growth to Franz Joseph. Textbooks constantly referred to Franz Joseph's use of the "times of peace" to invest in his lands and engage in important building projects. As with Rudolf IV, authors portrayed Franz Joseph as a ruler keenly interested in improving the physical and aesthetic qualities of his lands. The best example of this being the construction of the Vienna *Ringstrasse*, which occurred in the last third of the nineteenth century. When municipal and imperial authorities chose to demolish the old fortifications surrounding Vienna, it prompted the largest building project in the city's history. The *Ringstrasse*, the wide boulevard constructed where city walls once stood, created a new political, cultural, and social epicenter for the capital. Along the *Ringstrasse*, the government built a new city hall, the Austrian parliament building, an addition to the Hofburg Palace, and a new building for the University of Vienna. It also erected new buildings for the court theater, the state opera, and for the Natural History and Art History museums. To pay for these projects, it sold land along the *Ringstrasse* to private developers who constructed new shops, housing, and theaters.[154] Typically, textbooks included

detailed descriptions of the buildings along the *Ringstrasse* as well as pictures or woodcuts.[155] It became the visible symbol of Franz Joseph's dedication to his peoples' welfare and of the prosperity that came from Habsburg rule.

Further evidence of this dedication came from his patronage of the arts and sciences as well as education, a trait he shared with other rulers, like Maximillian and Maria Theresa. Authors often described him as the primary patron of the sciences and arts in the Monarchy, with Julius John even taking the dramatic step of claiming that Franz Joseph's philanthropy allowed "superstition [to] wane and the people . . . to improve their intellectual and physical attributes."[156] The rapid construction of memorials to figures like Goethe, Schubert, and Mozart, as well as the historical stylings of the buildings along the *Ringstrasse*, further proved Austria's growing appreciation for its past and a growing commitment to the arts and education.[157]

Franz Joseph's dedication to the prosperity of his lands became even more notable given the hardships of his personal life. Personal tragedies like the execution of his brother Maximilian in 1867, the suicide of Crown Prince Rudolf in 1889, and the assassination of Empress Elisabeth in 1898 allowed textbooks to portray Franz Joseph as a tragic figure who continued to care for his peoples even in the face of heartbreaking challenges.[158] As Pennerstorfer stated, Franz Joseph's "unwavering faith in God and the love of his peoples raise[d] him above all of the changes of destiny."[159] Zeehe concurred: "In 1854, [Franz Joseph] wed the Bavarian princess Elisabeth, who possessed excellent beauty and a good heart; she was murdered by an anarchist in Geneva (1898). The hopeful Crownprince Rudolf died in youth (1889). The noble and erudite brother of the emperor, Maximillian, [who] was the commandant of our navy for 10 years, was later shot."[160] Weingartner reminded students that in spite of all of the challenges of Franz Joseph's reign, he "manage[d] his high office seriously and conscientiously and the Austrian people learned very quickly with deep faith that the mild and just lord undauntedly and tirelessly sought to promote the wellbeing of his subjects."[161] Such emphasis on his personal troubles echoed presentations of Charles V, who endured unending hardships, yet always served his people. Also like Charles V, and other Habsburg rulers, especially Leopold I and Maria Theresa, Franz Joseph was a reluctant warrior.

Once more, Austria's enemies were responsible for pushing a "peaceful" emperor to war. Accordingly, Austria's war with Sardinia in 1859 resulted from Sardinia's lust for Austria's Italian territories and Napoleon III's ambition to "bring France to supremacy in Europe."[162] Franz Joseph only desired peace. As in the time of Charles V, Ferdinand I, Leopold I, and Maria Theresa, Austria was surrounded by warmongering neighbors.[163]

Conclusion

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

Previous scholarship has long noted that Franz Joseph was constantly depicted as a hardworking and dedicated prince who was reluctant to go to war, more interested in developing his lands.[164] Scholars have also explored, in detail, how the personal tragedies of Franz Joseph's life increased affection for him among Austria's citizens. While this is certainly true, Austrian textbooks show something more. Such depictions of Franz Joseph were part of a larger effort to depict other Austrian rulers just as favorably. They indeed portrayed Franz Joseph as hardworking and dedicated, able to overcome extreme personal tragedy in order to continue to serve his peoples. But he was the latest in a long line of Austrian rulers who had done the same. Had Karl I (1916–1918) ascended to the throne under normal circumstances, and not at the height of World War I, it is likely that he would have been depicted in a similar manner. The civic educational goals of the depictions of Austrian rulers was not only to establish an understanding of past rulers, but to set a foundation that could be applied to future rulers as well. There was an assumed set of shared characteristics that all occupants of the Austrian throne possessed, characteristics that earned the respect and loyalty of the Austrian people, especially in times of crisis.

Chapter 3
Conceptualizing Austria and Austrians

Introduction

In 1906, A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn began publishing short textbooks for the crownlands of the Austrian half of the Monarchy. Each offering in this series contained a thorough overview of the regional history, geography, and provincial government. This final section always began: "Our *Heimat*, together with fourteen other provinces, make up the state of Austria. This is our fatherland. Austria is bound with the Hungarian state in an empire that is called the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. This is our shared fatherland. It has been ruled by our Emperor, Franz Joseph I, since December 2, 1848."[1] In five brief sentences, the publisher succinctly summarized the layered identity cultivated by Austria's civic education. Local, regional, and national loyalties were essential to the development of state patriotism, and schools diligently worked to strengthen these loyalties in the classroom.

The curriculum also attempted to create a sense of common purpose that could bind Austria's diverse populations together. By teaching the shared history of the peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy and establishing a canon of Austrian patriots, schools created the foundation for a supranational, Austrian identity. This was a complicated task. After all, the Habsburg Monarchy was still a multinational state in an age of nationalism, and national identification was obviously very important to many of its inhabitants. Traditionally, historians have viewed the dichotomy between supranational, Austrian patriotism and nationalism to be a zero-sum game. That is, if national identification increased, attachment to the Habsburg Monarchy would suffer.[2] But those shaping civic education in Austrian schools did not think that nationalism inherently precluded Austrian patriotism. They believed if taught properly, national and regional identification would strengthen overall attachment to the supranational Habsburg state. Students would learn to think of themselves and their neighbors as Austrians. History and geography classes carefully crafted a

view of the Habsburg past that would allow all those living in the Monarchy to develop this sense of "Austrian-ness." These efforts were not all that different from other European states.

Eric Hobsbawm famously argued that secular holidays, the recitation of patriotic poems, and the commemoration of historic figures were meant to create a sense of unity among those living in the same state or belonging to the same nation. These traditions symbolized a social and cultural cohesion that helped to legitimize the national group while communicating national beliefs to the larger population.[3] They also established a common view of the past that increased nationalism and provided a sense of unity through the example of past struggles. To illustrate this process in action, Hobsbawm points to the fusion of the "First Reich" (or Holy Roman Empire) to the Second Reich (the Prussian-dominated German Empire created in 1871) as a means of conveying legitimacy to the German state after unification. Putting Wilhelm I side by side with German national heroes, like Frederick Barbarossa, further established a link between the Prussian king and all Germans, and in Hobsbawm's mind, helped to justify Prussian hegemony in Germany.[4]

Anthony Smith's theories regarding the development of nationalism point just as strongly to these traditions, which he sees as built upon an existing sense of ethnic unity. The "primordial ties" of ethnic identity—common religion, language, history, and customs—allowed nationalists to effectively evoke the myth of common origins. These cultural ties provided a sense of solidarity among members of the nation.[5] Both theories attempted to explain how and why nationalism emerged as it did over the course of the nineteenth century, but on a deeper level, their theories also help to explain how communities are established.

The Habsburg Monarchy was not a nation-state, nor did it seek to establish an Austrian nation that shared a common language or common customs. The *Ausgleich* allowed nationalities to develop their national cultures and ensured that Austria-Hungary remained a polyglot state. Nevertheless, Austria sought to use the common history of the Habsburg lands and the common struggles of its peoples in the very way that Hobsbawm and Smith claimed nationalists used the history of their nation. In fact, in the absence of a common language, culture, or religion, this common history was all the more important. Attachment to the monarch and the dynasty, as vital as it was, was not enough to create loyalty to Austria-Hungary itself. Those living in Austria had to be able to think of themselves as Austrians, which meant that Austrian identity had to be supranational and open to all of the Monarchy's nationalities. In order to make Austrian students into Austrian patriots, history lessons used key examples from the Habsburg Monarchy's past to show students how to live as patriotic citizens. These lessons depended on the idea of a "historic

mission," unique to Austria, and made it clear that this mission belonged to all of those who lived within the borders of the state. History lessons attempted to use the past in a way that bridged linguistic and cultural differences, and established the notion that regardless of its diversity, the Habsburg Monarchy was a state united in historical purpose.

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

Establishing an Austrian Heimat

Students took their first step in developing this layered identity in their first years of *Volksschule* during *Heimatkunde* classes. *Heimatkunde* blended local history, geography, geology, and natural history, and as its name suggests, it emerged from the German concept of *Heimat*. As discussed in the introduction, *Heimat* carried complex connotations often tied to German nationalism; however, in Austrian schools, it referred only to a child's home province or hometown, and was shared with all those living in the region, regardless of nationality. This inclusive definition of *Heimat* meant, for example, that both German speakers and Czech speakers living in Bohemia shared a common Bohemian *Heimat* identity, even though they had different national identities. Similarly, German speakers and Slovene speakers in Carniola would share a common Carniolan *Heimat* identity.

Even while avoiding nationalist overtones, notions of the *Heimat*, as taught in Austrian schools, remained extremely Romantic in orientation. Pedagogical discussions of *Heimatkunde* often included flowery exposition about the value of the subject and the important need to instill a love for the *Heimat* in students. For example, the *Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht*, the pedagogical journal for the German Teacher's Association in Prague, insisted that

> the love of fatherland and *Heimat*, the inner devotion to the place where we spent our childhood . . . is a feeling which resides in the heart of

> every person, it is a sentiment that sprouts in each breast. . . . Love for the *Heimat* is a beautiful and noble feeling, which has been planted by our God . . . and must be cultivated.[6]

This statement exposes the interesting paradox in pedagogical understanding of patriotism and identity. Pedagogues considered the love of *Heimat* innate, yet also felt that it needed to be cultivated through robust education. Love of the *Heimat* was an integral part of moral and ethical education, and absolutely necessary for patriotic development. Without a proper love for one's birthplace, one could not sufficiently develop a sense of patriotism toward the Monarchy.

Similarly, the leading pedagogical journal *Pädagogium* opined that individuals learned to love their country by first learning to love their *Heimat*. The journal argued that it was through the *Heimat* that children realized that they "belong to a community in the *Heimat*, where a member should lift and carry the other. . . . There the flower of friendship, and of loyal piety thrive, there one can most surely develop a moral character."[7] These innate characteristics could be nurtured through learning to love the *Heimat*. Since *Heimatkunde* developed this love while simultaneously enhancing the moral character of the student, *Pädagogium* deemed *Heimatkunde* "essential" to *Volksschule* education and to the patriotic development of a child.[8]

The Catholic, conservative *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte* shared this opinion, and also viewed *Heimatkunde* as a means of combating liberalism and teaching morality. *Heimatkunde* could serve as a counterweight to the damages wrought by modernity and industrialization. For example, one article suggested *Heimatkunde* would facilitate a "return to nature and [one's] native soil," and showcase the united "and holy people in their customs, their way of life, their history, their art, their lifestyle, a display whose lovingly warm, heartfelt, and sunny cheerfulness remains free from the turmoil of dirty, animal passions."[9] *Heimatkunde* taught simplicity, ethical behavior, and an honest life.

Implicit in the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*'s discussion of *Heimatkunde*, and of *Heimat* in general, was the assumption that the *Heimat* was rural. In fact, the journal made little allowance for the notion of an urban *Heimat*. It openly questioned how to teach *Heimatkunde* to students living in cities and wondered if those students would ever develop the same sense of belonging as those in rural communities. It argued that "the heart must have a *Heimat*," and that the increased urbanization of the Monarchy had weakened the attachment of people to their *Heimat*.[10] It lamented the fact that increased migration broke an individual's connection to their family history and historic home. For the journal, devotion to the *Heimat* was not portable. The city's cold and impersonal streets were not substitutes for the streams and hills of

the countryside. In an attempt to provide some semblance of *Heimatkunde* for students in cities, the journal suggested that teachers could explain the history of the city, especially the history of the city district in which they lived.[11]

It is not surprising that the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte* had difficulty reconciling notions of rural *Heimat* with teaching *Heimatkunde* in a country experiencing rapid urbanization. The journal's conception of *Heimat* resembled that of other conservative, anti-industrial thinkers who considered the *Heimat* to be the antidote to the modern city. For some, the *Heimat* ended up being an out-of-time idealization of a premodern world, yet one that conformed to middle-class concepts of family, home, and community. In the words of Peter Blickle, it became "a modern idea that resists modernity."[12]

Of course, educators attempting to develop a specific curriculum had little space to address such abstractions. For those without a pointed political affiliation, the substitution of the city for the local village was an easy one to make. Regardless of political leanings, few educational theorists contested the need for robust *Heimatkunde* courses in schools, and almost all agreed teaching students about their *Heimat*, adopted or native, had an intrinsic value in the moral development of children. They also agreed that patriotism began with love of the *Heimat*.

Loving one's *Heimat* was so integral to patriotic instruction because of prevailing theories about how students learned. Pedagogical theorists assumed that history and geography were too complex for *Volksschule* students to grasp right away. As a result, the prevailing methodology advocated beginning with what was "accessible" to students, their hometown, and then moving to broader subjects. So, for example, to teach students how to read maps, the teacher should begin with a map of the schoolroom, then the town, then the province, then the Monarchy, and so on. In order to teach geographic formations and the diverse flora and fauna of the world, students should be taught what was in their towns first, using physical specimens collected by the school. With regard to history, educators should begin with the history of the town and the *Heimat*, only later broadening to a wider discussion of the Monarchy and the world. As the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte* succinctly stated: "Interest in the wider and more remote easily springs from the *Heimat*; it seizes [first] the near and then the distant . . . ."[13] The perceived ability of *Heimatkunde* to bridge the near to the far and to introduce students to more complex subjects was the reason the pedagogical leaders supported the subject so aggressively. In essence, *Heimatkunde* was a primer course for history, geography, and the natural sciences.[14]

For *Heimatkunde* to successfully develop interest in these broader subjects, pedagogical theorists assumed that students must have the history, geography, and landscape of their *Heimat* brought to them through pictures,

local artifacts, and excursions. *Heimatkunde* was a subject rooted in demonstration and firsthand interaction, and schools encouraged teachers to do as much as possible to show the *Heimat* to their students. To ensure students gained an appreciation for the history of their *Heimat*, theorists expected teachers to show students local sites of historical importance, either through pictures or, preferably, in person. Teachers could take advantage of the fact that it became increasingly common for most towns to have a local archive, museum, or historical association. These organizations often prepared public exhibits, curated using prevailing ethnographic methodology, which displayed local artifacts and cultivated interest in local history.[15]

Such exhibits aligned perfectly with the goals of *Heimatkunde*, which according to the Styrian Teachers' Association should "awaken an animated interest [for the *Heimat*] in the student, and with it, his imagination for the old buildings, ruins, weathered memorials, and memorial columns [of the *Heimat*], these venerable witnesses will speak to him and tell him of old, times [which have] long faded away."[16] As an illustration of this principle in action, the association offered a hypothetical *Heimatkunde* lesson for the Styrian town of Peltau. Its lesson suggested that a teacher could describe the early Celtic and Roman inhabitants and the establishment of a bishopric in 303. Then he or she could show students the pictures of the "countless artifacts" that had been discovered, such as "two excavated Mythra temples, sarcophagi, streets, coins, and weapons."[17] The logic of this demonstration-based education was simple: describing trees, mountains, rivers, and other geographic formations paled in comparison to showing students those very things in their hometown. After all, as the association concluded, "would not the sky above be the best model of the sky?"[18]

These views represented a broad consensus among Austrian educational leaders, which advocated more interactive lessons and school excursions. As early as 1875, the German Teachers' Association in Prague began pushing schools to develop their own collections of local artifacts and for teachers to familiarize students with local historical sites in order to interest students in geography and history.[19] Over thirty years later, the pedagogical leader Guster Grüneis continued to reflect this consensus as he explained how *Heimatkunde* lessons could broaden student interest in these various subjects. Taking students to St. Stephan's Cathedral in Vienna, for example, allowed them to learn about the Babenberg Archduke Heinrich II, who started its construction, as well as the Habsburg Archduke Rudolf IV, who embellished it. Discussions of Rudolf IV naturally encouraged related conversations about his namesake, Rudolf I, the founder of the Habsburg dynasty in Austria. After discussing the importance of these rulers to St. Stephan's, teachers could review the other achievements of these individuals and their contributions to Austria. Likewise,

teachers could take students to the memorial of Maria Theresa, and use that visit to discuss how she strengthened the Habsburg Monarchy. Afterward, it would be natural for teachers to explain how Joseph II continued her reforms.[20] Grüneis and others thought that taking students to notable locations in the *Heimat* allowed teachers to make history more memorable, reinforcing lessons learned in the classroom.

Figure 3.1. A picture of Prague used in textbooks. Courtesy of Karl Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien, Real-gymnasien, und Reform-real-gymnasien*, vol. 2, *Das Mittelalters, Die Neuzeit bis zum westfälischen Frieden*, 4th ed. Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1919.

Pedagogical leaders also assumed that such guided tours would help develop a student's patriotism as it provided critical support for classroom lessons. Just as educators believed that students could not understand broad, abstract ideas without having a strong foundation in the *Heimat*, they also thought that students would not become patriotic if they did not first love their *Heimat*. As *Pädagogium* crisply stated, "from love of the *Heimatland* one will discover love of the fatherland." The Styrian Teachers' Association concurred that *Heimatkunde* would "awaken and nourish the true feeling for the *Heimat* and noble, devoted patriotism in the tender youth. . . . With love of *Heimat*, patriotic feelings will be vigorously nourished."[21]

For most educators, *Heimatkunde's* ability to develop the patriotism of students was a byproduct of its interdisciplinary nature. *Heimatkunde* prepared students to understand world history, geography, and the natural

sciences, and to be patriotic adults. Despite broad pedagogical consensus in support for the class, the socialist-leaning *Die Freie Schule* argued that, in fact, *Heimatkunde* did little to assist the scholastic achievement of students. It considered *Heimatkunde* to be too vague and "formless" to help students in later grades. It was only "a political effort which favors federalism at the expense of dualism."[22] The journal even rejected the prevailing pedagogical theory of "near to far," arguing that even the near was abstract, and that a student could just as easily learn about other regions and concepts first, not just those found in the *Heimat*. It asked how it was any easier for students to understand life in the medieval city than to understand the lives of the Native American tribes of North America.[23] This rejection, however, ended up confirming the class's value as a tool for civic education. According to the journal, any methodological or pedagogical justifications for *Heimatkunde* was merely a smoke screen for its political purpose—teaching students to accept and support the existing political status quo. The journal obviously feared that the social indoctrination provided by *Heimatkunde* would only serve to perpetuate the existing political system and delay reform. The views of *Die Freie Schule* remained in the distinct minority. Almost every pedagogical journal robustly supported *Heimatkunde*.

In fact, they thought that not enough was done to develop *Heimatkunde* in *Volksschulen*. The pedagogical journal of the Styrian Teachers' Association lamented the lack of field trips and guided tours to accompany *Heimatkunde* lessons as well as the need for *Heimat*-specific textbooks to help teachers teach the material effectively. To remedy this deficiency, the journal prepared sample lessons that involved tours of landmarks throughout Styria, in order to make *Heimatkunde* less "dry and yellow."[24] It also published historical essays about notable figures from Styria, which teachers could incorporate into their lessons.[25] But the journal acknowledged that these samples could not replace much-needed materials designed for *Heimatkunde*. It actively supported efforts to acquire books, illustrations, and artifacts that would bolster these lessons.[26] For example, in 1893, it praised the provincial school board's decision to require each school library to purchase a recently published book about Styrian history, and argued that schools should require students to own a copy as well. Since all too frequently "what [students] have . . . learned in this week, [they have] already forgotten the next," students needed a personal copy of the book to review what they learned in class.[27] The journal called on historians to write similar books for each crownland, so that every student could have a book that detailed the history of his or her *Heimat*.

Textbooks for *Heimatkunde* were not unheard of in the late nineteenth century, but they were not common. One of the first, written for the Archduchy of Salzburg, was authored by a teacher in Salzburg in 1875, who printed and

distributed the book himself.[28] A more thorough *Heimatkunde* textbook was published for Lower Austria in 1884, also written by a schoolteacher. It provided the history of the region as well as a comprehensive overview of the geography, hydrology, economy, natural resources, infrastructure network, and government of the province.[29] This particular textbook was intended for students in teacher training institutions, with the understanding that teachers would use it to prepare their classes. The publisher did not intend for the *Volksschule* students to purchase it.

By the first decade of the twentieth century, however, a range of *Heimatkunde* textbooks had been published. The most thorough offerings were those published by A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, discussed at the start of the chapter. These textbooks provided a comprehensive overview of each province, and at times read more like travel guides than textbooks. Organized by geographic region, they surveyed the major towns, geological features such as mountains and rivers, and key natural resources and economic products of the region. When appropriate, they provided detailed descriptions of buildings, monuments, or natural wonders found in each part of the *Heimat*. For example, students in Upper Austria would read how the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius founded its capital, Linz, and of the city's development from the Middle Ages through the twentieth century. They would find descriptions of the main buildings in Franz Joseph's Square, the major churches, and the Neptune Bridge. They would also learn that the city contained a bishopric, schools of all levels, and factories.[30]

Authors of these works used embellished and Romantic language to describe each province. They sought to convey a sense of pride and accomplishment. For example, the booklet for Bohemia described most of the province's churches and palaces as "magnificent" or "famous," while the one for Lower Austria told students of the "renowned" food products made in the Danube valley town of Tulln.[31] Most *Heimatkunde* textbooks contained similar language. For example, when discussing Klagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, Balthasar Schüttelkopf proclaimed that "the capital of our *Heimat* is beautiful and its environs are attractive. Whoever is born there and must venture to the distant unknown sings [a Carinthian folksong] in the memory of the place of his childhood."[32] These books sought to convey the perceived beauty and uniqueness of the *Heimat* in the hope that students would develop a strong affinity for it. But these books also taught students that their *Heimat* was part of the Habsburg Monarchy and explained their *Heimat's* role in Austria-Hungary. The development of regional identity would serve as the foundation for national and, ultimately, imperial loyalty when literature, geography, and history classes built upon the *Heimatkunde* curriculum once students went on to *Bürgerschulen*, *Gymnasien*, *Lyzeen*, or *Realschulen*.

Supporting a Constitutional and Multinational State

Heimatkunde provided the foundation for *Vaterlandskunde*, taught in the seventh and eighth years of school. *Vaterlandskunde* combined the multidisciplinary approach of *Heimatkunde* while also reinforcing the history and geography curriculum. Most importantly, it was also where students learned about their government.[33] As a result, this class was an essential part of a student's civic development, presenting educators with an ideal opportunity to reinforce the fact that the Monarchy was a multinational state bound by constitutional structures. The curriculum for *Vaterlandskunde* was divided into two parts. The first reviewed the history of the Monarchy, while the second offered a comprehensive overview of its geography, economy, population, and government. It was in the second half of the course that students learned civics, meaning that *Vaterlandskunde* had the important task of teaching Austrian constitutionalism. In these lessons, students learned about the structure of dualism, the Austrian constitution, and the organization of the Austrian government. They also learned about their rights and obligations as citizens.

This civics curriculum reflected the continued influence of the liberal reformers who structured Austrian schools in the 1860s. They did not want students to be loyal only to the dynasty and to the state; they wanted students to support regular constitutional order. The emphasis on constitutionalism and political rights reflected a desire to produce citizens, not subjects, and to promote a vision of Austria-Hungary as a constitutional state. In fact, as pedagogical leaders remarked on teachers' obligation to create a culture of patriotism in their classrooms, they mentioned the essential task of teaching civic duty and constitutional rights.[34] When discussing the Austrian constitution, the curriculum prescribed a comprehensive overview of constitutional history, starting with the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713, which declared the "indivisibility of the Monarchy."[35] Many *Vaterlandskunde* textbooks even took the step of adding a full list of rights afforded to citizens by the constitution, or publishing the text of the constitution itself.[36]

Of course, the Monarchy was not just a constitutional state, it was a multinational state as well. Just as the *Vaterlandskunde* curriculum was designed to reinforce existing constitutional order, it also considered the state to be a "family of nations" where each nation was equal to the other. As one teacher opined, this idea was essential to teaching authentic patriotism, because patriotism required loving the entire "community of peoples" united by a state.[37] The curriculum subtlety achieved this goal by offering in-depth statistics regarding all aspects of life in Austria-Hungary. These figures included detailed measurements of the major geographic features of each province, such as mountains and waterways; information related to raw materials, manufactured

goods, and railways; as well as the numbers of schools and churches along with population statistics, including a breakdown of the nationality of the province's inhabitants.[38]

Such statistics explicitly described the state's ethnic and religious diversity while showing that most provinces had multiple nationalities. More importantly, they made clear that each of these nationalities had a legitimate place within the Monarchy. Sample lessons for *Vaterlandskunde* illustrate the commitment to this assertion. For example, in 1900, *Pädogogische Rundschau* prepared an entire lesson discussing the Slavs of the Monarchy. It began with a brief overview of the creation of settlements in "early times," the development of Slavic cultural life, and ended with a complete overview of the different Slavic nationalities and where they lived.[39] Through such lessons, *Vaterlandskunde* became an essential tool for promoting the supranational aspect of Austrian identity. It is worth remembering that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many German speakers still considered Austria to be a Germanic state and many German nationalist groups were fighting to preserve German cultural dominance in Austria. In order for the layered identity promoted by Austrian civic education to succeed, Austro-Germans needed to embrace the multinational core of this identity. *Vaterlandskunde* attempted to make German-speaking students to think of Austria as a multiethnic and multinational state, as opposed to a state defined by German language and culture. Numerical evidence, especially population statistics, provided explicit proof of the Monarchy's diversity and helped to promote the supranational character of Austrian identity.

Teachers expected students to know these statistics as well as those related to the Monarchy's economy and geography. When providing sample *Vaterlandskunde* lessons, *Pädagogische Rundschau* explained that teachers should drill students in class about the facts and figures of Austrian geography, and they should utilize repetition and visual aids to help students remember these details. For example, when teaching about Moravia, teachers should show on a map the borders of the province, its major waterways, and its goods and products. Afterward, teachers should discuss which nationalities lived in the province and the customs and habits of those nationalities. They should close with a discussion of the major cities, especially the capital, Brno/Brünn. Teachers should then review this material thoroughly by asking students specific questions. Overall, the journal estimated that the lesson would require one to two hours (two to four class sessions).[40] Teachers expected students to memorize detailed geographic, demographic, and historical information about the entire Monarchy, not just their own *Heimat*. These lessons reinforced the idea of Austria-Hungary as a political and economic entity.

Vaterlandskunde textbooks organized their discussion of the history of the Monarchy in a way that further bolstered this idea. They provided a detailed history of each section of the Monarchy, starting with the Habsburg hereditary lands, then the Bohemian lands, and finally Hungary.[41] The Ministry of Religion and Education mandated the inclusion of this material, and schools could not use textbooks lacking sufficient coverage of any of these three regions.[42] These textbooks reinforced the "mental map" of the Habsburg Monarchy that corresponded to its borders in the late nineteenth century. When thinking of the Monarchy's past, students were expected to think not only of the lands that were ruled by the Habsburg family at that point in time, but also of the lands that would be ruled by the Habsburg family in later periods. Students left school conceptualizing the Monarchy as a political, economic, and geographic entity comprised of different nationalities. *Vaterlandskunde* reflected the reality that the Monarchy was a cohesive state.

In this way, it also contributed to efforts to "tame" nationalism. That is, it attempted to diffuse tensions between different national groups and to neutralize the development of radical nationalist interpretations of the Habsburg past and the Habsburg state. Cultivating a constructive sense of national identity was probably the thorniest challenge of Austrian civic education. Government officials, pedagogical leaders, and teachers alike accepted the belief that nations were a fundamental part of human society, and they also believed that students should be taught to be proud members of their nations.[43] As mentioned in the introduction, the school curriculum ensured that every child was educated in their language, and taught their national culture and literature. At the same time, officials wanted to challenge the emerging idea that nation-states were an ideal, or that national homogeneity was essential for state legitimacy. The German Pedagogical Association in Prague, for example, warned teachers against the dangers of "thinking of the nation alone," and reminded its members of their duty to the Austrian state as well as their nation.[44] Similarly, as members of the Styrian Teachers' Association contemplated the nature of the Habsburg state, they looked to the words of the Austrian poet Friedrich Schiller, which reminded Austrians that "the Austrian has a fatherland, and loves it, and has a reason to love it."[45] National development should not come at the expense of state cohesion.

Denationalizing History

As school officials crafted a curriculum designed to encourage the development of constructive nationalism, they had to devise ways to combat the nationalization of polarizing historical events. Considering how essential the teaching of history was to Austrian civic education, competing nationalist interpretations of history had the potential to undermine the success of patriotic

development. As a result, history classes had to present a reasonably truthful version of controversial events, while emphasizing the themes of unity and loyalty, and minimizing the potential for nationalist agitation. Exploring how schools taught the Thirty Years' War, especially the Battle of White Mountain, and the Revolutions of 1848 reveal how challenging these tasks could be.

The Thirty Years' War, which began in the spring of 1618, reshaped the European state system and redefined the balance of power in Europe until the French Revolution. It was one of the final wars of religion between Protestants and Catholics and, by its end, yet another conflict between France and the Habsburg dynasty for greater influence over European affairs. It was also one of the most destructive wars in European history, and it left a lasting impact on the culture and psyche of the belligerents, especially the German states who bore the brunt of the devastation. In the Habsburg Monarchy, especially Bohemia, the conflict reshaped the dynamic between the nobility and the crown in the crown's favor and profoundly affected Czech nationalism as it emerged in the nineteenth century.[46]

The war began when a Protestant faction of the Bohemian nobility sought to replace the Catholic, Habsburg king of Bohemia with a Protestant one. When the Habsburg dynasty resisted with force, the resulting conflict activated a series of alliances forged largely along religious lines, broadening the conflict to include most of Europe. The challenge to Habsburg rule in Bohemia ended early in the war, at the Battle of White Mountain in November 1620. Here the forces supporting the Habsburgs crushed those of the Protestant claimant to the Bohemian crown. In the battle's aftermath, Ferdinand II severely punished the defeated nobles. Twenty-seven of their leaders were executed, and those not executed had their properties confiscated and were forced into exile. The Bohemian Estates lost most of their power, there were efforts to restore the property and position of the Catholic Church, and most importantly, Bohemia became a hereditary possession of the Habsburg dynasty, removing the power of the Bohemian nobility to elect their king.[47] Over three hundred years later, Czech nationalists saw the execution and banishment of such a large percentage of the Bohemian nobility as the point in which the Czech nation lost control over its own destiny and was subjected to German domination. As Czech nationalists fought with German nationalists over language rights, local autonomy, and other issues, many did so with the belief that they were fighting to restore what had been lost after the Battle of White Mountain.[48]

These factors made the Thirty Years' War a lightning rod in nationalist politics, and those crafting the Monarchy's history curriculum had to minimize nationalist interpretations of the War and the Battle of White Mountain. In Czech-language schools, they clumsily attempted to accomplish this goal by simply omitting the event from the history curriculum, hoping that teachers

would not offer supplemental lessons of their own.[49] This tactic clearly signified the political volatility of the event, but officials missed an opportunity to help cultivate a counter-narrative among Czech students. In German-language schools, the history curriculum worked to mitigate a triumphalist, German nationalist interpretation of the Battle of White Mountain and its aftermath. Lessons were to focus on the war itself: its important battles, strategies, and turning points.[50] Consistent with the pedagogical belief that history was best told through biography, lessons also emphasized the dynastic loyalty of the conflict's notable generals, especially Albrecht von Wallenstein and Count von Tilly Johann Tserclaes.[51]

History textbooks only briefly mentioned the efforts by the Bohemian nobility to end Habsburg rule and portrayed it as an overpowered nobility's attempt to diminish the authority of the crown. For example, Andreas Zeehe asserted that the Thirty Years' War began because of the "great power of the nobility in the [Bohemian] lands," which was so strong that "the ruler of Bohemia (*Landesfürst*) could almost be considered as nothing more than the president of an aristocratic republic."[52] In the face of such a powerful nobility, the Habsburg dynasty had no choice but to resist and reassert royal authority. Authors regularly portrayed the conflict as one in which the rightful ruler of Bohemia resisted the actions of rebellious nobles. In this light, the Battle of White Mountain and the resulting punishment of the Bohemian nobility had nothing to do with national rights and was exclusively a consequence of treason.

History classes did not attempt to obfuscate the execution of noble leaders or the confiscation of property and the banishment of rebellious aristocrats, but lessons contended that such measures only resulted from the Bohemian nobility's rebellious challenge to the crown. They were not connected to a nationalist agenda and did not represent an effort to denationalize Bohemia, as Czech nationalists claimed in the late nineteenth century.[53] More notably, textbooks only focused on the nobility when describing the Bohemian phase of the war. They never mentioned the Bohemian people in general, making the event a challenge by a small segment of the elite and not a reflection of general dissatisfaction with Habsburg rule.

Textbooks further minimized the nationalist interpretation of the Thirty Years' War by repeating the standard tropes that explained most of the wars fought by the Habsburg Monarchy. Considering the number of states involved in the Thirty Years' War, it was easy for authors to portray the Habsburg dynasty as the victim of predatory neighbors. In this case, these neighbors exploited the internal problems of Bohemia for their own benefit. Anton Gindely, for example, blamed the conflict on Denmark and other Protestant powers who instigated the conflict to expand their influence in the Holy Roman Empire.[54]

Moreover, rather than draw attention to the conflict's impact on the Bohemian nobility, the curriculum focused on the devastation of the German and Habsburg lands and the fact that the war ended any hope for a unified Holy Roman Empire. Such emphasis made the war a tragedy for Central Europe as a whole, not only for the Bohemian lands. In a series of dramatic comparisons, Anton Rebhann equated the devastation of the war with the "baneful effects" of the "Peloponnesian War and the War of the Roses in England," making exaggerated claims about the numbers of deaths in the Holy Roman Empire.[55] By focusing on the internationalization of the war, by treating the Bohemian uprising as a struggle between the kingdom's ruler and rebellious nobles, and by emphasizing the war's devastation, textbooks minimized the degree to which the conflict represented a challenge to Habsburg authority by their subjects.

Such deflection was impossible when history classes taught about the Revolutions of 1848. After all, the Revolutions of 1848 were the most significant challenge to Habsburg rule since the War of Austrian Succession, and they were entirely the result of deep dissatisfaction among the Monarchy's population. Yet the revolutions did not occur as a single, united event. The liberal reformers barricading Vienna and Prague had very different goals from the Hungarian nationalists who ultimately fought for independence or the Italian irredentists who sought to merge Austria's Italian provinces with Piedmont-Sardinia in order to establish an Italian nation-state.[56] Textbooks often addressed this complexity by discussing the revolutions as three different occurrences: the liberal uprisings in the major cities of the western portion of the Monarchy, the revolution in the Italian provinces, and the revolution in Hungary.

They candidly attributed uprisings in Vienna, Prague, and other cities to the frustrations of the populace over the remaining vestiges of feudalism and the desire for constitutional reforms. They also acknowledged that the uprising in Prague resulted from the desire of Czech nationalists for greater autonomy in Bohemia.[57] Reflecting the liberal orientation of most of the authors, textbooks acknowledged the legitimacy of these grievances—especially the anger of urban *Bürger* who lacked influence in the government or the peasants who still toiled under the *Robot*.[58] Authors carefully admonished the use of revolution to effect change, however. Oskar Gratzy, for example, lamented the violence of the crowds, finding that "confused ideas of freedom and equality, like the expansion of the rights of citizens and the restriction of royal power, enflamed the wildest passions and led to bloody clashes everywhere."[59] Implicit in Gratzy's discussion of the revolutions is support for the system of top-down reforms that he and other authors considered to be a virtue of the Austrian state. The 1892 edition of Gindely's textbook for *Bürgerschulen*

explicitly made this point, first by listing the desires of the revolutionaries and then showing that Franz Joseph's reforms addressed their concerns.[60] As was the case with the reforms of Maximilian I, Maria Theresa, and Joseph II, textbooks clearly promoted orderly change directed by the monarch. As a result, the Revolutions of 1848 became another way for schools to remind students that reform came in time, that it resulted from patient progress, and to argue against those who demanded rapid change or revolution.

While textbooks acknowledged the existence of discontent among the population in their presentations of the Vienna and Prague uprisings, they portrayed the revolution in Italy as the result of Sardinian meddling, minimizing the activities of Italian nationalists within the Habsburg Monarchy. The emphasis on Sardinia's role in the revolution in Italy was so strong that the Italian revolution seemed like a foreign war. In doing so, textbooks employed the tropes typically associated Austria's military conflicts, portraying the Monarchy as a victim of its neighbor's aggression and extolling the virtues of the Austrian military in defending its country. Austria's Italian provinces were content and prosperous under Habsburg rule, textbooks argued, and lacked any motive or reason to break away. The only possible cause for revolution was misguided nationalism enflamed by foreign meddling. Theodor Tupetz summarized this consensus by contending that "under the benevolent and orderly rule of Austria, Lombardy and Venetia enjoyed a level of prosperity unlike any of the other Italian states; nevertheless, a faction sought to unify Italy under a native prince, the king of Sardinia, who made it his goal to wrest both provinces from Austria."[61] Notions of the illegitimacy of the Italian revolution permeated his prose. He described those seeking an Italian nation-state as a "faction," making them appear as a small group, and Sardinia's attempt to "wrest" the provinces from Austria as an illegitimate action in violation of the wishes of the population. The bond between the people and their monarch remained intact, even with the meddling of a foreign power, however, evidenced by the fact that Italians in Tyrol remained loyal, even though "the Sardinians had hoped that [they] would rise up against Austria."[62]

Since textbooks viewed the Italian revolution as a result of foreign intervention and not of legitimate grievances of Italian-Austrians, they discussed the suppression of the revolution as if it were a military victory over Austria's foes. Many textbooks included a robust discussion of Field Marshal Josef Radetzky, who led the Austrian troops that ended the revolution in the Italian provinces. This description often included a biography of Radetzky and an overview of his long career and achievements, which included fighting "against the Turks under Joseph II, struggl[ing] against the French at Novi and Hohenlinden, play[ing] a laudable role at Aspern and Wagram, and contribut[ing] . . . to the victory at Leipzig."[63] His victory in Italy was only his

latest triumph, and Anton Gindely boasted that Sardinia's defeat was so decisive that it led "the usurper in Sardinia [King Charles Albert] to abdicate in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel I."[64] The struggle in Italy was an unqualified success for the Habsburg Monarchy.

It was difficult for textbook authors to apply such a victorious tone to the revolution in Hungary, where they could not blame the revolution on a foreign power. The struggle to regain control over Hungary, which at one point even declared independence, was long and bloody, and only succeeded with assistance from the Russian Army. Politically, the legacy of the revolution strained the relationship between the Hungarian nobility and Habsburg authorities until the creation of the Dual Monarchy in 1867.[65]

Textbooks did not shy away from addressing the severity of the situation in Hungary, nor did they attempt to diminish the extent of the Hungarian challenge to Habsburg rule. Gindely warned that the revolution in Hungary took the Monarchy "to the edge of the abyss," and Woynar asserted that the Monarchy was lucky to emerge from the event as a cohesive political entity.[66] As with the discussions of the revolutions in Prague and Vienna, textbooks candidly addressed the causes of the revolution in Hungary, which they ascribed to frustration among the Hungarian nobility with the ongoing centralizing efforts of Habsburg authorities since Joseph II, their desire to make Magyar the official language in Hungary, and the attempt by Hungarian nationalists to elevate the status of Hungarian culture.[67] Julius John even praised the work of Franz Deák and other Hungarian leaders, but argued that Hungarian nationalists went astray under the influence of radicals, such as Louis Kossuth.[68]

Deák, born to a Hungarian noble family, was a strong advocate for the Hungarian nationalist cause in the 1830s and a liberal reformer. He was an early advocate for the abolition of serfdom, Hungarian language rights, and other issues supported by the revolutionaries in 1848. When the revolution began, he pursued a moderate stance, seeking to negotiate with the dynasty rather than provoke violence. He withdrew from the revolutionary government when his efforts at compromise failed. He later became a strong advocate for reform in the 1860s and a strong supporter of the *Ausgleich*. Like Deák, Kossuth was a Hungarian noble who was a staunch Hungarian nationalist and a strong supporter of liberal reform. While Deák became a voice of moderation during the Revolutions of 1848, Kossuth emerged as the leader of the challenge to Habsburg rule in Hungary. Initially favoring compromise and reform, Kossuth eventually supported the establishment of an independent, republican Hungary. He continued to lead the Hungarian revolutionary government until its defeat in 1849. After the revolution he went into exile, continuing to advocate for Hungarian independence abroad, especially in the United States and Great Britain.[69]

Most textbooks depicted Kossuth as the villain of the revolution in Hungary, the personification of nationalist excess and treachery. He was a ruthless dictator, who took control of Hungary with the support of only the most radical nationalists and whose nationalist reforms alienated large portions of Hungary, especially its national minorities.[70] As a result of this alienation, these national minorities, especially the South Slavs, rose against Kossuth's rebellion and rallied to the defense of the Monarchy.

Almost every textbook portrayed the resulting fight for Hungary as a clash among Hungary's nationalities, making the Habsburg Monarchy appear to be the defender of national rights and the protector of national minorities. Zeehe described the Hungarian developments as a "wild outburst of national animosity between the Magyars, on one side, and the Serbs and Romanians on the other."[71] Hannak provided a similarly harrowing account, arguing that the South Slavs "turned against Magyar preponderance," and fought to defend their status in Hungary.[72] In the face of this struggle, the national minorities of Hungary remained loyal to the Habsburg Monarchy, considering the state vital to their protection from the Hungarian nationalists.[73] Thus, the revolution in Hungary became less about the desire of Hungarians for greater control over Hungary and more of a warning of what could happen to national minorities in the absence of Habsburg rule. As if to punctuate the extent of the treachery of the Hungarian revolutionary leaders, Gratzy made a point of indicating that following their defeat, Kossuth and others "fled to Turkish territory," directly tying Kossuth to one of Austria's greatest historical enemies and to the treacherous Hungarian leaders who relied on Turkish support during Hungary's partition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[74]

In spite of these challenges, however, textbooks made clear that the Monarchy survived. Julius John boldly proclaimed that in spite of the threat posed by 1848, "the state demonstrated a brilliant viability," and most of those living in the Monarchy displayed "loyalty and devotion to the ancestral dynasty."[75] Ultimately, this was how most textbooks addressed events that had the potential to create nationalist strife. Even though they candidly addressed many of the underlying causes for unrest, they overemphasized the role of foreign powers in stoking discontent, and they always gave the impression that those challenging the Habsburg dynasty were in the minority. Most of the population remained loyal and devoted to their ruler, and Habsburg rulers were always sensitive to the nationalist concerns of their subjects.

Teaching the Austrian Mission: Austria as the Bulwark of Christian Civilization

Obviously, teaching history was meant to do more than neutralize emerging nationalist interpretations of the Monarchy's past. History classes were a way to show that, in spite of its ethnic diversity, its peoples had a single

history, shared struggles, and a common purpose. These examples also helped to establish a common set of historical heroes who could transcend national affiliation and inspire all those who lived under the Habsburg banner. In short, one of the most important goals of teaching Austrian history was to articulate Austria's "historic mission." History classes in every school, regardless of the language of instruction, taught students that this mission crossed national boundaries and it was the duty of all of those who lived in the Habsburg lands to assist in its fulfillment.[76] On its most basic level, the Austrian historic mission consisted of two parts: defending Christian civilization from the East and preserving European order from the chaos of the West.

There was a broadly held belief among contemporary historians that from its foundation as the Carolingian *Ostmark*, Austria stood as the barrier protecting the "civilized," Christian world from its "barbarous" neighbors to the East. Initially, these "barbarians" were the Avars and the Hungarians, but once these were subdued and Christianized, the aggressor was the Turks. The notion of the Turkish horde featured prominently in the Austrian historical imagination, and every discussion of Austria's numerous wars with the Turks helped to articulate this aspect of the Austrian mission. In history classes, this struggle reached its apex with the Siege of Vienna in 1683.

Few events from Austria's past loomed as large in its historical imagination as the siege. Not only was it the culmination of centuries of conflict with the Ottoman Turks, lifting the siege led to a series of unparalleled Austrian victories, including the conquest of Ottoman-controlled Hungary and the expansion of Habsburg authority in the East. Teaching the Siege of Vienna and the resulting war with the Ottoman Empire not only offered a powerful illustration of Austria's role as the bulwark of Christian Europe, but it also provided an opportunity to show how loyal citizens acted in times of crisis.

The origins of the siege date back to the Habsburg dynasty's efforts to secure control of Hungary in 1526, which left the kingdom divided into three sections: one ruled by the Habsburg dynasty, one ruled by the Ottoman Turks, and a nominally independent Transylvania, which was a vassal of the Ottomans. During this struggle for Hungary, the Ottoman Army tried, unsuccessfully, to capture Vienna in 1529, and throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ottoman Empire lent support to rebellious elements within Habsburg-controlled Hungary, especially Protestant nobles angered by the Monarchy's support for the Catholic Reformation. There were also constant skirmishes along the border of Habsburg-controlled Hungary and Ottoman-controlled Hungary. In 1681, Imre Thököly, a Hungarian noble and ruler of Transylvania, rallied anti-Habsburg forces in Hungary, with Ottoman support, in an effort to take over Habsburg-controlled Hungary. When Thököly's forces appeared unable to defeat the Habsburg Army, the Ottoman Empire declared

war. Ottoman forces quickly overran Habsburg-controlled Hungary and began to move toward Vienna. Realizing the threat to the Monarchy's capital, Emperor Leopold I worked quickly to secure alliances with Venice and Poland, ensuring support for the Monarchy's armies.[77]

When textbooks described the Turks and their conquests prior to the siege, they used language that established Ottoman forces as a barbaric foe intent on the conquest of Europe and the destruction of Christianity. As previously mentioned, textbooks first mentioned the Turks when covering the Third Crusade, fought from 1189–1192. Authors made no attempt to differentiate the Seljuk Turks, who then ruled the Holy Land, from the Ottoman Turks, who would challenge Austria, simply calling both "the Turks." Interestingly, textbooks contrasted the "barbaric" policies of the Seljuks with those of the previous Arab rulers, whom authors depicted as more civilized and tolerant. For example, Oskar von Gratzy wrote that Mohammed had a deep "reverence for the holy city [of Jerusalem]" and "considered Christ to be a divine prophet." As a result, "as long as the Arabs were masters of Palestine, they were friendly to [Christian] pilgrims and ensured their protection."[78] This treatment of pilgrims changed once the Turks took control of Palestine from the Arabs in the tenth century. Gratzy contended that they brought nothing but "tribulation and abuse" to both native Christians and pilgrims. "Hard-heartedly, they demanded steep tolls from pilgrims," blocked access to holy sites, and denied travelers' access to Jerusalem, leaving them "at the city gates to starve."[79] This cruelty illustrated the barbarity, greed, and hostility of the Turks while also justifying Austria's participation in the Crusades. After the Third Crusade, the Turkish desire for wealth and territory led to their expansion into Asia Minor, and ultimately to their conquest of Constantinople.

The Turkish conquest of Constantinople played an important role in Austrian textbooks for several reasons. On a basic level, the collapse of Christian, Byzantine authority in the East allowed the Ottomans to gain control over much of southeast Europe in the early modern period. Furthermore, the conversion of the capital of a great Christian power into that of a great Muslim power deeply affected Austrian, indeed European, worldviews. In Austrian classrooms, the fall of Constantinople reveals fears of what might have happened if Austria and its allies failed in their efforts to lift the Siege of Vienna. In a departure from its normally economical prose, Anton Gindely's widely read textbook for girls' *Bürgerschulen* provided a vividly literary account of the fall of Constantinople. It portrayed a savage onslaught, with the population of Constantinople ravaged by the Turkish Army. In Gindely's words, "the rapacious Janissaries pushed unhindered into the Hagia Sophia and beat the trembling group of Greeks [seeking sanctuary] and robbed [them] of anything deemed valuable." Once the Sultan arrived, he prayed there and

"from that moment, this magnificent building of Christian worship was lost and was dedicated to Islam; on the dome, where a cross stood, the crescent was erected."[80] Implicit in this description was the understanding that had Vienna fallen, it would have suffered a similar fate.

Gindely also criticized the other European powers for not assisting Byzantium, leaving it to face the Turks alone. By refusing to help Constantinople, these powers not only ensured the loss of the city, but they left the rest of Europe, especially Hungary, vulnerable to Ottoman conquest.[81] Again, there are implicit parallels with 1683, when the Habsburg Monarchy assembled an alliance of other European states who recognized the threat posed to Vienna. Such parallels reinforced the notion that Austria was an alliance-builder and a consensus-maker, able to work with its neighbors for the good of Europe.

Ignaz Pennerstorfer's textbook for *Volksschulen* explained that the Fall of Constantinople was "disastrous for Europe," leaving the Balkans and Hungary ripe for Turkish conquest.[82] Ottoman movement into southeast Europe made them the "greatest danger" facing Christian Europe, especially once they made conquering Vienna their "pet project."[83] Austria could not hope for lasting peace with the Turks, since the Turks only desired conquest. Pennerstorfer made this point explicitly in his textbook for *Bürgerschulen* by entitling the entire section the "Encroachment of the Turks."[84] Describing the Turks as "wild and belligerent," he traced the development of their power from a small region near the Aral Sea to the Middle East, the Balkans, and by "the middle of the 15th century . . . to the border of Hungary," which they overran after the Battle of Mohács in 1526. Not content with these gains, once ensconced in Hungary, "their eyes turned to Vienna."[85] According to Pennerstorfer, the Ottomans possessed an unquenchable thirst for conquest and posed an existential threat to Christian Europe.

Theodor Tupetz also focused on Ottoman cruelty and lust for new territory, utilizing similar language to Pennerstorfer. He described the Turks as a "mighty and terrible" people, who, after conquering cities, turned countless churches into mosques, "burned the houses, trampled and cut the fields, and forced the inhabitants, especially the children, into slavery."[86] Through their conquests, they moved closer to Vienna, which "through the centuries was almost a fortress for all of Christendom . . . as long as Vienna remained uncaptured, the Turks could not take the lands to their north and west."[87] Recognizing that Vienna was the bulwark of Christianity, the "whole of Christendom followed the heroic struggle [taking place] on the walls of Vienna with breathless attention" once the siege began.[88]

Students learned that the Habsburg lands were the victim of Turkish aggression and that the origins of the conflict rested entirely in Ottoman hands. Just as the Emperor Leopold I had war "thrust upon" him by belligerent

Figure 3.2. A picture used in textbooks to depict the "barbarism" of Ottoman soldiers. Courtesy of Josef Kraft and Johann Georg Rothaus, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen*, vol. 1. Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1892.

neighbors, the peoples of Austria were peace-loving victims of their neighbor's aggression. Josef Kraft wrote that during the time of Hungary's partition between Habsburg and Ottoman forces, the inhabitants of the border territories faced constant attacks and endless pillages by the Ottomans and their allies. During these raids "the people of our fatherland were not only robbed

of their belongings and had their lands devastated, but the Turks also enslaved many of them. People were kidnapped and taken to Constantinople to serve as bodyguards to the Sultan."[89] Such statements reinforced the culpability of the Ottoman Empire for its wars with Austria and the assertion that the inhabitants of the Habsburg Monarchy prevented such barbarism from spreading to the rest of Europe. Kraft's description also subtly presented the Turks as a seemingly unstoppable foe with endless numbers. Such an image dehumanized the Ottoman forces, making them appear like a malevolent entity rather than an opposing army. Textbooks employed such imagery again when describing the siege itself.

By emphasizing the perceived strength of the Turkish forces, Austria's victory over them appeared all the more impressive. Almost every description of the siege included some reference to the fact that a small number of "heroic" Viennese rose up to defend the city, in spite of the numerical superiority of the Ottoman forces. Typically estimates claimed that a Turkish Army of over 200,000 soldiers laid siege to Vienna, which was defended "at most" by 20,000 soldiers.[90] In order to make the situation appear even more dire, Josef Neuhauser alleged that the Turkish numeric advantage was so strong, that had "the bellicose" Kara Mustafa, the grand vizier leading the Turkish forces, stormed the city rather than besieging it, Vienna would likely have fallen.[91] Even more menacingly, Neuhauser claimed that Mustafa not only sought to conquer Vienna, but to also establish "an autonomous Muslim empire" in Austria.[92] In spite of such overwhelming odds, the people of Vienna rose to defend their city and all of Christendom.

Because the emperor and the rest of the imperial court fled Vienna, fearful of capture, the mayor and the small number of troops stationed in the city led the defense of the capital. The emperor's absence meant that textbooks could illuminate the role of ordinary people in the defense of the city—people protecting their home, religion, and emperor. Textbooks lauded both the leadership of the city of Vienna and its people. Tupetz offered a typical description of the siege in a section entitled "The Heroic Defense of Vienna," which illustrated the precarious situation facing Vienna and the bravery of its people:

> Although the Turks tried to invade Vienna in 1529 the danger to Vienna was never as great as in 1683. The resulting threat was so immense that the imperial court was reluctantly forced to flee the endangered city. Along with the court, many thousands of inhabitants fled, especially women and children. In the greatest haste the necessary entrenchments were built in the final moments by all citizens, rich and poor, high and low born.[93]

Pennerstorfer similarly remarked on the egalitarian defense of the city, writing that "the approach of the Turks caused unspeakable consternation among the inhabitants of Vienna. Thousands fled and those remaining were cared for by the mayor, Count Rüdiger von Starhemberg Liebenberg. In the city, old and young, rich and poor lent their hands to defend the city."[94] In his textbook for *Volksschulen*, Pennerstorfer provided a more dramatic account that described the intense devotion of the Viennese to the city's defense. The people of Vienna literally used themselves as human shields to block Turkish entry into the city:

> Thousands of cannonballs were fired into the city, countless mines dug to shatter the fortifications. Undaunted, the soldiers and citizens stood with their brave commanders and covered the gaps which the gunpowder had torn into the city's walls with their own bodies.[95]

Gratzy's narration was similarly heroic, stating "the entire population of Vienna rose to the city's defense so that what the enemy had destroyed throughout the day would be repaired during the night as quickly possible."[96] Leopold Weingartner concurred, telling students that the city was only saved by the "boldness, cleverness, and determination" of both the city's leaders and its inhabitants.[97] As with other authors, Weingartner contrasted this bravery with the savagery of the Turks, arguing that the citizens of Vienna behaved valiantly, even though "no house, no church" was safe from the attacks of the Turks, who attacked with "countless" numbers.[98]

The boldness and selflessness of the city's people explained how the city held out long enough for relief to arrive. Textbooks also explicitly stated the importance of this victory and what it meant for Austria. The defeat of the Turks signified the end of Ottoman dominance in southeast Europe and the salvation of Christendom. Weingartner triumphantly proclaimed that because of their defeat, "the Turks ceased to be a terror to Christianity," and Emanuel Hannak insisted that Europe was "forever freed from the Turkish threat."[99]

Gindely placed an even greater emphasis on the "liberation" of Christian territory from the Turks. He reminded students that after the defeat of the Turks, "piece by piece, lands held by the Turks for 150 years were recovered [for Christendom]."[100] Hannak's textbook for *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen* provided a more dramatic description:

> One can describe this time of glorious victories as Austria's *Heldenzeit* [Age of Heroes]. Through these victories, the power of Islam was broken and the Turks were pushed back into the Balkan Peninsula. Austria proved to be the bulwark of Christian culture and of civilization against oriental barbarism.[101]

Attempting to demonstrate this perceived barbarism one final time, Gratzy chose to punctuate his account of Austria's victory with the reaction of Kara Mustafa, who "spit in anger, pulled out his hair and beard, and let myriad Christian slaves, the old, women, and children, be inhumanely cut down."[102] Such barbarity offered a final reminder of what would have been the fate of Vienna's population had Austria failed.

Considering the danger facing Vienna, the selflessness of the people in defending the city, and the way in which the defense of the city transcended class and status, the siege offered a heroic episode from Austria's past while also providing an example of patriotic action for students to emulate. The victory during the Siege of Vienna was a victory made possible by all of Vienna's people working together. Because they stood by their emperor, Austria was able to continue its heroic mission.

Teaching the Austrian Mission: Austria as the Defender of European Order

Austria's role as the bulwark of Christian civilization was only half of its historic mission. Equally important was Austria's role in defending the European state system from the machinations of France. Beginning with Charles V's wars with Francis I of France in the sixteenth century, historians considered France to be Austria's primary nemesis; furthermore, France, especially during the reigns of Louis XIV and Napoleon I, was the principle threat to the stability of Europe. In history classes, students learned that France launched unjust wars fought for its profit and aggrandizement. It was a power that bucked international convention and was more than willing to fight alone in pursuit of its own interests. Only Austria was the counterforce to French aggression. After all, whereas France was warmongering and power-hungry, Austria was dragged to war reluctantly and interested in preserving order. While France pursued a reckless foreign policy that alienated its neighbors, Austria was the perpetual consensus-builder, forging alliances that would unite the European states in common purpose. These tropes were especially prevalent when textbooks discussed Austria's role in the coalitions that defeated Napoleon I.

Although Austria was one of the first states to go to war with Revolutionary France, the complicated course of its participation in the conflicts that followed left an ambiguous historical legacy. Austria's crushing defeat at the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805 caused the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire and the loss of the imperial crown. The loss of Tyrol and Vorarlberg to Bavaria, which at that time was a French satellite, accompanied the end of the empire. After a brief period of peace, Austria rejoined the fight against France, but was defeated again in 1809. In order to secure a new peace treaty, Emperor Franz II/I

agreed to a marriage between his daughter, Maria Louise, and Napoleon, and to Austria's entrance into the Continental System. Austria remained at peace until France's disastrous invasion of Russia in 1812, when the Monarchy joined the Sixth Coalition that ultimately defeated Napoleon.[103]

Although Austria was part of the winning coalition and was central to the peace settlement that ended the Napoleonic Wars, thanks to its role as host of the Congress of Vienna, the conflict took its toll on Austria's international prestige and reputation. Austria's string of military defeats, coupled with the fact that a Habsburg princess had become empress of France, meant that it had to work to recover its position among the great powers of Europe. Thanks to the efforts of Clemens von Metternich, Franz's adroit foreign minister, Austria recovered its diplomatic position quickly and Austria remained crucial to European affairs until the end of World War I.[104] Coping with the legacy of the Napoleonic defeats, however, was more complicated. When discussing the Napoleonic Wars, history classes faced the difficult challenge of presenting Austria in a heroic light despite its failures.

Once again, textbook authors partially achieved this task by emphasizing the overwhelming power of the Monarchy's foe. They claimed Napoleon was nearly invincible and the French armies were nearly unbeatable on the battlefield. They also focused on Austria's diplomatic isolation, making it appear to be a force of order fighting hopelessly alone against the forces of chaos. When writing of Austria's renewed conflict with France in 1809, Josef Neuhauser glossed over Austria's periods of peace with France and proclaimed that the Monarchy "not only [fought] against the new French Empire, but also the whole of Western Europe (except England)."[105] Austria was a state valiantly opposing a stronger enemy. Anton Gindely similarly minimized Austria's periods of peace with France by claiming they were merely moments when Austria could recuperate and rebuild, so it could rejoin the fight against France. Austria never intended for the territorial concessions and the marriage of Maria Louise to Napoleon to be permanent. These actions were ways of staving off the enemy until Austria could recover its strength.[106]

History classes also addressed Austria's defeats at the hands of Napoleon by drawing attention to the bravery of its people in their opposition to Napoleon and by glorifying its handful of military victories against France. As a result, the Tyrolean Uprising of 1809–1810 and the victory of Austrian troops at the Battle of Aspern-Essling in May 1809 were the focal points of history lessons on the Napoleonic Wars. The Tyrolean Uprising not only became a way of highlighting Austria's struggle against France, even when technically at peace, but it also became an important illustration of patriotic loyalty. In schools, the uprising's leader, Andreas Hofer, and all of those who opposed French troops and the Bavarian occupation, were secular martyrs.

Textbooks communicated this reverence for Hofer and the others by calling the uprising "The War of Independence" or "The People's War in Tyrol."[107] They also blended the narratives of the uprising with the general war against Napoleon, so that the revolts against French rule could be considered an extension of the Austrian war effort. As a result, the actions of the Austrian state were connected with the actions of the peoples of Austria, making them appear united in their struggle.

Even though authors blended these events, they portrayed the uprising itself as the spontaneous action of Tyroleans. It was important that students understood that the uprising was a demonstration of loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty and a model example of patriotism. Textbooks always used dramatic and literary language to describe the course of the uprising and the dire conditions facing the participants. As in the Siege of Vienna, the Tyroleans faced a powerful, immoral foe. Considering the typical portrayal of the French, it is not surprising that the authors considered the French armies to be domineering, exploitative, and cruel. But, since Tyrol was technically under the control of Bavaria, and not France, textbooks depicted the Bavarian occupiers just as harshly. They lamented that the "hated" Bavarian troops exploited the Tyroleans, and the fact that Bavaria opportunistically and willingly agreed to be pawns of the French.[108] As Tupetz wrote: "After his victory in 1805, Napoleon gave Tyrol, which he had wrested from Emperor Franz, to Bavaria. At that time, the ruler of this land, whom he [Napoleon] had given the title king instead of elector, had to do what Napoleon wished."[109] However, the people of Tyrol were unhappy with their new rulers and "yearned to return to Austrian rule and conspired on how to free themselves from the foreign yoke."[110]

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

This fact became clearer as readings recounted the intense desire among Tyroleans to return to Austrian rule. According to Gratzy, during the occupation, the "heroic mountain folk of Tyrol maintained their love for their prince," and under the leadership of the "heroic peasant, Andreas Hofer" they resisted foreign oppression.[111] Even though they fought against unbeatable odds and a powerful foe, their love of Austria enabled them to continue their uprising even as they risked capture and execution. Even while facing certain death, the love and loyalty that Hofer and the insurrectionaries felt toward their emperor remained. In melodramatic fashion, Gratzy used Hofer's execution to demonstrate his defiance:

> He stood in the *Richtplatz* before twelve gunman, who were to shoot him. He did not let them bind his eyes, nor did he kneel. "I stand before that which has created me," he yelled out with a steady voice, "and I want to remain standing at my death." Then he pulled his cross to his lips and commanded: "Fire!" His body was returned to Innsbruck where it stands in a heroic monument in the court church.[112]

Leo Smolle provided an equally vivid narration of Hofer's patriotic fervor. Before his execution, Hofer proclaimed "I am and remain loyal to the House of Austria and my Emperor Franz," refusing to kneel and commanding the firing squad to fire.[113] Hofer was the model of defiance in the face of oppression, the truest example of unflinching loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty. The Tyrolean Uprising taught students that even under occupation, Austrian lands were still Austrian, and their proper ruler would always be from the House of Habsburg. Furthermore, the patriotic example of Hofer and the other heroes of the uprising helped to bridge the activities of the common people with those of the Habsburg Army during the Napoleonic Wars. As a result, the loyalty of the Tyroleans allowed them to stand alongside other Austrian heroes in a pantheon that transcended ethnicity and nation. This pantheon was an essential part Austria's civic education effort, creating a supranational model of patriotism, available to all Austrians.

Creating Austrian Heroes: Eugene of Savoy and Archduke Karl

Two of the most important members of this group of Austrian heroes were the Monarchy's most famous field marshals, Eugene of Savoy, who led Habsburg armies to victory against the Ottoman Empire, and Archduke Karl, who defeated Napoleon at the Battle of Aspern-Essling. Both served as reminders of Habsburg military prowess and personified Austria's "historic mission." Considering the biographical nature of the discipline, history classes covered the lives of these two men in great detail. Their lives provided examples of bravery, determination, and loyalty to the Monarchy. As with the descriptions of average Austrians rallying to defend their fatherland in times of crisis, the success of these two generals also demonstrated the virtue of patriotic sacrifice. They were figures for students to emulate.

Typically, textbooks described Eugene of Savoy as Austria's "greatest field marshal," providing a detailed biography of Eugene with an overview of his role in Austria's wars during late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[114] Authors considered it important for students to understand where he developed his military acumen and how he came into the service of the Habsburg emperor.[115] Most importantly, these biographies provided detailed descriptions of Eugene's military victories in the wars against the Ottoman

Empire and France. Students learned how Eugene's "bravery and cleverness" allowed him to overcome Austria's enemies at Belgrade, Zenta, and in the Banat, "where 30,000 Turks were stationed" in a "well-defended" fortress.[116] In each situation, Eugene proved to be a master of strategy and brought glory and victory to Austria and the House of Habsburg.

These descriptions of Eugene of Savoy are what one would expect for any military leader, but the specifics of his biography helped to make him more than just a war hero. Eugene of Savoy was a paragon of loyalty, and teachers used him to illustrate the virtue of faithfulness to one's country, even in the face of adversity and temptation. Zeehe pointed out that Eugene's loyalty to Austria was so deep, that his personal motto was "Austria above all."[117] His loyalty to the Monarchy was unflinching even when Louis XIV tried to convince Eugene of Savoy to abandon the Habsburg Monarchy and lead a French army instead. Offended by the suggestion, Eugene told the French king's envoy: "Tell your king that I am an imperial field marshal, which is worth as much as the French marshal's staff." After this refusal, Eugene led a campaign in Italy against the French, where he became "a second Hannibal."[118] Even though he came from a territory near France, he stood by his Austrian emperor, and this devotion made him one of the truest Austrian generals.[119]

Because of this happenstance of biography, Eugene of Savoy became a perfect model for patriotism in a multinational empire. His career demonstrated that loyalty and identity were not rooted in language or birthplace. In 1908, the fourth grade class of the *Freie Schule* in Vienna used Eugene of Savoy to discuss patriotism and identity. After introducing the students to the life of Eugene of Savoy, the teacher asked the provocative question "What is an Austrian?" After thinking, a student answered: "An Austrian is [someone] born in Austria." The teacher pointed out that by that logic, Eugene of Savoy could not be Austrian. The teacher then asked what determined a person's fatherland. Again, a student replied "Where one is born," while another said the birthplace of one's father could determine someone's fatherland. In reply to these answers, the teacher asked what the fatherland would be of an individual who was born in one place, but worked to improve and defend another. She then told the students that one was Austrian when he or she worked for Austria, labored for it, defended it, and fought for it, concluding "you can come into this world as an Englishman and die an Austrian."[120] This entire lesson was built around the idea that Austrian identity did not come from national origin, but from loyalty. Anyone could be Austrian as long as they fought and worked for Austria.

The life of Archduke Karl and his victories over Napoleon reinforced this message. As with Eugene of Savoy, Karl was heroically loyal to Austria and the crown. Textbooks typically provided a detailed biography, so students

would know who he was, how he was trained, and his life prior to the fight against France. In some textbooks, Karl's biography also became a way to describe the conflict against Napoleon, with the narrative of the war presented through the narrative of the battles Karl fought.[121] In these works, Karl became the personification of Austria's valiant struggle in the face of overwhelming odds. Drawing attention to these odds, Gindely lamented that in the fight against France, "the greatest burden fell to Austria," since all other powers were either vanquished or not directly menaced (his way of diminishing the threat Napoleon posed to England).[122] His description relied on the recurring trope that Austria fought valiantly, even in the face of overwhelming enemies and desperate situations. As an example of this fact, he proclaimed that Archduke Karl doggedly pursued the French, regardless of the odds.[123] Such determination was key to driving back the French forces and holding them at bay. Weingartner similarly described Karl's bravery and his role in pushing France back to the Rhine River, while marveling that such victories occurred when Karl was only twenty-five.[124]

As with Eugene of Savoy, teachers expected students to know the specific battles won by Karl and their impact on the Napoleonic Wars. Among them, none was as important as the Battle of Aspern-Essling, where in May 1809, the army of Archduke Karl interrupted Napoleon's march to Vienna. Even though the Austrian victory was tactical and actually did little to change the course of the overall conflict, Austrian history classes considered it a great military triumph. It was responsible for helping to turn the tide against Napoleon, at least on a psychological level. Descriptions of the victory at Aspern-Essling employed grandiose language, heaping praise upon Austrian troops and their general. Almost all accounts said that Europe considered Napoleon's armies invincible and that opposing him was futile. Archduke Karl changed such beliefs. In his typical dramatic prose, Pennerstorfer wrote how "from the House of Habsburg rose a man who robbed the Emperor Napoleon of the glory of invincibility. He was Archduke Karl."[125] Such language was not unusual. Andreas Zeehe described how "Napoleon had lost the illusion of invincibility," while Gratzy wrote that "after so many wars and victories, Emperor Napoleon was the master of Europe," but Aspern-Essling "showed a stunned world that Napoleon, so far undefeated, could be beaten."[126] The Battle of Aspern-Essling was essential for lifting the spirits of Napoleon's weary foes and helping to rally them to oppose French oppression.

Ultimately, Karl united Europe against Napoleon. Students read Karl's rousing speeches that encouraged those who were living under French occupation to rise against Napoleon, reinforcing the idea that Austria was an alliance-builder. He asked that "the Germans, the Italians, the Poles, and the rest of the oppressed . . . join the fight," and "his words found lively echoes,

Figure 3.3. An illustration of the Battle of Aspern-Essling included in many textbooks. Courtesy of Ignaz Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen*. Vienna: Manzsche k.u.k. Hof-Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1897.

especially in the Alpine lands of Tyrol. [There] the loyal mountain dweller, Andreas Hofer of Spitze, chased the hated Bavarians from the land."[127] As discussed earlier, this link between Archduke Karl's call for resistance and the Tyrolean uprising was common, bridging the heroic struggle of those in occupied territory with the heroic struggle of the Austrian Army. It is worth reiterating that the goal was to show that the fight against Napoleon was a fight waged by a united Austria, loyal to its emperor. It required the combined might of all of Austria's diverse peoples to defeat Napoleon. This point was made clear in Gindely's textbook for *Bürgerschulen*, which wrote: "unanimously united in defense of the homeland. . . . All classes were glowing with the fire of patriotic enthusiasm."[128] Whether facing the East or West, Austria's historic mission could only succeed if its population was unified in its commitment to this cause.

Austria's Continuing Mission

It is obvious from history lessons that the articulation of Austria's "historic mission" was not left to inference or implication. It was an important idea constantly reiterated by teachers. It was so essential to the history curriculum that the concept was even discussed in test-preparation books for the final series of examinations taken by *Gymnasium* students. Those written by Richard Raithel compiled dozens of questions that students could expect to be asked and provided concise answers to those questions. Each edition contained the

question "What was the course of the 250 year struggle between France and the House of Habsburg?" which then described the events of the wars between France and the Habsburgs from Charles V to Napoleon I. The sample answer mirrored the curriculum: French jealously of Habsburg power, French desire to expand influence and control in Europe, and French willingness to fight unilaterally to achieve its objectives.[129] Raithel also prepared questions about the Habsburg Monarchy's role as a force of order and consensus. He asked "How did the Habsburg [Monarchy] develop into a world power (*Weltmacht*) and what influence did it exert over the political affairs of Europe?"[130] He also addressed the notion of Austria's "historic mission" by asking: "Which political mission has the Habsburg Empire fulfilled in the course of its development?" He answered by discussing Austria's role in defending the Holy Roman Empire during the period of the *Ostmark*, Austria as the "bulwark against the Ottomans," as the "protector of German interest against France," and as "the keeper of the European balance of power."[131] These questions linked events from the Habsburg Monarchy's past in a way that reinforced the validity of the "historic mission." This mission was not an implied concept or an abstraction, but something students could use as a tangible explanation for the purpose and importance of the state.

Students also learned that this mission was ongoing and that Austria's role in European affairs was just as important at the dawn of the twentieth century as it had been in the past. Even though the Ottoman Empire no longer threatened Austria's eastern border, and the international affairs of the mid- and late nineteenth century made European diplomacy more complicated, schools continued to show that the Austrian mission still had relevance and power. The concept of Austria's mission to defend European order while spreading "civilization" provided built-in explanations for the Monarchy's contemporary foreign policy, especially the occupation and annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Treaty of Berlin gave Austria-Hungary control of the two Ottoman-held provinces in 1878. Acquisition of these Balkan territories was the Habsburg Monarchy's largest territorial gain since the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and Austrian decision makers considered it to be a foreign policy success.[132] History classes portrayed the Austrian occupation as a continuation of Austria's historic role in the region, considering the occupation of Bosnia to be a triumph for the forces of "civilization." Textbooks lamented the deplorable conditions of the provinces when Austrian forces arrived and extolled their rapid development under Austrian control.

Tupetz, for example, described Bosnia-Herzegovina's recovery from the "wounds" of centuries of mismanagement by the Turks, boasting that thanks to Austria's stewardship

> the cultivation of lands was increased through the settlement of peasants from old Austrian lands, mines were opened, streets constructed, a railway connecting Sarajevo to Austria was built, and elementary and secondary schools founded. The capital city of Sarajevo underwent the greatest change. Until its occupation by Austria, it was a completely Turkish city in a wonderful location, but with dirty, unpaved streets. Now it boasts gas light works, a horse track, European-style inns, a *Gymnasium*, in short, all of the advantages of a European provincial city.[133]

Other textbooks echoed Tupetz's description of Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austrian rule. Weingartner explained how "the effects of Austrian management appeared quickly. . . . The grievances arising from Turkish dominance disappeared . . . the lands began to vigorously flourish."[134] Because Austrian rule was so successful, Austria chose to annex the provinces in order to eliminate the confusion resulting from the fact that the lands were technically under the rule of the sultan.[135] Such an explanation was an obvious attempt to justify the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908, an act that threw Europe into a diplomatic crisis and was a direct violation of the Treaty of Berlin.

Other authors used different means to explain the occupation and eventual annexation, all of which connected back to the trope that the Habsburg Monarchy was only interested in preserving the European balance of power. To make Habsburg Balkan policy appear defensive, most authors pointed to the growing destabilization of the region and argued that Austria's presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina ensured its stability. Echoes of the idea that Austria stood as a bulwark against Eastern barbarism permeated this explanation, even though the old enemy from the East, the Turks, had been replaced by a newer enemy, the Serbs and the Russians.

In Andreas Zeehe's formulation, the Habsburg Monarchy had to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to blunt Russia's quest for mastery over the Balkan Peninsula, which threatened peace in the region. He warned that Russian Panslavism sought "to bring the different Slavic peoples closer together in a cultural and political relationship" under Russian leadership and that Russian dominance would destabilize Europe.[136] This focus on Russian ambition was common in most textbooks, and became an important tool for justifying Habsburg imperial interest in the Balkans. After all, a region plagued by instability required the stabilizing hand of a power interested in international agreement, not military force or unilateral decision making.[137] Thanks to the idea of the Habsburg Monarchy's "historic mission," the Monarchy's current and future foreign policy decisions could be explained through the role Austria had fulfilled since its creation. More importantly, it gave unity of purpose to a diverse empire in the age of nationalism.

Conclusion

There is no question that the primary educational objective of history and geography lessons was to ensure that students had a competent grasp of both disciplines. Schools expected students to understand the fundamental ideas of geography and to know the political and geological landscape of the earth. Likewise, they expected students to know the general course of Austrian, European, and world history, its major personalities, and the primary events and discoveries that shaped the past. But schools linked these objectives to the civic education goals of the Monarchy. They considered efforts to develop the patriotism of students and to enhance their attachment to the Habsburg Monarchy and dynasty to be important goals. Indeed, if students completed their education without history and geography classes positively shaping their views of Austria-Hungary, pedagogical theory argued those classes had failed to achieve their purpose. Civic education was more than a quaint exaltation of the monarch and dynasty. It was a well-developed process that sought to establish a set of distinctly Austrian patriotic heroes and Austrian traits that all students in all parts of the Monarchy could embrace. More importantly these heroes and traits were distinctly supranational. Those figures most emphasized from Austria's past shared a love of dynasty and the greater Monarchy, and proved this devotion through willing sacrifice and unquestioned loyalty.

History lessons reiterated these themes of sacrifice and loyalty time and time again, whether discussing the bravery of the citizens of Vienna facing down the Turkish siege or the Tyroleans rising up in armed opposition to foreign occupation. Each of these instances proved the loyalty of Austria's peoples in times of crisis and demonstrated the unbreakable link between the crown and the Monarchy's inhabitants. The heroes of the Monarchy, especially Eugene of Savoy and Archduke Karl, reinforced the supranational character of the state. History classes used these two figures to demonstrate the virtue of patriotism, but more importantly, to help create a pair of distinctly Austrian heroes who could be admired and respected by all, regardless of nationality. Taken together, they personified Austria's "historic mission" to defend against barbarism and chaos.

Austria's "historic mission" provided another link between the diverse peoples of Austria. The Austrian mission transcended ethnic and national difference, and established a justification for the Monarchy's continued relevance in Europe. Most importantly, this mission explained the Monarchy's foreign policy. The belief that Austria was the sole guarantor of European stability and the most stalwart protector against "Eastern barbarism" provided philosophical justification for Austria-Hungary's continued expansion in the Balkans and its growing hostility toward Russia and Serbia.

Despite the clear attempt to establish a supranational, Austrian identity, educators never diminished local identity in the process. Civic education in Austria recognized the inherent diversity of the Monarchy, and it acknowledged it and even regarded it as a tool for developing a broader, Austrian identity. In fact, educators believed that Austrian patriotism was impossible if these local identities were not sufficiently developed. For those shaping civic education in the Monarchy, the idea of identity was complex and layered. Efforts to establish a supranational, Austrian identity went hand-in-hand with efforts to establish distinct regional identities.

Geography, history, *Heimatkunde*, and *Vaterlandskunde* classes helped establish this layered identity in more subtle ways as well. Each classroom had a map of the Habsburg Monarchy on its wall, students learned the history and geography of Austria-Hungary as a cohesive whole, and *Heimatkunde* and *Vaterlandskunde* courses reinforced the historical and economic links between the diverse lands of the Monarchy. It showed that Austria-Hungary was indeed a functioning political and economic entity, just like any other state. As a result, for at least eight years, students learned to conceptualize the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole and not as a collection of nationalities. These lessons provided the basic foundation for civic education. In order to strengthen these lessons, schools actively reinforced the patriotic messages taught in the classroom whenever possible. School celebrations, school excursions, and community events strengthened the efforts to establish a strong Austrian identity.

Chapter 4
Commemorating the Monarchy

Introduction

Vienna's *Heldenplatz* (Heroes' Square) sits on the grounds of the Hofburg, the primary residence for Habsburg rulers until the Monarchy's collapse in 1918. Established between 1860 and 1865, the *Heldenplatz* honored Habsburg martial glory with two equestrian statues of the Monarchy's most famous military heroes: Prince Eugene of Savoy and Archduke Karl. Each statue depicts the hero trampling the Monarchy's foes, with Archduke Karl triumphantly standing over banners, flags, and standards of the Napoleonic army, and Prince Eugene over those of the vanquished Ottomans. On the base of each statue are plaques with the names and years of the notable battles won by each general. Compared with similar squares in other cities, the number of heroes honored in Vienna's *Heldenplatz* is notably sparse. For example, the *Hősök tere* (Heroes' Square) in Budapest contains statues of fourteen Hungarian national heroes, and the *Plaza de Oriente* (Eastern Plaza) of Madrid's national palace has statues of twenty medieval Spanish kings. While there is no shortage of monuments to Habsburg rulers in Vienna's public spaces, none are represented on the *Heldenplatz*.

Instead, the two statues in Vienna's *Heldenplatz* stand as a visual representation of Austria's "historic mission" as articulated by the Monarchy's historians and as taught in Austrian schools at the time of the square's creation. It reminds those in the square of Austria's defense of the Christian world from the East through the statue of Prince Eugene, and its defense of order and stability from the chaos of France through that of Archduke Karl. The monuments in the public spaces on Vienna's *Ringstrasse*, constructed in stages beginning in the 1860s, reflect similar political iconography.[1] The park in front of the city hall displays a collection of statues honoring the heroes of Vienna itself, including Niklas Salm, who led the defense of the city during the Turkish siege of 1529, and Rudolf IV.[2] A large monument of Maria Theresa, projecting the glory of her reign, stands between the Museum of Art History

and the Museum of Natural History, across the *Ringstrasse* from the Hofburg. The ruler is seated, magnanimously waving to onlookers. Surrounding her, at the base of the statue, are statues of her most notable advisers and generals. Nearby, along the facade of the Museum of Art History stand statues of Charles V, Charles VI, Rudolf I, and Charlemagne. The decision to display Maria Theresa with her advisers or to include Charlemagne with Habsburg patrons of the arts is understandable given the way that the history of the Monarchy was taught at the time of the *Ringstrasse*'s construction. Placing Charlemagne alongside three Habsburg rulers visually reinforced the belief that Austria was the inheritor of the Carolingian legacy. Likewise, the presence of Maria Theresa's advisers on her monument reflected their contribution to her success, at least according to the historians and educators of the time.

The alignment between the political iconography of the public spaces of the *Ringstrasse* and the formal presentation of the Monarchy's history in the classroom suggests a strong coordination of civic education efforts within the Monarchy. In the nineteenth century, governments realized that the construction of public monuments could bolster patriotic interpretations of a state's or nation's history. In a literal sense, these monuments encased historical narratives in stone, projecting specific interpretations of the past.[3] Reflecting on the power of such monuments, Pierre Nora has theorized that they provided messages essential for creating a sense of community among a state's population, while Jay Winter reminds us that memorials have the power to create a singular interpretation of the past, able to transcend conflicting individual or group memories.[4] When communities commemorate events together, they develop a common sense of history. The longer such commemorations occur, the more they can shape collective memory. In Austria, both schoolhouses and public spaces fulfilled these functions, reinforcing an accepted, official interpretation of the Monarchy's history. Furthermore, history classes ensured that students knew about these important monuments, making them an essential component of civic education in the Monarchy. When textbooks concluded discussions of a historical figure, they described the monuments honoring that individual, often with illustrations.[5] Of course, actually seeing these sights in person had an even stronger impact, and by the end of the nineteenth century, schools began prioritizing field trips to these monuments for the purpose of reinforcing lessons.

The pedagogical emphasis on sightseeing not only included trips to notable landmarks, but also to museum exhibits and special events. As with monuments, there was a strong correlation between the classroom portrayal of historical episodes with those in museums. Educational theorists felt that such exhibits would not only reinforce the curriculum, but would make history more relevant to students since they would see and interact with artifacts

from the periods they studied. This interaction would in turn deepen students' understanding of history and their love for their country. When securing permission to attend exhibits, schools explicitly argued that historical exhibits would elevate the patriotism of students and strengthen their affection for Austria and its heroes.[6]

Just as these exhibits made the past more relatable to students, patriotic celebrations in schools attempted to make the Monarchy and the monarch more tangible. The tangibility of the Monarchy was essential for crafting loyalty to it. School leaders and officials from the Ministry of Religion and Education felt that school celebrations held throughout the year established a strong bond between the Monarchy and the students. Whenever appropriate, schools utilized these events to supplement patriotic education. These celebrations included annual commemorations of the opening and closing of the school year and the emperor's and empress's name days. Schools also marked notable anniversaries and historical dates, which would vary by year. In each case, these celebrations followed a standardized format that was consistent throughout Austria, the ultimate goal being to reiterate the patriotic messages students learned in class.

The Monarchy did not rely on these celebrations alone to provide interaction between the dynasty and the student. It also used imperial visits, which always included a ceremony or parade that would allow students to see the monarch. Obviously, these public events, as well as museum exhibits, were not exclusively meant for schoolchildren, but organizers expected students to attend them. As a result, these events provided crucial reinforcement that corroborated what students learned about the Monarchy. More importantly, they also helped to provide a sense of community that organizers hoped would deepen the students' attachment to their country.

Interacting with History: Museum Exhibits

The Siege of Vienna's bicentennial in 1883 coincided with the opening of Vienna's new city hall. Built along the *Ringstrasse*, the neo-Gothic building became the site for a series of patriotic celebrations hosted by the city to commemorate the siege.[7] One of the highlights of these celebrations was an extensive exhibit dedicated to the "laudable defenders" (*ruhmvolle Vertheidiger*) who saved the city from the Ottomans.[8] Held from September 15 to October 15, 1883, the exhibit displayed artifacts collected from most of the belligerents, and consisted primarily of weapons, armor, military insignia and banners, documents, and objects found on the battlefield. It also displayed artwork related to the siege, including cityscapes of Vienna, portraits of the personalities involved, and paintings made after the siege that presented idealized versions of the struggle.[9]

Both the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Wiener Zeitung* praised the exhibit's vast collection of artifacts, noting the extraordinary effort organizers put into obtaining items from museums and private collections throughout Europe.[10] Organizers arranged the exhibitions by object type, rather than theme or chronology. So, for example, one room contained maps and battle paintings, another held portraits and artifacts from individuals, and another displayed trophies collected from the Turks.[11] While the exhibit's organization may have lacked a narrative structure, the objects themselves portrayed the city and its defenders in a heroic light. Reflecting the historical consensus taught in schools, the exhibit showcased an event where civilization hung in the balance and noble leaders, along with everyday people, defeated a seemingly insurmountable enemy.

For the most part, the exhibit communicated these views through the descriptions of the objects on display. Just like the biographies of individuals in textbooks, these artifacts became proxies for larger ideas. A description accompanying a seventeenth-century woodcut of Vienna created by a Nürnberg printer could have been lifted verbatim from history textbooks used in Austria's schools. It indicated that the city of Vienna "was besieged on July 14 by the Turkish Grand Vizier Kara Mustapha Basa with two hundred thousand men" who "fired upon and continuously stormed [its walls]." The city was saved only by the diligence of its leaders and people.[12] Portraits of those leading the defense of the city contained descriptions that similarly glorified their bravery while emphasizing the severity of the situation. For example, the text accompanying the portrait of Georg Franz Koltschizki praised his willingness to serve as a messenger between the city and the approaching allied army coming to fight the Turks, while a description of a painting of Duke Karl V of Lothringen explained how the duke helped organize the defense of the city and led the fight to push back the Turks until Polish troops could arrive. The description also called attention to the fact that the duke performed these actions while also trying to control the spread of diseases, such as dysentery. Vienna was threatened by more than the Turks.[13] The portrait of the Abbé Johann Schmidberger made the peril created by disease even more explicit. Visitors learned that the abbé, who refused to flee the city, eventually died of dysentery after the Turks burned down his monastery, forcing him and his fellow monks to flee to other religious houses in the city.[14]

This description of the abbé's portrait also illustrated the perceived barbarity of the Turks and the threat they posed to Christian Europe. Just as in textbooks, the exhibit considered the Ottoman destruction of churches to be illustrative of the clash between the civilized West and the heathen East. The exhibit also echoed the historical parallel schools established between the fall of Constantinople and the siege of Vienna by showing a booklet from Hungary

that described the "imperial residence cities of Constantinople and Vienna" and their respective sieges. The image of a Christian empire vanquished by Turkish hoards juxtaposed to the image of the Turkish Army at the gates of Vienna reminded visitors of the peril Christian Europe would have faced had Austria and its allies failed.[15]

With the fate of Christendom dependent on the result of the siege, the exhibit showcased items that portrayed Austria's victory as a sign of divine intervention and providence. One painting, named "An Allegory of the Victory of Christian Arms," showed "angels hold[ing] an image of Mary and the Christ child" over a Turkish Army fighting the Christian forces, and an eagle in the sky carrying a crescent in its talons.[16] Some medallions on display showed the Habsburg double-headed eagle holding the city as a sign of "God's protection."[17]

Considering the images of Ottoman power and weaponry displayed by the exhibit, it was clear such divine assistance was needed. The exhibit contained hundreds of bows, arrows, muskets, and lances, along with other weapons wielded by the Ottoman Army, and it displayed a canopy tent purported to be that of Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa, taken by Austrian troops after their enemy fled the gates of Vienna.[18] The exhibit even claimed to have the skull of Kara Mustafa, obtained by a Jesuit missionary in Belgrade after the vizier's death.[19] Such curiosities tried to give visitors an impression of Vienna's foe, and they were among the most popular items displayed. Both the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Wiener Zeitung* noted the "magnificence" and "splendor" of the Ottoman artifacts. The *Neue Freie Presse* commented that the vast array of weaponry and especially Mustafa's tent and skull brought the enemy to life for attendees. Ultimately, both newspapers considered the exhibit a successful commemoration of the siege and its heroes. It was "well worth the effort" to attend. [20]

The correlation between the exhibit and the history curriculum meant that the event was a perfect supplement to history lessons for students able to travel to Vienna. Schools took advantage of this fact and arranged visits to the city hall.[21] The artifacts displayed were exactly the type pedagogical theorists claimed could "awaken" a student's interest in history and the past. More importantly, they thought such exhibits could enhance the students' patriotism and make them proud of their city. By the first decade of the twentieth century, such historical exhibits became more sophisticated, organized with a strong narrative structure that made this goal more explicit.

In the spring of 1909, the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry in Vienna held an exhibit to commemorate the centennial of the Battle of Aspern-Essling.[22] Originally, organizers planned to showcase the battle itself and role of Archduke Karl in leading Austrian troops to victory against Napoleon.

They quickly broadened the exhibit to include artifacts from Karl's entire life as well as his other victories, however. In particular, they wanted visitors to see Karl's Theresien Cross, awarded after his victory at Neerwinden in 1793 and Aldenhoven in 1794. Organizers also wanted to illustrate Karl's devotion to his family and the piety he displayed in his private life. Before long, the scope of the exhibit extended to include artifacts not only from the Battle of Aspern-Essling and Archduke Karl's life, but also from the Austrian Army as a whole during the Napoleonic Wars.[23] What began as an exhibit narrowly focused on a key event in Austrian military history grew into a major exhibit illustrating the glory of the Habsburg struggle against Napoleon and Austria's efforts to restore order to Europe. It became a patriotic display meant to remind visitors of the importance of Austria to European stability.

This transformation was not surprising, given the important symbolic role Karl and the Battle of Aspern-Essling held in Austria's historical imagination. By the time the exhibit opened, the equestrian statue of Karl had already stood in Vienna's *Heldenplatz* for almost forty years. Furthermore, textbooks and history classes in Austrian schools used Archduke Karl and the Battle of Aspern-Essling to emphasize the very same points as the exhibit. As a result, Austrians already associated Archduke Karl with Austria's "historic mission" to defend Europe from the machinations of France, and they knew that the Battle of Aspern-Essling was not only a major victory for the Habsburg Monarchy, but also a key turning point in the fight against Napoleon. The exhibit reinforced these notions.

Two articles written as an introduction for the exhibit guide, available for purchase by museum visitors, set the tone for the exhibit. The first was a biography of Karl, and the second was an overview of the Battle of Aspern-Essling. For the most part, they were written in straightforward prose relating key events, facts, and figures, but they both also explained the threat posed to Europe by the seemingly invincible France. The biography of Karl described the coalition army as "badly supplied" and "severely shaken" by its string of defeats at the hands of Revolutionary France in the 1790s. The article asserted that Karl renewed the fighting spirit of Austria and its allies, and gave them the confidence to win a string of battles that pushed the French "back over the Rhine in a few days."[24] As a humble man, however, Karl continued to serve in political and diplomatic posts, even though by that point he was considered a "savior."[25] He returned again in the first decade of the nineteenth century to rally troops, demoralized after their losses to Napoleon, and brought them to victory at Aspern-Essling and in other battles. Karl continued to unite and inspire, even after his death, evidenced by the fact that "all of the peoples of the Habsburg Empire" supported the construction of his statue in the *Heldenplatz* to honor his "noble purity" and to show that he was "beloved and revered"

by the citizens of the "most beloved imperial dynasty in the world."[26] The article concluded by reminding readers that Karl was so beloved that even his enemies praised him. After all, Napoleon said of Karl: "Here is a man who would never bring a word of blame upon himself, the Archduke Karl! This man has a spirit from the time of heroes and a heart from the Golden Age. He is a virtuous person . . . true in his word."[27]

The historical profile of the Battle of Aspern-Essling also drew attention to the dire position of the Austrian Army and its allies, and the essential role Karl played in bringing coalition forces to victory.[28] While the bulk of the article provided details about troop and artillery numbers, the specifics of the battle plans, and the course of the battle, it made Karl appear to be a military genius. It also depicted a united Habsburg Monarchy reluctantly called to war in order to defend Europe. While Austrians were relieved by the news of victory at Aspern-Essling, they greeted it not with celebration, but rather with "solemn parades and prayers in honor of the fallen and in thanks."[29] The article also reinforced the idea that the Battle of Aspern-Essling was a key turning point in the Napoleonic Wars. Using almost identical language to history textbooks, it boasted that the Battle of Aspern-Essling "destroyed the image of Napoleon's invincibility," and how Austria's victory meant that "for the first time in years, Austria, and with it all of Europe, breathed a sigh of relief and of joyful hope."[30] The content of both articles revealed an accepted interpretation of Karl and the Battle of Aspern-Essling shared by both educators and professional historians. The alignment between the history of the Napoleonic Wars as taught in history classes and the exhibit went beyond the museum guidebook. The structure of the exhibition illustrated this unity of interpretation as well.

Organizers arranged the exhibit thematically and, for the most part, chronologically, with each room containing artifacts and artwork related to a person or event connected with either Archduke Karl, the Battle of Aspern-Essling, or the Austrian Army in the Napoleonic period. The entrance hall welcomed visitors with a striking collection of objects meant to provide a triumphal tone for the exhibit. The focal point of the room was a life-sized portrait of Karl on the wall behind a French cannon, flanked by French banners, which the Austrian Army captured following the battle. The room also prominently displayed large paintings of the Battle of Regensburg, Eggmühl, and Aspern-Essling, each fought in 1809, as well as artifacts from each battle and uniforms worn by each army. The room acknowledged the legacy of the battle by displaying a model of Karl's equestrian statue from the *Heldenplatz* and another of the "Lion of Aspern" monument, which stood near the battlefield.[31] For the *Wiener Zeitung*, the entrance hall offered a profound starting point, establishing the tenor for the rest of the exhibit.[32]

Figure 4.1. The entry hall of the Archduke Karl Exhibit held at the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry in 1909. Courtesy of Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

The next rooms showcased the battles won by Karl prior to Aspern, including those at Aldenhaven and Neerwinden in 1793, at West Emele and Würzburg in 1796, at Ostrach and Stockach in 1799, and at Trebbia in 1799. Like the entrance hall, these rooms contained battle scene paintings along with artifacts and other artwork related to each battle.[33] Notably, they also included uniforms from the various Bohemian, Hungarian, and Austrian regiments that fought in the conflict, reinforcing the image of a united Habsburg Monarchy fighting France. This concept of unity continued into the third room through a series of portraits of Archduke Karl that depicted him as the leader of all of these groups. One portrait, for example, showed him as the head of the Bohemian legion and another allegorically presented him as the embodiment of German knighthood.[34] These rooms, along with those containing objects related to Karl's life and service to the Monarchy, portrayed the moments when the Austrian military was at its finest, united and resolute in opposition to its foes.

Even with its obvious emphasis on the victories of the Monarchy, the exhibit did not minimize the serious setbacks Austria suffered at the hands of Napoleon. In fact, the exhibit housed four rooms dedicated to Austria's defeat at the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805 and to those areas of the Monarchy occupied by French troops or by those allied with France. Just like in history

classes, however, these rooms used these defeats and occupations to showcase the unwavering loyalty of the Austrian peoples to the Habsburg dynasty and to reflect on the fact that, even in defeat, Austrians remained valiant defenders of their fatherland.

This theme continued in the room for the Battle of Austerlitz and Peace of Pressburg, which forced Austria to temporarily cede Vorarlberg and Tyrol to Bavaria, and precipitated the end of the Holy Roman Empire. It displayed the unity of the diverse Habsburg lands and their commitment to their emperor. It held flags from the voluntary military corps, demonstrating the willingness of the Austrian population to fight for their crown, and even contained "prayers of thanks from Vienna's Jews [written] on the occasion of Emperor Franz's return to Vienna."[35] The inclusion of these prayers reminded attendees of the religious diversity of Austrian identity.

The rooms related to the foreign occupation of Austrian lands continued to offer evidence of the unity of the multinational state. When viewers looked at portraits of the Hungarian leaders and artifacts from the Hungarian troops who participated in the Battle of Raab in 1809, they read in their guidebooks and on plaques that these Hungarians fought the French. They struggled just as fiercely as the members of the Tyrolean uprising showcased in the neighboring room.[36] Unsurprising, considering the way schools taught the Tyrolean Uprising, the exhibit portrayed these Tyroleans as patriots par excellence, and those executed by the French as patriotic martyrs. The room not only included busts and portraits of these leaders, but also the letters the condemned wrote before their deaths.[37] Just as in the textbooks for history classes, the uprisings gave the impression of universal devotion to the Monarchy during the conflict. Furthermore, it supported the notion that the Habsburg Monarchy actively opposed Napoleon's domination of Europe, even when not at war with France. These periods of peace did not reflect Austria's unwillingness to fight, but simply Austria's need to regain its strength so as to emerge victorious against its enemy.

The exhibit items related to Napoleon's defeat at the Battle of Nations at Leipzig in 1813 continued to highlight Austria's role in the French emperor's downfall. These items also showed Austria's vital role as an alliance-builder. Two portraits of Emperor Franz II/I, one depicting him with King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia and Tsar Alexander I of Russia and the other depicting him wearing a Prussian Army uniform, articulated these messages clearly.[38] The exhibit's attempt to illustrate these important aspects of Austria's "historic mission" became even clearer in the final room of the exhibit, which contained artistic allegories of Austria's historic role in Europe. Just as history lessons attempted to portray the Napoleonic Wars as another point in Austria's struggle to defend Europe from French aggression, the exhibit indicated this connection by placing a painting of Charles V's victory over France at Pavia (1525)

next to an image of Archduke Karl's army halting the advance of French troops in the 1790s. To complete the full articulation of Austria's "historic mission," the room even included an allegorical painting of Austria's triumph over the Turks at the Siege of Vienna in 1683.[39] By the time visitors left the exhibit, they saw, through the use of historical artwork and artifacts, Austria's unity and historical purpose made manifest.

The *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Wiener Zeitung* both considered the exhibit to be a success. In particular, the *Neue Freie Presse* appreciated the way the exhibit's organization brought both Karl's life and military career "before the eyes" of attendees.[40] The *Wiener Zeitung* offered similar praise, noting that walking through the exhibit provided a glimpse into the life of Karl as both a military leader and as a person by providing artifacts and items from Karl's military career and family life. The newspaper also remarked that the exhibit's display of objects related to the Austrian military at-large painted a picture of life during the Napoleonic Wars.[41]

The Archduke Karl exhibit obviously sought to portray a patriotic view of the Battle of Aspern-Essling and the Napoleonic Wars, a depiction wholly consistent with the way teachers presented these topics in Austrian schools. This consistency offers more evidence of the existence of an accepted interpretation of these events among Habsburg historians and a level of coordination between organizers of the exhibit and the Ministry of Religion and Education. Representatives of the ministry were on the planning board for the exhibit and among those invited to its gala opening.[42] The participation of the ministry is unsurprising, considering its access to the resources and experts necessary to create such an exhibit. The exhibit reinforced everything visitors had learned in school about Archduke Karl, the Napoleonic Wars, and the Habsburg past.

As with the "Defenders of Vienna Exhibit" in Vienna's city hall in 1893, organizers intended for schoolchildren to attend these exhibits, alongside members of the public. Schools wrote to the Ministry of Religion and Education to get permission to take students to these exhibits and for assistance in receiving free or discounted tickets. In explaining the motivation for such visits, the provincial school board of Lower Austria explained to the ministry that the exhibit would provide essential reinforcement of material learned in history classes, and more importantly would develop the patriotism of the students.[43] Visiting the exhibit was an act of patriotic education.

Discovering the Heimat *and the Monarchy: School Hikes and Tours*

Pedagogical leaders advocated visits to museum exhibits for the same reasons that schools asked for permission to attend: to reinforce lessons from class and to develop the patriotism of students. Pedagogical journals and other experts urged the Ministry of Religion and Education and local school officials

to reform curriculum to include more of these trips. School leaders, such as Dr. Josef Bartmann, who wrote to the ministry with suggestions for preparing a new curriculum for *Bürgerschulen* in 1911, begged the ministry to increase the number of excursions and field trips related to *Heimatkunde*, geography, and history. Repeating a refrain found time and time again in pedagogical literature, Dr. Bartmann told the ministry that students could only "love" their *Heimat* and fatherland when they had "precise" knowledge of it. Visits to relevant museum exhibits, hikes in the countryside, and guided tours of notable sites provided such knowledge and needed to be encouraged.[44] A year earlier, the German and Austrian Alpine Association in Innsbruck wrote to the ministry, unsolicited, asking it to encourage schools to send students on mountain hikes and extended visits to the Alps. The association argued that such treks were essential to the "intellectual and physical development of school children," because they would provide crucial reinforcement of natural science, geography, and history classes.[45]

The ministry and other school officials appear to have taken such advice to heart, and they encouraged these activities. In the years before World War I, schools of all levels began calling attention to the frequency of these trips in reports to the ministry and local school boards. Yearly reports from the *Staats-Realgymnasium* in Linz, which opened in 1911, provided detailed descriptions of spring excursions taken by their students. These trips, usually taken on a Saturday in late May or early June, took students to various locations on the outskirts of the city and always included nature hikes as well as visits to historic sites. For example, in 1913, one group from the first class took a local train to the town of Eferding, where they went on a hike before returning to Linz by way of a Danube cruise. A second group took tours through Gaisbach-Warberg, Notmühle, and Pragärten to enjoy "the beauty of nature," and to see Reichenstein castle.[46] The next year, students took similar trips.[47] These excursions were hardly limited to Linz. The 1912 year-end inspection reports for German-language *Realschule* in Prague also mentioned that the school used excursions for the purpose of reinforcing the curriculum in the natural sciences, history, and geography.[48]

During the same period, there was a marked increase in the number of requests the ministry received from the Lower Austrian school board asking for permission to allow students to attend exhibits, museums, and concerts in Vienna. In February 1912, the school board requested that select classes from *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* in Vienna go to the Natural History and Art History museums in Vienna, followed by twenty-five *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen* students in March.[49] An additional request made in 1913, seeking permission to attend a "historical exhibit" at the court library, explicitly stated that visiting this exhibit would "elevate the patriotic sentiments" of

the attending students.[50] These requests show that schools obviously sought to take advantage of the cultural resources available in the capital. The frequency of these requests reveals that schools felt the ministry would approve of such trips.

Hikes, excursions, and visits most certainly occurred prior to this period. As early as 1880, the yearly reports for the *Staats- Real- und Obergymnasium* in Freistadt, Lower Austria, mention such trips.[51] These reports, however, did not provide the same level of detail as those of the *Staats-Realgymnasium* in Linz, nor are they as frequent. The increased emphasis on field trips and excursions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries speaks to a pedagogical shift within the school culture of Austria. Schools at all levels tried to reinforce classroom lessons through such outings. It is also worth mentioning that the pedagogical emphasis on such trips likely increased because they became cheaper and easier to plan. The development of mass transit in cities and the construction of railways meant that it was possible for schools to take a day trip to the surrounding countryside or a museum in the city.

The fact that educators explicitly mentioned the patriotic value of these trips further shows that civic education was something the ministry wanted to strengthen in schools. After all, schools and school boards wrote these requests hoping to obtain permission to buy tickets or to get assistance paying for them, not merely to inform the ministry that these trips would occur. Those asking for permission put forward what they thought would be the most compelling justification in the eyes of ministry officials. The fact that schools emphasized patriotic development as a reason for these trips demonstrates that those preparing the requests knew such appeals would make approval more likely.

Celebrating and Commemorating the Monarch

The ministry's interest in the patriotic development of students was not only reflected in their support for excursions, but also in their planning of school events. School celebrations were a vital component of Austria's civic education efforts. As with visits to museums or tours of historical sites, educators felt they provided essential reinforcement for the patriotic messages taught in the classroom and a crucial tool for strengthening "the loyalty, unbreakable attachment, and love of the fatherland and exalted dynasty."[52] Schools typically held several of these celebrations throughout the year, most linked to dates of historical or dynastic significance. They would, at minimum, celebrate the name day of the emperor and the empress. The decision to honor the couple on these days rather than their birthdays was a result of the fact that Franz Joseph was born on August 18 and Elisabeth on December 24, when schools were not in session.

Additionally, schools would commemorate the important events of the Habsburg Monarchy, such as the acquisition of Austria by the Habsburg dynasty, the adoption of the Pragmatic Sanction, or the Battle of Nations at Leipzig in 1813. In addition to these explicitly patriotic dates, schools also held ceremonies to mark the opening and closing of the academic year, providing additional opportunities for educators to extol the virtues of the Habsburg dynasty. Local school boards, in consultation with the Ministry of Religion and Education, determined the dates of these events, which typically occurred during the school day.[53]

Such political rituals became commonplace after 1849, when an imperial decree changed existing policy, and permitted local and provincial governments to organize their own celebrations. Local elites, eager to enhance their own prestige, began developing increasingly elaborate public displays of loyalty.[54] Schools provided an ideal space for these efforts, and their events were tightly scripted and organized, with consistent content and structure regardless of when or where they took place. They began in the morning with a religious service held at the schools' parish churches. The purpose of this service depended on the reason for the commemoration. It would contain messages of gratitude when marking celebratory occasions, such as the emperor's name day or the commemoration of a battlefield victory. During somber events, like the death of a member of the dynasty, the service would be one of remembrance. Reflecting the ecumenical tolerance of the Monarchy, students would attend these services in their respective churches—Catholics at the local Catholic church, Protestants at the local church of their denomination, Jews at the synagogue (or in the home of a Jewish leader, if the town or city did not have a synagogue). While school officials made allowances for the individual confession of the student, these religious services were not optional, and students and teachers would have to obtain special permission to miss them.[55]

After religious services, students and teachers gathered at the school, usually in the main hall or gymnasium, for an official school ceremony. The room was "festively decorated," with the black and gold flag of the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary and a picture or bust of the emperor.[56] It was not unusual for schools to also use other decorations, such as flowers and bunting. If the day honored someone other than the emperor, decorations included a picture or painting of that individual. The ceremonies opened with a patriotic song, followed by a series of patriotic speeches that would explain the significance of the occasion with "warm words . . . from the heart," punctuated with the recitation of patriotic poems or songs.[57] They would close with the singing of the *Volkshymn* and three cheers to the continued health of the emperor.[58]

Besides the faculty and student body, parents of the students and local dignitaries attended these events as well.[59] The school board and the mayor of the town or city sent representatives who joined the school director in giving speeches reflecting on the importance of the day. Even though individual speakers had autonomy over their speeches, there was a general consistency in the message communicated to students. The speakers used the opportunity to reiterate the patriotic education students received in class. In fact, one of the explicit goals of these ceremonies was to ensure that such reinforcement occurred.[60]

The consistency from speaker to speaker and school to school is not surprising. As we have seen in textbooks, there was an accepted historical consensus regarding the Monarchy, its major figures, and its major events. The speeches reflected this consensus. Visiting dignitaries also often had a "canned" speech prepared for them. Mayor Karl Lueger of Vienna, for example, distributed a sample speech to his representatives for Franz Joseph's sixtieth jubilee in 1908. While the mayor's office made clear that this speech only contained suggestions for his representatives, it was obvious the mayor intended for them to give this prepared speech, making only minor changes as necessary.[61]

For the emperor's name day, these speeches typically reinforced the existing narrative about Franz Joseph and his personality. As one teacher reflected, with Romantic flourish, these occasions provided a perfect opportunity "to plant the splendid flower of patriotism in the garden of the child's heart and to awaken . . . the feeling of love and truest devotion to the fatherland and the beloved dynasty."[62] Usually, speakers praised Franz Joseph's piety, devotion to his subjects, and concern for the welfare of the Monarchy. Since these speeches were given in school, speakers also frequently lauded Franz Joseph as a patron of schools, education, and the sciences.[63] The emphasis of these speeches changed notably over time and reflected the monarch's growing popularity as he grew older. Early speeches tended to describe Franz Joseph's connection to other Habsburg rulers and the beneficial qualities of Habsburg rule rather than the monarch directly. For example, in 1867, a name day speech given by a history teacher at the *akademisches Gymnasium* in Vienna discussed the importance of Franz Joseph in connection to Rudolf IV, Maximilian I, and Maria Theresa, tying Franz Joseph's reforms to similar efforts by these earlier rulers. The decorations for this event even included pictures of these individuals.[64] The speech clearly honored Franz Joseph, but it honored him as a representative of Habsburg good governance rather than as an individual.

As time went on the, speeches became about Franz Joseph and his reign, specifically. The speech given on his name day celebration in 1900 at the elementary school on Liechtensteinstrasse in Vienna spoke of the emperor

as a "father of his country" who "over the long years always showed concern for the welfare and happiness of his peoples." In return, his peoples gave him their "complete love and steadfast loyalty." They forged this bond by sharing moments of "happiness and joy as well as grief and sorrow."[65] A speech in 1910 commemorating his eightieth birthday at an elementary school on Zollergasse in Vienna's eighth district spoke passionately of Franz Joseph's concern for his realm, shown even at a young age, and how a string of personal tragedies, such as the deaths of his son and wife, had not diminished this concern. On the contrary, "his faith and sense of duty" allowed him to "endure" these tragedies and continue to work for his peoples. The speaker told the students that Franz Joseph's only concern was the "welfare of Austria," which manifested in his concern for the poor, his establishment of hospitals and schools, and in the reforms enacted during his reign. Reflecting the paternalistic role ascribed to Franz Joseph in Austrian society, the speaker also reminded students that "the emperor loves you all, his peoples, as a father loves his children."[66] While the speaker did note the consistency of Franz Joseph's stewardship with that of his predecessors, including Maria Theresa, the primary emphasis of the speech was Franz Joseph himself. Other speeches given on the same occasion similarly detailed Franz Joseph's life and accomplishments, showing that Franz Joseph had become a singular figure in the Dual Monarchy.[67]

As he entered old age, Franz Joseph's popularity increased throughout Austrian society, not just in schools. Daniel Unowsky has traced Franz Joseph's transformation into a "media monarch," like Queen Victoria of Great Britain or Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany. Austrians revered the emperor as the embodiment of piety and diligence, an image consciously crafted by Monarchy officials. By 1900, Austrians not only displayed this reverence by purchasing pictures and busts of the emperor, biographies of him and his family, and other forms of imperial "kitsch," but also by giving to charities in his honor.[68] School celebrations simply became another way of strengthening this affection for the emperor.

In fact, celebrating the life of the monarch became so important that as Franz Joseph entered his 70s, schools often commemorated both his name day in October and his actual birthday on August 18. On these occasions, students had to attend religious services and accompanying celebrations while technically on summer break.[69] As Franz Joseph became older, school celebrations honoring his life also intersected more and more with larger celebrations held by cities, towns, and the Monarchy as a whole.

The city council of Vienna and the city's school board coordinated and planned the school celebrations for Franz Joseph's seventieth birthday in 1900 together, in order to ensure that the celebration in each school was as similar

as possible. Working through a planning commission tasked with organizing birthday celebrations throughout the city, the city council and school board produced a tightly scripted and streamlined ceremony. Since school would not be in session on Franz Joseph's birthday, the school board originally planned to celebrate his birthday on his name day in October.[70] Vienna's mayor, Karl Lueger, and the planning commission, however, wanted schools to celebrate on the emperor's actual birthday and pushed the school board to revise its plans. By holding school ceremonies on the emperor's birthday, they would coincide with citywide celebrations and contribute to the overall jubilant atmosphere surrounding the event.[71] To help establish such an atmosphere, Lueger, acting in conjunction with the planning commission, asked the citizens of Vienna to decorate their homes with flags and to put lights in the windows, in order to show their support for the emperor.[72]

Within the schools, the planning commission and school board dictated which decorations schools should use and gave explicit instructions for the ceremony's organization. These instructions mandated that each school open the celebration with a song, followed by a greeting from the headmaster or director. After a speech on the life and contributions of Franz Joseph, attendees were to watch as the school's flag was decorated with a special commemorative band donated by the city of Vienna. Subsequent speeches by visiting dignitaries followed, and the event ended with a singing of the *Volkshymn*.[73] The instructions also designated which city officials would represent the city and the mayor at specific schools. While the instructions followed the typical format for school celebrations, the fact that the city council helped to create it was unusual. In most cases, schools and the school board crafted the program for school events.

Large celebrations for Franz Joseph's seventieth birthday were not restricted to Vienna. In Prague, for example, schools augmented their typical celebrations by having students attend concerts and plays performed outside of school. In the *Volksschule* in Karolinethal/Karlín, located in the suburbs of Prague, students attended the patriotic play "*Die Donaufluten*" and offered a "patriotic tribute" to the emperor.[74] As in Vienna, school celebrations in Olmütz/Olomouc, Moravia, especially honored Franz Joseph as a benefactor and patron of schools and students. For one speaker at the *Gymnasium* in Olmütz/Olomouc, Franz Joseph embodied the tradition of Habsburg good governance, as evidenced by the fact that, since the age of nineteen, the emperor had worked "tirelessly" for Austria's peoples just like "all Habsburgs before him."[75]

The level of coordination between city officials, representatives from the Monarchy, and local school boards displayed during celebrations of Franz Joseph's seventieth birthday built on efforts begun during Franz Joseph's

fiftieth jubilee celebrations in 1898 and increased for Franz Joseph's sixtieth jubilee in 1908. The growing attention to the consistency and planning of these important milestones in Franz Joseph's reign speak to the increased attention officials placed on patriotic holidays in Austria.[76] Honoring Franz Joseph was an essential way to put the Monarchy on display. The emperor embodied the Monarchy and served as its physical representation. In a certain sense, his longevity was a proxy for the longevity of Habsburg rule itself. This longevity, coupled with his image as a pious, hardworking, and caring monarch, allowed him to personify Habsburg good governance.

This fact would appear to reinforce the view that Franz Joseph's unique biography, longevity, and connection to the peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy made him an irreplaceable figure, and that without him the state lacked its most important source of stability.[77] According to this interpretation, his irreplaceability became even more pronounced after the suicide of his son, Rudolf, in 1889. At that point, his successor became his nephew, Franz Ferdinand, who enjoyed, at best, tepid popularity as well as a reputation for being prickly and short-tempered.[78] Franz Joseph was certainly a source of stability and unity within the Monarchy, and his longevity and biography contributed to this fact. But labeling him as "irreplaceable" not only ignores the contours of Habsburg civic education, but it also overlooks the manner in which he became such a stabilizing and unifying force. It is worth remembering that when Franz Joseph came to the throne during the Revolutions of 1848, he and the Habsburg dynasty were hardly at the height of their popularity. In fact, in pockets of the Monarchy, opinions of Franz Joseph remained in flux for the first few decades of his reign.[79]

As the speeches delivered during his name day ceremonies show, it was in these earlier years that the tropes associated with the Habsburg dynasty mattered most. Speech makers could talk about Franz Joseph as pious, caring, and interested in the development of his lands because all Habsburg rulers were pious, caring, and interested in the development of their lands. When describing Franz Joseph, speakers could rely on stories about his predecessors to help prove their points. Examples from the lives of previous Habsburg rulers helped to explain the virtues of the reigning monarch until specific examples from his reign could be used to replace them. It took decades for Franz Joseph to acquire the image he enjoyed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Any successor would have had to work to cultivate a similar image. But the nimbleness of Austrian civic education meant that Franz Joseph's successor could continue to rely on the same tropes of Habsburg good governance that Franz Joseph himself relied upon. In fact, Habsburg officials could have continued to use stories from Franz Joseph's reign and portrayed his successor as a continuation of Franz Joseph's benevolence.

The fact that Franz Joseph died at the height of World War I means that we will never know if such attempts would have succeeded. Karl I never had the opportunity to cultivate an image of his own. The speeches given for Karl's name day in 1917, however, show that speakers attempted to depict Karl as a youthful and vibrant ruler, who possessed the same devotion to his lands as Franz Joseph. In essence, speakers tried pass the mantle of good governance onto Karl while also highlighting the benefits of his youth.[80] These speeches give an idea of how students would have celebrated their new emperor had he come to throne in less turbulent times.

Celebrating and Commemorating the Dynasty and the Monarchy

As the reigning monarch, Franz Joseph was certainly the central focus of patriotic celebration within Austria, but he was not the only focus. Reflecting the fact that civic education in the Monarchy sought to create loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty as a whole, and not just one of its members, schools honored a range of dynastic figures.[81] As previously mentioned, before her assassination in 1898, schools marked Empress Elisabeth's name day with the same regularity as Franz Joseph's.[82] The speeches given at these ceremonies mirrored the speeches given for Franz Joseph. For example, early speeches generally spoke of the empress's role as a patron of education and her piety in a way that tied her to previous Habsburg figures.[83]

School commemorations of the imperial couple's twenty-fifth wedding anniversary on April 24, 1879, made similar references to their patronage of education. A speech given at a girls' *Volksschule* in Vienna announced a recent endowment given to the school by the monarchs, tying it to the important changes Franz Joseph had made to education within Austria, starting with the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* of 1869.[84] According to the school, this event "fanned the noble flame of patriotism and loyalty in the hearts of the young listeners," and inspired by imperial couple's generosity, the school gave bread, compote, fruit, and baked goods to "130 of the poorest children."[85]

Schools across Austria commemorated the silver anniversary of Franz Joseph's marriage to Elisabeth at the order of their individual school boards. As with the girls' *Volksschule* in Vienna, these celebrations offered an opportunity to praise the monarchs and reinforce the importance of patriotism to the students.[86] In the town of Zischkaberg/Žižkov, outside of Prague, the German-language *Volksschule* marked the occasion of the imperial couple's wedding anniversary several times in 1879. In February, students wrote poems in honor of the couple and submitted them for a poetry competition. A large school event followed in April. Along with the standard school celebration, the *Volksschule* performed a patriotic play that presented an allegory "emphasizing the virtue and piety of the House of Habsburg. [This allegory

was] told through the perspective of trees, illustrating the longevity of [Franz Joseph's and Elisabeth's] rule."[87] The celebration for schools in Kremsmünster, Upper Austria, began on the evening of April 23, when students participated in a torchlight parade through the main thoroughfare of the city. The next day, students met in the school's main hall, which was decorated so festively that those reporting described the room as an "Emperor's Hall." In the company of portraits of both the emperor and empress, students heard poems and songs unique to their anniversary. These included *Des Frühlings Aufruf an sein Volk*, which had been recited upon Elisabeth's arrival in Austria from Bavaria, and *Österreichs Huldigung zur Feier der silberen Hochzeit Ihrer k. und k. Majestäten*, written specifically for the occasion. Additionally, speakers praised both as the "guardians and defenders of the fatherland."[88]

The celebration at the *Gymnasium* in Ried, Upper Austria, opted for poems and songs used for general school celebrations, rather than ones specifically chosen for the occasion, but the speeches echoed familiar themes. The director impressed upon students that both Franz Joseph and Elisabeth had earned the students' loyalty through their "excellent governance," as well as their deep devotion to the welfare of their people made manifest in their donations for the construction of the *Gymnasium*.[89] The fact that Franz Joseph and Elisabeth donated funds to the *Gymnasium* provided tangible proof of the monarchs' generosity and reinforced their image as patrons of education. In order to draw more attention to the imperial couple's generosity, most schools performed acts of charity and giving. The *Gymnasium* in Prague Neustadt/Nové Město, for example, raised funds for Austrian soldiers wounded during the struggle to occupy Bosnia-Herzegovina.[90] In *Volksschulen* in Zischkaberg/Žižkov and in the *Gymnasium* in Olmütz/Olomouc, teachers donated money so that the schools could give their students copies of the commemorative book *Unser Kaiser*, prepared for the occasion.[91]

Prior to his suicide in 1889, Crown Prince Rudolf was another dynastic figure that schools periodically honored with celebrations. As heir to the throne, he represented the future of the Monarchy, and schools wanted to establish a connection between him and the students just as they did with the emperor and empress. Opportunities to forge this connection were more limited, however. Since he was not a reigning monarch, schools did not celebrate his name day or birthday with any regularity.[92] Instead, schools commemorated important events in his life.

In 1880, the *Gymnasium* in Freistadt, Upper Austria, along with schools across Austria, celebrated the announcement of Rudolf's engagement to Princess Stephanie of Belgium with an "improvised . . . school festival."[93] After these impromptu celebrations, schools held more substantial events for the marriage itself. Following the standard format of patriotic songs, poems,

and speeches, schools wished the new couple well while also celebrating the marriage's importance to the future of the Monarchy. In "richly decorated" rooms, speakers used the opportunity to provide an overview of Rudolf's life in "eloquent words" that conveyed a strong, "patriotic feeling" to those in attendance.[94] In Olmütz/Olomouc, Moravia, the celebration of Rudolf's marriage ended with the students receiving commemorative medallions made especially for the occasion.[95] These celebrations mirrored those held in schools across Austria. The occasion provided an opportunity to honor the crown prince, while also allowing schools to strengthen the connection between their students and their future emperor.[96]

Schools commemorated other dynastic marriages as well. For example, in 1902, students in Vienna received a copy of an allegorical play written for the fiftieth wedding anniversary of Franz Joseph's cousin Archduke Rainer Ferdinand and Archduchess Maria. This booklet contained a series of poems and songs that illustrated the power of love, fidelity, and the couple's devotion to one another.[97] Such celebrations were important because they forged a connection between the dynasty and students, not just between the emperor and students. Organizers understood that affection for Franz Joseph alone could not sufficiently produce lasting devotion to the dynasty or the Monarchy.

The desire to develop the connection between the students and the dynasty also led schools to hold events marking deaths in the imperial household. They used these solemn occasions to remind students of the important role the dynasty played in both the development of the Monarchy and in shaping the course of European history. Schools attended requiem masses and held commemorations for Franz Joseph's mother, Archduchess Sophie, in 1872, for Franz Joseph's brother, Archduke Karl Ludwig, in 1896, and for Empress Elisabeth's sister, Duchess Sophie, in 1897. In Prague, the service for Duchess Sophie was officiated by the Statthalter, the highest-ranking Habsburg official in the city.[98] As with all commemorations and celebrations, local school officials issued decrees requiring that schools participate.[99]

The suicide of Crown Prince Rudolf in 1889 and the assassination of Empress Elisabeth in 1898 represented a much deeper loss for the Monarchy, and schools held solemn services to mourn the deaths of both. In each case, the Ministry of Religion and Education cancelled school on the days of the services, which were set aside for mourning.[100] As with other events, the services for Rudolf began first with a requiem mass, followed by gatherings at the school. Unlike festive events, schools used somber hymns and songs while speeches reflected on his life and the impact of his death on the emperor.[101]

Elisabeth's assassination, which occurred just as events for Franz Joseph's fiftieth jubilee began in 1898, cast a long shadow over the remainder of the year. Rather than the typical decorations used for school events, for this

solemn occasion, schools flew "black mourning flags" from September 11 until September 24.[102] Services honoring Elisabeth struck a tone that moved between sadness for her loss and anger over the violence responsible for her death. Speakers at the German-language *Volksschule* in Karolinenthal/Karlín outside of Prague tried to remind students of the joy she brought to the Monarchy during her "spectacular" arrival in Vienna in 1854, but could not help but remark that her loss was especially painful considering that Crown Prince Rudolf had died only ten years earlier.[103] The service held at the *Gymnasium* in Olmütz/Olomouc recalled Elisabeth's generosity, especially her support of the arts, schools, and veterans groups, and called on attendees to express their support for the emperor. One speaker remarked that "dark days [were] a test of faith and a call to rally behind the throne."[104] The service held for the Catholic students of the *Gymnasium* in Prague Neustadt/Nové Město reminded students of the fallen empress's virtues, a sentiment echoed at the services for Protestant and Jewish students as well.[105] The one at the private, Catholic *Gymnasium* in Urfahr, Upper Austria, expressed anger. The director attacked "the destructive elements in society, which threaten[ed] existing Christian social order." He called for the students "to do their duty" and help the "church and fatherland . . . defend their post against the power of darkness (*Macht der Finsternis*)."[106]

At the conclusion of this service, most students received a memorial booklet, purchased by either the city or the school. This booklet reflected the sadness and anger that punctuated the service itself. It provided a biography of the empress that described her character and virtues as well as her contributions to Austrian society. It also sharply condemned the violence that caused her death and deplored the growing strength of anarchism and political violence in Europe.[107] According to the year-end report for Kremsmünster, Upper Austria, these commemorations of Elisabeth stirred a "deep sadness" among the students that only served to strengthen their sympathy for Franz Joseph and to intensify their patriotism.[108]

In addition to honoring Franz Joseph or members of the dynasty, school events also marked important historical anniversaries. Schools held these events in notable anniversary years and used them as an opportunity to remind students of Austria's heroic past and to connect the contemporary Monarchy, its leaders, and its peoples to those past events. They also emphasized the important connection between the Habsburg dynasty and the peoples of Austria. As with other excursions and school events, the speeches reinforced the patriotic lessons students learned in history classes.

In 1880, schools marked the centennial of Joseph II's elevation to the throne as King of Bohemia, King of Hungary, and Archduke of Austria.[109] Honoring Joseph, these events focused on the positive aspects of his legacy

while diminishing or ignoring the more divisive elements of his rule. While history lessons mentioned the controversies surrounding his efforts to elevate the status of German language in the non-German parts of the Monarchy or the limitations of his reform efforts, centennial celebrations refrained from discussing such matters. Instead, they focused on his concern for the welfare of the peoples of Austria. As one school stated, the goal was to honor "the great friend" of the common man.[110] Others made this point as well. The speech given at the *Bürgerschule* near St. Stephan's in Vienna called Joseph II the "great emperor of the people" and described how "all Austrian hearts are thrilled" at the mention of his name. It went on to praise Joseph II's efforts to help his peoples, especially his commitment to improving education. Acknowledging the limitations of his reforms, the speech mentions that when he died, many did not appreciate what Joseph II had done for them. They "realized too late" his noble intentions.[111] As in history classes, these speeches focused on his sense of obligation to his realm and to his peoples and minimized the efforts to paint him as a German nationalist. Similarly, these celebrations also had a difficult time separating Joseph II from the legacy of his mother. In fact, some schools recorded the event as a commemoration of the centennial of Maria Theresa's death as well as Joseph II's elevation to the throne. As a result, the speeches praised both of their contributions to the dynasty and the Monarchy.[112]

Schools paid homage to the Habsburg dynasty's contributions to the peoples of the Monarchy once again in 1882 while commemorating the six hundredth anniversary of Rudolf von Habsburg's investiture of the Habsburg hereditary lands upon his sons. These speeches reinforced the tropes assigned to the dynasty, linking rulers together through their piety, selflessness, and devotion to their peoples. These speeches also spoke of the unbreakable connection between the lands of the Monarchy and the dynasty, creating a sense of permanence surrounding Habsburg rule. One speaker accomplished both of these tasks in a single sentence, musing that Rudolf bequeathed his "glorious qualities and virtues" as well as the Habsburg hereditary lands to the dynasty.[113] The poems and songs used at these celebrations strengthened these messages. Most recited Friedrich Schiller's *Graf von Habsburg* and such songs as the *Habsburghymn*, *Habsburg Mauern*, and *Mein Österreich, Mein Vaterland*, each speaking to the strength, power, and dignity of Austria under Habsburg rule.[114]

As a memento to commemorate this occasion, some schools even gave their students copies of Leo Smolle's *Die Habsburger. 600 Jahre ihrer ruhmreichen Geschichte*, written specifically for the six hundredth anniversary.[115] This thirty-two page booklet opened with a poem praising Franz Joseph for the "powerful hand" he used to "protect the fatherland." The poem also described how the peoples of Austria were content and happy under his rule, and

how fortunate the Monarchy was to have a sovereign who "lived only for the people."[116] Like the speeches, poems, and songs used in school celebrations, the book spoke of the inseparable bond between the Habsburg dynasty and the peoples of the Monarchy. It also argued that the Habsburgs were unique among ruling houses in their concern for the welfare of their peoples and lands.[117] It told the history of Rudolf's reign and of his acquisition of the Habsburg hereditary lands and the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. While telling this history, the book embedded illustrations of other notable Habsburg rulers, such as Maximillian I, Maria Theresa, Joseph II, Franz II/I, and Franz Joseph I, and even included an illustration depicting the Siege of Vienna in 1683.[118] It concluded with a brief overview of the virtues of these individuals and their contributions to the Monarchy. By distributing this book to students, schools tried to ensure that students had a ready reminder of the virtues of the dynasty.

While events commemorating Rudolf's acquisition of Austria honored the dynasty, Austrian patriots were honored during centennial celebrations of Andreas Hofer's Tyrolean uprising and the Battle of Aspern-Essling held in 1909 and 1910. As with the celebrations of six hundred years of Habsburg rule in 1882, schools selected songs and poems relevant to each event, rather than general songs of a patriotic nature. So, for example, the events honoring Andreas Hofer included songs and poems such as *Hofer, Kommendant von Tirol*, *Hofers Tod*, and the *Andreas Hofer Hymn*.[119] These poems and songs praised Hofer for his devotion to his fatherland and his willingness to sacrifice himself for his emperor and country. Speeches honoring Hofer emphasized these themes of devotion and sacrifice. Hofer was a paragon of devotion to God, emperor, and fatherland and a model of patriotic virtue.[120]

The commemoration of the Battle of Aspern-Essling in 1909 was actually a shared event commemorating the centennial of composer Josef Haydn's death.[121] As a result, this event reflected the importance of the Battle of Aspern-Essling as well as Haydn's contribution to music and to Austria. Even though, on the surface, these two topics would appear to have little in common, speakers cleverly used both as a demonstration of the Monarchy's unity. The peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy united in their opposition to Napoleon just as Haydn united the Monarchy by writing a common anthem, the *Volkshymn*.[122] As with other school celebrations, most students received a commemorative booklet summarizing the importance of the day.

Making the Monarchy Tangible: Imperial Visits and Imperial Jubilees

School celebrations reinforced patriotic messages students had already learned in the classroom and attempted to create a sense of pride in the monarch, the Monarchy, and Austria's past. These events also tried to make Austria's history appear relevant, and less abstract, to the lives of the students. In short,

they sought to make the Monarchy tangible. While speakers certainly talked in broad terms of the positive qualities of dynastic rulers, invariably, their speeches used Habsburg patronage of schools as proof of these qualities. Such an emphasis, educators hoped, would make students realize how living under the Habsburg banner directly improved their lives.

Schools sought to increase the tangibility of the Monarchy in other ways. Throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century, school leaders placed increased importance on the uniformity of patriotic materials in schools. Local and provincial school boards, as well as the Ministry of Religion and Education and pedagogical leaders began advocating the purchase of patriotic books for school libraries. Through ordinances, decrees, and book reviews, they prodded schools to buy these books so schools would have a collection that extoled the virtues of the Monarchy and provided a history of its past.[123] School leaders also began calling for increased standardization of the *Volkshymn*, which had several arrangements and adaptations.

In 1891, the Styrian provincial school board issued an ordinance advocating the adoption of a standardized version of Haydn's anthem for the Monarchy. The board noted that because so many variations of the *Volkshymn* existed, simply asking schools to sing the anthem did not ensure they would be using the same version. Ultimately, it hoped the creation of an official version of the *Volkshymn* would ensure its standardization throughout the Monarchy, not just in Styria.[124] A few years later in 1895, the Styrian Teachers' Association called for similar standardization of the pictures of the emperor used in schools. It bristled at the fact that classrooms in the same school often displayed different portraits of Franz Joseph. In an age when photography could provide "a true natural likeness of [Austria-Hungary's] most famous head of state," making do with different "approximate likenesses" was unacceptable.[125] They even used their journal to publish a list of recent photographic portraits of the emperor that schools could purchase at a reasonable price.

By imploring schools to purchase and display a current likeness of the emperor, the Styrian Teachers' Association was trying to make the person of the monarch more tangible and more real to the students of Styria. Of course, the monarch was most tangible when he could be seen, and as a result, imperial tours and visitations were a vital part of civic education throughout the Monarchy. Franz Joseph, members of the dynasty, and high-ranking government officials traveled constantly, hoping to increase the visibility of the dynasty and the government. As with most official events in the Monarchy, such visits were highly choreographed. Daniel Unowsky has shown the general importance of these tours and their impact on the popularity of Franz Joseph, and the role local officials played in preparing them.[126] Considering the turbulent nature of Austria's politics, these occasions provided an ideal

time for protests. For some scholars the presence of nationalist actions, student riots, and other disruptions offer evidence of the collapse of Austrian civil society.[127] Though, as Sarah Kent notes, these protests reflected frustration with aspects of political life within the Monarchy, not the Monarchy itself. Furthermore, the fact that these protests occurred speaks to a developed understanding of citizenship and civil liberties in an increasingly democratic state. Most importantly, these disruptions did not occur in front of the monarch himself. Using student protests during an imperial visit to Zagreb as an example, Kent notes that students were careful to keep their actions out of view from the imperial procession. They did not want to show disrespect to Franz Joseph.[128]

Even with these occasional disruptions, an imperial visit was a call for celebration and organizers always ensured that schoolchildren could see Franz Joseph when he toured. Students would attend imperial processions and it was not unusual for the emperor to visit schools. Naturally, cities and schools ensured that students greeted the emperor with as much acclaim as possible. For example, students from the *Gymnasium* in Prague Neustadt/Nové Město always greeted Franz Joseph during his numerous visits to Prague. In 1867, 1868, and 1892, this meant being among those waving flags and cheering the emperor as his procession went through the city.[129] According to school reports, students always enjoyed attending such events. One teacher from the *Ober-Realschule* in Prague reported that when Franz Joseph visited the city in 1892, "students had the good fortune" to have a good view of the procession, which allowed them "to greet the august and beloved monarch with spirited cheers."[130] Similarly, when Franz Joseph visited Linz, Upper Austria, to attend the opening of the Francisco-Carolinum museum, students and faculty watched his arrival and departure from the museum, cheering with others along his parade route.[131] When he returned in 1903 to visit the city again, along with neighboring Urfahr, "both cities were richly decorated." Linz's trade academy, which stood along Franz Joseph's parade route, decorated its doors and balconies, and the school reported, with pride, that when Franz Joseph spoke to the school's director, the emperor complemented the beauty of the decorations.[132] As with Franz Joseph's earlier visit, students and faculty lined the streets to see the emperor's procession. According to the school's year-end report, students were so overcome with patriotic feeling, they could not suppress their "lively cheers" for the monarch.[133]

Reports from a private, Catholic *Gymnasium* in Urfahr made similar comments about the emperor's visit. They also noted how "flags, triumphal arches, flowers, and wreaths" adorned the entire town "down to the smallest [house]" in order to show Upper Austria's "loyalty and attachment" to the emperor.[134] Students decorated the *Gymnasium* in honor of the emperor's visit. They lined the road to the school with black and yellow flags along with the other flags of

the empire, the flags of the provinces, and, reflecting its status as a Catholic institution, the flag of the Vatican.[135] Franz Joseph visited the *Gymnasium* during this tour of Urfahr, and as a result, the school adorned the interior of the building as well. Organizers decorated the main hall of the school with oil paintings of Habsburg emperors and displayed their mottos.[136]

Franz Joseph received similar greetings elsewhere in Austria. Just as in Linz and Urfahr, schoolchildren and teachers greeted him upon his arrival in Zischkaberg/Žižkov in 1901. Children waved black and yellow flags, and the school building itself flew the imperial colors and had other decorations to mark the visit.[137] Prague hosted another imperial visit in 1907, and organizers similarly decorated schools and other buildings with the colors of the Monarchy and with candles.[138] According to the *Prager Tagblatt*, schoolchildren watching the imperial procession could hardly contain their enthusiasm as the emperor came into view, and remarked how girls wore black and yellow hair ribbons to help mark the occasion.[139] Obviously, reports of student reactions were designed to be as favorable as possible, but there can also be no doubt that they were special occasions for children.

Imperial visits created an unparalleled opportunity to strengthen civic education efforts in schools. They made the monarch and Monarchy tangible in a way no other event could. They augmented the efforts made in schools each year through the celebration of the emperor's name day and through the commemoration of other notable events. Equally as important were the jubilee celebrations of Franz Joseph's ascension to the throne, which offered schools a unique chance to honor the emperor and to promote the image of a Monarchy united through its diversity. Local organizers as well as officials coordinating events across the Monarchy planned these school events in conjunction with school boards to ensure that they presented a single, cohesive message that reflected the broader themes of jubilee events throughout Austria. Such events would span across months of the jubilee year, starting in the summer and continuing until the actual anniversary of Franz Joseph's ascent to the throne on December 2. Organizers of jubilee celebrations in Vienna expected schools and their students to participate in many of these public events. They considered the growth of public education to be evidence of the success of Franz Joseph's reign. It was also important for spectators at these events to see schoolchildren, the future of the Monarchy, honoring the emperor. For Franz Joseph's golden jubilee, the most important of these events was the Children's Jubilee Parade (*Kinderhuldigungsfestzug*) held in Vienna on June 24, 1898.

Organizers invited each of the *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* in Vienna and its suburbs to participate in this parade with the goal of having over two thousand children (fifty to sixty from each school) march down the *Ringstrasse*

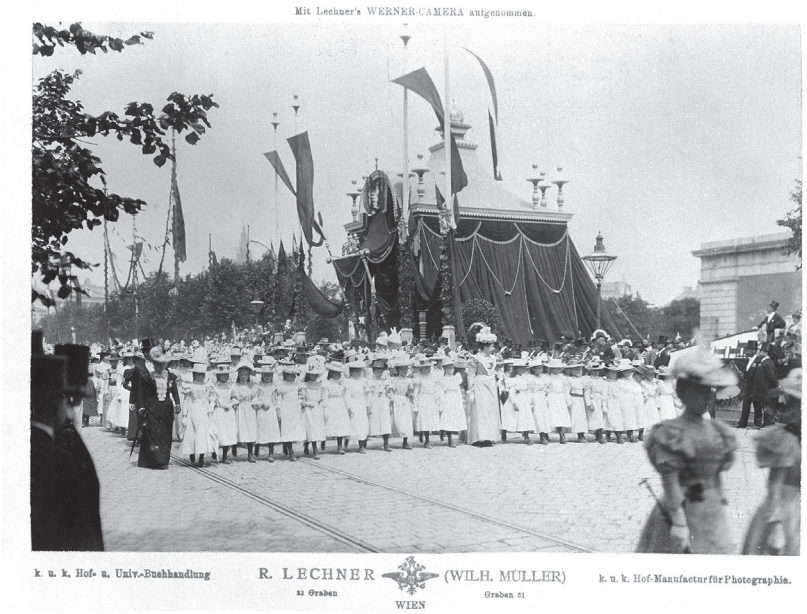

Figure 4.2. Students in the Children's Jubilee Parade for Franz Joseph's fiftieth Jubilee, 1898. Courtesy of the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.

to Franz Joseph's review tent at the Burgtor in front of the Hofburg. The students, grouped together by district, school, and gender, marched accompanied by music provided by military marching bands in blocks of four lines, with teachers in between each block.[140] In order to ensure the appearance of uniformity and to minimize the potential for nationalist agitation, organizers required teachers to wear only black, with sashes of black and yellow, blue and yellow, red and white, or blue and white—the colors of the Monarchy, Austria, or the province of Lower Austria. Teachers could not wear national tricolors or any other type of sash.[141] The children wore all white or "their Sunday clothes" along with a commemorative medallion given by the city, and each row of children carried the school flag and either black and yellow or red and white flags, the colors of the Monarchy and of Austria.[142] For those participating, the highlight of the parade was the opportunity to march past the emperor watching the event from his review stand. The Children's Jubilee Parade set the tone for the rest of the year, which included several in-school events.

Along with the annual celebration of Franz Joseph's name day, schools held large commemorations of Franz Joseph's ascent to the throne on December 2. School events for the golden jubilee continued to emphasize his piety, concern for his peoples, and his patronage of schools. The Ministry of Religion and Education made clear that it expected teachers to discuss the

life and reign of the emperor in appropriate classroom lessons and school celebrations, and to do so in a way that would increase students' affection for him.[143] Taking these requests to heart, teachers went out of their way to praise the emperor as a patron of the arts and sciences, and they implored students to use his piety and devotion to his faith as a model for their own lives.[144] They also discussed his importance to Austria, not just his importance as a model of character. One speech given at the commemoration in the *Volksschule* on Holzhausergasse in Vienna praised Franz Joseph for the "excellent" qualities he demonstrated as an individual, father, and as the "ruler and father of the Austrian family of peoples."[145] Reflecting the importance of the occasion, the school chronicle proudly described how organizers of the event decorated the main hall with "imperial colors," a bust of the emperor, a plaque containing the dates 2 December 1848–2 December 1898, the Habsburg eagle, and a banner with the emperor's motto "Viribus unitis" (with united forces).[146] The theme of unity continued throughout the celebration given for the golden jubilee at the *Gymnasium* in Olmütz/Olomouc. The school published a long article giving a comprehensive overview of the emperor's reign. It especially praised Franz Joseph for his reforms and for strengthening the economy. It also thanked the emperor for the "political freedoms" granted through constitutional reform, though it acknowledged that such reforms "[had] led to ideas of national freedom," which potentially threatened the unity of the Monarchy.[147] It concluded, however, by saying that the motto "Viribus unitis" resonated throughout the Austrian lands, Habsburg Italy, the Bohemian lands, Hungary, and Galicia. The citizens of the Monarchy were ready to confront the challenges of the future together.[148]

The boys' *Volksschule* in the Neustadt district of Linz reported an equally patriotic event. Its "school house was decorated with flags and lights" and "in the classrooms, which were decorated with the portrait of the emperor, there was a dignified school festival," with speeches about the emperor's life and contributions to Austria and with students singing songs in his honor. Each student of the school also received a copy of the commemorative booklet *Unser Kaiser* donated by the city, which provided pictures and the story of Franz Joseph's life and reign.[149]

The assassination of Empress Elisabeth marred commemorations of Franz Joseph's golden jubilee, causing most events to take on a sober tone. The journal of the Styrian Teachers' Association captured this reality, writing that "all across Austria, in the poorest huts and in the most spectacular palaces," the people celebrated the fact that "for a half-century [their] fatherland has been led, unbowed, by a mild leader with wise discretion and a steady hand, with a warm heart and a pious sense—even though he was not exempt from the heaviest blows of fate that anyone could carry."[150]

Due to Elisabeth's assassination, Franz Joseph cancelled all court celebrations and asked that others follow this lead and use the occasion to promote charitable giving.[151] In honor of this request, many schools ensured that their events included philanthropic activities.[152] The *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* of Linz, Upper Austria, reported giving clothes, shoes, and baked goods to over 128 poor students "in the spirit of his majesty's desire for good deeds."[153] It was not unusual for schools to perform such acts of charity during state or religious holidays, but such acts attained a heightened level of importance in 1898 due to the emperor's request.

Given the subdued nature of Franz Joseph's golden jubilee, a decade later organizers wanted the occasion of his diamond jubilee to be as glorious as possible. The success of the Children's Jubilee Parade on the Ringstrasse, which Franz Joseph proclaimed to be "excellent" and a "comfort . . . in a year with so many heartaches," prompted a more elaborate children's event at Schönbrunn palace in May 1908.[154] As with the parade in 1898, organizers invited all of the schools of Vienna to participate. In an effort to dwarf the size of the previous parade, Mayor Karl Lueger and other organizers hoped that 82,000 children would gather at Schönbrunn, of whom 14,000 would sing the *Volkshymn* to the emperor.[155] Unlike the previous parade, this event was not open to the general public, and entrance to the palace and seating areas required tickets obtainable only from the jubilee organizers.[156]

The logistical planning needed to get students to the palace was more complicated than the previous parade. While organizers in 1898 also needed to arrange for transportation for participants, that parade site was the center of Vienna and arranging transportation was less taxing. Most students simply walked or rode the streetcars. Since Schönbrunn was in the suburbs of Vienna, walking was not a possibility for most students. Students met at their school or another central location from their district and rode to Schönbrunn together by streetcar or bus.[157]

The event began with the singing of the *Volkshymn* by selected children. Afterward, the children, grouped by school and district, marched by the emperor and other guests to the Gloriette, the decorative structure at the back of Schönbrunn's gardens. As with the previous parade, the students wore their best clothes and special sashes and insignia to note their school and district.[158] Afterward, representatives from each school gathered in the front of the group in order to participate in the general program. This program included an allegorical play entitled *Im Garten zu Schönbrunn*, performed by twelve boys and twelve girls, each wearing sashes, banners, and flowers. The play thanked Franz Joseph for his years of leadership and proclaimed the devotion of the attending children. It also pledged the loyalty and service of the children, even though "with empty hands [they] stand on tip toe . . . poor children [who] do not have much."[159]

Another play, *Des Kinder Blumenstrauß*, reiterated this pledge while displaying the unity of the Habsburg lands. The central character of *Des Kinder Blumenstrauß* was an allegorical representation of Austria, played by Hedwig Belibtreu, an actress from the *Volksoper*, who described how in spite of the Monarchy's diversity, all of its nations knew that they were part of the same realm [*Reich*]. To emphasize this unity, the play called for "children of all of the Austrian nations to enter, wearing their national costume."[160] These plays, and the entire gathering at Schönbrunn in general, projected the image of a Monarchy united behind its sovereign and optimistic about its future. It also provided an opportunity to immerse the children of Vienna in the pageantry of Habsburg ceremony and to connect them directly with the emperor. While organizers wanted the children to project an image of unity by representing the hope and future of Austria-Hungary, they also wanted the day to be a special event the children would remember. Not only did the children receive confectionary treats, along with medallions or sashes to keep as mementos, they had the opportunity to experience Schönbrunn palace in a way few others did.[161]

Figure 4.3. Performers from the play *Des Kinder Blumenstrauß* performed for Franz Joseph's sixtieth jubilee, 1908. Courtesy of the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.

According to school reports from the event, the celebration left a strong impression on the students. One school official wrote that once the emperor became visible on the balcony, the students could not contain their "cheers

of joy," which hopefully made Franz Joseph as happy as the event made the children.[162] This event was but one of many public events occurring across the Monarchy to honor Franz Joseph. Each of these celebrations reinforced the message of unity and hope, and many utilized school children to communicate that message.

Children also played an active role in other official jubilee events in Vienna. They both attended and participated in the Imperial Jubilee Parade (*Kaiserhuldigungsfestzug*), held along the *Ringstrasse*. Attended by over 500,000 people, the parade contained a series of wagons, each displaying the major events and personalities from Austria's past.[163] The first wagon displayed a woman dressed as Clio, the Greek muse of History, surrounded by sixty girls in white—one for each year of Franz Joseph's reign. Four wagons, each representing three key periods of Habsburg history, followed Clio. These wagons contained portraits and paintings of key figures from Austria's past, which, when viewed together, created a visual manifestation of tropes expressed in history classes.

The first had pictures of Rudolf von Habsburg and his sons, as well as depictions of Rudolf's battles for the Habsburg hereditary lands. The wagon also had a portrait of Rudolf IV surrounded by models of St. Stephan's Cathedral, the University of Vienna, and other buildings constructed or embellished during his reign. The second wagon contained portraits of Friedrich III, the first Habsburg to hold the imperial crown, as well as Maximilian I and his wife, Maria of Burgundy. Pictures of Albrecht Dürer and other artists surrounded the image of Maximilian and Maria to illustrate their role as patrons of the arts. The wagon also displayed portraits of Charles V, with images of the Americas, personifying Habsburg support of science and exploration, and Ferdinand I, with the symbols of Bohemia and Hungary, communicating his role in the "establishment" of Austria-Hungary. The third wagon contained portraits of Leopold I accompanied by images of Eugene of Savoy, musicians and artists from the period, and the defeat of the Turks. It also had depictions of Charles VI, Maria Theresa, and Joseph II, each accompanied by images of the events from their reigns. The final wagon in this series idealized the recent past, with portraits of Josef Radetzky and the Tyrolean sharpshooters fighting against the Italians. Along with wagons displaying historical tableaus, there were also processions of Austria's national groups, each in their traditional national costumes.[164]

The parade represented an ambitious attempt to not only reinforce the theme of unity and prosperity, which punctuated all jubilee celebrations, but also to remind attendees about Austria's past and the importance of all Habsburg rulers, not just Franz Joseph. Traditionally, however, scholars have viewed the parade as a symbol of the fragility of Austrian patriotism.[165] For

Brigitte Hamann, the parade's display of unity through diversity was an illusion considering it only represented the nations from the Austrian half of the Monarchy and many national groups refused to participate. For example, the Czechs did not attend, protesting the anti-Slavism of Mayor Karl Lueger.[166] Steven Beller is even more critical, arguing that the parade was a dysfunctional attempt by a failing state to project a sense of common purpose. Evoking contemporary critics, like Karl Kraus, Beller rejects favorable coverage of the parade as an effort to mask over the fact that the event was not only poorly planned, but marred by substantial discontent from the Monarchy's national minorities. Beller even goes so far as to argue the true symbol of Franz Joseph's diamond jubilee was not the parade, but rather Czech frustration boiling over in Bohemia, resulting in riots and ultimately martial law.[167] For Beller, the fact that the parade omitted any mention of Franz Joseph's reign was the clearest evidence of the parades' hollowness.

Initially, there were plans to include a final group of wagons displaying Austria's achievements during the reign of Franz Joseph. These wagons would have shown the growth of Austrian industry, the prosperity of the past decades, and showcased Austria-Hungary's alliance with Germany and Italy, and its role in European affairs.[168] It is unclear why organizers altered these plans, ending the parade's overview of Austrian history in 1848. Elisabeth Grossegger offers some potential reasons, the most convincing being that Franz Joseph asked that the event not focus on him, but rather on the dynasty and the state.[169] For Beller, the most probable explanation for these changes is that offered by its critics: Franz Joseph's reign was filled with so many failures they would overshadow its modest successes.[170]

Such reasoning requires us to overlook the parade's connection with wider jubilee celebrations. To suggest that parade organizers were incapable of portraying Franz Joseph's reign as a period of success ignores the countless ways they did so in 1898 and 1908. In both years, Franz Joseph's reign was the focal point of jubilee memorabilia and local events.[171] More importantly, this suggestion wholly ignores the civic education occurring in Austrian schools. The parade visualized what students learned in the classroom: the Habsburg tradition of good governance and the unity of the Habsburg state.

In fact, school commemorations of the diamond jubilee reinforced these messages while championing the achievements of Franz Joseph's time on the throne. A decree from the Ministry of Religion and Education not only set December 2, 1908, as the date for these events across Austria, but also dictated that there should be speeches describing the "significance of the day and the reign of Franz Joseph" accompanied by appropriately patriotic songs and poems.[172] In Vienna, Mayor Karl Lueger sent a sample speech to his representatives at these events that reinforced the ministry's decree. He recommended

that speakers discuss the history and longevity of Habsburg rule in Austria, Franz Joseph's devotion to his peoples, his piety, as well as his commitment to "education, freedom, and civilization." As evidence of this commitment, Lueger's sample speech specifically mentioned the development of Vienna during Franz Joseph's reign, especially the construction of the *Ringstrasse* and his patronage of schools and hospitals.[173]

Speeches given in schools across Austria honored Franz Joseph's personal characteristics and devotion to his peoples. Those at the trade academy in Linz, for example, praised Franz Joseph for "lifting Austria" into modernity despite the setbacks and challenges he faced as both a ruler and as a father and husband. They also asked students to remember Austria's "advances, not its misfortunes," lamenting that there was too much emphasis on what was wrong in the state and not what was good.[174] In a speech highlighting the character of the monarch, the director of the *Gymnasium* in Freistadt, Upper Austria, told students to follow the example of the emperor's "dutifulness and devotion," and to live their lives as faithfully and productively as he had.[175] Echoing the theme of unity, the private, Catholic *Gymnasium* in Urfahr, outside of Linz, proudly reported that "appropriate for a jubilee celebration of a ruler of a polyglot state, such as Austria, the declamation of the program was given in the six languages taught at the institution."[176] Similarly, in Zischkaberg/Žižkov, in the suburbs of Prague, organizers decorated the German-language *Volksschule's* gymnasium with yellow and black banners, flowers, and wreathes and speakers noted how the occasion allowed Austrians to proclaim their "love and loyalty" to the emperor.[177]

Across Austria, Franz Joseph's diamond jubilee provided the opportunity to portray a united and prosperous state governed by a wise and caring ruler. Considering the speeches given at his golden jubilee as well as those given annually on his name day, the tone and tenor of the school events appear at first to be repetitive. The same themes and same notions were endlessly reiterated. Considering how quickly the students entered and left the school system, however, an individual student only witnessed a handful of these events. Schools meant for such celebrations to set the tone for a student's patriotic life and to, hopefully, ensure students would grow into patriotic citizens of the Monarchy.

Conclusion

School events as well as extracurricular tours and trips to museum exhibits and historical sites provided crucial reinforcement of civic education efforts within the classroom. Pedagogical leaders assumed that extracurricular events would enable students to interact with the past and gain a deeper appreciation for the history of the Monarchy. They hoped that seeing artifacts, ruins, statues, and buildings of historical relevance would make the past less abstract and in turn increase students' passion and love for their *Heimat* and fatherland.

School events similarly sought to increase the tangibility of the past while also making the emperor and the Monarchy more relevant to students' lives. These events represented a sophisticated and concerted effort to augment the patriotism of schoolchildren and show that government officials, school leaders, and pedagogical thinkers considered patriotic education a vital task of the educational system. As was the case throughout Europe, as the nineteenth century turned into the twentieth, these efforts became more elaborate, more scripted, and more detailed, with a growing emphasis on pageantry and pomp. Organizers wanted these celebrations to feel grand. They also wanted these celebrations in schools to coincide with larger festivities hosted by municipal and provincial governments as well as by the Monarchy itself. In these events, students played a crucial role in transmitting the idea of a vibrant and cohesive future for the Monarchy. They personified the hope for the continuation of Habsburg rule in Central Europe. At the same time, organizers intended for participation in local and state events to further develop the children's patriotism.

These events, ceremonies, and exhibits were not unique to Austria. Similar patriotic celebrations occurred throughout the western world. The "Pageant of Empire," held in Winnipeg, Canada, in May 1913, bore a striking similarity to Vienna's Imperial Jubilee Parade. Winnipeg's pageant simultaneously sought to glorify the British Empire while also helping to develop a sense of Canada's place within that empire.[178] While Vienna's Imperial Jubilee Parade had a series of allegorical wagons traversing the *Ringstrasse*, the "Pageant of Empire" set up a series of live-action allegorical tableaus meant to illustrate the British Empire. The first tableau depicted Britannia surrounded by the imperial armed forces. The next displayed representations of the four nations of Great Britain (England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland), followed by a tableau reflecting the empire. This tableau began with images from Canada: Inuits, mounted police, and girls in maple leaf costumes. After Canada came images from other dominions, including South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as British colonies in the Caribbean and Africa. The display of Britain's empire ended with a representation of India, its imperial crown jewel. The tableaus concluded with depictions of Britain's naval might and global reach.[179] Hundreds of people attended the pageant, which the *Manitoba Free Press* asserted left a feeling of "solemn loyalty and thrilling appreciation of the meaning of the British Empire and its flag" among the attendees.[180]

The "Pageant of Empire" served as a precursor to Empire Day, held on May 23, 1913. Like Austria's jubilee celebrations, on Empire Day schools distributed flags and other mementos to their students and speakers extolled the virtues of the British Empire. In a Winnipeg elementary school, one speaker told students: "No Empire in the world has laws so good as ours," reminding

them that the British dominion was united under "one king, one flag, one fleet, one empire—a mighty confederation of nations linked together in the most wonderful way."[181] With a few minor alterations, such remarks could have been given at a patriotic school celebration in Austria. The consistency between state celebrations in the British Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy speaks to the fact that by the twentieth century, such events became a standard method of developing the patriotism of citizens. It also shows that, contrary to previous scholarly assumptions, civic education in Austria resembled that of its neighbors. The Habsburg Monarchy was also unique, however. It used tactics generally associated with national groups and nation-states to develop closer affinity and affection for a supranational identity. The public exhibits and the celebrations and commemorations taking place in schools reveal that such an identity existed in the mind of decision makers. Far from being an aloof abstraction, the Austrian supranational identity permeated educational culture within Austria and represented a clear effort to make this identity more concrete and tangible to students. Of course, for the civic education curriculum crafted by educational officials to be successful, it had to be implemented by teachers in the classroom. Educational policy makers realized this fact, and as schools became one of the fiercest battlegrounds in the Monarchy's nationality conflict, the ministry and school boards worked to ensure that schools and teachers served as agents of Austrian patriotism and not just as agents of nationalism and nationalization.

Chapter 5
Regulating Teachers

Introduction

Those in charge of the Austrian educational system wanted schools to serve as an instrument of civic education, establishing the foundation for lifelong Habsburg patriotism. The curriculum for history and geography lessons presented a Monarchy united by a common past and common goals in spite of its diversity. It also established a pantheon of heroes that could transcend national boundaries and serve as role models for the multinational state. Dynastic figures, past and present, embodied good governance, earning the loyalty and devotion of Austrians who defended the Monarchy when it was threatened. Even though these individuals came from different national or ethnic backgrounds, they were bound by a shared purpose. The idea of Austria's historic mission imbued the Habsburg Monarchy with a legitimacy that not only explained its past, but also justified its present while setting guideposts for an envisioned future. These lessons, in tandem with *Heimatkunde*, *Vaterlandskunde*, and literature classes, helped to create a sense of "Austrian-ness" that cultivated the layered identity so essential to Austrian civic education. Equally as important, these lessons established a "mental map" of Austria-Hungary, one that made the state appear to be a logical and legitimate outgrowth of the history of Europe. Administrators ensured that schools reinforced these lessons through appropriate celebrations and, whenever possible, coordinated these events with those held by cities, the province, and the Monarchy as a whole.

For these efforts to be effective, however, teachers had to be willing to follow the curriculum as prescribed. School administrators at all levels realized this need and spent considerable energy trying to ensure that teachers fulfilled their role as advocates for the Monarchy. As with any large bureaucracy, administrators possessed limited ability to control the day-to-day actions of individual employees, and those in charge of schools worried about the content and quality of instruction. The work of Pieter Judson and Keely Stauter-Halsted show that such concern was warranted. As tension among

nationalist groups flared, schools often served as the frontline of national battles and teachers often became the most ardent supporters of nationalist movements. In many cases, teachers served as national evangelists, going to areas where support for nationalist causes was weakest in the hopes of developing the nationalist sentiment of the population.[1] Even when teachers remained in their home villages, they often became the earliest and most vocal advocates for nationalist causes, as was the case in Galicia.[2] On the surface, such realities seem to support traditional assertions that the nationalists were more interested in developing the loyalty of their nations than the Monarchy was in securing the patriotism of its citizens.[3] However, such was not the case.

Earlier scholarship assumed national identification and nationalist support to be strong and unwavering, while Judson, Stauter-Halsted, and others demonstrate that nationalists had to work hard to earn the loyalty of their compatriots.[4] National indifference was widespread. The fact that nationalist groups sent nationalist teachers to rural schools reflected their fear that these populations were not sufficiently loyal to the nation.[5] If the peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy were not as passionately nationalistic as earlier scholars assumed, then there was room for Habsburg officials to assert a form of identity that could unite its diverse population. Furthermore, traditional assumptions perceived the Monarchy to be passive in the face of vociferous nationalism. And while their work is invaluable to understanding the role of teachers in nationalist education, neither Judson nor Stauter-Halsted grapple with Austria's response to the increased nationalism of its teachers. For the most part, scholars have ignored the role of the state in discussions of Habsburg education.[6]

Older characterizations of the Monarchy were wrong. Austrian school officials did not sit by complacently in the face of nationalist challenges in schools. Far from being passive, officials at all levels increased the supervision and scrutiny of teachers during the dualist period, performing regular school inspections. Inspectors became a regular feature of public education in all European states, as government officials grappled with the challenge of improving the quality of teachers and schools.[7] Austria was no exception. Each province had a team of inspectors tasked with visiting each class of each school at least once a year. Each school board collected these inspectors' reports and sent them to the provincial school board, which then compiled a master report for the Ministry of Religion and Education. Typical to Habsburg bureaucratic culture, in preparing these reports, inspectors regularly commented on the behavior of teachers, which meant that the ministry and school boards were notified of problematic employees.[8]

Furthermore, the ministry and provincial school boards adjusted hiring and disciplinary procedures in an effort to diminish the nationalist activities of teachers in the classroom and in the community. Applications for teaching

positions asked candidate references to evaluate the political conduct of potential teachers, and in certain cases local police stations submitted written reports to school officials detailing if candidates had unsavory political affiliations. Laws and disciplinary codes attempted to restrict the political activity of teachers, and violations of these restrictions resulted in disciplinary actions against the offender. These restrictions reflected the ministry's conviction that teachers were state bureaucrats who had to be politically neutral. Such prohibitions did not only apply to nationalist groups, but to all political organizations, especially socialist parties. It is important to note that for school officials, nationalism was only one of many problematic political views teachers could hold. While scholarship has almost exclusively focused on teachers as nationalist actors, administrators at the time were just as concerned about the growth of socialism, anarchism, and other extreme political movements among educators.

Understandably, teachers and teachers' associations resented increased efforts to control the behavior of teachers, and by the dawn of the twentieth century, many of these organizations evolved into explicit political advocacy groups for teachers. They became an essential part of the educational system in the Monarchy, as well as in Germany and among the schools of German-speaking immigrants in the United States. As Konrad Jarausch notes, these organizations, which grew to represent teachers of every political affiliation, reflected the belief among teachers that they were part of a cultured and professional class, deserving of a respected place in society.[9] Their pedagogical journals give us the best insight into the views of teachers and how they conceptualized themselves and their profession. The articles and editorials from these journals were written by teachers, commenting on the debates surrounding the role of teachers in society and changes occurring in schools. They also offer a glimpse into the opinions of rank-and-file teachers across Austria. Such thoughts are difficult to glean from other sources. Memoirs and diaries that take the time to reflect on school experiences are sparse. Beyond brief mentions in inspector reports, official sources on teacher disciplinary action are in equally short supply, since local school boards tended to pulp personnel files and individual disciplinary cases once it was clear they were no longer needed.[10]

In the face of these challenges, education periodicals provide invaluable insights. From these journals, it is obvious that teachers considered the elevation of nationalism to be an essential part of their role in Austrian society. But it is also clear that they considered the teaching of patriotism to be just as essential. Additionally, these journals opposed increased bureaucratic control, frequently criticizing efforts to streamline curriculum and standardize lessons, even though ministry efforts to increase such standardization often resulted from a desire to decrease the number of unqualified teachers.

In fact, school officials feared the impact of poorly trained teachers who lacked the necessary knowledge to perform their duties more than they feared politically active or excessively nationalist teachers. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the ministry engaged in a series of robust curricular and school reforms aimed at changing teacher training institutions in the hopes of improving teacher quality. Additionally, both the ministry and local and provincial school boards placed increased importance on the continuing education of teachers. Throughout Austria, universities began to offer professional development courses and lectures for teachers, and school administrators devoted more funds to allow teachers to attend.

The tension between teacher and administrator or school and school board was not a flaw within Austria's school system, but rather reflected the bureaucratic organization of educational institutions. Realizing the limits of their control, school officials sought to maximize the tools available for oversight, while individuals within the bureaucracy found such efforts restricting and chafed against increased supervision. If anything, the increased attention paid to teacher conduct and quality demonstrates that officials recognized that every educational initiative could collapse if not supported by individual teachers in the classroom.

The Role of Teachers in Their Communities

It is difficult to overstate the importance of teachers within their communities. Rural communities, in particular, looked to teachers as resident intellectuals and as educators of the entire population, not just the children in the schoolhouse. In many ways, teachers, especially those teaching in *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen*, were the emissaries of modernity within their communities, giving public lectures on health, how to raise pubescent children, and on modern agricultural techniques.[11] Communities and school officials expected teachers to give such lectures, and their quality and frequency factored into promotion and hiring decisions as teachers attempted to advance in their careers.

The efforts to make teachers leaders of their community was in line with liberal theories of education and fully supported by leaders within the teaching profession. They thought that by making educators the teachers of the community as a whole, teachers would spread modern ideas and combat backwardness.[12] Pedagogical theorists had long supported this expanded role for educators within their communities. As early as 1881, pedagogical leaders argued that teachers were the "patrons of the welfare of the people" in their communities. Educators at all levels possessed the solemn duty to teach all members of their community and to enrich the quality of life in the regions they taught by not only giving lectures and talks, but also embodying the

qualities of good behavior.[13] Teachers, all agreed, should be models of moral rectitude as well as examples of scholastic achievement.

As Stauter-Halsted observes, this expectation represented a change in the traditional power structure of many communities, as secular teachers began to supplant the educational role that parish priests had previously occupied.[14] Due to this elevated role in the community, the local population, school administrators, ministerial officials, and pedagogical leaders expected teachers to exemplify proper moral conduct and behavior. Within pedagogical circles, this expectation transcended political boundaries. Every major pedagogical journal printed articles discussing the obligation of teachers to be good moral stewards.

Figure 5.1. A Volks- und Bürgerschule in Vienna. Courtesy of the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.

An 1883 article written by A. Grüllich for the journal *Pädagogium*, edited by the renowned educator Friedrich Dittes, summarized this consensus. Reflecting on the importance of *Volksschule* education, Grüllich argued that it should do more than simply teach the foundations of reading, writing, and mathematics and provide vocational training. Elementary education should also improve the moral and ethical character of the student. Grüllich broadly defined the terms "moral" and "ethical" to include respect for all existing sociopolitical institutions.[15] The ability of the *Volksschule* to impart respect for such institutions was critical since it was the only education many of the lower classes would receive. Implicit in Grüllich's article was the liberal, positivist belief that only education could improve the overall quality of the lower classes

and society as a whole. Yet it also reflected the continued traditionalism of Austrian society, which viewed ethical education through the lens of Christian values and morality. Grüllich even said that the Christian moral system should be the "cornerstone" of *Volksschule* education.[16] In order for such education to succeed, moral education could not simply be limited to the religious instruction students received in school two hours a week, but must be infused into all subjects. All teachers would have to be paragons of moral character.

Pädagogische Rundschau made this point more explicitly. It pointed out that teachers sat "in a glass house" where the entire community observed their behavior and students modeled their conduct. In light of this fact, teachers occupied a role in their towns once held by the church, and as a result, teachers must be pillars of moral strength. In the classroom, they needed to bring "what [was] good to the students, [and] develop their spirits and minds."[17] With such comparisons between parish priest and village schoolteacher, *Pädagogische Rundschau* essentially argued that teaching was a calling, not a profession. It was a calling that bore the responsibility of improving the quality and character of the community teachers served. Moreover, the journal found a direct link between patriotism and ethical conduct. A vital component of a teacher's moral responsibilities was to educate "loyal sons for the fatherland."[18]

Both journals articulated a new place for teachers in Austrian society, one in which secular schools and school officials largely replaced ecclesiastical authorities as the guardians of morality in the community. While accepting the importance of moral and ethical education, and while still defining such terms through the lens of Christian doctrine, liberal educators sought to maintain the secular school system established by the May Laws of 1868.[19] The *Freie Lehrerstimme*, the pedagogical journal of the anticlerical teaching organization *Jüngere Lehrerschaft*, forcefully articulated this point by arguing that the modern school was the best force to maintain the moral quality of the community because it was the only institution that reached all of the people.[20] Unsurprisingly, journals reflecting more conservative perspectives also viewed teachers as a vital component of moral education and called for teachers to be of the highest moral caliber. However, these journals also considered schools to be on the frontline against the growth of radicalism in Austrian society. The *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte* concurred that teachers developed a child's morality but felt that a key goal of schools should be to diminish the influence of "liberalism, socialism, great party demagoguery, [and] class radicalism," which "destroy[ed] the social fabric."[21] The only way to diminish such dangerous forces was for teachers to oppose them.

Many teachers chafed under these high expectations, complaining about living their lives in a "fishbowl" where their communities and superiors scrutinized their actions and behavior, both inside and outside the classroom.[22]

With such expectations, it is unsurprising that the moral and ethical conduct of teachers factored strongly into hiring decisions. Applications for teaching positions included a section for personal and professional references to offer commentary on the morality of teaching candidates, and any ethical blemish would jeopardize a teacher's hiring or promotion possibilities.[23] By the dawn of the twentieth century, applications explicitly linked questions of moral behavior with questions related to the political behavior of applicants as well. School officials did not want to hire teachers who participated in disruptive political activities, like strikes or protests. They also did not want teachers to use their classroom as a platform for voicing political grievances. For the purpose of these applications, officials broadly defined "political behavior" to include participation in nationalist movements as well as non-nationalist political movements.[24] Thus, a fiercely socialist teacher was just as likely to be denied a job as an ardently nationalist teacher. Furthermore, officials considered any form of nationalist agitation disruptive, regardless of whether the candidate was German, Czech, Slovene, or any other nationality.

Teachers as Community Educators

In addition to being models of ethical virtue, local leaders expected teachers to be community scholars. In particular, teachers should be experts on the *Heimat*, offering lectures that would enhance local identity. For example, in 1906, the Central Commission for Research and Preservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments asked the Ministry of Religion and Education to adjust hiring procedures in order to place teachers trained in history and art history in "archaeologically important regions," like the southern Danube. The organization hoped that these teachers could educate the public on archaeological discoveries. It envisioned these teachers working closely with archaeologists and historians, giving lectures to the community, and serving as points of contact for anyone interested in learning more about local history.[25] The Upper Austrian provincial school board shared this perspective. In 1907 it issued a decree calling for teachers to learn more about local monuments and historical sites. The school board lamented the fact that local populations rarely visited these locations, and feared this lack of interest would threaten efforts to preserve and maintain historical sites. It felt that the best way to help residents understand the "worth" of such monuments was to ensure that teachers shared the value of these sites with their students. In service of this goal, the school board expected teachers to offer lectures to both their students and to the general public.[26]

Those representing teachers embraced the call for teachers to serve as community scholars, responsible for educating the public about their *Heimat*. The *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte* argued that teachers occupied a dual

role in their community: that of educator and that of the "agent and keeper of *Heimat* culture." It implored teachers to collect the folksongs and folktales of their region and to catalogue and detail any local traditions or customs. It also asked them to record their findings and to help organize local archives and libraries to ensure that the history and traditions of the *Heimat* would be preserved for future generations. For the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, the teacher's role as *Heimat* historian was vital for the survival of local history and tradition since most professional historians were not interested in such matters.[27] The fact that school officials, teachers, and local leaders so easily reached this consensus reflects the new role that teachers played in their communities.

It was not unusual for teachers to heed these calls and to engage in serious scholarly research on the *Heimat*. For *Volksschule* teachers, activities were often connected to the needs of the classroom. As discussed in chapter 3, prior to 1910, *Heimatkunde* classes lacked quality materials such as textbooks and maps. Considering the pedagogical importance of starting all history and geography lessons with the *Heimat*, teachers and school inspectors constantly complained about the dearth of visual aids for teaching *Heimatkunde*.[28] To compensate for a lack of "official" aids, teachers often created their own and made them available to the district. The district map created by a *Volksschule* teacher in Gmunden, Upper Austria, was sophisticated enough that the district chose to print it and distribute it to other schools.[29] For the most part, however, the average *Volksschule* teacher had neither the time nor the academic training to embrace such scholarly activities, and inspectors typically did not expect them to do so.

On the other hand, teachers in *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen* engaged in robust scholarly activities. Public lectures given in Upper Austria and Silesia show the scope of historical topics covered by teachers. They included talks on subjects as diverse as the art of Pompeii, the French Revolution, and historic monuments in Bohemia.[30] These public lectures only represented a portion of the scholarly activity conducted by secondary school teachers. The printed, public, year-end report of each secondary school always included one or two scholarly articles written by a member of that school's faculty. As with public lectures, the topics of these articles were diverse and far-reaching. On any given year, reports offered scholarship on topics that ranged from the poetry of Cicero to the life cycle of plants.[31]

These reports also offered educators the opportunity to share pedagogical theories and practices. Theodor Tupetz, the author of many popular history textbooks, published on proper methodology for the teaching of history in the year-end report of the teacher training institution where he served as a professor.[32] Reports from other institutions included similar articles for teaching *Vaterlandskunde*, natural science, and geography.[33]

While these scholarly articles covered all subjects taught in the school, articles about history were among the most common. For example, the *Real-Gymnasium* in Elbogen, Upper Austria, published research related to the political relationship between Persia and Greece before 387 B.C., while the private, Catholic *Gymnasium* in Urfahr, Upper Austria, published a series of articles in 1899 and 1900 on the reign of Rudolf II.[34] Research in local history was also popular. The year-end report for the *Gymnasium* in Freistadt, Upper Austria, published a series of articles detailing the history of the city, including a history of the monastic orders of Freistadt and religious life there during the Reformation.[35]

The Ministry of Religion and Education encouraged and supported such academic endeavors by granting research sabbaticals and research grants. Often, research sabbaticals could last several years, with teachers receiving either a full release from their teaching obligations or, at the very least, a reduction in the number of classes they taught. The range of these research projects was as diverse as the articles published in the year-end reports, and the ministry did not preference some subjects over others. In any given year, officials granted reduced teaching assignments or full years of leave to teachers throughout Austria to study physics, mathematics, chemistry, biology, linguistics and language, literature, history, and geography. The quality and value of the research subject determined who received research sabbaticals.[36] Reductions in teaching responsibilities or time off did not necessarily mean that the teacher continued to receive his or her salary, however. Anyone receiving a sabbatical needed to find ways to supplement lost income, either from publishers, universities, the ministry, or local school boards. Each district had funds, supplemented by the ministry, to support the scholarly research of teachers. These funds also helped to cover the cost of hiring substitute teachers.[37]

Reflecting Austria's polyglot nature, as well as the government's increased commitment not to favor one nationality over another, teachers' research projects in language, linguistics, literature, and history spanned the range of the Monarchy's national groups. For example, Professor Johann Novák, who taught literature and language at a Czech-language *Gymnasium* in Prague, taught half-time from 1902 to 1912 in order to study the literature of medieval Bohemia.[38] A colleague received a full sabbatical in 1914 to complete work on a Czech-language dictionary, which he hoped would "be for the Bohemian language what Grimm's dictionary [was] for the German language."[39] Similarly, another Czech teacher requested time off to study monuments commemorating Czech composers and how these monuments resembled others throughout Austria.[40]

Teachers also took time off from their schools to teach at universities and to work with local museums and research organizations. While those teaching at universities would not become university professors, they did

become affiliate faculty, usually with the rank of docent. Cooperation between *Gymnasium* and *Realschule* faculty and university professors was very common. As with scholarly research, such cooperation spanned the range of academic fields but was especially strong in the humanities. For example, Professor Julius Glücklich, who taught history at a *Realschule* in Prague, spent 1914 teaching the history of Austrian foreign policy at the Charles-Ferdinand University.[41] In the same year, Dr. Otto Funke became a guest lecturer at the university as well, offering classes on English language.[42] In many cases, these relationships could span years, with the teacher effectively becoming a part-time teacher at his official teaching post and a part-time affiliate of the other institution. Dr. Ernst Novák, also a *Realschule* teacher, received a reduced teaching load for over seven years so that he could lecture at the Charles-Ferdinand University for two to four hours a week. The request to continue this arrangement from 1910 noted, with pride, how effectively Novák lectured on German literature, especially Goethe, and how reduced teaching hours also allowed him to publish "two great works of scholarship on Czech literature."[43] Teachers also worked with museums and archaeological groups, helping to study and preserve local history. In the case of Professor Josef Soukup, this took the form of organizing a research team to maintain and study monuments in Bohemia, which occurred intermittently from 1904 to 1914.[44]

These examples reflect only a small percentage of the scholarly activity performed by Austrian schoolteachers. Especially during the last two decades of the Monarchy's existence, the ministry, as well as local school boards, prioritized granting leave and vacation to those interested in scholarship and tried to make such sabbaticals financially viable. The extent to which teachers conducted research in history, folklore, culture, and language also shows the commitment of schools to these topics. Such research directly connected to Austria's civic education goals. It fulfilled the call for increased study of *Heimat* culture and history. It also helped teachers become leaders in these fields. Officials hoped that these research efforts would improve the quality of *Heimatkunde* and *Vaterlandskunde* at all levels of pre-university education. Furthermore, as teachers completed their research, schools could expect that they would offer public lectures to help share this research with the community and, ideally, increase interest in the *Heimat* and the Monarchy. All of these efforts were essential to the enhancement of local identity.

They were also essential for the development of national identity. Considering what existing scholarship tells us about the nationalist leanings of many teachers, it is not surprising that many teachers devoted themselves to national topics. However, the fact that these teachers received time off from their teaching responsibilities and often received financial support during their research is notable. Since local school boards and the ministry approved such

requests, they obviously did not consider nationalism to be inherently destabilizing. Instead, scholarly research related to language, folklore, culture, and art was important and necessary work, and officials hoped that such research would, in turn, increase attachment to the Monarchy.

Teachers as Political Agents

It is unsurprising that so many teachers focused their scholarly attention on topics connected to their national culture, considering that many teachers believed that developing the national identity of their students was an essential element of their profession. Historians have long identified educators as one of the most important voices of nationalist agitation, where the role of national educator often trumped other obligations. Pieter Judson has shown that nationalist organizations certainly placed tremendous importance on recruiting teachers with strong nationalist feelings and on the establishment of new private, nationalist schools, which could "defend" the nation against the perceived threats.[45] There is no doubt that many teachers believed that creating or augmenting strong national loyalty among their students was a primary teaching objective. As with other professional organizations within Austria, teaching and pedagogical circles became explicitly nationalist in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, in 1899, the Styrian Teachers' Association became the Association of German Teachers in Styria, devoted to protecting the rights and position of German teachers and German culture in the province. In a similar example of nationalization, the newspaper of the German-Austrian teachers' association took the step of changing their typeface from Latin script to Gothic script. This transition took place after the newspaper published articles reflecting on the importance of the "German" typeface to the nation.[46]

The increased nationalist orientation of many German teachers' associations was the result of a fear that the other nationalities threatened the primacy of German culture and language in Austria.[47] In 1885, the social commentator Eduard von Hartman published a controversial article that argued that Austria-Hungary's future was best secured by its transformation into a Slavic federal state. He looked at the growth of the Monarchy's Slavic population, in comparison to its other nationalities, and envisioned a state in which German language islands would persist, but the Slavs would become the dominant national group. He even made the bold prediction that Vienna would transform from a German city to a Slavic one over the course of the twentieth century, "just as Prague [did] in the nineteenth."[48] Rather than struggle against this reality, Hartman felt Germans should accept and prepare for it. Embracing the Monarchy's transformation into a federal state dominated by a Slavic majority, he argued, could halt the "destructive spread of Panslavism." Furthermore, he

suggested that German schools immediately begin teaching Slavic languages to ensure that as Austria-Hungary transitioned into this federal state, Germans would not feel alienated or threatened. In his view, schools had an obligation to mitigate nationalist agitation and to establish an atmosphere that accepted the diminished role of German culture in the Habsburg Monarchy.[49]

Needless to say, Hartman's article prompted a fierce reaction, even among moderate voices in the nationality struggle. Leading pedagogical leader Friedrich Dittes firmly rebuked such suggestions in his journal *Pädagogium*. Typically, Dittes and his journal did not answer explicitly political questions or argue a radical, German nationalist position. Like many German-language pedagogical journals, however, *Pädagogium* offered articles written by both Austrian teachers as well as those from the German Empire, and it certainly considered teaching German language, culture, and history essential to a strong curriculum.

Rejecting Hartman's call for schools to prepare for Austria-Hungary's transformation into a Slavic state, Dittes argued that schools should defend German culture and language. Learning about one's nation was just as vital as learning about one's *Heimat* or fatherland. For Dittes, each nationality had the right to raise its children free from the influence of other nations. Furthermore, he considered such education essential for the "elevation of humanity."[50] Teachers must preserve and protect national culture. They were obligated to

> defend the inalienable legacy of our forefathers with words and deeds [and] to bequeath it, undiluted, to our children. . . . And therefore, today, German teachers, and the entire German people (*Volk*) in Austria must protest against the unreasonable demands of Mr. Eduard von Hartman. [They] must say to him that German children will not become Slavs because they will be educated by German men and women. The German tribe (*Stamm*) in Austria *will* not perish because it does not *want* to perish.[51]

He concluded his response by pointing to the continued survival of German culture in Transylvania and in other regions as proof that the growth of one national population did not necessarily mean the destruction of another. He cautioned that continued strength in such a situation could only occur if teachers stood as the vanguard of their nation, however.[52]

Dittes' article resonated in German-language pedagogical circles and was reprinted by other journals.[53] He was hardly the lone voice calling for teachers to defend the nation. In June 1887, the journal of the Styrian Teachers' Association reminded teachers of their duty to emphasize "the deeds and

accomplishments of the German people."[54] Both the journal and association became increasingly nationalist and advocated for local as well as statewide cooperation among German teachers. The German-Austrian Teachers' Association shared these sentiments. Their newspaper had a long tradition of publishing articles reflecting on the "duty" of German teachers to cultivate the nationalism of their students, especially in nationally mixed regions, and the need to "defend" the German foundations of Austria.[55] By the dawn of the twentieth century, the newspaper advocated increased activism from its members. They, like the Styrian Teachers' Association, considered the unity of all German teachers in Austria to be essential to these goals.[56] The journal of the Styrian Teachers' Association's decision to reprint a speech by the teacher Emil Russel at the annual meeting of the German Teachers' Association held in Bohemia in 1897 reflected these new goals.

Russel, who did not teach in Austria, but rather in Ehrenberg, Germany, echoed the sentiments of German pedagogical journals when he told attendees that "each teacher in Austria should hold the title 'teacher of his people, [of] his fatherland'" and must "educate the young in the spirit of their fathers, in the spirit of the history of their people."[57] In order to accomplish this task, teachers needed to put aside their political differences and "stand above individual parties for the good of the nation." Furthermore, the government must grant teachers the freedom to fulfill this national mission.[58] He also asked that teachers follow in the footsteps of great German leaders in promoting and protecting the "virtues" of the German people. In delineating this point, Russel made the controversial decision to appropriate figures from both Austrian and German history. He called on teachers to emulate Friedrich Schiller, Martin Luther, the Hohenstaufen Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich II, and Joseph II, whom he described as a "powerful champion of German greatness."[59]

The inclusion of both Friedrich Schiller and Joseph II in such a list directly contradicted the curriculum of Austrian schools, which sought to minimize the role of both as German nationalist figures and present them as examples of Habsburg patriotism. Russel's speech reveals the uphill battle the Monarchy faced in requiring strict adherence to the curriculum and demonstrates that it was difficult to prevent individual teachers from changing curricular goals. Russel may have realized he was challenging the accepted curriculum, because he also proclaimed that "the teacher belongs to the people (*Volk*)," and that a teacher's ability to fulfill his or her obligation to his or her people must not be "constrained by outdated thinking" or by government officials.[60] Concluding his speech, Russel offered a forceful, nationalist statement, which asserted that Austria was a "state in which each city, each building, each great deed gives testimony to the German spirit and to German perseverance." Moreover, he argued that Germans remained the authentic bearers of culture.[61]

Russel's speech not only articulated a desire to defend and enhance the role of German nationalism in schools, but it also reflected the growing national unity among teachers and teachers' associations. After all, the Styrian Teachers' Association published his speech, which was given in Prague. In announcing its decision to adopt a formal, nationalist position, the organization made clear that it did not intend to just reflect the position and interests of German teachers in Styria, but of German teachers across Austria. It hoped that the transition to an explicitly nationalist organization would correspond with the similar transformation of other groups, creating unity among German teachers in Austria.[62]

Even as mainstream German teachers' associations adopted a nationalist position, few challenged Austria's status as a multinational state or the right of all national groups in Austria to be educated in their own languages. In 1901, the German-Austrian Teachers' Association published an editorial stressing that educators had an obligation to teach their students an "authentic patriotism" that recognized that their nation was "but only one member of the European family of nations." Students must learn that while each member had their own culture, this broader European family shared a common history, and each "elevated modern culture."[63] The best way to secure this shared sense of common humanity was to allow each nation to "proudly" develop their culture and to be free from the "pressure" to surrender their national sense of self.[64]

The leading pedagogical journal *Pädagogische Rundschau* similarly argued that every nation had the right to be educated in its own language in its *Heimat* and had the right to form private schools for education in its own language in regions where migration had established a significant population of that nation. Efforts to restrict or ban such private schools represented "barbarism."[65] Both of these journals called for an end to the struggle between national groups, and for each nation to recognize the rights of others. Such a position speaks to acceptance of the multinational Austrian state idea and the need for state patriotism to come before nationalism. These positions are not atypical, considering that nationalist organizations often competed to demonstrate their patriotism, and considered loyalty to Austria to be a compatible feature of national identity.[66] At the same time, this acceptance did not diminish the intensity of the struggle over language rights. It is also true that an appeal to the rights of nations to develop their culture was a subtle way for German nationalists to elevate the position of German schools in areas of mixed national populations. *Pädagogische Rundschau*, for example, used efforts to abolish German-language schools (both private and public) along the language frontier as evidence of the need for laws to guarantee such rights. In their view, private German-language schools were vital to the efforts of German nationalist organizations, which established and supported these

institutions in rural regions in the Bohemian lands, Carinthia, and Carniola, where they feared other nations would eventually assimilate small communities of Germans.[67]

Yet even with this nationalist goal in mind, *Pädagogische Rundschau* once again used appeals to patriotism to find support for their position. Echoing the views of the German-Austrian Teachers' Association, *Pädagogische Rundschau* claimed such laws would strengthen the stability of the Monarchy and diminish the animosity between Austria's nationalities. It worried that the fight over the language used in schools would destroy the "fabric of the state," and wanted all those "who [had] not abandoned Austria' future, who [wanted] to keep the state as an important creation (*Schöpfung*) in the long run," to work to overcome the "tiresome" debate over schools.[68]

Pädagogische Rundschau's call to put the good of the state first in the efforts to solve questions of national education in schools reiterated voices that expressed similar concern over the long-term impact of the nationality struggle over schools. Decades earlier, the journal of the German Pedagogical Association of Prague realized that "the situation of the German language in Bohemia and especially in its capital [was] proof of the danger of only thinking of the nation first."[69] It accepted that teachers were the "natural protectors of the nation," with an intrinsic interest in teaching the culture of the nation, developing pride in the nation, and "awakening the historical sense" of the nation. But it also reminded its readers that it was just as vital that teachers be steadfast educators and "heralds" of the constitution and enthusiastically teach the history of the whole Monarchy.[70] The German-Austrian Teachers' Association concurred when it concluded that such education was essential to Austria, "where the peoples are alienated from one another through artificially bred national discord and confessional bickering." This discord and bickering caused Austrians to forget that they "all have a common fatherland, whose roots nurture[d] [their] vitality" and that they were "all children of a beloved *Landesvater*, whose heart must surely bleed when he sees his children, all of whom he embraces with loving arms, hate one another to the death because of trivialities." After this melodramatic appeal to patriotism, the article concluded that all of Austria's nationalities needed to "stop igniting the firebrands of war" and embrace their duty to protect the rights of one another.[71] It reminded readers that teaching national culture and history was important because it helped to teach the history of the entire state and would increase loyalty to both. In essence, fostering national identity should contribute to the development of a larger Austrian identity.

In 1912, the conservative *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte* even went so far as to suggest that while tensions between nations were high, the teaching of national history and culture might have to be subdued to preserve the

cohesion of Austrian society. One of its contributors summarized this position by writing "despite my personal fondness for German history, I must, as an Austrian, be attentive to Austrian history," which meant that he must teach the history of Czechs, Hungarians, and Poles "as enthusiastically" as he taught the history of the Alpine lands.[72]

Of course, it is worth noting that when these authors advocated placing the good of the Monarchy above nationalist strife, they were subtly arguing to keep status quo, which would allow for the continued primacy of German culture and language in Austria. Without a doubt most of these writers displayed, at the very least, latent German nationalist sympathies, and many believed in the superiority of German culture. Nevertheless, one cannot discount the fact that they all argued for a diminution in the intensity of nationalist rhetoric in the interest of protecting the cohesion of the state. While they obviously wanted to protect the status of German-speaking Austrians, they also realized the potential danger of increased nationalist strife. The fact that journals published such articles demonstrates that even those in the heat of nationalist confrontation recognized the need to ensure that the cohesion of Austria was not a casualty of nationalist competition. The fact that these authors explicitly connected the cultivation of national identity to the development of patriotism also reveals that they supported the layered identity promoted by Austrian civic education.

The nuances of the nationalist views expressed by the German-Austrian Teachers' Association and pedagogical journals illustrate a complexity that previous scholarship has often overlooked. It has been easy to view the increased nationalist position of these associations as a victory for nationalism, weakening the bonds holding the Monarchy together. While this is an easy conclusion to reach, the growth of nationalist teachers' associations may actually show the strength of the Austrian state idea, not its weakness.[73] German-language teachers' associations became increasingly nationalistic because they perceived the status of German culture in the Monarchy to be under attack, not the Monarchy itself. The continued existence of the Monarchy was a forgone conclusion, the status of Germans within the Monarchy was not. Furthermore, while journals and associations may have become increasingly nationalist, they did not become less patriotic. As Gary Cohen notes, while broadly commenting on the development of Austrian civil society, "the nationalist and other popular political forces in the Habsburg Monarchy during the late nineteenth century were hardly irresistible forces demanding a self-government that could be realized only by dissolving the empire."[74] This statement is certainly true for teachers' associations, which sought to advance the position of their nation *within* the existing sociopolitical network of the Habsburg state.

Accordingly, we need to view the increased nationalism of Austrian teachers as part of the larger development of a politically engaged civil society. Jeremy King has cautioned against the temptation to "ethnicize" the events of the Habsburg Monarchy, viewing its history exclusively through the lens of nationality. Instead, we need to look at its social and political developments in their complex entirety, motivated by a range of factors.[75] This is a warning that is particularly relevant when studying Austrian education. The intense scholarly focus on the nationalist struggle over education tends to overlook the ways in which it developed alongside Austria's transition into a modern, parliamentary state where social groups and individuals became increasingly interested in and aware of political developments.[76] It also often ignores the fact that teachers' associations focused on a range of issues beyond the scope of nationalism. Struggles between clerical and anti-clerical or liberal, socialist, and conservative associations were as, if not more, acrimonious than those between different nationalities. Moreover, these ideological struggles offered an opportunity for likeminded teachers' associations of different nationalities to find common ground.

The complicated intersection between national and ideological politics was on full display in Styria. There, the conflict between Slovene and German teachers' associations was due, in part, to Slovene support for conservative, clerical political parties and German support for liberal political parties. When the Styrian provincial assembly gridlocked in 1910 and failed to address key issues related to teachers' pay and rights, the German Styrian Teachers' Association blamed Slovene intransience. But, according to the association's journal, the cause of this gridlock was not national strife, but rather the desire of conservative parties to roll back liberal reforms. The journal compared the conservative, Slovene parties to "a herd of wild bulls destroying the seeding fields and treading over all of the budding plants," ensuring that there would be no "speedy and efficient" action on matters concerning education.[77]

Whenever the journal made such criticisms, it made clear their enemy was not Slovenes or even Slovene nationalist parties in general, but rather Slovene clerical parties. It perceived the actions in the Styrian provincial diet to be part of a coordinated effort by conservative, clerical political forces to diminish the gains of liberalism, especially in schools. Articles describing the clash between liberal and clerical factions in the diet ran along with articles describing similar conflicts in the provincial school board.[78] The German Styrian Teachers' Association also published articles that connected the struggles with clericalism in Styria with those elsewhere in Austria and Europe. It considered the clashes with clericals in Styria to be analogous to liberal conflicts with ultramontane parties in Belgium and liberal frustration with the Christian Social-dominated provincial diet in Lower Austria and city council of Vienna.[79]

The *Pädagogische Zeitschrift's* criticism of the Slovenes in the Styrian provincial assembly only makes sense in the context of the journal's broader, liberal political position. It did not oppose the Slovene political parties exclusively along national lines, but rather along political lines. The journal even ran an article written by Slovene teachers advocating greater cooperation among likeminded German and Slovene teachers' associations. One Slovene teacher acknowledged that fear of Germanization often led Slovene national groups to work with the conservatives, but argued that this was a misguided tactic. For him, attempts by clerical parties to divide and gridlock the provincial diet and school board represented a direct challenge to the independence and freedom of teachers. Unity among the teachers' associations, regardless of nationality, would provide a united force to advocate for pension reform, greater freedom in the classroom, and changes in the disciplinary code.[80]

Such calls for nationalist groups to work together for common political goals had a long history among teachers' associations. In 1899, a Czech teacher addressed the annual meeting of the German-Austrian Teachers' Association in Vienna expressing these sentiments. He argued that the common "enemies" of liberalism thrived when liberalism was divided. Every teacher, Czech and German alike, had a shared interested in preventing the "dumbing down" of the population. He concluded his remarks by stating that "we Czech teachers are genuinely liberal-minded; we do not want our freedom lost and to be hired out as laborers. We want a free school," a statement met by "thunderous applause" from the German teachers in attendance.[81]

This association had long advocated these views. In 1896, as the Christian Social Movement and other clerical conservatives began to build broad support in Austria, the association's journal published an editorial condemning the conservative shift in Austrian politics.[82] As it reflected on the existing political parties, it noted with resignation the ineffectiveness of the German liberal and nationalist parties. It considered the liberals to be "weak and out of ideas," and lamented the growing radicalism of the nationalists that "brought discord to the entire German people" and were only a "half-step" to the Christian Social Movement. It concluded that the only way to preserve liberalism and liberal policies was to forgo traditional loyalties and vote for "progressive-minded" candidates regardless of party or even nationality. It told its members that it was better to vote for a liberal "Magyar, Jew, or Czech than a clerical German."[83] Over twenty years later, in 1908, the journal published speeches from the Pan-Slavic Teachers' Congress, which reiterated this position. These speakers conceded that plans to demand more national education in the curriculum and greater autonomy over education would bring resistance from German nationalists. But they also reminded participants that they needed to work with the German nationalists when possible, to defend

Austria's liberal "cultural and political institutions," and to create an Austria that was "modern, progressive, and free-thinking." Slavs had a duty to cooperate on issues "shared by all Austrian nations."[84]

Given the liberal political orientation of these associations, combating the strength of conservative, clerical parties was the most pressing issue of all. It is notable that at the height of the nationality conflict, publications from German teachers' associations focused most of their political commentary on the struggle against clericalism. They supported liberal candidates, criticized the policies of conservative provincial assemblies, and attacked the ideas of the clerical movement. Their language portrayed this struggle as an existential battle over the liberal education reforms of the 1860s, a battle in which the clericals were the "archenemy" of progress.[85] They also conveyed an urgency and call to action often missing from discussions of the struggles with the Czechs or Slovenes over issues of education.

Outside of the realm of politics, these journals also spent considerable time discussing bread and butter issues, like teachers' salaries, pensions, and working conditions. Such discussions always included requests for readers to become as politically engaged as possible, so that elected officials enacted policies that would protect the livelihood of educators. These issues also provided another opportunity for cooperation between national groups. For example, on November 2, 1907, teachers of "all seven nations" of Austria met in Vienna to call on the government to equalize the salaries of teachers to the salaries of other civil servants.[86]

Obviously, such cooperation does not change the fact that animosity between nationalist groups in Austria existed, and that nationalist conflicts over schools and language rights produced enormous challenges. However, these conflicts should be placed in the context of the broader transformation of Austrian politics. Teachers' associations, even nationalist teachers' associations, had a diverse range of interests and positions, many of which led them to struggle with groups representing the same nation. Nationalist concerns only represented one aspect of their agendas. The issues dividing liberals, conservatives, and socialists, especially over the role of religion in schools, mattered just as much as issues related to nationalism. In many ways, the pedagogical journals reflected a greater concern with the attacks on secular, liberal schools than with issues of nationality and language.

German teachers' associations expressed concern about the status of German-language schools in Austria. Many of these associations devoted enormous amounts of resources and countless hours to defending these schools against the perceived encroachment from the other nationalities.[87] However, there were intense divisions within German-speaking pedagogical circles, which proved to be as, if not more, vicious than the struggle between

nationalist teachers' associations. The complexity of the struggles over nationalism, politics, and education reflects the extent to which the Habsburg Monarchy had become a pluralistic political society.

Controlling Teachers

As Austrian political culture became more diffuse and democratized, teachers experienced an increase in concern with disciplinary regulations controlling their political behavior. These regulations gradually expanded in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and were designed to limit the participation of educators in political organizations. Officially, the goal in creating such restrictions was to reinforce the status of teachers as apolitical state bureaucrats. Many teachers, however, feared that the political parties controlling school boards and provincial diets were using school regulations as tools for their political agenda. The emerging struggle over disciplinary protocols became another example of the political transformation of Austrian civil society. The political orientation of a group colored its individual reaction. Liberal organizations perceived efforts to restrict the political actions of teachers as a plot by conservative and clerical politicians to diminish the authority of liberals over education. In an article published in 1903, the Styrian Teachers' Association argued that those who asserted that a politically engaged teacher would indoctrinate children with his or her views forgot that "each party alleged that they, and they alone, have a lease on 'right' and 'truth'."[88] In light of this fact, teachers must be active political participants in their community to model authentic patriotism. If political debate and disagreement formed the cornerstone of constitutionalism, a teacher had a duty, as a loyal citizen, to fight "through thick and thin" for causes he or she supported. As a result, "the 'political behavior' of the teacher [could] only enrich the honor of and be a blessing to the youth and the people."[89] If Austria was to be a constitutional state with vibrant political organizations and an engaged citizenry, teachers must be models of civic and political participation.

Such arguments also contended that without robust political engagement, political opponents would persecute and marginalize teachers who espoused different political positions. The journals and associations most actively opposed to the increased limitations on teacher behavior were either liberal or socialist, groups with little political power by the late nineteenth century. In their view, efforts to silence the political opinions of teachers was part of a coordinated effort by conservative and clerical politicians to reintroduce Church control over schools.

The Styrian Teachers' Association asserted that allowing teachers to influence the political process would protect teachers from arbitrary punishment from political opponents.[90] The association shared the fear that right-wing

groups used school boards and school inspections to silence and purge schools of political opponents. In the years before World War I, their journal ran countless articles describing the efforts of clerical and conservative parties to use school inspectors as tools of intimidation. It argued that Catholic teachers' associations and politicians pushing for increased "moral education" wanted to dismantle the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* and return control of the schools to the Church.[91] It also ran articles published in other, like-minded journals, especially that of the *Freie Schule* Association in Vienna.

This organization represented a group of independent schools in the capital that operated with greater autonomy than state-sponsored schools. Nevertheless, these schools had to submit financial information to the Ministry of Religion and Education and the provincial school boards could discipline their teachers. The organization was fiercely anticlerical, and it considered itself the guardian of secular schools in Austria.[92] The *Freie Schule*'s journal frequently attacked Karl Lueger's Christian Social administration in Vienna and accused the party of persecuting the *Freie Schule* movement. It claimed that Lueger personally delayed permission for the *Freie Schule* to build new school facilities, and that the school board, which was dominated by the Christian Social Movement, targeted *Freie Schule* teachers purely because of their association with the group.[93] In solidarity with the *Freie Schule* Association, the Styrian Teachers' Association's journal reprinted articles from the *Freie Schule*'s journal and supported teachers perceived to be persecuted for their political beliefs.[94] The socialist pedagogical journal *Freie Lehrerstimme* also attacked the Christian Social party for what it considered to be assaults on the independence of teachers. It accused the party of being a party of demagoguery, not solutions, and the journal argued that the party was only interested in the accumulation of power and using that power to reward its allies.[95]

As if to accentuate the growing political diversity of teachers and pedagogical associations, conservative, Catholic teachers' associations wrote in favor of the increased efforts to restrict the political actions of teachers. Their support for these restrictions highlights the stark divide between liberal and clerical teachers' associations, and illustrates that clashes among political groups were just as bitter as those conflicts between different nationalities. The leading Catholic pedagogical journal, *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, lamented the growing politicization of schools. It begrudgingly praised the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* for improving literacy, increasing access to schools, and improving the quality of teachers, but criticized the "decline" of Catholic, moral education, which resulted from secularization. It also considered the growth of political teachers' associations to be the most negative result of the law. It attacked these groups for "banefully" making every issue a political battle, disrupting the "peaceful work" of the schools while damaging the character of teachers and students alike.[96]

According to the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, the only way to combat such problems was through the robust system of inspections that liberal and socialist associations opposed. While the journal did not advocate restricting the civil rights of educators, it noted that any inspection system would inherently limit "the freedom of teachers."[97] It also supported the Christian Teachers' Association petition for disciplinary laws that monitored the behavior of teachers, while also fighting for a greater standardization of disciplinary procedures.[98] According to the journal, the actions of groups like *Freie Schule* warranted such restrictions, given their unabashed support of socialism and their "open hostility" to Christian, moral education. From the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*'s perspective, the educational system promoted by *Freie Schule* would persecute "Christian-minded" teachers and prevent them from finding teaching jobs.[99]

Interestingly, while arguing for increased restrictions on teachers' political behavior, the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte* was simultaneously pushing its readers to organize so the views of Christian teachers would find representation in Austria's legislative bodies. This paradox demonstrates the complexity of the efforts to control teachers. As Austrian political culture became more representative and more democratic, political groups emerged to advocate for their members. In such a political culture, teachers had to become active as well. Efforts to control such behavior only served to intensity these efforts.

This debate reveals the extent to which school authorities used hiring, promotion, and dismissal procedures to control teachers' political behavior. The provincial school boards and the Ministry of Religion and Education also used the comprehensive system of school inspections to monitor educators. Most importantly, at the end of the nineteenth century, the ministry began to revise and reform the disciplinary code for teachers in order to restrict their political activities. In the ministry's thinking, such changes brought the regulation of teachers more in line with the regulations of other state bureaucrats and would have the added benefit of diffusing the political volatility of teachers' associations. For teachers, such changes represented a direct attack on their civil liberties. As a result, teachers' associations often became more, not less, politically active, pledging to defend the rights of their members against state control.

Consistent with the style of bureaucratic centralization that defined much of the administration of the Habsburg Monarchy, the effort to ensure that teachers and schools stayed loyal and within the bounds of political respectability fell into a telescoping system of control.[100] Rather than directly participate in the hiring and dismissal of teachers, the ministry focused on the hiring and promotion of school administrators. The hope was that administrators who supported the policies of the ministry and local school boards would hire like-minded teachers.

Applicant packets for school directorships included long, deliberative statements on the moral and political character of candidates, emphasizing their emphatic loyalty to the Monarchy and dynasty. Such statements were as long and as prominently placed as discussions of the applicants' teaching and pedagogical skills and his or her ability to do scholarly research. References did not simply give pro forma, standardized statements on the patriotic character of the application, but went out of their way to provide specific, illustrative examples. Selection committees obviously evaluated such characteristics seriously and wanted to select a school director who was not just loyal, but who would firmly establish patriotism within the school.

For example, when Robert Ritter became the director of the *Gymnasium* in Prague Neustadt/Nové Město in 1900, his referees praised the consistency of his "proper" moral and political conduct as well as his enthusiasm for the Monarchy. One noted that Ritter, a history teacher, possessed the ability to infuse his lectures with "an authentic sense of patriotism," which inspired his students.[101] When Ritter retired in 1909, almost a decade later, the Bohemian school board again emphasized his patriotic service to the Monarchy and praised the patriotic character of the school under his leadership.[102]

The references provided at the time of Karl Haehnel's promotion to and subsequent retirement from the *Realgymnasium* in Prague Altstadt/Staré Město mirror those of Ritter. When announcing his promotion in 1911, school officials noted the fervor of his patriotism.[103] Upon his retirement in 1915, the Bohemian school board described, in detail, his "untiring attention to the moral development of the young people entrusted to his care. He placed special importance on awakening and strengthening their patriotic-dynastic convictions."[104] Authorities praised the "poetic talent" he displayed when he spoke during school ceremonies, especially at the celebration of Franz Joseph's eightieth birthday. All in all, the description of Haehnel's patriotism and his attention to the patriotism of his students comprised a third of school board's remarks on his career as an administrator.

Officials became more concerned with the patriotism of school administrators as Austrian political culture became increasingly rancorous and as teachers became more engaged in nationalist and non-national politics. The application packet for Haehnel's predecessor, who was hired in 1899, contained a thorough examination of his patriotic character, but lacked the level of specificity of Haehnel's case.[105] The 1866 application packet for Franz Pauly, Ritter's predecessor at the *Gymnasium* in Prague Neustadt/Nové Město contained only superficial and rudimentary statements of his political and ethical character. Far from giving vivid details, it simply said that his character was "completely proper."[106] Similarly, the analysis of the seven candidates for the directorship of a school in Linz from 1871 contained no mention of their moral or political character.[107]

Figure 5.2. Students outside of a school in Vienna. Courtesy of the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.

The increased attention placed on the political character of applicants for school directorships directly corresponded with a similar focus on the political character of candidates for teaching positions. This fact is most clearly reflected in the summary tables submitted to the Ministry of Religion and Education after searches were completed. By law, when teaching positions became available, the school announced the open position in local newspapers and through news briefs issued by the ministry and provincial school boards.[108] Applicants would then submit their credentials and references to the school, which compiled a master table of all applicants for easy comparison and consultation. In the decade immediately following the *Ausgleich*, these tables were more or less standardized, but varied from school to school and even from position to position. In general, they gave each applicant's name, hometown, educational background, employment history, and a general statement on his or her character based on statements from referees.[109]

During the 1880s and 1890s, these tables became more standardized, modeled from a template provided by the ministry. By the first decade of the twentieth century this template included a section specifically reserved for comment on the applicant's political and ethical conduct. In particular, schools wanted to know if the applicant possessed loyalty to the dynasty and to the state or if he or she had unsavory political affiliations. For the most part, the references provided pro forma statements regarding the candidate's

character, usually by stating it was "blameless" (*tadellos*), "entirely proper," or "completely loyal."[110] However, it would be inaccurate to assume such standardized answers meant that schools did not seriously consider these matters when selecting candidates. School officials were concerned about the growth of extreme nationalist parties, as well as the growth of other political movements, like socialism, and wanted to ensure that teachers did not belong to these groups.

A teacher's political affiliations, particularly those related to nationalist parties, could jeopardize his or her ability to be hired, promoted, or transferred. When Franz Rosieky applied to become a natural history teacher at the *Staats-Gymnaisum* in Prague, one of his referees anonymously reported that Rosieky was active in the Czech nationalist movement, prompting the school board to request a police report on Rosieky's political activities. This report alleged that Rosieky was indeed "resolutely nationalist" and an active member of the Young Czech party.[111] Eventually, he did obtain a teaching spot, but only after the investigation concluded that he was not a radical nationalist and was loyal to the Monarchy.[112]

Primus Lessiak, a teacher at a German-language *Realschule* in Prague, was not as lucky. Lessiak's attempt to transfer to a school in Vienna in 1905 was rejected on the grounds of his political actions and behaviors. The denial of his request did not explain what these actions were, only that his political affiliations were the reason for the rejection of his transfer.[113] While in Lessiak's case, political behavior prevented a successful transfer, the involuntary transfer of teachers was an important way school boards regulated the political behaviors of teachers. Ernst Keil, who taught at a German-language school in Brünn/Brno, Moravia, was involuntarily transferred to a school in Lower Austria because of his German-nationalist beliefs. The hope was that he would be less antagonistic in a rural school outside of the mixed-language Bohemian lands.[114]

While local schools and school boards hired and punished teachers, they still informed the Ministry of Religion and Education of all actions regarding the appointment and dismissal of teachers. Typically, they did this through formal reports and disciplinary records as well as through annual school inspection reports. Each inspection report contained a section addressing the quality and character of the faculty of the school. Such sections contained generalized statements that asserted the proper behavior of the faculty. They also noted when teachers faced disciplinary action, however. The inspector would identify the teacher by name and provide a brief account of his or her infraction and punishment. It is worth noting that when these accounts discussed teachers disciplined for their political behavior, the descriptions did not say which political group or organization the teacher belonged to. Radical or

extreme political behavior of any sort, whether German or Czech nationalist or socialist, was forbidden. School officials did not want any sort of political agitation in the classroom.

For example, a report for the *Lyzeum* in Linz in 1898 noted that a disciplinary committee sanctioned Dr. Hausman (no first name given) for failing to maintain objectivity and for allowing his personal political beliefs to shape his history lectures, resulting in parental complaints. The report also noted that rather than face a reduction in his school responsibilities, Hausman resigned his position.[115] The 1903 inspection report for the *Realschule* in Rattenberg, Tyrol, mentioned that Prof. Franz Zaráhal received a formal warning and disciplinary action for bringing personal political beliefs into his lectures.[116] Similarly, a report from 1914 explained that the Bohemian provincial school board reprimanded Josef Suhuh for improper political behavior.[117] The range of these punishments was consistent with the guidelines established, by law, for disciplining teachers.

Regulations regarding teachers were consistent throughout Austria. The ministry established general disciplinary guidelines that provincial school boards used to craft their regulations. The emperor then gave them the force of law. While local bodies had enormous authority over matters of discipline, it would be inaccurate to assume that such decentralization led to inconsistency. Disciplinary regulations had to conform to general standards, and school boards had to inform the ministry of all decisions and actions.

Individual schools would refer serious disciplinary matters to the local school board, which in turn could refer the matters to the provincial school board for adjudication. If the school or local school board felt that the infraction did not warrant formal punishment, they had the ability to issue oral rebukes and warnings to teachers. These would not be placed in the teacher's record and would not necessarily diminish a teacher's chance for promotion or transfer.[118] The actual act of issuing formal punishments rested in the hands of the provincial school board. If it determined a teacher had violated the terms of conduct, it had a range of actions it could pursue. The least severe punishment was a formal, written reprimand, which would stay on record for three years. After that period, provided good service, it was expunged. Teachers could also be fined up to 100 crowns, which went in the province's school fund. For more severe infractions, the teacher could be removed from the school, but permitted to continue to teach in the locality; he or she could be forcibly transferred to another province at the teacher's own expense; he or she could be forced to forfeit all future pay raises linked to length of service; or he or she could be formally dismissed.[119] If the school board determined that the teacher had not violated the disciplinary code, he or she would only be notified orally.

For the most part, school authorities explicitly linked the severity of the punishment to the severity of the infraction. While continued referrals for disciplinary hearings could result in increased punishments, for the most part, disciplinary action reflected the immediate infraction at hand. In particular, the law governing teacher behavior and discipline noted that "great problems" related to the moral and ethical conduct of a teacher were most likely to result in dismissal.[120] As teachers became more politically active, the disciplinary code broadened to include political conduct as well. In fact, in the first decade of the twentieth century, the ministry tried to restrict all political activity by teachers, forbidding them from participating in or belonging to political organizations. Regulators did not explain how they defined political activity. It is likely that they left the term intentionally vague so that it could be applied to a wide variety of behaviors. It certainly did not apply to voting. Instead, it was an obvious effort to prevent teachers from becoming political agitators in their communities. It is important to remember that society considered teachers to be intellectual leaders in their communities and agents of moral education. Officials regarded extreme political beliefs, whether motivated by nationalism or other factors, especially those that resulted in disruptive behavior, to contradict a teacher's place in the community.

Many teachers and teachers' associations deeply resented these efforts to regulate and control the political activities of educators. They felt that it represented an overreach of authority and a flagrant violation of teachers' civil liberties. Pedagogical journals reflecting the views of associations from all political and national backgrounds wrote editorials and articles decrying these efforts. In general, these organizations felt that politically active teachers benefited their community and their profession and exemplified a model of active citizenship needed in a constitutional state. *Freie Lehrerstimme*, a leftist pedagogical journal, encouraged teachers to write petitions to the government and to establish political and professional organizations to reflect their views. It rejected the idea that teachers should be apolitical, like state bureaucrats, whose personal views were subsumed by their role as servants of the state. The journal provocatively concluded that "we [teachers] must act politically because we think politically; and we must think politically because we are compelled to do so by our citizenship with all of its duties, because we are compelled by our education."[121] In essence, teachers should be the models of civic engagement thereby sustaining democratic institutions.

The journal of the Styrian Teachers' Association voiced similar views. From its perspective, teachers had to be politically engaged because the current political system reacted to political agitation and lobbying. By remaining absent from the political sphere, teachers could not adequately voice their views, concerns, and opinions. The association argued that teachers had to

stand as the voice for education at a time where "political parties are sometimes more involved with schools than is beneficial. [They] are looking to use it for purposes alien to the actual task of the school, or [at least] should be alien to it."[122] Teachers must be free to petition and argue before school boards and the ministry without fear of disciplinary action.

Controlling Teacher Quality

Efforts to monitor and regulate the political activity of teachers was part of a generalized effort to standardize education throughout the Monarchy. The desire to create politically neutral classrooms went hand-in-hand with a broader attempt to ensure that, regardless of a school's location or the nationality of its students, teachers followed the same curriculum and children learned the same material. In many ways, school leaders were more concerned about the impact of poorly trained teachers than they were with that of nationalist teachers. This fact suggests that the scholarly focus on the presence of nationalism in the classroom overlooks many of the other serious concerns that officials had about teachers. While these officials were obviously worried that teachers were using their classroom as a platform for their political beliefs, nationalist or otherwise, officials were also deeply concerned that many teachers were ill-equipped to teach their students.

Efforts to regulate the quality of teachers began in tandem with the efforts to secularize schools in the late 1860s. At this point, the ministry focused on the *Volksschulen* in its attempts to reform and revise the training of teachers. Beyond the eight years of schooling required for all children, *Volksschule* teachers only received four years of additional training from teacher training institutions. The curriculum of these institutions essentially reviewed that of the *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen*, with some focus on pedagogy and teaching skills. As a result, it was common for elementary school teachers to have, at best, a passing command of most subjects taught in *Volksschulen*. In 1867, the ministry set out an ambitious plan to revise the curriculum of these institutions, with an increased emphasis on instruction in history, geography, and the sciences, as well as a stronger foundation in pedagogy. The committee in charge of these reforms explained that such changes were essential because "modern times have so significantly increased the requirements place[d] on the *Volksschule* that a reconfiguration (*Umgestaltung*) and expansion (*Erweiterung*) of teacher training institutions [was] vitally needed."[123] The ministry wanted a *Volksschule* that corresponded to the needs of time and realized that these schools needed better trained teachers to achieve this goal.

While the ministry developed a bold plan for change, achieving that change took time. Due to the cumbersome bureaucratic organization of school administration, the ministry could not simply issue the new curriculum. The

Reichsvolksschulgesetz gave the ministry power over local and provincial school boards, but this power was largely advisory. The extent of this control depended on the region; some regions were entirely subordinate to the ministry, while others, like Galicia, were entirely autonomous, only informing the ministry of their decisions.[124] While the ministry's curriculum prevailed over those of the provinces, each province had the ability to implement the ministry's plans in its own manner.[125] Furthermore, when editing and amending the curriculum, each provincial school board had the right to review, revise, and offer commentary on the proposed changes. Any adjustment of the proposed changes had to be resubmitted to the provincial school boards again for additional comment. During their review, provincial school boards would submit the proposal to local pedagogical experts for analysis. As a result, the process of finalizing curricular changes took years, meaning that teachers continued to receive old-fashioned training until the mid-1870s.[126]

From this point on, the ministry continually revised and improved the curriculum for teacher training institutions, *Volksschulen*, and *Bürgerschulen*. Sometimes sweeping changes occurred, as in 1867; other times, there would only be adjustments for one or two subjects. As with these initial changes, the process was slow and took several years. But the attempt to improve the quality of teachers and the schools remained a strong commitment of ministry officials.

The task of implementing any curricular changes fell to school boards, school directors, and school inspectors. Provincial school boards had control over funding for schools and for formally establishing and publishing school curriculum. They expected schools to conform to their mandates, and school inspectors rigorously evaluated how well schools adhered to the established curriculum. The school inspection reports submitted to the provincial school boards and to the ministry offered a comprehensive assessment of the school and evaluated each teacher. In *Volksschulen*, inspectors most frequently criticized teachers for relying too heavily on textbooks when teaching history, geography, and natural science. This remained a consistent problem until the end of the Monarchy. Despite curriculum changes aimed at improving teachers' grasp of content, inspectors continued to report weakness in this area. Overall, across Austria, inspectors wanted to see a greater command of the material, a greater engagement with visual aids and learning tools, and teaching without simply reading from the textbook.[127] These concerns were not only limited to *Volksschulen* teachers. Even at *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen*, inspectors frequently lamented the fact that too many teachers had poor pedagogical techniques and lacked knowledge of their subject. While officials may have bemoaned the fact that too many teachers prepared their lectures directly from textbooks, perversely this reality may have prevented overtly

political teachers from altering the curriculum. Since textbooks were written in accordance with strict guidelines, simply reading from the book did not allow for teachers to editorialize.

Nevertheless, inspectors' reports for secondary schools often included savage critiques of a teacher's aptitude and skill. For example, one inspector criticized a history teacher at the *Gymnasium* in Freistadt, Upper Austria, for his "pompousness" and tendency to "waste precious time."[128] The inspector for the city of Wels, Upper Austria, lamented another *Gymnasium* teacher's "tangible lack of liveliness, warmth, and flexibility."[129] Inspectors also made sure to note exemplary teachers. One inspector wrote of a history teacher's ability to seamlessly work visual aids and other materials into his lectures, creating "the warmest pictures of history and geography."[130] More often than not, reports praised the "dutiful" work of teachers and their attention to detail and the curriculum.[131]

While inspectors may have been critical of the underutilization of visual aids and supplementary materials, they also criticized the school boards for not providing them. For example, the inspection reports for schools in Bukovina routinely expressed frustration with the fact that a "good" map of the province was unavailable. As a result, geography, history, and *Heimatkunde* classes in provincial schools were deficient. The inspector wondered how the school board and ministry expected teachers to do their jobs when the best they could offer students was a map of the whole Monarchy.[132]

Inspectors also observed how closely teachers followed the prescribed curriculum. Many school districts asked that teachers submit brief written statements to the inspector outlining how they followed the curriculum and any challenges they encountered in fulfilling its stated goals.[133] Inspectors compiled these statements and provided commentary on their accuracy. In the *Volksschulen* especially, school officials sought to minimize variation from school to school, offering specific guidelines on what topics should be taught when, even to the point of telling teachers what times they should teach certain subjects during the school day. Schools also expected teachers to compile weekly lesson plans that also would be reviewed by the inspector.[134]

Unsurprisingly, many teachers viewed the centralization and bureaucratization of schools as a restriction on their professional independence. Regardless of their political or national affiliation, pedagogical journals and teachers' associations bristled against the "bureaucracy" of school management. Articles attacking the centralized curriculum most frequently argued that it diminished the ability of teachers and schools to adjust to the needs of the student and school. The Styrian Teachers' Association summarized this consensus when it stated that there was no one "best methodology" for any topic. The curriculum should be "tailored to the school, like good clothes."[135]

These comments reflected the general belief that the centralization of the curriculum stifled innovation in the classroom and prevented teachers from infusing their personality and individuality into the classroom.[136]

There was also agreement that prescribing when teachers should teach each subject was equally constraining. The Styrian Teachers' Association questioned why arithmetic, writing, and singing had to be in the afternoon, language in the midmorning, and history, geography, and the sciences in the third hour of the school day. Each teacher should be able to decide when it was best to teach each subject, based on the performance of the class.[137] The leftist journal *Die freie Schule* made similar points in a series of articles published in 1868. It rejected the idea that a centralized curriculum better served students and schools, since that curriculum limited the ability of teachers to adjust lessons to fit the needs of the students. *Die freie Schule* demanded that schools be free to differentiate lessons and educational goals based on the individual demands of their classroom and rejected the attempt to force all students into a single mold.[138] To illustrate its point, *Die freie Schule* wrote that "all schools (due to bureaucratization), be they in [Vienna] or in the flatlands, in the Alps or in the plains, in the Slavic or in the German provinces, in the service of agricultural populations or working populations, in a wine growing [region] or in an industrial district" had a curriculum based on a single model and lacked the ability to change it as necessary.[139] Ultimately, the journal concluded that the decision on what to teach and how to teach it remained in the hands of ministry officials and not with teachers, where it belonged.

The apolitical *Pädagogische Rundschau* concurred with these conclusions and questioned the value of centralized plans written by "bureaucrats . . . who know little of schools first hand."[140] It did not question the need for a robust curriculum itself and stated poetically that "whoever wants to reach a goal must hike on the path that leads to this goal. And whoever, as a teacher, wants to help children obtain a certain degree of knowledge and skill must base his methods on a well thought out lesson plan."[141] The only question was who would craft this plan. Like the Styrian Teachers' Association, the *Pädagogische Rundschau* thought that the curriculum must be flexible and tailored to the school and teacher. Only the teacher, who was responsible for executing the lesson plans, had the right to form these plans. And furthermore, only these plans could be successful. Drawing parallels between battle plans and lesson plans, the *Pädagogische Rundschau* concluded that

> his plan must be made by the teacher himself. The bureaucrat makes the official curriculum for schools that he has never seen, same as the . . . Court War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*), which makes the plans for fighting a battle which will be fought 100 miles away. Why did Prince Eugene win

> the battle of Zenta? Because he was at the location himself . . . in view of the enemy and with precise attention to all local conditions designed his plan of attack. And of the plan he received from the Court War Council in Vienna—pfiff.[142]

Success on the battlefield came from commanders using their talents and first-hand knowledge of the conditions of battle. So too, success in the classroom flowed from a well-trained teacher using his or her skills in a way best suited for the individual conditions of his or her school.

These critiques overlooked the fact that the process of adopting and altering the curriculum was, in many ways, decentralized. Provincial school boards had the freedom to decide how they would implement the curricular goals of the ministry and could make adjustments they felt necessary. Furthermore, as already noted, these boards influenced the adoption of these goals and greatly influenced their composition.

Ultimately, frustration with the centralization of the schools stemmed from the conviction that such actions stifled teachers with the "constraining net of the bureaucratic form," which in turn damaged the quality of education.[143] These critiques also reflected the notion that the ministry and the school boards questioned the professionalism and skill of the teachers. In the eyes of many teachers, efforts to control what was taught at which point of the day reflected a general lack of trust in the teacher. Karl Tumlitz, who served as a provincial school inspector, summarized this assertion in an article originally written for the *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Lehrerbildung*. Tumlitz accepted the necessity of some degree of bureaucratization, but he distinguished between the ideal and the reality of such centralization. Ideally, a centralized, bureaucratic school system ensured consistency, fairness, and quality regardless of the school. But in reality, ministry officials and those representing local and provincial school boards operated under "laws from thirty years ago," which had little relevance for "modern schools."[144]

More importantly, Tumlitz argued that a "good" school bureaucracy remained unachievable because, at its core, bureaucracy emerged from distrust and schools from trust. States felt the need to maintain large bureaucracies out of the belief that, without supervision, state officers would not adequately or justly fulfill their mandates. Conversely, on all levels, schools required trust. Parents trusted schools with their children; the community trusted teachers to educate their young. As a result "bureaucracy and schools, by reason of their contrasts, could never completely understand each other, [and] between them, no compromises could be reached."[145] Tumlitz defiantly stated that, regardless of their efforts, school bureaucrats and administrators could only ever control the "body" of the school, never its "intellectual power . . . inner

being, and soul."[146] That would always reside with the teacher. A speech made by E. Müller, a school rector, in 1913 succinctly summarized what most teachers wanted from school reform: freedom in making and implementing the curriculum, control over which methodologies to practice, and the ability to select their own textbooks.[147]

Teachers' associations representing educators from all national and political backgrounds expressed consternation about increased centralization and bureaucratization, a rare area of agreement among these organizations. Their shared concern reminds us that issues of politics and nationalism were incredibly important to the lives of teachers, but they were not all consuming. Equally, if not more important, were the comparatively mundane issues related to their supervision and ability to perform their jobs. Ultimately, school administrators considered badly trained teachers a more pressing issue than politically engaged teachers.

Teacher Mobility

While many teachers and their representatives decried the centralization of the educational system, it provided a benefit often overlooked by those same teachers: mobility. The standardization of teacher training and hiring procedures meant that teachers could apply for jobs across the Habsburg Monarchy, regardless of where they were trained (or in the case of *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen* teachers, where they went to university). Furthermore, since German-language schools existed throughout Austria, German-speaking teachers could maximize the benefit of this reality. Unless they happened to possess the necessary language skills to teach in a different language, non-German speakers were limited to teaching in the parts of Austria where their language was prevalent. So, for example, Czech teachers could only teach in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia.[148] While this afforded some mobility, it did not create nearly as much as that afforded to German speakers. German-language schools were in every crownland, even in regions where German represented a small minority of the population. The fact that these schools often existed alongside schools for other nationalities meant that education remained a major front in the nationality struggle. The nationalities bitterly competed for enrollment and to preserve the status of their schools in these communities.[149]

An examination of hiring records for *Realschulen* and *Gymnasien* in Prague, Linz, and Vienna demonstrates that German-speaking teachers took full advantage of the mobility offered by the Monarchy. Looking at records for these three cities provides an interesting comparison and shows that in each case, applicants from across Austria sought to relocate to these cities. In the case of all three cities, teaching positions brought a steady flow of applicants

from every major German-speaking region of the Monarchy—Upper and Lower Austria, the Bohemian Lands, the Alpine regions, and Carinthia and Carniola—as well as applicants from regions with German-speaking islands—Galicia, Hungary, and Bukovina. There are also no discernable patterns of migration or movement that suggest widespread political or nationalist motives behind the desire for applicants to relocate. Applicants for jobs in Linz's *Realschulen* represented a broad cross section of the German-speaking regions of Austria, with 12.5 percent coming from Upper Austria, of which Linz was the capital, 24 percent from Bohemia, 14 percent from Tyrol/Vorarlberg, 13.5 percent from Moravia, and 9.6 percent from Lower Austria, with the remaining number coming from other provinces or crownlands.[150] The large number of applications from Bohemia and Moravia does not suggest that German teachers were fleeing the nationalist strife of those provinces, but rather that Bohemia was a province with a large population where teaching jobs were competitive. Applications for jobs in Prague show that many teachers wanted to remain in the Bohemian lands. In fact, from the 1880s until the 1910s, 63 percent of the applicants for Prague's *Realschule I* and 69 percent of the applicants for Prague's *Realschule II* came from Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia. Between 24 percent of the applicants for *Realschule I* and 18 percent of applicants for *Realschule II* came from Upper and Lower Austria, with the remainder of applicants coming from the other Habsburg hereditary lands, Galicia, Bukovina, or Hungary.[151]

Positions in Vienna appealed to the most diverse group of applicants. For Vienna's *Elisabeth Gymnasium*, 26.4 percent of applicants came from Lower Austria, of which Vienna was the capital, 26.4 percent from Bohemia, 14 percent from Moravia, and the remainder divided among the other Habsburg hereditary lands, Galicia, and Hungary.[152] These numbers are consistent with Vienna's other *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen*.[153] This is not surprising, given the dynamism of the city, its cultural offerings, and its position as both the capital of the Austrian half of the Monarchy and as a major world city.

An examination of transfer requests helps to illustrate the wide range of reasons motivating teachers to apply for jobs in these cities, even though it meant leaving their current locations. In some cases, the teacher wanted to return home to be near family. For example Maximilian Mangl requested to be transferred from Laibach/Ljubljana, Carniola, to Vienna in 1908 in order to be closer to his aging mother.[154] Anton Kapple, a *Realschule* teacher in Bruck, Styria, made a similar request in 1912.[155] Of course, officials did not always grant such requests and often teachers were denied transfers repeatedly. When Maximilian Mangl asked for his transfer in 1908, officials noted that previous attempts to transfer to a school in Vienna were denied. More often than not, the denial of transfers directly related to the quality of the teacher.

This was the case with Mangl as well as with Arthur Hruby, a secondary school teacher in Trieste. Hruby petitioned several times between 1910 and 1914 for a transfer, in order to be closer to his family. Each time officials rejected his request on the grounds that his evaluations were not strong enough to warrant a more prestigious position and because his supervisors questioned whether he could be successful in a larger city.[156]

Other teachers wanted to relocate to Vienna to be close to a major university and other scholars, as in the case of Max Lederer, a teacher in Bielitz/Bielsko/Bílsko, Silesia, and Alfred Kleinberg, a teacher in Kaadan, Bohemia, who sought transfers to in Vienna in 1911.[157] Again, the success of these attempts depended largely on the skill of the teacher. Kleinberg's transfer request offered a glowing assessment of his research skills and noted that the Prague school board would have offered him a position if one was available.[158] These examples reflect just a small fraction of the requests the Vienna school board received each year. Vienna's status as the Austrian capital and as a world city made it an attractive location for teachers who wanted to leave rural locations. While undoubtedly many of these teachers possessed strong nationalist feelings or considered themselves German nationalists, it is clear that the motivations driving teachers to relocate mostly related to practical considerations of their daily lives. They wanted to be in a location that provided a better standard of living, greater possibility for career advancement, resources for their scholarly pursuits, or so they could be closer to family.

Conclusion

The fact that so many teachers moved from one region of the Monarchy to another meant that these teachers helped to reinforce the "mental map" of Austria. Teachers helped to expose students to people from all parts of the Monarchy and served as a reminder of the reality of the Monarchy's diversity. This reality adds another layer of complexity to understanding their role in Austrian society. For the most part, the scholarly focus on each teacher's role as a nationalizing agent has caused much of this complexity to be overlooked. Without a doubt, many teachers possessed an ardent nationalism that they sought to communicate to their students. An examination of contemporary pedagogical literature supports this fact.

At the same time, while they may have been nationalistic, few teachers expressed hostility to the Austrian state. Often, expressions of nationalist sentiment went hand-in-hand with support for the Habsburg dynasty and the Monarchy as a whole. It would be a mistake to assume that nationalism implied a disregard, latent or overt, for the state. As previously noted, the fact that so few teachers felt the need to argue for the Monarchy could simply mean that they accepted the continued existence of the Monarchy as a forgone

conclusion. In this light, the nationality conflict becomes a rancorous series of negotiations for power within a political system each group assumed would continue to persist.

The roles of the state bureaucracy and education officials are equally as important when examining these issues. The Ministry of Religion and Education and other school officials were hardly passive in the face of such challenges. Given the bureaucratic nature of school organization, their initial impulse, when faced with increased political activity from teachers, was an attempt to control it. For the ministry, regulations and disciplinary codes served as a tool for containing the political aspirations of teachers. These regulations also coincided with a broad effort to standardize and streamline education in Austria.

It is ironic that these efforts ended up provoking broader action among teachers, who became more vocal as officials restricted their independence. Ultimately, officials could not control the political organization of teachers because the nature of the Austrian political system was changing. As Austrian political culture became more democratic, it grew to include all sorts of advocacy groups, with teachers just one of many such groups. According to teachers, such organization ensured that their interests would be heard in a system governed by political parties and interests. While teachers' associations talked in universal terms and claimed to represent the profession as a whole, ultimately, they reflected the political, regional, and national interests of their members. The diffusion of teachers' associations into multiple groups reflecting different political parties and nationalities corresponds directly with the diffusion of Austrian political culture. This diffusion reminds us that issues of nationality represented but one facet of the political interest of teachers. Equally as important were the struggles against political opponents from the same nation. These conflicts were as divisive and bitter as those between national groups. By the late nineteenth century, teachers were fully engaged in Austrian political culture, and the political interests of teachers were as diverse as the teachers themselves. More importantly, teachers' associations and pedagogical leaders wholeheartedly endorsed the principles of patriotic education. While obviously some teachers may have resisted or undermined Austria's civic education efforts, most teachers lacked the expertise or the incentive to do so. Most followed the ascribed curriculum. As a result, it is unlikely that teachers hindered the implementation of the robust system of civic education established by educational authorities.

Conclusion

World War I challenged the strength, resiliency, and adaptability of Habsburg civic education. Prior to the war, educational officials sought to implement an unobtrusive system of patriotic education that used schools to promote loyalty to the state and to the dynasty, and to shape the ways students conceptualized the Monarchy's history and its place in the world. When the war began, civic education became an essential element of wartime propaganda aimed at demonizing Austria-Hungary's foes and touting the virtues of the Monarchy and its allies. Even though Austria-Hungary's wartime propaganda was more pointed than peacetime civic education, it relied on the techniques and, more importantly, the tropes and themes employed in the earlier curriculum.

After the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in June 1914, school celebrations became somber affairs, stressing the need for solidarity and shared sacrifice. Even events like the emperor's name day became occasions to remind students that difficult days lay ahead and that the entire Monarchy needed to unite behind their army and monarch. Schools also used such occasions to collect money and supplies for the war effort, honoring the emperor's philanthropic image. The public lectures offered to the community discussed the patriotic duties of all Austrians and how to support the Monarchy's war effort rather than the common prewar topics, like the importance of public hygiene and the difficulties of raising children.[1]

By 1915, pedagogical journals and teachers' associations were discussing the best ways to teach students about the war and how to fold patriotic messages into every lesson. It was essential that teachers described the war, the successes of the Austrian Army, and why the Monarchy was involved in the conflict. In history, *Heimatkunde*, and *Vaterlandskunde* classes, for example, lessons on imperial succession could discuss how Franz Ferdinand's assassination was a direct attack on the future of the Monarchy, and why Archduke Karl became the presumptive heir to the Austrian throne. Reminding students of the events at Sarajevo would also explain why the war began and Serbia's culpability in provoking the conflict.[2]

Illustrating the extent to which the pedagogical associations envisioned the full inclusion of the war into everyday lessons, the *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte* suggested that geography lessons offered an opportunity to describe Serbia's provocation as teachers showed Serbia on a map and its proximity to the Monarchy. This demonstration should then be followed by pointing to the Monarchy's other enemies, as well as its allies. The journal also recommended that teachers use army movements, transport supply lines, and other logistical aspects of the war to reinforce geography skills. Most importantly, teaching about the war allowed teachers to remind students of their civic obligations to the emperor and Monarchy. The journal's suggested lessons called for a comprehensive review of the rights and duties of citizens. They urged teachers to use the speeches given by the emperor and others to reinforce the fact that Franz Joseph entered into the conflict reluctantly and only out of concern for the welfare of his peoples and his Monarchy.[3]

This sample lesson drew from clearly established tropes attributed to the Habsburg dynasty. It was already standard for teachers to describe the emperor, and all of his predecessors, as peaceful rulers, pulled into conflict against their will. Prevailing interpretations of Austria's past conflicts became a tool for justifying the Monarchy's current war. Austria's historic mission to defend Europe from chaos and to protect "civilization" from "barbarism" was equally as essential. As soon as the war began, the pedagogical journal for the Styrian Teachers' Association ran excerpts from *Alt-Österreich Erwachen*, billed as a patriotic play.[4] This excerpt, along with the association's reflections on it, became meditations on Austria's historic mission and the importance of defending "civilization" from the savagery of Serbia and Russia.

While schools attempted to adapt their curriculum to serve the needs of the Monarchy's war effort, the strain of the war began limiting their ability to do so. Chronic teacher shortages became one of the earliest stresses schools encountered. The number of teachers drafted into military service prevented schools from being adequately staffed. Schools attempted to make the best of this situation; many even had students write notes to their teachers serving on the front, hoping to stabilize morale on the battlefield and at home.[5] Furthermore, when teachers died in battle, their schools often honored their sacrifice in school ceremonies, providing yet another opportunity to reinforce the virtue of patriotic duty.[6] Nevertheless, staffing challenges and the financial stress of the war meant that school days became increasingly irregular and students received less education.

The trauma of World War I not only tested the adaptability of Habsburg civic education in the wartime classroom, but it also challenged its effectiveness overall. In short, was it able to produce lasting patriotism among the Monarchy's citizens? Traditionally, historians have argued the state's collapse at the end

of the war illustrated the success of nationalist education and the failure of Austrian civic education.[7] Recent scholarship, on the other hand, has demonstrated that the hardships brought by war and the inability of the state to provide for the basic needs of its peoples contributed more to the Monarchy's collapse than its multinational composition and the activity of nationalist organizations.

Acute food shortages not only brought Habsburg citizens to the brink of starvation, but also exacerbated the tension between the Austrian and Hungarian governments. In the midst of the food crisis, nationalist charity organizations stepped in to provide critical food relief to their members. The fact that these groups, rather than the state, were the face of charity undoubtedly frayed the bonds between the Monarchy's national groups, but this fraying was more a symptom of the war than a critical weakness of the state itself.[8] The fact that this food crisis occurred while the state demanded greater human and material sacrifices understandably brought society to the brink of catastrophe. Yet even under such strains, the Habsburg state showed notable reliance during its four years at war. The home front continued to provide, as best it could, what the state demanded. And contrary to reports from military leadership at the time, and nationalist recollection afterward, each national group continued to fight for the Monarchy.[9] While difficult to quantify in a concrete way, the willingness of the civilian population to make these continued sacrifices suggests that Austrian civic education was successful.

Ironically, if this civic education program had a weakness, it was in its inability to find support among Habsburg military and foreign policy elites. Austrian patriotic development was predicated on support for the dynasty, respect for the constitutional structure of the *Ausgleich*, and the cultivation of a layered identity that acknowledged the regional and national diversity of the state. The officials leading Austria's war effort directly challenged the multinational, constitutional foundation civic education attempted to build. Fearful that the Monarchy's Slavs harbored latent sympathy for Russia and Serbia, the Austrian military began an unprecedented assault on the rights of its Slavic citizens. Concern about Italian irredentism produced a similar attack on the status of the Monarchy's Italian speakers.[10] Military officials also used the war as a pretext to suspend regular constitutional order. While officials claimed this suspension was temporary, Jonathan Gumz convincingly shows that many military leaders saw the conflict as an opportunity to reassert neo-absolutist rule and to end Austria-Hungary's experiment with constitutionalism.[11] Such actions and opinions directly contradicted the image of the Monarchy cultivated by Austrian civic education over the past half-century.

Analysis of the Habsburg government's conduct during World War I suggests that the Monarchy's civic education curriculum did not fail, but rather the state could not withstand the social and economic strains of war.

More importantly, the constitutional state and multinational society asserted by educators in the classroom became incompatible with the state and society envisioned by the Monarchy's military and diplomatic leaders. Once the war ended and the Monarchy collapsed in 1918, the supranational, layered identity promoted by Austria's civic education curriculum also impacted support for the rump Austrian state in a profound way. The leaders of the new Austrian republic had an enormously difficult time reconciling its position in interwar Europe, and many Austrians resisted embracing the reality of an Austrian nation-state.[12] These Austrians thought of themselves as members of the German nation and supported the idea of *Anschluss* with Germany. The concept of an Austrian national identity only enjoyed widespread support after World War II and the horrors of Nazism.[13] The difficulty of creating an Austrian national identity after 1918 is not shocking. Before 1918, the concept of "Austrian" referred to a supranational, imperial identity. No one thought of "Austrian" in connection to a national culture. It is little wonder many Austrians asked themselves what it meant to be Austrian without the Monarchy and the Habsburgs.

After all, the ultimate object of Habsburg patriotic development was to create an Austrian identity accessible to a diverse population, one imperial, not national or ethnic in character. One was Austrian because one lived in the Habsburg Monarchy, not because one belonged to an Austrian nation. At the same time, Austrian identity was predicated on regional and national identities, making it a layered construct that attempted to use regionalism and nationalism as forces for patriotic development.

Developing a sense of identification with and loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty was essential to this imperial identity. Schools attempted to develop this identification and loyalty in part by presenting the Habsburg dynasty as the embodiment of good governance. History classes portrayed the Habsburg dynasty as the rightful successor to Charlemagne, himself the personification of ideal kingship. Charlemagne possessed all of the characteristics necessary to lead a kingdom. He was wise, humble, pious, and concerned about the welfare of his subjects. Textbooks and history classes methodically claimed that the Babenberg dukes of Austria continued the Carolingian tradition of benevolent rule. The Habsburgs, however, were also the successors of the kings of Hungary and Bohemia. As a result, teachers asserted that the kings of Hungary and Bohemia also possessed the qualities of good kingship and continued the legacy of benevolent governance. Since Habsburg rulers possessed these same attributes, they could be considered the legitimate successors to the thrones of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia. While these traits linked the Habsburg dynasty to its predecessors, textbooks also made clear that the dynasty had a legal and legitimate claim to its territories. History classes painstakingly delineated the complicated web of marriages and treaties that allowed the Habsburg dynasty to acquire its territories.

The qualities of good governance not only linked Habsburg rulers to those of previous dynasties, but also linked Habsburg rulers to each other. Textbooks illustrated that all Habsburg rulers possessed the qualities necessary to be virtuous and good leaders. They were all pious, dedicated rulers, and patrons of the arts and sciences. Most importantly, they all worked diligently to develop their lands and improve the lives of their peoples. At times, textbooks also used comparisons between Habsburg rulers and the rulers of other countries, like France, to further develop the perceived virtues of the Habsburg dynasty. By portraying French rulers as the embodiment of bad governance—wasteful, warmongering, and eager to expand their own power and influence—teachers could more clearly highlight the virtue of Austria's rulers.

These contrasts also helped to explain why the Habsburg dynasty fought so many wars over the course of its six-hundred-year rule. The Monarchy was an unwilling belligerent, dragged to war in order to defend Europe's stability, protect vulnerable neighbors, or to defend itself from predatory attacks. This trope also provided a justification for Austria-Hungary's contemporary foreign policy, especially its decision to declare war on Serbia in 1914.

The tropes used to characterize Habsburg governance also helped to mitigate calls for rapid change to the Monarchy's internal political dynamics. History classes considered Habsburg rulers to be avid reformers. In this way, Franz Joseph's constitutional reforms in the last half of the nineteenth century continued in the tradition of Maximilian I, Maria Theresa, and Joseph II. Students learned that change came to the Monarchy when the time was right. They should trust the wisdom of their emperor in deciding when to implement reform. This trust and patience would allow for peaceful and steady progress, avoiding the excesses and chaos of revolution.

Just as the tropes attributed to Habsburg rulers attempted to bolster support for the Monarchy's contemporary foreign and domestic policy, they also had the potential to smooth the transition from one monarch to the next. Since all Habsburg rulers shared the same set of noble characteristics, students could assume that Franz Joseph's successor would carry on in the tradition of those before him. Early in Franz Joseph's reign, schools explicitly connected him to his more illustrious predecessors, and it is likely schools would have done the same for Karl. We will never know if these efforts could have been successful, but Austria's system of civic education certainly tried to ease the transition from one monarch to the next.

This system also established a sense of "Austrian-ness" that went beyond the dynasty. If the imperial aspect of Austrian identity rested solely on veneration of the ruling family, then the traditional critique that Austrian civic education was nothing more than sentimental dynasty worship would be well founded. In conjunction with praise for the Habsburg dynasty, Austrian civic

education also attempted to build a pantheon of supranational, Austrian heroes to serve as models of patriotism and loyalty. These heroes not only included military heroes, like Archduke Karl and Prince Eugene of Savoy, but also ordinary people who rose to defend their Monarchy in times of need. The citizens of Vienna who worked to fend off the Ottoman armies in 1683, the Hungarians who rallied to support Maria Theresa in the War of Austrian Succession in the 1740s, and Andreas Hofer and his compatriots in the Tyrolean Uprising against France and Bavaria in 1809 each personified the virtues of patriotic devotion and sacrifice. Most importantly, they also helped to demonstrate the unity of the Habsburg Monarchy in times of crisis. Considering the Monarchy's national, ethnic, and religious diversity, it was important for students to learn that this diversity did not prevent the peoples of the Monarchy from working together. Such notions helped German-speaking students, in particular, to think of Austria as a multinational state.

Obviously, periods of civil unrest and times of military defeat threatened to undermine this image of a united Monarchy, valiantly fighting its foes. Educators tried to discuss these events in a way that did not threaten this heroic image of Austria. Coping with military defeat proved easier than explaining periods of civil unrest. After all, predatory neighbors could always be blamed for military failures. Austria-Hungary faced its foes, often against overwhelming odds, which sometimes led to defeat. Furthermore, defeat did not make the struggle of the Habsburg Army any less valiant.

Educators tried to explain civil unrest and the challenges to Habsburg rule in a way that neutralized nationalist interpretations of historical events. So, the Bohemian challenge in the Thirty Years' War became a conflict between an overpowered nobility and the crown and not an expression of Czech national frustration; the Revolutions of 1848 became uprisings motivated in part by overzealous reformers, Italian irredentists from Sardinia hoping to take advantage of the Monarchy's troubles, and Hungarian nationalists who sought to victimize and oppress the other nationalities in Hungary. In each of these cases, the Habsburg dynasty remained a source of stability and most citizens remained loyal and content.

Textbooks also made clear that all the Monarchy's citizens shared a role in fulfilling Austria's historic mission to maintain European stability, usually under threat from France, and to serve as the bulwark of "civilization" from the "barbarous" East. Even though the traditional threat to "civilization" came from the Ottoman Turks, by the late nineteenth century, Serbia and Russia became the new foes in the East, a view that became reality in 1914.

Taken together, the positive portrayals of Habsburg rulers and the peoples of the Monarchy, coupled with Austria's historic mission, articulated the imperial identity established by Austria's system of civic education. In order

to develop the supranational aspect of that identity, the curriculum sought to forge a complex, layered identity that simultaneously strengthened local, regional, national, and religious identities as well. Support for these identities stemmed from pedagogical theories that held that the development of local, more "relatable," identity would allow for more authentic support for the Monarchy as a whole. This support also meant that educators did not force teachers or students to choose between these local and national loyalties and the Monarchy. For educational officials, learning to love one's *Heimat* and nation went hand-in-hand with learning to love the dynasty and the Monarchy.

Pedagogical leaders considered seeing and interacting with the *Heimat* an important step in developing an appreciation for it. School excursions to the countryside increased steadily at the end of the nineteenth century and became a regular part of the school calendar in the early twentieth century. These excursions usually occurred in the late spring and combined visits to natural sites as well as historical landmarks. Visits to these locations gave teachers an opportunity to reinforce natural science, geography, and history lessons from earlier in the year. Students in major cities, like Vienna, also had the opportunity to visit museum exhibits relevant to school curriculum. Often, museums developed these exhibits in consultation with education officials, allowing the exhibits to draw from and reinforce the existing educational curriculum.

School celebrations also reinforced the school curriculum and played a vital role in Austria's system of civic education. These events gave schools and students an opportunity to commemorate the anniversaries of major events from the Monarchy's history and to honor the emperor, empress, and other important figures from the dynasty. Such celebrations and commemorations were important affairs, taking place in decorated rooms and attended by local dignitaries. Speakers used the opportunity to extol the virtues of the Habsburg dynasty and Austria, reiterating the notion that the Austrian government embodied the ideal of good governance. In this way, these speeches reinforced the history curriculum. The poems and songs used for these occasions reinforced these notions as well. Students already knew these poems and songs from class and readily understood their patriotic significance.

Schools participated in patriotic events outside of school as well. Children were an important part of imperial jubilees, walking in parades and performing patriotic plays or songs. Participating in such events served two roles: it enhanced a child's patriotism while also providing a symbol the Monarchy's future. Even when they did not participate in jubilee events, students often attended them. Jubilee organizers ensured that schools brought students to watch parades and processions. As with school celebrations, schools and jubilee organizers wanted students to understand the importance of these events and

sought to make them as special as possible. To do this, schools and organizers would often give the students mementos or keepsakes that would remind participants of the event.

Jubilee events and school celebrations helped to make the monarch and the Monarchy tangible to students. Imperial visits further enhanced this tangibility. Emperor Franz Joseph was the most important symbol of the Monarchy, and his constant travels ensured he remained a visible presence in the lives of Austrians. A visit from the emperor was a major event and became an occasion for celebration. Schools brought their students to see the emperor's procession through the city, teachers and students decorated their schools to honor the emperor's arrival, and often students had the chance to see the emperor in person. These visits, like jubilee events and school celebrations, brought a degree of pomp and pageantry to civic education. They also reinforced the notion that Austria was a dynamic, united state made strong by its diversity.

Obviously, officials realized that extreme nationalism existed and posed a threat to the united Monarchy. To combat the growth of this form of nationalism, they increased supervision of teachers and implemented hiring and dismissal procedures that allowed school officials to monitor the actions and behavior of teachers. Nationalism, however, was only one concern for officials. They considered other forms of extreme political views to be just as threatening. School officials were just as concerned about the threat posed by socialist or anarchist teachers as they were by extreme nationalist teachers. Even though robust policies were in place to curtail participation in extreme political organizations, efforts to totally restrict or control the political activities of teachers failed. By the twentieth century, teachers were fully part of Austria's pluralistic, mass political culture.

In many ways for educational officials the threat of poorly trained teachers seemed greater than the actions of politically active teachers. Starting in 1867, the Ministry of Religion and Education and local school boards began reforming teacher training institutions and implementing careful inspections in an effort to improve teacher quality. Even though the cumbersome bureaucracy of Austria's educational system often delayed or stymied these reforms, efforts continued until the Monarchy's collapse in 1918. The impetus for these reforms often stemmed from a long-standing belief among officials that Austria's school system lagged behind its neighbors. While there were obvious areas that needed improvement, Austrian schools were as developed as, and in some cases more developed than, those of Europe and the United States.

It is also clear that Austria's system of civic education was on par with these states as well. It utilized its history in an effort to develop patriotism in a manner similar to its neighbors, and it celebrated that history in the same sorts of commemorations and celebrations. Austria was not the outlier that

earlier scholarship held it to be. Of course the most notable difference between Austria and these other states is the fact that Austria-Hungary was a supranational state. Unlike other multinational or multiethnic states, Austria did not try to create linguistic or cultural homogeneity when developing Austrian identity. Instead, it crafted an identity that allowed its nationalities to remain members of their nation while also allowing them to be fully Austrian. They hoped to create a patriotic sense among Austrian students that would last beyond their time in school and withstand the pressures created by a tumultuous social and political landscape.

Notes

Introduction

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45. For an overview of the Dualist system, see Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 259-264.

Chapter 1: The Development of Education and Civic Education in Austria

1. For a general overview of Maria Theresa's reign, see Edward Crankshaw, *Maria Theresa* (New York: Viking Press, 1969); Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 16-50; H. M. Scott, "Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1740–1790," in *Enlightened Absolutism: Reform and Reformers in Later Eighteenth-Century Europe*, H. M. Scott, ed. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1990), 144-188.

2. Nuhoglu Soysal David Strang, "Construction of the First Mass Education Systems in Nineteenth-Century Europe," 279–280; Grew and Harrigan, *School, State, and Society*, 91–107; Andy Green, *Education and State Formation: The Rise of Education Systems in England, France, and the USA* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 111, 153–156.
3. For an overview of the Catholic Church's role in Austrian society in the nineteenth century, see Peter Leisching, "Die römisch-katholische Kirche in Cisleithanien," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie, 1848–1918*, vol. 4, *Die Konfessionen*, Adam Wandruszka, and Peter Urbantisch, eds. (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985).
4. See John Deak, *Forging a Multinational State: State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015).
5. As quoted in Charles W. Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618–1815,* 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 159.
6. For an in-depth look at the course of the War of Austrian Succession, see Reed S. Browning, *The War of Austrian Succession* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995).
7. Armin Gebhardt, *Maria Theresia: Regentin zwischen Barock und Aufklärung* (Marburg: Tectum Verlag, 2007), 68–71; Crankshaw, *Maria Theresa*, 194–195; Deak, *Forging a Multinational State*, 9–17; Scott, "Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy," 152–160; R. J. W. Evans, "Maria Theresa and Hungary," in *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Essays on Central Europe, c. 1683–1867* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 17–19.
8. Evans, "Maria Theresa and Hungary," 17–19.
9. Ibid., 28.
10. Gebhardt, *Maria Theresia*, 73.
11. Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 3, *Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs*, *Von der frühen Aufklärung bis zum Vormärz* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1984), 68.
12. It is worth mentioning that Maria Theresa remained devoutly Catholic throughout her life. Unlike Joseph II, she never wanted to diminish the power of the Church in order to limit the Church's influence in Austrian society. Instead, her interest was in strengthening the state, which she realized, at times, could only come from restricting the influence of the Church. See Derek Beales, *Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-century Europe* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 212; Scott, "Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy," 174–175.
13. The pope's decision to dissolve the Jesuit order resulted from conflicts between the Catholic crowns of Europe and the papacy. Because of its unique history, emerging as the face of papal authority during the Catholic Reformation, the Jesuit order became a target of Catholic kings looking to expand their authority over the Church in their countries. By the 1770s, Spain, France, and Portugal had already expelled the Jesuit order from their lands and seized the order's assets. Many of Maria Theresa's advisers advocated that she follow suit, but she

resisted. The pope's dissolution of the order in 1771 rendered the debate moot. For a comprehensive overview of the debate over the Jesuit order in the Habsburg Monarchy, see Beales, *Enlightenment and Reform*, 207–224.

14. Crankshaw, *Maria Theresa*, 307–308; Scott, "Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy," 174–175.
15. Ibid.
16. Quoted in Karl A. Roider, Jr., ed. and trans., *Maria Theresa* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 57–58.
17. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 3, 103–106.
18. Roider, *Maria Theresa*, 58.
19. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 3, 103–106.
20. While also a student of the Enlightenment, Leopold II rescinded or altered many of Joseph II's reforms in an attempt to stabilize the Monarchy after his brother's controversial reign. Coming to the throne at the height of the French Revolution, Leopold's son became Franz II of the Holy Roman Empire shortly before it disbanded under the weight of Napoleon's victories over Austria. In order to preserve his imperial title, Franz refashioned the Habsburg lands into the Austrian Empire, assuming the name Franz I. Seeing the carnage resulting from the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, he had little appetite for reform and became an avowed conservative. See Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 41–67.
21. Alan Sked, *Metternich and Austria: An Evaluation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 139.
22. Gary B. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848–1918* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1996), 16; Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 3, 229–232.
23. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria*, 17.
24. Ibid.; Green, *Education and State Formation*, 121–125.
25. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 3, 245–246; 251–257.
26. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 17–18; Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 3, 251–257; Deak, *Forging a Multinational States*, 33–37.
27. See Deak, *Forging a Multinational State*, 30–63.
28. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 3, 245–246; 257–259.
29. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 20–21.
30. Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 130-131; Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 162–176.
31. For a general overview of these tensions, see Jonathan Sperber, *The European Revolutions, 1848–1851*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 217–234.
32. Mike Rapport, *1848: Year of Revolution* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 67–69; Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 162–176; Barbara Jelavich, *Modern Austria: Empire and Republic, 1800–1986* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 44. See also Pieter M. Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social*

Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848–1914 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 45–47; Deak, *Forging a Multinational State*, 73–74.

33. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 21.
34. Ibid., 21–22; Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, *Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs*, *Von 1848 bis zum Ende der Monarchie* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1986), 221–223.
35. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 22.
36. Sperber, *The European Revolutions*, 231–234.
37. Rapport, *1848*, 379–380.
38. Deak, *Forging a Multinational State*, 78–98; Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 215–221.
39. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 23.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., 27–28; Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 27–28.
42. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 25–26.
43. Ibid., 27, 31; Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 153–156.
44. Leisching, "Die römisch-katholische Kirche in Cisleithanien," 25–33.
45. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 34.
46. Ibid., 34–35.
47. Burger, *Sprachenrecht und Sprachengerechtigkeit*, 33–34.
48. Ibid.; Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 34–35.
49. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 35.
50. Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 162.
51. Ibid.
52. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 3–5.
53. Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 180.
54. Quoted in George V. Strong, *Seedtime for Fascism: The Disintegration of Austrian Political Culture, 1867–1918* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1998), 103.
55. Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 198–199; Jelavich, *Modern Austria*, 67. For a broader discussion of the contours of these reforms, see Deak, *Forging a Multinational State*, 137–174; Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 251–268.
56. Leisching, "Die römisch-katholische Kirche in Cisleithanien," 41–43.
57. Ibid.
58. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 113.
59. While Cohen's work does not offer specific statistics regarding the decline in the number of *Volksschule* teachers who were clergy, their numbers would have declined as well with secularization. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 37–38.
60. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 63–65. The impact of the professionalization of the teaching profession is discussed in greater detail in chapter 5.

61. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 39.
62. "Universität und Volksschullehrer," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, June 1905; "Die Lehrerbildung," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, November 1912; "Über die Reformen der Lehrerbildung," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, August 31, 1886; "Die Erziehung in der Lehrerbildung," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 10, 1909; "Zur Lehrerfortbildung," Pädagogium—*Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, vol. 4 (Vienna: Julius Klinkhardt, 1882), 733–735.
63. Bischof, "'A Home for Poets,'"41; Finkelstein, *Governing the Young*, 273; Maguire, "The State Regulation of United Kingdom Teacher Education in the Nineteenth Century," 236.
64. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 113–114.
65. Ibid., 112.
66. Ibid., 111.
67. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 38.
68. See ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 4190 17D2, #36453-03, 6/26/1903, decree from the *Landesschulrat* in Dalmatia to the Ministry of Religion and Education concerning continuing education classes for girls.
69. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 38.
70. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 157; 172–182.
71. Ibid., 155–156, 203–210.
72. Harrigan, *School, State, and Society*, 8.
73. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 41–42.
74. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 86–91.
75. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 53. Each year, the Ministry of Religion and Education received countless requests for funds from provincial and local school boards. These requests sought monies to pay for a broad range of educational needs, including new school buildings, school renovations, new supplies, hiring new teachers, or offering additional classes. For countless examples of such requests, see ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 2330 10A-C5.
76. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 54; ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 4193 17D2 1905.
77. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 1897, #47972, 10/24/1912, request to the Ministry of Religion and Education for the creation of a *Pfadfinderkorp* in Vienna; #31794, 6/30/1914, memorandum from Lower Austrian the *Landesschulrat* endorsing the creating of a *Pfadfinderkorp* in Vienna; #13007, 3/16/1914 report from the Ministry of Religion and Education concerning the creation of a *Pfadfinderkorp* in Vienna.
78. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 4190 17D2, #38146, 12/1/1901, letter from Leopold Niedermayer, teacher, to the Ministry of Religion and Education concerning the spread of "dangerous" ideologies among students.

79. Compare the proposed reforms found in ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz 4191-4198 17 D2.
80. *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Oberösterreich* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1876), 28, 38, 58, 70; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Niederösterreich* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1876), 23, 32, 41, 51, 63, 76.
81. *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Schlesien* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1876), 1, 16, 32, 41, 50, 60, 83, 97.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid., 16.
84. Ibid., 32.
85. Ibid., 41, 50, 60, 83, 97.
86. *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Schlesien* (1876), 1, 16, 32, 41, 50, 60, 83, 97; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Oberösterreich* (1876), 28, 38, 58, 70; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Niederösterreich* (1876) 23, 32, 41, 51, 63, 76.
87. Harrigan, *School, State, and Society*, 5.
88. Ibid., see also Linda L. Clark, *Schooling the Daughters of Marianne: Textbooks and the Socialization of Girls in Modern French Primary Schools* (New York: SUNY Press, 1984).
89. *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Oberösterreich* (1876), 1; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Niederösterreich* (1876), 8; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Schlesien* (1876), 8, 24.
90. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 19.
91. "Klerikale Schulwirtschaft," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, March 10, 1913.
92. "Armee und Schule," *Das Vaterland*, June 1, 1881, 1–2; "Der Kampf um die Schule bei uns und in Frankreich," *Das Vaterland*, July 12, 1881, 1.
93. Ibid.
94. "Der n-ö Landesschulrat und die Lehrerbildung," *Freie Schule: Mitteilungen des Vereins "Freie Schule" in Wien,* May 1912, 93–94.
95. "Die christlich sociale Schandwirtschaft in der Schule," *Freie Lehrerstimme. Organ der jüngeren Lehrerschaft*, May 13, 1900.
96. *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Schlesien* (1876), 1, 16, 32, 41, 50, 60, 83, 97; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Oberösterreich* (1876), 28, 38, 58, 70; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Niederösterreich* (1876), 23, 32, 41, 51, 63, 76.
97. *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen in Böhmen nach dem Erlass des k.k. Landesschulrathes vom 18. Juli 1885* (Prague: Heinrich Merch, 1885), 10, 31, 42, 54, 66, 79, 94, 112; *Normal Lehrpläne für Volksschulen in Oberösterreich* (Linz: Jos. Feichtiger Erben., 1885), 50, 66, 109, 131, 228, 245; *Lehrpläne für Volksschulen des Küstenlandes in deutscher, italienischer, slovenischer und kroatischer Sprache* (Vienna: k.k. Schulbücher-Verlag, 1889), 28, 110, 136, 164, 192; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen mit deutscher unterrichtssprache in Böhmen* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1912), 17, 46, 61, 84, 96, 139, 154; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen mit deutscher unterrichtssprache in*

Mähren (Brünn: Verlag des k.k. Mähr. Landesschulrates, 1915), 15, 27, 35, 43, 53, 61, 69.

98. *Programm des k.k. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schluße des Schuljahres 1867* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdrukerei, 1867), 36–43; *Programm des deutschen Staats-Obergymnasiums in Olmütz am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1874* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdrukerei, 1874), 37–45; *Dreiundzwanzigster Jahres-Bericht der Wiener Communal-oberrealschule im ersten Gemeinde-Bezirke für das Schuljahr 1883–84* (Vienna: Carl Gerolds Sohn, 1884), 28.
99. *Programm des k.k. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schluße des Schuljahres 1867*, 36–43; *Programm des deutschen Staats-Obergymnasiums in Olmütz am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1874*, 37–45.
100. For example, compare the curriculum of the *Realschule* in Elbogen in 1874 to that of 1880 and 1907. *Programm des kön. städt. Real-Gymnasiums und der Ober-Realschule in Elbogen für das Schuljahr 1873/1874* (Elbogen: Self-Published, 1874); *Programm der Communal-Realschule in Elbogen veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1880-1881* (Elbogen: Self-Published, 1881); *Programm der k.k. Staats-Realschule in Elbogen veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1907-1908* (Elbogen: Self-Published, 1908).
101. Prussia required nine years of education, compared to Austria's eight. Ewald Horn, *Das höhere Schulwesen der Staaten Europas—Eine Zusammenstellung der Lehrpläne* (Berlin: Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1906), 3–19, 58-61; 57–88, 160.
102. Ibid., 21–23, 169, 184–185, 192.
103. Ibid., 104–105, 107, 108.
104. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 53.
105. Ibid., 54.
106. Reviewers voiced similar concerns for the inspection of the *Volksschule* in Aussig/Ústí nad Labem. NA ZŠR, Karton 2512, IV 13 C2a 657, *Bericht über die Inspektion der Volksschule in Saar, 1914*; *Bericht über die Inspektion der Volksschule in Aussig, 1914*.
107. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 55–56.
108. Consistent with the public image of patrons of education, Emperor Franz Joseph, Empress Elisabeth, and other high-ranking members of the dynasty often donated funds to construct, renovate, or enhance schools.
109. Pieter Judson shows that nationalist organizations played vital role in constructing schools in underdeveloped, rural areas. See Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 19–65.
110. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, vol. 4, 56.
111. Plans and documents for this school are detailed in OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 96.
112. See, for example, NA ZŠR, Karton 2512, IV 13 C2a, *Bericht über die Inspektion der 5 klassigen allgemeinen Volkschule mit 2 Parallelen in Königswalde, 1914*.
113. For example, see those requests found in ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 2330 10A-C5.
114. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens, Band 4*, 56.
115. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 38–41.
116. *Normal-Lehrpläne für die kärntischen Volksschulen* (Klagenfurt: Joh. & Fried. Leon., 1875), 6.

117. *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Oberösterreich* (1876), 5; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Niederösterreich* (1876), 4; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Schlesien* (1876), 5; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Mähren* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1876), 6; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen in Böhmen* (1885), 14–15; *Normal Lehrpläne für Volksschulen in Oberösterreich* (1885), 38; *Lehrpläne für Volksschulen des Küstenlandes* (1889), 20; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen mit deutscher unterrichtssprache in Böhmen* (1912), 22; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen mit deutscher unterrichtssprache in Mähren* (1915), 10.
118. *Normal-Lehrpläne für die kärntischen Volksschulen* (1875), 6; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Oberösterreich* (1876), 5; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Niederösterreich* (1876), 4; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Schlesien* (1876), 5; *Lehrpläne für Volks-und Bürgerschulen in Mähren* (1876), 6. The way in which geography lessons established a "mental map" of Austria-Hungary is explored in chapter 3.
119. *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen in Böhmen* (1885), 14; *Normal Lehrpläne für Volksschulen in Oberösterreich* (1885), 37; *Lehrpläne für Volksschulen des Küstenlandes* (1889), 20; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen mit deutscher unterrichtssprache in Böhmen* (1912), 22; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen mit deutscher unterrichtssprache in Mähren* (1915), 10.
120. *Normal-Lehrpläne für die kärntischen Volksschulen* (1875), 8; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen in Böhmen* (1885), 16; *Normal Lehrpläne für Volksschulen in Oberösterreich* (1885), 39; *Lehrpläne für Volksschulen des Küstenlandes* (1889), 22; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen mit deutscher unterrichtssprache in Mähren* (1915), 21.
121. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 330–338.
122. David Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 321–323.
123. Van Nuys, *Americanizing the West*, 33–69.
124. This was not true in Hungary, where the Magyars actively pursued a program of Magyarization and required schools to teach Hungarian, regardless of the nationality of the student. László Kontler, *A History of Hungary* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 292–293, 298; Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 304–309.
125. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 1764, #3678, 4/19/1867, Ministry of Religion and Education memorandum concerning the reform of German instruction in *Gymnasien*; #10128, 1884, Collected documents from *Landesschulrates* concerning revisions to the *Gymnasien* curriculum; Box 1765, *Programm des k.k. staats-ober-Gymnasium zu Wiener Neustadt am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1890/1891*; Box 1770, 1910, #29278, #28885, #45114, Memoranda from the *Landesschulrat* in Tyrol to the Ministry of Religion concerning Italian language courses in Tyrol.
126. OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 70, *Jahreshauptbericht für Volksschulen in Wels, 1888/1889.*
127. Compare, for example, Theodor Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1908) to Theodor Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Knabenbürgerschulen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1908).

128. *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen in Böhmen* (1885), 14–15, 25, 36, 47–48, 59–60, 72; *Normal Lehrpläne für Volksschulen in Oberösterreich* (1885), 38, 53–54, 70–71, 199; *Lehrpläne für Volksschulen des Küstenlandes* (1889), 20–24, 48–52, 72–75, 100–103, 126–129, 157, 184–185.; *Lehrpläne für allgemeine Volksschulen mit deutscher unterrichtssprache in Böhmen* (1912), 22, 86, 101–103.
129. OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 69, *Jahreshauptbericht für Volksschulen in Freistadt, 1886/1887*; Schachtel 69, *Jahreshauptbericht für Volksschulen in Kirchdorf, 1886/1887.*
130. OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 93, *Jahreshauptbericht über des Zustand der allgemeine Volks- und Bürgerschulen und der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen in Niederösterreich*, 1893–1894.
131. OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 67, *Jahreshauptbericht über des Volksschulenwesen in Linz für das Jahr 1877–1878*; Schachtel 93, *Jahreshauptbericht über des Zustand der allgemeine Volks- und Bürgerschulen und der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen in Niederösterreich*, 1893–1894.
132. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 4198 17D2, #35001, 7/21/1913, review of proposed changes to the history curriculum in *Gymnasium*.
133. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 4197 17D2, #47543, 10/12/1912, review of proposed changes to the history curriculum in *Gymnasium*.
134. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 4197 17D2, #35083, 7/20/1912, review of proposed changes to the history curriculum in *Gymnasium*; #13081, 3/16/1912, review of proposed changes to the history curriculum in *Gymnasium*.
135. ASL, B0053, Stiftsgymnasium Kremsmünster, 1876–1905, *Sechsundzwanzigstes Programm des k.k. Ober-gymnasiums der Benedictiner zu Kremsmünster für das Schuljahr* 1876, 34–38; AHMP SVZ, inv. 28, sign. 204D, *Programm des k.k. Prag-Neustädter Gymnasiums am Schlusse des Studienjahres 1876*, 64–68.
136. Ibid.
137. *Lehrpläne und Lehraufgaben für die höhen Schulen in Prussen, 1901* (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1901), 45–47.
138. Ibid., 47.
139. *Jahresbericht über das Königl. Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium* (Berlin: J. Draegers Buchdruckerei, 1878), 39–44; *Jahresbericht über das Königl. Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium, 1885/86* (Berlin: C. Feicht, 1886), 6; *Jahresbericht über das Königl. Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium, 1888/89* (Berlin: C. Feicht, 1889), 4–10.
140. *Jahresbericht über die Realschule I.O. und das Gymnasium zu Barmen* (Barmen: L. Langewiesche, 1876), 4–11; *Jahresbericht über die Realschule I.O. und das Gymnasium zu Barmen* (Barmen: Steinbern & Co., 1876), 7.
141. *Jahresbericht über das Königl. Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium, 1891/92* (Berlin: Martin Oldenburg, 1892), 6–15; *Barmen Gymnasium Bericht über das 326 Schuljahre, 1904–1905* (Barmen: D.B. Wiemann, 1905), 3; *Gymnasium mit Realklassen zu Mülheim am Rhein, Jahres-Bericht über das Schuljahr 1897/98* (Mülheim am Rhein: C.G. Künstler, 1897–1898), 3–13; *Städtisches Gymnasium mit Oberrealschule zu Bonn*, *Jahresbericht über das Schuljahr, 1898–1899* (Bonn: Car Georgi, 1899), 3–17.

142. For example, "Zur Geschichte der Schulbehörden im Grossherzogthum Hessen," *Pädagogium—Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, vol. 3 (Vienna: Julius Klinkhardt, 1881), 124–127; 253–260; "Wie wird die deutsch Grammatik in der Volksschule behandelt?," *Pädagogium—Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, vol. 11 (Vienna: Julius Klinkhardt, 1889), 315–348.
143. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 53–54.
144. "Schulwesen in Deutschland, Österreich, Russland, Japan, Nordamerika," *Pädagogium—Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Julius Klinkhardt, 1879), 204–207.
145. "Das russische Volksschulgesetz," *Pädagogium—Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Julius Klinkhardt, 1879), 330–338; "Aus Preussen," *Pädagogium—Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Julius Klinkhardt, 1879), 408–411; "Der Volksunterricht in England," *Pädagogium—Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Julius Klinkhardt, 1879), 590–599.
146. "Die Lehrerbildung in Frankreich," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, March 20, 1887; "Schulwesen in Königreiche Hawaii," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, July 20, 1891.
147. "Lehrerbildung in England," *Pädagogium—Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, vol. 12 (Vienna: Julius Klinkhardt, 1890), 368–385.
148. Ibid., 380.
149. "Österreichs Heldenjunglinge—Hermann und Hensel," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz* (November 10, 1879).
150. "Die Lehrerbildung in Frankreich."
151. Emanuel Hannak, *Methodik des Unterrichtes in der Geschichte* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1891), 7.
152. "Über den Geschichtsunterricht in der Volksschule,"*Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht*, March 1, 1874, 108.
153. "Die Geschichte in der Volks- und Bürgerschule," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, May 1888.
154. "Zur Pflege des Patriotismus in der Volksschule," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, February 1894; "Erziehung zum Patriotismus," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, September 30, 1880.
155. "Zum Unterrichte in der Geschichte," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, June 30, 1891.
156. "Zur Methodik des Geschichtes Unterrichtes," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, August 10, 1896.
157. Hannak, *Methodik des Unterrichtes in der Geschicthte*, 12.
158. See Charles Jelavich, "Serbian Textbooks: Toward a Greater Serbia or Yugoslavia?," *Slavic Review* 42, no. 4 (1983), 601–619.
159. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 4852-4854 contains numerous examples of such reviews.
160. For example, ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 4852, #7644, 3/7/1902, review of Edwige Costantinis' history textbook for girls.

161. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 4852, #3383, 1/31/1899, review of a Croatian translation of a history textbook written by Anton Gindely; Ernst Bruckmüller, "Patriotic and National Myths: National Consciousness and Elementary School Education in Imperial Austria," in *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy*, eds. Laurence Cole and Daniel Unowsky (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 27–28.
162. Karin Almasy, *Kanon und nationale Konsolidierung. Übersetzungen und ideologische Steuerung in slowenischen Schulbüchern, 1848–1918*, (Vienna: Böhlau, 2018), 283; Monika Govekar-Okoliš, *The Role of Grammar Schools in Forming the National Identity of the Slovenes within Austria from 1849–1914* (Hamburg: Verlad Dr. Kovač, 2017), 85–88.
163. Bruckmüller, "Patriotic and National Myths," 21–22.
164. Almasy, *Kanon und nationale Konsolidierung*, 271.
165. Bruckmüller, "Patriotic and National Myths," 20; Almasy, *Kanon und nationale Konsolidierung*, 268.
166. For an example of these differences, compare Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Knabenbürgerschulen* (1908) and Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1908).
167. For example Theodor Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie. Verfassung und Staatseinrichtungen derselben Lehrbuch für den dritten Jahrgang der k.k. Lehrer- und Leherinnenbildungsanstalten*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Tempsky, 1891).

Chapter 2: Habsburg Rulers as the Personification of Good Governance

1. For a comprehensive analysis of Lorenzetti's fresco, see C. Jean Campbell, *The Commonwealth of Nature* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 97–120.
2. Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 135–140; Steven Beller, *Francis Joseph* (New York: Longman Press, 1996), 179–180; Steven Beller, "Kraus's Firework: State Consciousness Raising in the 1908 Jubilee Parade in Vienna and the Problem of Austrian Identity," in *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield, eds. (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2001), 52.
3. Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 428–433.
4. For more on these efforts, see Paula Sutter Fichtner, *The Habsburgs: Dynasty, Cultures, and Politics* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014).
5. Andreas Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters für die oberen Classen der Gymnasien* (Laibach: Ig v. Kleinmayr & F. Bamberg, 1897), 87; Oskar von Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit bis zum Jahre 1648 für die II. Klasse der österreichischen Realschulen* (Vienna: Buchhandlung Friese & Lang, 1912), 19. A similar point is made by Anton

Gindely, who explicitly stated that the *Ostmark* "became Austria" in his *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen, Ausgabe für Mädchenschulen*, 7th ed. (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1885), 35–36.

6. Chapter 3 discusses Austria's "historic mission" in detail.
7. Ignaz Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (Vienna: Manzsche k.k. Hof-Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1884), 53–54.
8. Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1897), 87.
9. Einhard, *The Life of Charlemagne*, trans. Samuel Epes Turner (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1880), 56–64.
10. Theodor Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte für Lehrer- und Leherinnenbildungsanstalten*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1891), 153. The 3rd edition, published in 1895, has identical text on 169.
11. Leo Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschicthte des Mittelalters für die unteren Classen der Mittelschulen* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1894), 28.
12. Anton Rebhann, *Dr Emanuel Hannaks Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters für die unteren Klassen der Mittelschulen* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1904), 26; Anton Rebhann, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Realschulen andere verwandte Lehranstalten und Reformrealgymnasien*, vol. 2, *Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit bis zum westfälischen Frieden* (Laibach: Ig. V. Kleinmayr F. Bamberg, 1915), 49.
13. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 48.
14. Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1897), 70–72.
15. Andreas Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die VIII. Gynasialklasse* (Laibach: Ig v. Kleinmayr & F. Bamberg, 1907), 13–14.
16. Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1912), 15.
17. See for example Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 36.
18. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 49; Theodor Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, 2nd ed. (1891), 15, identical text in the 3rd edition (1895), 13. Emanuel Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters für oberclassen der Mittelschulen*, 5th ed. (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1899), 45.
19. Emanuel Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters für oberclassen der Mittelschulen*, 4th ed. (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1879), 54.
20. Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschicthte des Mittelalters* (1894), 25–26.
21. Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendants of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 100–107.
22. Theodor Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die zweite Klasse der Mädchenlyzeen*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1906), 71.
23. WSLA, Bibliotek, 5.1Biblk (1-)-K1-1K1020; *Verordnungsblatt des k.k. Landesschulrat für das Erzherzogthum Österreich ob der Enns vom Jahre 1888* (Linz: Josef Feichtingers Erben, 1888), 33–39.
24. Leopold Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit bis zum westfälischen Frieden für die Unterstufe der österreichischen Mittelschulen* (Vienna: Manzsche k.u.k. Hof-Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1910), 39.

25. Though, as shown in Chapter 3, textbooks differentiated between Arab and Turkish rule over the Holy Land, viewing the Arabs as more noble and tolerant than the Turks. See for example, Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1912), 29.
26. Ibid., 33.
27. Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 52–53; Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1910), 61. In reality, the red-white-red banner did not become the standard for the Duchy of Austria until 1230 during the reign of the last Babenberg Duke of Austria, Frederick II. It is worth noting, however, that this flag only represented the Duchy of Austria; it never became the universal standard for the Habsburg Monarchy. Emblematic of its diversity, the Monarchy had several standards and flags. Each province, crownland, and region kept its historic colors and heraldry. Emperor Joseph II did make the red-white-red flag of the Duchy of Austria the flag for the Habsburg Navy in 1786, an act that provoked considerable controversy. The only colors that flew over the entire Monarchy in the nineteenth century were black and yellow, the colors of the Habsburg dynasty. When Franz I reorganized the Monarchy into the Austrian Empire after the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire, he made the black and yellow flag of the Holy Roman Emperors the flag of the dynasty. Keeping these colors, while also keeping the double-headed eagle as the symbol of the dynasty and Monarchy, helped to confer imperial legitimacy to the reorganized Monarchy. The historic red-white-red flag of the Duchy of Austria became the national flag of the Republic of Austria when the Monarchy collapsed in 1918. Gordon Brook-Shepherd, *The Austrians: A Thousand-Year Odyssey* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 1996), 5, 37, 285; Thomas Hylland Eriksen, and Richard Jenkins, eds., *Flag, Nation, and Symbolism in Europe and America* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 18–21; Peter Jung, "200 Jahre rot-weiss-rot zur See," *Marine—Gestern, Heute* 14, no. 2: 56–58.
28. Anton Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen*, vol. 2, 7th ed. (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1885), 49–50. Gindely writes a similar treatment in his *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die Achte Classe der Gymnasien* (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1886), 12.
29. It is notable that these discussions of Leopold VI's campaigns in Egypt make little mention of the overall failure of the Fifth Crusade; see Thomas F. Madden, *The Concise History of the Crusades* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013), 135–154.
30. Joseph Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie für Mittelschulen*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Sallmayer & Komp., 1872), 28–30; Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen*, 61–63.
31. Rebhann, *Dr Emanuel Hannaks Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1904), 64; Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 61–63.
32. Theodor Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die vierte Klasse der Mädchenlyzeen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1904), 86–87; Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 38.

33. Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 39–40; Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1886), 12.
34. Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1886), 11–27; Lang, *Geographisch-statistische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 78–79; Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 22–25, 50–55; Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 26.
35. Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 41–42; Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 22–25; Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1910), 41. For a look at Stephen's reign and his importance to Hungarian nationalism, see Kontler, *A History of Hungary*, 52–56; Miklós Molnár, *A Concise History of Hungary* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 21–27.
36. Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 25.
37. Anton Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen,* vol. 2, 12th ed. (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1893), 32, Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1910), 41; Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 41–42.
38. Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 33–40; Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 24. For a brief discussion of Wenceslaus I's reign, see Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institute Press, 2004), 12–14.
39. Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 49–50; a near identical description can be found in Josef Kraft and Johann Georg Rothaus, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen*, vol. 1 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1892), 99; this same description was also added to the 12th edition of Anton Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen, Ausgabe für Mädchenschulen*, 12th ed. (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1892), 99.
40. Ignaz Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (Vienna: Manzsche k.u.k. Hof-Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1897), 116.
41. Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 99.
42. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 115.
43. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 63.
44. Karl Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien, Real-gymnasien, und Reform-real-gymnasien*, vol. 2, *Das Mittelalters, Die Neuzeit bis zum westfälischen Frieden*, 4th ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1919), 144; Anton Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volks- und Bürgerschulen* (1882), 72.
45. See Gerhard Hartmann, *Die Kaiser des Heiligen Römischen Reiches*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden: Marixverlag, 2010), 101–104.
46. Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volks- und Bürgerschulen* (1882), 73. See also, Tupetz, *Lehbuch der Geschichte für die vierte Klasse der Mädchenlyzeen* (1904), 128. Harold Wilson notes that the swift recovery of the empire during Rudolf's reign mitigates the traditional view that the interregnum was a period of devastation; instead, he views Rudolf's actions as an effort to expand imperial power at the expense of the nobility, Harold Wilson, *Heart of Europe: A History*

of the Holy Roman Empire (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2016), 382–383.

47. Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*, 183–192.
48. Maria Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I in Image, Spectacle, and Text* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 31.
49. Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1912), 48.
50. For more on this legend and the cultivation of it, see Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*, 208; Fichtner, *The Habsburgs*, 34.
51. "Erläuterung von Lesestücken, " *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung,* April, 1901, 160–162; *Jahresbericht der k.k. Bildungsanstalten für Lehrer und Lehrerinnen zu Laibach veröffentlicht am Schlussen des Schuljahres 1873* (Laibach: R. Millitz, 1873), 13; Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters für oberclassen der Mittelschulen* (1899), 129; Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen, Ausgabe für Mädchenschulen* (1892) 99; Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 101.
52. Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 101.
53. Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 102.
54. Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die vierte Klasse der Mädchenlyzeen* (1904), 131.
55. Franz Martin Mayer, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die vierte Classe der Mittelschulen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1891), 29. Emanuel Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters für unteren Classen der Mittelschulen*, 3th ed. (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1875), 95.
56. Rudolf IV's father-in-law, the Holy Roman Emperor Karl IV, had taken steps to establish a university in Prague just before Rudolf IV's decision to do the same in Vienna. Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 59.
57. Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters für oberclassen der Mittelschulen* (1899), 168–169.
58. Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 62.
59. Maximilian vastly expanded the power of the House of Habsburg through skillful use of marriage diplomacy. His marriage to Mary of Burgundy in 1477 gave him de facto control over the Duchy of Burgundy (along with its vast wealth) when Mary's father died the same year. In 1498, Maximilian arranged for his son, Philip, to marry the daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. In 1515, he arranged a double wedding with the Jagiellonian dynasty, which ruled Bohemia and Hungary. Maximillian's granddaughter married Louis, the future king of Bohemia and of Hungary, and Maximilian's grandson, the future Emperor Ferdinand I, married Louis' sister. These marriages, along with good luck, allowed for Habsburg inheritance of the Netherlands, Spain and the Spanish New World, Hungary, and Bohemia between 1482 and 1526. See Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526–1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 4–12; Steven Beller, *A Concise History of Austria* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 40–46; Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*, 59.

60. Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 79; identical text in the 1895 edition, 91.
61. Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1912), 64.
62. Ibid.; see also Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 79–80; identical text in the 1895 edition, 91–92.
63. Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 70; Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1897), 22.
64. Rebhann, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Realschulen* (1915), 157.
65. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 117. See also Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 71.
66. Karl Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien, Realgymnasien, und Reform-real-gymnasien*, vol. 3, *Die Neuzeit vom westfälischen Frieden bis auf die Gegenwart*, 3rd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1915), 22.
67. Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 98.
68. Andreas Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit für die oberen Classen der Gymnasien* (Laibach: Ig v. Kleinmayr & F. Bamberg, 1899), 25; see also Rebhann, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Realschulen* (1915), 159.
69. Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 10–11; Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 98. For a general discussion of Maximilian's reforms, see Hartmann, *Die Kaiser des Heiligen Römischen Reiches*, 131.
70. Rebhann, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Realschulen* (1915), 159.
71. Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1886), 36; Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1897), 22; Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 117.
72. Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I*, 30.
73. Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); see also Wilson, *Heart of Europe*, 274–275.
74. Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 99; Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 119; Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1912), 66–67.
75. Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volks- und Bürgerschulen* (1882), 62.
76. Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen, Ausgabe für Mädchenschulen* (1885), 85–87. See also Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1885), 87.
77. Leo Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit für die unteren Classen der Mittelschulen* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1895), 25. See also Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 40; Rebhann, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Realschulen* (1915), 171.
78. Emanuel Hannak, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die oberen Classen der Mittelschulen*, 12th ed. (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1889), 53–54.

79. Emanuel Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit für oberclassen der Mittelschulen*, 4th ed. (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1900), 14. For a discussion of Charles V's conflict with France, see Michael Edward Mallett and Christine Shaw, *The Italian Wars 1494–1559: War, State, and Society in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2012).
80. Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1912), 92.
81. Ibid., 94.
82. Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 109; Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 43.
83. As stated early, Ferdinand I married the sister of Louis II and became the king of Hungary and king of Bohemia after the death of his brother-in-law. This marriage, along with other treaties, made Ferdinand Louis's successor to both crowns. Louis II died in 1526, leading his troops against the Ottoman Empire at the Battle of Mohács. Even though treaties gave Ferdinand a claim to the throne of Bohemia and the throne of Hungary, his claim to the Bohemian crown required the consent of the Bohemian nobility, and he needed similar recognition from the Hungarian nobility to secure possession of the Hungarian throne. See Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 32–34; Kontler, *A History of Hungary*, 137–139; Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*, 59.
84. Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 43.
85. Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 21.
86. Rebhann, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Realschulen* (1915), 173.
87. Anton Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte für die oberen Klassen der Real- und Handelsschulen*, vol. 3, *der Neuzeit* (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1871), 53.
88. Ibid.
89. Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 109.
90. Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1910), 135.
91. Filip Šimetin Šegvić and Tomislav Branđolica, "The Age of Heroes in Historiography: The Example of Prince Eugene of Savoy," *Austrian History Yearbook,* 44 (2013), 211.
92. Leopold Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit für die Unterstufe der österreichischen Mittelschulen*, 3rd ed. (Vienna: Manzsche k.u.k. Hof-Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1910), 61.
93. Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte* (1871), 80. Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1886), 56–57 provides a similar description.
94. Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 104; Theodor Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die sechste Klasse der Mädchenlyzeen*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1915), 115.
95. Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 105; identical text in the 1895 edition, 121.
96. In order to successfully claim the French throne after the bitter religious wars of the sixteenth century, Henry IV, a leader of the Protestant faction of France's nobility, converted to Catholicism. In order to ensure that religious divisions did not threaten his claim to the throne, Henry issued the Edict of Nantes in 1598, granting

toleration to Protestantism. Louis XIV interpreted the edict as a challenge to royal authority and primacy and rescinded the edict in 1685, prompting many Huguenots to immigrate to countries that were Protestant or more tolerant of Protestant minorities. Gallicanism, formally established by the Concordat of Bologna (1516), granted the French king the ability to appoint high-ranking ecclesiastical authorities and influence over all Church matters. Sharon Kettering, *French Society, 1589–1715* (Essex: Longman, 2001), 96–99; Roger Price, *A Concise History of France*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 62–63, 71–72. See also Dale K. Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560–1791* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996).

97. Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 95; Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien*, vol. 3 (1915), 67; Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1895), 55.
98. Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 93; see also, Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 95; Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 60; Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 56; Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte* (1871), 78–79.
99. Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1895), 58; see also Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 61; Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien*, vol. 3 (1915), 19.
100. Oskar von Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit seit dem Jahre 1648 für die III. Klasse der österreichischen Realschulen* (Vienna: Buchhandlung Friese & Lang, 1913), 7.
101. Hannak, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1889), 77; Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie für Mittelschulen* (1872), 143–144.
102. See Tony Claydon and Charles-Édouard Levillain, eds, *Louis XIV Outside In: Images of the Sun King Beyond France, 1661–1715* (New York: Routledge, 2016).
103. Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I*, 45–48, 85–102, 143–154.
104. See chapter 3 for the ways in which textbooks discussed the Siege of Vienna.
105. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 97.
106. Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 80. See also Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 137. See also Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1895), 80.
107. Browning, *The War of Austrian Succession*, 18, 37–41, 358–363.
108. Julius John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1909), 7.
109. For an example of discussions of Frederick II's personality, see Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 14–15.
110. Julius John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1910), 9.
111. John, *Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1910), 10; Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 15; Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 80.

112. Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 128; identical text in the 3rd edition, published in 1895, 146; Emanuel Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit für oberclassen der Mittelschulen*, 3rd ed. (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1900), 136; identical text in the 4th edition, published in 1895 and the 5th edition published in 1900; Hannak, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1898), 90; Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 80.
113. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 97.
114. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 129. An almost identical account is found in Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 15.
115. Kraft, *Gindely's Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 112; Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie für Mittelschulen* (1872), 163. Even though textbooks made clear that it was Hungarian nobles who pledged loyalty to Maria Theresa at the Diet of Pressburg, authors still portrayed the event as the Hungarian people rallying to her side. In reality, Maria Theresa was less concerned with support of the common man, and more concerned with ensuring that the Hungarian nobility would not use the opportunity to rebel against Habsburg rule. Browning, *The War of Austrian Succession*, 66–68.
116. See Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 127; Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 99; Karl Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Unterstufe der Mädchenlyzeen*, vol. 3, *Die Neuzeit vom westfälischen Frieden bis auf die Gegenwart*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1917), 380; Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 112; Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1886), 75.
117. Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 86. See also Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Unterstufe der Mädchenlyzeen* (1917), 50–51.
118. Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 112; Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 127.
119. Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 15.
120. Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 135.
121. Neuhauser *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie für Mittelschulen* (1872), 164.
122. Susan P. Casteras, "The Wise Child and Her 'Offspring': Some Changing Faces of Queen Victoria," in *Remaking Queen Victoria*, Margaret Homans, and Adrienne Munich, eds., (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 182–199.
123. John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1909), 7; Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 79.
124. For example, see Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 82–83. Field Marshal Leopold Daun led the Habsburg forces during the War of Austrian Succession. He is often given credit for the successful defense of Bohemia, stalling the Prussian advance, and for the victory at the Battle of Kolin (1757). Daun also served as the president of the Court War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*) and implemented most of Maria Theresa's military reforms. Field Marshal Ernst

von Laudon led Austrian troops during the Seven Years' War, achieving notable victories against Prussia. He continued to serve as a general under Joseph II, fighting against the Ottoman Empire. Count Wenzel von Kaunitz was Maria Theresa's chief diplomat and head of her State Council (*Staatsrat*) starting in 1752. He was the architect of many of Maria Theresa's centralization reforms as well as the "Diplomatic Revolution," which created an alliance between France and Austria. Angela Kulenkampff, *Österreich und das Alte Reich: Die Reichspolitik des Staatskanzlers Kaunitz unter Maria Theresia und Joseph II* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), 25–56; Crankshaw, *Maria Theresa*, 242–245, 271–272; Derek Beales, "Love and the Empire: Maria Theresa and Her Co-Regents," in *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe*, Robert Oresko, G. C. Gibbs, and H. M. Scott, eds. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997),479–499.

125. Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1895), 83–85.
126. John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1909), 8.
127. Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 19; Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 104; Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte* (1871), 109. For a historical overview of these reforms, see Scott, "Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy," 152–160.
128. Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien*, vol. 3 (1915), 118; Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 135–138.
129. Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1886), 75.
130. Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Fünfte Klasse der Mädchenlyzeen* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1903), 137. See also Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 104.
131. John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1909), 12.
132. T. C. W. Blanning, *Joseph II* (New York: Longman, 1994), 56–125; Deak, *Forging a Multinational State*, 21–29.
133. Nancy M. Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 17–47; Nancy M. Wingfield, "Emperor Joseph II in the Austrian Imagination up to 1914," in *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy*, Laurence Cole and Daniel L. Unowsky, eds. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009).
134. Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 100, 107–108.
135. Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 143; identical text in the 1895 edition, 163; Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1882), 154.
136. Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte* (1871), 110. See also Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 20. See also Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 89.
137. John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1909), 16.
138. Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 153.

139. Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 141.
140. "Über den Geschichtsunterricht in der Volksschule," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, October, 1895.
141. Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 20.
142. Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1886), 78; John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1909), 16–17.
143. Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 89; Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien*, vol. 3 (1915), 122.
144. Deak, *Forging a Multinational State*, 141–144, 191–198.
145. John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1909), 19; Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte* (1891) 300; identical text in 3rd ed., 164.
146. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 102.
147. The circumstances of Franz Joseph's rise to power allowed some revolutionaries, especially those in Hungary, to portray him as a usurper, and claim they were fighting in the name of the "rightful" Habsburg ruler, Ferdinand I. In spite of these assertions, Franz Joseph faced no significant challenge to his right to the throne after the end of the Revolutions of 1848. Beller, *Francis Joseph*, 45–49; István Deák, *The Lawful Revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848–1849* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 201–207.
148. Deak, *Forging a Multinational State*, 137–174; Lothar Höbelt, *Franz Joseph I. Der Kaiser und sein Reich. Eine politische Geschichte* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2009), 43–56.
149. Alan Sked, *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 1815–1918* (New York: Longman, 1989), 283–309; Höbelt, *Franz Joseph I*, 57–70.
150. Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte* (1891) 333; identical text in 3rd ed., 201. For a discussion of Joseph II's reforms, see Blanning, *Joseph II*, 103–112.
151. Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 103–104. A similar notion is found in Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen Ausgabe für Mädchenschulen* (1892), 118–119, where he argues that the "grace" of Franz Joseph led him to give his subjects part of his power.
152. Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 63–64.
153. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 138.
154. See Elisabeth Springer, *Die Wiener Ringstrasse, Bild einer Epoche: Die Erweiterung der inneren Stadt Wien unter Kaiser Franz Josef*, vol. 2 of *Geschichte und Kulturleben der Wiener Ringstrasse*, Renate Wagner-Reigner, ed. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979); Carl Schorske, "The Ringstrasse and the Birth of Modern Urbanism," in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 24–115.
155. Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1895), 209–213. See also Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 231.
156. John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1909), 79; see also Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 181; identical text in the 1895 edition, 207.

157. Ibid., 80.
158. For an overview of these tragedies, see Beller, *Francis Joseph*, 15; Brigitte Hamann, *Mit Kaiser Max in Mexiko: Aus den Tagbüchern den Fürsten Carl Khevenhüller 1864–1867* (Munich: Piper, 2001); Brigitte Hamann, *Rudolf: Kronprinz und Rebell* (Munich: Piper, 1999), 437–497.
159. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 137.
160. Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 117. See also Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 236.
161. Weingartner, *Lehrbuch für Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 163.
162. Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 223.
163. Chapter 4 discusses these issues in detail.
164. Beller, *Francis Joseph*, 1–3, 223–230; Brigitte Hamann, *Hitlers Wien: Lehrjahre eines Diktators* (Munich: Piper, 1998), 473–474; Ernst Hanisch, *Der lange Schatten des Staates: Österreichische Gesellschaftsgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Überreuter, 1994); Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 209–231; 216–217, 280–282; Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 251–253; Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism*, 113–144.

Chapter 3: Conceptualizing Austria and Austrians

1. For example, Julius Aichberger, *Kleine Heimatkunde von Oberösterreich: Ein Wiederholdungsbüchlein für Volksschuler* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1907), 30.
2. This older view is exemplified in Kann, *The Multinational Empire*, vol. 1; Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*.
3. Eric Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 9.
4. Ibid., 274.
5. Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 6–18.
6. "Über Pflege der Heimatsliebe und Anlage von Ortschroniken," *Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht*, January 24, 1875, 45.
7. "Die Heimatkunde in der Volksschule," *Pädagogium—Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, vol. 16 (Vienna: Julius Klinkhardt, 1894), 514–515.
8. Ibid., 513.
9. "Von der getreuen Heimat Kunst," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte, Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen Zeitung*, November 15, 1908.
10. "Wie wir den Kindern das Heimatgefühl erhalten soll," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte, Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen Zeitung*, January 1, 1909.
11. "Haben die Leuten von die grossen Stadt ein Heimat?," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte, Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen Zeitung*, February 1, 1909.
12. Blickle, *Heimat*, 15, 28–31.
13. "Über Heimat- und Weltkunde," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, May 5, 1914.

14. "Die Heimatkunde in der Volksschule," *Pädagogium* vol. 16, 517–519; "Zum Unterricht in der Heimatkunde," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, May 31, 1890. Modern pedagogy still supports teaching geography and history in this manner. See Linda S. Levstik and Cynthia A. Tyson, eds., *Handbook of Research in Social Studies Education* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 15–63.
15. See Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 286–294.
16. "Der erste Geschichtsunterricht in der Volksschule," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 25, 1903.
17. Ibid.
18. "Der Papier-geographische Unterricht," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, February 16, 1902.
19. "Über Pflege der Heimatsliebe und Anlage von Ortschroniken," *Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht*, January 24, 1875, 46–48.
20. "Die neusten Errungenschaften auf dem Gebiete des Realienunterrichtes," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, November 15, 1908.
21. "Die Heimatkunde in der Volksschule," *Pädagogium* vol. 16, 526; "Zum Unterricht in der Heimatkunde," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, May 31, 1890.
22. "Die Welt- und Heimatkunde," *Die freie Schule, Zeitschrift für Unterricht und Erziehung*, May 18, 1868.
23. "Die Welt- und Heimatkunde," *Die freie Schule, Zeitschrift für Unterricht und Erziehung*, July 3, 1868. A broader rejection of "near to far" methodology can be found in articles published in the May 25, 1868; June 11, 1868, and June 18, 1868 editions as well.
24. "Der Unterricht in der Heimatkunde—noch immer zu viel Papier und zu wenig Anschauung," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, June 20, 1887.
25. "Die Erzählungen aus der Geschichte der Steiermark," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, May 20, 1875; "Österreich's Heldenjunglinge Hermann und Hansel," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 10, 1879.
26. "Über die Anschaulichkeit des Geschichtesunterrichtes," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, January 31, 1875; "Über die Anschaulichkeit des geographischen Unterrichtes," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 20, 1876; "Ein neues wichtiges Buch für steiermarks Lehrer," "Über die Anschaulichkeit des Geschichtesunterrichtes," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 30, 1891.
27. "Das 'Kronlandsbuch' für Steiermark," "Über die Anschaulichkeit des Geschichtesunterrichtes," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, April 20, 1893.
28. Valentin Rehle, *Heimatkunde des Herzogthumes Salzburg* (Salzburg: Self-Published by Author, 1875).

29. Karl Schober, *Heimatkunde von Nieder-Österreich. Zum Gebrauche an Lehrerbildungsanstalten* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1884).
30. Aichberger, *Kleine Heimatkunde von Oberösterreich*, 28–29.
31. D. Porsch, *Kleine Heimatkunde von Böhmen nach Landschaftsgebieten, für die häuslichen Wiederholung* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1907), 15, 21; Johann Doiwa, *Kleine Heimatkunde von Niederösterreich: Ein Wiederholdungsbüchlein für Volksschuler* (Vienna: A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1906), 2–3.
32. Balthasar Schüttelkopf, *Heimatkundliche Lesestücke. Eine Ergänzung zu dem Lesebucher für allgemeine Volksschulen in Kärnten* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1906), 7.
33. See for example *Detail-Lehrpläne für den Unterricht in Naturgeschichte, Naturlehre, Erdkunde, und Geschichte an den Volksschulen des Schulebezirkes Wels* (Wels: Johann Haas, 1891); *Verordnung des Ministers für Cultus und Unterricht vom 23 April 1898,* Z. 10331; 20 März 1909, Z. 11662.
34. "Erziehung zum Patriotismus," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, September 30, 1880; "Die Geschichte in der Volksschule,"*Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht*, April 10, 1872, 174–178.
35. Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1886), 125.
36. Theodor Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, 3rd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1895), 216–222.
37. "Werken und Pflegen des Patriotismus in der Volksschule," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 30, 1888.
38. Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907); Lang, *Geographisch-statistische Vaterlandskunde* (1907); Frisch, *Geographische Bilder aus Österrich-Ungarn* (1895).
39. "Die Slaven" *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung,* November 1900.
40. "Wie ist bei der Anferstigung von Kartenskizzen in der Schule vorzugehen?" *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, September 1887.
41. See Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907).
42. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 4853 24 D, #22694, May 29, 1909, review by Karl Queiss of Anton Gindely's *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die untere Klassen der Mittelschulen*.
43. Chapter 5 discusses the role of teachers as national educators in detail. See "Lehrer—Erzieher unseres Volkes!," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, June 20, 1887; "Die Entwicklung und Pflege des deutschen Volkssthums in der Schule," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, September 15, 1898, 295; "Die Entwicklung und Pflege des deutschen Volkssthums in der Schule," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, September 15, 1898, 295; "Die Lehrerversammlung in Brünn," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, October 15, 1898, 351; "Nationale Erziehung," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, October 1, 1901,

344–346; "Über die Mittel der völkischen Erziehung," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, February 15, 1902, 42.

44. "Die Geschichte in der Volksschule,"*Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht*, April 10, 1872, 174–178; "Schule und Nationalität," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung,* April 1, 1892, echoes these ideas.
45. "Die staatliche Entwicklung der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, January 20, 1879.
46. For an exhaustive overview of the Thirty Years' War see Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2011).
47. Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*, 69–70.
48. Hugh Agnew, *Origins of the Czech National Renascence* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993), 48–50, 90–92, 112–115; Eagle Glassheim, *Noble Nationalists: The Transformation of the Bohemian Aristocracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 44–53; see also Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints*, 144–151.
49. Bruckmüller, "Patriotic and National Myths," 20.
50. See for example Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 124–138.
51. Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1908), 125–131; Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Knabenbürgerschulen* (1908), 114–120.
52. Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1897), 76.
53. Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 136, 56–68; Hannak, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1898), Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 96–105; Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte* (1876), 61–62; Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1910),153–154; Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte* (1915), 56.
54. Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1885), 95.
55. Rebhann, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Realschulen* (1915), 207. For simliar treatments, see von Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1912), 111; John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1909), 6; Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 48–50.
56. For an overview of the Revolutions of 1848 see Sperber, *The European Revolutions*.
57. Weingartner, *Lehrbuch für Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1910), 142.
58. Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien*, vol. 3 (1915), 181, 184; Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 136.
59. von Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 41.
60. Kraft and Rothaus, *Gindely's Lehrbuch der Geschichte* (1892), 118–119.
61. Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die sechste Klasse der Mädchenlyzeen* (1915), 45.

62. Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 150; identical text in the 3rd edition, 194.
63. Weingartner, *Lehrbuch für Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1910), 143. See also Kraft, *Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1892), 101; Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1908), 178–181; Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Knabenbürgerschulen* (1908), 170–173.
64. Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte,* vol. 3 (1876), 192.
65. For a comprehensive overview of the revolution in Hungary, see Deák, *The Lawful Revolution*; for the impact and legacy of the revolution, see Alice Freifeld, *Nationalism and the Crowd in Liberal Hungary, 1848–1914* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).
66. Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte,* vol. 3 (1876), 193; Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien*, vol. 3 (1915), 188.
67. Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte,* vol. 3 (1876), 193.
68. John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1909), 47.
69. Deák, *The Lawful Revolution*, 34, 56–57, 347–349; Freifeld, *Nationalism and the Crowd*, 4, 45–46, 82, 112–116, 221–222, 227–229.
70. John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1909), 49–52; Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 227–229; Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Oberstufe der Gymnasien*, vol. 3 (1915), 186–187.
71. Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die VIII. Gynasialklasse* (1907), 126.
72. Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 226; see also Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 208; Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte*, vol. 3 (1876), 194.
73. Weingartner, *Weingartner's Lehrbuch für Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1910), 144.
74. Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 44.
75. John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1909), 52.
76. Almasy, *Kanon und nationale Konsolidierung*, 271.
77. See John Stoye, *The Siege of Vienna: The Last Great Trial Between Cross and Crescent* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2000).
78. Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1912), 29.
79. Ibid.
80. Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1885), 67.
81. Ibid., 62, 69; Kraft, *Gindely's Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1892), 73–74.
82. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 84.
83. Ibid., 84–85.
84. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 124.
85. Ibid.
86. Tupetz, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die zweite Klasse der Mädchenlyzeen* (1906), 123.

87. Ibid.
88. Tupetz, *Lehrbuch allgemeine Geschichte für Lehrer- und Leherinnenbildungsanstalten* (1891), 286; identical text is found on 147 in the 3rd edition, published in 1895.
89. Kraft, *Gindely's Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1892), 89–90. For more on the role of slavery in Ottoman society, see Madeline Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
90. Karl Woynar, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für die Unterstufe der Mädchenlyzeen*, vol. 3, *Die Neuzeit vom Westfälischen Frieden bis auf die Gegenwart*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1917), 21; Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 82; Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 92; Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 61.
91. Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 144–145. Describing Kara Mustafa as "bellicose" is typical of most books. It was yet another way that authors chose to remind their readers of the martial nature of Austria's foes. See also Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 61.
92. Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 145.
93. Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1908), 131.
94. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 124–125.
95. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 92.
96. Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 8–9.
97. Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 63.
98. Ibid., 63–64.
99. Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 64. See also Hannak, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1898), 76.
100. Kraft, *Gindely's Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1892), 90.
101. Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1900), 98.
102. Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 9.
103. See Gunther Rothenburg, *The Napoleonic Wars* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2006).
104. For an overview of the Congress of Vienna and Metternich's efforts to recover Austria's diminished diplomatic position, see David King, *Vienna 1814: How the Conquerors of Napoleon Made Love, War, and Peace at the Congress of Vienna* (New York: Harmony Books, 2008).
105. Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 196. A similar reference to Austria fighting without allies is in Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 132.
106. Gindely, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde für die Achte Classe der Gymnasien* (1886), 84–85.
107. Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1893), 96; Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1901), 115.

108. Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1891), 157; identical text in the 3rd edition, 179.
109. Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1908), 162; Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Knabenbürgerschulen* (1908), 159.
110. Ibid.
111. Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 33.
112. This description also illustrates Hofer's piety and faith in God by showing him invoking his creator and venerating his cross. Ibid., 33.
113. Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 119. Similar descriptions are found in Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 118.
114. Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 107; Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1885), 102.
115. Tupetz, *Lehrbuch allgemeine Geschichte* (1891), 2nd ed, 286; identical text in the 3rd edition, 148; Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, 2nd ed. (1891), 109–113; identical text in the 3rd edition, 126–129; Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 86; Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 65–68.
116. Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 68–70; Kraft, *Gindely's Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1892), 91; Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 12; Smolle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1894), 61–67.
117. Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 107.
118. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Volksschulen* (1884), 94–95.
119. Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Mädchenbürgerschulen* (1908), 137; Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Knabenbürgerschulen* (1908), 126.
120. "Stunden in der freien Schule," *Freie Schule: Mitteilungen des Vereines "Freie Schule" in Wien*, April 1908.
121. Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, 2nd ed. (1891), 149–164; identical text in the 3rd edition, 171–188.
122. Gindely, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1885), 113.
123. Ibid., 114. A similar presentation can be found in Neuhauser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1872), 196.
124. Weingartner, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 105–106.
125. Pennerstorfer, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1897), 131.
126. Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 185; Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 32–33; see also Anton Gindely, *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geschichte für die oberen Klassen der Real- und Handelsschulen*, vol. 3, *Der Neuzeit* (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1876), 164.
127. Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 198; identical 4th and 5th editions published in 1895 and 1900.
128. Kraft, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Bürgerschulen* (1892), 117. See also Zeehe, *Österreichische Vaterlandskunde* (1907), 115.
129. Richard Raithel, *Maturitätsfragen aus der allgemeine Geschichte*, 1st ed. (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1906), 164–169; 2nd ed., 181–186.

130. Richard Raithel, *Fragen aus der Vaterländischen Geschichte*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1909), 35–36.
131. Ibid., 82–86.
132. The Treaty of Berlin (1878) essentially transferred total control over the Ottoman provinces of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Austria-Hungary, but forbade annexation. While Habsburg authorities remained more or less content with the terms of the treaty for the next thirty years, they felt that the emergence of the Young Turk government in the Ottoman Empire, which sought to reassert Ottoman control over its territories, along with the Serbian coup of 1903, which placed a dynasty hostile to Austria-Hungary on the Serbian throne, threatened their position in the Balkans. In order to ensure that their control over Bosnia-Herzegovina remained unchallenged, Austria-Hungary annexed the provinces in 1908, sparking an international crisis. While the crisis abated, the annexation greatly destabilized the Balkans and severely damaged Austria-Hungary's relationship with many European powers, especially Russia. For more on the annexation and its consequences, see F. R. Bridge, *The Habsburg Monarchy among the Great Powers, 1815–1918* (New York: Berg Publishers, 1990), 288–304.
133. Tupetz, *Bilder aus der Geschichte für Knabenbürgerschulen* (1908), 179. Similar language is used in Tupetz, *Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, 2nd ed. (1891), 187; identical text in the 3rd edition, 215.
134. Weingartner, *Lehrbuch für Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1910), 164.
135. Ibid.
136. Zeehe, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1899), 197.
137. Hannak, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit für oberclassen der Mittelschulen* (1900), 233; see also John, *Anton Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte für Mädchen-Bürgerschulen* (1909), 66; Gratzy, *Welters Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1913), 65.

Chapter 4: Commemorating the Monarchy

1. A planning commission directed by representatives of the Habsburg dynasty oversaw the construction of all of the official buildings and public spaces along the *Ringstrasse*. This commission consciously selected architectural styles and motifs for individual buildings and monuments that they felt augmented the purpose of the structure. For more on the construction of the *Ringstrasse* and its political iconography, see Schorske, "The Ringstrasse and the Birth of Modern Urbanism," 24–115; Springer, *Geschichte und Kulturleben der Wiener Ringstrasse.*
2. For more on Salm, see Helmut Neuhold, *Österreichs Kriegshelden: Landsknechte, Haudegen, Feldherren* (Graz: Ares Verlag, 2012).
3. James W. Pennebaker and Amy L. Gonzales, "Making History: Social and Psychological Processes Underlying Collective Memory," in *Memory in Mind and Culture*, Pascal Boyer and James V. Wertsch, eds. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 184.

4. Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 18–19; Jay Winter, *War and Remembrance: The Great War between Memory and History in the 20th Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 4–5, 135–138,140–141.
5. See Kraft and Rothaus, *Gindelys Lehrbuch der Geschichte* (1892).
6. For examples of such notions, see "Der erste Geschichtsunterricht in der Volksschule," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 25, 1903; "Der Papier-geographische Unterricht," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, February 16, 1902.
7. "Die historische Ausstellung der Stadt Wien," *Wiener Zeitung*, September 4, 1883, 3.
8. Karl Weiss, *Katalog der Historischen Ausstellung der Stadt Wien, 1883. Aus Anlass der zweiten Säcularfeier der Befreiung Wien's von den Türken vom Gemeinerathe der Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien veranstaltet* (Vienna: Wallishausser, 1883), v.
9. Ibid., v–vii.
10. "Die historische Ausstellung der Stadt Wien," *Neue Freie Presse*, September 7, 1883, evening edition, 2; "Die historische Ausstellung der Stadt Wien," *Wiener Zeitung*, September 4, 1883, 3.
11. Ibid.
12. Weiss, *Katalog der Historischen Ausstellung der Stadt Wien*, 30.
13. Ibid., 34, 41–42.
14. Ibid., 40.
15. Ibid., 382.
16. Ibid., 64.
17. Ibid., 70–71.
18. Ibid., 106–169.
19. Ibid., 170.
20. "Die historische Ausstellung der Stadt Wien," *Neue Freie Presse*, September 7, 1883, evening edition, 2; "Die historische Ausstellung der Stadt Wien," *Wiener Zeitung*, September 4, 1883, 4.
21. For example, see *Dreiundzwanzigster Jahres-Bericht der Wiener Communal-Oberrealschule im ersten Gemeinde-Bezirke für das Schuljahr 1883–1884* (Vienna: Carl Gerolds Sohn, 1884), 57.
22. The Austrian Museum for Art and Industry (Österreichischen Museum für Kunst und Industrie) is now the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts (Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst).
23. *Katalog der Erzherzog Carl-Ausstellung zur jahrhundertfeier der Schlacht bei Aspern* (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1909), iii–v; "Die Erzherzog Karl-Ausstellung in Wien," *Neue Freie Presse*, April 4, 1909, 10.
24. Oskar Criste, "Erzherzog Carl," in *Katalog der Erzherzog Carl-Ausstellung*, 1.
25. Ibid., 1–2.
26. Ibid., 3–5.
27. Ibid., 5.
28. Hauptman Peters, "Aspern," in *Katalog der Erzherzog Carl-Ausstellung*, 6.

29. Ibid., 9.
30. Ibid., 12.
31. *Führer durch die Erzherzog Carl-Ausstellung im k.k. Österreichischen Museum für Kunst und Industrie* (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1909), 3–5.
32. "Erzherzog Karl-Ausstellung," *Weiner Zeitung*, April 19, 1909, 5.
33. *Führer durch die Erzherzog Carl-Ausstellung*, 6–9.
34. Ibid., 8.
35. Ibid., 13–14.
36. Ibid., 15–16.
37. Ibid., 16–17.
38. Ibid., 19–20.
39. Ibid., 182–183.
40. "Die Erzherzog Karl-Ausstellung in Wien," *Neue Freie Presse*, April 4, 1909, 10.
41. "Erzherzog Karl-Ausstellung," *Weiner Zeitung*, April 19, 1909, 5.
42. *Führer durch die Erzherzog Carl-Ausstellung*, 1–2; Archive of the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, document 2209–1909.
43. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 1897 10D2, #18051, 4/30/1909, memorandum from the Lower Austrian *Landesschulrat* to the Ministry of Religion and Education seeking permission to attend the Archduke Karl exhibit. See also *Jahresbericht über das k.k. akademisches Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1908-1909* (Vienna: Verlag des k.k. akademisches Gymnasium, 1909), 48.
44. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 4197 17D2, #52535, 12/7/1911, letter from Josef Bartmann to the Ministry of Religion and Education concerning student excursions.
45. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 1770 10D2, #1792, 1/13/1910, letter from the German and Austrian Alpine Association in Innsbruck to the Ministry of Religion and Education concerning student hiking trips to the mountains.
46. ASL, B0024 Bundesreal-gymnasium Linz (Khevenhüllerstraße), *Jahres-Bericht des k.k. Staats-Realgymnasiums in Linz über das zweite Schuljahr 1912–1913*, 42.
47. ASL, B0024 Bundesreal-gymnasium Linz (Khevenhüllerstraße), *Jahres-Bericht des k.k. Staats-Realgymnasiums in Linz über das dritte Schuljahr 1913–1914*, 50.
48. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 2322 10A1, #26671, 6/4/1912, year-end report from the German-language *Realschule* in Prague to the Ministry of Religion and Education.
49. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2103 10D2, #8028, 2/17/1912, request from the Lower Austrian *Landesschulrat* to the Ministry of Religion and Education for permission for students to have access to city museums; #12559, 3/13/1912, Request from the Lower Austrian *Landesschulrat* to the *Oberstkämmeramt* for students to have access to court museums.
50. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2103 10D2, #43378, 9/20/1913, request from the Lower Austrian *Landesschulrat* for students to attend an exhibit at the court library.
51. ASL, B0051 Bundesgymnasium Freistadt, Oberösterreich, *Zehnter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats- Real- und Obergymnasiums in Freistadt in Oberösterreich veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1880*, 38.
52. OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 22, *Jahreshauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Oberösterreich, 1884*; Schachtel 23, *Jahreshauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Oberösterreich, 1887.*

53. For example, ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 4189, #6196-1886, ministry decrees concerning school holidays.
54. Daniel Unowsky, "Reasserting Empire: Habsburg Imperial Celebrations after the Revolutions of 1848–1849," in *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield, eds. (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2001), 14, 21.
55. ASL, B0019, *Disziplinar-Vorschriften für die Schüler des k.k. Staats-Gymnasiums Linz*, 1872, 14–15; *Disziplinar-Vorschriften für die Schüler des k.k. Staats-Gymnasiums Linz*, 1881, 15–16.
56. When writing about the various school celebrations, most year-end reports from schools made some comment about the room being "festively decorated," often with detailed descriptions of those decorations. See for example ASL, B0027, *Dreizehnte Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am "Collegium Petrinum,"* 1910, 43; WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.1601, *Schulchronik—Abelegasse*, entry for 10/4/1900.
57. AHMP SVZ, NAD 1042, Německá škola chlapeckă v Karlíně, Palackého 33 Karton: Kronika, 1877, entry for 10/4/1877.
58. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.402 B51, *Schulchronik—Hauptschule für Mädchen, Vierte Bezirk, Graf Starhemberggasse*, entries for 11/11/1887; 5/12/1888; 1/15/1891; 7/14/1900. 2.2.2.3.203.B51, *Schulchronik—Holzhausergasse*, entries for 11/10/1877; 11/30/1880; 12/27/1882; 7/14/1900.
59. The individual school chronicles and year-end reports often listed these visiting dignitaries. See for example WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.506.B51, *Schulchronik—Einsiedlergasse*, entry for 10/4/1910.
60. OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 76, *Jahreshauptbericht über des Zustand der allgemeine Volks- und Bürgerschulen und der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen in Steiermark, 1904–1905.*
61. WSLA KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.4, #16500, Sample speech from the office of Mayor Karl Lueger.
62. AHMP SVZ, NAD 1042, Německá škola chlapeckă v Karlíně, Palackého 33 Karton: Kronika, 1877, entry for 10/4/1877.
63. *Jahresbericht über das k.k. akademisches Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1870–1871* (Vienna: Verlag des k.k. akademisches Gymnasium, 1871), 82.
64. *Jahresbericht über das k.k. akademisches Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1867–1868* (Vienna: Verlag des k.k. akademisches Gymnasium, 1868), 66.
65. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.907.B51, *Schulchronik – Liechtensteinstrasse*, Band 1, entry for 7/14/1900.
66. WSLA SSR, Materialien-Schulveranstaltungen (uncollected materials), *Festrede* by Franiska Wolf.
67. ASL, B0054 Bundesgymnasium und Realgymnasium Ried/Innkreis, *XL Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Ried, 1910–1911*, 29–30.
68. Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism*, 105–144. For more on Franz Joseph's cult of personality, see Beller, *Francis Joseph*, 1–3, Christina Wolf, "Representing Constitutional Monarchy in Late Nineteenth and Early

Twentieth-century Britain, Germany, and Austria," in *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy*, Laurence Cole and Daniel Unowsky, eds. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 210. For discussions of Wilhelm II and Victoria as media monarchs, see Martin Kohlrausch, *Der Monarch im Skandal: Die Logik der Massenmedien und die Transformation der wilhelminischen Monarchie* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005); Eva Giloi, *Monarch, Myth, and Material Culture in Germany 1750–1950* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

69. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.907.B51, *Schulchronik—Liechtensteinstrasse*, Band 1, entry for 7/14/1900.
70. WSLA KBK, 3.1.5.5.A62.2, #3534, letter from the Vienna school board concerning the planning of celebrations for the emperor's seventieth birthday 5/23/1900; #7042, letter from the Vienna school board concerning the planning of celebrations for the emperor's seventieth birthday, 9/1/1900.
71. WSLA KBK, 3.1.5.5.A62.2, #3534, letter from the Vienna school board concerning the planning of celebrations for the emperor's seventieth birthday 5/23/1900; #7042, letter from the Vienna school board concerning the planning of celebrations for the emperor's seventieth birthday 5/23/1900.
72. WSLA KBK, 3.1.5.5.A62.2, unnumbered poster.
73. WSLA KBK, 3.1.5.5.A62.2, #6944, list of city officials attending school events for the emperor's birthday, 7/14/1900.
74. AHMP SVZ, NAD 1042, Německá škola chlapeckă v Karlíně, Palackého 33 Karton: Kronika, 1899–1900, June 30, 1900.
75. *Programm des kaiserl. königl. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1901* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdruckerei, 1901), 59.
76. Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism*, 113–144.
77. Hamann, *Hitlers Wien*, 131–132; Strong, *Seedtime for Fascism*, 47–67.
78. For a discussion of the perception of Franz Ferdinand's unpopularity and his personality, see Bridge, *The Habsburg Monarchy among the Great Powers*, 6–7; Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (New York: Harper Collins, 2013), 378–381.
79. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 233–237; Freifeld, *Nationalism and the Crowd in Liberal Hungary*, 127–138; Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism*, 33–51.
80. For example WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.604.B51, *Schulchronik—Sonnenuhrgasse*, Band 2, entry for 11/3/1917; 2.2.2.3.1601.B51, *Schulchronik—Abelegasse*, entries for 11/3/1917, 11/21/1917. This effort was part of Karl's broader strategy to build support for his reign emphasizing his vitality and energy. Steven Beller, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1815–1918* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 262.
81. The effort to use such celebrations to cultivate historical memory were hardly unique to Austria; instead, they represent a feature of Central European society. See Emil Brix and Hannes Stekl, eds., *Der Kampf um das Gedächtnis: Öffentliche Gedenktage in Mitteleuropa* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1997).

82. *Jahresbericht über das k.k. akademisches Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1868–1869* (Vienna: Verlag des k.k. akademisches Gymnasium, 1869), 50; *Erster Jahresbericht der sechsklassigen städtischen Volksschule für Mädchen, X., Himbergerstraße Nr. 64*. (Vienna: Self-Published, 1879), 7; OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 76, #1599, concerning schools in Perg; Schachtel 76, *Jahreshauptbericht über der allgemeine Volks- und Bürgerschulen und der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen in Steiermark, 1906*.
83. *Jahresbericht über das k.k. akademische Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1870–1871*, 82; *Jahresbericht über das k.k. akademisches Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1871–1872* (Vienna: Verlag des k.k. akademisches Gymnasium, 1872), 41.
84. *Erster Jahresbericht der sechsklassigen städtischen Volksschule für Mädchen, X., Himbergerstraße Nr. 64*, 8.
85. Ibid.
86. *Neunter Jahres-Bericht der öffentlichen Volksschulen in Linz für das Schuljahr 1878/79* (Linz: k.k. Stadtschulrat Linz, 1879), 17; WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.101. B51, *Schulchronik—Schul St. Stefan*, entry for 4/24/1878; 2.2.2.3.405.B51, *Schulchronik—Pressgasse 24*, entry for 4/24/1878.
87. AHMP SVZ, NAD 1051, Německá obecná škola pro chlapeckă a divky Praha XI—Žižkov: *Chronik der deutschen Schule zu Žižkov*, entry for 2/26/1879 and 4/24/1879.
88. ASL, B0053, Stiftsgymnasium Kremsmünster Programme, 1858–1873, *Neunundzwanzigstes Programm des k.k. Obergymnasiums der Benedictiner zu Kremsmünster für das Schuljahr 1879*, 83.
89. ASL, B0054, Bundesgymnasium und Realgymnasium Ried/Innkreis, Jahresbericht, 1872–1953, *Achter Jahres-Bericht des k.k. Real- und Obergymnasiums in Ried am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1878/79*, 27–28.
90. AHMP SVZ, 204D, 28, *Programm des k.k. Prag-Neustädter Gymnasiums am Schlusse des Studienjahres 1878-1879* (Prague: k.k. Schulbücherverlags, 1879), 62.
91. AHMP SVZ, NAD 1051, Německá obecná škola pro chlapeckă a divky Praha XI—Žižkov: *Chronik der deutschen Schule zu Žižkov*, entry for April 24, 1879; *Programm des kaiserl. königl. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1879* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdruckerei, 1879), 64.
92. The *akademisches Gymnasium* in Vienna did celebrate his name day in 1872. *Jahresbericht über das k.k. akademische Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1871–1872*, 41.
93. ASL, B0051, Bundesgymnasium Freistadt-Oberösterreich, *Zehnter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-Real- und Obergymnasiums in Freistadt in Oberösterreich, 1800*, 37; see also AHMP SVZ, NAD 1042, Německá škola chlapeckă v Karlíně, Palackého 33 Karton: Kronika, 1899–1900, entry for 3/8/1880.
94. *Programm der Communal-Realschule in Elbogen, veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1880–1881*, 38–39; ASL, B0054, Bundesgymnasium und Realgymnasium Ried/Innkreis Jahresbericht, 1872–1953, *Zehnter Jahres-Bericht des k.k. Real- und Obergymnasiums in Ried am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1880/81*, 37.

95. *Programm des kaiserl. königl. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1881* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdruckerei, 1881), 54–55.
96. See WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.203.B51, *Schulchronik—Holzhausergasse*, entry for 5/10/1881; 2.2.2.3.604.B51, *Schulchronik—Sonnenuhrgasse*, Band 1, entry for 5/10/1881; 2.2.2.3.1601 B51, *Schulchronik—Abelegasse*, Band 1, entry for 5/10/1881.
97. WSLA SSR, Materialien-Schulveranstaltungen (uncollected materials), Marie Sidonie Heimel-Purschke, *Vindobonas Huldigung. Allegorisches Festspiel zur Feier der goldenen Hochzeit Ihrer k. u. k. Hoheiten des durchlauchtigsten Herrn Erzherzogs Rainer und der durchlauchtigsten Frau Erzherzogin Marie*.
98. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.405 B51, *Schulchronik—Pressgasse 24*, Band 1, entry for 5/28/1872; *Fünfzehnter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-untergymnasiums in Prag Neustadt, veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1895/96* (Prague: Self-Published, 1896), 41; *Sechzehnter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-untergymnasiums in Prag Neustadt, veröffentlich am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1896/97* (Prague: Self-Published, 1897), 68; AHMP SVZ, NAD 1051, Německá obecná škola pro chlapeckă a divky Praha XI—Žižkov: *Chronik der deutschen Schule zu Žižkov*, entry for 2/28/1896, 5/22/1896; AHMP SVZ, inv. 28, sign. 204D, *Programm des k.k. Prag-Neustädter Gymnasiums am Schlusse des Studienjahres 1894–1895* (Prague: k.k. Schulbücherverlags, 1895), 70, *Programm des k.k. Prag-Neustädter Gymnasiums am Schlusse des Studienjahres 1895–1896* (Prague: k.k. Schulbücherverlags, 1896), 49.
99. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.405 B51, *Schulchronik—Pressgasse 24*, Band 1, entry for 5/28/1872.
100. *Neunzehnter Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Volksschulen in Linz für das Schuljahr 1888/89*, 6; *Neunundzwangzigster Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Volksschulen in Linz für das Schuljahr 1898/99* (Linz: k.k. Stadtschulrat, 1899), 50-51.
101. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.402 B51, *Schulchronik—Hauptschule für Mädchen, Graf Starhemberggasse*, entry for 2/5/1889; 2.2.2.3.604.B51, *Schulchronik—Sonnenuhrgasse*, Band 3, entry for 2/5/1889; 2.2.2.3.702. B51, *Schulchronik—Lerchenfelderstraße*, entry for 2/5/1889; ASL, B0054, Bundesgymnasium und Realgymnasium Ried/Innkreis Jahresbericht, 1872-1953, *XVIII Jahres-Bericht des k.k. Real- und Obergymnasiums in Ried am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1888/89*, 2.
102. AHMP SVZ, NAD 1051, Německá obecná škola pro chlapeckă a divky Praha XI—Žižkov: *Chronik der deutschen Schule zu Žižkov*, entry for 9/24/1898.
103. *Sechsundzwanzigstes Programm der fünfklassigen deutschen Volksschule in Karolinenthal für das Schuljahre 1898–1899* (Prague: Self-Published, 1899), 55. For a discussion of Elisabeth's popularity, see Alice Freifeld, "Empress Elisabeth as Hungarian Queen: The Uses of Celebrity Monarchism," in *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy*, Laurence Cole and Daniel Unowsky, eds. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 138–161.
104. *Programm des kaiserl. königl. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1899* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdruckerei, 1899), 74–75.

105. *Achtzehnter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-untergymnasiums in Prag Neustadt, veröffentlich am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1898/99* (Prague: Self-Published, 1899), 56.
106. ASL, B0027, Kollegium Petrinum (1898-1918), *Zweiter Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am "Collegium Petrinum" in Urfahr für das Schuljahr 1899*, 66.
107. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.1.402.B51, *Schulchronik—Diesterweggasse*, entry for 11/19/1898 (sample of the booklet included with the chronicle); see also WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.702.B51, *Schulchronik—Lerchenfeldstraße, 1884–1922*, entry for 11/19/1898; *Neunundzwangzigster Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Volksschulen in Linz für das Schuljahr 1898/99*, 50–51.
108. OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 27, *Jahreshauptbericht für des Gymnasium in Kremsmünster, 1898/99.*
109. Joseph II became Holy Roman Emperor when his father died in 1865, however, he was only coregent of the Habsburg Monarchy. His mother, Maria Theresa, still held the crowns of the Habsburg lands. It was not until her death in 1780 that Joseph II became sole ruler of the Monarchy. Blanning, *Joseph II*, 49–51.
110. *Sechster Jahresbericht der Sechsclassigen Volksschule für Knaben und Mädchen und der Kinder-Bewahr-Anstalt in Nussdorf bei Wien* (Vienna: Self-Published, 1882), 9.
111. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.1.101.B51, *Schulchronik—St Stefan, 1854-1939*, entry for 11/29/1880. These themes are also reflected in WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.604.B51, *Schulchronik—Sonnenuhrgasse 31, 1874-1902*, Band 1, entry for 11/30/1880.
112. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.1601.B51, *Schulchronik—Abelegasse*, Band 1, entry for 11/30/1880.
113. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.203.B51, *Schulchronik—Holzhausergasse*, entry for 12/27/1882. See also WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.604.B51, *Schulchronik—Sonnenuhrgasse 31, 1874-1902*, Band 1, entry for 12/27/1882.
114. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.203.B51, *Schulchronik—Holzhausergasse*, entry for 12/27/1882; WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.102.B51, *Schulchronik—Pfarrhauptschule Heiligenkreuzerhof*, Band 1, entry for 12/27/1882.
115. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.1601.B51, *Schulchronik—Abelegasse*, Band 2, entry for 12/27/1882; *Programm des kaiserl. königl. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1882* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdruckerei, 1882), 62.
116. Leo Smolle, *Die Habsburger. 600 Jahre ihrer ruhmreichen Geschichte. Gedenkschriff zur Jubelfeier am 27. December 1882. Für das Volk und die Jugend Österreichs* (Vienna: Karl Graefer, 1882), 4.
117. Ibid., 5–6.
118. Ibid., 13, 16–17, 21, 23, 25, 27.
119. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.1.101.B51, *Schulchronik—St Stefan, 1854-1939*, entry for 2/19/1910; 2.2.2.3.604.B51, *Schulchronik—Sonnenuhrgasse 31, 1904–1920*, Band 5, entry for 2/19/1910.
120. Ibid.
121. Josef Haydn died in May 1809, soon after the Battle of Aspern.

122. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.506.B51, *Schulchronik—Einsiedlergasse*, entry for 5/26/1909. See also WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.604.B51, *Schulchronik—Sonnenuhrgasse 31, 1904-1920*, Band 5, entry for 5/26/1909; *Sonnenuhrgasse 31, 1874-1902*, Band 5, entry for 2/19/1910; 2.2.2.3.907.B51, *Schulchronik—Liechtensteinstraße, Band 3*, entry for 5/26/1909.
123. *Verordnungsblatt des k.k. Landesschulrat für das Erzherzogthum Österreich ob der Enns vom Jahre 1878* (Linz: Josef Feichtingers Erben, 1878), 33; *Verordnungsblatt des k.k. Landesschulrat für das Erzherzogthum Österreich ob der Enns vom Jahre 1879* (Linz: Josef Feichtingers Erben, 1879), 1; *Verordnungsblatt des k.k. Landesschulrat für das Erzherzogthum Österreich ob der Enns vom Jahre 1888* (Linz: Josef Feichtingers Erben, 1888), 15.
124. "Das Kasierlied in unsern Gesangbüchern," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, March 10, 1892.
125. Marcus Zinnauer, "Unser Kaiserbild," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, February 20, 1895.
126. Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism*, 33–76.
127. For example, Beller, "Kraus's Firework," 46–74.
128. Sarah Kent, "State Ritual and Ritual Parody: Croatian Student Protest and the Limits of Loyalty at the End of the Nineteenth Century," in *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy*, Laurence Cole and Daniel Unowsky, eds. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 170–172. For a broader discussion of the development of the ideals of citizenship, see Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 1–10.
129. AHMP SVZ, inv. 28, sign. 204D, *Programm des k.k. Prag-Neustädter Gymnasiums am Schlusse des Studienjahres 1867*, 32, *Programm des k.k. Prag-Neustädter Gymnasiums am Schlusse des Studienjahres 1868*, 30, *Programm des k.k. Prag-Neustädter Gymnasiums am Schlusse des Studienjahres 1892*, 49.
130. AHMP SVZ, inv. 44, sign. 579, *Dreissigstes Programm der k.k. deutschen Ober-Realschule in Prag, 1891*, 54; for a similar report of the event, see AHMP SVZ, NAD 1051, Německá obecná škola pro chlapeckă a divky Praha XI—Žižkov: *Chronik der deutschen Schule zu Žižkov*, entry for 9/28/1891.
131. ASL, B0034, Bundeshandelsakademie, *Dreizehnter Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Handels-Akademie in Linz a. d. Donau*,1895, 86.
132. ASL, B0034, Bundeshandelsakademie, *XXI Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Handels-Akademie in Linz a. d. Donau,* 1903, 57.
133. Ibid.
134. ASL, B0027, Kollegium Petrinum (1898–1918), *Sechster Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am "Collegium Petrinum" in Urfahr für das Schuljahr 1902/03*, 4.
135. Ibid.
136. ASL, B0027, Kollegium Petrinum (1898–1918), *Sechster Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am "Collegium Petrinum" in Urfahr für das Schuljahr 1902/03*, 5.
137. AHMP SVZ, NAD 1051, Německá obecná škola pro chlapeckă a divky Praha XI—Žižkov: *Chronik der deutschen Schule zu Žižkov*, entry for 6/18/1901.

138. *Jahres-Bericht über das k.k. Staats-Gymnasium mit deutscher Unterrichtssprache in Prag, Neustadt, Stephansgasse für das Schuljahr 1906-1907* (Prague: Self-Published, 1907), 28.
139. AHMP SVZ, NAD 1042, Německá škola chlapeckă v Karlíně, Palackého 33 Karton: Kronika, 1907, 4/16/1907.
140. WSLA KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.2, #90, letter from parade organizers to the heads of *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen*, 5/20/1898; 3.1.5.5.A63.2, *Vorläufiges Programm für den Huldigungsfestzug der Schuljungend*; 3.1.5.5.A63.2, #88, letter from the Militär-Veteranen-Corps der k.k. Residenze und Reichsstadt Wien, 6/15/1898.
141. WSLA KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.2, #88, letter from Mayor Karl Lueger to the heads of *Volksschulen* and *Bürgerschulen*, 6/21/1898.
142. WSLA KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.2, *Vorläufiges Programm für den Huldigungsfestzug der Schuljungend*.
143. OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 74, 1897-1900, *Hauptbericht über den Zustand der allgemeinen Volks- und Bürgerschulen, sowei der Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen Bildungsanstalten in Oberösterreich im Jahre 1897/98*.
144. ASL, B0027, Kollegium Petrinum (1898-1918), *Zweiter Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am "Collegium Petrinum" in Urfahr für das Schuljahr 1899*, 67. See also *Programm der Communal-Realschule in Elbogen veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1898-1899* (Elbogen: Self-Published, 1899), 49.
145. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.203.B51, *Schulchronik—Holzhausergasse*, entry for 12/2/1898.
146. Ibid.
147. *Programm des kaiserl. königl. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1898* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdruckerei, 1898), 8.
148. Ibid.
149. The Kaiser Franz Josef *Volksschule* for girls reported similar events. *Neunundzwangzigster Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Volksschulen in Linz für das Schuljahr 1898/99*, 50–51, 61.
150. "Zur 2 Dec 1898," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 27, 1898.
151. Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism*, 145.
152. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.203.B51, *Schulchronik—Holzhausergasse*, entry for 12/2/1898; 2.2.2.3.604.B51, *Schulchronik—Sonnenuhrgasse 31*, Band 3, entry for 12/2/1898.
153. *Neunundzwangzigster Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Volksschulen in Linz für das Schuljahr 1898/99*, 6.
154. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.907.B51, *Schulchronik—Lichtensteinstrasse*, Band 1, entry for 6/24/1898.
155. WSLA SSR, 3.1.5.5.A63.5, memo from Mayor Karl Lueger, 5/4/1908.
156. Ibid.
157. WSLA KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.5, letter from Bernhard Pohle to the Organization Committee, 4/27/1908.

158. WSLA SSR, Materialien-Schulveranstaltungen (uncollected materials), General Plan of the Schönbrunn *Kinderhuldigung*, 1908.
159. WSLA KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.5, *Im Garten zu Schönbrunn*.
160. WSLA KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.5, *Des Kinder Blumenstrauß*, 14–16; 3.1.5.5.A63.5, letter from the *Volksoper* to Dr. Bibl of the Magistrates Council, April 11, 1908.
161. WSLA SSR, Materialien-Schulveranstaltungen (uncollected materials), General Plan of the Schönbrunn *Kinderhuldigung*, 1908.
162. WSLA SSR, 2.2.2.3.907.B51, *Schulchronik—Lichtensteinstrasse*, Band 2, 5/21/1908.
163. Megan Brandow-Faller, "Folk Art on Parade: Modernism, Primitivism and Nationalism at the 1908 Kaiserhuldigungsfestzug," *Austrian Studies* 25 (2017), 98.
164. WSLA KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.4, *Programmentwurf zum Kaiser Jubiläums Huldigungs Festzug*. For a detailed description of these wagons, see Brandow-Faller, 104–111, for a comprehensive overview of the parade and its organization, see Elisabeth Grossegger, *Der Kaiser-Huldigungs-Festzug Wien 1908* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992).
165. Brandow-Faller, "Folk Art on Parade," 99.
166. Hamann, *Hitlers Wien*, 141–143.
167. Beller, "Kraus' Firework," 53–58, 61–63, 70.
168. WSLA KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.4, *Programmentwurf zum Kaiser Jubiläums Huldigungs Festzug*.
169. Elisabeth Grossegger, *Der Kaiser-Huldigungs-Festzug*, 30–40.
170. Beller, "Kraus' Firework," 67.
171. Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism*, 113–144.
172. WSLA KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.4, Decree from May 7, 1908, #8331.
173. WSLA KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.4, Document 16500.
174. ASL B0034, Bundeshandelsakademie, *XXVII Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Handels-Akademie in Linz a. d. Donau, 1909*, 83.
175. ASL B0051, Bundesgymnasium Freistadt, Oberösterreich, *XXXIX Jahresbericht der k.k. Staats-Real- und Obergymnasiums in Freistadt in Oberösterreich, 1909*, 42.
176. ASL B0027, Kollegium Petrinum (1898–1918), *Zwolfter Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am "Collegium Petrinum" in Urfahr für das Schuljahr 1908/09*, 47.
177. AHMP SVZ, NAD 1051, Německá obecná škola pro chlapeckă a divky Praha XI—Žižkov: *Chronik der deutschen Schule zu Žižkov*, entry for December 2, 1908.
178. Charles Emmerson, *1913: In Search of the World before the Great War* (New York: Public Affairs, 2013), 230.
179. Ibid., 230–231.
180. Quoted in Emmerson, *1913*, 230.
181. Quoted in Emmerson, *1913*, 231–232.

Chapter 5: Regulating Teachers

1. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 19–65.
2. Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Nation in the Village: The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848–1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 161–170.
3. Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 435–439; Kann, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848–1914*, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), 88–153; Beller, *A Concise History of Austria*, 177–189.
4. See Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*; Stauter-Halsted, *The Nation in the Village*, King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans;* Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls*.
5. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 42–48.
6. John Deak calls attention to the fact that this omission is part of a larger tendency to remove the Habsburg state from discussion of Habsburg political culture. See Deak, *Forging a Multinational State*, 1–5.
7. John Boli, *New Citizens for a New Society: The Institutional Origins of Mass Schooling in Sweden* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1989), 231; Grew and Harrigan, *School, State, and Society*, 14–15.
8. Deak, *Forging a Multinational State*, 204–209.
9. Konrad Jarausch, "The Old 'New History of Education'": A German Reconsideration," *History of Education Quarterly* 26, no. 2 (1986), 237; Günther, "Interdependence between Democratic Pedagogy in Germany and the Development of Education in the United States in the Nineteenth Century," 47; Urban, "Organized Teachers and Educational Reform," 258–275.
10. The city and provincial archive of Vienna offers a clear example of this tendency. Contemporary indices from the Lower Austrian *Landesschulrat* give reference numbers for hundreds of personnel and disciplinary files. However, the actual files for these numbers no longer exist. The destruction of personnel records was common in Austrian bureaucracy, much to the frustration of historians. Deak, *Forging a Multinational State*, 6–7.
11. OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 31, *Hauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Oberösterreich*, 1908/1909; *Hauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Schlesien*, 1907/1908.
12. This belief was shared by liberal education reformers throughout Europe. See Sharif Gemie, "What is a School? Defining and Controlling Primary Schooling in Early Nineteenth-Century France," in *History of Education: Major Themes*, vol. II *Education in its Social Context*, Roy Lowe, ed., (London: Routledge Falmer, 2000), 229; Coolahan, "Teacher Education in Ireland and Western Europe," 342.
13. "Der Lehrer als Förderer des Volkswohles," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des Steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 31, 1881.
14. Stauter-Halsted, *The Nation in the Village*, 143–151.
15. A. Grüllich, "Wichtige Grenzen im Volksschulunterrichte," *Pädagogium—Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, vol. 5 (Vienna: Julius Klinkhardt, 1883), 85–87.

16. Ibid., 89–92.
17. "Wodurch ehren wir Lehrer unsern Stand?," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, October 1, 1887.
18. Ibid.
19. See Leisching, "Die römisch-katholische Kirche in Cisleithanien,"41–43.
20. "Die Erziehung zur Sittlichkeit," *Freie Lehrerstimme. Organ der jüngeren Lehrerschaft*, August 15, 1895.
21. "Über die Lehrerbildung," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, April 5, 1911; "Lehrer und Volk," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte*, May 5, 1913.
22. Stauter-Halsted, *The Nation in the Village*, 163–164.
23. Franz Hübl, ed., *Handbuch für Direktoren, Professoren und Lehrer der österreichischen Gymnasien, Realschulen und verwandten Anstalten* (Brüx: Adolf Kunz Buchhandlung, 1875), 161-162; ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2294 10C4-G, #14134, 9/6/1874, reports on Fran Rosieky's application to teach natural history.
24. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2294 10C4-G, #14134, 9/6/1874, reports on Fran Rosieky's application to teach natural history.
25. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 1716, #19731, 5/10/1906, letter from the President of the Central-Commission for Research and the Preservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments to the Ministry of Religion and Education.
26. Erlass des k.k. Oberösterreich Landesschulrat vom 18. Mai 1907 #1918, *Verordnungsblatt des k.k. Landesschulrat für des Erzherzogthum Österreich ob der Enns vom Jahre 1907* (Linz: Self-Published, 1908), 7–8.
27. "Der Lehrer als Vermittler der heimatlichen Kulturgüter," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte. Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen-Zeitung*, September 20, 1911.
28. See OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 73, *Hauptbericht über den Zustand der Volksschulen, Bürgerschulen, und Lehrer und Lehrerinnen Bildungsanstalten in der Bukowina im Jahre 1893/94.*
29. See, for example, OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 73, *Jahreshauptbericht über den Zustand der k.k. Bezirksschulrathe Gmunden unterstehenden öffentlichen und privat Volksschulen im Schuljahre 1894/95.*
30. OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 31, *Hauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Oberösterreich, 1908/1909; Hauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Schlesien, 1907/1908.*
31. Gustav Lidner, "Cicero als Dichter," *Siebenter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-Untergymnasiums in Prag Neustadt, veröffentlich am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1888* (Prague: Self-Published, 1888), 3–29; Fridolin Šimek, "Die Keimpflänzchen einiger Caryophyllaceen, Geraniaceen und Compositen. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Cotyledonenk," *Achter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-untergymnasiums in Prag Neustadt, veröffentlich am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1889* (Prague: Self-Published, 1889), 3–19.
32. Theodor Tupetz, "Über die Methode des Unterrichts in Geschichte," *Bericht über die k.k. deutsche Lehrerbildungsandstalt in Prag für die Schuljahre 1874–1875, 1875–1876, und 1876–1877* (Prague: Self-Published, 1877), 3–64.
33. *Bericht der k.k. Bildungs-Anstalten für Lehrer und Leherinnen zu Klagenfurt am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1874* (Klagenfurt, T. & F. Leon, 1874), 1–49; *Jahresbericht der k.k. Bildungsanstalten für Lehrer und Lehrerinnen zu Laibach*

veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1873 (Laibach: R. Millitz, 1873), 3–20; *Zehnter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals, Schuljahr 1883–1884* (Vienna: J. B. Wallischausser, 1884), 10–20.

34. *Programm des kön. Städt. Real-Gymnasiums und der Ober-Realsschule in Elbogen für das Schuljahr 1873/74* (Elbogen: Self-Published, 1874), 3–42; ASL, B0027, *Zweiter Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am "Collegium Petrinum,"* 1899, 11–43; *Dritter Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am "Collegium Petrinum,"* 1900, 7–47.
35. *XVI Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-Real und Obergymnasiums in Freistadt in Oberösterreich veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres* (Linz: Self-Published, 1886), 3–36; *XIX Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-Real und Obergymnasiums in Freistadt in Oberösterreich veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres* (Linz: Self-Published, 1889), 3–32.
36. Dozens of these requests are found in ÖSA AVA MKU, box 2286, 2293, Fasz. 2332, 2335, 2337.
37. See, for example, ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 2330 10A-C5, #19052, 4/27/1909, request from Julius Glücklich to the Ministry of Religion and Education for funds to hire a substitute teacher during the period of his sabbatical.
38. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2293 10B1-C1, #26124, 7/31/1902; request from Johann Novák to the Ministry of Religion and Education for teaching reduction; #22630, 5/29/1906, request from Johann Novák to the Ministry of Religion and Education for teaching reduction; #23610, 6/3/1907, request from Johann Novák to the Ministry of Religion and Education for teaching reduction; #25562; 6/6/1910, request from Johann Novák to the Ministry of Religion and Education for teaching reduction; #22214, 5/10/1911, request from Johann Novák for teaching reduction.
39. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2294, 10 C4-G, #42108, 9/5/1914, request from Franz Trávníček to the Ministry of Religion and Education for a research sabbatical.
40. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 2337 A-B, #1550, 1/2/1913, request from Dobroslav to the Ministry of Religion and Education for a research sabbatical.
41. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 2330 10A-C5, #6952, 2/9/1914, request from Ottokar Janota to the Ministry of Religion and Education for a reduction in teaching hours.
42. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 2332 10A-C2, #30236, 6/19/1914, request from Otto Funke to the Ministry of Religion and Education for a reduction in teaching hours.
43. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 2335 10 C5-LST, #823, 12/29/1909, request from Ernst Novák to the Ministry of Religion and Education for a research sabbatical; #19369, 4/27/1910, request from Ernst Novák to the Ministry of Religion and Education for a research sabbatical; #27397, 6/14/1911, request from Ernst Novák to the Ministry of Religion and Education for a research sabbatical; #56556, 12/17/1912, request from Ernst Novák to the Ministry of Religion and Education for a research sabbatical; #7447, 2/9/1914, request from Ernst Novák to the Ministry of Religion and Education for a research sabbatical.
44. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 2331 10C6-LST, #5414, 2/12/04, request from Josef Soukup to the Ministry of Religion and Education for a research sabbatical; #41173, 8/30/13, request from Josef Soukup to the Ministry of Religion and Education for a research sabbatical.

45. For example, Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 19–65; Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls*, 13–79.
46. "An die deutschgessinnte Lehrerschaft in Steiermark!," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, February 18, 1899; "Unsere deutsche Schrift," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, June 1, 1900, 203–204; "Unsere deutsche Schrift," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, January 15, 1900, 21–22. For more on the increased national orientation of teachers' associations, see Burger, *Sprachenrecht und Sprachengerechtigkeit im Österreichischen Unterrichtswesen 1867–1918*, 88.
47. Such fears were hardly limited to the German nationalists of Austria. As the nationality struggle intensified, nationalist groups representing each nationality became increasingly concerned with "protecting" their nation. See Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 33–52; Burger, *Sprachenrecht und Sprachengerechtigkeit im Österreichischen Unterrichtswesen 1867–1918*, 29–33,62–66, 88–90; Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls*, 13–48. German concern regarding the position of German culture and society in Austria was hardly limited to teachers; Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival*; King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans*.
48. "Ein Wort zur Nationalitäten-Frage," *Pädagogium—Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, vol. 7 (Vienna: Julius Klinkhardt, 1885), 371.
49. Ibid., 372.
50. Ibid., 373.
51. Ibid., emphasis in original text.
52. Ibid., 374–375.
53. See "Aufgabe der deutschen Schule in Österreich," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, April 20, 1885.
54. "Lehrer—Erzieher unseres Volkes!," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, June 20, 1887.
55. "Die Entwicklung und Pflege des deutschen Volkssthums in der Schule," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, September 15, 1898, 295; "Die Entwicklung und Pflege des deutschen Volkssthums in der Schule," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, September 15, 1898, 295; "Die Lehrerversammlung in Brünn," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, October 15, 1898, 351; "Nationale Erziehung," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, October 1, 1901, 344–346; "Über die Mittel der völkischen Erziehung," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, February 15, 1902, 42.
56. "Die Sprachgrenze des deutschen Volkes," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, January 15, 1901, 36.
57. "Die Pflichten des deutschen Lehrers gegen seinen Volksstamm," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 31, 1897.
58. Ibid.

59. "Die Pflichten des deutschen Lehrers gegen seinen Volksstamm," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 10, 1897 (continuation of the article from October 31, 1897).
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. "An die deutschgessinnte Lehrerschaft in Steiermark," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, June 12, 1898.
63. "Patriotismus und Kosmopolitismus," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, August 1, 1901, 267.
64. Ibid., 268.
65. "Der Schulkampf in Österreich," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, December 1913.
66. Tara Zahra, "'Each Nation Only Cares for Its Own': Empire, Nation, and Child Welfare Activism in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1918," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (2006), 1390.
67. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 33–42.
68. "Der Schulkampf in Österreich," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, December 1913.
69. Josef Egermann, "Die Geschichte in der Volksschule," *Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht*, April 10, 1872, 174.
70. Ibid., 174–178.
71. "Patriotismus und Kosmopolitismus," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, August 1, 1901, 268.
72. "Zur Lesebuchfrage," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte. Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen-Zeitung*, March 5, 1912.
73. Lothar Höbelt has made similar observations regarding the perceived weakness of the Austrian parliamentary system. He argues that even with periods of legislative paralysis and dysfunction, the Austrian political system showed its vitality by continuing to function and continuing to work toward change and compromise. Lothar Höbelt, "'Well-tempered Discontent': Austrian Domestic Politics," in *The Last Years of Austria-Hungary: A Multi-National Experiment in Early Twentieth-Century Europe,* Mark Cornwall, ed. (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), 47–74.
74. Gary B. Cohen, "Nationalist Politics and the Dynamics of State and Civil Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1867–1914," *Central European History* 40, no. 2 (2007), 242.
75. Jeremy King, "The Nationalization of East Central Europe: Ethnicism, Ethnicity, and Beyond," in *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield, eds. (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2001), 112–152. Pieter M. Judson makes a similar argument, Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 9–10.
76. Ibid., 250–255.
77. "Die Obstruktion der Slowenen in steierischen Landtage," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, February 25, 1910.

78. "Neues von der Obstruktion der Slowenen in steierischen Landtage," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, September 10, 1910; "Der Kampf um den Landesschulrat," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 10, 1910.
79. "Klerikal Hetzer vor Gericht," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, March 25, 1911; "Klerikale Schulpolitik im Belgien," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, May 25, 1911; "Christlichsoziale intrigenpolitik," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, July 10, 1911.
80. "Was die slowenisch-klerikalen anstreben," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, September 25, 1910.
81. "Die Außerordentliche Versammlung des Deutsch-österreichischen Lehrer," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift. Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 12, 1899. Though not mentioned in the article, one assumes this Czech teacher delivered his address in German.
82. After the political collapse of the liberal coalition in the Austrian parliament, Franz Joseph appointed Edward von Taaffe as prime minister in 1879. After a failed attempt to work with the liberal parties, Taaffe formed the "Iron Ring" coalition made up of conservative parties, clerical parties, and several non-German nationalist parties. To keep the coalition together and the parliament functioning, Taaffe pursued a legislative agenda marked by support for conservative/clerical positions on matters relating to schools and the Church and greater concessions to the non-German nationalities of Austria. Karl Lueger's Christian Social Movement gained control over Vienna's government when Lueger was elected mayor of the city in 1895. Lueger's party appealed to disaffected shopkeepers and artisans, politically active parish priests and their allies, the lower bureaucracy, and other elements of the population frustrated with the growth of industrialization and capital. The movement punctuated its platform with vicious antisemitism and its policies represented a sharp turn to the political right. For more on the "Iron Ring," see William A. Jenks, *Austrian Under the Iron Ring: 1879–1893* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1965); for more on Lueger and the Christian Socials, see John W. Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848–1897* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).
83. "Welcher Partei sollen wir uns anschließen?," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, July 15, 1896, 153.
84. "Die slavische Lehrerkongreß in Prag," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, October 1, 1908, 286.
85. "Der Erbfeind," *Deutsch-österreiches Lehrer-Zeitung, Organ des Deutsch-österreiches Lehrerbundes*, September 1, 1896, 197.
86. "Ein Kampf ums Leben," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, December, 1907.
87. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 33–42.
88. "Politik und Schule," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, January 4, 1903.

89. "Politik und Schule," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, January 18, 1903 (continued from January 4, 1903).
90. "Ein Wort zur Schulpolitik des Verbandes," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 21, 1906. Interestingly, this concern over the resurgence of conservative, clerical groups does not grapple with the fact that many of the supporters of these groups were former liberals. Karl Lueger himself started out as a liberal politician, and he tailored his movement to appeal to disaffected liberal voters. Nationalist parties pursued similar tactics. As the nationality conflict intensified, liberal parties splintered and coalitions began to form around national lines, not traditional liberal and conservative lines. The liberal parties of Austria were defeated by the resurgent conservative parties because conservatives coopted the liberal movement. See Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna*; Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries.*
91. "Das Reichsvolksschulgesetz und die Bezirksschulinspektoren," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, August 10, 1909; "Die Erziehung in der Lehrerbildung," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 10, 1909; "Ein klerikaler Landesschulinspektor," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, December 25, 1909; "Der Kampf um den Landesschulrat," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, October 10, 1910; "Klerikal Wetzer vor Gericht," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, March 25, 1911.
92. "Rechtsfragen: Der Zwang zu religiösen Übungen," *Freie Schule: Mitteilungen des vereins "Freie Schule" in Wien*, January 5, 1906.
93. *Freie Schule: Mitteilungen des vereins "Freie Schule" in Wien*, October 7–8, 1906; "Aus einem klerikalen Musterländchen," *Freie Schule: Mittielungen des vereins "Freie Schule" in Wien*, February 5, 1906; "Wiener Lehrer wegen Ubernahme von Funktionen in Verein Freie Schule in Disziplinaruntersuchung," *Freie Schule: Mittielungen des vereins "Freie Schule" in Wien*, February 1910.
94. For example, "Klerikal Kinderpredigen," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, January 25, 1911.
95. "Politiker und Demagog," *Freie Lehrerstimme. Organ der jüngeren Lehrerschaft*, November 26, 1899.
96. "Das Reichsvolksschulgesetz," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte. Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen-Zeitung*, May 15, 1909.
97. Österreichische Pädagogische Warte. *Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen-Zeitung*, February 20, 1911.
98. "Entwurf eines Disziplinergesetzes für Lehrpersonen an Volksschulen," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte. Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen-Zeitung*, December 5, 1911.
99. "Der 'freisinnige' Landeslehrererverein und der Verband christlicher Lehrer- und Leherinnen Verein Niederösterreich," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte. Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen-Zeitung*, January 5, 1912.
100. For more on the nature of the Habsburg bureaucracy, see Waltraud Heindl, "Bureaucracy, Officials, and the State in the Austrian Monarchy: Stages of Change since the Eighteenth Century," *Austrian History Yearbook* 37 (2006): 34–57.

101. The other candidates evaluated for this position received similar praise from referees. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2290 10C4-G, #20493, 7/13/1900, evaluation of Robert Ritter, director of the *Staatsgymnasium* in Prague.
102. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2290 10C4-G, #49518, 12/5/1909, retirement announcement for Heinrich Rotter, director of the *Staatsgymnasium* in Prague.
103. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2297 10D3-G, #31416, 1912, collection of applications for teaching positions for *Realschulen* in Prague, 1912.
104. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2296 10C1-D2, #13468, 4/28/1915, retirement announcement for Karl Haehnel, director of the *Staats-Realgymnasium* in Prague.
105. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2297 10C1-D2, #16398, 6/9/1899, application of Anton Francs for the *Staatsgymnasium* in Prague.
106. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2290 10C4-G, #9462, 7/1/1900, announcement of Franz Pauly as director of the *Staatsgymnasium* in Prague.
107. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 1985 10D5, #17837, 1871, applications for the director of the *Staatsgymnasium* in Linz.
108. "Gesetz vom 1 December 1901," *Verordnungsblatt des k.k. Landesschulrat für das Erzherzogthum Österreich ob der Enns vom Jahre 1901* (Linz: Josef Feichtingers Erben, 1902), 24.
109. For numerous examples of this structure, see ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2113 10 LST, Fasz. 2271 10 LST, Box 2139 10D3-G.
110. Ibid.
111. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2294 10C4-G, #14134, 9/6/1874, report concerning the political conduct of Franz Roieky, applicant for a teaching position at a Czech-language *Gymnasium* in Prague.
112. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2294 10D4-G, #961086, 8/18/1883, report concerning the political conduct of Franz Roieky, applicant for a teaching position at a Czech-language *Gymnasium* in Prague.
113. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 2332 10A-C2, #28515, 7/14/1905, transfer request from Primus Lessiak.
114. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2097 10C1, #28695, 6/17/1912, transfer request from Ernst Keil.
115. OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 27, *Hauptbericht der Madchen-Lyzeums in Linz, 1897–1898*.
116. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 2320 10A1, #39934, 3/21/03, inspection report for the *Realschule* in Ruttenberg, Bohemia, 1903.
117. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 2322 10A1, #32362, 4/6/1914, inspection report for the *Realschule* in Leitmeritz, Bohemia, 1914.
118. "Gesetz vom 1 December 1901," 35.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid., 36.
121. "Der Lehrer als Staatsbürger," *Freie Lehrerstimme. Organ der jüngeren Lehrerschaft*, October 1, 1895.
122. "Wie kam der Lehrer auch außer der Schule für die Schule wirken?," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 20, 1889.

123. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 4188 17D2, #2712, 4/6/1867, *Entwurf eines Lehrpläne für einen dreijahrigen Lehrerbildunskurs*. This reform effort corresponded with similar revisions of the *Bürgerschulen* curriculum, #5850, 6/15/1870, *Entwurf eines Lehrpläne für einen dreiklassen Bürgerschule*.
124. Polish nobles secured autonomy for Galicia after Austria's defeat in the Austro-Prussian War and the establishment of the Dual Monarchy. This autonomy gave Polish elites control over most domestic affairs of the region, including total control over schools and education. See Piotr S. Wandycz, *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795–1918* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974), 214–239; *Jahresbericht des k.k. Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterrichts für 1870* (Vienna: Verlag des Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterrichts, 1870), 47–70.
125. *Jahresbericht des k.k. Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterrichts für 1870*, 133.
126. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 4188 17D2, #7033, 5/18/1870, Proposed curriculum for teacher training institutions; #3394, 3/15/1872, Collection of reviews of the proposed curriculum for teacher training institutions.
127. OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 66, *Jahreshauptbericht Volksschulen in Freistadt, 1876–1877*; *Jahreshauptbericht Volksschulen in Gmunden, 1877–78*. Schachtel 68, *Jahreshauptbericht Volksschulen in Brauman* 1882–1883. Schachtel 69, *Jahreshauptbericht über die Volksschulen in Oberösterreich 1885–1886*; Schachtel 79; *Jahreshauptbericht Volksschulen in Kirchdorf 1889–1890*; Schachtel 72, *Jahreshauptbericht über die Volksschulen in Niederösterreich, 1893*.
128. OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 22, *Jahreshauptbericht Staatsgymnasium in Freistadt, 1882*.
129. OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 31, *Jahreshauptbericht Gymnasium in Wels 1906–1907*.
130. OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 20, *K.K. Real- und Obergymnasium Freistadt Wintersemester Bericht*, 1878.
131. Examples can be found in any of the year-end reports from OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 29.
132. OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 73, *Hauptbericht über den Zustand der allgemeinen Volks- und Bürgerschulen sowier der Lehrer- und Lehrerinnenbildungsanstalten in Bukowina, 1893–1894*.
133. For example, OÖLA LSR, Schachtel 20, *Bericht für die Lehrer- und Lehrerinnenbildungsanstalt in Linz, 1878–1879*.
134. "Über Lehrpläne," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, May 1897.
135. "Controle. – Lehrpläne. – Methode. –," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, April 10, 1874.
136. "Maigesetze," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, May 20, 1874; "Methoden Freiheit!," *Tiroler Lehrer-Zeitung*, July 1, 1896, 146–147.
137. "Die Selbständigkeit des Lehrers beim Unterrichte, in der Abfassung der Stundenpläne und Lehrstoffvertheilungen und in der Auswahl des Lehrstoffes," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, August 20, 1870.

138. *Die freie Schule, Zeitschrift für Unterricht und Erziehung*, January 18, 1868.
139. *Die freie Schule, Zeitschrift für Unterricht und Erziehung*, February 11, 1868.
140. "Über Lehrpläne," *Pädagogische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Schulpraxis und Lehrerfortbildung*, May 1897.
141. Ibid.
142. Ibid.
143. *Pädagogium—Monatsschrift für Erziehung und Unterricht*, 1893, 10.
144. "Bureaukratismus und Schule," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, December 13, 1908.
145. Ibid.
146. Ibid.
147. "Die pädagogische Freiheit des Lehrers," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift, Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, December 25, 1913.
148. For example, hiring records for Czech-language schools in Bohemia show that 100 percent of applicants came from Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 2335, Fasz. 2337.
149. Burger, *Sprachenrecht und Sprachengerechtigkeit im Österreichischen Unterrichtswesen*, 62–76, 92–116; Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 44–52.
150. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 1985, #7683, #7921, #8931, #106162, #12495, #11309, applicant listings for teaching positions for the *Realschule* in Linz.
151. ÖSA AVA MKU, Fasz. 2333, #30819, #24160, #14588, #20800, #15565, #16145, #10927, #14198, applications for teaching positions at Prague's *Realschule I*; Fasz. 2329, #13442, #38998, #37436, #36237, #1870, #16477, #13378, #32781, #12594, #11322, #10216, #8157, #23480, #13518, #11525, #12833, #12831, applications for teaching positions at Prague's *Realschule II*.
152. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2149, #24232, #42067, #26716, # 27211, #14562, #9661, #14500, #9762, #13208, #11061, #11539, #9290, applications for teaching positions at the *Elisabeth Gymnasium* in Vienna.
153. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2139, #14108, #12562, #9671, #9431, #10891, #8201, #6528, #10472, #13622, applications for teaching positions at the *Gymnasium* in Vienna's 3rd district; Box 2140, #26289, #26946, #24330, #32510, #29762, #10372, #12762, #14526, applications for teaching positions at the *Real-Gymnasium* in Vienna's 3rd district; Fasz. 2252, #8452, #24736, #10057, #10219, #30137, #29333, #9078, #14820, applications for teaching positions at the *Realschule* in Vienna's 1rd district; Fasz. 2271, #23436, #23031, #10279, #12960, #13732, #11755, #22973, #24118, #16541, #34191, #15861, #12551, applications for teaching positions at the *Realschule* in Vienna's 4rd district.
154. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2097, #36369, 8/13/1908, transfer request from Maximilian Mangl.
155. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2097, #9431, 2/23/1912, transfer request from Anton Kapple.
156. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2135, #19825, 4/28/1914, transfer request from Arthur Hruby.

157. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2097, #39215, 9/10/1911, transfer request from Max Lederer; #39081, 9/8/1911, transfer request from Alfred Kleinberg.
158. ÖSA AVA MKU, Box 2097, #39081, 9/8/1911, transfer request from Alfred Kleinberg.

Conclusion

1. See, for example, *Jahresbericht des k.k. Staats-Untergymnasiums in Prag Neustadt, veröffentlich am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1914–1915* (Prague: Rohliček und Sievers, 1915), 27.
2. "Die Kriegsereignisse in der Schule," *Österreichische Pädagogische Warte. Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen Zeitung*, September 20, 1914.
3. Ibid.
4. "An Österreich—von 'Alt-Österreich,' eines vaterländisches Festspiel," *Pädagogische Zeitschrift: Organ des steiermarkischen Lehrerbundes Graz*, November 11, 1914.
5. The Austrian National Library began collecting hundreds of these cards after the war. Many were on display as part of the library's commemoration of the centennial of the war in 2014. See Manfried Rauchensteiner, ed., *An Meine Völker! Der Erste Weltkrieg 1914–1918* (Vienna: Amalthea Signum, 2014).
6. WSLA SSR, Materialien-Schulveranstaltungen (uncollected materials), contains many examples of these programs.
7. See Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 435–439.
8. Zahra, "'Each Nation Only Cares for Its Own'," 1378–1402; Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 31–86.
9. Zahra, "'Each Nation Only Cares for Its Own,'" 91–92.
10. Alexander Watson, *Ring of Steel: Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I, The People's War* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), 241–255; John Deak and Jonathan E. Gumz, "How to Break a State: The Habsburg Monarchy's Internal War, 1914-1918," *American Historical Review* 122, no. 4 (2017), 1105–1136.
11. Jonathan E. Gumz, *The Resurrection and Collapse of Empire in Habsburg Serbia, 1914–1918* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 11–16.
12. Albert F. Reiterer, *Nation und Nationalbewusstsein in Österreich* (Vienna: VWGÖ, 1988), 36.
13. For more on Austrian national ambivalence after World War I, see John C. Swanson, *The Remnants of the Habsburg Monarchy: The Shaping of Modern Austria and Hungary, 1918–1922* (New York: East European Monographs, 2001), 13–41; for more on the impact of World War II in shaping Austrian national identity after 1938, see Bruce F. Pauley, *Hitler and the Forgotten Nazis: A History of Austrian National Socialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), 216–229; Evan Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era, 1938–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 155–234.

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Illustrations are indicated by page numbers in italics.

About the Author

Scott O. Moore is an assistant professor of history at Eastern Connecticut State University where he teaches courses on modern European history. His research explores identity creation in the Habsburg Monarchy and how the state influenced that process. He has published articles in *History of Education* and *Contributions to Contemporary History*. He also was the recipient of a Fulbright-Mach fellowship in 2012–2013, which provided support for this project.