SUMMARY

Amidst the wake of World War I, Austrian Emperor and Austro-Hungarian King Franz Joseph I died on 21 November 1916 at Schönbrunn castle in Vienna. On November 22nd the front page of leading Viennese daily newspaper Wiener Zeitung ran the following obituary: “His Royal Apostolic Majesty Franz Joseph I passed into the arms of the Lord yesterday on the 21st day of this month at Schönbrunn castle.” The last monarch of ‘Old Europe’ led a Habsburg Monarchy that stretched from the Alps to the Carpathian Mountains and was home to more than 50 million residents, symbolically marking the era of the disappearance of feudalism and the rise of civil society in Central Europe. Austro-Hungary was a prominent Central European country economically, socially, legally, and in many other respects. However, this pre-modern dynasty had no future in the age of modern European nations and nation-states. Developmental processes in Austro-Hungary during the time of Franz Joseph had positive effects on the Croatian economy and Croatian society. However, Habsburg dualism was a simultaneous barrier to the territorial connection of the Croatian lands and to Croatian national emancipation. La Belle Époque of civil optimism ended in the apocalypse of a global war that completely changed the face of Europe and the world.

Franz Joseph was never seriously ill during the war. He only fell ill in the autumn of 1916, although he maintained his daily schedule despite this. He would rise at three in the morning, and after bathing and dressing, he would begin to deal with his papers. His audiences began at 7AM at the latest; in the meantime, he would read reports and newspapers. He would occasionally fall asleep. By October of 1916, even at the age of 86, Franz Joseph would occasionally walk through the Kammergarten without his cane, or would take a brief walk to the great hall of Schönbrunn castle. His workday would end at 5PM. In the evening hours, the Emperor would be left alone, or he would visit the few members of his family whom he tolerated. He would retire to bed at 7 or 8PM. This routine kept him alive. He would rarely show that he was affected by anything, even when reports from the battlefield were excessively bad.

Franz Joseph was the target of intense negative feelings from the Hungarian people thanks to his retribution in 1849 and the new absolutism that followed. However, those who wished to express their disrespect towards
the leader had no access to public life through the press under his rule. Criticising the leader was a fairly dangerous task, even in private circles, as even this was punishable by law. The Hungarian people were forced - not for the last time in their history - to speak of him publicly exclusively in a loyal tone, while everyone was aware that many disliked the head of state due to his earlier activities. What the Hungarian public later learned about Franz Joseph was that he was a man of historical significance, that he raised Hungary towards the standards of Western Europe, that he was a prince of peace, that he became a Hungarian at heart, and that he was a representative of Hungarian greatness and glory. His personality bridged eras, while his policies were defined by an understanding and acceptance of life’s truths. He was an exceptional man, benevolent and wise. He had an exceptional work ethic; some believed that his approach was a kind of Realpolitik that grew into the concept of his rule.

Insight into Croatian press from the mid-19th century to the outset of World War I shows that public descriptions of Franz Joseph were dominated by expressions of abject loyalty and faithfulness to the “Croatian King”. In the wake of the war, it was claimed that Franz Joseph had thought exclusively of his duty to the very last minute, which he had always fulfilled throughout his 68 years of rule. After the collapse of Austro-Hungary and the unification of Croatia with Serbia at the end of World War I, a significant change in the memory of Franz Joseph took place, conditioned mostly by political changes and only partly independently from them. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, was a member of the Little Entente and a signatory of the Anti-Habsburg Convention, aimed against the possible restoration of the Habsburg Monarchy in Central Europe. This resulted in critically-toned approaches coming to the fore, mixed with nostalgic observations. However, as time went on, the last monarch of Old Europe began to fade from memory.

Taking the death of the long-time ruler of the Habsburg empire as the central point of analysis, this anthology presents the Croatian reception of the news of his death, as well as media strategies to engage the emotions of the readership at large through biographical and other articles about Emperor and King Franz Joseph. The funeral itself is analysed as Austro-Hungary’s last great ceremony in the context of the Great War. Additionally, an attempt is made to portray the sentiments of Croats towards the leader from the beginning of his rule until his death, as well as to point out propaganda strategies used to mythologise, deify, and apologise for Franz Joseph I as Croatian king. Additionally, an attempt is made to portray the sentiments
of Croats towards the leader from the beginning of his rule until his death, as well as to point out propaganda strategies used to mythologise, deify, and apologise for Franz Joseph I as Croatian king.

During his 68-year rule, Franz Joseph I significantly influenced the state and legal position of Croatia, especially in relation to Hungary. The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 defined the relationship between the two states, following which the King called upon the Croats and Hungarians to resolve their relationship, considering the “Croatian issue” an internal affair of the Hungarian part of the monarchy. In the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, Croatia is mentioned as a “sister country”, a phrase that would later be used in the 1868 Croatian-Hungarian Settlement as well. This document accepted Croatia as a political nation with full internal autonomy and its own territory. After the assassination in Sarajevo in 1914, Franz Joseph I declared war on Serbia; this was accepted enthusiastically in both Hungary and Croatia. However, this ardour disappeared at the time of the King’s death (1916), as the dissolution of the dual monarchy was not yet on the horizon. The relationship of the Croats and Hungarians towards Franz Joseph I varied throughout the decades, especially amongst the Hungarian nation, who considered him an enemy in 1848-49 and one of the greatest Hungarian kings in history in 1916. The image of him as a strict military officer in his youth was softened through the decades by numerous family tragedies, especially the murder of Franz Ferdinand. At this point, he was portrayed as a mild old man who had succeeded in uniting all the Monarchy’s nations; this is the image of him that has survived in national memory.

The yearbook of the Imperial and Royal Cadet’s School in Karlovac came into the possession of the library of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum entirely by accident; it is not known how the manuscript was obtained. It is a hard-cover quarto-format pamphlet with 23 pages. The chronicle is written in German in Gothic script, occasionally combined with Latin script (family names and some concepts). Specific entries begin as of 1 October 1916, and end with an entry dated 29 August 1917. Specific entries begin as of 1 October 1916, and end with an entry dated 29 August 1917. This chronicle portrays the microcosm of Karlovac’s Cadet’s School; when make-up exams would be held; descriptions of how cadets were sent to work the fields both on the school estate or at home with their parents; a description of the funeral of a school colleague who had died of illness instead of a bullet, etc. The transfers and relocations of some of the professors are also mentioned. This document also maintains the image of an enormous, old, well-oiled state machine. There are also quotations of orders issued by individuals in
Austrian Emperor and Croatian-Hungarian King Franz Joseph ruled Croatia for a full 68 years. His rule was absolutist at first, although much changed on the basis of what he learned during his rule. His rigid attitude towards Croatia and the Croats also changed. He was quite slow to give Croatia even those rights promised it; he would never implement the unification of Croatia and Slavonia with Dalmatia. He divided the Monarchy with the Hungarians, to whom he left Croatia and Slavonia; however, he monitored everything that took place in the region. The foundation of the National Economic Department in 1914, together with the approval to build local rail lines in northern Croatia, were proof of the King’s involvement in internal relations between the Croats and Hungarians. By doing so, he actually changed the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement, which had placed the economy and railways under Hungarian purview. He went no further, however, endeavouring not to disrupt his own relations with the Hungarians by fulfilling Croatian desires and requests. Franz Joseph enjoyed a lengthy rule in a time of great social restructuring, and he ruled over a highly complex country. He provided his country’s nations with many years of peace and enabled the citizenry to create and (to an extent) realise their own ideals. However, his attempt to follow the well-beaten paths of the Habsburgs was not a lucky one. His century was one of great changes, and Franz Joseph was reluctant to change his ruling style to suit the times.

The anthology uses archival and press materials to reconstruct the “funeral ceremonies for His Highness, the deceased Emperor and King” held in Dalmatia, as well as traditions of mourning for deceased leaders. Various correspondence with the Provincial Council of subordinate districts note what to do and how to behave, while reports from particular districts in the province describe symbols of mourning and requiem masses. Numerous telegrams with sympathies were sent to Vienna by local government, institutions and associations. The reconstruction of the atmosphere also encompasses the relationship with the new emperor, Charles.

“For King and Homeland” is only one of the slogans used by the Croatian Home Defenders (Hrvatski domobrani) during World War I that connects the homeland and Franz Joseph I. The battlefield variant read “To battle for King and Homeland”, and it was worn as an inscription on a tricolor ribbon worn on soldiers’ hats. The pre-war manifestation of dynastic patriotism is visible in the name of Zagreb’s university, the name of city squares, monuments,
and memorials during visits by Franz Joseph I, as well as in the cooperation of Croatian historical units at the celebration of 60 years of Franz Joseph I’s rule (1908). During the war, loyalty to the leader, nation, and community became even more apparent. This was especially apparent on the “home front” in 1916, when monuments were raised by military units, the intent of which was to permanently connect the king’s person with “fallen heroes” and their units. Visible expressions of mutual trust, national tradition, and faith in the future under the slogan “For King and Homeland” continued even after Franz Joseph I’s death. Examination of archival material from the Croatian Historical Museum’s document collection has inquired into public and private, official and unofficial space from the outset of World War I to the death of Franz Joseph I and after, during the six-month “court mourning” period. The internal weaknesses of the Monarchy, political opposition, the international constellation of power, and the end of the war itself would portray the full fragility of the regime. Austro-Hungary was not a pleasant solution for everyone, especially not to those with a Yugoslav orientation, as witnessed by testimony published in early December of 1918.

The paper on monuments that no longer exist describes monuments and plaques dedicated to Croatian-Hungarian King Franz Joseph I that were placed in Croatian cities during his rule and after his death until the collapse of the Monarchy. Soon after the monarch’s death in November of 1916, Croatian Parliament started an initiative to raise a monument to the king. The monument was to be placed on Franz Joseph I Square (today’s King Tomislav Square), which was named during the King’s final stay in Zagreb in 1895. This attempt did not succeed before the collapse of the Monarchy; today, only an obelisk to Franz Joseph in Donji Miholjac has survived, while museums hold a monument, a few busts, and plaques removed from monuments. However, it is still unknown how many monuments, busts, and plaques were placed and what happened to them. Most of them were removed after the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

Habsburg dynasty representative Wilhelm Franz von Habsburg-Lothringen (1895–1948), born in Croatia, died in prison in Kiev, where he had been imprisoned by the Russian NKVD. His life and work represent a striking phenomenon in Ukraine’s European aspirations. Having been raised in Galicia, he was familiar with Ukranian life and became a fiery supporter of Ukrainian independence. He supported Ukrainian aspirations in World War I, when he served in the Ukrainian army. His pro-Ukrainian actions made him a target for the Soviet secret service, which kidnapped and imprisoned him. The involvement and fate of one of the members of the
Habsburg family in dedication to Ukrainian independence represents an analogy to Croatia’s aspirations towards independence and its orientation towards European centres.

The death of Emperor and King Franz Joseph one hundred years ago signalled the end of the “long” nineteenth and beginning of the “short” twentieth century in the history of Central Europe and the Croatian lands. Austro-Hungary did not long outlive its long-lived ruler, as it was a nation-state of neither Austrian Germans, nor Hungarians, nor Croats, nor of the other Slavic nations that lived within it. At the end of the war, the old monarchy collapsed chaotically, and the Croatian nation entered a new South Slavic community through unification with Serbia. Today, a hundred years later, we remember Franz Joseph as a subject that is still open to all kinds of research contributions and innovative reflection.

(Preveo Jeremy White)