"A Christian Vienna for all Peoples": Karl Lueger's Nationalities Politics

When Karl Lueger became mayor of Vienna in 1897, his anti-Jewish and Christian rhetoric inspired many. As the founder of the Christian Social Party—a movement rooted in anti-liberalism, Catholicism, and antisemitism—Lueger positioned himself as an opponent of the liberal and allegedly corrupt establishment. While most of the research focuses on how Lueger used antisemitism on his way to power and to disrupt the Habsburg political system, I look at the transregional dissemination of his message. By focusing on several case studies of Christian social organizations in Galicia, Transylvania and Bukovina, I examine the mechanisms through which Lueger tried to attract Poles and Romanians.

Among the Polish population of Galicia, the reception of Lueger's ideology was facilitated by shared Roman-Catholic confessional ties, which provided a foundation for a quick adoption. Polish political actors perceived Lueger's anti-liberal and antisemitic discourse as directly applicable to their own conditions. In contrast, the Romanian reception of Lueger presented more complex challenges. The majority of Romanians were Greek Catholic and Orthodox Christians. As a result of this confessional difference, priests played no significant role in the Romanian case. Instead, the Romanian political elites interpreted Lueger's success in Vienna as emblematic of Western support for antisemitic policies, which resonated with their own agendas.

While Lueger's rhetoric provided a blueprint, regional actors reinterpreted and reshaped these ideas to align with their unique social, political, and cultural contexts. For them Lueger was a distant influence but also a myth, who was used to legitimize their own political strategies. The process of adaptation reshaped the antisemitic discourse, gave rise to new forms of antisemitism.

On the Road to High Modernity? Periodization of Nineteenth-Century History in Central Europe with a Case Study of Public Festivities in the Bohemian Crown Lands

In recent scholarly discourse on Central European history, the debate on the "vanishing nineteenth century" (see Forum in Central European History, Vol. 51, No. 4, DECEMBER 2018) invites a reevaluation of the dynamics traditionally associated with this period. The established notion of the "long nineteenth century" is increasingly challenged by emerging research in colonial, global, and legal histories. Pieter Judson referring to the "long eight-teen century" proposed that it is worth thinking about the "short nineteenth century", and Sebastian Conrad's identification of the 1880s and 1890s as a new "Sattelzeit" of high modernity prompts us also to consider the viability of a "short nineteenth century." Building on Ulrich Herbert's framework of high modernity and Peter Wagner's distinction between restricted liberalism and organized modernity, I propose that the "short nineteenth century" in Central Europe can be traced from the social and cultural transformations of the 1830s and 1840s through to the 1890s, a decade during which significant changes began to permeate the vast majority of Central European societies. This presentation will utilize a case study of public festivities in the Bohemian Crown Lands, drawing from my forthcoming book, to illustrate this concept. I argue that this epoch represents a time of experimentation with modernity, characterized by the search for and negotiation of practices that could be institutionalized as societies approached organized modernity. Festival organizers engaged with traditional cultural forms, reinterpreting them within new contexts of meaning and identity. However, by the century's end, they faced the realities of established modern institutions, categories and conflicts. This perspective challenges the conventional endpoint of the "long nineteenth century," revealing significant continuities between the pre-war and post-war periods. Notably, in the Bohemian Crown Lands, the monarchical symbolism of the Habsburgs, including their festivals, was seamlessly and almost instinctively transferred to President Tomáš G. Masaryk of Czechoslovakia following the war. This exploration not only contributes to the understanding of Central European history but also invites further inquiry into the complexities of modernity and its manifestations in cultural practices.

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My paper traces how political thinker-activists employed notions of the unstable psyche to diagnose the violence erupting in the Habsburg successor states post-WWI. I focus on British psychoanalyst and novelist Phyllis Bottome, her husband, Alban Ernan Forbes Dennis, the MI6 chief for Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, and their jointly run Tennerhof school in Kitzbühel, Austria. Bottome and Dennis founded the Tennerhof school in 1924 as an educational experiment using psychology to "cure the ills of nations." Bottome's novels also reflected her distaste for nationalism, her anti-fascist and anticolonial political activism, and her training as a psychoanalyst. Most notable includes her 1937 novel The Mortal Storm, which blended love story with political intrigue and evoked an internationalist consciousness resisting the rise of Nazi Germany. Bottome's understanding of "diseased" nationalism extended to Britain and the liberal empires. After the war, she published a post-modernist novel titled Under the Skin critiquing British colonialism and racial politics in Jamaica. Her critical public writing and profile brought her in interesting tension with her husband's covert position at the helm of British security operations in Central Europe. Dennis's job, based in Vienna, charged him with managing intelligence on the instability involved in the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire. Among his overt responsibilities as "Passport Officer" included processing requests for Jewish refugees to emigrate to Palestine. Dennis' tasks attested to liberal intelligence's participation in the policing of the "legitimate" ethnonationalist state against transnational revolutionary threats. Perhaps Bottome's most enduring legacy, meanwhile, is that she taught Ian Fleming, who would draw significantly on Bottome's 1946 espionage novel The Lifeline when writing James Bond.