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***The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy*, edited by Laurence Cole and Daniel Unowsky (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, paperback edn, 2009; pp. 246. £17.50)**

Until recently the historiography of the Habsburg Monarchy had lacked a good treatment of the role of the monarch and dynasty in establishing loyalty, as has been done in the cases of Great Britain and France. This important collection of essays, spanning the length and breadth of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, edited by Laurence Cole and Daniel Unowsky, give a bird's-eye view of the recent work scholars have done to bridge this gap.

The collection opens with Ernst Bruckmüller's chapter 'Patriotic and National Myths: National Consciousness and Elementary School Education in Imperial Austria'. The aim of these elementary school textbooks was to install *Landespatritismus*, love of the native region as well as as *Gesamtstaatspatritismus*, loyalty of the state and dynasty (p. 22), with the former in a tolerated but subordinate position to the latter. This balance was achieved through extolling carefully selected heroes and periods: thus in Bohemia, Jan Hus, the Defenestration of Prague and the Thirty Years War were left out, as were the more recent Risorgimento and Kingdom of Italy in Italian-language textbooks.

The Monarchy's past servants are the subject of Laurence Cole's chapter, 'Military Veterans and Popular Patriotism in Imperial Austria, 1870–1914'. The veteran associations were a by-product of the introduction of universal conscription in 1868, and filled the space 'where military and civilian spheres intersect' (p. 37). Cole shows how the initiative for the foundation of these associations shifted from loyalist local nobles or state officials in the 1870s and 1880s to the veterans themselves by the early 1900s. By that time the ceremonial role had come to the fore, they were usually able to secure the patronage of one or other of the Habsburg archdukes. Meanwhile, Trentino veteran associations had invested wholeheartedly in Habsburg loyalism, which was returned just as wholeheartedly from Vienna, and only fragmented because of the unprecedented trauma of the Great War. The remaining chapters of this book, however, show that elsewhere dynastic loyalty was not straightforward.

In her chapter 'Emperor Joseph II in the Austrian imagination up to 1914', Nancy M. Wingfield discusses the most divisive of Habsburg rulers. The celebration of the *Volkskaiser*, who freed the serfs and was a benefactor of the Jews, peaked during the 1848 revolutions, and Jews and peasants, the main beneficiaries of his reign. But the 1880 centenary showed

how his legacy could still polarize, above all among the competing national groups: Bohemian German liberals had re-discovered him; Ruthenes venerated him; and Czechs no longer so ardently revered his memory. But the Czechs had another Emperor in their sights: Hugh LeCaine Agnew's chapter 'The Flyspecks on Palivec's Portrait: Franz Joseph, the Symbols of Monarchy, and Czech Popular Loyalty' begins with an image from *The Good Soldier Švejk*, but Musil's *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* may be an more apt literary allusion, as the focus is the yearned-for, but never realized coronation of Franz Joseph as King of Bohemia. Symbolically, the Czechs were the main losers from the *Ausgleich* of 1867, as Franz Joseph was received not the Crown of St Wenceslas in Prague, but the Crown of St Stephen in Buda: the Dual Monarchy could not include a third part.

Daniel Unowsky looks at another conflict between national groups in 'Celebrating Two Empires and a Revolution: The Public Contest to Represent the Polish and Ruthenian Nations in 1880'. As is shown in other chapters, Franz Joseph's periodic *Kaiserreise* to the outlying parts of the Monarchy could cause different reactions. The Emperor's third visit of 1880 (after 1851 and 1855) to Galicia was the occasion of Ruthene nationalist self-assertion in face of Poles and Jews. Alice Freifeld's sensitively written chapter 'Empress Elisabeth as Hungarian Queen: the Uses of Celebrity Monarchism' is a counterpoint to András Gerő's recent, Kossuthite work on Franz Joseph as King of Hungary. 'Celebrity Monarchism', as much the progeny of Eugénie, Empress of the French, as of Elisabeth, cannot be ascribed to Franz Joseph, at least not in Hungary. Elisabeth's political heyday was the mid-1860s, championing Andrassy and Deák, helping rally Hungary against Prussia in 1866. She distanced herself from active participation after Deák's death in 1876, and more especially after her son Rudolf's suicide, turning into 'the *mater dolosa* of liberal monarchism' (p. 153).

Sarah A. Kent's chapter 'State Ritual and Ritual Parody: Croatian Student Protest and the Limits of Loyalty at the End of the Nineteenth Century' unveils the other side of Hungary's position within the Monarchy: during the Franz Joseph's trip to Zagreb in October 1895, a group of Croatian students ceremonially burnt the Hungarian flag at the historically apt, if politically tactless location of the statue of Jellačić. This protest is well chosen as an example where outward loyalty specifically was used as a protest, in this case against the *Nagodba* of 1868, the Croatian-Hungarian Agreement that had followed the Compromise of 1867. Historians have often insisted, in the wake of Joseph Roth and Stefan Zweig, that the two millions Jews were the most *kaisertreu* of all Franz Joseph's subjects. Alon Rachamimov tests this assumption in 'Collective Identifications and Austro-Hungarian Jews (1914–18):

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The Contradictions and Travails of Avigdor Hameiri'. Hameiri (1890–1970) was the penname of Avigdor Feuerstein, born in a poor Hassidic community in the Carpatho-Rus' region, who Magyarized his name to Albert Kova and was already a published Hebrew poet in 1912 and came under Ady's wing in 1913. But the importance of Hameiri (as he became) is that of the most prolific Hebrew language memorialist of the Great War; although I am sceptical of using fictionalized memoirs of one man about so massive, and destructive an event as the Great War to test dynastic loyalty, this chapter raises interesting historiographical questions about Jewish life under the Monarchy.

In the last chapter of the collection, 'Representing Constitutional Monarchy in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Britain, Germany, and Austria', Christiane Wolf traces the three paths of the public personae of Queen Victoria, Emperor Wilhelm II and Franz Joseph. Victoria's popularity grew as she was perceived to interfere less in day-to-day political life; Wilhelm needed to show that he could interfere. Franz Joseph, for once, is not compared to Wilhelm but Victoria. Popular reverence grew from the 'fiction of non-partisanship around his person'. This aura did not transfer to his successor, eclipsed by the imperial-royal mystique that had been embodied by Franz Joseph. In the Afterword, R.J.W. Evans reflects that royalism has been underestimated by scholars but that the '(self-) preservation of the emperor-king' (p. 226) meant also that the Habsburgs 'were locked into the fate of that political system'.

This excellent collection of essays will be gratefully read by both scholars and students of the late Habsburg Monarchy, for it shows that historical work on that most complex of political organisms is alive and flourishing.

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