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Razprave

Gary B. Cohen

Historical Scholarship on the Habsburg Monarchy (1526–1918) in North America

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Historical Scholarship on the Habsburg Monarchy in North America

Historians in the United States and Canada did little writing or teaching on the Habsburg Monarchy before 1914, but the two world wars and immigration from Central and East Central Europe gave strong impetus to studies of the Monarchy. Politics and international relations initially dominated North American writings on the Monarchy. After the 1970s American and Canadian historians developed revisionist views of modern economic development in the Habsburg lands and after the early 1980s new, more dynamic understandings of modern national identification, the development of governmental structures, and relations between state and society during the nineteenth century.

Keywords: historiography, Habsburg Monarchy, civil society, national identification, Archibald Cary Coolidge

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Proučevanje zgodovine habsburške monarhije (1526–1918) v Severni Ameriki

Zgodovinarji v ZDA in Kanadi niso veliko pisali ali predavali o habsburški monarhiji pred letom 1914. Nov zagon so študije o monarhiji dobile s svetovnima vojnama in imigracijo iz Srednje Evrope in njenega vzhodnega dela. Najprej so v pisanju severno ameriških zgodovinarjev o monarhiji prevladovali politika in mednarodni odnosi. Po sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja so se pri ameriškhi in kanadskih zgodovinarjih razvili revizionistični pogledi na gospodarski razvoj v habsburških deželah. Po zgodnjih osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja je sledilo bolj dinamično razumevanje nacionalne identitete, razvoja vladnih struktur in odnosov med državo in družbo v 19. stoletju.

Ključne besede: zgodovinopisje, habsburška monarhija, civilna družba, nacionalna identifikacija, Archibald Cary Coolidge.

Since World War II scholars in the United States and Canada have developed a distinguished tradition of research and teaching on the history of the Habsburg Monarchy[1]. As might be expected, historians of the Monarchy in North America have tended to treat this field with a broader historical perspective and greater political and intellectual distance than have their Central European colleagues. Distance and different institutional environments have certainly created challenges for North American scholars in gaining adequate training and access to documents and scholarly literature, but the best of their work has won respect in Europe and elsewhere in the world.

Although many historians of the Monarchy in the United States and Canada have had different outlooks, perspectives, and methodologies from their counterparts in the successor states of the Monarchy and Western Europe, they have often addressed much the same topics. Their themes have included the development of the Habsburg state, its institutions, and laws; the careers of Habsburg monarchs; warfare and diplomacy; the growth of the modern national movements and nationality conflicts; major intellectual and cultural developments, particularly in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and the late nineteenth centuries; religious history; and, of course, the dissolution of the monarchy.

Thanks to the influence of European scholarship and the impact of émigré Central European scholars and Central European immigrant communities in the United States and Canada, North American historians have not been isolated from the intellectual traditions of their European counterparts. Yet, compared to historians in Central Europe, many of the North American scholars have frequently addressed wider historical concerns about how events in Habsburg lands fit into larger European developments. The North Americans have typically been trained more broadly in European history and had wider teaching responsibilities than many of their Central European counterparts. As a result, American and Canadian historians have been more willing to draw comparisons to the rise and decline of other monarchies and imperial states and have addressed the development of governmental, political, social, and economic structures in the Habsburg lands in broader conceptual terms. Indeed,

[1] Portions of this essay are based on my previous discussions of the historiography of the Habsburg Monarchy in Cohen, *Reinventing Austrian*, pp. 28–38; and Cohen, *Austrian Studies,* pp. 266–273. That material is used here with the gracious permission of the German Studies Association and the editor of *Contemporary Austrian Studies*. I am deeply grateful to Pieter M. Judson, Howard P. Louthan, Franz A. J. Szabo, and Thomas Winkelbauer for their helpful comments on early drafts of this essay.

in recent decades some North American historians of the monarchy have written consciously conceptual history and employed explanatory models drawn from the social sciences. In some cases, of course, adopting conceptual approaches has resulted in thesis-driven studies which have drawn predictable criticism.

The distinctive profile of North American studies of the history of the Habsburg Monarchy has both cultural and institutional roots. Thanks to the organizational patterns of American and Canadian higher education and how scholarly disciplines have developed in the two countries, many historians who have written on the Habsburg Monarchy would not necessarily describe themselves as specialists in this field. In this respect North American institutional arrangements have played an important part.

Between 1900 and World War II, only a few North American historians taught and wrote about the Habsburg Central European lands in any period. Due to the smaller size of history departments in many North American universities and the more limited degree of field specialization in the humanities and social sciences than what developed after 1945, most of the scholars interested in the Habsburg territories worked more broadly in European history or in European and international politics. It should be noted that even at Harvard University, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences in 1919–1920 counted a total of only eight professors of history at all ranks with two additional lecturers[2]. As late as 1960 the University of Toronto, the largest research university in Canada, had a history department with a teaching staff of no more than twenty on continuing appointments[3]. At the University of Minnesota, which was one of the largest state research universities in the United States throughout the twentieth century, the history department in 1919–1920 had nine professors and one instructor and in 1960–1962 eighteen professors and two instructors[4]. Taken in general terms, history departments in the United States and Canada before World War II tended to focus on their respective national histories, the British heritage, and Western Europe with spotty treatment of other parts of the world, depending on local circumstances[5].

In major American universities before World War II most historians were trained in the United States, with only a few able to study in Europe. Similarly, in English-speaking Canada, many historians were educated at home, although some of the major universities favored appointing scholars with British training[6]. Expectations for research and publication by professors grew during the 1920s and 1930s in the major North American institutions, and that encouraged more field specialization and requirements for professors to have doctoral degrees[7]. Since

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[2] *Harvard University Catalogue 1919–1920*, pp. 326–331.

[3] Wright, *Professionalization of History*, p. 169.

[4] *Bulletin University of Minnesota 1919–1920*, pp. 7–14; *Bulletin University of Minnesota 1960–1962*, p. 143.

[5] Higham, *History: Professional Scholarship,* pp. 3–67; Wright, *Professionalization of History*, pp. 53–64.

[6] Wright, *Professionalization of History*, pp. 35–37, 54–55.

[7] See Wright, *Professionalization of History*, pp. 52–64. On the professionalization of historians in the United States, see Higham, *History: Professional Scholarship,* passim; and in connection with the question of objectivity in the discipline, Novick, *The Noble Dream*.

doctoral training developed during the early decades of the twentieth century on a larger scale in the United States than in Canada, Canadian history departments began to appoint scholars with American advanced degrees in increasing numbers.

Archibald Cary Coolidge (1866–1928), who taught at Harvard after 1899 and was professor of history there from 1908 to his death, exemplified the best expertise on the history of the Habsburg Monarchy and modern Central and East Central Europe to be found in the United States and Canada during the early twentieth century. After graduating from Harvard College in 1887, Coolidge studied at the University of Berlin and the École des Sciences Politiques in Paris and earned a doctorate at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau in 1892. At times during the 1890s he served in American legations and embassies in St. Petersburg, Paris, and Vienna. Although highly knowledgeable about Austria and Central Europe, Coolidge was very much a generalist scholar of European history. At Harvard, he taught general courses on European history as well as more specialized ones on northern and eastern Europe, the Far East, and Russia[8].

Through the end of World War I, the United States government had little permanent research and intelligence staff for foreign affairs in the State Department or the military. Late in the war the Wilson administration asked Coolidge to head up the East European section of the research group, called "The Inquiry," to help prepare American diplomats for the Paris peace conference. The State Department sent him to Russia in 1918 to survey conditions there and then to Vienna in 1919 to report on the former Habsburg lands

Generalist scholars of European history like Coolidge or Arthur J. May, who taught at the University of Rochester for nearly forty years after 1925, dominated North American historical studies of the Habsburg Central European territories through the 1930s and 1940s. Coolidge's own Harvard graduate students figured prominently among his assistants in the Inquiry and as members of the fact-finding Coolidge Mission in Central Europe in 1919. Later during the 1930s and 1940s, some of Coolidge's students emerged as leading figures in American studies of Central and East European history. They included the specialist in modern European diplomatic history William L. Langer at Harvard University; Lawrence D. Steefel, a scholar of nineteenth century Germany and Central Europe at the University of Minnesota; Robert J. Kerner, a specialist on Czech, East European, and Russian history at the University of California, Berkeley; and Frank A. Golder, an historian of Russia and first curator of the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University[9]. In contrast, the Canadian universities had few specialists for the history of Habsburg Central Europe before World War II.

In both the United States and Canada before World War II, historians published little on the Habsburg Monarchy during the early modern era. Archibald Coolidge's own historical monographs focused on the United States as a world power and the

[8] On Coolidge, see Coolidge and Lord, *Archibald Cary Coolidge*; and Byrnes, *Awakening American Education*.

[9] Emmons and Patenaude, eds., *War, Revolution, and Peace*; Langer, *In and Out of the Ivory*.

Triple Alliance[10]. In 1943 the American Henry F. Schwarz produced a pioneering book on the development of the imperial Privy Council (*Geheimer Rat*) in the seventeenth century, based on his 1938 Harvard doctoral dissertation[11]. It remains a classic contribution to understanding how the Habsburg sovereigns began to create institutions to govern their own domains. Sidney Fay and William Langer at Harvard guided Schwarz's graduate work, and the Viennese historian Alfred F. Pribram suggested the imperial Privy Council as a dissertation topic. Schwarz took an analytic approach toward the Habsburg emperors' early efforts to develop central state institutions, and he located the process in the context of state-building and legal developments throughout the Holy Roman Empire, a broad perspective consistent with the scholarly instincts of his American mentors and Pribram as well.

The two world wars in the twentieth century gave a great boost to North American teaching and research on the history and politics of foreign lands in general, and Central and East European studies expanded significantly from the interwar period onward. Immigration from those lands to the United States and Canada had grown strongly from the 1870s to World War I and began to impact university education as immigrants and their offspring came to study in increasing numbers. In the 1920s and 1930s North American universities appointed a few distinguished Central and East European émigré scholars to their faculties, and these professors were eventually joined by the offspring of immigrants. European-born scholars, whether trained in their native lands or in North America, had a strong influence on American and Canadian historical studies of the Habsburg Monarchy from the 1930s well into the 1960s and even beyond in some universities.

The professors in North American universities who were trained in Europe brought with them the traditions of European scholarship and personal knowledge of primary sources, a matter of critical importance in an era before the advent of easy air travel, library union catalogs, published archival guides, or internet bibliographical resources. The Hungarian Oszkár Jászi, for example, was educated as a political scientist at the University of Budapest and taught at Oberlin College in Ohio from 1925 to 1942. There he wrote the first major English-language analysis of the fall of the monarchy[12]. The numbers of émigré Central European intellectuals who found teaching positions in American and Canadian universities increased sharply in the 1930s and 1940s as many fled from National Socialism in Germany and Austria, the rightwing dictatorships in East-Central Europe, warfare, and then the post-war miseries and the advance of communist rule. Their expertise greatly enriched North American studies of the Habsburg Monarchy and the successor states. European émigrés of this era, such as Robert A. Kann, Hans Kohn, Klemens von Klemperer, Radomír Luža, and Otokar Odložilík, contributed to a flowering of teaching and publications on the history of Austria and Habsburg Central Europe from the late 1940s through to the 1970s.

[10] Coolidge, *The United States*; Coolidge, *Origins of the Triple*.
[11] Schwarz, *Imperial Privy Council*.
[12] Jászi, *Dissolution of the Habsburg*.

More émigrés who were born in the monarchy's other successor states found positions in North America states than scholars from the Austrian Republic. This circumstance encouraged a strong focus on the rise of modern national movements, nationalist politics, and the seemingly inevitable weakening and eventual collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy. Ideological and policy commitments in the United States and Canada to the spread of democratic nation-states and the influence of Central and East European immigrant communities strengthened such tendencies[13]. Particular Central and East European interests also found expression in North American writings on religious history, as, for example, studies of the Hussite movement in the Bohemian lands and its legacy[14]. Ultimately, some immigrant communities initiated the establishment of endowed chairs and research institutes to study their homelands and peoples. Notable in this regard was the development after the mid-1970s of endowed chairs and institutes for Ukrainian studies at the University of Toronto, the University of Alberta, Harvard University, and other institutions.

After World War II an increasing number of native-born North American scholars joined the European-born colleagues, and by the late 1950s a substantial cohort of professors had emerged whose research focused on Austrian and Central European history, culture, and society, even if their teaching typically ranged over a wider terrain of European and international topics. Carlton J. H. Hayes (1882–1964) was a classic generalist in modern European history, but during his teaching career at Columbia University from 1907 to 1950, he pioneered historical studies of nationalism in the United States. Out of his seminars in the 1930s and 1940s came a number of doctoral dissertations on Austrian and Central European history, including that of a young émigré Austrian lawyer, Robert A. Kann. The Kansas-born R. John Rath finished his doctorate in the Columbia University history program in 1941 and went on to write on the Habsburg Monarchy during the nineteenth century and the first Austrian Republic. Rath founded the *Austrian History Yearbook* in 1965.

In Canada, H. Gordon Skilling was a major force for the development of studies of Central and East European politics, history, society, and culture from the late 1950s through the 1980s. Born in Toronto in 1912, he studied politics, economics, and history at the University of Toronto and then Czech, Russian, and East European history and politics at University College London. He completed a doctorate in 1940 in the London School of Slavonic and East European Studies with a dissertation on the history of the Czech-German political conflict in Bohemia during the late nineteenth century, supervised by R. W. Seton-Watson[15]. Skilling served at the University of Toronto from 1959 to his retirement in 1982, with a

[13] Thomson, *Czechoslovakia in European*, and Korbel, *Twentieth-century Czechoslovakia*, exemplify this outlook.

[14] See, for examples, Heymann, *John Žižka*; Heymann, *George of Bohemia*; Brock, *Political and Social Doctrines*; Kaminsky, *History of the Hussite*; Spinka, *John Hus*; Klassen, *Nobility and the Making*; and Klassen, *Warring Maidens*.

[15] Skilling, *German-Czech national*. See Skilling's memoirs, Skilling, *Education of a Canadian*; and the obituary, *H. Gordon Skilling, 89*.

primary appointment in political science. He joined other Canadian and American scholars of his generation in building the institutional bases for a flowering of research and teaching in North America on Habsburg Central Europe and the East European lands.

The experiences of the Great Depression and then the cataclysm of World War II deeply affected both the European-born specialists in Austrian and Central Europe history in North America and the growing number of American and Canadian-born colleagues who came to prominence after the war. Many of the latter began their undergraduate or graduate education before 1939 and deepened their interests in Central Europe during the war years. Archibald Coolidge's student and successor at Harvard, William Langer, helped shape a whole generation of American specialists on German, Austrian, and Central European history and politics by recruiting graduate students and junior professors from various universities to staff the research and analysis branch of the United States Office of Strategic Services (O.S.S.) during the war. Carl Schorske, Eugene Anderson, Leonard Krieger, and Henry Cord Meyer, to name but a few, were all involved in U. S. military intelligence during World War II. Others assisted the war effort by teaching military personnel about Central and East European affairs. Skilling, for example, taught for the U.S. War Department at the University of Wisconsin and also worked for the fledgling international service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation[16].

Growth after World War II in the size of North American history departments and the number of specialties they offered made possible more work on the Habsburg Monarchy. That the Iron Curtain ran through the heart of Central Europe and separated the Austrian Republic from the other successor states of the monarchy gave special urgency to study of the history, politics, and cultures of the former Habsburg lands. Nonetheless, many of the scholars who came to the fore in this field were still appointed as experts in European history and politics more broadly and often were trained by scholars who were not Austrian or Central European specialists as such. This latter tradition has continued to the present, in fact, with many distinguished American and Canadian historians of the Habsburg lands, including Schorske, John W. Boyer, Paul R. Magocsi, and Franz A. J. Szabo, for example, not having such specialists as their primary graduate advisors. Their broader education and outlooks have clearly shaped their writing and teaching.

On the other hand, specialists on the Habsburg lands did train a number of American and Canadian historians. Robert Kann, during his long tenure at Rutgers University from 1947 to 1976, trained many historians of the Habsburg Monarchy and its successor states, as did Barbara and Charles Jelavich at Indiana University from 1961 to the early 1990s. S. Harrison Thomson made the history of Central and East-Central Europe from medieval times to the modern era one of his major interests, and during his service at the University of Colorado from 1936 to 1964, he taught many scholars of medieval and early modern Central Europe, including the specialists on eighteenth-century Habsburg history, Paul Bernard and Wil-

[16] Skilling, *Education of a Canadian*, pp. 89–94.

liam E. Wright, the student of modern Hungarian history, George Barany, and the specialist on nineteenth-century Czech political history, Stanley Z. Pech. Paul W. Schroeder, Bernard's longtime colleague at the University of Illinois, completed his doctorate at the University of Texas, Austin, in 1958, during John Rath's time there. In 1962 Schroeder published a monograph on Metternich's diplomacy in the 1820s, and one can argue that during the 1960s the two leading historians of Metternich's diplomacy were the American-born Schroeder and Enno E. Kraehe. During the 1970s and 1980s, another American, Alan Reinerman, added to North American research on Habsburg diplomacy in the Metternich era with work on Austria's relations with the papacy. More recently, Brian E. Vick has continued this tradition with new research on the Congress of Vienna and its broader ramifications, and the U.S. foreign policy expert, A. Wess Mitchell, has published a sweeping re-examination of the Austrian Habsburgs' foreign policy strategy from the early eighteenth century to 1866.[17]

The Hungarian-born István Deák, at Columbia University from 1964 until retirement in 1997, trained an impressive number of doctoral students who have made important contributions to historical writing on the Monarchy and its various territories. They include, among others, Eagle Glassheim, Pieter Judson, Jeremy King, Miriam Levy, Robert Nemes, Claire Nolte, Cynthia Paces, Marsha Rozenblit, Daniel Unowsky, and Nancy Wingfield. Deák brought to the task his early experience in Hungary along with his American doctoral training in modern European history and a skeptical, at times iconoclastic, stance toward conventional generalizations about Habsburg history. This was apparent as early as the famous 1966 conference at Indiana University on the 1867 Austro-Hungarian Compromise. There Deák challenged a panel on the dominant nationalities of the monarchy with the argument that "there were no dominant nationalities in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy [...] only dominant classes, estates, institutions, interest groups, and professions"[18]. His fresh outlook and eye for a broad range of evidence were apparent in his masterly social history of the Habsburg officer corps in the late nineteenth century[19]. Deák challenged his students to rethink the received wisdom on the historical issues they addressed[20]. In the North American context it proved easier for some to break free of conventional historical narratives than it was for many of their contemporaries in Central Europe.

By the early 1970s there was a well-established coterie of historians of the Habsburg Monarchy and its various lands teaching in North American colleges and universities. Some, of course, had family connections to Central Europe; and a number focused their research on questions specific to the region with little broader

[17] Schroeder, *Metternich's Diplomacy*; Kraehe, *Metternich's German Policy*; Reinerman, *Austria and the Papacy*; Vick, *Congress of Vienna: Power*; Vick, *Congress of Vienna as an Event*, pp. 109–133; Mitchell, *The Grand Strategy.*

[18] Deák, *Comment*, p. 303.

[19] Deák, *Beyond Nationalism*.

[20] For a sampling of the work of Deák's former graduate and undergraduate students, see Judson and Rozenblit, eds., *Constructing Nationalities*.

comparative interest. The rise and fall of the monarchy, considered as a unique entity, and the eventual victory of centrifugal nationalist movements loomed large in their publications, colored either by celebrating the emergence of independent nation-states or occasionally by nostalgia for what was lost in a larger polity that had provided a modicum of peace, economic development, and the free movement of people and goods.

Through the 1970s and 1980s the master narratives for the Habsburg Monarchy during the early modern and modern eras that were favored in most of the North American scholarship posited a Habsburg *Sonderweg* and differed little in many basic elements from the conventional views in general histories published in the Republic of Austria or in the other successor states – allowing for admixtures in those lands of local nationalism and Marxist-Leninist framing[21]. As in much Central European scholarship on the Habsburg Monarchy during the early modern era, tropes of constructing a state with central institutions strong enough to bind together the disparate crown lands dominated North American studies from the 1960s through the 1980s. During those same decades, American and Canadian studies of the monarchy in the long nineteenth century typically worked within a master narrative of an early modern absolutist state which could not readily accommodate modern nationalist political movements and democratizing pressures or the social impacts of belated agricultural and industrial modernization. The British historian A. J. P. Taylor did much to propagate this narrative in the English-speaking world with his brilliantly written 1948 survey history of the monarchy in the nineteenth century[22]. In this view lags in political, economic, and social development compared to Western Europe and North America engendered irresolvable conflicts and repeated crises, which led to irreversible decline[23].

Increasingly since the 1970s, however, many North American writings on the Habsburg lands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have shown a wider perspective than that of many Central European accounts by treating the Habsburg crown lands in relationship to other parts of the Holy Roman Empire and to an extent to the Polish Commonwealth and Ottoman-held southeastern Europe as well. The Habsburg sovereigns' deep involvement in the Holy Roman Empire throughout the early modern era and their own territories' sharing much the same evolution of politics, social structures, and religious affairs made drawing such broader connections inescapable. Indeed, many North American scholars interested in Central Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have seen no sharp division between research on the Habsburgs' sovereign territories and the wider Holy Roman Empire. The broader teaching assignments of many North

[21] On the *Sonderweg* of the Habsburg Monarchy in the modern era, see Boyer, *Some Reflections*, pp. 311–326; Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis,* xii–xiii, pp. 452–460; Cohen, *Neither Absolutism nor Anarchy*, pp. 37–61; and Deak, *The Great War*, pp. 340–344.

[22] Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy*.

[23] In addition to Jászi, the survey histories of the monarchy most commonly read in North America through the early 1970s were Kann, *History of the Habsburg Empire*; Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire*; May, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*; and Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy*.

American historians of the Habsburg Monarchy compared to their Central European colleagues and the participation of many Americans and Canadians in wider international scholarly conversations have also led them to consider comparisons with developments elsewhere in Europe. Many North American historians have been open to more consciously analytic approaches, drawing in varying degrees on the social sciences. This has led some to write more conceptually and to explore new explanatory models more explicitly than many Central European colleagues, for whom it might be easy to remain within the established interpretive modes of their respective national histories.

After the mid-1970s a new generation of scholars emerged in the British Isles and North America who wrote on the Holy Roman Empire and the Habsburg crown lands during the early modern era. They included, among others, such figures as Robert J. W. Evans in the United Kingdom; Thomas A. Brady, H. Erik Midelfort, David Sabean, and James Allen Vann in the United States; and Robert W. Scribner, first in the United Kingdom and later at Harvard University[24]. They explored complex relationships between social, cultural, and political change; and their interpretations replaced older historical tropes and simpler teleologies about confessionalism, the roots of absolutist states, and other developments during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation eras[25]. The interest in deeper explorations of social, political, and cultural developments and their intertwining in the Holy Roman Empire and the Habsburg territories extended to North American studies of art history and the history of science, with many of these works crossing older disciplinary divisions[26]. These new departures constituted a revolution in historical studies of early modern Central Europe which British and North American scholars embraced, as eventually did many colleagues in Germany, Austria, and other former Habsburg lands as well.

North American writing on the Habsburg Monarchy during the eighteenth century showed the same general tendencies after the 1960s and 1970s as research on the

[24] Among the most notable books from this time were Evans, *Rudolf II*; Evans, *Making of the Habsburg*; Brady, *Ruling Class*; Brady, *Turning Swiss*; Midelfort, *Witch Hunting*; Sabean, *Landbesitz und Gesellschaft*; Sabean, *Power in the Blood*; Vann, *The Swabian Kreis*; Vann, *Making of a State*; Scribner, *For the Sake*; Scribner, *The German Reformation*; and Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular*.

[25] See, for examples, Bireley, *Religion and Politics*; Birely, *Ferdinand II*; Carlebach, *Death of Simon Abeles*; Gates-Coon, *The Landed Estates*; Greenblatt, *To tell their children*; Melton, *Nobility in the Bohemian*, pp. 110–43; Palmitessa, *The Prague Uprising*, pp. 299–328; Hsia, *World of Catholic*; Louthan, *Quest for Compromise*; Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*; MacHardy, *Rise of Absolutism,* pp. 407–438; MacHardy, *War, Religion and Court*; Patrouch, *A Negotiated Settlement*; Patrouch, *Queen's apprentice*; Spielman, *City and the Crown*; Szelényi, *Dynamics of Urban,* pp. 360–386; and Szelényi, *New Burgher Revolution*, pp. 231–249.

[26] For examples in art history, see Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors*; Kaufmann, *School of Prague*; Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City*; Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*; Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*; Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*; Smith, *Nuremberg, A Renaissance*; Smith, *German Sculpture*; Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits*; and Smith, *The Northern Renaissance*. For examples in the history of science and culture, see Hayton, *Crown and the Cosmos*; Nummedal, *Alchemy and Authority*; and Smith, *Business of Alchemy*.

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in seeking connections between the social, cultural, and political spheres. North American historians of the eighteenth century have drawn on the best scholarship of their counterparts in Austria, Germany, and Britain along with their own new archival research to find fresh understandings of the powers and limits of the Habsburg absolutist state, its diplomacy, war-making, and domestic reform efforts. They have cast new light on the negotiated bases of the eighteenth-century state's authority and the political and social drivers of reform initiatives[27]. Since the late 1970s Robert Bireley, Paula Sutter Fichtner, Charles Ingrao, John Spielman, and Franz Szabo have produced foundational studies of several Habsburg emperors and statesmen and their impacts on state-building, foreign relations, and social and economic development[28]. Relations between the imperial center and individual crown lands attracted the attention of Miriam Levy, who produced a monograph on the Italian-speaking part of Tyrol.[29] Most recently, the American scholar William Godsey, who has made his career at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, has contributed to new, subtler understandings of the functioning of Habsburg absolutism in the crown lands through his research on the Lower Austrian estates.[30] Like many European colleagues, a number of North American historians, including Fichtner, Ingrao, Thomas Barker, Karl Roider, and Gunther Rothenberg, have written on Habsburg diplomacy and warfare during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries[31]. The domestic policy initiatives and reform efforts of the eighteenth-century monarchs have attracted surprisingly little writing by North American historians, but one should note here Szabo's magisterial work on Maria Theresa's minister Prince Wenzel Kaunitz and James Van Horn Melton's insightful study of the development of compulsory primary education in Prussia and Austria[32]. Since the late 1940s a succession of North American scholars have made important original contributions to studies of agriculture and rural social structures in the Habsburg territories from the sixteenth century to the 1840s, including Jerome Blum's 1948 monograph on noble landowners in early nineteenth-century Austria, William E. Wright's work on agrarian reform in eighteenth-century Bohemia, Lutz Berkner's analyses of Austrian peasant family structures, and more recently Hermann Rebel's new interpretations of the changing structures of peasant households and peasants' relations to governmental taxing and regulatory powers[33].

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[27] See the discussion in Mueller, *Enlightened Absolutism,* pp. 159–183.

[28] Fichtner, *Ferdinand I of Austria*; Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*; Bireley, *Religion and Politics*; Birely, *Ferdinand II, Counter-Reformation*; Ingrao, *In quest and crisis*; Spielman, *Leopold I of Austria*; and Szabo, *Kaunitz and Enlightened Absolutism*.

[29] Levy, *Governance and Grievance*.

[30] Godsey, *Habsburg Government and Intermediary*, pp. 699–740; Godsey, *Sinews of Habsburg*.

[31] See Barker, *Military Intellectual and Battle*; Barker, *Double Eagle and Crescent*; Barker, *Army, Aristocracy, Monarchy*; Fichtner, *Terror and Toleration*; Roider, *The Reluctant Ally*; Roider, *Austria's Eastern Question*; Roider, *Baron Thugut*; Rothenberg, *Austrian military border*; Rothenberg, *Military Border in Croatia*; Rothenberg, *Napoleon's Great Adversary*; and the chapters on foreign policy in the survey by Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy 1618–1815*.

[32] Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-century*.

[33] Blum, *Noble Landowners and Agriculture*; Wright, *Serf, Seigneur, and Sovereign*; Berkner, *The Stem Family*, pp. 398–418; Berkner, *Social Structure and Rural*; Rebel, *Peasant*

Even more strongly than for work on earlier historical periods, a well-defined master narrative and set of widely accepted approaches long influenced both European and North American research on the Habsburg Monarchy during the long nineteenth century, at least until the 1980s. There was a conventional trope of the Habsburg Monarchy's nineteenth-century *Sonderweg* predicated on retarded modern economic development, belated evolution of parliamentary institutions, rising nationalist political contention, and gradual erosion of the monarchy's ability to govern. This constituted a portrait of deficit and decay which led inexorably to the collapse in 1918. Through the 1970s studies of domestic and international politics and political ideas dominated historical publications on the Monarchy in North America as well as Western and Central Europe, with little attention to social or economic history. General historical accounts left developments in the arts, philosophy, and the natural sciences largely to more specialized disciplinary histories. Since the 1980s, however, North American writing on the monarchy and its various crown lands during the nineteenth century has seen a radical transformation in themes, approaches, and interpretations.

Over the last four decades, North American scholars have taken the lead in breaking down many old paradigms about the Habsburg Monarchy in its last century and challenging older notions of an Austro-Hungarian *Sonderweg*. This does not mean that they have abandoned research on political action, nationalist political movements, and the relationship between society and the state. Rather, they have been asking questions in new ways about broader patterns of political, social, and economic change; the evolution of popular loyalties to community, nation, and state; the social bases for political action; and the development of citizens' relations with government. North American historians began to examine social and political loyalties and group identities as dynamic phenomena and to treat governmental authority as a complex force in society with which the citizenry interacted in manifold ways. When compared with the best work on modern German, British, French, and North American history from the last three decades, much may be familiar in the analytic methods which North American scholars have brought to bear on the Habsburg realm in its last century, but much of this has been innovative – and often explicitly revisionist -- compared to earlier research in the Habsburg field.

A characteristic example of the revisionist North America research on economic history was David F. Good's *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1750–1914,* published in 1984[34]. Good used rigorous quantitative economic measures to re-assess how much development was actually achieved from the late eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth. His findings contradicted many aspects of the conventional narrative about retarded economic growth and the impacts of peasant emancipation and political change. Other economic historians trained in the United States, such as Scott M. Eddie, John Komlos, and Richard Rudolph, broke new ground on issues of estate agriculture, trade in the Habsburg Monar-

Classes; Rebel, *What do the Peasants*, pp. 313–356; Rebel, *'Right-Sizing' in Oftering*, pp. 469–494; and Rebel, *Between Heimat and Schubsystem,* pp. 461–479.

[34] Good, *The Economic Rise*.

chy, the relationship of economic development to nutritional levels, and the role of banking in industrial development[35]. The North American writings on Central European economic history gained wide influence, and over the last twenty-five years economic historians in Central Europe have increasingly adopted many of the same methods and approaches.

North American historians have also opened new perspectives on the relationship of intellectual and cultural life to society and politics in the Habsburg Monarchy during the nineteenth century. In a series of essays published in the late 1960s and 1970s and then a prize-winning book in 1980, Carl Schorske examined Viennese cultural life around 1900 with the synthetic approach of North American intellectual and cultural historians of his generation and their interest in connections between broader intellectual developments and their political and social context[36]. In elegant prose Schorske drew out such linkages in the work of diverse figures such as Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Arthur Schnitzler, Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos, Gustav Klimt, Sigmund Freud, Oskar Kokoschka, Arnold Schönberg, and Sigmund Freud and found impulses for their innovative work in the advance of modern urban industrial life and the decline of liberal politics. Popular and scholarly interest in Viennese artists and thinkers around 1900 was already growing internationally during the 1960s and 1970s, and Schorske's writings won wide acclaim. Other scholars took inspiration from Schorske and the broader interest in Vienna 1900, and North American historians produced a stream of works after the 1970s on German-, Magyar-, and Czech-speaking intellectuals and artists in the Habsburg lands between the 1880s and the 1920s[37].

The growing interest of historians of science during recent decades in the social and political context of scientific research has led to original new studies of the natural and social sciences in the Habsburg Monarchy during its last century. Since the late 1970s North American scholars have produced a raft of writings on Sigmund Freud and the development of psychiatry and the behavioral sciences in the monarchy.[38] Among the most prominent of the North Americans who have

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[35] Eddie, *Farmer Response to Price*, pp. 571-588; Eddie, *Agriculture as a Source*, pp. 101–116; Eddie, *Economic Policy and Economic*, pp. 814 – 886; Komlos, *Habsburg Monarchy as a Customs*; Komlos, *Nutrition and Economic*; Rudolph, *Banking and Industrialization*.

[36] Schorske joined the earlier essays along with three new ones and an introduction in Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*. Later he published several more essays dealing with Austrian intellectual figures in Schorske, *Thinking with History*.

[37] See for examples, Johnston, *The Austrian Mind*; McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist*; McGrath, *Freud's Discovery of Psychoanalysis*; Janik and Toulmin, *Wittgenstein's Vienna*; Janik, *Wittgenstein's Vienna Revisited*; Beller, *Vienna and the Jews*; Congdon, *The Young Lukács*; Gluck, *Georg Lukács*; Steinberg, *Meaning of the Salzburg Festival*; Steinberg, *Jewish Identity and Intellectuality,* pp. 3–33; Rose, *The Freudian Calling*; Gubser, *Time's Visible Surface*; Reynolds Cordileone, *Alois Riegl in Vienna*; David-Fox, *The 1890s Generation*; David-Fox, *Prague–Vienna, Prague–Berlin,* pp. 735–760; Spector, *Prague Territories*; Ort, *Art and Life*; Johnson, *The Memory Factory*; Wolff, *Dynastic Conservatism*, pp. 735-764; Beller, ed., *Rethinking Vienna 1900*; and Beller et al., *Forum: The Other Modernisms,* pp. 141–237.

[38] For a few examples, see Sulloway, *Freud, Biologist*; Klein, *Jewish Origins of the Psychoanalytic*; McGrath, *Freud's Discovery of Psychoanalysis*; Roth, *Psycho-Analysis as History*; Rose, *The Freudian Calling*; Rose, *Survival of Images*; Gay, *Freud: A life*.

worked on the natural sciences in middle and late nineteenth-century Austria are Deborah R. Coen, who published an insightful first book on the Exner family and more recently a wide-ranging study of the development of climate science in Austria, and Michael D. Gordin, who has produced a sensitive portrait of Albert Einstein's brief tenure as a professor in Prague's German Charles-Ferdinand University in 1911–12.[39]

Interest in social history among North American and British historians since the late 1960s and 1970s has inspired an expanding body of studies on everyday life, leisure activities and tourism, family relations, women's experience, and sexuality for the Habsburg territories during the early modern and modern eras.[40] When American, Canadian, and British historians first began to publish on women's experience, gender, and sexuality, they had few counterparts among historians in Central Europe, but the gap has largely disappeared in recent decades; and a vigorous trans-Atlantic conversation has developed on current research questions in these areas.

The master narrative on political development in the Habsburg Monarchy during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which prevailed through the 1970s in Europe and North America envisioned a polity full of contradictions and increasingly riven by nationalist ambitions for self-government which could never be satisfied by an immobile Habsburg state. Popular loyalties to that old state presumably declined steadily over the late nineteenth century as national identities grew stronger, even though hardly any of the Habsburg Monarchy's critics and opponents demanded complete independence. Among the most salient contributions of North American scholars since the 1980s to changing historiography on the Habsburg Monarchy during the long nineteenth century has been their innovative work on the development of popular loyalties to community, nation, and the state, which has revised in fundamental ways older views of popular loyalties in the various crown lands.

Previously, conventional historical accounts focused on the rise of the nationalist political movements during the nineteenth century and their struggles for national rights against the Habsburg Monarchy and the dominant German and Hungarian nationalities. These writings typically presumed the age-old existence of the various nationalities based on their distinctive languages and history in particular territories or on a combination of language, religion, territory, and history. In the mid-1970s North American scholars began to conduct local and regional studies to examine the efforts of nationalist political activists in the middle and late nineteenth century to develop popular loyalties and organize support for their causes. Yet when these historians studied linguistically mixed localities, as I did in my doctoral dissertation on the German-speaking minority of Prague, they found evidence of ambiguity and mutability in national group identities among the population and what were

[39] Coen, *Vienna in the Age*; Coen, *Climate in Motion*; Gordin, *Einstein in Bohemia*.

[40] For examples of North American work on these subjects, see Johnson, *Pleasant and the Useful,* pp. 157–182; Johnson, *Air Cure Town*, pp. 185–207; Gluck, *Invisible Jewish Budapest*; Houlihan, *Catholicism and the Great War*; Keller, *Apostles of the Alps*; McEwen, *Sexual Knowledge*; Spector, *Sex, Crime, and Utopia*; Stauter-Halsted, *Devil's Chain*; and Wingfield, *World of Prostitution*.

processes of constructing national loyalties and group solidarities.[41] Local national activists labored to firm up loyalties and along the way repeatedly criticized the "amphibians" or "hermaphrodites" who changed their national loyalties to fit circumstances or those who tried to remain ambiguous. Another American, Jeremy King, followed with a doctoral dissertation and 2002 book on the southern Bohemian city of Budějovice, where he found that ambiguity and mutability of national allegiances persisted into the early twentieth century.[42] Pieter Judson's 2006 book, *Guardians of the Nation,* on the work of nationalist activists in small towns and rural districts in the Bohemian and southern Alpine crown lands where German-speaking and Czech- or Slovene-speaking populations met showed that ambiguous or mutable identities could be persistent in such regions and that some local inhabitants proved to be indifferent or resistant to the efforts of the national activists. When viewed close-up through this lens, the so-called language borders, *Sprachgrenzen*, disappeared as sharply defined borders and appeared more as politically useful rhetorical constructs. Yet another American historian, Tara Zahra, went on to examine another aspect of the work by nationalist activists to combat ambiguity and mutability in national loyalties with her study of the nationalist efforts in the Bohemian Crown Lands to deny parents freedom of choice between Czech- and German-language schools and ensure that they raised their children as members of their own nation and sent them to nationally appropriate schools[43].

This body of research supported an argument that modern national political loyalties and group solidarities were politically and socially constructed phenomena and that one could not simply assume that national loyalties and solidarities were predetermined by putative ethnic origins. The work of political theorists and anthropologists during the 1970s and 1980s, particularly Ernest Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism* and Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, both first published in 1983, bolstered these inquiries and helped give them analytic clarity. The pioneering research on Transylvania by the eminent American anthropologist Katherine Verdery after the mid-1970s helped inspire further research on Central and East-Central Europe.[44] The writings of the American political sociologist Rogers Brubaker in the 1990s helped refine thinking about the political processes at work in constructing national loyalties, and he added an emphasis on the importance of the political and social *performance* of such loyalties and a critique of the pitfalls of methodological nationalism, that is, letting implicit or explicit nationalist assumptions influence research on matters of national loyalty and group solidarities.[45] Reflecting on the theoretical writings and the historical literature on national identities and nationalist movements

[41] Cohen, *The Prague Germans;* and the ensuing monograph, Cohen, *Politics of Ethnic Survival.*

[42] King, *Budweisers into Czechs*.

[43] Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls.*

[44] Verdery, *Transylvanian Villagers*; Verdery, *Vanishing Hectare*.

[45] Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed*; and Brubaker and Cooper, *Beyond 'Identity'*. See also the discussion in King, *Nationalization of East Central Europe.*

in Central and Eastern Europe and elsewhere in the modern world, Zahra has gone on to argue that for too long scholars underestimated or simply ignored indifference to national identity as a significant phenomenon and that it should be a category of analysis in studies of cultural and national pluralism anywhere in the world[46].

The research initiated by North American scholars on the construction of national loyalties and the persistence of ambiguity and mutability in identities in some parts of Central Europe to the end of the nineteenth century or even later sparked a wave of new studies of culturally mixed regions there. North American scholars have continued to play a prominent part in this. Dominique K. Reill, for instance, has produced a highly original study of how influential intellectual and political figures in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste, and Venezia during the middle decades of the nineteenth century resisted simple national identification and how distinctive notions of national identity developed there in the context of strong local and regional identities and much ambiguity.[47] Straddling the disciplines of anthropology and history, Pamela Ballinger has examined in Istria and neighboring Adriatic coastal areas the lived realities of multiculturalism, mixed loyalties, and hybrid identities.[48]

The interest in a deeper and more nuanced examination of modern national identification has also informed the writings of a growing number of North American historians since the 1980s on Jews in the Habsburg lands. Discussions of national loyalties, allegiances to the state, and assimilation have figured prominently in the synthesis on the history of Jews in the Habsburg Monarchy by William McCagg and in articles and monographs by McCagg, Lois C. Dubin, Hillel J. Kieval, Michael Miller, Ian Reifowitz, Alison Rose, Marsha L. Rozenblit, Joshua Shanes, and this author[49]. Here, too, ambiguity and mutability in national identities and the constructed character of loyalties have emerged in ever greater relief.

Not surprisingly, the North American scholarship on the formation of modern national identities and the persistence of ambiguity and mutability in some circumstances into the early twentieth century has drawn a mixed response in the former Habsburg lands. Austrian historians who have been working to reinvigorate studies of the monarchy and modern Central and Eastern Europe have tended to welcome much of the North American research on national identification.[50] The

[46] Zahra, *Imagined Non-Communities,* pp. 93–119.

[47] Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared*, 2012.

[48] Ballinger, *History in Exile*; Ballinger, *Multiculturalism against the State*, pp. 101–121; Ballinger, *Liquid Borderland*, pp. 423–37.

[49] McCagg, *History of Habsburg Jews*; McCagg, *Jewish Nobles and Geniuses*; Cohen, *Jews in German Liberal,* pp. 55–74; Dubin, *The Port Jews*; Gluck, *Invisible Jewish Budapest*; Kieval, *Making of Czech Jewry*; Kieval, *Languages of Community*; Miller, *Rabbis and Revolution*; Reifowitz, *Imagining an Austrian Nation*; Rose, *Jewish Women*; Rozenblit, *Jews of Vienna*; Rozenblit, *Reconstructing a National*; Rozenblit, *Jews, German Culture*, pp. 77–120; Rozenblit, *Creating Jewish Space,* pp. 108–147; Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism*.

[50] See for examples the reviews of Judson's *Guardians of the Nation* by Peter Haslinger for H-Soz-Kult, 21.01.2009, and by Tatjana Tönsmeyer, in: *sehepunkte* 8, 2008, Nr. 7/8; the review of Zahra's *Kidnapped Souls* by Michaela Peroutková, in: *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 58 2010, pp. 296–297; and the reviews of each book by Pavel Kladiwa, in: *Historica Revue pro historii a příbuzné vědy* 1, 2010, pp. 218–224.

eminent Austrian scholar, Gerald Stourzh, however, has called for more precision in the concept of national indifference, since when taken broadly, it subsumes a range of possible individual stances, including ambivalence and mutability as well as simple indifference to a distinct national identity.[51] In the other successor states of the monarchy, many historians have found it more difficult to abandon the major tenet of the older nationalist narratives that nations and basic national or ethno-cultural group identities existed in earlier forms before the rise of modern national political movements.[52] Some historians in East-Central Europe reject the constructivist accounts as excessively voluntarist and see older roots for individuals and groups identifying with national causes. Miroslav Hroch, for example, has agreed that the process of forming a nation is "not preordained or irreversible," but argues that it still requires several kinds of pre-existing objective relationships, be they "economic, political, linguistic, cultural, religious, geographical, or historical"[53]. One senses that some scholars in these lands perceive in the more radically "constructivist" accounts of national identification an attack on the authenticity of their national identities.

In fact, the research on national identification and modern national movements by North American scholars and like-minded colleagues elsewhere over the last several decades has not undermined studies of nationalist politics nor has it delegitimized the examination of nation-building efforts in the lands of Habsburg Central Europe. Rather, this work has taken seriously nation-building as a set of social and socio-cultural processes which accompanied emerging political action. Through those processes nationalist activists built supporting social solidarities for their political movements and cultivated – and at times disciplined – popular loyalties to the nation. This, in fact, is what nationalist activists themselves often said they were doing.

Before World War I, perceptive observers of imperial Austrian politics, such as Karl Renner, recognized that Austria's nationality conflicts were, in fact, a "struggle for the state" rather than against it[54]. After 1918 many ardent nationalist politicians strove to preserve parts of the monarchy's legal and administrative structures to use in service of their own interests under the new flags. Much of the political action during and after 1918 was not aimed at revolutionizing the whole system of government but rather sought to capture parts of the existing state structures for the benefit of new leadership elements. The result was that strong state bureaucratic authority, some degree of autonomy for local and regional authorities, and a preference for corporatist solutions to economic and social problems persisted in many parts of Central Europe from the last decades of the monarchy through the 1920s

[51] Stourzh, *Ethnicizing of Politics*, pp. 283–323.

[52] The review of Judson's *Guardians of the Nation* and Zahra's *Kidnapped Souls* by Pavel Kladiwa, in: *Historica Revue pro historii a příbuzné vědy* 1, 2010, pp. 218–220, displays something of a change of course among Czech historians and takes a fundamentally favorable stance while expressing skepticism on some points.

[53] Hroch, *From National Movement*, pp. 3–20.

[54] Springer (i.e., Renner), *Der Kampf der österreichischen*.

and 1930s. The strength of the old legal and administrative frameworks and the persistence after 1918 of elements of the long-established civic and bureaucratic cultures calls for a fresh examination of citizens' relations to governmental authority and their attitudes toward the state during the last decades of the monarchy. Over the last thirty years, several North American scholars have begun to connect their new understandings of nation-building efforts with studies of citizens' roles in civil society and their relations with governmental institutions. Monographs and essays by John Boyer, Jeremy King, Pieter Judson, Tara Zahra, Maureen Healy, Daniel Unowsky, Nancy Wingfield, and John Deak have all offered new insights on how parties, interest groups, and individual citizens interacted with a changing state and its administrative and legislative organs during the half century before 1918. Their findings do not fit neatly into the old narrative of recurring crises, governmental paralysis, and a steep decline of the state. Rather, they have demonstrated that even if there was little far-reaching democratization, voters, interest groups, and political parties were increasingly implicated in the making of laws and public policy and in the administrative work of governmental bodies at various levels across the Habsburg realm.

Since the 1980s North American historians have produced an impressive series of studies on the development of civil society in late nineteenth century Austria and Hungary and the changing relations between citizens and governmental authority. Previously, general histories of the Habsburg Monarchy depicted the rise of nationalist parties and popular political action leading to the increasing paralysis of legislative processes and as a result a growing government reliance on bureaucratic authority. Those accounts emphasized the recurring crises and disruption of legislative work in several crown land diets and in the Austrian and Hungarian parliaments tempered by interventions from the emperor-king and his ministers[55]. Conventional accounts pointed to the failure of liberal revolutions in 1848 and argued that only after military defeats between 1859 and 1866 did Franz Josef grudgingly accept a constitutional system without intending any far-reaching liberalization. Historians' emphasis on rising domestic political conflict and the seeming immobility of governmental structures after around 1880 often obscured the circumstances that civil society and popular political participation underwent significant structural evolution and that modern systems of law, an array of modern governmental services, and modern notions of citizenship developed after the 1860s.

North American historians' contributions to research on political life and the relations between civil society and government during the late nineteenth century began with intensive archivally-based studies of the foundations and supporting structures for several major political parties and local community politics. In the 1960s and 1970s, when few Austrian historians wanted to publish on German nationalist and antisemitic politics in late imperial Austria, the American Andrew Whiteside published studies of the early German national socialist formations, Georg von Schönerer,

[55] See the discussion in Cohen, *Neither Absolutism nor Anarchy*. Lothar Höbelt used the expression "absolutism and anarchy" in Höbelt, *Parliamentary Politics,* p. 8.

and the Pan-German movement in Austria.[56] Later, in 1992, another American, Bruce Pauley published a needed synthesis on modern Austrian antisemitism.[57] The American historian Bruce Garver broke new ground when he published in 1978 a comprehensive study of the Young Czech Party, which analyzed its social bases and modes of organization, highlighting that party's pivotal role in the transition from middle-class *Honoratioren* parties to mass politics in the Bohemian Crown Lands and its effective use of autonomous city governments and the Bohemian Diet[58]. John Boyer's monumental two-volume study of the Christian Social movement in Vienna and the Austrian Alpine lands, published in 1981 and 1995, replaced the old simple dichotomy between the liberal parties of notables and the later mass-based, populist parties with a more sophisticated analysis which pointed to a linear development from the German Liberals' locally-based deferential politics of middle-class citizens to the populist, antisemitic communitarianism of the Christian Social Party[59]. Local studies published in the 1980s such as William Hubbard's book on society and politics in late nineteenth-century Graz, my monograph on the German-speaking minority in Prague, and Evan Bukey's book on Linz added to the understanding of urban politics[60]. This body of research helped lay the foundations for Pieter Judson's subtle 1996 synthesis on the development of the German Liberals' social bases, political action, and ideology, which analyzed the evolution from middle-class liberal to German nationalist political formations in Cisleithania more broadly[61].

Much of the recent North American research on the Habsburg Monarchy during the late nineteenth century has focused on Vienna and the Alpine and Bohemian crown lands, but North American historians have also published innovative studies on Galicia and Hungary, which have offered similar treatments of the growth of modern political formations, their social bases, and ideology. They have undertaken less research on the Habsburg territories in northern Italy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but for Trieste and the neighboring coastal areas. The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, which opened at the University of Alberta in 1976, benefited during its early years from the intellectual leadership of the historian Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky and has long encouraged research on Galicia in Canada[62]. Between 1983 and 2001, John-Paul Himka at the University of Alberta and Keely Stauter-Halsted, then at Michigan State University, published monographs on the rise of modern popular politics in Galicia, particularly the Social Democratic movement and the nationalist political formations of Polish and Ukrainian peasants[63]. Himka

[56] Whiteside, *Austrian National Socialism*; Whiteside, *Socialism of Fools.*

[57] Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution.*

[58] Garver, *The Young Czech Party*.

[59] Boyer, *Political Radicalism*; and Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis*.

[60] Hubbard, *Auf dem Weg*; Cohen, *Politics of Ethnic Survival*; Bukey, *Hitler's Hometown: Linz*.

[61] Judson*, Exclusive Revolutionaries*.

[62] For a characteristic publication of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies in the early years, see Rudnytsky and Himka, eds., *Rethinking Ukrainian History*.

[63] Himka, *Socialism in Galicia*; Himka, *Galician Villagers*; Stauter-Halsted, *Nation in the Village*.

went on to write insightful studies of religion and Ukrainian popular culture and politics[64]. Brian Porter-Szücs and Daniel Unowsky have advanced understanding of the development of nationalist ideology and popular antisemitism in Galicia and the Polish lands more generally.[65] Holding the chair in Ukrainian studies at the University of Toronto for more than forty years, Paul Magocsi has produced a rich body of publications on national identity, nationalist politics, and the general history of Subcarpathian Ruthenia, Galicia, and Ukraine[66]. Alison Frank's pioneering study of the rise and decline of the oil industry in Galicia contributed significantly to economic, business, labor, and political history[67]. More recently, Larry Wolff produced an erudite and highly original study on the idea and meaning of Galicia as a unique space: governed by imperial Austria, historically part of Poland, but having its own specific character and experience.[68] The impact on this territory of rule from Vienna and the resulting mixture of Austrian and local Polish elements in its political culture and governance was the subject of Iryna Vushko's 2015 monograph, which shed new light on how Austrian state officials went about their work in Galicia from the partitions of Poland to 1867, developed relations with local society, and tried to reconcile Austrian government policy with local circumstances.[69]

The history of the Habsburg Monarchy's Hungarian lands has attracted a smaller number of North American scholars than research on the Alpine and Bohemian lands, due in part to the difficulty of finding adequate language instruction in Magyar. Between 1968 and 1985, three scholars born in Hungary but trained in the United States, George Barany, István Deák, and Gabor Vermes, published much needed political biographies of István Széchenyi, Lajos Kossuth, and István Tisza, respectively[70]. Since the 1990s other North American scholars, including Alice Freifeld, Robert Nemes, and Paul Hanebrink, have begun to trace the development of modern civil society in the Hungarian crown lands and the connections of political ideology to popular culture and religious traditions in research which parallels to an extent the North American work on Vienna and the Alpine and Bohemian crown lands[71].

Studies by American and Canadian historians over the last three decades on the evolution of modern civil society, political parties, and social movements in the Habsburg Monarchy have demonstrated the dynamism of political mobilization after the mid-nineteenth century and the impact of popular political action on government. From 1860 onward, citizens and political formations of all stripes

[64] Himka, *Religion and Nationality*; Himka, *Last Judgment Iconography*.

[65] Porter, *When Nationalism began*; Unowsky, *The Plunder*.

[66] See for examples, Magocsi, *Shaping of a National*; Magocsi, *History of Ukraine*; Magocsi, *Of the Making*; and Magocsi, *Roots of Ukrainian*.

[67] Frank, *Oil Empire*.

[68] Wolff, *Idea of Galicia.*

[69] Vushko, *Politics of Cultural Retreat.*

[70] Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi*; Deák, *The Lawful Revolution*; Vermes, *István Tisza*.

[71] See for examples, Freifeld, *Nationalism and the Crowd*; Nemes, *Once and Future Budapest*; and Hanebrink, *In Defense of Christian*.

pressed to influence policymaking and legislative work. North American specialists on the late nineteenth century have taken up a favorite theme of Czech colleagues regarding the autonomy enjoyed by communal governments and the crown land diets in Cisleithania[72]. In contrast, government in Hungary after 1867 had a more unitary structure with the counties increasingly controlled by the central authorities. The autonomy of the diets and the communal governments in Cisleithania offered possibilities to political parties and interest groups for some direct participation in policymaking and administration, which grew steadily after the 1870s and 1880s as the public services provided by the communes and the crown lands expanded. Even if political crises and deliberate obstruction repeatedly blocked the normal functioning of the Cisleithanian parliament after the mid-1890s, political parties and interest groups gradually increased their influence over ministerial policymaking through lobbying and negotiation. The Cisleithanian ministries and their officials in the crown lands responded to demands from the political parties, interest groups, and a changing society with administrative ordinances and the initiation of new public services[73].

In recent years, historians of the Habsburg Monarchy working in Europe and their North American counterparts have come to some broad agreement on the general patterns of development during the late nineteenth century for political parties and interest groups, their engagement in the representative bodies and administrative work of the local communes and the crown lands, and the growth of public services at all levels of government. North American scholars, however, have been more willing to conclude than was recognized under the old narrative tropes of political stalemate and inexorable state decline that government in Cisleithania demonstrated a great ability to develop even if governance in Hungary showed a slower pace of structural change. American and Canadian historians point, for example, to the facts that the Cisleithanian authorities were able to conclude national compromises with the contending nationalist forces in Moravia (1905), Bukovina (1910), Galicia (1914), and the Bohemian city of Budějovice/Budweis (1914). Those compromises changed constitutional and legal principles in several Cisleithanian crown lands to allow partitioning of the electorate and some representative bodies on national lines and thereby advanced the collective representation of the nationalities in political and legal affairs[74].

With this increased appreciation of the relationship between developing civil society and a gradually changing system of governance and administration, some North American historians have begun to argue that something of a symbiotic

[72] For the Czech scholarship on communal and provincial autonomy, see Klabouch, *Gemeindeselbstverwaltung in Österreich*; and Hlavačka, *Zlatý věk České*. For an American study of the role of autonomous local governments, see King, *Municipal and the National*.

[73] See, for examples of such work, Boyer, *Political Radicalism*; and Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis*; Cohen, *Neither Absolutism nor Anarchy*; Cohen, *Nationalist Politics and the Dynamics*; King, *Budweisers into Czechs*; Kelly, *Taking It to the Streets,* pp. 93–112; Kelly, *Without Remorse*; Unowsky*, Pomp and Politics*; and Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone*.

[74] King, *Budweisers into Czechs*, pp. 137–147; and Kelly, *Last Best Chance*, pp. 279–303; and Cohen, *Nationalist Politics and the Dynamics,* pp. 271–273.

relationship evolved between civil society and government in Cisleithania after the 1860s[75]. A changing governmental system allowed and indeed created political space for civil society and political parties and, even if haltingly, gradually conceded policy measures in response to pressures from society. The growth of nationalist politics first in liberal and then in more radical populist forms and of popular agrarian and socialist movements were both drivers and results in this process. The symbiotic relationship between a developing civil society and dynamic governmental institutions in Cisleithania meant, in effect, that civil society and the state were mutually constitutive during the late nineteenth century. In this regard, some North American scholars no longer see popularly based nationalist politics and the Austrian state as simply antagonistic to each other. They emphasize that most nationalist politicians before World War I did not work for the dissolution of the Habsburg state, but rather eagerly pursued negotiations and bargains. The American Daniel Unowsky and the British scholar Laurence Cole have produced some fascinating research on state-sponsored celebrations and local visits by the emperor-king and other members of the imperial family that show how nationalist politicians used such occasions to demonstrate both their fidelity to the Habsburg crown and their leadership within their national communities.[76]

John Boyer has summed up the role of nationalist politics in the changing landscape of the state and civil society in late nineteenth-century Austria, "The nationality conflict in Austria was not merely the destructive, centrifugal process that usually appears in the historiography. It was also an emancipatory centripetal process that reshaped the 1867 state in ways that allowed all bourgeois ethnic groups to be agents, as well as subjects, of their political destiny"[77]. In a monograph on Austrian state-building during the nineteenth century, one of Boyer's former doctoral students, John Deak, has presented a portrait of the developmental processes in the structures of government and bureaucracy which challenges the old narrative of rigidity and eventual decay[78]. My study of secondary and higher education in Cisleithania during the late nineteenth century depicted the substantial growth in the institutions and how government authorities at various levels responded to pressures from society for increased access[79]At least part of the larger argument about the intertwined development of civil society and the state applies to the Hungarian half of the monarchy as well, but with fewer North American scholars working on the Hungarian lands than the Austrian during the late nineteenth century, less work has been done in the United States or Canada to ask the same questions for Transleithania.

[75] See Cohen, *Neither Absolutism nor Anarchy*, pp. 59–60; Cohen, *Nationalist Politics and the Dynamics,* pp. 241–278; Cohen, *Our Laws, Our Taxes*, pp. 103–121; Deak, *Great War and the Forgotten*, pp. 357–364; Judson, *Habsburg Empire*, passim; King, *Budweisers into Czechs,* passim; and Unowsky, *Pomp and Politics*, passim.

[76] Unowsky, *Pomp and Politics*; Cole, *Patriotic Celebrations*; and Unowsky and Cole, eds., *Limits of Loyalty.*

[77] Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis,* p. xii.

[78] Deak, *Forging a Multinational State.*

[79] Cohen, *Education and Middle-class Society*.

Among the North American historians, Pieter Judson has produced perhaps the boldest revisionist account to date of the Habsburg Monarchy's evolution from the 1780s to 1918.[80] He argues against understanding that period primarily as a history of increasingly contentious nationalities which inevitably sundered an anachronistic and dysfunctional polity. Rather, in his view the state had some genuine dynamism and a capacity to seek ways to advance economic and social development and accommodate its varied geographical and popular components. With the advance of civil society, elements of the citizenry joined in the process and during the second half of the century used the administrative and legislative mechanisms to their advantage wherever they could. Rather than consistently opposing the central authorities, most nationalist politicians right up to World War I found ways at times to collaborate with them to gain concrete benefits.

Judson has not convinced all historians of the Habsburg Monarchy in North America, let alone Central European colleagues who remain loyal to old national narratives, that the governmental structures were so dynamic and responsive to societal elements during the middle and late nineteenth century.[81] John Connelly, for instance, in his massive general history of modern East-Central Europe, is not persuaded by the arguments for the progressive developments in the Habsburg state during the late nineteenth century nor by the revisionist emphasis on persisting ambiguity and mutability of national loyalties among some popular elements up to the beginning of the twentieth century. Rather, Connelly espouses the older view of the ineluctable rise of the national movements, the strength of their popular support during the decades before 1914, and the fundamental inability of the Habsburg Monarchy to accommodate aspirations for national self-government which condemned it to decline and eventual dissolution.[82] In a 2018 survey history of the Habsburg Monarchy after 1815, another American historian, Steven Beller, gives some credence to the revisionist view of the dynamism of governmental structures and policies during the late nineteenth century, but he, too, remains unconvinced by arguments for the Habsburg polity's ability to develop in significant ways and find meaningful accommodations with societal interests. For Beller, the constitutional structures established in the 1867 compromise retained too much authority for the sovereign and the ministerial bureaucracy in each half of the realm to allow for any far-reaching democratization. In fact, the compromise created a rigidity in the constitutional arrangements which made it impossible to resolve the growing national and class conflicts and ultimately doomed the Monarchy.[83] Nonetheless, even though the revisionist accounts have evoked some serious criticism, historians on both sides of the Atlantic now accept as central concerns for research the development of governance and administrative structures across the Habsburg

[80] Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*.

[81] See the reviews of Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, by Evans in *The New York Review of Books* and by Sked in *Canadian Journal of History.*

[82] Connelly, *From Peoples into Nations.* See the review essay on Connelly's book, Cohen, *John Connelly's Long March,* pp. 273–279.

[83] Beller, *The Habsburg Monarchy.*

territories, the rise of civil society and the changing relations between citizens and governmental authority, and the work of nationalist activists to win and maintain popular loyalties in the context of a changing state and civil society.

The new writings on government and civil society in the Monarchy during the last decades before 1914 have raised such serious doubts about the old narrative of an inexorably declining Habsburg polity that several North American historians have initiated new studies on when and how popular confidence in the government of the Monarchy actually began to dissolve. New research on the home front during the Great War has borne fruit in important publications by the Americans Maureen Healy, John Deak, and Jonathan Gumz[84]. They have offered new insights on how dictatorial rule in Cisleithania, the suffering of those in uniform, the deepening material privation of the civilian population, and the growing exhaustion of the government administration during the later years of the war destroyed public faith in its basic competence and led to the collapse of the state at home in autumn 1918.

While North American historians since the 1980s have done much research on the domestic politics of the Monarchy during the late nineteenth century, they have published much less on the first half of the century, but for studies of international relations and Metternich's diplomacy. In general, historians in North America have shown declining interest in traditional diplomatic and military history over the last three decades. One can find notable exceptions, however, in studies of the Habsburg Monarchy, such as Solomon Wank's work on Habsburg foreign relations during the late nineteenth century and his biography of foreign minister Alois Lexa von Aehrenthal, Lawrence Sondhaus' books on Habsburg naval policies and his biography of Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf, Roy Austensen's articles on Austria's relations with the other German states in the mid-nineteenth century, and Nicole Phelps' recent book on relations between the United States and the monarchy[85]. Phelps' work shows the influence of new broader studies in the history of international relations which have begun to take the place of diplomatic history in North American historical research.

At their best, the broader perspectives of American and Canadian historians and their greater distance from the events than among their Central European counterparts have allowed the North Americans to see with greater clarity long-term chains of development in political culture, civil society, and governmental institutions in modern Habsburg Central Europe, which transcended the conventional dividing lines of 1867, 1918, 1938, and 1945. North Americans' research on the modern era and on earlier periods as well has evoked growing interest, along with debate, among colleagues in Central Europe and elsewhere. There are, to be sure, historians who

[84] See Healy, *Becoming Austrian*, pp. 1–35; Healy, *Vienna and the Fall*; Deak, *Great War and the Forgotten*, pp. 336–80; and Gumz, *Resurrection and Collapse*.

[85] Wank, *In the Twilight*; Sondhaus, *In the Service*; Sondhaus, *The Habsburg Empire*; Sondhaus, *The Naval Policy*; Sondhaus, *Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf*; Austensen, *Austria and the Struggle*, pp. 196–225; Austensen, *Einheit oder Einigkeit?,* pp. 41–57; Austensen, *Making of Austria's Prussian*, pp. 861–876; Austensen, *Metternich, Austria, and the German,* pp. 21–37; and Phelps, *U.S.–Habsburg Relations*.

defend older interpretations against the revisionist challenges, particularly in Central Europe, where some scholars retain loyalties to traditional national narratives. The numbers of the latter have been gradually declining, however, since the fall of the communist governments and the end of the Cold War, as younger Central European historians have increasingly questioned old national narratives. In the meantime, international interest in the North American research, the increase in international conference activity over recent decades, and the advance of instantaneous internet communication is drawing North American scholars into ever closer conversations with their counterparts in Europe and around the world. All these developments raise a tantalizing question as to how distinctive North American writing on the history of the Habsburg Monarchy may still be ten or twenty years from now compared to scholarship produced elsewhere in the world.

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POVZETEK

Proučevanje zgodovine habsburške monarhije (1526–1918) v Severni Ameriki

Gary B. Cohen

Zgodovinarji v Združenih državah Amerike in Kanadi niso veliko pisali ali predavali o zgodovini habsburške monarhije pred prvo svetovno vojno, a nov zagon so z monarhijo povezane študije dobile v 20. stoletju z nastankom velikih skupnosti imigrantov iz Srednje Evrope v Severni Ameriki in svetovnima vojnama. Sprva so v delih ameriških in kanadskih zgodovinarjev o novem veku in zgodnjem novem veku v monarhiji prevladovali politika in mednarodni odnosi. Po šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja se je pri severnoameriških zgodovinarjih povečalo zanimanje za intelektualno ter kulturno zgodovino in družbena zgodovina je vplivala na raziskovanje habsburške monarhije in njenih teritorijev. Že od samega začetka se je v delih severnoameriških zgodovinarjev odražal širše zastavljen doktorski študij in večja odgovornost pri poučevanju, kot je bilo značilno za mnoge srednjeevropske strokovnjake. Začenši s sedemdesetimi leti 20. stoletja so ameriški in kanadski zgodovinarji razvili nove, revizionistične interpretacije, ki so odpravile marsikatere uveljavljene poglede na potek razvoja v habsburški monarhiji po poznem 18. stoletju. Gospodarski zgodovinarji v Severni Ameriki so z uporabo naprednih kvantitativnih kazalnikov odkrili bolj robusten novoveški gospodarski razvoj, kot je bil prepoznan poprej. Po zgodnjih osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja so predlagali novo, bolj dinamično razumevanje evolucije vlade, državne uprave ter odnosov med državo in družbo v poznem 19. stoletju, kar je izpodbijalo starejše, konvencionalne poglede na togost in končni razkroj habsburške države. Ameriški zgodovinarji so začeli zagovarjati medsebojno odvisnost počasi modernizirajočih se vladnih struktur in razvoja civilne družbe ter osvetljevali, kako nacionalistična politična gibanja izrabljajo politični prostor, ki se spreminja z načini vladanja, ki so na razpolago. Hkrati so nekateri severnoameriški zgodovinarji začeli zagovarjati bolj dinamično in niansirano razumevanje procesa narodne identifikacije v monarhiji. Njihov pogled na konstruiran značaj narodnega čutenja je omogočal dvoumnost, nestalnost in celo ravnodušnost med delom prebivalstva, kar se je nadaljevalo do konca 19. stoletja. Dodali so tudi nove perspektive k prizadevanju nacionalističnih aktivistov 19. stoletja pri vzgoji in, kjer je to bilo potrebno, discipliniranju narodnega čutenja med splošno populacijo. Razvoj revizionističnih interpretacij pri severnoameriških zgodovinarjih je spodbudil mnoge debate in pripomogel k razpoznavnosti njihovega pisanja o zgodovini habsburške monarhije.

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