

SOME CULTURAL INFLUENCES CONTRIBUTING TO
THE DISSOLUTION OF THE DUAL MONARCHY

by

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ABSTRACT

This inquiry is concerned with some of the cultural influences which contributed to the dissolution of the Dual Monarchy. Before an attempt could be made in this direction, a brief historical survey had to precede the detailed analysis, to show the evolution of the Dual Monarchy of the Danube basin from an unpretentious principality to the "universal" realm it ultimately became. Highly important was the mission of the Hapsburgs, in their sincere endeavours as defenders of the Christian faith against the Turk. In this they believed themselves to be the champions of Western civilization - to them the process of empire building was legitimate and fitted in with the German drive to the East and the rulers thus were able to absorb numerous non-German peoples. Already by 1620 the state had nearly reached its greatest degree of expansion.

The Hapsburgs during the ensuing centuries achieved much to make the disparate "ramshackle" state into some sort of a whole: such was the state-idea, their substitute for the naturally evolved nation. This was exemplified by the dynasty with its experienced time tested paternalism, in which the last Hapsburg emperor, Franz Joseph, was a past master. Their system depended heavily on a conservative bureaucracy nurtured through generations. The Roman Catholic Church served as a handmaiden in helping the Hapsburgs achieve conformity among the many peoples of the

realm in a way comparable to the process of educational proselytism as practised in the Army. Abstract concepts such as tradition, firmly embedded in all subjects of the Empire, helped in the process of Gleichschaltung so that all the citizens instinctively knew their fixed place in the state.

During the whole nineteenth century convulsive outside influences beset the empire; these forces were the harbingers of what was to come. The French Revolution led on to modern nationalism, first only felt on an intellectual plane in Central Europe. Eventually there were open revolts in 1848. Although the risings came to nought, their repercussion was great. After 1850 the nationalities within the empire were an ever present explosive element and much of the thesis shows the part they played in the break-up of the old regime. Nationalism was ~~either~~ centrifugal, affecting those nations partially within the empire, who wished to rejoin the remainder of their brethren outside. Even the Austro-Germans were in that position. It also affected the other two nations completely within the empire; the Czechs, who were asserting themselves strongly and were ripe for the winning of independence; the Hungarians enjoyed special rights thanks to the Ausgleich of 1867.

The French and Industrial revolutions helped also to loosen other ties of the empire: the rise of industry and of cities led to a change in the social fabric. New communications made enlightenment easy, even to the common man. New

industry and growth of education shaped the modern secular man, a thinking sceptical, mundane person, who was as disruptive a factor as any; a force stimulating social disintegration, already sapping the old traditional order. The influence of archaic feudalism and power of the church was waning. Even the "patriotic" cohesion achieved by the army was to be challenged, and a special appendix devoted to Švejk will show that the feeling of localism, also fostered by nationalism, would prevail over state and universalism. This was true for all monarchical institutions - the state could not keep abreast of the new times, its subjects were changing and were ready for radical reform - instead of obedient children the state was faced with doubting adults.

Some prescient diagnosticians foresaw that a catastrophe was inevitable. Two novelists are discussed, Kafka and Musil, who in their writing demonstrated that the individual was utterly frustrated by the unhealthy and antiquated environment around him. The musician, Mahler, was chosen to illustrate how artists were already conscious of the impending collapse and transmitted this through his innate pessimism and spiritual uprootedness, of which his works are the vehicle. Finally Masaryk is the prime example of the frustrated statesman whose outstanding talents were rejected because the State did not desire forthright individuals in power. The conflict of Masaryk with the surviving old order is the pivot of the whole argument. He exemplified the new forces which could not be contained in the old

system, and the inability of the regime to adjust itself to the new trends is what made for its eventual downfall.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER	Page
I. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION	1
II. FACTORS FOR COHESION	16
III. FACTORS FOR DISRUPTION	38
IV. NATIONALISM IN ACTION	67
V. SEARCH FOR PERSONALITY	103
VI. CONCLUSION.	122
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APPENDIX I. "THE GOOD SOLDIER"	127
APPENDIX II. STATISTICAL DATA	132
A. Population of the Dual Monarchy by nationalities according to language, (1910)	132
B. Table of religious affiliations in the Dual Monarchy, (1910). .	136
C. Table showing distribution of population in the Dual Monarchy, (1910).	137
APPENDIX III. MAP OF DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONALITIES WITHIN THE DUAL MONARCHY (1914) . .	138
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BIBLIOGRAPHY	139

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CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The object of this study will be to examine and analyse some of the many factors which contributed to the downfall in 1918 of the Dual Monarchy. A special attempt will be made to show that, apart from others, cultural and ethnic forces played a prominent part.

Before proceeding with this analysis which will deal primarily with the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, it is necessary to refer by a short narrative to the historical background.¹ Two basic questions come to mind here:

1. How did the Austro-Hungarian monarchy come into being?
2. What role in it did the Hapsburgs play?

To answer the first question, it may be said that the Monarchy was a state "sui generis". The principal and unique feature was the multiplicity of nationalities in the realm. One may therefore ask oneself how did all these nations become fused within the borders of that empire and what were the cohesive factors.

¹ There is no continuous history of the Dual Monarchy. Useful as surveys are: Leger, L.P.M., Histoire de L'Autriche-Hongrie depuis les Origines jusqu'à L'Année 1878, Paris, Hachette, 1879; also Seton-Watson, R.W., A History of the Czechs and Slovaks, London, Hutchinson, 1943.

The geographical position was the middle Danube valley with Vienna as the focal point, therefore it was logical that it should become a capital; later on even an Imperial one.

We have to think of the Danube valley as the natural point where Eastern invasions of the first ten centuries of the Christian era concentrated. The invading groups were Asian nomads acting on the pressure of movements emanating from as far as China. Of these one of the more recent were the Magyars. By the tenth century there were two major ethnic groups on the Danube: the Slavs and the Magyars. Indeed attempts at an overall empire were already made in the region - e.g. the Moravian Empire of Svatopluk.

At the same time the eastward expansion of the West is epitomized by the spread of Christianity. The main purveyors of this religion were the Germans. These people also brought their own culture with them.

Thus we see in 966 the appearance of the "Ostarrichi," the inhabitants of the Eastern German feudal mark. Its boundaries approximated to present day Austria. The margraves of this land were the Babenbergs, and the express purpose of this outpost was the safeguarding of the West from Eastern invasions, especially from the Tatars. It is this purpose by which the Hapsburgs later justified the existence of their Empire. Indeed the ancient castle of Bernstein and others in the province of Burgenland stand witness of this allegation to the present day.

The first decisive victory by the Babenbergs over the Hungarians took place in 955, and the formation of the Ostarriçi mark was the natural consummation of this. The mark was joined to Bavaria, through some act of expediency of the Holy Roman Empire, but the mark regained independence in the twelfth century. The Babenbergs became extinct in 1246 and the vacant throne was claimed by Frederick II, the Holy Roman Emperor. Frederick had some difficulty in preventing the Margrave of Baden, Henry, from securing the unlawful possession of the Duchy. On Frederick's death Otakar of Bohemia made himself master of the mark as well as of other territories. From this we can see that as yet the Danube area was a sort of no-man's land: the empires were still fluid and there was always potential conflict for the mastery.

Otakar's conquests were cut short in 1278. He was defeated on the Marchfeld by the new emperor, Rudolf, the founder of the House of Hapsburg. This is an important event for not only did Rudolf's victory call a halt to Otakar's imperial ambitions but now for the first time a Hapsburg played an important role in Central Europe. Thus was ushered in an era of domination which was to go on until the breakup of their empire in 1918.

Although no further progress in Hapsburg consolidation was made until the sixteenth century, mention should be made of the Emperor Frederick III. This monarch cherished vast designs, most of which never came into being: but he did coin the famous phrase, Austriæ est imperare orbi

universe, - AEIOU, "It is for Austria to rule the whole world." This phrase became something of a Hapsburg motto, and we shall discuss later its significance for Austrian nationalism.

Another famous maxim of the Hapsburgs: "Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube!" - "let others make war, you fortunate Austria make marriages!" came true when Maximilian betrothed his son to a Spanish princess in 1479, thus extending Hapsburg dynastic influence far afield. It was through the marriage-bed as well as conquest that the Hapsburgs acquired new territories.

Charles V, the son of Maximilian, succeeded to the Spanish throne in 1519 and relinquished the Eastern part of the empire to Ferdinand. Ladislav II, the son of the Polish-Hungarian king, Ladislav Jagellon, was drowned while escaping from the fateful battle field of Mohacs in 1526. Ferdinand was thus enabled to make good his claim to Bohemia and Hungary. With this step the Austro-Hungarian stateform took its beginning. Accordingly 1526 stands with 1278 as a vital date in the genealogy of the Dual Monarchy.

Why did the Czechs and Hungarians not object to the loss of their sovereignty at the hands of the Hapsburgs? Chiefly because the nobility of both countries saw many material advantages in collaborating with them: it could help them to maintain their feudal lordship. The Hungarians did object, but when it came to the choice of

Hapsburg or Turk they chose the former. Secondly because nationalism as we know it in the nineteenth century was still undeveloped. Such national feelings and sentiments as did exist were rapidly wiped out by the conquerors, witness the Czech defeat at Bílá Hora² (1620) and its dire consequences, resulting in the virtual extinction of the Czech nation. The final conquest of Hungary also took place by battle in 1687 at Budapest, when the Hapsburgs vanquished the Turks but simultaneously subdued the Magyars. The year 1620 thus signalled the successful bid of the dynasty for universal monarchy.

The next important event in our historical account is the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713.³ This decree was issued by the Emperor Charles VI who, having no male issue, settled his dominions on his daughter Maria Theresa. The avowed aim was the maintenance of Hapsburg dominions, their unity and indivisibility.

The important feature of this Pragmatic Sanction was its acceptance by the "dominions" - i.e. by the regional aristocracies, known as Estates. The first to accept, interestingly enough, were the Croats: but the crucial decisions were those made by the Hungarian Estates. This body

² Czech for "White Mountain," famous battlefield in near vicinity of Prague.

³ Pragmatic Sanction is a solemn ordinance or degree of the head of a kingdom relating to either church affairs or to matters of state.

accepted its own pragmatic sanction only in return for "all existing rights, liberties, privileges, immunities, prerogatives and recognized customs". These included a pledge of triennial parliaments, the establishment of a Council of lieutenancy of Pest, and above all strict maintenance of county autonomy - the bulwark of Hungarian liberties. Therefore, the pragmatic sanction may be regarded as the precursor of the Ausgleich of 1867, of which more below. It is one of the acts which stamped an indelible mark on the structure of the later empire.

Maria Theresa's principal contribution, so far as internal affairs were concerned, was the creation of a bureaucratic system, a far-reaching project and feature of the Empire with which this thesis is concerned. The first step came in 1748 with a financial move - the Decennial Financial recess of Bohemia. This was a move toward fiduciary centralism culminating in the United Bohemian-Austrian Bureau, an office located in Vienna, which remained the guiding body for Bohemia until 1848. A new State Council was also established, and justice was centralised in the imperial capital. In 1751 the local administration was also defined. The 14 provinces obtained their Gubernia, but were responsible to Vienna. Under the Gubernia came the District offices with captains at their head (Kreissamter and Kreishauptmänner respectively). The bodies were responsible for the total administration of their domains, from public order to the control of weights and measures - thus running

through the whole gamut of bureaucratic work. Uniformity of administration was the motto.

The aim of Maria Theresa was enlightened absolutism. An interesting comparison might be made between her policy and that of Catherine of Russia.

With Joseph, Enlightenment⁴ reached its highest point; a topic which will be dealt with more fully further on, because his achievement provided fertile ground for seeds which grew into the flower of opposition and destruction. The spirit of liberalism was to have curious far reaching consequences.

Among Joseph's reforms were these:

1. The partial abolition of feudalism and serfdom.
2. Church reform - the papacy was deprived of control over the clergy.
3. Church education supervised by the government.
4. Civil marriage.
5. Religious toleration granted to the Protestants and Orthodox faiths.

The years of Joseph's eventful reign, 1780-90, saw the explosion of the French revolution which influenced events on the Danube during the nineteenth century just as it did in the rest of Europe. Of paramount importance from now onward is the emergence of the national idea.

⁴ After German Aufklärung shallow and pretentious intellectualism, unreasonable contempt for authority and tradition; applied especially to the French Philosophes of the eighteenth century.

Out of the revolution came the rise of Napoleon and his eventual defeat. Notable for the history of Austria-Hungary was the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire by Napoleon in 1806, which formally put an end to an institution long since moribund. However, it created the problem of German hegemony in the nineteenth century, by preventing the Hapsburgs from dominating Greater Germany.

The defeat of Napoleon in 1815 was followed by the Congress system, whose watchdog was the Austrian statesman - the ever vigilant Prince Clemens Metternich. He epitomised the inherited idea of the Congress system in the phrase "put the clock back", and this he proceeded to do both in internal and external matters. In the former it was done by over-zealous bureaucracy, one further move in tightening the administrative straitjacket.

Nevertheless new ideas from the West were irresistibly seeping through; the concept and practice of separate nationalism and the advent of the new industrial age with the consequent growth of towns. Not only the small nobility but the burghers could begin to absorb the new ideas. The combination of Enlightenment and of nationalism was bearing fruit. The success of the Greeks in the eighteenth-twenties and the Polish risings of 1830-31 against Tsardom helped things on.

The stimulus given by Johann Gottfried Herder,⁵

⁵ Kohn, H., The Idea of Nationalism, New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. 427-451.

the father of nationalism, to "folk cultures" fed the fires of romanticism in literature; thus the rebirth of the Czech language culminated in the creation of the Bohemian Museum and the Academy of Sciences. This also saw the appearance of the first Czech poetry of Jan Kollar.

In 1844 the Hungarian diet began to carry on its debates in Magyar, and there was a general clamour for Hungarian independence. It was therefore logical that any new revolutions in the West would set off sparks in the smouldering cinders of Central Europe and this is exactly what happened in 1848. The whole year was marked by insurrections in Austria-Hungary.

The main events were⁶:

March 1848; a rising in Vienna and a Hungarian proclamation of independence by Louis Kossuth; the famous 10 points of Francis Deak.

April 1848; meetings in Prague, the Czechs demand autonomy. The Emperor eventually promises a constitution. Vienna rebels from a "committee of safety".

June 1848; the holding of the Pan Slav congress in Prague - the first of its kind. However it was disbanded by military action. The end in view of the Congress was equality of status under the Emperor.

October 1848; parliament assembly in Kromeriz; leading to a proposed constitution which would adopt

⁶ Namier, L., 1848, Revolution of the Intellectuals, Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. XXX, 1944, pp. 161-283.

federalization. This was to happen in March 1849 but the constitution never materialised.

The forces of reaction moved in to counteract the revolutionary steps. General Prince Alfred Windischgrätz brutally crushed the Prague risings immediately following the Pan-Slav Congress. Indeed Field-Marshal Johann Radetzky put down risings in Italy during that fateful year.

In April of 1849 a Hungarian republic was proclaimed by the national patriot Kossuth, and this act led to a campaign against the Hungarians by the Hapsburgs. The Russians came to the aid of the dynasty, ostensibly to help fellow Slavs, the Croats.

The revolts of 1848 and 1849 were abortive. Essentially they were "a revolution of the intellectuals"⁷ to use the phrase of Professor Namier. Repression then set in in Austria. The leading statesmen, Alexander Bach and Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, were reactionaries. Emphasis was laid on further bureaucracy and on Germanization. For example the Hungarians lost their historical identity and their state was temporarily abolished. In 1855 a church concordat was concluded giving the clergy more powers especially in education.

But external events profoundly affected internal business in the Empire during the eighteen-fifties. Prussia wanted to weaken Austria to prevent her from having influence

⁷ Namier, op. cit., p. 161.

in German affairs. Berlin therefore instigated Italy, together with France, to carry on its campaign against Austria. This proved disastrous for the latter country. At Solferino (1859) Austria not only lost her battle but also had to give up Lombardy. The Italian victory was a signal to Austria to put her house in order. This was done by two measures:

1. The October diploma of 1860. The essence of this measure was to give more autonomy to the Länder, the provinces. Each province was allowed to have a diet.

2. The February patent of 1861. This made provisions for each diet to elect representatives to the Reichsrath - the central parliament. But there was still no direct representation; the franchise was doctored. In Seton-Watson's felicitious phrase "electoral geometry was for a generation to come one of Austria's leading industries",⁸ and an emergency paragraph empowered the state council (i.e. in effect the Emperor) to override parliament.

But the rivalry with Prussia continued, and led to the war of 1866. Bismarck defeated the Austrians at Sadowa and thus put an end to Austria's hegemony in Germany. But the conqueror did not go on to Vienna, to bring humiliation on the Emperor.

Franz Joseph was now forced to undertake a thorough-going reform and steps were taken to reach the

⁸ Seton-Watson, R.W., op. cit., p. 199.

famous Ausgleich with Hungary. The terms of this important constitutional move were as follows:

1. The Magyars have dominant influence in the ancient lands of St. Stephen, including the "subject peoples".

2. Austria is to dominate the remaining 17 provinces according to the February patent.

3. Austria and Hungary were united in a personal union under one monarch, but each was to have its own army units.

4. They share common ministries of war, foreign affairs and finance.

5. Delegations from both sides were to meet every two years to discuss subjects under (4). These were to consist of 60 members from each of the Austrian and Hungarian diets.

6. A mutual tariff agreement.

Such was the Dual Monarchy framework which survived varying crises until the crowning one of 1914. What sort of picture does it present to us? First of all the Dual Monarch was a great power and ranked as such in European diplomacy until its dissolution. This thesis will not deal with external affairs, but these did play their part: for instance the consequences of Sadowa as noted above, and the influence which it had on the Ausgleich. Finally there was the Italian "threat" all around the Adriatic.

We are concerned, however, with the internal structure of the Empire after 1867. There were two

virtually independent units; the Western part which was Austrian, Cisleithania,⁹ the Magyar dominated East, Transleithania.¹⁰ The only links which held them together were:

1. The dynasty - allegiance to the Hapsburgs.
2. The army - particularly regarding the idea of common defence.
3. Economic interests. The whole empire was more or less an economic unit. Broadly speaking, the agricultural East provided the raw materials for the industrial West. Thus there was an exchange of industrial goods and agricultural raw materials. And there was also a mutually arranged tariff system to take care of the flow of goods.

Otherwise there were strong differences between the two "halves." The Western half consisted of Austrians (Austro-Germans), Czechs, Poles, Slovenes and Italians. The control was vested in German hands but westernization and industrialization played havoc with this. The nationalities under the German yoke were already conscious of their political growth and of their potential independences. Concessions were bound to come and during the latter half of the nineteenth century the "subject" peoples began to

⁹ Cisleithania - Lands west of River Leitha; used instead of cumbersome term "The Kingdoms and lands represented by the Reichsrath," i.e. the 17 provinces under the February patent.

¹⁰ Transleithania - Lands east of River Leitha, used instead of "The Lands under the Crown of St. Stephen," cf. Chapter V. (on Hungarian nationalism).

enjoy more representation. Also during this period further educational privileges were extended to them, but only after bitter and prolonged conflict.

The Germans could not carry out a thorough and real Germanization of the other ethnic groups. These latter were even suffered to develop industrially, and all that they lacked was real independence. What they were expected to do was to show due respect for the dynasty and the prevailing regime; they had to submit also to German hegemony, and to comply with the ordinary obligations of the citizen, for example, the paying of taxes.

In marked contrast to this was the situation prevailing in the Eastern or Hungarian part of the Empire. Here the dominating people were the Magyars. Under their sway were the following Slav nationalities: Slovaks, Croats and Ruthenians, later the Serbs and also the Latin Roumanians. There were more Roumanians in the extreme south-east corner. All these nationalities were treated in a more or less equal way by the Magyars as subject peoples, as underlings. The Magyars were by their history and tradition rabid nationalists - a typical Herrenvolk. They believed themselves to be the "chosen people", and their tradition in the fight for independence and feelings of superiority led to extreme chauvinism. The form which this took in the Hungarian dominated territories was a deliberate and brutal imposition of Magyar culture on the subject peoples. All languages and cultures were suppressed, and the existence of all nationalities other than Magyar was ignored.

This state of things might be tolerated in pre-1789 Europe, but it became increasingly difficult as the nineteenth century advanced. Some solution of the growing tensions had to be found.

CHAPTER II.

FACTORS FOR COHESION

Introduction

In this part of the study we shall deal with some of the various forces in the Hapsburg Monarchy which held the empire together, links which forged the disparate parts into some kind of a whole.

Much has been made of the expression "ramshackle" in speaking of the Austro-Hungarian empire. This reference has been applied mainly to the congeries of nationalities. The empire was a multi-national state par excellence. There were at least twelve distinct nationalities: Germans, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Italians, Roumanians and Jews.¹ All these ethnic groups had different points of view from each other, all may be said to have different "folk" cultures also, rooted of course in speech, tradition and habitat. In short, there was no apparent unity, only diversity. If the religious and geographical considerations are included we are faced with a political, social and cultural chequerboard.

Nevertheless, some bonds united all the disparate groups and units. Internal and external pressures were

¹ There was no unity of opinion as to whether the Jews should be classed as a distinct nationality or referred to in terms of Judaic religious affiliation. See Chapter III on Centrifugal Nationalism.

constantly at work on the empire, any of which could have made trouble or even wrought havoc with the whole. Notwithstanding this, it weathered all storms until the crisis of 1914-15.

Historically these peoples of the Danube valley had been constrained to work and live together by the threat of Islam which was not removed until the middle of the eighteenth century. This did much to weld neighbouring peoples together in defence of their land and faith. Then came the period of Enlightenment. This era of free-thinking and influence of new ideas made for changes. Joseph II unleashed forces which were larger and more potent than he was ever able to foresee. One direct effect was a development of nationalism through revivification of languages. The grammarian Josef Dobrovský, for example, was a child of Enlightenment. His work on reviving the Czech language laid a firm foundation for nationalism; yet these new factors did not immediately loosen the bonds of empire.

Secondly, Enlightenment made men think - it "put the clock forward". It spread the idea that the old order was not by any means the best or the permanent one; it led to potential revolutionary movements but these did not come to fruition either. Why did the freeing of men's minds not undermine the empire at that time: especially since the emotional urge of Rousseau's teaching and the exciting experience of the revolution in France stimulated nationalist

ambitions everywhere. Clearly the ties of empire must have been strong and we shall see in a moment what they were.

Actually it was only the third French revolution (1848) which precipitated open revolt in Central Europe as noted earlier but none of them really were effective against the prevailing order. External events such as the Solferino defeat in 1859 at the hands of Italy meant loss of territory, but the body and fabric of the empire were virtually unimpaired. Sadowa in 1866 had only one effect--the Ausgleich of 1867. The ship of state refitted sailed on until 1914 and it might have gone on further but for the conflagration of 1914-18.

In the nineteenth century nationalism was becoming a power on the European scene. Political frontiers of the continent remained unchanged, but they were threatened by national feelings and ambitions. Italy and Germany were united. The Ottoman empire in Europe was cut down, very largely by the nationalities within it. The structure of Austria, with more nationalities than the Ottoman empire, stood as before while the Magyars achieved their ambition: to rule their half of the monarchy regardless of the rising tide of discontent in the national minority groups.

It appears, therefore, that some potent forces were at work which held the empire together: what were they and how did they operate. The vitality and viability of the realm was amazing and a full explanation for this

should be offered.²

A glance at ecology and geography should give us a hint. The Danube valley area is a natural physical unit. The Danube and its tributaries, the Morava, Tisza, Drava and Sava rivers, are the artery and blood vessels respectively. Even the geographic boundaries are well-defined; the Austrian Alps in the west, the Bohemian saucer in the north-east, the Tatra and Carpathian mountain defences against the Eastern invader. There is much reason for physical togetherness.

We have seen that the Hapsburgs were the chief architects of union. Individually they were long-lived, and the longevity of rulers will always have influence on tradition. More than that, behind them were the shadows of older empires of the past: the glory of the Roman Imperium, of the Holy Roman Empire and of Catholicism with its concept of universalism. For dynamic they could also count on the expansive force of the German peoples from the later Middle Ages, the natural drang nach Osten. This gave them all the halo associated with pioneering. The Ost Reich was only one, the most fruitful and successful one, of many German outposts in Europe, from the shores of the Baltic to the Adriatic.

² Steed, H.W., The Hapsburg Monarchy, London, Constable, 1919, which was written in Vienna and first published in 1913, is an indispensable reference for this section, as an overall portrait of the situation at the time.

Tradition

We have mentioned tradition: what does it mean? Literally it is the action of handing over something from one generation to another: a long established custom or method of procedure, which at times seems to acquire the validity of a law. In what ways did this operate in the Dual Monarchy? On whom did the impact of tradition fall and what did it mean for them?

(1) The Common Man (for centuries a serf)

In him we see local tradition at work. He was loyal to his family and to the land which fed him, he was adscriptus glebae. His gaze was directed on his village and on the castle above it. Before the coming of the railways, lack of communications would preclude his knowing the outside world at all, except perhaps by hearsay.

Of one tradition he was fully cognizant: the folk element and his village. He would know his native language, although he was probably not conversant with German, Hungarian or certainly hardly Latin. He would know some of the folk songs, tales and legends; knew some local history and even was aware of national history on a wider sphere. But his feeling of community will be local.

The peasant in a village owed allegiance to his master. The feudal tradition prevailed: the commoner was the fief and had to perform local military service. If

the master was benevolent, the vassal would willingly follow him; in any case the former would be obeyed because the latter had his own existence to think about: the Brotfrage.

Lastly there was the parochial religious feeling. The commoner would think of his priest as confessor and teacher. The religious tradition of universality reached the end of the pyramid here. The village priest was the lowest rung of the ecclesiastical ladder, but in many ways the most influential. He could teach the lessons of paternalism, loyalty to the dynasty and church, and fealty to the Lord better than anyone else. In every part of the Monarchy, from Slovenia to Russia, the pattern was the same, with state and church wanting the village folk to remain children, obedient and faithful, and asking as few questions as possible.

(2) The nobility and landowners

Here the loyalties were to the class and to the throne. One might almost approach it in Marxist terms: the objective of the landowner is the status quo - opposition to anybody who would want to take land away from him.

Therefore by tradition the landowner would cling to the existing order: i.e. the dynasty, church, loyalty to his own class rather than national or religious feeling. There was a free-masonry that cemented all "people of blood" together.

Landowning by itself made for conservatism. The

landowner desired continuity of tenure. He knew that the estate which he owned and managed had been established and owned by his ancestors. He wanted, therefore, to pass it on to his heirs. There was a strong family tradition. At the top, he would owe allegiance to the emperor, he would be "the Kaiser's man" - the most loyal of servants to the monarch.

(3) Politics

Here we think principally of Vienna, for it was there that the essential instruments of state were located. First of all, Vienna was the imperial city. It embodied the traditions of the throne, not as a local phenomenon but one embracing the whole realm. One thought of Vienna alongside Rome, or even Jerusalem. Vienna was also the centre of state administration. There existed a two-way traffic, of administration going out and taxes coming in. This meant much since the whole state machine had its headquarters there. Vienna was the brain which supervised and controlled the body politic. After 1867, the three most important government functions were defense, finance and external affairs. The headquarters of all three were at Vienna. As we shall see the army tradition presupposed above all loyalty to the empire.

Justice with all its trappings was also represented in Vienna by the sumptuous Justizministerium. Across the front of the Hofburg gate were the words

Justitia Imperii Fundamentum. In fact the palaces of the Ring, most of them built in the second half of the nineteenth century represented the complete picture of Vienna's place in the empire - the Hofburg, museums, university and the Opera. We come to the Imperial Parliament: the Reichsrath. To be sure, this body did not represent democracy at its best; yet it built up a formal semblance of representative government which would eventually have been realized in fact. It did provide a forum for open discussion, in which men like Masaryk could become famous.

The bureaucratic tradition which also centred in Vienna is a special topic. This was the executive arm of the government for which a veritable hierarchy had grown up since Maria Theresa's day. It was nourished by nineteenth century developments. Austria can claim to have had the first railway in continental Europe, Linz to Budweis (1843). This soon became a huge network linking all the important cities. The government owned and ran it, and a vast bureaucracy developed beginning with the humble but self-important station master and culminating in the councillors in the Viennese ministry. Thus there was another tradition built up that transcended national boundaries. One language was spoken by those who ran it - German.

On the railways Germans or Magyars got preference but there was a chance for all, at least in Cisleithania. For instance, when the Czechs obtained educational equality in the eighteen-eighties their capacity for work increased.

All the higher posts were in Vienna so the official was forced to move: therefore in his climb up the ladder the Czech would become a true empire servant.

At bottom the education given in school and university was a moving force behind tradition. The elementary schools fostered it in the hearts of the young by putting a halo around the emperor and his family. The chief task of the middle schools and universities came to be to prepare candidates for the civil service, who would accept the great tradition. All of these were under state control. As for the latter, after 1882 when the Czechs secured their own university in Prague, alongside the German, there were in Austria eight universities in all: Vienna, Innsbruck, Graz, and Prague with German; Cracow and Lvov with Polish; Zagreb with Croatian and Prague with Czech as a language of instruction. The humanist tradition was strong, a Catholic tradition was taught in Latin, and the academic standards were equal to the best in Europe.

Catholicism

We have indicated in the first chapter why the Hapsburg Empire flourished. Its raison d'être was its role as the defender of Eastern Europe against the infidel - in particular the Turk on the Danube. Here the family fulfilled a mission for centuries, not only for themselves but also for Europe.

Western civilization grew out of a combination

of a universal church and a universal state in which the Church provided the formative influence. This was symbolised already in 800 A.D. by the crowning of Charlemagne as Emperor in Rome. The church meant union under one Pope, one faith, one hierarchy. It also stood guard over culture, and its one language - Latin - was a potent unifying force.

The Hapsburgs were loyal servants of the Church and helped the Church internally and externally. This meant, in principle, a decided aversion to change or reform. The dynasty could not overlook any internal opposition: they would be quick to suppress dissent, and thus the Czech Protestant revolution (Hussites) led up to the Hapsburg intervention which culminated at Bílá Hora (1620).

But the principal concern of the dynasty was empire building. This was an eastward movement and was part of the struggle with Islam. The climactic moments came when the Turks were repelled in front of Vienna in 1683, and in the battles of Zenta (1687) and Peterwardein (1716). The result of the former was the treaty of Karlowitz when the Sultan ceded most of Hungary to Austria. The result of Peterwardein was the treaty of Belgrade, by which the Hapsburgs were established along the river Sava, to remain there until 1908.

The hero of these battles was Prince Eugene of Savoy, "der edle Ritter", who became a veritable legend.

Eugene is a supranational figure - a Frenchman fighting for Austria against the Turks. He is one of the heirs to Charlemagne!

But the prestige of the Church was also enhanced. The victory over Islam was achieved in its name. It was acclaimed by the liberated peoples who were now not only rid of the invader, but confident that the dreaded visitations of plague from which they suffered under the Turks, would not return.

The Church thus became more and more a real cohesive and unifying force. Its universalism and unilateralism was unquestioned. It employed only one language: Latin. Its allegiance was to the Pope through Vienna. It was supranational, its dignitaries were drawn from all nationalities and sent if needed from one end of the empire to the other: a Slovak priest might go to Croatia, a Czech to Galicia. These men were "naturalised". The Church had its own appurtenances - the monasteries, nunneries and hospitals in which prevailed a humanist togetherness. Philanthropic work was done in the name of humanity, not of nations.

The members of the dynasty worked hand in hand with the clergy. The emperors, with few exceptions, were "good" Catholics and cooperated with the Church in every way. In return the Court in Vienna was honoured by Rome as being the prime pillar of the faith in Europe. The will of the emperor counted in the Vatican, just as the will of the Pope counted in Vienna and Budapest. There

was, it is true, one weak link in all this "axis" of supra-nationalism. It did not suit the book of Czech Catholics to be channelling their relations with Rome through Vienna. This was partly the legacy of the past, and could not be eliminated. On the other hand, no such feelings existed in Cracow and scarcely any could be found in Zagreb.

The Army

The army and its leaders should also be approached from the point of view of history. The first military commander of importance to the Hapsburgs was Albrecht von Wallenstein, who may be ranked as one of the first supra-national figures. This man, with all his oddities, was the saviour of the Hapsburgs in the Thirty Years War. Then, as we have seen above, it was Prince Eugene and the Austrian army which, after the saving of Vienna in 1683, won decisive victories over the Turks and secured the frontiers of Christendom in the Balkans. All this helped to consolidate the Austro-Hungarian Empire as -

- 1) a political unit,
- 2) the bulwark of Catholicism,
- 3) the defender of Christendom against the infidel, every soldier could thus feel that he was a "crusader".

Scarcely less glory was won a century later by the Austrians, single handed, at Aspern (1809) against Napoleon's armies. The French Emperor himself was forced to comment on the fighting qualities and morale of the

Austrian troops in that battle. Finally, we have in Field Marshal Radetzky the nineteenth century heir of this tradition. Radetzky was the commander-in-chief from 1814 on. His important victories were won in Italy, in particular the decisive battle at Custozza which saved Lombardy for the Empire. His were the only positive contributions to 1848 which, otherwise, was a gloomy year. Small wonder that Grillparzer paid him the tribute of the famous line "In deinem Lager ist Oesterreich"³ a stirring and patriotic commentary on his prestige as a soldier and a leading citizen.

Sadowa (1866) was a serious defeat and it would be interesting to speculate what would have happened if Bismarck and his generals had marched forward to take Vienna: but the army was not to blame for what happened. We have seen that the direct result of this defeat was the famous (or infamous) Ausgleich, which favoured the people who had been disloyal, accommodating the Magyars while penalising the Slavs who had fought at their best. The defence of the Empire now became a common cause in the monarchy, there was only one Ministry and one general staff, but there were three district army bodies formed after 1867:⁴

- (a) Joint or common Austro-Hungarian army;
- (b) Austrian defense army "Landwehr";

³ "Austria is in your camp." This stirring verse is one of the few written by Grillparzer exhibiting national feeling. See Chapter V., on Austrian Nationalism.

⁴ Steed, op. cit., pp. 63-70.

(c) Hungarian defense army of "Honved".

A special word should be said about the Honveds. The Magyars rightly glory in the tradition of their own fighting forces. Their national hero was John Hunyady who, in 1459, repelled the Turkish onslaught and, later, made a memorable march through the Balkans, securing valuable territory for Hungary. In 1848, the Hungarians had their own army - the instrument by which Kossuth tried to win independence. However, after 1867, Deák assured the Hungarian Diet that this army fought against the Pragmatic Sanction and from then on there was a fair accommodation. By the terms accepted in the Ausgleich, the Honved army was under the command of the Vienna chief of staff and of the Honved minister in the Hungarian cabinet. This minister was responsible for the recruitment of troops. The Magyars never ceased to demand more and more privileges such as that promulgated in 1903 by the Tisza government. This programme claimed such rights as the establishment of Hungarian cadet schools, and the recognition of the monarch's right to determine the language of command and service in Hungarian regiments. This last was important, because Budapest was bent on Magyarising the subject nationalities in their army as far as possible. Thus the recruit in the Hungarian army was subjected to methodical Magyar chauvinist pressure, whether he came from Slovakia or Croatia.

The recruit in the Cisleithanian part of the empire, on the other hand, received a fairly healthy and liberal education; he learned some German, the official

language of the empire and the language of command. He was exposed to the ideas of empire and of the dynasty, and learned more than just parochial patriotism. The army was the pride of the monarchy and the idol of the people, and the new recruit felt he was part of it. His basic training was not only military but social, and he was converted as far as possible into a supranational figure. At least he got some supranational feelings. This was the feature of army education which the nationalists found hardest to combat. The army was thus the "nursery" of dynastic feeling. The sovereign^E was, of course, the Commander-in-Chief and was able in his person to achieve some welding of the disparate elements, German, Slav and Hungarian, into one whole. Indeed the last emperor, Franz Joseph, looked upon the army as his own property. The most senior officers were his comrades and "cousins", and he never failed to stand by them through thick and thin. Here we see a practical and realistic embodiment of the classical dynastic idea. Franz Joseph "fathered" his generals "with affectionate solicitude".⁵ The army was the pampered child of the dynasty, and was therefore regarded with great affection by all subjects. The emperor's Army Order at Chlopy in 1903 illustrates this: he invoked the spirit "which respects every national characteristic and solves all antagonisms by utilising the special qualities of every race for the welfare of the whole."⁶ This spirit existed

⁵ Steed, op. cit., p. 71.

⁶ Ibid., p. 70.

as a unifying factor in the monarchy.

The army served important purposes. It had to be prepared to ward off the potential Russian menace in the East. It served the ends of the monarchy in keeping Italy "neutralised" and keeping the Balkans tranquil. But it also served to enhance the dignity of the throne, or even to nurture the amour propre of the emperor in the face of potential dynastic rivals like Prussia.

The army was always important in times of crisis for internal purposes. We need only to think of the crushing of the Prague June risings by Windischgrätz in 1848. Troops were always at hand to maintain order where required. This service extended to other emergencies such as flood disasters, or snow slides in the Alps. The same troops were an adjunct to the regular police for the maintenance of civil order and of controlling the mores. In a word, the army provided the surest guarantee of law, order and discipline in a Polizeistaat.

The State-Idea

The fundamental problem to be resolved by the Austro-Hungarian authorities resident in Vienna, in their attempt to preserve the Empire, was the need for an accommodation of the concept of statehood, as inherited from Greece and Rome, to the respective national allegiances with which they were confronted. For example, after the consolidation effected in the heat of the revolution,

little difficulty on such lines presented itself to the rulers of France or, even though geography had made it more complex to those of Spain, although each of those nations, by that time more or less homogeneous, had earlier consisted of a number of regions differing in dialect, in their folkways and in economic interests. These elements, however, had in most cases no strongly developed historicity, though one might cite the peculiar traditions or background of the Provençals in France, or of the Catalans in Spain. Notwithstanding all such differences, a sense of national togetherness was achieved in "La France une et indivisible". Much the same thing was done in England and, most recently, in Germany. These models from the Atlantic seaboard were sedulously emulated on the Danube.

The Austrian rulers, recognising the difficulties to be resolved in their own household because of national disparateness, sought a remedy or "formula" to meet the case by introducing the Staatsidee. This concept, in itself not easy to understand, meant an attempt to reconcile conflicting aspirations and conform those to an all inclusive whole. This concept was not new. The leaders of the state and church were aware of ancient examples which had succeeded - that of Persia and more conspicuously that of Imperial Rome. The second of these had lasted for centuries: why should history not repeat itself in modern times?

The various nationalisms that prevailed in the

parts of the empire could not be denied. Those diverse forms of national striving were obviously directed to quite varying ends. By the very nature of things the Slavs could not be in harmony with the Magyars, nor could Germans see eye to eye with either Slavs or Magyars. Even the Slav diverse groups themselves had very little in common, albeit they more so than any group were able to enjoy a certain sense of race solidarity engendered by close linguistic affinity.

The Staatsidee was conceived as a sort of umbrella, a shade-tree or a safe haven to provide shelter, security, and a hope of collaboration between the many diverse elements. Essentially it was artificial and had many weaknesses, nevertheless it served as a useful - indeed effective - means of holding conflicting forces together right down to modern times.

One of the main reasons why this otherwise antiquated idea of the state was able to maintain cohesion for so long was that it provided an established and at least tolerable machinery of government. Since the days of Maria Theresa and Joseph, a fairly efficient apparatus of control had been at work and this fixed system enjoyed all the privileges and prerogatives of the classes that benefited most from it. This bureaucracy was so geared as to make entry into the service of the state a highly coveted life occupation: witness the prestige accorded the bearers of the innumerable titles, including those of the wives,

for honoured state officials. This entrenched body of public servants was a formidable force which only a major catastrophe could overwhelm. The material considerations were important but the whole machine was reinforced by a sort of mysticism, an invisible bond of common service, a sense of calling in the realisation of something designed by providence, which needed the help of men to make it work.

The key-stone which held the notion and art of the state-idea together was the throne and the dynasty that occupied it. The formula K.u.K. (Kaiserlich und Königlich) was sacred, whether in the Vienna Ballplatz, the seat of the Foreign Office, in the Budapest diet, in Pilsen or in a remote Galician village. All the occupants of these scattered places knew that they were governed by the same emperor. They saw the formula on the railway, in the courts, and on the packages of cigarettes they smoked.

But K. und K. was only one symbol used to impress the populace. There were the other revered trappings of the monarchy - the crown jewels - whether in Vienna or Budapest. It was unfortunate that Franz Joseph refused to be crowned King of Bohemia, for this would have been an additional fillip to the monarchy. Even all kinds of quite superficial worldly events helped: a parade at Schönbrunn or a military manoeuvre with the emperor present. The Hapsburgs were past masters of showmanship. They knew the value of the old Spanish etiquette which they learned when they controlled the Spanish throne.

The emperor not only reigned, but ruled. He was more than a figurehead, he was the government. The supreme power was vested in the State council over which he presided. Its members were under his guidance. The Reichsrath, whose deputies were elected by the people, had no executive authority. The emperor was, therefore, sovereign to his subjects, and an excellent psychological instrument was used - paternalism. The definition of this term may be useful: the principle and practice of paternal administration; government as by a father, the claim and attempt to supply the needs or to regulate the life of a nation or community in the same way as a father does to his children. The emperor was an autocrat via paternalism - a benevolent despot.

Perhaps the best example of this was Franz Joseph.⁷ He was the "Daddy" to his subjects. It was his desire always to do what was best for his devoted people. But his thinking ran much as follows: "I am doing the best for you. Let me do your thinking for you. All you need to do is to go about your everyday affairs, love, marry, beget children. We shall do all the rest. All we demand from you is your unquestioned loyalty. No deviationism is permitted." Blind obedience was also demanded - no wonder that Franz Joseph himself was a paragon of discipline. He led a life of Spartan abnegation and was entirely pre-occupied with the punctual performance of his duties. He

⁷ Redlich, J., Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria. A Biography, New York, Macmillan, 1929.

had no desire for personal gain. His own life was tragic and his family life a failure. Perhaps his sense of paternalism in the empire imposed on him a transfer of loyalties from his family to his subjects.

From the political point of view the Emperor gave no nation preference. The classic phrase of Franz Joseph: "Is he a patriot for me?"⁸ gives the full answer. In this sentence the whole dynastic organism is implied; the loyalty was not to an individual nation or ethnic group, but to the dynasty and its figurehead - the emperor. Nations were also pitted one against the other on the ancient Roman principle - dividere et imperare. It was the emperor's ambition to keep the keel of the ship of state in balance by seesawing one nation against the other.

One means of achieving such "balance" was the use of the pulpit, the press, the educational system, the law and of course the throne to reduce the thinking and asking of as many people as possible, of all nations and classes, to one common denominator - what the Nazis were to proclaim as "Gleichschaltung" - a state in which the greatest possible number would have the least possible differences of view or ambitions and in which adherence to a system would be engendered as a cardinal virtue. That this goal was never achieved, in fact never could be, is a matter of history - the major reasons why are the theme of our next chapter.

⁸ Shepherd, G., Austrian Odyssey, London, Macmillan, 1957, p. 27.

In conclusion let us admit that in all possibility no rational or final definition of the Staatsidee is possible: that it is an elusive thing, something felt rather than seen, and sensed rather than understood. In spite of this, however, its powers and its appeal are attested in more than one age and in more than one country. Among the latter Austria-Hungary stands high.

CHAPTER III.

FACTORS FOR DISRUPTION

Introduction

We shall now deal with those forces which seem to have contributed, in a significant manner, to the disintegration of the empire. Terminology is of the essence in naming the chapter. Should we call the factors negative, subversive or solvent? Were they separatist, or could one say the same thing by describing them as centrifugal? It will be realised that all such terms involve the use of metaphors. The state is thought of as a body, an organism which may be in varying degrees healthy or ailing, strong or weak, dependable or undependable.

We can speak of a negative factor as opposed to a positive one because some of the cohesive forces, making for unity and strength, which we tried to analyse in the former chapter carried the seeds of destruction within them. Negative can, of course, also imply the lack of something essential to health: we shall see that this too could be found, for example in Musil's title Der Mann Ohne Eigenschaften or the Man Without Qualities.¹

¹ This work will be dealt with in some detail in Chapter V. under Artistic Diagnosis.

One can speak of subversive factors: these were currents working underneath which could undermine the body politic. We have solvent factors, those forces which could dissolve the empire. This metaphor comes from the field of chemistry. Then we have the separatist or centrifugal factors, particularly those forces which pulled away from the monarchy. This metaphor comes from mechanics or physics.

What are the essentials of a healthy state? First of all the government must be efficient: the state must be well run; its finances must be sound; its defense must be assured, and proper and equal justice must be meted out. In short, public affairs must be run in such a way as to assume that the majority of the subjects are content. To attain this ideal the citizens must enjoy living and, in this, the most important factor is that they should have some say in affairs. Thus, the best example of the "healthy" political state of affairs might be the ancient Greek city state in which the citizen enjoyed full voting rights, indeed one may say that he possessed greater privileges than the citizen of today. He was called upon also to shoulder onerous responsibility in civic affairs. The state ran smoothly and efficiently. True it had to administer only a small area and a small population, but this form of government was reckoned as ideal and has served as a model.

In contrast with this, our present thesis will show as objectively as possible that Austria-Hungary was an unhealthy state. The state machine was fairly good: the

collection of taxes was done fairly well, the army was efficient, almost to the end. But what was the relation of the citizen to the state? We shall try to show in this and the following chapter that the allegiance of the citizens was divided between the "state-idea" and the respective national or even parochial ties, that is to the nation or to the locality. The classic case is that even the German Herrenwolk, the real administrators of the empire, gravitated strongly toward the Great German Empire. The cohesive forces, that is those that held the empire together and tried to make the state "healthy" - were not effective enough to keep things going on a sound plane. The state could not be classed as a viable entity: indeed the classic remark of Masaryk, who termed the empire mrtvola, a "corpse", is very apposite.²

² In 1918 the famous Viennese surgeon, Dr. Lorenz, published an article in the Neue Freie Presse in which he recalled his anatomy classes. He mentioned that at one time Masaryk had been one of his students since Masaryk wanted to acquire the rudiments of the subject in order the better to understand aesthetics. Lorenz wrote that during one of his "practicals" Masaryk was dissecting a corpse in the wrong way. When Lorenz saw this clumsy operation he admonished the novice: "If you had done this to a living person you would have killed him". Telling the story he could not but help adding: "And Masaryk treated Austria-Hungary in the same way, he killed a living organism by an unfortunate thrust of a scalpel!" When Masaryk read this he promptly replied with the following open letter: "My dear Sir, the trouble was that Austria was already a corpse".

Centrifugal Tendencies

At the outset a distinction between the categories must be made. Two fairly distinct types of nations in Austria-Hungary can be distinguished:

(1) Those which were completely within the borders of the Empire. There are two such nations: the Czechs (including the Slovaks because of mutual intelligibility of language) and the Magyars. The latter had achieved an unusual position in the monarchy with the Ausgleich. We shall treat the development of the Czechs in the next chapter. Suffice it to say here that these two nationalities had one thing in common: they were historical nations,³ with century long traditions and experience. Beyond this fact, however, the two nations were utterly different. The Czechs, in consequence of past misfortunes, were basically without class distinctions; whereas the Magyars were a class society; the Czechs were democratic, the Magyars a Herrenvolk: the former were secular, the latter bound by aristocratic tradition. Consequently the two peoples could never agree, even apart from the Slovak issue, unless on their common dislike of subjection to Vienna. We are thus faced with wheels within wheels: discords even inside the centrifugal force of nationalism.

(2) The fractional nations, that is those which lived only half or less than half within the frontiers of

³ The Slovaks were not a historical nation as they had since their earliest recorded history been subjects of the Magyars.

the Monarchy and thus had powerful and attractive loyalties outside. This meant the existence of live national allegiances in competition with those directed towards Vienna.

The principal fractional nations were:

In the South, were the following Slavonic peoples:

- i) the Slovenes in the Austrian part: in the provinces of Carinthia and Carniola.
- ii) the Croats in the Hungarian part who were linked by a common speech with the Serbs, Bosnians and Montenegrins and who had come to cherish what is called the concept of South Slav unity. From the time when the Serbs achieved their long lost independence there was a strong pull towards consolidation to be felt in the whole peninsula. This dream dates from Napoleonic times and was known as the Illyrian concept. It came to a head with the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina of 1908.

The Poles of Galicia were a special case, owing to the size of their nation and its position on the map. Poland remained an unhappy and divided country, governed in part by the Russians and in part by Prussia. Traditionally, however, the nation had always been Roman Catholic, even described by the Pope as Polonia semper fidelis. So, then, those under Hapsburg rule were mostly content to remain within Catholic Austria, although their natural and normal allegiance would be (indeed was slowly becoming)

loyalty to a liberated Poland. In particular the Galician Poles were ready to join with their countrymen or others to strike a blow at Tsarist Russia.

As for the Ruthenians (Ukrainians), their normal allegiance would have been to the Ukraine, if it had been free, and this nationalist feeling was being intentionally and artificially cultivated by Vienna among the Ukrainians of the Uniate rite, partly as a buffer against Tsardom, partly to thwart Polish national ambition. But there were wheels within wheels: the Ukrainians were faced with the fact that they were a peasant minority group within Galicia where, since 1869, the Poles had enjoyed political autonomy.

The Roumanians living in Transylvania, known as Szeklers,⁴ were ethnically a fraction (one-sixth) of the nation outside which had been set free from Turkish rule in 1876-78. Though separated by mountains, there was no doubt of their hearts' allegiance, based on speech, faith and folk-lore. Even the fact that they were a national island nearly surrounded by alien Magyars did not make them any the easier to assimilate. Some of the ablest and most progressive of political leaders and thinkers in the reunited Roumania (after 1918) were Transylvanians.

The Germans of Austria proper, living on both sides of the upper Middle Danube, were in the most unenviable position of all, if only because of their sovereign position in their own land: they were compelled by fate to be

⁴ Hungarian Szek = seat; Szekler implies those frontier-men who were seated on the mountain passes where they exercised the functions of frontier guards. c.f. German Mark.

"two breeds of cat" at the same time.

- i) They were the "Österreicher", a people with a very long and vital tradition, some would say the finest in the German world. Was this tradition "national" or "regional"? Were they to be classified as we would the Bavarians or had they something more? To this question we shall return in the next chapter.
- ii) On the other hand in speech and tradition at least they were German - always had been. Indeed they were an integral part of Catholic Germandom: their folk life was hardly different from Bavaria, their music was at the centre of the German heritage. Finally, they included a Protestant minority to whom things in the Reich looked rosy. Hence they produced the notorious Pan-German movement of which more will be said later.

It would thus seem that Austrian nationalism did not have a chance of development alongside Austrian imperialism. Its place was taken by the concept of the Staatsidee, a somewhat nebulous concept, which could only be grasped and envisaged by the man in the street in terms of the dynasty.

Finally, one other group must be mentioned - the Jews. They were located chiefly in metropolitan centres, especially in the capital, Vienna; mostly speaking German, although the Ostjuden in Galicia, Northern Hungary and

Ruthenia spoke mostly Yiddish as their native tongue, but were in most cases conversant with the national languages of the area. Until the beginning of the twentieth century they rated as a religious denomination but, since the rise of Zionism in the nineties (incidentally this movement was originated by a Viennese Jew, Theodor Herzl), national ambitions had been growing. Much could be written to show either:

- a) that they were all loyal Austrians;
- b) that their problem was always disruptive.

The subject is too complicated for proper treatment here, but the net result of their growing numbers, their industry and their aggressiveness, was that they were generally feared, disliked, or ostracized.

Language Diversity

An obvious factor making for dissonance and hindering togetherness in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was diversity of language. The Dual Monarchy was a veritable babel of tongues. In a further chapter language will be described as a very important expression of national feelings and devotion to it a norm or yardstick of nationalism. For the present we shall look at the effect of the vernacular or written language in its own right.

What are the uses of language for the state? We are faced at once with two possibilities:

- 1) in which a certain language is accepted as the lingua franca, that is a medium of expression making communication possible between disparate national groups in one state, or
- ii) a single language serving as the guardian of a whole nation's individuality or ethos in which the tongue spoken is the expression and, to some extent, a vehicle of national aspirations.

An example of the former would be English in India, of the latter French wherever used. In the Dual Monarchy an attempt was made to impose two quite disparate languages both having the functions of lingua franca, that is German in the Cisleithanian part and Hungarian in Transleithania. In the army every attempt was made in this direction and, to a lesser degree, in the whole educational system. These two languages were of course official - all state documents were printed in them and the bureaucracy transacted its business in them. Of course the Roman Catholic Church, whose role as a cohesive force was highly important, adhered to its traditional language, viz. Latin, and this was used for correspondence by its clergy, whether they were archbishops in Vienna, Budapest or Lemberg, or humble village priests in some remote Alpine valley.

In contrast with these universal tongues were the regional (national) languages, from Italian and Slovene on the Adriatic to Ukrainian and Roumanian in the East. A remarkable feature of this condition of things was the fact

that some of these languages were a local patois, others were languages resuscitated in modern times from simple peasant speech and developed into a rich and flexible medium of communication, possessing extensive literary and scientific vocabulary, and capable of begetting literature of a high order. Furthermore, the languages which were reborn with the rise of nationalism had in them something very significant and of deep importance as opposed to the official tongues: they existed for the benefit of the community, small or large; through them people could communicate freely with one another and enjoy their experience. They objected to having compulsion laid on them to learn a foreign language, rightly preferring their own. This naturally led to emphasis on national independence.

Being able to converse freely with one's neighbour made for the strengthening of local loyalties and the speaker might of his own accord learn another tongue, but he objected to having all this forced on him from outside and from above. There are further psychological hurdles. The official language might be one of entirely different structure and tradition from his own language, one not belonging to his language family at all. In Austria-Hungary there were four main language families: Slavonic, Teutonic German, Romance Roumanian and Italian, and Finno-Ugric Hungarian. It is possible for Slavs, for example Czechs and Croats, to understand each other a little without too much labour, although it is admitted that complete

mutual intelligibility between the Slavonic people is more a fiction than a reality. Most of the Slavs have not been contiguous to each other, witness the distance between the South and North-Western Slavs. Those that have been neighbours have tended to merge and compose differences, for example the South Slavs.

One further point - languages become identified with political prejudices: so that, for example, if an Englishman in Budapest used German to address a policeman he would get no attention until the officer found that he was not a born German. The same would happen in Prague, mutatis mutandis. This is an abuse for which language is not meant to stand: it should be an instrument of good will and everything human. Every example of this made problems of togetherness in the Monarchy more difficult.

Negative Factors

We shall now examine the body politic from the negative point of view:- those aspects of the system which could have contributed to maintaining the strength of the state but did exactly the opposite.

Social forces are like human organisms: they thrive, live and die, and within them are both positive and negative features which intermingle. As with human personalities, each consists of sympathetic and unsympathetic sides - the white and the black. One or the other may predominate, but the general impression created

is one of intermediate greyness; a kind of neutrality. It is the same with social forces: each can be a two-edged sword, and it is extremely difficult to see whether the positive or negative predominate. The student of these social interactions faces an arduous task in trying to separate the commingling of these features.

In the last chapter we dealt with the forces which contributed cohesively to the maintenance of the Dual Monarchy: the dynasty, the bureaucracy, the army, and the concept of the Staatsidee. All these did much to strengthen the reins of the empire and they might never have been slackened had they not met with counterforces such as those referred to above. Even these had inherent weaknesses which contributed to their calamitous breakdown.

The most important feature, common to all the organs of the state, was that they were mostly antiquated; they were not able to keep up with modern times and progress. They had become anachronisms, and the conditions created for the monarchy were only preserved by artificial and forced means.

First in the case of the army, we have seen already how this body promoted unity by educating the recruits, inculcating in them a sense of empire: by giving the recruits an opportunity to see the realm in all its geographical diversity, yet trying to make them conscious of the unity of the empire and its values. They were also taught the traditional great past of the empire -

the glories and achievements of the military victories of Prince Eugene and of Field-Marshal Radatzky. Yet all this search for coordination could not offset the ties of home. Each recruit knew that he had a native village with its meaningful background - first of all the family, then the neighbourhood, the school where he learned to read and write, mostly in his beloved native tongue, and the national spirit which was aroused in him more and more as the force of nationalism progressed. If the soldier were confronted by two choices - his own national affinities or the supra-national and universalist - usually he would prefer the former. This has been graphically illustrated, nay even satirically accentuated, in the famous story of Švejk. For this reason some pages will be found below, devoted to a brief critique of the experiences of this renowned character.⁵ They reveal the hopeless despondency suffered by the private soldier in the struggle not only from the military but also from the psychological point of view. At the moment that the battle started, the soldier's thoughts naturally swung from the Emperor and the cause to the local scene and through it to the fate of his individual nation.

Social Disintegration

Turning to the most significant weaknesses in the system, we shall take first of all those forces which were so vital - the chief intangible and the most potent being

⁵ See Appendix I.

tradition. It is this power which carried the way of life from one generation to the next. We have seen how effective this was in preserving the status quo of society in general: all citizens from the lowliest to the exalted figure of the emperor knew from the cradle what place in the system was allotted to them.

Basically, it all amounted to the preservation of the feudal order. The peasant knew his fixed status vis-a-vis his betters. Even after emancipation (1848) he remained more or less a vassal, an economic bondsman who was constrained to serve. He had to bear arms whenever and wherever this was required. But this system could prevail only as long as the peasant was kept in ignorance; as long as his whole life was circumscribed and restricted to his habitat, in most cases his native village. He could only know the most mundane things of life, his outlook was monotonous in the extreme, and the less he knew of more sophisticated values the better. This was all the more true the further east one went.

Revolution came when the peasant's view of life was broadened, when he was first enlightened in one of many ways. The coming of new and faster means of communication was a decisive event, especially the railways which widened his geographic horizon and the newspaper which became a powerful intellectual stimulus. Needless to say education played its part here, both formal and informal. In any case, the common man was exposed to new influences:

alongside the routine imperialist outlook he was buffeted by new ideas - the nationalist idea first of all. The national awakeners (buditeli) found an ally in the newspapers, with the resuscitation of language they could exercise considerable influence on the masses. Furthermore, the new ideas of socialism, and even a vague understanding of democracy, broke through even to the remotest hamlets. One must not overlook the constant stream of new ideas conveyed by letters of those who had emigrated to the New World and also the dynamic influence of those who returned after a sojourn abroad where they had acquired new social and economic values and especially a new understanding of what was called democracy. With railways and improved roads, the country folk were able to move - the rise of the cities attested to the drawing power they had on the rural population. In the fast growing urban centres were nurtured new classes and traditions. The peasant of yesterday or his children would either become:

- a) the proletariat of unskilled labour, a social group without traditions and ready to take on new and attractive ideas, or
- b) the bourgeois, from which emanated fresh traditions, enunciated by the intellectuals - the educated fringe of this group. They were the makers of new militant policies and new outlooks.

These developments may seem obvious to us - they were the

same here as in the rest of Europe - but in Austria-Hungary they came much later and their impact, when it came, was all the more violent and effective.

The time-honoured and hallowed traditions of the aristocracy were also being undermined. The nobility's strongest attachment was to their ancestral land and to their own fellows - a sort of free-masonry of overlords. They were conscious of their place in the social hierarchy. These adherences and loyalties were, it is true, essentially sustained until 1914, but they were being steadily ousted by the spreading social transformation. The city began to play a more prominent part, the rural hinterland continued to lose influence: it became more and more only a raw material reservoir.

The playboy squire was losing ground to the intellectual or the entrepreneur. Indeed the son of the nobleman, with ability and education, could do no better than join the procession. Here he found something worthwhile, though his role was transformed. His old vassals were less amenable to control: they were being treated to the heady wine of nationalism and socialism. Their loyalties lay no longer with the aristocrat, and sooner or later a vacuum formed which left the feudal way of life far behind. This was particularly the case with the "foreign" nobility. A German aristocrat saw that his "subjects" in Bohemia were now Czechs, and that they were growing more and more conscious of this. Similarly the imperious Hungarian

nobleman realised that his subjects were Slovaks who, sooner or later, would rebel if only for nationalist reasons when the national sentiments attained a certain stage of maturity.

Even the authority and tradition of the Church were being sapped from below. We have seen the Church as an ancient fabric which had a well regulated world of its own, with its own subjects - the priests and nuns; using its own language, Latin, and above all exercising its own strict and circumscribed educational powers and policies.

Before 1850, the Church was the important instrument for education, both lay and religious. The village priest formerly had almost exclusive influence on his flock. This was now to be no longer so. Once the secular revolution gained momentum, the power of the intellectuals and of the rapidly expanding press was able to tear away the blinkers of the Church which were firmly implanted on the vision of the people - simply by presenting new ideas. Those who underwent the new influences, while at the same time hearing the old dogmatic teachings of the Church, now began to see that they were two radically different and irreconcilable things. The people could thus pick and choose, and often the new idea would gain the day: if only for expediency it seemed to suit them better.

The Polish peasant in Galicia would naturally be drawn towards Polish nationalist ideas, aiming at the

betterment of his condition in line with the nationalist propaganda. This would follow if Galicia were totally Polish and its affairs administered by Poles. He may well have preferred this to the rather slow moving, doctrinaire instruction of the Church, coupled with rigid discipline - "You will only go into Heaven if you obey us and your properly constituted masters." This set view, which even presented extraneous elements, began to look more and more unpalatable to the subjects. The native language was preferred to Latin. Church affairs were suspect: it was widely held that they were dictated and controlled from Vienna, indeed indirectly from the Vatican.

Even the influence of Vienna as the traditional Hauptstadt was not what it had been. It was more and more challenged as provincial and rivalling capitals grew up. After the 1867 Ausgleich, Budapest was the capital of Transleithania, with the Magyars in full control. This was certainly at the expense of Vienna. Furthermore, Prague became the headquarters for the Czech intellectuals and entrepreneurs, and the Czechs looked on the old city more and more as their rightful capital. In fact Vienna continued to become for them increasingly a symbol of opprobrious alien domination. Prague was where good things came from, Vienna from where you could expect unpopular decrees - and taxation! Other capitals were in a similar position but to a lesser degree, Ljubljana (Laibach) in Slovenia, Zagreb (Agram) for the Croats and Bratislava (Pressburg) for the Slovaks. These places were still provincial cities,

but the enthusiastic young nationalists were already looking at those centers as their future capitals. Galicia had Cracow, the ancient spiritual and traditional capital of Poland, and the gaze of the Galician Poles would also be directed towards Warsaw (which was outside Austria-Hungary), the real modern capital of Poland. Last but not least, the Roumanians would look on Bucharest as their centre of affairs, and the Ukraine's thoughts would turn to Kiev.

We shall see in Chapter V. that in the first decade of the twentieth century some inquiring and restive minds were seeking to peer beneath the surface of Vienna. They saw that the Imperial glory and the resplendent palaces were only a superficial veneer under which slept a volcano. Vienna was by then already an unhappy place, schizophrenic because on the one hand there was the imperial pomp and circumstance, on the other a city with much poverty where nobody could find his place - all was unhappiness and disillusionment. Vienna was unmasked: the proud city which had over-exercised great influence in the affairs of Europe had grown too large for the task allotted to it. The Viennese had long since become used to the term Schlamperei,⁶ and the way of life that the term refers to was more or less accepted as normal. There was little sense of allegiance to the capital, even amongst its own citizens, and satire was popular - hence the well known anonymous

⁶ This German term is used especially to describe the happy-go-lucky, slovenly mode of existence.

doggerel of the capital:

Du bist verrückt, mein Kind!

Du gehörst nach Wien,

Wo die verrückten sind,

Dort gehörst Du hin!⁷

Secular Man

The eighteenth century saw two major revolutions in Europe, both of which made noteworthy impacts, eventually, on the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The first was the Industrial Revolution, the second the French Revolution. Both upheavals acted as solvents of the social order that had remained almost unchanged from mediaeval feudalism and other worldliness. They helped to produce a new class: the secular man, the townsman - whether bourgeois or factory worker, both of whom were unknown to the old traditions of the Dual Monarchy.

These two revolutions came about principally as a further stage of renaissance humanism, helped on by the scientific work of Newton and the inventors. The Industrial Revolution reached its climax in the triumph of man's control of steam power. Humanism meant the emancipation of man from his traditional masters - the clergy, the nobility and traditional custom. The new man desired to live freely "among his own people", sharing in

⁷ You are mad my child!
 You belong to Vienna,
 Where all the fools are
 That's just where you belong!

responsibility and uncontrolled by any oppressive authority from above. This was the real import of the French Revolution.

The industrial revolution grew out of the quest for knowledge. It was marked by new scientific thought and investigation and these in turn led to startling discoveries. The climax of all this was the rise of urban life and manners, and the harnessing of science to social and economic ends. It led fifty years later to the linking up of cities by railways. Slowly but surely men realised that machines could replace human beings in the producing of goods and in transporting them. This led to much dislocation of people, the growth of towns around the "dark satanic mills". As it turned out, the idea of the machine doing all the work was never realised: man was still needed to run the machines and the factory and mechanical processes could still admit sweat-shop conditions. Two new classes were growing up, or even three:

- i) The entrepreneur and businessman who owned, planned and harnessed the machine;
- ii) The engineer and the clerk who performed the necessary servicing - indispensable elements in the process, as was soon realised;
- iii) The labour force to run the machines, working men and women who had to be recruited from the old guilds of artisans and above all from the peasantry.

The lure of the rising cities presented an irresistible attraction to the rural areas.

In a general way the effect of the industrial revolution on Eastern Europe came fifty years later than in the West. It was being generally felt by the eighteenth forties, and once the impact came it was all the more violent. Both the revolutions had a much harder battle to fight then because the forces of opposition and conservatism were stronger. The dynasty, the church and the feudal form of society were still actively embedded in tradition. But, as we know from science, every violent action will produce an equally potent contrary action. Just as in France, the revolution helped to produce nationalism, and once the trend started it could not be halted.

This was truest of the industrial turnover. The construction of railways in Austria led to a recruitment of men to run them. Not only was labour needed, but also an administrative group to operate and manage things. The administrator may have been a former aristocrat, if he was good enough for the job. But this was the exception rather than the rule. The normal run of administrators were often newcomers, whose fathers may not have been able to read or write. Ability and enterprise were the crucial consideration and they drew recruits from all walks of life.

This made for a cleavage in two ways - first of all this new class, which we shall call the secular, did

not subscribe to the old traditions: these men had no ties with the land, with the exception of the few aristocrats and these soon lost them. They were also free from any dynastic or family ties. Finally they were unconnected with the Church, indeed often they were openly anti-clerical.

On the other hand, their work demanded that they be men of intelligence, thinking men, who could be expected to look at things discerningly. They could well be critical about the prevailing social and political order, and this new sense of discrimination often made them unwilling to take things for granted. Loath to allow events to go along the same way as before, they became a disturbing influence. They began to intervene actively, and from now on nothing escaped their attention.

As industrialization progressed, this class multiplied and became an influential power. With them began the modern free enterprise system, and some of them became independent proprietors. This change radically modified the whole monarchy by 1900. Furthermore, their doctrine of "organic work" stimulated national development. The best example of this was the progress of Bohemia from 1850 to 1900. Aggressive Czech and German entrepreneurs, manufacturers, bankers, and traders transformed the country from a backward one into an industrial giant. This was done by the Czechs under the slogan národ sobě,⁸

⁸ Czech "a nation for itself."

and so had even significant political consequences as time went on.

But the West also furnished other stimulants, viz. ideas. In the wake of scientific progress came social thinking. The middle of the nineteenth century saw a three-fold development of enquiry and action in which science challenged all accepted principles:

- i) The theory of evolution, Darwinism. The thesis of natural selection and the survival of the fittest took a firm hold on men's minds.
- ii) Marxism. The dialectical-materialist view that everything in society can be explained by economics linked to the concept of class-war in the interest of the true producers of wealth.
- iii) The positivism of Auguste Comte who rejected both theology and philosophy and held that everything is to be explained in terms of exact science.

Out of all these emerged the "science" of sociology - that is an attempt to analyse and understand society and the social processes on purely human ways by the inductive scientific method.

All this turmoil in men's minds was destined to leave its mark on the prevailing order in Austria-Hungary. The Church, the Dynasty and the accepted view of the world had always assumed that each man had a fixed and immovable place in the established order from which he could

not move. One might call it a "static" concept of society. The spread of education and the new ideas cut right across all this, and replaced it by the modern "dynamic" approach, with its willing acceptance of change and its challenge to human beings to make themselves masters of their own destiny. Teachers appeared in the Monarchy who proclaimed the new principles and put them into practice. The name of Masaryk stands out in this connection. He is the supreme example of the prophet who knew that the old order was doomed and would have to make way for something different.

The Special Case of Pan-Germanism⁹

Did the Austrians wish to rank as Germans because of their cultural and linguistic affinities or were they a distinct and self sufficient "nation" in themselves? This will be dealt with in the next chapter, for our only concern here will be to discuss Pan-Germanism as a disruptive force in the empire. Pan-Germanism was the expression of a resolve to include all the German-speaking elements in Europe in one large national state. Looking at it, we are faced with a curious prospect: members of the so-called Herrenvolk in Austria actually cherished strong allegiances outside the realm.

In the eighteenth century the modern Germany of nationalism was unknown. There existed only a medley of

⁹ This subject is tellingly analysed in Seton-Watson, op. cit., pp. 226-228.

smaller and larger principalities and kingdoms, with Prussia ambitious to take the lead. All this was changed within a century by a notable chain of events.

Herder and others had implanted the concept of the national idea - all people professing a common language, folklore and culture should be together. His ideas, galvanised by the wars against Napoleon, Befreiungskriege,¹⁰ were espoused by German intellectuals and romantics (notably by Johann Gottlieb Fichte) who propounded the idea of one nation including all the Germans, and then by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel who wanted one German state. The Pan-German idea was becoming rooted in the mentality of the people. Political realities however, lagged behind ideological thought: after Napoleon the Germans were subordinated to the Concert of Europe; they were divided into North and South, and Metternich could still make his influence decisive.

In 1848 the Germans too came under the Revolution. One phase of it emerged in Berlin, the other in the Frankfurt assembly - the famous pre-parliament of Germany. There was, however, still the basic cleavage of religious faith. Prussia and Northern Germany were chiefly Protestant, while the Southern Germans were Catholics. The Frankfurt assembly was really a body dealing with Southern affairs, and they invited the Austrians and Czechs to participate. A chance existed for the Catholic Germans

¹⁰ Wars of liberation.

to maintain the leadership, but not for long. Berlin had other plans. Not Austria but Prussia with her austerity, her ingrained military spirit and with Bismarck's realism was destined to forge the Greater Germany. The tradition of Hegel and Bismarck's "blood and iron" prevailed to create a German Reich transcending religious boundaries, but with the exclusion of the middle Danube. A new phase of German togetherness had come, but subject to imperial ambitions.

Bismarck, the realist, did not wish to absorb Austria; he did not want any more Catholics in the Reich or any non-Germans. Nor did he seek another Kulturkampf with the Catholic church. The one experience with the Poles was enough: the rich soil of Poznan and the gaining of the corridor between Greater Germany and East Prussia was the reason for all his trouble. His successes in 1870 won him many enemies, but it made others worship him. Statues of the Iron Chancellor could be found near the altar in many Lutheran Churches in the Danube lands.

We need not be surprised then at the growth of a Pan-German movement in Austria. It was present in the minds of many Lutherans, who felt that they were at a disadvantage in an overwhelmingly Catholic state. This came to a head during the famous language troubles, the Baden degrees which would have permitted the Czechs to enjoy equality of language in the courts. This was too much to stomach for many Austro-Germans. The controversy led on

to a rabid spread of Pan-German views, already launched in the eighties by Rudolf Schönerer. He may be called the first proponent of pure Aryanism "Durch Einheit zur Reinheit",¹¹ the ignoble tradition that bred H.S. Chamberlain's unhealthy theories and in due time the Nazi racial philosophy. Schönerer wanted three things:

- i) Germanization of Austria and its union with Germany.
- ii) Anti-clericalism: the los von Rom movement directed against ecclesiastical control and in favour of Protestantism.
- iii) Rabid anti-semitism, chiefly directed against the influx of Eastern Jews into Vienna during the eighteen-nineties and the growing influence of Jews through the press, trade and in business.

Needless to say Schönerer could never enjoy official support, especially from the dynasty, because of his violent anti-catholicism. On balance the movement was a failure, because Schönerer never succeeded in recruiting more than 30,000 converts. Nevertheless, the atmosphere was tense, and because he received support from none other than the eminent Theodor Mommsen, the leading German historian of the day, who in 1897 in a famous letter to the Neue Frie Presse⁶ affirmed that "just as the Germans of Austria look towards Germany, so do the Germans of the Empire look toward Austria." This

¹¹ "Through unity to purity."

statement was futuristic. It did not actually achieve a political result until 1938; but Hitler was Schönerer's heir in Austria.

The meaning of all this is clear. Not even the people of "the heartland" of Austria, whose speech was German and to whose children the dynasty belonged, could liberate themselves from deviations which meant an open betrayal of the Monarchy. Fine as that structure was, in outward appearance, it stood on feet of clay: the day was soon to come when it would topple, and no one could save it.

CHAPTER IV.

NATIONALISM IN ACTION

Introduction

In this chapter we shall look more closely at the various separate nationalisms in the Empire and the effect they had on its viability. It will be found that the essential character of nationalism played as great a part in the dissolution of the monarchy as any of the disruptive factors mentioned in the preceding chapter. We shall first look at nationalism as an expression of the social order, and then trace briefly its development in the case of the leading nations: in particular the national faiths of the Czechs, Hungarians, Poles and South Slavs. Finally, we must enquire whether there was any real nationalism rooted in the consciousness of the Austro-Germans, particularly whether it was "sui generis." This will also lead to another problem: was there an overall "nationalism" having its object in the crown, dynasty and the Staatsidee?

It is easier to describe than to define nationalism.¹ Before one can attempt this one must look for conditions and claims which will fit it, and ask for whom they apply. The best way to answer this is to put the cart before the horse. The "subjects" are a group of people

¹ Kohn, H., op. cit.; Macartney, C.A., National Life and National Minorities, London, Oxford University Press, 1934; Royal Institute of International Affairs, Nationalism. A Report of a Study Group of Members of the RIIA, London, Oxford University Press, 1939.

having certain common ideas and ideals: nationalism can never exist for one person, but only for a large group. The etymology of the word supplies us with the first clue: a common birth. But this comes to only a minor factor. A common territory or region to live in leads us further, and with this a common ecology. Still more important are other factors; a single language, a common folk culture, poetry and folklore on the simplest plane. These on a higher level are transformed into a common and widely accepted and treasured literature, music and the creative arts; in short what adds up to a common cultural heritage. History, a common experience, contributes greatly to national feeling: an outstanding national triumph or disaster is enshrined in the memory and takes its place in the national consciousness, contributing thus to a national sentiment. The same may also be said of common enemies. A dangerous antagonist can unify a nation in a singular manner. Add to this the fact of common hopes and inspirations for the future and we see that nationalism means the spiritual togetherness of a certain group of people, in the process of "becoming" (Herder's phrase) a single power, knit together by factors and feelings treasured in common.

The Austria-Hungarian Monarchy affords an excellent example for the study of nationalism. It was almost an ideal laboratory for the social scientist because it presented a variety of nationalisms. Some of these diverse factors have already been suggested in the previous chapter,

such as conflicting nationalisms, i.e. the attitudes of a people towards two loyalties. We have noted already that in Austria-Hungary only two nations were entirely within the boundaries of the empire.

In some cases, we can speak of historical nationalisms. Some of the nations enjoyed a longer history of independence before being subjected by Vienna or Budapest. This historical evolution had been interrupted, but even this interruption offered an outlet for patriotic sentiment. Memories of Kosovo had a remarkable effect on the modern rebirth of nationalism, among the South Slavs. The same may be said of Bílá Hora in the case of the Czechs. From this historical nationalism we distinguish a set of loyalties without such traditions: e.g. that of the Slovaks, who early in their existence were vanquished by the expanding power of the Magyars and thus may be said to have had no history of their own. Nevertheless even in Slovakia language and folk elements were cultivated from generation to generation so that the germ of nationalism remained, like the moth in the cocoon, ready to break away when the time came.

Precisely this diversity of nationalism worked towards the disruption of the Monarchy. We use the term "disruption" because this is the gesture of nationalism within the empire which strikes the observer most. The various nations developed aspirations peculiar to themselves: which could not be reconciled with a whole. One

might well ask oneself whether, in the light of these highly matured centrifugal movements, if the cataclysm of 1914-18 had not occurred, the old state of Austria-Hungary could have survived after 1914? Would disaster have come even without the external impetus of war? Did the national movements bring about collapse, or did they only prepare the ground? On this great question, opinions will differ. One thing only is certain: the Dual Monarchy did not possess the power of resistance and resiliency usually found in a homogeneous society.

Two leading nations lived entirely within the boundaries of the Austro-Hungarian state: the Czechs and Magyars. An analysis of the development of their respective patterns of nationalism will show distinctive features, special to each case and unfriendly to one another, and such hostility contributed to the disintegration of the empire.

The Czechs

The Czechs² have long been recognised as an historical nation: at least in that they have had all the earmarks distinguishing any people from their neighbours. They can trace their history back to their legendary ancestor Czech, who came to the ancient Celtic territory of Bohemia and made it Slav. But recorded tradition starts with the Premysls, the first dynasty, and that dynasty is

² Seton-Watson, op. cit.; also Prokeš, J., Histoire Tchécoslovaque, Prague, Orbis, 1927.

notable for the continuous struggle between the Czechs and Germans. Having a common enemy all about them helped early to forge the bonds between the members of the Czech people. The most notable relic to which the Czechs paid homage were the jewels of St. Wenceslas: the revered symbol of the Czech crown. By the time of the Wenceslas era the people were already greatly imbued with a sense of national togetherness: the raw materials of a nation were present. The crown of St. Wenceslas was the most national symbol of Bohemia, because it represented not only a defense against the Germans but also symbolised Czech unity and independence. The Czechs look back on Wenceslas as their patron saint, not only is he a symbol of political union but also of spiritual harmony and future salvation.

The traditions of Wenceslas have helped to produce one of the first reform movements in Europe: the protests and complains by Jan Hus, a preacher and university lecturer, against the prevailing abuses of the Roman Catholic Church. But Hus and his teaching had nationalist consequences as well: the movement was a popular protest against the encroachment of Germans who controlled the church affairs of the Holy Roman Empire. Hus became a martyr to this cause. His followers, the Hussites, were embroiled in religious wars against the Emperor and the Papacy. The Hussites produced one of the best generals of the era, Žižka, who invented many

new fighting techniques. Hus, Žižka and their followers definitely belong to the Czech pantheon: they were all vitally nationalist figures fortifying the nation's historical consciousness.

As we saw in the first chapter, Bohemia was eventually subjugated by the Hapsburgs. The gradual seizure of the Bohemian crown lands culminated in the Czech defeat at White Mountain (1620). The memory of this defeat must also undoubtedly occupy an intimate place in the minds of the people. The Czechs never forgot the glories of their history even in periods of defeat.

White Mountain was followed by years of darkness and frustration. The native nobility were eliminated at one stroke, and a German one substituted for it. Czech language and culture were brutally snuffed out until the native tongue was used as a vernacular only by the peasantry. The elimination of the upper classes was a grievous blow, since it left all things of the mind and the spirit in non-Czech hands - the German leaders of Church and State. The preservation of language, however, by the peasantry proved to be a factor of first-rate importance: and in this there were the seeds which would sprout into national flowering.

We have already referred to the period of Enlightenment. For the Czechs this time had a special significance, for out of it came the first awakeners, "buditeli", men who had a sense of the relevancy and the

vitality of the nation's past. Indeed it was German schools which produced the first awakeners. The scholar churchman, Josef Dobrovský, and the great translator, Josef Jungmann, who resuscitated the Czech language. They rebuilt this speech from almost a crude and unrefined patois of the peasants into an adequate instrument of expression. Previous Germanisms and Latinisms were replaced by Slavonic neologisms in Jungmann's famous Czech Dictionary, which gradually had its own acceptance in common usage.

The next group of awakeners were poets, like Jan Kollár,³ who showed that Czech was capable of everything demanded of a literary language and this paved the way for the generation of Czech intellectuals, who by 1848, though few in number, did much. In Prague they had formed a Museum Society, and had their own theatre with native playwrights. They had a worthy leader in František Palacký, the first Czech historian, who in his famous History of Bohemia (in ten volumes, 1844-1867), was able to bring their glorious past to the attention of the Czech public.

Alongside all this, the growth of cities, stimulated by the industrial revolution, led to the rise and strengthening of the new middle class. This new and expanding element was prepared to absorb Czech

³ Actually Kollár was by birth and language a Slovak but his writing and influence were directed towards resuscitation of Czech nationalism.

culture if the needed facilities were provided; but education was still strongly German and the prevailing attitude of the Czechs was for many reasons still toward cooperation with Vienna. Palacký was as much if not more conscious of this than the mass of his compatriots. His classic reply to the Frankfurt congress epitomised the general attitude of the time: "We are a part of a Austria-Hungary, if Austria did not exist, she would have to be created". Palacký knew well why he preferred the Czechs to remain with Austria, where the Slavs would eventually perhaps gain federal status, rather than be submerged in a South German or even Great German sea. In this case there would be no possibility of federalism, to say nothing of independence.

The year 1848 was a significant one: the revolution arrived in Bohemia also. In April of that year patriots held enthusiastic meetings in Prague and demanded autonomy. This followed upon the rioting in Vienna and Budapest, but the Viennese authorities did not act, because the situation was too fluid. In June the first Slavonic Congress of representatives of Slav peoples was held in Prague. In passing, we should note that the event again illustrates the presence of disruptive forces in the Empire. This congress, the "reply" of the Slavs to the Frankfurt Assembly, was held ^{IN ORDER} to test and to demonstrate inter-Slav loyalties and solidarity. The Czechs and other Slavs were displaying other allegiances, outside

the Austrian empire. Even then a sense of growing cohesion was spreading among the Slavs, which if it could have been exploited by Russia might have conduced to a situation such as we see today.⁴

One result of the holding of the Slavonic congress in Prague was revolutionary outbreaks in that city. Against these Vienna reacted and the unrest was crushed by the military. Such ruthless suppression must have led to the conclusion that the Hapsburgs would brook no dissent, and the first seeds of the protest were thus sown. The cardinal fact in the minds of the Hapsburgs was that Bohemia was the heartland of the State and that Bohemians must be preserved within the Empire and that there could be no defection there. The borderlands of the empire could be held with looser reins, but not the centre.

The tension thus caused was accentuated by the development of the next decades - Bohemia became more industrialised and thus more valuable. A sample of this is the brewing industry of Plzen to which later on were added armaments. Then came the heavy industry of the Silesian borderlands and the creation of the Živnostenská Bank.

These developments were achieved by the Czechs themselves "národ sobě".⁵ The growth of the middle class

⁴ Kohn, H., Panslavism, Its History and Ideology, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1953.

⁵ "the nation for itself".

led also to the rise of the entrepreneurs. These men, whose whole life was in industry, were able to achieve much in organic work. Such organic work, perhaps we can call it altruistic, was serving the interests of the nation as well as those of the individuals. For the eighteen-fifties and sixties saw further progress in work done by the intellectuals: literature and the arts were in a flourishing state. Perhaps the best example of this was the creation of the national theatre and of the national museum.

Only one thing was really missing, viz. proper educational facilities - a Czech university and general education in Czech hands. Here lay the seeds of discontent. As the Czechs arrived at social maturity they craved the same consideration as the Germans had in the monarchy. They were still willing to serve loyally both the emperor and dynasty, but the Ausgleich of 1867 came as a bombshell. This settlement with the Magyars was made only to save the state after the Sadowa debacle. The Czechs fought with vigour and conviction in that decisive battle and hoped that they would be rewarded. In fact instead the Magyars obtained complete autonomy and the disillusioned Czechs received nothing. A move was made toward a Czech Ausgleich in 1871, but this caused a great outcry in the country, particularly from the German minority. The Emperor, Franz Joseph, would not even condescend to being crowned King of Bohemia in Prague. And this among other things contributed strongly to

extremism in Czech politics - the rise of the Young Czech party whose ambition was to have "patriotism with a chip on the shoulder". The young Czechs were rabid nationalists whose goal was complete autonomy in their nation. Thus, toward the end of the century, Czech particularism reached its zenith.

In 1882, a national university was re-established, and popular education in the mother tongue came into being. The Czechs felt themselves to be a full-fledged entity, and that the time was ripe for achieving autonomy. They had reached a stage where they could ably manage their own affairs. Indeed, and even some political groups in Vienna were conscious of this, the Belvedere group led by the Archduke Franz Ferdinand felt that federalism for the Slavs in Austria would be the right and just solution of the growing problem.

For our purposes, the cardinal fact was that one of the most vital regions of the empire was populated by a nation which had reached an advanced point in development, culturally, socially and economically. The Czechs were sophisticated enough to be convinced that they could stand on their own feet and, without interference from outside, put their own house in order.

The Magyars

The Magyars⁶ have always been a group by themselves in the Empire. They enjoy no ethnic and linguistic

⁶ Macartney, C.A., Hungary, London, E. Benn, 1934.

affiliations with any other racial group in the state, even in the whole of Central Europe. Originally they came from the region of the Urals, one of the main groups of the Finno-Ugric linguistic family. They arrived in the Danube plains, the Alföld, in the ninth century, being part of the last nomadic movement which had begun with Völkerwanderung - another movement of people caused by the pressure of populations starting from the neighbourhood of Lake Baikal.

The Magyars are of Asiatic origin and we can assume at the outset that Hungary had a formidable problem of national self-preservation. Hence its nationalism has been a virulent and disruptive factor from the beginning. These people had to be aggressive at all times in order to survive as a homogeneous unit. It was a stroke of good fortune that they got possession of the wide plain of the Middle Danube.

As with the Czechs, the vital and important national symbol of the Magyars is the crown of St. Stephen which was placed on the head of one of the first members of the Arpad dynasty. Subsequently Stephen became the patron saint of Hungary. At this time, about 1,000 A.D., Roman Catholic Christianity was introduced into the land and soon the zeal for expansion began.

It would be interesting to speculate whether this expansion was not carried out to prove to the Hungarians their own ideas of self-glory, a psychological variant

for justifying their racial isolation. In the eleventh century the weak Slovaks were subjugated in the North and an accommodation was reached with South Slavonic Croats in the South - a union of the two countries under one crown although as time went on the Hungarians successfully converted Croatia into a province of their own.

From the twelfth century on, we see the rise of a native Magyar nobility which played a prominent role in Hungarian national life. This was accentuated because all other peoples and classes, particularly the non-Magyar, were to play a lesser role as time went on. Broadly speaking this became a major contest between the Hungarian Herrenvolk and the non-Hungarian neighbour peoples, living mostly in the surrounding highlands and dependent on the rich plain-land for their bread, as subjects.

Magyar nationalism was from the start romantic and aggressive. Preservation of identity was an ever-present watchword. This was particularly noticeable during the Ottoman invasion from the fourteenth century on. They were able to preserve their language and culture during that period but with difficulty. At times, during the Ottoman occupation, the Magyars were in a special position, particularly when the Turks used them as a counterweight against the Hapsburg invader. Nevertheless in the struggle against the Turks the Hungarians produced national heroes; the most notable of these is John Hunyady, the Hungarian Žižka, whose meteoric military career inspired

much national pride.

We have seen that the battle of Mohács sealed the fate of the Hungarians. From this moment on they were members of the Hapsburg monarchy. But a comparison with the Czechs will show some striking differences. In the first place the Hungarians were already an established nation whose type of nationalism was of an advanced state as propounded by Herder. By 1600 they were a nation with a language, folk tradition and culture in full swing. Secondly, and this is vital: Mohács to them was not the same as was Bílá Hora to the Czechs, an almost complete national obliteration. The Hungarians were never deprived of their nobility, and this class continued to play a dominant role in Hungarian affairs. The Hapsburgs realised this, and Maria Theresa was formally crowned Queen of Hungary. The Magyars regarded her as their own queen and she became almost a national heroine. They had full privileges in their own house and by the nineteenth century they enjoyed a special position, their nobility actually conducted their internal affairs.

This was not good enough, however. In 1848, their leaders demanded complete independence. The leadership in this campaign was typical. Louis Kossuth was an out and out chauvinist who would never bow to anybody, least of all to the Hapsburgs and Austrians: in marked contrast to the Czechs whose leadership at this time consisted of bourgeois intellectuals moderate in their approach.

The Czechs were the realists, the Magyars the aggressive visionary romantics. Kossuth was a hot-head who fought Austria without any thought for the consequences.

Furthermore, as Namier said, "the basic conflict of 1848 was between the two principles - of dynastic property in countries and of national sovereignty: the one feudal in origin, historic in its growth and survival, the other grounded in reason in ideas simple and convincing but as unsuited to living organisms as chemically pure water".⁷ In Hungary the former was represented by a peculiar phenomenon, the dynastic nationalism of the nobility and their land; the latter was pure subjective nationalism, romantic in all its ramifications as represented by Kossuth. Both were disruptive but Kossuth more so.

Kossuth, however, might have been successful in his aggressive campaign against Austria had Russia not stepped in to help her dynastic neighbour, but the battle of Vilagos and the following period marked the only time when Hungary was really submerged, just as the Czechs had been after 1620. This was particularly true during the reactionary regime of Alexander Bach and Prince Felix Schwarzerberg. The Magyars were, however, an adult nation which could not long be held in subservience.

They soon demonstrated their obstinacy and persistence by boycotting the February patent (1861) and by not

⁷ Namier, op. cit., p. 182.

sending representatives to the Reichsrath. Their army did not contribute much to the Austro-Prussian war. In spite of all this the Magyars received the best treatment of all nationalities in the Ausgleich of 1867. This made them again the real master-race in their part of the empire, and spurred them on towards being absolute lords in their own manor. Aggressive nationalism made for much persecution of their minorities. In the sequel they denied that any others existed! The Hungarians truly reflect their own intolerance and brutality to their subject peoples in their famous saying tot nem ember - "a Slovak is not a man" - by which more is meant than just the Slovak members of the Slavonic peoples, to say nothing of other allogeneous subject peoples such as the Latin Roumanians who were regarded with equal condescending contempt. Also they put back the clock in Transleithania to feudalism: and to be sure a particularly obnoxious kind of their own brand.

Hungarian nationalism was particularly harmful because it set Hungarians on a pedestal. They would never merge with the rest. The Czechs may have cooperated within the monarchy, the Magyars never. Thus the dissolution of the empire was hastened by the uncompromising intransigence of this would-be master-race. It can certainly be surmised that the health of the empire would have been such as to keep the body politic alive longer if the Magyar element had been willing either to emigrate, or to cooperate.

The Poles

We turn now to consider, briefly, the status and sentiments of the Austrian acquired province of Galicia,⁸ a province of particular importance in the empire. From the strategic point of view it was a sort of no man's land, standing as a bulwark or buffer against the most dangerous potential enemy of the realm - the Russians. Furthermore, it was in the imperial interest that the peoples of the province, the Poles and Ukrainians, be schooled for this role. Finally Galicia provided the empire with much needed essential natural resources: coal, timber, salt, water power (quite undeveloped), while toward the end of the old century a new treasure was discovered there - oil, a unique find in the monarchy. One might add that the seven million strong population (mostly rural) was of considerable value as a repository of manpower.

The Poles, who were in a minority, had two reasons for being loyal subjects of the empire. They were devout Roman Catholics and this in the official view made them model citizens. As we have seen once and again, the Roman Catholic Church was a most important instrument of state solidarity in the empire, a sort of handmaiden to the dynasty. Any one of its groups was more malleable than non-Catholics: the Poles could be more easily marshalled

⁸ Rose, W.J., The Rise of Polish Democracy, London, Bell, 1944, pp. 105-124.

and commanded, thanks to the influence of the Church. Secondly, there was an influential long established landed aristocracy in Galicia, conservative by tradition and sympathetic to any dynasty; having none of its own since the Partitions, it willingly pledged its allegiance to the Hapsburgs.

The lack of a Polish dynasty sums up the Polish situation: the Polish state had been removed from the political map of Europe. After 1815 the hopes of Polish independence were obliterated. The nation was divided into separate parts - each under the oppressive influence of a foreign power with all the harmful implications of alien control. And the attitudes of good will toward Vienna were greatly affected by something quite outside Galicia - these were the harsh policies maintained toward the Polish nation by the other Partition powers - Imperial Russia and by Lutheran Prussia. In the centre and the eastern parts, the country was ruled by despotic Tsarist Russia - since the days of Catherine the most aggressive enemy of the Poles. To make matters worse, Russia was Orthodox in faith, and was bent on extending that form of the faith westward. This was a direct challenge to Polish Catholicism, which thus assumed nationalist spirit and content. As Russia came more and more under Pan-Slav influences during the nineteenth century the threat of submergence by a foreign power, regarded as Byzantine and half Asiatic, produced a strong patriotic reaction in every Pole.

Memories of past independence and territorial "greatness" remained always under the surface. They had found expression in the four insurrections inside of a century against Tsardom, and had been made into a Messianistic cult and religion by the great romantic poets.

The whole western border, including the lower reaches of the Vistula, was subject to strict Prussian domination, which under Bismarck became a matter of life or death. The Poles of Poznan and Pomerania were fighting from 1870 onwards a rearguard action against alien penetration and dominance: the latest phase of a century-old struggle in which both national and religious elements were involved. With the Kulturkampf^{THE} issue was made more acute: would the Catholic Church be allowed any say in matters of school and religious education or were these to become secularised under the control of state officials who were Lutheran "heretics". This went against the grain of all loyal Catholics and was successfully withstood by a united front of clergy and laymen.

We are thus faced by a paradoxical situation: in the rest of Poland the Church played its part as a national instrument for the Poles against the oppressive power, while in Galicia it seemed to be the instrument of supranational power - the Hapsburg dynasty. The net result was a laxity of national feeling, by contrast with either Czech or Hungarian sentiments, until a new power began to emerge - that of the peasants under Witos whose one attachment was to the

land. We have noted a loyalty to the emperor and to the aristocracy and of those dependent on it. On the other hand two factors were making for a resurgence of nationalism in Polish Galicia.

First of all there was the feeling of the working classes, whether on the land or in the slowly rising industries, that they were Poles and that this would one day lead to their liberation from every foreign yoke. This was helped on by the economic situation. The masses, as of the year 1890, lived in conditions of ignorance and misery, and this was especially true of the peasants, whose lot was made the subject of a careful survey by the oil engineer Stanislaw Szczepanowski. True a movement had been started in the seventies to ameliorate the lot of the peasants by a defrocked parish priest, Father Stanislaw Stojalowski, who founded a newspaper to espouse the cause and later formed the Union of Farmer's Circle. This body held its first congress in 1877. Stojalowski interests us here because he epitomises unrest and ambition. His campaign to better the peasants' lot ran absolutely counter to the prevailing order - to the Church, to the aristocracy and properly constituted authorities in general. In some of his actions he made mistakes, with a result that he was generally condemned and even charged with being disloyal to the monarchy. Yet he did make a start in what was soon to be a living crusade.

Similar work for the peasants was done in the

name of socialism by an intrepid couple from Lvov, Boleslav and Maria Wyslouch, with their publication The Social Review. But the real leadership came later from the peasants' ranks in the person of Wincenty Witos, a villager from near Tarnow, who saw the Populist Party come into being in 1894 which in time was to represent all the ignorant and exploited masses. This was a purely secular movement and was thus again under fire, especially from the Church. But Witos, while remaining loyal to Franz Joseph, was a shrewd man. He could use two things - his native Polish mother tongue and the need for more land as arguments, until in 1911 he was elected to represent his people in the Reichsrath.

Witos is again an example of a different flower which can grow on most unfavourable soil amid alien corn. What he achieved was perhaps a socialist variant to Czech organic work: a resuscitation of the people - a rebirth, educational progress and finally a hope for a Polish re-orientation. Accordingly in one of his pronouncements, on New Year's Day 1914, we find him asking for a "national outlook on life",⁹ and an end to the three traditional orientations, Austrian, Russian and Prussian. One positive outcome of this Populist Movement was the support the younger men gave to Pilsudski's Legions - a para-military force created to help in the emancipation of Poland in case of a war with Tsardom. Indeed these Legions fulfilled their task early in the war, capturing the imagination of

⁹ Rose, op. cit., p. 118.

the whole nation.

Parenthetically we should not neglect the nation within the nation in Galicia, particularly in the Eastern part. Those were the Ruthenians whose whole tendency was directed towards the Ukraine: linguistically and culturally and above all religiously. They were members of the Uniate Church which was Orthodox and yet affiliated with Rome, thus the Church was distinctly different from the Polish Catholics and Vienna exploited this difference! During the second half of the nineteenth century there had been a great upsurge of nationalism in the Ukraine led by young intellectuals such as Taras Ševčenko directed against Great Russia. This had attractions for the Ruthenians as well and produced a further centrifugal tendency in Galicia for there was thus a double awakening in that province, both Polish and Ukrainian.

To continue the Polish story: the Populist Movement did much to encourage the stirrings in Galicia while really working on a socialist and peasant protest basis. It presented a disruptive element within the fabric of Galicia. The leaders of the movement were definitely opposed to the ideas of the established order. On the other hand the movement could not gain unanimous approval at home. It was equally directed against the aristocracy, who were Poles themselves, and could not be thought of as purely national. It was a social protest aiming at creating a new class: in the long run it might have broken through the prevailing order thus destroying those factors which kept Galicia

linked to the empire. But with the outbreak of war, however, a new phase was opened and everything hurtled on to the conclusion we know so well.

The South Slavs

The Southern Slavs¹⁰ presented in 1900 a picture not easy to comprehend. Subjected to Islam since the battle of Kosovo (1389)¹¹ they remained in a state of "arrested development" for four hundred years or more, and have won their freedom piecemeal from 1815 to 1918. There was no trend toward unification until modern times, nor could there be. The obvious common denominator of the South Slavs is language. Serbo-Croatian is a single tongue, but written in two scripts: Slovene is a cousin to this. Otherwise the South Slavs present a wide diversity: in the matter of religion, the northern part, the Croats and Slovenes, whose lands were inside the western Roman empire are Catholics, thus they fitted better into the fabric of the Hapsburg Monarchy. The Serbs on the other hand have always been Orthodox as ^{HAVE} also the Montenegrins; and most Bosnians are Moslems. Then we are concerned with a people of whom one half were in the Hapsburg realm but the other half outside, and this makes the story rather complicated.

¹⁰ Strakhovsky, L. (Ed.), The Slavic Handbook, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, see Chap. X (pp. 180-198), by C.E. Black and Chap. XVI (pp. 271-292) by D.E. Lee.

¹¹ Serbian for "field of the black-birds."

Interestingly enough, the first impetus toward a South Slav union was given by Napoleon, who encouraged folk nationalism as a matter of political expediency. In 1809 Napoleon formed the so-called Illyrian state, under the aegis of imperial France. The boundaries of this state were approximately the same as those of the ancient Roman province after which it was called. Illyria consisted of all free South Slavs not under Turkish rule, especially the Croats and Slovenes. The Illyrian idea gave an impetus for South Slav unification and such important literary figures as a Croat Ljudovit Gaj were its chief advocates. This was perhaps the only concrete result which emerged from the ephemeral Illyrian kingdom, because in 1815 the Croats and Slovenes had to return to the fold of the Monarchy. In 1849 the Croats and Slovenes actually sided with the Austrians in their fight against the Magyars and the Italians. Ban Jellačić, the leader of the Croats, insisted on the autonomy of his people, guaranteed from 1102, and when the Sobor, the Croat diet, was set up in Zagreb the language used was Croat. Those people became the best treated Slavs in Transleithania.

This was partly because the Magyars intentionally sought their support; largely however thanks to the fine leadership given by Bishop Josip Strossmayer from 1849 to 1890, who may be said to be the founder and catalyst of Croat culture. A special word should be said about this impressive personality, who is of great interest because in

him were combined three loyalties - the Catholic, he was a good servant of the Church, and thus was willing to be a loyal servant of the empire, but he was against any church excesses, against Jesuitism, and he opposed the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. Secondly, Strossmayer was an outstanding Croatian patriot and he gave great support to Croat culture, he helped found the Croat Academy of Learning, he aided it materially with funds, many of them emanating from the treasury of his church. Thirdly, he was a genuine South Slav and heartily espoused the cause of union of all their people.

Meanwhile the Austrians, with a view to checking Russian aims, had adopted an aggressive expansionist policy in the Balkans, and in 1878 they took Bosnia and Herzegovina under military occupation, which did not, however, interfere with the local self-government as established. This meant, of course, that there were more Slavs than ever inside the Monarchy, as the authorities were soon to discover. With nearby Serbia slowly asserting itself as an independent kingdom, and with men like Strossmayer favouring a South Slav idea, no administration could stop the steady advance of separatist ideas and these broke into open expression when Count Aehrenthal presented Europe with a fait accompli, formally annexing the "occupied" province in 1908. Only the successes that followed four years later in the Balkan was were needed to make the situation as good as intolerable for both sides; and the shooting on the 28th of June, 1914,

was the tragic upshot of the drama. Both parties had backing -- in the one case St. Petersburg -- in the other Berlin. This assassination then made a European conflagration inevitable.

In conclusion it may be well to remember that the last crown prince Franz Ferdinand and his so-called Belvedere group advocated a federation in Austria - that is three groups "trialism", consisting of the Germans, Hungarians and South Slavs to replace the dual system. This idea came to nought because it was unacceptable to the Magyars, who were afraid of being submerged in the Slav sea. Nevertheless "trialism" would not have been an easy solution. The Czechs would still have been under the German aegis, the Slovaks under the Hungarians and the Polish question left in the air.

The Roumanians

The Roumanians¹² of today are the descendants of the Roman settlers in Dacia on the northern side of the Danube. They were certainly the most distant eastern colonists in the Roman Empire, descending from the legions of the Emperor Trajan and ^{RUNAWAYS} from the convicts exiled and from adventurers - all of whom intermarried with native stocks. They weathered the invasions of the Völkerwanderung, many of them by seeking refuge in the inaccessible Transylvanian

¹² Seton-Watson, R.W., A History of the Roumanians: from Roman Times to the Completion of Unity, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1934.

mountains and only returning to the fertile Wallachian plains in the Middle Ages. Meanwhile Magyar expansion towards the Carpathian mountain arc was in full swing and a western group of Roumanians gradually became surrounded by the Magyars in contrast to the Slovaks who were speedily vanquished by the Hungarian force. The eastern and southern groups were gradually subdued by the Ottoman Empire. They preserved the language and their Orthodox faith as their sense of togetherness, and this was rather remarkable as these representatives of eastern Latinity did not become what we customarily term a historical nation.

The nineteenth century fresh wind of nationalism did not pass them by: they also wanted independence. After the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire the eastern principality at least had its chance and thanks to Russian intervention, this principality achieved full freedom in 1878 under the Treaty of Berlin. The Transylvanians (Szeklers) had no such opportunity to gain independence, being still under the Magyar yoke and this fact increased the forces making for unrest and disruption in Hungary.

The Austro-Germans

In dealing with the Austrian Germans¹³ we are confronted at the outset by a dilemma: what are we to call them? Who were they? Were they Austrians proper - that is an

¹³ Shepherd, op. cit., Chap. II.

indigenous and separate people, just as we have seen in the case of the Slavs or Magyars, or did they belong to the German world as a whole? Can we avoid using a double hyphenated name for them?

We can answer the last question positively. At least as far as appearances go there has always been a relatively strong linguistic and cultural affinity between the Austrians and Great Germans and particularly the South Germans, for example the Bavarians. Then there has always been an organic link going beyond the simple fact of being territorial neighbours between the Austrians and the greater German world to the north and we have seen this link operating in a positive way in the attempt at union striven for by Pan-Germanism.¹⁴ We have also seen that the Austrians entertained dreams of a Catholic Mitteuropa, reigned over by the Hapsburgs. This idea was first propounded by one of Franz Joseph's early ministers, Prince Schwarzenberg; but it came to nought with the formation of a German Reich wrought by Bismarck in 1871.

The choices were then narrowed. There could either be some union with the new Germany, which would mean disruption of the empire, although fulfilling national dreams; or the condition of carrying on as well as one could in the Dual Monarchy, but this meant raising yet another difficulty. The Austro-Germans were the Herrenvolk, yet even as such they had to contend in the Austrian half of the

¹⁴ See Chapter III.

Monarchy with a majority of non-Germans. Either way meant heading for trouble, especially after the Ausgleich with Hungary, the cynical arrangement with the Magyars whereby they virtually obtained independence over Transleithania. The Austro-Germans were left as the "rulers" of the western or Cisleithian peoples, but here they were faced by a majority of Slavs - in Bohemia, Galicia and in the South.

The dilemma still remained. Were the Austro-Germans to try to impose their culture, which was Germanic, on the others or just to govern through the dynastic principle and state-idea? Even here there was a difficult riddle to solve: was the pattern of culture thus to be imposed, to be preserved and fostered as "German", or was it to be thought of as "Austrian"? If the former, then the resistance would be fierce; if the latter, there would seem to be some hope of togetherness, but this presupposes for us the earlier, basic question. Can one really think of an Austrian nationalism at all? Perhaps on this question rests the possible answer to our dilemma. In facing it we are constantly being made aware of how disruptive the whole nature of the Austro-German problem was: here a natural inclination to link up with the Germans outside; there the pressing need to improve the immediate situation within a multinational state, in particular to preserve the German desire to remain in a position of primal control.

In any enquiry into the substance of Austrian nationalism, we need to take a brief look at the significant

expressions of Austrian thought and sentiments such as literature and music. Did these and the other arts mirror purely Austro-German feelings or did they really express the imperial idea as treasured, envisaged and inculcated by the dynasty? Austrian culture was chiefly centred in Vienna and this was the imperial centre, never a "national city" like Prague or Budapest. Moreover this concept and ideal made Vienna a cosmopolitan centre; it became the magnet which drew elements from all the peoples of the empire. Would it therefore nurture its own national culture? What has the past to say about all this?

It was the period of the eighteenth century Enlightenment that first stimulated Austrian creative forces in literature and music. Particularly important was the creation of the famous Burgtheater (1776). This marks the beginning of a dramatic tradition which continues to the present day. The drama became the most important expression of literature supported and enriched as we shall see by music. The first dramatic poet of note was Franz Grillparzer (1791-1872) who from 1817 began an uninterrupted creative career that, if we may compare him with the masters, made him the Austrian equivalent of Shakespeare or Goethe. Grillparzer embarked on a serious attempt to create an Austrian drama based on "national" themes such as Bruderzwist im Hapsburg, "The quarrel of brothers in the Hapsburg realm". Nevertheless, paradoxically, he felt himself attracted to other themes, even dealing, of all things, with Slavonic

subjects. The most notable of these is the drama Libussa.¹⁵ Grillparzer, the "Austrian" poet, thus seems to have lacked singleness of purpose: even he experienced a sense of frustration, attempting many kinds of topics of diverse interest and this at the expense of purely Austrian themes. He laboured under a constant strain of renunciation and fell a victim to imbued pessimism and meaninglessness.

The immediate trend of Austrian poetry following Grillparzer was towards regionalism. Many poets were pre-occupied with life in their own locality, avoiding contacts with their spiritual capital, Vienna. Of these some artists achieved recognition for their strikingly true descriptions of life in their own community. Most of them, however, were unimportant and are now more or less forgotten. Only two have continued to command attention: Nikolaus Lenau and Adalbert Stifter were artists who gave their work colour and vitality. Lenau has left a lasting picture of his native Hungary and Stifter describes with tender love his Bohemian forest. It is almost strange that they wrote in German at all! Were they then Austrian nationalists or not?

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, realism entered the scene. The supreme realist in drama was the well known Arthur Schnitzler, (1862-1931) author of comedies and sketches that held a truthful mirror of his generation. Schnitzler dealt with people in a dissecting

¹⁵ Libussa; Libuše in Czech, is a famous mythological heroine who "discovered" the progenitor of the first Czech dynasty - the Přemysls.

manner. They were to him just human beings whom he handled with insight, humour and wit. But Schnitzler again was utterly lacking in national sentiment or enthusiasm. In his plays, such as Anatole or Lieberlei, which are excellent examples of satiric and caustic comedies, his characters are people who could just as well have been French or Italian or English as well as Austrians.

Hugo von Hoffmannstal (1874-1929), the next important successor to Schnitzler, was a man imbued with the spirit of his time, viz. the end of the nineteenth century, the fin de siècle spirit. He was preoccupied with mysticism and decadent symbolism, and the symptoms of literary decay already strongly evident into his work. That this singular writer was universal rather than Austrian can be seen by his recreation of classical drama. We have almost a blank in front of us as far as his native land is concerned. The only major exception to this is his famous libretto to Richard Strauss' opera Rosenkavalier, but here, in this comic portrayal of Vienna during the régime of Maria Theresa, the whole concept of monarchy and its implications are treated in a facetious and slightly insincere manner.

Rainer Maria Rilke (1875-1926) was born in Prague but spent much of his life in Vienna. He is a really great and significant poet on the European plane, provocative and original. He is perhaps one of the best symbolist and philosophical poets writing in German as attested by his great collection of poetry such as Das Buch der Bilder and

Das Stunden-Buch. Rilke is also preoccupied with problems of epistemology and metaphysics, but he too can hardly fairly be called an Austrian. His poetry could have been written by a Bavarian, Saxon or any other Great German writer.

This brief survey seeks to indicate that Austrian literature has not on the whole served as a vehicle for national feeling. There is no continuous exploitation of national themes. There are no continuing historical traditions in the literature. We do not find such great national bards of the calibre of Adam Mickiewicz or Kollar to guide the Austrians along national lines. On the contrary, as we have seen, even Grillparzer, who may be termed a semi-national poet, deliberately chose to use themes from other nations. We are thus, in the field of letters, faced with an empty dinner-pail.

Music presents us with a similar picture. Vienna was a great musical centre: a magnet which drew musicians from all corners of Europe. Is Vienna's musical achievement and tradition original, continuous, creative or rather reproductive? Is its music universal or national? The musical tradition in Vienna also began during the period of the Enlightenment. By 1750 the Danubian city had become the leading home of the classical Italian music all of which was primarily imported. Even the immortal Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was musically under Italian influence and only his personal genius transcended the style. The librettos to

his operas deal with foreign countries and were written mostly in Italian. The same may be said for the other great contemporary opera composer in Vienna, Christoph Willibald Gluck, who also wrote Italianate music based on accepted classical themes likewise in the Italian language. Joseph Haydn, "the father of the symphony", was one of the first composers who came to Vienna to work under favourable conditions. Similarly, early in the nineteenth century, the first immortal musical immigrant made his way to Vienna from far afield - Ludwig van Beethoven, who left his native Rhineland also to work under the pleasant circumstances of Vienna. The master worked with heroic themes, and yet it would never have occurred to him to incorporate a national theme in his musical elements, especially one of his adopted land. He was primarily concerned with the universal and not the particular.

Franz Schubert, the next exponent of the Austrian school and a truly great one, is the only one born in Vienna, yet he is completely unaware of any national ideas. At best he has in him the "genius" of folk-music so that his music was converted to folk themes, although it was not national material. An apt comparison might be made with the Czech, Antonin Dvořák, for both men were endowed with prodigious originality, yet the latter is a nationalist composer through and through, his music was in his flesh and bones; whereas Schubert is utterly solitary, uncommitted and withdrawn. A further example of nationalist music is

that of the Pole, Frederick Chopin, who used national material directly in toto. One cannot say this about Schubert. The same circumstances as we have analysed with Schubert may be said to exist for the original song writer Hugo Wolf, who never entertained any national emotions whatsoever.

Different from the great classical school, of which the above are members, but also native to Vienna, are the Strauss brothers: Johann the elder, Johann the younger, and Oscar; and also Josef Lanner. They fall into the same genre for they are the great entertainers - the Waltz Kings. These musicians were encouraged to compose frivolous operettas, waltzes, dances, and other happy and gay music, to put blinkers over the eyes of the people and make them oblivious of the ignominious policies of the régime. Their music was designed for drawn out pleasure and was utterly lacking in any serious purpose. The same may be said for the slightly more sophisticated operettas of Franz von Suppé.

One cannot conclude any remarks about Austrian music without observing again that Vienna acted as a stimulant to all those who came under its charm and so brought out astonishing results; but the roots are not native or national. The genius of the place was to provide asylum to artists and that it did in full measure. The Viennese were an appreciative and amiable audience and all the great musical immigrants, from Beethoven to Johannes Brahms, were conscious of this. Vienna was a leaven but could hardly be said to have had "qualities" of its own.

What then was Vienna in reality along with its surrounding German speaking Austrian provinces? Where did their nationalist elements lie, if they existed? We are forced to conclude that there was really no viable nationalist spirit or genius or sentiment in Austria, nor could there be. Its language, German, had direct affinities with the outside: with Greater Germany. Its creative literature was neither robust enough, nor sensitive enough to foster nationalism: patriotism there may have been but even this was taken lightly. The true spirit of the people was Gemütlich but not self-conscious. Vienna was a supra-national and cosmopolitan capital, a mecca for all the wandering artistic spirits of Europe. It did not create a nationalist atmosphere so much as one of universalism. Such has been its tradition from Roman days and the Hapsburgs did not do much to change it. The Austro-German thus cannot be said to have had a nationalist allegiance. Basically he was a patriot for the empire, yet all the cleavages in the realm led him to look at this whole business in either a light-hearted or in a despondent manner. The Austro-Germans were reconciled to the prevailing order as long as affairs were normal, but could not do it under heavy strain -- in defeat or misfortune. The first world war showed how close to the breaking point everything was drifting.

CHAPTER V.

THE SEARCH FOR PERSONALITY

Artistic Diagnosis

We have now to consider a special problem, the impact made by society in general on various art forms and vice versa.

Put another way, we are faced by the question: how do literature and the other arts reflect the political and social life of any period? In the case of Austria-Hungary and taking the years between 1890 and 1914 we ask ourselves:

- i) Does literature have a recognisable influence on the process of decay?
- ii) Was literature symptomatic of the disintegration which was taking place? Did it reflect the despair of the period and the feeling of pessimism and disillusionment? Could one call it a mirror of the Zeitgeist?

The answer to the first question is not simple. Naturally literature and art are meant and expected to exercise some influence on the minds of readers and observers. Books are written to be read, music is composed to be performed: and the artist therefore seeks to exert an influence on the audience. He would not normally create

purely for the joy of creation, laudable as this may be. It may be assumed therefore that the message conveyed by any work of art will have some kind of influence on the reader, listener or viewer. The artist's point of view will be somehow conveyed to the recipient: if he is gratuitously pessimistic and despondent this feeling will be shared by those who come in touch with him and his work. A general sense of pessimism will be felt, which may even affect those who have not come into direct contact with the actual creation.

The second question is rather easier to answer and to analyse. Most artists usually have a more acute sense of perception than the common run of people. They can usually feel and appreciate situations better. Some of them are even able to see below the surface, and observe things which are not readily observable by others. That is part of their calling, and some of the great ones have shown an astonishing prescience, the faculty of peering into the future and correctly assessing events. In this instance, three representative artists of the Dual Monarchy of about the year 1910 have been selected; Kafka and Musil who were novelists and Mahler who was an eminent composer. These three men were artists endowed in a marked degree with this discerning sensitivity and clairvoyance. They may serve as examples of those elements of cultural decay which were leading to the disintegration of the Austria-Hungarian monarchy.

Franz Kafka and Robert Musil were both writers, but they had very little else in common. Both wrote in German, and this fact provokes the query whether they belong to German or Austrian literature. There is no uncertainty about this in the view of literary scholars: the Austrian critic would call them Austrian, the German would prefer to have them within the German fold. But even if we assume that they were Austrian writers, we cannot readily fit them into an Austrian mould or school. Such a thing cannot be said to exist.

Did these men write their stories for the Austria-Hungarian public at large? This again confronts us with the vexed question of the disparateness in the empire - the literature of Bohemia, for example, was already established in 1910, yet the Herrenvolk literature could not really be placed anywhere. It was a sort of hybrid, meaning that it was neither fish nor fowl. Furthermore, there are many other differences between Kafka and Musil which we shall try to elucidate.

Gustav Mahler is the musician of the trio, yet he fits into the picture very well. He also is prescient of the future, and imbued with pessimism. Our three artists have therefore common characteristics and will help to throw light on our case or even to prove its validity.

Kafka

Franz Kafka (1883-1924)¹ was a Prague Jew. Already then at the outset we are faced with an anomaly: here is a member of a minority in the principal Czech city. Furthermore, he wrote in German, another significant feature. We can surmise his position in advance: in Kafka we have a sensitive and creative figure who cannot be said to belong anywhere; who feels himself "homeless", without an anchor, without orientation. He spent parts of his short life in Vienna and Berlin, away from his birthplace. Both these sojourns were made to enable him to discover where he fitted in: yet never, alas, did he reach a state of mind or serenity that could be described as a satisfactory answer to his search.

Kafka was an extremely sensitive being and this can be ascribed to his background. He suffered from a father-complex which, coupled with a general sense of inferiority - the feeling of always being in a minority, produced in him an uneasy but undesirable foreboding of doom. Furthermore, those who knew him personally testify that he divined much more than appeared on the surface of his writing.² For our purpose we shall allude to only three of Kafka's works. These are the short story

¹ Brod, M., Kafka, a Biography, New York, Schocken, 1947.

² Ibid., p. 107.

Metamorphosis (circa 1910)³ and one of the better known works, The Castle (circa 1920).⁴

The story of Metamorphosis is straightforward. A clerk wakes up one morning to see that overnight he has been converted into a many-legged insect. He undergoes psychological agonies as a consequence; for instance, he cannot talk, his family reject him, and when he tries to escape, he is crushed by somebody's boot. The allegory is obvious. Kafka is at pains to show the loneliness of man pitted against the elements, indeed against environment in general, if they are indifferent or unfriendly to him. He reveals to us what it is like to feel our experiences and yet by a negative and cruel retribution get nothing in return. We are shown the futility of the individual in the face of the established order of things. The author tries to prove that the individual is only happy if he has found his place somewhere: the difficulty is - where?

This problem is central to the argument of one of Kafka's major and most influential works, The Castle. It was written in the years before and during the war. The plot is not involved, but the events and the vicissitudes of the anonymous hero are numerous enough, and fairly complex. A surveyor arrives in a village, dominated by a castle set on a hill. The locality is mountainous, possibly

³ Kafka, F., Die Verwandlung, pp. 69-133, from Erzählungen und Kleine Prosa, New York, Schocken, 1946.

⁴ Kafka, F., Das Schloss, New York, Schocken, 1946.

the Sudetens. The newcomer does not know the purpose of his visit, he knows only that he is to be assigned to some work, probably a task in his own line, but even of this he is not sure. He proceeds to make enquiries from the inn-keeper, in whose hostelry he lodges, but the man cannot tell him and only refers him to the castle authorities. Then begins a long-drawn-out, and futile game of blind man's buff. The surveyor goes from one official to another, some of whom are of a bizarre and tiresome nature, to say the least; but in spite of all his efforts he never finds out the purpose of his visit. At long last he discovers that the information can be supplied to him by the owner of the castle, yet he can never manage to meet him. In fact, the novel never makes it clear whether the owner of the castle is alive and present or not, and the work ends with this vital question unanswered.

The other major writings of Kafka follow the same general pattern of wearying and footless search and endeavour. The Trial⁵, for example, deals with the unjustified arrest of a man, also anonymous, who is then put through the most tedious and complicated court proceedings without being told the reason for his arrest, until he is finally brought to execution.

In our day, Franz Kafka is a universally discussed writer. Some critics, particularly the Catholics,

⁵ Kafka, F., Der Process, New York, Schocken, 1946.

think that The Castle is a modern Pilgrim's Progress, a religious parable seeking to explain the meaning of life. The Existentialists have taken up the author as one of their own. There are those who think that he is the best example of a "psychiatrist" novelist of his generation.

Our purpose does not call for special interpretation. Kafka presents us with aimless characters who are utterly lost in the world. They do not know the reason for their existence, and something in them symbolises the Austrian subject of 1910 who did not know the reason for "belonging", who had no sense of allegiance. The answer is suggested that he did not, or was in any case of two minds. But Kafka is also useful to us in another way. His description in The Castle of bureaucracy, and in The Trial of court procedures are first-rate laboratory examples of this in action. They reveal to what extent excessive bureaucracy and general inefficiency were frustrating and throttling the body politic. Kafka had ample reason to know the tortuous processes of Austrian red-tape, since he worked for some time in the state insurance office in Prague, and so was himself a tiny cog in the great machine. Both his novels were, in consequence, true "human documents".

Musil

Robert Musil (1882-1942) was born in Klagenfurt. He studied engineering in Vienna (where he eventually

settled), and graduated but never actually practised his profession. He turned to writing, first producing short stories and "Novellen". Eventually he embarked on his major work Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften, "The Man without Qualities",⁶ which remained unfinished at his death, although a formidable packet of 1,200 pages was already produced.

The title of the book is suggestive, particularly in the English translation Man Without Qualities; but is Eigenschaft really "quality"? Should it not be "property" or "characteristics"? Be that as it may, the hero of the work is a man bereft of personality, character, or vital force. He is also without a sense of belonging anywhere. We are back with Kafka's heroes - men with no attachments, jobless and purposeless, who do not know where or how they fit into life. Ulrich, the chief figure, may be called an observer only: he is certainly not a major actor in the drama. Hence the title exactly fits him. Ulrich epitomises the frustrated homelessness of the Austrian as the author saw him, who is much like the ancient Ishmaelite - without roots, a tramp, a hanger-on of mankind. Ulrich is the prototype of the Halbmensch, the half formed character.

The book is long and difficult and tedious reading. There is only a scanty and inconclusive plot and the action takes place within the space of one year, 1913. Because of this the work has been compared to Proust's Remembrances

⁶ Musil, R., Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften, Hamburg, Rowolt, 1952.

of Things Past and like the latter it stresses the gloomy atmosphere of fin de siècle, a sense of decay, degeneration and above all of despairing Weltschmerz which leaves men no peace or hope in life.

Two themes run through the book, providing the main motivation. Characteristically though, we sense that they never will reach any solution, and this indeed is true. The first theme deals with the establishing of a "Collateral Campaign": the preparation to be undertaken for celebrating in 1918 the seventieth jubilee of the Emperor's accession to the throne. The story sets out the intrigues of the coterie assuming the responsibility for the "campaign". The group consists of typical representatives of the nobility and the upper classes. They want to go through with the project, but there is always a feeling that they stand on the edge of a precipice into which they themselves may tumble. In their subconscious minds they divine that the great event may never take place. We have then a sort of "Götterdämmerung": the evening of a great past is foreseen, an end symbolic of the downfall of empire. The other thread in the story is concerned with crime, and the punishment of a particularly obnoxious sex criminal, Moosbrugger, who is one of the most out and out degenerates in modern fiction. He reeks of perversion and moral decay. Musil created him as the embodiment of the worst and most objectionable weaknesses and sins of society - again a study of degeneracy, all taken from the world he knew around him.

Finally there is a never-never-land atmosphere in the book. The seat of the action is Vienna - a city with the Föhn, the warm wind that blows at times, conducive to inaction, slovenliness and Schlamperei to fill up the cup. Vienna was a community built on a powder keg. On the surface things were more or less normal, but underneath there were forewarnings of the apocalypse. One cannot forget Moosburger.

Musil stands out as an acute observer of this difficult period. He was able to show up as on a screen the people and the events of his age. The coterie of the collateral campaign are poised on the edge of a precipice, Ulrich, the hero, is just an observer on the sidelines, while life goes on and on -nobody knows for what purpose.

Mahler

In dealing with the composer Gustav Mahler (1860-1910)⁷ we are faced with a general problem at the outset: what is the impact of music on society? Music does not present concrete facts to us; it is the language of emotion, and spiritual experience, rather than of propaganda or proselytising. We cannot expect that music will convey to us as much as literature or even as the other creative arts. A symphony can rarely transmit to us the same message exactly as "roman a thèse" would, especially

⁷ Mahler, A., Gustav Mahler. Memoirs and Letters, (translated from the German by B. Creighton), New York, Viking, 1946.

if the latter has a political content. Nor will a symphonic poem convey the precise information about some landscape or building that a painting would give us. There is really no pictorial or descriptive music as such, because the same piece of music will pass on entirely different impressions to those who hear it. The listener can only think precisely about this type of music, when the composer supplies program notes for it. Music is a form of art which presents highly charged emotional impressions without really conveying a specific message. An exception to this is song, running the whole gamut from the folk-song to opera, where the artist is singing certain words, which do convey precise ideas. Music then supplies emotional content to the words and enhances the emotional consequences.

Nevertheless music has played its part in social and even political development. In this thesis much emphasis has been placed on nationalism, and it may be said that during the nineteenth century music has been an important handmaiden to nationalism. Herder, the spiritual father of nationalism, referred to the folk-song as one of the most cogent forces in national development. In the folk-song is found this need to be an integral part of the nationalist tradition. Composers who worked during nationalist revivals either reinstated the folk-songs or incorporated folk-song characteristics into their music. Folk music was in their very flesh and blood, and they needed no prodding; the embroidered music of their

compositions came naturally. These men might even be termed nationalist composers. Famous among them are Antonín Dvořák and Bedřich Smetana in Bohemia, Stanislaw Moniuszko and Frederick Chopin in Poland and Jan Sibelius in Finland.

There is a connection between Mahler and the nationalist composers. He was born in Bohemia. Early in life he was introduced to Bohemian folk-music, and like Dvořák and Smetana he put elements of their music into his own works. Some rather naive critics think that his Ländlers and waltzes are typically Austrian, but this view is false - his folk-music sections are Czech through and through. This is, however, the only comparison one can make between Mahler and the Czech composers, for although he was born in Bohemia he was no Bohemian. He was a Jew and his language was German; therefore Mahler knew early in life that Bohemia was not native to him. In this respect he was like Kafka: he was thoroughly a "displaced person" - a man without a country. However, from the materialist point of view, Mahler was successful. He not only had the qualities of an outstanding composer, but he was already early in life a performing artist and leader of the first order. There are those who hold that Mahler was the greatest conductor of his day; and since the summit of his career was reached in the first decade of this century he travelled in outstanding company alongside inspiring orchestral exponents like Nikisch, Richter and

the youthful Toscanini.

Mahler had an impressive career. He made the usual rounds of the provincial German theatres, and by 1890 he had already been head of the Budapest and Hamburg opera houses. In 1897 he reached the pinnacle of his career as chief conductor at the Vienna Hofoper. He held this position until 1908, when chicanery led to his resignation. He then moved, and carried on his artistic work in New York. He met an early death through blood-poisoning.

Mahler was a prolific composer. He left ten symphonies, many songs and cantatas, an amount of composition which is memorable if we think of his short life and his other musical responsibilities.

We shall concern ourselves here with one of his greatest compositions - Das Lied von der Erde⁸ (1909). This work is a combination of the cantata form and symphony. It consists of six sections to be sung by tenor and soprano alternatively, with symphonic accompaniment. The meaningful poems sung were selected from the Chinese and translated into German. These texts deal with the beauties and tragedies of nature, above all they mirror the futility of life. "Man lives for a short period only, and there is so little he can do in that time." The last poem is the Abschied, a musical farewell from earth, a tale of suicide in music narrated in a sensuous manner. The whole score is permeated by an ethereal and pathetic sense and is shot

⁸ English: "Song of the Earth."

through and through with despairing pessimism.

Mahler's other works were similar to the music of the Lied von der Erde: an endless brooding, a search for indescribable meaning, coupled with pessimism. He is really the Jeremiah of the musical world, and respite comes only when the composer goes back to his youth with the use of the folk-song, which is of all things Bohemian! Mahler would have probably been happier if he had never left the land of his birth, yet he could not do this. Herein lies the whole essence of his life tragedy. He is often classed with the Vienna school - that great outpouring of music of the geniuses - Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Brahms and Anton Bruckner. We have already considered whether these men were Viennese or not. But one thing is sure - Mahler marks a break: the composer who wrote the Lied von der Erde did not belong to that group. We have here a change from universal music to music impregnated with pessimism. Mahler ranks as one of the most original composers, but the impact he makes is very different from that of his predecessors.

As Max Graf, the authoritative musical critic of the period puts it: "With Brahms classical and romantic music had come to an end in Vienna. With Mahler a new era had begun ... the century of the mind ended, the century of nerves began. The grand manner lost its force. The soul-searching expression of the individual became

mighty."⁹

This quotation gives much food for thought. First of all "the century of nerves." Mahler broke into the prevailing order; he transformed the calm sea into a turbulent one; rather he demonstrated that the change was already achieved. Vienna was not at peace any more. His soul-searching exemplified the futility of life and his listeners must have been aware of this. He conveyed the sense of homelessness to them. Mahler was thus the harbinger of the future: no longer calm, but only trouble ahead!

Finally, Mahler was the bridge between the old and the new. One of his earliest disciples was Arnold Schönberg, who was already hard at work in the first decade of the century. The result of his creative labours was the first atonal music, which was soon to predominate. The modern era had begun. Characteristically it happened in Vienna, but Mahler was the catalyst.

Frustration in Statesmanship

An indispensable test of a healthy state, from the social and political point of view, can be said to be the opportunity that it gives to resolute and fully developed men for public service. After all this may be regarded as one of its ideal functions - to afford opportunity for all to serve society is a golden mean between

⁹ Graf, M., Composer and Critic, New York, Norton, 1946, p. 35.

the old idea of simply keeping people in order and the latest concept of the welfare state existing chiefly as a gratuitous purveyor for its citizens.

If we now ask whether the Dual Monarchy could offer a chance for the full use of man's best powers we may use the concrete example of Thomas G. Masaryk (1850 - 1937).¹⁰ He grew up as a son of a coachman, and like most of his contemporaries remained to maturity a loyal subject of the emperor. Masaryk wanted to be a teacher, later on a public servant where he could have rendered services of a high quality in any state especially one that was governed by genuine democratic principles. He did indeed perform a signal service in doing much to mould pre-war Czechoslovakia, becoming President of the new state and being the spiritual leader of Czechoslovak democracy.

Nevertheless, Masaryk's career before 1914 illustrates qualities which would have made him an outstanding public servant, had conditions made this possible. Masaryk began as a student of philosophy and of the social sciences, particularly of the burgeoning science of sociology. Let it be noted at the outset that his sympathies lay with the western outlook. His major sympathy was with the English positivist philosophers; and also with social scientists such as the Frenchman Comte. He would never act

¹⁰ Herben, J., T.G. Masaryk. Život a Dílo Presidenta-Osvoboditele (English title: T. G. Masaryk, the Life and the Work of the President-Liberator), Prague, Sfinx, 1947.

or make conclusions in any field of enquiry without first obtaining the complete picture. He ran foul of all who would put blinkers on everybody, to prevent them from knowing something, which might paralyse action. His objective was to remove the blinkers.

Masaryk was a doubter. His inaugural lecture in Prague was devoted to Hume's philosophy. He would object to all humbug or sham, indeed to any spurious theories: he was undogmatic. He ridiculed pomposity, whether it consisted of snobbism, uppishness or superficiality. Above all he objected to untruth. "Truth prevails", was his motto. Perhaps it was the undogmatism in his dislike for any show that went mostly against the grain of the prevailing order for Masaryk found his targets too easily.

He believed firmly in the proverb "a sound mind in a sound body". He wanted healthy living, not disease and degeneration of any sort, either physical, mental or social; neither in individuals nor in social entities. He could be called a critic and diagnostician just like Musil, except that he saw things through sociological eyes, and went on from theory to action. Masaryk was a Ganzer Mann, a complete man, as opposed to the Halbmensch which we saw portrayed in Musil's hero, Ulrich, in The Man Without Qualities. Masaryk epitomises a complete individual, knowledgeable and with his wits about him and, as we shall see soon, ready to use them.

He stood for the inviolability of the individual

and his studies showed that no earthly power has a right to violate the sacrosanct nature of the individual. This was again counter to the social fabric of the powers that be; they wanted to create colourless characters, even less alive than Ulrich; they wanted to mould weak and formless people. Masaryk stood for the individual's right through and through, therefore he sought to strive for the best political climate for the individual to subsist in, within a democracy.

As suggested, Masaryk was no armchair scholar who absorbs knowledge, analyzes and contemplates exclusively. When he saw that a certain action was needed, especially to right a wrong, he proceeded in a determined manner. He would come to the aid of a scholar, Jan Gebauer, to disclose forgeries of Czech historical documents. He would defend an innocent Jewish boy who was unjustly accused of committing a ritual murder. Finally Masaryk was persuaded to enter politics and was elected to the Reichsrath, where he railed against abuses of government, political dishonesty to achieve a goal, even the forging of documents by the Foreign Office to prove its case against Serbia. All this threw Masaryk into open action for he would never rest until the guilty were unmasked. Masaryk was nothing if not a positive statesman; he wanted the blemishes removed from all vital affairs of state. This was his real political platform and he sought nothing more than a place to do this work. Instead of serving effectively he met with

only opposition from the authorities, of both church and state and was accused of meddling when he should not have done so, even of disloyalty and ultimately of treason.

All this could only breed in him a sense of utter frustration. The assertive Masaryk was trying to do the right, instead he was accused of mischief-making. Any "complete man" would have felt thus, particularly when he saw the weaknesses of the regime as Masaryk had done. This would have applied to anybody irrespective of nationality; an Austro-German would have felt the same way as would have a Galician Pole or a Croat.

Masaryk found that he could not cooperate with the state under such circumstances. Either he or the state was wrong, both could not be right. Therefore he despaired of the body politic but never of his own position. Events were to prove the correctness of his opinion. The monarchy had no place for such a man as he. Austria-Hungary had become a "corpse", hence Masaryk's letter to Professor Lorenz as reported on a footnote on page 40.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSION

In this short study, we have seen how the members of the house of Hapsburg can rightly be called the architects of empire on the Danube. Human ambition, the need to meet the threat of Islam, the blessing and spiritual sustenance of the Holy Church in all they did, made the heads of the dynasty certain of something like a divine calling. The dynastic leaders came to feel that everything they did was infallible and was right by God's mandate and, in the interest of humanity (this meant for them Western civilization), no obstacles could be allowed to impede the achieving of their designs. In all this the Hapsburgs profited at every turn, not only from the benevolent blessing of the Church, but also from its age long experience, which meant the lore and learning of the ages. Unfortunately, and in this they followed the Church too closely, they could not realise the inevitabilities of the consequences and responsibilities of power and change - the fact that nothing stands still and that progress cannot be arrested. For this reason what was said of the Bourbons was equally true of the Hapsburgs also: "they learned nothing and forgot nothing".

Having become masters of a vast and diversified

area after 1620, and having driven the Turks back into the Balkans one hundred years later, they now set about achieving as much of their breed of conformity as possible, under Maria Theresa and her able and enlightened son Joseph.

Even this brought them into conflict with the Roman system, but the real clash lay just ahead; the convulsion in France in 1789 and the onset of the machine age through the industrial revolution. These two great eruptions were to transform all Europe though this process spread fairly slowly from the Atlantic seaboard eastwards to the Danube. The year 1848 may be used as a turning point, but the whole period, marked by the coming of the railways and other forms of acceleration in communications, is what counts and not just the risings of twelve months. The age of Alexander's "Holy Alliance" called by Castlereagh "mystical nonsense", was as good as over. Those at the helm in Vienna, whether in church or state, could still keep on trying to square the circle, but the cards were stacked against them.

The counter-forces operating against the empire were too strong. The empire was a multi-national state and all its various nationalities were in flux. Some, including the Germans, had outside allegiances and this meant centrifugal pulls, which weakened the Monarchy. The two historical nationalities within the empire were also getting out of hand, each in its own way: the Czechs who were consolidating their resources rapidly and regaining confidence in their historical past and the Magyars whose

incredible assertiveness and pride were destructive elements. One of them had to be accommodated and the aspirations of the Magyars were placated only when the whole structure of the Monarchy was transformed after Sadowa. This ended the Hapsburg dream of an all-German Central European realm under their aegis. The Magyars were now virtually independent on their own side of the Danube and this, coupled with the virulent and expanding Magyar nationalism, contributed as much as anything to the break up of the Dual Monarchy.

Other factors were also emerging, producing internal ferments. Serfdom had ended in 1848: the growth of towns was in full swing with the rapid development of the railway system. Old allegiances were dissolving and new ones were growing up to take their place; notably the new bourgeois and the burgeoning intellectuals. Popular education was becoming general and new tools of communication, especially the press, led to the spread of new ideas. In consequence fresh winds were blowing in every corner of society, running counter to the old ideas. The spread of secularism was on and this led to the emergence of the new secular man, either the engineer, entrepreneur, or the pure intellectuals, the last being university men, writers and artists. Their work was all-important because they in turn conceived the "whole man" who had outgrown the clothes and the prison house of the old system. The new man became therefore the biggest single disruptive

factor of all. He was poised to attack the fundamental tenets of the empire as we have seen above: conformity, with which he could not live. The empire wanted men and entities to fit in with, and in uniformity with the prevailing order. It is the tragedy of the Hapsburgs, in the latter half of the nineteenth century and in the first decade of the twentieth, that they tried to make do with antiquated tools in an age that demanded something quite different. They would not reform themselves in order to keep the new, thinking generation on their side - they were willing to have surgical operations performed but not to the extent of making possible a new and healthy organism.

It would have been interesting to see what results could have come from a long conference of two representatives of the old and new respectively, of the dynasty and of democracy: the emperor Franz Joseph and the philosopher-statesman Masaryk, with power to enforce their findings. Could they have thrashed out a United States of Central and South-East Europe to cure the ills of the old? It is unlikely that any positive steps would have followed for Franz Joseph was an inveterate Hapsburg and Hapsburgs do not change things. Then the Reich Germans and Hungarians would never have permitted him to do this, and the church too would have demurred. Franz Joseph was the prisoner of his own system. Masaryk's eloquence about the need of change both socially and constitutionally would have fallen on deaf ears.

History and progress moved too fast for the Hapsburgs • Conformity and systematization of life were still tolerated by the common man before 1789: They could not weather the storm a century later when any maintenance of the "dynastic idea", of feudal vestiges and of the old order of life and thought were impossible.

It would not be amiss to regard the whole process of change as a great drama with two sets of conflicting forces, and we have tried to follow the course of the struggle to its final outcome. In conclusion it cannot but be said that the empire could not fight against the strain of the "opposition". The new forces were winning and the conflagration of 1914-18 was only the logical outcome of what was already there before.

A P P E N D I X

APPENDIX I.

"THE GOOD SOLDIER"

The first world war produced a great and enduring classic, the Adventures of the Good Soldier Švejk¹ by J. Hašek. This work is an enduring comic Odyssey. It is an account of the life and doings of a private soldier, conscripted unwillingly into the Austrian army. The nationality of the soldier is important: Švejk, our hero, is a Czech prototype and accordingly Hašek has made this work into a caustic commentary on Czech-German relations. It describes the slumbering animosity between the races and also plays up the opposition between the master and the underdog and Hašek wants the underdog to outwit the master and indeed to gain the upper hand.

The reasons for Švejk's victories are unique. He is able to make an accurate appraisal of the weaknesses of his adversaries and then exploit them to the full. He can usually make the best of the adverse situations in which he is involved and overcome them in a comic manner; in this respect he epitomizes much that is characteristic in the Czech "ethos" - overcome your hurdles; wait for an opportunity to strike; sit things out if you can't! This is a thoroughly realistic approach.

¹ Hašek, J., Osudy Dobrého Vojáka Švejka. 2 vols., Prague, Synek, 1946.

Above all Švejk could always see the humour of any situation - no wonder that the Czechs coined a term after him - Švejkovina, which denotes action resulting from the comic spirit in conflict with a despised master, and at the same time embodies a passivity dictated by circumstances.

Švejk had many things to laugh about or contemplate in a humorous way. His career is unique: he never knows where he is going. When he is conscripted for the first time he undergoes the routine physical examinations, the result of which is that he is branded as an official idiot. Let it be noted at once that he is a good actor, and Hašek is at pains not to divulge whether Švejk simulates or not. On the outbreak of war, Švejk is re-drafted, but nobody seems to know what to do with him. For a time he is sent to an insane asylum for further examinations, but in spite of being diagnosed again as an imbecile, he winds up in the ranks.

For a time Švejk serves as an orderly to dissipated and inefficient officers. These latter seem to be either debauched opportunists or unordained chaplains. Finally Švejk is sent to the front. This becomes a most circuitous journey, very much to Švejk's pleasure. He is moved around in all directions of the compass. When he finally reaches the front he finds utter disorganization. Nothing works. There is no efficiency, no co-ordination, no leadership - only dismaying, depressing chaos. We are

thrown, with Švejk into a comical "slough of despond".

Yet another strand runs through the tale: the excessive bureaucracy of the army. Švejk is always confronted by penwielding officers, none of whom seems to know what he is going except to fill out more lengthy forms, even though these appear to have no purpose whatsoever. Švejk takes full advantage of these situations; he is the hero even if he is un-Homeric in approach. He triumphs by outwitting numbskulled officers.

As Novák says in his Short History of Czech Literature: "The innocent, bland, smiling face of Švejk constantly confronts us when he is able to justify his actions by explaining that the orders received from his superiors are impossible to fulfill, because they are illogical and cannot be carried out".²

Švejk also repeatedly undermines the authority of his superiors and consequently that of the state by humorous references to amusing events from his civilian life, particularly with his indulgent beer drinking habits and those of his friends in the Prague taverns. For Švejk there is no halo round the heads of the exalted functionaries of the army or of the state.

His inexhaustible imagination, his "feel" for the weakness of his adversaries; his natural cleverness in

² Novak, A., Stručné Dějiny České Literatury, Olomouc, Czechoslovakia, Preminger, 1946, p. 646.

exploiting them all put him into marked opposition to the pomposity, thoughtlessness and foolishness of the K. and K. army and its representatives. The enjoyable book serves a great purpose as a historical document. It is a critique and a satire - bigger than life. It shows us that the army had serious weaknesses even at the beginning of the war, and that there was little allegiance or loyalty paid by the soldier to the K. and K. machine, or to any other empire symbol. This was especially true of the non-German or non-Hungarian soldiers.

In fact these symbols were ridiculed. There was nothing comparable of the esprit de corps that existed in the German army. The common soldier did not know what he was fighting for. When the first defeats occurred, during the autumn of 1914, efficiency broke down almost completely; morale was low and chaos resulted. The traditions of Prince Eugene and of Radetzky were quickly dissipated.

Švejk is a symbol of this. Nobody told him where he was going, and he did not ask to be enlightened. His only ambition was to muddle through and return safely to his Prague inn where he lightheartedly could enjoy his beer with his friends. This was his real allegiance. He had no interest in the struggle at large; if anything he was a rebel. He would do anything short of deserting.

Švejk pictures a particular case: the Czech in protest against the Dual Monarchy. But Hašek has created

such a great character that Švejk represents the universal rebel against all oppressive authority (especially in the armed forces). After 1918 Švejk became an international Figure. The book was translated into the main languages of Europe. It was also dramatized. Remarkably enough the most popular theatrical version was put on by the Germans. Perhaps the reasons for this lay in the fact that Švejk summed up the feeling of disillusionment. The creation of Švejk also led to a whole literary genre, stimulating many writers in different countries to emulate Hašek. One of the best of these is Turvey, the Canadian Švejk of World War II, written by the University of British Columbia professor, Earle Birney.

APPENDIX II.

STATISTICAL TABLES

A. Population of the Dual Monarchy by NationalitiesAccording to Language:¹1. Population in Austria (Cisleithania):

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>1880</u>		<u>1910</u>	
	<u>Actual</u> (in 1,000's)	<u>%</u>	<u>Actual</u> (in 1,000's)	<u>%</u>
Germans	8,009	36.8	9,950	35.6
Czechs	5,181	23.8	6,436	23.0
Poles	3,239	14.9	4,968	17.8
Ruthenians	2,793	12.8	3,519	12.6
Slovenes	1,141	5.2	1,253	4.5
Serbo-Croats	563	2.6	783	2.8
Italians	669	3.1	768	2.7
Roumanians	<u>191</u>	0.9	<u>275</u>	1.0
	<u>21,786</u>		<u>27,652</u>	

¹ Population figures based on Kann, R.A., The Multi-national Empire, New York, Columbia University Press, vol. 2, pp. 300-305. The 1910 figures are based on the official census of that year.

Appendix II. (Continued)2. Population in Transleithania including Croatia-Slavonia:

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>1880</u>		<u>1910</u>	
	<u>Actual</u> (in 1,000's)	<u>%</u>	<u>Actual</u> (in 1,000's)	<u>%</u>
Magyar	6,445	41.2	9,945	48.1
German	1,954	12.5	2,037	9.8
Slovaks	1,865	11.9	1,968	9.4
Roumanians	2,405	15.4	2,949	14.1
Ruthenians	356	2.3	473	2.3
Croats			1,883	8.8
Serbs			1,106	5.3
	<u>13,025</u>		<u>20,361</u>	

3. Population in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1910
(approximate only).

	<u>Actual</u> (in 1,000's)	<u>%</u>
Croats	400	21.1
Serbs	850	44.7
Mohammedans (chiefly Bosnians)	650	34.2
Total	<u>1,900</u>	

Appendix II. (Continued)4. Total Population of the Dual Monarchy. 1910

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1910</u>
	<u>Actual</u> (in 1,000's)	<u>Actual</u> (in 1,000's)
Germans	9,963	11,987
Magyars	6,445	9,945
Czechs	5,181	6,436
Poles	3,239	4,968
Ruthenians	3,149	3,992
Roumanians	2,569	3,224
Slovaks	1,865	1,968
Slovenes	1,141	1,253
Serbo-Croats	563	5,322
Italians	669	768
Mohammedans		650
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	34,784	50,213
	<hr/>	<hr/>

5. Population of Dual Monarchy Showing Affiliations
by Linguistic Families (Approximate Figures)

<u>Families</u>	<u>Actual</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>Actual</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Teutonic:</u>							
Germans	10 million	28.4)	47.2%		12 million	23.9%)	44.1%
<u>Finno-Ugric:</u>							
Hungarians	6.4 million	18.8)			10 million	20.9%)	
<u>Slavonic:</u>							
Western and Eastern Slavs	13.5 million)	15 million	43.4%		17.3 million)	24.5 million	47.5%
Southern Slavs	1.5 million)				7.2 million)		
<u>Romance:</u>							
Roumanians	2.5 million)	3.1 million	9.4%		3.2 million)	4.0 million	8.4%
Italians	.6 million)				.8 million)		
TOTAL	34.5 million				50.5 million		

Appendix II. (Continued)B. Table of Religions in the Dual Monarchy 1910¹

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Total</u> (in 1,000's)	<u>%</u>
Roman Catholic	33,439	66.8
Greek Catholic	5,444	10.9
Protestant	4,526	9.0
Greek Orthodox	3,653	7.3
Judaic	2,297	4.5
Mohammedan	650	1.4
Others	42	.1
	<hr/> 50,051 <hr/>	<hr/> 100.0 <hr/>

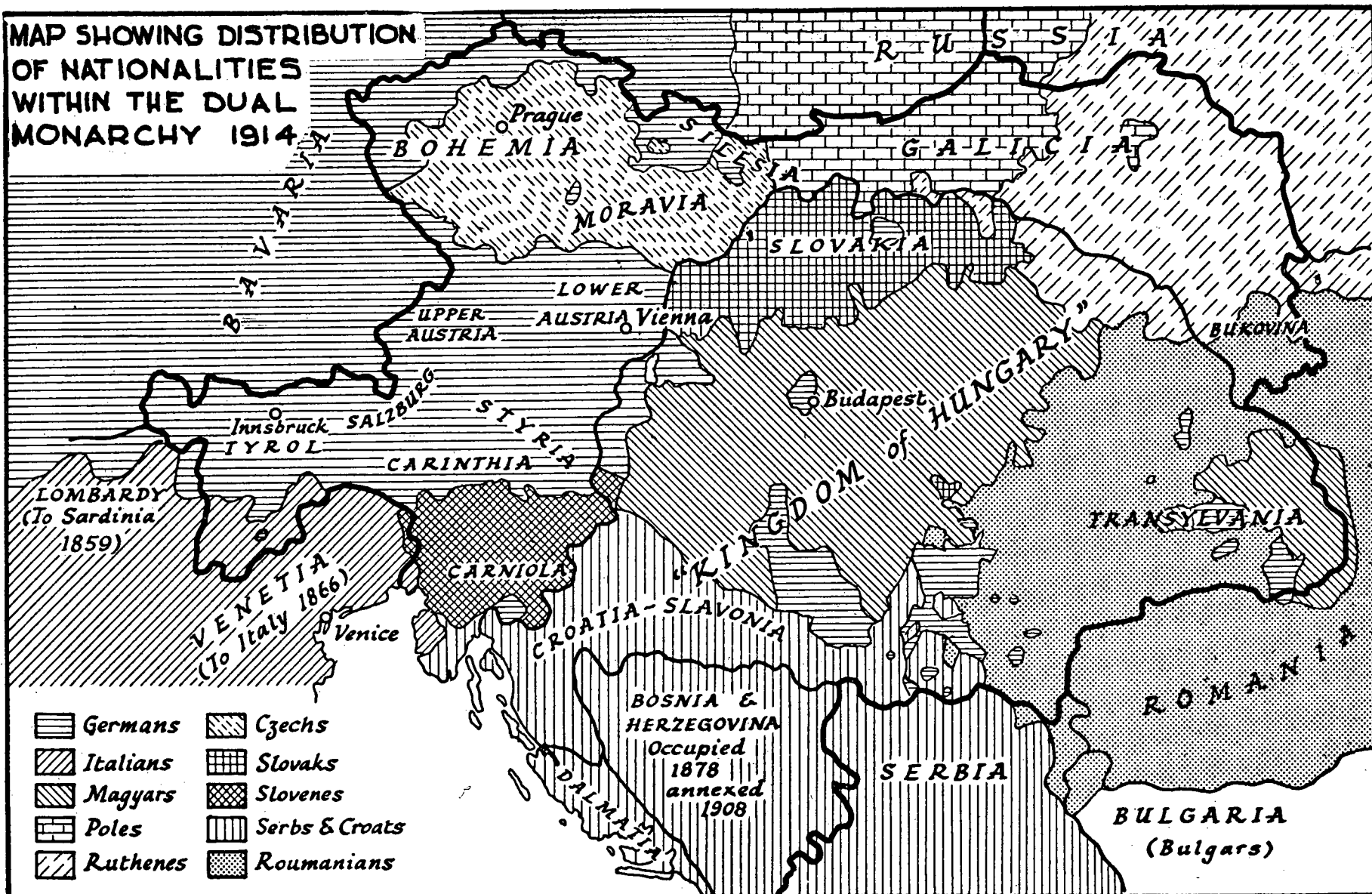
¹ Based on Statemen's Year Book, 1913, London, Macmillan, 1913; which relied on 1910 official census.

C. Table showing Distribution of Population in the Dual Monarchy, 1910.
(by Cities and Country: excluding Bosnia-Herzegovina).¹

<u>Cisleithania</u> (in 1,000's)			<u>Transleithania</u> (in 1,000's)				
Cities of 100,000 and over		%	Cities of 100,000 and over	%	Total	%	
Vienna	2,032		Budapest	930			
Prague	425		Szeged	119			
Trieste	230						
Lvov	206						
Krakow	152						
Graz	152						
Brno	125						
Sub-Total	3,332	12.1	Sub-Total	1,049	5.2	4,381	9.1
Cities 30,000-100,000	969	3.1	Cities 30,000-100,000	1,246	6.2	2,215	4.6
All others under 30,000	<u>23,351</u>	84.8	All others under 30,000	<u>18,066</u>	88.6	<u>41,417</u>	86.3
	27,652			20,361		48,013	

¹ Based on Statemen's Year Book, 1913, London, Macmillan, 1913; which relied on 1910 official census.

MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION
OF NATIONALITIES
WITHIN THE DUAL
MONARCHY 1914



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