

assemblies. Yet with Bavaria insisting that arbitration was not binding on a diet against its will, little was achieved. The fact was that the *Bund* constitution of 1815 permitted, indeed encouraged, member states to grant constitutions, with their attendant assemblies, as many middle-sized ones had done. German public response to the temporary threat of war with France in 1840, which produced the famous patriotic song 'The Watch on the Rhine', showed the nationalist bogey was untamed.

The war scare with France arose over a new twist in the Eastern question, which, like the German question in one form or another, became a fixture of the international scene. In 1834 the British Whig foreign secretary Palmerston orchestrated a liberal Quadruple Alliance of Britain, France, Spain and Portugal as a counter-blast to the conservative Austro-Russian agreement of Münchengrätz the previous year. Münchengrätz, soon endorsed by Prussia, pledged support for the status quo in Poland and Turkey. Yet in 1839-40 when the Sultan was threatened by his nominal Egyptian vassal, Mehmet Ali, it was to Palmerston and a conference in London that Tsar Nicholas turned to sort out the matter, not to Vienna. Metternich, now 67, was prostrated by chagrin and took five weeks to recuperate. This last great episode of his diplomatic career showed his declining influence.

By this time Emperor Francis was dead. Domestically, the chief feature of his reign was drift. Metternich was joined in an ageing troika by the minister of police Count Josef Sedlmitzky (from 1817 to 1848) and by Kolowrat, the Staatsrat member with responsibility for internal affairs (1826-48), who called his sovereign the personification of suspicion. A pervasive censorship, which divided all books into four categories, only one of them fully tolerated, helped to foster a climate in which things were assumed to be forbidden unless expressly permitted. Francis sought to buy up the copyright of a play by Austria's most famous dramatist, Franz Grillparzer, after seeing it several times; the play celebrated a loyal servant of a medieval Hungarian king, but presumably Francis felt it could also be seen as showing up a monarch unworthy of such loyalty. Only exceptionally were foreign newspapers allowed into Austria, while the leading Austrian paper, Metternich's creation, the *Oesterreichische Beobachter*, simply did not report the military successes of the revolutionaries in Congress Poland in the spring of 1831.

Yet such censorship was as much paternalist as repressive in intent. Francis and Metternich shared a view of a contented, docile citizenry

who should be protected from the machinations of foreign radicals. Theirs became the Austria of *Biedermeier*, originally a style in furniture which came to be associated with a whole epoch of cosy bourgeois domesticity, good music and a theatre of local colour, comedy of manners and the escapist 'magical' genre which took the audience to other worlds only to reveal that there was no place like home. Beethoven, Schubert, the classical tragedian Grillparzer, the satirical *farceur* Raimund and Nestroy represent the Vienna of this time, and hardly a journalist or social thinker of note. Part of the price for the authorities' apolitical idyll was respect for a certain sense of civic dignity in broad strata of the urban population, in other words, maintenance of the enlightened idea of citizenship, as enshrined in the 1811 Civil Code. The Josephinian church settlement also survived, for it made the Church for the most part a tame organ of the state. The logic of conservatism inclined Francis to an accommodation with the Vatican after his visit to Rome in 1819 but its practical implementation moved at a snail's pace, despite Metternich's efforts. Two textbooks on church law and history put on the Papal Index in 1820 were not finally withdrawn from Austrian universities and seminaries until 1833 and then the state authorities could not decide how openly they should acknowledge the change of course. Two different proposals over this, left hanging in the air in 1837, were put on the desk of Austria's first minister of education on 11 May 1848!

Education was another field where the heritage of the reform movement was far from lost. Voices questioning the utility of schooling for peasant children were not heard, partly because peasants were more than ever needed for the priesthood at a time of falling vocations, partly because the argument that the uneducated became disproportionately social pests and mendicants won the day. Indeed, the second *Ratio educationis* for Hungary in 1806 extended the principle of compulsory free education to girls as well. In Bohemia 93% of children of school age were being educated by 1834. The parallel expansion of secondary education swelled the ranks of non-noble notables (officials, professionals and experts of various kinds) till the category acquired its own name — the *Honoratioren*. Thus this term, previously applied, in the Hungarian case, to all who lived from intellectual work, by the 1830s was confined to non-nobles who did so, though their lifestyle took on noble aspects. To speak of the emergence of a homogenous bourgeoisie thereby, still less of a fusion of elites through common education, would