

The Land Exhibition in Lemberg (Lwów, L'viv) in 1894, Galicia and *Schlachzizen* in the German political discourse in Vienna¹

by

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On the 5th June 1894 the Galician Land Exhibition (*Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa*) was opened in Lemberg (Lwów, L'viv). At first glance this was nothing really extraordinary, for it was neither contrary to the Europe-wide trend of organising such events in the second part of the nineteenth century, nor was it the first exhibition to be held in Lemberg or Galicia. The first world exhibition had been organised in London in 1851, and 22 years later (*nota bene* in the year of the first grave economic crisis of capitalism) one had been opened in Vienna. Moreover, in Galicia itself Land exhibitions had already taken place in Lemberg (1877) and Cracow (Krakau, Kraków – 1887). All these previous exhibitions influenced the Land Exhibition of 1894 in Lemberg in various ways. Firstly, they provided a sort of pattern, giving some general outlines as to how such an event should be organised. Secondly, they created a competitive situation, in which each exhibition had to be more glamorous, more astonishing, more successful, than the previous one. Thirdly, they were proving their considerable promotional potential, a fact which seems to have been of great importance to the Polish Galician elites who were, at the time, gaining a very strong political position within the Habsburg Monarchy.

The exhibition was an enormous undertaking even for the imperial capital of the biggest (and, to tell the truth, one of the poorest) of all Austrian provinces, but representing, as it did, a very distinct expression of the metropolitan ambitions of Lemberg, it was, consequently, worth any price to the city. It took place near Park Stryjski, covering an area of 50 ha in 129 pavilions specially erected for the occasion. In order to ease communications, a tramway line a few kilometres long (one of the first in this part of Europe) was built to connect the terrain of the exhibition site with the centre of the city. The head of the organising committee was prince Adam Sapieha, while the then viceroy of Galicia was Kazimierz Badeni, who would become the Austrian prime minister a year after the exhibition. The main architects were Julian Zachariewicz and Franciszek Skowron. Each pavilion was built in a different architectural style corresponding to its content. One of the most popular parts of the exhibition was *Panorama Raclawicka* [The Panorama of

¹ This article is based on the sources collected during a one-year Herder-stipendium in Vienna (2007/2008). I would like to express my thanks to the Alfred Toepfer Stiftung f.v.s., which generously sponsored my stay in Vienna.

Raławice] – a monumental painting by Wojciech Kossak, Jan Styka, Tadeusz Popiel and Zygmunt Rozwadowski representing the victory of the insurgents led by Tadeusz Kościuszko over Russian troops in 1794, which was unveiled one hundred years after Kościuszko's success. Paintings by the famous Polish artist Jan Matejko, who had died a year before, were presented as well, and several other parts of the exhibition were devoted to industry, ethnography, agriculture, and other fields. It lasted four and a half months and was visited by some 1 150 000 people, among whom there were such distinguished guests as the Emperor Franz Joseph, his brother Carl Ludwig (who opened the exhibition), the Austrian ministers of finance (Ernst von Plener), and justice (Friedrich Schönborn) and many other Polish, German and Hungarian members of both (Austrian and Hungarian) governments.²

The significance of the exhibition, however, can hardly be confined to a mere catalogue of the works of art presented and a description of the pavilions, since it was extremely significant for the image of Galicia and its elites in German political discourse and came with an enormous ideological background for Viennese public opinion, as well as for the Galician (dominantly Polish) organisers. The more far-reaching aim of the exhibition was defined in two, partly contradictory, ways. On the one hand, it was intended to promote Lemberg as a modern metropolis, autonomous Galicia as a land rapidly developing in all fields, and to show its political elites as very patriotic, modern and wise politicians. Like all exhibitions of its type, it was thought to be a great feast of progress understood in the sense of positivistic ideas. On the other hand it was imbued with Polish patriotic ideas. Guests from the Russian and Prussian parts of the former *Rzeczpospolita* were expected and the particular stress was laid on national solidarity regardless of the political borders. Although I am not able to estimate to what extent the second aim was fulfilled, the first one was achieved completely, if we agree to accept Viennese political discourse as the indicator of success. Nevertheless, three basic facts concerning the image of *Schlachzizen* and Galicia in the Habsburg Monarchy in the period 1880-1910 seem to be indisputable:

1. The image of Galicia and *Schlachzizen* in political discourse was extremely negative in almost all analysed media over the most of the period, with the exception of 1894, the year of the Land Exhibition.
2. In 1894 the image became very positive in most of the mainstream press (liberal, conservative and governmental). It was negative in the social-democratic, Christian-social and anti-Semitic press, but these elements of the press were, however, still on the margins of public discourse in 1894

² JACEK PURCHLA: Największa polska wystawa [The Largest Polish Exhibition], URL: <http://www.lwow.com.pl/wystawa.html> and JURIJ BIRIULOW: Chodząc po wystawie [Wandering around the Exhibition], ibidem, [10.10.2009]. The elementary facts about the exhibition in my article are based on these two papers.

and hence could not really influence the general enthusiastic tenor of the reporting. Moreover, satirical magazines remained very critical towards Galicia, regardless of the period or their political bias. This, however, is simply characteristic of this kind of publication.

3. The Polish patriotic overtones of the exhibition, so important for the Galician organisers, were almost completely passed over in the German press.

At first sight a comparison between the first and the second statements may seem to be very puzzling and to require an explanation. If we take into account what had been, and would be, written in Vienna about Galicia and Polish political elites (*Schlachzizen*) before the exhibition and even more forcefully after the collapse of Badeni's government (1895-1897), it is absolutely astonishing to see how positively Galicia and its elites could be described in Viennese discourse while the exhibition was running. The aim of this article is to answer the question about the reasons for these changes in image. They may well be numerous and extremely complex, but the most important ones, in my opinion, are likely to be:

- a) The very good political situation of the Polish Parliamentary Club (*Koło Polskie*), which, in 1894, was a part of the parliamentary coalition together with the German liberals and conservatives. In a year, a Pole – Kazimierz Badeni – would become a prime minister.
- b) In 1894 the German liberal bourgeoisie, who had considerable influence on political discourse thanks to the powerful liberal press, seemed to be intoxicated with the illusion of the complete success of the German cultural mission in Eastern Europe, and, seen in this light the positive image of Galicia was an enthusiastic ode to Austrian rather than Galician success.
- c) In the last years of the 19th century the paradigm of the politics in the Habsburg Monarchy changed significantly. As a result of many social changes, the old *Honoratiorenparteien* (liberals and conservatives) lost much of their political power to the benefit of the new mass parties (social-democrats, Christian-Social Party, anti-Semites and nationalists). As a corollary, the political struggle moved from the cabinet-rooms onto the streets. It led to the use of much more populist arguments and consequently harsher criticism of *Schlachzizen*, a development which can be easily traced, especially after the collapse of the Badeni government in 1897 in a wave of nationalistic hysteria.³

³ WALDEMAR ŁAZUGA: Niemiecka opinia publiczna wobec "rządów polskich" Kazimierza hr. Badeniego w Austrii (1895-1897) [German public opinion on the "Polish Government" of Kazimierz Badeni], in: *Studia z najnowszej historii Niemiec i stosunków polsko-niemieckich*, ed. by STANISŁAW SIERPOWSKI, Poznań 1986, pp. 95-110.

- d) Perhaps some of the components in the positive image of *Schlachzizen*, and many elements in the negative one, actually corresponded to existing social reality and are hence not to be regarded as mere media manipulation. Moreover, Galicia and *Schlachzizen* were an object of criticism for many groups in the province (Ruthenians/Ukrainians, Polish democrats⁴, Polish and Ukrainians Social-Democrats), a fact which, at least potentially, may well have contributed to German negative opinion.
- e) It seems it was not so easy to describe Galicia negatively in the context of the Land Exhibition, which was partly an occasion for international promotion of the whole monarchy.

The explanations a), b) and c), despite some flaws, are the most relevant. The central assumption in this article is that criticism of Galician conditions in the German press was always linked to criticism of *Schlachzizen* (in all three meanings of the word – see below). The reason for this was Viennese authors' strong conviction that, since the *Schlachta* was said to be omnipotent in Galicia, it must, logically, be responsible for everything. To paraphrase a well known Latin sentence: *qui potest, is fecit*. On the other hand, especially after 1897, criticism of the *Schlachta* often (but not always⁵) led to direct criticism of Galicia.

The scope of the sources and the subject of this article are clearly circumscribed by the statement: "German political discourse in Vienna", it is therefore essential to explain briefly what is meant by the term in the paper. Firstly, I have used sources published in Vienna and/or directed mainly to Viennese public opinion. Secondly, 'politics' is defined in the broad sense of the term as the art of achieving one's goals affecting a whole community (e.g. by shaping public opinion), thus *political* discourse is also reflected by many seemingly apolitical sources such as operettas or tourist guides. Thirdly, the German character of the analysed discourse further restricts the scope of sources to those writings directed to the German speaking population (mainly in Vienna) and created either by Austrian Germans, or German political movements, and, last but not least, in the German language, reflecting the supra-national, imperial idea. The sources for the analysis of the discourse about the exhibition are the main Viennese daily newspapers and satirical magazines with different political leanings (liberal, conservative, social-democratic, Christian-social, nationalistic, governmental) and directed to various social groups and strata.⁶ The wider context for this specific discourse

⁴ E.g. STANISŁAW SZCZEPANOWSKI: *Nędza Galicyi w cyfrach i program energicznego rozwoju gospodarstwa krajowego* [The Galician Poverty in Numbers and the Programme of Rapid Development of the Land Economy], Lwów 1888.

⁵ When the word *Schlachzizen* was used as a description of the Polish Parliamentary Club, the Galician context was often replaced by the Parliamentary one (see below).

⁶ Liberal newspapers: *Neue Freie Presse* (further: NFP); *Neues Wiener Journal*. *Unparteiisches Tagblatt* (NWJ); *Die Presse* (Presse); *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*. *Demokratisches*

– the image of Galicia and *Schlachzizen* in 1880-1910 – was analysed in depth in my M.A. thesis which was based on a much broader range of sources⁷ and can only be briefly summarized in this article.

The amount of literature about Galicia has increased considerably in the last few decades⁸, however the Land Exhibition in 1894 has not really been fully described yet, apart from in the two, very fact-oriented, articles of a few

Organ (NWT); *Die Zeit* (Zeit); conservative and governmental press: *Wiener Zeitung* (WZ); *Fremden-Blatt* (FMB); *Vaterland. Zeitung für die österreichische Monarchie* (VTL); anti-Semitic, Christian Social and nationalistic press: *Deutsches Volksblatt* (DVB); *Reichspost. Unabhängiges Blatt für das christliche Volk Oesterreichs* (RPT); *Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt* (NWB); social-democratic: *Arbeiter-Zeitung. Organ der österreichischen Sozialdemokratie* (AZ); satirical magazines: *Die Bombe*; *Der Floh*; *Junge Kikeriki. Humoristisches Volksblatt*; *Die Wespen*; *Pschüt! Caricaturen*; *Humoristische Blätter*; *Wiener Punsch*; *Glühlichter*; *Figaro. Humoristisches Wochenblatt*; *Kikeriki. Humoristisch-politisches Volksblatt*.

⁷ MARCIN SIADKOWSKI: *Konstruowanie obrazu "polskiej szlachty" w niemieckim dyskursie politycznym w Wiedniu w latach 1880-1910* [Creating the stereotypical image of *Schlachzizen* in German political discourse in Vienna, 1880-1910], M.A. thesis, Dept. of History, University of Warsaw, 2009. The other categories of the sources are: historical and geographical textbooks, operettas, tourist guides, publications for the imperial jubilees in 1898 and 1908, *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild. Galizien*, Wien 1898 (so called *Kronprinzwerk*).

⁸ Apart from the titles cited in the footnotes below there is substantial Austrian, Polish, American and Ukrainian literature about Galicia. To enumerate only the most important or relevant: KLAUS BACHMAN: "Ein Herd der Feindschaft gegen Rußland". *Galizien als Krisenherd in den Beziehungen der Donaumonarchie mit Rußland (1907-1914)*, Wien 2000; HARALD BINDER: *Galizien in Wien. Parteien, Wahlen, Fraktionen und Abgeordnete im Übergang zur Massenpolitik*, Wien 2005; JÓZEF BUSZKO: *Polacy w parlamencie wiedeńskim 1848-1918* [Poles in the Vienesse Parliament], Warszawa 1996; ANDRZEJ DZIADZIO: *Austria wobec Galicji i Czech w dobie przemian ustrojowych monarchii habsburskiej (1861-1871)* [The Austrian Attitude towards Galicia and Bohemia in the Period of Political Transformation of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1861-1871], in: *Czasopismo prawno-historyczne* 50 (1998), 1, pp. 83-115; ALISON FLEIG FRANK: *Oil Empire. Visions of Prosperity in Austrian Galicia*, Cambridge 2004; MARIA KŁAŃSKA: *Erkundungen der neuen österreichischen Provinz Galizien im deutschsprachigen Schrifttum der letzten Dezennien des 18. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Galizien als gemeinsame Literaturlandschaft: Beiträge des 2. Innsbrucker Symposiums polnischer und österreichischer Literaturwissenschaftler*, ed. by FRIDRUN RINNER und KLAUS ZERINSCHKE, Innsbruck 1988, pp. 35-48; EADEM: *Problemfeld Galizien in deutschsprachiger Prosa 1846-1914*, Wien et al. 1991; WALDEMAR ŁAZUGA: "Rządy polskie" w Austrii. Gabinet Kazimierza hr. Badeniego 1895-1897 [The so called 'Polish Government' in Austria. The Government of Kazimierz Badeni, 1895-1897], Poznań 1991; HANS-CHRISTIAN MANER: *Galizien. Eine Grenzregion im Kalkül der Donaumonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, München 2007; GERTRAUD MARINELLI-KÖNIG: *Polen und Ruthenen in den Wiener Zeitschriften und Almanachen des Vormärz (1805-1848). Versuch einer kritischen Bestandaufnahme der Beiträge über Galizien, die Bukowina und das polnische Geistesleben insgesamt*, Wien 1992; RUDOLF A. MARK: *Galizien unter österreichischer Herrschaft. Verwaltung, Kirche, Bevölkerung*, Marburg 1994.

pages each by Jacek Purchla and Jurij Biriulow cited above. Although a few books have been written on the general subject of Polish-German stereotypes (the one by Hubert Orłowski is worthy of particular note), no monograph has been published on the specific topic of the image of Galicia and its elites in Vienna.⁹

The analysed image was dialectical (the positive and negative elements, although with varying intensity, coexisted in parallel) and cubist (the change of perspective substantially changed the image itself). Thus all the statements in the article should be understood as relating to a limited period of time (1880-1910, especially 1894), space (Vienna), or a fragment of the social reality revealed by the sources (German political discourse) and should, hopefully, serve as a basis for discussion rather than to determine 'the truth'.

Galician success: the Land Exhibition in Lemberg 1894

Before I set about further analysis, the usage of German Polonism *Schlachzizen* in this article should be briefly explained. The word denotes exactly the discursively constructed social group with all its negative connotations in Viennese political discourse and therefore suits my analysis perfectly. The word *Schlachzizen* was created from the Polish word *szlachta* (gentry) and actually had three different, although mutually intersecting, meanings, depending on the context. Firstly, it denoted the Polish political elites in Galicia, mainly of noble birth in fact¹⁰, and was the antonym of words describing all

⁹ HEINRICH OLSCHOWSKY: Sarmatismus, Messianismus, Exil, Freiheit – typisch polnisch?, in: Deutsche und Polen. Geschichte, Kultur, Politik, ed. by ANDREAS LAWATY et al., München 2003, pp. 279-288; HUBERT ORŁOWSKI: Polnische Wirtschaft. Nowoczesny niemiecki dyskurs o Polsce [Polnische Wirtschaft. The Modern German Discourse on Poland], Olsztyn 1998; TOMASZ SZAROTA: Niemiecki Michel. Dzieje narodowego symbolu i autostereotypu [The German Michel. The History of a National Symbol and Autostereotype], Warszawa 1988; OLIVER WIEST: Deutsches Kulturvolk und der Osten. Antislawische und antipolnische Stereotypen in Deutschland in der Zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, M.A. thesis, University of Salzburg 2002.

¹⁰ For Polish/Galician nobility and elites see: IRENEUSZ IHNATOWICZ, ANTONI MĄCZAK, BENEDYKT ZIENTARA, JANUSZ ŻARNOWSKI: Społeczeństwo polskie od X do XX wieku [Polish Society from the 10th to 20th Century], Warszawa 1999; STANISŁAW GRODZISKI: Schyłek stanu szlacheckiego na ziemiach polskich [The Decline of the Gentry in Poland], in: IDEM: Studia galicyjskie, Kraków 2007, pp. 245-258; Ziemiaństwo polskie 1795-1945 [Polish Landed Gentry 1795-1945], ed. by JANINA LESKIEWICZOWA, Warszawa 1985; Aktywność gospodarcza ziemiaństwa w Polsce w XVIII i XIX wieku [The Economic Activity of the Landed Gentry in Poland in the 18th and 19th Century], ed. by WIESŁAW CABAN and MIECZYŚLAW B. MARKOWSKI, Kielce 1993; MAŁGORZATA DRÓDŹ-SZCZYBURA: Ordynacje rodowe w XIX i pierwszej połowie XX wieku: Wielkie posiadłości ziemskie i ich kształt prawno-organizacyjny w Polsce porównawczej na przykładzie ordynacji łańcuckiej [Entails in the 19th and the First Half of the 20th Century. Big Entails and their Legal and Organisational Form – the Łańcut-Entail], Kraków 1998; Dwór polski w XIX wieku: zjawisko historyczne i kulturowe [The Polish Land Estate: Historical and Cultural Phenomenon], ed. by TERESA

underprivileged groups (*Volk, Bauern*, etc.)¹¹. Secondly, it was understood as synonymous with the term *Polen* and therefore antonymous with the words *Ruthenen* or *Ukrainer*.¹² Thirdly, it was used in the context of parliamentary discussions as a synonym for the Polish Parliamentary Club in the Viennese *Reichsrat* and the Galician *Landtag*, the attitude towards the Club was being extended to the whole of Galicia.¹³ In all these meanings it did not have much to do with a legal status of the denoted groups, but similarly to the *böhmischen Feudalen* (describing one of parliamentary conservatives clubs rather than a social group) it was actually a political, not a legal term, and was therefore used only in strictly political discourse.¹⁴

An examination of the use of this term in certain titles may prove instructive. Before and after the exhibition it was quite often used by various newspapers of all political stamps: the liberal *Neue Freie Presse* and *Neues Wiener Journal*, the social-democratic *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, as well as the anti-Semitic *Deutsches Volksblatt* and *Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt*. It was not used in

HRANKOWSKA, Warszawa 1995; SŁAWOMIR GÓRZYŃSKI: *Nobilitacje w Galicji w latach 1772-1918* [Ennoblements in Galicia, 1772-1918], Warszawa 1999; JERZY JEDLIŃSKI: *Klejnot i bariery społeczne. Przeobrażenia szlachectwa polskiego w schyłkowym okresie feudalizmu* [Coat of Arms and Social Barriers. Transformation of the Polish Nobility in the Late Feudal Period], Warszawa 1968; MARCIN KRÓL: *Konserwatyści a niepodległość. Studia nad polską konserwatywną XIX wieku* [Conservatives and Independence. Studies on Polish Conservatism in the 19th Century], Warszawa 1985; KRZYSZTOF ŚLUSAREK: *Drobna szlachta w Galicji 1772-1848* [Petty Gentry in Galicia, 1772-1848], Kraków 1994; KAZIMIERZ ZAMORSKI: *Ludność Galicji w latach 1857-1910* [Galician Society, 1857-1910], Kraków 1989.

¹¹ E.g.: DVB No. 1948, 6.06.1894, Morgenausgabe: *Galizische Landes-Ausstellung in Lemberg*, pp. 1-2; Zeit No. 689, 28.08.1904, Morgenausgabe: *Nirgendwo*, p. 1; AZ No. 237, 27.08.1904: *Vom Tage. Kochajmie sie!*, p. 1; NWB No. 198, 30.08.1904: *Die galizische Rundreise*, p. 4; NWB No. 200, 1.09.1904: *Nationale Herrenpolitik*, p. 4; NWJ No. 3894, 28.08.1904: *Bittere Wahrheiten. Ministerpräsident Dr. v. Koerber in Krakau*, p. 1; DVB No. 6519, 24.02.1907: Morgenausgabe: *Der Hungerstreik der ruthenischen Studenten*, p. 6; NWB No. 87, 14.04.1908: *Der Statthalter von Galizien Graf Potocki ermordet*, p. 4.

¹² E.g.: AZ No. 104, 14.04.1908: *Ruthenenleid*, pp. 1-2; DVB No. 6519, 24.02.1907, Morgenausgabe: *Der Hungerstreik der ruthenischen Studenten*, p. 6; NWB No. 200, 1.09.1904: *Nationale Herrenpolitik*, p. 4; NWB No. 198, 30.08.1904: *Die galizische Rundreise*, p. 4; AZ No. 240, 30.08.1904: *Vom Tage. Körbers Theorie und galizische Praxis*, p. 1.

¹³ E.g.: NFP No. 6834, 15.09.1883, Abendausgabe: *Politische Uebersicht*, p. 1; AZ No. 71, 4.09.1894: *Die Staatsphilosophie des Herrn von Plener*, p. 3; Zeit No. 694, 2.09.1904, Morgenausgabe: *Hofpolitik*, p. 1; Zeit No. 1997, 14.04.1908, Morgenausgabe: *Politischer Wahnsinn*, p. 1; NWJ No. 5205, 17.04.1908: *Der künftige Statthalter von Galizien. Von besonderer polnischer Seite*, p. 1; Kikeriki No. 38, 13.5.1906: *In der Rennzeit. Auch ein gefährliches Hindernisrennen*, p. 8; Neue Glühlichter No. 105, 25.11.1893: *Zeitgemäße Variation eines bekannten geflügelten Wortes*, p. 5; Figaro No. 20, 19.05.1894: *Die Koalition mit ihren Zöglingen auf Ferien*, p. 80.

¹⁴ I.e. in the political press (dailies and satirical magazines). It was not used in school-books, tourist guides or Emperor's jubilee publications.

the conservative *Vaterland*, the governmental *Wiener Zeitung* and *Fremden-Blatt* and the popular *Illustrierte Kronen Zeitung*, which were either governmental and conservative (*eo ipso* favourably disposed to the Polish conservatives) or not interested in politics. The most puzzling aspect, however, is the absence of the expression in the liberal *Die Presse* and *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* or in the Christian-social *Reichspost*. It is really difficult to determine what the above-mentioned publications, in which the word was used, had in common, except for their strong anti-*Schlachzizen* bias, a fact that clearly indicates the pejorative connotations of the term. Given that the publications were directed to various social groups, we can assume that the word *Schlachzizen* was understood quite universally, regardless of social strata or political opinion. It had strong connotations of the archaic and unjust institutions of feudal society and the anarchic elites of former *Rzeczpospolita*, above all, however, it sounded comical and could easily be employed to ridicule the phenomenon.

Moreover, it is particularly interesting to note the way in which such a pejorative expression was used during the – otherwise extremely positively described – Land Exhibition. The absence of the term from the conservative or governmental press is not really surprising, since neither *Vaterland* nor *Fremdenblatt*, nor *Wiener Zeitung* had used the word before, or did so afterwards. Especially significant, however, is the fact that in 1894 none of the liberal newspapers described Polish elites or the Polish Club in the *Reichsrat* as “*Schlachzizen*”. They were referred to as “*Polen*”¹⁵ (often in the expression “*Polen und Ruthenen*” or paraphrase “*beide Völker Galiziens*”), “*Vertreter Galiziens*”¹⁶, “*der galizische/hochsinnige Adel*”¹⁷, “*die großen galizischen Geschlechter*”¹⁸, “*führende Männer Galiziens*”¹⁹, “*polnische Staatsmänner*”²⁰, or “*Führer der Gesellschaft*”²¹. Such positive names were hard to find, both before and after 1894, even in those newspapers which were relatively well disposed to the Polish conservatives. Interestingly, only two

¹⁵ NFP No. 10783, 30.08.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 29. August, p. 1; NFP No. 10792, 8.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 7. September, pp. 1-2; NWT No. 154, 7.06.1894, Morgenausgabe: Oesterreich in Galizien, p. 3; NWT No. 246, 7.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Lemberger Kaisertage, p. 1; Presse No. 251, 13.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 12. September, p. 1; FMB No. 156, 9.06.1894, Abendausgabe: Die galizische Landesausstellung, p. 1; FMB No. 246, 7.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 6. September, pp. 1-2.

¹⁶ NWT No. 154, 7.06.1894, Morgenausgabe: Oesterreich in Galizien, p. 3.

¹⁷ Presse No. 152, 5.06.1894: Die galizische Landesausstellung, pp. 9-10; NWJ No. 222, 7.06.1894: Von Halb-Asien nach Europa, p. 1; VTL No. 245, 6.09.1894, Abendausgabe: Wien, 6. September, p. 1; VTL No. 250, 12.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Ein Nachwort zu den Kaisertagen in Lemberg, p. 1.

¹⁸ FMB No. 156, 9.06.1894, Abendausgabe: Die galizische Landesausstellung, p. 1.

¹⁹ FMB No. 240, 1.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 31. August, p. 1.

²⁰ NWJ No. 308, 1.09.1894: Herr v. Plener in Galizien, pp. 1-2.

²¹ FMB No. 152, 5.06.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 4. Juni, p. 1.

newspapers did in fact use the term *Schlachzizen* regardless of the Land Exhibition: the social-democratic *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and the anti-Semitic *Deutsches Volksblatt*²². Although in 1894 they were not at the peak point of their power and influence, in a few years they would become very harsh and uncompromising critics of *Schlachzizen* and Galician conditions. We should, therefore, examine the similarities between the two (see below).

The noteworthy trend in Viennese discourse about Galicia was the use of the metaphor of a 'discovery' of the province, with the obvious connotations of surprise the term contains. In the period of time under consideration the Land (and its elites – *Schlachzizen*) was 'discovered' in political discourse at least twice. Firstly, in 1894:

“Man hörte nicht viel davon, ja man konnte manchmal sich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, als wenn absichtlich ein Schleier über das Land gezogen würde, der spärende Augen an dem Einblick in geheimnißvolle Vorgänge verhindern sollte. So war es bis vor Kurzem. Jetzt aber ist dieser Schleier gefallen und Galizien, das zurückhaltende, scheut sich nicht mit dem ganzen Gewichte seiner historischen Vergangenheit, seiner politischen Gegenwart und seiner Hoffnungen auf eine blühende Zukunft vor die Oeffentlichkeit zu treten. [...] Die Polen haben bei sich zu Hause Ordnung zu machen gesucht, sie haben, während sie die Aufmerksamkeit klug von ihrem Lande ablenkten, dasselbe mit dem Aufwande aller Kraft auf das Niveau der westlichen Cultur zu heben getrachtet, und jetzt, da sie – nicht ganz mit Unrecht – ihre Anstrengungen vom Erfolg gekrönt glauben, jetzt laden sie den Westen zu sich.”²³

Secondly, Galicia was 'discovered' after the collapse of Kazimierz Badeni's government in 1897:

“Aber die Badenische Regierungsmethode in westösterreichisches Licht getreten, lenkte die allgemeine Aufmerksamkeit ihrem Ursprungsboden zu. Damals wurde Galizien sozusagen politisch entdeckt und die öffentliche Kritik leuchtete so gründlich in die polnische Adelswirtschaft hinein, dass diese mit ihren Schleiern zugleich auch ihre Kraft und ihren Halt verlor.”²⁴

In 1894 Galicia astonished its Viennese 'discoverers' as a Land much more advanced in matters of culture, industry and economy than it had been previously thought. However, after 1897 Galicia and *Schlachzizen* once again became useful symbols for corruption, political violence, social injustice, etc. To be more precise, there were actually two images of Galicia and *Schlachzizen*, which were being rediscovered, for their images were completely contradictory and they had been 'discovered' repeatedly since the reign of the Emperor Josef II: the extremely negative image which dominated the discourse, against which few periods of positive enchantment with Galicia became even more visible and meaningful.

²² AZ No. 71, 4.09.1894: Die Staatsphilosophie des Herrn von Plener, p. 3; DVB No. 1948, 6.06.1894, Morgenausgabe: Galizische Landes-Ausstellung in Lemberg, pp. 1-2.

²³ NWJ No. 314, 7.09.1894: Sub auspiciis Imperatoris, p. 1.

²⁴ Zeit No. 1997, 14.04.1908, Morgenausgabe: Politischer Wahnsinn, p. 1.

In the liberal, conservative and governmental press, which constituted the mainstream of the political discourse in 1894, the Land Exhibition was defined as a great cultural success for the province and the clear sign of the political power of the Galician elites. The exhibition was “ein glänzender Erfolg der culturellen Bestrebungen Galiziens, eine feierliche Guttheißung der polnischen Politik zugleich aber die schärfste Betonung der gesamtstaatlichen Idee, und echt moderner Geist.”²⁵ In 1894 Galicia was presented as one of the fastest developing provinces of the empire of the past few years. Although the term ‘the past few years’ was quite loosely interpreted, ranging from the first partition of Poland to the beginning of the autonomous era, the positive direction of the changes was universally praised. The description of the changes was, however, general and consisted of a simple enumeration of fields in which progress was being made (the development of the educational system, craft, industry, art and agriculture or the transformation of Lemberg into a modern metropolis). Very frequently it was simply summarised in a very general way, e.g. “ungeahnten Aufschwung auf allen Gebieten des öffentlichen Lebens”.²⁶ Much more interesting than the mere catalogue of achievements, which was simply a summary of the most important demands of liberals and Joseph II-like modernisers, are the sources to which progress is ascribed.²⁷

On the one hand, Galicia was said to owe its development to the hard and systematic work of its elites and the improvement of Polish-Ruthenian relations. On the other hand, according to the contemporary press, there were at least three non-Galician reasons for success, and, in the end, these were probably more important: the constant support of the Emperor, who not only continued the civilising efforts of his ancestors, but also gave *Schlachzizen* a free hand in the province, and the provision of state funds, which were spent on various investments in Galicia.²⁸ However, perhaps the most crucial factor was the impact of German (i.e. higher) culture on Eastern Europe. The awareness of the historical mission seemed to be unchanged from the

²⁵ NWJ No. 317, 11.09.1894: Der Kaiserbesuch in Lemberg, p. 1.

²⁶ Presse No. 248, 10.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 10. September, p. 1.

²⁷ Presse No. 152, 5.06.1894: Die galizische Landesausstellung, pp. 9-10; NWT No. 158, 11.06.1894, Morgenausgabe: Von der Lemberger Ausstellung, pp. 1-2; FMB No. 152, 5.06.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 4. Juni, p. 1, FMB No. 156, 9.06.1894, Abendausgabe: Die galizische Landesausstellung, p. 1, VTL No. 245, 6.09.1894, Abendausgabe: Wien, 6. September, p. 1. For the plans of modernisation of Galicia ‘from above’ see MANER (cf. footnote 8).

²⁸ Presse No. 251, 13.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 12. September, p. 1; NWT No. 246, 7.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Lemberger Kaisertage, p. 1; VTL No. 245, 6.09.1894, Abendausgabe: Wien, 6. September, p. 1; VTL No. 250, 12.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Ein Nachwort zu den Kaisertagen in Lemberg, p. 1.

Enlightenment and Joseph II.²⁹ Although conservative newspapers (*Vaterland*, *Fremden-Blatt*) stressed a little more strongly than the liberals the intra-Galician sources of success (hard and constant work of the Galician gentry), the idea of Austrian success in Galicia was promulgated in almost all the newspapers (conservative, governmental and liberal, which were an absolute mainstream in 1894 and even in anti-Semitic *Neuigkeits-Weltblatt*).³⁰ This view was often expressed very literally, just as in the liberal *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*:

“Mit Stolz darf die Gesamtmonarchie auf das Werk blicken, welches in Galiziens Hauptstadt entstanden ist. Oesterreichische Arbeit, österreichisches Wirken feiert hier seinen Triumph und niemals wurde glanzvoller eine Gedenkfeier begangen, als es soeben zu Lemberg geschieht, hundert Jahre nachdem der letzte Rest polnischer Selbständigkeit verschwunden war. Und so wie Galiziens Hauptstadt selbst unter Oesterreichs Szepter erst erblühte und wuchs, wie aus der ‘Stadt der Mönche’ eine große, moderne und industriereiche Stadt wurde, ebenso sehr war es österreichische Kulturarbeit, welche in dem ganzen Lande wirkte, die allerdings thatkräftigste Förderung vor Allen in den Vertretern Galiziens fand, welche insbesondere in den letzten Dezennien mit größtem Erfolge für ihr Heimatland thätig waren und nichts verabsäumten, was demselben zum Nutzen gereichen konnte.”³¹

Similar attitude was also presented in the liberal *Neues Wiener Journal*:

“Es ist, wenn man zu den Quellen dieser galizischen Kraftprobe zurückgehen will, keine einseitige Landesfeier, deren Schauplatz Lemberg ist; die dortige Ausstellung muss im weiteren Sinne als eine Manifestation der österreichischen Culturfähigkeit bezeichnet werden. Wir neiden nicht den zwei aufstrebenden Nationen, welche die weite sarmatische Tiefebene bewohnen, den berechtigten Ruhm, aus eigener Kraft Tüchtiges geleistet zu haben, allein wir meinen, dass Oesterreichs Sonne es war, die diese Ernte gereift hat.

Wenn man sich die Zustände in die Erinnerung ruft, welche in dem unglücklichen, infolge von Bürgerkriegen und allerlei politischem Ungemach darniederliegenden Lande herrschten, als es in Oesterreich eine aufrichtende Stütze gefunden hatte, und damit das achtungseinflößende Culturniveau vergleicht, welches in dieser Ausstellung zum Ausdruck gelangt, so wird man auch ohne ‘schwarz-gelbe’ Voreingenommenheit sich sagen müssen, dass nur das Wohlwollen des Adoptivvaterlandes und dessen erziehender Einfluss es waren, die diesen erfreulichen Fortschritt bewerkstelligen. [...] Galizien hat gewissermaßen seine Reifeprüfung als Cultur-

²⁹ LARRY WOLFF: *Inventing Galicia: Messianic Josephinism and the Recasting of Partitioned Poland*, in: *Slavic Review* 63 (2004), 4, pp. 818-840; MANER (cf. footnote 8).

³⁰ E.g. NWB No. 208, 12.09.1894: *Oesterreich in Galizien*, p. 3; FMB No. 152, 5.06.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 4. Juni, p. 1; FMB No. 246, 7.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 6. September, pp. 1-2; VTL No. 245, 6.09.1894, Abendausgabe: Wien, 6. September, p. 1.

³¹ NWT No. 154, 7.06.1894, Morgenausgabe: *Oesterreich in Galizien*, p. 3.

land bestanden. [...] Das schlimme Wirt von 'Halb-Asien' wird fortan keine Berechtigung haben; Halb-Asien ist zu Europa avancirt."³²

The development of Galicia went hand in hand with the transformation of its elites. *Schlachzizen*, so long criticised for their anarchic inclinations and incapacity for hard and continuous work, turned into model administrators and titans of Organic work. The most remarkable fact is the appearance of the bourgeoisie, who previously had hardly ever been mentioned in the discourse about Galicia. Moreover, the image of *Schlachzizen* gained some very characteristic components of the bourgeois ethos: diligence, perseverance and lack of ostentation.³³ 'Bourgeoisification' of *Schlachzizen* and Galicia was particularly meaningful and we should analyse this more closely below.

"Wir, die wir den Ländern immer gerne gegeben, was der Länder ist, und stets bereit sind, für jeden billigen Anspruch jeder Nationalität einzutreten, können uns dieser Ehrentage in Lemberg doppelt freuen, wo *ein hochherziger Adel die Pflichten seines Standes in so glänzender Weise erfüllte, das Bürgerthum und die Bauernschaft in löblichen Wetteifer mit ihm Tüchtigstes, zu leisten suchten*. [M.S.] Alle zusammen ihrem kaiserlichen Herrn den Zoll der Dankbarkeit und Verehrung in so mannigfaltiger, zum Herzen sprechender Weise darbrachten."³⁴

"Galizien besitzt die Aristokratie, die diese Aufgabe mit ganz besonderem Eifer pflegt und sich bewusst ist, dass Adel verpflichtet. [...] *Daneben aber strebt allmählig [sic!] schon ein Bürgerstand empor* [M.S.], so dass Galizien die Entwicklung nachholt, die es versäumt hat oder vielmehr mit einheimischen Kräften fortsetzt, was vor Jahrhunderten, als Eigewanderte es in der Hand hatten, unterbrochen worden ist."³⁵

"Die polnische Könige und der polnische Adel waren prachtliebend und kunstverständig, an ihren Höfen fanden fremde und heimische Künstler liebevolle Aufnahme und lohnende Beschäftigung. *Der galizische Adel und die galizische Bürgerschaft haben die überkommenen Traditionen treu bewahrt*, [M.S.] in schweren Zeiten an den alten Ueberlieferungen festgehalten, in günstiger Zeit der Kunst neue Stätten eröffnet."³⁶

The German press commented very extensively on visits of Franz Joseph (and his brother Carl Ludwig) as well as two German ministers (Ernst von Plener and Friedrich Schönborn) to Galicia. The arrival of the Emperor in Lemberg provided the press with the opportunity to describe the loyalty of Poles and Ruthenians/Ukrainians towards the monarch and his role in the development of the province. According to the Viennese press *Schlachzizen* were not playing politics in their loyalty and devotion to Franz Joseph, which

³² NWJ No. 222, 7.06.1894: Von Halb-Asien nach Europa, p. 1.

³³ NWJ No. 314, 7.09.1894: Sub auspiciis Imperatoris, p. 1; VTL No. 245, 6.09.1894, Abendausgabe: Wien, 6. September, p. 1.

³⁴ VTL No. 250, 12.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Ein Nachwort zu den Kaisertagen in Lemberg, p. 1.

³⁵ FMB No. 152, 5.06.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 4. Juni, p. 1.

³⁶ Presse No. 152, 5.06.1894, Morgenausgabe: Die galizische Landesausstellung, p. 9-10.

was, they stated, completely selfless and exceeded all such expressions in other Austrian lands.³⁷ “Alle geäußerten Empfindungen sind um einige Grade wärmer, alle Ansprachen an den Kaiser um einige Töne höher gestimmt, als es sonst bei solchen Anlässen der Fall zu sein pflegt.”³⁸ The liberal *Die Presse* summarised the attitude of Poles in a similar way:

“Wer diese Lemberger Tage miterlebt hat, wer Zeuge dessen sein durfte, wie echt und warm, wie aufrichtig und wie aus dem tiefsten Herzen quellend diese Manifestationen waren, der musste sich sagen, dass dieses Land und dieses Volk kaisertreu und schwarz-gelb bis auf das Mark der Knochen ist und dass die auf mancher Seite so gern festgehaltene Fabel von dem kalten Vernunftpatriotismus der Polen ein- für allemal aufgegeben werden muss.”³⁹

Apart from the wish to create a very positive image of *Schlachzizen* in 1894, there were at least two more reasons for promoting such a positive image of relations between Poles and the Emperor. Firstly, Austrian censorship, although relatively lenient, was very sensitized to matters concerning the royal family. The risk of confiscation to any publication showing Franz Joseph in a bad light was very high. Secondly, the politics of the Polish Club was indeed oriented to the support of the monarch, although not forgetting its role as representatives of a particular interest group (see below).⁴⁰

Ernst von Plener's visit to Lemberg was also commented upon by almost every newspaper. For the Viennese press the distinguished guest personified either the state budget (as the minister of finance), or liberals and Germans (as the leader of the German liberal party), depending on the bias of the

³⁷ NWT No. 246, 7.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Lemberger Kaisertage, p. 1; Presse No. 251, 13.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 12. September, p. 1; WZ No. 205, 6.09.1894, Abendausgabe: Seine Majestät der Kaiser in Lemberg, p. 1; NWJ No. 314, 7.09.1894: Sub auspiciis Imperatoris, p. 1; NFP No. 10792, 8.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 7. September, p. 1.

³⁸ FMB No. 152, 5.06.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 4. Juni, p. 1.

³⁹ Presse No. 251, 13.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 12. September, p. 1.

⁴⁰ See: STANISŁAW PIJAJ: Między polskim patriotyzmem a habsburskim lojalizmem. Polacy wobec przemian ustrojowych monarchii habsburskiej (1866-1871) [Between Polish Patriotism and Habsburg Loyalism. The Attitude of Poles towards Political Transformation in Habsburg Monarchy, 1866-1871], Kraków 2003; JAMES SHEDEL: Austria and its Polish Subjects 1866-1914. A Relationship of Interests, in: Austrian History Yearbook 19-20 (1983/1984), pp. 23-41; DANIEL UNOWSKY: “Our gratitude has no limits”: Polish Nationalism, Dynastic Patriotism and the 1880 Imperial Inspection Tour of Galicia, in: Austrian History Yearbook 34 (2003), pp. 145-171; KRZYSZTOF KAROL DASZYK: Między polską racją stanu a habsburskim mitem. Dom Habsburgów w galicyjskiej myśli politycznej doby autonomicznej [Between the Polish raison d'état and the Habsburg Myth. The Habsburgs in the Galician Political Thought during the Autonomous Era], in: Galicja i jej dziedzictwo. Vol. 1: Historia i polityka, ed. by WŁODZIMIERZ BONUSIAK and JÓZEF BUSZKO, Rzeszów 1994, pp. 68-82; MARCIN ŚLADKOWSKI: Dyskurs o (nie)lojalności polskich elit politycznych w Wiedniu w latach 1880-1910 [The Discourse on (Dis-)loyalty of the Polish Political Elites in Vienna, 1880-1910], in: Przegląd Historyczny 99 (2008), 4, pp. 553-581.

newspaper. Liberal dailies assumed that the warm welcome in Lemberg was a turning point in German-Polish and liberal-conservative relations, since the liberal *Vereinigte Linke* and conservative Polish Club were partners in the parliamentary coalition supporting the government of prince Alfred Windischgrätz. They claimed that Plener's visit and his reception symbolised the strong German-Polish alliance, and perhaps even brotherhood. Very typical in this context was the article in the liberal *Neue Freie Presse*:

“Die Reise, welche Herr v. Plener zum Besuche der galizischen Landesausstellung unternommen hat, gleicht einem Triumphzuge. An allen Orten, die er berührt, wird er mit Sympathie-Kundgebungen überhäuft; [...] Es hat den Anschein, daß man in Herrn v. Plener weit mehr den hervorragenden Führer der liberalen Deutsch-Oesterreicher als den Minister begrüßt, daß man in Galizien mehr der Freude darüber Ausdruck geben will, daß der ehemalige Oppositions-Führer, der in mancher heißen parlamentarischen Schlacht den gegenübergestanden ist, nunmehr als politischer Freund kommt, als darüber, daß der Minister der Landesausstellung seine Aufmerksamkeit zuwendet. [...] Sieht man vom linken Centrum und einigen sehr kleinen Partikeln des Hohenwart-Clubs ab, so sind in der That die Deutsch-Liberalen und die Polen derzeit die einzigen Parteien, von denen eine maßvoll fortschreitende Gesetzgebung, die sich von brutaler Reaction und überstürztem Radicalismus gleich ferne hält, zu erwarten sind. Sie sind zwei Parteien, zwischen denen weder eine nationale noch eine staatsrechtliche Controverse schwebt, die von einander nichts zu verlangen und nicht zu besorgen haben. Dazu kommt, daß die Polen, welche das größte nationale Interesse an der Stärkung Österreichs als Macht haben, in den Deutsch-Liberalen fast die einzige Partei finden, die eine Reichspartei ganz ohne Vorbehalt ist, und deren nationales Interesse sich gleichfalls mit dem Reichsinteresse verknüpft.”⁴¹

In contrast to this, the anti-Semitic press and satirical magazines argued that Plener was greeted in Galicia as the minister of finances and Poles welcoming him acted entirely out of (financial) self-interest or courtesy.⁴² As the anti-Semitic *Deutsches Volksblatt* put it:

“Auf der Bildfläche erscheint die bekannte Figur des polnischen Patrioten, der sich nur dann des Reiches erinnert, wenn dieses ihm mit einigen Millionen unter die Arme greifen soll und einen Minister nur bejubelt, wenn dieser eine offene Hand für Galizien hat. – Die polnische Eitelkeit mag ihren Theil daran haben, daß alle Minister, die die Lemberger Ausstellung besuchen dort glänzend empfangen werden. Daß die Polen damit jedoch nicht auch einige praktische Zwecke ver-

⁴¹ NFP No. 10783, 30.08.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 29. August, p. 1.

⁴² NWB No. 203, 5.09.1894: Zerstörte Majoritäts-Hoffnungen, p. 1; RPT No. 204, 5.09.1894: Diner- und Souper-Politik in Lemberg, p. 1; Kikeriki No. 71, 6.09.1894: Plener in Krakau, p. 1; Glühlichter No. 126, 14.09.1894: Noch ist Polen nicht verloren, p. 1; Figaro No. 36, 8.09.1894: Schlachzizenlied, p. 143; ibidem: Auch eine Lemberger Begrüßungsrede (Gehalten mit Doktor Faust's Hauskappchen von Krapulinski im Namen Waschlapski's), p. 143; Floh No. 36, 9.09.1894: Lemberger Ministerreise, p. 2; ibidem: Plener in Lemberg, p. 3; Junge Kikeriki No. 863, 9.09.1894: Das Lemberger Coalitionessen, p. 8; Humoristische Blätter No. 26, 1.07.1894: Die Ausstellungsfeste in Lemberg, p. 4.

knüpfen sollten, dazu haben sie sich seit jeher als zu geriebene Geschäftspolitiker erwiesen, Herr v. Plener ist Finanzminister, eine sehr wichtige Person für die Polen.”⁴³

Some ten years after the prime minister Ernest von Körber's inspection tour to Galicia and Bukowina (1904) the disbelief about Polish friendship towards Germans and the reasons for the Galician hospitality would become completely dominant in German political discourse⁴⁴ (except for the conservative *Vaterland*, which by then, however, had lost much of its influence⁴⁵). It was laconically put in the liberal *Die Zeit*: “Ein österreichischer Ministerpräsident reist nicht nach Galizien, ohne daß er mit vollen Koffern hinkommt und mit leeren Taschen zurückkehrt.”⁴⁶

In the liberal press there were a few significant enthymemes: “all Germans are liberals” and “all liberals are Germans” as well as “all Poles are conservatives” and “all conservatives are Poles”. Poles were praised in 1894 for their friendly attitude towards Germans and their patriotism towards the state, which amounted to the same thing. The Polish political elites were also described as wise and patriotic politicians, who always took the constitution and the interests of the whole state (*Reichsinteressen*) into account. Even the intentions of *Schlachzizen* to defend the autonomous status of Galicia at any cost were not regarded as endangering the unity of the state, in sharp contrast to the parliamentary boycott by the Czechs, to whom *Schlachzizen* were very often compared in this context. The very strong position of the Polish Parliamentary Club was said to be a result of its internal discipline and *Realpolitik*, which were especially appreciated in the context of deep divisions between German parliamentary clubs.⁴⁷ The following is very characteristic of the opinions expressed in liberal and conservative press:

“Es muss aber ebenso rückhaltlos anerkannt werden, dass die Polen ihre Stellung in Oesterreich bald begriffen haben und den wohlwollenden Absichten der Krone durch eine überaus kluge, nüchterne, den Vortheil ihres Landes und ihrer Nation mit dem Reichsinteresse weise verknüpfende Politik entgegengekommen sind. Die Polen haben stets eifersüchtig über die Autonomie Galiziens gewacht, aber ihr Autonomismus ist nie, wie bei den Czechen, in einen reichszerstörenden Föderalismus ausgeartet. Lebendiger als in irgend einer der österreichischen Nationalitäten ist in den Polen die Erinnerung an ihre geschichtliche Selbständigkeit, ja auf dem Grunde ihrer Volksseele ruht noch immer die Hoffnung auf eine dereinstige

⁴³ DVB No. 2033, 30.08.1894, Morgenausgabe: Polnisches, p. 1.

⁴⁴ E.g.: NFP No. 14376, 2.09.1904, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 1. September, p. 1; NWB No. 198, 30.09.1904: Die galizische Rundreise, p. 4; DVB No. 5621, 28.08.1904, Morgenausgabe: Eine Reise nach Galizien, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁵ VTL No. 239, 29.09.1904, Abendausgabe: Wien, 29. August, p. 1.

⁴⁶ Zeit No. 687, 26.08.1904, Morgenausgabe: Die galizische Reise, p. 1.

⁴⁷ NWT No. 234, 26.08.1894, Morgenausgabe: Ein Dreiklang, p. 1; NWT No. 246, 7.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Lemberger Kaisertage, p. 1; NWJ No. 314, 7.09.1894: Sub auspiciis Imperatoris, p. 1; NWJ No. 308, 1.09.1894: Herr v. Plener in Galizien, pp. 1-2.

Wiedererweckung und Wiedervereinigung Polens, aber diese Gefühlswelt hat sich niemals in Gegensatz zur lebendigen Wirklichkeit gestellt und die innere Consolidierung Oesterreich nie wesentlich behindert. [...] So robust der galizische Landes Patriotismus der Polen sich oft gezeigt hat, ihre autonomistischen und nationalen Bestrebungen haben doch ihre Grenze im Reichsinteresse und zumal im Interesse der Dynastie gefunden. Der Triumph, den hiemit die kluge und consequent festgehaltene Realpolitik der Polen feiert, ist eine Lehre für alle anderen Parteien und Nationalitäten in Oesterreich. Die meisten von ihnen sind älter im österreichischen Staatsverbände als die Polen und sollten sich demnach enger mit demselben verknüpft fühlen, und doch haben so wenige noch es zu der Erkenntnis gebracht, dass das Staatsinteresse unverrückbare Grenzen für alle nationalen und localen Bestrebungen bilden müsse.”⁴⁸

On the conservative side of the political spectrum opinion about Polish politics was exactly the same:

“Die Polen harrten auf dem Boden der Verfassung aus. Sie stehen heute voll und ganz auf dem Boden österreichischer Reichsinteressen und des österreichischen Staatsdenkens. Das Polenthum, einstens in Europa identisch mit einer steten Verlegenheit für alle Regierungen, mit einem Fermente steter Gährung, hat sich in Oesterreich dank der väterlichen Politik des kaiserlichen Herrn zu einem Machtelement des Reiches, zu einem Träger konservativer Staatspolitik entwickelt. Doch in so heftigem Hader auch die Polen oft ob ihrer nationalen und autonomen Anschauungen zu der jeweiligen österreichischen Regierung oder der Verfassungspartei standen, auf dem großen entscheidungsvollen Terrain der Reichspolitik waren sie stets an der Seite der Reichsinteressen zu finden. Sie kreuzten mit den Deutschen oft die blanken Waffen im Parlamente. In den Delegationen blieben Polen, Konservative und Deutsche Bundesfreunde. Sie standen da, wo die Reichsfahne wehte. Die Tripelallianz fand in allen drei Gruppen ihre Genossen.”⁴⁹

The conviction about the constructive role of the Polish Club in the political system of the monarchy had its sources, at least partly, in the existing political reality. From 1879 to 1897 the Polish Club formed an important part of each parliamentary coalition supporting mostly conservative governments, and consistently gained posts in the central administration, especially the post of the governor of Galicia. The peak of its power was the period of Kazimierz Badeni's premiership (except for Alfred Potocki, also a Pole, the only non-German prime minister of Cisleithenia). The autonomous tendencies, the comparison with the political situation of Poles in Germany and Russia, the strong political position and social character of the Club, which consisted mainly of Polish landed gentry, predestined the Polish Club to conservatism and loyalty towards the monarch, who was believed to be the guarantor of the autonomous status of Galicia. The successful political strategies of the Polish conservatives, who, until the elections in 1907, dominated the Galician political scene and the Polish Club since its beginnings in 1867, was indeed based on a few fundamental axioms, which were recognised and highly

⁴⁸ NFP No. 10792, 8.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 7. September, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁹ FMB No. 246, 7.09.1894, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 6. September, pp. 1-2.

praised in many newspapers in 1894.⁵⁰ These were: a) exercising internal discipline (despite the fact, that the Polish Club united politicians from different political movements: two groups of conservatives, democrats, Jews, nationalists or peasant parties); b) defending and, if possible, extending Galician autonomy; c) in contrast to the Czechs, consistently avoiding a parliamentary boycott or obstruction; d) winning the support of the monarch; e) preserving the social, political and national *status quo* in Galicia as long as it was possible.⁵¹ Although in 1894 Viennese journalists noted the positive impact of the Polish Club on Austrian politics, they (and even the anti-Semitic or social-democratic critics of *Schlachzizen*) passed over or completely underestimated the Polish patriotic overtones of the Exhibition. Before the exhibition, and following the collapse of the Badeni government, the situation was, however, completely reversed. This was not caused by some kind of journalistic blindness or memory loss, but a result of the rules of political discourse, which state that any fact is just a weapon in a political struggle and can be used according to a current need.

Although the image of *Schlachzizen* and Galicia, as summarized above, dominated the mainstream of German political discourse in 1894, it was, however, not the only one. As hinted above, on the 'margins' the image was far from being so positive. The 'margins', which then consisted of anti-Semitic and social-democratic newspapers and satirical magazines of all shades, were still not very powerful, but were becoming more and more influential and in few years would become very loud and uncompromising critics of *Schlachzizen*. The political extremists of that time⁵² were strongly opposed to the old *Honoratiorenparteien*, despite the fact that new movements derived partly from the liberal and conservative parties.⁵³ Consequently, in 1894 their criticism was more directed against the policies of the liberal party, and the negative opinion of *Schlachzizen* and Galicia was,

⁵⁰ Nota bene, after 1897 the same characteristic of the Club became an object of equally fierce political attacks.

⁵¹ See BUSZKO (cf. footnote 8).

⁵² Victor Adler's Sozialdemokratische Arbeiter Partei Österreichs (SDAPÖ), the anti-Semites (Georg von Schönerer and Karl Hermann Wolf) and Karl Lueger's Christian Social Party.

⁵³ For the German parties in Vienna see REINHOLD KNOLL: Zur Tradition der christlich-sozialen Partei. Ihre Früh- und Entwicklungsgeschichte bis zu den Reichratswahlen 1907, Wien 1973; HELMUT KONRAD: Arbeiterbewegung und Sozialismus in Cisleithanien, in: Das Parteiwesen Österreich-Ungarns, ed. by GÁBOR ERDŐDY, Budapest 1987, pp. 95-124; LOTHAR HÖBELT: Die deutschnationalen und liberalen Gruppierungen in Cisleithanien. Von der Vereinigten Linken zum Nationalverband, ibidem, pp. 77-90; IDEM: Parteien und Fraktionen im cisleithanischen Reichsrat, in: Die Habsburger Monarchie 1848-1918. Bd. 7: Verfassung und Parlamentarismus, Teil 1: Verfassungsrecht, Verfassungswirklichkeit, zentrale Repräsentativkörperschaften, ed. by HELMUT RUMPLER and PETER URBANITSCH, Wien 2000, pp. 895-1006; DIETHILD HARRINGTON-MÜLLER: Der Fortschrittssklub im Abgeordnetenhaus des österreichischen Reichsrats (1873-1910), Wien 1972.

paradoxically to some extent a function of the anti-liberal or anti-conservative bias of some newspapers. In the words of the social-democratic *Arbeiter-Zeitung*:

“Daß die polnische Schlachta mit der Koalition zufrieden ist und gar keinen Anlaß hat, diese außerordentlich günstige und vorteilslose Verbindung zu lösen, stand ja von jeher fest, ebenso wie, daß natürlich die Junker des Polenklubs niemals auch nur einen Schritt von ihrer reaktionären Haltung abweichen oder gar unter dem sittigenden Einfluß des intimen Verkehrs mit unseren Liberalen sich zu ganz handlichen schwarz-gelb-zentralistischen Gemäßigten etwa von der Farbe des verfassungstreuen mährischen Großgrundbesitzes entwickeln würden.”⁵⁴

In 1894 the new political movements were not at the peak of their power and their interests were still limited mainly to the local (Viennese) political scene. Moreover, the line taken by the social-democratic press was influenced by the Polish and Ruthenian socialists' complaints. Especially after 1897, when Ignacy Daszyński – the most skilful and one of the most uncompromising critics of *Schlachzizen* – became the leading politician in the social-democratic parliamentary club, the Polish socialists gained a very useful platform. The new political movements were, in fact, similar in their attitude towards *Schlachzizen* and the main basis of the criticism, which would dominate the discourse after 1897. According to the critics (who, in 1894, were comprised of only the political extremes, but after 1897 included all the major German parties and newspapers) Galicia was anything but a European country, since it had one of the highest rates of illiteracy among its population, an unjust electoral system and elites which deprived the people of their property and rights. Even harsher was the criticism in the anti-Semitic press:

“Das Land ist im großen Ganzen arm an Industrie, das Kleingewerbe, überwuchert durch jüdische Ausbeutung, ist verhältnismäßig entwickelt und was die Landwirtschaft anbetrifft, so ist dieselbe trotz des Reichthums, mit dem die Natur das Land ausgestattet hat, nicht auf derjenigen Stufe der Entwicklung wie in mitteleuropäischen civilisirten Ländern.”⁵⁵

Significantly, according to the critics of Galicia the province had no bourgeoisie as well, exactly contrary to the above mentioned ‘bourgeoisification’ of *Schlachzizen* and Galicia in the mainstream publications. In *Neuigkeits-Weltblatt* this motif was also swiftly combined with an anti-Semitic tenor, on the following lines: there is no *real* bourgeoisie in Galicia, but only Jewish speculators:

“Aber Galizien soll auch nicht vergessen, dass es noch immer ein passives Kronland ist und die Kosten seiner Verwaltung nicht aufzubringen vermag, obzwar es mit Hilfe der anderen Reichtheile ein vortreffliches Verkehrsnetz, ein gehobenes

⁵⁴ AZ No. 71, 4.09.1894: Die Staatsphilosophie des Herrn von Plener, p. 3.

⁵⁵ DVB No. 1948, 6.06.1894, Morgenausgabe: Galizische Landes-Ausstellung in Lemberg, p. 1-2.

Schul- und Bildungswesen, eine Grundbesiztentlastung und noch viel Anderes erhalten hat. Die Polen herrschen unbeschränkt in Galizien, doch haben sie nicht vermocht, die ungeheure Verschuldung des Groß- und Kleingrundbesitzes und die Verarmung des Volkes, das vielfach dem Hunger verfallen ist, anzuhalten. *Eine Bürgerschaft gibt es in Polen nicht, außer man rechnet die spekulativen Geldleute dazu, die sich des Handels und Gewerbes bemächtigt haben und mit ihrem Gelde das genügsame und arbeitsfreudige Volk beherrschen.*” [M.S.]⁵⁶

It is worth noting that the positive or negative image is clearly related to the influence ascribed to the bourgeoisie in Galicia. The more bourgeois Galicia is considered to be, the more positive is its image, and *vice versa*: the more negative the image of the province, the less influence is attributed to the Galician bourgeoisie. I assume that this relation was actually one of cause and effect: Galicia had to become bourgeois, in order to be presented positively. This allows us to identify main authors of the positive, as well as negative images of *Schlachzizen*, as the German (liberal) bourgeoisie – the enthusiastic supporters of the German cultural mission. Both admirers and critics of Galicia shared very similar beliefs with regard to the question of how a civilized political system should be constituted. The crucial difference between them was the conviction either that Galicia was in the process of becoming, or had already become, a modern state, or that it had not and probably never would.⁵⁷

Context: the negative image of Galicia and *Schlachzizen* before and after 1894

The importance of the positive image analysed above cannot be properly assessed, unless it is compared with the dominant negative opinion. Unfortunately, for the reasons of space, I am not able to support the first statement about Galicia (“the image of Galicia and *Schlachzizen* in political discourse was very negative in almost all analysed media for the most of the period”) with sufficient quotations and arguments. For this reason the negative image, essential as a context for the discourse on the Land Exhibition, is briefly summarised below.⁵⁸ In that case let this statement serve as the basis of my argumentation. As a perhaps inadequate excuse I can

⁵⁶ NWB No. 208, 12.09.1894: Oesterreich in Galizien, p. 3.

⁵⁷ For colonialism in the *Kakanien* see Habsburg postcolonial. Machtstrukturen und kollektives Gedächtnis, ed. by JOHANNES FEICHTINGER, URSULA PRUTSCH and MORITZ CSÁKY, Innsbruck et al. 2003, especially the articles: JOHANNES FEICHTINGER: Habsburg (post)-colonial. Anmerkungen zur Inneren Kolonisierung in Zentraleuropa, pp. 13-32; CLEMENS RUTHNER: K.u.k. Kolonialismus als Befund, Befindlichkeit und Metapher: Versuch einer weiteren Klärung, pp. 111-128; HANS-CHRISTIAN MANER: Zum Problem der Kolonisierung Galiziens. Aus den Debatten des Ministerrates und des Reichsrates in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, pp. 153-164.

⁵⁸ For more details see SIADKOWSKI: Konstruowanie (cf. footnote. 7); ŁAZUGA (cf. footnote 8); KŁAŃSKA: Problemfeld Galizien (cf. footnote 8).

assure the reader, that the negative image was, in fact, incredibly banal, constant and universal. Moreover, in the end this negativity was obvious, since it was sort of *opinio communis* on Galicia, which to some extent influenced the contemporary image of the province.

In the dominant negative view of *Schlachzizen*, they were criticized for their politics in Vienna as well as their position in Galicia. Their gravest 'sins' were egoism⁵⁹, conservatism⁶⁰, nationalism⁶¹, Panslavism⁶², the use of

⁵⁹ NWB No. 208, 12.09.1894; Oesterreich in Galizien, p. 3; NWB No. 198, 30.08.1904: Die galizische Rundreise, p. 4; Zeit No. 1130, 16.11.1905, Morgenausgabe: Polnische Wünsche, p. 1; Figaro No. 12, 25.03.1899: Intime Briefe aus Krakau (von wo aus man nicht mehr weit nach Polen hat), p. 50; Zeit No. 687, 26.08.1904, Morgenausgabe: Die galizische Reise, p. 1; NFP No. 14370, 27.08.1904, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 26. August, p. 1; NFP No. 14375, 1.09.1904, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 31. August, p. 1; AZ No. 243, 2.09.1904: Vom Tage. Er redet, p. 1; NWB No. 198, 30.08.1904: Die galizische Rundreise, p. 4; DVB No. 5612, 28.08.1904, Morgenausgabe: Eine Reise nach Galizien, pp. 1-2; DVB No. 7733, 14.07.1910, Morgenausgabe: Hände weg!, pp. 1-2; Kikeriki No. 92, 16.11.1893: Eine verfängliche Frage, p. 1; Kikeriki No. 27, 5.04.1906: An der Krippe, p. 1; Kikeriki No. 48, 17.06.1906: Die guten Schlachzizen, p. 9; Figaro No. 36, 8.09.1894: Schlachzizenlied, p. 142; Junge Kikeriki No. 759, 11.09.1892: Smalka, p. 11; Humoristische Blätter No. 40, 2.10.1898: Neues Polenlied, p. 2; Humoristische Blätter No. 7, 12.02.1899: Im polnischen Augiasstall, p. 1; Humoristische Blätter No. 33, 14.08.1904: Galizische Vorbereitungen, p. 2.

⁶⁰ AZ No. 71, 4.09.1894: Die Staatsphilosophie des Herrn von Plener, p. 3; Zeit No. 694, 2.09.1904, Morgenausgabe: Hofpolitik, p. 1; AZ No. 105, 15.04.1908: Die Schuldigen, p. 1; NWJ No. 5205, 17.04.1908: Der künftige Statthalter von Galizien. Von besonderer polnischer Seite, p. 1; Kikeriki No. 24, 25.03.1894: Das Koalitionsgespann, p. 4; Kikeriki No. 99, 10.12.1905: Grafen-Politik, p. 9; Glühlichter No. 105, 25.11.1893: Zeitgemäße Variation eines bekannten geflügelten Wortes, p. 5; Neue Glühlichter, No. 296.16: Zum Reichsratschluß, p. 8; Figaro No. 45, 10.11.1907: Die Wahlreform gesichert, p. 730.

⁶¹ NFP No. 6834, 5.09.1883, Morgenausgabe, p. 3; NFP No. 6839, 11.09.1883, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 10. September, pp. 1-2; AZ No. 55, 25.02.1907: Der Sieg der ruthenischen Studenten, p. 1; DVB No. 6516, 21.02.1907, Morgenausgabe: Die Vergewaltigung der ruthenischen Studenten, p. 2; DVB No. 6250, 25.02.1907, Morgenausgabe: Das Ende des Hungerstreiks der ruthenischen Studenten, p. 3; NFP No. 15272, 26.02.1907, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 25. Februar, pp. 1-2; DVB No. 2031, 28.08.1894, Morgenausgabe: Liberale Verräther, p. 1; NFP No. 14370, 27.08.1904, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 26. August, p. 1; VTL No. 239, 29.09.1904, Abendausgabe: Wien, 29. August, p. 1; DVB No. 5621, 28.08.1904, Morgenausgabe: Eine Reise nach Galizien, pp. 1-2; NWB No. 198, 30.08.1904: Die galizische Rundreise, p. 4; NWB No. 46, 24.02.1907: Der ruthenische Hungerstreik, pp. 1-2; Kikeriki No. 2, 7.01.1906: Woher hat die grosspolnische Bewegung ihren Namen?, p. 1.

⁶² Kikeriki No. 33, 23.04.1908: Zum politischen Mord in Lemberg, p. 3; Floh No. 8, 20.02.1898: Die slavische Allianz, p. 3; NWT No. 247, 8.09.1883, Morgenausgabe: Der Ordnungsruf der Geschichte, p. 1; DVB No. 6931, 17.04.1908, Morgenausgabe: Die panslawische Bewegung in Russland, pp. 1-2; Figaro No. 30, 25.07.1908: Allslawischer Kongreß zu Prag, p. 480; JOHANNES EMMER: 60 Jahre auf Habsburgs Throne: Festgabe zum 60jährigen Regierungs-Jubiläum Sr. Majestät Kaiser Franz

political violence, as well as the 'privatisation' of Galicia and its administration. Of course, their attitude towards the state in all these aspects was regarded as anything but patriotic or loyal. In numerous articles they were accused of using the state only for their profit, of trying to gain funds for the development of Galicia and to secure ministerial posts, or for exceeding the bounds of Galician autonomy. Satisfying one of these demands was a precondition for *Schlachzizen's* support of any government. At the same time they were also regarded as arch-conservatives and nationalists, preventing any democratisation and constantly seeking the opportunity to re-establish the former *Rzeczpospolita*. Moreover, they were often fiercely criticised for suppressing Ruthenian/Ukrainian political demands as well as for anti-German Panslavism. The arguments of the various newspapers were to some extent influenced by their political stance. For instance, *Schlachzizen* were attacked for conservatism mainly in the liberal and social-democratic newspapers, while the Polish nationalism and Panslavism were very readily used in the German nationalistic press. Especially, the 'accusation' that Panslavism was at variance with the facts perfectly fitted the notion of the 'Slavic danger', which was stressed in the anti-Semitic press. The social-democrats and nationalists attacked the national, economic and political suppression of underprivileged groups. Many of these charges against *Schlachzizen* were also frequently to be found in the Polish inner-Galician discourse (e.g. in the social-democratic, Ruthenian/Ukrainian or liberal press). We may be sure that at least some of the arguments originated from the province (social-democrats in particular, used the experience of their parliamentary colleagues from Galicia), but it is hard to estimate to what extent the German image of *Schlachzizen* was influenced by their Polish critics. Since the province was not really known in Vienna, it was natural to use the Galician sources. On the other hand, the aim of political discourse is not to gain information, but to push a political viewpoint, and lack of knowledge is never much of a hindrance when it comes to creating stereotypes.

One of the most important turning points in the development of the image of Galicia and *Schlachzizen* in political discourse was the period of Kazimierz Badeni's premiership (1895-1897). His two reforms (universal but unequal franchise, and the introduction of the Czech language in the administration of Bohemia and Moravia) changed the Viennese political scene very profoundly and consequently the image. Firstly, new political parties gained their first parliamentary seats (their number would soon rise rapidly). Secondly, German public opinion reacted hysterically to what were, in their opinion, clearly anti-German moves by the prime minister. This caused a dramatic worsening of the image under discussion and long-lasting instability in the

Joseph I., Wien 1908, p. 260; Kikeriki No. 103, 26.12.1898: Zum Krakauer Verbrüderungsfeste, p. 3.

political situation.⁶³ Paradoxically, Kazimierz Badeni, who had been praised for Galician success three years earlier, was said to be importing uncivilised, Asiatic and violent methods of governance from Lemberg to Vienna in 1897, which made him *ex post* responsible for almost every political problem in Austria. This idea was expressed in the anti-Semitic *Deutsches Volksblatt*, as well as in the liberal *Die Zeit*, to name but two examples.

“Vor wenigen Tagen waren im ‘Pester Lloyd’ Reminiszenzen an die Aera Badeni zu lesen, also an einen Zeitabschnitt, unter dessen Folgen wir noch jetzt schwer zu leiden haben und der als die eigentliche Ursache der gegenwärtigen verworrenen politischen Lage zu betrachten ist. Die Sünden, die damals der polnische Graf mit der ‘eisernen Hand’ auf sich geladen hat, sind noch heute nicht abgebußt und wenn vielleicht niemals wieder eine Konsolidierung unserer parlamentarischen Verhältnisse eintreten sollte, so ist dies dem ‘staatsmännischen Genie’ des Schloßherrn von Busk zu danken.”⁶⁴

A year later:

“Beide [Kazimierz Badeni and Istvan Tisza – Hungarian prime minister 1903-1905 – M.S.] waren Statthalter von Ländern, die von den übrigen Reichsgebieten abgeschlossen, sich durch eine eigenartige politische Kultur oder Unkultur auszeichneten. In beiden Ländern war eine halbasiatische Verwaltungsmethode, wenn auch nicht geboten, so doch in Anwendung und beide Statthalter bedienten sich ihrer mit Erfolg. Ihre Hilfsmittel waren: Gewalt und Korruption, und sie unterdrückten und bestachen mit so viel Ausdauer und Geschicklichkeit, dass ihre Satrapen allgemein für trefflich regiert galten und sie selbst in den Ruf großer Regierungskünstler kamen. Die Überpflanzung der Künstler und ihrer Kunst aus dem Engeren ins Weitere, aus der Provinz auf den Reichsboden – das ist der Inhalt der letzten acht Jahren österreichisch-ungarischer Geschichte. Man weiß, wie Graf Badeni, als der ‘Mann der starken Hand’ angekündigt, nach Wien kam, wie er hier mit Korruption begann und mit Gewalt endigte, wie er Journale kaufte, Parteien mit Sprachenverordnungen bestach, wie er die Polizei ins Parlament führte.”⁶⁵

Although Galicia was quite often discussed in German political discourse, the analysis of the Galician relationships was extremely superficial and stereotypical. The anti-Semitic *Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt* summarised almost everything that was ‘known’ about Galicia after the collapse of Badeni’s government:

“In Galizien kämpft die Schlachta mit den Ruthenen um ihre politische, wirtschaftliche und nationale Machtstellung. Trotz aller den Staatsgrundgesetzen widerstrebenden Vergewaltigung durch die Polen sind die Ruthenen diesen an Zahl überlegen. Der ruthenische Adel ist mit wenigen Ausnahmen polonisiert. Das Volk aber ist antipolnisch, wie auch in Rußland, in der Ukraine, eine Verschmelzung der Klein- mit den Großrussen nicht erreicht wurde. Galizien verdankt sein Sonderdasein nur den Millionen-Zuschüssen aus den deutschen Reichsteilen der Monarchie. Die autonome Verwaltung ist korrumpiert, das politisch rechtlose Volk lebt unter dem Terrorismus der Schlachta in gräßlichem Elend,

⁶³ ŁAZUGA (cf. footnote 3).

⁶⁴ DVB No. 5627, 3.09.1904, Morgenausgabe: Die Reminiszenzen aus der Aera Badeni, p. 2.

⁶⁵ Zeit No. 842, 29.01.1905: Von Badeni bis Tisza, p. 1.

Hungerlöhne werden gezahlt und was der Bauer verkauft, muß den jüdischen Dorfwuchsern und Schnapsschänkern zu Spottpreisen übergeben werden. Einzig in Blüte steht die Auswanderung. Der polnische 'Patriotismus' hat Galizien zu der schlechtesten verwalteten Provinz Oesterreichs gemacht."⁶⁶

The omnipotence of *Schlachzizen* in Galicia was axiomatic in the discourse about the province. As it was laconically expressed in the anti-Semitic *Deutsches Volksblatt*: "Geld, Macht, Verwaltung und Justiz kennen in Galizien nur eine Quelle, kennen nur einen Götzen, dem sie dienen müssen, die Schlachta."⁶⁷ The majority of German public opinion in Vienna was convinced that the autonomy of Galicia actually meant its 'privatisation' by *Schlachzizen*, with the result that in fact the power of the state could not be exercised in what was such a geopolitically important province.⁶⁸ This popular opinion was expressed for instance in the social-democratic *Arbeiter-Zeitung*: "Man hat in Oesterreich an dem ruthenischen Volke schwer gefrevelt und seine wirtschaftliche und soziale Rückständigkeit ist das bewusste Werk eines Regierungssystems, in welchem der Staat abdizierte und darin die schrankenlose Herrschaft den polnischen Schlachzizen zufiel."⁶⁹

According to German journalists, the power of *Schlachzizen* was mostly exercised through the illegal use of the legal imperial institutions. Their dominance was of a political, economic and cultural character. Among the most important instruments of their political power were: proverbially unjust and violent "Galician elections"⁷⁰; corrupted administration, which first and foremost served *Schlachzizen*, not the state⁷¹; a corrupted judiciary⁷²; absence of a

⁶⁶ NWB No. 200, 1.09.1904: Nationale Herrenpolitik, p. 4.

⁶⁷ DVB No. 6519, 24.02.1907, Morgenausgabe: Der Hungerstreik der ruthenischen Studenten, p. 6.

⁶⁸ NWB No. 202, 3.09.1904: Oesterreichische Interessen, p. 4; DVB No. 6061, 15.11.1905, Morgenausgabe: Die polnische Frage, p. 1; NFP No. 15269, 23.03.1907, Abendausgabe: Sechzig Stunden Hungerstreik, p. 1; AZ No. 53, 23.02.1907: Der Hungerstreik der ruthenischen Studenten, p. 3; AZ 55, 25.02.1907: Der Sieg der ruthenischen Studenten, p. 1; Zeit No. 2000, 17.04.1908, Morgenausgabe: Die Ruthenen und die österreichische Politik, pp. 1-2; Kikeriki No. 23, 19.03.1905: Polnische Wirtschaft in Galizien, p. 7.

⁶⁹ AZ No. 103, 13.04.1908: Ermordung des Statthalters von Galizien, p. 1.

⁷⁰ AZ No. 243, 2.09.1904: Vom Tage. Er redet, p. 1; NWB No. 198, 30.08.1904: Die galizische Rundreise, p. 4; AZ No. 105, 15.04.1908: Die Schuldigen, p. 1; NWB No. 87, 14.04.1908: Der Statthalter von Galizien Graf Potocki ermordet, p. 4; Humoristische Blätter No. 52, 30.12.1900: Polnische Wahlen, p. 2; Zeit No. 689, 28.08.1904, Morgenausgabe: Nirgendwo, p. 1; Zeit No. 2000, 17.04.1908, Morgenausgabe: Die Ruthenen und die österreichische Politik, pp. 1-2; NFP No. 15678, 13.04.1908, Nachmittagsblatt: Der Lebenslauf des Grafen Andreas Potocki, pp. 3-4; AZ No. 104, 14.04.1908: Ruthenenleid, pp. 1-2; RICHARD VON KRALIK: Österreichische Geschichte, Wien 1913, p. 604; Figaro No. 28, 13.07.1907: Die Wahlmissbräuche in Galizien, p. 412; Humoristische Blätter No. 27, 7.07.1907: Parallelen, p. 3.

⁷¹ NWB No. 198, 30.08.1904: Die galizische Rundreise, p. 4; AZ No. 104, 14.04.1908: Ruthenenleid, pp. 1-2; Figaro No. 38, 17.09.1904: Schlußfazit der galizischen Tour, p.

free press⁷³. On the economic side the omnipotence of *Schlachzizen* was based on their ability to wangle the money out of the state budget and their monopoly in redistributing it.⁷⁴ The dominance of *Schlachzizen* over the school system in Galicia was said to be aimed at keeping the illiterate population obedient and preventing the Ruthenians/Ukrainians from developing their national culture.⁷⁵

The banal and universal character of the negative stereotype about Galicia and *Schlachzizen* is probably the most important fact to be analysed, especially when compared with the positive image during the Land Exhibition. In both images the arguments and criteria of evaluation of the province were actually the same. The difference was the answer to the question of whether Galicia fulfilled the requirements of modernity.

Conclusions

What were the reasons for such a significant change in the image of Galicia and *Schlachzizen*? Opinion about the province was certainly influenced to some extent by the Galician critics of *Schlachzizen*. This does not, however, explain why two such contradictory opinions could appear in such relatively

150; NWB No. 200, 1.09.1904: Nationale Herrenpolitik, p. 4; NWJ No. 3894, 28.08.1904: Bittere Wahrheiten. Ministerpräsident Dr. v. Körber in Krakau, p. 1; Zeit No. 842, 29.01.1905: Von Badeni bis Tisza, p. 1; NFP No. 15683, 18.04.1908, Morgenausgabe: Die Statthalterfrage in Galizien, pp. 1-2.

⁷² NFP No. 12651, 10.11.1899, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 9. November, p. 1; AZ No. 310, 10.11.1899: Der Prozeß gegen die galizische Sparkasse, p. 6; AZ No. 312, 12.11.1899: Das Lemberger Urtheil, p. 2; DVB No. 3862, 2.10.1899, Morgenausgabe: Polnische Wirtschaft, pp. 3-4; DVB No. 3902, 11.11.1899, Morgenausgabe: Halbasien, pp. 1-2; Figaro No. 9, 25.02.1899: Intime Briefe aus Krakau, p. 34; Humoristische Blätter No. 7, 12.02.1899: Im polnischen Augiasstall, p. 1; Humoristische Blätter No. 12, 19.03.1899: Das polnische Panama, p. 5.

⁷³ NWB No. 198, 30.08.1904: Die galizische Rundreise, p. 4; AZ No. 53, 23.02.1907: Der Hungerstreik der ruthenischen Studenten, p. 3; AZ No. 104, 14.04.1908: Ruthenenleid, pp. 1-2; Neue Glühlichter No. 227.26, 9.12.1906, Galizisches, p. 4; Figaro No. 11, 11.03.1899: Intime Briefe aus Krakau, p. 42; Zeit No. 693, 1.09.1904, Morgenausgabe: Auf der Höhe der Zeit, p. 1; NFP No. 14376, 2.09.1904, Morgenausgabe: Wien, 1. September, p. 1; NWT No. 51, 21.02.1907, Morgenausgabe: Der Ruf aus der Untersuchungshaft, p. 1.

⁷⁴ NWB No. 198, 30.08.1904: Die galizische Rundreise, p. 4; NWB No. 200, 1.09.1904: Nationale Herrenpolitik, p. 4; DVB No. 5621, 28.08.1904, Morgenausgabe: Eine Reise nach Galizien, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁵ AZ No. 51, 21.02.1907: Drohung der verhafteten Studenten mit dem Hungerstreik, p. 4; NWB No. 89, 16.04.1908: Der gestörte Osterfriede, pp. 1-2; DVB No. 5621, 28.08.1904, Morgenausgabe: Eine Reise nach Galizien, pp. 1-2; JOHANN DOIWA: Kleine Vaterlandskunde der Österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie. Ein Wiederholungsbüchlein für Volksschüler, 2nd edition, Wien 1912, p. 35; FRANZ HEILSBURG, OSKAR KENDE: Geschichte, Bürgerkunde und Geographie der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie (Vaterlandskunde) für die oberste Klasse der österreichischen Mittelschulen, Wien 1912, p. 296.

short periods. Neither does the fact that many elements of the negative stereotype, in spite of numerous far-reaching simplifications, were actually corresponded to the facts. Although in 1894 Galicia did not cease to be an extremely backward region, where the social and political situation did not really conform to the idea of a just and modern system of governance, it may have been described as an embodiment of progress. The example of the social-democratic and anti-Semitic press and their criticism in 1894 proves that it was not impossible to criticise the province on the occasion of the exhibition. Moreover, in the negative discourse about Galicia regard for the good name of the monarchy was never an obstacle to criticism. Self-censorship on the part of the authors may well be the true explanation with regard to the relations of *Schlachzizen* and the Emperor. They were never criticised as disloyal towards Franz Joseph, since this involved the monarch and could be understood as an indirect criticism of him, something which could easily lead to confiscation of the journal in question.

A change of the paradigm seems to be a more accurate, although still not satisfactory, explanation. *Schlachzizen* were criticised before and after the exhibition, refuting the thesis about the unidirectional change of the image in time. It is true, however, that the criticism was much harsher after 1897 than before the exhibition. The reason for this is the development of new political mass parties, which considerably changed the political scene in the last two decades of the monarchy and deprived the 'old' parties of their influence. Moreover, the democratisation of the political system led to a situation in which the image of *Schlachzizen* seemed even more archaic, irrational or terrifying and was therefore more useful as a weapon in the political struggle. It also caused a change in the nature of the arguments, which became more populist and harsher, but did not really influence the direction of media attacks.

These two explanations of such a dialectical image seem to be the most accurate. There is no doubt that the change in image was caused by the change of political situation and position of the Polish Parliamentary Club. In 1894 it formed part of a coalition with the leading German parties, while after 1897, due, among other things, to the attempt to introduce the Language Act, it was perceived as anti-German. That is, however, how politics works: as stated before, a fact is just a weapon in the political struggle.

It is obvious that Galicia did not fit the liberal idea of a modern state, and this is the reason why opinion about the province and its elites was so negative in the German press. The conservative press, which could possibly have presented *Schlachzizen* in a more favourable light, lost much of their influence in the last two decades of the monarchy. The liberal, social-democratic and nationalistic press completely dominated German discourse. Moreover, the social-democrats and nationalists, in spite of their political conflicts, shared much of the liberal opinion on the matter of a modern political system. The Land Exhibition seemed to be a fulfilment of liberal dreams about the modernisation of Eastern Europe, something that signi-

ificantly excited the German liberal bourgeoisie in Vienna. Liberalism and modernisation of Eastern Europe ‘from above’ was of course not exclusively German, but had been an important notion in European culture since the Enlightenment. Due to the geography, however, Germans had a chance to put it into practice, something which seemed to be successful during the exhibition. What most of the German press was actually praising in 1894 was not Galician, but rather the German or Austrian liberal success in modernisation, and this was the reason for such a positive image and the willingness to pass over the Polish patriotic tenor. What was left, after waking from the day-dream, was once again bitter disillusionment, the conviction that the Galician conditions were unalterable, and that *Schlachzizen* were the reason for all the political troubles in the monarchy.

Summary

Die Landesausstellung in Lemberg (Lwów, L'viv) 1894, Galizien und die Schlachzizen im deutschsprachigen politischen Diskurs in Wien

Der Autor unternimmt auf der Grundlage ausführlicher Quellenrecherchen (es wurden vornehmlich Tageszeitungen und satirische Zeitschriften, aber auch Geschichts- und Geographieschulbücher, Reiseführer, Operetten, das sog. Kronprinzwerk und Publikationen anlässlich der Kaiserjubiläen ausgewertet) den Versuch, die Gründe für das Vorhandensein eines ausgesprochen positiven *Schlachzizen*- und Galiziensbilds im deutschsprachigen politischen Diskurs in Wien während der Landesausstellung in Lemberg 1894 zu bestimmen. Im Jahr 1894 wurde die nordöstlichste Provinz der Habsburgermonarchie ausschließlich positiv beschrieben, als ein Land, das dank der Verbrüderung von Polen und Ruthenen eine rasche, fortschrittliche Entwicklung nehme. Vor und besonders nach der Ausstellung hingegen wurden Galizien und die dort herrschende Schicht der (als *Schlachzizen* bezeichneten) polnischen Adeligen als die Hauptursache aller politischen Probleme der Monarchie wahrgenommen.

Zu den wahrscheinlichen Ursachen dieses Phänomens zählt der Autor, dass der Polenklub im Wiener Reichsrat 1894 eine relativ starke politische Position einnahm und gleichzeitig Teil einer Koalition mit deutschen Liberalen und Konservativen war. Zudem begeisterten sich die deutschen Liberalen, die durch ihre Presse starken Einfluss auf den politischen Diskurs in Wien ausübten, für die Möglichkeit einer Europäisierung Galiziens. Und schließlich war das nach der Ausstellung zu beobachtende negative Bild von Galizien und den *Schlachzizen* teilweise auf einen radikalen Paradigmenwechsel der Wiener Politik in den letzten Jahrzehnten der Monarchie zurückzuführen. Die alten Honoratiorenparteien (einschließlich der Konservativen im Polenklub) verloren ihre politische Machtstellung, während die neuen Massenparteien (Sozialdemokraten, Nationalisten und Christlich-Soziale), die dem Polenklub und den Verhältnissen in Galizien sehr viel kritischer gegenüberstanden, an Einfluss gewannen.