
‘The Watch on the Danube’: a Bridge between Stability and Conflict

Territorial Identification in Linz, 1908-1928



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Introduction

For decades 1918 has served as a decisive year in history. Naturally, the First World War and its aftermath interested many historians due to its enormous implications for the course of European history. Leaders from the five great powers – the United States, France, Britain, Italy, and Japan – altered Europe's borders with the signing of the Paris Peace Treaties (1919-1920). For Central and Eastern Europe this meant a monumental change in the region's political set-up. The fall of the Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Empire and the establishment of numerous successor states marked the interbellum. As a consequence, historians characterized the period as one of crises and revolutions and examined political ideologies instrumental to these events. Developments in interbellum Austria form no exception with significant incidents such as the Austrian Revolution (1918) and the Austrian Civil War of February 1934. The fall of the Habsburg Empire and the rise of nationalism and fascism in the decades leading up to the Second World War has influenced Austrian historiography heavily. The focus on fascism permeated historiography on a local level as well. The city of Linz in particular was considered as one of the places where these extreme ideologies originated, even literally being portrayed as the birthplace of both Adolf Hitler and Adolf Eichmann. Confusingly, another characterization of Linz exists, which highlights a fundamentally different course of developments. In the 1920s Linz had been one of the most socialist cities in Austria, even on par with Vienna. The socialist *Linzer Tagblatt* declared 'Linz ist rot und bleibt rot' in the report on the *Nationalfeiertag* on 12 November in 1922.¹ The demonstrations during Social Democratic celebrations, such as the *Nationalfeiertag* and Labor Day, filled the streets of Linz with tens of thousands of people.²

These two divergent descriptions of Linz do not contribute to an unambiguous picture of the city's political situation and arise from a tendency to generalize. They do not help to understand what it was like to live in this provincial town in the period just before and after the First World War. How did people go about their daily routines and what made them feel connected to the local, regional, and national space? In Linz and Upper Austria the same political figures and political parties remained in power after 1918, the process of democratization that had started at the turn of the century continued, and many local and regional events reminded of those in imperial times. Especially in towns with relative ethnic homogeneity like Linz this caesura of 1918 was less conspicuous. In order to better understand discontinuity after 1918, historians must first grasp the extent of continuity. The interaction between different layers of territorial identification provides an insight into continuity without the need to connect it to specific political ideologies or structure. The examination of festive culture allows this perspective on territorial identification since it combines the current political developments

¹ [Linz is red and remains red] in: Für Republik und Freiheit!, *Linzer Tagblatt* (14-11-1922), 1.

² E.R. Hochman, *Staging the Nation, Staging Democracy: the Politics of Commemoration in Germany and Austria, 1918-1933/34* (dissertation at the University of Toronto 2010), 197.

with longstanding socio-cultural traditions that reflect different spatial contexts.³ This festive culture demonstrates how local groups and individuals related to these events and highlights their use of practices instead of ideas. The development of territorial identification will be combined with Oliver Zimmer's concept of rhythms. Peoples' lives are structured according to certain temporal rhythms, which are not natural, but rely on various types of convention.⁴ The semi-yearly recurring activities in Linz's festive culture between 1908-1928 comprise these rhythms. These years do not coincide with constitutional or political changes, but rather represent meaningful festive years for Austria-Hungary and the First Republic. In 1908 Franz Joseph celebrated his sixtieth-jubilee as emperor and in 1928 the republic celebrated its tenth jubilee since its existence. Consequently, I will examine the extent to which Linz's festive culture reflected continuities in territorial identifications in the transition from the Habsburg Empire to the First Austrian Republic in the symbolic period of 1908-1928.

The historiography of the Habsburg Empire and the Austrian Republic has developed similarly since the 1970s. First, historians' research interests centered around the question of failure. The various conflicts between nationalities were described as a reason for the empire's ultimate demise.⁵ The loss of territory, war, and the denial of *Anschluss* by the allied forces in the Treaty of Saint Germain could be seen as reasons for the republic's failure.⁶ Friedrich Heer, for instance, reflects in his 1981 monograph on Austrian national identity on the many reasons for the republic's failure and the doubts on the viability of such a small state.⁷ The narrative of failure is still used in historiography. Ritchie Robertson and Douglas Campbell refer in their comparative studies from respectively 1994 and 2006 to the 'shadow of the Habsburg past' and the 'Habsburg legacy' in their explanation of the First Republic's problems which creates a significant difference between before and after 1918 due to its primary association with the Habsburgs.⁸ Anthony Bushell's rhetorical analysis of national identity in the First and Second Republic further reifies the notions of decline-and-fall and 'failure at the first attempt' for the republic.⁹ In addition, historians analyzed the rise of political ideologies. In historiography of the Habsburg Empire the traditional decline-and-fall narrative was re-analyzed and

³ The influence of festivities on the creation of national identity in Central Europe has been explained in: E. Brix, and H. Stekl (eds.), *Der Kampf um das Gedächtnis: Öffentliche Gedenktage in Mitteleuropa* (Vienna 1997).

⁴ O. Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life: German Communities in the Age of the Nation-State* (Oxford 2013), 9.

⁵ A. Sked, *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 1815-1918* (London 1989).

⁶ As also described by M. Reisacher, *Die Konstruktion des „Staats, den keiner wollte“. Der Transformationsprozess des umstrittenen Gedächtnisorts „Erste Republik“ in einen negativen rhetorischen Topos* (Diplomarbeit at the University of Vienna 2010), 1-7. A. Staudinger, 'Die nationale Frage im Österreich der Ersten und Zweiten Republik', in: E. Zöllner (ed.), *Volk, Land und Staat: Landesbewußtsein, Staatsidee und nationale Fragen in der Geschichte Österreichs* (Vienna 1984), 168-179, here 168.

⁷ F. Heer, *Der Kampf um die österreichische Identität* (Berlin 1981), 337. Anton Pelinka also underscores these pillars as being central to Austrian identity, in: A. Pelinka, *Zur österreichischen Identität: zwischen deutscher Vereinigung und Mitteleuropa* (Vienna 1990).

⁸ D.P. Campbell, *The Shadow of the Habsburgs: Memory and National Identity in Austrian Politics and Education, 1918-1955* (dissertation at the University of Maryland 2006). R. Robertson, *The Habsburg Legacy: National Identity in Historical Perspective* (Edinburgh 1994).

⁹ A. Bushell, *Polemical Austria: The Rhetorics of National Identity: from Empire to the Second Republic* (Cardiff 2013), 134.

the concept of nationality and national identity re-defined.¹⁰ Ulrike von Hirschhausen, for instance, argues that Austrian citizenship in the Habsburg Monarchy retained an inclusive concept of nationality independent from ethnicity, religion, class or gender.¹¹

Leading up to the centennial commemoration of the end of the First World War and the empire's demise, historians have started to re-examine the First Republic. These works still have normative titles – such as *Die verzweifelte Republik* (2017), *Die umkämpfte Republik* (2017), and *Die gescheiterte Republik* (2017) – which reify the republic's dominant narrative of failure.¹² Additionally, these historians still analyze this time period according to the customary structure of national political parties and institutions, with little to no attention to regional divergence. Nonetheless, these historians succeeded in painting a nuanced picture. Gerald Stourzh, for example, points out the difficulty of the detachment of the concept of Austria from the monarchy and establishing a connection to the republic.¹³ Walter Rauscher remarks that the First Republic was born out of necessity and identifies a lack of an Austrian 'Nationalbewußtseins', but at the same time identifies the attachment to German language, culture, and *Anschluss* in the republic.¹⁴ Anton Pelinka portrays a balanced picture of politics and culture in *Die gescheiterte Republik*, in which he similarly argues that Austria, unlike other successor states, became a 'nationales Niemandsland'.¹⁵ Its name caused confusion and also had a semantic problem: 'zwar war die Republik ein neues, ein anderes Österreich als das Österreich der Monarchie'.¹⁶ Pelinka, however, also asserts that this rupture was primarily based on the political and territorial difference between the republic and the monarchy. Culturally, the republic was perceived partly as a continuation of the old Austria.¹⁷

Moreover, in another historiographical trend the importance of the regional and local perspective is eloquently underlined. In an innovative study on German towns, Zimmer emphasizes the local perspective by stating that 'towns provide stages from which to explore how small and large events and structures came together in a single location'.¹⁸ Andreas Fahrmeir reflects in his 2008 conceptual article on citizenship that even our conception of citizenship is often based on a national perspective, whilst this concept is intertwined with a complex spatial dimension in which localism and

¹⁰ P.M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge 2016).

¹¹ U. von Hirschhausen, 'From Imperial Inclusion to National Exclusion: Citizenship in the Habsburg Monarchy and in Austria 1867–1923', *European Review of History* 16:4 (2009) 551-573.

¹² S. Karner (ed.), *Die umkämpfte Republik: Österreich von 1918-1938* (Innsbruck 2017). W. Rauscher, *Die verzweifelte Republik- Österreich 1918-1922* (Vienna 2017). A. Pelinka, *Die gescheiterte Republik: Kultur und Politik in Österreich 1918-1938* (Vienna 2017).

¹³ G. Stourzh, 'Erschütterung und Konsolidierung des Österreichbewußtseins – vom Zusammenbruch der Monarchie zur Zweiten Republik', in: R.G. Plaschka and G. Stourzh (eds.), *Was heißt Österreich?: Inhalt und Umfang des Österreichbegriffs vom 10. Jahrhundert bis heute* (Vienna 1995), 289-311, here 289.

¹⁴ [national consciousness] in W. Rauscher, *Die verzweifelte Republik*, 206. Also argued by Anton Pelinka: A. Pelinka, 'Nationale Identität', in: R. Wodak (ed.), *Nationale und kulturelle Identitäten Österreichs: Theorien, Methoden und Probleme der Forschung zu kollektiver Identität* (Vienna 1995), 28-33, here 28.

¹⁵ [national no man's land] in A. Pelinka, *Die gescheiterte Republik*, 65.

¹⁶ [the republic was a new Austria, a different Austria than the Austria of the monarchy] in *ibidem*.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 66.

¹⁸ O. Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life*, 5.

transnationalism are entangled.¹⁹ For Austria specifically, Gerald Stourzh, Erin Stourzh, Ernst Bruckmüller, and Manfred Welan, assert that the regions in particular demonstrated consistencies and continuities. Welan states that this applied to ‘die Rechtsstaatlichkeit und die Vielfalt in der Einheit’ in his 1995 discussion paper.²⁰ Gerald Stourzh and Ernst Bruckmüller have researched the phenomenon surrounding *Österreichbewußtsein* and *Landesbewußtsein* extensively from the 1980s onwards. Stourzh argues that group consciousness in this period existed primarily on a local and regional level and Ernst Bruckmüller states that group consciousness remained locally orientated.²¹ Erin Hochman asserts in her 2010 comparative dissertation on commemoration in the interbellum in Austria and Germany that Austrian identity in this period amounted to a regional rather than national identity.²² Remarkably, despite advocating the local and regional perspective, none of these historians make this statement in works with this perspective.

Generally, a dual working of memory and historical periodization influenced the historical narrative of this republic. On the one hand, collective memory affects the narratives historians use to write history. This means that the historiography of the First Republic developed alongside Austria’s relation to the past. After the Second World War the First Republic was largely forgotten in collective memory and history, thereafter it was discussed as the birthplace of Austrofascism and, finally, from the 1970s onwards interest shifted to the question why the Republic had failed.²³ On the other hand, researchers from the field of Memory Studies and Intellectual History have examined this time period through works of fiction, which revealed a sense of nostalgia towards the Habsburg Empire.²⁴ As a result, many differences between empire and republic came to the fore and the rupture between the two was emphasized. Finally, this sense of rupture is highlighted through the tendency of historians to categorize and periodize history. 1918 has become a self-fulfilling prophecy in historical narrative; not in the least because historians either specialize in the period before or after 1918. As a consequence of historical specialization, the historiographies on the period before and after 1918 often do not seem to align with each other. This also explains why, despite the similar narratives of failure, the two historiographies have remained separated for a long time. Historians Mark Cornwall and Claire Morelon demonstrate that the notion of 1918 as a watershed moment ‘tends to privilege the postwar

¹⁹ A. Fahrmeir and H.S. Jones, ‘Space and Belonging in Modern Europe: Citizenship(s) in Localities, Regions, and States’, *European Review of History* 15:3 (2008), 243-253, here 247.

²⁰ [the rule of law and diversity in unity] in M. Welan, ‘Die österreichische Staatsidee’, *Diskussionspapier* Nr. 46-R-95 (1995) 1-27, here 1.

²¹ G. Stourzh, *Vom Reich zur Republik: Studien zum Österreichbewußtsein im 20. Jahrhundert* (Vienna 1990). E. Bruckmüller, *Nation Österreich. Kulturelles Bewußtsein und gesellschaftlich-politische Prozesse* (Vienna 1996).

²² E. R. Hochman, *Staging the Nation, Staging Democracy*, 29.

²³ M. Reisacher, *Die Konstruktion des „Staats, den keiner wollte“*, 1-7. A. Staudinger, ‘Die nationale Frage im Österreich der Ersten und Zweiten Republik’, in E. Zöllner (ed.), *Volk, Land und Staat: Landesbewußtsein, Staatsidee und nationale Fragen in der Geschichte Österreichs* (Vienna 1984), 168-179, here 168.

²⁴ A. Kozuchowski, *The Afterlife of Austria-Hungary: The Image of the Habsburg Monarchy in Interwar Europe* (Pittsburgh 2013). The development of Austria’s complex relation to the Habsburgs has also been put forward in: C. Aigner, G. Fritz, and C. Staus-Rausch (eds.), *Das Habsburger-Trauma: Das schwierige Verhältnis der Republik Österreich zu ihrer Geschichte* (Vienna 2014).

geopolitical framework' and obscures how the 'structures and the habitus' of the Habsburg Empire lasted even beyond 1918.²⁵

Consequently, research that transcends this divide is necessary to further our understanding of this period. Recently, new studies that bridge this gap by examining a period that crosses the 1918 divide have been published. In English-speaking historiography the most recent studies are the edited volumes *Sacrifice and Rebirth* (2018) and *Embers of Empire* (2019). *Sacrifice and Rebirth* uncovers multiple ways in which the war influenced memory, commemorations, and national narratives in the six successor states. In *Embers of Empire* historians take an even broader approach to Habsburg continuity, which they analyze according to four themes: politics, the military, memory, and the pillars of church, dynasty and aristocracy. The same development can be observed in German-speaking historiography as well. *Habsburg Neu Denken* (2016), edited by Johannes Feichtinger and Heidemarie Uhl, includes an analysis of the dynamics and ambivalence of the Habsburg Empire according to thirty concepts, for instance multilingualism and migration, with the aim of better understanding where and how these phenomena continued to exist. Finally, *Habsburg Post Mortem* (2016), a monograph by Carlo Moos explores the continuity of the Habsburg Empire on three levels, namely in politics, Habsburg nostalgia, and in culture.²⁶

Even though these historians have all shown innovative ways of researching Austrian history, their studies remain the minority in a vast array of studies which still underscore the traditional national-political perspective. Even in the accomplished volumes *Sacrifice and Rebirth* and *Embers of Empire* an in-depth local perspective remains absent. Catherine Healy and Morelon analyze the local level in their respective articles on Vienna and Prague, but capitals do not form a representative perspective on the entire nation nor on localism. Despite the awkward name of Burr Bukey's *Hitler's Hometown* (1986), he aptly demonstrates the relevance of a local perspective in Austrian history when he stated that 'a shift of focus from the abnormal environment of Vienna to other localities provides one way of better understanding Austrian democracy in the interwar period'.²⁷ When historians do research regional identities they often focus on other regions than Upper Austria. Upper Austria's identity only started to develop at the turn of the nineteenth century according to Harry Slapnicka in his contribution to the 1998 edited volume on *Landes- und Österreichbewußtsein*.²⁸ The specific

²⁵ M. Cornwall, 'Introduction: A Conflicted and Divided Habsburg Memory', in: M. Cornwall and J. P. Newman (eds.), *Sacrifice and Rebirth: The Legacy of the Last Habsburg War* (New York 2018), 1-12, here 3. C. Morelon, 'Introduction', in: P. Miller and C. Morelon (eds.), *The Embers of Empire: Continuity and Rupture in the Habsburg Successor States after 1918* (New York 2019), 1-14, here 2. In an earlier, more negative, analysis of the Habsburg Empire, Solomon Wank also distinguishes between two kinds of legacy: that of the empire's institutions and ideology, and that of its civil society. S. Wank, 'Some Reflections on the Habsburg Empire and Its Legacy in the Nationalities Questions', *Austrian History Yearbook* 28 (1997) 131-146, here 134.

²⁶ J. Feichtinger and H. Uhl (eds.), *Habsburg neu Denken: Vielfalt und Ambivalenz in Zentraleuropa*. 30 *Kulturwissenschaftliche Stichworte* (Vienna 2016). C. Moos, *Habsburg Post Mortem: Betrachtungen zum Weiterleben der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna 2016).

²⁷ E. Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Hometown: Linz, Austria, 1908-1945* (Bloomington 1986), 39.

²⁸ H. Slapnicka, 'Selbstbewusstsein, Landesbewusstsein, Staatsbewusstsein und Österreichbewusstsein in Oberösterreich im Wandel', in: R. Kriechbaumer (ed.), *Liebe auf den zweiten Blick: Landes- und*

developments of these other regions form another reason for their dominant position in academic research. After the First World War Styria and Carinthia were areas of ethnic contention and Tyrol had lost part of its territory to Italy.²⁹ Historians usually examine periods of crises, revolutions, and disruptions instead of periods of stability and harmony.³⁰ Therefore, research into stability and harmony is necessary in order to come to a new, balanced historiography that includes both continuity and discontinuity. In Linz and Upper Austria, this atmosphere of stability and harmony endured the entire transitional period from empire to republic. Additionally, a perspective on middle-sized towns offers an opportunity to examine human agency and their connected larger contexts, which were influenced by simultaneous developments on the regional, national, and global level.³¹

For research into continuity of territorial identification, Linz's and Austria's political situation serves as a fascinating foundation. Although very few historians have examined this region, the works of Burr Bukey, Slapnicka, and, more recently, that of Franz Schausberger can be regarded as interesting foundations for further research.³² The largely homogenous population of Upper Austria lived a relatively quiet life in this period. A large part (almost 60%) of the population consisted of farmers and the region only just started to industrialize at the turn of the century.³³ During this time the same power brokers remained in play. This meant that the three political parties – the Christian Socials, Social Democrats, and German Nationalists – dominated the Upper Austrian provincial government and the Linz city council. In Linz, the lack of aristocracy meant that the middle classes were in charge of the city and the bishops did not have a major role in Linz as they did elsewhere in the province. Burr Bukey describes the city as follows:

[...] moderate in tone, its relative social harmony and political tranquility had evolved from ethnic homogeneity, rural prosperity, and industrial backwardness.³⁴

He identifies this tranquility combined with the leadership of the Christian Social provincial governor Johann Nepomuk Hauser (1908–1927) as one of the reasons that Linz's moderate political atmosphere and traditions remained intact after the First World War.³⁵

Österreichbewußtsein nach 1945 (Vienna 1998), 113-127, here 126. Slapnicka has examined the region extensively for decades, as for instance in: H. Slapnicka, *Oberösterreich - Von der Monarchie zur Republik (1918-1927)* (Linz 1979). Idem, *Oberösterreich - unter Kaiser Franz Joseph (1861 bis 1918)* (Linz 1982).

²⁹ E. Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Hometown*, 76.

³⁰ M. Reisacher, *Die Konstruktion des „Staats, den keiner wollte“*, 1.

³¹ O. Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life*, 5.

³² The region has also been examined in more descriptive studies: G.A. Stadler (ed.), *Oberösterreich 1918 - 1938: 3* (Linz 2015). S. Haider, *Geschichte Oberösterreichs* (Munich 1987).

³³ F. Schausberger, 'Kontinuität und Konsens: Die Landtagswahlen in Oberösterreich in der Ersten Republik', in: H. Dachs, M. Dippelreiter, and F. Schausberger, F. (eds.), *Radikale Phrase, Wahlbündnisse und Kontinuitäten: Landtagswahlkämpfe in Österreichs Bundesländern 1919 bis 1932* (Vienna 2017). 183-248, here 183.

³⁴ E. Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Hometown*, 12.

³⁵ All three historians agree that Hauser was an important figure in the province and one of the reasons for the stability in the region. H. Slapnicka, 'Selbstbewusstsein, Landesbewusstsein, Staatsbewusstsein und Österreichbewusstsein in Oberösterreich im Wandel', 120. E. Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Hometown*, 12-14. F. Schausberger, 'Kontinuität und Konsens', 187.

This stability can also be seen in the fact that there were only three provincial parliament elections in the twenty-year interbellum period, meaning that these all completed their governing term. Even though Hauser was accused of being a monarchist, he accepted the fall of the monarchy and worked with different factions to continue the process of democratization that had begun before the war. He accepted that Linz became a social democratic city partly due to the expansion of suffrage rights.³⁶ But Hauser was not solely responsible for the stable political climate. Moreover, all influential figures had had major functions before 1918, in which the province was unique in the First Republic.³⁷ The political cooperation – however strenuous in the city council – continued throughout the 1920s and was exceptional, since this cooperation on a federal level had already stopped in October 1920.³⁸ Social Democratic mayor Josef Dametz also won support due to his sense of responsibility and conciliatory manner. The *Proporz* system – a system in which cabinet positions were divided according to the parties’ relative parliamentary strength – ensured that the ‘revolution by consensus’ of 1918 unfolded without too many upheavals, apart from several uprisings in Linz and Steyr in 1919 and 1920. This system could even be compared to the pillarization in the Netherlands, according to Burr Bukey, in which lower middle classes organized themselves in separate political and confessional circles whilst the political parties still cooperated with each other.³⁹ According to political scientist Arend Lijphardt, this Dutch pillarized society should – in theory – lead to instability, but did not due to political cooperation between the leaders of these pillars and passivity, on the one hand, and loyalty and respect, on the other hand, to these leaders from the masses.⁴⁰

Furthermore, with the exception of the German Nationalists, the Christian Socials and Social Democrats had different policies from their national counterparts. The two parties’ cooperation worked because they were more moderate than the Viennese leadership. The Upper Austrian Christian Socials stood much closer to Social Democrat Karl Renner than to their party leader Ignaz Seipel. The same was true for the Upper Austrian Social Democrats. Dametz worked together with Hauser and avoided the Jewish intellectual leadership in Vienna, which eased relations with anti-Semites. The distancing strategies of Hauser and Dametz with their respective national leaders reduced the tensions between the provincial parties and aided the longevity of their cooperation. The only factor that could stir up trouble between the two was the tradition of anticlericalism in Linz and this had to be toned down in the press.⁴¹ Contrary to the autonomous actions of the Social Democrats and Christian Socials, the German Nationalists never undertook this kind of independent strategy because of Linz’s mayor Franz Dinghofer’s (1907-1918) important role in national politics.⁴² Therefore, it is important

³⁶ Linz was even the first city of the monarchy to implement such reforms. E. Burr Bukey, *Hitler’s Hometown*, 12-14.

³⁷ F. Schausberger, ‘Kontinuität und Konsens’, 187.

³⁸ E. Burr Bukey, *Hitler’s Hometown*, 37.

³⁹ Hauser’s *Proporz* system remained in place until 1934. E. Burr Bukey, *Hitler’s Hometown*, 31, 59.

⁴⁰ A. Lijphardt, *Verzuiling, pacificatie en kentering in de Nederlandse politiek* (Haarlem 1990).

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, 46-47.

⁴² *Ibidem*, 54.

to keep in mind that these parties did not equate to their national counterparts and that they have to be examined in their respective contexts. This political flexibility and stability produced a certain continuity between empire and republic.

This thesis is based on sources from the Stadtarchiv Linz and the Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv, that are complemented with newspaper sources from the Austrian Newspapers Online (ANNO). The source material has been selected to encompass five specific semi-yearly festivities in Linz within the period 1908-1928, namely imperial celebrations, the *Nationalfeiertag* (12 November), the *Linzer Domfeier* (1 May 1924), the *Linzer Volksfest* (September 1909, 1911, 1913, and 1927), and the *1. Mai Feier* (1 May). The examined dynastic celebrations consist of the emperor's birthday (18 August and 19 August), coronation day (2 December), name day (4 October and 21 October), and the emperor's death (21 November 1916 and 1 April 1922). These festivities cover the main national and imperial celebrations that came into the local space, but the *Volksfest* and *Domfeier* also reflect the importance of strictly local celebrations. In addition, the five festivities all contained elements crucial to the three political parties in the city. Although this research primarily focuses on festivities in connection to territorial identification and thus its political origins and consequences, other developments in the local, regional, and national space will be taken into account as well. These include the death of Linz's bishop Franz Maria Doppelbauer (2 December 1908), the First World War, the 1918 Revolution, and the death of governor Hauser (8 February 1927). The archival material concerns correspondence between different layers of government – districts, Linz city council, imperial regency, and the provincial government – and official documents in the organization of these events.

This material, however, does not contain consistent information on all festivities nor across the entire time period. The imperial celebrations, the First World War, and the 1927 *Volksfest* are documented extensively, but material on the *Nationalfeiertag*, for example, is scarce. Therefore, the three major newspapers of the city, *Linzer Volksblatt*, *Linzer Tages-Post*, and *Linzer Tagblatt*, do form this consistent source basis and these were examined in relation to the aforementioned events.⁴³ The *Linzer Volksblatt*, a newspaper from the *Katholischer Pressverein* since 1869, adhered to the Christian Socials. In the nineteenth-century the paper had remained closely related to the diocese of Linz and therefore did not always equate with the Christian Social Party. In the twentieth-century Hauser's influence on the paper increased and he was able to direct the paper's reports when he deemed it necessary. The paper focused primarily on subjects with a local or regional outlook and was published daily, except on Mondays (until 1926). The *Volksblatt's* size varied from six to sometimes even twenty pages, but the relatively short reports mostly covered six pages and the additional pages were reserved for advertisements or a special appendix. From 1926 until 1938 the paper published a regular

⁴³ C. Gerbel, 'Vom Imaginären der Nation: Linzer Denkmäler nach der Jahrhundertwende in deutschnationaler Perspektive', in: S. Riesenfellner (ed.), *Steinernes Bewußtsein: die öffentliche Repräsentation staatlicher und nationaler Identität Österreichs in seinen Denkmälern* (Vienna 1988), 305-326, here 307.

appendix entitled *Heimatland*. Their tone remained quite moderate throughout the entire period, apart from a few clashes with the *Tagblatt*.

From 1897 until 1916 the paper *Wahrheit!*, which has not been digitalized yet, and from 1916 onwards the *Linzer Tagblatt* represented the voice of the Social Democrats. This daily paper (apart from Sundays), similar in size to the *Volksblatt*, remained the smallest paper in circulation compared to the *Volksblatt* and *Linzer Tages-Post*. In addition, the paper represented the mouthpiece of the Social Democratic Party as leading figures of that party edited the newspaper. Mayor Dametz, for instance, co-edited the paper from 1911 onwards. Accordingly, the reports in the *Organ für die Interessen des werktätigen Volkes* – as the newspapers subtitle read – expressed a propagandistic tone and often called out to laborers or Social Democrats repeatedly in relation to demonstrations and rallies.⁴⁴

Lastly, the *Linzer Tages-Post* (1865–1944) was less strictly linked to a political party. At first the daily paper (apart from Mondays) represented the German Liberal voice, but increasingly spoke to a German Nationalist public as the party's influence in the region expanded. Noteworthy, this paper was the largest paper in Upper Austria in 1919 with 31,000 subscribers. Unlike the other two papers, the *Tages-Post* usually consisted of fourteen pages or more and their elaborate reports covered national and international issues as well. The paper did not get mixed up in the rivalry between their two competitors and wrote – except when Czech topics were involved – quite neutrally.

Nevertheless, the acquired sources do not cover the entire period nor the festivities, but due to the overall uniformity between the sources they still form a reliable basis for analysis. Consequently, these sources provide an image of these festivities from the perspective of the administrators and the media. I will apply a qualitative and contextual analysis of these sources as to identify certain key markers in the various elements of territorial identification and to examine the activities to present an image of the city's public life. Contextual analysis will be used to explore the common denominators in these sources in relation to each other. Naturally, anomalies will also be taken into consideration, which often relate to exclusion of individuals or groups.

Any study that involves the concept of identity needs to critically assess 'identity' in order to adopt an effective theoretical framework. The concept identity has already received much criticism over the past twenty years. In the conceptual article "Beyond Identity" (2000) Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper give a concise overview of the problems that arise from using the well-known concept of identity. They argue that the concept is in danger of doing either too much or too little. The concept of identity either assumes a certain 'sameness over time or across persons' or the 'standard qualifiers indicating that identity is multiple, unstable, in flux', which risks the term becoming a 'mere place-holder' that conveys words rather than meaning.⁴⁵ Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that

⁴⁴ [The organ for the interests of the working people].

⁴⁵ R. Brubaker and F. Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"', *Theory and Society* 29 (2000), 1–47, here 10–11.

identity is neither fixed nor does it exist as a natural phenomenon. Rather, identity is a construct that changes over time according to its relation to certain events and social actors. Brubaker's similar critique to the common use of the concept 'group' should also be taken into consideration.⁴⁶ The uncritical adoption of groups as substantial entities which are represented as 'internally homogeneous and externally bounded groups' is widespread.⁴⁷ Groupness, as a fluctuating conceptual variable, could be considered as an alternative.⁴⁸ Consequently, I will use the term identification as to underscore that identity is created by a continuous process in which the portrayal of social, political, or ethnic groups in historical sources do not necessarily equate to the same bounded groups in historical reality. The creation of identification could be separated into three categories, which will be used throughout the chapters to understand the different processes on which identity is built. The first category consists of community building, whether imagined or not, which helps people form a relational connection to a specific local, regional or national space. The second category consists of the ascribed commonality to this community, which is formed out of attributes and characteristics. Finally, a shared feeling of belonging together or *Zusammenhörigkeitsgefühl* contributes to identity in a generally more abstract and sentimental way. This collective feeling amongst the population could be evoked by including and excluding people from a certain group and stressing common nostalgic feelings towards a certain space.

Moreover, this process of identification will be connected to various layers of space and, thus, constitutes as territorial identification. Identification could consist of social, ethnic, or political aspects, but in this thesis these modes of identification are narrowed down towards territory. The simultaneous analysis of three layers of territorial identification – on the local, regional, and national level – illustrate the interconnectedness of these layers and that they could also be described as nested identities. Xosé-Manoel Núñez describes in his exploratory article on sub-national identities in the 2012 geographically diverse volume *Regions and State* on regional identities that these nested identities can be understood 'as layers around a core', but that these layers do not always occur in their ideal-type shape and could overlap.⁴⁹ In addition, in the edited volume *Regionalism and Modern Europe* (2018) with both a thematic and geographical perspective Núñez and Eric Storm address the difficulty of defining the relation between the nation and the region.⁵⁰ In part, this is the consequence of the problems encountered in defining terms such as nation and region. The region in itself is a 'constructed identity, dependent on social agency' and the process of region-building should not be

⁴⁶ R. Brubaker, 'Ethnicity without Groups', *European Journal of Sociology* 43:2 (2002) 163-189, here 183.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, 164.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, 167-168.

⁴⁹ X.M. Núñez, 'Historiographical Approaches to Sub-national Identities in Europe: A Reappraisal and Some Suggestions', in: J. Augusteijn and E. Storm (eds.), *Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Nation-Building, Regional Identities and Separatism* (Basingstoke 2012), 13-35, here 26-27.

⁵⁰ X.M. Núñez and E. Storm, 'Introduction: Region, State and History', in: *idem* (eds.), *Regionalism and Modern Europe: Identity Construction and Movements from 1890 to the Present Day* (London 2018), 1-24, here 3.

considered as opposite to nation-building.⁵¹ David Blackbourn and James Retallack also make the valuable observation in their 2007 volume on localism in German-speaking Europe that local and regional spaces are not more small-minded than their national counterparts, but that historians should be aware that the local or regional is not considered to be more authentic than the national space.⁵² Similar to identities, these layers of space do not form ‘things in the world’ that rely on physical borders, but rather develop over time in relation to specific social, cultural and political contexts and thus relate to widening of cognitive horizons.⁵³

In order to convincingly demonstrate the alternative methods of writing Austrian history and to move away from narratives that reify rupture and polarization, the political parties and chronology do not make up this thesis’s structure. In this period the framing of a narrative of identification by the press and local administration in Linz is emphasized. What might have been people’s actual experience and individual identification towards these narratives will not be analyzed, but rather how these narratives demonstrate collective territorial identifications. Accordingly, three chapters each analyze one layer of territorial identification in all five festivities thematically through the use of the aspects of community-building, commonality, and collective feeling of belonging together. In the first chapter, place-making – the physical or mental construction of space in order to generate emotional attachment – and localizing larger events form crucial processes through which territorial identification towards Linz was constructed.⁵⁴ The second chapter on the construction of identification towards Upper Austria consists of an increasingly identifiable regionalism in which the province’s position against the Czechs and the common feeling towards *Heimat* was emphasized. Lastly, narratives of identification towards Austria are examined. This third chapter illustrates the development of the definition of Austria across time and a certain sameness of addressing national identification by different social actors.

⁵¹ X.M. Núñez and E. Storm, ‘Introduction’, 4-5.

⁵² D. Blackbourn and J. Retallack, ‘Introduction’, in: idem (eds.), *Localism, Landscape, and the Ambiguities of Place: German-Speaking Central Europe, 1860-1930* (Toronto 2007), 3-35, here 15-17.

⁵³ O. Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life*, 9.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, 6-8.

Festive Culture and Local Identification in a Provincial Town

Every year since 1891 on the first of May, Labor Day was celebrated in Linz. Traditionally, this festivity belonged to the Social Democrats. On the first of May 1919 this was no different. Linz's Social Democrats were called to join a demonstration, followed by a parade through the city, to celebrate Linz's social democracy. The Social Democrats in Austria were known advocates of the republic, democracy, and welcomed the fall of the empire. Ironically, however, on this 'Siegstag der sozialen Gerechtigkeit' the Social Democrats technically-speaking still marched their demonstration towards a symbol of the old empire, the *Franz Josefplatz*.⁵⁵ Naturally, the socialist *Linzer Tagblatt* chose to omit this fact and referred to the square as *Hauptplatz* in their news reports. The name did not change to *Platz des 12. Novembers* until 1921.⁵⁶ Whilst the *Tagblatt* changed the name of the square even before its official alteration, the other newspapers had more difficulty choosing a new name for the city's main square. In those first few years after the fall of the monarchy, both the *Volksblatt* and the *Tages-Post* still occasionally used *Franz Josefplatz* in their news reports. After 1921, the *Tages-Post* and *Tagblatt* decided to use *Hauptplatz* throughout the year and make an exception on the *Nationalfeiertag* on which the square was referred to by its official name of *Platz des 12. Novembers*. The *Volksblatt*, on the other hand, preferred a different tactic and avoided mentioning the square altogether. Not only does this example show that the imperial symbols did not disappear as abruptly as the empire itself in 1918, but that the change of street names was not deemed a priority amidst the many crises Austria faced and approached differently by the three newspapers. Furthermore, this example demonstrates that society's relation to the past is not always strictly a narrative of 'before' and 'after'. The festive culture of the provincial town went through several changes. These changes, however, did not occur simultaneously nor did they occur in 1918.

As mentioned above, the political situation in Linz and Upper Austria remained stable throughout the 1920s. This was a consequence of reforms in the pre-war period and a steady political structure. Upper Austria comprised of fifteen administrative districts (*Bezirken*), headed by a district captain (*Bezirkshauptmann*), which were accountable to the imperial regency (*Statthaltere*). These officials were appointed by the emperor. Their tasks mostly concerned the issuing of administrative documents to citizens and companies. However, both the imperial regent and the district captains sometimes intervened in political matters as well when certain decisions did not match imperial policies. After 1918, the function of imperial regent disappeared but the districts and their accompanying administrative body remained in place in Austria. However, instead of being appointed by the emperor, the district captains had to be democratically chosen. The same change in appointment procedure also applied to the governor (*Landeshauptmann*). As such, the monarchy had a double

⁵⁵ [Victory day of social justice] in: Die Maifeier der Linzer Sozialdemokratie, *Linzer Tages-Post* (02-05-1919), 2.

⁵⁶ The main square had been named *Hauptplatz* before 1873 as well. Straßennamen, Archiv der Stadt Linz, (1-4-2020), <<https://stadtdgeschichte.linz.at/strassennamen/>>.

structure in its provincial politics, with an imperial regent as representative of the emperor and a governor as leader of autonomous politics. Despite the fact that Hauser had been appointed by Franz Joseph in the monarchy, he was elected by the provincial parliament in the republic. Usually, the largest party in the parliament supplied the governor; a position reserved for Hauser's Christian Social party throughout this period. The governor as chairman together with his three deputies (*Landeshauptmannstellvertreter*), each from one of the three political parties, took over the duties of the former imperial regent after 1918 and also formed the provincial government with six other members of parliament (*Landesräten*).⁵⁷

The relative strength of political parties also shows continuity across the period. In the last elections for the provincial parliament in the monarchy in 1909 out of 69 seats, ten mandates went to faction of large landowners, 36 to the Christian Socials, 21 to the German Nationalists, and one to the Social Democrats.⁵⁸ The final seat was reserved for the bishop.⁵⁹ Electoral reforms had created a shift in the balance of power. The Social Democrats had won their first seat, whilst the German Nationalist mandate declined sharply. On the communal level, the German Nationalist leader Carl Beurle was still able to keep control over Linz, but the introduction of election by proportional representation in 1909 reduced his power exceedingly.⁶⁰ During the first elections with universal suffrage in the republic in 1919, the 60 representatives in the Linz city council were elected for four years and the now 72 representatives of the provincial parliament were elected for six years.⁶¹ In Linz the Social Democrats would retain approximately 50 per cent of votes until the end of the First Republic, followed by the Christian Socials with 25 to 30 per cent, and the German Nationalists with 15 to 20 per cent. The Christian Socials kept control of the provincial parliament, in which the Social Democrats received a larger mandate than the German Nationalists.⁶² Naturally, the introduction of universal suffrage caused a shift in the ratio between the political parties, but this was initiated even before the war. Apart from this change, the only other discontinuity was the disappearance of the imperial regent. Information on the political structure and the electoral developments help to understand the context in which the festive culture in Linz contributed to territorial identification through community building, collective commonality, and collective feeling of belonging.

Community Building

⁵⁷ F. Schausberger, 'Kontinuität und Konsens', 212.

⁵⁸ At this time, the German Nationalists were still called National Liberals. The party changed their name repeatedly, which reflects their increasing inclination towards ethnic German nationalism, but in order to avoid confusion are referred to as German Nationalists in this thesis.

⁵⁹ Although suffrage had been expanded with electoral reforms by governor Hauser in 1909 already with the additions of a fifth curia of general voters. This expanded the electorate from five to twenty per cent of the Upper Austrian population. W. Pesendorfer, *Der Oberösterreichische Landtag: Historische Entwicklung, Wesen und Bedeutung einer Institution* (Linz 1989), 54. F. Schausberger, 'Kontinuität und Konsens', 185.

⁶⁰ E. Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Hometown*, 13-14.

⁶¹ F. Schausberger, 'Kontinuität und Konsens', 185. Gemeinderatswahlen Erste Republik, Archiv der Stadt Linz, (20-05-2020), <<https://stadtgeschichte.linz.at/10359.php>> .

⁶² See appendix for an overview of all municipal and provincial elections during the First Republic.

This first aspect, also described as relational connectedness by Brubaker, contains a certain ‘real’ element on a local level. Community building within Linz naturally consisted of a stronger bond between citizens than on a regional or national level. For many, Linz served as the place where they worked, where their children went to school, and where many of their friends and family lived. Moreover, these connections also meant that they could go to these festivities together. For example, during the 1909 *Linzer Volksfest* a special children’s day was held; during which 2000 children held a parade through the city and could visit various amusement rides at the festival.⁶³ These children were divided into smaller groups for practical reasons, but the groups would have furthered the contacts between the children. This relational connectedness must, however, not be overemphasized. Although Linz was a small town at the time with a mere 60,000 inhabitants, this still meant that citizens could not possibly know everyone. In addition, the pillarization discussed by Burr Bukey affected the extent of this connectedness across various political and social groups. Certain celebrations, for instance the *Nationalfeiertag*, were politicized and as a consequence gatherings were organized by Social Democrats and attended by their followers. In reaction, the Christian Socials sometimes organized their own gatherings and on the first of May the *Volksblatt* addressed the catholic workers of Linz and Upper Austria.

A confessional separation also made a division in the celebrations, with separate activities for the three religions in the city, which consisted of a dominant catholic population and a minority of protestants and Jews.⁶⁴ Reports from the various district captaincies in Upper Austria show that even though the inhabitants had their separate imperial festivities, the activities showed great similarities between them – with a service, *Volkshymne*, and often recitals of patriotic texts by school children – and that civil servants attended these festivities.⁶⁵ In addition, the *Linzer Volksblatt* and *Tages-Post* usually reported on these alternative celebrations after the description of the main event in the newly built *Maria Empfängnisdom*.⁶⁶ This demonstrates that although the celebrations were separate, people would probably be aware of the Jewish and Protestant festivities and these were accepted by both the media and the administration. The press also furthered the relational connectedness through the placement of local advertisements or other ways of promoting local businesses, obituaries, and publishing names of the winners of local competitions. These small reports contributed to local community building through the furthering of social contacts within Linz’s citizens. This connection between citizens remained a consistent factor throughout the entire period.

⁶³ Linzer Volksfest 1913, *Linzer Tages-Post* (11-09-1913), 9.

⁶⁴ In 1900, the Jewish community in Linz consisted of 587 people (1102 in the entire province), which amounts to 0.98% of the city’s population. C. Gerbel, ‘Vom Imaginären der Nation’, 307.

⁶⁵ For example: Vorstehung der Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Linz to Statthalter, November 1908 Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv (OÖLA), Staatliche Verwaltung (SV), Archiv der k.k. Statthalterei (AdS), Präsidium (P), Regierungs-Jubiläum 1907-1916, box 13. Leitung Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Linz to Statthalter, Linz 14 May 1917, OÖLA, SV, AdS, P, 1916-1918 Nationalfeiertag, box 26.

⁶⁶ For example: Das Kaiserjubiläum, *Linzer Volksblatt*, (03-12-1908), 5.

Collective Feelings of Belonging

Three elements contributed to the construction of shared feelings of belonging towards Linz, namely place-making, the adaption of larger events to a local context, and the creation of boundaries in the local community. These feelings of belonging towards Linz often were unconsciously displayed, especially in comparison to similar sentiments towards Upper Austria and Austria. These elements remained consistent processes throughout the period, with a few minor exceptions. Firstly, the process of place-making could be done in a permanent manner, through for example the construction of monuments, the changing of street names, or in a temporary manner, namely demarcation by means of parades, religious processions or flags.⁶⁷ Place-making also connects to space and spatial awareness. In that sense, this process connects to the colonization of space and defining the inhabitants – and, crucially, who does and does not belong to that community.⁶⁸ Although the permanent forms of place-making – as for example the erection of numerous monuments dedicated to local and regional figures of this period and the repeated change of the name of Linz’s main square – forms an interesting line of inquiry, most festivities contributed to more temporary forms of place-making.⁶⁹ All of the studied festivities included parades and many of them focused on a variety of groups, such as (school) children, local associations, and the local army regiment.

An important discontinuity in place-making in this period consisted of a change of symbols that were used to demarcate space, most noteworthy the imperial black and yellow flag. Many symbols, however, connected to the local space and were more frequently used than national or imperial ones. This can be seen in the use of the Upper Austrian red and white flag during imperial celebrations. Aside from the change in symbols, the locations were crucial in place-making and the parties that were responsible for the colonizing of space remained the same. Surprisingly, the different political parties did not monopolize space in Linz. There were no buildings, squares or parks reserved for either the Christian Socials or the Social Democrats. The *Volksgarten* and accompanying *Volksgartensaal* were crucial for the organization of not only political gatherings but also in the various festivities. The same is true for the *kaufmännische Vereinshaus*, which was used to hold festive dinners after imperial celebrations but also after the first of May celebrations and the *Nationalfeiertag*.⁷⁰ Furthermore, these locations remained in use after 1918 which shows that the local administration valued practicality and tradition in their choice for these location, as for instance the use of the *Sudbahnhofgründen* for the various *Volksfeste* in 1909, 1911, 1913, and 1927 (and even in earlier editions). The organizing committee repeatedly underlined to the practicality of this space due

⁶⁷ For example, the renaming of Linz’s main square from Franz Josefpfatz to Platz des 12. Novembers, Franz-Josefpfatz, Adolf-Hitler-Platz, and finally Hauptplatz, but was predominantly just referred to as Hauptplatz.

⁶⁸ O. Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life*, 6-8.

⁶⁹ See for example S. Riesenfellner, *Steinernes Bewußtsein: die öffentliche Repräsentation staatlicher und nationaler Identität Österreichs in seinen Denkmälern* (Vienna 1988).

⁷⁰ For example: Des Kaisers Geburtstag, *Linzer Tages-Post* (19-09-1909), 4. Der 1. Mai, *Linzer Volksblatt* (03-05-1919), 3. Feier des 12. November, *Linzer Tages-Post* (11-11-1922), 4.

to its connection to the railway station, the multiple access points that could be created to the *Platz*, and the value of tradition.⁷¹ When the space for the expanding festival became too small, organizers opted to set up additional sites instead of moving the festival altogether. This shows the importance of continuity in local place-making. Sharing of local space and the connection of space not to ideology but to its use and connection to the respective festivity illustrates the harmonious society Burr Bukey addresses.

A second factor that contributed to the construction of a collective feeling of belonging towards Linz is the localization of larger events. Both the local administrators and the local press used these larger events, such as imperial celebrations, the *Nationalfeihtag*, and the *1. Mai Feier*, to specify its meaning for the local community and the community's relation to the events. This meant that festivities were adjusted to fit a specific local context. The organizers of these events used the opportunity to establish local stipends and charities, to build new schools, and they stressed the specific connection of Linz's residents to this event. Even though the content of speeches during, for example, the imperial celebrations referred to the empire and patriotism, they suited the community through localizing the event by emphasizing the local context. The reports from the district captaincies in Upper Austria to the imperial regent reveal that activities in Linz and other Upper Austrian districts were largely interchangeable in character and only differed in their scale or specific purpose. The various speeches and activities had an imperial content, but were replete with references to the local space and community. In news reports special attention was given to the various local charities and the imperial celebrations could be combined with other major events, such as the war, and be applied to the local community. The name day of the emperor was renamed *Opfertag* in 1916 and citizens collected money for local widows, orphans, and war invalids. The catholic *Linzer Volksblatt* reported that in this way they also honored the emperor.⁷² Noteworthy, these celebrations did change because of the war, but still displayed traditional aspects of imperial celebrations like the affinity for philanthropy. The celebrations changed according to local customs and traditions and involved the same people and organizations.

A final factor that contributed to the demarcation of a collective feelings of belonging towards the city concerns the process of inclusion and exclusion. By defining who does and who does not belong to the city's community the press and administration created an abstract boundary in the community. In that sense, this process interacts both with community building and the creation of a local feeling of belonging. A defined community furthered a narrative of a feeling of belonging to the local space. Nancy Wingfield dedicated her innovative volume *Creating the Other* to the so-called process of Othering in Habsburg Central Europe, which she describes as a symbolic exclusion where

⁷¹ Volksfest in Linz, *Linzer Tages-Post* (10-09-1911), 3. Stadtrat Karl Steiger, Volksfestleiter. Volksfest und Ausstellung 1927, Archiv der Stadt Linz (AL), Dokumentation Kultur (DK), box 38.

⁷² Kaiser Namenstag – Opfertag, *Linzer Volksblatt* (5-10-1916), 5.

linguistic and cultural differences are recognized.⁷³ This study helps to understand how and why people demarcated groups, but as it mostly concerns ethnic Others it is less suitable in relation to this case study. In creating a territorial identity ethnic minorities could be used to explain boundaries in the local community. In this ethnically homogenous population, however, exclusion frequently related to social, political or territorial differences. Repeatedly Linz's community was portrayed as a separate group; unlike the regional and national community. Importantly, mentioning these other groups served as a means to compare and, specifically, to demonstrate the city's uniqueness. For one, in news reports the scale of festivities was emphasized and consistently brought up to the involvement of 'Linzer and Fremde'.⁷⁴ Who these *Fremde* were did not matter nor did it have a particular negative connotation, but it did make a distinction between two groups. These descriptions showed that the *Linzer* had a natural place in local celebrations and that the *Fremde* often came because of the grandeur or special character of their celebrations. In addition, these descriptions enhanced the portrayal of Linz as a hospitable community. Even though the *I. Mai Feier* and, increasingly, the *Nationalfeiertag* adhered to a specific (political) community, during many festivities the *Linzer* were depicted as one group. In these instances the excluded group was hardly a sharply defined group. The media as well as the local administration valued the involvement of the local population above others and deemed the participation by others as a bonus to emphasize the success of the particular festivity.

Moreover, the correspondence of the *Linzer Volksfest*'s organizing committee hints to the exclusion of people, which cannot be deduced from newspaper reports. Exclusion took place on basis of gender rather than ethnicity during this festival. Several women wrote applications to the committee, in which they stated their intentions for exhibiting their business at the festival. Invariably, the response of the committee was short and decisive. They replied that unfortunately there was no space left for them to exhibit. This negative response was sent to Rosa Pichler, daughter of a former employee of the municipality, who hoped to exhibit her graphology business. For the Linz-born Pichler, the sole caretaker of her two children and her sick 76-year-old mother, exhibiting at the festival would have given her the opportunity to earn some extra money.⁷⁵ It appears that the committee only allowed German middleclass men the opportunity to exhibit, since these applicants received positive replies, even when women received negative replies at the same time. Middleclass women were only allowed to participate in several auxiliary organs and other functions, that were in line with a more conservative image of women. This exclusion demonstrates the evaluation of other considerations, like gender, than Christian Gerbel's evaluation of German participation in Linz's cultural festivities. Gerbel argues that these festivals were limited to German participants and

⁷³ N.M. Wingfield, 'Introduction', in: idem (ed.), *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe* (New York 2005), 1-18, here 1-3.

⁷⁴ [Linz' natives and strangers] in: *Linzer Volksfest 1913*, *Linzer Tages-Post* (06-09-1913), 4.

⁷⁵ Rosa Pichler to the Amtsrates des Linzer Volksfest, Linz 17-08-1927, AL, Materienbestand (MtB) 55, box 613.

organizations with a German Nationalist influence, like the *Sängerbund*.⁷⁶ In addition, Gerbel has not given satisfactory examples of this limited participation from 1898 onwards nor were the participating associations solely German Nationalist associations in this period. The influence of German Nationalists increased in the 1929 edition with more openly politicized German elements, but in the earlier editions a wide array of organizations participated.

Collective Commonalities

The displayed commonalities between citizens were framed during different events, in which they consistently stressed pride in the city, their history, and culture. The imperial celebrations, *Linzer Volksfeste*, the *Linzer Domfeier* and *1. Mai Feier* all contained these local commonalities. The imperial celebrations form the perfect example of localization through which commonalities could be portrayed. During imperial celebrations – prominently the emperor’s birthday, name day and coronation day – every important figure of the city and the province came together in Linz. These of course included the bishop and high clergymen, provincial political figures such as Hauser, local politicians, including the mayor, and the presidents of several committees. Army officials and Linz’s garrison also held celebrations. A certain hierarchy between these events existed. The first group always held their church service in either the new or old *Dom* – increasingly in the newly built *Maria Empfängnisdom* – while the officers and soldiers held their service in the parish church. The small Jewish and protestant communities also held their own services.⁷⁷ In addition, the attendance of political figures increased the significance of these festivities. This can be seen in the elaborate newspaper reports on these events. In both the *Linzer Tages-Post* and the *Linzer Volksblatt* the attendance of all these figures were mentioned, which often resulted in a small report on the activities and a long list of names. Speeches from the mayor or governor were also frequently printed. After the traditional service with the *Te Deum* hymn and *Volkshymne*, the public convened at *Franz Josefplatz*. There, a bust of the emperor was decorated with flowers and imperial flags and the mayor held additional speeches. The garrison, joined by members of city’s two veteran associations and the voluntary fire department, paraded through the city with lanterns and/or flags accompanied by music. Not only did the population line the streets, they also followed the parades and sang along.⁷⁸ Even though the content of these celebrations was patriotic and imperial, they contributed to local community building.

The primary commonality that contributed to territorial identification on the local level consisted of numerous acts of solidarity and compassion during the imperial celebrations, especially those in war years. The newspapers regularly printed the names of people who donated money to charitable causes, such as the couple Esser that donated 100 Kronen to the establishment of the ‘Haus

⁷⁶ C. Gerbel, ‘Vom Imaginären der Nation’, 309.

⁷⁷ In 1900, the Jewish community in Linz consisted of 587 people (1102 in the entire province), which amounts to 0.98% of the city’s population. Gerbel, ‘Vom Imaginären der Nation’, 307.

⁷⁸ Der Geburtstag des Kaisers, *Linzer Tages-Post* (18-08-1915), 4.

der Barmherzigkeit' in the name of Franz Joseph's 60th jubilee.⁷⁹ In total, the committee reported, they had received 10,000 Kronen for this cause. Especially during key years – the emperor's jubilee in 1908, his 80th birthday in 1910, and his death in 1916 – these acts of solidarity became prominent elements in the festivities. These donations were made by locals and went to local causes. The organizing committees of these celebrations and the local press gave much consideration towards these charities and benefactors. In the correspondence between district captaincies and the imperial regent many officials mentioned charitable acts in name of the emperor. The charitable nature of Linz's inhabitants was described as a common denominator.

During the First World War solidarity and compassion gained new urgency. This could be given form in prayer campaigns, which Linz's bishop Hittmaier started for the soldiers.⁸⁰ Imperial festivities were altered to fit a wartime message of solidarity for soldiers, invalids, war widows, and orphans. The name day celebration of 1915 was held in the 'Spital der Barmherziger Brüder' and during the emperor's birthday children sold buttons and postcards to collect money for soldiers.⁸¹ The press reported on this extensively, but the local institutions also referred to these numerous acts of solidarity. For example, the deaf-mute educational institution in Linz had given 200 soldiers a place to stay for three weeks. The institution wrote about their teachers who served in the military and how they fared. The deaf-mute children did not yet know what war was in 1914, but soon they would receive messages of fallen brothers and fathers. The children and teachers also found refuge in prayer: 'Mein Gott, wie oft sind wir in die Kapelle gegangen mit unserer Kinderschar, wenn große Nachrichten kamen von unserem Heere'.⁸² After three years of war the children were not doing well due to the many price increases and their pieces of bread had become very small. 'Aber, wenn wir den Kleinen erzählen, was die Soldaten im Feld ertragen müssen, [...] dann sind sie wieder zufrieden'.⁸³ These messages and the news reports contributed to an image of a society of solidarity in Linz.

Furthermore, the position of provincial capital (*Landeshauptstadt*) gave the town importance and a sense of pride, which only expanded after the fall of the monarchy due to the city's increased importance, as it was relatively much larger in the republic than it had been in the empire. Commonalities often concern character traits, but in the development of local identification the city itself became an important factor in these narratives. In the first years after the war no celebrations could be held due to the economic hardships. When after a few years, the situation became more stable and festive events could be held, the *Linzer Volksfest* returned. The festival had been organized with short intervals of one or two years since 1858 and in the period under study in 1909, 1911, 1913, and

⁷⁹ [House of compassion] in: Kaiserjubiläums-Wohltätigkeits-Landeskomitee, *Linzer Volksblatt* (18-08-1908), 6.

⁸⁰ Zum Krieg, *Linzer Diözesanblatt* LX. Jahrgang 1914 Nr. 19.

⁸¹ [Hospital of the Compassionate Brothers] in: Der Geburtstag des Kaisers, *Linzer Tages-Post* (19-08-1915), 4. Kaiserfeier im Spital der Barmherzigen Brüder in Linz, *Linzer Tages-Post* (05-10-1915), 4.

⁸² [My God, how many times have we gone to the chapel with our group of children when great news arrived from our army] in: Die Taubstummen-Lehranstalt Linz im Weltkriege, 1916, OÖLA, SV, Statthalterei 1850-1926 (S), Kriegssammlung Erster Weltkrieg 1914-1918 (KEW), box 137.

⁸³ *Ibidem*.

1927. During these festivals local businesses, farmers, and industry had an opportunity to exhibit relevant material to the public. In addition to these exhibitions in the *Volksfesthalle*, an amusement park (*Vergnügungspark*) was created in which beer and coffee stalls were assembled. Political organizations were scarcely allowed and closely monitored.

The press and the organizing committee stressed the importance of the festival to further local and regional businesses in the 1909 and 1927 edition.⁸⁴ The exhibition, or *Ausstellung*, accompanying the festival served as a stimulus for these businesses, for locals to earn some money as extra help, and also for people to get together in the various beer stalls (*Bierhütten*). Throughout the year the various papers published advertisements of local businesses to look for extra employees, and of individuals, especially women, that asked for jobs in these beer stalls. In addition, the papers served as a means of advertising the festival itself with invitations for businesses to participate and information about the festival's program. These exhibitions reflected the influence of the Social Democrats in the organization of the festival with an emphasis on local workers and manufacturers. The festival's organization did, however, sometimes alter the festival's set-up. For the first time, in 1911, the organizing committee chose to organize the festival as a true *Volksfest* without the exhibition, even though this was criticized by the *Tages-Post*.⁸⁵ This was done again in 1913. The festival of 1927 demonstrates that the organizing committee considered present-day circumstances as well. The economic crises in the 1920s meant that there was a need for the return of the exhibition.⁸⁶

In the various news reports on the festivals and within the festivals' organization a similar dedication for furthering the festival's success came to the fore, which largely ignored social or political differences. A high degree of similarities continued to exist between the various news reports on the festivals and in the organization's correspondence. The three papers wrote about the *Volksfest* consistently without any reflection of political conviction and predominantly stressed the importance of the festival for sake of the city and its population. The depicted unity of Linz in the reports of the papers have one noteworthy exception, namely that of an incident with protestant city councilor and chairman of the theme park commission Josef Melichar. According to the catholic *Volksblatt's* elaborate report, Melichar had mocked the catholic customs during his speech for Mary's name day during which many children were gathered,

[...] worin er in höchst taktloser Weise erwähnte, daß heute in der Ausstellung der Maria Empfängnistag sei. Dieser gemeinen Herabwürdigung eines hohen katholischen Festes ließ Josef Melichar eine Litanei folgen, die er mit seiner nächsten Umgebung „betete". Melichar

⁸⁴ Handwerkerausstellung und Volksfest in Linz, *Linzer Tages-Post* (14-09-1909), 1.

⁸⁵ Volksfest in Linz, *Linzer Tages-Post* (10-09-1911), 3.

⁸⁶ Das Volksfest, AL, MtB 55, Volksfest Ausstellungsausschuß, box 612.

trug vor, einige sprachen ihm seine Worte nach. Das massenhaft angesammelte Publikum war von dieser widerlichen Szene peinlich berührt [...]⁸⁷

The *Tages-Post* interpreted the speech by Melichar differently as it was purely done so to entertain the children and stated that he ‘würzte in bekannter humorvoller Weise durch eine Lobrede an alle Namenstagkinder die Feier’.⁸⁸ Despite this incident, the papers usually reported on the celebratory atmosphere during the festival and on the entertainment during the festival. The *Volksfestplatz* was filled with stalls, from shooting halls, a horse carousel, rollercoaster, a music pavilion to the more obscure *Negerdorf* in the pre-war editions.⁸⁹ In addition, not only the *Volksfestplatz* but also the routes in the city towards the *Sudbahnhofgründen* were lined with flower wreaths, flags with either the city’s or provincial coat of arms, and lights. During the festivals special days were organized, such as a *Blumentag*, *Kindertag*, and a *Trachtenfest* with local and regional folk costumes.



Figure 1: Picture of the 1927 Volksfest, AL, MtB 55, Volksfest Ausstellungsausschuß, box 612.

The fourteen-year break between 1913 and 1927 was the longest pause in the festival’s organization since its existence. Although this might indicate a discontinuity in the festive culture, the reason for the festival’s return was based on its long history and that it was of great importance for the city. Hence, the 1927 edition should be seen as an effort to continue the city’s disrupted festive tradition. Karl Steiger of the city council also framed this in the light of the city’s newfound position and stated that the city could not lag behind as the third city of the new republic. Even more so, because other cities had organized similar festivals. The organization stressed that the 1927 festival must be as grand as previous editions.⁹⁰ Surprisingly, a similar reason was given for organizing the 1909 festival.⁹¹ Several other aspects were mentioned in regard to Linz in the character and content of the festival. The organization considered Linz’s history as an especially significant element. Ludwig

⁸⁷ [in which he mentioned in a very tactless manner that today in the exhibition it was the Day of the Nativity of Mary. This mean degradation of an important catholic feast was followed by a litany by Josef Melichar, which he ‘prayed’ with his immediate surroundings. Melichar recited, some repeated his words. The gathered crowd was embarrassed by this disgusting scene] in: Landes-Ausstellung in Linz, *Linzer Volksblatt* (14-09-1909), 3.

⁸⁸ [seasoned the celebration in a well-known humorous manner by praising all the name’s day children] in: Landes-Handwerker Ausstellung und Volksfest in Linz, *Linzer Tages-Post* (14-09-1909), 2.

⁸⁹ Linzer Volksfest 1913, *Linzer Tages-Post* (06-09-1913), 3.

⁹⁰ Amtlicher Volksfest-Katalog, 1927, AL, DK, box 38.

⁹¹ Stimmen aus dem Publikum, *Linzer Tages-Post* (21-02-1909), 11.

Haase, an artist living in Linz, exhibited dioramas that showed the development of their 'Heimatstadt' through the centuries. Haase explained that he was confident that the dioramas would contribute to the 'heimatkundlichen und lokalen Charakter' of the festival.⁹² Considering the amount of times Haase's work was mentioned in newspapers and official correspondence, the leading figures subscribed to the painter's views. Moreover, Haase was no stranger to the festival. In 1913 he had made a very successful exhibition of 'alt Linz', for which the local museum had served as an inspiration. The exhibition showed how the city was designed 300 years ago with a large diorama. In addition, a route through the city was made that showed the medieval architecture that had survived the ages.⁹³ Haase's exhibitions demonstrate the tradition of displaying the city's history in the *Linzer Volksfest*.

Aside from Linz's history, the festival's history was also deemed an important factor in the presentation of the festival. Not only was the long tradition of the *Volksfest* mentioned as a reason for its return in 1927, during the festival other editions were commemorated as well. The *Volksblatt* reported on the 1833 festival in 1911 – although this had not strictly been a *Volksfest* – to illustrate its longevity as the festival would celebrate its 100th year existence in 1922. The 1833 edition's emphasis on *Volkstrachten* and folk dance served as a legitimization for the change of focus from exhibition to *Volksfest* in 1911. In 1913, the *Tages-Post* showed their gratitude for the good weather that year, recalling the 1883 edition during which a storm broke out. The storm destroyed the entire *Volksfestplatz* and almost caused a fire in the city.⁹⁴ Additionally, every time the papers and the organization evaluated their success on the basis of the amount of visitors in comparison to previous editions. The newspapers routinely published overviews of the day-by-day visitors' count.⁹⁵ The *Tages-Post* did not agree with the change of set-up in 1911 and blamed it on the decline in visitors that year.

The Linzer and Upper Austrian society was pillarized in the sense that people could live their life within one political circle, namely that of either the Christian Socials, Social Democrats or the German Nationalists. Burr Bukey and Schausberger identify political cooperation on a large scale in local and regional politics far into the 1920s.⁹⁶ Their studies do not, however, illustrate whether or not this cooperation existed in festivities as well. It appears that this was dependent on the degree of politicization of the respective festivity. News reports and reports from district captaincies mentioned the attendance of people from all layers of the population to imperial celebrations, but due to censorship in the monarchy it is hard to verify the actual extent of this participation; especially

⁹² [Hometown], [*Heimatkundlichen* and local character] in: Ludwig Haase to the Volksfestcomite, Linz 16-06-1927, AL, MtB 55, Volksfest Ausstellungsausschuß, box 612.

⁹³ Linzer Volksfest 1913, *Linzer Tages-Post* (06-09-1913), 3.

⁹⁴ Linzer Volksfest 1913, *Linzer Tages-Post* (11-09-1913), 9.

⁹⁵ Zum Linzer Volksfest, *Linzer Volksblatt* (17-09-1913), 4.

⁹⁶ E. Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Hometown*, 37.

because of the absence of the socialist newspaper before 1918 in this thesis.⁹⁷ Probably, only the *Volksfest* and similar locally orientated celebrations managed to unite all layers of society. The political camps had their own separate festivities, of which the simultaneous celebrations of the *Linzer Dombau* and *1. Mai Feier* serve as prime examples. The first of May represented a festive day for both the Christian Socials and the Social Democrats. The *Linzer Volksblatt* considered the socio-political development of the past decades in relation to the construction of the new cathedral. On 1 May 1862 Linz's bishop Franz Joseph Rudigier placed the first stone and blessed the construction of the cathedral for the years to come, which had successfully generated the protection of Mary.

[...] ob nicht diesem Gebete, das heute noch verrichtet wird, auch der besondere Schutz Mariens zuzuschreiben ist, daß während der 50 Baujahre kein erheblicher Unfall vorgekommen ist!⁹⁸

The paper described the entire construction process over the past 50 years and noted that many of their readers had been there to witness the events. The catholic community celebrated this day with a festive Pontifical High Mass – a special ceremony performed by a bishop – and *Te Deum* hymn. In 1924 the construction was completed and the diocese organized elaborate and grand festivities, including concerts, an exhibition of relics, the performance of a play by Händel, and the attendance of important officials and clergy from Vienna. The *Domfeier* was even honored with the attendance of cardinal Andreas Frühwirth, which they received ‘wie wenn der Papst selbst in unserer Mitte erscheinen würde’.⁹⁹

Despite the importance of this day for the catholic community, the *Volksblatt* often also considered the other significant festivity on that day, the *1. Mai Feier*. Surprisingly, for a long time the paper did not distance itself from the Social Democratic character of the celebration. In 1914, the paper wrote an elaborate report ‘Gegen Kapitalismus’. Society had been made sick by capitalism, which would not have been the case if the reforms by the Christian Socials would have been adopted.¹⁰⁰ Even after the collapse of the monarchy, the *Volksblatt* remained quite neutral towards Labor Day. The Social Democrats’ mass demonstration on *Franz Josefplatz* and the accompanying festivities in 1919 were described neutrally with remarks about the rich decorations and the loud applause by the thousands of onlookers.¹⁰¹ This started to change, however, in 1922. That year the paper reported on alternative celebrations by Christian workers with a Pontifical High Mass.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ 60jähriges Regierungsjubiläum. — Annexion von Bosnien, *Linzer Tages-Post* (22-11-1916), 5.

⁹⁸ [whether or not it is due to this prayer, which is still performed today, to the special protection of Mary, that there was no significant accident during the 50 years of construction!] in: 50 Jahre Dombau, *Linzer Volksblatt* (01-05-1912), 1.

⁹⁹ [as if the Pope himself appeared in our midst] in: Willkommen!, *Linzer Volksblatt* (29-04-1924), 2.

¹⁰⁰ [Against capitalism] in: Gegen Kapitalismus, *Linzer Volksblatt* (01-05-1914), 1.

¹⁰¹ Der 1. Mai, *Linzer Volksblatt* (03-05-1919), 3.

¹⁰² Ein katholisches Arbeiterfest, *Linzer Volksblatt* (03-05-1922), 1.

Increasingly, the paper started to criticize Social Democratic policies or even their supposed love for Jews that was expressed in the *Tagblatt*, which would even be detrimental to the socialist cause.¹⁰³

Unfortunately, the *Tagblatt*'s reports on the *1. Mai Feier* have only been examined from 1918 onwards. The festivities always included a demonstration through the city with speeches on the city's main square. Usually, the Labor Day was accompanied by celebratory concerts and other cultural performances. Similar to the *Volksblatt*, the reports on the celebration in the *Tagblatt* indicate a degree of *Zusammengehörigkeit*. The paper focused on the future and the problems at hand, but also noted that there were certain dangers for the new republic such as the return of the emperor and published poems like 'Nie wieder Krieg'.¹⁰⁴ They remarked on the supposed enemies of the republic, who wished the return of those who had thrown them into a world war. The paper described a unity amongst the political parties in their stance against these enemies;

[...] das ist kein sozialdemokratischer Wauwau, wie manche meinen, das ist Tatsache; selbst Hauser gestand das in öffentlicher Rede zu: „Strauchritter“ nannte er solche Leute mit Recht.¹⁰⁵

The *Tagblatt* wrote about red Linz and the international proletariat, but only in 1924 started to connect these messages to a negative image on Christianity. The newspaper was especially known for anticlericalism, which had often troubled the inter-party-cooperation. During the *Domfeier*, the paper wrote on the miserable conditions for the cathedral laborers and the money-grabbing by bishop Doppelbauer. Despite these attacks, the paper distinguished the clergy from religious beliefs which they regarded as a private matter.¹⁰⁶ In addition, the paper remarked on the lousy weather during the Christian celebrations, which was deemed a sign from above:

Ja das „Linzer Volksblatt“ suchte sogar dem Herrgott ins Handwerk zu pfuschen, indem es heiteres oder wenigstens halbheiteres Wetter voraussagte. Es hatte aber kein Glück damit, denn der Himmel öffnete seine Schleusen und ließ Schüssel regnen. Es regnete in Strömen. So hatte sich wohl niemand das Domweihwetter vorgestellt. Wenn man bedenkt, was die Sozialdemokraten bei ihren Veranstaltungen immer für herrliches Wetter haben, so wird offenbar, daß der Himmel rot orientiert ist. Freilich diesmal dürfte unsere Maifeier ebenfalls unter den Wetterunbilden leiden, vermutlich deshalb, weil sie gleichzeitig mit dem Domweihfest, das dem Herrgott nicht genehm ist, veranstaltet wird.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Aufdringliche Bewunderung, *Linzer Volksblatt* (01-05-1923), 1-2.

¹⁰⁴ [Never again war] in: H. Wagner, Nie wieder Krieg, *Linzer Tagblatt* (01-05-1926), 2.

¹⁰⁵ [that is not Social Democratic bow-wow, as some believe, it is a fact; even Hauser admitted it in a public speech: "bandits", he rightly called such people] in: Unser Festtag, *Linzer Tagblatt* (01-05-1920), 1.

¹⁰⁶ Den vergessenen Erbauern des Domes!, *Linzer Tagblatt* (01-05-1924), 3. Oberösterreich und sein Immaculate-Dom, *Linzer Tagblatt* (27-04-1924), 1.

¹⁰⁷ [Yes, the "Linzer Volksblatt" even tried to mess with the Lord's work by predicting bright or at least average weather. But they were out of luck because the skies opened and it poured. It rained cats and dogs. No one had

Ironically, the Social Democratic festivities were of course disrupted by the same bad weather. The negative reports regarding the Christian Socials became more prominent at the end of this period, with open attacks towards their opponent in 1927, especially after their political victory in that year's municipal elections, in which they defeated the unified candidate list of the German Nationalist and the Christian Socials; 'der proletarische Ostersonntag'.¹⁰⁸

The strife between the Christian Social and Social Democrats in Linz on the first of May had not altered the overall harmony within the city council or the provincial parliament, but was increasingly influenced by polarizing news reports; whilst this did not come to the fore in official reports on the festivities in the city. Even though the press produced more polarizing reports on these particular festivities, this was not the case for the *Linzer Volksfest* or similar celebrations with exhibitions. The polarization may have been caused by the national political climate and the many crises the province (and Austria in general) faced, but the points of contention that were brought up all originated from the period before the 1920s and were – albeit more toned down – already mentioned at the time. Furthermore, in this discourse the newspapers discussed many of the activities during celebrations – parades, speeches, preceded by festive plays and performances. Even when addressing their readers purely within their respective political frame, both the *Tagblatt* and the *Volksblatt* utilized their city's history to address a connection to Linz. Repeatedly, the *Volksblatt* reminded their readers of the developments of the cathedral's construction and Linz's history since 1862 and the *Tagblatt* did the same with the past Labor Day celebrations in Linz to show how far they had come.¹⁰⁹ This commonality of shared history might address a different group, it still adhered to a commonality specific for Linz.

The three aspects of community building, commonalities, and feelings of belonging in a local context were not clear-cut. They did not occur in a pure form nor were they used to contribute to a local *Bewußtsein*. These aspects became more prominent on a regional and national level. Predominantly, local administrations and newspapers adhered to feelings of pride and the history of the provincial capital, which could be used as binding elements across all layers of society. The *Zusammenhörigkeitsgefühl* also received this unconscious attention in the construction of local identification. The pillarization in Linz and Upper Austria meant that political parties worked together in various layers of government, but that many aspects of social life were separated through different schools, associations, and celebrations. Especially during local festivities, however, these pillars disappeared and enjoying beer stalls and amusement rides became more important than political

imagined the Cathedral's celebration like this. If you consider what wonderful weather the Social Democrats always have at their events, it becomes clear that the sky colors red. Of course, this May celebration may also suffer from bad weather, probably because, it is at the same time as the Cathedral's celebration, which is not acceptable to the Lord.] in: Das Domweihfest, *Linzer Tagblatt* (01-05-1924), 3.

¹⁰⁸ [the proletarian Easter Sunday] in: Maiensiegesfeier, *Linzer Tagblatt* (01-05-1927), 1.

¹⁰⁹ 50 Jahre Dombau, *Linzer Volksblatt* (01-05-1912), 1. Erwecker 1. Mai, *Linzer Tagblatt* (01-05-1926), 1.

preferences. Apart from minor conflicts between political groups and differences in frequency between press and local government in adopting certain elements, the overall consistence and continuity of local territorial identification is striking, especially in comparison to the regional and national level.

‘Upper Austria to the Upper Austrians!’: Establishing Upper Austrian *Landesbewußtsein*¹¹⁰

Governor Hauser used the phrase ‘Upper Austria to the Upper Austrians!’ during the 1919 campaign for the provincial elections, which reflected an Upper Austrian sentiment in provincial Christian Social circles. This sentiment was also a prominent and consistent factor in the imagined community for many citizens. Upper Austria’s political framework helps to explain the continuity in its festive culture and territorial identification on a regional level. Whereas the territorial identification towards Linz was heavily influenced by practical elements, territorial identification towards Upper Austria combined community building with more abstract attributes of commonality and sentiments of belonging. Although Linz and Upper Austria had ideologically different forms of leaderships, the references made to the province had a universal appeal that often crossed party lines. The process of territorial identification will be examined in relation to imperial celebrations, local and regional events during the First World War, the provincial elements of the *Volksfest*, *Domfeier* and *1. Mai Feier*. The elements that were used to describe this identification displayed many similarities, were consistent throughout this period, and even became increasingly important.

In comparison to Tirol or even other European regions such as Catalonia in Spain, the Upper Austrian identity could hardly be described as particularly distinct. When defining regionalism as a separate or even opposite process to nationalism with a possible tendency towards separatism, it does not apply to the development of territorial identification towards Upper Austria. Recently, however, this assumption has been cast aside. Regionalism can exist in many shapes and forms and, significantly, does not operate opposite to nationalism nor is it a sign of weak nation-building. The promotion of regional symbols and identities could even be used to promote national identities.¹¹¹ In Austria this layered aspect of territorial identification is especially important after the First World War when the stability of this regional identity became a clear asset in times of national instability.¹¹² Aside from being used in relation to national festivities, Upper Austrian identity often related purely to cultural promotion of the region. These notions form an essential part of the analysis of regional identification in Upper Austria.

Community Building

The Upper Austrian community could be described as both real and imagined. Many associations that were based in Linz, operated on a regional level and used the province in their name, for example the *Landesverein für Aquarien- und Terrarienkunde* that exhibited in the 1927 *Volksfest*.¹¹³ The Upper

¹¹⁰ E. Burr Bukey, *Hitler’s Hometown*, 32.

¹¹¹ X.M. Núñez and E. Storm, ‘Introduction’, 5-6.

¹¹² J. DeWaal, ‘Regionalism and Its Diverse Framings in German-Speaking Europe across the Long Twentieth-Century’, in: X.M. Núñez and E. Storm (eds.), *Regionalism and Modern Europe*, 169-192, here 175-176.

¹¹³ Landwirtschaftliche-Ausstellung, AL, MtB 55, Volksfest Ausstellungsausschuß, box 612.

Austrian associations were represented during most of the celebrations and often visited multiple festivals in the region, which meant that the participation in festivities became an essential part of the associations' activities.¹¹⁴ In addition, their frequent participation made them somewhat famous amongst the local population, whose attention was drawn to performances in newspapers and relevant advertisements. After the religious festivities during imperial celebrations for example, a *Zapfenstreich* and *Defilierung* of two Linz-based veteran associations, the singing associations, and the fire department were present.¹¹⁵ Although many of Linz's citizens in all probability were members of one or more of these associations and had other ties to the province, just like in Linz this connection must not be overemphasized. The Upper Austrian community was primarily an imagined one. Substantially increasing the narratives surrounding the other aspects of feelings of belonging and collective commonalities helped strengthen this imagined community. In addition, the stability of this region in times of national conflict intensified people's connection to this smaller imagined community.

Collective Feelings of Belonging

The portrayed feelings of belonging towards Upper Austria consisted of abstract elements that played into love for the province. This love was portrayed during imperial celebrations through the province's relation to the emperor and vice versa, for example during the 1908 jubilee and Franz Joseph's 80th birthday in 1910. The fact that Franz Joseph liked to celebrate his birthday in Bad Ischl created a special sense of pride. On the emperor's coronation day – and his 60th jubilee – 2 December 1908 the *Tages-Post* reported a supposed quote from the emperor to Hauser: ‘Nirgends gehe ich lieber hin als nach Oberösterreich, dort befinde ich mich am wohlsten’.¹¹⁶ The paper went on to state that Upper Austria, where everyone is loyal to him, feels like a second *Heimat* to the emperor.¹¹⁶ The *Volksblatt* published a similar report, emphasizing that Upper Austria is loved by the emperor like no other crownland, especially because he had spent his most happy days with his bride here, whom he had introduced here to the realm. The paper connected the emperor's love for Upper Austria with the love for Upper Austria's nature:

Er weiß es, rein wie die Luft der Berge sind Herz und Sinn des oberösterreichischen Volkes.
Und in den tiefblauen Augen unseres Landes, in den herrlichen Seen, kann er es lesen, wie tief unsere Treue zu ihm und seinem hehren Hause gründet. Und in dem Rauschen unserer Wälder hallt er ewig wieder der Hochgesang der Kraft und Größe, das Nibelungenlied der Liebe

¹¹⁴ For example, Volksfest in Ried, *Linzer Tages-Post* (05-09-1911), 4.

¹¹⁵ A *Zapfenstreich* was a parade with flags that portrayed associations or a territorial affiliation. A *Defilierung* was a military parade.

¹¹⁶ [Nowhere I rather go than to Upper Austria, where I find myself most at ease] in: Der Kaiser und Oberösterreich, *Linzer Tages-Post* (02-12-1908), 7.

zwischen Fürst und Volk. Wir glauben es dem Kaiser, daß er nirgends lieber weilt als in Oberösterreich.¹¹⁷

Hauser described this love between emperor and crownland in his speeches after the imperial celebrations in Linz. In 1916, the *Tages-Post* expressed their hope that the emperor would soon be able to celebrate his birthday in Upper Austria in the company of his loyal subjects, which he had not been able to do since the outbreak of war.¹¹⁸ This relation, likewise, found its way into newspapers through attention that went out to Bad Ischl and its imperial celebrations. In addition, these travels from the emperor also meant that he travelled by train through Linz, which was also reported. During the war, the relation between the emperor and Upper Austria was emphasized through a supposed longing from the emperor to return. The death of Franz Joseph was extensively reported. Papers emphasized what the emperor had meant for Austria and especially Upper Austria, as he had furthered the prosperity of agriculture, trade, and industry.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, imperial celebrations remained in place even until the final month of the monarchy. Nevertheless, official correspondence shows that celebrations became less extensive and that officials had less time or inclination to attend. This connection between nature, province, and people also found its way into the *Volksfest*. In his 'heimatkundlichen' exhibition Haase not only emphasized Linz, but also illustrated the wonderful nature of Upper Austria. Haase used a 4000 square meter canvas to display the variety of the province's surroundings. Six of these had been chosen and gave

[...] einen Ausblick aus der Höhle auf Hallstatt und den Hallstätter See; den großartigen Tristandom, welcher als das schönste Schaustück in der Dachsteinhöhlen gelten kann, die Gralsburg, die Eiskapelle und den hochromantischen Gosausee bei Sommeruntergang.¹²⁰

Furthermore, the most notable representation of an Upper Austrian feeling of belonging consisted of expressions of *Heimat*. The abstract concept of *Heimat*, that is broader than a sense of home or homeland, came to 'express a 'feeling of belonging together'', according to Celia Applegate in a book on the German region of the Palatinate.¹²¹ In addition, Applegate states that *Heimat* contains a 'nostalgic evocation of a closed and close-knit community', which in time became replaced by larger

¹¹⁷ [He knows that the hearts and minds of the Upper Austrian people are as pure as the mountain air. And in the deep blue eyes of our province, in the wonderful lakes, he can see how deeply our loyalty to him and his noble home is founded. And in the murmur of our forests it echoes forever the songs of strength and greatness, the *Nibelungenlied* of love between prince and people. We believe that the emperor prefers to stay in Upper Austria than anywhere else.] in: Das Kaiserjubiläum, *Linzer Volksblatt* (02-12-1908), 1.

¹¹⁸ Der Geburtstag des Kaisers, *Linzer Tages-Post* (19-08-1916), 4.

¹¹⁹ Protokoll der außerordentlichen öffentlichen Sitzung der Handels- und Gewerbekammer, Linz 24-11-1916, OÖLA, AdS, P, box 18.

¹²⁰ [a view from the cave of Hallstatt and lake Hallstat; the great Tristandom, which can be considered the most beautiful showpiece in the Dachstein caves, the Grail Castle, the ice chapel and the extremely romantic Gosau lake at summer sunset] in: Linzer Volksfest 1913, *Linzer Tages-Post* (06-09-1913), 4.

¹²¹ C. Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: the German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley 1990), x.

and less personal forms of political and territorial belonging.¹²² Jeremy DeWaal defines *Heimat*, in his article on regionalism in German-speaking lands in the volume *Regionalism and Modern Europe*, as a ‘sense of belonging and cultural uniqueness within local and regional places that could be extended abstractly to the nation at large’.¹²³ In the case of Upper Austria, the consciously felt connection to the province gained prominence at the turn of the century and became more widely spread just before the war.¹²⁴ This observation coincides with the widely accepted notion that provincial consciousness increased in regions across Europe at that time.¹²⁵ Although *Heimat* could also be connected to Linz or Austria, the connection of this concept to Upper Austria in both newspapers and official documentation was by far most recurrent.

Additionally, references to *Heimat* were made during almost all festivities. Only during the *I. Mai Feier* was this concept absent, which is not surprising due to the emphasis on the rise of the international proletariat. Naturally, the imperial celebrations were filled with these notions of *Heimat*, especially in the telegrams and speeches made by Hauser. In 1910, his expressions of gratitude and pride were printed in the *Volksblatt*. Hauser connected this feeling with the Upper Austrian *Heimat*: ‘möge Eure Majestät noch recht viele Jahre erhalten zum Wohle unseres gesamten ruhmreichen Vaterlandes und unserer teuren engeren Heimat’.¹²⁶ The *Tages-Post* published a similar expression of *Heimat* by Hauser after the emperor’s death, in which he expressed the pain of ‘unsere teure Heimat Oberösterreich’.¹²⁷ Regional identification and loyalty to the empire operated harmoniously.¹²⁸ *Heimat* could be connected to the love or appreciation of other things than *Kaisertreue*, as for example when the *Volksblatt* spoke of the ‘Marienliebe unserer Heimat’ during the *Domfeier*.¹²⁹ The *Tages-Post* also mentioned ‘unser reich gesegnetes Heimatlandes’ in their discussion of the folk costume festivities during the 1909 *Volksfest*.¹³⁰ Finally, the *Tagblatt* spoke of ‘unser engeres Heimatland’ in their report of the meaning of the *Nationalfeiertag* and the importance of a unification with Germany.¹³¹ These expressions of *Heimat* have in common that they almost all use the possessive pronoun ‘our’ and often also speak of a ‘small’ *Heimat*. Moreover, the use of this concept was not limited to one political ideology or festivity nor did papers refer to a specific (political) group in relation to *Heimat*, but instead this notion encompassed all the province’s inhabitants.

¹²² C. Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials*, 11.

¹²³ J. DeWaal, ‘Regionalism and Its Diverse Framings in German-Speaking Europe’, 169.

¹²⁴ H. Slapnicka, ‘Selbstbewusstsein, Landesbewusstsein, Staatsbewusstsein und Österreichbewusstsein in Oberösterreich im Wandel’, 126.

¹²⁵ X.M. Núñez and E. Storm, ‘Introduction’, 7.

¹²⁶ [may Your Majesty be preserved for many years for the benefit of our entire glorious homeland and our, beloved small homeland] in: Der 80. Geburtstag des Kaisers, *Linzer Volksblatt* (19-08-1910), 5.

¹²⁷ [our beloved *Heimat* Upper Austria] in: Der Tod des Kaisers, *Linzer Tages-Post* (23-11-1916), 4.

¹²⁸ J. DeWaal, ‘Regionalism and Its Diverse Framings in German-Speaking Europe’, 173.

¹²⁹ [our *Heimat*’s love for Mary] in: Willkommen!, *Linzer Volksblatt* (29-04-1924), 2.

¹³⁰ [our richly blessed homeland] in: Nachrichten aus Oberösterreich und Salzburg. (Volksfest und Landesausstellung in Linz 1909.), *Linzer Tages-Post* (17-01-1909), 4.

¹³¹ [our small homeland] in: Der wahre Tag der Republik, *Linzer Tagblatt* (12-11-1924), 1.

During the First World War, references to *Heimat* increased exponentially. The use of *Heimat* became a way to express a multitude of feelings. The regional homeland consisted of more tangible meanings for which soldiers were prepared to die.¹³² On an individual level, *Heimat* expressed parents' longing for the return of their children or their pain when children had died far from home. The parents of 18-year-old Josef Bock grieved for their son who had died a hero's death from a direct grenade hit and now is 'fern der Heimat, auf luftiger Bergeshöhe, liegt der Held begraben'.¹³³ On a communal level, the shared *Heimat* inspired the Upper Austrian people in undertaking charities and prayer campaigns. From an institutional perspective, the use of this concept allowed for expressions that were meant to boost morals by repeatedly alluding to the hope for the swift return of the soldiers. Linz's bishop, for example, called to the city's residents: 'Bewahrt euer Herz rein, bewahrt euch rein für die glückliche Rückkehr in die Heimat, in euer Vaterhaus, zu euren Sattinnen, zu euren Kindern!'¹³⁴ Additionally, *Heimat* became connected to the war effort and more specifically, represented a reason to fight. Soldiers were fighting to stop the enemy from ever setting foot on our *Heimatland*.¹³⁵ Booklets like 'Oberösterreich im Weltkrieg', in which an overview was given of the Upper Austrian war effort, also conveyed the importance of *Heimat* with a section 'Aus Front und Heimat'.¹³⁶ After the war, the connection between *Heimat* and the military continued to exist. During the *Nationalfeiertag* celebrations, the local and regional troops were honored with speeches in which they were thanked for their continued service. *Heimat* came to concern a larger space, but the importance of troops, including the pre-war *Alpenjäger-Regiment* Number 7 and the *Feldmarschall Graf-Radetzky-Veteranenverein*, continued to have a local and regional emphasis.

Aside from the expressions of regional loyalty and *Heimat*, the Upper Austrian feeling of belonging also consisted of the in- and exclusion of certain groups, which increasingly concerned ethnic minorities. The excluded group became more openly addressed and regarded as hostile in comparison to the local process of exclusion which concerned all non-Linzer. This ethnic form of exclusion primarily targeted the Czech-speaking population from the adjacent crownland Bohemia, and later Czechoslovakia. Christian Gerbel also asserts that provincial patriotism in Upper Austria consisted of the denunciation of Jewish and Czech groups in public space.¹³⁷ Outwardly, newspaper reports and even the discussions in various districts primarily mentioned exclusion on the basis of ethnicity. In 1908 this debate became especially heated in Urfahr, which became part of the Linz

¹³² X.M. Núñez and E. Storm, 'Introduction', 6.

¹³³ [far from the *Heimat*, at an airy altitude, the hero is buried] in: *Kleiner Anzeiger, Linzer Tages-Post* (23-11-1916), 9.

¹³⁴ [Keep your heart pure, keep yourself pure for the happy return to the *Heimat*, to your father's house, to your home, to your children!] in: *Bischofsworte zum Krieg, Linzer Diözesanblatt*, 29-07-1914, OÖLA, SV, S, KEW, box 137.

¹³⁵ Aufruf Statthalter Handel, Werbung, OÖLA, SV, S, KEW, box 137.

¹³⁶ [Upper Austria in the World War], [From the front and *Heimat*] in: *Oberösterreich im Weltkrieg*, in: F. Pefendorfer, *Weltkriegs-Ehrenbuch des Kronlandes Oesterreich ob der Enns*, 1917, OÖLA, SV, S, KEW, box 137.

¹³⁷ C. Gerbel, 'Vom Imaginären der Nation', 309.

municipality in 1919, due to the opposite stance of the city council and its respective district captaincy. The city council demanded that measures were taken at the large semiannual market of Urfahr as a response to the reports from the Czech national council, which preached the boycott of German vendors at their markets. The district captaincy, however, intervened, stating that everyone had the right to visit markets. Accordingly, no such measures were taken. The mayor of Urfahr persisted and a year later Czech shoemakers were no longer welcome at the market. In reality, this meant the boycott of only two regular vendors, Beneš and Pawlâsek.¹³⁸

The discourse in the press and local pamphlets, however, displayed an even more aggressive stance on the subject, although incited by the same reasoning. The *Deutsche Volksverein* in Linz published a pamphlet on the ‘Slavisierung’ in which they sketched these problems in Upper Austria. A so-called Czech invasion was going on in Upper Austria. ‘[D]ie Tschechen haben bei uns nichts zu suchen, der Tscheche, wo immer und in welcher Stellung wir ihn treffen, ist unser Feind und muß als Feind behandelt werden’.¹³⁹ The *Volksblatt* and *Tages-Post* also discussed incidents of Czech violence or anti-clerical and anti-dynastic behavior. These examples reflect the impact of this conflict in Bohemia on Upper Austria. Similar to the use of *Heimat* in connection to the military, the interest in and view on the Czechs remained the same after 1918, but the focus on the conflict became a more national one. This focus had been regional before that time, with a climax surrounding the Badeni language ordinances and its consequences in 1908.

Collective Commonalities

The press and administration presented commonalities, related to this feeling of belonging based on ideas of *Heimat*. These commonalities can be divided into two categories, namely that of common characteristics and common traditions and customs. These common characteristics of the Upper Austrian population changed according to the specific event they were used for. Additionally, these characteristics often did not point to a unique Upper Austrian character, but rather the superlatives used in combination with these characteristics illustrated their uniqueness. The loyalty, love, *Opferwilligkeit*, bravery and cold-bloodedness, and Catholicism were emphasized and could be combined with each other. Naturally, the imperial celebrations presented the perfect opportunity to stress Upper Austrian loyalty to the empire and specifically, the emperor. In newspapers and official correspondence loyalty was the most frequently used characteristic. The *Tages-Post*, for example, reflected not only on the ‘kaisertreue Oberösterreich’, but also the ‘getreuen Anhänger des Landes Oberösterreich’ the emperor himself had been.¹⁴⁰ After Franz Joseph’s death the paper considered the

¹³⁸ Bürgermeister Urfahr to Bezirkshauptmannschaft Urfahr, 14-04-1909, AL, Alte Registratur (AR), Allgemeine Verwaltung (AV), Urfahrner Markt 1892-1928, box 129a.

¹³⁹ [Slavization], [the Czechs have no business here, the Czech, wherever and in whatever position we meet him, is our enemy and must be treated as an enemy.] in: Das Slavisierungssystem, Deutsche Volksverein, AL, AR, AV, Urfahrner Markt 1892-1928, box 129a.

¹⁴⁰ [imperialloyal Upper Austria], [a loyal follower of the province Upper Austria] in: Der Kaiser und Oberösterreich, *Linzer Tages-Post* (03-12-1908), 9.

grief felt by the Linzer, who looked at the emperor ‘mit treuer Liebe und Anhänglichkeit an dem Verewigten und verehrten sie doch in ihm eine gerade mit Oberösterreich so eng verbundene Fürstengestalt’.¹⁴¹ In addition, the *Tages-Post* described the scene of mourning in the city:

Fast sämtliche Häuser unserer Stadt tragen Trauerfahnen, auf den Zinnen der Schloßkaserne ist die Kaiserstandarte auf Halbmast gehißt. In zahlreichen Auslagen wurden im Lause des gestrigen Tages Büsten des Verstorbenen, umgeben von schwarzen Draperien, Kränzen und Lorbeerbäumen, oder schwarz umflorte Bilder des Heimgegangenen ausgestellt.¹⁴²

This loyalty could also be used to demonstrate the loyalty of the army or how the emperor’s loyal service served as an example for his soldiers, on which the *Tages-Post* reported during the first coronation day after the emperor’s death.¹⁴³ The persistence of loyalty towards the emperor can also be seen in the donations civilians made to the decoration of ex-emperor Karl’s funeral. Three officer’s widows donated 600 Kronen ‘in treuem Gedenken ein Blümchen auf das Grab unseres unvergeßlichen Kaisers’.¹⁴⁴ The *Volksblatt* used loyalty to stress the commonality amongst the Catholic population of Upper Austria during the *Domfeier*, by referring to the loyalty towards the Virgin Mary.¹⁴⁵ Instances of loyalty, stemming from a continued past, remained after the fall of the empire, but became primarily associated with Catholicism, the army, and a small group of monarchists.

Another set of common characteristics developed during the war. Local administrators and the media in Linz emphasized a variety of attributes of commonality. The war affected the regional identification extensively and the commonalities between the Upper Austrians were emphasized repeatedly. The *Pressverein* in Linz printed special postcards with songs dedicated to the *Hessenregiment* in Linz. This regiment, named after their patron the Duke of Hesse since 1851, had a major role during imperial festivities with a so-called *Defilierung* and *Zapfenstreich* and often started the celebrations with 24 canon shots. The song on the postcard emphasized the courage, loyalty, and German character of these soldiers. ‘Die Macht von Donaustrand’ would victoriously march onwards during the war.¹⁴⁶ In a broader sense, Upper Austrian courage and cold-bloodedness were celebrated. In 1917 singer Anna Esser from Linz performed a song about the ‘Oberösterreichische Opfermut’,

¹⁴¹ [with loyal love and attachment to the immortalized, and they worshiped in him a prince-like figure so closely connected to Upper Austria] in: Der Tod des Kaisers, *Linzer Tages-Post* (23-11-1916), 4.

¹⁴² [Almost all of the houses in our city carry mourning flags; the imperial standard is hoisted at half-mast on the battlements of the barracks. In numerous displays, busts of the deceased, surrounded by black draperies, wreaths and laurel trees, or pictures with pictures of the newcomer, surrounded by black, were exhibited yesterday.] in: *ibidem*.

¹⁴³ Kaiser Franz Josef †, *Linzer Tages-Post* (02-12-1916), 3.

¹⁴⁴ [in loyal memory a flower for the grave of the unforgettable emperor] in: Spenden-Ausweise, *Linzer Volksblatt* (08-04-1922), 4.

¹⁴⁵ Glueckliches Linz bleibe Maria treu verbunden!, *Linzer Volksblatt* (29-04-1924), 1.

¹⁴⁶ [the power of the Danube beach] in: Das Hessenregiment!, Linz, OÖLA, SV, S, KEW, box 137.



Figure 2: Das Hessenregiment! By Leopold Resch. OÖLA, SV, S, KEW, box 137.

which important officials and clergymen attended.¹⁴⁷ The *Linzer Volksblatt* reported on ‘die Kaltblütigkeit unserer Oberösterreicher’. When Raimund Neundlinger from the *Hessenregiment* was writing a letter, just ten steps away a grenade landed in his cover. Instead of taking cover, the man exited his hideout unscathed and continued to write his letter.¹⁴⁸ The fact that the First World War was a total war meant that characteristics of bravery could also be emphasized in the population. The words of Linz’s bishop, at the outbreak of war, blessed the men of his diocese and stated that ‘Oberösterreich hat keine Memmen, keine Klageweiber, und in jedem Kind eine heilige große Seele!’.¹⁴⁹ After the war, these characteristics were recalled, as for example during the *Domfeier*. Governor Hauser praised the ‘Opferwilligkeit der braven katholischen Bevölkerung’ of Upper Austria.¹⁵⁰ In that sense, commonalities between Upper Austrians, who all shared difficulties that as a consequence of the war were made more urgent, imminent and familiar for the population of Linz.

The festivities also provided an opportunity to emphasize a common feeling or sentiment of the public at that specific moment. During the emperor’s birthday the *Tages-Post* wrote that there was ‘Jubelruf’ everywhere and people shouted ‘Heil dem Kaiser!’, the *Volksblatt* mentioned the ‘dankbarem Jubel’ and that the ‘getreues Land Oberösterreich begrüßte ihm mit lautem Jubel’.¹⁵¹ In 1916, the absence of the emperor in Bad Ischl caused a ‘melancholische, einsame Feststimmung’

¹⁴⁷ [Upper Austrian sacrificial courage] in: Oberösterreich im Weltkrieg, Linz March 1917, OÖLA, SV, S, KEW, box 137.

¹⁴⁸ [the cold-bloodedness of our Upper Austrians] in: Die Kaltblütigkeit unserer Oberösterreicher, *Linzer Volksblatt* (19-08-1916) 3.

¹⁴⁹ [Upper Austria has no cowards, no wailers, and in every child a holy great soul!] in: Bischofsworte zum Krieg, *Linzer Diözesanblatt*, Linz 29-07-1914, OÖLA, SV, S, KEW, box 137.

¹⁵⁰ [sacrificial willingness of the brave catholic population] in J.N. Hauser, Vollendet!, *Linzer Volksblatt* (29-04-1924), 2.

¹⁵¹ [cheers], [hail the emperor] in Kaiser Franz Josef I. und Oberösterreich, *Linzer Tages-Post* (22-11-1916), 6. [grateful cheers], [the loyal province Upper Austria greets him with loud cheers] in Der 80. Geburtstag des Kaisers, *Linzer Volksblatt* (19-08-1910).

according to the *Tages-Post*.¹⁵² The district captaincies described the patriotism and feelings of *Kaisertreue* amongst the population. Remarkably, however, these reflections seldom demonstrate spontaneous outbursts of joy or amazement. During the 1908 jubilee the *Volksblatt* reflected that the elaborate decorations and lighting in Linz may have had a ‘geradezu überwältigenden Eindruck’ on the ‘Fremde’ that entered the city and that a mass of people admired these decorations.¹⁵³ Ordinarily, these reports seem to be orchestrated to contain reflections on the overall atmosphere. In addition, these feelings mostly concerned a more abstract group of Upper Austrians in general rather than certain attendees in particular. The other festivities and their respective reports contain numerous illustrations of the heightened atmosphere amongst the attending public. The *Tagblatt* reported that during the first jubilee of the republic in 1928 ‘[ü]berall Feststimmung, überall Begeisterung’ was present.¹⁵⁴ The *Volksblatt* mentioned the ‘rechte gehobene Stimmung’ during the *Maifeier* in 1922, which was also apparent in 1912:

Und jetzt, fünfzig Jahre nach der Grundsteinlegung, erhebt sich mit größter Begeisterung der Jubelruf: ‘Wir bauen den Dom, wir vollenden ihn schon, wir bauen ihn aus!’¹⁵⁵

The reports on the several *Volksfeste*, particularly, reflected a change of atmosphere. In 1909, the public cheered the *Lang-Kapelle* and their performance, the ‘Heimatlied’ received ‘brausender Beifall’ and people sang along with all their songs.¹⁵⁶ Even though the *Tages-Post* did not agree with the change of direction from an emphasis on the exhibition to the *Volksfest*, reports on these activities reflect on the overall mood. The children’s day, for example, was met with ‘helles Lachen und Jubeln’ by the children.¹⁵⁷ The *Volksblatt* also described the ‘erhöhte Gemütlichkeit’ during the *Zylindertag* and the ‘äußerst animierte Stimmung’ during the dance performance in the gymnastic hall.¹⁵⁸ The folk costume celebration had a desired outcome, because the atmosphere during the festivity itself generated a renewed interest in regional culture and customs. According to the *Volksblatt*: ‘[d]ieses Heimatfest in Linz soll im ganzen Lande helle Begeisterung für die alte-Landestracht wachrufen’.¹⁵⁹ The *Tages-Post* wished for a more far-reaching outcome of the festival:

¹⁵² E. Dietrichstein, Zu Kaisers Geburtstag, *Linzer Tages-Post* (19-08-1916), 1.

¹⁵³ [downright overwhelming impression], [strangers] in: Das Kaiserjubiläum in Linz, *Linzer Volksblatt* (03-12-1908), 7.

¹⁵⁴ [a festive mood everywhere, everywhere enthusiasm] in: Der Tag der Republik, *Linzer Tagblatt* (14-11-1928), 1.

¹⁵⁵ [rightly elevated mood], [And now, fifty years after the foundation stone was laid, the cheers rose with great enthusiasm: 'We are building the cathedral, we are completing it, we are expanding it!'] in: Ein katholisches Arbeiterfest, *Linzer Volksblatt* (03-05-1922), 2. 50 Jahre Dombau, *Linzer Volksblatt* (01-05-1912), 2.

¹⁵⁶ [*Heimat* song], [booming applause] in: Landes-Handwerkerausstellung und Volksfest in Linz, *Linzer Tages-Post* (19-09-1909), 9.

¹⁵⁷ [bright laughter and cheers] in: Volksfest in Linz, *Linzer Tages-Post* (15-09-1911), 4.

¹⁵⁸ [elevated pleasantness], [extremely elevated mood] in: Das Volksfest in Linz, *Linzer Volksblatt* (10-09-1911), 5. Volksfest in Linz, *Linzer Volksblatt* (19-09-1911), 5.

¹⁵⁹ [This *Heimat* celebration in Linz will arouse bright enthusiasm for the old provincial costume all over the province] in: Linzer Volksfest, *Linzer Volksblatt* (15-09-1911), 4.

Es soll aber auch der Beweis erbracht werden, daß es noch Männer und Frauen im Lande gibt, welche über diese Schätze unseres Volkes wachen und die wiedererwachte Begeisterung und das völkische Bewußtsein nicht mehr ab flauen lassen. Es ist nur zu wünschen, daß dem Beispiele der Linzer und Innviertler auch andere Gaue unseres schönen Heimatlandes folgen. Gelänge dies, dann wird infolge des neubelebten Volksbewußtseins auch der Gedanke der nationalen Schutzarbeit treue Anhänger und sichere Heimstätten finden. So fängt eine Wiedergeburt des deutschen Volkes an, mit ernstesten Taten, nicht mit schönen Worten!¹⁶⁰

The ambition to expand this *Volksbewußtsein* leads to the second category of collective commonalities, namely that of cultural customs and traditions. The *Volksfest* served as a platform to display regional traditions and celebrated the best Upper Austria had to offer. This should lead to a revival of people's interest in these matters and in the eyes of the *Tages-Post* bring about a rebirth of the German peoples. Even though the festivals' purpose often concerned the advancement of the local economy, while emphasizing local history, the special attention to regional culture during these festivals reflects the development of regional identity. The *Trachtenfest* during the 1911, 1913, and 1927 editions of the *Volksfest* was described as the 'Krönung' of the festival and was held on the final day.¹⁶¹ *Volkstracht* associations and individuals could sign up by submitting a form to the festival's committee in which they described their chosen dance, song, or folk costume (or a combination of these). In that way, this special day contributed to the survival of Upper Austrian 'Sitten, Bräuche, und Trachten'.¹⁶²

During the 1911 *Volksfest* this emphasis on regional culture started with a special day for celebrating folk costumes and traditions, even though the newspapers pointed out that the *Volksfest* had always addressed regional traditions. During smaller festivities, also in surrounding villages, these customs were celebrated as well. The *Volksblatt* and *Tages-Post* pointed out that the 1911 *Trachtenfest* had been inspired by these earlier instances of regional celebrations of culture and traditions. In the village of Taufkirchen in the district of Schärding property owner and academic painter Hugo von Preen and teacher Fritz Holzinger had held the first Upper Austrian *Volkstrachtenfest* with 3000 participants in 1909. Not only the colors and beauty of the costumes were on display, but also the many dances, games, and other things that people did to spend their time.¹⁶³ In the same year, this festivity was held again at the unveiling of the monument for the Upper Austrian poet Franz Stelzhamer. 1200 people gathered there and showed that it was no shame to dress the way people did

¹⁶⁰ [But it will also provide proof that there are still men and women in the province who watch over these treasures of our people and who no longer let the reawakened enthusiasm and folkish consciousness abate. It is only to be wished that other examples of our beautiful homeland follow the example of Linz and Innviertel. If this succeeds, the idea of national protection work will find loyal followers and safe homes as a result of the revitalized popular consciousness. This is how a rebirth of the German people begins, with serious deeds, not with nice words!] in: *Trachtenfest in Linz*, *Linzer Tages-Post* (15-09-1911), 4.

¹⁶¹ [coronation] in: *Volksfest in Linz*, *Linzer Volksblatt* (03-09-1911), 4.

¹⁶² [morals, customs, and costumes] in: *Trachtenfest in Linz*, *Linzer Tages-Post* (15-09-1911), 4.

¹⁶³ *Linzer Volksfest*, *Linzer Volksblatt* (15-09-1911).

50 years ago.¹⁶⁴ The festival's committee was inspired by these festivities according to the *Volksblatt* and decided to organize a celebration of Upper Austrian folk costumes and traditions.

On 17 September, more than 200 folk costumes were displayed in Linz. The city even organized a special train from Schärding to Linz to make it easier for people from the province to participate. A number of dances were performed, amongst which were the 'Haglpolka, Spinnradpolka', country dances and waltzes with two dirndls, the 'Eckerischer, Bayerischer, Siebenschritt', and 'Zipfadam'. After those dances traditional games were played during the harvest festival and the 'Drischlegfeier', celebrating the end of grain threshing.¹⁶⁵ Even though these performances were already quite special, the highlight of this festival without a doubt had been the 'Hochzeitszug', the accompanying *Schwertanz* and the custom of 'Brautstehlen' from Taufkirchen.



Figure 3: Amateur performance of the *Schwertanz* by Franz Pinter in Schärding, F. Holzinger, *Alt-Innviertler-Trachtenfest in Taufkirchen bei Schärding* (Oberösterreich 1909), 19.

During the festival a traditional farmer's wedding was re-enacted. The parade started at two o'clock in the *Volksgarten* and then continued through the city to the *Volkspfplatz*.¹⁶⁶ The parade consisted of the bride and groom from Krenglbach – on a wagon with a bed, dresser, and spinning wheel – accompanied by clarinet and trumpet players. Additionally, people from the Alpine associations d'Steirertala and d'Stoasteira followed on foot in traditional clothing. The women wore headwear like *Goldhauben* (traditionally from Linz) and *Seidentücher*, whilst the men wore short pants like *Joppen* and *Lederhosen*, and hats in all shapes. When the guests had been seated, the traditional dances, games like 'Bockspringen, Hobeln, Stockschiagen' and the custom bride stealing began. The bride was kidnapped during the feast, after which the groom must look for her. When the bride had been found again, the groom had to pay her kidnappers for his carelessness.¹⁶⁷ Finally, the *Schwertanz* (figure 3)

¹⁶⁴ Volksfest in Linz, *Linzer Tages-Post* (15-09-1911), 4.

¹⁶⁵ Trachtenfest in Linz, *Linzer Tages-Post* (15-09-1911), 4. Drischl originates from old German dialect and was used in Austria and Bavaria. Drischl, Drischl-Leg and Drischübel, (10-04-2020)

<<https://www.mittelbayerische.de/bayern/dialekt/drischl-drischl-leg-und-drischuebel-21710-art612444.html>>.

¹⁶⁶ The route of the parade: Feldstraße, Landstraße, Schmidtor, Franz Josefplatz, Landstraße, Lustenauerstraße, Kaiser Josefstraße, Volkspfplatz. [wedding procession], [bride stealing] in: Volksfest in Linz, *Linzer Volksblatt* (19-09-1911), 5.

¹⁶⁷ The traditional games of leapfrogging, *Hobeln*, and *Stockschiagen*. *Hobeln* was a particularly traditional Upper Austrian game during which a child was held under one arm and one knee and moved as a plane across a table. *Stockschiagen* was known under a variety of different names in Central European regions and often consisted of two opposing teams on a field, who could either occupy the so-called castle and wait to score points

was performed, a dance that was popular in the Salzkammergut 50 years before. A 70-year-old woman from Taufkirchen had made the costumes in her youth and from her memory they had been made again. The dance itself consisted of eight followers and one leader that reacted to each other. The ascribed importance of these interactions and its meaning was aptly summarized by the *Volksblatt*: ‘Gerade die Spiele zeigen den unverwüstlichen Volkshumor und bringen so recht den Volkscharakter zum Ausdrucke’.¹⁶⁸

Although this *Trachtenfest* had been described as an extraordinary success, in 1913 the organizing committee chose to display other cultural aspects of the province. The *Trachtenfest* was replaced by a cooking competition of traditional dishes, a beauty pageant, and an aviation exhibition by Giovanni Borgotti, world-record holder of a flight with a passenger to 1800 meters and a solo flight to 2700 meters.¹⁶⁹ The variety of entertainment generated a particular festive mood at the *Volksfest* and, importantly, increased the number of visitor, helped by the good weather. When the *Volksfest* returned in 1927, the changes and disruptions during the fourteen years since its return on a socio-economic and constitutional level had been numerous and the organizing committees actions demonstrate a great deal of continuities between the festivals, which reflect a similar stance towards the creation of a regional identity in Upper Austria.

Crucially, politically much remained the same after 1918. Not only did the physical borders of the province remain unaltered, this was also true for most of the leading political figures, the civil servants, and other institutions. The official name of the province changed from *Erzherzogtum Österreich ob der Enns* to just *Oberösterreich*, but since the name *Oberösterreich* was used more frequently even before 1918, this was in fact not a big alteration. The return of the festival itself demonstrates that older traditions and festivities were still valued enough to continue after 1918 and that this continuation was not deemed problematic by either the press or organizers. The *Volksblatt*, however, reported significantly less on the festival; possibly due to the more prominent Social Democratic influence on the festival. The primary reason for the return of the *Volksfest* in all probability was its significance in the reconstruction of local and regional businesses. As mentioned before, after the socio-economic hardships after the war, these businesses could use some backing. Aside from the return of the *Ausstellung* for the first time since the 1909 edition, the *Trachtenfest* of 1911 returned as well. The festivity had changed slightly into a ‘Volkskunst-Wettbewerb’ for which

by hitting a stick as far as possible, and another team that tried to conquer the castle by driving the stick over the castle. I. Friedl, *Alte Kinderspiele – einst und jetzt: Mit vielen Spielanleitungen* (Vienna 2015), 154, 228. Linzer Volksfest, *Linzer Volksblatt* (15-09-1911), 4. Volksfest in Linz. Das Trachtenfest, *Linzer Volksblatt* (19-09-1911), 5.

¹⁶⁸ [The games in particular show the indestructible popular humor and really express the character of the people] in: Linzer Volksfest, *Linzer Volksblatt* (15-09-1911), 4.

¹⁶⁹ Schauflucht beim Linzer Volksfeste. Linzer Volksfest 1913, *Linzer Tages-Post* (10-09-1913), 8.

associations from the region could apply.¹⁷⁰ This contest received an extraordinary amount of attention, which underlines the importance of this display of culture. The parades by the competition's participants formed a crucial aspect in presenting the city in the best light to its own inhabitants as well as to strangers. In addition, essential parts of the routes corresponded with routes during imperial celebrations and the previous *Volksfeste* in which the *Volksgarten* served as a meeting point. Eight out of eighteen competing associations in 1927 came from Linz, ten from elsewhere in Upper Austria and two from Salzburg. Contrary to the 1911 *Trachtenfest* which focused on the traditions and custom



Figure 4: Gebirgstracht und Erhaltungverein Linz, AL MtB 55, Verschiedenes I, K box arton 610.

from Taufkirchen, in 1927 these associations performed a wide range of dances accompanied by songs from other regions of Austria and Germany, such as Upper Bavaria, Styria, and Salzburg. Yet, they primarily performed regional dances and songs from Mühlviertel, Träun, and Innviertel, often accompanied by a *Bandlbaumtanz*; a group dance around a large wooden pole with long ribbons, as can be seen in figure 4. The use of elements of previous festivals, namely the *Trachtenfest*, *Ausstellung*, and a historical exhibition, illustrate the organizing committee's ability to combine multiple traditions to fit the current situation. Additionally, this combination reflects the increase of *Oberösterreichbewußtsein* in the press' and organizers' discourse surrounding the festival. Moreover, the similar design of the 1927 festival illustrates the Social Democratic agreement to display these folk customs and traditions. Social Democratic city councilor Karl Steiger led the organizing committee in 1927. Steiger did not oppose the return of associations, individuals, and businesses that had previously been connected to the festival, like the Upper Austrian fire department *Die Flamme*. Apart from the folkish competition, Steiger agreed to an exhibition by Haase that celebrated Linz instead of the province. The only unusual and socialist addition to the festival made by

¹⁷⁰ [folk art competition] in: Volkskunst-Wettbewerb, AL MtB 55, 1927 Volksfest und Verschiedenes I, box 610.

Steiger, was his agreement to a propagandistic exhibition of the Upper Austrian Esperantists, who advocated an international language, in which the Social Democrats were of course heavily interested.¹⁷¹ Their involvement in the festival is especially remarkable, since the organization generally strived to keep political associations out of the festival.

The socialist *Tagblatt* did not, however, adopt a similar discourse based on regional identification to the *Volksblatt* and *Tages-Post*. Their reports predominantly stressed how the local community had contributed to the socialist cause on a national or international level. When the paper did utilize those concepts, such as *Heimat*, they applied it to a larger, national context. The *Volksblatt* and *Tages-Post* both encouraged *Oberösterreichbewußtsein* in their reports on the celebrations. They used this narrative consistently over time and it served as a stable process of identification after 1918.¹⁷² The papers differed in their approach to these narratives in the underlying intent in furthering this regional process of identification. The *Volksblatt* used provincial patriotism and regional identity to underscore the authenticity of provincial traditions and customs, which is a cultural trend in which the countryside is considered as the national heartland.¹⁷³ The *Tages-Post*'s adoption of regionalist discourse served a more political purpose. The appreciation for and encouragement of renewed interest in provincial traditions served as an instrument to boost the awakening of German peoples and, ultimately, German unification.

Although pillarization on the regional level less openly affected the province's festive culture, regional pillarization was an influential factor and operated similarly to the local level. The political cooperation under Hauser worked smoothly, more so than in the city council. Hauser's 'Upper Austria to the Upper Austrians!' and the general 'Los von Wien' policy of the Upper Austrian Christian Socials, in which they advocated greater autonomy for the province, was widely accepted in the provincial parliament. Various kinds of associations acted on a provincial level and could adhere to a specific political party or ideology. The narrative of Upper Austrian identification exercised a universal appeal and was used by all three parties during the festivities, albeit in varying degrees and with different purposes in mind. For the population this meant that the pillarization was less noticeable during festivities during which this regional identity was displayed, namely the imperial celebrations and the *Volksfest*, especially since these festivities – at least in theory – served as apolitical celebrations.

¹⁷¹ Stadtrat Karl Steiger, Volksfestleiter, Volksfest und Ausstellung 1927, AL, DK, box 38.

¹⁷² H. Slapnicka, 'Selbstbewusstsein, Landesbewusstsein, Staatsbewusstsein und Österreichbewusstsein in Oberösterreich im Wandel', 126.

¹⁷³ X.M. Núñez and E. Storm, 'Conclusion: Overcoming Methodological Regionalism', in: idem, *Regionalism and Modern Europe*, 343-354, here 345.

Defining Austria: Dilemmas in the Construction of National Identification

[A]ber sie zerfällt bei lebendigem Leibe. Sie zerfällt, sie ist schon verfallen! Ein Greis, dem Tode geweiht, von jedem Schnupfen gefährdet, hält den alten Thron, einfach durch das Wunder, dass er auf ihm noch sitzen kann. Wie lange noch, wie lange noch? Die Zeit will uns nicht mehr! Diese Zeit will sich erst selbstständige Nationalstaaten schaffen! Man glaubt nicht mehr an Gott. Die neue Religion ist der Nationalismus. Die Völker gehn nicht mehr in die Kirchen. Sie gehn in nationale Vereine.¹⁷⁴

In *The Radetzky March* (1932) Joseph Roth chronicles the lives of three generations of the Von Trotta family. The first Von Trotta, Joseph, stepped in front of a bullet intended for the emperor during the Battle of Solferino. Joseph von Trotta's heroism and nobility influenced his life as well as that of his son and grandson. Their lives, inextricably linked to that of the monarchy, spiral out of control in anticipation of the outbreak of the First World War. Especially the life of the youngest Von Trotta, a military officer, is marked by gambling, affairs, and other modes of destruction. His father, a district captain in Moravia, pays him a visit in a small borderland town where he is stationed. An adventure at first, results in a wake-up call to the coming collapse of the monarchy. Count Chojnicki, a friend of his son, points to the empire's frailty during a dinner. This passage illustrates an awareness of this coming demise even before the First World War started. Roth repeatedly describes the faults inherent in the empire by describing Franz Joseph as an old, incapable man, the army as a rigid institution, and the hollowness of its traditions, but at the same time *The Radetzky March* reflects a sense of loss and mourning for the fall of the monarchy.¹⁷⁵ In many studies, a similar analysis of the Habsburg Empire is put forward and in, for instance, *The Afterlife of Austria-Hungary* Adam Kozuchowski analyzes these elements as a form of nostalgia towards the former empire.¹⁷⁶

Moreover, this presumed dichotomy between the imperial and national Austria in older historiography must be put into perspective. Recently, historians have criticized the traditional correlation between nation-state and nationalism. Stefan Berger shows that nation and empire were not natural binary opposites.¹⁷⁷ Pieter Judson argues that national identities do not bind themselves strictly to nation-states and occur in empires as well, to which the regional and local levels could be added. The empire's collapse would not be the result of endless years of decline in the nineteenth-century and

¹⁷⁴ J. Roth, *Radetzky March* (Berlin 2017), 162. [but the monarchy is disintegrating while still alive; it is doomed! An old man, with one foot in the grave, endangered whenever his nose runs, keeps the old throne through the sheer miracle that he can still sit on it. How much longer, how much longer? This era no longer wants us! This era wants to create independent nation-states! People no longer believe in God. The new religion is nationalism. Nations no longer go to church. They go to national associations.] in: J. Roth, *The Radetzky March* (trans. J. Neugroschel, Bungay 2016), 170-171.

¹⁷⁵ H. Kuzmics, 'Von der Habsburgermonarchie zu 'Österreich'. Reichspatriotismus, 'habsburgischer Mythos' und Nationalismus in den Romanen von Joseph Roth' *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 79:1 (1997) 105-122.

¹⁷⁶ A. Kozuchowski, *The Afterlife of Austria-Hungary*.

¹⁷⁷ S. Berger and C. Lorenz (eds.), *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories* (New York 2008). S. Berger and A. Miller (eds.), *Nationalizing Empires* (New York 2015).

fall in 1918, but a consequence of the pressure of war conditions. This argument has also been put forward by Maureen Healy in her work on daily life in Vienna during the war.¹⁷⁸ Although less explicit, Burr Bukey seemingly agrees with this argument of the influence of war conditions. He identified a lucky purchase of grain just moments before the outbreak of war, but also the surge of good news from the Russian-Polish front at the end of 1915 as reasons for optimistic feelings in Linz.¹⁷⁹ The *Volksblatt*, for example, reported on the mood that was lifted by the news of the German victory at the Russian fort in Kaunas during Franz Joseph's 86th birthday celebrations.¹⁸⁰

Naturally, this historiographical debate has had an impact on research into national identity. The concept of Austria has been examined extensively in historiography. Even though this concept originated in the late 900s, its development could hardly be described as linear or well-defined.¹⁸¹ Multiple developments, such as the *Kaisertum Österreich* in 1804 and the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, influenced the definition of this concept.¹⁸² Due to these consecutive constitutional developments the territory that Austria encompassed changed. Public discourse in the monarchy illustrates ambiguity of Austria when using it to define either a political, social, or more culturally defined (mental) space. Consequently, the press and local authorities could utilize Austria in a variety of narratives surrounding national identification. The Christian Socials often chose a narrative of an inclusive multinational Austria, which encompassed Cisleithania. The German Nationalists, on the other hand, advocated an exclusive German-Austria, which only incorporated German-speaking lands. Additionally, the multiple interpretations of Austria made it possible to adjust the relating national narrative for specific events; a multinational empire during the emperor's birthday and a culturally defined German-Austria during *Volksfeste*.¹⁸³ This, however, complicated the transition to a singular definition of Austria in the First Republic.

¹⁷⁸ P.M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*. P.M. Judson, 'Introduction: Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe', in: idem and M.L. Rozenblit (eds.), *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe* (New York 2009), 1-18, here 6. M. Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (Cambridge 2004).

¹⁷⁹ E. Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Hometown*, 15.

¹⁸⁰ Das Kaiserfest, *Linzer Volksblatt*, Linz 19 August 1915, 7.

¹⁸¹ J.B. Freed, 'Das zweite österreichische Millennium – Berufung auf das Mittelalter zur Schaffung eines österreichischen Nationalbewußtseins', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* (1997), 276-294. (translated into German by Heinz Dopsch). A. Pfoser, and A. Weigl, *Die erste Stunde null: Gründungsjahre der österreichischen Republik 1918-1922* (Salzburg 2017), 237-238. A. Szanya, 'Über die Schwierigkeit, zu sagen, was Österreich ist', in: R. Zeilinger (ed.), *Österreich auf dem Weg zur 3. Republik: zwischen "Deutschnationalismus" und "Habsburger-Mythos"* (Vienna 1992), 19-28, here 19.

¹⁸² The continuity of concept of Austria has also been underscored in: S. Spevak, *Das Jubiläum "950 Jahre Österreich": eine Aktion zur Stärkung eines österreichischen Staats- und Kulturbewusstseins im Jahr 1946* (Vienna 2003), 264. Römer, F., *1000 Jahre Österreich - Wege zu einer österreichischen Identität: Vorträge anlässlich des Dies Academicus der Geisteswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Wien am 10. Januar 1996* (Vienna 1997).

¹⁸³ The use various mass festivals of the three political camps as a means of propaganda in the creation of separate collective communities in the interbellum has been explained in: P. Janke, *Politische Massenfestspiele in Österreich zwischen 1918 und 1938* (Vienna 2010).

Community Building

The idea of an Austrian community was a purely imaginary one. In reality, of course, the Austrian community also inhered citizenship and thus had a legal basis. The development of national identification, however, relied heavily on aspects of feelings of belonging and collective commonalities that tried to create a compelling narrative of a unified community of Austrians. Moreover, the national community remained an ambiguous group in the empire since the perception of this community varied whether it was seen as either multinational, German, German-Austrian, or Cisleithanian. Whether the press or local authorities adopted a narrative with one or more of these imagined communities depended on their ideology, the purpose of their message, and the specific festivity during which these narratives were displayed. In the time of the monarchy people's sense of community was as layered as their territorial identification as a whole. The most unproblematic community for people in Linz to feel a connection to consisted of the German Austrians due to the city's and province's ethnic homogeneity. Even though the creation of a new national identity in Austria proved difficult, the connection with the community of German Austrians had existed for centuries and remained uncomplicated.

Collective Feelings of Belonging

The narrative of an Austrian identity changed over the course of the period 1908-1928, since – apart from the institutions – its mental and physical definition underwent rapid transformations. As a concept Austria was instrumental in the creation of national identification, since it served as a concept to which a feeling of belonging could be directed. Moreover, the concept proved useful through its wide array of meanings, depending on varying political, cultural, or linguistic interpretations. This meant that many actors, from National Socialists to Social Democrats, could adopt the concept in their respective narratives of national identity before and after the war. References to Austria in these narratives originated long before the war and, importantly, occurred more frequently than Austria-Hungary or the Habsburg monarchy. In news reports and speeches by leading political figures the empire only gained attention in relation to Austria-Hungary's international status. The emperor's ability to unite all *Völker* was praised. In songs, speeches, and newspapers references to Austria were abundantly present, as for instance in the song 'Mein Österreich' sang by children of the Franz Josef Knabenschule, which combined love for nature with that for Austria and the fatherland.¹⁸⁴ Hauser remarked on the wish for a longer reign of the emperor for 'unseres gesamten ruhmreichen Vaterlandes und unserer teuren engeren Heimat'.¹⁸⁵ However, the narratives surrounding this praised Austria, contrary to the uniting of peoples, often concerned only the Cisleithanian half of the monarchy or, more specifically, the German-speaking lands.

¹⁸⁴ [my Austria] in: Regierungs-Jubiläum des Kaisers, *Linzer Tages-Post* (3-12-1908), 4.

¹⁸⁵ [our entire glorious fatherland and our beloved small homeland] in: Regierungs-Jubiläum des Kaisers, *Linzer Tages-Post* (3-12-1908), 4.

This trend continued in the war, during which references to Austria were often connected to *Vaterland* and *Opfer*. Suddenly, every newspaper article was permeated with these concepts, which filled readers with the urgency to sacrifice their sons or husbands for the fatherland, *Heimat* or Austria. In addition, in a myriad of books, articles, postcards, songs, and pamphlets Austria and the fatherland were praised. The love for ‘mein Oesterreich, mein Vaterland’ was expressed, in for example the song by Marie Schmidmayr, to further strength, courage and ‘Opferfreudigkeit’ to strive for peace once again.¹⁸⁶ The war reports on the celebration of the emperor’s birthday or ‘Freudentag’ strictly mentioned Austria and the *Vaterland*, whilst the difference between Austria-Hungary and the fatherland became less distinctive.¹⁸⁷ In addition, Austria-Hungary was mentioned more frequently before the war in relation to military victories and a unified stance against enemies. The emperor and other high officials made these references to *Vaterland* and *Opfer*. Franz Joseph and Karl repeatedly thanked the army and civilians for fighting for their ‘teure, opferfreudige Vaterland’.¹⁸⁸ In the monarchy, these references hardly ever depicted a singular well-defined Austria. Depending on the festivity or specific message Austria referred either to the monarchy, Cisleithania, or German-speaking Austria. This ambiguous Austria, however, did not seem to give rise to any problems in the formation of national identification and rather complied with the overall interconnectedness of this layered identity.

However, immediately after the war, the concept of *Österreich* and *Vaterland* needed to be redefined to fit the newly formed republic. On the one hand, a sharper definition of *Österreich* was needed, especially in comparison with pre-war Austria. Clearly, the disappearance of the monarchy, the changing of borders, the more homogeneous population, and the loss of the war itself meant that the national pride had suffered an enormous blow.¹⁸⁹ Two days after the fall of the empire, the *Volksblatt* sadly referred to the event as a ‘tief schmerzliche Prüfung’ for the millions of people that were loyal to the house of Habsburg and had seen in the Habsburgs the best chance for happiness and prosperity for the ‘alten Oesterreich’.¹⁹⁰ The paper went on to state that the Habsburgs had no blame in the war, which was especially true for the youthful emperor Karl who had only worked for peace in his short time on the throne. The question of unification with Germany meant that the meaning of *Vaterland* had shifted. Mayor Dametz called for the ‘Heimkehr des österreichischen Volkes in das deutsche Vaterland’ during the republic’s first jubilee in 1928.¹⁹¹ Moreover, primarily the German Nationalists and the Social Democrats kept referring to Austria as *Deutschösterreich* – indicating their

¹⁸⁶ [my Austria, my fatherland], [willingness to sacrifice] in: *Oesterreich im Weltkrieg 1914*, Gedicht von Friedrich Pesendorfer, Linz 1914, OÖLA, SV, S, KEW, box 137. *Deutsches Meßlied um den Frieden* von Marie Schmidmayr, Linz 2 May Linz, OÖLA, SV, S, KEW, box 137.

¹⁸⁷ [joyous day] in: *Linzer Volksblatt* (18-08-1915), 1.

¹⁸⁸ Glückwunsch der Armee und Flotte, *Linzer Volksblatt* (05-10-1916), 5.

¹⁸⁹ As also eloquently explained in: G. Bischof, and F. Plasser (eds.), *From Empire to Republic: Post-World War I Austria* (Innsbruck 2010).

¹⁹⁰ [deeply painful trial], [old Austria] in: *Der Abschied des Kaisers*, *Linzer Volksblatt* (13-11-1918), 1.

¹⁹¹ [return of the Austrian people to the German fatherland] in: *Festsitzung des Linzer Gemeinderates*, *Linzer Tages-Post* (14-11-1928), 3.

continued desire for German unification – long after the Treaty of Saint Germain.¹⁹² The German Nationalists, naturally, used the new situation to demonstrate that in the old Austria the German-speaking population had just been a part of the entire ‘Völkergemische’ and found new pride in the way the population had acted in these troubled times:

Aber wir Deutschösterreicher hatten uns trotz der schweren Wunden, die Krieg und Zusammenbruch unserer Volksgesamtheit geschlagen haben, durchringen können zu einem Staatsbewußtsein, das es uns allen ermöglicht hätte, den 12. November als wirklichen Feiertag zu begehen.¹⁹³

On the other hand, the narratives surrounding this definition concerned a less unified community after the war. The three political factions chose different ways of addressing the past and, increasingly, the future.

Narratives of *Heimat* developed in this period as well and although *Heimat* predominantly concerned the province, local officials addressed the larger scale of *Heimat* too. Minister for Trade and Traffic dr. Hans Schürff attended the opening of the *Linzer Ausstellung* in 1924 and remarked that it seemed as if ‘unsere ganze österreichische Heimat’ participated in the event.¹⁹⁴ Before and during the war, the press almost never referred to *Österreich* or *Vaterland* as *Heimat*. After the war, *Heimat* was no longer limited to the regional level, but was also applied on a national level; probably to help build a new national identity with more familiar and universally accepted elements. The *Nationalfeiertag* provided the perfect opportunity to praise the military with prominent military parades through the city. Many leading officials attended and gave speeches during various parts of the celebration, for instance mayor Dametz and Social Democratic deputy governor Josef Gruber. Despite the ‘knöcheltiefer Schneebrei bedeckte Straßen’, Linz’s garrison marched from the Promenade towards the *Landhaus* – similar parades were held throughout Upper Austria – and when they arrived in front of Hauser, Dametz, deputy governors dr. Josef Schlegel (Christian Socials), Franz Langoth (German Nationalists), and Gruber the troops had forgotten all about the bad weather. Commander Oskar von Englisch-Popparich gave a speech about the meaning of the day and thanked the army above all for their contribution in reconstructing the *Heimat*.¹⁹⁵ A year later, English-Popparich made a similar

¹⁹² Hoch der 1. Mai!, *Linzer Tagblatt* (01-05-1928), 1.

¹⁹³ [mixture of nations], [But despite the severe wounds that war and the collapse of our people as a whole, we German Austrians have managed to achieve a state consciousness that made it possible for us all to celebrate November 12 as a real holiday] in: Der 12. November, *Linzer Tages-Post* (12-11-1927), 1.

¹⁹⁴ [our entire Austrian homeland] in: The *Linzer Ausstellung* was similar to the *Ausstellung* of the *Linzer Volksfest*. Die *Linzer Ausstellung*, *Linzer Tagblatt* (27-04-1924), 4.

¹⁹⁵ [ankle-deep in snow covered streets], [he particularly emphasized the development of the Wehrmacht, despite all obstacles caused by the unfavorable times and their conscious part in the reconstruction of the homeland.] in: Der Nationalfeiertag, *Linzer Tages-Post* (14-11-1925), 4.

speech and assured Hauser that ‘er und die Heimat sich jederzeit auf die oberösterreichischen Truppen verlassen können’.¹⁹⁶ To this Hauser replied that he was thankful for this assurance and declared

[...] überzeugt zu sein, daß die Truppen jederzeit auf ihrem Platze stehen werden, wenn es den Schutz der Republik, den Schutz der Ordnung, den Schutz der Menschen und den Schutz der Grenzen gilt.¹⁹⁷

The transformation of *Heimat* corresponds to Applegate’s assertion of the concept, as ‘Heimat’s nostalgic evocation of a closed and close-knit community’ was replaced by larger and less personal forms of (political and territorial) belonging.¹⁹⁸

Exclusion also became an important aspect in the development of national identification towards Austria. This exclusion had a hostile connotation. Similar to the regional form of this process, Czechs often served as the most significant excluded group, mainly in German Nationalist circles. During imperial celebrations, newspapers often reported on the situation in Bohemia and in Prague in particular as to show their own superiority in celebrating the emperor. Additionally, upheavals were deemed an insult to the emperor and the attention these incidents received in newspapers reflect the degree of indignation. The emperor’s sixtieth jubilee had a ‘sonderbare Vorfeier’, according to the *Tages-Post*, as the Czechs had chosen this day to attack German students and *Bürger* in Prague.¹⁹⁹ The paper reported extensively on the misbehavior of the Czechs and the subsequent intervention by the police. Problematically, the Czechs belonged to the Austrian crownlands and so the Czechs opposed the Germans rather than Austrians. Linz, and Upper Austria as a ‘rein deutsche Land’ had most to fear from this so-called czechification.²⁰⁰ After the war, the focus shifted to the superiority of the Germans or German Austrians and moved away from Czech dangers.

The character of this exclusion became more hybrid after the war. Already during the war, local layers of government were warned for returning soldiers’ change in allegiance. In May 1918 the Ministry for Defense informed the imperial regency of the imminent threat the prisoners of war posed to internal safety. During their time in Russia the soldiers had experienced the Russian Revolution and these revolutionary tendencies might have affected them.²⁰¹ Fear for the actions of these soldiers existed in the beginning of the republic as well. The Ministry of Domestic Affairs reported on the dangers of Bolshevik propaganda spread by soldiers during the Austrian Revolution. In addition, Jews

¹⁹⁶ [he and his homeland can always rely on the Upper Austrian troops] in: Der Gründungstag der Republik, *Linzer Tages-Post* (14-11-1926), 4.

¹⁹⁷ [to be convinced that the troops will always be there when it comes to the protection of the republic, the protection of order, protection of people and protection of borders] in: Der Gründungstag der Republik, *Linzer Tages-Post* (14-11-1926), 4.

¹⁹⁸ C. Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials*, 11.

¹⁹⁹ [strange pre-celebration] in: Die Revolte in Prag, *Linzer Tages-Post* (01-12-1908), 1.

²⁰⁰ [purely German province] in: Das Slavisierungssystem, Deutsche Volksverein, AL, AR, AV, Urfahrner Markt 1892-1928, box 129a.

²⁰¹ Ministerium für Landesverteidigung to the Statthalterei, 04-05-1918, OÖLA, AdS, KEW, Arbeiter und Fabriken 1906-1918; Politische Werbung, box 29.

would spread this propaganda in Galicia.²⁰² The Jewish community was also framed as the enemy in different political camps. The Christian Socials combined their misgivings towards the Czechs with that of Jews and, especially, the Jewish leadership of the Social Democrats. In 1923, the *Volksblatt* reported on the *I. Mai Feier* and berated the Social Democrats' sympathy and admiration for the Jews, called the socialists 'Judenknechte', and disapproved of these feelings as 'Judenbegeisterung'.²⁰³ The report served as a reaction to the *Tagblatt*'s positive reports on socialism and, although the *Volksblatt* gave numerous (inter)national examples of these dangers, they primarily aimed their message at a local and regional audience in connection to the protection of culture:

Man blicke doch in Linz und im ganzen Lande Oberösterreich herum, ob die Kulturwerke nicht auch heute fast ausschließlich von den 'großschnäbeligen Ariern' geschaffen und erhalten werden?²⁰⁴

The *israelitische Kultusgemeinde* warned officials of the increase in antisemitism, especially from the Christian population. The *Kultusgemeinde* defended the Jewish population against the allegations made during the *Deutsche Volkstagen* in western Austria.²⁰⁵

Finally, exclusion took place on a political level as well. As mentioned above, the Jewish intellectual leadership of the Social Democrats made them untrustworthy. Even though the local and regional Social Democrats wanted little to do with their national counterparts – mayor Dametz even went out of his way to avoid them – and in the cooperation between political parties in Linz little can be seen of this political exclusion, the local press presented polarizing reports on these political camps. In addition, Hauser and the moderate Christian Socials pursued political harmony and stood closer to Social Democratic Renner than to their own party leader Seipel.²⁰⁶ Problematically, the *Tagblatt* repeatedly attacked the clergy and the *Volksblatt* the socialist cause. During the *Domfeier*, for example, the *Tagblatt* attacked Linz's bishop Doppelbauer and spoke of '[e]in Aufatmen ging durch den oberösterreichischen Klerus, als sein Gewaltherr im Jahre 1908 plötzlich starb'.²⁰⁷ These polarizing reports increased steadily in the 1920s. Generally, the *Tages-Post* did not interfere in this conflict.

In contrast to the process of localization, the process of connecting local events to larger – national or imperial – affairs contributed to the feeling of belonging towards Austria. The 1909

²⁰² Deutschösterreichische Staatsamt des Innern to the Landesregierung, 19-11-1918, OÖLA, AdS, KEW, Arbeiten und Fabriken; Politische Werbung, box 29.

²⁰³ [Jewish servants], [Jewish adoration] in: Aufdringliche Bewunderung, *Linzer Volksblatt* (01-05-1923), 1.

²⁰⁴ [One looks around Linz and in the whole of Upper Austria, whether presently the cultural works are not almost exclusively created and protected by the "big-mouthed Aryans"?] in: Aufdringliche Bewunderung, *Linzer Volksblatt* (01-05-1923), 1.

²⁰⁵ Resolution der Vorstand der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde, 17-09-1918, OÖLA, AdS, KEW, Arbeiten und Fabriken; Politische Werbung, box 29.

²⁰⁶ E. Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Hometown*, 46-47.

²⁰⁷ [the Upper Austrian clergy breathed a sigh of relief when its tyrant died suddenly in 1908] in: Oberösterreich und sein Immaculate-Dom, *Linzer Tagblatt* (27-04-1924), 1.

Volksfest was honored with the attendance of archduke Karl Franz Joseph, patron of the *Landes-Handwerkersausstellung*, which added to the festival's grandeur.²⁰⁸ During the festival's opening the *Volkshymne* was sung by the public, Karl gave a speech which was met with several *Hochrufe*, and the daughter of mayor Dinghofer recited a poem and handed the archduke a bouquet of flowers.²⁰⁹ For this occasion these imperial customs were displayed at the local festival. In addition, during the 1911 *Trachtenfest* the newspapers described the parade of folk costumes during the 1908 jubilee in Vienna as a principle reason for the organization of this local variant. According to the *Volksblatt* 'Der Jubiläumsfestzug bedeutet in der Geschichte der Erhaltung der Volkstrachten einen gewaltigen Stoß nach vorwärts'.²¹⁰ The *Tages-Post* elaborated on the emotions felt by Franz Joseph when he saw so many people perform their native customs and traditions. Inspired by this event, Von Preen and Holzinger organized a similar event in Taufkirchen.²¹¹ This connection between the local and national level also came forward during the 1924 *Landesausstellung* and *Domfeier*. For both events, the attendance of national figures was significant, like the attendance of cardinal Frühwirth at the *Domfeier*. 'Diese Bedeutung für Stadt, Land und Bund' of the exhibition came forward in the attendance of the republic's highest representative, president dr. Michael Hainisch. The presence of Hainisch and dr. Schürff demonstrated the share 'den unsere ganze österreichische Heimat an der Linzer Schaustellung nimmt'.²¹² The connection between the local, imperial and national level contributed to the construction of a shared feeling of belonging to this larger level and illustrates the interrelationship of these processes.

Collective Commonalities

Although the collective commonalities that were emphasized in the festive calendar changed after the fall of the empire, they reflect a degree of similarities. Still, the meaning of imperial celebrations, on the one hand, and the *Nationalfeiertag*, on the other, was almost completely opposite. The imperial celebrations emphasized love and loyalty towards the emperor and depicted citizens as subjects. The *Nationalfeiertag*, however, emphasized the right of self-determination, democracy and the republic, the end of war, and sometimes even the fall of the empire itself. Moreover, its foundation built respectively on the existence of empire and the nation-state. While the imperial celebrations were meant for everyone, they appealed more strongly to a catholic public. The *Nationalfeiertag* increasingly served as a festivity to celebrate the victories of Social Democrats. Despite these inherent differences, the festivities both valued loyalty. In addition, the *Nationalfeiertag* showed similarities to the imperial celebrations in terms of content and its set-up.

²⁰⁸ Der neue Kaiser, *Linzer Tages-Post* (23-11-1916), 4.

²⁰⁹ Landes-Handwerkersausstellung und Volksfest in Linz, *Linzer Tages-Post* (04-09-1909), 1.

²¹⁰ [The jubilee parades means a huge push forward in the history of the preservation of national costumes] in: Linzer Volksfest, *Linzer Volksblatt* (15-09-1911), 4.

²¹¹ Volksfest in Linz, *Linzer Tages-Post* (15-09-1911), 4.

²¹² [The meaning for city, province, and federation], [which our entire Austrian homeland takes at the Linzer exhibition] in: Die Linzer Ausstellung, *Linzer Tagblatt* (27-04-1924), 4.

The imperial celebrations' context was localized, but its meaning remained imperial. In *The Limits of Loyalty* the mobilization of imperial loyalty and state patriotism has already been extensively explained in relation to institutions, like schools and the military.²¹³ During the imperial celebrations these institutions and popular allegiances came together. Naturally, Franz Joseph himself came to personify the empire and his life could serve as a reason for loyalty. Franz Joseph's personal sorrows perfectly fitted the narrative of his worthiness of loyalty. During the jubilee of 1908, his 80th birthday, and his death in 1916 these sorrows repeatedly came to the fore. In 1908, the *Tages-Post* reported that the love of the people had faded the memory of the painful times in his life, '[s]o reich sein Leben ist an Leid und Ungemach – es hat ihm doch ein Großes, ein Köstliches gebracht, die Liebe und Verehrung seines Volkes'.²¹⁴ After his death, the *Tages-Post* and *Volksblatt* published lengthy reports on the emperor's life and discussed major events of the past decades, such as the *Kulturkampf* and the nationality question. The papers also discussed the personal life of the emperor, namely his marriage to Elisabeth and the birth of their children. After several years, fate struck and the papers described these faithful incidents: the execution of his brother Maximilian, the suicide of his son and heir Rudolf, the murder of Elisabeth, and the murder of Franz Ferdinand. 'Mexiko, Mayerling, Genf und Sarajevo sind die Stationen dieses Kreuzweges des gekrönten Dulders', analyzed the *Volksblatt* in their special edition after the emperor's death.²¹⁵ The *Tages-Post* made a similar assertion and both papers concluded by quoting Franz Joseph: "Mir bleibt doch nichts im Leben erspart".²¹⁶ Consequently, these events promoted the love and loyalty of his people. Other aspects that fostered loyalty to the emperor were his long reign, father-like figure, and his sense of duty.²¹⁷ The emperor's long-reign evoked admiration and loyalty as many generations had lived under his rule. Finally, the emperor was characterized as a 'Friedensfürst', a title he would hold onto despite the war.²¹⁸

Furthermore, the festivities emphasized the common meaning of the day for all inhabitants and a certain regard for both the past and the future. The unifying nature of these festivities was addressed by officials in their speeches. The love, loyalty, and gratitude that was felt, were collective feelings and this made one belong to 'einer einzigen, großen Völkerfamilie'.²¹⁹ During the war, these descriptions increased to fit the narrative of a shared stance against the enemy. Franz Joseph's decades of rule and the centuries of Habsburg rule over the Austrian crownlands contributed greatly to the celebrations' importance. These portrayals were alternated with a profound wish for the future. The

²¹³ L. Cole, and D.L. Unowksy (eds.), *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy* (New York 2009).

²¹⁴ [His life is full of suffering and adversity - it has brought him something great and precious, the love and veneration of his people] in: Des Kaisers 78. Geburtstag, *Linzer Tages-Post* (18-08-1908), 1.

²¹⁵ [Mexico, Mayerling, Geneva and Sarajevo are Stations of the Cross of the crowned sufferer] in: Der Kaiser tot, *Linzer Volksblatt* (22-11-1916), 12.

²¹⁶ Ibidem. [I am spared nothing in life] in: Kaiser Franz Josef †, *Linzer Tages-Post* (22-11-1916), 1.

²¹⁷ Kaiser Franz Josef †, *Linzer Tages-Post* (22-11-1916), 1.

²¹⁸ [prince of peace] in: ibidem. Der Kaiser tot, *Linzer Volksblatt* (22-11-1916), 12.

²¹⁹ [one big family of nations] in: Kaisers Geburtstag, *Linzer Volksblatt* (18-08-1908), 1.

district captaincies, Hauser, and the press expressed wishes for an even longer reign of the emperor, his return to Upper Austria, a decisive victory in the war, peace, and prosperity.

Naturally, these characterizations could not be used in the construction of a new loyalty towards Karl, but his youth, catholic piety, and strife for peace served as fitting replacements. Like Franz Joseph had done before him during the revolution of 1848, Karl had overcome great difficulties for the good of his people.²²⁰ Immediately after Franz Joseph's death, Karl expressed his longing for peace, that he was prepared to do anything for.²²¹ The fact that Karl's birthday was only one day after that of Franz Joseph ensured that the rhythmic structure of the imperial calendar hardly changed. Franz Joseph and Karl both presented a real connection between the population and the empire. Several people in Linz sent patriotic poems or songs to the emperor and even expressed the wish to see empress Zita.²²² When citizens experienced extreme difficulties they, or their municipality, could write to the emperor to ask for help. Especially during the war, help was often given to families who had lost several sons.

In 1917 and 1918 the traditional imperial pomp worked as ever and loyalty towards the new emperor Karl developed as well, even during the final stages of the war. On 4 November 1918, only days before his abdication and during growing social unrest, Karl continued with the celebration of his *Namensfest* with a church service in the *Stephansdom* in Vienna with the Christian *Te Deum* hymn and *Volkshymne*.²²³ Although the perseverance of imperial loyalty after the fall of the empire is difficult to measure, spontaneous acts of loyalty still form an indication of a continuing connection to the emperor. This became apparent from the reactions in Linz that followed the death of ex-emperor Karl in 1922. In his article, Christopher Brennan describes the impact of his passing and the one hundred thousand crowns that were raised by the Upper Austrian faction of the *Reichsbund der Österreicher* to set up an Emperor Karl Memorial Foundation for the support of local widows. Brennan illustrates that throughout Austria church ceremonies and masses were held. The requiem in Linz, with a symbolic tomb decorated with an imperial crown, double-headed eagle, and laurel, was attended by many officers, civilian dignitaries, politicians, and civilians in 'Trauerkleidung'.²²⁴ Notably, amongst these figures governor Hauser was absent, which further indicates his dedication to maintain political harmony.

The news of Karl's death dominated Linz's newspapers for a week and the *Volksblatt* and *Tages-Post* still held him in high regard. The papers repeatedly described the tragedy of his death and

²²⁰ Kaiser Franz Josef †, *Linzer Tages-Post* (22-11-1916), 1.

²²¹ Lieber Dr. v. Koerber!, *Linzer Tages-Post* (23-11-1916), 1.

²²² Magistrat Linz to k.k. Statthaltereil Linz, Linz 6 August 1918, OÖLA, SV, AdS, P, 1916-1918 Nationalfeiertag, box 26.

²²³ Von Tag zu Tag 1917 bis 1919: 4. November 1918, 100 Jahre Republik (17-04-2020), <<https://2018.hdgoe.at/von-tag-zu-tag-1917-bis-1919/page/43.html>>.

²²⁴ [mourning attire] in: Requiem, *Linzer Tages-Post* (08-04-1922), 11. C. Brennan, 'Sinner, Saint – or Cipher? The Austrian Republic and the Death of Emperor Karl I', in: P. Miller and C. Morelon (eds.), *Embers of Empire*, 229-260, here 241.

how unfortunate his life had been; similar to the emphasis on the misfortunes of Franz Joseph. Karl had worked tirelessly for peace and in some ways could even be seen as the republic's first revolutionary, according to the *Tages-Post*.²²⁵ Ex-empress Zita, still pregnant with her eighth child at the time of Karl's death, received special attention in the reports and the papers reflected on her and the children's future. The *Volksblatt* chose not to introduce Karl as 'ex' emperor and referred to him as the former emperor. The *Tagblatt* was outraged by instances of imperial loyalty, especially the *Tages-Post*'s characterization of Karl as the first revolutionary.²²⁶ The *Tagblatt* attacked these papers and elaborated on the Habsburg war guilt, the millions of people that had died, and as far as sympathy for Zita was concerned, many women in Austria had suffered a worse fate. The requiem mass that was held dated back to imperial times and the republic had never received such attention.²²⁷ Finally, the repeatedly published list of donations for the emperor's coffin vexed the *Tagblatt* greatly. The *Tagblatt* considered donations with messages such as 'als Vergißmeinnicht auf den Sarg meines geliebten, toten Kaisers' as a disgrace.²²⁸ In spite of the *Tagblatt*'s outrage at the turn of events, – as Brennan argued – these gestures demonstrated the enduring respect and popularity of Karl amongst several circles in society.

The *Nationalfeiertag* resembled the imperial celebrations in its emphasis on loyalty, its discussion of history, and the nature and order of events of the festivity. The *Tagblatt* aimed to show the difference between the festivities by repeatedly looking back on the Franz Joseph's birthday. The newspaper reflected on the comparative unpopularity of the public holiday:

Der 12. November wird aber auch vielen Leuten aus dem Bürgerstande nicht gefallen, denn all das fällt weg, was gerade einem waschechten Altösterreicher deutscher Zunge seinerzeit den 18. August so wertvoll machte. Den Radetzky marsch, das feierliche Hochamt, das Kaiser-Hoch usw. das verstand der Spießer sehr wohl. Rufe nach Freiheit und Gleichberechtigung aber, oder gar das Singen der Marseillaise sind Dinge, die für das Ohr von Leuten, die getreu einer alten Ueberlieferung die "heilige Ordnung, segensreiche", als etwas Unantastbares halten, nicht passen.²²⁹

Historian Ernst Hainisch also points out the significance of the weather in comparing these summer birthdays and the *Nationalfeiertag* in rainy November. The memory of hot summer nights for a long

²²⁵ Der Tod des letzten Kaisers von Oesterreich, *Linzer Tages-Post* (03-04-1922), 1.

²²⁶ Zum Ableben des Exkaisers, *Linzer Tagblatt* (05-04-1922), 2.

²²⁷ Ibidem.

²²⁸ [as a forget-me-not on the coffin of my beloved, dead emperor] in: Zum Ableben des Exkaisers, *Linzer Tagblatt* (05-04-1922), 2.

²²⁹ [November 12, however, will not please many people from the middle class either, because everything what made August 18 so valuable to a genuine old Austrian with a German tongue was abandoned. The bourgeoisie understood the Radetzky March, solemn high mass, the Kaiser *Hoch* etc. very well. But calls for freedom and equality, or even the singing of the Marseillaise, are things that do not fit the ears of people who, according to an old tradition, hold the "holy order, beneficial" as something untouchable] in: J. Kirchberger, Im Wandel der Zeiten, *Linzer Tagblatt* (12-11-1921), 5.

time clouded the cold and wet November celebrations.²³⁰ Despite these observations, the similarities in the activities are unmistakable. Just like the emperor's birthday, the celebration in 1920 started the day before with the festive lighting of the city. On the day itself, a parade of Linz's garrison started the celebrations on their exercise field and then marched into the city. The officers of the army, officials from civil authorities and provincial government, and mayor Dametz were present, accompanied by many spectators. After the garrison had marched back with a *Defilierung* to their barracks, the day ended with a concert in the *Volksgarten*.²³¹ Apart from the change of names of the institutions, the celebrations were identical. A year later, the number of participants in the parade expanded with the addition of workers. Other similarities existed as well. The attendees shouted 'Hoch' three times after speeches by the officials, albeit towards socialism and the republic instead of to the emperor.²³² The more prominent parade of the *Alpenjäger-Regiment* stopped in front of the army administration building, the *Landhaus*, and the *Rathaus* to play music, that Hauser listened to. Afterwards, a gathering was held in the *kaufmännische Vereinshaus*.²³³ In 1924, and especially 1925, the structure of the celebration changed. Greater emphasis was placed on separate and solely Social Democratic gatherings.²³⁴ From then onwards, the *Volksblatt* reported less and less about the holiday, although the military parade would not become politically pillarized.

The emphasis on characteristics of people, such as loyalty, duty, and a feeling of pride, also became apparent in the *Nationalfeiertag* and remained in place throughout the entire period. During the second *Nationalfeiertag*, the *Tagblatt* stressed that the new state had given the working people new rights and that, in time of need and death, this

[...] hat sich tief in unser Bewußtsein eingegraben, in stiller, aber aufrichtiger Dankbarkeit erneuern wir ihm das Gelübde unwandelbarer Treue und opferfreudiger Hingebung.²³⁵

Commander English-Popparich expressed that eight years had passed, 'seit das alte Reich in Trümmer ging und das kleine, aber schöne Oesterreich' had to depend on itself and that because of the work of the government and cooperation of well-meaning people, things were moving forward again. The *Tages-Post* summarized that both the state and the people could once again look forward with pride and confidence because of the work of the officer corps.²³⁶ In 1928, mayor Dametz proclaimed in the city council that the republic had given the people the possibility to further its development and that

²³⁰ E. Hainisch, 'Das Fest in einer fragmentierten politischen Kultur: der österreichische Staatsfeiertag während der Ersten Republik', in D. Lehnert and K. Megerle (eds.), *Politische Teilkulturen zwischen Integration und Polarisierung: zur politischen Kultur in der Weimarer Republik* (Wiesbaden 1990), 43-60, here 45.

²³¹ Der Verlauf des Nationalfeiertages, *Linzer Tages-Post* (13-11-1920), 4.

²³² Die Feier der Republik, *Linzer Tagblatt* (14-11-1923), 1.

²³³ Feier des 12. November, *Linzer Tages-Post* (11-11-1922), 4.

²³⁴ Der Staatsfeier, *Linzer Tages-Post* (12-11-1924), 6.

²³⁵ [has dug deeply into our consciousness, in silent but sincere gratitude we renew the vow of unchangeable loyalty and sacrificial devotion.] in: Zur Wiederkehr des 12. November, *Linzer Tagblatt* (12-11-1920), 1.

²³⁶ [since the old empire went into ruins and the small but beautiful Austria] in: Der Gründungstag der Republik, *Linzer Tages-Post* (14-11-1926), 4.

the ‘Gemeingut aller werde, ist unsere Aufgabe, unsere Pflicht’, with this we ensure the development of our ‘Heimatstadt’ Linz and her population to make the city a ‘treuen Bollwerk unserer Republik’.²³⁷

Lastly, during both the imperial and national celebrations the press and local administrators valued the use of history as a collective commonality. Already in 1919, the *Tagblatt* pointed out the historical importance of the 1918 revolution.²³⁸ In 1921, the newspaper went even further and stressed that this revolution had been the wish of the working people for decades, whilst the *Volksblatt* and *Tages-Post* regarded the revolution as a consequence of war pressure on the population. The *Tagblatt* warned people of the dangers of monarchism. Karl’s venture to Hungary – during which he had tried to reclaim the Hungarian throne – had been foolish, but other dangers lurked, such as Seipel’s wish to see the crown restored.²³⁹ The references to the past focused on the Habsburg oppression in 1924 and compared the festivity with the emperor’s birthday, which was its equivalent when many readers were children. This report started with the same words that were used in imperial times, namely ‘unser engeres Heimatland’.²⁴⁰ The difference between the emperor’s birthday and 12 November was summarized as that of

[...] Habsburgische schwarz-gelbe Vergangenheit und demokratische, republikanische Zukunft, Knechtschaft und Freiheit, Untertanenschaft und Staatsbürgertum.²⁴¹

At the same occasion, the *Tages-Post* compared the problems of the empire with those of the republic.²⁴² Moreover, in 1928 the national celebration was connected with the death of governor Hauser. The *Tages-Post* elaborated on the church service that for Hauser and the donation that of 100,000 schillings for the establishment of a new hospital. Not only was this similar to the discussion of the deaths of both Franz Joseph and Karl, the regional character displays a special similarity to the discussion about the death of bishop Doppelbauer on the emperor’s jubilee in 1908.²⁴³ The emperor’s birthday, death, and coronation day served as opportunities to explain the developments of the empire over time and how things had improved. During the *Nationalfeiertag* this historical comparison was made as well, although the Habsburg past received predominantly negative reports. The papers’ different ideologies influenced not the way in which they used history, but rather the conclusion they connected to this history.

²³⁷ [the common good of all becomes our task, our duty], [hometown], [loyal bulwark of our republic] in: Festsitzung des Linzer Gemeinderates, *Linzer Tages-Post* (14-11-1928), 3.

²³⁸ E. Koref, Zur Wiederkehr des 12. November, *Linzer Tagblatt* (12-11-1919), 1.

²³⁹ Zum 12. November, *Linzer Tagblatt* (12-11-1921), 1.

²⁴⁰ [our small homeland] in: Der wahre Tag der Republik, *Linzer Tagblatt* (12-11-1924), 1. Republikfeier in Linz, *Linzer Tagblatt* (14-11-1924), 4.

²⁴¹ [the Habsburg black and yellow past and the democratic, republican future, bondage and freedom, subservience and citizenship] in: Der 12. November, *Linzer Tagblatt* (12-11-1927), 1.

²⁴² Der 12. November, *Linzer Tages-Post* (12-11-1927), 1.

²⁴³ Das Jubiläum der Republik, *Linzer Tages-Post* (12-11-1928), 3.

Contrary to the imperial celebrations, 12 November became the stage to exemplify differences between political parties. Whereas the fall of the monarchy had been celebrated in Social Democratic circles, the *Volksblatt* and Hauser mourned its loss.²⁴⁴ Stourzh, however, argues that the provincial Christian Social factions in Vorarlberg, Tirol, and Upper Austria had consisted of a strong republican voice, which called for acceptance of the republic.²⁴⁵ As early as 1919, the parade in Linz met a counterdemonstration of people with black-red-and-yellow flags.²⁴⁶ Again, the main confrontation took place between the Christian Socials and the Social Democrats.²⁴⁷ During Seipel's visit to Salzburg in 1922, the *Volksblatt* rejoiced that the Social Democratic government had ended and that the popularity of the 12th of November did not increase amongst the non-Social Democratic population.²⁴⁸ In Linz a demonstration took place against the – what the *Tagblatt* described as a treasonous – Christian Social government.²⁴⁹ The *Volksblatt* repeatedly tried to explain the meaning of the celebration independent of its social democratic meaning.²⁵⁰ The *Tages-Post* agreed that the Social Democrats had made the *Nationalfeiertag* an exclusively social democratic festivity, whilst it should have been a celebration for everyone.²⁵¹ This heated debate primarily took place in the press. In addition, the discussed differences emerged on a national rather than regional level.

A final difference between the 18th of August and the *Nationalfeiertag* consisted of the continuous attention to (and of) women in the *Tagblatt*. The writer, composer, and women's rights activist Hedda Wagner, for instance, published numerous poems in the paper on the meaning of the celebrations and the First World War.²⁵² Annemarie Mahlendorf wrote 'Die Frau und die Republik' in the special appendix *Neues Werden!* in which she praised the changes during the celebrations, but argued that people hardly recognized that these accomplishments were the feat of women as well. During the 1918 Revolution women had become equal citizens instead of second-rate subjects and women's rights came to the fore.²⁵³ Furthermore, the *Tagblatt* discussed the position of women during the monarchy and how their position had changed and improved during the republic.²⁵⁴ The other newspapers did not discuss gender as openly and progressively as the *Tagblatt*, nor did they publish the names of female writers.

²⁴⁴ Der Abschied des Kaisers, *Linzer Volksblatt* (13-11-1918), 1. Die Proklamierung Deutschösterreichs als Republik, *Linzer Tages-Post* (13-11-1918), 1.

²⁴⁵ G. Stourzh, 'Erschütterung und Konsolidierung des Österreichbewußtseins', 291.

²⁴⁶ Republikfeier in Linz, *Linzer Tagblatt* (14-11-1919), 2.

²⁴⁷ Der vierte Jahrestag der Republik, *Linzer Volksblatt* (12-11-1921), 1.

²⁴⁸ Der fünfte Geburtstag der österreichischen Republik, *Linzer Volksblatt* (14-11-1922), 4.

²⁴⁹ Sonderbare Zumutungen des „Linzer Volksblattes“, *Linzer Tagblatt* (12-11-1922), 1-2.

²⁵⁰ Der vierte Jahrestag der Republik, *Linzer Volksblatt* (12-11-1921), 1.

²⁵¹ Der 12. November, *Linzer Tages-Post* (12-11-1927), 1.

²⁵² H. Wagner, Zum 1. Mai, *Linzer Tagblatt* (01-05-1924), 1. H. Wagner, Was wir wollen!, *Linzer Tagblatt* (01-05-1925), 3.

²⁵³ [The woman and the Republic] in: A. Mahlendorf, Die Frau und die Republik, Neues Werden! - *Linzer Tagblatt* (14-11-1926), 2-3.

²⁵⁴ Wir Frauen und die Republik!, Neues Werden! - *Linzer Tagblatt* (12-11-1927), 17.

The Germanness of both Austria and its inhabitants served as another feature of collective commonality. Erin Hochman argues that many previous studies' interpretations have created binary opposites between ethnic and civic nationalism while regarding German nationalism as an example of the ethnic variety.²⁵⁵ In *Pan-Germanism and the Austro-Fascist State*, Julie Thorpe underscores the importance of this feeling of Germanness and even describes it as pan-Germanism, an identity matrix used by various camps to create a common political and national framework.²⁵⁶ Austrian Germanness does not equate to German nationalism and contains both ethnic and civic elements, although this distinction is not always straightforward. Therefore, a flexible approach to Germanness is fruitful. Germanness permeated Austrian society beyond the propaganda and policies of the German Nationalists and is more complex than the post-war strife for German unification. The narratives that contained elements of Germanness can be regarded as both a commonality – as it described a common feature of people(s) – and a feeling as belonging, since it conveys a sentimental feeling of togetherness and connection.

The first and most important way Germanness developed regarded the shared German culture and heritage. The local press and administration displayed a deep appreciation for music, literature, and art from 'German' composers, such as Mozart, Haydn, and regional musicians such as Bruckner. The *Kaiser-* or *Volkshymne* by Haydn was played throughout the monarchy on imperial occasions. Children grew up singing the hymn in school and the public sang it after the church service at the *Franz Josefplatz*. The song was so embedded in society that finding a suitable replacement became the cause of heated debate surrounding new state symbols in the republic.²⁵⁷ Haydn's melody served as the basis for alternatives, such as the official version from 1929 to 1938 *Sei gesegnet ohne Ende*. The singing of the national anthem in Linz hardly ever appeared in news reports, apart from two instances on the *Nationalfeiertag* by the regiment. Other songs also stressed Germanness during different festivities, such as the 'deutsche Totenmesse' which was sung by students of the *Staats-Realgymnasium* in Linz in honor of Franz Joseph on 2 December 1916.²⁵⁸ During the *Volksfest* a whole array of German songs, plays, and costumes were displayed, like 'Die Wacht am Rhein'.²⁵⁹ Hauser declared that the festive occasion of the *Domfeier* called for the 'unsterbliche Te Deum von Bruckner'.²⁶⁰ During the church service for Karl in 1922 Mozart's requiem sounded in the *Maria Empfängnisdom*.²⁶¹ Schubert's 'deutsche Messe' was played during the church service in honor of the tenth jubilee of the republic.²⁶² These songs combined the pride in Austrian musicians with German

²⁵⁵ E.R. Hochman, *Staging the Nation, Staging Democracy*, ii.

²⁵⁶ J. Thorpe, *Pan-Germanism and the Austro-Fascist State, 1933-1938* (Manchester 2011), 16-17.

²⁵⁷ E.R. Hochman, *Staging the Nation, Staging Democracy*, 156.

²⁵⁸ Trauerkundgebungen für weiland Franz Josef I., *Linzer Tages-Post* (02-12-1916), 3.

²⁵⁹ [The watch on the Rhine] in: Landes-Handwerker Ausstellung und Volksfest in Linz, *Linzer Tages-Post* (19-09-1909), 9.

²⁶⁰ J.N. Hauser, Vollendet!, *Linzer Volksblatt* (29-04-1924), 2.

²⁶¹ Trauergottesdienst für † Kaiser Karl, *Linzer Volksblatt* (09-04-1922), 5.

²⁶² *Linzer Tagblatt* (14-11-1928),

characteristics and demonstrate that the importance of music went beyond the national discussion on the *Volkshymne*. The use of other composers and songs in festivities reflect a more harmonious connection.

The Czech-German strife in Bohemia that had affected Upper Austrian politics and the public discourse presented another opportunity to stress Germanness. Reports on the position of German people in Bohemia and later Czechoslovakia reflected a sense of connectedness. The *Tages-Post* victimized the German population in Czechoslovakia. The paper elaborated on the confiscation of German property by the Czech government. The Czechs undermined the Germans by forcing their youth into Czech schools, violating minority protection, expropriating German landowners, and by giving German-speaking areas to ‘berüchtigten tschechischen Legionäre’.²⁶³ Additionally, Czech politician Václav Klofáč (Czech Socialist Party) depicted the German population as the instigators. Dr. Klofáč made false allegations against the Austrian *Heimatschutzverbänden* for having made evil plans in cooperation with the association of German Bohemians and Sudeten Germans against the Czechoslovakian Republic. The conflict not only served as a platform to frame the Czechs as an enemy, but the *Tages-Post* increasingly used the conflict to demonstrate German connectedness between citizens as well. The other two newspapers did not adopt such hostile rhetoric to promote Germanness.

Finally, Germanness consisted of a connection to the German Empire and Germany and, eventually, the expectation and desire for *Anschluss*. Several festivities provided opportunities to stress the province’s German character. The *Tages-Post* described the ‘kerndeutsches Volk’, that the emperor paid a visit to each year on his birthday.²⁶⁴ The emperor had loved the province and its ‘kerndeutsche Bewohner’ for decades.²⁶⁵ In 1927 the *Tages-Post* regarded *Anschluss* as the primary aim of the Austrian Republic. ‘Das politische Hauptziel Deutschösterreichs ist und bleibt die Vereinigung mit dem Reiche zu einer großen staatlichen Volksgemeinschaft’.²⁶⁶ Even the Social Democrats were aware of the importance of this goal according to the paper. The description of Austrians as Germans did not limit itself to the German Nationalists, as Seipel also mentioned ‘uns Deutschen in Oesterreich’ in regard to their present hardships.²⁶⁷ The *Volksblatt* claimed that the ‘Hochkultur’ had mainly been established by German Aryans. ‘Man hat dem deutschen Volke alles genommen, allein das Recht auf ihre Kultur werden die Deutschen sich hoffentlich doch nicht nehmen lassen’.²⁶⁸ The variety of the use of German aspects demonstrated that it could either refer to *Reichsdeutschen*, German people(s), culture, or merely German-speaking in regard to schools and

²⁶³ [notorious Czech legionnaires] in: Der deutsche Kampf in Tschechien, *Linzer Tages-Post* (12-11-1922), 1.

²⁶⁴ [pure German people] in: Des Kaisers Geburtstag, *Linzer Tages-Post* (18-08-1908), 4.

²⁶⁵ Kaiser Franz Josef I. und Oberösterreich, *Linzer Tages-Post* (22-11-1916), 6.

²⁶⁶ Der 12. November, *Linzer Tages-Post* (12-11-1927), 1.

²⁶⁷ [we Germans in Austria] in: Der Bundeskanzler Dr. Seipel in Salzburg, *Linzer Volksblatt* (14-11-1923), 2.

²⁶⁸ [high culture], [Everything has been taken from the German people, but hopefully the Germans will not be denied the right to their culture.] in: Aufdringliche Bewunderung, *Linzer Volksblatt* (01-05-1923), 2.

theaters. Although Austria's Germanness consistently formed an essential element in all layers of territorial identification, Germanness became increasingly politicized towards the final years of the 1920s.

The development of national identification undoubtedly contained discontinuities, since the fall of the empire and the loss of war had brought about many political and socio-economic changes. The festive calendar altered greatly due to the loss of the many imperial celebrations. Although the press and authorities had different intentions regarding the creation of a new national identity, the methods and elements that identity was built on demonstrated many similarities with the national and imperial identity before 1918. National identification still relied on elements such as Germanness, *Heimat*, loyalty, and history. Still, censorship in the monarchy ensured that criticism of the emperor was not published in the press. The loyalty apparent in reports by district captaincies and newspapers must therefore be put into perspective and partially seen as a component in the fixed imperial pomp. Due to the absence of the socialist voice before 1918 in this research, the way in which the Social Democrats criticized the empire remains unknown, but their reports after 1918 on the monarchy reflect their disapproval of the empire and imperial loyalty amongst the population. Significantly, leading Social Democratic figures hardly ever attended imperial celebrations nor did they give patriotic speeches. After the fall of the empire and the disappearance of censorship the debate surrounding national identification gradually became polarized. As a consequence, national identification in the First Republic did not create a unified narrative. Opposing political agendas influenced national identity to a greater extent than it did the local and regional identity.

Conclusion

Mayor Dinghofer referred to Linz's garrison as the 'German watch on the Danube' to convey his anti-Czech and anti-Semitic sentiments in the city council.²⁶⁹ As such, Dinghofer framed Linz as a frontier against these influences and the garrison as its defender. This example translates to the general depiction of Linz as a fascist town. The garrison, however, turned out to be manned by, not German, but Czech reserve units since the outbreak of the First World War. The misleading nature of this statement provides a lesson for historians to look beyond popular narratives that provide singular explanations to history. This research has demonstrated the complexity and diversity of the city's history, which cannot be regarded as either purely nationalist or socialist. In addition, this thesis has argued that the 1918-divide has made a considerable impact on historiography. This study has shown continuities in territorial identification that crossed this divide and, consequently, the importance of re-examining this period.

Territorial identification in Linz has served as a case study to apply this critique on 1918 as a watershed moment. The encouragement of local community building, commonalities, and feelings of belonging by the press and local authorities did not develop as a conscious process in order to increase a local identity. Authorities often had more practical motives, like the advancement of local businesses. The activities that underscored a local identity contained an emphasis on pride in the city. Place-making during festivities affected this process of identification as it served as a way for individuals and groups to demarcate which space belonged to them and how they chose to display this colonization. In Linz this was done in a temporary manner as different groups alternately occupied the same space. Usually, the local community was inclusive and relied on commonalities between people in the love for their city. In general, local identification was a less politicized affair.

Regional identification to Upper Austria was part of a more general European trend of a rise in regionalism in this period. In the province this generally amounted to a cultural form of regionalism. In the case of the German Nationalists cultural regionalism was part of a more comprehensive idea of political connectedness between regions. Regional identification had a universal appeal and primarily reflected the longevity of Upper Austrian customs and traditions. At the same time, regional identification was politicized with the establishment of monuments that celebrated regional figures like Bruckner. Although the increase in regional identification was a new process and political factions used it differently, they each exploited the power of history. Folk dances and costumes deserved praise and attention, because they had been part of the province for so long. The Social Democratic stance towards the intensification of regional identification shows the undisputed character of Upper Austrian identity. Regionalist rhetoric did not suit their overall policy, that stressed national and even

²⁶⁹ E. Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Hometown*, 9.

international identification, but in Linz the Social Democrats accepted the display and importance of regional culture, for instance at several *Volksfeste*.

In a time of war, crises, and revolution national identification faced several obstacles in creating of a unified narrative. The spatial imagination on this level was ambiguous in imperial times, as it contained simultaneous references to German-Austria, Austria-Hungary, and Cisleithania. In comparison to the local and regional space, the definition of Austria has undergone a physical change. The alteration of its borders was strongly connected to feelings surrounding the loss of war, hence it was difficult to create a narrative that displayed pride; as was the case before 1918. Moreover, the political parties dealt differently with their national past, which subsequently influenced the newspapers. The socialist *Tagblatt* looked at the Habsburg Empire negatively and used problems of the empire to contrast and praise recent democratic developments. The *Tages-Post* and *Volksblatt* had more difficulty in completely renouncing their imperial past. Consequently, the politicization of Austria's past, present, and future explains the absence of a single, unified Austrian identity. Their ideas on national identification differed greatly, but continuity can be seen in the practices through which identity was displayed. During festivities Linz's community, press, and authorities emphasized the importance of parades, the participation of schools, military, and associations, and speeches by officials like Hauser. The universal acceptance of Austria as an inherently German land also eased the transition to national identification towards German-Austria.

Burr Bukey and Schausberger argue that Linz's and Upper Austrian society and politics consisted of a large degree of pillarization and harmony. To some extent, this line of reasoning applies to the city's festive culture as well. On a political and institutional level society was largely pillarized and various layers of politics and society operated harmoniously. During festivities this became apparent in activities, such as parades, in which people participated as being part of a certain group, for instance a German *Gymnasium* or Upper Austrian fishing association, that maintained a pillarized society. Political harmony existed in the organization and execution of the festive calendar throughout the entire period of 1908-1928. However, this thesis has shown that neither pillarization nor harmony should be regarded as absolute and, accordingly, moves beyond Lijphardt's assertion of a completely separated society. The crowds that gathered to look at parades mingled and so did the participating associations. Festivities with a local or regional emphasis were generally politicized less and so people from various groups attended and participated in activities, such as cooking competitions, together. Naturally, the three different ideologies of the *Tages-Post*, *Volksblatt*, and *Tagblatt* show institutional pillarization, but their reports demonstrate irregularities in their commitment to harmony. Certain events, like the simultaneous celebration of Labor Day and the *Domfeier*, sparked strife between the papers. The *Tagblatt* chose to attack the catholic clergy repeatedly during these events. Significantly, the papers hardly ever criticized opposing local or regional politicians or politics, but did attack their national counterparts. This illustrates a greater complexity in pillarization and harmony than put

forward by Schausberger and Burr Bukey, as news reports indicate both a spatial and social component.

Problematically, the socialist voice before 1918 is only implicitly present in this thesis. In both local and regional politics the influence of Social Democrats was marginalized through a curial voting system. Their actual, correct mandate only became apparent with the introduction of universal suffrage. This means that the socialist paper *Wahrheit!* is even more important to gauge the Social Democratic approach to territorial identification and, significantly, their stance towards imperial loyalty and identity. Unfortunately, the – incomplete – collection of the paper in the Stadtarchiv Linz was not examined and further research into the socialist voice prior to 1918 is necessary. Consequently, the Social Democratic practices in Linz remain unknown, but their sentiments do not. Social Democrats advocated the advancement of labor reforms, like the eight-hour workday, the improvement of (social) housing, and the increase of awareness of an international labor force. Reports on the *Wahrheit!* by the *Volksblatt* reveal that the Social Democrats main concern in Linz was electoral reform. The paper's criticism of the empire and emperor would have been silenced by censorship and Social Democratic meetings and demonstrations did not yet attract the same crowds as they did in times of the republic.

Furthermore, this thesis contributes to the new historiographical trend set by Morelon and Miller in *Embers of Empire* and Cornwall and Newman in *Sacrifice and Rebirth*. Both historians argue that on a socio-cultural, political, and institutional level many continuities between the Habsburg Empire and the First Republic can be detected. The continuity in territorial identification in Linz serves as an example. This thesis has provided new insights which have merely been suggested in these volumes. Firstly, the analysis of Linz's festive culture has demonstrated another important element for research into continuity, namely that of rhythmic structure. The importance of this element becomes lost in *Embers of Empire* and *Sacrifice and Rebirth*, since the contributions mostly illustrate a larger, more abstract perspective on continuity. The local perspective demonstrates the significance of rhythms in festivities, since it shows that people valued a certain familiarity in a festivity's set-up and repetitiveness of a fixed set of festivities. In addition, rhythmic structure shows that people were used to this specific festive calendar. The *Volksfest* had always been held in the first weeks of September and when it returned in 1927 it was held in September again. Moreover, rhythms in festive culture indicate another continuity, namely continuity in practices instead of in ideas. Celebrations provided a platform to display local, regional, and national identification for various groups. The related narratives could express a changed stance towards one or more of the layers of territorial identifications, like the national identification after 1918. The development of practices, however, demonstrate that despite the change of ideas people valued a similar performance of their identity by organizing (military) parades, concerts, festive lighting of the city, and speeches by local and regional politicians. Consequently, this thesis criticizes the dominance of the 1918-divide in historiography.

Additionally, this research is unique in its simultaneous analysis of three layers of territorial identification. Interestingly, not only regional and national identities developed in this period, but the local process of identification became significant as well with increased attention to Linz's history. The local perspective on the interconnectedness of these layers prove that identities should be regarded as a nested identity; instead of excluding, these layers reinforced each other. The characterization of these identities as nested, provides interesting insights into Austrian identity after 1918. The ambiguous definition of Austria before 1918 and its polarizing effect after 1918 has resulted in the widespread assumption that Austria faced an identity crisis in the interbellum, which was considered as one the reasons for the republic's demise. The stability, and even increase, in local and regional identification meant that the sense of a torn identity was less pervasive as previously thought. This also shows that the ambiguity of the definition of Austria was not necessarily considered as problematic in the development of identification, due to continuity and stability of the connected practices during national celebrations. Consequently, this local case study has demonstrated its value for the generally more abstract perspective taken in volumes like *Embers of Empire*, as these conclusions could not otherwise have been reached. Once again, this these has underscored the importance of regarding identity as a layered process, that is territorially bound.

The question, however, remains whether this case study into festive culture in Linz provides new insights for Austrian historiography in general. Could this research be applied to other localities and regions? Significantly, the spatial component of identification has long been neglected in studies on national identity, as they seek to present a coherent and unified narrative. One speaks of Austrian identity and not Austrian identities, although they were still perceived and experienced differently according to their specific spatial contexts. Instead of demonstrating diversity, local and regional examples serve merely as indicators of uniformity in many studies, such as Brennan's article on imperial loyalty and Campbell's analysis of Austrian national identity in the First and Second Republic.²⁷⁰ Naturally, the importance of the specific context of political harmony and a strong socialist presence in Linz make a one-to-one comparison with other cities useless. However, the interaction between layers of identification does form a valuable line of inquiry. Presumably, the layeredness of identity existed everywhere, but the degree of interaction and balance between layers remained flexible. In Vienna, for instance, modes of regional identification would probably have been overshadowed by a more powerful local and national identity, as Healy's intelligent study on daily life in Vienna during the First World War already indicates.²⁷¹ Although the meaning of nested identity remained dependent on its spatial context, continuity and uniformity can be found in its rhythmic structure. Whether daily, monthly or annually, territorial identities have always relied on repetition and performance of practices that reify people's collective connection to a certain space.

²⁷⁰ C. Brennan, 'Sinner, Saint – or Cipher?'. D.P. Campbell, *The Shadow of the Habsburgs*.

²⁷¹ M. Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*.

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Appendix: Provincial and Municipal Elections, 1919-1931

Table 1: Provincial Elections in Upper Austria, 1919-1931.

<i>Provincial Elections Upper Austria</i>	<i>Christlichsoziale Partei (CSP)</i>	<i>Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei Deutschösterreich (SDAPDO)</i>	<i>Deutsche Freiheits- und Ordnungspartei (FOP)/Großdeutsche Volkspartei/Nationale Wirtschaftsblock und Landbund¹</i>	<i>Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP)</i>	<i>Christliche Arbeiter- und Angestelltenpartei</i>	<i>Kommunistische Partei Österreichs (KPÖ)</i>	<i>Heimwehr</i>	<i>Total seats/ votes</i>
<i>Landtag 1919</i>	38 (51.11%)	22 (28.81%)	12 (20.08%)	-	-	-	-	72 385,380
<i>Landtag 1925</i>	34 (53.70%)	16 (26%)	10 (16.25)	0 (2.79%)	0 (0.69%)	0 (0.55%)	-	60 436,516
<i>Landtag 1931</i>	28 (55.80%)	15 (28.72%)	5 (7.88%)	0 (4.10%)	-	-	0 (3.50%)	48 457,563

Table 2: Municipal Elections in Linz, 1919-1931.

<i>Municipal Elections Linz</i>	<i>Christlichsoziale Partei (CSP)</i>	<i>Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei Deutschösterreich (SDAPDO)</i>	<i>Deutsche Freiheits- und Ordnungspartei (FOP)/Großdeutsche Volkspartei (GDVP)/ Nationale Wirtschaftsblock und Landbund</i>	<i>National-sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP)</i>	<i>Einheitsliste²</i>	<i>Kommunistische Partei Österreichs (KPÖ)</i>	<i>Heimathblock</i>	<i>Total seats/ votes</i>
<i>Gemeinderat 1919</i>	17 (28.20%)	33 (55.26%)	10 (16.54%)	-	-	-	-	60 44,513
<i>Gemeinderat 1923</i>	16 (26.30)	30 (48.60%)	10 (15.70%)	4 (7.90%)	-	0 (1.50%)	-	60 57,739
<i>Gemeinderat 1927</i>	-	32 (52.67%)	-	-	28 (46.97%)	0 (0.36%)	-	60 64,122
<i>Gemeinderat 1931</i>	14 (22.66%)	32 (50.98%)	5 (9.39%)	4 (6.67%)	-	0 (1.11%)	5 (9.19%)	60 63,043

¹ The German Nationalists changed their name repeatedly. In 1919 they participated in the elections with the FOP, from 1923-1925 with the GDVP, and from 1927 onwards with the *Nationale Wirtschaftsblock und Landbund*.

² In 1927 the Christian Socials, German Nationalist, and National Socialists took part in the elections with a joint candidate list, the *Einheitsliste*.

Source: E. Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Hometown*, 30, 41-43. Gemeinderatswahlen, Stadtarchiv Linz, (26-05-2020) < <https://stadtesgeschichte.linz.at/10359.php>>. Chronik Oberösterreich, Land Oberösterreich, (26-05-2020) < <https://www.land-oberoesterreich.gv.at/13713.htm>>.