



3 1761 04291 8482



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

311

960

RACIAL PROBLEMS IN HUNGARY



FATHER ANDREW HLINKA.

(NOW UNDERGOING $3\frac{1}{2}$ YEARS' IMPRISONMENT FOR POLITICAL OFFENCES.)

RACIAL PROBLEMS IN- HUNGARY

By

SCOTUS VIATOR

[pseud. of J. J. Watson, Robert W.]
Author of "The Future of Austria-Hungary"

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND A MAP

On peut subir le droit du plus
fort; on ne le reconnaît pas.

204916
3: 8: 26.

LONDON
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & CO. LTD

1908

RACIAL PROBLEMS

HUNGARY

*All Rights of Translation into foreign languages
are reserved by the Author.*

DB

719

SH

Butler & Tanner, The Selwood Printing Works, Frome, and London.

A
HUNGAR
NEMZETNEK

Preface

THREE years ago I set myself the task of writing a history of Austria-Hungary from the Congress of Vienna till the present day, and was encouraged in the attempt by the complete absence of literature on the subject in the English language. I soon found that my work involved close acquaintance with present-day politics in the Dual Monarchy; for paradoxical as it may seem, the twentieth century supplies one of the best clues for an understanding of the nineteenth, so far at least as those countries are concerned. My preliminary studies bore fruit in a little book on *The Future of Austria-Hungary*, in which I attempted to summarize briefly the historic problems which determine Austro-Hungarian policy to-day. But here I was only at the beginning of my difficulties. The vital question of Nationality met me at every turn and clamoured for a solution. Unlike most foreign students of the Dual Monarchy, I was gradually forced to the conclusion that the racial question in Austria is far less difficult and less important than the racial question in Hungary, just as a blazing fire upon the hearth is less dangerous than subterranean flames. Before I could write a history of the Dual Monarchy, I therefore had to prepare the ground by a historical survey of the racial question. I approached the subject with the conventional views of a British admirer of Louis Kossuth, and have gradually and reluctantly revised my opinion on almost every problem of Austrian or Hungarian politics. A writer who challenges the long-established belief in Hungarian liberty and tolerance, must be prepared to meet a charge of prejudice and bias. To my mind true impartiality does not consist in a bare catalogue of facts and a resolve to avoid all expression of opinion; it lies rather in approaching the subject with an open mind or with a readiness to correct existing bias, in resolving never to suppress essential facts which conflict with the writer's own views and sympathies, and in humbly acknowledging the fact that historic truth is relative, not absolute. On these lines I have honestly tried to act, and I must leave the reader to judge

PREFACE

as to the success of my experiment. In its course many an idol has been broken, many a cherished belief discarded.

The present volume does not pretend to treat of all the races of Hungary in detail. To give a really adequate account of the Roumanians, Croats and Serbs of Hungary and Croatia, would have involved a further delay of eighteen months; and the present time seems to me already more than ripe for drawing the attention of our public to the wrongs of the non-Magyar races in Hungary and to the sad plight to which Magyar Chauvinism has reduced the Hungarian state. I have therefore concentrated my attention upon the Slovaks, whose situation may be regarded as typifying that of all the non-Magyar races in Hungary, and who stand most in need of help and sympathy.

In Austria and among the Nationalities, it is usual to challenge the accuracy of the official Hungarian statistics, of which I have made full use in the present volume. Even if it were possible, it would be superfluous to prove their falsity; for these official publications, if only studied with sufficient care, supply by far the most damning evidence against their authors, and it was their perusal that completed my conversion to the cause of the Nationalities. Indeed the reader will find that the official statistics, the official text of the laws, the files of the official Magyar Press, and the public utterances of Magyar statesmen will provide him with an overwhelming case against the present racial policy of the Magyars. On these four pillars rests that portion of my book which deals with modern times; and any information drawn from non-Magyar sources is for the most part supplementary and non-essential. Needless to say, I have only accepted material from persons whom I can trust, and have done my best to check its accuracy by reference to the words or writings of their bitterest opponents.

The key to more than one Balkan problem lies within the Habsburg dominions—a fact which seems to have escaped the notice of the British Press during the present crisis. I have therefore endeavoured in my concluding chapter to show the bearings of the racial question in Hungary upon certain neglected problems of the Near East.

I am fortunate enough to be able to include three short chapters on Slovak Popular Art, by Mr. Dušan Júrko*vi*č, the talented Slovak architect who is doing so much to revive the old artistic traditions of his race, and from whose portfolio of photographs a number of my illustrations are selected; on Slovak Popular Poetry, by Mr. Svetozár Hurban Vajanský,

PREFACE

the distinguished Slovak poet and novelist ; and on Slovak Popular Melodies, by Mr. Milan Lichard, a pupil of Dvořák, and a promising Slovak composer, and by Father Alois Kolísek, who has made a special study of Slovak musical history. It cannot be too clearly understood that I alone am responsible for the opinions expressed in the rest of this book, and that these gentlemen do not in any way commit themselves to agreement with my political views.

I am indebted to quite a number of persons for advice and information, and even in some cases for documents and books to which I could not otherwise have gained access. But for reasons which will become obvious to every reader of my book, I am unable to refer to them by name, and must content myself with a general acknowledgment.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

AYTON, ABERNETHY.

October 26, 1908.



In Self-Defence

SEVERAL reasons compel me to resort to that somewhat questionable form of introduction, a personal explanation. Foremost among these are the attacks which have been made upon me in the foreign press and elsewhere, and the ludicrous guesses as to my identity. So far as the latter are concerned, I may as well state at once that I am neither "an emissary of British Finance,"¹ nor "an agent of the press bureau of the Ballplatz in Vienna,"² nor "to be found in the neighbourhood of the Roumanian Court."³ I am simply what my name denotes—a travelling Scotsman, bent on the study of history and politics. When I first devoted myself to the Austro-Hungarian question, I was imbued with the conventional admiration felt by most people in this country for Louis Kossuth and the ideals which he represented. A stay of seven months in Vienna served to increase my Kossuthist leanings, since I had ample opportunity of observing the prejudices with which so many Austrians regard Hungary, and their absolute disinclination even to try to appreciate the Hungarian standpoint. The crisis grew more and more acute, and my desire to see Hungary for myself at last became irresistible. My first visit was during the elections of 1906, when the Coalition had at length attained to power and the tulip⁴ was in every buttonhole. My experiences in Budapest and elsewhere soon convinced me that the prejudices of the Magyars against Austria far ex-

¹ See *Gross-Oesterreich*, November 11, 1907, and *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, November 29, 1907.

² See *Deutsches Volksblatt* (in Komotau), October 23, 1907, (article entitled "Ein interessantes Buch," by Rudolf Zeigler), copied verbatim by several other Austrian papers. The Pan-German *Reichenberger Volkszeitung* (March 12, 1908) described my pamphlet on "The Future of Austria-Hungary" as "a composition ordered in Austria"—"denn ein Engländer auf Reisen erwirbt sich ein solches Wissen über die österreichischen Verhältnisse nicht"—the best compliment which has ever been paid me.

³ See *Berliner Tageblatt*, May 25, 1907 (Beilage).

⁴ The emblem of a boycott of Austrian goods.

ceeded those of the Viennese against Hungary—a fact which I could hardly have credited before. Many weeks' subsequent travel in Hungary, during which I conversed with men of all shades of opinion, revealed to me the depths of Chauvinism into which Hungary had fallen, and incidentally undermined my enthusiasm for the Independent cause. I returned home disillusioned and less certain than before of the political talent and foresight of the Magyars. If, as Walter Pater held, "the way to perfection is through a series of disgusts," I had—reluctantly, it must be owned—at length ceased to wander on false paths. For ten months I studied the question at home, equally removed from Austrian and Hungarian influences, and thus by the time I next visited Hungary the romance had worn off and I was no longer inclined to believe all the political fairy tales with which that country is so liberally endowed. The result was doubtless reflected in occasional contributions to the press, and these earned for me the attacks against which I take this opportunity of defending myself.

(1) Last October there appeared a penny pamphlet entitled "The Constitutional Struggle of the Magyars," by Dr. A. B. Yolland. This pamphlet bears the subtitle "an Answer to Scotus Viator & Co.;" and yet from cover to cover its author does not again refer to me or any of my views, still less attempt to refute them. Indeed he wastes several pages in refuting views of which I entirely disapprove and of which I defy him to find a trace in anything that I have ever written. His reference to me seems to have had a double object:—first, to discredit me by saddling me with opinions which I do not hold; second, to insult two distinguished Austrian professors by dragging them as "& Co." in the train of an anonymous foreign writer. He actually has the bad taste to talk of "Tezner & Co.," just as if an Austrian or a Magyar were to come to London and write slighting pamphlets about "Dicey & Co.!" He speaks of Professor Tezner's writings as "effusions of the Yellow Press," and alludes to his "intentional misinterpretations." I neither know nor agree with Professor Tezner, but I feel bound to protest against Dr. Yolland's insolent treatment of that distinguished Austrian publicist. For a lecturer on English, Dr. Yolland writes his mother tongue surprisingly badly, and what he is pleased to describe as his "authenticity" on constitutional questions is even more doubtful. But for his gratuitous attack on me, I should never have alluded to him; and further comments are, I hope, unnecessary.

(2) Early this year a pamphlet appeared in the Hammer-Verlag at Leipzig, entitled "*Die oesterreichische Frage: eine Antwort auf die Scotus-Viator-Broschüre. Von einem Deutsch-Oesterreicher.*" The writer's arguments are based on the suspicion that Scotus Viator is in reality not a Scotsman but a Viennese official, or at least that "The Future of Austria-Hungary" was "ordered" by the Austrian Government. Scotus Viator, he argues, with charming courtesy, might equally well be "an Austrian press-reptile" or "an English statesman!" When he charges me with hostility towards Germany, I fear that he has fallen into the error of confusing the German Empire with the Pan-German League. For Germany, the Germans, and most things German, I have the very strongest sympathy and admiration, and have more than once tried to prove this in a practical way. And in spite of the "German-Austrian's" arguments, I still maintain that the annexation of Austria by the German Empire would be disastrous to the latter; and if I were really her enemy, I should preach, in season and out of season, the dismemberment of the Habsburg dominions.

(3) A brief article of mine on the situation in Hungary which appeared in the "Correspondence" columns of the *Spectator* last June, involved me in a controversy with Count M. J. Eszterházy, a member of the Hungarian Parliament; and when the massacre of Csernova (see page 339) on October 27, led me to contribute a further appeal on behalf of the Slovaks, he returned to the charge and repeated the stale old accusation made against every foreign critic of Hungary—namely that of using a Viennese make of spectacles. That Count Eszterházy should have lost his temper during the controversy which he himself evoked, is regrettable, but not unnatural under the circumstances; for he belongs to a class and party whose future is threatened by the democratic and non-Magyar movements in Hungary, with which I had expressed sympathy. But his last letter was so entirely misleading and inaccurate, that my astonishment knew no bounds, when I learnt that the ex-Premier, Mr. Coloman Széll, at a political dinner of the Constitutional Party, had publicly thanked Count Eszterházy for his answer in the *Spectator*, which he described as "a calm, courageous, enlightening and instructive article." My letter, on the other hand, was "untrue, tendancieux, utterly blind, and saturated with fanatical rage" (az ellenünk koholt ten-

dencziósus, egészen vak, fanatikus dühvel szaturált támadás).⁵ Now, a perusal of Count Eszterházy's letter suggests that its comparative "calmness" is due to an extensive application of the pruning knife: that its author is "courageous," I should never dream of denying; but that his writings are "enlightening and instructive" is more than I can admit. In fact, his last letter is full of evasions and misstatements, supported by the use of *old* statistics to prove what *new* statistics disprove; so that the *Temesvárer Zeitung* unintentionally hit the nail on the head when it printed a translation of his letter under the heading "Falsche Informationen." The lamentable feature of the incident is that few persons in Hungary are so conversant with the real facts as Mr. Széll, who must therefore have known the extreme weakness of the arguments upon which he lavished his praise. I am thus forced to conclude that that distinguished statesman—the only Hungarian Premier of recent times who tried to apply tact and humanity to the question of the nationalities—has abandoned his former moderate attitude and surrendered to the crude reaction now rampant among his colleagues of the Coalition.

(4) The storm in a teacup raised by this incident forces me to draw attention to the unfair controversial methods of the Magyar Press. While whole columns of their space have sometimes been devoted to reproducing and commenting upon Count Eszterházy's letters to the *Spectator*, my replies were invariably passed over in silence, and their readers must have supposed that on each occasion I was reduced to silence. The instances which I am about to quote, throw a very curious light upon the methods of Hungarian journalism; and lest I should seem unduly prejudiced, I have limited myself to a single illustration from the Coalition Press and have drawn the other from one of their bitterest opponents, which has at the same time expressed general approval of my opinions.

(A) On December 21, 1907, *Magyarország* (the organ

⁵ The *Pester Lloyd*, usually so moderate in tone, refers in a leading article of August 30, 1908, to the French translation of my pamphlet on *Political Persecution in Hungary*, as "overflowing with poison and lies" (*sein gift und lügenstrotzendes Pamphlet*). Such violent language supplies a good example of that "lack of restraint in praise and blame, which destroys all sense of proportion or aim, confuses men's ideas, depraves their morals and clouds their judgment"—faults of which the *Pester Lloyd* itself complains in another leading article (February 15, 1907), as characteristic of Hungary.

of Mr. Holló, one of the most influential members of the Independent Party) published an article entitled:—

SCOTUS VIATOR—IN BUDAPEST.

THE ABUSER OF MAGYARDOM HUMILIATED.

In it the writer describes an English conversation overheard in the *Café New York* on the previous Monday, between Peter Barré (*sic*), a colporteur of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and a certain Joseph Szebenyey, the Budapest correspondent of the *Daily Express* and the first translator of Kipling into Magyar. After many protests and talk of the dangers of instant dismissal if his action became known, "Barré" was persuaded to accept two articles from Szebenyey's hand, and undertook to deliver them to the Editor of the *Spectator*. After all, "harm could scarcely come of it, since not even the Devil would think that Scotus Viator was a Magyar." "To this step," continues the gifted writer in *Magyarország*, "only desperation and the hungry desire for a few florins, drives the author of such articles, whom foreign papers always gladly pay for articles tending to destroy the prestige of Hungary." Four days later, *Magyarország*, not satisfied with its righteous triumph, published the further details that my real name was not Szebenyey, but Szekulecz; that my father held some post in the Jewish congregation of Kecz, but coming into conflict with the law, absconded to America: that I there learnt English and returned to fetch and carry for the Fejérváry Government (which is, of course, merely another way of charging me with venality and espionage). The publication of such an article in a leading Budapest journal affords startling proof of the low standards which now prevail in Hungarian journalism. It is really superfluous to comment on the incident, but there are certain special points to which I should like to call the attention of my readers. (a) The idea that a journal like the *Spectator* would accept articles on Hungary from an unknown person, through the medium of a Bible colporteur, would seem to be based on a comparison with Hungarian practice. (b) The idea that such action on the part of a colporteur might involve dismissal, could only have arisen in a country where boys are expelled from school for speaking their mother tongue on the streets, where railway servants are deprived of the vote, and where clergy who agitate in favour of their own language are suspended,

transferred, fined, imprisoned. (c) Szebenyey's motive for handing the articles to "Barré" instead of posting them direct to London, can only be explained by the notorious fact that Hungarian Postal secrecy is violated for political purposes.⁶

(B) On the other hand, the friendly-disposed Social Democrat organ *Népszava*, seems to imagine that Count Eszterházy paid the Editor of the *Spectator* for the insertion of his letters!!! This comic accusation reminds me of the view expressed to me by a member of the *Népszava* staff last summer. We were talking of the letters and articles published in the British Press by Mr. Kossuth and Count Apponyi during the crisis of 1905-6. "Yes," said my companion calmly, "the *Daily News* must have been bribed by Kossuth." "Bribed!" I exclaimed, "what on earth makes you think that?" It duly transpired that when Mr. Kossuth wrote his appeal to the *Daily News*; my informant sent a rejoinder to the Editor, on a postcard, dated in Berlin, and signed with a German name. The rejoinder was not unnaturally never printed, and its author drew the conclusion so often drawn in Hungary. Argument was useless; for him, as for his opponents, the words "Audi alteram partem" did not exist. Such instances unhappily tend to show that the Magyar Press with a few rare exceptions has not the faintest inkling of what is meant by fair play. The Magyars are fond of British sports; it is a pity that they cannot learn to "play the game."

If I were a philosopher instead of a mere student of history, the Magyar psychology would supply me with an unique and fascinating theme. As it is, I must be content with recounting to my readers a few personal anecdotes which illustrate the extent to which the Magyars are dominated by racial prejudices, and also their extreme disinclination to introduce a foreigner to the real facts. During my first tour in Hungary I was predisposed to accept every word that fell from the lips of a

⁶ Cp. the declarations of Mr. Kristóffy, the late Minister of the Interior, to a press representative. "The Coalition," he said, "declares daily that I am a completely broken man, and yet some of its organs have instituted a regular service of espionage against me. My letters are opened by a *Cabinet noir*, my every step is watched by detectives, my conversations on the telephone are tapped." As former Chief of Police, Mr. Kristóffy recognized two detectives who were examining his luggage at the station in Vienna. See *Neue Freie Presse* of August 1, 1907. The Polónyi scandals supply many far more startling instances of similar practices—practices with which I prefer not to soil the pages of this book.

Kossuthist as gospel, and it was only very slowly that the truth began to penetrate through the armour of suspicion which I donned whenever I met a non-Magyar. Indeed I look back now with amusement at the feelings of intense dislike and incredulity with which I first listened to a Slovak nationalist. I only mention this to show that I first visited Hungary as a strong partisan of the Magyars, and that it was only their repeated recourse to evasion and sophistry that shook my faith in the justice of their cause.

The first case to which I would refer is that of a mayor of a large town in the south, to whom I mentioned somewhat apologetically the assertion of these rascally non-Magyars, that the Law of Nationalities was not always put into execution.

"Not carried out! That is a lie," cried the mayor in stentorian tones that warned me not to pursue the conversation. Subsequent inquiries have shown me that I had touched a tender spot in the municipal armour, since his own city and the surrounding county supply many examples of the infringement of that very law.

My second instance is that of a prominent ex-deputy and priest, who spent the best part of a day in trying to disprove to me the very existence of a racial question in Hungary. The fact that it was as acute in his own county as anywhere in the country suggests that his powers of casuistry were greatly superior to his belief in his visitor's sanity. Clearly he, like most other Magyars, had never heard the brilliant phrase of Blowitz, "La moitié de l'intelligence est de se rendre compte de l'intelligence des autres." Indeed, they are far too fond of assuming their critics to be born fools.

The third case is that of an able Public Prosecutor, who acted for the Crown in one of the most notorious political trials of recent years, and who was good enough to discuss with me the policy pursued by the Magyar authorities since 1867 towards the nationalities. "You must not imagine," he said, "that we are all so severe towards the non-Magyars as the statistics of political trials would lead you to suppose. For instance, a very distinguished politician and true-blood Magyar, Mr. Mocsáry, of whose writings you may perhaps have heard, has for years advocated the cause of the nationalities." "Yes," I could not help retorting, "and for doing so he was ejected from his party and has for the past twenty years been ostracized from political life." "Na ja, das ist eine ganz andere Sache" ("that is quite another matter"), replied the lawyer,

and conversation drifted into other channels. But so flagrant an attempt to befool the foreign inquirer is apt to leave an unpleasant taste in the mouth.

Yet another instance. On one occasion some Magyar acquaintances, realizing that I was not convinced by their arguments, arranged for me a meeting with a professor, who, they assured me, had made a special study of the questions in which I was interested, and who above all could say the last word on the important Law of the Nationalities. I called next day full of expectation, and was received with habitual Magyar courtesy. Unfortunately the professor restricted himself to generalities on the well-worn subjects of Liberty and Nationality, and it was only possible to bring the conversation gradually round to the real question at issue. He expressed great astonishment at the very idea that the Law of Nationalities had remained a dead letter, admitted the possibility of occasional abuses such as were bound to occur even in the most civilized state, but assured me that with these trifling exceptions the law was loyally respected. (Unfortunately our mutual acquaintance had taken the line of admitting its non-execution and arguing the incompatibility of such a law with the Magyar hegemony.) "But," I suggested, "the Law of Nationalities pledges the state to provide instruction in the mother-tongue, and yet, to take only one instance, there is not a single Slovak or Ruthene gymnasium in Hungary." "Oh, my dear sir," he protested, "I assure you you are mistaken; there is no such provision as that in the law of 1868." Then I saw that it was useless to beat about the bush any longer, and boldly producing a pocket edition of the law in question I turned to paragraph 17,⁷ which contains the provision to which I had referred. The professor took the book and read the paragraph carefully through: he adjusted his glasses and skimmed it through again; then he turned to me and said, "Yes, I beg your pardon. Yes, you are perfectly right. *I had forgotten.*"

Finally I may instance a still more distinguished Magyar, who has filled more than one position of great importance in Hungary and has always been conspicuous for his moderation and integrity. After expatiating at some length on the extreme and impossible demands of the non-Magyar leaders and emphasizing with great ability the importance of the Magyar hegemony to the balance of power in Europe, he closed by sketching the remarkable achievements of Magyar

⁷ See page 156.

culture during the past forty years, its conquest of the towns and the irresistible attraction which it is bound to exercise on a race so lacking in culture and historic tradition as the Slovaks. Impressed by his persuasive eloquence, I could only meet him for the moment with the somewhat fatuous question, "And what will all this movement end in?" "Oh," he said, "*we shall just go on till there are no Slovaks left.*"

This was perhaps the most instructive of the many unwary utterances to which I was treated; but it was by no means the most startling, though for various reasons it is the last which I intend to quote. The indiscretions of the non-Magyars were of quite another type. They sometimes betrayed hatred or extravagant claims, though quite as often singular moderation and statesmanship; but they always displayed a perfect passion for facts, sometimes even talking with the laws and the official statistics in their hands. Nothing struck me more than the eagerness with which a leading non-Magyar deputy urged me to make the acquaintance of his most Chauvinistic opponents—so convinced was he that this would be the most effective way of bringing me to his side. I am not blind to the exaggerations of which the non-Magyars, like every one else, are guilty. But they are still weak and on the defensive, and under present circumstances it is as much to their interest to tell the truth as it is to the Magyar interest to conceal it.

Of course no Magyar Chauvinist will believe so "calumnious and fanatical" a writer as myself, when I say that this book has been written entirely without any feeling of hatred towards Hungary. Perhaps in ten years' time, when universal suffrage has let in a healthy stream of democracy and the present orgy of racial intolerance and class legislation has spent itself, it will be possible for a Magyar to make such an admission. That is however a matter of comparative indifference to me, since I write for the British, not the Hungarian public, whose tendency to ascribe all unfavourable comments on Hungary by foreign writers either to bribery or to "Viennese spectacles," tempts me to ignore their criticism altogether. My object has been, not so much to expose the present régime in Hungary (whose reactionary and oligarchic nature is now well known abroad) as to convince those of my countrymen who seem disposed to commit Britain to sympathy with the Magyar clique and thereby to promote the ruin of the Habsburg Monarchy and an European conflagration—to prove to them that Hungarian freedom is a myth for all save

IN SELF-DEFENCE

the Magyars, and even for the Magyars if they espouse the cause of Socialism or Labour, and that her ruling classes stand for everything that is anathema to all enlightened politicians in this country, whether they call themselves Conservative, Liberal, Labour or Nationalist. The Magyars may deny all attempt at Magyarization: that is only an argument (if argument it can be called) with which to fool ignorant foreigners. For a year it took me in completely; now it has lost its effect, and I wish to make it impossible to repeat the process with any of my countrymen who do me the honour of reading this book.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

Contents

	PAGE
PREFACE	vii
IN SELF-DEFENCE : AN ANSWER TO CRITICS	xi
GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL NOTE	3
CHAPTER I	
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TILL THE REFORMATION	15
CHAPTER II	
REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION	27
CHAPTER III	
THE RISE OF MAGYAR NATIONALITY	38 ✓
CHAPTER IV	
THE BEGINNINGS OF SLOVAK LITERATURE : PANSLAVISM, LITER- ARY AND POLITICAL	44 ✓
CHAPTER V	
MAGYARIZATION	59 ✓
CHAPTER VI	
THE REVOLUTION OF 1848	90
CHAPTER VII	
REACTION (1849-1860)	108 ✓
CHAPTER VIII	
TRANSITION (1860-1867)	117 ✓

CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER IX	
THE AUSGLEICH AND THE NATIONALITIES	135 ✓
CHAPTER X	
THE NEW ERA—PASSIVITY AND PERSECUTION (1867—1908)	161
CHAPTER XI	
THE EDUCATION LAWS OF HUNGARY AND THE NATIONALITIES	205
CHAPTER XII	
ADMINISTRATIVE EVILS	234
CHAPTER XIII	
ELECTORAL CORRUPTION AND ELECTORAL REFORM	249
CHAPTER XIV	
ASSOCIATION AND ASSEMBLY IN HUNGARY	274
CHAPTER XV	
THE PERSECUTION OF THE NON-MAGYAR PRESS	293
CHAPTER XVI	
JUDICIAL INJUSTICE	314
CHAPTER XVII	
A POLITICAL TRIAL IN HUNGARY AND ITS SEQUEL	331
CHAPTER XVIII	
SLOVAK POPULAR ART, BY DUŠAN JURKOVIČ	352
CHAPTER XIX	
SLOVAK POPULAR POETRY, BY SVETOZÁR HURBAN VAJANSKÝ	362
CHAPTER XX	
SLOVAK POPULAR MELODIES, BY MILAN LICHARD AND REV. ALOIS KOLÍSEK	372

CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER XXI

THE RACIAL QUESTION IN HUNGARY—A SUMMARY	392
--	-----

APPENDICES—

(1) Report of the Parliamentary Committee on the Question of the Nationalities (1861)	421
(2) Petition of Bishop Moyses to His Majesty (1861)	425
(3) The Law of Nationalities (1868)	429
(4) Polyglot Hungary—Population according to Race	434
(5) Knowledge of the Magyar Language	435
(6) Educational Statistics, showing Difference between Theory and Practice	436
(a) Non-attendance at School	436
(b) Imperfect Attendance and its Causes	436
(c) Number of Illiterates	436
'7) Magyarization in the Schools	437
(a) Language of Instruction in Primary Schools	437
(b) „ „ in Slovak Primary Schools	437
(c) Magyarization of Slovak Primary Schools	437
(d) Slovak Children in Primary Schools	438
(e) General Table, showing Magyarization in Schools and Violation of the Law of Nationalities	438
(f) Summary	438
(8) State Aid and Patriotism	439
(9) Magyarization through the Church :	440
{(10) Political Persecution of the Non-Magyars	441
(a) Roumanian Political Trials (1886-1896)	441
(b) „ „ „ (1897-1908)	448
(c) Slovak Political Trials (1898-1908)	454
(d) „ „ „ (Summary).	462
(e) Press Actions against the Národné Noviny (1892-1906)	463
(f) Slovak Press Actions (1905-1908)	466
(g) Summary of Political Trials	466

CONTENTS

	PAGE
<i>APPENDICES (continued)</i>	
(11) Electoral Statistics	467
(12) Slovak Banks	469
(13) Emigration Statistics	470
(14) The Roumanian Programme of Hermannstadt (1881)	470
(15) The Declaration of the Roumanian Committee at the Memorandum Trial (1894)	472
(16) The Dissolution of the Roumanian National Party (1894)	475
(17) The Programme of the Nationalities (1895)	476
(18) The Protest of the Non-Magyars against Baron Banffy's Placenames Bill (1898)	478
(19) The Roumanian Programme of 1905	482
(20) The Slovak Programme of 1905	483
21) Defence of Father Hlinka before the Court of Pressburg (1908)	484
(22) The Szenicz Election (1906)	494
(23) Bloodshed at Elections	498
(24) The Pollakovič Case (1908)	499
(25) Parliamentary Tolerance (the Vaida Case)	502
(26) The Magyarization of Surnames, and Official Pressure	504
(27) How Wills are respected in Hungary	506
(28) The Croatian Crisis	509
(29) The Latkóczy Incident	512
BIBLIOGRAPHY	513
INDEX	529

List of Illustrations

	TO FACE PAGE
Father Andrew Hlinka	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Hill Pastures	14
<i>(From a photograph by E. Málek.)</i>	
Csorba : in the Tatra Mountains	18
<i>(From a photograph by the Author.)</i>	
Trencsén and Leutschau (Löcse)	22
The Castle of Árva	30
<i>(From photographs by the Author.)</i>	
Slovak Peasants, from the county of Turócz	48
John Kollár	50
Daughters of Slava	52
<i>(From the painting by Joža Uprka.)</i>	
Slovak Peasant Types	64
Slovak Peasant Costumes, from the counties of Trencsén and Pressburg	76
Ludevit Štúr	80
A Slovak Cottage Interior	88
<i>(From a photograph by E. Málek.)</i>	
Preparing the Flax	106
Slovak Peasant Types, from the county of Árva	122
Slovak Peasant Girls, from Detva, county of Zólyom	128
<i>(From a photograph by E. Málek.)</i>	
A Slovak Idyll	160
<i>(From the painting by Joža Uprka.)</i>	

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	TO FACE PAGE
Slovak Pottery	166
Dr. Milan Hodža, M.P.	196
A Slovak Village Church (the Lutheran Church of Velká Paludza) <i>(Reproduced from "Les Ouvrages Populaires des Slovaques.")</i>	204
A Slovak Festival <i>(From the painting of Joža Uprka.)</i>	280
A Slovak Churchyard <i>(Reproduced from "Les Ouvrages Populaires des Slovaques.")</i>	286
The Arrest of Father Hlinka <i>(From an amateur photograph confiscated in Hungary.)</i>	288
Slovak Tombstones, carved and painted	290
Mr. Svetozár Hurban Vajanský	306
A Slovak Church Interior—Velká Paludza <i>(Reproduced from "Les Ouvrages Populaires des Slovaques.")</i>	320
Father Ferdinand Juriga, M.P.	328
Rózsahegy <i>(From a photograph by the Author.)</i>	332
A Slovak Peasant Group	340
A Slovak Peasant Home: northern district <i>(From a photograph by E. Málek.)</i>	352
A Slovak Peasant Home: southern district <i>(From a photograph by E. Málek.)</i>	354
A Slovak Cottage Interior <i>(From a photograph by E. Málek.)</i>	356
Ingleneuk in a Slovak Cottage	358
Portion of an embroidered Slovak Shroud	360
Wall Decoration in a Slovak Cottage	362
Slovak Peasant Embroidery	368
A Slovak Peasant's Waistcoat	370
Slovak Peasant Art—drinking cup, in brass <i>(Reproduced from "Les Ouvrages Populaires des Slovaques.")</i>	372
Slovak Peasant Art—stick, bracelet and brooch	374

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

TO FACE
PAGE

Slovak Peasant Art—linen beetler and candlestick . . .	376
<i>(Reproduced from "Les Ouvrages Populaires des Slovaques.")</i>	
A Slovak Patriarch	382
<i>(From a photograph by E. Málek.)</i>	
A Village Worthy	384
<i>(From a photograph by E. Málek.)</i>	
Day Dreams	388
<i>(From the painting by Joža Uprka.)</i>	
—————	
Racial Map of Hungary	<i>at end of volume</i>

GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL NOTE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL NOTE

RECENT events are gradually dispelling the widespread fallacy that Hungary is a national state in the sense in which France and Italy are national states. Nothing could really be farther from the facts, for Hungary is the most polyglot state in all Europe. Its racial divisions may be best shown by the following table, compiled at the census of 1900¹ :—

	HUNGARY (exclusive of Croatia-Slavonia).		HUNGARY (the whole of Transleithania).	
		p.c.		p.c.
<i>Magyar</i>	8,588,834	51·4	8,679,014	45·4
German	1,980,423	11·8	2,114,423	11·0
Slovak	1,991,402	11·9	2,008,744	10·5
Roumanian	2,784,726	16·7	2,785,265	14·6
Ruthene	423,159	2·5	427,825	2·2
Croat	188,552	1·1	1,670,905	8·7
Serb	434,641	2·6	1,042,022	5·5
Minor Races	329,837	2·0	394,142	2·1
<i>Non-Magyar</i>	8,132,740	48·6	10,443,326	54·6
Total	16,721,574	—	19,122,340	—

Thus a total population of slightly over nineteen millions is composed of seven important nationalities—the Magyars, Germans, Slovaks, Roumanians, Ruthenes, Croats and Serbs—each possessing its own distinct culture and historic traditions, and with the exception of the Croats and Serbs,² each speaking a different language. In addition to these, there are 851,378 Jews,³ and a number of minor races, whose numbers amount to 394,000, or only 2 per cent. of the population. The latter include 82,000 gipsies :⁴ the 20,000 Italians of Fiume, who,

¹ *Ungarisches Statistisches Jahrbuch*, Bd. ix.

² Who speak the same language, merely writing it in the Roman and Cyrilline alphabets respectively.

³ These are Jews by religion : the number of converted Jews cannot be ascertained from the official statistics, which classify them as Magyars.

⁴ At the special Gipsy Census of 1893, there were 274,940 gipsies in Hungary ; but of these, only 82,000 professed Romany as their language, 104,000 gave themselves out as Magyars, and 67,000 as Roumanians. Only about 9,000 are still nomads, 20,000 more are semi-nomads. See Auerbach, *Les Nationalités en Autriche-Hongrie*, pp. 326-9, and for further but less recent details, Schwicker, *Die Zigeuner in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen*. Vienna, 1883.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL NOTE

despite their privileged position, are steadily losing ground to the Croats and even to the Magyars : a few Poles near the Galician frontier, who are being assimilated by the surrounding Slovak and Ruthene population : a small colony of semi-Magyarized Armenians in Szamos-Ujvár in Transylvania ; a few Bulgarian colonies in the Banat, amounting to 15,000 souls in all ; and about 70,000 Wends or Slovenes on the Western frontier, who are yielding to Croatian influences. These ethnical fragments need not detain the reader, for they have little or no influence upon the Racial Question as a whole.

The kingdom of Hungary owes its independence above all else to its geographical situation, and geography explains the present grouping of the Hungarian races. Unlike its mediaeval rival, the kingdom of Bohemia—which even with Moravia only embraces 28,643 square miles⁵—Hungary is equal in area to several of the more important European states ; and this circumstance has, at more than one critical moment in her history, saved her from partition or annexation. The territory of the Crown of St. Stephen, as Hungary with Croatia-Slavonia is sometimes officially called, covers an area of 125,430 square miles, and is thus slightly larger than the United Kingdom (121,391), Austria (115,903), Italy (110,550), almost as large as Prussia (134,463) and more than twice the size of her southern neighbours, Roumania (50,720), Servia (18,630), and Bulgaria (38,080).

The centre of the country is a vast plain, intersected by the Danube and its great tributaries the Theiss (Tisza) and the Maros. The Magyars, when they first entered the country under Árpád at the close of the ninth century, occupied this territory, so ideally suited to a race of nomadic horsemen. At first they contented themselves with exacting tribute from the scanty population of the mountainous districts which, indeed, they never attempted to colonize themselves. It was only by slow degrees that Magyar influence extended into the periphery of Hungary ; and even to-day the Magyars occupy very much the same tract of country as that of which their ancestors originally took possession.

The northern, eastern, and even part of the southern frontier are formed by the gigantic rampart of the Carpathians, which fall naturally into three divisions :—

(1) To the west the Little Carpathians, an outlying spur of this great range, extend as far south as Pressburg on the Danube ; and the precipitous heights of the Tátra mountains decline gradually southwards and die away near Eger and Miskolcz into the great central plain. From the mouth of the March at Dévény (Theben) as far as Lubló (Lublau) on the river Poprád, no real break occurs in the mountain chain ; and thus the Slovaks, whom the inroad of the Magyars restricted to this territory, and whose racial boundaries are virtually the same to-day, were during the Middle Ages effectually shut off from intercourse with their neighbours in the Galician plains, and even with the Czechs of nearer Moravia.⁶ The break in the mountains caused

⁵ I.e., 1,100 square miles less than Scotland.

⁶ The Jablunka Pass alone gave access to Moravia ; the rivers all flow from north or north-east to south (March, Vág, etc.), and thus the absence of water communications (the mediaeval trade routes) [prevented intercourse between Hungary and Moravia] until the epoch of the Hussite Wars.

THE CĂRPATHIANS

by the river Popr ad was a vulnerable point in the armour of Hungary ; and it was to check the Polish influences which entered through this break that kings of the House of  rp ad settled German colonists in what became known as the Zips free towns. Thirteen of these towns were pawned by Sigismund to Poland in the year 1414—an unscrupulous act to which reasons of geography prompted him.

(2) From Popr ad to M aramaros Sziget the Carpathians are narrower and less impenetrable ; and it is this district—comprising the counties of Zempl en, Ung, Bereg, and parts of M aramaros, Ugocsa and S aros—which is inhabited by the 427,000 Ruthenes of Hungary. This race is probably descended from refugees who left Lithuania under their prince Theodore Koriatowicz, and accepted the invitation of Louis the Great to act as guardians of the eastern frontier (*circa* 1340).

(3) To the south of M aramaros Sziget the Carpathians again expand, and form a compact mountainous district covering an area of well-nigh 70,000 square kilometers. This district, famous in history as the principality of Transylvania, is a distinct geographical unit. Its mountainous formation prevented the Magyars from ever colonizing it, while the numerous valleys debouching on the Hungarian plain (formed by the river Szamos, Maros and the three branches of the K or os) exposed it to their marauding incursions and enabled them to reduce the country to submission and to join hands with the Sz ekels. These latter were a kindred Mongol tribe, which had migrated westwards some centuries earlier,⁷ and had occupied the district watered by the Alt and the upper reaches of the Maros, and bordering upon modern Moldavia. In the course of time the Magyars found themselves in their turn exposed to inroads from the mountain fastnesses of Transylvania, and being averse to abandon the plains for the mountains, invited German settlers as guardians of the frontier. From the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries there was a continuous stream of Saxon and Flemish immigrants into Transylvania—especially under Andrew II, who granted to them the famous “Free Charter” (Goldene Freibrief) of 1224, and under B ela IV, whose task it was to repair the ravages wrought by the terrible Mongol invasion of 1241. The nine sees (St uhle)⁸ and two districts⁹ which made up the Saxon territory—the Fundus Regius, or K onigsboden, as it was called—remained intact until the law of 1876 abolished Saxon autonomy, in direct defiance of the terms of the act of union between Hungary and Transylvania.¹⁰ Strategic reasons had dictated their original choice of territory ; and their three chief historic centres, Hermannstadt, Kronstadt and Bistritz, command the three most accessible passes across the Carpathians towards the south and east—those, namely, of Rothen-turm, Predeal and Borgo.

When after the battle of Moh acs (1526) Central Hungary fell into the power of the Turks, Transylvania was saved from a like fate by its mountainous formation. After a precarious existence of 165 years

⁷ They themselves claim descent from the Huns of Attila, but modern criticism has thrown grave doubts upon this view.

⁸ Of Hermannstadt, Leschkirch, Gross Schenk, Reps, Sch assburg, Mediasch, Reussmarkt, M uhlbach and Broos.

⁹ Kronstadt (the Burzenland) and Bistritz (the N osenerland).

¹⁰ See p. 145.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL NOTE

under native Magyar princes, who recognized the suzerainty of the Sultan, and on more than one occasion fought for the Crescent against the Cross, Transylvania fell once more under the sceptre of the House of Habsburg (1691); and it was not till 1867 that the principality closed its separate existence.

The numbers of the Saxons have long remained stationary—a fact which is due to the spread of the “two-children system” amongst them, and in recent years to the emigration of their young men to Germany. At the census of 1890 they amounted to 223,678, and even these small figures include several thousand Germans from other parts of the monarchy who have settled in the Saxon counties.

The Szekels form a compact mass of 458,307, stretching from near Kronstadt on the south as far as Maros-Vásárhely and Gyergó St. Miklós on the north. There are also several Magyar colonies in the counties of Kolozs, Szolnok-Doboka, and Torda, amounting in all to 281,898.

The remainder of the Transylvanian population is Roumanian. Their origin has formed the subject of an acrid controversy, which has passed from the academic sphere to the realm of politics, and which racial prejudices will prevent from ever reaching a satisfactory conclusion. The Roumanians themselves claim descent from the Roman colonists of Dacia, and consequently regard themselves as the original owners of the soil. The Magyars, on the other hand, argue that the barbarian invasions annihilated the Roman element in Transylvania, and treat the present Roumanian population of the country as descendants of Wallach immigrants in the thirteenth century. It is true that no historical evidence of their presence before that date can be adduced; but in all probability the truth lies half-way between the rival theories. A remnant of the old Daco-Roman population may have escaped to the mountains, and thus would form a nucleus for the nomadic herdsmen and shepherds who immigrated from Wallachia during the later Middle Ages. It is hardly credible that the Roumanian language should have preserved so many Latin influences, if its area during the Dark Ages had been confined to the great plain of Wallachia; and the contrast between the Roumanians and the Bulgarians, who renounced their Tartar origin and adopted a Slav idiom, would suggest that the former had enjoyed the comparative safety and seclusion of a mountain home. This, however, is mere conjecture, whose value is academic rather than political. The essential fact to remember is that with the exception of the Saxon and Magyar enclaves to which we have already alluded, the entire south-eastern portion of Hungary is inhabited by Roumanians, who in 1900 amounted to 2,784,726, and who are at present increasing more rapidly and emigrating in proportionately smaller numbers than any other Hungarian race.

The rich plain of the Bácska, lying between the Danube and the Theiss (Tisza), and the Banat of Temesvár, lying between the Theiss, the Maros, the western hills of Transylvania and the Servian reaches of the Danube, form a racial mosaic of the most complicated pattern. The ejection of the Turks from Hungary at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the creation by Prince Eugene of a special territory known as the “Military Frontiers” found the southern plains well-

CROATIA

nigh depopulated, and once more colonists had to be introduced. In 1690 the Serb Patriarch of Ipek with 2-300,000 Serb refugees settled upon Hungarian soil, and received from Leopold I a diploma assuring them special privileges. Under his successors Charles III (VI as Emperor) and Maria Theresa, German settlers from Alsace and Swabia were also introduced; and to-day their descendants are in many respects the most prosperous portion of the Hungarian rural population, offering a striking contrast to the surrounding Magyar and Roumanian peasantry. The Serbs, who amount to 434,641, are almost entirely confined to the counties of Bács, Torontál and Temes. The Swabians, to the number of 541,112, inhabit the same three counties and that of Krassó-Szörény.

Finally there remains the kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, which owes its autonomous situation within the territory of St. Stephen in large measure to geographical reasons. Croatia ¹¹ falls naturally into two portions: first, the triangular territory between the Drave and the Save, extending from Friedau in Styria and Rann in Carniola as far as the frontier town of Semlin (Zimony) which looks across the water to Belgrad; and second, the high limestone walls which connect the mountain system of the Balkans with the Karst above Trieste (and so with the Styrian Alps), and which sink abruptly down to the Adriatic at Fiume. The Magyar's sole access to the sea lies through Croatia, and the difficulties of the railway line connecting Zagreb (Agram) with Fiume increase the strategic importance of the Croatian position.

In Croatia the racial question is far less complicated than in Hungary proper. Out of a population of 2,400,766, the Croats amount to 1,482,353 (or 61.6 per cent.), and the Serbs to 607,381 (or 25.4 per cent.). Their language is identical, the sole difference being that the Croats employ the Roman, the Serbs the Cyrilline alphabet. Thus the distinction between Croat and Serb is not one of language, and only partially one of race. Religion plays the foremost part in their rivalry, for while the Croats are Roman Catholic and draw their inspiration from Rome and the west, the Serbs are Orthodox and are still under the influence of Byzantine culture. For the forty years which followed the Ausgleich, the Magyars were able to hold Croatia under control, by playing off the rival races against each other. But Croats and Serbs have at length learnt the lesson of bitter experience; and the Serbo-Croat Coalition, which commands a strong majority in the Diet of Zagreb, has for over eighteen months resisted every effort of the Magyars to sow fresh discord between the reconciled kinsmen.

The Serbo-Croat race makes up 87 per cent. of the population of Croatia; 5.6 per cent. are Germans (including Jews), and only 3.8 per cent., or 90,180 are Magyars—a large proportion of these belonging to the official classes. Obviously, then, the Magyarization of Croatia is out of the question; and the only hope for the Magyars is to arrive at a durable understanding with a race whose command of the Hungarian seaboard makes their friendship of paramount importance to the government of Budapest.

The following statistical survey of racial distribution in Hungary may be of assistance to the reader.

¹¹ For convenience' sake, Croatia-Slavonia is usually referred to as "Croatia."

GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL NOTE

(a) THE MAGYARS

The Magyars are in an overwhelming majority in 22 counties (19 in Hungary proper, and the 3 Székely counties of Transylvania):—

<i>County</i>	<i>Magyar Population.</i>	<i>Percentage of total Population.</i>
Hajdu	148,083	.. 99·7
Jász-N.Kun-Szolnok	347,239	.. 99·4
Csongrád	131,119	.. 99·4
Heves	251,078	.. 99·1
Szabolcs	283,777	.. 98·9
Győr	95,451	.. 98·4
Borsod	241,578	.. 94·7
Somogy	309,205	.. 89·8
Komárom	138,049	.. 86·8
Fejér	171,999	.. 84·4
Veszprém	186,285	.. 84·2
Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kis Kun	680,273	.. 82·5
Esztergom	69,007	.. 79·6
Zala	322,913	.. 74·2
Csanád	102,745	.. 73·8
Békés	200,880	.. 73·3
Abauj-Torna	113,940	.. 73·0
Nógrád	167,980	.. 70·5
Tolna	172,795	.. 68·4
Udvarhely	112,258	.. 95·3
Csik	110,643	.. 86·5
Háromszék	116,354	.. 85·1

In 14 other counties on the linguistic frontier, the Magyars form minorities varying from 18 to 54 per cent. of the population:—

Sopron	122,912	.. 50·0 p.c.
Moson	25,618	.. 28·7 „
Pozsony (Pressburg)	119,056	.. 39·7 „
Nyitra	80,516	.. 18·8 „
Bars	52,169	.. 31·7 „
Hont	62,212	.. 54·4 „
Gömör	103,413	.. 56·3 „
Zemplén	173,796	.. 53·1 „
Ung	45,504	.. 30·0 „
Bereg	92,586	.. 44·5 „
Szatmár	209,475	.. 61·6 „
Bihar	279,949	.. 53·2 „
Arad	71,710	.. 21·8 „
Torontál	111,229	.. 18·9 „
Bács-Bodrog	244,883	.. 40·5 „
Baranya	148,900	.. 51·3 „
Vas	220,823	.. 53·0 „

We thus find that—with the exception of the Székely districts—the vast majority of the Magyar population inhabits the central Danubian plain, and in that area forms a compact mass, broken only by small German and Slovak racial islets in the counties of Veszprém,

THE GERMANS

Komárom and Pest, and in the town of Békéscsaba. In the seven northernmost Slovak counties¹² (with a total population of 972,146) there are 44,383 Magyars (4·5 per cent.); in the thirteen counties where the Roumanian element is strongest¹³ (with a total population of 2,943,914), there are 422,286 Magyars (14·3 p.c.). In many cases the Magyar minorities are contiguous to the main Magyar population, so that it would be easy to base any scheme of county redistribution upon ethnical boundaries without sacrificing these minorities. But in the case of at least a dozen counties it would be necessary to invent special guarantees for their separate racial existence.

(b) THE GERMANS

The Germans, unlike the other Hungarian races, are scattered in racial islets throughout the country. Their settlements may be divided into four groups:—

(1) The Western frontier:—

Pressburg	22,846	.. 7·6
Moson	54,406	.. 61·0
Sopron	91,330	.. 37·1
Vas	125,032	.. 30·0

(2) Central and Northern Hungary:—

Bars	17,305	.. 10·5
Turócz	11,038	.. 21·3
Szepes	42,653	.. 25·0
Pest	96,271	.. 11·7
Veszprém	32,440	.. 14·7
Fejér	25,016	.. 12·3
Komárom	11,104	.. 7·0

(3) The Swabians of South Hungary:—

Tolna	77,222	.. 30·6
Baranya	103,277	.. 35·5
Bács-Bodrog	179,731	.. 29·7
Torontál	176,255	.. 29·9
Temes	130,293	.. 32·9
Krassó-Szörény	54,833	.. 12·4
Arad	34,477	.. 10·5

(4) The Saxons of Transylvania:—

Szeben	46,615	.. 28·8
Nagy Küküllő	61,679	.. 42·7
Kis Küküllő	19,200	.. 17·6
Brassó	28,992	.. 31·4
B. Naszód	25,825	.. 22·0

Their chief strength lies in the towns, where the temptation to adopt the Magyar language and customs was strongest; their scattered condition made organized resistance difficult, if not impossible, and

¹² Trencsén, Árva, Turócz, Liptó, Zólyom, Szepes, Sáros.

¹³ Fogaras, Szeben, N. Küküllő, Alsó Feher, T.-Aranyos, Kolozs, S.-Doboka, B. Naszód, Máramaros, Szilágy, Hunyad, K.-Szörény, Temes.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL NOTE

they have in point of fact contributed more than any other race to swell the ranks of the Magyars. It is a remarkable fact that their superior culture rendered them an easier prey to Magyarization. Only the Saxons, fortified by their national Church autonomy and an admirable system of education, have gallantly resisted all onslaughts upon their nationality.

In addition to the above, there are a number of small German minorities in other counties—minorities so small and so scattered as to defy every system of county distribution on a racial basis. Only a system of national “catasters” such as that adopted in Moravia could create an effective guarantee for their nationality.

(c) THE ROUMANIANS

The Roumanians form a crushing majority of the population in ten counties:—

Fogaras	83,103	.. 90·2
Hunyad	256,232	.. 84·7
Alsó-Fehér	165,124	.. 78·8
Szolnok-Doboka	180,070	.. 76·3
Krassó-Szörény	327,603	.. 74·2
Torda-Aranyos	116,818	.. 72·9
Besztercze-Naszód	81,311	.. 69·2
Kolozs	140,207	.. 68·6
Szeben	107,118	.. 66·0
Arad	214,031	.. 65·0

In eight other counties they form from 30 to 60 per cent. of the population, and in two more, substantial minorities.

Szilágy	125,345	.. 60·6
Kis-Küküllő	55,140	.. 50·8
Bihar	236,069	.. 44·8
Nagy-Küküllő	61,732	.. 42·7
Temes	162,560	.. 41·0
Maros-Torda	65,523	.. 36·8
Brassó	33,037	.. 35·7
Szatmár	117,828	.. 34·6
Máramaros	74,758	.. 24·2
Torontál	87,565	.. 14·9

There are also small Roumanian minorities in the three Szekel counties, Csík (15,878), Háromszék (19,396), and Udvarhely (2,882).

It will thus be seen that the Roumanians, though they form a majority of the population in a tract of country measuring over 75,000 square kilometers, live in less compact masses than the Slovaks of the seven northern counties. The eighteen counties inhabited by the Roumanians contain 1,259,342 Magyars; but if we deduct those counties through which the Magyar-Roumanian ethnical frontier passes (namely, the counties of Máramaros, Szatmár, Szilágy, Bihar, Arad, Temes; and Kis-Küküllő and Maros-Torda in Transylvania), the numbers of the Magyar minority on Roumanian territory fall to 297,015 (or a minority of 1 to 9). This minority is strongest in the counties of Kolozs (26·8 per cent.), Szolnok-Doboka (19·9 per cent.) and Torda-

THE SLOVAKS

Aranyos (25·4 per cent.). In six counties the Magyar element sinks to trifling proportions—in Szeben to 4·2 per cent., in Krassó-Szörény to 4·8 per cent., in Fogaras to 5·3 per cent., in Besztercze-Naszód to 7 per cent., in Hunyad to 10·6 per cent., in Nagy-Küküllő to 11·6 per cent. Here, as indeed throughout the Roumanian counties, the scanty numbers of the Magyars make Magyarization a hopeless task, and only their control of the administration and the franchise enables them to persevere in their futile policy of aggression.

(d) THE SLOVAKS

The Slovaks form an overwhelming majority of the population in seven counties:—

			<i>Percentage of Magyars.</i>
Árva	80,456	.. 94·7	.. 1·7
Trencsén	265,838	.. 92·8	.. 2·8
Liptó	75,739	.. 92·5	.. 3·3
Zólyom	110,633	.. 89·4	.. 7·2
Turóc	38,218	.. 73·6	.. 4·2
Nyitra	312,167	.. 73·1	.. 18·8
Sáros	114,132	.. 66·1	.. 6·1

In this territory, which covers an area of 22,380 square kilometers there are thus 997,183 Slovaks, side by side with 114,310 Magyars and 71,497 Germans. Of these latter races, however, the majority live upon the racial frontier, and thus the redistribution of the counties on a racial basis would leave a million Slovaks faced by a minority of 72,993 Magyars and Germans (7 per cent.).

In five other counties the Slovaks form over one-third of the population:—

Szepes	99,240	.. 58·2
Bars	94,777	.. 57·5
Pressburg	153,466	.. 51·1
Gömör	74,417	.. 40·6
Hont	45,173	.. 39·5

In these counties there are no fewer than 347,421 Magyars and 60,932 Germans; but as all these counties are situated upon the linguistic frontier, redistribution would in their case also bring about a separation of the two races, and merely leave small German minorities in the counties of Szepes and Bars.

There are also substantial Slovak minorities in the counties of Zemplén (106,064, or 32·4 per cent.), Ung (42,582, or 28·1 per cent.), Nógrád (64,083, or 26·9 per cent.), and Abauj-Torna (35,809, or 22·9 per cent.). On the west, the Slovaks extend into Moravia, from the neighbourhood of Hodonin (Göding) almost as far as Kremsier, and in recent years this tiny territory has become a focus of Slovak national life, where the forces repressed in Hungary by the reactionary policy of the Magyars are able to expand freely. On the east the Slovaks are bounded by the Ruthenes; but the racial frontier has during the past generation moved slowly but steadily eastwards, at the expense of the latter race, which allows itself to be assimilated more easily than either the Slovaks or the Roumanians.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL NOTE

In addition to the main Slovak districts there are various racial islets in the neighbourhood of Budapest, Komárom (Komorn) and Gödöllő, and in the rich plains of the Banat and the Bácska, near Nagy Becskerek and Neusatz (Ujvidék). The county of Pest contains 33,299 Slovaks, in addition to 24,726 in the capital itself: the county of Békés, 64,343 (or 23·2 per cent.); Bács, 28,317; Csanád, 17,239; and Torontál, 14,761. Despite their isolation, these little colonies are strongly Slovak in feeling, and being more prosperous and independent than their northern kinsmen, have succeeded in returning a Slovak member of Parliament (in Kölpény, county of Bács-Bodrog).

(e) THE RUTHENES

The counties inhabited by the Ruthenes are long and narrow strips of territory, stretching from the frontier into the great plain. The county boundaries thus run more or less at right angles to the racial boundaries; and as a result the Ruthenes do not form a majority in any county. In four they form from 36 to 46 per cent. of the population, and in three others there are considerable Ruthene minorities—

Máramaros	143,379	.. 46·4
Bereg	95,084	.. 45·8
Ugocsa	32,707	.. 39·3
Ung	55,556	.. 36·6
Sáros	33,937	.. 19·7
Zemplén	34,816	.. 10·6
Szepes	13,913	.. 8·2

There is also a small Ruthene colony of 9,759 souls in the county of Bács; but this is likely in the course of time to be absorbed by its Slav or Magyar neighbours. Despite the heavy drain of emigration to America, the Ruthenes have continued to increase slightly during the past thirty years; their numbers in 1880 were 353,229; in 1890, 379,786; in 1900, 423,159.

(f) THE SERBS

The Serbs form a strong minority in three counties:—

Torontál	183,771	.. 31·2
Bács-Bodrog	114,685	.. 19·0
Temes	85,000	.. 21·4

They possess a larger middle class than either the Slovaks or the Roumanians, yet they appear to be more susceptible to Magyarizing influences. They are physically inferior to all the other races of Hungary, and are not to be compared with their kinsmen in Slavonia. Between the years 1890 and 1900 their numbers have decreased from 495,133 to 434,641.

(g) THE CROATS

The Croats in Hungary proper amount to 188,552, or only 1·1 per cent. of the total population—a decrease of 5,860 since the census of 1890. Their settlements lie for the most part along the frontier of Styria and Croatia, in the counties of Zala (84,356), Vas (17,847) and Sopron (30,342). These include the so-called "Shokazen," who formed a separate rubric in Fényes' Statistics in 1846. They were simply

THE HUNGARIAN TOWNS

Catholic Serbs, with whom religion was stronger than nationality, and who therefore now allow themselves to be classed as Croats.

If we turn from the rural to the town population, we find that the latter forms the real strength of the Magyar nationality. In 1880 63·82 per cent. of the inhabitants of the towns acknowledged Magyar as their mother tongue: in 1890, 67·79 per cent.; in 1900, 74·8 per cent.; while a considerably higher proportion was able to speak that language. A good idea of racial distribution in the towns may be obtained from the following table, compiled for the twenty-five towns which possess municipal self-government:—

	Total population.	Magyar Population.		Other Elements.
		Total.	p.c.	
Hódmező-Vásárhely	60,824	60,428	99·3	Insignificant.
Kecskemét	56,786	56,351	99·2	"
Debreczen	72,351	71,332	98·6	"
Székesfehérvár (Stuhlweissenburg)	30,451	29,683	97·3	"
Szeged	100,270	96,438	96·2	"
Komárom (Komorn)	16,816	15,950	94·9	"
Győr (Raab)	27,758	26,325	94·8	"
Szatmár-Németi	26,178	24,654	94·2	"
Nagyvárad (Grosswardein)	47,018	42,921	91·3	"
Marosvásárhely	17,715	16,057	90·7	"
Kolozsvár (Klausenburg)	46,670	39,859	85·4	4,809 Roum.
Baja	20,065	16,105	80·3	—
Budapest	716,476	568,404	79·3	101,682 Ger., 24,726 Slov.
Pécs (Fünfkirchen)	42,252	32,943	78·0	7,223 Ger.
Arad	53,903	37,935	70·4	5,151 Ger., 8,816 Roum.
Kassa (Kaschau)	35,586	23,574	63·4	2,877 Ger., 8,162 Slov.
Szabadka (Maria-theresiopol)	81,464	45,646	56·0	33,896 Serb and others.
Oedenburg (Sopron)	30,628	11,769	38·5	17,279 Ger.
Temesvár	49,624	17,864	36·0	25,673 Ger.
Ujvidék (Neusatz, Novi Sad)	28,763	10,246	35·6	6,267 Ger., 9,747 Serb.
Zombor	29,036	9,051	31·2	17,598 Serb and others.
Pressburg (Pozsony)	61,527	18,744	30·5	32,104 Ger., 9,004 Slov
Selmecz and Bélabánya, (Schemnitz and Dilln)	16,370	3,251	19·9	12,113 Slov.
Pancsova	18,512	2,627	14·2	7,363 Ger., 7,770 Serb.
Werschetz (Versecz)	24,770	2,527	10·2	13,242 Ger.
	1,711,813	1,280,784	74·8	

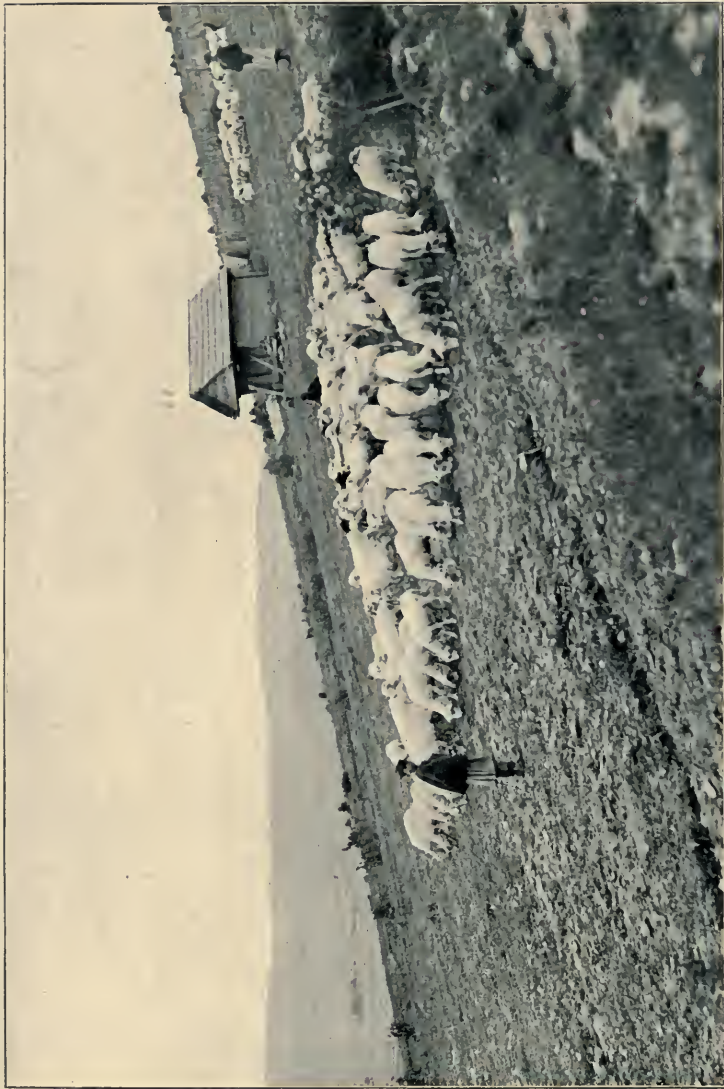
It will thus be seen that in these twenty-five municipalities 74·8 per cent. of the population is Magyar (this of course includes a large proportion of the Jewish population of Hungary), 12·7 per cent. German, 4·0 per cent. Serb, 3·1 per cent. Slovak, and only 0·9 per cent. Roumanian. Budapest itself still contains 14 per cent. of Germans, but

GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL NOTE

they have yielded to the intimidation of the Chauvinist majority, and though the stranger hears German spoken on all sides in the Hungarian capital, all signs and notices are in Magyar only; and the 100,000 Germans of the city have meekly submitted to the disappearance of the German theatre in Buda. Pressburg has insisted upon retaining its German character, and has been punished by the refusal of Parliament to sanction an electric railway connecting it with Vienna. But the last few years have been marked by a gradual reawakening of national feeling among the Germans of Hungary, as is shown by the action of the Oedenburg Town Council in the spring of 1908, and by recent movements in Temesvár and the Bácska. The other non-Magyar races are still absolutely powerless in the municipalities, and even in the boroughs the existing local government franchise makes it difficult for the majority of the inhabitants to enforce their wishes. But the economic progress made by the Roumanians and Slovaks in the last decade is steadily creating a non-Magyar middle class in the smaller towns; and before many years have passed a number of the latter are bound to fall into their hands.

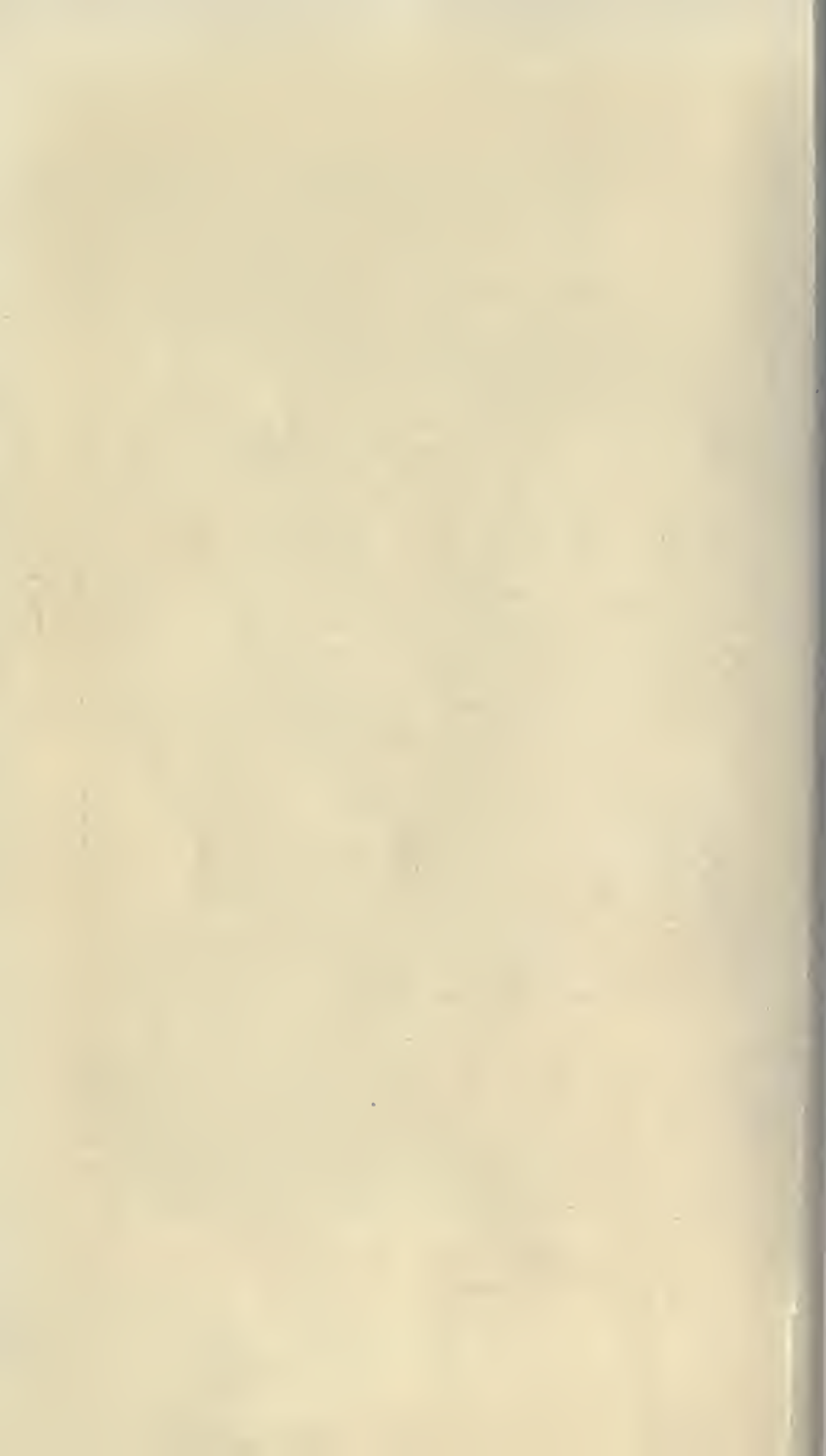
A brief note regarding the spread of the Magyar language may form a fitting conclusion. Of the 8,132,740 non-Magyars of Hungary proper, 1,365,764, or 16·8 per cent., and of the 2,310,586 non-Magyars of Croatia 47,421 or 2·1 per cent., are credited with a knowledge of the Magyar language. Thus in Hungary proper 6,766,976, or 31·8 per cent., and in the country as a whole (including Croatia) 9,030,141 or 41·1 per cent. are still ignorant of the Magyar language. The difficulties of extending its knowledge will be realized from the following table, which gives the number of persons wholly unable to speak it in the nineteen chief non-Magyar counties and their percentage to the total population of those counties.

	<i>p.c.</i>		<i>p.c.</i>
Árva	82,200	..	94·4
Liptó	74,203	..	90·6
Trencsén	266,868	..	93·2
Turócz	45,538	..	87·7
Zólyom	102,131	..	82·6
Sáros	152,171	..	88·2
Szepes	144,607	..	84·9
Máramaros	248,294	..	80·5
Krassó-Szörény	400,517	..	90·8
Temes	329,531	..	83·1
Torontál	417,580	..	70·9
B. Naszód	101,965	..	86·7
Fogaras	84,295	..	90·5
Szeben	145,489	..	89·7
S. Doboka	176,478	..	74·7
Alsó Feher	162,833	..	77·6
K. Küküllő	65,199	..	76·6
N. Küküllő	110,691	..	76·6
Hunyad	253,940	..	83·9



HILL PASTURES.

E. Múček.



CHAPTER I

From the Earliest Times till the Reformation

THE northern Carpathians, now the home of the Slovaks, were once claimed as the cradle of the entire Slav race; to-day this claim has been abandoned, and it is generally agreed that the seat of the aboriginal Slavs must be looked for in the region bounded by the Vistula and the Dnieper. Where all scientific proof is definitely impossible, the most probable theory is that the Slavs first entered Hungary from the North some time before the fourth or fifth centuries, and seized the land once held by the Gepidae and Heruli. It would be unprofitable, even were it practicable, to follow the fortunes of the Slavs in those obscure centuries of nomad and internecine warfare; nor need we waste time over the derivations of their name from "slovo" (word) and "sláva" (glory). Suffice it to say, that the Slavs have throughout history shown a fissile and centrifugal tendency; and thus the mysterious figures of Samo and Svatopluk are the only Slav empire-builders until we reach the days of Peter the Great.¹⁴ During the later period of the barbarian invasions, the wide plains between the Danube and the Styrian Alps formed a cockpit for the Avars and other wild hordes whose names were destined to vanish from history. The Avars met with a crushing defeat at the hands of Charles the Great during his invasion of Pannonia (796), and were finally annihilated by the Bulgars (807), whose sway at that date extended far westward from the Iron Gates. The gaps in the depopulated land were filled by the Slavs, who moved southwards from the Carpathians and Moravia. The Bulgars reached almost as far as the future city of Pest, while the west bank of the lake of Balaton formed the linguistic watershed between the Northern Slavs and the Chorvats, from whom the modern Croats descend.¹⁵

¹⁴ Ottocar of Bohemia and Ivan the Terrible are possible exceptions.

¹⁵ Šafařík, *Slavische Alterthümer*, II. 454.

The chief Slavonic event of the ninth century was the rise of what is somewhat pompously known as the Great Moravian Empire. Its boundaries and extent have been, and are likely to remain, a matter of lively dispute, the more so as they were probably subject to frequent alterations. Some would limit it to the districts peopled to-day by the Slovaks, others would extend it as far as Lusatia on the north and Dalmatia on the south; but for our present purpose it is sufficient to note that it included the present Moravia, part of the Duchy of Austria, and the Slovak districts of Hungary from the March to the Theiss, and as far as the Mátra Hills and the neighbourhood of Vác on the Danube. Moimir I, who is referred to in a Papal Bull of the year 826 as "Prince of Moravia," acknowledged the overlordship of the Franks, and became the founder of the two Bishoprics of Olmütz and Nitrava, the modern Nyitra. The latter see apparently corresponded with a more or less autonomous principality, the ruler of which when banished by Moimir, fled to the court of the Emperor Louis, adopted Christianity, and was invested with territory between the Eastern Mark and the Lake of Balaton. Not long after Moimir became involved in war with Louis, who deposed him in favour of the former's nephew Rastislav (846).¹⁶ The greater part of this prince's reign was passed in war with the Germans; but even the scanty record of these events cannot conceal the greatness of Rastislav, who definitely annexed Nyitra to his crown, set King Louis at defiance, and successfully resisted the joint attack of three powerful German armies. What foreign invasion had failed to effect was wrought by the treachery of his own nephew; and Svatopluk, the greatest of early Slav monarchs and the hero of modern epic and romance, opened his career in intrigue, dishonour and defeat. Moravia was occupied by the Germans, who sent Svatopluk in chains to the court of Regensburg. Released by Carloman, and burning with resentment at such ignoble treatment, Svatopluk returned to place himself at the head of the revolted Moravians. Not merely were his arms crowned with complete success, but in 873 he even invaded Germany, and in the following year wrested terms of peace from the Emperor Louis II, then full of schemes for the pacification of Italy. The reign of Svatopluk received an added splendour from the presence of the great Apostle of the Slavs, St. Methodius,

¹⁶ Palacky, *Geschichte Böhmens*, I. p. 111.

who in 868 was created by the Pope Archbishop of Moravia and Pannonia. Cyril and Methodius first appeared among the Slavs in response to an appeal of Rastislav to the Byzantine Emperor; and to their labours is due the spread of the Slav liturgy, whose language may be said to form the basis of all the Slav dialects of the modern world. Some writers, more patriotic than critical, have endeavoured to prove that Slovak is the original dialect of the Slav apostles; but Šafařík, the author of an epochmaking book on Slav Antiquities and one of the many distinguished Slovaks whom Magyar rule has driven to Prague, was constrained to admit that it originated in Bulgaria and was only brought to Moravia by the apostolic brothers.¹⁷ Many were the attacks directed against this liturgy by the German prelates of Salzburg and Passau, and Methodius was twice summoned to Rome (867 and 880) to defend it against the calumnies of his opponents; but on each occasion he emerged triumphant, and before his death in 885 the entire clergy of Svatopluk's dominions had acknowledged his jurisdiction. Political misfortunes checked the spread of the Slav liturgy, but the national traditions lived on, and the writings of Hus formed a new link in the chain which connects modern Czech and Slovak nationalism with the great apostle of the Western Slavonic Church.

In a reign of twenty-three years (871-894) the redoubtable Svatopluk held his own against all comers; but even during his lifetime signs of impending peril might have been observed, when Arnulf, the German King, invited the support of the Magyars, at that time fighting in Dacia for the cause of the Eastern Empire. The death of Svatopluk plunged his country into civil discord, which was fanned by Arnulf's emissaries. When, however, in the closing years of the century the Magyars resumed their wanderings and advanced across the Carpathian passes, Arnulf, who in the words of Gibbon "has been justly reproached as a traitor to the civil and ecclesiastical society of the Christians," had already passed from the scene; and the defence of Moravia and of Germany rested in the feeble hands of Moimir II and Louis the Child. In August, 907, a great battle on the March, near Pressburg, ended in the rout of the combined Slav and German armies. King Louis escaped with difficulty from the stricken field,

¹⁷ Šafařík, *op. cit.* pp. 477-91. Palacky, *op. cit.* I. 118-40. Early writers always refer to the Cyrilline alphabet as "the Bulgarian writing."

and the short-lived Moravian Empire fell an easy prey to the Magyar hordes.

The Magyar conquest has been described¹⁸ as "the greatest misfortune which the Slav world has suffered throughout the centuries." The kingdom of Rastislav and Svatopluk, which had so valiantly repelled the continuous onslaughts of the Germans, formed virtually the centre of gravity for all the Slav peoples which in the ninth century stretched from the frontier of Holstein to the coasts of the Peloponnese. The force of circumstances would have gradually driven "all Slav people to range themselves round this centre; from it they would have received, if not political institutions, at any rate Christianity, and with it an European and national culture, art and industry, unity in language and writing. As in the West under Roman influences the Frankish Monarchy grew great, so a similar Slav Empire would have developed in the East, under the dominant influence of Constantinople; and Eastern Europe would have won a thousand years ago an importance wholly different from that which it actually acquired." Other writers, however, have argued that the Magyar conquest, so far from being a misfortune to the Slavs, was really a blessing in disguise, and that the Czechs in particular owe their survival as a nation to the appearance on their Southern frontier of a race capable of resisting the mediaeval *Drang nach Osten* of the Germans.¹⁹ Each view is coloured by the national pride of its supporters, and foreign students will be disposed to steer a middle course between the Bohemian Scylla and the Magyar Charybdis. Whether Moravia could ever have formed the nucleus of an enduring Slav Empire, is at least open to doubt; yet it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the presence of the Magyars arrested during many centuries the development of the Slavs, just as it still supplies to-day the chief obstacle of the realization of the Panslav ideal.

During the first half of the ninth century the Magyars retained their old nomadic instincts, and were the terror of Europe from the gates of Pavia on the south as far as the frontier of Champagne and the mouth of the Elbe. Nor was it until their crushing defeat at the hands of Otto the Great (955) that they definitely settled in the great Danubian plain, which was destined to remain the limit of their racial

¹⁸ Palacky, *op. cit.* I. 195.

¹⁹ Hunfalvy, *Ethnographie von Ungarn*, p. 299.



CSORBA.
(IN THE TÁTRA MOUNTAINS.)

11

though not of their political expansion. Such born horsemen were naturally more at home in the limitless puszta of Central Hungary than in the mountainous and woodland country through which they passed on their first entry; and hence the latter became a kind of "debatable country" between the still elastic territories of the Magyars, the Czechs and the Poles. What is now known as Moravia undoubtedly fell under the sway of the Princes of Bohemia; how much of the present Slovak districts of Hungary remained with Moravia in these centuries, it is quite impossible to say with certainty. The modern historian, even though he may not affect the truly regal contempt displayed by Gibbon for the details of so barbaric an age, can hardly be expected to devote much research to so essentially academic a question. When called upon to weigh the evidence, he can at best supply its absence by vague generalities; and any rash pronouncement on his part might seem to implicate him as upholding the absurd theories of modern politicians. The present-day claims which centre round the names of Zvonimir, Dushan and Svatopluk, are as ridiculous as if the present writer, inspired by Celtic traditions, were to urge the revival of the kingdoms of Kenneth Macalpine and Brian Boroimhe. Few things are more sacred than historic tradition; but to select the ninth or the twelfth century as an ideal for the twentieth, suggests a striking contempt for historic evolution, coupled with an even bolder neglect of the laws of common sense.

Without venturing to define the western frontier of Hungary as early as the reign of St. Stephen, we may safely assert that the valleys of the Vág, Gran and Nyitra were better peopled than the districts farther east, where according to such evidence as has survived, there were only a few royal hunting-lodges, surrounded by extensive forests. It is probable that the northern borders remained in a condition of neglect and anarchy until St. Stephen, in his wars with Mieceslav of Poland, reduced them at least to nominal vassalage. The Magyars, unlike the Germans, never made any attempt to colonize. They settled in a more or less compact mass in the wide alluvial territories of the Danube and the Theiss, preferring the boundless plains which reminded them of their Asiatic home to the impenetrable forests and beetling crags of the northern Carpathians; and therefore the Slavs, when once they had survived the dangers of pillage and invasion, and

had done homage to the conqueror, were long left practically undisturbed in their ancestral homes.

St. Stephen, under the influence of his Bavarian wife, was the first Magyar to throw Hungary open to Western influences, and under him many important offices at court were assigned to German strangers. Above all, the introduction of Christianity, which had been commenced by Prince Géza, but was definitely completed under his son King Stephen I., flooded the country with German monks and clergy; and there can be little doubt that it was their nationality quite as much as their religion, which induced the remnants of the old pagan party to make their last despairing efforts at upheaval. While everything around the person of the monarch betrayed the paramount influence of the Germans, while Stephen was knighted, anointed, crowned wholly after German fashion, while more than one of the great offices of state betrays its German origin, and even the far-famed Hungarian Constitution is deeply tinged with German colours; there are on the other hand not a few traces of Slav influence upon the early development of Hungarian institutions. Indeed the system of county government introduced by King Stephen was to a large extent based upon existing Slav institutions²⁰; and it is possible to argue from the number of counties bearing names of Slav origin, that the old pre-Magyar local boundaries have in many cases been preserved. Certain it is that the chief county official, the Ispán, or High Sheriff, is the successor of the ancient Slav Župan; while the highest dignitary of the land, the Palatine or King's vicegerent, derived his Magyar title of Nádorispán from the Slav Nádvorňi Župan, and even Király, the Magyar word for king, betrays its derivation from the Slavonic "Kral." As Šafařík once wrote to Palacky,

²⁰ Certain writers assert that the northern districts of Hungary were held as a special appanage by princes of the royal house, as for instance by Prince Géza II, who in 1072 asserted his right to the throne. The attempt to claim him as the ruler of an autonomous "Slovakland" is, however, a mere vagary of modern racial sentiment, without any solid foundation of fact. Even were the existence of this "tertia pars regni" clearly established, it would no more prove the autonomy of the Slovaks than Edward I's famous action at Carnarvon proves the subsequent autonomy of the Welsh. Šafařík (*Die Slovaken*, p. 16) contends that the three hills in the arms of Hungary stand for the Slovak mountains, the cross for the Slovak Eastern Church, and the crown resting on the mountains for the Slovak princely crown. All this is frankly ridiculous, and no proof is adduced.

"the most ancient repository of Old Slav is to found in Magyar."²¹ In this connection it is at least highly interesting to note that the Magyar word for "free" (szabad), is also derived from the Slav "svoboda" or "slobod."²²

One fact at any rate is beyond all dispute. St. Stephen was firmly convinced of the necessity for inoculating his subjects with Western ideas; and that he wished his own efforts in this direction to become the fixed policy of his dynasty, is apparent from the famous passage in his letter of advice to his son Emmerich. "Treat the newcomers (hospites) well," writes the great king, "and hold them in honour, for they bring fresh knowledge and arms into the country; they are an ornament and support of the throne, for a country where only one language and one custom prevails, is weak and fragile." *Regnum unius linguae uniusque moris imbecille et fragile est.* The consistency with which his successors acted upon his advice, has led more than one modern writer to reproach St. Stephen as the cause of Hungary's racial divisions and of the alien colours which time has imparted to many of her institutions. But this argument is surely out of place in the mouths of men who are never tired of holding up Hungary as an example of a wild Eastern race worthily assimilating the highest culture of the West. Either this culture must be regarded as detrimental to the true Magyar character, and the merits of modern Hungary must be based on other grounds, or else full justice must be done to the great services of the West.

²¹ The Magyar equivalents of such essential words as window, cup, butcher, smith, horseshoe, straw, hay, furrow, harrow, Thursday, Friday, are all of Slav origin.

²² The Slav and German influences upon Hungarian institutions are grudgingly admitted by Prof. Timon, at present the leading authority on Hungarian Constitutional law (*Ungarische Verfassungs- und Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 142). This admission, however, directly contradicts his former statement (p. 57), that "in the new home of the Magyar nation there were no such elements of the population as could have laid claim to any special legal position, in their capacity as former ruling nation." Svatopluk's Empire is barely mentioned, and the adoption of Slav elements in the nobility of Hungary is also slurred over. Indeed throughout the book every reference to the very existence of Slavs in Hungary is so far as possible omitted. That this should be possible in the work of a writer of such undoubted eminence, speaks volumes for the conspiracy of silence of which even the most serious historical students have been guilty, in all that concerns the non-Magyar races of Hungary.

The virile and fiery character of the Magyars has enabled them to survive the hostile movements of a thousand years ; but they still retain too many qualities betraying their Asiatic origin, to justify us in regretting the Germanic and Slavonic influences upon their race and country.

The two centuries preceding the Mongol invasion (1241) are really a complete blank, so far as the Slovaks are concerned. But the fearful ravages wrought by the hordes of Zenghis Khan form a turning-point in the history of Northern Hungary. To fill the depopulated territory, Béla IV and his successors invited fresh German settlers into the country. Extensive grants of land and the most ample privileges of local government were not without their effect, and within little more than a century the northern counties, where hitherto the royal hunting-lodges had been almost the only signs of civilization, were studded with prosperous German townships. That the Slovak population must have been not only backward but scanty, is shown by the rapid progress made by the German element in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As early as 1244 Karpfen, in 1254 Altsohl, and in 1255 Neusohl obtained the concession of German municipal law (*Deutsches Stadtrecht*) ; and in the fourteenth century, if not earlier, this was also enjoyed by Schemnitz, while the country round the latter town was almost entirely German.²³ This was the golden age of the twenty-four Zips towns (notably Leutschau, Käsmarck, Kirchdorf, Iglau²⁴). Holding direct from the King, they formed a vanguard of German culture and commerce, a little world of their own amid the Magyar and Slav nobility and peasantry. The first inroad upon their power was dealt by the spendthrift Sigismund, who pawned thirteen of the Zips towns to Poland ; and their decay was consummated under the sad influence of religious dissensions.

Nothing illustrates more strikingly the polyglot character of Hungary's population, than a study of the fortunes of these German towns and their surrounding districts. More than one place which enjoyed German *Stadtrecht* in the

²³ Gerod, now Kopanicza ; Syglesperch, now Hegybánya : Sekken, now Sekély : Diln, now Bélabánya. These changes, it should be remarked, have been produced more or less automatically, long before Baron Bánffy's scandalous law for the Magyarization of placenames (*Kalndl, Geschichte der Deutschen in den Karpathenländern*, II. pp. 150-3).

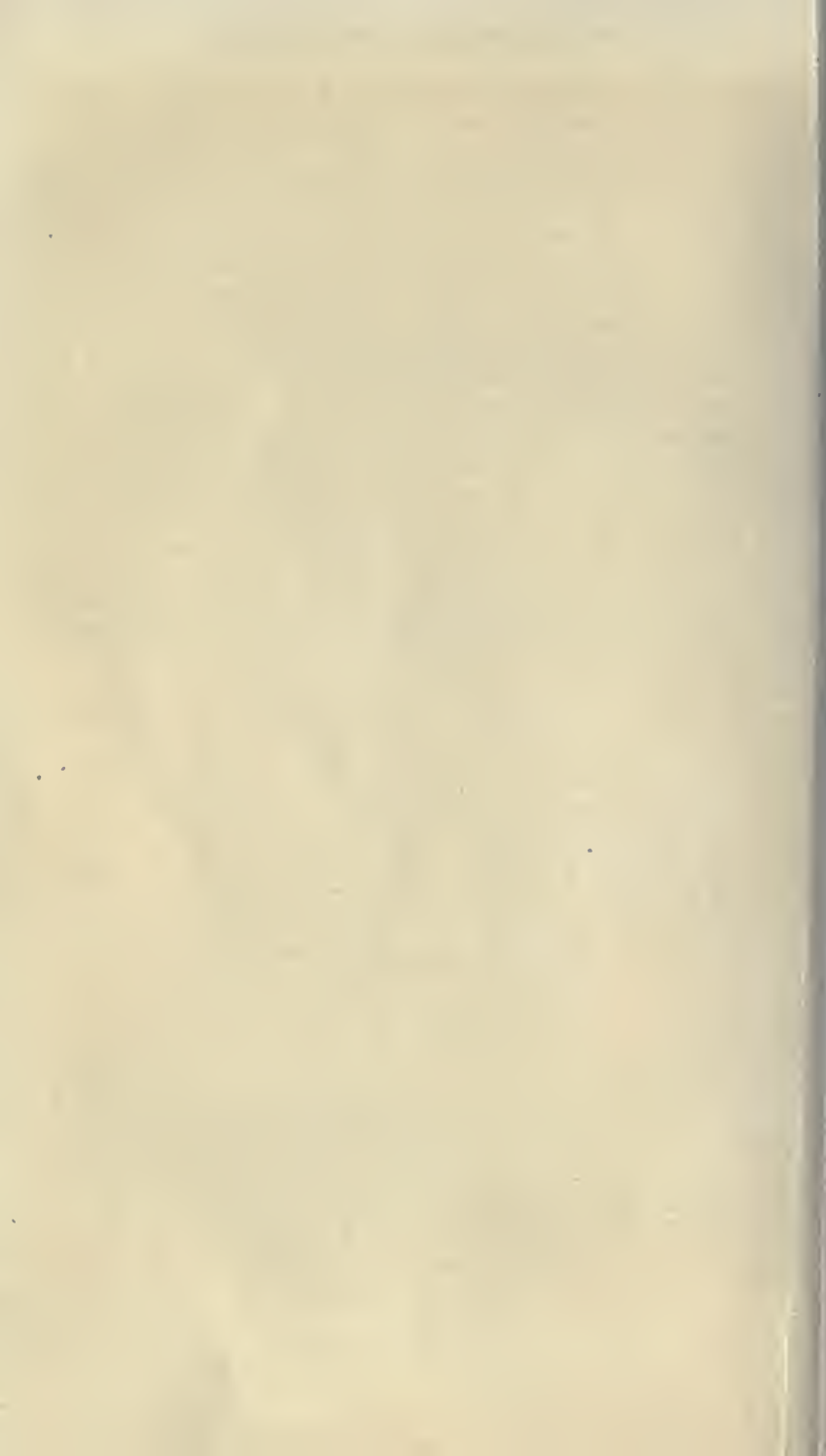
²⁴ Now Lócse, Késmark, Szepesváralja, Igló.



TRENCSEN.



LEUTSCHAU (LÖCSE).



thirteenth or fourteenth centuries is to-day purely Slovak or Magyar; there are quite as many instances of Magyar villages which are now Slovak, and vice versa; while others have changed their language more than once in the course of the centuries.

When early in the fourteenth century the male line of the House of Árpád became extinct, Hungary was for some years threatened with anarchy. Three rival claimants aspired to the vacant throne; and the Angevin, Charles Robert, had to defend his rights against Wenceslas of Bohemia. Amid the ensuing disorders a mysterious figure arose in North Hungary, who has in recent times been unwisely claimed as a Slovak national hero.²⁵ Matthew Csák of Trencsén, sometimes described as "dominus Vagi et Tatrae," set the Angevin king at defiance, used his geographical position to intrigue with Bohemia, and himself assumed a semi-regal magnificence. At the height of his power, he owned some thirty fortified castles, among them the mighty fortress of Trencsén, which occupies a superb and almost impregnable position on a steep spur above the river Vág. Csák held out longer than any of the other oligarchs who resisted the authority of Charles Robert; but in 1321 the royal cause had sufficiently recovered to make a campaign against the great rebel possible. On the field of Rozgony, near the river Hernad, the power of Csák was utterly broken, and all hope of an autonomous principality in the north vanished for ever. But it would be entirely mistaken to imagine that Matthew Csák had any aspirations beyond those of tyrannous self-interest. He was merely one of those turbulent and powerful robber-barons in whom mediæval chronicles are so rich; and it is Götz or Franz von Sickingen, not Robert Bruce or George Podiebrad, with whom he must be compared. The mists of racial prejudice cling around his figure, and blind his admirers to the probability that he was as self-seeking and ruthless as any other feudal lord.

The foolish Slovak myth which makes of Matthew Csák a national hero, has been met by the Magyar countercharge that the modern Slovaks are immigrants of the fifteenth century—a charge which can be traced to a similar racial bias and is equally incapable of proof.

The fall of Matthew Csák placed Northern Hungary at the mercy of the King, who rewarded his loyal followers with

²⁵ Vlček cit. Čapek, *The Slovaks*, p. 103.

grants of the rebel's lands. Under Charles Robert the first Hungarian mint was erected in Kremnitz (Körmöczbánya), and the mineral wealth of the Slovak districts was utilized for the first time. The reign of his son and successor, Louis the Great (1340-82), raised Hungary to a leading position among the Great Powers of Europe. His victorious campaigns against Naples and Venice, his conquests in Dalmatia, the recognition of his suzerainty over Bosnia and Wallachia, his union of the Crowns of Hungary and Poland, are events which belong to general European history and do not concern us here. Suffice it to say that Louis the Great's lack of a male heir is one of those personal factors which have influenced the whole course of history; for the union of Hungary and Poland under a strong ruler at the close of the fourteenth century might have arrested the Turkish advance and even saved the decrepit Eastern Empire from its fate.

While the Saxons of the Zips and of the Königsboden retained their self-government, and Transylvania was administered by a royal Voivode, the Slav population of Northern Hungary relapsed once more into the obscurity of feudal rule. For feudalism, while it never acquired in Hungary the same disintegrating strength as in France or Germany, vented upon its dependents the lawlessness which it could not safely direct against the person of the monarch, and lingered later than in western countries. The anarchy which prevailed in Hungary during the opening years of the reign of Sigismund, the young husband of Louis' daughter Mary, strengthened the hold of the feudal lords upon the land, and not even the Hussite wars and the new influences which they introduced were able to destroy the taint.

The Hussite wars were quite as much national as religious in character, and there can be little doubt that the sympathy of the Slovaks was on the side of their Czech kinsmen, though no record has survived of their share in the campaigns of Žižka and Procopius. The Emperor Sigismund, who was King of both Bohemia and Hungary, had come to terms with the rebellious Czechs the year before his death: but the premature death of his son-in-law and successor, the able Albert of Habsburg, kindled fresh trouble in the sister kingdoms. The Slovak and German districts of North Hungary sided with the widowed queen Elizabeth and her posthumous infant Ladislas; the Magyars, who felt the need of a strong ruler capable of leading them against the Turks, elected Vladislav of Poland.

Civil war was the result. The party of Elizabeth crowned the baby king, and carried off the regalia of St. Stephen beyond the frontier. While Vladislav and the heroic Hunyády were preparing for their great Balkan campaign, the Hussite leaders, Giskra of Brandys and Pongracz, occupied the whole north of Hungary from Pressburg to Eperjes, in the name of Elizabeth. Never had the dream of a middle Danubian Kingdom been nearer fulfilment than under Vladislav the Pole ; but the fatal field of Varna (1444) made its realization finally impossible and at the same time sealed the fate of the Eastern Empire. King and Legate paid with their lives for perfidy towards the infidel : Poland and Hungary again fell apart ; and nine years later the Crescent gained an entrance into Constantinople. The Hungarian Diet recognized Ladislav as Vladislav's successor, but, justly suspicious of Elizabeth and her evil counsellor the Count of Cilli, proclaimed John Hunyády as Regent. This decision Giskra and Pongracz refused to acknowledge, and for almost twenty years the northern districts remained in Hussite occupation, especially the counties of Gömör, Hont, Zólyom, Zips, Trencsén and Nyitra. The number of immigrants from Bohemia must have been considerable, and traces of their influence still survive in the architecture of North Hungary. Above all, they brought with them Hussite doctrines and the Hussite Bible ; and their success was so marked that Cardinal Julian won a promise from King Vladislav to extirpate the Hussites from Hungary. Fortunately his death at Varna prevented the fulfilment of the threat, and the alliance which the two parvenu kings, Matthias Corvinus and George Podiebrad, concluded between Hungary and Bohemia, secured for the Slovak heretics a further respite. It is true that Matthias at a later date (1468) posed as the champion of orthodoxy and waged war upon the power which he should have enlisted as his chief ally against the Turk ; but the great king was too convinced a supporter of civil authority to permit any wholesale onslaught upon those whose heresy did not rob them of the title of subjects. His campaigns against Bohemia were crowned with temporary success ; and the treaty of 1475 recognized Moravia and part of Silesia as belonging to the Crown of St. Stephen. Ten years later Matthias overran the Austrian Duchies and during the closing years of his reign Vienna became the capital of the King of Hungary. But the greatness of Matthias died with him, and the hatred or distrust of Hungary's chief neighbours—Bohemia, Poland and the Empire—was the chief legacy which he

left to indolent and worthless successors. His own fair fame has lingered on in the significant proverb, "King Matthias is dead, and with him justice," while his Roumanian origin and Slav sympathies have not deterred modern writers from claiming him as a Magyar of the Magyars.

Under Vladislav II (1490-1516) of the Polish House of Jagellon, Slav influences grew stronger, and the King, himself of course a Slav, employed the Czech language in opening more than one Hungarian Diet. Racial sympathies did not, however, prevent him from introducing repressive measures against the Slovak heretics. In 1501 they were disqualified from holding any public office, and became liable to imprisonment, or death in the event of refusing to recant. In 1508 the persecution was renewed; but Vladislav is said to have been so impressed by reading the Hussite confession of faith, that he ordered them to be left in peace. The Reformation, when it came, found a fertile soil in Hungary, and Lutheran doctrines spread rapidly throughout the Slovak districts.

CHAPTER II

Reformation and Counter-Reformation

THE reign of Matthias Corvinus was the golden era of Hungary's history. But the strength which his father had concentrated upon a defence of Europe against the Ottoman hordes was squandered by Matthias in reckless expansion to the north and west ; and after thus overtaxing instead of husbanding her strength, Hungary sank through the stages of exhaustion and lethargy to defeat and utter ruin. The same country whose repeated triumphs under Hunyády had won her the title of bulwark of the Christian West, was under the feeble Louis II almost wiped out of existence by the issue of a single battle. The defeat of Mohács (1526) is the most decisive event in Hungarian history. A triple partition was the result, lasting for 160 years. The central Danubian plains, forming the real Magyar kern of the country, were as much a province of the Sultan as Servia or Bosnia, and Buda became the capital of a Turkish pasha. Transylvania, where native princes ruled over the three equal "nations" of Magyars, Saxons, and Szekels, and where an example of religious tolerance was set to the rest of Europe, secured its independence by owning the suzerainty of the Sultan. North Hungary, coinciding almost exactly with the Slovak districts of to-day, was at first contested by John Zápolya, a Slovak magnate whom the Diet and most of the Hungarian nobility recognized as their King, and after his death was held against all rivals by successive Habsburg rulers. The native Magyar princes who ruled Transylvania from 1540 onwards, were led into dependence upon the Sultan by the same train of circumstances which induced Francis I to welcome the pirate Admiral Khairaddin as an ally of "the most Christian King"; the Balance of Power, so clearly foreseen by Wolsey, was beginning to be recognized as an European necessity. But the constant relations with the Turks maintained by every Transylvanian prince and by every leader of a revolt in Hun-

gary, rob the Magyars of the right to pose as the deliverers of Europe from the menace of the Crescent. That is an honour which must be shared by Magyar, German and Slav alike. Hunyády, Sobieski, and Prince Eugene are equally noble representatives of the three races; but the chief glory is due to the House of Habsburg, which, despite its narrow bigotry and despotic sympathies, remained for centuries true to its mission as outpost of Western civilization.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Hungarian history is narrowed down to two issues—the struggle against the Turks, and religious persecution. In the case of the Slovaks, who have no history in the stricter sense of the term, their very existence was bound up with their religious fortunes, and this must be my excuse for devoting more space to ecclesiastical than to civil affairs during the period in question.

The sentiment of nationality in its modern sense is a product of the French Revolution; but it would be absurd to deny its decisive influence upon many of the greatest struggles of the Middle Ages. Above all, it was one of the determining factors in the Reformation, alike in the England of Wycliffe, the Bohemia of Hus and the Germany of Luther. Just as the chief strength of Hussitism lay in the national resistance to the Germans, just as dislike of Italian methods and ideas lay at the root of much of the German opposition to Rome, so too racial sympathies contributed to the ease with which the Slovaks and Germans of North Hungary fell under the spell of Hussite and afterwards of Lutheran doctrine; while the Magyars, perhaps partly for that very reason, eventually declared almost to a man for Calvinism. In North Hungary the Reformation found a specially fertile soil. Between the years 1522 and 1564 something like 200 Slovaks are said to have studied at Wittenberg University, and among the leading Lutheran divines of that period in North Hungary occur fully more Slovak than German names. Luther's frank admission of the extent to which the writings of Hus had influenced his spiritual development, was doubtless not without its effect upon the Czechs and Slovaks, and the close commercial relations which existed between the German colonists of Hungary and the great markets of Silesia and Saxony (especially Breslau and Leipzig) aided the dissemination of Lutheran doctrines. The Diets of 1523 and 1525 passed stringent laws against the new heresy, but though two Lutherans were burnt for their faith at Neusohl (1527), the movement spread far too rapidly

to be suppressed in a time of such political weakness as that immediately following Mohács. The comparative liberalism which has so frequently characterized the Hungarian episcopate, led some of the Bishops at this period to sympathize with the Augsburg Confession, and to concentrate their efforts against the more radical followers of Zwingli. This circumstance doubtless prompted the Lutherans of Hungary to define their religious position, and towards the middle of the century they drew up two distinct confessions of faith, which, based upon that of Augsburg, still form the foundations of their belief.²⁶ Many of the great nobles adopted the new faith, notably the families of Thurzó, Illesházy, Révay and Nádasdy, and their support was naturally a source of great strength to the Protestant cause in Hungary, until a century later the famous Primate, Cardinal Pázmány, succeeded in inducing most of the magnates to revert to the ancient faith.

With the accession of the Emperor Rudolf (1576) the counter-Reformation made its entry into the Habsburg dominions, and ere long Jesuit influences were supreme at court, and the first mutterings of the storm of persecution were to be heard. The unconstitutional acts of Rudolf against the Hungarian Protestants was one of the prime causes of the revolt of Stephen Bocskay (1604). Rudolf was driven to make concessions, and foremost in the ensuing treaty of Vienna (1606) was a clause guaranteeing liberty of conscience. Two years later the incapable monarch surrendered the crowns of the Empire and of Hungary to his brother Matthias, reserving only his favourite Bohemia to himself. Matthias was received in Hungary with enthusiasm, and his first Diet conceded to every town and village the right to choose its own confession. Though later in the seventeenth century this provision gave the Jesuits an opening for applying the principle "cuius regio eius religio" to the reconverted magnates as owners of the soil, for the time being it seemed to promise a new lease of life to Protestantism, under the tolerant rule of Matthias II. The Lutheran Church was not slow to take advantage of the improved situation; and in 1610 the Synod of Sillein, under

²⁶ The *Confessio Pentapolitana* (i.e., of the five free towns of North Hungary—Leutschau, Eperjes, Bartfeld, Zeben, Kaschau) dates from 1549; that of the seven mountain towns (Kremnitz, Schemnitz, Neusohl, Libethen, Pukanz, Diln, Königsberg), known as the *Confessio Montana*, was drawn up in 1558. The Calvinist *Confessio Csengerina* was published at Debreczen in 1570.

Count George Thurzó, undertook the task of reorganization, reducing the districts (or synods) from seven to three and subdividing each into three seniorates (or presbyteries).²⁷

But the tide was already turning in favour of Catholicism, and Cardinal Pázmány was winning back to the ancient faith many of the leading families of Hungary. For the present the Emperor and his Jesuit advisers concentrated their efforts upon Bohemia; and the prowess and diplomacy of Gabriel Bethlen, the celebrated Prince of Transylvania, stood the Protestants in good stead. But the Treaty of Linz (1645) which his successor George Rákóczy concluded with the House of Habsburg, and which assured not merely Transylvanian autonomy, but also the absolute equality of the Catholic and Protestant religions throughout Hungary, concludes the series of concessions to the Protestants. Before many years had elapsed, it had become a worthless parchment, which merely served to prove the perfidy of the monarch, and so identified the cause of national freedom and the Protestant faith, as to inspire the proverb, "the Calvinist faith is the Magyar faith."²⁸

At the very moment when the Protestants were first threatened with persecution, a decisive breach was made in the old exclusive privileges of the German free towns of North Hungary. Holding direct from the King, they had hitherto restricted citizenship to men of German birth, and often went the length of insisting that no one could become judge or councillor unless he could prove all four grandparents to have been German²⁹; nor would they tolerate that a noble should so much as own property within their walls. The extreme jealousy with which the nobles had always regarded these special privileges of the German burghers, prompted the Diet in 1542 to forbid the acquisition of noble land by the towns; and in 1553 the towns were compelled to admit the fugitive nobles from the south, and to allow them to buy town houses, though without thereby acquiring the rights of citizenship. At length in 1608 and 1609³⁰ further laws

²⁷ A. Liptó, Árva, Trencsén, B. Turócz, Nógrád, Hont. C. Bars, Nyitra, Pressburg.

²⁸ A calvinista hit, a magyar hit.

²⁹ Cp. Article xxxii. of Law of Buda: "Der (i.e., the judge) soll seinn ein deutscher man von allen seinen annen" (cit. Timon, op. cit. p. 722).

³⁰ Laws xiii. 1608 and xlv. 1609.

were enacted, which gave the nobles the right to acquire property or build houses in the towns, and admitted them to all the privileges and liberties which such possession conferred. Most momentous of all, the Germans were obliged to admit the Magyars and Slovaks to municipal offices, which in many cases came to be held alternately by each of the three races. These innovations proved fatal to the German character of the towns, and the good burghers followed a true instinct when they stubbornly refused to comply. But resistance was hopeless, and merely brought upon them the infliction of heavy fines. Neusohl, one of the refractory towns, was in 1613 fined 2,000 florins and compelled to admit the Slovaks to its council; by the eighteenth century the Slovaks formed a majority in the town, and the only privileges still retained by the Germans were the right of selling wine and of owning a house on the Ring, or central square.³¹ In Karpfen, which admitted the first Magyar in 1611 and the first Slovak a year later, the German language had almost disappeared in the eighteenth century; and Deutsch-Lipscse, which had received German *Stadtrecht* in 1260, had by 1750 become entirely Slovak. In Csetnek from 1328 to 1623 proceedings were conducted in German, but since then in Slav, and even a century ago Csetnek was regarded as the best place for acquiring a proper knowledge of Slovak. To-day there are many Slovak villages and families, which have retained their original German names.³²

The nobles, though pledged by the law of 1608 to share in the burdens of the other citizens, soon endeavoured to assert within the walls the same exemption from taxation which they enjoyed outside; and they successively vindicated the free right of entry of wine, and then of corn, for their own use, and finally refused to pay the town tolls. Moreover, confusion arose regarding the rival jurisdictions of townsmen and nobles. In 1635 the latter were made answerable to the town courts so far as their town property was concerned; but in 1647 they succeeded in enforcing their claim that all their legal disputes should henceforth be decided not by town law, but by the general laws of the country. Thus the county judge, or Vice Sheriff (Alispán) effected an entrance into the free towns, some of them became the seats

³¹ See Kaindl, op. cit. II. 43, sqq.

³² e.g. Modern, Karpfen (Korpona), Bries, Donnersmarkt. See Schwartzner, *Statistik des Königreichs Ungarn*, II. p. 121, sqq.

of the county courts of justice, and the county officials began to play a part in town affairs. The onslaught of the nobles upon the towns corresponded with the revival of religious persecution, and was used by the central authorities as a means towards the extirpation of heresy. It is necessary that emphasis should be laid upon this struggle in a book which attempts to trace the history of the Slovaks; for although the inroads thus made upon German monopoly seemed at first to bring advantages to the Slovaks, their ultimate effect was to pave the way for the Magyar hegemony in its modern sense, by paralysing the only non-Magyar race which might have been capable of effective resistance. If the northern towns instead of a mere vague consciousness of their German origin, had preserved into the nineteenth century the strong national sentiment of the Transylvanian Saxons, and the organization which made it possible, then the events of 1848 might have taken a very different course.

The reign of Leopold I (1657-1703), at once the least able and most bigoted of Habsburg rulers, is disfigured by more than one ferocious persecution of the Protestants. In 1673 the orders of a clerical dictator were enforced by a brutal soldiery, special tribunals were erected in the north and east of Hungary for the trial of heretics, and sixty Protestant pastors and teachers were sold as galley-slaves to the Viceroy of Naples.³³ These atrocities goaded Hungary into revolt, and the national leader, Emerich Tököli, did not hesitate to form an alliance with the Turks on the occasion of their final siege of Vienna (1683). Even the cruel provocation which drove Tököli to such a step, cannot wipe out the stain which attaches to an otherwise honourable name; the most that can be said is that his opponents in their turn disgraced a splendid cause by their cruelty and intolerance. For while the Imperialist armies in a series of brilliant campaigns were driving the Turks from Hungary, the Blood-Tribunal of Eperjes—an institution worthy of the Killing Time in contemporary Scotland—was spreading fresh terror among the Lutherans of the north. When the Hungarian Diet met in 1687, not even the news of the recovery of Buda could induce the delegates to discuss the royal proposals until

³³ A monument to Admiral Van Ruyter, outside the great Calvinist college of Debreczen, commemorates the deliverance of these victims of the faith by the gallant Dutchman, after his naval victory off Syracuse.

orders had been issued putting a stop to these barbarous executions. The worst of the persecution was now over, but although the Magyar Calvinists held their own in Debreczen and the great plain of the Theiss (Tisza), the Lutheran Church in North Hungary never recovered its former position. It had been deprived of many hundred churches and almost all its schools: large numbers of its adherents had been forcibly driven to mass, and the Jesuits skilfully used the ancient trade guilds as an instrument of proselytism. The fatal Slav trait of submissive surrender to authority asserted itself once more; and persecutions such as fired the Celtic blood of Scotland and Ireland to undying resistance, drove the majority of the Slovaks to forget the glorious traditions of their Hussite ancestors, and to submit meekly to the commands of Rome.

The Diet of 1687 opens a new epoch in Hungarian history. The monarchy is no longer elective but hereditary; and the celebrated clause of the Golden Bull, which by legalizing insurrection under certain conditions gave a singular bias to Hungary's constitutional development, is now solemnly abrogated. Strangely enough, the most brilliant and determined of all Hungarian risings was reserved for the period immediately following this renunciation. For eight years, from 1703 to 1711, Francis Rákóczy held his own against the Austrian arms, conducted elaborate intrigues with the courts of St. Petersburg and Paris, and even went the length of proclaiming the deposition of the Habsburg dynasty.³⁴ But independence lay beyond the powers of Rákóczy, and the Treaty of Szatmár (1711) drove him into exile and left the Habsburgs free to pursue their triumphant mission against the Turks.

To us Prince Eugene is best known as the comrade of Marlborough in the great French wars; but his noblest victories were won upon the Middle Danube as the champion of Western Christendom. The recovery of Temesvár (1716) and the conquest of Belgrad (1717) removed the last traces of the Turkish occupation: the conquering generals organized the

³⁴ This last action of Rákóczy's explains his canonization by the present Kossuthist party, who see in him a prototype of Louis Kossuth at Debreczen. They conveniently ignore the fact that it was Rákóczy who first taught the Slavs of Hungary to look to Russia and encouraged the Czar to interfere in Hungarian affairs. Instead of idolizing Rákóczy's memory, the Pan-Magyars ought to decry him as the first Pan-Slav.

“Military Confines” as a permanent bulwark against fresh invasion, and took up the task of reclaiming the rich alluvial soil which the ravages of war had converted into a malarious desert. Leopold I had already re-peopled part of the south with Serb refugees under their Patriarch Arsenius and had guaranteed to them a special privileged position; now Charles III and Maria Theresa introduced many thousands of German settlers from Swabia and Alsace into the plains on either side of the Danube. Even the Slovaks were represented in this racial mosaic which was forming in the south, and to-day their descendants number 15,000 in the county of Torontál and 28,000 in the county of Bács.

For the Habsburg dominions as a whole, the eighteenth century was a period of consolidation and increased prestige, since the geographical laws which prescribe the existence of a powerful Danubian state asserted themselves with signal effect. For Hungary, however, it was a period of stagnation, of slow recovery from the wounds inflicted by the Turkish conquest. The failure of Rákóczy marked the close of a long era of discord, perfidy and foreign rule, and led by mutual consent to a constitutional settlement. Easily roused to passionate resistance, the true Magyar is generous to a degree in consigning past injuries to oblivion: the countless infringements of the constitution were forgotten, and the dynasty's great services in the deliverance of Hungary from the infidel were frankly recognized as a title to lasting gratitude. The Pragmatic Sanction, confirmed in 1723 by the Hungarian Diet, forms the real basis of the Dual System as elaborated under Deák in 1867. Hungary emerges once more from the ex-lex condition to which the battle of Mohács had reduced her; but while restored to a footing of full legal equality with her Cisleithan sister, she deliberately restricts her freedom of action in certain directions, and in doing so imposes similar restrictions upon her neighbour. The Crown of St. Stephen remains a hereditary possession of the House of Habsburg so long as male descendants of Maria Theresa survive; and the significance of this fact is in no way affected, when we admit that the Hungarian Pragmatic Sanction is a compact between crown and nation, and that the sovereign undertakes on his part corresponding obligations. So long as two states have one and the same sovereign, neither can claim for itself that absolute freedom of action and that mutual irresponsibility which the two jointly exercise against a third

THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION

state. A state has been created on the Middle Danube which forms a distinct category of its own ; for though neither of its two component parts is subject to the other, yet they are interdependent rather than independent, since they form a single unit in the European commonwealth and since the dynastic link is indissoluble and rests upon unity in defence in representation and in credit.³⁵

The Pragmatic Sanction bore practical fruit when Maria Theresa, threatened on all sides by a hostile European coalition, won the hearts of the Hungarian Diet by her beauty and her tears. History has reduced to its just proportions the famous scene when the assembled nobles greeted their young Queen with the impassioned cry, "Vitam et sanguinem pro rege nostro Maria Theresa." That this display of loyalty was preceded by a rigorous bargain and in particular by the remission of taxes to the noble classes of Hungary, throws an interesting light upon the strange blend of chivalry and legalism in the Magyar character, but cannot obscure the sterling services rendered by Hungary in the wars against Frederick the Great. Maria Theresa preserved throughout life a warm sympathy for the Hungarian nation, and successfully employed all the wiles of a great ruler and a fascinating woman to preserve her popularity. None the less the Pragmatic Sanction was violated in more than one respect during her reign, and the way was prepared for that assimilating process, which her successor sought to carry out.

Joseph II combined the temperament of the French Revolution³⁶ and the enlightened austerity of the ancient Greeks with those prosaic and pedantic qualities which are unjustly regarded as typical of the average German. Born out of due time, he imagined that the traditions of the Middle Ages could be banished by a stroke of the pen ; and in his eager desire to reorganize his dominions as a modern state and to weld its polyglot races into a single people, he set law and custom alike at defiance. Too conscientious to take an oath which ran counter to his convictions, he refused to be crowned King of Hungary. Determined not to be hampered by refractory nobles, he ceased to convoke the Diets of the various

³⁵ An accurate German translation of the Hungarian Pragmatic Sanction (Article II of 1722-3) is contained in *Die ungarischen Verfassungsgesetze*, ed. by Dr. Gustav Steinbach. (Manz'sche Ausgabe) 1900, pp. 4-6.

³⁶ See Sayous, *Histoire générale des Hongrois*.

kingdoms and provinces. Not content with dispensing with the constitution, he introduced German as the official language of his entire dominions, abolished the ancient county autonomy of Hungary, and divided the country into ten circles or provinces, each under a German official. Universal opposition was the result of these proceedings, and almost on his deathbed he was compelled to revoke the reforms to which he had devoted his life. His failure was due not merely to the illegality of his methods but to the fact that his self-imposed task far exceeded the powers of a single man. Joseph II is one of the most tragic figures in the history of his century. If integrity and lofty idealism were the sole qualities requisite in a monarch, none would dare to challenge his pre-eminence: but nature had cruelly denied to him the essential gift of tact without which in the modern world even the most gifted ruler is foredoomed to failure. None the less, the impartial historian cannot fail to recognize the beneficial results of Joseph's reforms, even while he condemns the methods adopted to enforce them. Over sixty years were to elapse before the emancipation of the peasants, which he sought to achieve by arbitrary decree, was adopted by the Hungarian Diet. The barbaric administration which is still the curse of the country, would long have been a thing of the past, had his reforming measures survived in legal form; while all subsequent judicial reforms in Hungary have been based upon the Josephan system. His firm policy towards the Papal Curia has left its mark upon the relations of Vienna and the Vatican, and even in the most reactionary moments his successors have never abandoned the claim which Joseph II first enforced, that all new Bishops should swear allegiance to their temporal rather than to their spiritual master.

The immediate result of the Josephan era was a great revival of national feeling among the Magyars. The spirit of nationality was in the air, and was encouraged by the appearance of more than one poet of ability, and of philologists who did much to adapt the Magyar language to modern requirements. But the movement could never have assumed such serious dimensions unless Joseph had alienated the great nobles of Hungary and driven them into the arms of the opposition. What the imposition of the German language merely began, was completed by the abolition of the county assemblies (then even more than now the preserve of a few

powerful families) and still more by the emancipation of the peasants. Pride and pocket were equally affected, and the price which Joseph's brother and successor Leopold II had to pay for reconciliation with the outraged nation, was the revival of feudal dues and bondage. Despite this unhappy blemish on its character, the great Diet of 1790-1 deserves a place of honour in the annals of Hungary. Here the constitutional rights of the nation are for the first time restated in modern phraseology. The king must be crowned within six months of his accession, and until the ceremony has taken place, he cannot exercise his full sovereign rights. The Diet is to be summoned every three years, and without its consent no tax or loan may be raised and no soldiers may be levied. The legislative power rests jointly in the hands of the lawfully crowned king and of the Estates assembled in a lawful Diet, and cannot be exercised save through the latter. Above all, the famous Article X reasserts Hungary's free and independent position, and expressly declares that it is to be governed "according to its own laws and customs and not after the manner of the other provinces."³⁷ As the latest historian of the Ausgleich has aptly remarked, this formula is a résumé of historic Dualism.³⁸ All the essential points which the Compromise of Deák contains, are already to be found in the laws of 1790-1. Here, as in all Hungarian affairs, the difference lies not in the theory but in the practice. In 1867 the political constellation of Europe was favourable to the Magyars, and they were left free to translate the words of the Compromise into action; in 1791 Europe was on the brink of a catastrophe, and the desperate struggle of the Habsburgs against Napoleon absorbed all those energies which might have been devoted to constitutional development. Once more Hungary contented herself with the legal assertion of her rights, and allowed them to remain a dead letter for the next generation. When forty years ago she became in fact as well as in theory her own mistress, the evil practice had become ingrained in her constitution, and to-day a whole series of vitally important laws adorn the statute book without any serious attempt being made to enforce a number of their chief provisions.

³⁷ *Propriis legibus et consuetudinibus, non vero ad normam aliarum provinciarum.*

³⁸ Eisenmann, *Le Compromis Austro-Hongrois de 1867*, p. 29.

CHAPTER III

The Rise of Magyar Nationality

“Wer mir meine Sprache verdrängt, will mir auch meine Vernunft und Lebensweise, die Ehre und die Rechte meines Volkes rauben.”
—Herder.

BY the middle of the eighteenth century the Magyar language was in very real danger of dying out. Latin was the language of the government, the administration, the law courts, of common intercourse between educated people; and the astute policy of Maria Theresa had won over the great nobles of Hungary to German customs and ways of thinking. Contact with the Court and intermarriage with the Austrian aristocracy rapidly turned them into little better than Germans, and their demoralizing example had begun to spread among the gentry and educated classes, while the towns were mainly German already. It was Joseph II's mistaken attempt to establish German as the universal language of his dominions, that roused Hungary from her lethargy. An able linguistic reformer arose in Francis Kazinczy, and simultaneously the ideas of the French Revolution led to a great revival of national feeling among the Magyars, whose virtual monopoly of political power survived every infringement of the constitution and secured to them the control of the nation's destiny. The magnates ceased to be ashamed of their native tongue, and in many instances placed themselves at the head of the new movement. At the Diet of 1790-1, which celebrated the restoration of the Hungarian constitution, the first linguistic laws made their appearance. Professors of Magyar language and literature were appointed in all gymnasiums, and Magyar became a regular subject of instruction. Henceforth the success of the movement was assured, and the enthusiasm evoked in Hungary during the Napoleonic Wars, though silenced later by the ingratitude of Francis I, certainly contributed towards the Magyar renaissance. Dur-

ing the universal reaction which followed the Congress of Vienna, the Hungarian Diet was not summoned, and for ten years the County Assemblies resumed their traditional function of bulwarks of the constitution. They have been accused, not without justice, of pettifogging and rabulistic methods, of corruption and *laissez faire*; but even the most hostile critic must admit that their sturdy resistance saved Hungary from the police system of Metternich and Sedlnitzky, and at length in 1825 compelled the Government to summon parliament once more. The trend of opinion was clearly shown by the prominence given in the Address to a demand for the erection of Magyar ("the national language"—a *nemzeti nyelv*—as it was now called) into the official language of state. The devotion inspired by the narrow cause of Magyar nationality revealed itself with growing frequency in the course of the debates. More than one deputy had lamented the lack of funds which prevented the formation of a national learned society, when Count Stephen Széchenyi rose from his seat and offered to this cause his entire income for the year. A scene of indescribable enthusiasm ensued, and his example was followed by a number of the other magnates present. Such was the dramatic *début* of the man whom the next generation acclaimed as "the greatest Hungarian," such was the birthday festival of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

The year which saw the definite establishment of the Academy (1830) marks a fresh stage in the progress of the Magyar language. By Article VIII of that year the Diet made a knowledge of Magyar obligatory for all persons holding any public office or an advocate's diploma: enjoined the Palatine's Council (perhaps best known by its German title of *Statthaltereirath*) to answer in Magyar all communications which it might receive in that language, and bound over the Curia to conduct in Magyar all cases where a Magyar application was made. With every year the tide of national feeling ran more strongly, and the efforts of politicians were ably seconded by a brilliant band of poets, dramatists and novelists. This was the golden age of Magyar literature: the names of Vörösmarty, Arany and Kisfaludy would add lustre to the records of any Western literature, while the political and economic writings of Széchenyi produced an effect upon his own nation, for which there are few parallels in history. Amid the general decay which has characterized Hungarian public life in the twen-

tieth century, the Magyar patriot must often look back regretfully upon the giants that inhabited the earth in those days.

In the Diet of 1835-6 the "national language" made a further step in advance. The use of Magyar was extended to courts of second instance, though still as an alternative to Latin, and Magyar verdicts were made compulsory. Laws were to be published no longer in Latin only, but in Latin and Magyar. All official documents might henceforth be drawn up in Magyar, though this still remained optional. In all parishes where Magyar services were held, the registers must in future be drawn up in Magyar. This last provision which at first sight would seem of less practical importance, is really in many ways the most significant of all, when we realize what bitter struggles were already being waged in more than one Slovak community against the forcible introduction of Magyar priests and Magyar sermons.³⁹ These innovations, to which the government yielded with considerable reluctance, only served to rouse the national apostles to redoubled efforts. Certainly, no one contributed so much to their success as Louis Kossuth, who had already won a name by editing lithographed reports of the parliamentary debates, in defiance of the Government's disapproval. So enormous was the effect produced by these reports, that after the close of the Diet he continued to publish a similar manuscript journal under the title of *Official News (Törvényhatósági Tudósítások)*, which contained admirable reports of political life and progress in every county and Royal town in Hungary. His persistence in this publication brought upon him a sentence of four years' imprisonment⁴⁰ and thus earned for him his truest title to fame, as champion and vindicator of Liberty of the Press.

After a short breathing-space the national struggle was resumed at the Diet of 1839, during which the great name of Deák first comes into real prominence as a leader of the more moderate Opposition. For the first time the Addresses to the Sovereign were drawn up in the Magyar language only—an innovation which kindled immense enthusiasm.⁴¹ En-

³⁹ See pp. 61, 64.

⁴⁰ It was during his time in prison that Kossuth acquired that knowledge of the English language, which was to prove so invaluable to him in his early years of exile.

⁴¹ In the words of Horváth, *25 Jahre aus der Geschichte Ungarns* (I. p. 551), "after centuries the Hungarian now once more greeted his king in his national language."

Article vi., 1840. See also Horváth, I. pp. 552-3.

couraged by this success, the Estates proceeded to formulate far-reaching linguistic demands; Magyar, they claimed, must become the exclusive language of the Government (administration and executive alike), of all schools and places of education, and of all Hungarian regiments. Without committing himself to so comprehensive a programme, the King extended his sanction to a new law⁴² which has influenced the whole subsequent course of Hungarian history. By it, (1) Magyar became the official language of the government; (2) after a lapse of three years all registers throughout the country must be kept in Magyar only;⁴³ and (3) a knowledge of Magyar is enjoined upon the clergy of all denominations. But the appetite of the Magyars was insatiable, and every fresh concession led to more extravagant demands. That lack of perspective which has always been the bane of Hungarian politics, blinded the ruling classes of the day to the inevitable reaction which further legislation of this kind must produce among the other races of the country, who despite their political impotence were strong in numbers and came of a virile stock. In the early forties a wave of Chauvinism engulfed the Magyars and assumed with every year more alarming dimensions, until in 1848 a dreadful Nemesis plunged friend and foe alike into the gulf of revolution and internecine war. At the same time the principles of press freedom for which Kossuth had suffered rapidly asserted themselves. A number of ably conducted journals sprang into existence—all with one exception on the narrowest racial lines. Above all the *Pesti Hírlap*, Kossuth's own brilliant paper, marked a new departure and almost immediately acquired immense influence; while its only serious rival, the *Világ*, was all too soon placed *hors de combat* by the death of its editor, Count Aurel Desewffy, who, had he lived, might have altered the

⁴² As in so many similar movements, enthusiasm outran knowledge, and in the reports of parliamentary proceedings published in *Jelenkor* in 1840, it is striking to notice how continually a Latin or German term is inserted within brackets for the guidance of readers still unfamiliar with the technical phrases which were being coined in Magyar:—e.g., jegyző (actuarius), beiktató (protocollista).

⁴³ The second of these provisions involved the third, since registration remained in the hands of the clergy till the year 1895. Henszleman, a leading Magyar apologist of the forties, unenviably distinguished by his dishonest casuistry, calmly justifies this clause on the ground that even a Chinaman could learn in a few hours how to keep registers in Magyar! (*Vierteljahrsschrift aus & für Ungarn*. Bd. II. p. 203).

course of Hungarian history. Unhappily the racial intolerance of which we shall have to speak later, spread through the entire Press, and the few journals which took up a moderate attitude in the racial question, were just those which carried least weight with the Magyar reading public. The very genuine ardour which inspired all educated Magyars, infected the somewhat backward Slav nobility of the North, who, like most renegates, soon outbid the true-blood Magyars in racial Chauvinism. The Slav "common nobles,"⁴⁴ being ignorant and without leaders, were unable to make an effectual stand for linguistic rights, and too often allowed themselves to be swept away by the current. Magyar influences became supreme in the County Assemblies, and none but their nominees could be appointed as delegates to the central Diet; while the Royal towns, whose representatives alone could have redressed the balance, were restricted to two collective votes (or no more together than the smallest county singly) and thus exercised no real control upon the Diet's action. The new linguistic law which was passed by the diet of 1843-4,⁴⁵ was by far the most stringent of any that had yet appeared, and bore within itself the seeds of future trouble. (1) Magyar became the exclusive language of the legislature, the Government and official business. (2) Magyar was further declared to be the exclusive language of public instruction, but this monstrous innovation was left to be dealt with by a special law. (3) National arms and colours were to be placed on all public buildings—a happy change which meant a great deal in the evil days when absolutism still ruled in Cisleithania. (4) The three Slavonian counties⁴⁶ and the Hungarian Littoral

⁴⁴ A Köznemesség (der gemeine Adel). The word "noble" had a significance of its own in Hungary previous to 1848. "Nobility" and political rights coincided, and hence the invariable reward of services to the state was admission to the ranks of the nobles, through which alone such rights could be enjoyed (and with them after 1740 the equally coveted exemption from taxation). In this way whole villages were sometimes ennobled, especially during the Turkish wars, and as the privilege was hereditary, there arose a class of "common nobles" who possessed the same rights as the gentry, yet could make no pretence to gentility. Their votes turned the scale at the sexennial elections to the county assemblies, and there thus was developed the "Cortesch" system, under which the rival candidates feasted and boarded impecunious "noble" voters for days before the election and marshalled them in battle array when the polling day arrived.

⁴⁵ Article II, 1844. See also Horváth, *op. cit.* II. 192-3.

⁴⁶ Požega, Veröcze, and Szerém, now part of Croatia-Slavonia.

KOSSUTH AND THE CROATS

were exempted for six years, in order that the officials if not the population might during that period acquire a knowledge of Magyar ; but after that date they were to be subject to the same regulations as the rest of the country. (5) In Croatia, though Latin was to remain the language of the lawcourts and of internal administration, Magyar was to be the sole language of intercourse under all circumstances with all Hungarian authorities. As a solitary concession to the Croats, it was laid down that Magyar was not to be made their language of instruction, but only a compulsory subject in all their schools. This intolerant law gave a great incentive to the Illyrian cause in Croatia, and led to the most violent recriminations between the Croats and the Magyars. While Kossuth declared himself unable to find Croatia on the map, and with incredible folly brought forward a motion in the Pest county assembly for Croatia's exclusion from Hungary, Louis Gaj, the champion of Illyrism, consoled himself with prophetic confidence for the temporary check administered to his cause.⁴⁷ Not merely the whole spirit of the debates, but more than one passage in the law itself, revealed Magyarization as the leading motive of the Diet and of the dominant classes of Hungary ; while the clause referring to education made it abundantly clear to all the non-Magyar races that the near future threatened them with fresh onslaughts on their language and nationality. Voices were to be heard on all sides arguing that the " national language " must be imposed upon the so-called " foreign inhabitants " of the country, and a dozen fantastic schemes were aired for their speedy absorption into what is now known as the one and indivisible Magyar nation. A minority of the population, conscious of its strength and full of an enthusiasm which would have carried many a better cause to victory, offered a direct challenge to the majority, which was weak in all save numbers and obstinacy. The challenge was taken up, and the world can still read the passionate answer in the racial war of 1848.

⁴⁷ " To-day," he had cried in 1840 to his opponents, " you are in the majority, *but the child as it is born is mine* " ; and the failure of the Magyarophil party at the elections of 1908 to secure a single seat in the Croatian Diet, has supplied a late fulfilment of this prophecy.

CHAPTER IV

The Beginnings of Slovak Literature

Za tú našu slovenčinu (For our Slovak language)—the motto of the Slovaks in their present struggle for liberty.

THE language of the Slovaks, called by themselves "slovenský gazyk," or "slovenčina," forms the transition from Czech to Wendo-Croat, and is not far removed from the liturgical dialect known as Old Slavonic. Its resemblance to Czech, and the fact that most Slovak writers previous to the nineteenth century employed the latter language, made the well-known philologist Dobrowský put forward the theory that Slovak was identical with Czech in its early stages.⁴⁸ At a later date he withdrew this theory and admitted Slovak to be a distinct Slav dialect⁴⁹: and this has been placed beyond dispute by the development of the last half century. Dobrowský's original belief admits of a very simple explanation. Till the most recent times the Slovaks were without any literature of their own, and as they never attained to a distinct political existence, the Slovak language was deprived of all centripetal influences, and was hence affected by all the neighbouring languages and dialects. Apart, however, from various unimportant nuances, three well-defined dialects of Slovak can be distinguished:—(1) Moravian-Slovak, in the counties of Pressburg, Nyitra and Trencsén and in some of the racial islets in South Hungary; (2) Polish-Slovak, in the counties of Sáros, Zips, Abauj, Zemplén and part of Árva.⁵⁰ (3) Slovak proper, in the counties of Turócz, Árva, Liptó, Zólyom, Bars, Nógrád, Pest and Gömör, which, forming the centre of the Slovak districts are naturally the best protected from alien influences.

⁴⁸ Palacky takes the same view (see *Gedenkblätter*, p. 41), where he says that Slovak cannot be described as an inferior or corrupted Czech, but that it is more historically correct to describe Czech as a development from Slovak.

⁴⁹ *Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache* (1818), p. 32.

⁵⁰ The Sotak dialect is a Magyarized form of this.

CZECH INFLUENCES

Of all the surrounding languages, Ruthene, doubtless because the most backward, seems to have left least trace upon Slovak; and according to reliable information, the linguistic frontier between the Ruthenes and the Slovaks has moved no less than 30 kilometers in as many years at the expense of the former. Up to the fifteenth century all inscriptions in "Slovensko," are in Latin; but from that time onwards Czech influence predominates. The Czech language effected an entrance together with Hussite tenets, and became the language in which the scriptures were read and the church services conducted. The materials for a national literature were entirely lacking, and the Reformation, which had so strangely depressing an effect upon literature throughout Europe, strengthened the sway of the Czech language among the Slovaks by limiting literary effort to devotional subjects. Meanwhile the schools which were founded in Slovensko during the sixteenth century⁵¹ naturally concentrated their attention on Latin, in which all public business was conducted, administration and judicature alike. Printing presses were erected in the towns of North Hungary during the last quarter of the sixteenth century,⁵² but as the German element was paramount in some, and growing stronger in others, what was printed was almost entirely in German or in Latin. Pruno, who was pastor of Freistäd (Galgócz) till 1586, published a Latin-Slovak Catechism, and another pastor translated the Confession of the Five Towns into Slovak. But the neglect of the Slav language had become general, and Benedicti, in the preface to his Bohemian Grammar (1603), makes this fact the subject of a plaintive and somewhat hopeless lecture to his countrymen.⁵³ It is doubtful whether his words produced much effect, for religious dissensions and the desolations of war proved fatal to all literary pursuits or interests for many decades to come. Just as the triumph of the Hussites had reacted upon "Slovensko," so the fall of Bohemia

⁵¹ Between 1525 and 1597 seventeen schools were founded in different towns of "Slovensko" (Šafařík, *Gesch. der slavischen Sprache und Literatur*, p. 381).

⁵² The earliest at Schintau in 1574 (Šafařík, *op. cit.* p. 384).

⁵³ Cit. Šafařík, *op. cit.* p. 382. He exhorts "mei gentiles Slavi" . . . "apud quos excolendae eorum linguae maxima est negligentia, adeo ut nonnulli, si non tantum non legant bohemicos libros, sed ne in suis bibliothecis ullum habeant, gloriosum id sibi ducant. Hinc fit, ut, quum de rebus illis domestica lingua est disserendum, semilatine eos loqui oporteat. Cetera incommoda neglecti eius studii non persequar."

in 1619 had a depressing effect upon Slovak development. The troubles of the seventeenth century made all literature impossible, and among all the races of Hungary Zrinyi—now a bone of contention between Magyars and Croats—is the solitary literary figure. Such books as were published were more than ever of a religious or devotional character—a very natural revulsion of feeling from the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. While Paul Gerhart was composing the hymns which are still the glory of the Lutheran Church in Germany, George Tranowský, pastor of Liptó St. Miklós, published in 1635 at Leutschau the first Czecho-Slovak hymn-book *Cithara Sanctorum*, which has ever since been the favourite book of devotion of the Lutheran Slovaks.⁵⁴

“It was the impulse of religion which laid the foundation of native literature among the Slovaks.”⁵⁵ Strangely enough, the Catholic Church and the Jesuits, who had been the foremost enemies of nationalism in Bohemia, were the first to encourage the Slovak vernacular, their chief object being doubtless the erection of a barrier against the heretical influences of the language of Hus. While the Protestants clung closely to the Czech language, the Catholic clergy began to write and preach in the dialect of the common people. In the year 1718 Alexander Macsay, a zealous Paulinian monk, published a collection of his sermons delivered in the Western Slovak dialect as spoken in the neighbourhood of Tyrnau.⁵⁶ The Jesuit fathers of Tyrnau—then the chief stronghold of Catholicism in Hungary and from 1636 till 1777 the seat of her only University—followed this up by publishing several religious books in a mixture of Czech and Slovak. Their common object was to win the sympathy and affections of the peasantry for the Catholic Church, and it is probable that their wise policy completed in many districts of the West the process which the more brutal methods of Leopold I and his advisers had begun. The revived interest in the vernacular is reflected in the preface written by Matthew Bel or Belius, the greatest scholar produced by Hungary in the eighteenth century, and himself a Slovak, to

⁵⁴ The first edition contained 400 hymns, of which 150 were composed or translated by Tranowský himself; the edition of 1873 contained as many as 1,148. In all, close upon 70 editions have been published, see Šafařík, *op. cit.* p. 386; Czambel's essay in *Die oesterreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*; (Ungarn, vol. IV. p. 438.)

⁵⁵ Vlček, *cit.* Čapek, *op. cit.* p. 105.

⁵⁶ “*W slovenském gazyku poneyprw na swello wydané.*”

Doležal's Slavo-Bohemian Grammar (1746). Here we read that not only scholars but even the magnates and lesser nobility of the northern counties prided themselves upon cultivating the Slav language.⁵⁷

The movement once more languished, but bore fruit towards the close of the eighteenth century. A little group of Slovak patriots in the Tyrnau and Nyitra districts devoted itself to the task of linguistic revival. Its leader, Anton Bernolák, the Catholic priest of Érsek-Ujvár (1762-1813), published the first Slovak Grammar, and an elaborate Slovak Dictionary.⁵⁸ The Primate, Cardinal Rudnay, who deserves to be remembered for the defiant phrase, "Slavus sum : et si in cathedra Petri forem, Slavus ero,"⁵⁹ became a generous patron of the movement ; but progress was none the less slow, for Bernolák adopted a defective and illogical orthography, and made the still more serious blunder of selecting the western or Moravian dialect for his literary language. Still the Slovak literary society (*Literata Slavica societas*) founded by him in Tyrnau, was flourishing enough to establish branches in five other towns of North Hungary, with book stores in each ; and the *berno-lačina*, as it came to be called, produced a poet of some merit in John Hollý, who sang the departed glories of the Slav race and chose Svatopluk and Methodius as the heroes of his verse. To him too the Slovaks owe translations of Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Homer and Theocritus. Useful work was also done by Stephen Leschka (1757-1818), who translated Robinson Crusoe, brought out a dictionary of Magyar words derived from foreign, especially Slav sources,⁶⁰ and was the editor of the earliest Slovak newspaper, the *Prešpurské Nowiny*, which appeared at Pressburg in 1783, but unfortunately only lasted for three years.⁶¹

Meanwhile the movement inaugurated by Bernolák had

⁵⁷ Preface § 12. "Quibus rebus evenit, ut non modo eruditi in Hungaria viri, sed Magnates etiam, et ex nobilitate eorum comitatum, in quibus lingua slavica vernacula est, curam linguae slavo-bohemicae cultumque ad se pertinere existimaverint." (cit. Šafařík, op. cit. p. 384 note.) The present generation of Magyars will read with astonishment the names of Illesházy, Zay (see p. 65), Révay, Justh (p. 343), Beniczky (Appendix xxvii.) among these loyal sons of Slava.

⁵⁸ 1787 *Dissertatio philologico-critica de litteris Slavorum* ; 1790, *Grammatica Slavica* (both at Pressburg).

⁵⁹ Cit. Čapek. op. cit. 117.

⁶⁰ *Elenchus Vocabulorum Europaeorum cum primis Slavicorum Magyarici usus* (1825 Buda).

⁶¹ Šafařík, op. cit. 325. *Versuch über die slawischen Bewohner der österreichischen Monarchie* (Vienna, 1804), II., p. 39.

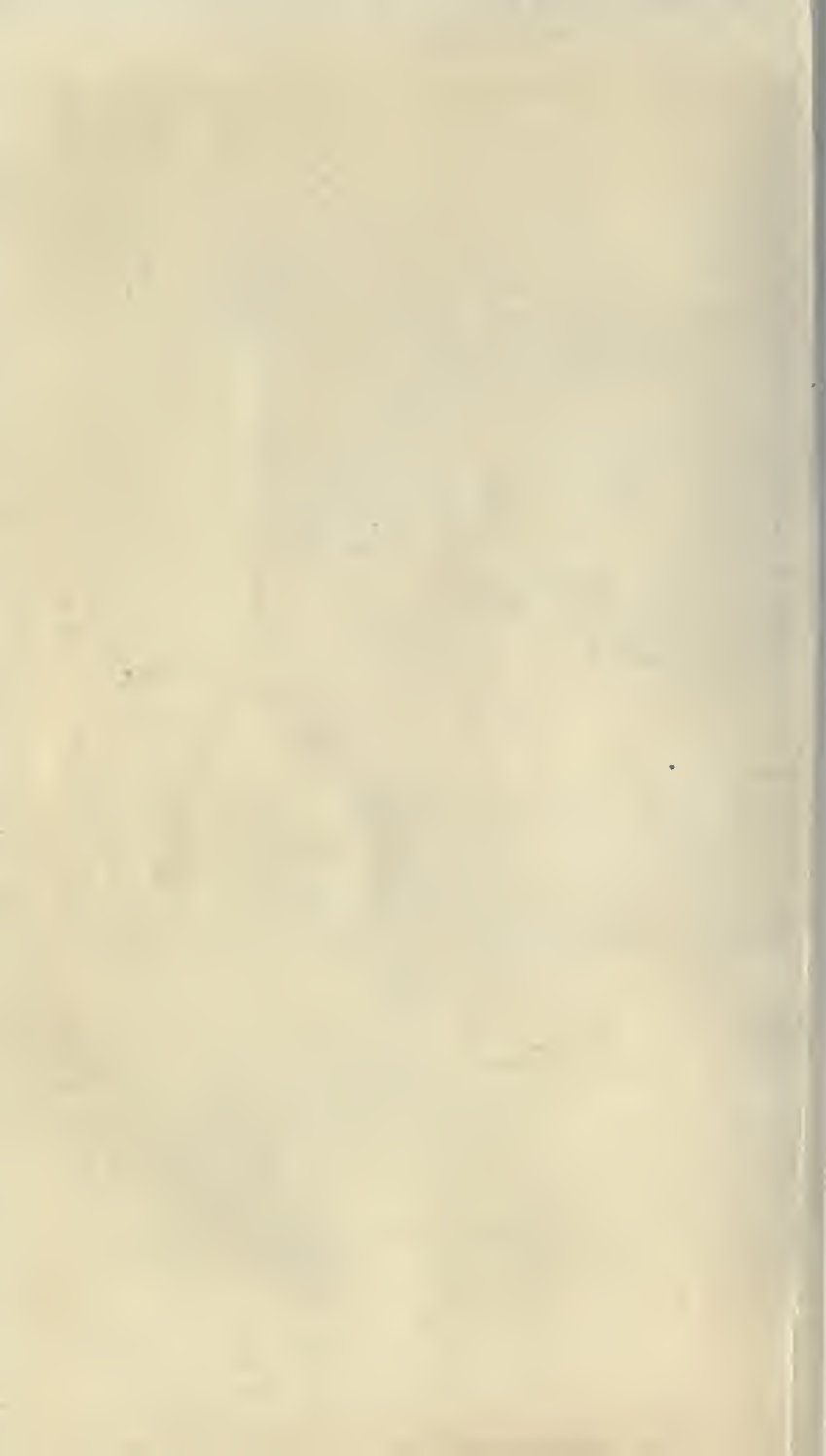
caused considerable alarm among the Lutheran Slovaks, who still wrote in Czech and strongly deprecated anything that might tend to weaken the intimate ties which bound the Slovaks to Prag. Religious jealousies, therefore, were probably partly responsible for the foundation of a literary society in Pressburg by Tablic and Palkovič. This society soon languished, but its place was taken by the "Institute of Slav language and literature" which was established in 1803 in connexion with the Lutheran Lycée at Pressburg. George Palkovič was the first (and as events proved, the last⁶²) to occupy the chair of Slav in Pressburg and to preside over the budding literary society. He and his assistant, Louis Štúr, the future leader of 1848 and the regenerator of the Slovak language, exercised a decisive influence upon the younger generation of patriotic Slovaks. But while Magyar societies, clubs and associations were founded in every direction during the thirties, and above all in the gymnasiums and university, Slovak societies were discouraged and frowned upon. Permission for their formation was frequently refused, and between 1840 and 1843 Slav languages and literature were brutally ejected by the Magyar fanatics from the two chief centres of Slovak intelligence, the gymnasiums of Leutschau and Pressburg. Public opinion clamoured for the Magyarization of education throughout the country, and the Revolution when it came found the Slovak language expelled from all the seminaries and most of the gymnasiums of North Hungary, and in danger of being ejected even from the elementary schools, in favour of a language of which the masses of the people were entirely ignorant and which they had no opportunity of hearing in their ordinary daily intercourse. The Slovak language, which sixty years before had shown as much promise of development as the Magyar, was now utterly outdistanced; for the Magyar literary renaissance of the first half of the nineteenth century produced a number of poets of the first order, who would have won a European reputation if they had written in any Western tongue. Slovak on the other hand was paralysed by the unfavourable political situation, by the assimilation of the Slovak cultured classes, by the adoption of rival dialects by some of its foremost writers, and by the preference displayed by others for Czech literary forms.

A cruel irony of fate has ordained that the Slovaks should strengthen the cause of their opponents by supplying it with

⁶² See page 77.



SLOVAK PEASANTS.
(FROM THE COUNTY OF TURÓCZ.)



its most redoubtable champions. Louis Kossuth, who pushed Magyar pretensions to their furthest limit, was of pure Slovak parentage. His father, who came from the village of Kosutý the county of Turócz, settled in the eastern county of Zemplén; but the young Louis sometimes spent his holidays at the house of his uncle, George Kossuth, who was a patriotic Slovak author of some ability.⁶³ Louis attended the Slovak village school in Záturcs, and in the seventies his kinsman Alexander Liebhardt, the notary of Ruttka, used to show the Slovak primer from which the ex-Dictator of Hungary first learnt to read and write. It was only after his childish days were over, that Kossuth learnt the Magyar language, and in his position of advocate in the county of Zemplén, first entered the whirlpool of local politics, from which he emerged as a striking combination of demagogue and Magyar Chauvinist.

Alexander Petöfi—the famous poet of the Revolution, who has sometimes been called the Magyar Burns, but who added to his great lyrical gifts the martial temperament of Theodor von Körner—was likewise of Slovak origin. His father, Stephen Petrovič came from the partly Slovak county of Nógrád, and his mother Maria Hruz, from Liesno in Turócz; the young Alexander was born in 1823 in Kis Körös, where his father had acquired a butcher's business, and was sent to a Slovak school in Asód. It was only in his twentieth year that the son Magyarized his name; but the rapid march of events and the sudden success of his early poems, soon converted him into one of the fieriest champions of the Magyar cause. Those who bear in mind the origin of Kossuth and Petöfi, will certainly be tempted to dissent from the Magyar custom of referring to the "stupid Slovaks" (a buta tótok) and still more from the notorious Magyar proverb, "The Slovak is not a man" (tót nem ember).

While the Slovaks thus presented the Magyars with two of their traditional heroes, they, at the same time, produced two men of the highest literary eminence, who were destined to in-

⁶³ On one of these occasions, the little Louis, while playing, fell into a deep and muddy ditch, where he would have been drowned, if his aunt had not passed by and extricated him. Long afterwards, she used to exclaim, "If only I had left him where he fell!" This little anecdote, whose sentiments I do not share, was told to me by a son of J. M. Hurban, the Slovak leader, to whom she expressed her regret in considerably more forcible language. J. M. Hurban had dedicated his Slovak Almanach, entitled *Nitra*, to *George Kossuth*.

fluence the entire Slav world and to contribute towards the great Slav revival of last century. These two men—Paul Joseph Šafařík and John Kollár—of whom the Slovak race has every reason to be proud, owed, not their reputation, but the rapidity with which it spread, to the fact that they wrote in Czech, not in Slovak.

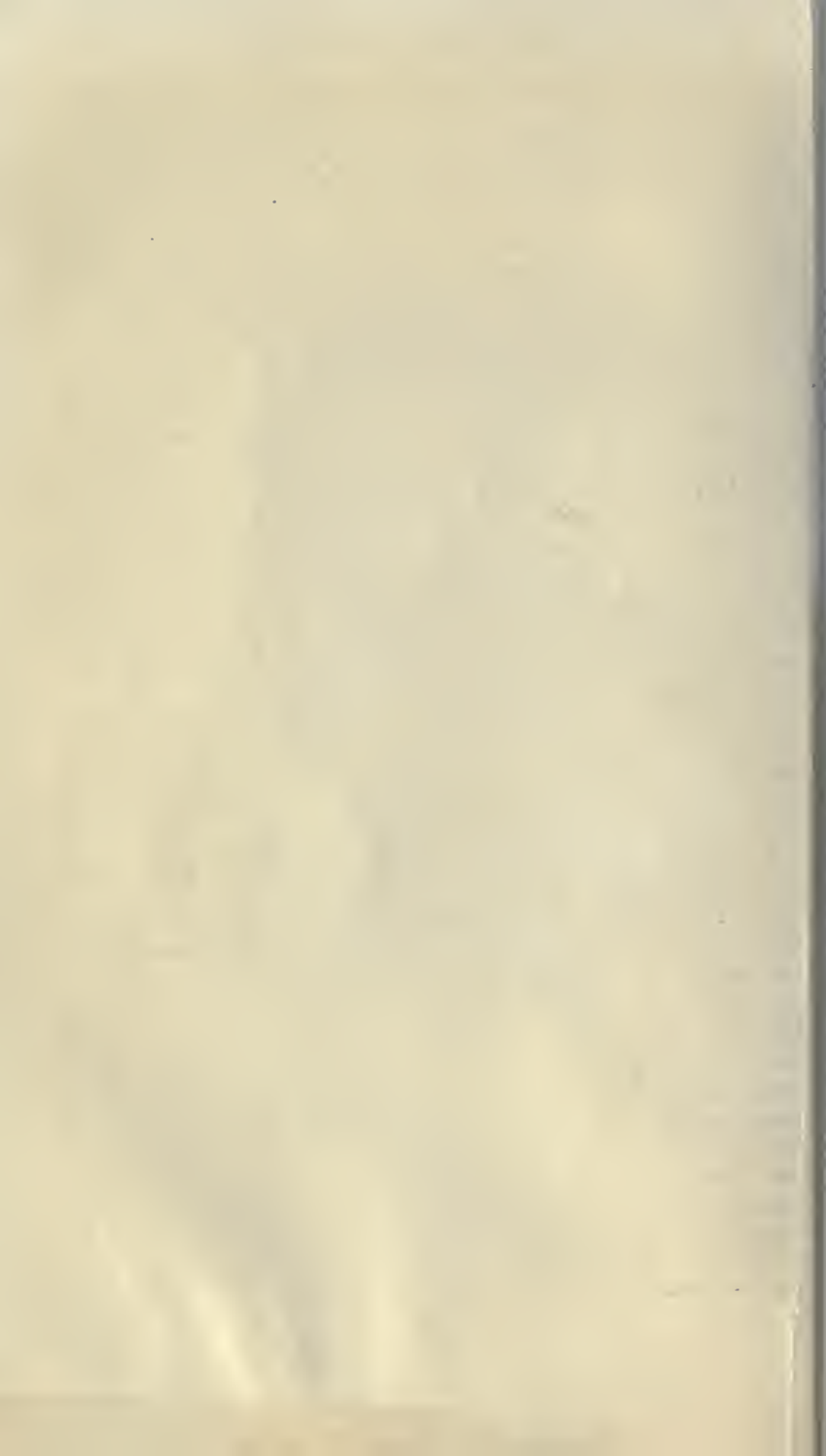
Šafařík was born in 1795 at Fehérpatak (Kobeljarovo) in North Hungary, as the son of a Slovak Lutheran pastor. Even during his school days at Késmark, he developed a passion for Slav linguistic studies, and at the age of nineteen he published a small volume of poetry at Leutschau. After a couple of years spent at Jena University, he filled the post of tutor in a noble family, and as early as 1819 was appointed Rector of the new Greek Oriental Gymnasium at Ujvidék (Neusatz), one of the strongholds of the Hungarian Serbs. After six years, his Protestantism, which had at first been ignored in consideration of his merits as a Slav scholar, induced the governing body of the school to remove him from the rectorate; and in 1832 he resigned his chair in order to accept a professorate in Prague. Here he gradually won for himself a reputation and a respect which the cruel situation of his Slovak compatriots could never have secured to him in the country of his birth, and which culminated in 1848, when he acted as President of the famous Slav congress at Prague. Of his many literary productions, it will suffice for our present purpose to mention three. In 1823 he published the earliest collection of Slovak popular songs,⁶⁴ a praiseworthy example in which he was followed by the poet Kollár and the short-lived *Slovenská Matica*. Thus, though he turned his back upon his native Hungary, he did the Slovaks a real service in first bringing to light the inexhaustible treasures of popular poetry and folklore possessed by this interesting but all too neglected race.⁶⁵ In 1826 he published in Buda a *History of the Slav Language and Literature*, which was the first concrete attempt to treat all Slav dialects as mere members of a single organism, and which contains the germ of that “*unio in litteratura inter omnes slavos*” which was afterwards preached with

⁶⁴ *Pisnie swietske lidu slowenskego w Uhřich*. Čelakovsky, the Czech poet, also published a collection of Slovak folksongs.

⁶⁵ Any one who, in this age of searchers after traditional song and legend, would devote himself or herself to editing and making known to the British public the exquisite folksongs and melodies of the Slovaks, would earn the gratitude of all lovers of Nature's poetry and music. If the present volume should arouse interest in this subject, it will not have been written in vain.



JOHN KOLLÁR.



THE POET KOLLÁR

such fiery and persuasive eloquence by the poet Kollár. Thirdly, in 1836 he gave to the world the first part of his *Slav Antiquities*, which revolutionized the prevailing conception of early Slav history, filled Bohemia and Russia with enthusiasm, and still forms the groundwork for all students of Slavonic origins. In the linguistic disputes between the adherents of Bernolák, Štúr and Kollár, he endeavoured to steer a middle course. While admitting the great difficulty of maintaining unity of language, owing to the changes introduced by the Czechs into their written language, owing to natural evolution and to the lack of good school-books among the Slovaks, he strongly deprecated anything in the nature of a break with the past. His position in Prague naturally led him to look with anxiety upon any movement which threatened to impair the spiritual unity of Czechs and Slovaks. But he failed to reckon with the genius loci, and with the influence of geographical and political factors upon the Slovak standpoint. The adoption by Štúr of the Central Slovak dialect as the literary language, corresponded to an inward need, and was really the sole alternative to racial extinction; while the fear that this would undermine the mutual sympathies of the two sister races has proved to be entirely groundless.

John Kollár was born on July 29, 1793, at Mosotz, as the son of the local notary. He studied theology for five years at Pressburg and then spent eighteen months at the University of Jena, the alma mater of so many young Slovak Protestants. In 1819 he became assistant to Molnár, the pastor of the Slav congregation in Pest, and eventually succeeded him in that post, which he held until the year of revolution. Even as a boy he began to collect Slovak folksongs from the peasants as they worked in the fields; and his ardent and poetic temperament evoked in him a sensitive pride in all the traditions of the Slav race and a corresponding suspicion towards those races which had thwarted its unity in past ages. The energy with which he resisted all attempts to Germanize or Magyarize his congregation in Pest, made him the object of frequent attacks, which he was only too ready to repay with interest. There was none of the typical Slovak submissiveness about Kollár, and indeed if his resolute and virile qualities had been commoner among his compatriots, the position of the Slovaks in Hungary would be very different at the present day.

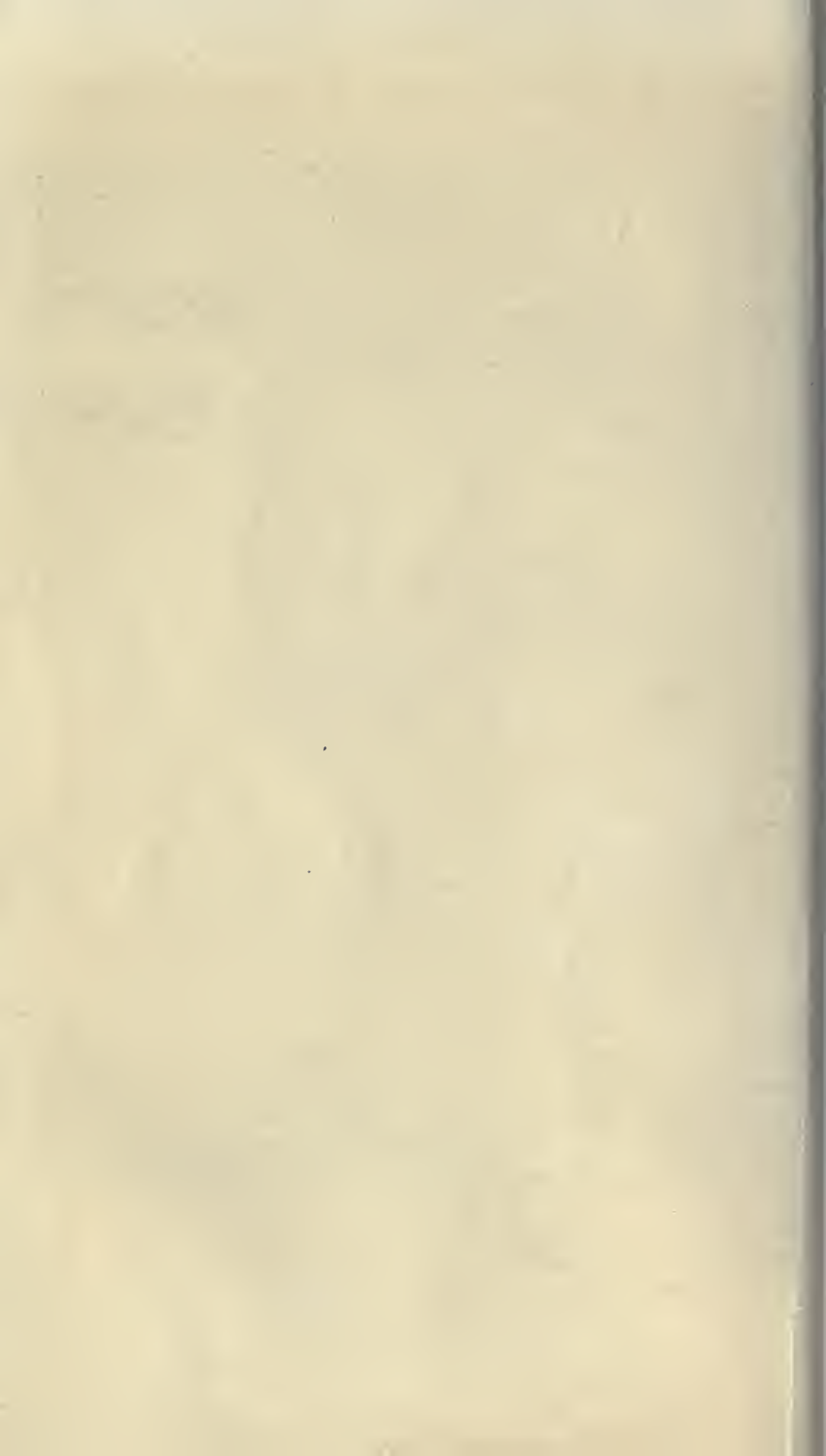
As early as 1824 Kollár electrified the whole Slav world by his publication of the first three cantos of "The Daughter

of Slava" (Slavy Dcera), to which two further cantos were added in 1832. Though epical in conception, this poem is none the less lyrical in form, being composed of a succession of 622 sonnets grouped in five distinct cantos. Alike in form and in substance, it is possible to trace more than one resemblance between Kollár and Petrarch, though, we need hardly add, the Lutheran pastor breathes a rarefied air very different from the sultry atmosphere of the southern lover's passion. The daughter of Slava is a maiden whom the poet meets on the banks of the Thuringian Saale, and to whom, as the ideal of womanly perfection, he dedicates his heart. Severed from her by a cruel stroke of fate, he wanders disconsolate through the regions of the Elbe, the Rhine and the Moldau, and at length beside the Danube he learns of her death. This slender erotic thread is skilfully used by Kollár to connect the great memories of the Slav race and its departed glories. A rich and daring imagination is combined with purity of thought and classic accuracy of expression; and the poem is equally fertile in passages of lyrical beauty and of patriotic fervour. Its genuine poetic value will secure Kollár a permanent place among Slav poets; but its immediate effect was not so much literary as political. Its glorification of the Slav name strikes the same lofty note in which Arndt not very long before had exalted the German Fatherland. So long as the slave does not feel his fetters, Kollár cries, "so long he may find his position comfortable: and the despot is endured until the feeling for freedom becomes general. But then the slave breaks his chains, and the despot must fall. So it was with us (Slavs) in the matter of language." "Ye tell me, the law ordains that in Hungary the Slav should bury his language. But who forged this law? Men; and shall they weigh more than God? . . . and what is one to love most deeply, a puny dead and soulless country, or a mighty people full of life and reason?"⁶⁶ "Grant not the soil on which we dwell the sacred name of fatherland. The true fatherland, which none can misuse, of which none can rob us . . . we carry in our hearts. . . . Dear are the woods, the streams, the home inherited from our sires. But the sole fatherland which endures, and defies all shame and insult, is that unity of custom and language and mood which blends soul with soul."⁶⁷ "Believe me, comrades and friends of the fatherland, to us has been given all that places us by the

⁶⁶ Sonnet 287.⁶⁷ Sonnet 242.



DAUGHTERS OF SLAVA.



“ THE DAUGHTER OF SLAVA ”

side of the great races of mankind. Behold land and sea spreading far at our feet : silver and gold are ours in abundance, and busy hands skilled in art are ours. Concord alone, concord and culture are lacking to the Slavs. O that concord would spread her blessings amongst us, and we should excel all the peoples of the past. 'Twixt Greek and Briton our name too would shine, and lighten all the firmament.”⁶⁸

“ Scattered Slavs,” he cries, “ let us be a united whole, and no longer mere fragments ! Let us be all or nought ! ”⁶⁹ For this ideal fatherland of which Kollár sings, is Panslavia (Wseslávia). Were the disunited Slavs but precious metals, he would mould them all into a mighty statue ; Russia would form the head, the Lechs should be the body, the Czechs the arms and hands, the Serbs the feet, and of the smaller races he would forge armour and weapons : “ All Europe would kneel before this idol, whose head would tower above the clouds and whose feet would shake the earth.”⁷⁰ For a hundred years hence, what will be the fate of the Slavs, and what the fate of Europe ? “ Everywhere Slavdom like a flood extends its boundaries : and the language which the false ideas of the Germans held for a mere speech of slaves, shall resound in palaces and even in the mouths of its rivals. In Slav channels the sciences shall flow, our people's dress, their manners and their song shall be in vogue on the Seine and on the Elbe. Oh, that I was not born in that great age of Slav dominion, or that I may not arise from the grave to witness it.”

Naturally enough, the enthusiasm with which Kollár indulged in these dreams of a great Slav future, was highly distasteful to the Magyars ; and they revenged themselves by branding him as a political agitator. I should be the last to deny to Kollár this epithet. In the sense in which his enemies apply it, it is merely a slander launched by the strong against the weak. It is a reproach which has attached to every national poet of a downtrodden race, and in reality constitutes their greatest glory. For every true poet is an agitator, and Kollár in kindling the national spirit of his compatriots and in bidding them base their national existence upon virtue, was only proving his title to the poet's laurel. Unhappily he was only too truly a member of the *genus irritabile vatum*, and he merely injured his own cause and played into the hands of his political opponents, when he

⁶⁸ Sonnet 258.

⁶⁹ Sonnet 326.

⁷⁰ Sonnet 271.

indulged in violent diatribes against the Germans and above all against the Magyars.

The fourth and fifth cantos of the "Daughter of Slava" are devoted to the description of a half mythical Slav Olympus and Hades. In the former the Goddess Slava is seated on a golden throne, and round her are grouped the heroes and heroines of the Slav world, while a few distinguished guests who had interested themselves in the Slavs, are also granted admission.⁷¹ A singular incident betrays the contrast in Kollár's sentiments towards the Russians and the Poles. The Grand Duke Constantine, the former Governor of Warsaw, receives a golden crown from the hands of the goddess, while Countess Plater, who had roused the Poles to resistance, is turned away from the gate. The final canto is full of undignified and even childish scenes; for the ideas which speak to us so eloquently from the golden verse of Dante or the austere frescoes of Orcagna, become a mere crude anachronism when clothed in the language of the nineteenth century. All the ancient persecutors of the Slavs, from Árpád to Charles the Great, languish in a sea of burning pitch, and Beelzebub from the bank beats down each head as it appears above the surface. The Bohemian Jesuit who burnt 60,000 Czech books, is roasted on a pile of books and papers. Archbishop Patacsics scourges himself to atone for his treatment of the Serbs of his diocese.⁷² A number of German savants have their tongues torn out, because of the hostile verdicts which they had passed upon the Slavs. The tailors of Schemnitz are punished for refusing to admit a Slav into their guild, and a native of Árva is slit into meat for *gulyás*, because he educated his children in the Magyar language. A prominent member of the Lutheran Church who had written a pamphlet against the Slavs, appears with a huge nose, from which slices are carved by grinning devils. Dugonics, the Piarist monk, whose Magyar writings contain so much abuse of his Slav countrymen, stands as Cerberus at the portal, and barks incessantly at the swarms of flies and lice which molest him; while the author of the proverb, "The Slovak is no man," is impaled. Kollár, it is true, begs for his release, thus saving his character as a Lutheran clergyman; but the poet's good taste should have saved him from

⁷¹ Grimm, Herder, Goethe, Bowring.

⁷² See page 62.

the necessity. In short, the final canto is a lamentable production, and most readers who are not blinded by racial prejudices, probably read with a sigh of relief the final cry, "From the Tátra to the Black Mountain, from the Giant Alps to the Urals, resounds the word: Hell for the traitors, Heaven for the true Slavs!"⁷³

Only five years after the appearance of the final cantos, Kollár created a new and even more lasting sensation in the Slav world by his book *Concerning Literary Reciprocity between the various races and dialects of the Slav nation* (1837). The fierce controversy which has raged round this famous tract, is mainly due to the persistence with which friend and foe alike read into its arguments their own political dogmas and prejudices. Written with all Kollár's wonted fire and eloquence, it may aptly be described as a sermon on the text, "unio in literatura inter omnes slavos." "For the first time after many centuries, the scattered Slavs regard themselves once more as one great people, and their various dialects as one language, awake to national feeling and yearn for a closer union."⁷⁴ . . . The Slav nation strives to return to its original unity." But the common bond which is necessary for the attainment of this ideal, must be considered more carefully, "for though innocent in itself, it might lead to many misunderstandings and errors."⁷⁵ This common bond is to be the interest taken by all the different Slav races in the intellectual products of their nation. "It does not consist in a political union of all Slavs, nor in demagogic agitation against the various governments and rulers, since this could only produce confusion and misfortune.

⁷³ Lest I should be accused of treating Kollár with excessive leniency, I may mention that the above summary and extracts are mainly based upon an elaborate review by Francis Pulszky in Henszlmann's *Vierteljahrsschrift aus und für Ungarn*, vol. ii. pp. 55-87, an odious review which was founded in 1843 by a Magyarized German, with the sole object of throwing dust in the eyes of German public opinion. An elaborate analysis of the whole poem is to be found in Jordan's *Jahrbücher für slawische Literatur*, 1846 (8 articles). A very charming German translation of selected passages from "Slavy Dcera" is that by Josef Wenzig—*Kränze aus dem böhmischen Dichtergarten*, Leipzig (no date: probably the fifties). For criticisms of Kollár, see Goethe's *Kunst und Altertum*, and in English, Sir John Bowring's writings, and Count Lützow's *Bohemian Literature*.

⁷⁴ Kollár, *Ueber die literarische Wechselseitigkeit*, 2nd ed. (1844),

p. 3.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p. 4.

Literary reciprocity can also subsist in the case of a nation which is under more than one sceptre and is divided into several states. Reciprocity is also possible in the case of a nation which has several religions and confessions, and where differences of writing, of climate and territory, of manners and customs prevail. It is not dangerous to the temporal authorities and rulers, since it leaves frontiers and territories undisturbed, is content with the existing order of things, and adapts itself to all forms of government and to all grades of civil life." ⁷⁶ "Panslavistic," he defines as "that which concerns and embraces all Slavs." ⁷⁷

Kollár does not regard it as sufficient that an educated Slav should only speak his own dialect; he ought to know other Slav languages and act on the principle, *Slavus sum, nihil Slavici a me alienum puto*. Many hindrances, it is true, have to be overcome before this ideal can be realized. The prejudices of other nations against the Slavs, and still more the mutual contempt with which the various sections of the race regard each other, and the anarchical state of Slav grammar and orthography—these and other causes at present hinder Slav unity. "None the less," cries the enthusiastic poet, "all Slavs have but one fatherland," and just as the many different states in America together form a single unit, so the many Slav races and dialects ought to form "a single literary free-state, in which differences are ignored, and no tyrant is tolerated." Here the opponents of Kollár seem to find confirmation of their worst suspicions; and yet the absurdity of describing his aims as political, is abundantly proved by the means which he recommends for their attainment. Book depôts in the various capitals, free public libraries, chairs of Slav language and literature, a general Slav literary review, the reform of Slav orthography, comparative grammars and dictionaries, collections of songs, proverbs and folklore—this is a programme which no possible stretch of the imagination can regard as a menace to the peace of Europe. Indeed the political advantages which Kollár prophesies as likely to re-

⁷⁶ Ibid. p.6. It is difficult to see how, in the face of so explicit a statement, Kollár's opponents can persist in accusing him of *political* Panslavism. Bishop Horváth, the historian, however, escapes from the dilemma by quoting the first passage which I have given in the text, and omitting the second! I leave the reader to judge of the fairness of this proceeding. See Horváth, op. cit. I. p. 455-9.

⁷⁷ Kollár, *ibid.* p. 11.

sult from the movement are the very reverse of those at which genuine Panslavs, like Pogodin, Fadejev and Katkoff aimed. "Slav risings against monarchs who belong to a different race and under whose sceptre they live, will come to an end; for when reciprocity prevails, the longing for union with other Slavs will cease, or will at least be very much weakened. They will have no motive for breaking away, and each will remain at home, since he will possess at home the same which he would receive at his neighbour's. Indeed, under alien non-Slav rulers, *so long as they are tolerant*, the weaker Slav races find better guarantees and security for the independence and survival of their language, which under the ruler of some other more powerful Slav race would, according to the laws of attraction, be entirely absorbed, or would at least commingle and finally vanish away. Those governments which care for the culture of their peoples, will not only not check and repress this innocent and beneficial reciprocity, but will far rather foster and encourage it with fatherly concern." ⁷⁸ This, then, is the much-abused Panslavism of Kollár, which aims at the Russification of Hungary and the world-dominion of the great White Czar! If any further proof were needed of the groundlessness of the charges against the poet, it is supplied by his action in 1848. When the Chauvinism of Magyar public opinion made it dangerous for him to remain in Pest, he withdrew not to Moscow or St. Petersburg, but to Vienna, and died three years later as Professor of Slav language and literature in the Austrian capital. ⁷⁹

The plain truth is that the Magyars imputed to their Slav neighbours motives similar to their own. Themselves bent upon the complete Magyarization of Hungary, they assumed that the Slavs must be equally intolerant and equally determined to secure a linguistic monopoly. ⁸⁰ The rise of Slav

⁷⁸ Kollár, *ibid.* p. 75 sqq.

⁷⁹ Magyar apologists (e.g., Bishop Horváth and M. de Gérando) have laid great stress on the fact that Kollár was allowed to publish his works in Hungary, as if this afforded proof of Magyar generosity. These writers, however, fail to mention that on the occasion of each fresh publication he was subjected to personal insults and hostile demonstrations on the part of the Chauvinists (see Kollár's *Reminiscences*, *Paměti z Mladšich let iv.*, Prag, 1863, p. 269 f., cit. Helfert, *Geschichte Oesterreichs*, ii. 398). It has even been asserted that the authorities endeavoured to buy up some of the earlier editions, but I know of no proof of this statement.

⁸⁰ See next chapter.

nationality, due mainly to the influence of the French Revolution, was undoubtedly aided by Russian propaganda; but no external influences are needed to explain the appearance of the two chief apostles of Slavdom among the despised and unknown Slovaks. In accordance with a natural law, the modern flame of resistance was kindled in the darkest corner of the Slav world; and the sense of kinship triumphed even over differences of religion. The great idea of Slav solidarity, which Kollár did so much to awaken, has much in common with other Imperialist and national movements of the last century. The Magyars, in denying the right of the Hungarian Slavs to entertain such feelings, not merely shut their eyes to hard facts, but at the same time emphasize the contrast between the solidarity of the Slavs and their own isolation. A close affinity does exist among all Slav races and languages, and no amount of nicknames, still less of persecution, can ever destroy it. Of course their own lack of kinsmen makes it more difficult for the Magyars to comprehend the meaning of the saying, "Blood is thicker than water," and it is easy to sympathize with them in a deficiency which seriously weakens their political position. But as has been well said, the Pan-Magyar party only needs to regard its own flushed and angry countenance in the mirror of Panslavism, to be reminded that the phrase *tu quoque* is no argument. The Magyars outdistance most other races in the ardour, but also unhappily in the narrowness of their patriotism. Pride of race can go no farther, and argument is wasted upon those who regard as proofs of Panslavism the fact that a Slav professor corresponds with literary societies in Russia or Bohemia,⁸¹ that a Slovak student attends the university of Prague rather than that of Budapest,⁸² or even that some overgrown schoolboys burned Széchenyi in effigy in the course of a rowdy picnic party! In short, loyalty to tradition, race and language is in the Magyar the most pure and exalted patriotism; in the Slav it is treason and infamy. Spurning all considerations of logic and precedent, the Magyars plunged headlong into a policy of Magyarization, which was destined to bear bitter fruit in the near future.

⁸¹ See *Társalkodó*, 1841. Nos. 6, 16, 34.

⁸² See account of the Markovič trial on page 325.

CHAPTER V

Magyarization

Tót nem ember (The Slovak is not a man).

Magyar Proverb.

(Magyar ember hat Courage
Német ember, Hundsfott, Bagage.

Magyar doggerel.

Adjon Isten a mint volt

Hogy szolgáljon a Magyaroknak mint a német mint a tót
(God grant, that, as it ever has been, both
German and Slovak may serve the Magyar).

Magyar doggerel.

Talia requirit linguae nationalis dignitas.

MAGYAR apologists invariably assert that the linguistic laws which we have briefly summarized in a previous chapter were not the cause but merely the pretext of a long-prepared Slav opposition.⁸³ Some excuse must be made for writers whose whole horizon is darkened by the fearsome bogey of Pan-slavism; but their arguments savour unduly of the public school bully who pleads the wellworn excuse "please, sir, the other boy began." In reality it is quite immaterial whether Magyarism or Slavism first took the offensive; the point to be ascertained is how far their respective growth was natural or retarded by deliberate means. There can be no question that even before the year 1825 large sections of the community were committed to a policy of Magyarization—"an adventurous policy," as a contemporary has well said, "unique in the history of mankind,"—and that but for the resistance of the government

⁸³ See e.g. Gérando, *Ueber den öffentlichen Geist in Ungarn*, p. 371. A clear proof, however, that Magyarization was already being actively pursued in the thirties, is afforded by a statistical table published by *Társalkodó* (No. 27, 1840), dealing with the ecclesiastical conditions in the church districts of Esztergom and Nagy Szombat, (Tyrnau) comprising nine counties. Between 1830 and 1840 the number of parishes whose language was Magyar, had increased from 223 to 234, while the Slovak parishes had decreased from 317 to 311. Statistics for other districts would doubtless reveal the same process.

to all parliamentary action, the extremist party would have forced on a crisis in the racial question long before 1848. Even the *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, the first review of any importance in Hungary and a pioneer of literary effort,⁸⁴ took up a very hostile attitude towards the Slavs, and setting history at defiance, argued that the non-Magyars were only allowed into the country on condition that they adopted the Magyar language and customs.⁸⁵ As early as 1817 one of its writers describes the Magyars as "the ruling nation," (az uralkodó nemzet,) and says, "If we take an inferior drink to add to a noble wine, we do not destroy the qualities of the latter, but it mixes with the other. In the realm of the Magyars the Magyars are a nation, but not the Slovaks. And hence the Slovak nation in Hungary is nothing but a revolting dream or a despicable invention."⁸⁶ The title of nation belongs only to the ruling Magyars: *the fatherland is the Magyars' property.*"⁸⁷ He actually takes the Slovaks most severely to task for venturing to publish a newspaper with the "dishonourable" (*sic*) title of *National Gazette*. Indeed the whole tone of the article is one of intense resentment at the Slovaks having dared to produce a newspaper of their own; its title is merely a convenient peg on which to hang all kinds of suspicions and innuendos of disloyalty, in the approved manner of the wolf and the lamb. "The Slovaks," says another writer,⁸⁸ are mere hawkers (*zsellérek*), their language is only that of haymakers and workmen, while Magyar is 'the ruling language.'" Yet another writer, in 1826, is full of hope for the Magyarization of the Slovaks, who, he considers, yield to patriotic blandishments far more readily than the Germans. Speaking of the efforts of one Hrabowszky (presumably a renegade Slovak) at Palota near Lajos Komárom, he tells us that "since the people of the latter place are Magyar, German and Slovak mixed, there is hope that through his (Hrabowszky's) loyal activity all of them may be converted into Magyars, and indeed no slight progress has been made in this."⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Edited for some years by Vörösmarty the poet.

⁸⁵ *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, fourteenth year, vol. i., cit. *Sollen wir Magyaren werden?* p. 46.

⁸⁶ És így botránkoztató álom, vagy gúnyoló költemény a magyarországi Tót Nemzet.

⁸⁷ *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, 1817, xii. p. 118.

⁸⁸ *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, 1824, xii. 58, cit. *Slawismus and Pseudo magyarismus*, p. 53.

⁸⁹ *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, 1826, vii., 55.

This extract is of special interest, owing to its bearing on one of the classic instances of Magyarizing tyranny, which is quoted by every pamphleteer on the Slav side and denied or treated as entirely exceptional by Magyar writers.

In this trilingual commune, which had only been colonized late in the eighteenth century, the original Lutheran pastor had used all three languages. His successor appealed to the Superintendent for permission to limit himself to a single language, and though failing to carry his point owing to the opposition of the congregation, he none the less conducted the catechizing in Magyar only. Continual friction was the result, and the discontent culminated at the election of a new pastor. Disputes arose regarding the candidates proposed by the Superintendent, and finally one was elected who was ignorant of Slovak. The Superintendent then ordered that since the Slav members were too poor to pay for an assistant, the schoolmaster should give religious instruction in Slovak, and that a Slovak-speaking clergyman should officiate and dispense the sacraments four times a year. Some of the foremost Slovaks of the congregation appealed against this decision to the Palatine's Council, which upheld the Superintendent and instructed the county authorities of Veszprém to enforce the obedience of the parishioners to their new pastor. The County appointed a deputation to conduct an inquiry on the spot, and as four of the appellants still refused to comply, they were publicly flogged before the County buildings, one receiving as many as sixty-four strokes, the others fifty, forty and twenty-four. When the Palatine Council threatened to take proceedings, the county authorities defended themselves by the memorable phrase, "Talia requirit lingue nationalis dignitas."⁹⁰ The whole incident—which has its comic side, especially as revealing the Magyar conception of Church freedom—remind us of the

⁹⁰ Count John Mailáth in his *Gesch. der Magyaren*, vol. iv., p. 256 note, states that he had the documents proving this, in his hands for verification. The incident is, I believe, first mentioned in *Sollen wir Magyaren werden?*—a pamphlet which differs by its moderation from most literature of this kind—and is repeated by *Beschwerden und Klagen*, Hodža's *Slovak*, etc. The Magyar version appeared in the *Pesti Hirlap* of August 27, 1843, and in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* (Beilagen, No. 31) 1844. According to the latter the floggings were inflicted for repeated "insubordination (Widersetzlichkeiten), which would certainly not have remained unpunished in any country." I recommend this astounding incident to those interested in the church squabbles of the Scottish Highlands.

Magyarizing methods of an Archbishop of Kolocsa in the first half of the eighteenth century, who, resenting the fact that almost the entire population of the town spoke Serb, introduced the novel alternative of twelve florins or twelve strokes, for every person heard conversing in his native tongue.⁹¹ *Aut disce aut discede: manet sors tertia—caedi*; but the unlucky Serb serfs of that age were not free to choose the middle course.

The Magyars are quite right in asserting that such a case as that of Lajos Komárom was exceptional; and the feudal relations between lord and peasant made flogging a commoner and also a less degrading punishment in those days than it has become since. But the spirit which underlay the incident was well-nigh universal. The county of Békés, where large Slovak colonies existed, decided to accept only Magyar documents at a "seignorial court." The county of Ungvár passed a resolution urging that the Royal towns should only be admitted to parliamentary votes, if they agreed to adopt Magyar as the exclusive language of their administration.⁹² The county of Somogy would only approve of the abolition of *aviticity*, on condition that the power to acquire seignorial land were limited to those who knew Magyar.⁹³ In 1829 the county of Oedenburg ordered that in every parish where some Magyar was understood, sermons were to be preached in Magyar. Pest county had medals struck as a decoration for the schoolmasters in non-Magyar districts who distinguished themselves in spreading the Magyar language. In 1832 the county of Arad (where even to-day 94·7 per cent. of the population is non-Magyar) introduced Magyar as the sole language of

⁹¹ Quoted from Katona, *Hist. Metropol. Coloc. Eccles.* pars I, p. 72. See also *Versuch über die slawischen Bewohner der österreichischen Monarchie* (Vienna, 1804), i, p. 15.

⁹² See Jordan's *Jahrbücher für slawische Literatur*, 1843, pp. 162-168.

⁹³ A similar argument was put forward by Stephen Peláthy in *Jelenkor*, No. 55 (1840). For those who wish to acquire political rights as well as property, a knowledge of "the national language" must be made a condition *sine qua non*, and not merely superficial knowledge, but fluency in speaking, writing and reading. "And here whatever the races which are foreign but belong to our nation (az idegen de nemzetünköz tartozó népfajok) may say, the nation already has not only the right but also the duty to bind constitutional rights to the acceptance of nationality." This was a two-edged weapon, aimed quite as much at Austrian nobles owning property in Hungary as at any non-Magyar proprietors who should dare to resist assimilation; but affords striking proof of the way in which the Magyar race was identified, or deliberately confused, with the nation as a whole.

county administration and justice. Only those who could speak Magyar might be elected as judges, notaries and jurymen in the towns and villages, even if not a soul in them knew a word of anything save Serb or Roumanian. Only Magyars were to be appointed as clergy and teachers. None could be apprenticed, and no prentice could rise to be a master unless he knew Magyar, while the accounts of tradesmen were declared only to be valid if kept in Magyar.⁹⁴ The county of Temes passed similar, though less stringent, provisions. Like many laws, both central and local, in Hungary, these doubtless remained merely on paper: for it is obvious that even the most efficient administration in the world would have found their execution a physical impossibility, and efficient is hardly the word to apply to the administration of Hungary. But we are justified in taking the will for the deed, and it is not difficult to imagine the racial antipathies which such action aroused.

The results of this extreme attitude on the part of most of the county authorities (which, it must be remembered, controlled the central Diet in those days), were in the highest degree deplorable. Slovaks and Roumanians were forced to take the oath in a language of which they knew not a syllable; non-Magyar communes were obliged to submit to Magyar circulars and orders; petty justices had to sign important documents without understanding their contents.⁹⁵ Attempts were made to compel the German peasants of certain districts to adopt Magyar costume.⁹⁶ More than one Magyar county returned, unopened, correspondence addressed to them by a Croatian county, simply because it was written in Latin. Several counties prohibited all legal decisions in their courts, unless the original documents submitted were drawn up in Magyar; and thus even the signing of contracts soon came to involve the knowledge of a language which was still spoken by a bare third of the population.⁹⁷

By the year 1840 Chauvinism was rampant throughout the country, and the Magyar Press, which at length began to shake off the throttling grasp of the censor, was full of violent racial outbursts. The substitution of Latin as the language of public business had of course become inevitable; for Latin had degenerated into an odious jargon worthy of the dark ages.

⁹⁴ See *Sollen wir Magyaren werden?* pp. 6-12.

⁹⁵ Helfert, *op. cit.* ii. 164.

⁹⁶ Mailáth, *op. cit.* iv. 253.

⁹⁷ Mailáth, *op. cit.* iv. 254.

A typical instance of the barbarisms then in vogue, is the case of the travelling magnate who calls anxiously to his postillion, "Quomodo via?" and receives the Latin answer, "via est passabilis." Latin, then, had to go: and failing German, which the sentiment of the country would not tolerate, Magyar was the natural language to take its place. But the ardent spirits who led the national opposition, were far from being satisfied even by so decisive a law as that of 1840. Instead of leaving it to produce its inevitable effect and meanwhile concentrating their efforts on raising the standard of culture and education among their own race, they were bent upon effecting in a decade the complete Magyarization of the other races. "German pens," wrote one of the champions of the movement,⁹⁸ "have claimed Belgium and Alsace. We want to Magyarize a few German colonies and the less important Slav population." The fact that the entire history of the world could not supply a single precedent for the success of such a scheme weighed but little with its promoters, for indeed racial passions had rendered them impervious to all argument or reason.

The law of 1840 placed administration and justice completely under Magyar control; the main attack was now directed against the Church and the School, those two last outposts of downtrodden nationalities. At first isolated attempts were made to impose Magyar clergy on Slovak-speaking congregations, whether Catholic or Lutheran. In Kerepes, a village of Catholic Slovaks in Pest county, a Magyar service was substituted for the Slav,⁹⁹ while the Lutheran Seniorate of Pest ordered Magyar sermons to be introduced on every third or fourth Sunday in a number of Slovak communes. Needless to say these measures led to unseemly disturbances; in Cserna (Veszprém Co.), for instance, when the clergyman began to preach in Magyar his congregation tried to drive him out of the church. In Szarvas, a large Slovak colony in the county of Békés, the notary ordered a monthly Magyar sermon.¹⁰⁰ When the people declined to attend on these occasions, it was no longer given out previously, but immediately after the

⁹⁸ *Ungarns Wünsche*, p. 58.

⁹⁹ The same thing happened in the pure Slovak communes of Csetnek and Ochtina, and the German communes of Komlos and Dobschau. (See *Ungarische Wirren und Zerwürfnisse*.)

¹⁰⁰ Borbis, *Die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche Ungarns* (Nordlingen, 1861), p. 108.



SLOVAK PEASANT TYPES.

54



Slav sermon the pastor began without an interval to preach in Magyar. Here, too, the congregation left the church, and disagreeable scenes ensued. In Jasda (Veszprém Co.) another Lutheran pastor introduced Magyar hymns, and in his anger at the people continuing to sing in their native tongue, specially limited the Benediction to those who had used Magyar.¹⁰¹ It was quite frequent for candidates to be ordained in purely Slav parishes, who knew no Slovak save Luther's catechism, and a few extracts from the Bible.¹⁰²

Such scandals, however, were regarded as mere interludes in the great struggle of Magyar nationality, and in 1840 an event occurred which gave a fresh impetus to the Magyarizing movement within the Lutheran Church. A vacancy arose in the office of General Inspector, and resulted in the election of Count Charles Zay, the leading noble of that church, a man of Slovak origin, whose father had known the Slovak hymn-book almost by heart and had distributed Bibles at his own expense among the peasantry of the western counties.¹⁰³ The new Inspector, who had espoused the cause of his adopted nationality with all the zeal of a recent convert, caused an immense sensation by the Inaugural Address which he delivered before the General Assembly on September 10, 1840. In this speech he did not hesitate to proclaim to a mainly Slav audience the doctrine that racial apostasy was a duty which they owed alike to patriotism and to religion. "Our common cause," he asserted, "is the development of our nationality: and as national life is impossible without a national language—the Magyarization of our country! I know the momentous force of these words, their kindling effect on the hearts of our fellow-citizens: I can guess the flaring excitement of hostile elements. But I feel also that it is my sacred duty, by right of my religion and my office, to proclaim fearlessly in this place my views upon this matter. Every sensible Magyar frankly admits the Slav nation's antiquity, historic great-

¹⁰¹ I bless all those who have sung in Magyar; but those who have sung in Slovak can go to the devil." These two incidents are quoted from Borbis (*ibid.* pp. 204-34). It is not improbable that they have been exaggerated, but the fact that they are vouched for by a clergyman in a scholarly book based mainly upon original documents, seems to justify me in reproducing them. That he regarded them as even credible is significant enough: that they are mild and trifling compared with what is happening almost every day in the Hungary of the twentieth century I hope to prove conclusively in a later chapter of this book.

¹⁰² *Beschwerden und Klagen*, p. 70.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 85.

ness and degree of culture, nay more, that the Slavs are the firstborn of our country and that the occupation of the Magyars was only the fruit of conquest. But in this place the claims of vanity, the haughtiness bred of power, are alike silent ; the idea of Magyarization is to be regarded from a loftier standpoint, as though its victory were the acquisition of the eternal rights of intelligence and constitutional freedom, as though its repression were the condemnation of European culture to mediæval stagnation." While admitting the efforts of the Slavs for the development of their language and the preservation of their nationality to be inspired by honourable motives, he assured his audience that their only result would be " the ineffectual squandering of their spiritual strength or else the establishment of other foreign elements in our country." To appeal to extraneous aid " never has been and never will be the intention of our loyal and unprejudiced Slav brethren ; for they would never extend a helping hand to the repression of culture, liberty and intelligence, to the sapping of the life-blood of religion, to the strengthening of despotism and the ruin of another nation and nationality. Consequently it is the firm and sacred duty of every enthusiastic citizen of our country, of every eager champion of freedom and intelligence, of every loyal subject of the House of Austria—if he wishes to avert the charge of prejudice and dangerous aims—to further manfully the Magyarization of our country." In such a situation, he adds, the Slavs will surely not be tempted by a narrow devotion to their mother tongue, to sacrifice to a mere whim their liberty and their religion. Such stubbornness could win them neither the assertion of civil and religious liberty, nor legal autonomy ; and they would scarcely console themselves with " the gloomy consciousness that they are serving as the instruments of triumphant despotism and of the suppression of advancing intelligence. No one honours more profoundly than I the common and individual rights conveyed by the idea of nationality, as also the rights of every fellow-citizen with regard to language : but above all I honour the material and spiritual freedom of the nations, of the citizens as a whole, to which it is the sacred duty of every rational and immortal being to sacrifice even his native language." We are reluctant to offer any comment upon language so repugnant to every true conception of liberty, the more so as the lamentable confusion of ideas which it betrays must be apparent to every reader. We can only marvel at the speaker's effrontery, when after appealing " not

to the force of the victors but to reason and the heart,” he almost in the same breath urges the Slavs to remember “ that to impede the Magyarization of our country even indirectly, and to strive for the development of any other language than the Magyar, is equivalent to sapping the vital forces of constitutionalism and even of Protestantism itself, and hence that the Magyar language is the truest guardian and protector of the liberty of our country, of Europe and of the Protestant cause. Let them therefore convince themselves that the triumph of Magyarization is the victory of reason, liberty and intelligence.”¹⁰⁴

Such ravings, even when dignified by their author with the name of a confession of faith, could hardly impose upon any audience which was not the helpless slave of racial passion and prejudice. Coming from a man of such prominence as Count Zay, its numerous fallacies, instead of meeting with the contempt which they deserved, were greeted by a chorus of approval. More than one county assembly expressed its thanks to Zay “ for his great services against Panslavism,” and the leading advocates of the Magyar cause were loud in his praise.¹⁰⁵ How “ appeals to reason and the heart ! ” were interpreted in Magyarizing circles, may be gathered from a leading article in *Jelenkor*.¹⁰⁶ “ Every compulsion which seeks to influence by law the condition of our country, is without point ; but one must rather prescribe by law that within a certain period all parents shall send their children to schools in which the Magyar language is the chief subject of instruction ; while by means of institutions for tending small children, which should be erected at the cost of each village but should be non-sectarian, it should be possible to effect a radical remedy of the evil.” In other words, the non-Magyars must be left entirely free to cultivate their own language, *but*—they may only be educated at schools where this is impossible.

A month after the publication of Count Zay’s speech, the same journal printed an article entitled “ Bohemian-Slav Heroes of Panslavism in Leutschau,” signed by a certain

¹⁰⁴ This speech is reproduced in full in *Társalkodó*, No. 75 (1840), from which I have made the above translation.

¹⁰⁵ E.g., *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1841, *Beilagen* No. 70-1, “ Ungarische Zustände,” according to which his energy “ erweckt die allgemeine Anerkennung.”

¹⁰⁶ August 13, 1842.

Szatócs, a Slovak renegade whose real name was Kramarcsek.¹⁰⁷ The object of its attack was a Slav society founded eight years previously by Michael Hlavaček, a professor of the Lutheran gymnasium of Leutschau (Löcse). Under the fostering care of this "preacher of Panslavism," the numbers of the society rose from a dozen to close on seventy, mainly Slovak pupils at the gymnasium; a small Slav library was formed, and in 1840 a small book was published under the name of *Gitrenka*, containing what were regarded as the most promising literary efforts of its members. More than one youth had yet to learn to ride, when he mounted the fiery Slav Pegasus. The trampled rights of the Slav nation must be defended; a loathsome raven—doubtless the swarthy Magyar of the Asian Steppes—tries to force the golden nightingale to crow. And probably many pages more of schoolboy ecstasy and passion. The zealous Szatócs, who would have covered himself with ridicule in any other country in Europe, had not reckoned in vain upon the prevailing racial fanaticism. But even the prominence given to his accusations by the *Társalkodó* might soon have been forgotten, had not Count Zay read the article, and without making any inquiry into the facts, sent a circular to the directors of the school of Leutschau, accusing the Slovaks of "besmirching the fatherland with curses, and of seeking to stifle our mother-tongue, the cause of liberty and even of Protestantism itself." In the circular Zay pleads once more for Magyarization, in the interests of the Protestant faith. "What, after all," he asks, "is the Slav language and nationality, what for that matter is any language or nationality, compared with the state? Mere empty forms, like time and space compared with eternity." By thus affecting to despise linguistic differences, Zay would seem to be undermining his own case for the enforcement of Magyar; but he cleverly escapes from this dilemma by identifying the Magyar language with the state. But in disclaiming all idea of force, he merely introduces a distinction without a difference, since complete assimilation of the non-Magyars is his openly avowed object; and he closes with the assertion that Hungary "can only be great and happy

¹⁰⁷ *Társalkodó*, 1840, No. 92, Szatócs' letter; No. 102, A hazánkban i tótosodás ügyében (in the matter of the Slovakization of our country), by Count Zay; 1841, No. 7, Hlavaček's answer; Nos. 24, 25, 26, replies of Szatócs. See also answer of Csaplovics to Zay in Appendix I of *Slavismus und Pseudomagyarismus* (Leipzig, 1842), translated from Századunk No. 3, and Count Zay's reply in No. 4.

if it becomes Magyar." Every line of the circular reveals the fallacious and insulting theories that national life is impossible without a national language, and that patriotism can only be expected from those who know the language of state.¹⁰⁸

As a result of Zay's action and the press campaign which it evoked, the unlucky Hlavaček lost his position, and the Slav society in Leutschau came to an end. The best proof of his innocence of treasonable practices lies in the fact that he was never taken to court; indeed when the Synod of Rosenau proposed an inquiry into the case, so that his guilt or innocence might be publicly established, the church authorities declined to proceed. Slander had done its work, and the gymnasium of Leutschau lost every year more and more of its Slovak character.

A brochure inspired by Zay was published in Leipzig under the title of *Protestantism, Magyarism and Slavism*, severely attacking the Slavs; and its date gives the lie to the common insinuation that the Slavs by the constant publication of anonymous pamphlets goaded the long-suffering Magyars into counteraction. In dealing with literary feuds between rival races and nations, it is of trifling importance to learn on which side they commenced. In this case the earliest offender was probably the Piarist Father, Andrew Dugonics, whose voluminous writings are full of abuse of the Slavs. In one of his novels he writes of the "miserable clumsy strawfooted Slovaks," derives Moravia from the Magyar word for "cattle,"¹⁰⁹ reviles Svatopluk and the Czechs and describes the Russians

¹⁰⁸ See pp. 56-66 of *Beschwerden und Klagen der Slaven in Ungarn*, and the pamphlet *Schreiben des Grafen Carl Zay . . . an die Professoren zu Leutschau* (Leipzig, Otto Wigand, 1841). "It never occurred to the legislators and champions of the Magyar nationality to force the Slavs of our country to a renunciation of their mother tongue or to deprive them of instruction in religion and morals in that language, they only demand that every one shall know Magyar, and that with the Magyar language a truer attachment to constitution and king, a zealous desire for the development of our nationality, shall take root in their hearts, so that the descendants of the present Slavs may become from their own conviction and interests genuine Magyars, for only by assimilation with them (the Magyars) can they ensure their religion, their freedom and culture, since in consequence of this assimilation they would become an independent people, strong both materially and intellectually, and also in the matter of language connected with no other nation."

¹⁰⁹ *Marha* is used in very much the same insulting sense as its German equivalent "Rindvieh."

as no better than gipsies.¹¹⁰ Kollár's *Literary Reciprocity* was the first book for many years which exercised or deserved to exercise any influence upon the racial question, and it, as we have seen, does not contain a single phrase which the Magyars can regard as offensive. Count Zay's pronouncement was a trumpet call which ushered in a whole crowd of anonymous combatants who pled the rival Slav and Magyar causes in rhetorical and acrid pamphlets.¹¹¹

At the same time a determined attempt was made to Magyarize the Slav schools of North Hungary, the gymnasium of Rimaszombat being the first to fall a victim to the Magyar onslaught in 1838. In this respect Count Zay specially distinguished himself by holding a conference of schoolmasters at Zay-Ugrocz, to devise a plan of campaign against the Slav language. So successful were his efforts, that Gustav Szontagh, a prominent Chauvinist writer and renegade, gave Zay the chief credit for naturalizing the Magyar language in the schools of the Lutheran church.¹¹²

While the Magyarization of education was being seriously attempted, Magyarizing societies were founded in various parts of the country. For instance, the Nemzeti Intézet of Nógrád held a county ball in aid of its funds, and the *Jelenkor* regarded its success as assured, "since the aim of the society—the Magyarization and education of Slovak children—is well known to the public!"¹¹³ More than one fantastic scheme was propounded by which the country might be rapidly Magyarized. Books and pamphlets were to be printed at the expense of county assemblies and scattered broadcast among the non-Magyar population.¹¹⁴ A law was to be passed by which after a definite number of years none who could not speak Magyar

¹¹⁰ "Most is nálunk annyit tézzen oroszodni, mint cigánykodni" (pp. 18-9, *Etelka*). See also pp. 9, 13-5, 92, 460 of same book—cit. by Šafařík, *Geschichte der slawischen Sprache* (Ofen, 1826), p. 45 sqq. It was in revenge for this abuse that Kollár placed Dugonics as Cerberus in the Slav Hades (see canto IV. of *Slavy Dcera*).

¹¹¹ See Bibliography (section 4, a).

¹¹² *Jelenkor*, No. 27. See also *Társalkodo*, 1841 Nos. 5 and 6: Gustav Szontagh—Nemzetiségünk ügye s a panszlavismus jelenségei ágost. hitv. felsőbb iskoláinkban (the question of our nationality and the appearance of Panslavism in our upper schools of Augsburg confession) and *Társalkodó*, 1841, No. 29. Nehány szó iskoláink magyarodása körül (a few words on the Magyarization of our schools).

¹¹³ *Jelenkor*, 1842, No. 4.

¹¹⁴ *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, 1821, ix. 41.

should be capable of owning a house or movable property, unless he paid a florin on every 100 florins of income, for the spread of the language!¹¹⁵ The county of Gömör decided to grant no passport to any student wishing to visit a foreign university, till he had proved that he had taken no part in Panslav intrigues—thus no doubt hoping to shut off Bohemian and German influences from the Slavs and Germans of North Hungary. Most ingenious of all was the suggestion of *Hirnök*,¹¹⁶ that 60,000 Magyar soldiers should be quartered on the non-Magyar population, and moved triennially to a new district, until all had been Magyarized. Every soldier who Magyarized a household would earn a reward of 15 florins, and after three years the state would remit the house-tax of all those householders whose family could speak Magyar. Finally the writer indulged in a bad joke regarding the cost of this policy, which he estimated at 3,600,000 florins (£300,000) spread over a period of twelve years, and which he proposed to raise by holding no Diet for sixteen years and appropriating the salaries of its members. That a journal of the standing of *Hirnök* (till the appearance of the *Pesti Hirlap* almost the leading Magyar newspaper) could open its columns to such a nonsensical proposal, goes far to prove that the Magyars were suffering from an attack of political monomania.¹¹⁷

The policy initiated by Count Zay met with the unqualified approval of the Magyar party in the Lutheran Church, and as they formed the most active and influential section, their views were embodied in the resolutions of more than one synod and presbytery, containing severe strictures on the Slavs.¹¹⁸ In the General Assembly of the Church, held in the summer of 1841, a debate arose on Panslavism and Russian propaganda. One speaker actually talked of the extermination (*kurtás*) of the Slavs in Hungary,¹¹⁹ while Kossuth

¹¹⁵ *Századunk*, 1840, No. 28 (described in No. 51 as "igen velős"—highly ingenious).

¹¹⁶ *Hirnök*, 1841, No. 80: "Idegen ajku helységeink megmagyarosodásához lehet e reményünk (Is there hope of Magyarizing the districts peopled by foreigners? *sic*).

¹¹⁷ With this may be compared the ridiculous suggestion of the well-known journal *Magyarország* (May 26, 1904) that all non-Magyar schools should be Magyarized, and that "at play those children who do not talk Magyar should be prohibited from playing, for only in this way can we prevent our children from being Roumanized." Cit. Popovici, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Gross-Oesterreich*, p. 111.

¹¹⁸ Mailáth, op. cit. iv. 255.

¹¹⁹ *Apologie*, p. 120.

himself moved that all the existing Slav societies in Lutheran secondary schools should be forthwith abolished, and that only "homiletical exercises" should be permitted in the Slovak language. The motion was carried, not as the result of inquiries into the state of these societies, but on the simple ground that they might in the future become dangerous!¹²⁰ This was not confirmed by the district synods, so that the life of the societies was spared for the moment; but the Slovak pastors who attended the Church assemblies, overtimid at the best of times, were browbeaten into silence and often weakly allowed their adversaries a clear field. A typical case of this is afforded by a meeting of the Cisdanubian Synod in Pressburg in June, 1841. Several Slovaks requested that the proceedings should be in Latin, since they knew no Magyar; but the president, Baron Jeszenák, refused to allow this. A knowledge of Latin, he said, was useful, nay, perhaps even necessary (this was said within a year of its having been the official language of Hungary!) but a knowledge of Magyar was an indispensable duty; and he would have liked to hear a declaration to that effect in the assembly, "because it was not permissible to subordinate the national cause to one's own private conveniences." The Slovak language was of course a private convenience, the Magyar language was the national cause. Argument was indeed useless with men in such a frame of mind as this, just as it was useless against a prominent Magyar apologist, who could in one and the same article deny all compulsion in the matter of language, and yet refer with obvious triumph to the dissolution of all Slav societies in the schools.¹²¹

Intimidation produced its effect, and the leading Slav clergy, doubtless persuaded that their plight was desperate, came to the mistaken resolve to lay their grievances at the foot of the throne. That they were fully entitled to take this step, is of course beyond all question, though it brought upon them from all sides the charge of treason and disloyalty to their fatherland. But it must be admitted that the sovereign was not at that period regarded (and did not deserve to be regarded) as a defender of Protestantism, even though the law recognized him as the supreme overseer of the Lutheran Church; and thus the indignation of the Magyars is less inexcusable when one remembers the past relations of the

¹²⁰ *Beschwerden und Klagen*, p. 18.

¹²¹ *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Beilagen), No. 287, "Ungarische Zustände."

THE SLOVAK PETITION

dynasty and the Protestant cause, than when one considers the particular case in point.

The petition was signed by Superintendent Jozefi and about 200 other Slovak Protestant clergy. It put forward as its leading motive the circumstance that the Slovaks "form a peculiar nationality, which is only capable of further progress through the cultivation of its own language, and which has for centuries offered its life and property to the common fatherland, enjoying in return equal rights with the other races of Hungary." None the less the Slovaks, and above all their clergy, "are basely insulted and put to contempt before the other inhabitants of the land, the teaching of the Slovak language is penalized and abused as something illegal, Slovak teachers and students are accused of traitorous intrigues." The petitioners then recount their various grievances—the attack on the Slavs through their Church organization, the forcible introduction of Magyar into their services, the closing of Slav societies, the abusive violence of the Magyar press and its refusal to grant the right of reply, the lack of all provision for the teaching of Slav languages and literature, the exclusion of the Slovak language from all courts of justice; and conclude with an appeal to the monarch to extend his august protection, to save the threatened Slav Chairs at Pressburg and elsewhere, to establish a Slav chair at Pest and a separate censor for Slav books, to allow Latin to continue as the language of the registers, to protect the schools from the attacks of the ultra-patriots and to prevent the expulsion of the Slovak language from them. The deputation was graciously received by Ferdinand, as well as by the Archduke Charles Louis and Metternich; but little hope of any practical result was held out to its members.¹²²

To judge by the violence with which their action was greeted by the Magyar Press and by Magyar public opinion, the worthy superintendents might have propounded some far-reaching scheme of Slovak autonomy; whereas in reality the moderation of their demands is without a parallel in the history of modern Hungary.

There were stormy scenes at the Synod of the Mountain

¹²² *Pesti Hírlap* (No. 149, June 5, 1842) commenting on a rumour that the deputation was going to Vienna, said that it could only be "the result of a secret conventicle, because in Hungary a body which could be described as 'the Slovaks of the northern counties,' and which could as such send deputations, cannot exist on a legal basis."

MAGYARIZATION

District, which met at Pest in the middle of June ; the Slovak clergy were loaded with abuse, and Superintendent Szeberinyi, who upheld the right of appeal to the sovereign, was continually interrupted in his speech.¹²³ But the climax was reached when the General Assembly opened on June 15. Kossuth commenced the attack with extreme vehemence, described the deputation as a betrayal of the Protestant religion and of the Magyar cause, clamoured for inquiry and condign punishment, and advised Jozefi to resign his superintendency. The proceedings of the assembly being public, a mass of young Magyar lawyers, many of them being Calvinists or even Catholics, attended and greeted every Slovak speaker with loud and abusive shouts. When men like Jozefi and Hodža were positively howled down, it is hardly to be wondered at that the rank and file of the Slovak clergy were silent or absented themselves altogether. The poet Kollár, it is true, bravely faced the hostile assembly and made no attempt to conceal the reason why the Slovaks had not submitted their petition. Confidence and love, he said, cannot be compelled. After denying the assembly's competence to deal with the matter, since according to law the king is the supreme superintendent of their Church, he proceeded to say : " If there is to be talk of inquiries, fiscal actions and so on, or if our superintendents and leaders are to be further abused and insulted, we declare openly that we prefer not to share in this General Assembly and will not recognize its decrees." Next day, a moderate version of the minutes was laid before the assembly, but Kossuth rose in anger and declared that he had never in all his life heard worse minutes ; whereupon his audience commissioned him to draw up himself a revised version, thus making him both accuser and judge in one and the same cause. As thus altered, the minutes protested against the petition as a violation of church autonomy, appointed a committee to investigate complaints and significantly declared the Assembly " to be still actuated by those feelings which led it last year to formulate provisions regarding the Magyar language, in accordance with the sense and spirit of the laws of the country." ¹²⁴ No wonder that the moderate Baron Prónay

¹²³ This same man had been attacked in *Jelenkor* (1840, No. 88) because he addressed the Slovak commune of Gyon (where only two or three persons understood Magyar) in their mother tongue!

¹²⁴ *Beschwerden und Klagen*, p. 34.

exclaimed, "The spirit of this assembly is the best justification of the Slavs and their journey to Vienna. For myself, I prefer to belong to the insulted rather than to the insulters."¹²⁵

A remarkable sequel was presented by the action of the Gömör county assembly, which in September instituted legal proceedings against Jozefi and deposed him from the post of county assessor, on the ground that the deputation was a crime against Church, country, law, and the Magyar nationality.¹²⁶

Amid the general orgy of Chauvinism, two voices were raised in defence of the unfortunate Slavs. Count John Mailáth, the well-known historian of Hungary, was a politician of pronounced Old Conservative views, and the foremost champion of the Catholic view on the vexed question of mixed marriages; and the fact that it was left to a man of these opinions to espouse the cause of the Slav Protestants, speaks volumes for the latter's desperate plight. In a leading article in the *Nemzeti Ujság*, of which he had recently become the editor, Count Mailáth protested against the Magyarizing mania and invited the Slavs to air their grievances in his journal. His appeal produced two results. On the one hand he was attacked with great violence by the Magyarizing party with Kossuth at its head; on the other hand he received a large number of letters and addresses from Slovak Protestant clergymen, thanking him for his courage and impartiality, and some even begging him to defend their cause in the Diet.¹²⁷

But Mailáth's influence was restricted to a small section of the population, and indeed to one which was steadily losing its hold upon public opinion, and although he did actually defend the Slavs in parliament, his appeals met with little or no response. But about the same time a greater than Mailáth entered the lists against the overzealous champions of Magyarism. This was no other than Count Stephen Széchenyi, who had already rendered incalculable services to the economic and moral revival of Hungary, and whose glowing patriotism was therefore far above all tinge of suspicion. Without in any way espousing the Slav cause, or

¹²⁵ See *Vierteljahrsschrift aus und für Ungarn*, i. 206; and *Pesti Hirlap* reports.

¹²⁶ See Helfert, op. cit. li, 168. The reader may be shocked that the right of petition was not respected in Hungary even so late as the forties. But this right is still less respected at the present day, as may be seen from the account of the "Memorandum Trial" on page 301.

¹²⁷ Mailáth, op. cit. iv. 256.

indeed uttering one word which was inconsistent with the strongest opposition to Panslavism, Széchenyi, in a famous address to the Hungarian Academy which he himself had brought into being, warned his countrymen against letting their patriotic ardour tempt them to overstep the law, described the Slav movement in Hungary as a reaction against Magyar vehemence, and argued that the only hope of victory for the Magyar element lay in moral superiority, in the development of a vigorous national culture and literature. "I hardly know," he said, "of a single Magyar who, however silvered his hair, however furrowed his brow by experience and knowledge of life, is not transformed into a madman and even more or less deaf to the laws of fairness and justice, whenever the question of our language and nationality is raised. At such a moment even the calmest is carried away, the most clear-sighted is stricken with blindness, and the most reasonable is ready to forget the eternal truth of the phrase, 'do to others as you would be done by.'" In short, Széchenyi merely made what we should call an appeal for fair play, to an audience whose rank and learning suggested impartiality and immunity from racial passion. Yet his words were received even at the moment with open disfavour, and were subjected to the severest criticism throughout the Magyar Press. Indeed, it is not too much to assert that the decline noticeable in Széchenyi's influence dates from this speech. The strict moderation of Széchenyi's view is clearly shown by the annoyance which he showed at receiving addresses of thanks from the Slav clergy and at being lauded by the Saxon and Illyrian Press. Indeed no one believed more ardently than he in the possibility of assimilating the non-Magyar races; he merely sought to attain this great end by fair means, not by foul, to kill all opposition by kindness, not to crush it ruthlessly under foot. None the less, his speech earned him a violent attack from Kossuth's organ, which accused him of allying himself with the enemies of his fatherland, of intruding politics into the calm academic atmosphere, of asserting a haughty infallibility, and of branding the whole nation with the mark of an unmerited shame.¹²⁸

One further consequence of Széchenyi's speech was the publication of a pamphlet on Magyar and Slav nationality

¹²⁸ *Pesti Hirlap*, 1843, Nos. 209, 210 (articles by Francis Pulszky, and No. 212 (leading article on "The Speech of 27th November").

A PROPHET OF EVIL

by the veteran Baron Nicholas Wesselényi, Kossuth's rival in governmental disfavour. His main object was to point out the dangers of the Slav movement from an European point of view. With him Russia had become a permanent obsession; in his own expressive phrase, the Turks have moved from Constantinople to St. Petersburg, and the days of the great wars will come again. The growth of the principle of nationality seemed to him to involve a reorganized federal Austria. But while he saw clearly the beam in his neighbour's eye, the mote which was in his own eye remained unsuspected; and though in fancy he split up "Austria felix" into racial units, he refused to treat Hungary in the same way. Just as the predominance of a single race in one half of the Dual Monarchy involves a similar predominance in the other, so racial equality in the one leads either to racial equality in the other or to a complete severance of partnership between the two states. Wesselényi's failure to realize this fact reveals the limitations of a truly noble and far-sighted statesman; but it is a lesson to which Magyar statesmen still deliberately shut their eyes, and the neglect of which has at length brought them to the brink of the precipice.

The Lutheran lycée in Pressburg, as the chief centre of budding Slovak culture, naturally formed the main point of attack for the Magyar Chauvinists. In this institution a chair of Slav language and literature had been founded in the year 1803, and was held by Professor George Palkovič, distinguished for his Czech Dictionary and for his revised translation of the Czech Bible for the use of his Slovak compatriots. In 1837, he adopted as his assistant teacher one of his own students, Ljudevit Štúr, a remarkable man who was destined to exercise a decisive influence on the future of his nationality. A year later Štúr went to Halle University and spent a couple of years there in the study of the classics and of Slav literature, receiving a double bursary as a recognition from the Lutheran presbytery of Pressburg. In 1841 he once more began to lecture as Palkovič's assistant, and rapidly acquired great influence over his Slovak pupils, of whom he already had seventy. The enthusiasm which his personality and learning inspired, had, even before his departure for Germany, induced a party in Pressburg to intrigue for the prohibition of his lectures, and on his return the Magyar attack was more and more concentrated upon Štúr's own

person, as being indispensable alike to the Slav society and professorship. The attempt of the General Assembly in 1841 to abolish all Slav societies at Lutheran schools and colleges was thwarted for the time by the resistance of the district synods; but the incident of the deputation decided the Magyar party in favour of fresh aggression, and in June, 1843, the commission appointed by the General Assembly met to inquire into the state of the Slav societies. Though Palkovič, Štúr and others were examined, nothing objectionable could be found in their conduct, and the inquiry ended in their acquittal. None the less, the District Inspector insisted upon the Rector of the lycée withdrawing his sanction from Štúr's lectures. Protests flowed in from the Slovak clergy and laity throughout "Slovensko," and a memorandum was signed by sixty-eight students, pointing out that Štúr's removal would inevitably cause the collapse of the Slav society in Pressburg. This was of course the whole object of the Inspector's action, and when the Presbytery met on December 31, two of its German members bravely exposed these hidden motives. Palkovič, who, after close upon forty years of office, was now too old and feeble for his work, was skilfully offered the alternative of lecturing himself, in which case Štúr was not needed, or of resigning, in which case the Presbytery would appoint his successor. The superintendents Szeberinyi and Jozefi claimed that nothing should be done till the next district synod met, and as Palkovič had originally been appointed by Synod and superintendents, this claim seemed unanswerable. None the less, when the presbytery met in January, the appointment of Palkovič's assistant was definitely assigned to the Inspector and professorate, and on February 25 Štúr was finally deprived of his post. The result of this unjust decision was that the great bulk of Slovak students left Pressburg, and that as Palkovič was unable to lecture, the chair of Slav died an unnatural and unmerited death.¹²⁹ To commemorate this exodus from Pressburg, John Matuška, one of the voluntary exiles, composed the famous song "O'er Tátra's crags the lightnings gleam," which, like the national hymn, "Hej Slováci," is now treated as a proof of Panslavism and disloyalty.

¹²⁹ I have dwelt in detail upon this incident (in the initial stages of which Kossuth and Pulszky played an important part), because it seems to me to show to what depths of petty tyranny and meanness racial fanaticism can reduce even the loud-tongued apostles of liberty and democracy.

Štúr was far too energetic a nature to be discouraged even by such unjust treatment. He devoted himself to pleading the Slovak cause abroad, especially in Germany, and published not only a number of articles in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, at that time the most widely circulated paper of Central Europe, but also wrote two able pamphlets entitled "Complaints and Grievances of the Slavs in Hungary" (1844), and "The Nineteenth Century and Magyarism" (1845). In 1845 he obtained the long-delayed permission to publish a Slovak newspaper, the first of any importance in that language. While Palkovič was prosecuted by the county authorities for presuming to call his journal the *Slav National Gazette* (*Slowenské Národné Nowiny*), and was forced to omit the word "Slav" from the title, Štúr would probably never have been permitted to publish his *Národné Noviny*, but for the personal intervention of Baron Kulmer. In this journal, for the first time, the Slovaks possessed a real exponent of their national feeling; while its literary supplement, the *Tátra Eagle* (*Tatranský Orol*), edited by Miloslav Hurban, devoted itself to their songs, folklore, and traditions. Through the medium of his paper Štúr advocated the formation of societies and unions, for the abolition of the feudal Robot—a cause which he always had specially at heart—for the redemption of waste land, and for the spread of temperance. But Štúr and Hurban had to fight against overwhelming odds. The entire machine of county government was in the hands of their opponents, and previous to 1848, when the Diet was still composed of county delegates, and when the judicature still rested on an elective basis, control of county government meant control of Hungary in a sense far more complete even than in the present year of grace. Nobility and Press were alike hostile: the Magyar educated classes were at least as chauvinistic as they are to-day; and the Slovaks, indeed all the Slav and Latin races of Hungary, owing to their less favoured geographical and economic position, had an extremely small middle class, and hence only very limited powers of resistance to the clan of the extremists.

Štúr's literary activity forms a turning point in the history of his race. Realizing the imperfections of the Bernolák dialect, and convinced of the impossibility of maintaining Czech as the language of Slovak culture, Štúr with his two friends Hurban and Hodža, both of them Lutheran pastors,

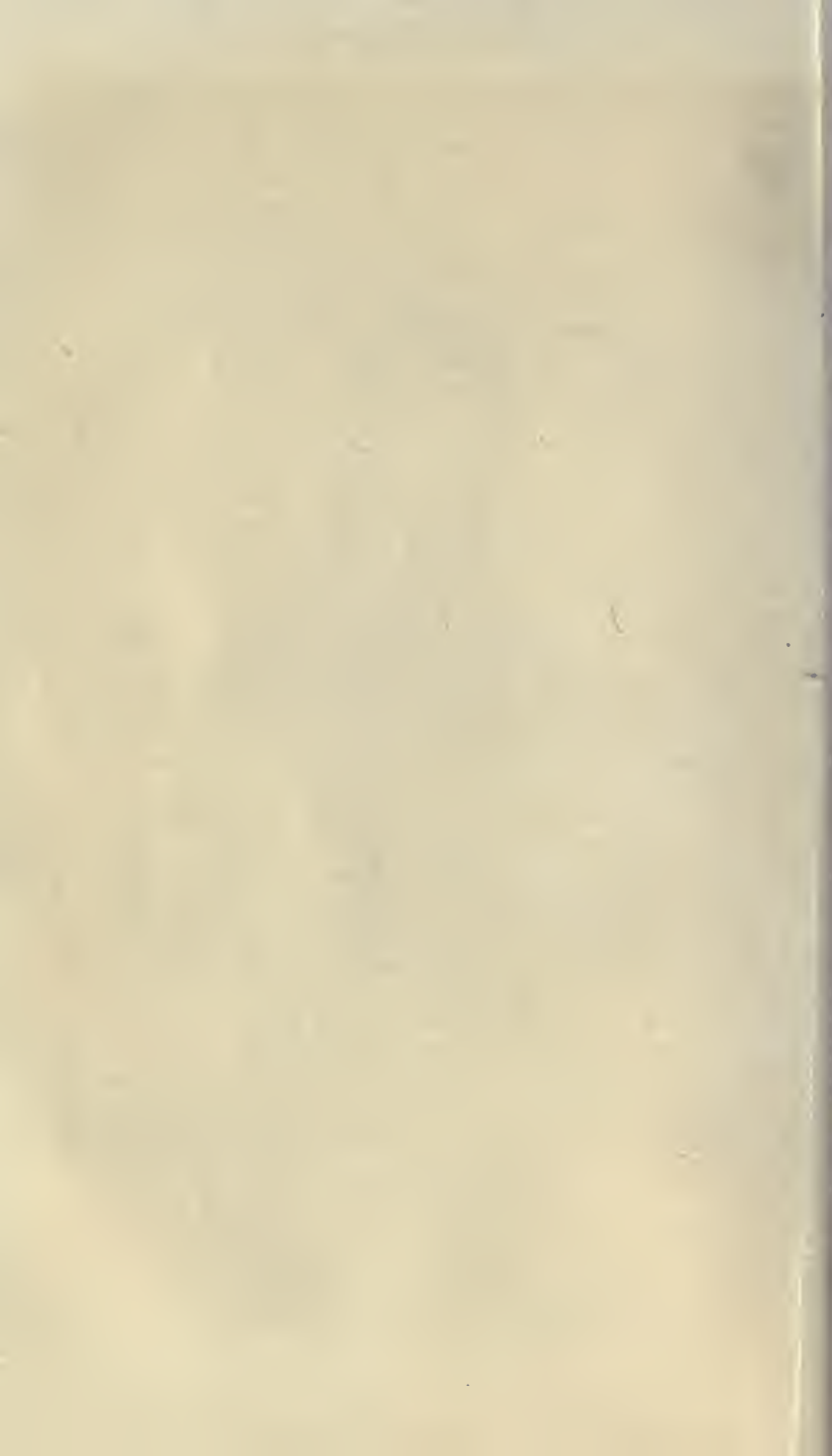
definitely adopted as the language of all their writings the central Slovak dialect, as spoken in the counties of Liptó and Turócz. In 1846 Štúr published in Pressburg a new Slovak grammar, and followed this up in the same year by a treatise on "Slovak Orthography and the need of writing in it."¹³⁰ The new school met with the strongest disapproval from the Czechs, who published in Prague a reply in defence of linguistic unity between the two sister races. While Šafařík regarded Štúr's action as unnatural, because too sudden and only based on theoretical and speculative principles, Kollár with his usual vehemence not only denounced the absurdity of the movement, but strove to depreciate the central and undoubtedly purest Slovak dialect at the expense of the Eastern dialects which contain a large admixture of Polish and Ruthene. Thus for a short period no less than three linguistic schools prevailed among the Slovaks—the Bernolačina, used by most of the Catholic clergy; the Czech, used by Kollár and his adherents; the middle Slovak, used by Štúr, Hodža and Hurban. In 1847 the rival schools met at the assembly of the literary society "Tatrin," recently founded by the three friends for the support of Slovak writers and for the publication of literature for the people; and it was agreed to submit their conflicting views to the arbitration of Martin Hattala, a professor in Prague. The troubles of the Revolution postponed the decision, but in 1850 Hattala published his results in his *Grammatica linguae slovenicae*, which was accepted by both sides a year later at a linguistic conference at Pressburg. Henceforth the Slovak language has developed steadily, despite its extremely unfavourable political situation, and has produced more than one poet of no mean order. Its literature cannot of course compare with that of the Magyars, who have during the past century produced at least three poets of the very first rank, besides numerous other writers of great charm and merit. But there is no language in Europe of which its sons have so genuine a right to be proud; for it is the product of a struggle against the most desperate odds, and its survival proves its virility and innate merits. It proves also that it supplied a natural want, by providing the soul of the people with a means of literary expression;

¹³⁰ *Nauka reči slovenskej* and *Nárečja slovenskuo alebo potreba písanija v tomto nárečji vistavená*. The latter was really an answer to a book published in Prague, entitled *Views as to the Necessity of unity of the written language of Czechs Moravians and Slovaks*.



LUDEVIT ŠTŮR.

80



for otherwise it must inevitably have perished. At first sight it seems the greatest pity that a new history language should have thus been somewhat artificially created. But Štúr's action was based on a true instinct. In the case of the Slovaks a distinctive language of their own was wellnigh their sole weapon of defence against national extinction; and if racial passions had not blinded the Magyars to all reason, they would have realized that Štúr, by his deliberate erection of a new linguistic barrier, was supplying a most striking and convincing disproof of his alleged "Panslav" leanings. It is a peculiar irony of fate that a countryman of Kollár should have been the first to turn his back upon the ideals of that apostle of literary Panslavism. "A poor thing, but mine own," is after all the one unanswerable reply of weak and insignificant nationalities to the would-be assimilator.

The ruthless manner in which the Magyars, so to speak, passed to the order of the day over the helpless bodies of their Slovak fellow-countrymen, is nowhere more apparent than in the utterances of the Magyar Press of the forties. At a time when Press freedom in Hungary had hardly thrown off its swaddling clothes, its champions were eager to refuse its benefits to their weaker brethren. A most startling proof of this is afforded by the report of the Committee appointed by the Diet to inquire into the matter of liberty of the Press. "Lastly," it remarks, "the Committee has not neglected the matter of nationality, and has regarded as its chief point of departure the interests of the Magyar language, to work for the spread of which is the most sacred duty of every citizen. Convinced that with the extension of Press freedom interest in the study of, and desire for the knowledge of, the Magyar language will be greatly increased, and bearing in mind the relations between our country and the hereditary lands (i.e. Cisleithania), the Committee wishes to see the aforementioned favours vindicated *only for Magyar writings*."¹³¹ Comment upon such language is surely superfluous, and that it is no mere isolated example can be abundantly proved by extracts from the leading newspapers of the period, especially from Kossuth's own organ, the *Pesti Hirlap*.

After a few preliminary assurances of racial tolerance, this journal devoted all its brilliant talents and rapidly increasing prestige to the cause of Magyarization, and contri-

¹³¹ Jordan's *Jahrbücher für slawische Literatur*, 1843, p. 168.

buted very materially to the growth of ill-feeling between Magyars and Croats. Even within the first year of issue, an article appeared under the heading "The Serbs, our enemies,"¹³² and soon afterwards the Serbs were described as mere retainers dependent upon the Magyar alms.¹³³ In No. 91. of the *Pesti Hirlap* a Slovak professor in Schemnitz is reproached for holding Slav classes twice a week for forty of his pupils, and in No. 41 the introduction of Magyar sermons in the pure German community of Dobschau is held up to the reader's admiration. Special prominence is given to instances of Magyarization in church or school, and the assumption of Magyar surnames by Slav, German, or Jewish renegades is a permanent rubric on the front page.

In a famous article entitled "A Retrospect on the Slav Movement,"¹³⁴ the *Pesti Hirlap* indulges in vague allusions to Russia, civilization, and a duty to posterity, and after declaring that the future of the country belongs to the Magyar nationality, declares the Slav movement to be "an unnatural attempt," and rings the death-knell of the Hungarian Slavs. "Nationality is the holiest gift of Heaven, for which one cannot struggle enough, for which we gladly sacrifice the greatest gifts on earth. . . . Nationality is a historic fact, of which language is only one factor, for that a people may possess nationality it must also possess a common constitution, common sentiments, interests and needs of progress, common memories of a great past lived together. In a word: nationality presupposes a certain amount of culture, a certain degree of self-consciousness rousing it into action, and at the same time ability to acquire under given circumstances an independent position towards every other nation." It was a cunning trick on the part of the author to make independence a test of nationality, for it gave him an excuse for denying the very existence of a Slav nationality in Hungary. "All those qualities which rank as the attributes of nationality, are possessed in our fatherland by the Magyar race alone, as combining property, intellect, and power—yes, and power, for whatever fine phrases we may use, power is in the last resort the most important historic factor of nationality."¹³⁵

¹³² *Pesti Hirlap*, No. 50.

¹³³ *Pesti Hirlap*, No. 54.

¹³⁴ No. 155 (1842), signed A. B.

¹³⁵ The modern Magyar is of the same opinion, and to any foreigner who shows some knowledge of the question, will admit that it is above all a "Machtfrage" (see p. 395).

THE TEST OF PATRIOTISM

Some weeks later ¹³⁶ the same writer spoke still more openly. "Who can doubt," he said, "that the Magyar is within his rights if he extends the blessings of the national constitution to the inhabitants of non-Magyar tongue, *solely on the condition that . . . they become Magyars in language, feeling, and political aims?*" "If," exclaims another writer, "we pursue the Magyarization of the Slavs of Hungary, we merely fulfil the duty which is proclaimed by every son of the fatherland, by the fatherland itself, by the nation, by constitutional freedom and civilization."¹³⁷ A writer in *Társalkodó*¹³⁸ goes even further, and declares that "those deserve the name of scoundrel, who write in the German or Slav languages against Magyarization."

An article of Louis Kossuth in the autumn of 1843,¹³⁹ which attracted much attention in its day, claims as a minimum, "that all branches of the public administration without exception be conducted in the Magyar language, as also that the language of official intercourse with the Government be . . . Magyar." The new law should declare that "the Hungarian legislature not only does not intend to rob the other races of the country of their language, but rather recognizes how unjust it would be to meddle with private matters of language by means of legal compulsion." Kossuth then proceeds to interpret this pretty phrase, as follows: "It seems to us that *the language of public instruction cannot be different from the diplomatic language. . . .* With regard to the village schools, we hold that, since it is the duty of the State to take care that every one has the opportunity of learning the language of public administration, it is necessary that in every village school the Magyar language should be carefully taught."¹⁴⁰ In the same way the *Jelenkor*, in a leading article of August 13, 1842, while disclaiming all idea of legal compulsion, argues in the very same sentence in favour of a law by which parents must "send their children to schools where the Magyar language is the chief subject of instruc-

¹³⁶ *Pesti Hirlap*, No. 162, cp. page 81.

¹³⁷ *Pesti Hirlap*, No. 164, cit. *Apologie des Ung. Sl.*, p. 41.

¹³⁸ 1841, No. 30.

¹³⁹ *Pesti Hirlap*, No. 183. See German translation in Henszlmann's *Vierteljahrsschrift*. Bd. 1, p. 172.

¹⁴⁰ Here we see in embryo the words of Law XVIII of 1879, which, on the ground that it is *desirable* that all should have the *opportunity* of learning Magyar, makes its instruction *compulsory*.

tion.”¹⁴¹ By such means and by the erection of infant homes at the expense of each community, “it should be possible to help radically this evil.”¹⁴²

A renegade Slav whom Kossuth's organ puts forward as a spokesman in favour of “unity of nationality,” writes as follows¹⁴³: “What then, ask the opponents of the Magyar language and nationality, does Magyarism aim at, with its restless struggles and energetic expansion? The answer is very simple. It seeks guarantees for its future existence. Magyarism, as an independent national element, is not something which is still in the birth throes, like Illyrism—it already exists, and the first natural law of that which exists is to seek to maintain its existence.” What is meant by “maintaining its existence” may best be gathered from a highly characteristic article of the same period.¹⁴⁴ “While every student of history is forced to admit that Hungary can only be strong and secure and develop all her material and spiritual strength when all the dividing elements in the people's life are linked together by the mutual bond of language, and that this language can only be the Magyar as the real language of the nation, on the other hand it is only possible to regret the embittered feelings into which the nation has been plunged by a few ultras. *The law, and with it every moderate and sober Magyar, wishes nothing else than that every one who if asked after his fatherland can only call himself a Magyar, should understand the Magyar language,*¹⁴⁵ but it is impossible to interpret the law to mean that the Slav or German should therefore forget his mother-tongue. *The aim of every Magyar, and his warmest wish is that in his country only a single language, namely the Magyar, should be usual;* but this can only be the work of time. But that this wish is no mere castle in the air, is taught us not only by history, but by many examples in our country. In the counties of Bács and Somogy there exist many villages which were originally inhabited by Slavs and Germans, but which have been completely Magyarized, so that only foreign accents betray their origin.” Language is here treated as the sole basis of nationality. The many

¹⁴¹ A fő tanulmány.

¹⁴² Lehetne e' bajon gyökeresen segíteni.

¹⁴³ Pesti Hírlap, No. 177.

¹⁴⁴ Századunk, 1841, No. 84, article entitled “Tót nem ember.”

¹⁴⁵ . . . hogy mindeki ki ha hazája után kerdezik csak magyarnak nevezheti magát, a magyar nyelvet ertse.

other factors which contribute to the life and durability of a state are wilfully ignored, the experience of many other countries is rejected, and the illogical view is upheld that every inhabitant of “ Magyarország ” must speak Magyar, just as every inhabitant of England or Italy speaks English or Italian. Here then we have the goal towards which every “ patriotic ” Magyar must strive—Hungary as a national state from which all racial distinctions have been carefully eliminated. It is quite possible to argue that the attainment of this end would be in the higher interests of the country ; but it is obvious that no self-respecting non-Magyar could ever admit this view of the case, and to brand him as a traitor for his opposition, is repugnant to all ideas of fair play or common sense.¹⁴⁶

We cannot better conclude this chapter than by referring to a famous controversy of the year 1842,¹⁴⁷ between two prominent champions of the Magyar and the Slav cause—Francis Pulszky, the able lieutenant of Louis Kossuth, and Count Leo Thun, a Czech nobleman who was destined to play a conspicuous part in Austria during the years that followed the suppression of the Revolution. The correspondence was opened by Thun, who sent to Pulszky a recent essay upon the Czech literary revival, and invited his criticism upon it. Pulszky in his reply institutes a comparison between the political and literary situation in Bohemia and in Hungary, and then proceeds to discuss the condition of the North Hungarian Slavs, who

¹⁴⁶ Lest any critic should attempt to argue that the extracts given in this chapter are not typical of Magyar public opinion, I have quoted from virtually all the Magyar political newspapers which existed in the “ forties.” In 1847 there were 184 newspapers in the Habsburg dominions (including Lombardy-Venetia), of which 45 were political. Of these latter, only 6 were Magyar, as compared to 9 German, 14 Italian, 1 Polish, 1 Czech, 1 Slovak, 1 Serb, 1 Croat, 1 Roumanian. *The Pesti Hirlap* of November 6, 1842 (No. 193), quotes statistics of the Magyar Press in Budapest: *Nemzeti Ujság* (Count Mailáth) 450 copies; *Világ* (Desewffy, Old Conservative), 1,244; *Jelenkor*, 894; *Athenæum*, 438; *Pesti Hirlap*, 3,670; the Protestant educational paper, 505; *Religion and Education*, 758; *Magyar Gazda* (The Magyar Farmer), 749; *Regelö* (Story teller), 647; *Orvosi Tár* (a doctor's paper), 196: total, 9,551. The *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Augsburg was at that time one of the most widely read newspapers in Hungary, and indeed throughout all Central Europe.

¹⁴⁷ *Die Stellung der Slovaken in Ungarn, beleuchtet von Leo Grafen von Thun*, Prag, 1843; and Henszlmann's *Vierteljahrsschrift aus und für Ungarn*. Both contain the whole correspondence.

were welcomed as refugees from religious tyranny, and should not now turn ungratefully against the Magyars. That the linguistic struggles of the Slovaks, he said, can lead to nothing, is proved by the fact that in the county of Sáros Slovak resembles Polish far more closely than Czech, that the peasants are utterly backward, the nobles Magyar, and the bourgeoisie, even when Slav by birth, eager to be regarded as German, while the Catholic clergy are devoting themselves to the spread of the Magyar language. "The Czech language," adds Pulszky, "has no future in Hungary, and much as I value the talent of a Kollár, I still think that if in a Hungarian Slav the feeling of his Czech origin awakes and develops into hostility towards the Magyar language, then there is nothing left for him but to emigrate with Palacky and Šafařík to a place where his aspirations are recognized and his intellectual activity finds a wider and more fruitful field than in Hungary." Here we have once more the old refrain, "aut disce aut discede," though in a more polished and seductive form. To these remarks Thun replies by pointing out the inconsistency with which Pulszky seems to recognize in the case of the Czechs and of the Southern Slavs those rights of nationality and language which he denies to the Slovaks. As he justly observes, the question whether the Slovaks are descended from Hussite immigrants instead of being the original possessors of the soil, is quite immaterial. The real issue is whether the Magyars "will allow the Slavs of Hungary to feel as Slavs in their moral and cultural development," just in the same way as the Magyars themselves. That the Slovaks are in a backward condition, is no argument, for so too were, till recently, the Czechs, (and, he might have added, the Magyars.) The only plausible argument against the Hungarian Slavs is that they play into the hands of the Russian Government, and so endanger the State; but this is an entirely false view. Hungary's need of a common language cannot be contested by any sensible man, and this language should certainly be the Magyar. But it does not by any means follow from this that Magyar is to stand alone and to be the exclusive language of local and county affairs. If only the Magyars would concede to the Slavs the control of their own schools, and the right to conduct the affairs of Slav communes and corporations in their own tongue, the whole quarrel would soon be at an end.

When Pulszky next enters the lists, he has already donned the full armour of the Pan-Magyar, and speaks with no uncertain

“THE DOMINANT MAGYAR RACE”

tone. He is proud to be a patriot, not a cosmopolitan, and will never subordinate the good of his country to vague considerations of philanthropy. The bond which has hitherto held Hungary together is *the dominant Magyar race*, and it is hardly likely that its enemies will be admitted to the enjoyment of political rights, since mere humanitarian phrases can hardly blind the Magyars to their isolated position in Europe. “We ask of the Slavs,” he continues, “no more than the English ask of the Celts of Wales or the Scottish Highlands (*sic*),¹⁴⁸ nor than the French ask of Brittany or Alsace. We wish that all public documents in Hungary should be in Magyar, that the language of instruction should be Magyar—in a word, that the Magyar language should in every respect supersede the Latin, while the Slav language may content itself with those rights which it formerly possessed; but *into the household circle the Magyar language will never forcibly intrude*. But that this too will gradually be Magyarized as general culture spreads, is natural enough; for since public life, whose organ the Magyar language is, extends its influence in every direction, it will without any compulsion introduce that language into every family which does not move entirely outside its sphere. The most zealous Slav turns Magyar when he becomes advocate [Louis Kossuth the advocate and Francis Pulszky were both Slovaks by birth]; if he is noble, he could not in any case remain Slav, and this explains the strange state of affairs under which the Protestant clergy and professors are the only persons to defend the Slovak language in North Hungary,¹⁴⁹ since they

¹⁴⁸ This shows how grossly ignorant Pulszky was of Great Britain, and of the English in particular. In the same way the Magyars of to-day are apt to confuse “England” with the United Kingdom, and to imagine the Scottish, Welsh and Irish peoples to be “subject races” like the non-Magyar races of Hungary.

A very slight study of British history might, however, supply the Magyars with a very salutary lesson; for the dire results of a policy such as they have so long pursued are written large upon almost every page—in the tyranny of Edward I, which made of Scotsmen and Englishmen hereditary foes, and in the gloomy annals of Ireland, where the reconciled enemies conspired to treat a subject nation as the “mere Irish.” Such a study would also teach them to avoid the odious expression “*idegen ajkuak*” (foreign inhabitants) as applied to the non-Magyar races. Imagine any native of these islands calling Welsh or Gaelic a foreign tongue!

¹⁴⁹ Pulszky, as a Protestant, had a natural prejudice against the Catholic clergy. Nothing else can explain his manifest injustice to the sterling services rendered by them to the Slovak cause.

have hitherto been excluded in most countries from the right to vote which the Catholic clergy possess." Pulszky adds that he has tried to discover any specific fact which substantiates the Slovak grievances; he is calmly oblivious of the overwhelming proof of the cruel situation of the Slovaks, which is supplied by his whole letter, and especially by the passage which we have just quoted. Indeed the very fact that he regarded exclusion from political rights as the true motive of their leaders, helps to demolish his own assertion that they had no cause for complaint.

There is no need to recount the various arguments of Count Thun's final reply, though it is interesting to note that he disposes of the ridiculous analogy with Wales and Scotland, by holding up as an example to the Magyars the attitude of English bishops and schoolmasters towards the Welsh language. Very crushing is his rejoinder to the Magyar journalists, who reproach the Slovaks because they have no newspapers in their own language; the simple reason was that at that period permission had been persistently refused for the foundation of a Slovak journal. But his plaidoyer reaches its highest level when he comes to deal with Pulszky's kindly assurance that no force will ever be used to introduce the Magyar language into the family circle. "Does that mean," he exclaims, "that you actually do not forbid the Slovaks to use their language in the interior of their houses, where no one can overhear them? Or do you wish to take credit for the fact that no Slovak is flogged or stoned for speaking Slovak on the open street? Neither the one nor the other is within your power. But if you appoint teachers in the schools who cannot or will not speak the language of the children, and thus for the sake of your language transform the schools into places where the soul is crippled instead of being awakened into life; if you order sermons to be preached in the churches in a language which the congregation does not understand, and thus disturb the service of God instead of protecting it; if instead of furthering all higher culture in the Slav mother tongue, you do all in your power to hinder it—then you are guilty of a more cruel compulsion towards your Slav fellow-countrymen than can be inflicted even with the knout." Here we have an allusion to a phrase of Count Zay, who told the Slovaks that they had to choose between Magyarism and the Russian knout. As a contemporary sarcastically remarked, it is highly suggestive that despite the dreadful knout to which Magyar publicists

THE RUSSIAN KNOT

so often refer, the Magyars themselves seem to believe that a Russian régime might be found preferable to their own mild and benevolent rule.¹⁵⁰ "Rather the Russian knout,"¹⁵¹ was the fiery answer to Count Zay's alternative, "rather the Russian knout than Magyar domination, for the one could only enslave our bodies, while the other threatens us with moral ruin and death."

¹⁵⁰ *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Beilagen, No. 256 (1841). Meanwhile Miloslav Hurban was writing in an extreme Croatian nationalist journal, and arguing that "the Slovaks are the greatest support of the Hungarian kingdom." (See *Das nationale und literarische Leben der Slowaken in Ungarn*, an article translated from the *Illyrian Kolo*, in Jordan's *Jahrbücher für slawische Literatur*, 1844, pp. 15-19). This may be highly exaggerated, but at any rate it is scarcely suggestive of "Panslavism"!

¹⁵¹ Hodža, *Der Slovak*.

CHAPTER VI

The Revolution of 1848

Extra Hungariam non est vita ;
Aut si vita, non est ita.

Old Proverb.

THE revolution of 1848 is one of the great landmarks not merely of the nineteenth century, but of all history ; for never before had the solidarity of the European commonwealth revealed itself so clearly. The true import of modern industrial and scientific discoveries first became apparent, when with lightning rapidity a spark struck in Paris burst into flame in half a dozen foreign capitals. The world awoke once more, this time to the noblest of all struggles, and claimed that equality of race without which equality of the individual is a mere idle dream.

The long period of exhaustion and reaction which followed the Napoleonic Wars, was the inevitable precursor of a fresh upheaval ; and had events delayed the fall of Louis Philippe, Paris might have been robbed of her revolutionary pre-eminence, but the storm would not have been averted. In Hungary the movement in favour of constitutional reform was specially strong, and was fanned by the influence of a man who, whatever may have been his shortcomings, possessed in a signal degree the qualities of a successful demagogue and agitator. To great eloquence and readiness of phrase Louis Kossuth added a fervid patriotism, a reckless impetuosity and a talent for journalistic exaggeration, such as fired the impressionable Magyars into a perfect frenzy of enthusiasm. Though, as we have already seen, his conception of liberty was by no means so ideal as is generally supposed, he undoubtedly represented democracy and reform in the Hungary of his day, and to him are mainly due the two great reforms of parliamentary government and the abolition of Serfdom. The national concessions won at the Diets of 1840 and 1844, while alarming the central government, had merely served to whet the Magyar appetite ; and the reactionary and barely constitutional system established by

the Hungarian Chancellor, Count George Apponyi, so far from checking the movement, only made its leaders more clamorous. The immense influence of Kossuth's brilliant journal, the *Pesti Hírlap*, was consistently employed to push extreme national claims; while the more sober and statesmanlike Deák supplied the reformers with a programme, whose liberal tone assured its popularity from the outset and whose insistence upon legal and constitutional tradition made it impossible for the government to treat it as revolutionary.

By the autumn of 1847 the position of Apponyi and his old Conservative followers had become well-nigh untenable, and the summons of Parliament could no longer be postponed. From the moment when the new Diet met (November 10, 1847), Kossuth dominated the assembly, and the waning influence of Széchenyi grew daily more apparent. The royal proposals, which contained many concessions of genuine importance, and which three years before would have been received with acclamation, were now regarded as wholly inadequate; and the rival parties, closely matched in numbers, plunged from the very first into a heated contest. Long before the news from Paris reached Hungary, the excitement had reached fever pitch, and more than one measure of primary importance had been passed. The fall of the July Monarchy, and still more the consternation which that event produced in Vienna, encouraged the Magyars to hasten their pace. The great speech of Kossuth, in which he proposed the Address to the Monarch, demanded a responsible ministry for Hungary and a constitution for Austria, and declared that the future of the dynasty depended upon the cordial union of the various races of the Monarchy, marks an important stage in the evolution of the Dual State. In the words of a recent historian,¹⁵² it expresses under legal forms ideas which are essentially revolutionary; and nothing so well illustrates the peculiar genius of the Magyars for imparting a legal aspect to an entirely new situation or for claiming a new departure as an ancient tradition. The effect of the speech was tremendous, and henceforth Kossuth was irresistible in Parliament. The events of March, 1848, in Hungary are unique in modern history; for never surely were so many radical reforms adopted in such feverish haste and almost without discussion. In one short month Hungary was transformed in theory from

¹⁵² Eisenmann, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

a mediaeval to a modern state, from a land of aristocratic privilege and semi-feudal traditions, to a parliamentary monarchy which recognized the equality of all citizens before the law. The Hungarian Chancellory and the Palatinal Council were abolished and replaced by an independent and responsible Hungarian Cabinet, with exclusive control of the executive. Parliament was to hold annual sessions, and to be renewed every three years; while a new electoral law swept away the old system of delegates from county and town, and substituted the direct election of deputies. The old exclusive noble franchise was annulled, and the nobles were deprived of their exemption from taxation. Serfdom and feudal dues were abolished, with compensation to the landlords out of State funds; and with these privileges fell the primitive institution of seignorial courts, and the first breach was made in the law of entail. The franchise of the town and county assemblies was extended, a law regulating freedom of the Press was passed, religious equality was solemnly proclaimed, a national University and Credit Bank were founded, and a national guard was organized. Finally a law was carried, proclaiming the union of Transylvania with Hungary.

The laws of 1848 form the foundation of modern Hungary, and in the main they are inspired by a truly liberal spirit. But though legally sanctioned by the Monarch, they contained the seeds of future evil. The ambiguity with which the vital question of Common Affairs is treated, left free play for the most dangerous interpretations, and thoroughly alarmed the advisers of Ferdinand, the shadow-Emperor. Unhappily this ambiguity was destined to find its way from the laws of 1848 into the *Ausgleich* of 1867, and to provoke in the early years of the twentieth century a grave constitutional crisis, of which none can as yet foresee the end. The first outbreak of revolution in Vienna had placed the control of affairs in the hands of men friendly to the movement in Hungary. But the dynasty soon fell once more a prey to reactionary influences, and there is little doubt that even if Kossuth and his party had shared the military views of Radetzky himself in questions affecting the army, the *Camarilla* would still have vowed vengeance to the new régime in Hungary. Meanwhile another fatal omission in the laws of 1848 secured to the Absolutist party a most welcome ally. This was no other than the Croats, who, already seriously alarmed and

offended by the linguistic provisions of 1844, saw in more than one of the newly-voted laws a confirmation of their worst fears. Throughout the winter strained relations had existed between the party of reform and the Croatian delegates to the Diet, who had at a critical moment turned the scale in favour of the unpopular government of Apponyi. The whole trend of the new legislation was towards centralism, unification, even assimilation, and this fact could not be concealed even by the genuinely humanitarian nature of many of its provisions. Croatia and her special interests were pressed into the background, and the attitude of the majority seemed to threaten her with a fate similar to that of Transylvania. The Croats were from the first alive to their danger, and favoured by their geographical position and by the rise of an able national leader in Baron Jellačić, they soon proved as impatient of half measures as the Magyars themselves. Jellačić set Budapest at open defiance, negotiated behind the back of the Batthyány Cabinet with the fugitive court at Innsbruck, and in his double capacity as Ban of Croatia and commander of the military frontiers organized the resistance of the southern Slavs to Hungary. The Court was not slow to use its opportunity, and in many cases Austrian officers were sent out with the object of imparting discipline to the insurgent peasantry. By the late summer of 1848 the Magyars were virtually ringed round by hostile nationalities in arms, and their only willing support came from a handful of Polish émigrés and from the Germans of Temesvár and its immediate neighbourhood. Such was the result of limiting themselves to a strictly national programme, instead of rallying the whole nation round them by the grant of racial equality.

The desperate and prolonged struggle of the Magyar against overwhelming odds contains elements of heroism which readily appeal to the casual observer. Closer inspection shows us that the reverse of this brightly polished medal is dull and tarnished. The Hungarian Revolution was a contest on two fronts—against Vienna on the one side, against the non-Magyar races on the other. To the former Kossuth offered armed resistance, in the hope of asserting the very claims which he denied to the latter on the ground of historic rights. It was no idle phrase of Széchenyi when he accused Kossuth of “goading into madness against the Magyar nation” all other races of the Crown of St. Stephen.

The Croats, as we have seen, were ready and eager, months before the Court at Innsbruck gave its sanction, for the signal to march against Budapest. The Serbs of the Banat¹⁵³ who still looked back regretfully on their autonomous position, were specially susceptible to ideas of nationality, and the marked hostility displayed towards them by Kossuth and his organ, the *Pesti Hirlap*, certainly did not allay the feeling. In May, 1848, the Serb National Congress met at Karlowitz, and placed itself in such direct opposition to Batthyány's government that an open rupture became inevitable. Early in June the first blows were struck between the Serbs and Magyars, and the contest was conducted with ever-growing bitterness and cruelty. Meanwhile the union of Transylvania with Hungary, hurried through a packed Diet under illegal forms and under the terrorism of a howling mob, goaded the Roumanians into open revolt. Though forming two-thirds of the population of Transylvania, they lacked every vestige of political rights, all power being concentrated in the hands of the three privileged nations, the Magyars, Saxons and Szekels; and the petition drawn up at the national assembly of Roumanians in Blaj (Balázsfalva) in May, 1848, had been entirely ignored by the Diet. No longer content to be regarded as mere beasts of burden,¹⁵⁴ they boldly claimed recognition as the fourth nation of the country, and when

¹⁵³ The rich Hungarian plain situated between the Danube and the Theiss (Tisza), from Temesvár to Belgrad.

¹⁵⁴ Such was literally the attitude of most Magyars towards the Roumanians. In a leader of the *Kossuth Hirlapja* of October 22, 1848, there occurs the following sentence, "Outside the pariahs there is hardly a more wretched people on earth than the Transylvanian Wallachs. You can yoke them like oxen, from whom they only differ in that they can speak." A highly characteristic incident is quoted by Dr. Friedjung (*Oesterreich von 1848 bis 1860*, i. p. 231) from Count Kolowrat's *Memoirs*. The latter met Beöthy, the Commissioner of the Magyar Government, in charge of twenty carts filled with Serb prisoners. "What have these people done?" I asked him. "They are 'Rác' [the Magyar nickname for Serbs], he replied. 'But what is their offence?' I went on. 'Isn't it enough that they are Rác?' he said. 'But what are you going to do with them then?' I asked. 'I'll have them all hanged,' he answered. 'But think what you are doing; the poor devils have committed no crime!' I retorted. 'No crime? They are Rác, and that is enough to be ripe for the gallows. We must wipe out the whole race!'" But for Kolowrat's personal intervention with the general in command, the bloodthirsty braggart might have carried out his threat.

THE SLOVAK AWAKENING

the union showed them that they had nothing to expect through legal means, they resorted to violence and flung themselves into the arms of the Imperialists, whose commanders were more than once seriously compromised by the terrible cruelties of these free-lance adherents. The excesses perpetrated by the Serbs and Roumanians against the Magyar nobles and bourgeoisie, though doubtless the result of centuries of repression, destroy our sympathy for a cause whose innate justice is beyond dispute ; and the equally violent reprisals of the incensed Magyars complete the sombre colouring of the picture. Even the Saxons joined in the general resistance to the Pan-Magyar claims. To this course they were driven not merely by their proverbial loyalty to the dynasty, but by the natural aversion with which they regarded the union with Hungary, where their scanty numbers were in danger of being swamped in the rising flood of Magyar Chauvinism. Two heroic Lutheran pastors, Stephan Ludwig Roth and Karl Obert, sealed with their blood their fidelity to the House of Habsburg and the ancient privileges of the Saxon nation.

During this national awakening, the Slovaks also began to raise their heads. The three leaders of their literary revival, Štúr, Hurban and Hodža, now appear as the champions of a political cause. Štúr, who as representative of the town of Neusohl had distinguished himself at the Diet, had found his position untenable, owing to the increasing fanaticism. In the early days of the Viennese revolution, he and Hurban conferred with the numerous Slavs gathered in the Austrian capital ; and when Jellačić was illegally acclaimed Ban of Croatia by popular vote and then confirmed in office by the Emperor, the latter attended his installation at Agram, in company with representatives of the Czechs, Serbs and Slovenes. As spokesman of the Slovaks, he even went so far as to declare in a firebrand oration, that the lot of the Christians of Turkey was far more bearable than the condition of the Slovaks in Hungary.¹⁵⁵ Meanwhile open meetings were held during the early spring in more than one place in Northern Hungary. (When the March laws were published in Liptó St. Miklós, a petition was read before the County Assembly (March 28), in which the rights of the Slovak language were vindicated not only for elementary schools and courts of first instance, but also for all petitions and official proclama-

¹⁵⁵ Čapek, *The Slovaks*, p. 78.

tions, and also for the county assemblies.¹⁵⁶ After a somewhat stormy scene, the assembly very naturally declared that it was not competent to introduce such radical changes, and that the matter must be referred to Parliament. Six weeks later, however, a much more significant event took place. On May 10 a national Slovak meeting was held at Liptó St. Miklós, under the leadership of Miloslav Hurban, the fiery Lutheran pastor, who favoured instant action, and, like Montrose, was ready to "put it to the touch, to gain or lose it all." This assembly drew up a highly characteristic petition to "the King, Parliament, the Palatine, the Hungarian Ministry and all friends of humanity and nationality."¹⁵⁷ After laying special stress upon the claims of the Slovak nation to be the original occupant of the soil, and upon "the chains of abuse and shame" in which the fatherland had hitherto held their language and nationality, the petition proceeds to summon all the nations of Hungary to equality and fraternity, under the banner of the new age, and protests that no one deserves the glorious name of a Hungarian patriot, who does not honour the national rights of every race which owns allegiance to the Crown of St. Stephen. The chief demands formulated in this remarkable petition were as follows:—

1. The summons of "a general parliament for the brother nations of Hungary," in which every deputy has the right to use his mother tongue.
2. Special provincial assemblies on a racial basis.
3. The right to use the mother tongue in all public deliberations, and in courts of law.
4. The introduction of the Slovak language into elementary and secondary schools, and into seminaries for clergy and teachers; and the foundation of a Slovak University.
5. The formation of a Slovak national guard, with Slovak language of command.
6. Universal Suffrage.
7. Press freedom, without a Press law.
8. Complete freedom of assembly and association.

The programme is curiously mixed. Side by side with demands like the last three—without which full liberty is impossible in a country of mixed races, but which have hitherto

¹⁵⁶ M. M. Hodža, *Der Slovak*, p. 61.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 72 sqq.

been withheld in Hungary—there are others which can only be described as visionary and extravagant, and which prove the framers of the petition to have acted under the hysteria of the moment, in clear defiance of practical considerations. The demand for a University, for instance, was manifestly absurd, since even if a sufficient number of students had been forthcoming, it would have been impossible, out of the very limited Slovak educated classes, to provide an adequate professorial staff. The demand for a Slovak national guard was bound to alienate not only the Magyars, but Vienna and the dynasty also. The right of every race in Hungary to use its mother tongue in the central parliament, would, if combined with universal suffrage, have created a Babel of voices from which no solid work could be expected. Above all, the formation of provincial assemblies on a racial basis was open to the gravest objections. It would have involved the partition of Hungary into at least six, and possibly nine, federal units, and would have destroyed not only the unjust political monopoly of the Magyars, but also that pre-eminence which their great political talents and superior culture could not fail to preserve to them even after they had surrendered their oligarchic privileges. Magyar opposition was therefore a foregone conclusion, and the action of the Slovak leaders proved once more the political truth of the French proverb : *qui trop embrasse, mal étreint*. But with all its folly their programme affords overwhelming disproof of their alleged "Panslav" leanings ; for its every phrase betrays an intense particularist feeling which is the direct antithesis of Panslavism. Pan-Austrian the Slovaks may have been ; Pan-Slav they certainly were not in any political sense. The Magyars, on the other hand, were fully entitled to protest against their extravagant claims, and even to take such steps as might prevent their realization. Unhappily they plunged headlong into a policy of repression which robs them of much of the sympathy which must otherwise have been their due.

(The petition was to have been submitted to a popular assembly on the following day ; but permission to hold it was withheld, and the petition itself was promptly confiscated. None the less, the example of Liptó was followed in several of the North Hungarian towns, and Slovak patriotism seemed to be at last awakening from its long slumbers. At first the Government was inclined to treat the movement with contempt, since it obviously could not compare in volume and

importance with that which was stirring the southern Slavs. But the Liptó assembly thoroughly alarmed the new Cabinet, and Batthyány¹⁵⁸ instructed the county authorities of the north, at the slightest renewal of these "Panslav movements or other disturbances," to set all the rigours of the law in motion; while Kossuth thundered in Parliament against the Slovak petition, and swore to throw into prison all who ventured to make further demands of this kind.¹⁵⁹ Nor was this a mere idle threat. Even before the Liptó meeting, Jan Král the poet, a brother of Hodža, and several other Slovak patriots had been arrested, and Hurban himself found it necessary to fly across the Moravian frontier. Hardly had he left his parish Hluboka on his way to Liptó, when Magyar troops appeared in the village, hoisted the Hungarian tricolor and issued an order for Hurban's arrest. His wife was roughly treated, and gallows were erected before the parsonage, on which, it was boasted, the Slovak clergy were to be hanged.¹⁶⁰ Henceforth the Slovaks were prevented from holding meetings, though this was allowed everywhere else in Hungary.¹⁶¹ When the mobilization of the National Guards was commenced by the Diet, its execution was entrusted to county committees specially formed for the purpose; and as these levies were to be sent to cope with the Serb and Croatian rising in the south, there was considerable resistance on the part of the Slovaks, who were unwilling to fight against their brother Slavs, all the more so since the Royal sanction required by law had not been obtained. The town of Tiszolcz in Gömör county, actually had the courage to refuse levies; but there is little doubt that large numbers of able-bodied youths were pressed into the revolutionary service.¹⁶²

The prompt and uncompromising methods of the Hungarian Government paralysed the movement among the Slovaks, and the north remained quiet, or perhaps apathetic,

¹⁵⁸ Batthyány once said, "Our national greatness does not depend on unity of language, but on the common enjoyment of liberty" (Irányi and Chassin, i. p. 228). It is regrettable that he and his followers did not act on this principle until it was too late.

¹⁵⁹ Hodža, op. cit. pp. 64-72. Helfert, op. cit. ii. pp. 193 and 406.

¹⁶⁰ Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon Oesterreichs*, vol. ix. pp. 437-9 (article on Hurban).

¹⁶¹ Helfert, op. cit. ii. p. 193.

¹⁶² This fact is passed over by Béla Grünwald, *A Felvidék*, (p. 31), who admits that the Slovaks formed a strong element in the Honvéds,

during the summer. Meanwhile Štúr was attending the Slav Congress in Prague, which followed upon the famous refusal of Palacky, in name of the Czechs, to appear at the Federal Diet of Frankfurt. To Palacky's initiative was doubtless due the dignified proclamation issued by the Congress:—"The enemies of our nationality have succeeded in alarming Europe with the phantom of political Panslavism, which, they maintain, threatens to destroy all that freedom, culture and humanity have won. We know the magic formula which alone can dispel this apparition . . . its name is justice." Štúr is reported to have expressed himself in bitter terms regarding Austria's claims of assistance, and to have urged the primary duty of self-preservation. "Austria," he said, "has managed to survive hitherto, and *we* have rotted." However that may be, the Slovak National Council (Slovenská Národná Rada), which was now organized under the auspices of Štúr, Hurban, Hodža, Daxner and Francisci, placed itself at the disposal of the Austrian Government—surely one more disproof, if any were needed, of their alleged Panslavism. On September 17, the first Slovak expedition entered "Slovensko" from Moravia; but led as it was by inexperienced men, and badly disciplined, it never obtained support among the cowed peasantry of Trencsén and Nyitra, and was soon forced to disband. Severe measures of repression were at once adopted throughout "Slovensko"; and on October 17, Štúr, Hurban and Hodža were outlawed by the Pest Government, and a price was set upon their heads.

In October the Magyars, under the incapable Moga, assumed the offensive and at the invitation of the revolutionary Government in Vienna, crossed the Austrian frontier. On the 30th, however, they were routed by Jellačić at the battle of Schwechat, and on the following day Windischgrätz reduced Vienna to submission. Moga was superseded by Görgei, who from his headquarters at Pressburg watched the movements of Windischgrätz's army. On November 1, encouraged by their success at Schwechat, the first Imperialists entered Hungary, and their leader Simunić occupied Tyrna without much difficulty. But the peasants had been so cowed by Magyar severity, that he could not obtain the slightest information, and the superior numbers of Görgei and Perczel forced him to abandon so exposed a position and to withdraw into Moravia. A week later he again advanced from Göding, but was still too weak to block Görgei's line

of retreat up the valley of the Vág. Towards the end of November a second Slovak inroad was planned by Bloudek, with the sanction of the Minister of War. Joined by four companies of Imperialist troops under Colonel Frischeisen, the expedition entered Hungary on December 4 by the Jablunovsky Pass, and on the 11th defeated a body of Magyar troops near Budatin. But Hurban's expectations of a general rising were disappointed. Eight thousand volunteers are said to have joined his standard, but it is probable that even this figure has been exaggerated. Their discipline was bad, and they were outnumbered by the National Guards of Nyitra county, and compelled to disband. Thus till the close of 1848, the greater part of Hungary north of the Danube remained in the hands of the Magyars. On December 15, Prince Windischgrätz crossed the frontier with 52,000 men; but as he naturally made the Hungarian capital his objective, Görgei's army was for the moment left unassailed in the middle valley of the Vág. On January 5, 1849, the Austrians entered Budapest unopposed, while Kossuth, with his Rump Parliament, withdrew to Debreczen. For the insurgents, all now depended upon a reunion of their scattered armies, between which the advance of Windischgrätz had skilfully driven a wedge. The Austrian commander failed to take advantage of the situation, and the manner in which Görgei executed his retreat from the Vág eastwards, and especially his march from Neusohl (Besztercebánya) over the mountains to Rózsahegy, forms one of the most brilliant episodes of the war. Count Schlick, who had advanced southwards from Galicia, escaped with difficulty to Windischgrätz, and the united Magyar forces, 46,000 strong, concentrated at Miskolcz, under the command of the Polish émigré Dembinski.

While the main contest was being waged on either side of the Theiss on the plains between Budapest and Debreczen, the Magyar flood rolled slowly back from "Slovensko," and traces of the reign of terror instituted by the revolutionary officials became apparent to the outside world.¹⁶³ Not content

¹⁶³ So far as I am aware, however, no account of these events has hitherto appeared in England. *The War in Hungary, 1848-9*, by Max Schlesinger (Preface by Pulszky), London, 1851, contains references to Serb atrocities, but all it says of the Slovaks is that they "form but a small, harmless, unpretending race, which was first kneaded into shape by head cooks from Vienna and by the lowest scullions from Prague"

with pressing young peasants into the military service, they filled the jails with those suspected of Slovak leanings, and gibbets were erected in almost every village along the river Vág, to strike terror into the peasantry. While the one party mockingly described these landmarks of Magyar culture as “Slovak trees of liberty,” the other more justly gave them the name of “Kossuth gallows,” in memory of the man of Slovak origin, who only two years later was electrifying Europe and America with a passionate account of the wrongs which his adopted race had suffered at the hands of the hated Austrians. Nor did these ghastly trees remain barren of fruit; according to the official statistics compiled after Világos, there were 168 such victims of the rebels’ martial law.¹⁶⁴ Baron Jeszenák, afterwards the least regretted of Haynau’s victims, was especially active in the counties of Nyitra and Trencsén, giving out his decisions from the château of Countess Erdödy at Galgócz (Freistadt) on the Vág. Two young Slovak students, Holuby and Šulek, were offered the choice between death upon the gallows or freedom and the abjuration of their Slav sentiments.¹⁶⁵ They resolutely chose the first alternative, and died as truly martyrs to the cause of nationality as Count Louis Batthyány and “the martyrs of Arad.” In other counties the courts martial were equally active, and in Gömör, Szentiványi, the commissioner of the Debreczen Government, only saved Daxner and two other young Slovaks from impending execution by referring their case to the ordinary court. In Rózsahegy, a young Moravian named Hrobařík, cried from the foot of the gallows, “Just wait, hangman; I am the last from Moravia whom you will hang guiltlessly. Then it will be your turn.”¹⁶⁶ When Simunić entered the little town of Szenicz on the Moravian border, he found that the Slovak clergy, the village mayor, and numerous peasants had been pent up in jail for weeks past. Their chains were removed in the presence of the general, and some of the prisoners were so stiff and exhausted that they had to be carried by the soldiers. Then “the robber captain

(p. 89). C. E. Maurice’s excellent book on the revolutionary movements of 1848–9, describes the racial war in Transylvania, but hardly refers to the Slovaks.

¹⁶⁴ The list appears in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 28 August 1850. But for the references in Dr. Friedjung’s recently published *Geschichte Oesterreichs*, i. p. 231 note, I should not have been able to consult this.

¹⁶⁵ Helfert, ii. 89–90.

¹⁶⁶ Helfert, iii. p. 77.

of Galicia," as the colleagues of Damjanich ventured to call him, walked to the place of execution and stood with bared head before the graves of the victims, whom he then ordered to be reburied in consecrated earth.¹⁶⁷ Where life was held so cheaply, property was naturally treated with scant respect. Charles Kuzmány, the distinguished Lutheran Superintendent of Neusohl, who formed one of the subsequent deputation to Francis Joseph, had his property confiscated during his absence, and his wife was ejected from the parsonage. So widespread was the terror inspired by the summary justice of Kossuth's Government, that many peasants had abandoned their homes and taken to the woods and mountains.¹⁶⁸

(The brutal treatment of the Slovaks in 1848 has been passed over in silence by most historians, with the notable exception of Baron Helfert. That it was by no means an isolated incident, but entirely in keeping with the general policy of the Magyars towards all the other races of the country, is proved beyond all question by the events in the Banat of Temesvár and in Transylvania. It is by no means easy to determine whether the Serbs or the Magyars are first responsible for the series of outrages which stain the annals of the war in Southern Hungary. Certain it is that as early as July, 1848, Vukovics, a commissioner of the Magyar Government, sentenced two Serb officers to death at Temesvár, and that some Serbs on the other hand cut off the head of a village notary and carried it on a pike. Other still worse atrocities followed, and ere long no quarter was given on either side.) Serious Magyar historians accuse the Serbs of burning alive, and even impaling some of their victims.¹⁶⁹ On the other hand, on a single day in March, 1849, the Magyar

¹⁶⁷ Helfert, iii. p. 91.

¹⁶⁸ Rogge, *Oesterreich von Világos bis zur Gegenwart*, i. pp. 110-11.

¹⁶⁹ Irányi and Chassin, ii. p. 45. The Magyar accounts of Serb horrors must be accepted with the very greatest caution, as also the Serb counter-charges. For instance, Max Schlesinger, an enthusiast for the Magyar cause, writes as follows: "The Serb murders from an eager lust of revenge, a genuine thirst for blood" (p. 48). The Seressans are "carrion-kites," who "cut off their prostrate enemy's head, simply because (they) can the more easily get at his gorget" (p. 48). "The common Croat is not cruel by nature: his ruling passion is theft, and if he cannot indulge this in a smoother way, he pursues his object over dead bodies and burning houses" (p. 54). "The Croat," he adds, "does not rank very high as a soldier" (*sic*). These infamous libels were published in English under the imprimatur of no other than Francis Pulszky, Kossuth's companion in exile.

general Perczel ordered the execution of forty-five Serb prisoners, including several women.¹⁷⁰ As many as 299 Serbs were thus put to death without trial, and Kossuth seems at one time during the war to have seriously entertained the idea of exterminating the Serbs of the Banat and the Bácska, and colonizing the vacant territory with stalwarts of the national militia. In the same way Kossuth wished to hold the Saxons responsible for the ejection of the Russians, on the occasion of their first invasion of Transylvania; "otherwise," he writes to Bem (March 18, 1849), "they will either be themselves ejected from the country, or deprived of all their liberties, and their national property confiscated as an indemnity."¹⁷¹ The behaviour of Kossuth's commissioners in Transylvania baffles description. The Roumanians had been guilty of terrible excesses, especially at Nagy Enyed, where the Protestant college was burnt to the ground, and at Alvincz, where the little town was almost wiped out of existence. But this forms no excuse for the reign of terror inaugurated by the Magyar officials. On June 6, 1849, the chivalrous Bem wrote to Kossuth, that the arbitrary and ferocious behaviour of the courts martial reminded him of the tribunals of the French Revolution.¹⁷² The tribunals of Public Danger (*Vésztörvényszék*), which were created by the Diet of Debreczen (February 13, 1849), were empowered to try all persons who bear arms against the country, constitution, independence and territorial unity of Hungary; all who supply food, arms or information to the enemy; all who mislead the Magyar troops or hinder transport or forage; all who spread false news, urge disobedience to the Diet, or rouse the population in favour of the enemy. The proceedings were to be public, and death was the sole sentence.¹⁷³ That courts endowed with such plenary powers should have been guilty of excesses, is hardly to be wondered at; yet we would fain believe that the official list of their victims drawn up after the war, errs on the side of over-statement. For it contains the names of 4,425 men, 340 women, and 69 children who were put to death without trial by the Magyar troops in Transylvania, exclusive of those who fell in open

¹⁷⁰ Friedjung, op. cit. i. p. 231.

¹⁷¹ Szemere, *Batthyany, Görgei, Kossuth*; cit. Friedjung, i. p. 232 note.

¹⁷² This letter was printed in the Viennese *Reichszeitung*, June 14, 1850, cit. Friedjung, i. p. 233.

¹⁷³ Irányi and Chassin, ii. p. 245 sqq.

fight. As Austria's latest and most brilliant historian, Dr. Friedjung, justly observes, if 500 or even 1,000 names could be proved to be unauthentic, the truth would still remain sufficiently horrible.¹⁷⁴ Görgei, by his unwise execution of Count Zichy at an early stage of the war, had given the signal for reprisals; and though Görgei himself is entirely free from the stain of ferocity, the same cannot be said of Damjanich, another revolutionary general. This notorious Serb renegade was filled with such remorseless hatred for his own kith and kin, that, as he assured Count Kolowrat, he would have cursed his own mother in her grave, had he not been certain that he was the offspring of an intrigue with a Magyar officer and thus had inherited nothing save the name from his Serb father.¹⁷⁵ These revolting sentiments find their parallel in the words with which Damjanich concluded one of his proclamations to the Serbs of the Banat: "I come to exterminate you root and branch, and then I will send a ball through my own head, that the last Serb may vanish from the earth."¹⁷⁶ Fortunately for the honour of the Magyar race, the renegade Serb found no imitators among his brother generals, most of whom were conspicuous for their gallant and honourable bearing.

On April 14, 1849, Kossuth committed the crowning error of his career, by solemnly deposing the Habsburg dynasty and proclaiming Hungarian independence. The way was thus opened for Russian intervention (the Czar Nicholas being a fanatical adherent of the principle of Legitimacy); and the last opportunity of the Magyars vanished when Görgei wasted three precious weeks of May in reducing the citadel of Buda, instead of staking all upon a bold march against Vienna. When once the Russian armies had entered Hungary, the cause of Magyar independence was doomed, and the dissensions which now broke out between Kossuth and Görgei only served to hasten the inevitable end. In July the revolutionary Diet was transferred from Debreczen to Szeged, and devoted its expiring moments to the discussion of a law guaranteeing the free development of all nationalities upon Hungarian soil. Under its provisions, while Magyar was to remain the official language in all adminis-

¹⁷⁴ Friedjung, i. p. 233.

¹⁷⁵ Kolowrat's Memoirs, p. 69; cit. Friedjung, i. 226.

¹⁷⁶ Schlesinger *War in Hungary* (ii. p. 110), finds "a terrific grandeur in these words!"

THE MARTYRS OF ARAD

trative, legal and military affairs, the right of every citizen to use his own language in the communal and county assemblies was distinctly recognized: the language of instruction in the schools was to be that of the locality, and in it also the parish registers were to be drawn up: petitions might be presented in any language: and appointments to all offices were to be made without distinction of language and religion. Special concessions were included for the benefit of the Greek Oriental Church, with a view to conciliating the Serbs and Roumanians. But of course the time for such action was long since past. A law which if voted in March, 1848, might perhaps have rallied the whole of Hungary in support of Magyar pretensions, was worse than useless in July, 1849, when the country was bleeding from the wounds inflicted by a furious racial war, and when overwhelming masses of Russian troops were closing in upon every side. On August 11 Kossuth issued a proclamation renouncing his office of Governor, and transferring all civil and military powers to Görgei; while he himself, with the gallant Bem and several thousand refugees, fled across the Turkish frontier. Two days later Görgei with 23,000 men and 130 cannon capitulated at Világos, and save for the isolated fortress of Komárom, the Hungarian Revolution was at an end.

The Austrian Government, as if determined to alienate all sympathies and to place itself utterly in the wrong, adopted the most brutal methods of repression. Thirteen of the revolutionary generals were executed at Arad by Haynau's orders—among them more than one officer who had originally taken the oath to the Hungarian constitution with the greatest reluctance and under express orders from Vienna, and who now suffered for faithfully observing his plighted word. In defiance of all political decency, Count Batthyány, the late Premier, was put to death at Pest, and a number of high officials of the revolutionary Government shared the same fate. Over 800 individuals were sentenced to considerable terms of imprisonment; and after two whole years had elapsed, the Government had the bad taste to nail upon the gallows the names of thirty-six prominent exiles, among them Kossuth the ex-Dictator, and Andrassy the future Premier.

(None of the races of Hungary gained by this unhappy civil war.) The Magyars were reduced to a state of political bondage, of which even their chequered history affords no

previous example. The Croats, after leading the van of the Imperial cause, were deprived of the liberties for which they had fought. The erection of the Banat into a separate province brought the Serbs no satisfaction, for its boundaries were so drawn as to include an equal number of Magyars and Roumanians, and the authorities consistently played off one race against the other.¹⁷⁷ The Roumanians were still excluded from all political privileges, and even the loyal Saxons saw their autonomy and ancient rights invaded. In the same way the Slovaks gained little or nothing under the new régime, save that the local administration was conducted on less arbitrary and brutal lines; and ere long the sole difference consisted in the imposition of one of the four world-languages instead of an Asiatic dialect. At the opening of his career, Alexander Bach was undoubtedly friendly disposed towards the Slavs, and he it was who took up Stadion's idea of a Slav newspaper in Vienna. In a memorandum found by Dr. Friedjung among Bach's papers, and apparently dating from before the Revolution, we find that he was at that time in favour of recognizing the nationality of "the North Hungarian Slavs by introducing their language into the churches, schools, law courts, administration and representative assemblies."¹⁷⁸ Either the rapid march of events led Bach to modify his views, or else his influence was discounted in this direction by other members of the Cabinet. In March, 1849, Štúr, Hurban and Kuzmány were received in audience by the young monarch Francis Joseph at Olmütz; but Hurban's memorandum, recounting the various arbitrary acts of Magyar officialdom and pointing to autonomy as the sole remedy, remained without effect. In the course of the summer a further memorandum in favour of an autonomous "Slovensko" was presented to Bach, and a request was added for the publication of the March constitution in Slovak as well as in German. On September 16 and 18 Francis Joseph received two large Slovak deputations which put forward the same demands, but contented himself with a gracious yet evasive answer. The political

¹⁷⁷ It included the purely Roumanian county of Krassó (194,000 Roumanians, 11,600 Germans, 2,500 Magyars, and no Serbs), and all Bács-Bodrog (which contained not only Serbs, but 186,000 Magyars, and 98,000 Germans as well).

¹⁷⁸ Friedjung, i. p. 489 (Appendix iii).

SLOVAK DEPUTATIONS

movement among the Slovaks gradually simmered out, for as yet it failed to awaken any real response among the backward and docile peasantry. For the Slovaks the next ten years, though barren in incident, were a period of calm, without which the tender plant of the Slovak language could hardly have taken root, and without which the nucleus of a middle class true to Slovak traditions and national feeling could never have been formed.

CHAPTER VII

Reaction 1849--1860

THE system inaugurated by Prince Felix Schwarzenberg was centralist in theory, but before all else it was absolutist in practice. For ten years the reaction held Francis Joseph in its power; the evil triumvirate of church, aristocracy and army hurried the state on to bankruptcy, and would have plunged it into utter ruin, but for the pliant and not incapable bureaucracy, with whose services the Government had been unable to dispense. Throughout this period, however, a corrosive force had been secretly at work; and strangely enough this was no other than Alexander Bach, with whose name this decade of Austrian history has come to be identified. This remarkable man, to whose great talents history has done scant justice, was a bureaucrat *par excellence*; and the distrust felt towards him by the higher aristocracy was based upon even truer instincts than the indignation of the democrats whom he had deserted. His opportunism may have been tainted by ambition, but at any rate he realized clearly that the time was not yet ripe in Austria for parliamentary government; and his failure to maintain a lost and impossible cause does not detract from his services in repairing and renewing the administrative machine, without which the constitutional reforms of the sixties could not have been peacefully executed. Moreover, to his influence is due the failure, on the part of the reactionaries, to modify or repeal the abolition of feudal rights; while the judicial reforms which he initiated, were adopted almost in their entirety by subsequent governments.¹⁷⁹

On October 17, 1849, the central Government of Vienna issued a proclamation which reduced Hungary to the con-

¹⁷⁹ To these remarks we may add the phrase in which Eisenmann sums up Bach's ideal on an unified Austria: "La conception de Bach, si antipathique qu'elle soit dans sa pensée fondamentale, avait quelque chose d'imposant et même de grandiose" (p. 191).

dition of a mere province of the Austrian Empire, like Tirol or Styria. In this document occur the ominous words: "the former constitution (Landesverfassung) of Hungary is annulled by the Revolution."¹⁸⁰ At first the country remained under military occupation, Haynau virtually filling the post of dictator, subject to certain instructions from Vienna. Transylvania and Croatia became Austrian provinces (Kronländer); the Serb Voivody was revived, with the prospect of subsequent union with Croatia; the ancient county government was suppressed, and what remained of Hungary was divided for administrative purposes into five districts, each under an Imperial commissioner. Of these districts two were Slav (Kaschau and Pressburg), two mixed (Oedenburg and Pest), and only one pure Magyar,—the obvious aim of Schwarzenberg's Government being to reduce Magyar influence to the territory between the Theiss and the Danube.¹⁸¹ The chief merit in the new system—the introduction of competition for official vacancies—was precisely the most objectionable feature in the eyes of the Magyars, who were accustomed to the corrupt and tumultuous proceedings of sexennial elections (the so-called *restauratio*), to all administrative and judicial posts. The deadly mistake of the Government lay in throwing these offices open to natives of the whole Monarchy, instead of confining them to the lands of the Hungarian Crown; in effect most Magyars held sullenly aloof, and the vacant posts were mainly filled with officials from Bohemia and Galicia, who earned the contemptuous nickname of "Bach hussars."¹⁸² Sviečeny, a high Galician official, who assumed control of the Kassa district, openly favoured the idea of Slovak autonomy, and filled more than one post with Slavs who were known to entertain anti-Magyar sentiments. Not merely was an order issued threatening all officials of the northern counties with dismissal, unless they learnt Slovak within a certain period; but copies of the *Slovansky Noviny* were actually distributed gratis among the peasantry.¹⁸³ When, however, encouraged by the attitude of the authorities, the

¹⁸⁰ Rogge, *Oesterreich seit Világos*, i. p. 158.

¹⁸¹ The new organization was definitely proclaimed on September 13, 1850. Instead of the old central Palatinal Council (*Statthaltereirath*) in Pest, each *Verwaltungsgebiet* contained a separate *Statthaltereiateilung*. I give the German names only, as it was an essentially German scheme.

¹⁸² See *Acht Jahre Amtsleben in Ungarn*, referred to on page 238.

¹⁸³ Rogge, i. p. 221.

little Slovak town of Rócze (Revuca) decided to erect a Slovak secondary school, permission was only granted on condition that German should be made the language of instruction. Henceforth with every year Germanizing influences grew stronger, and though an Imperial Rescript of September, 1857, prescribed due regard for the cultivation of the mother tongue, practically no steps had been taken to enforce this provision before the Bach system collapsed two years later. Vienna had no real sympathy with the nationalities, but merely used them as a pawn in the game against Budapest; incapacity or lack of interest and knowledge blinded Austrian statesmen to the real value which the pawn possessed, and led them at the critical moment to yield it up without an equivalent.

While the military occupation was still at its height, Haynau issued by arbitrary decree a new constitution for the Lutheran Church (Feb. 10, 1850). New superintendents were appointed, and these were to share the direction of the Church with administrators nominated by the Government: the lay element in the various church assemblies was curtailed; and their meetings were only to be permitted in the presence of a royal commissioner. Strangely enough, Haynau had succeeded in a remarkably brief space of time in living down his butcher's reputation, and while he was soon on friendly terms with the aristocracy in Pest, he himself fell under the thrall of Magyar customs and traditions.¹⁸⁴ This, and the provisional nature of military rule, account for the contrast between the reception of his Protestant Rescript and of the subsequent governmental policy towards the Hungarian Protestants. Count Leo Thun, the Minister of Education in Schwarzenberg's cabinet, was undoubtedly inspired by the most honourable and conscientious motives, and sought above all to advance what he regarded as the true interests of religion. But unfortunately he was a mere tool in the hands of Father Beckx, the all-powerful general of the Jesuit Order in Rome, and he had no conception of the meaning of constitutional guarantees. Conscious of his own goodwill, he seemed to imagine that the suppression of the Hungarian constitution left him free to violate the liberties of the Protestant Churches in Hungary. The sturdy resistance offered to Thun by Calvinists

¹⁸⁴ Jókai has used this fact as the motif of one of his most brilliant novels, *Az új Földesúr* (*The New Landlord*). See also Rogge, i. p. 211, who cites the words of an old Conservative respecting the general attitude towards Haynau.

and Lutherans alike, forms the first act in the new drama which culminated in Deák's constitutional triumph in 1867.

Thun's antecedents naturally roused high hopes among the Slovaks, but his action in imposing the German language upon the Lycée in Pressburg was quite as alarming to the Slav as to the Magyar element in the Church. He then proceeded to depose all the superintendents—including even Szeberenyi, a Slovak of pronounced Austrophil sentiments—and tainted the appointment of their successors by the well-meant but tactless grant of salaries from the state. Worst of all, he entrusted the supervision of Protestant schools to the Catholic inspectors,¹⁸⁵ thus reverting to one of the most keenly felt abuses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The weapon of passive resistance was called into play, and the condition of the Protestant Churches¹⁸⁶ grew every year more chaotic. In 1855 representatives of both Churches were summoned to Vienna to discuss matters of church and school organization, and were dismissed with the assurance that the final decision would be in accordance with the law of 1791.¹⁸⁷ None the less, in the spring of 1856 strict measures were taken to reduce the Protestant gymnasiums to submission; and as they still proved refractory, all but four¹⁸⁸ were deprived of the necessary recognition and threatened with immediate dissolution. Such was the moment which Thun regarded as favourable for launching his new church constitution for the

¹⁸⁵ Rogge, i. p. 213.

¹⁸⁶ It may not be amiss to mention here that there are three entirely distinct Protestant Churches in Hungary: (1) The Lutheran Church in the north, which was composed at the last census of 359,475 Magyars, 462,381 Slovaks, and probably about 190,000 Germans. (2) The Saxon Lutheran Church in Transylvania, which has an autonomous constitution—a presbyterial system with a single bishop at its head—and which coincides almost exactly with the Saxon nationality, which formed in 1900 a total of 229,889. (3) The Reformed or Calvinist Church, which is almost entirely Magyar, and whose centre is Debreczen, sometimes called "the Calvinist Rome." This Church forms the real backbone of the nation, so much so that there exists a proverb, *Calvinista hit, Magyar hit* (the Calvinist faith is the Magyar faith). Its numbers in 1900 amounted to 2,427,232. There is also a Unitarian community in Hungary, which only numbers 68,551 in all, and is almost exclusively Magyar. Its head quarters are at Kolozsvár in Transylvania.

¹⁸⁷ Article xxvi., which may be described as the Protestant charter of freedom.

¹⁸⁸ Oberschützen, Debreczen, Nagy-Körös, Hódmező-Vásárhely.

Hungarian Protestants (Sept. 8, 1856). By it, it is true, the old presbyterial system was to a large extent restored; but a supreme Church Council (Oberkirchenrat) nominated by the Emperor, was created as a supervisory and judicial body. Even more objectionable than the substance of the constitution was the manner in which it was imposed, which constituted a clear violation of the Act of 1791, and of the Treaties of Vienna and Linz upon which that Act was based. As the synod of Pressburg justly observed in its address to the Sovereign, "only the Church itself can help here, for it knows best its own needs and shortcomings. Every foreign remedy, especially when it infringes that autonomy which is essential to a free and healthy life, is bound sooner or later to prove worse than the evil itself."¹⁸⁹ In short, the constitution was received with almost universal disapproval, and the discontent was only increased by such slighting accompaniments as the prohibition issued to the Protestants to receive Jewish children into their schools, and by the brusque replies of Thun to the synodal petitions.)

At length on September 1, 1859, Thun set a crown upon his ten years' administration of Hungarian education by his famous "Protestant Patent." This decree restored the presbyterial system in its entirety, placed the schools once more under church control, created a special Protestant department in the Ministry of Education and Religion, appointed regular Protestant army chaplains, and assigned a special annual grant from the Budget to the Protestant Churches, besides establishing a series of bursaries at the German universities for the benefit of Hungarian Protestant students. Far more questionable in the eyes of the Magyars was the increase in the number of superintendents from eight to twelve, and the redistribution of the Church synods in such a manner as to strengthen the position of the Slovaks and the Germans, who if united would have formed a majority in the Church. The real objection to the Patent, however, lies in the altogether unwarrantable interference on the part of the State with the dearly bought autonomy of the Protestant Churches. It contained many provisions which in themselves might fairly be regarded as an improvement upon the constitution of 1791, which was admitted on all sides to be out of date. But the arbitrary imposition of even the most ideal ecclesi-

¹⁸⁹ Rogge, i. p. 453.

THE PROTESTANT PATENT

astical system is a step which cannot be too severely condemned, and would justify the most determined resistance.

(While, however, the Magyars were resolved to resist the Patent to the utmost, a very different feeling revealed itself among the Slovaks. The presbytery of Nyitra (which contained 21 parishes and 53,000 souls) led the way on December 8, by accepting the Patent and moving an address of thanks to the Emperor; and its example was shortly followed by the presbyteries of Szemered, Schemnitz, and Neusohl, while others merely contented themselves with requesting its suspension until the meeting of a General Assembly.¹⁹⁰ Slovak support only accentuated the opposition of the Magyars, who were more than ever convinced that the religious pretext was merely a cunning contrivance to hide the "Panslav" aims of Thun and his advisers! Thun, on the other hand, was indignant at the hostility to his scheme, and a fresh rescript which he published early in October proves how completely he failed to realize the illegality of his action.) Throughout the winter a long array of legal proceedings was instituted against the recalcitrant clergy and laity. In more than one instance the minutes of presbytery were confiscated, and prominent members of the Church, like Zsedényi, were thrown into prison. Thun's well-meaning idealism degenerated into open persecution, and it is hardly too much to say that the onslaught on Protestant autonomy sealed the fate of Absolutism in Hungary.¹⁹¹ (The fact that the majority of the Slovaks accepted his scheme, does not in any way prove its excellence; it merely shows that they preferred an imperfect church organization to the far greater evil of Magyarization and national extinction.)

Meanwhile the desperate state of Austrian finances and the disastrous issue of the war against France and Sardinia evoked a highly critical situation. The exiled Kossuth, who had already fixed his head quarters at Turin, pursued more actively than ever his intrigues with Napoleon III, Palmerston, and the Italian leaders. Not content with this, he conceived a plan of taking Austria in the rear, by organizing a rebellion on the Transylvanian frontier. To this end he sent emissaries to Belgrad and Bucearest; and in his name General

¹⁹⁰ Early in December the patent had been rejected by 2,684,000, and only 40,000 had submitted; but by the end of the month those in its favour had risen to 163,000.

¹⁹¹ Rogge, i. p. 357.

Klapka concluded a convention with Alexander Couza, who was elected in 1859 Prince of Moldavia and Wallachia.¹⁹² The main terms of this agreement were as follows: Couza agreed to permit the Hungarian patriots to organize their forces upon his territory, to supply them, on the outbreak of war in Italy, with 20,000 rifles procured from Napoleon III, and to place all possible means at the disposal of the Hungarian military commander. In return for this, Hungary was to support Couza in his design for the conquest of Bukowina. Kossuth, however, had learnt in exile the lesson of the racial war of 1848, and therefore laid great stress upon the reconciliation of the non-Magyar races, without which he saw that a fresh insurrection was impossible. The convention therefore expressly declares the readiness of the Hungarian patriots to adopt the following principles into their constitution:

1. Complete reconciliation between Serbs, Roumanians and Magyars.
2. Equal rights and liberties for all citizens without distinction of race or creed.
3. Communal and county autonomy, with local right to determine the language of administration.
4. In matters of religion and education, full independence for the various churches *and nationalities*.
5. Special organization of the Serb and Roumanian troops, with their own language of command.
6. The summons, at the close of the war, of a Transylvanian Assembly, upon whose vote shall depend the question of union with Hungary.
7. "The principle of fraternity must guide us all. This alone can bring us to the aim which we have all set before us. And this aim is the confederation of the three Danubian States—Hungary, Servia and Moldavia-Wallachia."¹⁹³

In the course of similar intrigues with Prince Michael Obrenovitch of Servia, Kossuth repeated these views, and expressed the hope that the Hungarian Serbs would this time be on his side,¹⁹⁴ since "we are ready in the question of the nationalities to go to the farthest limits which the integrity of the fatherland and its political unity permit." It is signi-

¹⁹² The two principalities were not united under the name of Roumania until the year 1861.

¹⁹³ Kossuth, *Schriften aus der Emigration*, i. p. 420.

¹⁹⁴ Cp. p. 82 for his views in 1848-9.

ficant that in all these plots Kossuth ignores his own kinsmen, the Slovaks. The omission, which is doubtless to be explained by the fact that "Slovensko" offered no strategic advantages during Austria's war with Napoleon, revenged itself in 1866, when the war was on another front and when Klapka's Hungarian Legion in the service of Prussia utterly failed to gain support from the Slovak peasantry. (It is possible that Kossuth in his ill-considered efforts to create a new Danubian state, may have regarded the Slovak districts as a needless encumbrance, whose cession to Bohemia would be more than compensated by access to the Black Sea. But it is far more probable that he restricted his concessions to the only two races whom he regarded as dangerous, and still dreamt of the Magyarization of all the rest. While it is improbable that a man with the past history of Louis Kossuth could ever become a genuine supporter of racial equality and of the principle of nationality, it is certain that his offer of concessions to the nationalities alienated the sympathies of many of his Magyar adherents.) Meanwhile the Peace of Villafranca, which appears to have come upon Kossuth like a bolt from the blue, naturally shattered all these fantastic plans; while the project of a Danubian Confederation alarmed public opinion in Hungary, and further strengthened Deák's influence at the expense of Kossuth.¹⁹⁵

We have already indicated the only lines upon which it is possible to base a defence, or even a palliation of the Bach System in Austria:—namely that it formed the inevitable period of transition between the ancient feudal and the modern constitutional state. In Hungary no such justification existed, and the Bach system, instead of bridging over an abyss of revolution, must be regarded as an arbitrary break in the constitutional evolution of the country. The best that can be said for it, is that it introduced for the first time western ideas into the barbarous system of justice and administration which had hitherto prevailed in Hungary.

(To the Slovaks also the centralist régime of the fifties brought nothing but disappointments. No doubt the brutal Szólgabíró of former days and the horde of corrupt and lazy county

¹⁹⁵ On August 25, 1868, Kossuth addressed a letter to the journals of the Extreme Left—protesting against anti-Russian feeling and virtually treating the Czar Alexander II as the possible saviour of Hungary. See Rogge, *op. cit.*, iii. p. 71. This action did much to alienate Magyar public opinion from the ex-dictator.

officials were superseded by humane and educated men, who showed sympathy instead of hatred towards the language of the people. But the Slovaks, like their former oppressors, were under the thrall of Absolutism, which applied to the nationalities the motto *Divide et impera*, and which naturally turned a deaf ear to aspirations whose fulfilment involved the grant of some measure of constitutional life.) One of the many foreign brochures published under the ægis of Kossuth, remarks of the Slovaks: "In 1848 they were Pan-Slav, to-day (1860) they are Pan-Austrian."¹⁹⁶ The first half of this phrase is effectively disproved by the action of the Slovak leaders during the Revolution; the second half is understated. In reality, the Slovaks have always been Pan-Austrian, and Pan-Austrian they will doubtless remain so long as the Magyars not merely refuse them their place in the sun, but impose upon them the straightjacket of Magyarization. (Their consistent loyalty to a Pan-Austrian ideal, despite their cynical and thankless treatment by Vienna, gives the lie to those fanatics who seek to discredit them by the nickname of Pan-Slavs.)

¹⁹⁶ *La Hongrie Politique et Religieuse*, p. 29 (Bruxelles, 1860).

CHAPTER VIII

Transition (1860-1867)

“Das also was die Magyaren bei sich selbst für die grösste Tugend halten, nämlich die Liebe zu ihrem Volke, wird bei uns verdammt und als eine grosse Sünde betrachtet.”—*Sollen wir Magyaren werden ?*¹⁰⁷

THE disastrous issue of the Italian campaign of 1859 brought Austria to the verge of financial ruin, and made a continuance of the Bach system impossible. The army stores scandals brought the crisis to a head, and the grant of a constitution could no longer be averted. The fall of Bach was followed by a sudden reversal of policy towards Hungary. An Imperial Patent of April 19, 1860, nominated Benedek as Governor-general, dissolved the five administrative districts, and restored the Palatinal Council in Pest, and more important still, the old system of county government; while a month later “la papauté thunienne” was wiped away, and the Protestant Patent withdrawn. The absolutist interregnum was at an end, though seven years of tentative and provisional government were to elapse before Francis Joseph and his advisers could be induced to conclude a compromise with the ideas of 1848. The long nightmare of an alien centralism was removed, and all Hungary breathed more freely. But the admirable intentions of the Government earned it no gratitude; as ever, half-measures proved fatal to their promoters, and while great expectations were roused on all sides, their non-fulfilment threatened to plunge the country into anarchy. The so-called “October Diploma” (October 20, 1860) which was intended to provide the whole monarchy with a constitution, proved from the first unworkable. It represented the passing triumph of the old conservative elements in Hungary and in Austria; and its only real significance consists in the pledge which it afforded, that Francis Joseph had crossed the Rubicon and would never again depart from constitutional ground. The Diploma

¹⁰⁷ P. 10.

TRANSITION

marks the first departure from a centralist policy on the part of the Government, but to describe it as favouring centrifugal tendencies would be to create a wholly wrong impression. It attempted to reconcile the principles of Federalism and historic tradition, and has therefore been justly described as the sole alternative to Dualism or Absolutism. The presence of an energetic and broad-minded statesman at the head of affairs might have assured its success. As matters stood, it fell a victim to the skilful tactics of the Magyars, who acted on the assumption that its articles revived and sanctioned the laws of 1848. Baron Vay, the new Aulic Chancellor, in his enthusiastic desire to rally the nation, nominated High Sheriffs in the various counties quite regardless of their political past, with the result that the opposition gained the control of many of the local assemblies and exposed Vay to repeated humiliations and rebuffs. The Government, while issuing orders for the election of county officials, had expressly withheld the permission to appoint fresh notaries, intending to centralize the financial system of the country. But the assemblies calmly ignored these limitations, and proceeded to revive not merely the whole county system as it had existed before 1848, but even the National Guard. The growing chaos is clearly shown by the fact that Vay's angry rescripts remained entirely without effect. And here it was a born Slovak, the Cardinal Primate Scitovsky, who led the resistance. One day he submitted Vay's rescript to the county assembly of Esztergom, and exhorted obedience to its orders; the next, he was the first to sign the protest which the same assembly issued against the rescript!¹⁹⁸ One county after another followed suit, and the opposition to Vay soon became general.

An impossible situation had thus been created, and the Viennese Government sought to escape from it by issuing the Patent of February 26, 1861. A passion for half-measures brought its nemesis, and the Habsburg Monarchy is still suffering to-day from the refusal of Schmerling and his German Liberal colleagues to look hard facts in the face. Dreams

¹⁹⁸ In this connexion I cannot refrain from citing one of the many gems with which M. Eisenmann's somewhat lengthy study on the *Ausgleich* is sprinkled. "Cette adresse," he remarks (p. 273), "est un document typique par ce mélange de finasserie juridique et d'enthousiasme, de chicane et de poésie, qui est si fréquent dans les combats séculaires que la Hongrie a soutenus pour son droit."

THE OCTOBER DIPLOMA

of expansion in Italy and Germany blinded the statesmen of Vienna to the march of events nearer home. Two alternatives lay before them. On the one hand, they might boldly espouse the principles laid down at Kremsier in 1849, and reorganize the Monarchy on a basis of complete racial equality, thus swamping the discontent of two races in the enthusiasm of ten; on the other hand, they might prefer might to right, and by creating an unholy alliance between the two strongest races of the Monarchy, might crush out mercilessly the resistance of their weaker brethren. Instead of adopting one of these courses, they made a fruitless attempt to breathe a constitutional spirit into the worn-out centralism of Bach, and thus merely outraged the legal traditions of centuries, without satisfying the yearnings of the "unhistoric nations." The triumph of Schmerling and his centralist system was welcomed as the surest guarantee of German hegemony throughout the Empire; in reality, by accentuating the struggle of German and Slav, it made the fall of that hegemony inevitable even in Austria, caused the two rivals to abdicate in favour of the Magyars, and left the real power in the hands of the latter for forty years. The February Patent led directly to Königgrätz and the Ausgleich: the October Diploma might have saved Austria from both events.

In the words of M. Eisenmann, "the Diploma still treated Hungary as a state, the Patent degraded her to the rank of a province."¹⁹⁹ The Patent was a direct challenge to the Hungarian nation, and the opening of Parliament in Pest (April 6, 1861) naturally aroused great expectations throughout the country. The Government was without supporters in Parliament, which presented an united front against Vienna. Constitutional problems naturally claimed precedence over all others; and the sole difference of opinion concerned the manner of approaching the sovereign—whether by an Address or by a Resolution. The session of 1861 will always remain one of the glories of Hungarian parliamentary history; the dignity and firmness with which the rights and traditions of the nation were defended, breathe the spirit of Francis Deák, whose noble figure dominates the debates. Deák realized from the first that the time was not yet ripe for the fulfilment of his ideas; and his main concern was to confine the action of Parliament within strictly legal channels. Hence the Address which was moved by Deák, and on June 5 carried

¹⁹⁹ Eisenmann, p. 306.

by a small majority, was resolute in its refusal to recognize the February Patent or the Reichsrath's jurisdiction, in its insistence upon the laws of 1848 as the sole basis of accord, and in its reminder that an uncrowned king was no true sovereign in Hungary. The attitude of the Diet only served to exasperate Schmerling and Rechberg, for whom legal continuity was a mere idle phrase; and the situation abroad, which was now more favourable for Austria, encouraged them in their centralist policy. It has long been the misfortune of Austria that her rulers, when prompt and decisive action is required, prefer to choose the path of compromise and half measures. The *via media* of Schmerling in Hungary was fraught with peculiarly fatal consequences, and from the first was foredoomed to failure. The Diet of 1861 afforded a glimpse into the political paradise of the future, and no true Magyar cared to draw the distinction between Bach and Schmerling. For him both alike were Germans, and stood for a policy of Germanization, and every fresh action of the Government strengthened this conviction and fanned the flames of Chauvinism. National feeling glowed with the same intensity as in the forties, and the discontent grew from day to day.

The general ferment extended also to the non-Magyar races, and the folly of the policy pursued towards them by the Viennese Government now became apparent. The Serb National Council, which met in April, instead of addressing itself to Vienna, made every effort to come to terms with the Magyars, pronounced itself openly in favour of union, and only qualified this step by claiming the appointment of a special Serb governor or voivode. In the same way the Slovaks, well-nigh cured of their Pan-Austrian leanings by the events of the past ten years, made their new appeal, not to Vienna, but to Budapest.²⁰⁰

On June 6, 1861, a large number of prominent Slovaks met at Turócz St. Márton, and drew up and adopted an address to the Hungarian Parliament. This Memorandum, as it was called, opens in the name of the legal equality of all races, and conjures up an ideal picture of the brotherly concord which had prevailed for centuries in Hungary. The common task of all her races had been the defence of Western culture against the barbarians of the East, and "it never occurred to any one of them to despise or hate the language of another,

²⁰⁰ Eisenmann, op. cit. p. 355.

THE SLOVAK MEMORANDUM

or to aggrandize itself by exterminating the other." But the document soon passes from mediaeval to modern sentiment and goes on, "Our conscience tells us that we Slovaks are as much a nation as the Magyars or any other nation in the country, and if national equality of rights and civil liberty are not to be a mere chimaera, it follows inevitably that we must have the same rights as any other nation in our fatherland actually possesses." And yet the laws passed by the Diets of the last seventy years recognize the Magyar nation alone, and ignore all other races.

The chief remedies upon which the Memorandum relies for the improvement of this intolerable situation, may be briefly summarized as follows:—

1. The definite recognition, by law, of the national individuality of the Slovaks.
2. The formation of a North Hungarian Slovak territory (Hornôuhorské Slovenské Okolie) rounded off according to nationality.
3. The introduction of Slovak throughout this Okolie as the sole medium of public and civil intercourse, and as the language of church, school and lawcourt.
4. The repeal of all recent laws (especially those of 1840-8) which infringe the equal rights and liberties of the "nations."
5. The foundation of a Slovak Academy of law, and of a Chair for Slav literature at Pest.
6. In return for these concessions, Magyar would be recognized as the diplomatic and official language of the central authorities.

The Memorandum reveals a certain dignity and self-confidence which were lacking in the petition of 1848, and it omits the most extravagant demands contained in the latter. But it is none the less diffuse in form, and doctrinaire and provocative in spirit. Its very tactlessness goes far towards proving its honesty, but it also shows its framers to have been wholly lacking in practical statesmanship. The most effective passage is that which repudiates all idea of designs "against the unity and integrity of Hungary," and argues that if the Cumanian and Jazygian districts, the Hajduk and Zips towns, or for that matter, the forty-four counties, could exist as autonomous municipal corporations within the bounds of Hungary, the same experiment might legally be made with the Slovak districts. Certainly the admission of Magyar as the language

of state, and the clear recognition of a central parliament for Hungary, definitely absolve the supporters of the Memorandum from the charges of treason and violation of the constitution which were so freely brought against them; though indeed the very fact that it was submitted to the Parliament in Pest, and not to the Schmerling Government in Vienna, ought to have been sufficient disproof of such tendencies.²⁰¹ But its most vulnerable point is its attitude towards the Magyar minority in North Hungary. These, it argues, are all renegates of Slav origin, and their wishes cannot therefore be taken into consideration. (The Germans moreover are passed over in silence, no indication being given as to what their position would be in the new "Slovensko"; and we are left with the uneasy feeling that the reign of liberty which these Slovak apostles sought to inaugurate, might have been stained by reprisals against the "Ascendancy" minority, when once the latter's privileges had fallen.)

The Memorandum was signed by John Francisci (the only Slovak of national sentiments who has ever been made High Sheriff of a county), William Pauliny-Tót, a poet and journalist of some ability: Abbot John Gocár, Dr. Miloslav Hurban, Rev. Andrew Hodža, Dean Pongrácz and Dean Závodník, and several other clergy, advocates and journalists.²⁰² The High Sheriffs of Liptó and Turócz, Szentiványi and Baron Révay, and the Vice Sheriff of Turócz, Justh—all three of pure Slovak origin—attended the meeting and promised to submit the Memorandum to Deák and to support all its clauses in Parliament save that which claimed a separate Slovensko.

²⁰¹ The document closes with the somewhat pompous words: "Our motto is, an united free constitutional country, and liberty, equality, fraternity for all the nations that dwell therein."

²⁰² Béla Grünwald (*A Felvidék*, p. 41) does not hesitate to describe this assembly as "scum" (csöcselék). Grünwald's writings have earned him in Hungary the name of a serious historian, and he is generally regarded as the originator of the "idea of the Magyar state" (a magyar állam eszme). *A Felvidék* is still cited by Magyar public opinion as the most reliable book on the Slovak question, and when in Hungary I was continually advised to consult it, even by the most moderate and honourable men. My astonishment and disgust knew no bounds when I discovered that this much-cited book is one of the most scurrilous tracts which it has ever been my misfortune to read; and it required no little self-restraint on my part to read it to the end. The sophistry, the innuendo, the glaring misstatements with which it is crowded, form the best apology for the Slovak attitude; and the Magyars ought to be thankful that its infamies have never been translated into any Western language.

MEMORANDUM AND PROTESTS

All three, however, backed out, when they learned from headquarters that the Diet was unfavourably disposed to Slovak claims; and some of the peasants returning home from the meeting at Turocz, are said to have been arrested and flogged by order of the local officials, without any steps being taken against the culprits by the three trimmers.

The Memorandum was not allowed to pass unchallenged. The town councils of Tyrnau, Trencsén and Altsohl (Zólyom) sent addresses to Parliament, protesting against the claim of the Memorandists to speak in the name of the Slovaks. Further protests were handed in by the county assemblies of Nyitra and Árva, denying that the Memorandists represented "the Slovak-speaking Magyars" of North Hungary and describing their action as a mere intrigue of the Austrian Government, directed against the national freedom and existence of the fatherland. Unfortunately the stones thus hurled at the "Pan-Slavs" of Turócz, bring down the glass-house about the protesters' own ears; for of course neither town councils nor county assemblies in any way represented the feelings of the Slovak population. The former were close corporations, whose members were as a rule Magyar, German or Jewish, but hardly ever Slovak; the latter were dominated by the great landowners and the "elected" officials who were really their nominees, and by this date even the Slav "lower nobles" were to a great extent Magyarized. In the case of Nyitra, it was not even the assembly (see p. 237), but a committee of the assembly, attended only by four or five members, which solemnly drew up the protest in the name of "the 300,000 Slovaks of the county"; while the Árva protest frankly confesses that it is acting on hearsay, without having seen the Memorandum. One further protest was handed in from "the Slav inhabitants of Nyitra;"²⁰³ but the naïve admission of the petitioners themselves, that they were only "for the most part" Slav-speaking, tends to confirm the suspicion that the necessary signatures were secured according to the most approved principles of Hungarian electoral canvassing. None the less, the Nyitra address was probably right in asserting that the "free use and development of their mother tongue" was the sole desire of the Slovak masses. North Hungary was poor and backward, cut off to a great extent from the outside world: the national leaders of the Slovaks,

²⁰³ All these protests are reproduced in the Appendices to vol. iii. of *Der ungarische Reichstag 1861* (Pest, 1861), pp. 324-33.

TRANSITION

the nobles, had gone over to the enemy; a Slovak middle class could hardly be said to exist; and the clergy were left as almost the sole guardians of the national tradition.) Thus many years were required before the whole lump could be leavened, and even to-day the process is by no means complete.

While Parliament declined to receive the Memorandum, the counter-protests of the close local assemblies were accepted and greeted with applause. But the incident had roused Parliament from its absorption in questions of constitutional law, and directed its attention to the question of the nationalities; and on June 25 Baron Eötvös moved the appointment of a committee for its discussion. When, however, on August 1 the committee handed in their report, the second Address and the impending crisis filled all minds, and it is not surprising that no further steps had been taken in the matter, when the dissolution of Parliament was announced. None the less this report is a highly remarkable document, and has not merited the oblivion to which it has been consigned.²⁰⁴ Its peaceful adoption by the committee, under no great pressure from without, proves that a strong element in the Hungarian Parliament was still free from those Chauvinist influences to which it was afterwards to fall a prey; and the hostile demonstration against Dobriansky, the distinguished Ruthene deputy, was probably the work of Coloman Tisza and his band of Radicals.²⁰⁵

The Report of the Committee²⁰⁶ seeks to lay down the broad principles upon which the racial question can be solved. Instead of adopting as a basis for deliberation the non-Magyar memorials of grievances, it prefers to define the limits within which it is possible to allow free play to the individual nationalities. It lays great stress on the fact that the races of Hungary do not as a rule form compact masses, but are inextricably intermingled, with the result that to divide the country into racial units would not merely endanger Hungary's political unity, but would also lead to the oppression of the lesser racial fragments living in the territory of the larger nationalities,

²⁰⁴ Rogge (ii. pp. 144 sqq.) describes the proposed law as very meagre, and asserts that it only contains a single concession—the admission of other languages besides Magyar in the communal and county assemblies. This shows that Rogge had not read the Report with sufficient care.

²⁰⁵ He found it impossible to deliver the speech which he had prepared, and was reduced to publishing it later in pamphlet form.

²⁰⁶ See *Der ungarische Reichstag 1861*, vol. iii. pp. 334–8 (Appendix xiil.)

and would give racial rivalry precedence over all other healthy forms of competition. By reason, however, of its peculiar geographical conditions, Hungary is faced by the necessity for a final solution of the racial question, in such a way as shall guarantee the free "development of *the individual nationalities as corporations*"; and indeed the instruments for such a solution lie ready to hand in the ancient communal, municipal and religious autonomy which have so long proved the bulwarks of individual freedom. After this introduction, the report lays down two principles:

(a) "That the citizens of Hungary of every tongue form politically only one nation, the unitary and indivisible Hungarian nation, corresponding to the historic conceptions of the Hungarian State.²⁰⁷

(b) That all peoples dwelling in this country, Magyars, Slovaks, Roumanians, Germans, Serbs, Ruthenes, etc., are to be regarded *as nationalities possessing equal rights*, who are free to promote their special national claims within the limits of the political unity of the country, on a basis of freedom of the person and of association, without any further restriction."

Bearing in mind these two vital principles, the Committee submits a rough draft of the provisions, which it regards as calculated to solve the question. These may be summarized under the following heads:—

- (1) The official language of State is to be Magyar, but all posts are to be filled without distinction of nationality, and officials with a knowledge of the various Hungarian languages are to be appointed in each government department (§§ 18-20).
- (2) The language of Parliament is to be Magyar, but official translations of the laws are to be published in all Hungarian languages (§§ 21-22).
- (3) The county assemblies and municipal councils are free to choose their own language: every member may use his own mother tongue, and each nationality has the right to demand a copy of the minutes in its own language (§§ 11-12). The language of intercourse between the assemblies and the Government is exclusively Magyar (§ 17), but any two assemblies who employ one and the same official language,

²⁰⁷ Cf. Preamble to Law xlv., 1868. See p. 148 and Appendix iii.

may communicate with each other in that language (§ 15). The county officials are bound in all communications with the communes under them, to use the language of the latter (§ 14).

- (4) The communal assemblies are free to determine their own official language, and every member of them has the right to use his mother tongue in their debates (§§ 3, 4).
- (5) Every citizen is free to communicate with his own communal and municipal or county authorities, and also with the central authorities, in his own language (§ 1).
- (6) The Churches are free to select their own language for church and school (§ 6).
- (7) Every Church *and nationality* is free to erect secondary and higher schools, and to prescribe their language of instruction (§ 8).

This report, though ill digested and somewhat clumsily expressed, is evidently inspired by the writings and ideas of Baron Eötvös, the intimate friend of Deák, and one of the most attractive figures in the politics of the nineteenth century. Full of sympathy for western culture, Eötvös had devoted himself, after the failure of the Revolution, to literary and publicist studies, and in 1850 he published a small book on *The Equal Rights of the Nationalities in Austria*,²⁰⁸ which was not without its influence on the progress of ideas in Hungary. He justly regards the absolute equality of all languages in a state like Austria-Hungary as incompatible with constitutional life, and as leading inevitably to Absolutism.²⁰⁹ But he realized equally clearly that the principle of the majority cannot justly be enforced in racial questions,²¹⁰ and that the worst evils of the French Revolution were due not to democracy, but to the despotic power of a numerical majority. (But these admissions do not lead him to support a system of federalism, since a division of the various provinces on a racial basis seems to him impracticable; and therefore he adheres resolutely to the *via media*, which accords to every race or nationality the same rights as the individual to develop so far as it can without injuring its neighbour.²¹¹ This readiness

²⁰⁸. Here he uses the word "Austria" to describe the entire Habsburg dominions, since Hungary formed part of Austria (*de facto*, though not *de jure*) during the absolutist régime from 1848 to 1867.

²⁰⁹ *Ueber die Gleichberechtigung der Nationalitäten in Oesterreich*, 3rd ed. (1871), p. 56. ²¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 86 and 141. ²¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 34.

to reckon with the nationalities as legal entities—which is reflected in the report of the Committee of 1861, when it speaks of “the individual nationalities as corporations”—is the determining factor in Eötvös’ policy towards the non-Magyar races, and contrasts sharply with the theory upheld by Coloman Tisza and now championed by Count Albert Apponyi, that *as individual* every citizen has equal rights before the law, but that the nationalities as such can have no legal status within “the one and indivisible political Hungarian nation.” Neither standpoint satisfied the Roumanian and Slovak leaders of that day, who still looked to Vienna for their political salvation, and whose lack of perspective led them to entertain extravagant hopes for the future. But the next generation has learnt from bitter experience, that with the standpoint of Deák and Eötvös an honourable compromise is possible, while the standpoint of Tisza and Apponyi reduces the non-Magyars to the position of helots and threatens them with political extinction.

(The Report never attracted wide attention, and among the non-Magyar nationalities it was quite eclipsed by Parliament’s harsh and tactless attitude towards the Slovak Memorandum and the Serb petition. Hence while the Magyars reverted to a policy of sullen and obstinate passivity, the Slovaks were driven once more into the arms of Vienna) (The Palatinal Council, even under the “Provisorium” of Schmerling, was sufficiently Magyar in sentiment to threaten them with a further curtailment of the few rights which they still possessed. In direct defiance of two decrees of October 5, 1861, issued by the Hungarian Chancellory in Vienna, requiring the Palatinal Council to respect the wishes of the non-Magyars at the reorganization of Catholic gymnasiums, the latter body published only a fortnight later an order which threatened all German and Slovak schools with the introduction of the Magyar language, and which placed Magyar on an equal footing with Slovak in the Catholic gymnasium at Neusohl. This innovation caused great alarm and indignation, and could not be justified even on the ground of providing for a Magyar population, since the entire diocese of Neusohl did not contain a single Magyar parish. Roused by such unwarrantable action, Dr. Stephen Moyses, the Bishop of Neusohl, one of the truest of Slovak patriots, decided to appeal to the monarch direct on behalf of his unfortunate countrymen; and on December 12, 1861, a Slovak deputation headed by the Bishop was

actually received by Francis Joseph in the Hofburg at Vienna, and presented an address of grievances and requests. This address, and the memorial submitted by Bishop Moyses himself at the same time, mark a decided advance upon the manifestos of May, 1848, and¹ June, 1861.²¹² They are at once more lucid and dignified, they avoid the verbosity and provocative tone of the Memorandum, show far more respect for existing institutions, and base their case upon law and fact. They lay stress upon the racial equality and concord which had prevailed in Hungary during former centuries, and contrast this with the Magyar hegemony which the legislation of the past seventy years has established. The non-Magyars, they assert, are quite content to recognize the Magyar language in the higher administration, but they demand free play for their own tongues in church, school and local affairs, and in their direct contact with the authorities. The Magyars will not allow this, and try to "cut off from the Slovaks every road to culture, and thus to let them languish in a condition of moral and social atrophy, as the prey of a future Magyarizing policy." (In effect, they put forward the same claims as the Memorandists—the formation of a Slovak Okolie, with a Slovak local assembly: the introduction of Slovak within this district as the official language of administration, justice and education: free control of the schools by "the Slovak nation"—but at the same time they are careful to define the new territory of their dreams as "an integral part of Hungary," which would be subject to the central Parliament and to the supreme authorities. Moreover, they repair the most regrettable omission of the Memorandum: for while claiming Slovak as the official language of the Okolie, they specially exclude all places of other nationality, and express the wish that their communal affairs should be conducted without hindrance in the language of the majority.)

Bishop Moyses was inundated with addresses of thanks from the Slovak villages and corporations of North Hungary for his courageous advocacy of the Slovak cause²¹³; but the

²¹² I have treated the two documents together. They are to be found in *Petitionen der Serben und Slovaken vom Jahre 1861*. (Vienna, 1862). A translation of the latter will be found in Appendix ii.

²¹³ The *Pestbudínske Vedomosti* published no fewer than sixty-five of these addresses in the early months of 1862. And yet Béla Grünwald calmly asserts (*Felvidék*, p. 41) that "the majority of the Slovak population showed the greatest antipathy and indignation" towards the Slovak national programme.

aspirations which he had voiced so eloquently still remained unrealized. None the less, during the Schmerling era the Slovaks were allowed to breathe more freely. Not merely Moyses, but Zabojsky, Bishop of Zips, sympathized with the movement, and permitted the appointment of Slovak professors in the clerical seminaries, a fact which filled Béla Grünwald and his votaries with rage.²¹⁴

Almost all the existing gymnasia of North Hungary were, it is true, Magyarized ; but at the same time the Slovaks were allowed for the first time to erect secondary schools of their own.) In 1862 the Lutherans, led by Stephen Daxner, the author of the Memorandum, and Charles Kuzmány, the superintendent, founded two Protestant gymnasia at Nagy-Röcze and at Turócz St. Márton ; and five years later, when the Compromise had already been concluded, the Catholics followed their example by founding a third Slovak gymnasium at Znio-Váralja. (The action of the Slovaks met with the greatest hostility from the Magyars and the renegates of the north ; but under Schmerling, and during the first years of the new era, when Deák's influence was still supreme, they were allowed to subsist. Grünwald, in his slanderous and vituperative pamphlet, actually argued that a Slovak gymnasium was a contradiction in terms and could not be a gymnasium in the real sense of the word.²¹⁵ A further assertion of Grünwald—that the chief aim of the Slovak nationalists was that their pupils should learn neither Magyar nor German—can only be described as a deliberate lie.²¹⁶ Not merely

²¹⁴ Grünwald (*Felvidék*, p. 43) actually goes the length of reproaching Bishop Roskoványi of Nyitra for merely following "theological and devotional aims," and neglecting "the political interests of the country"! The present Episcopal Bench in Hungary would be after Grünwald's own heart.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 142.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 143. This is by no means the only statement in Grünwald's book which deserves to be called by its right name. Prejudice and fanaticism master him so completely, that on p. 81 he actually accuses his adopted race, the Magyars, of "trembling before the fight and surrendering to every little foe." The Magyars will surely not leave it to a foreigner like myself to describe this as an infamous libel on their race. Csak az igazság lelkesíti és nemesíti meg az embert igazán—"only the truth really inspires and ennobles man" (p. 58)—is a phrase which its author would have done well to remember. He might then have realized the enormity of his assumption (p. 55), that lying is habitual among all Slavs! On p. 49 he goes so far [as to say, "That anyone could seriously wish to be a Slovak, would involve incredible narrow-mindedness"!

did the statutes of all three schools expressly prescribe such teaching; but no one knew better than Grünwald himself that the "Panslav" gymnasiums in the brief period of their existence had provided their pupils with a thorough grounding in both these languages, and especially in the "language of State."

(But by far the most important concession to the Slovaks was the legal sanction of a national literary society, the Slovenská Matica, at Turócz St. Márton. This permission, which according to western ideas of freedom should have been granted as a matter of course, had been withheld since 1851, when the poet Kollár and Kuzmány first brought forward the project); and it aroused the very greatest indignation among the Magyars, by whom the distinction between *meum* and *tuum* is applied with special rigour to matters of political liberty. The statutes of the new society laid down as its foremost aims the furtherance of the moral and intellectual culture of the Slovaks, the encouragement of Slovak literature and art, and the advancement of material wellbeing among the peasantry. A generous response was made to the appeal for funds, and considering the extreme poverty of the Slovaks, and their lack of a leisured class, it is little short of marvellous that 94,000 florins (£7,800) should have been collected before the day of the first meeting. The Emperor-King himself sent 1,000 florins, and over 5,000 persons are said to have contributed their mite to the Matica funds.) 441 original members were enrolled, and almost as many ordinary members. (The first general meeting was opened by John Francisci at Turócz St. Márton on August 4, 1863, and was attended by many hundred educated Slovaks and 4,000 or 5,000 of the peasantry. Bishop Moyses, who appeared in person, had a triumphal procession most of the way from Neusohl: crowds gathered in every village to welcome him as "the father of the people," and according to Slovak custom mounted bands of Slovak youths escorted him on his way. When he entered the little town of Márton, under a triumphal arch erected for the occasion, an address of welcome was presented to him by the Lutheran superintendent Kuzmány, and cries of "Slava" resounded on every side. The assembly itself was opened by the singing of "Hej Slováci," the national hymn, which is now virtually proscribed in Hungary; ²¹⁷ and in the evening a comedy was performed, and the poet Chalupka recited some of his own

²¹⁷ See p. 390.

compositions.²¹⁸ (No one can doubt that the enthusiasm was genuine and lasting, and during the eleven years of its existence the Matica displayed great activity, considering the unfavourable political milieu in which it had to work.) Among its publications were eleven volumes under the title of *Letopis* (containing historical essays and collections of Czech and Slovak documents), a biography of the poet Zrinyi, and a number of schoolbooks and primers of agriculture, book-keeping, and various peasant industries. A committee was appointed to collect material for a new Slovak dictionary, to edit the rich store of folksongs, proverbs and legends, and to prepare a suitable anthology of Slovak poetry. Prizes were offered for works on Slovak history and art, popular lectures were organized for the instruction of the people, and over a hundred reading clubs and tiny libraries in different parts of "Slovensko" received encouragement from the headquarters of the Matica. Finally it supported poor Slovak students at the Catholic and Protestant gymnasiums of Neusohl and Rócze and at the University, and advanced small loans to distressed Slovak communes.)

The dissolution of the Diet of 1861 ushered in the so-called "Provisorium." This centralist scheme of Schmerling was doomed from the first to failure, for while in Austria it favoured the Germans at the expense of all the other races, in Hungary it sought to reduce the Magyars to the status of a subject race, without at the same time making the necessary concessions to the nationalities. Schmerling's failure was due to a crass miscalculation, which can only be ascribed to ignorance. He had expected that the Magyars would attend the Reichsrath, in which 120 seats had been reserved for Hungary (exclusive of Transylvania and Croatia); whereas their unanimous abstention reduced the new Parliament to a Rump, and incidentally created a precedent which proved fatal to the Germans of Austria. In Transylvania alone did he achieve even a partial success; but the presence of twenty-six Saxon deputies in Vienna was discounted by the abstention of the Magyars and even of the Roumanians: Transylvanian autonomy was actively encouraged by Schmerling; the petitions of the Saxons, the deputations of the Roumanians, were alike received by the Emperor; the Magyar population was made to realize for the first time its numerical minority.

²¹⁸ *Slavische Blätter* (ed. Abel Lukšič), Vienna, 1865 (pp. 451-3).

A rescript of June 15, 1863, revised the franchise in a sense highly favourable to the Roumanians, and limited to forty the number of Regalists, or deputies nominated by the monarch.²¹⁹ Hence the Diet which emerged from the new elections reflected fairly accurately the true racial divisions of the population; but for this very reason the fifty-one Magyar deputies refused to attend, and published a protest against the infringement of the constitution. The two other nations of Transylvania were thus left in possession of the field, and after declaring the Act of Union illegal and invalid, proceeded to proclaim the national and religious equality of the Roumanians with the Magyars, Szekels and Saxons (August 31), and on September 24 recognized the equality of the Magyar, German and Roumanian languages for all official purposes of the principality. Just and enlightened as this law was, the fact that it was passed by two races in the absence of the third impaired its value and proved fatal to its authority. The situation in Transylvania remained unsettled, and the three rival races were at one in admitting that their fate depended not so much upon their own efforts as upon the result of negotiations between Vienna and Budapest.²²⁰

Schmerling's policy, despite his lofty ideals and singleness of purpose, was from the very first condemned to sterility, and its abandonment was only a question of time. The growing sympathy which Francis Joseph displayed for Hungary unconsciously kept pace with the difficulties which he encountered from Prussian rivalry; but even had the sympathy been absent, policy and dynastic feeling would have impelled him to make terms with that portion of his dominions which seemed on the one hand most capable of united action and on the other strikingly immune from the brawls and rivalries of Cisleithania. In the summer of 1865, Schmerling was dismissed with almost brutal suddenness, and the way lay open to the conclusion of an understand-

²¹⁹ In the Diet of 1848, which had voted union with Hungary, over 300 members had sat, but of these only ninety were elected (twenty-two Saxons, and only three Roumanians); all the rest sat by right of their offices or of a royal summons, and were Magyars almost to a man. In 1863 the monarch's Magyar counsellors wished him to nominate as Regalists 134 Magyars, 29 Roumanians, and 19 Saxons, in which event the majority of the population would again have been at the mercy of the minority.

²²⁰ Cp. Patterson (*The Magyars*, vol. ii. p. 201), who found this view widespread in Transylvania.

ing with Hungary. The appointment of the Belcredi Ministry deluded the Czechs with false dreams of a dawning Slavophil era in Austria, and a cruel fate had stricken their leaders with blindness, while dowering the politicians of Budapest with more than their share of statecraft and judgment. While Palacky and Rieger, in their enthusiasm for a Federal programme, lost sight for the moment of the claims of the Bohemian Crown, Deák only claimed from his sovereign a return within those legal limits to which the earlier Habsburgs had voluntarily submitted, but which they had so often and so cynically transgressed. In the latter case, concession might be distasteful, but at least it was not fraught with such adventurous issues. The royal prerogative might be curtailed, but the survival of the Monarchy was not set in jeopardy; and a sovereign whose conscience had always been stronger than his imagination and whose whole nature was still summed up in the dramatic phrase "Sire, I am a German prince,"²²¹ was bound to regard the Magyars as a more conservatory element in the state²²² than the Czechs.

In November, 1863, the Transylvanian Diet was convoked at Kolozsvár under the old franchise, and a House of 225 members, of whom only sixty were non-Magyars, gave its sanction to the union of 1848. A month later, Francis Joseph opened the Hungarian Diet in person, and negotiations were resumed with Deák, now more than ever the central figure of his country. In the critical months which preceded the war with Prussia, Deák's calm and noble character showed to signal advantage. The monarch was disposed to withhold his sanction of the laws of 1848 until some of the features which he regarded as objectionable had been revised, and to make his oath and coronation dependent upon the Diet's compliance with his wishes. A statesman less imbued with constitutional ideas and usages, might have been tempted to concede this as a mere point of honour; Deák, who saw clearly the vital issues involved, would not hear of any settlement on lines of opportunism, which he regarded as at variance with law and constitution alike. To concede the legality of the existing situation would be, as he rightly argued in his famous speech of February 22, 1866, not opportunism, but absolutism pure and simple. The two Addresses of Parliament to the sovereign

²²¹ His answer to Napoleon III's suggestion of an anti-Prussian coalition.

²²² *Staatserhaltend*, in the admirable German phrase.

were closely modelled on these views, and laid special stress on the legal continuity of the Hungarian constitution. The idea that the laws of 1848 were merely concessions due to the dangers of Ferdinand's position—an argument put forward during the subsequent negotiations between Deák and Beust—struck at the root of all constitutional government, and would have invalidated the compromise of 1867 in its turn. It is perfectly true that every exponent of absolute government, from Charles I to Nicholas II, has yielded to the exigencies of the moment rather than to his personal convictions : but this cannot form an excuse for the violation of laws duly voted by the legislature and sanctioned by the monarch. Deák braved the displeasure of the Court and resisted the advice of the more diplomatic Andrassy ; but at the same time he carefully refrained from any step which might offend the sovereign's pride or prove a hindrance to subsequent negotiations.

The war with Prussia necessarily postponed the settlement, and the prorogation of the Hungarian Parliament was regarded on both sides as a mere truce. Hungary's attitude during the war was one of extreme reserve ; yet the fiasco which attended the inroad of Klapka's Prusso-Magyar Legion was not solely due to the hostility of the Slovak peasantry, and it is probable that the publication of an appeal to the Hungarian nation, which Bismarck urged upon King William, would have met with little response. But on the other hand, the transference of military operations to Hungary, which must have followed the rupture of negotiations at Nikolsburg, might have led to a recrudescence of Kossuthist sentiments and the creation of a very serious situation ; for even the Hungarian origin of Benedek²²³ was insufficient to rouse the enthusiasm of the Magyars for the cause of Austria. One more Austrian reverse, said Somssich after Königgrätz, and a rising is certain.²²⁴

²²³ Benedek was the son of a German Protestant doctor in Oedenburg (Sopron), and owed his entry into the army to the personal influence of Radetzky. His brilliant exploits at Cracow in 1846 and Mortara in 1849 were eclipsed by his leadership at Solferino in 1859, where his victory on the right wing saved the Austrian army from complete defeat.

²²⁴ Cit. Eisenmann, *op. cit.* p. 429.

CHAPTER IX

The Ausgleich and the Nationalities

“Every national movement is nothing else but a struggle for or against historic right.”—*Eötvös*.

THE defeat of Königgrätz transformed the whole political situation in Central Europe. The dream of Austrian hegemony in Germany was rudely dispelled, and with it the unnatural occupation of Northern Italy came also to an end. The energies which had hitherto found their vent on the northern and southern frontiers were thus of necessity directed towards the East, and Bismarck was merely voicing a very widespread idea when he recommended the transference of the seat of government from Vienna to Budapest. Sentiment and geography prevailed over diplomatic considerations; but while Vienna remained the residence of the court, Budapest acquired from the first a dominant influence in foreign politics which it was to retain for well-nigh forty years.

On July 19, 1866, Francis Deák was summoned to an audience with his sovereign, and made his memorable reply, “Hungary asks no more after Königgrätz than she asked before it.” The Magyar statesman acted with a generosity which was not the less real because it revealed a clear grasp of the situation, and his answer completed the personal conquest of the monarch. But of course, though Hungary’s demands were not raised, they had been converted by force of circumstances from a maximum to a minimum programme,²²⁵ since the prospect of their attainment was now so immeasurably greater.

The appointment of Baron Beust, the former Premier of Saxony, to the Austrian Foreign Office marked a fresh stage in the negotiations. Enmity to Prussia had long been the ruling motive in Beust’s career, and in accepting office in Austria he was to a great extent prompted by sentiments of revenge, in which the affronts offered by Bismarck to his per-

²²⁵ Eisenmann, *op. cit.* p. 430.

sonal vanity played no small part. While encouraging Austria not to recognize her defeat in Germany as final, he regarded the Magyars as the most valuable asset in the coming struggle, and was ready to purchase their aid by the most far-reaching and even reckless concessions. Theoretically, Deák's position was already impregnable; but until the advent of Beust there was still grave doubt as to whether it would ever be converted from theory into practice. The Saxon's vanity completed what the lack of political talents among the Slavs had begun; Deák the lawyer and Andrassy the diplomat combined between them all those qualities which were needed for so delicate a task, and owed to superior political talents their triumph over the statesmen of Austria. The winter was spent in further deliberations, but the game was already won; and on February 18, 1867, the restoration of the constitution was publicly announced in Parliament, and a responsible Ministry formed under the premiership of Andrassy. The former lieutenant of Louis Kossuth thus became the instrument of Francis Deák's triumph.

A detailed discussion of the Ausgleich lies wholly beyond the scope of the present volume, but a few general observations may not be out of place. The settlement of 1867 is in theory no new departure, but merely a reaffirmation of ancient rights and privileges—a fresh stage in the historic evolution of the Hungarian constitution. In practice, however, it proved to be the opening of a new era for Hungary. Similar rights had repeatedly been vindicated by earlier Diets, but never before had the House of Habsburg produced a ruler who observed with the same scrupulous loyalty as Francis Joseph the obligations of his coronation oath. The Ausgleich reasserts the ancient independence of Hungary, in accordance with the Pragmatic Sanction and the laws of Leopold II; but it is careful not to interpret this independence in the sense of a mere dynastic link, as desired by Louis Kossuth. While securing to Hungary absolute control of her internal affairs such as she had not enjoyed since the fatal defeat of Mohács, it at the same time assured to the Habsburgs their most vital need—unity in foreign policy—and left undivided the army in whose hands the defence of that policy rested. Dualism did not conquer solely by reason of its intrinsic merits as a political organism, nor even of its historic claims and traditions, but also in virtue of the favourable constellation in Europe. Though a genuine historic evolution, it owed much to the

political talent of individual Hungarian statesmen, and to the sheer incapacity by which the Slavs of Austria wasted a unique opportunity. Deák, who had never lived outside Hungary, and showed little grasp of the foreign situation, was unsurpassed as an exponent of constitutional practice ; but Andrassy, who in his years of exile had become conversant with the problems of European diplomacy, supplied the very qualities which were lacking to the elder statesman.

✓ But while it is true to describe the Ausgleich as the logical outcome of the Pragmatic Sanction, subsequent events have none the less shown it to rest upon a far more cynical basis than that of historic evolution. ✓ The real motive force which underlies the Dual System is a league between the two strongest races, the Germans and the Magyars, who divided the Monarchy between them, and by the grant of autonomy to the two next strongest races, the Poles and the Croats, made them their accomplices in holding down the remaining eight. This state of affairs could only last so long as the position of these four races remained unassailed ; and the fall of the German hegemony in Austria, now an accomplished fact since the collapse of German Liberalism and the introduction of Universal Suffrage must sooner or later prove fatal to the Magyar hegemony in Hungary. To-day the Magyars are ringed round by hostile races, whom they have done everything in their power to incense and instigate against them.

The conclusion of the Ausgleich was followed by a great outburst of legislative activity, rendered necessary by the stagnation of the past nineteen years. The whole system of taxation was re-organized (Laws 16, 19-26, 34, 35). An attempt was made to cope with the evils of usury (31). The chambers of commerce were organized under the control of the Minister of Agriculture (6). The compensation due for the abolition of feudal rights was subjected to definite regulations (33). Considerable sums were voted for the erection of railways in various parts of the country, notably to connect Hungary with the Balkans (12, 13, 37, 45, 51). The law regarding expropriation was defined more closely (55). A Civil Code of procedure was promulgated (54). The national defence, militia and reserve were brought into touch with modern requirements (40-42). The various recognized Churches were placed on a footing of complete equality : the separation of the Greek Oriental Church into two autonomous Serb and Roumanian Churches, and the creation of

a Greek Catholic Archbishopric, received the formal sanction of Parliament (9 and 39); liberty was assured to the individual to change his faith (53) and questions of divorce were relegated to the Church courts (48). The State assumed for the first time the task of providing elementary education for its citizens, and laid down compulsory school attendance, with the mother tongue as the basis of primary instruction (38).²²⁶

In addition to all these measures, three laws were passed, whose paramount importance for the racial future of the country justify us in treating them in greater detail. These were the Croatian Ausgleich, the Transylvanian Union and the Law of Nationalities.

(1) The compromise of 1868 with Croatia is not a mere law of Hungary, but a treaty between two states, represented by the Parliaments of Budapest and Agram²²⁷; and this treaty asserts in the most explicit terms that no agreement between the two countries can be legally valid unless it obtains the sanction of the Croatian Diet. Even in 1868 a favourable majority could not have been secured in Agram, but for the highly questionable methods adopted by the Ban, Baron Levin Rauch; rightly or wrongly, the feeling of the country was strongly opposed to the Ausgleich and inclined to hold out for a more complete form of self-government. The financial conditions of the country, which had been regulated in a manner equally distasteful to Hungary and to Croatia, made resistance difficult, if not impossible, for many years; and the crisis of 1883 was followed by a long period of stagnation, thanks to the skill and tact with which the new Ban, Count Khuen-Hedérváry, concealed other less amiable though equally effective qualities. But electoral corruption and an absurdly narrow franchise²²⁸ never could obscure the fact that an overwhelming majority of the Croatian population resented their country's dependence upon Budapest, and applied to their relations with Hungary the very doctrines which the Kossuthists of Hungary employed in their struggle against Austria.

²²⁶ See chapter xi. for the non-execution of these principles.

²²⁷ In the original Magyar text of the Ausgleich of 1868 (Preamble and Sections 34, 36, 38-42, 54) the same word—országgyűlés—is used to describe both assemblies; and this would seem to demolish effectually the modern Magyar argument that the Diet of Agram is no Parliament in the true sense of the word.

²²⁸ At the present day there are only 49,000 electors in the whole of Croatia-Slavonia, out of a population of 2,400,766.

The Diet of Agram nominally represents the triune kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, but the latter, though in theory subject to the crown of St. Stephen, still forms an integral part of Austria. Croatia enjoys complete autonomy in all matters of administration, justice, religion and education (§ 48), and Croatian is everywhere the language of the legislature and executive (§ 56). The head of the local government is the Ban or Governor, who is appointed by the King on the proposal of the Hungarian Premier (§ 51) and sits by reason of his office in the Hungarian Chamber of Magnates. But while the Ban is responsible to the Diet of Agram (§ 50), the Croatian Minister in the Hungarian Cabinet, who acts as the channel of communication between the Ban and his sovereign, is responsible not to Agram, but to the joint parliament in Budapest.

Agram sends forty delegates to the central Parliament, which thus becomes a joint Hungaro-Croatian legislative body, whenever questions affecting the whole country are under discussion; on these occasions the Croatian national flag is flown side by side with the flag of Hungary upon the Parliament buildings, and the Croats enjoy the right to use their own language in the debates, instead of Magyar.

In section 59 of the Act, Croatia is recognized as "a political nation possessing a special territory of its own," and again in section 29 of the Law of Nationalities as "a separate nation from a political point of view." Thus Croatia is to be regarded as a sovereign state,²²⁹ which has freely made over one of its departments, namely foreign affairs, to the central authority in Budapest; with the result that only the central parliament can legally restore this sphere of influence to those who renounced it.

The weakest points of the Croatian Ausgleich are the financial relations of the two countries, which have often been the subject of mutual recriminations, and the position of the Ban, who is regarded by the Magyars as subordinate to the Hungarian Premier, while the Croats virtually claim for him the status of an autonomous Premier of Croatia. The action of Coloman Tisza in despatching a Royal Commissioner to Agram in 1883 raised this question in its acutest form, and the folly of the

²²⁹ Whether it was really a sovereign state before 1868 is a debatable point, but no one who studies the phraseology of the Ausgleich of that year can escape from the admission that it has been so, at least in theory, since that date.

Coalition Government in enforcing an illegal linguistic provision upon Croatia in the summer of 1907, has reopened the old wound and led to the introduction of an absolutist régime in Croatia.²³⁰

(2) The geographical position of Croatia and the homogeneity of her population had stood her in good stead at the critical period of the Ausgleich. Magyar statesmen saw clearly the impossibility of Magyarizing the country, and anxiety regarding Hungary's access to the sea would have prompted them to come to terms, even if Deák had not been genuinely desirous of an honourable settlement. The situation in Transylvania was quite different. Here the task of assimilation, though difficult, was not wholly impossible; for when the union with Hungary was once accomplished, the 600,000 Magyars and Szekels, instead of being a weak minority in the face of 1,200,000 Roumanians and 200,000 Saxons, combined with their six million kinsmen of the central plains, and thus formed part of a strong and compact Magyar majority. The great change wrought in the position of the Transylvanian Magyars not unnaturally betrayed them into over-confidence and arrogance, and for the next generation a policy of aggressive Magyarization was adopted towards the other races.

The union of Transylvania with Hungary was hurriedly voted on May 29, 1848, under the influence of mob-terrorism. In contrast to all previous occasions on which the question of union had been brought forward,²³¹ the proposals were not submitted to the local jurisdictions, but were discussed and adopted in a single sitting. Indeed so precipitate had been the action of the Magyars that the Governor, Count Teleki, had summoned the Diet on his own responsibility, without awaiting the sanction of the sovereign; and the Act of Union was afterwards submitted to Ferdinand at Innsbruck by the new Hungarian Premier, not by the proper Transylvanian authorities. The constitution of Transylvania rested on the solemnly guaranteed equality of "the three Nations"—the Magyar county assemblies, the Szekel and Saxon Sees (Stühle) and Districts each sending delegates to the Diet in Klausenburg (Kolozsvár) with definite instructions which they might not legally exceed. The Saxon members on this occasion, intimidated by the

²³⁰ See Appendix xxviii., which contains a very brief summary of the Croatian crisis and the historic claims from which it arose.

²³¹ March 7, 1791; March 30, 1838; March 22, 1842, and November 3, 1847.

cries of “ Union or Death ” which resounded beneath their windows, infringed their clear instructions in voting the union ; and this circumstance would of itself throw doubt upon the legality of the Act. But even the most serious technical or legal objections are far outweighed by the moral objection supplied by the glaring anachronisms and inequalities of the Transylvanian franchise. The Roumanians, though they formed the great majority of the population, had been from time immemorial on an inferior footing to the three “ privileged nations,” and indeed only three Roumanians sat in the Diet of 1848. As the Saxons were only represented by twenty-two members, the Magyars commanded a clear majority among the ninety elected delegates, and this majority became overwhelming when reinforced by the votes of the regalist members, the great mass of whom were Magyar nobles and officials. Hence the passage of the Act of Union through such a House was a foregone conclusion.

The outbreaks of the Revolution prevented the Act of Union from being carried into effect, and the loyal support given to the Imperial cause by Saxons and Roumanians alike, served to emphasize the intense unpopularity of the union with all save the Magyar minority. One of the most fatal blunders of Alexander Bach was his ingratitude towards the non-Magyars of Transylvania, who, according to a happy Magyar phrase, received as a reward the same treatment which had been meted out to Hungary as punishment. Schmerling adopted a more tactful policy towards the principality ; but he too infringed the constitution by holding the elections to the new Diet of 1863 under a franchise which had never received constitutional sanction. The various races of Transylvania were for the first time equitably represented in the Diet ; but the Magyar element refused to admit the justice of this change, and their abstention deprived subsequent legislation of its value. The law of August, 1863, recognizing the equality of the Magyar, German and Roumanian languages, was worthy of the best traditions of Transylvania, which had earned a deservedly high reputation for its tolerance at a period when most other nations were striving to enforce their opinions by the sword. But tolerance and logic were of no avail against the Magyars, whose dreams of racial hegemony the enforcement of such a law would have effectually destroyed. After the fall of Schmerling in 1865, the elections to the new Diet were entrusted to the Magyar or Unionist

party, and the legislation of 1863 soon became a mere historic memory. The population of Transylvania amounted in 1865 to close upon two millions,²³² of whom the Magyars formed only 29 per cent., the Germans 12 per cent., and the Roumanians 59 per cent. Yet out of the 106 elected delegates in the new Diet, 61 (that is, 57 per cent., or almost double the proper allowance) were Magyars; while out of the 190 "regalists" 132 were Magyars. Thus the Magyars, despite their crushing numerical minority, commanded a majority of 90 votes over the united forces of the Saxons and Roumanians. The old electoral law of 1791 had been rendered obsolete and even unworkable by the abolition of noble privileges in 1848, and therefore the Government, in order to admit non-nobles to the poll, was obliged to modify the franchise by arbitrary decree, thus adopting the same illegal attitude as Schmerling in 1863. The sole difference was that while Schmerling tried to make the franchise correspond fairly accurately with the racial divisions of the country, his successors readjusted it in such a way as to favour the Magyar element. Thus every noble voted as such, but only those non-nobles enjoyed the franchise who paid at least eight florins in direct taxes—a qualification which was aimed at the poverty of the Roumanians. The dissentient Roumanian members were amply justified in asserting that "a Diet composed upon such a basis lacks the necessary moral force to ensure permanent validity to its decisions."²³³ The attitude of the assembly was a foregone conclusion; the validity of the Act of Union was reaffirmed, and the royal rescript²³⁴ urging a revision of that law, was completely ignored.

On December 25, 1865, the sovereign, in summoning Parliament at Budapest and sanctioning the attendance of the Transylvanian deputies at it, expressly declared the union of the two countries to be "dependent upon due consideration being paid to the special interests of the principality upon the observance of the legally recognized claims of the various nationalities and confessions, and upon the proper regulation of the administrative questions of the country."²³⁵

²³² The census of 1870 returned 2,102,000 (611,581 Magyars, 211,490 Germans, 1,249,447 Roumanians).

²³³ Protest of the Roumanian members. See Appendix xxv. of Brote, *Die rumänische Frage in Siebenbürgen und Ungarn*.

²³⁴ Of October 6, 1865.

²³⁵ Cit. *Preussische Jahrbücher*, xlviil., p. 157.

The first sign of the coming storm was the decision of Parliament in March, 1867, that until the Transylvanian situation had been regulated in accordance with the law of 1848,²³⁶ "the Ministry is empowered to carry out the necessary measures with regard to the government, administration and justice in Transylvania, *on its own responsibility and according to its own views.*" On the strength of this, Conrad Schmidt, the Saxon Count, was promptly forbidden to summon the Saxon University,²³⁷ and on February 3, 1868, was relieved of office, though he had been appointed for life, and appointed not by the Government but by the University. The petitions of the University and of the councils of Hermannstadt and Schässburg were rejected on the ground that "the Ministry had been empowered" to act. A subsequent law deprived the Saxons of the historic right of electing their Count, and vested the appointment in the Crown, under the advice of the Hungarian Ministry (XLIII. § 9).

In December, 1868, the Hungarian Parliament passed a law professing to regulate the details of the Union (XLIII. 1868). By it the special privileges of the various nationalities were abolished, and the equality of all citizens was proclaimed, irrespective of race or religion (§ 1). This clause, at first sight so liberal, contains the germs of racial tyranny. The ancient constitution of the principality was based on the equality of the three "historic nations" (the Magyars, Saxons and Szekels) and of the four recognized creeds (Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran and Unitarian); the significant omission of the Roumanians had at length been remedied by the law of 1863, which corrected historic tradition in the light of modern facts, and placed the three nationalities of Transylvania on an equal legal footing. The new law undermined the privileged position of the Saxons, which alone had saved their scanty numbers from extinction, and relegated the Roumanian majority to a kind of legal limbo, since it neither reduced them to their former status as serfs nor acknowledged their newly acquired rights. The Magyars were the only race to profit by the change, for they were now able to combine with their kinsmen of Hungary proper, and acquired

²³⁶ 1848, VII. 5. "Hungary is ready to accept and maintain all those special laws and liberties of Transylvania, which, while not hindering complete union, are favourable to national liberty and legal unity."

²³⁷ The "University" was the autonomous representative body of the nine Sees (*Stühle*) and two Districts of which the Saxon "King's Land" (*fundus regius, Königsboden*) was composed. The word is thus used in the medieval sense of "universitas."

a steadily increasing influence upon local administration, and before many years had elapsed, an exclusive control of the judicature.

The office of Governor, with all those dependent on it, was abolished (§ 7); the administrative powers of the Hungarian Cabinet were extended to Transylvania (§ 6), and the legislature was merged in the central Parliament of Budapest. Transylvania was henceforth to be represented by seventy-five deputies in Parliament (§ 4), and the foremost officials of its counties and districts, including the Saxon Count, were assigned seats in the Chamber of Magnates (§ 5).

Perhaps the most remarkable provisions of this law, in view of subsequent events, are those referring to Saxon autonomy. The rights and privileges of the Saxon University, as enjoyed in previous centuries, were (with the single exception of its judicial functions²³⁸) solemnly guaranteed (§ 11). The Ministry was instructed to introduce a further law guaranteeing the rights of self-government enjoyed by the various Sees (sedes) and Districts of "the King's Land" (Königsboden: fundus regius) having previously consulted them regarding the details.²³⁹ Till the introduction of this law, the Government was empowered to take provisional action in matters concerning the Saxon territory.

When county government was reorganized in 1870 (Act XLII.), reference was again made (§ 88) to the special law which was to be devoted to the regulation of Saxon affairs, yet year after year was allowed to pass, and no such law was ever brought before Parliament. Meanwhile the Minister of the Interior, exercising his provisional powers, aimed repeated blows at the autonomy which he was solemnly pledged to respect. As early as January 24, 1869, he issued a decree annexing sixteen Roumanian communes to the See of Hermannstadt, and ten Magyar and Roumanian communes to the See of Kronstadt. A serious inroad was thus made upon the German character of the two most important Saxon districts, and aliens acquired an influence over the administration and disposition of Saxon national property. In March of the same year a further decree imposed fresh regulations for the election of the representative bodies and of the local officials; the selection of candidates for these posts was placed

²³⁸ Law LIV. of 1868 annulled the High Court of eHermannstadt.

²³⁹ "Nach geschehener Einvernehmung der betreffenden," runs the German text.

in the hands of the Saxon Count (just as the candidature of county officials in the hands of the High Sheriffs) and proofs of legal training were dispensed with!

In 1871 the new law regulating the communes was applied to the Saxons also, though the Act of Union had expressly left in force the Transylvanian law of 1791 (XIII.) which secured the Saxon University in its control of communal affairs. The Magyar language was introduced into the Saxon administration (in virtue of XLIV., 1868), which had hitherto been conducted in German only, and became the official language in courts of first instance (in defiance of the same law, XLIV., 7, 8, 9; and 1869 IV., 6). At length in April, 1876, a law was introduced by Tisza's Ministry, not carrying out the pledge of the Act of Union, but directly violating it (XII., 1876)! All existing distinctions in the matter of administration were abolished (§ 1). The ancient office of Saxon Count was annulled, and the honorary title was assigned to the High Sheriff of the county of Hermannstadt (§ 2). The sphere of influence of the Saxon University is henceforth restricted to control over its property and the application of its income (§ 3); but even then, its expenditure is strictly limited to educational objects (§ 4)—surely a clear infringement of the rights of property. The general assembly²⁴⁰ of the University becomes the executive authority for these purposes, subject to the Government's right of inspection (§ 7). Yet the validity of its decisions is made dependent upon Ministerial sanction, and this sanction has actually been given to resolutions which were passed by a minority of two members!²⁴¹ Moreover the president of the assembly, who as High Sheriff is a nominee of the Government, has the right to terminate the sitting of the assembly, if "*in his opinion*" it has exceeded its sphere of action (§ 14), and if the meeting prove refractory, to prorogue the debate for a fortnight.

This iniquitous law was followed by a redistribution of the counties, especially in Transylvania (1876, XXXIII.). The natural course to pursue would have been to make the county boundaries so far as possible coincide with ethnographical divisions; but instead of this, an attempt was made

²⁴⁰ The electors to this assembly are divided into eleven constituencies, but their distribution rested originally with the Minister of the Interior (§ 9)!

²⁴¹ See page 244.

to play off Saxon and Roumanian against each other, and to place them at a strategical disadvantage, in the hope of securing for the Magyar minority the control of most of the county assemblies. On December 19, 1873, the Saxon University had sent a memorial to the Premier, voicing its objections to the proposed redistribution. On January 27, 1874, a reply was received from the Minister of the Interior, severely reprimanding the University for the contents of this memorial, and on the ground of a rescript from the unconstitutional period, denying its right to discuss public affairs and making its president responsible for the cessation of such complaints. Thus arbitrarily did a constitutional Government withhold the right of petition and of free speech from the Saxons in a matter which concerned their most vital interests.²⁴² By a refinement of cruelty, the new law was treated in Parliament as a completion of the Act of Union, which had solemnly guaranteed the rights of the Saxon territory. Fine phrases about mediaeval anachronisms were employed to conceal the outrage thus offered to law and morality; but occasionally the veil was drawn aside. Baron Gabriel Kemény declared that the Saxons had forfeited their rights by sending deputies to the Reichsrath in the Schmerling era, while Coloman Tisza argued that parliamentary power stands higher than any rights.²⁴³

Saxon autonomy was now at an end, and the Hungarian Parliament had perjured itself in the eyes of the world. The small numbers of the Saxons made them an easy prey, and although their wealth, culture and sturdy independence have delayed the process of decay, they have been fighting a losing battle for the past generation, and there is little or no prospect of their ever recovering the rights of which they were so perfidiously robbed.²⁴⁴ It has been reserved for the despised Roumanians to check the victorious advance of the Magyars and to reassert the claims of racial equality in a country where their ancestors so long occupied the position of serfs. The great mass of the Roumanian population has never become reconciled to the absorption of Transylvania in Hungary, and even those who are least disposed to look to Bucarest would welcome a revision of some of the more objectionable features of the Act of Union.

²⁴² Löher, *Das Erwürgen der deutschen Nationalität in Ungarn*.

²⁴³ *Preussische Jahrbücher*, xlviii. p. 168.

²⁴⁴ Germany's attitude to this spoliation is briefly referred to on page 171.

THE LAW OF NATIONALITIES

(3) The Magyars had adopted a graduated scale in their treatment of the other races. Croatia, as the most formidable and the most favourably situated, received a measure of autonomy which, if considered from the standpoint of the Magyar national state, can only be regarded as generous to the point of rashness. Skilfully timed concessions to Croatia left them a free hand in Transylvania, whose autonomy was sacrificed to the phantom of racial unity. There still remained the vital question of the nationalities in Hungary proper, whose existence it has long been the fashion to deny, but which is to-day acuter than ever.

In 1867, all political power in Hungary had been delivered into the hands of a single race. Many circumstances favoured the Magyar hegemony—a long political training, the existence of a strong national nobility, superior numbers and education, a strong geographical and economic position. But even with all these advantages, this hegemony could only be permanently assured by the assimilation of the non-Magyar races. The Slavs and Roumanians must either be so weakened as to lose their nationality altogether, or a day would inevitably come when they would not merely claim but vindicate their share of political rights. Deák and Eötvös were entirely at one with Tisza in regarding assimilation as the ideal solution of the racial problem: but they differed from him radically in their choice of methods. They held that a policy of mildness and concession would prove more efficacious than restrictive measures, and that Magyar culture, if it was to prove equal to the task of assimilation, could only conquer in virtue of its innate superiority and moral force. On these grounds they refused to recognize the nationalities as separate entities within the state, but designed a law which should make it possible for every race to develop its own language and culture without [let or hindrance. Though it was strongly opposed by the non-Magyar leaders of 1868 as unjust and inadequate, there is little doubt that the vast mass of their followers would have been satisfied by the very genuine national guarantees which the law contained. But unhappily the intolerance of Deák's successors prevented its execution, and party exigencies have rendered the Government every year less inclined to make concessions to the nationalities.

The Law of Equal Rights of the Nationalities (XLIV., 1868), as definitely adopted by the Hungarian Parliament on December 1, 1868, may be divided for purposes of criticism

into two unequal and somewhat contradictory parts. The preamble and the first paragraph emphasize the political unity of the state, while the remaining paragraphs define the concessions which may be made to the individual nationalities without endangering that unity. "Since all citizens of Hungary, according to the principles of the constitution, form from a political point of view one nation—the indivisible unitary Hungarian nation—of which every citizen of the fatherland is a member, no matter to what nationality he belongs; since, moreover, this equality of right can only exist with reference to the official use of the various languages of the country . . . only in so far as is rendered necessary by the unity of the country and the practical possibility of Government and administration; the following rules will serve as standard regarding the official use of the various languages, while in all other matters the complete equality of the citizens remains untouched."²⁴⁵ It becomes clear, then, at the very outset, that from a strictly legal standpoint the title of this law is a misnomer; the equality of the Hungarian races is not absolute, but is made conditional upon reasons of state. Of course, this does not necessarily detract from the liberal nature of the law, for a state composed of mixed races is bound to have greater regard for the well-being of the whole than for that of any of the parts; but on the other hand, where rights are made conditional, more depends upon the manner in which the law is executed, and more loopholes are supplied for its evasion. And so it has proved in Hungary. The Law of Nationalities has remained almost from the very first a dead letter, its various provisions being treated in Government circles as wholly irreconcilable with the principles laid down in the preamble.

Like so many other laws on the statutebook of Hungary, the Law of Nationalities is vitiated by employing in the original text only a single word (*magyar*) for two essentially different conceptions—Hungarian, the wide geographical term embracing the whole territory of St. Stephen—and Magyar, the narrow racial term, applicable only to one out of the many nationalities of the country. The ambiguity,

²⁴⁵ Croatia-Slavonia is of course expressly excluded from all provisions of the Act (§ 29), on the ground that these kingdoms "possess a special territory and form politically a special nation." For the complete text of the Law of Nationalities, which has, I believe, never appeared in English before, see Appendix iii.

of the phrase becomes apparent when “ the political unity of a *magyar nemzet* (the Hungarian nation) ” is under discussion ; for the attempt has often been made to define “ a magyar nemzet ” as “ az uralkodó nemzet,” in other words as “ the ruling race,” not as “ the Hungarian nation,”²⁴⁶ and there is no doubt that Coloman Tisza himself favoured this view. The preamble, then, was undoubtedly intended by Deák as a concession to the extremer elements in Parliament, led by the future Premier Coloman Tisza, whose early reputation as a Radical did not prevent him from developing into a typical bourgeois reactionary ; and it is probable that without this preamble the bill would never have passed at all. Just as its omission might in later years have supplied the advocates of federalism with dangerous arguments, so its inclusion made it possible for the Chauvinists whose star was now in the ascendant, to lay stress upon its paramount importance, to dilate upon its incompatibility with the rest of the law, to argue that all subsequent paragraphs must be strictly interpreted in the light of the opening phrases, and finally to declare their execution to be inconsistent with the Magyar hegemony and the very existence of the race. This gradation of argument, which seems to its adherents as convincing as a proposition of Euclid, savours in reality only too strongly of the schoolmaster’s famous sequence from white through whitish-grey to greyish-black and black.

I now propose to analyse as briefly as possible the main provisions of this all-important law, grouping them under six principal heads, and showing the alarming differences between theory and practice. In most cases references will be given to other chapters of the book, where the reader will find closer details of the non-execution of the law.

I. Magyar is proclaimed as the official language of the state, the language of Parliament, government and administration (§ 1), of the county assemblies and their officials (§§ 2-5), of the law courts (§ 13), and of the University (§ 19). All these sections, we need hardly point out, have been observed with a strictness which serves to throw into greater relief the

²⁴⁶ Cp. Helfy’s speech during the Education debates of 1879 (referred to on p. 217). The Roumanian Memorandum of 1892 declares with some exaggeration : “ Through this intentional confusion of the political conception of the nation with the ethnical, the law denies from its very first sentence onwards our existence as a political factor.” Brote, op. cit., p. 334.

non-execution of the remainder. The need of a common language was obvious to all save the most frenzied apostles of separatism; and the historic traditions, numerical importance and geographical position of the Magyars gave to their language far the strongest claims, since German, its only possible rival, was associated with foreign aggression and an absolutist régime. The refusal to recognize the nationalities as distinct bodies in the state was due to the rooted dislike which the genuine Magyar has always displayed for federalist schemes; but he can hardly be blamed for declining to make so far-reaching a concession to his opponents of 1848, until a more moderate experiment had been tried. The avowed aim of the law was not the Magyarization of the nationalities, but merely their conversion into loyal subjects of the Hungarian state—a consummation which could only be reached if Hungary were made attractive to them, and if free play were given to the development of their own national languages and customs. This view, so eloquently expounded by Baron Eötvös,²⁴⁷ found expression in the Law of Nationalities; but the new generation, to whom Tisza was more akin than Deák, held the very different view that the nationalities were not fulfilling their patriotic duty if they merely became bilingual, and that they must show a greater preference for “the national language” than for their native tongue.²⁴⁸

2. *Administration.*—(a) While no other language save Magyar is admissible in Parliament,²⁴⁹ in the county assemblies, on the other hand, the minutes may be drawn up in a second language as well as Magyar, if one-fifth of the members of the assembly desire it (§ 2); and in any case every member has the right to speak in his mother tongue (§ 3). The county assemblies in their intercourse with the Government must employ the Magyar language, but may, in addition to this, employ any other language which is officially used for their

²⁴⁷ Eötvös, *Die Nationalitätenfrage*, pp. 63–8, 165–6.

²⁴⁸ According to § 1, the laws are to be published “in authentic translations” in all the Hungarian languages. But, as a matter of fact, it is impossible to obtain a Roumanian Slovak or Ruthene translation of the laws, and even some volumes of the German translation have been allowed to get out of print.

²⁴⁹ This really applies only to Hungary proper. In debates which concern the joint territory of Hungary and Croatia, the forty Croatian deputies, as “deputies of a political nation possessing a special territory of its own,” have the right to use their own language (see 1868, XXX., § 59; and 1868, XLIV., § 29).

minutes (§ 4); in their intercourse with other assemblies, they may choose between Magyar and one of the official languages of their correspondent (§ 4), while in their intercourse with their own communes, or with individuals or institutions in the county, the language of these latter is "so far as possible" to be employed (§ 6).²⁵⁰ The language of state is to be employed by the county officials in their official business, but should this lead to difficulties, another language of the minutes is to be used (§ 5).

Opinions may differ as to the extent to which the above provisions were intended to serve a merely decorative purpose; certain it is that their seemingly liberal nature was counteracted by the peculiar franchise—half virilist and only half elective—which was adopted for the county assemblies, and which tended to place the nationalities in a permanent minority too weak to enforce observance of the law. It has not been found possible to deprive non-Magyar members of the right to speak in their mother tongue; but the minutes are invariably drawn up in the Magyar language only, except in the few Saxon assemblies, where German is used as a supplementary language.²⁵¹

How effectually all other languages save Magyar have been excluded from the local assemblies is shown by an incident which occurred as recently as the spring of 1908. A majority of the Town Council of Oedenburg (Sopron) insisted upon the minutes being drawn up in German as well as Magyar, in accordance with section 2 of the Law of Nationalities; and the Minister of the Interior, when the case was referred to him, upheld the decision. So unheard-of a concession roused the Press of Budapest to great indignation, and their comments upon the incident made it very evident that Chauvinist public opinion would not tolerate the extension of this right to any other nationality save the German, whom even the extremists are still disposed to propitiate.

²⁵⁰ Of course the words "so far as possible" were really intended to guard against the possibility of a foreigner, say a Turk or an Abyssinian, insisting on the letter of the law being applied to suit his convenience. In this connection see p. 159.

²⁵¹ Even the fair-minded "Mercator" argues (*Die Nationalitätenfrage und die ungarische Reichsidee*, p. 69) that the keeping of the minutes of county assemblies in a non-Magyar language is unnecessary, because their members almost without exception understand the Magyar language. But even if this be true, it will cease to be so after the reform of the local government franchise—a much-needed reform which cannot be delayed much longer.

(b) The Act does not expressly enjoin upon the county officials a knowledge of the languages spoken in their district ; it merely imposes on the Government the vague pledge " that in judicial and administrative offices persons belonging to the various nationalities shall *so far as possible* be employed, *who possess the necessary linguistic knowledge* and also other qualifications " (§ 27). Now it is obvious that unless this clause is very closely observed, all the other provisions which we have cited must of necessity remain a dead letter. And this is what has actually occurred. The extent to which linguistic attainments—so essential in a polyglot country like Hungary—have been neglected, may be realized from the Circular sent in December, 1907, by Count Andrassy, the Minister of the Interior, to all the county authorities of Hungary. In it he insists that " those county officials who in virtue of their position have continual intercourse with the people—above all the *szólgabirós*²⁵²—shall possess a knowledge of the language of the inhabitants of their district, at least sufficiently to converse without hindrance with the people, to understand them and to make their own orders comprehensible to them." As Count Andrassy justly remarks, " without a knowledge of the language of the population the official is like a foreigner to the people . . . cannot know their grievances and aims, cannot win their confidence " ; but the necessity for such language and the late hour at which it is employed (on the eve of universal suffrage) throws an unpleasant light upon Hungarian administration.

(c) In the communal assemblies a wider latitude is allowed to the non-Magyar languages. Each assembly prescribes its own official language, and is bound to adopt a second language also at the wish of one-fifth of its members, each of whom enjoys the right to speak in his own language (§§ 20, 24), while in its intercourse with the county assembly and its officials, and with the central Government, it is free to employ either the language of state or its own official language, in its correspondence with other county assemblies, either the language of state or one of the official languages of that assembly. The communal officials are bound to employ the language of the district in their intercourse with its inhabitants (§ 21).

²⁵² Local executive officials, for whom there is no exact equivalent in English.

These provisions have rarely been enforced. The members of communal assemblies are, of course, allowed to speak in their mother tongue, for the excellent reason that business would otherwise be impossible. But the minutes are drawn up in Magyar only, and any attempt to insist upon the use of another language is treated by the authorities as savouring of Panslavism. Two startling instances of this are given on page 248. Meanwhile, many of the local officials are entirely ignorant of the language spoken by the majority of the inhabitants; and this leads to frequent embezzlement and other corrupt dealing. The schedules of taxation are especially liable to be falsified, owing to the absence of proper control upon many of the village notaries.

(d) Every citizen has the right to present petitions or applications in his mother tongue alike to his own communal or county assembly, to his ecclesiastical authorities and to the central Government: and to other communal or county assemblies either in the language of state or in one of their official languages (§ 23).

Perhaps the most effective commentary upon this clause is a reference to the speech delivered by the present Premier Dr. Alexander Wekerle, in Parliament, on June 2, 1906. After declaring that it was impossible to fulfil the linguistic desires of the non-Magyars in the Law of Nationalities, and adding that "properly trained individuals must be entrusted with administrative duties" (a highly suggestive phrase), he went on to say, "I am not in a position to fulfil that provision of the Law of Nationalities, by which the decision is to be given in the same language in which the petition is handed in." For once the mask is lifted, and no attempt is made to conceal the violation of the law.

(e) Nationality is not to be an obstacle to the holding of any office or dignity, and the Government is bound to fill judicial and administrative posts—above all the position of High Sheriff of the county—with members of the various nationalities, so long as they possess the necessary linguistic qualifications (§ 27).

In eleven counties the Roumanians, in seven counties the Slovaks, form a majority of from 66 to 96 per cent. of the population, and yet not a single Roumanian or Slovak has been appointed High Sheriff for the past generation. Before the union with Hungary, there were over a dozen Roumanian High Sheriffs in Transylvania, and almost one-third of the

administrative officials were Roumanian,²⁵³ but in 1891 there were only 183 Roumanians among the 3,105 officials of Transylvania, or 5·8 per cent., whereas on a strict basis of population there would have been at least 60 per cent.) and in the ten counties of Hungary proper which contain a Roumanian population, there were 226 among 3,649, or only 6 per cent.²⁵⁴

3. *Justice*.—Every individual has the right to employ his mother tongue before his own communal or district court (*járásbiróság*: *Bezirksgericht*) (§7). In such cases the judge is bound to accept and deal with petitions and complaints, and to issue summonses, in the language of the parties concerned. The reports of the trial are to be drawn up in whichever of the official languages of the county may be agreed upon between the parties at law. If they cannot agree, the judge decides which language is to be used; but in this case the contents of the reports must be interpreted to the parties. The verdict is to be pronounced in the language in which the trial has been conducted, but the judge is bound to supply the parties with an authentic translation of the verdict in their own language, provided this be in use in the county assembly (§8). In cases of appeal, which have been conducted in a non-Magyar language, the higher court is to translate the necessary documents by means of a properly qualified person, at the public expense (§12).

All these provisions remain a dead letter. Indeed, the re-organization of the judicial system of Hungary in 1870 involved the abolition of the old county courts, and as the rights assured to the nationalities in them were not extended to the newly created courts, the most essential judicial concessions thus tacitly fell into abeyance within a couple of years of the original grant, and have never been renewed since. And yet Magyar writers continue to quote the judicial sections of the Law of Nationalities as though they were still in force to-day.

At present the proceedings of all the Hungarian courts, whether of first, second or third instance, are conducted in the Magyar language. Many of the judges and public prosecutors—though not all—understand the languages of the districts in which their courts are situated; but the reports

²⁵³ *Die rumänische Frage im Jahre 1872* (transcribed as Appendix xxxi. of *Brote*, op. cit., pp. 251-275).

²⁵⁴ *Rumänische Revue*, 1891, "Zur rumänisch-magyarischen Streitfrage."

of all trials are none the less drawn up in Magyar only, all summonses are issued in Magyar only, even when the party concerned is ignorant of that language, and the verdict is announced in Magyar only. Petitions or documents are not accepted by the courts if they are written in a non-Magyar language, and although official interpreters are attached to most of the district courts, they are not provided gratis, but are entitled to demand a daily fee from the parties at law, if their services are employed. All notices and proclamations are drawn up exclusively in the Magyar language, even in districts where over 90 per cent. of the population does not understand the language. Thus it is no exaggeration to say that the non-Magyar peasant stands like an ox before the courts of his native land, though this phrase has on a notorious occasion been treated as "incitement against the Magyar nationality."²⁵⁵

4. Church autonomy receives various effective guarantees. The church courts are free to fix their own language (§ 10). The higher church authorities prescribe their own language of deliberation and of intercourse with subordinates, and are merely bound to provide Magyar translations of their minutes, if required (§ 15). Their correspondence with the Government must be conducted in Magyar as well as in their own language; but the lower church authorities are free to correspond either in Magyar or in their own language, according to their convenience (§ 16). Finally, each parish or congregation (egyházközség: Kirchengemeinde) has the absolute right to prescribe the language in which its affairs are to be conducted, and the language of instruction in its schools, within the limits imposed by the Education Act of 1868 (§ 14).²⁵⁶

The Magyar, despite his perfervid national feeling, has always been noted for his religious tolerance, and it is thus a relief to find that while all other portions of the Law of Nationalities have been ruthlessly violated, those dealing with church autonomy have on the whole been loyally respected. The Congress of the Roumanian Orthodox Church has, it is true, been prevented from meeting on no fewer than six occasions,²⁵⁷ though the law of 1863 recognizes its right of

²⁵⁵ The attitude of Hungarian justice towards the nationalities is considered in greater detail in Chapter xvi.

²⁵⁶ For the manner in which this right is violated by the higher church authorities, see p. 321 (the Antalfalva incident).

²⁵⁷ In 1875, 1877, 1880, twice in 1884, and in 1885.

triennial assembly; the election of one Roumanian Metropolitan and of three Serb Patriarchs, though carried out under strictly legal forms, has been annulled by the Hungarian Government.²⁵⁸ But it would be unjust to characterize these as mere violations of Church autonomy. Indeed such action is in full accord with the settled policy of the House of Habsburg, which has for generations claimed a veto upon all episcopal appointments within its dominions, and has even enforced this claim at the Papal Conclave itself.

5. *Education.*—In all state schools the language of instruction is to be prescribed by the Minister of Education. "But since," in the words of the law, "the success of public instruction, from the standpoint of general culture and well-being, is one of the highest aims of the state, the latter is bound to ensure that all citizens of whatever nationality living together in considerable numbers, shall be able in the neighbourhood of their homes, to obtain instruction in their mother tongues, up to the point where the higher academic culture begins" (§17). In other words, the state pledges itself to provide primary and secondary instruction for all its citizens in the mother tongue—either directly in its own schools, or indirectly, by supporting the denominational schools.

Let us turn from theory to practice. In the year 1904-5 there were 1,822 state elementary schools; but in 1,651 (or 90.6 per cent.) of these the language of instruction was exclusively Magyar, in 170 a supplementary language was used, and in only one was the language of instruction other than Magyar.²⁵⁹ In all the 138 state grammar schools, in all the 26 state industrial schools and in the only state commercial school, Magyar is the exclusive language of instruction. In secondary education the conditions are even worse. Of the 38 state gymnasiums²⁶⁰ the language of instruction is exclusively Magyar in all save one, and this solitary exception is in Fiume, where both Magyar and Italian

²⁵⁸ See Silbernagl, *Verfassung und gegenwärtiger Bestand sämtlicher Kirchen des Orients*, for an account of Roumanian Church organization.

²⁵⁹ *Ung. Stat. Jahrb.* xiii. p. 351. This work carefully distinguishes between (1) Magyar schools, (2) Magyar schools where another language is used as an auxiliary (*Kisegítő nyelv: Aushilfssprache*), (3) mixed schools, and (4) non-Magyar schools. These 170 schools belong not to the third, but to the second category.

²⁶⁰ Twenty-eight complete, ten incomplete.

are used. Neither German, Slovak, Serb nor Roumanian are used in any of the state gymnasiums, although these are attended by a large number of non-Magyar pupils. Nor is it possible to argue that the nationalities are already adequately provided with schools, and that the erection of non-Magyar schools by the state would therefore be superfluous. On the contrary, the nationalities are lamentably in need of fresh schools, and all the resources of the non-Magyar churches are strained to the uttermost to support the few schools which they already possess. While on a basis of population 48 per cent. of the schools should be non-Magyar, in actual fact only 19 p.c. of the elementary schools, 7·1 p.c. of the gymnasia and 7·8 per cent. of the Realschulen are non-Magyar, and there is *not a single Slovak or Ruthene secondary school in existence!*²⁶¹ There is thus no escape from the conclusion that the Hungarian Government is pursuing the deliberate policy of stifling culture and education among the non-Magyars and concentrating its efforts upon Magyarization.

Paragraphs 18 and 19 enjoin the erection at the National University,²⁶² of chairs for all the native languages of Hungary, and of similar chairs at the various high schools situated in mixed districts. These provisions have been only partially enforced. Chairs of German, Slav and Roumanian have really been erected at both Budapest and Kolozsvár, but while German is, of course, indispensable throughout Hungary, none of the other non-Magyar languages of the country are taught at any of the Academies of Law.

6. *Association.*—Intimately connected with these educational provisions of the Act are the rights of association which it assures to the various nationalities. Individuals, communes and denominations are at liberty to found schools and colleges for the furtherance of language, art, science, industry or agriculture; and individuals are secured the right to form societies and associations such as correspond to "their lawful aspirations" (§ 26).

An admirable illustration of the manner in which this clause has been observed is supplied by the treatment of the Slovaks in their efforts to found secondary schools. The three Slovak gymnasia which had been founded by private effort between 1862 and 1868, were arbitrarily dissolved in 1874 by ministerial order (see p. 165), and their entire funds

²⁶¹ See Appendix vii. F.

²⁶² Kolozsvár University was not founded till 1872.

were confiscated by the authorities. In September, 1875, the Cisdanubian Synod²⁶³ of the Lutheran Church resolved to found a new Slovak gymnasium in Turócz St. Márton, and appointed a committee to draw up statutes and to take the necessary steps for collecting funds. By the year 1894 over 80,000 florins had been collected, the syllabus of the school drawn up and a suitable building acquired; but the General Assembly rejected the scheme,²⁶⁴ on the ground that "there was no need for the foundation of a Slovak gymnasium, since the district schools were only attended by a small percentage of Slovak-speaking pupils." The erection of a denominational gymnasium being thus finally thwarted, a number of Slovak patriots broached the idea of founding an interdenominational Slovak school. On November 16, 1895, a petition was submitted to the Minister of the Interior for leave to found a society to collect funds for such a school. After a delay of eighteen months this petition was rejected on the following grounds: "2. 18830. I return herewith the draft of statutes of the society for the foundation of an interdenominational gymnasium with Slovak language of instruction, with the remark that I cannot sanction this, since in our country the studies and culture of our young men are already sufficiently cared for in the existing secondary schools, and because there exist no school-books in the Slovak language written in a patriotic spirit, and it would therefore be necessary to use Czech school-books. Budapest, April 9, 1897. Perczel, Minister." A fresh petition, emphasizing the crying needs of a Slovak gymnasium and the fact that suitable school-books can only be forthcoming when there are schools where they can be used, was left unanswered for close upon two years, and then summarily dismissed in the following terms: "2. 122212. Owing to the reasons adduced in the circular of my predecessor in office (April 9, 1897; 2. 18830), I cannot sanction the statutes of the society for the erection of an interdenominational gymnasium with Slovak language of instruction. Budapest, December 5, 1899. Széll, Minister.

Thus in direct defiance of sections 17 and 26 of the Law of Nationalities, over two million Slovaks have been deprived for a whole generation of the most essential means of culture and progress, while all the time their backward intellectual

²⁶³ Composed of the presbyteries of Liptó, Árva, Turócz, Trencsén, Nyitra and Pressburg, and thus overwhelmingly Slovak.

²⁶⁴ November 9, 1894.

condition has been cited by plausible controversialists as a reason for denying them the advantages enjoyed by their Magyar neighbours.

Meanwhile the Ruthenes of Hungary are also without a gymnasium of any kind, and the Roumanians of Arad and Karánsebes have repeatedly applied to the Government for permission to found gymnasia out of their own funds, but always without success.²⁶⁵

No law of association exists in Hungary, and the Government uses its arbitrary powers to prohibit or suppress even such harmless organizations as temperance societies, choral unions or women's leagues. The details of this policy will be found in chapter xiv., on association and assembly in Hungary.

Under such circumstances, it is difficult to understand how any one conversant with the facts can venture to speak of the execution of the Law of Nationalities. None the less it has become the universal practice of modern Chauvinist writers to cite this law as a signal proof of Magyar generosity; nor is it easy to ascribe to mere ignorance or confused reasoning a practice in which many politicians of real eminence have indulged. A striking example is supplied by a leading article which appeared in the *Budapesti Hírlap*²⁶⁶ of 3rd April, 1908. Its author devotes the front page of the journal to denying the non-execution of the Law of Nationalities, and after emphasizing the extreme importance of the qualifying words "*so far as possible*" (lehetőségig) contained in some of its provisions, calmly points out that the all-important paragraph 17 "*cannot be enforced*, because the necessary teaching staff who could teach in a foreign tongue (by this he means the five non-Magyar languages of Hungary!) and also the necessary customers (by this he presumably means the eight million non-Magyars of Hungary!) are wanting." In short, the writer attempts to prove the execution of the law by demonstrating the impossibility of its execution! The honest course for the Magyars to pursue would have been to revoke the Law of Nationalities altogether, and to admit frankly that it was inconsistent with the Magyar hegemony. But this would have robbed them of a convenient device for deluding uninformed foreign public

²⁶⁵ The petition submitted in 1882 by a committee under General Trajan Doda, on behalf of eighty-four communes, remained still unanswered ten years later. (See *The Roumanian Question*, p. 59.)

²⁶⁶ The chief Coalition organ and the best-edited paper in Hungary.

THE AUSGLEICH AND THE NATIONALITIES

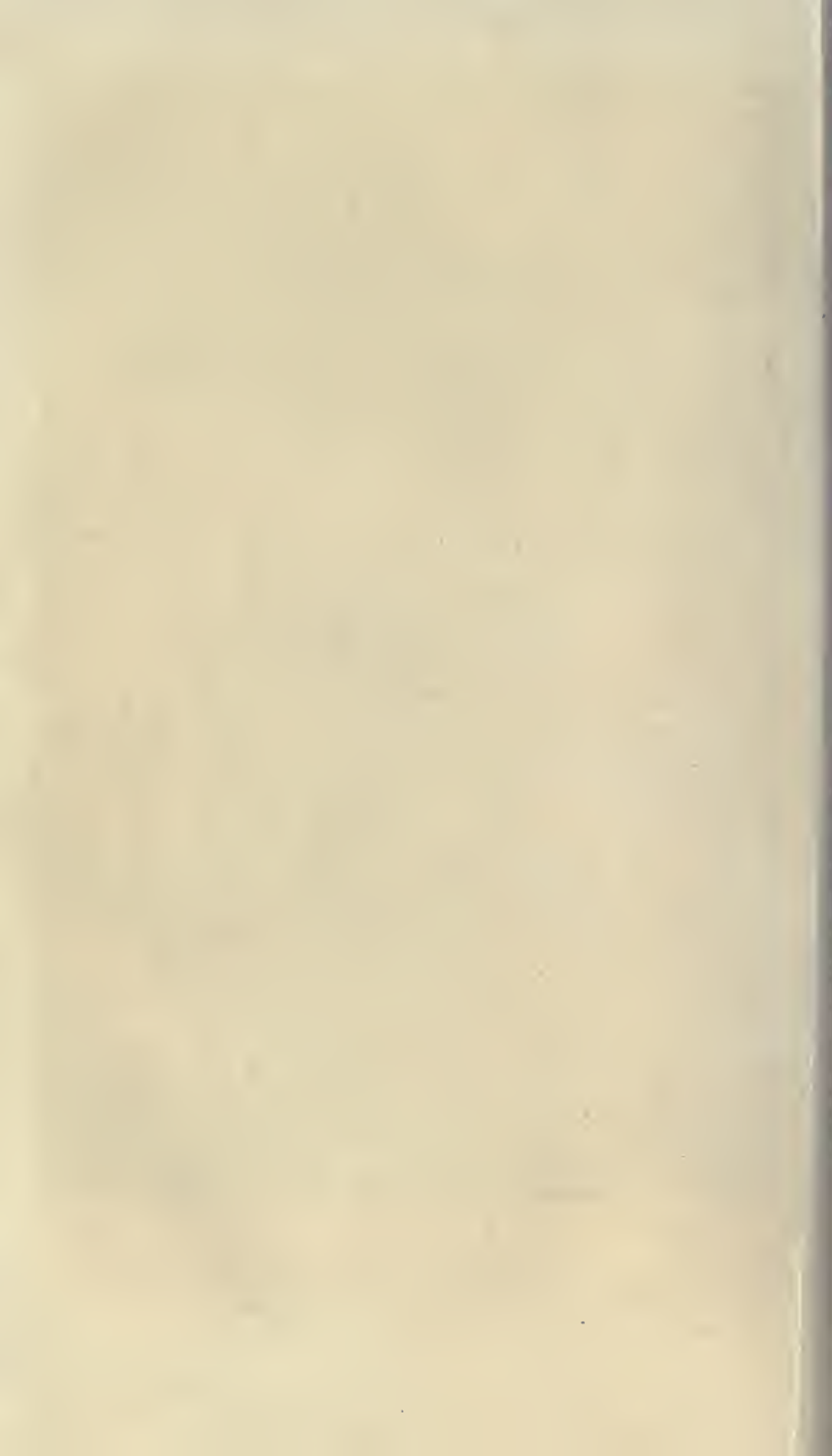
opinion. Count Andrassy, it is true, hinted in an unguarded moment,²⁶⁷ that it would be necessary to abrogate the entire Law; but it is more probable that Hungarian statesmen will continue to pass new laws which tacitly annul isolated provisions of the Law of Nationalities, while cunningly leaving the latter upon the statute book for purposes of decoration.

²⁶⁷ See his speech on the racial question, November 27, 1906, fully reported in *Pester Lloyd*.



A SLOVAK IDYLL.
(From the painting by Yoža Uprka.)

160



CHAPTER X

The New Era : Passivity and Persecution

THE Law of Nationalities met with vigorous opposition on the part of the handful of non-Magyar deputies ; but it is not easy to decide whether this attitude was due to their undoubted lack of self-restraint and political judgment, or to a keen presentiment of coming events. Certainly, when all due praise has been bestowed upon the Act, it still seems meagre and inadequate compared with the Transylvanian Act of 1863, by which the three languages of the principality were placed on a footing of absolute equality. The Roumanians especially could not forget the golden era of Schmerling, and doubtless cherished the vain illusion that the Ausgleich settlement would be no more permanent than the Bach system or the Provisorium.²⁶⁸

There can be no doubt that Deák and Eötvös were genuinely desirous of conciliating the nationalities and of assuring to their languages and customs as large a measure of liberty as seemed consistent with the political unity of the State. The broad and tolerant views of Eötvös may be clearly traced in most of his political writings. The existence of a large state in this part of Europe was, in his opinion, essential to the safety of all the various races concerned ; while, on the other hand, ethnographic conditions made the rise of a large *national* state impossible. A strict adherence to " his-

²⁶⁸ The Minority Draft of the Bill, as proposed by the sixteen non-Magyar deputies, proclaimed complete equality of language on the following lines : (1) Every citizen can freely use his mother-tongue in intercourse with the central government, with his own church, school, municipality and commune. (2) Communes, societies, private institutions and churches may freely choose their own language of debate and minutes. (3) In the courts, the reports may be drawn in other languages besides the language of state. (4) Every one may speak in his own mother-tongue in the communal, county and ecclesiastical assemblies. (5) Absolute equality is guaranteed in the matter of association, public instruction and church administration. See *Deák Ferencz Beszédei*, vi. pp. 96-100.

toric right" could only produce discontent, while it would be madness, in attempting a solution of the racial question, to consult only the interests of the State as a whole, without also considering those of the individual nationalities which compose it.²⁶⁹ "*The supremacy of our nation*," he added, "*would be the greatest calamity* which could happen to it."²⁷⁰ "We have to deal with one of those questions which, like religion, rest not so much upon logic as upon feeling, and which cannot be solved by the imperative decision of majorities, but only by mutual understanding."²⁷¹ The just claims of the nationalities must be satisfied, since by a policy of Magyarization "we should no more succeed in robbing them of the consciousness of their individuality or of enthusiasm for their race, than others succeeded against the Magyar nationality with the same means. . . . The sole result would be to divert the antagonism which the Magyar language at present encounters, against the Hungarian state and the unity of the country."²⁷² In building a wall, it is mere waste of time to attempt to melt the different stones into a single whole: they must be fitted together with good lime.

That Deák held very similar views upon the racial question, may be gathered from his speech in Parliament on January 23, 1872, on the subject of a newly opened Serb gymnasium at Ujvidék (Neusatz).²⁷³ "Let us remember," he said, "what difficulties we had to contend with in our youth, when we had to study in a dead and alien language, and how greatly the studies of the younger generation have been simplified by the use of their mother tongue as language of instruction. The same is true of the nationalities. If we sought to *compel* their children, who know little or no Magyar, to pursue their studies in Magyar, then we should make their progress in the gymnasia impossible; the parents would spend their money to no purpose, the children would simply waste their

²⁶⁹ Eötvös, *Die Nationalitätenfrage*, pp. 41-46.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 165-6. On p. 91 he expresses the belief that "the supremacy of a single race at the expense of the others is simply impossible under the laws of 1848 and the municipal constitution of the country." This phrase, which strikingly illustrates the idealism and optimism of its author, was based on a lamentable miscalculation.

²⁷³ *Deák Ferencz Beszédei* (F. Deák's Speeches), ed. Kónyi, vi. pp. 339-41.

time. Indeed, if we wish to win over the nationalities, we must not seek at all costs to Magyarize them; this can only happen if we create in them love and attachment for Hungarian conditions. For two things are clear to me; to exterminate them would be a godless act of barbarism, even if they were not in any case too numerous for this to be possible. And to make them our enemies is not to our interest."

Unhappily Eötvös was removed by death in 1871, and Deák, who regarded the Ausgleich as the completion of his life-work, steadily resisted all pressure to enter the political arena and only exercised a general influence upon Governmental policy. Thus each change of Ministry since 1869 marked a fresh step towards the accession of the Radicals to power. The short term of office of Joseph Szlávy (December, 1872, to March, 1874) was overshadowed by the financial crisis, and saddened by the virtual withdrawal of Deák from public life. Szlávy's successor, Bittó, was little more than a shadow, destined to accustom the eyes to the full glare of the sun of Tisza; and the approaching fusion of the Deákists with the Radical Opposition involved among other things the adoption of a more Chauvinistic attitude towards the nationalities. The first blows were struck against the Slovaks—their academy (*Matica Slovenská*) and secondary schools, upon which all hope of progress in national culture depended, being especially signalled out for attack. As the onslaughts of the Magyar Press upon the former grew every year more frequent and violent, the vice-president, Pauliny-Tóth, and the secretary, Sašinek, in January, 1872, sent a memorandum to the Premier, protesting against the charges of disloyalty and Panslavism levelled against them. Szlávy, in his reply, (November 1, 1872) thanked them for this guarantee of their patriotic intentions, expressly approved the aims of the society, and promised to protect it in the exercise of its legal rights.²⁷⁴ This answer, however, afforded the Slovaks but a brief respite, and a foretaste was given them in the following year (February, 1873), when Francisci applied to the Minister of the Interior for permission to found a "Slovak Union." The proposed rules of the society were closely modelled on those of the Magyar Szövetség, a Magyarizing agency which has now for many years past led the campaign against the nationalities. The second paragraph laid down as the chief objects of the society "the protection of Slovak national

²⁷⁴ Rescript No. 492. (March 1, 1872), Ambro Pietor, *Nápor Odpor*, p. 57.

→ interests, the furtherance of national culture and the foundation of societies for this purpose in the Slovak districts, and their direction from headquarters." No difficulties were, of course, placed in the way of the Magyar League, and indeed it had more than once received substantial support from the Hungarian Government; but the Slovak League was prohibited altogether.²⁷⁵

The first steps were taken against the Slovak gymnasia. Even as early as August, 1867, the seven Slovak professors at the gymnasium of Neusohl (which had flourished under the fostering care of Bishop Moyses) were dispersed to different schools, Slovak was declared a non-obligatory subject, and the equality of the three languages—Slovak, Magyar and German—was abolished; and thus within a few years the institution had been completely Magyarized.²⁷⁶ It was such incidents as this which made the Slovak and Roumanian leaders of that day so sceptical about the advantages of the much vaunted Law of Nationalities; for it was scarcely a good omen for its execution.

* In April, 1874, at the instance of Béla Grünwald, Vice-Sheriff of Zólyom county, Trefort, the Minister of Education, ordered a strict inquiry into the management of the three remaining Slovak gymnasia.²⁷⁷ The Lutheran superintendents Czekus and Geduly were instructed to inspect the two Protestant gymnasia of Nagy Rócze (Revúca) and Turócz St. Márton. The latter referred the Minister to his formal reports of inspection; the former, who favoured a Magyarizing policy, made a fresh visit to Rócze, and though he had already visited it several times in his official capacity and reported favourably upon its activity, on this occasion he informed the synod that he had discovered symptoms of "Panslavism" in the school. The meeting of synod, which contained a Magyar majority, hereupon withdrew its recognition from the school, and on August 20, 1874, a ministerial order was issued for its abolition. In September the General Assembly of the Church, which was once more predominantly Magyar in sentiment, appointed a commis-

²⁷⁵ Min. Rescript, No. 8,930 (August 8, 1873).

²⁷⁶ *Aeltere und neuere Magyarisirungsversuche*, p. 62.

²⁷⁷ Grünwald had summoned a meeting of the committee of the county assembly, and induced it to present a memorial for the dissolution of the schools. The committee, which by reason of the narrow franchise was almost exclusively composed of Magyars, did not, of course, scruple to speak in the name of the Slovak population.

sion to inspect the gymnasium at Turócz St. Márton, and as its report was also unfavourable, it too was dissolved by a ministerial order of December 30. Meanwhile Trefort had instructed Bárton, the school inspector of Pressburg, to inquire into the state of the Catholic Slovak gymnasium at Znio Váralja. Bárton's inspection lasted four days and a half, and Justh, the Vice-Sheriff of Turócz, and other prominent Magyars, were present during part of the proceedings. Not merely the professors, but the boys in all the different classes, were cross-examined without result; and finally Bárton submitted a highly favourable report, praising the conduct of the school and its success in teaching the Magyar language! A second inspection by Ipólyi-Stummer, the new Bishop of Neusohl, and one of the secretaries of state, produced the same result. Not merely could no traces of Pan-slavism be found, but special emphasis was laid on the fact that from the fifth class onwards everything could be successfully taught to the Slovak pupils in Magyar. (The Minister of Education then offered to take over the gymnasium on behalf of the State, and when the governing body declined to comply with this suggestion, a ministerial order was issued to the county authorities (September 21, 1874), enjoining the provisional closing of the gymnasium on the ground that the old building was inadequate and the new building not yet sufficiently dry. Before this decision became known, some of the pupils had begun to arrive with their parents; close upon 200 pupils had been enrolled for the coming term. Under the stress of this situation, the governing body formulated, on October 14, the conditions for handing over the school to the State, while safeguarding the Slovak language. These conditions did not meet with Trefort's approval; for on December 30, 1874, the gymnasium of Znio Váralja shared the fate of its Protestant neighbour in Turócz. Since that date the Slovaks have made more than one effort to found a Slovak gymnasium, but the Government has consistently withheld its permission, in direct violation of the law (§ 26, XLIV., 1868). For thirty-four years the progress and culture of two million Hungarian citizens have been deliberately stifled by those whose duty it is to mete out equal justice to all the various races of the country; and the few advocates of Slovak liberty and equality have been branded as traitors to their sovereign and native land, and supporters of Russian despotism, and have either been driven by persecution to quit

the country or subjected to repeated trials and imprisonment. The very people which has for centuries past displayed the most heroic qualities in defence of its own liberties, shows itself wholly incapable of understanding similar aspirations on the part of neighbouring races.)

Not long after the dissolution, Béla Grünwald met the Minister of Education, who greeted him with the query, "Well, are you satisfied with me?" The zealous Magyarone naturally gave a highly flattering answer. "It was impossible to tolerate the Panslav gymnasiums," the Minister went on to say, "they simply had to be closed. His Majesty, too, was much interested in the matter. If you know of any other bad gymnasium, tell me, and I will close it at once. I will dissolve all schools of that kind."²⁷⁸ When a Cabinet Minister could talk in such a strain, there was obviously little hope of justice for the Slovaks.)

Not content with thus depriving the rising generation of Slovaks of the most necessary means of education, the Government determined if possible to nip in the bud the tender flower of Slovak literature. (On April 6, 1875, the Matica Slovenská was provisionally suspended, and on November 12, Coloman Tisza, who had just entered on his triumphal career as leader of the united Liberal Party, proclaimed its final dissolution. The entire funds of the society, amounting to £8,000 and including the Emperor-King's own subscription, were arbitrarily confiscated; its buildings—to this day the second largest in the little town of Márton—were converted into Government offices.²⁷⁹ The unique Slovak museum and library was also seized, and after lying for many years in a caretaker's attics, at length found their way to a Magyar gymnasium in a distant town.²⁸⁰)

On December 15, 1875, Dr. Polit, (the Serb deputy, inter-

²⁷⁸ Grünwald, *A Felvidék*, p. 147. Grünwald, of course, regards these shameful measures as "the crowning glory" of the Government's activity in North Hungary (a magyar kormány actiójának fénypontját).

²⁷⁹ Part of the ground floor is now occupied by the Post Office, where of course the Slovak language is scrupulously excluded.

²⁸⁰ After a quarter of a century had elapsed the Slovaks were once more allowed to found a national museum in Turócz St. Márton, through the influence of Mr. Zsilinszky, Secretary of State under Mr. Széll. Permission was granted by decree of July 19, 1900; and the new Museum, with its fine collection of peasant costumes, embroideries and potteries, is well worthy of a visit. The former collections have not, however, been restored.



SLOVAK POTTERY.

pellated the Premier regarding the confiscation, and argued that the funds should at least be restored, in accordance with the statutes of the society, to the original donors, in other words to the Slovak nation. It was on this occasion that Coloman Tisza made his famous retort: “ There is no Slovak nation ”—an answer which rendered all further discussion of the incident impossible.

The action of the Government in dissolving the Matica and the three Slovak gymnasiums is absolutely indefensible, and will always remain one of the darkest stains upon Coloman Tisza's reputation. The decrees which dissolved them were arbitrary bureaucratic acts, intolerable in a free parliamentary country; no public inquiry was ever held: no incriminating proofs were ever published, and when the incident was discussed in Parliament, its critics were dismissed with contempt and abuse. Moreover, even if Panslavism in the full sense of the word had been proved ten times over, this still would afford no excuse for the confiscation of the funds, but merely for purging the Matica and the schools of bad practices and for insisting that they should henceforth hold strictly aloof from politics.

The dissolution came as a thunderbolt upon the Slovaks: indeed, it is not too much to say that it reduced them to political impotence for a whole generation. The golden era of the Liberal Party in Hungary had begun: the fusion of the Déakists and the Left Centre was an accomplished fact; and for fifteen years Coloman Tisza was far more truly dictator of Hungary than Kossuth or Deák had ever been. The stubborn and artful Calvinist accomplished what neither Lutheran nor Catholic could achieve; he reconciled the rivalries of Protestant and Catholic and united them in the common cause of racial unity. This achievement, without which many of the successes of Andrassy and Kalnóky in the field of diplomacy would have been impossible, constitutes Tisza's truest claim to greatness. But his grasp of politics was surer than his hold upon ethics; and most of the evils from which Hungary is suffering to-day are to be traced directly to the intolerant racial and class policy which he pursued. To Deák and Eötvös Liberalism in the true philosophical sense had been the very breath of their nostrils. To Tisza it was merely the means to an end—a signboard designed to attract customers rather than to describe the goods of the firm; the great ideas of the modern world were as nothing

to him compared with the narrow interests of his own race and class. When still in Opposition, he had declared that the Magyar State was strong enough to stamp out those who withheld their obedience, and he now proceeded to carry the threat into practice. Acting on the principle that in politics the end justifies the means, he secured the predominance of the Liberal Party by a far-reaching system of electoral corruption and administrative trickery. The Magyar population of the central plains remained consistently loyal to the ideals of Louis Kossuth; the Government had therefore to find a working majority in the non-Magyar districts, and as this could not be attained by natural means, it was necessary to resort to gerrymandering, unequal distribution, a highly complicated franchise, and voting by public declaration (see chapter xiii.). These were the chief features of the revised Electoral Law of 1874, which, in the words of the official Government organ of Hungary, is so involved that "the confusion of Babel has really been erected into law. The legislation regarding the exercise of this most important of all civil rights is the delight of all pettifoggers, and the way in which the provisions of the law are drawn up enables even a moderately gifted lawyer's clerk to dispute any man's right to vote or to adduce good reasons for his admission to the franchise."²⁸¹ In addition to the practical difficulties created by the letter of the law, every imaginable violence and trickery was employed to secure the return of Government candidates, the whole administrative machine was placed at their service, and money was poured out like water. The nationalities were "voted" as effectually as the negroes in the Southern States, and this process was rendered more easy by the limited number of educated men whom they could bring into the field. These injustices, and the memory of past hopes under Bach and Schmerling, seem to have destroyed the political balance of the Slovak and Roumanian leaders, and the impossible demands which they put forward show that their courage was greatly superior to their political judgment. Their utter incapacity to lead became apparent when they adopted the fatal policy of passivity. By acting thus they created a false impression of their own impotence, they greatly increased the over-confidence of the Magyars, and they encouraged the demoralization of their own electors, by leaving them to the mercy of the Magyar candidates. The peasant

²⁸¹ *Pester Lloyd*, July 24, 1894, cit. Brote, p. 72.

voters lost all incentive to remain true to their own national cause, and naturally succumbed to the temptation to sell their votes to the highest bidder; to-day the younger generation, in its endeavour to cure these evil propensities, is still suffering from the sins of omission of its fathers.

As a result of this passivity, Coloman Tisza acquired an almost despotic control of 250 constituencies, and commanded a safe majority in Parliament, even without the assistance of the forty Croatian delegates. These seats he bestowed upon his followers as *largesse* for their loyal support; and in this way many a decayed aristocrat repaired the broken fortunes of his family, many a pliant official rose to riches and honour. Thus the solid array of Tisza's so-called "Mamelukes" erected a veiled parliamentary absolutism which shrouded itself in the garb of Liberalism, but which did not scruple to plant its foot firmly upon the neck of the non-Magyar races.

A section of the new Liberal Party was still disposed to assure the loyalty of the nationalities by moderate concessions; but the ferment among the neighbouring races of Austria and of the Balkans provided Tisza with an excuse for severity, and nipped in the bud all counsels of tolerance. The acute crisis which arose in the Near East, in consequence of the Bulgarian massacres and the Bosnian rising, exercised an unfavourable influence upon the situation of the non-Magyar races of Hungary. The attitude of Russia filled the Magyars with alarm, and led to a recrudescence of ultra-Chauvinist feeling, which vented itself upon their defenceless Slav fellow-citizens. The very natural sympathy which the Slavs of Hungary displayed for their kinsmen in Bosnia and Serbia was treated as a proof of disloyalty and sedition. When Prince Milan declared war upon the Turks, Russian volunteers flocked in thousands to Belgrade, to draw swords in the cause of Christian Slavdom; and Svetozar Miletič, inspired by their example, offered to raise a corps of Serb volunteers in the Banat, and to lead them in this new crusade against the infidel. In August, 1876, Miletič and Cazapinovič, another prominent Serb, were summarily arrested by orders of the Hungarian Government; though Miletič was a member of Parliament, his immunity was violated without scruple, and when the House met again after its summer vacation, this illegal proceeding was endorsed by an overwhelming majority. The result of his trial was a foregone conclusion,

and after the usual intolerable delays of Hungarian justice, Miletič was on January 18, 1878, sentenced for separatist tendencies to five years' imprisonment. The long confinement proved too much for the unhappy man; his reason left him, and he did not long survive his consequent release. The parting words of Miletič as he bade farewell to the political world—"hodie tibi, cras mihi"—were spoken to the distant future, and a whole generation was to pass before his disciple and advocate Dr. Polit brought them to the memory of a still more Chauvinistic Parliament in the summer of 1906.

While all open expressions of sympathy with Servia were sternly repressed by Tisza's Government, the Magyar enthusiasm for the Turkish cause reached fever pitch. Abdul Kerim, the Turkish general who defeated the Servian army at Alexinatz, was presented with a sword of honour by public subscription. Turkophil demonstrations were held in Budapest at the grave of Gul Baba, by crowds which seemed forgetful of the memories of shame and conquest with which the name was associated. A torchlight procession in honour of the Turkish consul-general was only abandoned at the request of Coloman Tisza, whose dissuasive methods on this occasion contrasted harshly with the treatment meted out to Miletič. Meanwhile a deputation of Budapest students was sent to Constantinople to assure the Turks of Magyar solidarity.²⁸² The occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was regarded with strong disfavour by the great body of Magyar public opinion, and nothing shows more clearly the statesmanship and enormous influence of Count Julius Andrassy than the manner in which the parliamentary majorities of Hungary and Austria were cajoled and manœuvred into a forward policy in the northern Balkans. For the moment the Tisza Government suffered in popularity, and at the general elections the Premier was himself defeated at Debreczen. This untoward event had not, however, destroyed the general effect of the Tisza electoral system; the Government still controlled a majority of 77, and the

²⁸² The German students of Vienna, when invited to join them in similar Turkophil demonstrations, returned a most dignified answer. "We notice with satisfaction," they wrote, "that now that you consider your nation in danger, you suddenly recognize the cultural importance of the German people. But your treatment of our kinsmen in Transylvania, and the consistent persecution of the German language in your country, prevent us from forgetting how sharply your words contrast with your deeds."

masterful Tisza set himself to soothe the ruffled tempers of his countrymen by adopting a policy of active Magyarization. The conciliatory principles of Deák and Eötvös, which had already been abandoned in practice, were now set at almost open defiance. The Education Act of 1879, making the Magyar language an obligatory subject in all Hungarian primary schools, and imposing quite a number of fresh qualifications on the teachers in non-Magyar schools, conflicts openly with the more liberal Act of 1868, and still more with the Law of Nationalities of the same year (see p. 216, chapter xi.). But the complaints of the nationalities fell upon deaf ears; the appeals of Mr. Mocsáry for their fair treatment were like a voice in the wilderness, and the inclusion of a large section of the foreign press within the sphere of Tisza's action prevented the outside world from learning the truth about the non-Magyar races. The only real protests came from Germany, where the Transylvanian Saxons possessed many loyal friends and advocates; but the Triple Alliance, whose conclusion was so essential to the interests of the young Empire, lay in the gift of the Magyar statesmen, and Bismarck, who had already advised the transference of the Habsburg court from Vienna to Budapest,²⁸³ felt that the two million Germans of Hungary must be sacrificed to the exigencies of foreign policy. These farthest outposts of Germanism, he doubtless argued, were as nothing compared to the lasting friendship of the predominant partner in the Dual Monarchy; and their protection was left to the "German School Union" and the "Gustavus Adolphus Society."

In 1883 a Secondary Education Act was passed by the Hungarian Parliament, whose object and result was the final Magyarization of all state gymnasiums and "Realschulen,"²⁸⁴ in direct violation of the Law of Nationalities of 1868 (§§ 17, 18). Even the few surviving non-Magyar secondary schools were placed under the strictest governmental control; the Magyar language and literature were made compulsory for all their pupils, who had to pass their final examinations in these subjects in the language itself. Elaborate clauses were included for the control of school-books, especially those

²⁸³ Not, it must be admitted, without strong suspicion of *arrière pensée*.

²⁸⁴ I use the German word, firstly, because we have no exact equivalent; and secondly, because these schools in Hungary were modelled by Trefort, the Minister of Education, on the lines of the German Realschulen.

on historical subjects, for the prevention of "unpatriotic" teaching, for the removal of "dangerous individuals," and, if necessary, for the dissolution of non-Magyar secondary schools and the erection of state schools in their place.²⁸⁵ Under Tisza's rule the language of instruction in all state gymnasiums became exclusively Magyar, and not content with this, the Government in July, 1889, ordered its introduction into the Roumanian gymnasium at Belényes, which had been founded in 1826 by private effort for the benefit of Roumanian Catholics. This action was all the more galling to the Roumanians, owing to the Government's refusal to permit the Roumanian Bishop of Arad to erect gymnasiums in Arad and Karánsebes.

In 1885 Tisza dealt a fresh blow at the nationalities by the dissolution of the Jury Court of Hermannstadt. A ministerial order of July 10, 1871, had established three jury courts in Transylvania for the trial of press offences; and by this new action of the Government the non-Magyar press was placed entirely at the mercy of courts which sat in the Chauvinist Magyar towns of Kolozsvár and Maros-Vásárhely and were composed exclusively of Magyars. Since that date acquittals of non-Magyar journalists have been almost unknown; they are tried by their bitterest political and social enemies, and in Transylvania suffer from the further disadvantage of being tried under an obsolete law dating from 1852, when absolutist reaction was at its height, and setting the principles of press freedom at open defiance.²⁸⁶

Tisza had now ruled supreme for ten years, securing a working majority and the means of patronage by the methods already indicated, and skilfully using the Kossuthist Opposition as a bogey to frighten the sovereign. Whenever difficulties were encountered in Vienna, administrative pressure was removed, and the Independent Party was allowed to raise its head, while the group of so-called "National" deputies under Count Albert Apponyi reasserted more loudly its demands for a national Magyar army. Tisza's ingenious device of using insubordination below to secure compliance above

²⁸⁵ Though according to § 54 XXX., 1883, the Minister of Education "can only forbid the erection or opening of such institutions (i.e., denominational secondary schools which have submitted their statutes and syllabus to the Minister) if they do not conform to the demands of the law."

²⁸⁶ The dire results of this treatment of the non-Magyar press are recounted in chapter xv.

was at first completely successful, but in the course of time it became difficult to dispel the spirits which his own arts had conjured up. The Extreme Left showed signs of increasing strength, and the manner in which they were treated by the Government and its creatures provoked them to unmeasured personal attacks.²⁸⁷ For while used at one time as a lever to reduce Austria to reason, at another they were subjected to the treatment meted out to the nationalities.²⁸⁸ As the Opposition grew more and more embittered, Tisza showed an increasing disposition to rest on his laurels, to rely upon the executive and to occupy Parliament's attention with measures of secondary importance. The one really outstanding measure of the last seven years of Tisza's Government—the reform of the House of Magnates in 1885—was the one least likely to encounter the resistance of an Opposition which was in those days of its adversity still genuinely Radical. The readjustment of the Local Government laws in 1886 was a fresh blow dealt by Tisza at his opponents, in the true spirit of his Calvinist ancestors; but its true significance lay in its unnamed but none the less real concessions to the growing Jewish *bourgeoisie*, who cunningly assumed a mask of Magyar Chauvinism, in order to gain control of the finance, the trade and the municipal government of the country. For the moment the magnates and the gentry, blinded by racial ardour, welcomed this new class as valuable allies in the national struggle; too late they have awakened to a perception of the fact that not only the towns, to which they were indif-

²⁸⁷ On December 9, 1881 (after the assassination of Alexander II), the Left virtually condoned regicide. So far from being reduced to silence by Tisza's severe reply, one of its members, Némethy, retorted that Tisza's statement suited the mouth of one who for seven years lied on the Opposition benches in order to swindle for six years in the ministerial *fauteuil*! As a result of this incident, a conference of the Liberal party was held to discuss the limitation of freedom of speech in the House; but Tisza, with a dignity which was in every way worthy of the occasion, refused to listen to such a proposal. Nine years later (March 13, 1890) Daniel Irányi, the trustiest lieutenant of Louis Kossuth, and President of the Party of Independence, declared that during Tisza's fifteen years not only the administration, but also public morals and the *niveau* of Parliament, had sunk deeply.

²⁸⁸ A careful perusal of the *Budapesti Hírlap* (founded in 1881) would amply repay the student of Liberal methods in Hungary. In 1891 it published the following phrase: "It is to the interest of the State that Magyarism should extend at the expense of the nationalities, and should conquer and assimilate them." Cit. Loiseau, "La Hongrie et l'Opposition Croate" (*Revue des deux Mondes*, vol. cxxxix, 1895, p. 111).

ferent, but even the counties are falling more and more into Jewish hands. While it would be unjust to ascribe the decay of the Magyar gentry to Coloman Tisza, their truest representative, it is none the less true that the methods which he employed to encourage assimilation supplied the Jews with their opportunity and eventually placed his own class at their mercy.

Meanwhile, whatever animus Government and Opposition might display towards each other, they invariably presented a united front wherever racial questions were concerned, and outvied each other in their professions of intolerance and Chauvinism. A startling instance of this was supplied by the debates on the proposed Education Bill of 1887. Alone of all the Magyar deputies, Mr. Louis Mocsáry, then President of the Party of Independence, protested against the prevailing Chauvinism, complained of the Magyarization of ancient placenames and the expulsion of Slovak pupils from Magyar gymnasiums, and recounted to an impatient audience, how the courts refused all petitions drawn up in any non-Magyar tongue, and how certain counties had imposed a special rate in favour of a Magyarizing League in Transylvania. After describing the Magyarization of Hungary as "a Utopian idea," Mr. Mocsáry went on to say: "The Government must never forget that it is governing a polyglot country, that it is equally a Government for Magyars, Slovaks and Serbs, that . . . there are citizens of various races among whom not only the burdens but also the rights must be divided equally. . . . But the Government sees a strong power in the Chauvinist movement, and therefore dares not oppose it. . . . No wonder, then, that in this country every man takes upon himself to infringe and exploit the law, and that we in this house can say in the very face of Government and Parliament, that the laws are not observed, that the Act of 1868 exists solely on paper and is not executed in any single point." Tisza, in his answer, remarked: "I cannot be angry with the honourable member for his speech, I can only commiserate him, because he has, doubtless involuntarily, succeeded in making himself the prophet of all those who here and outside the fatherland are filled with hatred against the Magyar race and the Magyar state." The pupils of the Leutschau gymnasium, he added, had been guilty of reading a Slovak newspaper which, under cover of Press freedom, agitated against the State, and of singing a song which fostered

hatred of the Magyars ; and such a spirit could not be tolerated in Hungarian institutions ! Thus on the one hand the Slovaks may not possess schools of their own, and if, on the other hand, they attend Magyar schools, they must carefully suppress their natural sentiments or they will find every door of education in their native country rudely shut in their faces.

As a result of this incident, the Party of Independence, on the motion of Géza Polónyi, unanimously expressed its disapproval of Mocsáry's speech, and asked him to draw the consequences ; Mocsáry at once resigned, and from that day to this he has been ostracized from Hungarian politics. His writings in favour of a just treatment of the nationalities have from time to time been cited in order to delude foreign opinion, but have been consistently ignored and depreciated by his own countrymen.²⁸⁹

Enough has been said to show that the leading motive of Tisza's administration was the Magyarization of the nationalities and the formation of a national Magyar State. Tisza himself publicly proclaimed the necessity of granting full powers to the Government to deal with nationalist agitation, and declared himself ready to concede similar powers to any Government which might take his place, so long as he were convinced that these would be exercised in the interests of the Magyar State.²⁹⁰ In case this should not be explicit enough for the reader, I cannot do better than quote the words of Gustav Beksics, one of the ablest journalists and historians of modern Hungary, and a trusted follower and adviser of Tisza. On January 10, 1890, he defended his leader as follows, on the floor of the Hungarian Parliament : " The endeavour to convert the historical State into a national State has long been a feature of Magyar policy. Now this endeavour has attained to fresh prominence under Tisza's Government, owing not merely to its activity but also to its brilliant successes. Those who now dispute this are answered by the statistical data of the census of 1880, which prove the great progress of Magyarization, and the new census will show this even more clearly. If, in spite of all, some one should still deny this great achievement of Tisza's Government, I need merely point to the following facts. Above all I ask, was it not

²⁸⁹ An honourable exception is supplied by the newspaper *Egyetértés*, which has from time to time printed articles from Mocsáry's pen, though without, of course, endorsing his views.

²⁹⁰ 10 Sept., 1884, at Nagyvárad.

under this Government that the language of justice has everywhere become the Magyar? Has not this Government delivered the courts from the confusion of Babel? . . . Was it not this Government that closed the secondary schools of the nationalities, where their youth was being educated in anti-Magyar national spirit? Have not the secondary schools of the nationalities sunk under this Government to a small and dwindling number, compared to the well-developed middle schools of the Magyar State? . . .”²⁹¹ In another place Beksics has tersely described the “aim” of Hungarian policy as follows: “Either Hungary will become a great national State, or it will cease to be a State at all.”²⁹²

In one respect Tisza's position was stronger during the closing years of his long term of office; thanks to the brilliant finance of Széll and Wekerle, the deficit at last disappeared in 1889 from the Hungarian Budget, while Gabriel Baross earned a deservedly high reputation by his introduction of the railway “zone system” and his reorganization of the Ministry of Commerce. But the intentional obscurity of the Ausgleich on the military question now began to bear its inevitable fruit; the Extreme Left, under the able leadership of Irányi, Charles Eötvös and Ugron emphasized with growing violence the need of an independent Hungarian army with Magyar language of command. The unfortunate Jansky incident in May, 1886—when an Austrian general laid a wreath on the tomb of Hentzi, who had fallen in 1848 in defending the citadel of Buda against Görgei's assault—had seriously impaired the Cabinet's reputation, and accentuated still further the personal ill-feeling between Tisza and the two Opposition parties—the Kossuthists of the Left and the so-called “National Party” of Count Apponyi. The latter especially became the mouthpiece of extremist agitation for an independent army, and placed all his brilliant oratorical gifts at the service of this cause. The new Law of National Defence brought forward by Tisza in January, 1889, roused intense feeling among large sections of the Magyar population, and it was only by means of his “Mameluke” majority that the measure could be passed; indeed, even as it was, the obstacles to its passage might have proved insuperable, had not the tragic

²⁹¹ Cited Brote, p. 51.

²⁹² “Magyarország nagy nemzeti állammá lesz, vagy nem lesz soká állam.” *A Dualismus*, p. 290.

death of the Crown Prince silenced and distracted the hostile demonstrations. By the new law Hungary engaged herself for the next ten years to furnish the same contingent to the joint army as Austria, the numerical strength being determined by the Crown and any alteration being submitted to Parliament. The most unpopular provision of the new scheme was that by which all officers must pass a German examination, failure in which involves a year's delay. Tisza, of course, defended the absolute necessity of a single language of command in a joint army; while his opponents took up the highly plausible position that the armies of Prince Eugene and Napoleon were commanded in more than one language, without thereby suffering in discipline or efficiency.

The army debates had completed the estrangement between Government and Opposition, and had roused personal jealousies and hatreds to such a pitch that a victim was necessary if Parliamentary government was not to come to a standstill. The personal factor has always predominated in Hungarian politics; men signify more than parties, and the withdrawal or removal of a leader is a more decisive event than a similar change in most Western countries. Early in March, 1890, Coloman Tisza resigned, after holding office for fifteen years; but his successor, Count Julius Szápáry, remained little more than a dignified figurehead, while the so-called "Tisza clique" preserved its old influence upon affairs, and perpetuated what the exiled Kossuth has bitterly described as a state of "codified illegality."

The withdrawal of Tisza from an active share in politics coincided with a revival of Clericalism, which brought Count Apponyi into renewed prominence. His opponents are in the habit of taunting this statesman with his repeated *volte-faces* and apparent inconsistencies: closer examination shows that he has always been consistently loyal to two ideas—clericalism and nationalism, in the narrow sense of the words. The wide European culture which he acquired as a young man was grafted upon the tenets of his Jesuit teachers at Kalksburg, and has produced a strange amalgam of genuine religious tolerance and zeal for the advancement of the Catholic faith. But even stronger was his devotion to the cause of Magyar ascendancy and his belief in "the idea of the Magyar state" ("a magyar állam eszme"); and thus he was gradually led to outbid the Calvinists of Tisza in his patriotic programme. Hence the disciple and successor of

the ultra-Conservative Baron Sennyey re-christened his party the "Moderate Opposition," and some years later proclaimed himself the leader of a "National Party." The Magyar Catholics of the northern plains, the pious Germans of the Banat, the Magyarized gentry of southern Slovensko, formed Count Apponyi's chief recruiting ground: but his own versatile genius has always offered a striking contrast to the mediocrity of his followers. The anti-Clerical campaign organized by the fallen Tisza seemed to supply Count Apponyi with his great opportunity; but an irony of fate had ordained that the born leader of a clerical movement in Hungary should fall into deep disfavour with his sovereign and thus destroy the very possibility of alliance with the court Clericals.

The Hungarian *Kulturkampf* opened under Count Szápáry with a skirmish for the possession of the registers; but it was under his successor, Dr. Alexander Wekerle, the brilliant financier (November, 1892), that the struggle became acute. The law introducing obligatory [civil marriage was hotly debated in Parliament, and roused a storm of feeling throughout the length and breadth of the country; even two such important reforms as state registration and the recognition of the Jewish religion were wholly overshadowed by this controversial measure, against which the Catholic Church brought all its powers of agitation into play. In April, 1894, the Civil Marriage Bill was passed by a majority of 175, and on its rejection by the Upper House, was again returned unaltered by a majority of 166. As the monarch withheld his consent to the nomination of new peers, Dr. Wekerle resigned office; but no one could be found to replace him, and ten days later he returned to power with a reconstructed Cabinet. On June 21, 1894, the Magnates carried the bill by 128 to 124 votes. The institution of civil marriage was supplemented by elaborate rules prescribing the religion of the children of mixed marriages; this is made dependent upon a formal declaration of the parents before the civil authorities.²⁹³

The so-called Church Laws of the Wekerle Ministry have often been loosely described as anti-clerical; but the worst which can accurately be said of them is that they are secularist in aim. A generation will elapse before we learn the true inner history of the movement; but it has already become abundantly clear that this legislation was not merely an answer to the proselytizing zeal of the Catholic Church

²⁹³ 1894, Law XXXII.

THE MEMORANDUM TRIAL

in Hungary. It must also be ascribed in part to the resentment felt by the Chauvinists at the international leanings of Catholicism, and its refusal to surrender to a policy of unrestricted Magyarization. It was, above all, the outward and visible sign of the steady process of Judaization of the middle classes, which had marked the period following upon the Ausgleich. The Wekerle Ministry, despite the violence of the religious struggle, found time for an active policy of aggression against the nationalities; indeed, it may have hoped by taking up an ultra-national standpoint to disarm the criticism of its opponents. In March, 1892, the committee of the Roumanian National Party had petitioned the monarch in a Memorandum recounting the many grievances of their race in Hungary, and when the Hungarian Cabinet barred the deputation's access to the throne, had published the Memorandum in pamphlet form. This masterly document—which challenged the legality of the Transylvanian Act of Union, reasserted that province's claims to autonomy, and recounted the many injustices and illegalities on which the Magyar hegemony was based—brought down upon its authors the vengeance of the Government. In July, 1892, Desiderius Szilágyi, in answering an interpellation on the subject of the Memorandum, admitted the clear constitutional right of all citizens to petition even for illegal things.²⁹⁴ But by the spring of 1894 the Government had changed its mind, and on May 7 of that year the entire committee of the Roumanian party was brought to trial for "incitement against the Magyar nationality," incurred in this very petition.²⁹⁵ Elaborate precautions were taken to supply the foreign press with a garbled version of the trial and to prevent the true facts from crossing the frontier.²⁹⁶ On the second day of the proceedings, the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Hieronymi, sent pressing instructions to all the county authorities of Transylvania to hand over to the courts all persons agitating among the people, and to make inquiries as to the source of the money used in such intrigues.²⁹⁷ The jury before whom the prisoners were tried, was exclusively composed of Magyar Chauvinists, and counsel

²⁹⁴ July 14, 1892, 88th Sitting.

²⁹⁵ See pp. 301-2 of chapter xv.

²⁹⁶ According to the *Pester Lloyd* of May 27, 1894, an Arad advocate named Stephen Pap was arrested when leaving Kolozsvár and searched by the police. Papers were discovered upon him, containing "false information intended for abroad," and confiscated without more ado.

²⁹⁷ See his speech in Parliament, May 22, 1894.

for the defence were fined and intimidated by the judge until they laid down their office in a body. Dr. John Ratziu, the party president, read aloud in the name of the accused, a fiery declaration in which they declined to recognize the jurisdiction of the court, and appealed to the public opinion of the civilized world.²⁹⁸ Under such circumstances their condemnation caused no surprise; but the imposition of a total of twenty-nine years' imprisonment on persons who had merely exercised one of the natural rights of all citizens, branded the Hungarian Government as Asiatic rather than West European in sentiment. The arbitrary dissolution of the Roumanian party by ministerial order²⁹⁹ only served to confirm this verdict; for a limit was thus placed upon constitutional agitation, and one-half of the population was directly challenged either to renounce its most cherished aspirations or to resort to anarchical methods to secure them.

Needless to say, the Memorandum trial and the plentiful crop of press prosecutions which preceded and followed it only served to embitter the Roumanians still further, and roused them to a fuller sense of solidarity with their kinsmen across the southern frontier. Indeed, the rapid increase of Magyarizing societies in Hungary³⁰⁰ and the active support

²⁹⁸ See Appendix XV.

²⁹⁹ See Appendix XVI.

³⁰⁰ The "Cultural Leagues" have spread a network over the whole country. In 1892 that of North Hungary had 4,906 members, funds of 182,000 crowns, and an income of 110,000 crowns; with this it founded Magyar infant homes in the Slovak and German districts, sought to induce the clergy to Magyarize their services, and transferred Slovak children to the Alföld to be brought up as Magyars. In the same year the Transylvanian Cultural League had 20,000 members, an income of 140,000 crowns, and a capital amounting to 1,000,000 crowns, and maintained no fewer than 100 Magyar schools and infant homes. According to Wastian (p. 128) it maintained an agricultural school and 8 other technical schools, 62 elementary schools, 22 infant homes, 3 charitable institutes, 49 popular book stores, and 26 singing societies. On the proposal of Count Stephen Károlyi, the county of Bihar levied a 1 per cent. rate in favour of this league, thus forcing the Roumanians to contribute towards the rope for their own gallows; and several other counties followed this example. In 1894 a North-East Hungarian Cultural League was founded for the benefit of the Ruthene districts, and a "Magyar National League," with all Hungary for its field. See Schultheiss, "Das Deutschtum in Ungarn" (*Allgem. Zeitung*, No. 115 of 1894). Cit. Brote, p. 86. The aims of these societies may be gathered from the newspaper reports of their annual proceedings. See especially the speech of Mr. Coloman Széll (21 June, 1908).

given to them by the Government, had caused great alarm in the Kingdom of Roumania; for, according to the unanswerable argument of Mr. Demeter Sturdza,³⁰¹ "if it were possible to extinguish three million Roumanians, then the danger of denationalization would have already assumed tangible form for us of the kingdom also." In 1891 a lively agitation arose among the University students of Bucarest in favour of their kinsmen across the frontier, and this bore fruit in the publication of a students' manifesto which aimed at enlisting foreign public opinion on the side of the non-Magyars. A "Reply" issued by the Magyar University students led the younger generation of Roumanians in Hungary to abandon their fathers' mistaken passivity and to publish in their turn a pamphlet narrating in impressive if tactless language the many wrongs and grievances of their race. But the only result was to draw down upon their heads a peculiarly savage sentence from the Jury Court of Kolozsvár³⁰²—Aurel Popovici, one of the committee of students responsible for its publication, being condemned to four years', and Román, the director of the printing press, to one year's imprisonment, for incitement against the Magyar nationality. The Roumanian press now took up the cause more hotly than ever, and in the winter of 1891-2 a "League for the Cultural Unity of all Roumanians"³⁰³ was founded in Bucarest as an answer to the Magyar cultural leagues. The monetary support sent from Bucarest to Roumanian schools and other institutions in Transylvania aroused great indignation among the Magyars, though a little reflection might have convinced them that such action lay in the nature of things. Their fevered imagination credited the Roumanian Government with designs for the formation of a Daco-Romanist Empire, by the annexation of all territory inhabited by the Roumanian race. That political dreamers do exist in Roumania, who favour such designs, it would be superfluous to deny. That these fallacies were first suggested by Louis Kossuth and his reckless intrigues with Alexander Couza and Michael Obrenovitch, is equally undoubted, though few Magyars are willing to make the admission. As the Magyars adopted a more

³⁰¹ Now Premier of Roumania. See his speech on October 7, 1894, cit. Brote, op. cit., p. 119.

³⁰² Appendix x., a and chapter xv.

³⁰³ "Liga pentru unitatea culturala a tuturor Romanilor"; *not*, as it is so often erroneously called, League for the Union of all Roumanians.

and more aggressive policy towards the other races of Hungary, the instinct of self-preservation asserted itself among the latter, and prompted them to look for allies across the frontier. The fate of the Roumanians in Transylvania is a question of vital interest to their kinsmen in Roumania, and is indeed the cardinal feature in the foreign policy of the young kingdom. To deny her claim to oppose the policy of Magyarization is in reality to deny her right to an independent national existence. But not even the most active resistance to Magyarization can be construed into "Daco-Romanism"; and no serious statesman in Bucarest has ever dreamt of espousing so adventurous a cause. An independent Hungary might, it is true, be at the mercy of "Rumania Irredenta"; but so long as the Magyars form part of the Dual Monarchy, Daco-Romanism must of necessity remain a mere idle dream.

The passage of the Church Laws through Parliament was a Pyrrhic victory for Dr. Wekerle, against whose person the Clericals had vowed vengeance; yet curiously enough it was a Calvinist who succeeded, in the person of Baron Desiderius Bánffy (January, 1895). The new Premier, however, soon showed that he regarded national as far more important than religious questions. The policy of Tisza and Wekerle towards the nationalities was carried to its logical issue, and Magyarization was openly avowed as the great aim which all true patriots must set before them. In Baron Bánffy's own words, "without Chauvinism it is impossible to found the unitary Magyar national State," and assimilation of the non-Magyars is essential to the future of Hungary. "Not to regard what stands in the way, only to regard the aim, to push blindly forward"—such was the policy advocated by this wildest of "patriots" towards the non-Magyar races.³⁰⁴

* A special department, known as the "nationalities section," was erected in the Premier's Office in Budapest, for the sole purpose of watching the slightest movements of the non-Magyars, controlling their press, their banking institutions, and above all their relations with foreign countries. The Roumanian and Serb newspapers were still subjected to every kind of political vexation, and the whole administrative machine was employed in the cause of Magyarization.

One solitary concession was made to the nationalities—

³⁰⁴ Bánffy *Magyar Nemzetiségi Politika*, pp. 211-216.

CONGRESS OF THE NATIONALITIES

the permission to hold a political congress in Budapest—and even this was only granted because the havoc and disorganization caused by recent persecution among their leaders made it not improbable that the meeting might end in a fiasco. On August 10, 1895, the Congress was opened by Dr. Michael Polit, the Serb ex-deputy; Dr. Paul Mudroň, an influential Slovak in Turóc St. Márton; and George Pap, a Roumanian advocate. After a telegram of homage had been despatched to the King, a new political programme was drawn up and unanimously adopted.³⁰⁵ While the political integrity of the Crown of St. Stephen was frankly recognized, the idea of a Magyar national State is here described as alien to the ethnical and historical conditions of Hungary, threatening as it does the very existence of the other races. A league is therefore formed between the Roumanians, Slovaks and Serbs, and the hope is expressed that the Germans and Ruthenes will join them. The Law of Nationalities, which merely remains a dead letter, must be properly carried out and must be supplemented by a redistribution of the counties on a linguistic basis; while in the non-Magyar districts the language of the courts and of the administration must be that of the population. The unjust franchise and electoral abuses can only be remedied by the introduction of universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage, by redistribution and by the removal of official pressure during elections. Church and school autonomy must no longer be infringed, and absolute freedom of religion must be introduced. Proper guarantees for press freedom must be given, and free right of assembly and association must be secured by law. The interests of the various nationalities should be represented by Ministers without portfolios, just as in the case of Croatia. Finally, the congress appointed a committee to promote harmony between the nationalities, to protest against the prevailing policy of denationalization, and to plead the non-Magyar cause in the foreign press. There never was any prospect of even the more moderate of these wishes being granted, and the meeting can only have been intended by its leaders to serve as a reminder of the existence of the non-Magyar races. The permission granted for their meeting, instead of being regarded as a concession due to political decency, has been cited as an extraordinary act of magnanimity on the part of the Magyars—a point of view which illustrates

³⁰⁵ See Appendix xvii.

the prevailing Chauvinism. The congress was merely a brief lull in the storm of repression which reached its height in the well-known "Bánffy system."

The year 1896 was celebrated by the Magyar race as the millenary of its occupation of Hungary, and the national exhibition at Budapest was made the occasion of renewed attempts to wean European opinion from sympathy with the nationalities. Both the Government and its opponents published a crop of controversial pamphlets on the racial question, designed not so much to inform as to persuade the foreign public; and the Pan-German League displayed special activity in its attacks upon the Magyars. The millenary celebrations evoked numerous counter-demonstrations. The Chauvinists of Belgrade, enraged at the inclusion of the Serb arms among the symbols of the *Partes subjectae* of the Crown of St. Stephen, burned the Hungarian flag in the streets of the capital; and their foolish example was followed by the students of Bucarest, before the statue of Michael the Brave.³⁰⁶ In Ujvidék (Neusatz) the Serbs refused to illuminate, and in Essek the Hungarian arms were besmirched with mud and paint. In the Austrian Reichsrath (May 29), Dr. Lueger, the militant Anti-Semite leader, branded as a traitor every German who made common cause with Hungary. Needless to say, Baron Bánffy was not deterred by such incidents from pursuing his policy of Magyarization. To take but a single instance, Parliament in May, 1896, voted a sum of £28,000 for the erection of 400 new elementary schools; but in every one of them Magyar was introduced as the exclusive language of instruction.³⁰⁷ These and similar incidents justified the nationalities in treating the millenary as a strictly Magyar anniversary in which they could have no share.

In the autumn of 1896 Baron Bánffy held new Parliamentary elections, which eclipsed all previous records, and resulted in a net gain of sixty-nine seats by the Government. Money was poured out like water, bribery was resorted to with an openness hitherto unknown even in Hungary. Arbitrary limits were set upon the right of speech and of assembly, and indeed many of the Opposition candidates and their

³⁰⁶ The idea was borrowed from the Croats, who on October 16, 1895, had burned the flag of Hungary before the statue of Jellačić in the chief square of Zagreb (Agram).

³⁰⁷ Cp. p. 156, on the State's pledge to supply teaching in the mother-tongue.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

supporters were arrested by the authorities in the middle of their campaign. Galicia, Styria and Moravia were partially denuded of their garrisons, and the regiments of the Joint Army were entrusted with the task of "preventing excesses" on the part of the Opposition. "Undesirable" voters were in many cases refused access to the polls, and any attempt at resistance was quelled by a liberal use of bayonets and ball cartridge.³⁰⁸ A specially violent character had been imparted to the electoral struggle by the appearance of a new Clerical or People's party, which contested no fewer than ninety-eight seats. The fiercest contests took place in the German constituencies of West Hungary, where Mr. Stephen Rákovszky secured election. But the Clerical appeal was not lost upon the Catholic Slovaks of the North, who had been encouraged by their clergy to regard the Church Laws as a fresh stage in the advance of the Jews and the freemasons. Indeed, the fanatical misrepresentations in which the Clerical leaders indulged, rivalled the unscrupulous devices employed against them by the Government and its agents.³⁰⁹

Thus it was the Clericals who first effected a breach in the traditional "safe seats" of the Liberal Party, and who were indirectly responsible for the Slovak revival of the past decade. The programme of the People's Party claimed the enforcement of the Law of Nationalities, and its leader, Count Zichy, after declaring that it is neither Liberal nor national nor Christian to oppress the nationalities, insisted that the Government's present attitude towards them must be abandoned.³¹⁰ The Slovaks were encouraged to renounce the senseless policy of passivity adopted by their leaders, and to launch their little boat once more upon the sea of politics. Henceforth the younger generation poured contempt upon the Russophil dreams of Turócz St. Márton, and bravely proclaimed the

³⁰⁸ The comment of the *Neue Freie Presse* on these elections is too delicious not to be quoted. In a leading article of November 3, 1896, we read: "In view of the successes of the Liberals, the complaints of the Opposition regarding corruption and violence appear merely childish!" The author of this unique phrase must surely have underestimated the naïveté of his readers.

³⁰⁹ According to the *Neue Freie Presse* (October 28, 1896) the Clerical candidate in Csorna informed the people that if the Liberals should win, all crosses would be banished from the streets, and the churches would be turned into Jewish storerooms. Liberal voters were threatened with the withdrawal of the sacraments, and the peasants were made to swear on the crucifix to vote for the People's Party.

³¹⁰ Programme speech on January 1, 1897.

Slovak
 doctrine of self-help. Autocratic Russia was regarded with positive aversion: a far more natural *rapprochement* was sought with the young Czech democracy of Bohemia,³¹¹ and their hands were strengthened by the moral and financial assistance of the Slovak emigrants in America. Popular savings banks and co-operative societies were started by some of the Slovak leaders—especially in the counties of Trencsén and Liptó—in the hope of stemming the excessive usury which gnawed at the very vitals of the Slovak peasantry and kept them in the thrall of the Jews and the magnates.

Self-help was indeed the only possible cure for the terrible economic condition of the country. While the Government pursued its ethnophagic policy towards the nationalities, land hunger and the rise of prices had led to an Agrarian Socialist movement of considerable dimensions. In the spring and summer of 1897 frequent collisions took place between the peasants and the troops, and in 1898 the attempt to organize a harvest strike, as a means of reducing the landlords to reason, was ruthlessly suppressed by the authorities. The Government hired labourers in the northern counties to supply the gaps, and kept a large reserve of foreign labourers at Mezöhegyes, ready to be despatched at a moment's notice to the aid of the landlords. Liberty of association and assembly was greatly restricted, scores of public meetings were prohibited, postal secrecy was violated, funds were confiscated, the ring-leaders of the movement were arrested or subjected to domiciliary visits and compulsory photography by the police. The brutal energy of the Government was successful in suppressing the movement; but no remedy has been found for the economic evils of the country, and the peasantry, despairing of a remedy at home, turned to emigration as a last resort. While the Magyar politicians wrangled over the words of command in the army, the life blood of the country has been steadily drained by emigration. Since 1896 Hungary has lost close upon a million of her population in this way, and latterly the movement has reached its height amongst the purest Magyar peasantry of the Alföld.

Among the many shameful actions of the Bánffy Govern-

✓ ³¹¹ Professor Masaryk, to-day the chief intellectual force among the Czechs, and the leader of the little Czech Realist party (with its able organ the *Čas* in Prague) is by birth a Hungarian Slovak. Prof. Jaroslav Vlček, of Prague, the author of the best sketch of Slovak literature, is also a Slovak.

“ SHILLING-NAMES ”

*in German**

ment, special stress deserves to be laid upon the campaign for the Magyarization of family names and placenames. Early in 1898 the Minister of the Interior issued a circular to all county and municipal authorities, instructing them to invite the officials under them to adopt Magyar names, and sending copies of a pamphlet on this subject for distribution.³¹² In the same way, pressure was put upon the state schoolmasters,³¹³ and upon subordinate post office and railway officials, in order to compel them to Magyarize their names ; and it became evident that those who refused to comply had little prospect of promotion. When Oscar von Meltzl, the Saxon deputy, brought forward an interpellation on the subject, so far from obtaining any satisfaction, he was taunted with his lack of patriotism and subjected to insult and abuse from a majority of the House.³¹⁴ Governmental pressure and social inducements, and indeed the reduction from five florins to fifty kreuzer (10*d.*) of the registration fee for a change of name, had long since (1881) deprived the poor man of an excuse for preserving his identity.

That a forger or a convict should seek to conceal his identity under a false name is natural enough ; but it is difficult to understand how any man who has inherited an honourable name from his father should be willing to renounce it except for the most cogent reasons. Yet this demoralizing custom has played havoc with the family history of the Hungarian middle classes ; and few countries will supply such a puzzle to the genealogist of the twenty-second century. Indeed, the annals of modern Hungary are crowded with men who have adopted “ shilling-names.” Toldy, the author of a standard work on Magyar literature, was born as Franz Schedel ; Hunfalvy, the ethnologist, as Hundsdorfer : Munkácsy, the famous painter, as Lieb : Professor Vámbéry, the distinguished Orientalist, as Bamberger : even the poet Petöfi as Petrovič. Among politicians Zsedényi, Irányi, Helfy, Komlóssy, Polónyi, entered life with the less euphonious names of Pfannschmied, Halbschuh, Heller, Kleinkind, Pollatschek. The well-known historical writer, Fraknoi, had discarded his paternal name of Frankl at the request of members of the Hungarian Academy, and was not ashamed to give as his reason their desire that a Magyar name should figure

³¹² See Appendix xxvi.

³¹³ See *ibid.*

³¹⁴ January, 1898. See also *Hungaricus*, op. cit., pp. 22-25.

on the title-page "of one of his principal works."³¹⁵ A change of name naturally found special favour among the Jews, and enabled them to pose as missionaries of patriotism and Magyar culture.³¹⁶ Just as moneylenders in London have been known to borrow the name of a famous Scottish clan, so the Eierstocks and Löwenmuths of Hungary have assumed the aristocratic names of Tökölyi and Báthori. Weiss, Kohn, Löwy, Weinberger, Klein, Rosenfeld, Ehrenfeld, Gansl, Grünfeld, conceal their identity under the pseudonyms of Vészi, Kardos, Lukács, Biró, Kis, Radó, Erdélyi, Gonda, Mezei.³¹⁷

Not content with exercising pressure upon its subordinates to assume Magyar names, Bánffy's Government in December, 1897, passed through Parliament a law for the compulsory Magyarization of all the placenames of Hungary. The protests of savants against this act of vandalism were disregarded,

³¹⁵ See Wastian, p. 128.

³¹⁶ On March 29, 1895, Visontai (formerly Weinberger) said in Parliament: "Statistics prove that the Jews of the districts inhabited by the nationalities carry on a regular mission work; statistics prove that where for miles round not a Magyar word is to be heard—in Roumanian, Slovak or German districts—it is a Jewish family, living in modest circumstances, which not only cultivates the Magyar language in its own circle, but also does its best to inoculate its children with the Magyar language and culture. We see that he who in the non-Magyar districts wishes his children to learn the Magyar language sends them to the Jewish school."

³¹⁷ Those who are disposed to believe the common Magyar assertion that Magyarization is a myth have only to study the roll of the present Hungarian Parliament ("Térkép az 1906-évi Országgyűlési képviselőválasztások eredményéről"; i.e. Map of results of Parliamentary elections, prepared by Count Béla Kreith, Budapest, 1906). The following twenty-six members are in reality no more Magyar than the present writer: Secretary of State Sztérényi (formerly Stern); ex-Minister of Justice Polónyi (Pollatschek); Farkasházy (Fischer); Fényvesi (Veigelsberg); Földes (Weiss); Hoitsy (Hojča); Joseph Horváth (Horowitz); Kalósi (Grünfeld); Samuel Kelemen (Klein); Maurice Lányi (Lilienfeld); Paul Lázár (Weiss); Mezőfi (Morgenstern); Molnár (Berger); Pető (Pollacek); Pilissy (Perger); (Sándor Schlesinger); Aladar Somogyi (Krausz); Szatmári (Sau); Vázsonyi (Weissfeld); Soma Visontai (Veilsberg). Six gentlemen of the well-known name of Kohn have discarded it in favour of Lehel Hédervári, Hódy, Kárdos, Nagy, Ság and Szunyog. In addition to these (and the list is far from complete) there are 88 Magyarized renegades whose names still betray their origin. As there are also 38 non-Magyars (including the 12 Saxons) and 40 Croats, only 261 out of a total number of 453 members can be claimed as genuine Magyars, and even of these many more could be challenged, but 375 are Magyars in sentiment.

and a deputation of Saxon women to Vienna was refused access to the Emperor-King and curtly dismissed by Baron Bánffy. Henceforth the old historic names are banished from the map, and replaced by unknown and in many cases specially fabricated names. Many a link with the past is rudely severed, and the traveller who visits the famous mediaeval towns of Pressburg, Hermannstadt and Kirchdrauf, will search in vain at the railway station or post office for any sign save those of Pozsony, Nagy-Szeben, and Szepes-Váralja. Indeed, to such lengths has Magyaromania reached, that all post-office and railway notices throughout the kingdom are drawn up exclusively in Magyar, a language of which 40 per cent. of the population are unable to understand a syllable. But such external changes, however deeply they might offend the feelings of large sections of the population, were of little real assistance to the cause of Magyarization; and their sole value lay in the false impression of Magyar power which they created in the minds of foreign inquirers.

Meanwhile Bánffy's electoral triumphs had not brought him peace. The spirits of discord whom he had invoked could no longer be dispelled, and the obstruction which caused his final ruin was conjured up by his own reckless misuse of the principles of majority. To him the end always hallowed the means; and having secured an unrivalled majority by systematic violence and corruption, he resorted to the still more doubtful tactics of winning the Opposition's support for a particular law in return for some concession, and afterwards using his big parliamentary battalions to evade his pledges. In the words of Count Apponyi, "this Parliament was bred in sin and born in sin," and hence it must, according to every moral law, suffer like a fever patient from continual crises.³¹⁸ Every year the Opposition grew more unmanageable, and the number of Dissidents from the Liberal Party increased, including such able men as Szilágyi and Andrásy the younger. The thorny question of the new commercial Ausgleich with Austria supplied the Independent Party with a convenient pretext for obstruction, and just as in the days of Tisza the personal element had dominated Hungarian politics, so the Opposition parties now clamoured for the head of Bánffy, and forced the Cabinet to negotiate with them regarding the conditions of its own resignation. At length, after a crisis of several months, Bánffy withdrew in

³¹⁸ See *Neue Freie Presse*, January 1, 1899.

favour of Mr. Coloman Széll, the foster son of Deák and one of Hungary's most brilliant financiers (February 17, 1899). The Dissidents returned to the party fold, and on March 3, 1899, Count Apponyi, who only a few months before had electrified Parliament by a memorable indictment of Liberal policy,³¹⁹ dissolved the National Party, and himself joined the Liberals with his thirty-two followers. A kind of armistice with the Kossuthists made it possible for Széll to conclude the much overdue commercial Ausgleich, and thus to secure Hungary's economic peace for the next eight years.

The new Premier assumed as his watchword the phrase "Law, Right and Justice" ("törvény jog és igazság"), and proceeded to illustrate it by the adoption of a milder policy towards the nationalities. The prosecutions of the non-Magyar press were discontinued, the notorious "Nationalities Section" was dissolved, and rather fewer restrictions were placed upon association and assembly. In April, 1899, an elaborate law was introduced dealing with corrupt practices and electoral disputes, and much was heard of Széll's zeal for "pure elections." The general elections of 1901 did not, however, show much improvement in this respect; and if they did not attain the same scandalous pre-eminence as those of 1896, governmental pressure, bribery and even bloodshed were none the less deplorably frequent. Perhaps the most piquant incident was the treatment meted out to Count Apponyi in Jászberény, where he had sat since 1881. The voting roll had been carefully doctored under Bánffy, with a view to securing his defeat; the poll was prolonged for thirty hours for 2,000 electors (at Budapest only ten hours were

³¹⁹ In November, 1898. In the course of his speech, Count Apponyi complained that the Government "made of the rule of the majority a kind of Divine Right to which we must unquestioningly bow without regard to the means by which they secured this delegation of the national will." The presence of the Opposition in the House, he said, merely served to perpetuate the constitutional farce. As one who entered Parliament twenty-five years ago full of enthusiasm and ambition, he wished his conscience would allow him to retire altogether; to such a degree had the course of public life in Hungary embittered his soul. The business of Parliament, he added, would be reduced to a sham contest between a majority which went through the formality of election but was really nominated by the Government, and a minority which was also "ordered" by the Government and merely assumed the part of an Opposition. Indeed, the Russian Nihilists might well be summoned to Hungary, for in it they would find their ideal.

allowed for 10,000), and after every possible trick had failed, the returning officer refused to declare Count Apponyi elected.³²⁰ Such action would have been remarkable even in the case of a non-Magyar candidate: in the case of a new and powerful adherent of the Government, it becomes almost incredible. Széll's personal relations to Apponyi had become really cordial, and the incident can only be ascribed to the Tisza clique, who doubtless acted on the motto, "timeo Danaos et dona ferentes." In this attitude they were justified by subsequent events; for Count Apponyi's adherence to the Liberal Party introduced a fatal element of discord, which bore fruit in 1903, when the military question once more became acute. Apponyi made common cause with the Party of Independence in pushing the claims of a national Hungarian army, with Magyar language of command, and thus on June 16, 1903, Mr. Széll fell a victim to the same violent obstructive tactics which had originally raised him to power. The famous Army Order of Chlopy, issued during the brief régime of his successor Count Khuen-Héderváry, was merely a crude and tactless retort to what the military chiefs regarded as Apponyi's unwarrantable attempt to dismember the joint army. It rendered Héderváry's position untenable, and paved the way for Count Stephen Tisza's accession to power³²¹ (3 Nov. 1903). Once more the personal factor predominated. The duel between Tisza and Apponyi seriously weakened the discipline of the Liberal Party, and in November, 1903, the latter left the sinking ship and resumed his Opposition tactics.

The true history of the great crisis of 1904-6 cannot be written for many years to come. The wild obstruction which paralyzed Count Tisza's movements; his rash attempt to restore order by means of the closure, and the disgraceful scenes to which this attempt gave rise (November 18 and December 13, 1904)³²²; the welding of the Opposition parties

³²⁰ Eisenmann, *op. cit.*, p. 571, note.

³²¹ This brilliant but not too tactful statesman is the eldest son of the Premier Coloman Tisza, and succeeded to the title of his uncle Louis, to whom the city of Szeged owes its resurrection after the great floods of 1878.

³²² What may quite fairly be described as physical patriotism had become more and more common in the Hungarian Parliament, and on this notorious occasion Baron Bánffy—who in 1898 had endeavoured to force the closure upon an indignant House, eclipsed all previous records of obstruction by wrecking the seats and benches with the broken lid of his desk!

into an anti-Liberal Coalition (November)³²³; the crushing defeat of Tisza at the general elections of January, 1905, and his consequent resignation; the appointment of Baron Fejérváry as Premier, with a number of little known permanent officials as his Ministers (June 19, 1905), and the repeated prorogations of Parliament—these are events which have but little direct bearing upon the racial question, except in so far as the demand for the Magyar language of command may be regarded as a last despairing effort of Magyarization.

Under the Fejérváry régime, the Magyars were vividly reminded of the power and influence still enjoyed by the Crown. For forty years Hungarian Cabinets had enjoyed the whole-hearted support of their sovereign, and Hungary had been able to dictate the foreign policy of the Dual Monarchy. The aggressive action of the Coalition revealed the inherent defect of Dualism, which makes of the sovereign the mere pendulum between two scales; in self-defence Francis Joseph was driven, for the first time in a generation, to espouse the Austrian side and to turn a deaf ear to Magyar claims. In the course of the struggle, Crown and Coalition were almost equally in error; for a constitutional sovereign is not free to curtail the programme of his future Ministers, while parliamentary leaders have no right to dictate to him the terms on which they are ready to accept office. But the error of judgment lay on the side of the Coalition, who fatally over-estimated their own powers of resistance. Their eloquence and their abuse alike were met by the sullen indifference of the masses, who thus took vengeance for the long-neglected evils of the franchise. In their blind pursuit of "national" and party advantages, the Coalition leaders failed to reckon with the social and economic needs of the classes and races hitherto shut out from political power; and by their refusal of the royal terms, they drove the sovereign into alliance with these democratic elements in the State. An opportunity was thus presented to Mr. Kristóffy—minister of the Interior and by far the ablest member of the Fejérváry cabinet—for putting forward his famous scheme of Universal Suffrage.³²⁴

³²³ The Party of Independence under Mr. Francis Kossuth and Count Albert Apponyi (who had joined the Kossuthists), the Constitutional Party under Count Julius Andrássy; the People's Party under Count Zichy, and the short-lived New Party under Baron Bánffy.

³²⁴ On July 27, 1905, Mr. Kristóffy received in audience the Social Democratic League of Hungary, and addressed them as follows:

Mr. Kristóffy's proposal, and still more its inclusion by the Premier in his autumn programme, acted like a bombshell among the Opposition parties, whose official organs discharged the vials of their wrath upon the "unconstitutional" Government. But the reception of the new programme in the country showed the danger of their situation; and henceforth the Coalition leaders, while proclaiming their patriotic mission more loudly than ever, and filling the foreign press with appeals against perfidious Austria,³²⁵ secretly strained every nerve to make their peace with the King, and thus if possible to render Kristóffy's designs innocuous. On February 19, 1906, Parliament was dissolved, without writs being issued for new elections; and the country watched with surprising equanimity the approach of Absolutism. The secret of the negotiations was jealously kept, and the formation of the Coalition Cabinet on April 9, 1906, took the world at large completely by surprise. This Ministry of all the talents was composed of Dr. Wekerle (Premier and Finance); Mr. Francis Kossuth (Commerce); Count Julius Andrassy (Interior); Count Albert Apponyi

"After long thought the conviction has ripened in me that the present terrible condition of the country can only be remedied by an intensive social and economic policy; for only such a policy can still the deeply-rooted social discontent, and on the other hand eliminate the disastrous constitutional struggle which continues to hinder the normal functions of the organism of the State. This regenerating social and economic policy cannot in my opinion be enforced by half measures, but only by parliamentary reform on the basis of universal and secret suffrage; for only by such a far-reaching reform can the gates of Parliament be thrown open to those who will develop their legislative activity, not in constitutional contests, but in the organization of the nation's work." See *Pester Lloyd*, July 28 and 30, 1905.

³²⁵ Count Apponyi had already published a long letter on the Hungarian crisis in the *Times* of July 1, 1905 (see also leading article of July 8). He now contributed to the *Outlook* a series of brilliant articles on the same subject (March, 1906). Mr. Kossuth pleaded the Magyar cause in the *Daily News* during the autumn of 1905. Similar attempts were made from time to time to influence the leading organs of French and German opinion in favour of the Magyars.

In December, 1907, Mr. Széll, in publicly denouncing the present writer as a fanatical liar at a banquet of the Constitutional Party, urged upon his countrymen the patriotic duty of refuting the slanders published against Hungary in the foreign press. Good examples of these "refutations" are supplied by the articles of Count Joseph Mailáth in the *Contemporary Review* for August, 1908 ("The Nationalities of Hungary") and of Dr. Julian Weiss, the hero of one of the most corrupt elections of recent years (Német Bogsan, 1907) in *Die Zukunft* of September 4, 1908. No two articles could be better calculated to defeat their own purpose.

(Education); Mr. Darányi (Agriculture); Mr. Polónyi (Justice); and Count Aladár Zichy (Court). At the new general elections (April 28—May 2, 1906), the Liberal Party finally disappeared from the scene, Count Tisza withdrew into private life, and the singular spectacle was presented of a Parliament without an Opposition.³²⁶ The collapse of the Liberals had left a large number of constituencies free, and the unseemly rush of candidates to secure the spoils roused even the indignation of the Coalition press. Many of Count Tisza's former adherents now paraded their Kossuthist principles, and the once Radical Party of Independence soon fell into the hands of the agrarian gentry, with their following of county officials, and of the Jewish capitalists, with their dependent array of professional lawyers.

The Coalition leaders, whose accession to power was greeted in many quarters with such jubilation, laid the greatest possible stress upon the transitional character of their Government.³²⁷ Its main tasks, they declared, would be to repair the mischief wrought by the "unconstitutional" Fejérváry Government, and then to introduce the long delayed measure of franchise reform, which would make it possible to ascertain the will of the whole nation regarding the questions at issue between Crown and Coalition. Two years and a half have now passed since the Coalition took office, and yet the proposed Universal Suffrage Bill, which was to be their main achievement, still remains a jealously guarded secret in the Ministry of the Interior. Meanwhile, reaction has been spreading through all ranks of the Coalition. The shocking scandals which drove the Minister of Justice, Mr. Polónyi, from office in February, 1907³²⁸; the fresh scandals of the Rail-

³²⁶ In May, 1906: Independents, 246; Constitutional Party, 70; People's Party, 32; New Party, 1; Democrats, 3; Socialists, 2; Nationalities, 25; non-party (including Saxons), 19. See Grof Béla Kreith *Kérvép*, 1906.

In summer, 1908, the grouping was as follows: Independents, 224; Constitutional Party, 78 (including Saxons); People's Party, 32; New Party, 2; Democrats, 4; Socialist, 1; Nationalities, 25; non-party, 21; New Independent Left, 16.

³²⁷ See, e.g., Count Apponyi's great speech at Jászbéreny (September 8, 1906).

³²⁸ On January 21, 1907, the Independent deputy, Mr. Zoltán Lengyel, published in his journal *A Nap* the facsimile of a letter written by Polónyi on February 1, 1905, to Baroness Schönberger, whose reputation is well known; in it he asked her to try to discover what the

REACTION

way Fund misappropriation and the Government subsidies to the press³²⁹; the frequent assaults upon such press freedom as exists in Hungary; the attempt to muzzle unpopular deputies; the political persecution of the Socialists and the nationalities; the violation of the Croatian Ausgleich involved in the Railway Servants Bill (XLIX., 1907)³³⁰; the attitude of Parliament to emigration and to agrarian and economic questions, as revealed in the scandalous Agricultural Labourers Act (XLV, 1907)³³¹—all these were signs of the lamentable change wrought by place and power in the once democratic party of Louis Kossuth and Daniel Irányi. Despite all talk and protestations, and in defiance of its own past record, this Kossuthist majority sanctioned a new commercial Ausgleich which is less favourable to Hungary than any passed by Liberal Governments; and for the past year the Coalition has devoted itself to the vain effort to convert a régime of transition into one of stagnant permanence. But the day of reckoning cannot be postponed much longer, and before the present volume is in the hands of the reader, Hungary may already be in the throes of a popular agitation such as that which preceded the great Reform Bill of 1832.

In the Parliament of 1906 the nationalities were for the first time represented in sufficient strength to form an organization of their own; and the Coalition was guilty of a serious tactical blunder in refusing to recognize their existence as a parliamentary party. Twenty-five Nationalists have actually been elected, and as their leaders justly argue, it is absurd to refuse to admit a fact merely because it is unpalatable.³³² The

Emperor-King had said to Count Stephen Tisza at his private audience during the crisis, and whether he would receive Mr. Kossuth also. A series of further scandals followed, upon which I prefer not to dwell.

³²⁹ In answer to an interpellation of Mr. Szemere regarding the over-production of daily newspapers in Budapest, Dr. Wekerle, the Premier, admitted a knowledge of subsidies to the Press. The Coalition Government, he said, proposed to continue certain subsidies, but would secure the purity of public life in this as in other directions. Present conditions he regarded as untenable.

³³⁰ See Appendix xxviii.

³³¹ See an able critique of the Act in the *Times* of September 25, 1907, by the *Times* correspondent for Austria-Hungary.

³³² To take an obvious parallel, it is as though the British Parliament had in 1906 refused to recognize the existence of the new Labour Party. The only possible verdict on such an attitude would have been that the present Cabinet was intransigent in the extreme.

little group has from the first showed marked ability, and some of its members—notably Dr. Michael Polit, the disciple of Miletič and leader of the Serb Liberals: Dr. Milan Hodža, the young Slovak leader and Dr. Alexander Vaida, a Roumanian landowner and deputy—soon earned themselves a reputation for debating skill and knowledge of parliamentary practice.

But their reception at the hands of the majority was altogether unworthy of a constitutional assembly. Many of the Chauvinists argued that the political programme of the nationalities was incompatible with the office of deputy, and cited the case of Vasul Demian, the Roumanian deputy, as a precedent for annulling the mandates of the whole party. The Government was too wise to adopt a course which would inevitably have shocked European public opinion, but found other equally effectual methods of reducing the non-Magyar deputies to silence. On November 16, 1906, Father Ferdinand Juriga, one of the seven Slovak deputies, was sentenced at Pressburg to a term of two years' imprisonment and a fine of 1,200 crowns; his offence consisted in "incitement against the Magyar nationality," incurred in two newspaper articles attacking the Chauvinists and defending himself against the charges of disloyalty which they brought against him.³³³ Soon afterwards, two other non-Magyar deputies, Messrs. Hodža and Petrovič, were sentenced to terms of two and six months' imprisonment for similar offences. Father Jehlička, another Slovak deputy, was also charged with "incitement against the Magyar nationality," and was threatened by the ecclesiastical authorities with suspension from office, unless he withdrew from an active part in politics. His attachment to the priestly calling proved too strong for his Slovak sentiments; he resigned his seat, and nothing more has been heard of the charge of "incitement." The Bishop, who disapproved of Jehlička's political activity, raised no objection to a Magyar priest standing for the vacant constituency; and the growth of national feeling among the Slovak Catholic peasantry was strikingly illustrated by their election of Mr. Ivánka, a young Lutheran advocate who had only recently settled in Nagy Szombat (Tyrnau). The Government wreaked its vengeance on Mr. Ivánka by a political action for "incitement," incurred in his electoral address; and on August 2, 1908, he was sentenced to a year's imprison-

³³³ See *Lúčenie* by Father F. Juriga (Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1907).



DR. MILAN HODŽA, M.P.

196

“ THE MAGYAR NATIONAL STATE ”

ment and a fine of 1,200 crowns. These experiences have taught the Slovak leaders caution. Indeed, the only means by which they can escape political extinction is to erect a system of “straw men,” who take the responsibility for articles against which the public prosecutor takes action; and young Slovaks or Roumanians regard it as an honour to go to prison in such a cause. *Vivat sequens*, as the Slovaks themselves say when they hear of a new victim.

The Magyar Chauvinists are fond of describing the opposition of the nationalist group as unpatriotic; but in view of the official statements of members of the Government, it is not easy to see how any self-respecting non-Magyar could give his support to the present régime.

On June 2, 1906, the Premier, Dr. Wekerle, openly announced in the House, that he was not in a position to fulfil the linguistic clauses of the Law of Nationalities, especially that affecting legal decisions.³³⁴

A few days later Baron Bánffy pleaded the cause of “the Magyar national State” before a sympathetic House, and argued that the Law of Nationalities must only be carried out in such a manner as shall not endanger this national character.³³⁵ He protested against linguistic concessions in the commune, on the ground that these would inevitably lead to similar concessions in county and central government; and this objection to the minimum of concession saved him from the necessity of condemning the whole law, the more so as he already knew it to be a dead letter. On July 11 of the same year Bánffy attempted to defend his “system” against the attacks of the Roumanian and Slovak deputies. “*The legal State*,” he declared, “*is the aim, but with this question we can only concern ourselves when we have already assured the national State. . . . Hungary’s interests demand its erection on the most extreme Chauvinist lines.*”³³⁶ A year later Baron Bánffy spoke still more openly upon the racial question. “In a peaceful manner this question cannot be solved. An understanding cannot be reached between us; for we wish the unitary Magyar national State, while they wish the polyglot State, with equal rights of the nationalities.”³³⁷

³³⁴ See Indemnity debate, June 2, 1906, fully reported in *Pester Lloyd*.

³³⁵ See *ibid.* June 5, 1906.

³³⁶ See *Pester Lloyd*, July 11, 1906.

³³⁷ October 31, 1907 (see *Pester Lloyd* of November 1). “The Nationalities,” he added, “are wrong if they complain of unjust treatment. *The Law of Nationalities, it is true, secures to them more rights*”

Baron Bánffy's violent and tortuous policy has gradually alienated all his followers; but his pronouncements on the racial question are always sure of a favourable reception from a majority in the House.³³⁸

Count Julius Andrássy, the Minister of the Interior, in an important speech on the racial question (November 27, 1906), described the policy of the nationalities as "dangerous, anti-national and hostile to the State, and refused to recognize their existence as a party, because he knew their "political aims to conflict with 'the idea of the Magyar State.'" ³³⁹ Andrássy went on to admit that the principles embodied in the Law of Nationalities had been abandoned by subsequent legislation, and assured the nationalities that they themselves were to blame for the fact that this law "will shortly have to be repealed." He closed with the following definition of policy: "Kindness and justice toward the masses, but pitiless severity in the prosecution of the agitators."

Six months later Count Andrássy expressed himself even more uncompromisingly. On May 25, 1907 (in answer to

than they actually enjoy, but that is a consequence of those numerous new laws which subsequently abrogated various provisions of the Law of Nationalities." On January 1, 1908, he again declared a compromise to be impossible. "Without Chauvinism," he said, "nothing can be achieved."

³³⁸ Even so eminent a statesman as Count Stephen Tisza holds equally extreme views on the racial question. On January 16, 1905, he spoke as follows at a public banquet in Budapest: "*A cardinal condition for the enjoyment of rights by other nationalities is that the citizens of other nationalities should recognize unreservedly that this state is the Magyar state (a Magyar állam), that state which the political unitary Magyar nation has created. . . . The Magyar nation, as soon as it recovered its autonomy, as soon as we had a national administration, assured to the nationalities in the Law of 1868 very far-reaching rights. I hold that the nation was right in this. But it did this on the assumption that by the concession of such wide rights it would bind the citizens of non-Magyar tongue to itself by ties of love and devotion. And this policy can only be justified so long as this assumption proves itself true for at least the main body of our citizens of foreign tongue. And should we (which God forbid) once more become convinced that this was a sad illusion, that the majority of the citizens of non-Magyar tongue had united against us in a campaign which was hostile to our political and national aims, then this policy would lose its inner justification. The Magyar nation has never given a binding promise to maintain this law for all time, or not to alter it . . . when conditions alter and when we perceive that through this law we grant to our opponents rights against ourselves.*"

³³⁹ See Pester Lloyd, November 27, 1906.

an interpellation of Dr. Vaida on electoral corruption), he openly admitted the racial question in Hungary to be one of brute force. The aims of the nationalities, he argued, could only be attained, and if once attained could only be defended, by blood and revolution; for "a situation which is opposed to the wishes and interests of the *Magyar nation* and of the strongest factors in the country will always be untenable."³⁴⁰

Perhaps, however, the most striking pronouncement of recent years upon the racial question is that of the ex-Premier Mr. Coloman Széll, who had hitherto enjoyed a reputation for tolerance and moderation. Speaking on June 21, 1908, at the annual Congress of the Magyar Cultural Leagues, Mr. Széll described "the unitary Magyar State" as the foremost aim of Hungarian policy, in the furtherance of which every statesman is intransigent. "Every citizen," he declared, "is equal before the law, *with the single limitation regarding language* which is demanded by political unity and the unity of administration and justice." The non-Magyars are free to develop their own language and culture; only one thing is asked of them—that they should declare themselves adherents of "the idea of the Magyar State." In short, "this country must first be preserved *as a Magyar country*, and then it must be cultured, rich, enlightened and progressive."³⁴¹

At a banquet which followed the congress, Count Apponyi, the Minister of Education, endorsed the speech of Mr. Széll with the assertion that "an energetic national policy" alone can solve the racial question in Hungary. As this statesman argued on another occasion,³⁴² it always has been and still is a tradition in Hungary to create a unitary Magyar nation. No one will deny the energy with which the Coalition Government has persecuted the nationalities; for it has eclipsed even the records of Coloman Tisza and the first Wekerle administration. But this persecution has only served to fan the flame of national feeling among the non-Magyar races; and the unrest and discontent is greater to-day than it has been for over a generation past.³⁴³

³⁴⁰ Count Andrassy's astounding speech on the Csernova massacre is referred to on p. 343.

³⁴¹ See full report of this speech in *Pester Lloyd*, June 22, 1908.

³⁴² See speech in defence of his own Education Act, April 13, 1907. (See full report in *Pester Lloyd*.)

³⁴³ The *Budapesti Hirlap* of April 8, 1908, discusses in a leading article the true meaning of the word "*reaction*": "Charles Kerkápoly

The material progress made by Hungary during the past forty years has been little short of marvellous.³⁴⁴ New means of communication have been opened up in all directions ; new methods of agriculture have been introduced in many districts, even if in others the soil is still managed on the most primitive principles. Banks and public institutions of every kind have sprung into existence. Though the county administration still remains mediæval under a transparent veil of modernism, the old system of elected judges has been swept away and replaced by a system of justice more suited to the requirements of the world of to-day. Meanwhile vast strides have been made in education, even despite the unjust attempt to restrict all progress to a single race and language. But the very variety and number of the reforms required to convert Hungary into a modern state acted as a fatal temptation to the true Magyar. Instead of sharing in the industrial revival of his country as the great Széchenyi would have had him, he left mere commerce to the Jew, and devoted himself to the more aristocratic pursuit of politics, with the result that in the twentieth century trade, finance and journalism have well-nigh become a Jewish monopoly in Hungary. The Magyar passion for legality, of which Hungarian history supplies so many instances and which found its loftiest expression in Francis Deák, has steadily degenerated under the corroding

declared as follows in 1894—'. . . I do not regard reaction as under all circumstances criminal or reprehensible. Since reaction is generally merely a negation of a hostile action, it is natural that if that action is justifiable (helyes), reaction is criminal, but if that action is inadmissible, reaction is a duty.' In this way Kerkápoly treats the question from its theoretical side. On its practical side the attitude of the nationalist agitators throws greater light. Their behaviour makes it quite clear to us that there are indeed such actions against which reaction is a duty. When we see that they merely use those laws which the nation passed to appease them, in order to make a breach in the national unity ; when that which was given for the sake of peace, is used as a weapon against us, (etc.) . . . Then we understand very well, what is inadmissible (helytelen) action, and—let them convince themselves—we shall also understand what is justifiable reaction."'

³⁴⁴ It is only necessary to open any English or German book of travel in Hungary forty or sixty years ago, in order to realize the truly mediæval condition of the Hungary of that date. Even to-day the towns of Hungary impress the traveller as mere glorified villages, essentially provincial in their dull monotony ; and indeed those of which this is least true are those where Magyar influences are weakest. Budapest, upon which the Magyars have lavished all their efforts, can only be regarded as a magnificent exception.

influence of racial Chauvinism into a mere passion for legal forms; and to-day the worst crimes of political tyranny are committed in the name of the law by its own officers.

Since the Ausgleich, everything has favoured the Magyars—their strong central position in the country; their league with the dominant German party in Austria; the approval of the Polish aristocracy in Galicia; the favour of the Court and the support of Bismarck and the Triple Alliance; and last but not least the active adherence of the Jews and international Finance. But the suddenness with which complete success followed apparent ruin, seems to have destroyed all sense of proportion in the Magyars: and to-day it is part of every Magyar's political creed that the non-Magyar races are mere "foreigners," who must be assimilated as rapidly as possible. Undeterred by the manifest impossibility of six million human beings assimilating other seven million, the Magyars have pursued the phantom of a "national Magyar state," and have employed every means in their power to crush out the resistance of the other races to what they regard as their "superior culture." The natural result has been that they find themselves to-day, at a critical moment of their history, ringed round by hostile races, whom the bitter memory of past wrongs renders adverse to compromise.

Meanwhile the non-Magyars, shut out from every public profession, deliberately set themselves to build up an independent economic position. Starting at zero, they were long unsuccessful against the competition of Magyarized Jewish firms and the unfair favouritism of the Government; but the self-sacrifice of many a gallant but unknown pioneer is beginning to bear fruit. Judged by the standards of Lombard Street, the Roumanian and Slovak banks and credit-institutions, the few factories owned by men of national sentiment, are very insignificant; but such as they are they are now self-supporting and independent of Jewish finance. The activity of the Roumanian banks—especially the Albina—in advancing loans to the peasantry of Transylvania, is creating an increasing proprietary class hostile to Magyar predominance; and the scandalous manner in which the authorities forbid Roumanian communes to invest money in Roumanian banks,³⁴⁵ only serves

³⁴⁵ In September 1907 the county assembly of Temes forbade the communal assemblies within its jurisdiction to invest any of their funds in nationalist banks. Seven communes petitioned the Minister of the Interior against this; but their complaint was rejected, and the decision of the county upheld. See *Pester Lloyd*, 15 Sept. 1907.

to intensify the feeling. At the same time the returned Slovak emigrants who have saved money in the United States, are steadily acquiring small holdings in Hungary and helping to propagate ideas of freedom and nationality among their neighbours. The growth of Slovak banks since 1900³⁴⁶ has been specially remarkable, and though still trifling compared with the large Jewish and Magyar institutions of North Hungary, they are none the less able to hold their own and extend their business.

These two parallel movements hold within them more than one secret of future development, and help to explain the desperate efforts of the Magyar caste to retain their political monopoly. From the very first they realized the difficulty of assimilating the Roumanians, but it is only in the last few years that they have condescended to speak of "a Slovak danger." This danger has come to them from America. During the past generation many thousands of Slovak peasants have emigrated to the United States, carrying with them feelings of bitterness and resentment towards the authorities of their native land. They speedily learned to profit by the free institutions of their adopted country, and to-day the 400,000 Slovaks of America possess a national culture and organization which present a striking contrast to the cramped development of their kinsmen in Hungary. There are more Slovak newspapers in America than in Hungary;³⁴⁷ but the Magyars seek to redress the balance by refusing to deliver these American journals through the Hungarian post office. Everywhere among the emigrants leagues, societies and clubs flourish undisturbed—notably the American Slovak League (*Národné Slovenský spolok*), the Catholic *Zednota* (Unity) and the women's league *Živena*. These societies do all in their power to awaken Slovak sentiment, and contribute materially to the support of the Slovak press in Hungary. The self-confidence and manly independence of the returned emigrants contrasts with the pessimism and passivity of the older generation, and they are doing much to lighten the Slovak population with new ideas of liberty and justice. The alarm with which the Government views this movement was revealed by its summary action against Francis Pollakovič, a young American citizen, in the autumn of 1907.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁶ See Appendix xiii.

³⁴⁷ The first was the *Amerikánsko-Slovenské Noviny* in 1886. The two chief centres of Slovak life in America are Pittsburg and Cleveland.

³⁴⁸ See Appendix xxiv.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

Whilst national feeling is growing stronger among the nationalities, and is fanned into flame by the Magyars' insane policy of persecution, the position of the ruling caste is threatened in the rear by a still graver danger. For the native Magyar peasantry has been estranged by long years of neglect, and can now no longer be relied upon by its masters. The veiled feudalism which still prevails in the Alföld, offered a fertile soil for Socialist propaganda; and although the pure doctrine of Marx or of Proudhon is never likely to strike root amid a population whose foremost ambition is to own the soil, the new ideas are none the less a source of grave danger to the existing governmental system and must in the long run play havoc with parties committed to the reactionary class legislation of Darányi and Kossuth. The Chauvinist frenzy of the upper classes is almost unknown among the Magyar peasantry, who bear no ill-feeling towards the nationalities and are perfectly content to live and let live. Nothing illustrates this contrast more strikingly than the fact that the non-Magyar leaders have been invited to address mass meetings of Magyar peasants; and they would undoubtedly have been greeted with applause and sympathy, had not the Government seen fit to impose its veto upon the scheme.

The Magyar clique, then, would seem to be at the end of their resources. The situation in Austria and in Europe is no longer favourable to their pretensions, and the introduction of universal suffrage cannot be postponed much longer. Count Andrassy's project for paralyzing this reform by a complicated system of plural voting is scarcely likely to obtain the monarch's sanction, and will almost certainly lead to internal convulsions such as preceded the great Reform Bill of 1832. The only hope for Hungary lies in an extension of the franchise to the nationalities and to the working classes, both of whom have hitherto been virtually excluded from political life by the narrowness of the franchise and the corrupt manner in which it is administered. Under the stress of a new danger, the process by which Coloman Tisza and his Left Centre united with the moderate Deák Party, is repeating itself to-day. The Coalition during its period of office has realized that the means at its disposal are insufficient for the attainment of the Personal Union, and indeed that its attainment might possibly prove fatal to the country. The masterstroke of Mr. Kristóffy and his sovereign in advocating Universal Suffrage has thrown the Coalition upon the defensive, and at present it is endeavouring to fuse

into a single whole the followers of Kossuth, Apponyi, Andrassy, and Rakovszky, as a preliminary step towards a desperate struggle of the privileged classes which these statesmen represent, against the impatient proletariat of classes and races. Whether even the dangers of the situation will promote the fusion of such uncongenial elements is a problem which only the future can solve.

The present volume appears at a critical moment in the history of Hungary, and the uncertainty of the future warns me to abstain from further speculation. In the following seven chapters I propose to pass in review the chief institutions of Hungary in so far as they affect the racial question; and I hope to prove that in matters of education, administration and justice, of association and assembly, of the franchise and the press, the non-Magyar nationalities are the victims of a policy of repression which is without any parallel in civilized Europe.



E. Málek.

A SLOVAK VILLAGE CHURCH.
(THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF VELKA PALUDZA.)

2. 6. 3.

CHAPTER XI

The Education Laws of Hungary and the Nationalities

“Un peuple parle toujours la langue qu'il veut parler.”

Sayous.

I

STATE education in Hungary may be said to date from the year 1867, and even at the present day the majority of schools, both primary and secondary, are controlled by the various Churches. Nowhere on the Continent do sectarian divisions exercise so great an influence upon educational problems as in Hungary. While in Austria the entire population is Catholic, with the exception of half a million Protestants: in Hungary great diversity of religious belief prevails. This can best be shown in tabular form:—

	1869 ³⁴⁹	1900 ³⁵⁰	Proportional Increase, 1869-1900
Roman Catholic	6,215,251-45·8	8,136,108-48·7%	.. 30·9%
Greek Catholic	1,583,043-11·7	1,830,815-10·9%	.. 15·7%
Greek Oriental	2,067,778-15·2	2,187,242-13·1%	.. 5·8%
Lutheran	1,096,184- 8·0	1,250,285- 7·5%	.. 14·1%
Calvinist	2,017,391-14·9	2,409,975-14·4%	.. 19·5%
Unitarian	54,345- 4	67,988- 4%	.. 25·1%
Jewish	542,257- 4·0	826,222- 4·9%	.. 52·4%
Other sects	2,880-	12,939	..
Total population	13,579,129	.. 16,721,574	..

Note.—For this chapter the following principal works have been consulted: *Ungarische Landesgesetzsammlung* (Amtliche Ausgabe) for 1868, 1879, 1883, 1884, 1891, 1893, 1907; *Das Ungarische Unterrichtswesen* (Reports of Minister of Education to Parliament), 1877 onwards; *L'Enseignement en Hongrie* (published by Minister of Education), 1900; *Education in Hungary* (issued gratis at the Hungarian Exhibition in London, 1908, on behalf of the Ministry of Education; and *Ungarisches Statistisches Jahrbuch* (an annual official publication, from which all my statistical Appendices are compiled).

³⁴⁹ Exclusive of Croatia-Slavonia, where educational conditions are different. Here in 1900, 71·2 per cent. of the population was Roman Catholic, 25·5 per cent. Orthodox.

³⁵⁰ From this it appears that the Catholics and the Jews have thrived

THE EDUCATION LAWS OF HUNGARY

Under such circumstances any wholesale scheme of national education is well-nigh impossible, even if the financial situation of Hungary would permit it.

Till the beginning of the eighteenth century, all schools remained exclusively in the hands of the clergy of the various denominations. In 1715 the King was entrusted with the supreme supervision of education, and a special department for religion and education was created in the newly formed Palatinal Council. To Maria Theresa is due the first genuine attempt at educational reform; all schools were grouped under three classes,³⁵¹ and nine school districts were formed, under the general control of the Palatinal Council. But attendance was not made obligatory, and the scheme was only partially enforced. Joseph II, whose lofty idealism sought to achieve by a single arbitrary decree results which could only be attained by a century of evolution, ordered the compulsory attendance of all children between the ages of six and twelve under needlessly severe penalties, and ventured upon the dangerous experiment of mixed (or interdenominational) schools. - Not content with this, he insisted upon German as the universal language of instruction, and thus kindled into flame the dormant national sentiment of the other races of his Empire. His successor Leopold II at the eventful Diet of 1790-1, restored to the Churches their former control of education, made - the Magyar language an obligatory subject of instruction, and appointed a commission to draw up a new educational law. But the Napoleonic wars supervened, and all soon fell back into the old grooves. A further scheme of education (*Ratio Educationis*) was published in 1806, but, except that German - was no longer made an obligatory subject, no change of any importance was introduced. Though the various sects displayed praiseworthy activity in improving secondary education, and a less admirable zeal for Magyarization, the state took no further steps till the year 1845, when a royal decree known as the "Systema Scolarum" was published in the name of Ferdinand V. By it, primary schools were divided into two classes, roughly corresponding to board schools and grammar schools: the obligation on the part of communes and landlords to found schools was more closely defined; and special institutions were erected for the instruction of teachers. In most under the new régime. This helps to explain the undoubted fact that the Catholic Church and the Jews form to-day the two chief bulwarks of Magyar Chauvinism.

³⁵¹ *L'Enseignement en Hongrie*, p. 65.

1848, Baron Joseph Eötvös was entrusted with the portfolio of education in the Batthyány Cabinet, but the outbreak of hostilities prevented even the discussion of his educational reforms. The system introduced during the fifties by Count Leo Thun has already been referred to elsewhere, and it would be unprofitable to discuss it further, since it was entirely abrogated in 1860. Unfortunately nothing definite was put in its place, and thus it is not too much to say that by the year 1867, when the constitution was at length restored, Hungarian education was in a state of chaos bordering upon anarchy.

A very brief statistical summary will make this clear to the reader. In 1869,³⁵² while Hungary had a population of 13,579,129,³⁵³ there were only 13,646 primary schools in existence or 1 to every 995 inhabitants; and of these hardly any were fully equipped with the necessary teaching appliances. Many of the buildings were overcrowded, insanitary or even too dilapidated for use: 1,598 communes were without a school of any kind, and of the total number of children liable to attend under the new act, barely 48 per cent. actually attended.³⁵⁴ What was perhaps worst of all, there were only 17,792 teachers, of whom as many as 4,308 or 24 per cent., were without diplomas. In other words, there was only one qualified teacher to every 170 children liable to attend school, and to every 81 actually attending. Considering that large numbers of teachers received a salary less than the wages of a common labourer, it is hardly to be wondered at that many of them followed other callings as well as that of schoolmaster; but it is obvious that this cannot have increased their efficiency. The natural result of all this was that at the census of 1869, 63 per cent. of the population was entirely illiterate, and that another 9.7 per cent. could read but could not write. Under such circumstances it was obvious to any person of average intelligence that the crying needs of Hungarian education were reorganization, efficient teaching and an increased staff, and that among a population so backward and illiterate normal conditions could only be attained through the medium of the mother tongue. As an official Hungarian

³⁵² The first year in which proper statistical data are obtainable. Throughout this chapter all facts and statistics refer to Hungary proper, exclusive of Croatia-Slavonia, which has an autonomous system of education.

³⁵³ *Ung. Stat. Jahrbuch*, ix. p. 16.

³⁵⁴ Only 1,093,077 out of 2,304,887.

publication justly observes,³⁵⁵ this is the dominant idea of the Primary Education Act introduced in 1868 by Baron Eötvös, who now resumed the portfolio of education after an interregnum of nineteen years.

Any attempt to nationalize the schools was clearly quite outside the realm of practical politics, since the necessary funds were not at the disposal of the state, and since in any case public opinion was in no sense prepared for such a step. The reformer was met at every turn by the jealously-guarded claims of Church autonomy; and an educational system had to be devised which contains the maximum of uniformity and efficiency compatible with respect for this autonomy. The two main principles of the Act were (a) compulsory education between the ages of six and twelve (with continuation classes up to the age of fifteen) and (b) obligatory erection of schools by

³⁵⁵ *L'Enseignement en Hongrie* (Min. Roy. des cultes et de l'instruction publique), Budapest, 1900, pp. 94-5. The writer, however, significantly fails to add that the educational policy of the past thirty years is a direct negation of any such idea. This book, which forms one of the chief authorities for this chapter, was compiled for the instruction of the foreign public. It must be used with the very greatest caution, for it contains misrepresentations on many important points. Perhaps the most startling of these is to be found on p. 71, where we read, "Aujourd'hui encore cette loi (i.e., Law on Primary Education, xxxviii. 1868) subsiste dans toute son étendue." This is directly untrue of §§ 116-32, 136, 137, which are expressly annulled by § 8, xxviii. 1878, and of the important § 58 which is superseded by various paragraphs of the Law of 1879; it is also untrue of §§ 1, 4, 27, 34, 36, 81 and of parts of the highly important § 11, all of which remain a dead letter.

In referring to the higher primary schools (bürgerliche Schulen) it adroitly escapes from an indefensible position as follows: "Le principe des §§ 57, 58 est que tout élève reçoive l'instruction dans sa langue maternelle. Toutefois le ministre a . . . le devoir et le droit de fixer la langue d'enseignement dans les écoles primaires supérieures. Ainsi dans toutes ces écoles la langue d'enseignement est le hongrois (i.e. Magyar) exclusivement." . . . Comment is needless.

In this connexion I may refer to another equally misleading official publication entitled *The Millennium of Hungary*, ed. by Joseph de Jekelfalussy Director of Roy. Hung. Statistical Office (Budapest), 1897. On p. 420 it is stated that "80 per cent of our population speak Hungarian" (he means of course Magyar). This can only be a deliberate misstatement, for even at the next census 46 per cent. (8,946,834) knew no Magyar, according to the official statistics, and last year Count Apponyi in an official report placed the percentage even higher. After such an example of this book's trustworthiness, we are not surprised to read that "Hungary" (by which he again means the Magyar race) "increases principally by virtue of its own strength of propagation!"

all communes where no denominational school already existed, and where at least thirty children were without any accommodation. Neither of these points has been properly enforced. In the first ten years of the new régime the number of illiterates was reduced by nearly 900,000, and the number of children attending no school fell from 52 to 21 per cent. of the total number of those liable. But as Magyaromania strengthened its hold upon educational policy, all efforts were concentrated on the Magyarization of secondary schools, and primary education was allowed to lag far behind. Since 1880 the number of children not attending school has steadily increased,³⁵⁶ and between 1900 and 1906 their proportion to the total number of children liable has actually risen from 18 to 24 per cent., even despite the ever-growing emigration of the last decade. In the same way there were in 1903 still about fifty communes which had no school at all, and the inadequate manner in which even the existing schools are supplied with teachers may be gathered from the fact that in 1906 there was only one properly qualified teacher to every 89 children in attendance,³⁵⁷ and that in the same year 247 schools (including ten State schools) remained partially closed owing to lack of teachers.³⁵⁸ The backward state of primary education which is revealed by these figures (and which is wholly eclipsed by the grim reality) must be directly ascribed to the policy of Magyarization. It is useless to erect schools unless there are teachers to fill them, and since the Magyars only form half the population of Hungary, it is clear that the supply of Magyar-speaking teachers (and only such are now appointed) cannot be adequate for the needs of the population as a whole. The non-Magyar Churches are too poor to erect fresh schools in any numbers, and Church autonomy restricts each sect to the erection of schools among its own adherents. Hence the gaps can only be filled by State and communal schools, and as the former appoint exclusively Magyar, the latter mainly Magyar teachers, the increase of the teaching staff is necessarily slow, and only forty or fifty new schools can be erected every year. As at present there is only one school to every 190 children and one class-teacher

³⁵⁶ In 1881, 463,339; in 1890, 466,757; in 1900, 552,628; in 1906, 645,820.

³⁵⁷ 27,904 qualified teachers, *Ung. Stat. Jahrbuch*, xiv. p. 352; 2,507,916 children liable, *ibid.*, xiv. p. 339.

³⁵⁸ In addition 119 schools were partially closed owing to want of accommodation, and 1,817 "owing to other reasons," which are very naturally not specified. See Appendix vi., b.

(with or without diploma) to every 107 children liable, and as the proportion of schools and teachers to the land-population as distinct from the towns is even more alarming,³⁵⁹ it is no exaggeration to maintain that primary education in Hungary is still chaotic, and in no way corresponds to western standards. Indeed the primary schools of Hungary must be compared not with those of Scandinavia, Scotland or Bohemia, but with those of Calabria and Portugal.

So far as the nationalities are concerned, the most important provision of the Act is contained in section 58, which lays down the broad principle of instruction in the mother tongue. In mixed communities, the post of schoolmaster is to be filled only by such persons as are qualified to teach in the languages of their pupils, and assistant teachers speaking the language of racial minorities are to be appointed so far as the means of the commune permit.³⁶⁰ This provision is reinforced by section 17 of the famous Law of Nationalities of the same year, which definitely pledges the State to supply all its citizens with instruction in the mother tongue "up to the point where the higher academic course begins." In other words, the State is to erect primary schools and gymnasiums with Slovak and Roumanian language of instruction. But almost from the first this clause has been ignored or openly violated. Not merely has the State never erected a single secondary school where the language of instruction is anything but Magyar, but it has even Magyarized some of the few existing non-Magyar gymnasiums, and those which it could not Magyarize, it tyrannously dissolved. The whole energy of the Magyars for a generation past has been devoted to the creation of a Magyar middle class, with which to feed officialdom and maintain the Magyar predominance. Their chief instrument has been the secondary school, which has been skilfully adapted to the manufacture of renegades. As Béla Grünwald brutally

³⁵⁹ E.g., in Máramaros Co., 1 teacher to 174 children liable, 1 school to 250 ditto; in Csik Co., 1 teacher to 141 children liable, 1 school to 285 ditto; in T. Aranyos Co., 1 teacher to 120 children liable, 1 school to 167 ditto; in Jász-Szólnok Co., 1 teacher to 138 children liable, 1 school to 404 ditto.; and the difficulty is solved by the fact that only 43 per cent., 55 per cent., 57 per cent., and 66 per cent. respectively of the children liable actually attend. I have chosen one mixed county, one Magyar, one Roumanian, and the county containing the constituency for which the present minister of Education, Count Apponyi, has sat for twenty-six years.

³⁶⁰ 1868, xxxviii. § 58.

“ BE SILENT AND PAY ”

remarks : “ The secondary school is like a huge machine, at one end of which the Slovak youths are thrown in by hundreds, and at the other end of which they come out as Magyars.”³⁶¹ The process of assimilation went on merrily so long as there were more posts to fill than individuals to fill them. But a new stage has now been reached, when the renegades or Magyarones as they are called, are no longer welcome, and when competition is embittered by the overproduction of an educated class ; and as this corresponds with a genuine economic revival among the non-Magyars, those who would have been turncoats or trimmers a generation ago, find fewer openings and a colder reception than their predecessors, and are thus tempted to remain loyal to their nationality.³⁶² While the assimilation of the non-Magyar “ intelligence ” is no longer making the same headway, the Government has gradually come to realize that in its efforts to create a middle class, a still more essential task has been neglected. On the intellectual and material progress of the Magyar peasantry of Central Hungary depends the permanence of the Magyar hegemony in the State ; yet since the Ausgleich so little has been done for them that the fever of emigration is decimating their ranks, and that the survivors are permeated by socialist doctrines and finally estranged from the “ idea of the Magyar state ” (a magyar állam eszme). An anti-democratic franchise still conceals this fact from the superficial observer, but the knowledge embitters the life of the ruling caste and goads them into unwise measures of repression.

II

The law of 1868 was of course passed by a House where the nationalities were practically unrepresented, and this proves effectually that Chauvinism had not yet gained a hold upon the majority, and that the liberal influence of Deák and Eötvös was strong enough to counteract the Jingoism of the Left. But what the nationalities had to expect in the near future became only too apparent from the intolerance with which they were treated by Coloman Tisza the Radical leader. On November 23, 1868, the future Premier declared that the nationalities must follow the Magyar proverb, “ Be silent and pay ” (csit, hallgás és fizés). When the Roumanian deputy Babes argued that “ equal rights ” and reciprocity would

³⁶¹ *A Felvidék*, p. 140.

³⁶² In this connection see Rudolf Springer, *Grundlagen*, pp. 67-8.

vanish if the Magyar language were to be made compulsory in non-Magyar schools, and went on to claim not only the right of each commune to decide what language was to be employed in its school, but also the right of the non-Magyar schools to teach their own national history as well as that of Hungary as a whole, Tisza retorted that this would be contrary to the interests of Babes' own constituents, who ought to assimilate as quickly as possible with the Magyar section of the population. Besides, he added, the non-Magyars could not boast of any such thing as a "national history"; and it was evident that Babes' intense hatred of the Magyars (which of course the speaker calmly assumed by way of effect) was due to the fact that he had always attended a German school, if indeed he ever visited a school at all! This kind of rant from the lips of a serious statesman was hardly calculated to reassure the nationalities, and their suspicions soon proved to have been only too well founded.³⁶³

Eötvös himself may be described without risk of exaggeration as one of the most truly liberal statesmen of the nineteenth century, and the provisions of his Education Act are in every way worthy of their author. Unhappily he was removed by death in 1871, and his successors, though men of genuine culture and ability, found the Chauvinist current too strong for them. Deák, it is true, lived until February, 1876, but although he continued to exercise a permanent influence in all constitutional questions, he regarded the conclusion of the *Ausgleich* as the crowning achievement of his life, and resolutely declined to take an active share in politics under the new era. The racial intolerance which was spreading so rapidly in political circles, was in direct conflict with Deák's calm and dispassionate nature, which sought legal sanction for every action, and which detested the idea that brute force should decide in politics. His speech at the opening of a Serb gymnasium in Neusatz (Ujvidék) proves beyond all question

³⁶³ This should be contrasted with the noble attitude of Deák towards Rannicher the Saxon deputy. After the latter had vigorously protested against the union of Transylvania with Hungary, Deák came over to him, and shaking him by the hand said, not in Magyar, but in German: "Alle Achtung vor einem solchen Deutschen!" Alas! such a scene would be impossible in the present Hungarian Parliament, where the non-Magyar deputies are frequently described as swine or traitors, and where a deputy of the standing of Mr. Ugron had the insolence to call Baron Aehrenthal an "ass." *Où sont les neiges d'antan?*

that he utterly disapproved of a policy of Magyarization.³⁶⁴ But the views of Deák and Eötvös on the vital question of the nationalities were already regarded as antiquated by the majority of their followers. The star of Coloman Tisza was in the ascendant, the dream of a Magyar national State fired the imagination of public opinion, and the Law of Nationalities within a few years of its adoption had already become a dead letter. In the autumn of 1874 the three gymnasia which the Slovaks had erected in the sixties by their own exertions, were dissolved by ministerial order, under the pretext that they had fallen a prey to Panslav influences. No attempt was made to purge them of bad practices, no public inquiry was ordered, no report of the facts was ever published, and their endowments were confiscated with the calm brutality which characterizes a despotic government. Since that date the Slovaks have made more than one attempt to found a new gymnasium, with Slovak as the language of instruction, but the Government has steadily withheld its permission, not even shrinking from the violation of church autonomy to secure its end.³⁶⁵

³⁶⁴ Kónyi, *Deák Ferencz Beszédei*, vi., pp. 339-40. How soon Deák's policy was abandoned is best shown by the history of this very gymnasium. In the debate of the Education Act of 1879 (sitting of May 3) Dr. Maximovič, the Serb deputy, quoted the following passage from the Minister of Education's report: "The German, Serb, Dalmatian and Slovak pupils cause linguistic difficulties only in the first class; as early as the third class it is seldom necessary to use the German or Serb languages in addition to the Magyar." The Minister then adds, "The task with which this gymnasium is charged consists in Magyarization." Comment is needless.

³⁶⁵ Not content with depriving the Slovaks of their schools, the authorities stamp out the slightest signs of national Slovak feeling among the Slovak pupils of Magyar gymnasia. A few examples of this will suffice. In June, 1886, eleven pupils were expelled by order of the Minister of Education from the gymnasium of Leutschau (Lőcse) for "Panslav intrigues"; these were said to consist in reading Slovak books, singing Slovak songs, corresponding with dangerous "Panslavs," and receiving 150 roubles a month from Russian agents. In March, 1894, four youths were expelled from the Lutheran gymnasium in Késmark, because they met together out of school hours to study and converse in their mother tongue; in 1896 three others were expelled for the same reason from Selmeczbánya. In December, 1900, six Slovaks were expelled from Eperjes Theological College, because they were photographed in a group and signed their names in Slovak on the photograph. In the spring of 1907 some Slovak boys were expelled from Rózsahegy gymnasium, because they spoke their native language "demonstratively" in the streets.

In May, 1906, three young Slovak seminary students were expelled from

While the clear letter of the law pledges the State to provide instruction in the mother tongue up to the commencement of a university career, in practice two million Slovaks have for a whole generation been illegally deprived of the most necessary means of culture; and of the thirty-nine gymnasia and *Realschulen* in the Slovak counties not a single one provides instruction in the language of the people. The plight of the Ruthenes is equally cruel, for they too have no gymnasium, and their lamentably backward state has been increased by the ruthless Magyarization of their primary schools, in all but twenty-one of which "instruction" is imparted in the Magyar language. Compared to these two races, and to the scattered German population of West and South Hungary, the Serbs and Roumanians are more favourably

the Pázmáneum (the famous Hungarian Catholic theological college in Vienna) for their Slovak national sentiments. Their offence consisted in associating with a Slovak teacher in Vienna, in corresponding with Father Juriga, the Slovak leader, and in removing from the refectory reading table a copy of the clerical *Alkotmány*, which attacked the Slovak press. (See *Budapesti Hírlap*, May 18 and 19, 1906.) *Alkotmány* of May 20, 1906, published a declaration by the seminarists of the Pázmáneum; this gave the following four reasons for the expulsion: (a) The three Slovaks "formed a special group, in which they aired their favourite views and drew suspicion on themselves by their somewhat retiring manners" (valamint tartózkodó modoruk által a gyanut magukra vonták); (b) Yet they propagated Slovak national ideas, and one of them (Gasparčik) openly admitted this, so that inquiry was unnecessary, though it actually was held. (c) They were in direct intercourse with Juriga and Jehlicska, "which is in itself a sufficient reason for expulsion from an institute which aims at training patriotic pupils." (d) "Though in the institution every foreign language is forbidden, they smuggled in Mr. Štefánek and talked Slovak with him." (Here again Slovak is treated as a foreign language! Cp. p. 87.) *Qui s'excuse, s'accuse.*

None of the expelled students were heard in their own defence. Mr. Gasparčik, in particular, was one of the ablest students of his time at the Pázmáneum, and received from the Rector a letter characterizing his "mores optimos et pietatem insignem." He is now priest of one of the Slovak congregations in the United States. (Mr. Rovnanek, the Slovak American millionaire, was originally expelled for similar reasons from the seminary of Esztergom.) The intolerable feature of the incident is that Slovak youths who wish to enter the Church are obliged to pass through a Magyar institution, as there is no Slovak seminary in existence. Thus from the very first they are driven to suppress their natural sentiments, lest they should be debarred from the career which they have chosen; while study of their native language—the language of the people to whom they are to minister in after life—earns them the reputation of Pan-slavs

placed, owing to the national character of their Churches, and thus six of their secondary schools have so far survived the onslaughts of Magyarization.³⁶⁶ But needless to say, in their case also the State has never even dreamt of carrying out its obligations. In a word, the non-Magyars of today (according to the official statistics) form 48·6 per cent. of the population of Hungary proper ; but out of the 169 gymnasiums and the thirty-two *Realschulen* of Hungary only 7·1 and 12·5 per cent. respectively are non-Magyar, while of the eighty-nine secondary schools directly controlled by the State,³⁶⁷ none at all are non-Magyar, and only one is even mixed. Those who are accustomed to western notions of law and order will doubtless be surprised at so glaring a contrast between theory and practice ; but when they discover similar discrepancies in paragraph after paragraph of the most fundamental laws of the country, they will be tempted to throw doubt upon the liberal nature of Hungarian institutions, and to endorse the mordant phrase of Sennyey and of Polit—
“ Nous sommes en pleine Asie.”

III

The great revival of national feeling among the Balkan peoples in the seventies awakened many echoes in the Dual Monarchy. The outcome of the Russo-Turkish War, the laurels won by Roumania at Plevna, and above all the acceptance by Austria-Hungary of a European mandate in Bosnia and Herzegovina, caused great alarm and excitement among the Magyars. So thoroughly did they consign their own past history to oblivion, that they presented a well-known Turkish general with a sword of honour and sentenced Mr. Miletič, the leader of the Hungarian Serbs to five years' imprisonment for advocating war against an “ allied nation.” The Press clamoured for the adoption of more decided measures to ensure the hegemony of the Magyar race, and attacked the Tisza Cabinet for its complaisant attitude in the Eastern Question. Under these circumstances the Government threw a sop to Cerberus

³⁶⁶ On July 22, 1889, the Roumanian Bishop of Nagyvárad was ordered by the Minister to introduce the Magyar language of instruction into the Roumanian Gymnasium of Belényes (founded in 1826 by private effort). The Government has on more than one occasion refused permission to the Bishop of Arad to erect a Roumanian gymnasium in Karánsebes or in Arad.

³⁶⁷ i.e., State, Royal Catholic, and Communal.

in the shape of a new Education Act, which made little or no attempt to conceal its Magyarizing tendencies.

The new law (XVIII. 1879) commenced by assuming the necessity that *opportunity* should be offered to every citizen of acquiring the Magyar language as the "language of State," and then proceeded, by a curiously illogical process of reasoning, to make the Magyar language *compulsory* in every primary school in the country. Henceforth no one can obtain a teaching diploma or be appointed to the post of schoolmaster, unless he can show a sufficient knowledge of Magyar to be capable of teaching it in a primary school (§§ 2-3). The non-Magyar teachers can only obtain their diplomas if the State inspector of schools certifies their thorough knowledge of the Magyar language (§ 6); the inspector acquires an absolute power, and all the many qualifications of a teacher are made to depend upon one alone. The teachers' institutes belonging to the non-Magyar Churches are thus subjected to a control from which similar institutions, if only they are Magyar in character, are exempted; and a direct inroad is thus made upon the legally guaranteed autonomy of the various denominations. Not merely must the Magyar language be taught in all the primary schools of Hungary, but the Minister of Education is given power to decide the number of hours in the week which are to be devoted to it (§ 4). In the event of failure to meet the requirements of the new act, the Minister is empowered either to close the faulty non-Magyar institution, or to order the erection of a rival communal school (§ 6, *alinea* 3, 4), where of course the language of instruction would be Magyar.

To the superficial observer such provisions may not at first sight appear at all unreasonable, and if he discusses the matter with a Magyar friend, he will be met with the argument that in Hungary every one must know "Hungarian," just as in Italy every one knows Italian, and in England every one knows English. Even if he notices the fallacious parallel between force of circumstances and compulsion by law, he will, unless he is familiar with the situation in Hungary, fail to detect the unwarrantable use of the word "Hungarian" to describe the Magyar language. As a matter of fact, one might with equal fairness insist that all natives of India should know the "Indian," all natives of Switzerland the "Swiss" language; this is a logical *reductio ad absurdum* of one of the standard arguments in defence of Magyarization. Meanwhile

the very men who employ this argument will, when the occasion serves, disclaim all idea of Magyarization.³⁶⁸ But no one who has studied the Hungarian Statistical Year Book, still less the debates on the Act of 1879, could be deceived by such a disclaimer. These debates will initiate the future historian into the mysteries of the Magyar psychology; but for my present purpose a few random instances must suffice. The well-known deputy Helfy (formerly Heller) boldly asserted: "There should be no nationalities, but only a Magyar nation."³⁶⁹ . . . We cannot renounce the development of our nation and our State merely in order not to embitter the nationalities"³⁷⁰—a typical specimen of the confused reasoning of Magyar politicians, who are still incapable of distinguishing between the Magyar race and the Hungarian nation. Madarász argued from the Law of Nationalities (!), "that the Magyar nationality is the political nation, and hence Hungary is not a polyglot but a Magyar state!"³⁷¹ No one, he asserted amid general approval, who desired not only a free and independent Hungary but also a Magyar state, could vote against this bill. Orban, after calmly contrasting the modest claims of the Magyars with the action of the English, "who have violently Anglicized ten million Irishmen and Scotsmen" (sic)³⁷² proceeds to give the non-Magyars a foretaste of the future by asserting that the new law will only be effective if beside the Magyar-speaking teacher is placed the Magyar-feeling and Magyar-speaking priest. When the Roumanian deputy Cosma described the new policy as an attempt "to Magyarize the non-Magyar races at all costs with iron and fire," he was greeted with cries of assent and approval from the House; and the same applause followed the complaint of Mr. Mocsáry (the only Magyar who took the side of the Nationalities) that the Bill was merely a stage in progressive Magyarization. As Helfy frankly con-

³⁶⁸ This at least has frequently been my own experience in conversation with Magyars.

³⁶⁹ "Ne legyenek nemzetiségek, de legyen magyar nemzet" (*Országgyűlés képviselőházának Naplója*, 1879, v. p. 298).

³⁷⁰ See *Magyarisierung in Ungarn*, p. 156, which is an accurate German translation of the stenographic report of the debates on the law of 1879.

³⁷¹ Hogy Magyarországon a magyar nemzetiség a politikai nemzet; tehát ez nem polyglott állam, hanem magyar állam, (*O.K.N.*, 1879, v. p. 271).

³⁷² A man who talks in this strain cannot expect to be taken seriously. As a patriotic Scotsman, I can assure the many Magyars who still believe such fantastic assertions, that they are very lucky in having to deal with Slovaks, and not with Scotsmen and Irishmen.

fessed, the Magyars "were only at the beginning of that which they wished to attain," and the general opinion of the House was that the Bill did not go nearly far enough.

Nothing however shows more strikingly the Magyarizing tendencies of education than the system which has been followed in the erection of State primary schools. In 1906 there were 2,046 State schools in existence, but although they were attended by 117,746 non-Magyar children, the language of instruction in *all save one* was exclusively Magyar! In many cases care has been taken to appoint as teachers men who know no language save the Magyar, so that there may be no danger of the mother tongue claiming its share in the instruction; and no knowledge of the rules of pedagogy is required in order to imagine the lamentable results. Indeed a not unknown solution of the difficulty is that teacher and pupils absent themselves by mutual consent, and swell the vast number of those who attend no school. Meanwhile, to such lengths has the State carried its Magyaromania, that the pure Magyar districts of Central Hungary have been scandalously neglected. While the eleven Roumanian counties contain 22 per cent., and the seven Slovak counties 11 per cent. of all the State schools of Hungary, on the other hand the nine Magyar counties and four of the largest Magyar towns together only boast of 6 per cent. In other words, State primary schools are generally erected in non-Magyar and mixed districts, where they may serve to develop Magyar patriotism and to extend by artificial means the boundaries of the Magyar race. For, as a candid official writer significantly admits, "the primary school is one of the most powerful means of consolidating the Magyar national state."³⁷³

³⁷³ "L'école primaire constitue en Hongrie un des plus puissants moyens de consolidation de l'état national hongrois" (here he of course means *Magyar*, not Hungarian, for a "Hungarian national state," is a contradiction in terms). Aussi là où les autres fondateurs d'écoles ne mettent pas leurs établissements au service de cette idée, ou si ces écoles ne remplissent pas bien le but qui leur a été assigné, l'état intervient pour y remédier et donner à la localité ce dont elle a besoin. *Voilà pourquoi les écoles primaires de l'état sont surtout rencontrées dans les communes les plus pauvres ou dans les régions dont les populations sont mixtes et de langue étrangère.*" (*L'Enseignement en Hongrie*, p. 79.) Further, we read on p. 168, "Si les intérêts d'ordre majeur l'exigent, l'état fait usage de son droit et crée des écoles publiques même dans les localités où il en existe déjà soit des communales, soit des confessionnelles. C'est tout simplement une précaution en faveur de la race Hongroise (here he again means Magyar)

This assertion is profoundly true, but it involves one very necessary postulate—the due execution of the existing laws—and unhappily (or should we say happily) the Education Act of 1879, like its predecessor of 1868, has not been properly enforced. Indeed, in January, 1905, the Premier, Count Stephen Tisza, publicly asserted that it has remained merely on paper.³⁷⁴ Allowances must be made for a law which attempts to achieve the impossible, and which was perhaps regarded even by its promoters as a piece of bluff rather than as a serious constructive policy. The fact that in 1879 over 2,600 teachers, or roughly one in every seven, knew not a word of Magyar, shows that its enforcement was by no means an easy task; and in effect after a lapse of eleven years their numbers had only been reduced to 1,600. The gradual elimination of the older teachers by death or retirement has naturally altered this, and the younger generation of teachers may be supposed to have acquired an adequate knowledge of a subject without which not even the most accomplished pedagogue can obtain a Hungarian diploma. None the less, in 1890 Magyar as an obligatory subject was either not taught at all or was taught entirely without success in 34 per cent. of the non-Magyar schools, and in 1906 there still remained 957 teachers who were either entirely ignorant of Magyar or possessed a mere smattering of the language. But if any proof were needed that the Act of 1879 has failed in its effect, it is supplied by the fact that 44 per cent. of the population of Hungary proper is still entirely ignorant of the Magyar language.³⁷⁵ From time to time spasmodic attempts have been made to improve matters, and Dr. Wlassics, as Minister of Education, was in 1902 guilty of issuing the monstrous order that from eighteen to twenty-

qui demande à être protégée quand elle se trouve comme c'est souvent le cas, enserrée par la grande masse de populations à langue étrangère. Pour celles-ci elle signifie le développement de l'état et de l'esprit nationaux; *aux hongrois* (i.e., Magyars) *elle garantit l'augmentation de leur force expansive et étend la race vers la frontière.*" Here again all comment is superfluous.

On the occasion of the Hungarian Exhibition in London in 1908, the Ministry of Education published a book entitled *Education in Hungary*. This is merely our old friend *L'Enseignement en Hongrie* revised and translated into English. It is interesting to note that all the tell-tale passages which I have quoted have been omitted, otherwise it is as misleading and one-sided as its predecessor. (See especially p. 46.)

³⁷⁴ See report of his speech at a banquet in Budapest, January 16, 1905.

³⁷⁵ (Exclusive of Croatia) 6,730,997 out of 15,162,988.

four hours in the week should be devoted to Magyar instruction in the denominational schools. As the number of hours of instruction in Hungarian primary schools never exceeds twenty-six in the week, it would appear that the minister was less concerned that the children of a Roumanian village should learn the rudiments of reading and arithmetic than that they should be able to talk a language which perhaps not half a dozen persons in the neighbourhood could understand. Even Wlassics' attitude is eclipsed by that of Mr. Rákosi, the brilliant dramatist and editor of the *Budapesti Hírlap*, who at the Berzeviczy School Commission in 1904 argued that the Nationalities should be compelled to teach nothing in their schools for three whole years save speaking, reciting and singing Magyar. At the same Commission Bishop Firczák worthily seconded Mr. Rákosi by the following argument: "A good educational policy is a security to the State, but its first requirement is that it should be Magyar in all its parts. (Cries of "Éljen" and applause.) The *second* requirement is the maintenance of a moral and religious basis in education." In other words, let us insist on national sentiment, and leave the civic virtues to take care of themselves. Very different is the standpoint of a Roumanian leader, who said to me: "I willingly contribute to the taxes of the estate; I am ready to give up my life in its defence; more than that it has no right to ask. *The rest is mine!*"

IV

The census of 1890 made it clear that the task of Magyarization was by no means so simple as the parliamentary hot-heads had imagined. Forty-four per cent. of the population still knew not a syllable of Magyar, as compared with 47 per cent. in 1880; and at this rate of progress at least a century would be required before the entire population could speak the language of State. Considerable alarm had been caused of late years by rumours of a decreasing birthrate among the Magyar peasantry, and the vampire doctrine of Béla Grünwald, the chief literary exponent of Chauvinism, gained every year a greater number of adherents. "If we are to survive," re-echoed his admirers, "we must increase and strengthen ourselves by the assimilation of foreign elements." "Let us hasten, let us hasten and Magyarize . . . for otherwise we shall perish," Louis Kossuth had cried in his halcyon

days, and these fatal words were endorsed by the next generation, which turned a deaf ear to those lessons of racial tolerance which he had learned to preach in his exile. Firmly convinced that there was no alternative between dominance and slavery, the Magyars adopted a policy which Hobbes would have regarded as proving his view of the primitive instincts of man; and they were destined ere long to find an even worthier exponent of this policy than Grünwald, in the person of Baron Bánffy. The Government fully recognized the value of the primary school as a political instrument, but possessing a more intimate knowledge of the prevailing educational and administrative chaos than was vouchsafed to the general public, they were tempted to resort to still more drastic measures. Twelve years' experience had taught them what the common sense of pedagogic specialists had foretold from the beginning—that a language so difficult as the Magyar can only be effectually acquired in a Magyar atmosphere, and that Slav or Roumanian village children, who perhaps only attend school for half the year and during the remaining six months seldom hear a syllable of Magyar spoken around them, are hardly likely to make any real progress in the language, unless the teaching staff is multiplied twenty-fold. An ingenious device was invented to cope with this practical difficulty, which exists even where there is no reluctance on the part of pupils and parents. The children must be won for Magyar culture at that tender age when the mind of the child is as undeveloped and as sensitive as a photographic plate. In 1891, therefore, a Bill was introduced by Count Csáky for the compulsory erection of Infant Homes (Kindergärten and Asiles) throughout the country. The ostensible aims of the new law were (a) to place under proper supervision young children whose parents were not in a position to give them personal attention, and (b) to promote their physical development and inculcate habits of cleanliness and intelligence. That it was not designed to counteract the terribly high rate of infant mortality³⁷⁶ is clearly proved by the fact that it only applies to children between the ages of three and six. Another aim is

³⁷⁶ In 1891, 41 per cent. of the children born died under the age of five; in 1901, 30 per cent. of the children born died under the age of five; in 1906, 31 per cent. of the children born died under the age of five: the dreadful total of 198,981. The fact, however, that in 1906 37 per cent. of all deaths occurred under the age of two, proves that crèches are far more urgently needed than infant homes in the interests of the nation as a whole.

regarded by Hungarian statesmen as infinitely more important than the reduction of infant mortality and the appalling overcrowding and lack of medical treatment to which the mortality is mainly due.³⁷⁷ This aim is the Magyarization of the coming generation of non-Magyars. Lest I should be accused of exaggeration, I prefer to use the inimitable words of an official Hungarian publication. Since 1867, we are told, the kindergarten movement had lost more and more its humanitarian character, "et son côté important ressortit tous les jours davantage."³⁷⁸ The disposition regarding language "*fait de la question de l'enseignement des enfants un facteur de culture politique.* Cette circonstance possède d'autant plus d'importance, qu'il devient de plus en plus évident que l'enfance est l'âge le plus propice pour enseigner la langue hongroise (i.e. Magyar). . . . La mission toute nationale de nos établissements d'enseignement maternel est ce qui les distingue surtout des institutions analogues de l'étranger."³⁷⁹ This official commentary would in itself justify the alarm and protests of the non-Magyars, and makes all further discussion of the text of the law superfluous.

By the Law of 1891 the State has deliberately assumed the attitude of the Sultans in earlier centuries. Just as the Christian rayah was regarded as a breeding-machine to supply janissaries, so to-day the non-Magyars of Hungary are breeding-machines whose children must be taught Magyar from their earliest age, in the hope that they may become renegades to the traditions of their ancestors.³⁸⁰ If the law were genuinely carried out, a whole generation would grow up which knew the state language better than its mother tongue, and a gulf would thus be created by the State between the children and their parents. But after our experience of previous educational laws,

³⁷⁷ In Budapest 740 houses in every 1,000 are overcrowded, as compared to 280 in Vienna and Berlin. There were still only 26 doctors and 61 midwives to every 100,000 inhabitants. Fifty per cent. of the deaths took place without medical attendance, and in 39 per cent. of the cases the cause of death was not certified.

³⁷⁸ *L'enseignement en Hongrie*, p. 53. The italics are in the original.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

³⁸⁰ If anything were needed to prove the Magyarizing tendencies of the Act, it is supplied by the fact that in 1905-6 the Magyar language was exclusively employed in 75.7 per cent. of these institutions (only 2.4 per cent. non-Magyar), and that while the Magyar infant homes received 58,478 crowns, the non-Magyar infant homes did not receive one farthing as subvention. *U.S.J.* xiv. p. 332.

it will no longer cause surprise to find that the Kindergarten Act of 1891 has also been very partially carried out. After a lapse of seventeen years only 21 per cent. of the children who are liable to attend actually made their appearance³⁸¹; and as a quarter of these institutions are open only during the summer, 21 per cent. is really a somewhat arbitrary and misleading figure. Twelve per cent. of the attendants are unqualified;³⁸² and even if we include these unqualified persons, we find that there is still only an average of one attendant to every ninety children.³⁸³ Under these circumstances there can be little question of the children learning anything, and it is difficult to believe that one woman single-handed can keep ninety tiny children clean and orderly. She can no doubt teach them to wave flags and hum Kossuthist tunes, which is the modern conception of patriotism; but she must surely often feel like the old woman of the English nursery rhyme, "who had so many children, she did not know what to do."

V

The imperfect execution of these two Magyarizing laws is the more remarkable because less than three years after the latter was passed the accession of Baron Bánffy to power evoked an outburst of Chauvinism hitherto undreamt-of even in Hungary. But though the "Magyar national State" was now openly proclaimed as the great aim of every "patriot," though the ancient placenames of the country were Magyarized wholesale by Act of Parliament, and though extreme measures of repression were adopted against the nationalities, yet the two educational laws which the Chauvinists regarded as so full of promise, still remained very largely on paper. It is true that in 1896 (Law VIII.) Parliament voted £56,000 for the immediate erection of 400 new primary schools in memory of the Millenary, but five years elapsed before even this seemingly simple provision had been fully carried out. Nothing illustrates more clearly the growing corruption and degeneracy of Hungarian public life than the fact that even these outworks of Chauvinist progress were neglected in favour of party brawls and the ceaseless hunting of a constitutional snark.

³⁸¹ I.e., 245,214 out of 1,087,396.

³⁸² I.e., 734 out of 2,595 = 29 per cent.

³⁸³ One qualified person to every 102 children.

The gaps in primary education were still so lamentable, that a really far-seeing statesman would have concentrated all his efforts upon raising the educational standard of the genuine Magyar peasantry of the central plains, and thus fitting them for the economic crisis with which Hungary was already being threatened. Unhappily the Wekerle and Bánffy Cabinets (1892-1895-1898) pandered to the Chauvinist leanings of the majority by erecting numerous state schools in the non-Magyar districts with Magyar as the exclusive language of instruction, and still more by attempting to effect a breach in the autonomy of the non-Magyar denominational schools. The Roumanians and Serbs, though well-nigh helpless in every other respect, possessed one effective weapon against Magyarization in the legally guaranteed autonomy of their Churches—an autonomy which extended itself to their denominational schools. The weak spot in the armour of these churches is their extreme poverty, and the difficulty which they experience in providing adequate salaries for the teachers in their schools. The Government skilfully took advantage of this difficulty in Act XXVI. of 1893 by fixing 600 (or in certain cases 400) crowns as the minimum salary at all communal and denominational schools. This was in itself a perfectly just and reasonable provision; for it was obvious that even under the primitive conditions of life which still prevail in many districts of Transylvania or the Northern Carpathians, no man with any pretence to real culture could be secured as schoolmaster for the paltry sum of £25 a year. But the real motive of the provision was to encourage and in many cases to compel the church schools to accept a subvention from the State, in order to make up the necessary sum; and the acceptance (willy nilly) of his grant secured to the State the right of interference in the management of the church schools. In other words, the Government was fully entitled to insist upon the adoption of higher standards and more modern methods by the denominational schools, but definitely infringed the autonomy of the Churches when it imposed restrictions on the election of teachers in their schools. For instance the Minister was given discretion (§ 12), in the event of applications for the grant on the part of church schools, to dissolve existing schools, if he considered that "weighty interests of State" demanded this step, and to erect state schools in their place.³⁸⁴ Finally the new law arranged for the

³⁸⁴ Under § 11 the minister's sanction is necessary for the appointment

prosecution of subventioned denominational teachers who are accused of a “ tendency hostile to the State.”³⁸⁵ This tendency was defined in the most comprehensive manner to include “ every action, which is directed against the Constitution, the national character, unity, independence, or territorial integrity of the State, as also against the legally prescribed use of the language of State—whether it be committed in school or out of school, on the territory of a foreign state, in word or writing, by means of printed matter, pictures, books or other objects of instruction.” This extraordinary clause, which attempts to impose patriotism by Act of Parliament, has placed the non-Magyar schoolmasters at the mercy of the Chauvinist county officials, who interpret it with all the exclusive ardour of the Magyar race.³⁸⁶

Where a church school failed to meet the increased demands put by the State upon its scanty resources, a state school was founded in its place, and in all state schools the language of instruction is exclusively Magyar. In other places; the State has actually erected state schools where communal or denominational schools already exist, and it is usually the latter who suffer most from the unequal competition.³⁸⁷ But it is fair to add that in such cases the inhabitants are not forced to contribute to the upkeep of the new school, if they already pay the education rate in support of their own church school.³⁸⁸

of any denominational teacher to whose salary the state contributes over 120 crowns (£5). In the event of an appointment which he considers objectionable, the electors are enjoined to select a new person within thirty days, and if their choice again wins the disapproval of the Minister, he can make the appointment without even consulting the school authorities, and is merely bound to select a member of the denomination in question.

Under § 13 the Minister can compel the denominational authorities to order a disciplinary inquiry against any teacher enjoying state aid, and if they neglect his injunction he can entrust the Administrative Committee of the county (which in educational matters fulfils in Hungary the functions of the English county councils) with the inquiry, without consulting the school authorities.

³⁸⁵ § 13, Subsection 4.

³⁸⁶ If two successive teachers are deprived on these grounds, the minister has the right to close the school in question, and to establish a state school in its place.

³⁸⁷ As Count Apponyi neatly expresses it in his essay, “ L’Instruction primaire en Hongrie (*Revue de Hongrie*, No. 1, p. 75), l’enseignement d’état gagne rapidement du terrain sous le régime *de libre concurrence*, et tout fait présager qu’il en gagnera encore.

³⁸⁸ Five per cent. of the direct taxes is assessed as a fair educational

It would not be fair to criticize too severely the Law of 1893; but it cannot be denied that it marked one more stage on the road of interference with the autonomy of church schools. Another fourteen years of undermining were necessary before a fresh onslaught could be delivered; but the question of Magyar teaching in the schools would have been brought before Parliament far sooner, had not the military disputes which led up to the crisis of 1905-6 wholly absorbed the attention of the Chauvinists. In 1904 an Educational Committee was appointed under the presidency of Albert Berzeviczy, to report upon the reform of primary education, and made various recommendations which caused great alarm among the non-Magyars. The President in his opening address lamented the inefficacy of the existing law for compulsory Magyar instruction and urged the adoption of fresh precautions. "The object of this is by no means to deprive forcibly the non-Magyar inhabitants of our country of their nationality and mother tongue, but far rather to secure, by spreading a general knowledge of the state language, such a common means of communication as shall make the assimilation of our nation possible. For a nation whose members cannot understand one another can no doubt be described as "a geographical expression," but its unity as a state, its national existence is and remains an empty fiction. The aim of these provisions is to enforce effectively that civil equality of rights without which the equal rights of the nationalities cannot exist, since without a knowledge of the language of state the citizen is not in a position to assert himself in all circumstances with equal right and equal power."³⁸⁹ In short, this genial Liberal proposed to make the Magyar language the sole key which can unlock the gate of equality. The Roumanian Metropolitan argued that the proposed bill violated the principles of pedagogy in establishing as the chief aim of the primary school not general culture, but the acquisition of a particular language, in this instance the Magyar. At this point he was greeted by indignant cries: "One who speaks

rate throughout the country, and those who pay less than 5 per cent. are liable to contribute the remaining fraction in aid of the new school—a very just arrangement. Unhappily, the rating schedules are drawn up in Magyar only, and opportunities of overcharging or making charges for interpretation are afforded to the officials of outlying districts.

³⁸⁹ See *Pester Lloyd* report, 28 May, 1904.

thus of the Magyar language has no right to sit here." "That is the language of the Magyar nation, who gives you your bread." The majority of those present betrayed a similar bias and a tendency to regard Magyar instruction as the great end of all education.

The crisis of 1905 was the inevitable result of the rampant Chauvinism which had captured the Hungarian Parliament, and of the growing consciousness that no amount of repression could avail against Roumanian or even Slovak nationalism. The demand for the Magyar language of command was simply an attempt to turn to purposes of Magyarization the educative opportunities of the Joint Army. The scheme failed owing to the firm attitude of the monarch, but meanwhile the tactlessness of Count Tisza shattered the Liberal party and incidentally revealed the artificial basis upon which it had governed for forty years. When the Coalition took office in April, 1906, its leaders emphasized the transitional character of their Government; but the measure of electoral reform which was then allowed to figure as the chief item on their programme was soon relegated to a distant future, and a number of projects of varying degrees of reaction were brought up for parliamentary sanction. Foremost among these were the Education Acts of Count Apponyi, which I now propose to discuss in detail.

Act XXVI. of 1907 regulates the salaries of teachers in State elementary schools, according to an elaborate graduated scale. Little exception can be taken to many of its provisions, which genuinely aim at improving the material condition and raising the efficiency of the primary teacher. But this improvement in their status is won at the expense of their freedom; they become mere officials, bound hand and foot by jealous oaths, inquiries, inspections and penalties, their every movement is watched, and all their qualities have to be concentrated upon instruction in a single subject—the Magyar language. While they are placed more than ever in the power of their superiors, even the very partial control exercised by local school boards is undermined by sections of the Act. Under it no one can become member of a local school board, unless he can both read and write Magyar. This is merely a veiled way of saying that in ~~most~~ districts the local management of the State schools belongs to a handful of Magyar officials, and over 90 per cent. of the population are excluded from all control of the education of their children.

It is of course easy to argue that the State is entitled to insist upon the closest control over its own teachers, perhaps all the more because of the limited number of State as compared to Church schools. But no argument save that of *force majeure* can be found to justify Act XXVII. of 1907, which deals with the salaries of teachers in the communal and denominational schools. This Act aims openly and unashamedly at the Magyarization of the non-Magyar primary schools, and its provisions deliberately impose upon the non-Magyar Churches burdens which its framers well knew to be insupportable. Indeed it is difficult to say which is most flagrantly violated, the Equal Rights of the Nationalities (as guaranteed by Law XLIV. of 1868), or the legal autonomy of the Churches. Its more important provisions, so far as they bear upon the racial question in Hungary, can be summarized under the following heads :—

(A) All teachers in denominational schools are declared to be state officials, and a plausible excuse is thus given for interference on the part of the State (§ 1).

(B) The State prescribes a minimum salary which must be paid to all teachers in Church schools. It thereby makes impossible demands upon the poverty-stricken non-Magyar Churches, and forces many of their schools to apply for State subventions as the sole alternative to bankruptcy and collapse. For if the necessary funds cannot be raised within a certain period, and if the school authorities still neglect to apply for a grant, they lose the right to maintain their school (§§ 12-13). Of course if the State merely made these grants in order to raise the general standard of education and enable the Churches to provide more capable teaching, they would be accepted with the greatest alacrity. But State aid, though offered to the Church schools—and indeed in many cases thrust upon them in defiance of their wishes—is made to depend upon certain highly vexatious conditions, which play havoc with their autonomy. The financial needs of the schools are of course verified, and compliance with certain rules of accommodation and sanitation are insisted upon.³⁹⁰ But in addition to this, the teacher must be able to read, write and teach Magyar correctly (§ 15*b*); his pupils must receive Magyar instruction in the manner and to the extent laid down by the minister (§ 19); all instruction in the Magyar language, in

³⁹⁰ Under §§ 27, 28 of XXXVIII., 1868.

STATE CONTROL

arithmetic, geography, history and civil rights and duties, must be given solely in accordance with the syllabus sanctioned by the minister, and no books of "patriotic contents" may be used unless they have received his approval (§ 20). Where State aid exceeds 200 crowns (£8) the minister acquires a veto upon the teachers' appointment, and if after a fresh election he is, "on State grounds," still dissatisfied with the new choice, he can make the appointment himself without even consulting the school authorities! (§ 21).³⁹¹ As a result of this provision the school authorities, in appointing teachers, are as much at the mercy of the State as is the patron of a living at the mercy of his bishop in the Catholic Church. It is hardly necessary to point out that the object in view here is to prevent so far as possible the appointment as teachers of persons who are non-Magyar in sentiment.

The minister is further empowered to order a disciplinary inquiry against any teacher in a Church school (whether in receipt of State aid or not) for neglect of Magyar instruction, for a tendency hostile to the State,³⁹² for "incitement against confessions, single classes of society or the institutions of property and marriage," for meddling with emigration matters, or for the use of schoolbooks which have not received the sanction of the minister (§ 24 and § 22 (i) a to e)—such minor offences as immorality, brutal treatment of his pupils or culpable negligence of his duties, being left to the care of the local school authorities. No check whatever is imposed upon the minister's action, save the vague phrase "if he considers this necessary with a view to assuring the interests of State"; and thus a permanent sword of Damocles is suspended over the head of the non-Magyar teacher, who may at any moment become the victim of some local official's Chauvinistic zeal.

In the event of dismissal as the result of such an inquiry, the new teacher can only be appointed subject to the minister's approval, and a second case of dismissal gives the latter the right to dissolve the school and establish a State school in its place (§ 25). If the Committee of management is implicated, dissolution can at once follow, while if the priest is involved, he is liable to forfeit the congrua or State tithe (§ 27). Thus the whole tendency is to make the teachers less dependent upon their denominations and to reduce them to mere machines

³⁹¹ He is merely bound to appoint a member of the denomination to which the school belongs.

³⁹² As defined in Act XXVI. of 1893 (see page 225.)

in whom any expression of political opinion is highly dangerous. The comprehensive interpretation put upon "tendencies hostile to the state" places the schoolmaster at the mercy of the local notary or *szólgabiró*, who, as we shall see in a later chapter, are ultra-Chauvinist even when they are not dictatorial and corrupt.

Finally the conditions to which State aid is to be made subject, are to be tested by the county administrative committee (the local authority for State schools), the fact of the school authorities and their teachers having already conformed to all the regulations regarding syllabus, diplomas, etc., not being regarded as sufficient. The injustice of this becomes apparent when it is borne in mind that this committee is composed of the very class to avoid submission to whom the non-Magyar Churches support schools of their own.³⁹³

(C) Still more astonishing are the linguistic provisions of the Act. (a) In all non-Magyar schools, whether in receipt of State aid or not, the children must be taught Magyar in the manner and for the time prescribed by the minister, "so that the child of non-Magyar tongue on the completion of its fourth school year can express its thoughts intelligibly in the Magyar language in word and writing" (§ 18). Even if no minister of Education in the future is guilty of such a monstrous order as that of Dr. Wlassics (see p. 219), this clause opens the door to all kinds of wild linguistic experiments, such as are bound to prove fatal to the general culture of the victims.

(b) One of the clauses of the famous Law of Nationalities secures to the various Churches the right to prescribe the language of instruction in their schools according to their own free will. The Act of 1907 with brazen assurance declares that this clause "is to be understood in the sense that they are free to establish as language of instruction either the language of State or the mother tongue of the children, while in the latter case the provisions relating to the teaching of the Magyar language must of course be enforced without restriction." If Parliament's mind was set upon a provision of such doubtful

³⁹³ As one further proof of the unequal measure dealt out to non-Magyar schools, it may be pointed out that while in the case of the latter a grant need only be made where there are over thirty children liable, on the other hand the grant cannot be refused to any school with Magyar language of instruction, unless another school of the same type already exists in the parish (§ 15, last part).

content, it would at least have been honest to annul Clause 14 of the Law of Nationalities, instead of striving to interpret black as really equivalent to grey. But this law has long served the convenient purpose of deluding foreign opinion on the subject of Magyar tolerance—and hence the abrogation of one of its clauses would have deprived the Magyars of a favourite tactical manœuvre.

(c) Wherever Magyar has already been introduced as the language of instruction, this fact can never be altered again (§ 18, subsection 2).

(d) In all continuation schools Magyar is to be the language of instruction (§ 18, subsection 3).

(e) If want of success in Magyar instruction is due “not to neglect but to the incapacity of the teacher,” the latter must be pensioned or dismissed (§ 28). This clause, if literally enforced, would denude the non-Magyar schools of their teachers, for it stands to reason that proficiency in Magyar can only be acquired in a Magyar atmosphere, and this is precisely what is lacking in the non-Magyar districts, where in many villages the children rarely hear a Magyar word outside the school building.

On the other hand the minister can at the suggestion of the Government inspector assign special grants to denominational teachers for “special services,” which is of course merely a veiled allusion to Magyarization (§ 4). In other words, a premium is set upon the teaching of Magyar, and the teachers are encouraged to give it precedence over the mother tongue of their pupils.

(D) Great attention is paid in the Act to external forms and symbols. The arms of Hungary are to be erected outside and inside every school, the national flag is to be hoisted on anniversaries, pictures from Hungarian history are to be hung up in the class-rooms (§ 17); everything is to be done to encourage the hysterical form of patriotism. But nothing which “has a bearing upon foreign history or geography,” or which is manufactured abroad—in other words nothing which could remind the Roumanians or Slavs of their close kinship with Hungary’s neighbours—is to be allowed under any circumstances. The portraits of church dignitaries are tolerated, but anything which could remind the Slovaks of Saints a Cyril and Methodius,³⁹⁴ the Serbs of St. Sava, the Roumanians of St. Basil, would be regarded as the rankest treason. More—

³⁹⁴ A bishop of North Hungary forbade his clergy to baptize children

over, all schools, even those in purely non-Magyar districts, are compelled to place Magyar inscriptions on their buildings (§ 17), to use Magyar circulars and printed forms, and to fill up their certificates in Magyar (§ 33)—a clause whose petty and vexatious nature is likely to lead to more ill-feeling than others which are in reality far more tyrannous.

The object of all this is revealed in the clause by which the teacher is legally "bound to encourage and strengthen in the soul of the children the spirit of attachment to the Hungarian fatherland and the consciousness of membership in the Hungarian nation, as also (this seems to hold the second place) religion and moral sentiments" (§ 17). Here we encounter the *idée fixe* of the Magyar politician—that patriotism can be forced down millions of unwilling throats, instead of being a moral conception which differs infinitely according to race, environment and religion.³⁹⁵

(E) Apparently with the same object, an oath of loyalty is henceforth to be exacted from all teachers in denominational and communal schools. The oath contains nothing to which

under the names of Cyril or Methodius, the great apostles of the Slavs. In this connexion it is interesting to note that there is a "Pan-Slav" in the Imperial and Royal family. The Archduke Charles Stephen christened one of his sons "Leo Charles Marie Cyril Method" (born 1893 at Pola). It is surprising that he has not been prosecuted for "incitement against the Magyar nationality," for setting so bad an example to the Slovak subjects of the House of Habsburg!

³⁹⁵ Count Apponyi says (op. cit. p. 80) that the schools must produce good Hungarian citizens. Every one will, of course, admit this; but unfortunately the State attempts in its schools to produce good *Magyar* citizens. It is mere playing with words to say that children "are free to retain and cultivate their national idiom," if at the same time they are persistently taught in another language both at the infant home and at the primary school, and if the State makes absolutely no provision for teaching that "national idiom" in the State schools. "There must," Count Apponyi adds, "be no doubt about their absolute and exclusive attachment to the Hungarian fatherland," a sentiment with which no one will quarrel so long as it is not interpreted in the narrow Magyar sense. But when he asserts that "*within the limits of this principle*" education in Hungary enjoys a liberty which has not its equal in the entire world," he falls, perhaps involuntarily, into one of those empty declamatory phrases to which I was continually treated during my travels in Hungary. Patriotism cannot be enforced by law even in the case of village schoolmasters, and to describe those who have a different conception of patriotism from his own as "criminals and traitors" whom it is as impossible to tolerate as "any other form of immorality," is merely to throw ideas of tolerance to the winds.

a patriotic non-Magyar should take exception, and does not differ from that imposed upon State teachers ; but several needlessly offensive conditions are coupled with it. Firstly, it must be taken in the presence of the Government inspector, not of the authorities of the teacher's own school. Secondly, it must be administered in the Magyar language—a fact which is very naturally resented as a needless slight upon the other races of the country. And, thirdly, refusal to take the oath involves a teacher in prosecution for a “tendency hostile to the State.” In other words, it is held like a highwayman's pistol to the victim's head. The “conscientious objector” would fare ill in Hungary.

Under provisions so sweeping as those of Count Apponyi's Act, the autonomy of the Church schools is bound to become little more than a name. But perhaps the most flagrant case of its violation are the clauses which subject all books—even Church catechisms and religious textbooks—to the approval of the Minister of Education (§ 20) and empower him in extreme cases to deprive a priest of the right of imparting religious instruction.

It is too soon to discuss the probable effects of the Act of 1907, for such revolutionary changes as those at which it aims cannot be effected in the short space of a year. But it will be already apparent to the reader that the whole trend of the Act is in favour of State interference of the most crude and vexatious type, and that such powers as still remain to the Churches in educational matters are either dependent upon the good will of the State or have become a negligible quantity altogether. The bitter words of a Roumanian deputy would appear to be justified ; for the Act of 1907 is little better than “an addition to the Criminal Code, such as will encourage espionage and demoralize the teaching staff.” The present educational policy of the Magyars is based upon two radically false assumptions, first that patriots can be created by act of Parliament, and second, that language is the sole basis of nationality. Neither is true, and the Hungarian Parliament, if it must needs shut its eyes to the obvious examples of Ireland and Scotland, might remember that the foremost champions of the nationalities have received a Magyar education and have a complete mastery of the Magyar language.

CHAPTER XII

Administrative Evils

“For forms of government let fools contest,
That which is best administered is best.”

Pope.

THE chief curse of Hungary is its bad administration, and until a thorough revision of the much-vaunted system of county government is undertaken, matters are bound to go from bad to worse. Formerly the bulwark of the Hungarian constitution, the county assemblies are to-day mere preserves of a few great landed families, and of the inefficient and intolerant officials who depend upon them. It has sometimes been argued that the racial question in Hungary is an administrative question, and even if this is an exaggerated view, there is no doubt that the oligarchic nature of county government aggravates racial differences, and that these will tend to grow more, not less acute, so long as the democratization of local government is postponed. A really adequate account of local government in Hungary would involve the study of a lifetime, and would far exceed the limits of the present volume. All that I can attempt is a brief analysis of its most salient features, and an indication of those flaws which most obviously require a remedy, my main object being to supply a key to the abuses connected with the electoral and judicial systems.

Before 1848, the Kingdom of Hungary proper was divided into forty-six counties, Croatia-Slavonia into six, Transylvania into 25 counties or districts,³⁹⁶ thus making a total of 77 for the territories of the Crown of St. Stephen. As the Diet was merely composed of delegates from the county assemblies, elected by public vote and charged with strict marching orders, the centre of gravity naturally lay not in the capital—which was indeed more German than Magyar even as late as 1840—but in the provinces. To the jealous and obstinate manner in which the counties guarded their privileges may fairly be

³⁹⁶ 8 Magyar counties and 1 district: 5 Szekel Sees (Stühle; székek); and 9 Saxon Sees (Stühle) and 2 districts.

THE "SANDAL NOBILITY"

ascribed the fact that the constitution survived the peril of the Turkish occupation, of Jesuit perfidy and of Habsburg absolutism. In the same way, to the political judgment and tenacity of the local assemblies Hungary owes most of the rights recovered or acquired during the reigns of Leopold II, Francis I and Ferdinand V. Without the incentive imparted by the local assemblies, the Diets of the "forties" might have been reduced to impotence by the central government, and the year of revolution might have found Hungary still unripe. Under the mediaeval franchise, which was not overthrown till 1848, the lines of cleavage lay not between race and race, but between *populus* and *plebs*, in other words between nobles and non-nobles; and thus the evils to which Hungary was exposed were merely those to which all countries are liable where whole classes are excluded from the franchise and where no machinery has been devised against corruption. As, however, nationality became a factor in modern life, new elements of discord were introduced; by an unhappy chain of events a single race was able to concentrate in its own hands the power of a class which had been inter-racial, at least in name; and the helotry of the non-noble classes was perpetuated after 1848 in the exclusion of the non-Magyar races from all political power.

The congregations, as the county assemblies were called, were composed exclusively of "nobles," either dwelling or owning property in the county; but as rights of nobility had always been lavishly conferred in Hungary and were vested in all male descendants of the original grantee, the franchise was at the commencement of the nineteenth century enjoyed by a relatively greater number of persons than in other Western states.³⁹⁷ This circumstance led to extraordinary abuses. The numerous needy "nobility"—the "bocskoros nemesseg" or "sandal nobility," as they were called from their dilapidated footgear—found their votes at the triennial county election to be a valuable asset, allowed themselves to be organized by the rival candidates, and being as ignorant as they were needy, gave their votes to whoever plied them most liberally with food and drink, found them free lodging for the longest period and sent them home when all was over with the largest *pourboire* in their pockets. Indeed this "noble rabble" was a class which, in the words of a Magyar writer, "had not its

³⁹⁷ Roughly, one man in every twenty was noble. Wildner, p. 4.

like in Europe for poverty, violence, arrogance, laziness and worthlessness." Marshalled for days before the election into two hostile columns, they often met in battle array in the streets of the county town, and the doughtiest upholders of this fist and cudgel law, left in possession of the field, thronged the county hall and secured the vacant posts to their own party. If the rival party still succeeded in effecting an entrance (a proceeding which reasons of space sometimes rendered impossible), scenes of the stormiest character ensued. Freedom of speech was little respected, the minority was howled down, and the exertions of the "noble rabble" were aided by a mixed crowd of non-nobles which intruded upon the proceedings, and gave an added zest to the scene by their tumultuous applause or abuse. At length excitement reached a fever pitch, and the assembly too often degenerated into a free fight, with its attendant crop of broken limbs and bloody noses.

As the feeling of nationality grew more intense, the turbulence of the county assemblies became more marked, and the press of the forties is full of the excesses indulged in at the congregations and "restorations" (*restauraciones*, or elections of county officials) and of suggestions for the reform of such abuses. This increasing violence is to be ascribed, at least in part, to linguistic rivalries. Till 1840 the entire proceedings were conducted in the neutral Latin tongue; but in that year Magyar was proclaimed the language of the Government and administration, and the application of this rule to the debates in the county assemblies virtually disfranchised the non-Magyar members, who in those days rarely knew a word of Magyar. The abuses to which this innovation led may be simply illustrated by the proceedings in Liptó County Assembly in 1841 during a debate on mixed marriages. "The lower nobles, not understanding Magyar, desired to have the meaning of the matter explained to them in Slovak, but this was refused to them."³⁹⁸ Here then, as elsewhere, the decision fell into the hands of an insignificant minority³⁹⁹ whose racial fanaticism passed all bounds. A further cause of the violence of the assemblies was the gradual abandonment of the ancient practice of *vota saniora (non numeranda sed ponderanda)*. In former days the president of the assembly had it in his power, in cases of disagreement, to class the votes by culture and

³⁹⁸ *Hirnök*, April 8, 1841 (No. 28).

³⁹⁹ Even in 1900 only 7.5 per cent. of the population of Liptó county was Magyar, and this includes a considerable proportion of Jews.

merit instead of by mere numbers, and thus to ensure that the more sober elements of the assembly should not be swamped by the "sandal nobility." This custom, well as it seems to have worked in practice, was too flagrantly at variance with modern ideas to survive; but unhappily its abandonment left all critical decisions with the least worthy section of the electorate, and the non-Magyars found themselves almost everywhere in a crushing minority, which was rendered still more effective by the new linguistic provisions.

The election of delegates to the Diet was by no means the only important function of the county assemblies. They also elected by public vote the leading officials of the county—the vice-sheriff, the deputy vice-sheriff, the notaries, the Fiscals, the preceptor, the *szólgabirós* (who then presided over the district courts in addition to their local executive functions) and the jurymen (*jurassores*). The high sheriff of the county possessed the right of nominating candidates to all these offices, and successful candidates had to submit to frequent re-election—as a rule every three years; they were thus at the mercy of the dominant local party, and were forced to devote themselves to canvassing and party intrigue in order to maintain their position.

When in 1848 the special privileges of the nobles were abolished, and the franchise was extended to the bourgeois classes, a reform of the county assemblies became inevitable. But events moved too fast in that eventful spring; the law dealing with local government was hastily drafted and avowedly provisional in nature (Law XVI., 1848); and the opening of hostilities relegated further discussion to a distant future. For the ten years following Világos, the ancient county autonomy was suppressed, and Alexander Bach's officials administered Hungary on centralist lines. The old half-Asiatic principles on which the country had hitherto been governed, and which are so vividly described in the novels of Baron Eötvös and Maurice Jókai, were now suddenly abrogated, and the bureaucratic ideas of the Germans of Austria infused a new life into the rusty and disjointed machine. But with all its sterling merits, the Bach system was based upon an arbitrary negation of historic rights and traditions, and as such was opposed by the entire political nation of that day, while even the Slovaks, though they welcomed its humane and impartial administration, were alienated by its unwise Germanizing tendencies.

One of the "Bach Hussars," as his officials were contemptuously nicknamed by the Magyar gentry, has left us an admirable account of his term of office as *szólgabíró* (or *Stuhlrichter*) in a remote Slav district. Nothing could be more graphic than the tale of his vicissitudes. When he reported himself at headquarters before starting, one of the sectional chiefs expressed the hope that he would have things in order in the course of a year. Full of astonishment, he replied that he fully expected to have everything in full swing within a few weeks. "Don't flatter yourself!" was the discouraging answer, "you don't know the old régime." Nor had his chief exaggerated. The office could not even boast of tables or ink. The documents at first lay upon the floor, for want of cupboards or boxes. The land registers, which had been entirely omitted from the formal inventory, were discovered under the bed of the beadle. Arrears of taxes amounting to 35,000 florins were due to be collected. There was no jail in the village; the prisoners were quartered at the inn, where they were free to go in and out at pleasure. The junior officials knew Magyar and a smattering of canine Latin; all were bad at German, and one knew no Slav, though the surrounding district was entirely Slav. Two of them had never read a law, and he had to begin by teaching them the elements of their work.⁴⁰⁰ Yet these ignorant fellows treated their superior with studied contempt, and habitually spoke of him as "the Bohemian dog." The nobles were still more supercilious, and at an evening party a Magyar lady, roused to enthusiasm by the singing of one of our chronicler's Bohemian colleagues, exclaimed, "Then it is true what I have often heard, that every Bohemian is either a musician or a thief."⁴⁰¹ One more story must suffice. He received a visit from a neighbouring priest, who complained of the insults of a peasant and demanded his summary punishment. On closer inquiry, the priest merely said: "He insulted me and I boxed his ears for it once or twice; be kind enough to punish him." When the new official hinted that this also was a punishable offence, the priest indignantly retorted: "Formerly when the *szólgabíró* came and I complained of anybody, he did not ask his name or what he had done, but simply ordered his *haiduck* (servant) to give twenty-five strokes to the man whom I pointed out to him."

⁴⁰⁰ *Acht Jahre Amtsleben in Ungarn*, p. 24.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

REORGANIZATION

The Bach régime was from the first doomed to failure, for its very merits were at variance with the wishes of the nation. When Bach fell in 1859 hardly a voice was raised in favour of the officials who had served him so loyally. They were summarily dismissed without compensation, and in more than one case were ejected in midwinter by the Magyar authorities under circumstances of peculiar brutality. But it is worthy of note that all advocates of administrative reform during the past forty years have freely recognized the efficiency and impartiality of the Bach officials, and have advocated the adaptation of their methods to the national requirements, rather than a further advance on traditional Magyar lines.

In 1860 the old county autonomy was revived, but remained throughout the period of the "Provisorium" in a more or less chaotic state. The one really clear provision of the law of 1848 (§ 2, *e*) by which Magyar was declared the sole language of debate in the congregations, provided the Magyars with a powerful instrument against the other races, of which they were not slow to take advantage. Parliament was now no longer composed of delegates from the local assemblies, but of deputies elected by direct franchise. But the congregations, though deprived of this important function, still retained complete control of the administration, and their officials conducted the elections, with the result that the Slovaks, Roumanians and Serbs together returned less than twenty deputies to Parliament.

After the Ausgleich many of the wisest Hungarian statesmen favoured an extension of the powers of the central executive as the sole remedy for the many abuses of local administration. But local sentiment proved too strong for these views; and the only really radical reform effected in this direction was the withdrawal of the lower courts from the jurisdiction of the county assemblies, and the erection of District courts with judges nominated directly by the Crown.⁴⁰² In the same year some order was introduced into the chaos of the county assemblies. These were henceforth to be composed of 120 to 600 members, according to the population of the county; of these half consisted of the chief taxpayers of the county, known in Hungary as "virilists," and half were elected by those persons enjoying the parliamentary franchise.⁴⁰³ The chief functions of the assemblies were defined as the publication

⁴⁰² 1870, xv ; 1871, viii., xxxi., xxxii.

⁴⁰³ 1870, xlii.

of statutes, control of traffic and public works, contracting of loans, revision of local finance, discussion of appeals from communes, and all other matters of municipal self-government. Finally the assemblies elect sexennially their chief administrative officials—the Vice-Sheriff, who conducts the affairs of the county, carries out the decisions of the assembly and of the Government, prepares periodical reports to the assembly and draws up the agenda of its meetings, checks the accounts and signs official documents, prepares all protests against ministerial orders and has power to suspend negligent officials; the Notaries, who keep the minutes of the assembly and its committees and draft all official reports and correspondence of the county; the Fiscal, who represents the county's interests at law, acts as its general legal adviser, takes action against faulty officials and prosecutes in cases of libel against the authorities; the Szólgabíró (Stuhlrichter), the local executive official who enforces the instructions of the Vice-Sheriff, exercises control over the communes in his district, imposes fines or short terms of imprisonment for the infringement of police regulations and similar delinquencies, and possesses a special seal of his own and a clerk for the conduct of his business; the president and members of the Board of Orphans, the cashier, archivist, bookkeeper, county engineer, official doctor and veterinary surgeon.

In 1876⁴⁰⁴ the privileges of forty-seven free towns—for the most part towns where the non-Magyar element predominated—were annulled, and they were incorporated in the surrounding counties. At the same time the State's solemn pledge to respect Saxon autonomy was set at open defiance, and the historic *Königsboden* was swallowed piecemeal by the Transylvanian counties, care being taken to adjust the county boundaries to the advantage of the Magyar element.⁴⁰⁵ A further law of the same year introduced a new system of county administrative committees (*Közigazgatási bizottság*: Verwaltungsausschuss) to which were henceforth assigned almost all the essential functions of local administration.⁴⁰⁶ These committees were composed on the one hand of ten members of the county assembly, elected for two years, and half retiring annually, and on the other hand of the ten chief administrative officials of the county,⁴⁰⁷ while the High Sheriff possessed the

⁴⁰⁴ Law XX.

⁴⁰⁵ Law XXXIII.

⁴⁰⁶ 1876, vi.; especially §§ 1-4, 12, 13, 16, 24.

⁴⁰⁷ Vice-Sheriff, Chief Notary, Fiscal, President of Board of Orphans,

THE COUNTY FRANCHISE

casting vote. The wide executive and disciplinary powers thus secured to the committees divested the assemblies of much of their power, reduced popular representation to a minimum, and strengthened the hold of the central government upon local affairs.

In 1886 the system of county government was subjected to a partial revision. Henceforth the county assemblies are to consist of from 120 to 600 members, according to the population of the county; but the franchise under which they are elected cannot be described as truly representative, still less as democratic. One half of the seats are assigned automatically to the virilists, or most highly taxed persons in the county, and in an agricultural country like Hungary these are of course generally the great landed proprietors. Only the other half is *elected* at all, and then under the narrow and complicated parliamentary franchise, of which we shall have occasion to speak later.⁴⁰⁸ In addition, the county officials—the vice-sheriff, the notaries, the fiscals, the president and members of the Orphan Board, the official county doctor, the chief *szólgabirós*, the treasurers and archivists, and the mayors of all boroughs situated within the county—are *ex officio* members of the assembly,⁴⁰⁹ and as the posts of all save the latter are not held for life but are subject to sexennial re-election by the Assembly, their holders are naturally dependent upon the virilist squires, who are thus enabled to secure a clear majority. Every six years three candidates for each office are nominated by the County Committee,⁴¹⁰ in which the high Sheriff (*főispán*) commands the majority, and thus in practice the vacancies are virtually filled by the high sheriff himself, who is as a rule a prominent landlord of the county and consults the interests of his own narrow class. The captain of police, the archivists, bookkeepers and clerks, the unpaid supernumeraries (*gyakornokok*), the county and district doctors and veterinary surgeons, are indeed all appointed directly by him for life. The whole system of “election” to such

County Doctor, Royal Inspector of Taxes, chief official of Royal Board of Works, School Inspector, Public Prosecutor, and Director of Post Office district.

⁴⁰⁸ See pages 250–1.

⁴⁰⁹ See §§ 24, 31, 51, xxi., 1886.

⁴¹⁰ This consists of the high sheriff (with a casting vote), three members elected by the Assembly, and three members nominated by the high sheriff. It is not bound to give any explanation of its decisions (§ 82).

ADMINISTRATIVE EVILS

offices is open to grave objections. It tends to encourage subserviency and intrigue; those who are most in evidence and make the noisiest profession of patriotic feelings, are, as a rule, those whose advancement is surest. The uncertainty which the short period of office and the passions of local politics engender militates against industry and devotion to duty, and the average official's energies are devoted to furthering the interests of the party to which he owed his election and on whose favour he depends. Short hours, non-attendance, incredible carelessness and accumulation of arrears are rampant in many counties. Many officials live beyond their means; card playing and gambling are only too common vices. The extent to which municipal offices had been sinecures for decayed members of the gentry, may be gathered from the fact that in 1882, out of 428 *szólgabirós*, as many as 243 had not passed any legal examinations, and over 100 had not completed their school education.⁴¹¹ By the law of November 22, 1882, the county officials were for the first time required to qualify for their posts, but even now the old system of "protection" lingers on. Many men enter the civil service immediately after their "maturity" examination, are inscribed at an academy of law, and pass out without having heard a single lecture. Influence secures promotion to worthless members of a decayed family, shuts off advancement from good men, and gives the right of decision to men who are not qualified to use it aright. In some of the smaller counties a few families control the whole administrative machine, most of the offices being held either by their own members or their dutiful dependants. Instances of good and able men rising from the ranks are by no means unknown in Hungary; but they, too, are due not to the system, but to the influence exerted by some enlightened and powerful individual.

As we have seen, it is quite misleading to describe the Hungarian system of county government as representative in any true sense of the word, since the *elected* members of assembly only represent a single class of the population, and are in any case outnumbered by permanent and official unelected members. The same is true of the communal assemblies, in which only half the members are elected, while the other half consists of the chief taxpayers of the commune, and the local officials, who also sit, thus possess in effect a casting vote. These

⁴¹¹ Schulthess, *Geschichtskalender*, 1882, p. 331.

MINISTERIAL ORDERS

officials—the judge and vice-judge, two jurymen, the notary, the director of the Board of Orphans, and the communal doctor—are “elected” in the communal assembly; but the right of nominating candidates for the first two and the last two (i.e. the most important) of these offices, is vested in the president of the assembly, who is the főszélgabiró (Oberstuhlrichter), in other words the chief executive official of the district.⁴¹² As votes may only be recorded in favour of “candidates,” it is a mere farce to speak of their “election.” In the case of boroughs, the right of nominating candidates lies with a committee, composed of the vice-sheriff as chairman, two members nominated by him, and two members elected by the council. Thus in either case the appointments are bound to rest in the hands of a devoted instrument of the central government, and the “election” of any non-Magyar save a renegade is a physical impossibility.

The reforms introduced by Coloman Tisza, half-hearted as they were, have broken down the old defences of county autonomy; and just as the fortresses of Vauban and Eugene can no longer resist the terrors of modern artillery, so the county assemblies cannot hold out indefinitely against the onslaughts of a resolute central government. They retain, it is true, the power to withhold taxes and recruits which have not been legally voted by Parliament⁴¹³; but with these two exceptions the ancient *jus resistendi* has been restricted to a bare right of making “representations.” If after consideration the Minister sees fit to repeat his order, it must be obeyed without delay; while a ministerial order which purports to defend “the endangered interests of the State,” can only be contested through the medium of Parliament.

The power thus possessed by the Minister of the Interior to enforce his wishes in the teeth of local opinion, is found specially useful against the nationalities, and is reinforced by the right of appeal which belongs to each individual member of a county assembly, and which in the case of refractory counties—for instance those with a Saxon majority—makes it possible to overrule any decision of a county assembly. Either the Minister decides upon such an appeal, or the High Sheriff makes a representation against the decision, without either the appeal or the representation being submitted to the assembly; and the Minister then revokes the decision and

⁴¹² 1886, xxii., § 77.

⁴¹³ 1886, xxi., § 20.

ADMINISTRATIVE EVILS

enjoins the exact opposite! When in 1876 Parliament recognized the Saxon University's right to control its own property,⁴¹⁴ its decisions remained subject to the sanction of the Minister, and this has sometimes been given to resolutions which were passed by a minority of two Roumanian members against the joint protest of all the Saxons. For instance, in 1878 the county assembly of Hermannstadt decided to build a county house, but on the appeal of several of its members the Minister annulled this decision. A subsequent resolution of the assembly to purchase a building for the purpose was ignored by the Minister for eighteen months, and then annulled on the appeal of a single member. He then ordered the assembly to *build* a county house, and prescribed its site, and the protests of the assembly against this illegality were unavailing.⁴¹⁵ Again, on January 26, 1878, the finance committee of the Saxon University proposed to prohibit the high sheriff from using as his official dwelling a house belonging to the University; the latter, however, declared himself to be responsible only to the King and to the Minister, and forbade the discussion of this proposal.⁴¹⁶ The petition of a certain individual for a grant of 500 florins was rejected by nineteen members of the University on grounds of economy, but favoured by one member, who appealed to the Minister; the latter then assigned the money from the funds of the University, thus making a laughing stock of even the scanty remnants of its autonomy.

In the same way a decree of July 14, 1877, forced the University to make an annual grant of 2,000 florins to the titular Saxon Count, though this ran directly counter to its own wishes.⁴¹⁷ The Count was at the same time empowered "to have the affairs of the central administration of the University carried out according to his direction"; in other words, the Government through its nominee assumed the right not only of inspection but also of absolute control. When the University protested, Tisza issued a new order (October 5, 1877), enjoining them to incorporate the original order in their statutes. When the committee of the assembly wished

⁴¹⁴ xii., § 7.

⁴¹⁵ *Preussische Jahrbücher*, xlvii. (1881), pp. 41-8, "Die Deutschen-hetze in Ungarn."

⁴¹⁶ *Geographische Nachrichten für Welthandel und Volkswirtschaft*, iii. (1881), p. 58.

⁴¹⁷ *Preussische Jahrbücher*, xlviii. pp. 150-170.

to submit a report on the incident, Wächter, the High Sheriff, declared that he would not allow its discussion, and that the assembly must adopt unquestioningly the ruling of the Minister. In spite of protests, he then moved its adoption and added that he would declare it carried if there were but a single vote in its favour. Two Roumanians voted for its adoption, and the sixteen Saxons present against it, whereupon Wächter announced the adoption of the Ministerial order "as a decree of the University." On November 19, 1877, a further decree was published to the following effect: "The fact that the alterations in the statutes indicated in my decrees have been carried out not by the majority but by the minority, does not in the slightest degree weaken the legality of these changes; for since the majority by its illegal action voluntarily abdicated the execution of the privileges which the law confers upon it, it has thereby of its own accord handed over to the minority the lawful right of representation in the Assembly!"⁴¹⁸

This same Wächter, at the election of a vice-sheriff for the county of Hermannstadt (Szeben), declared beforehand that he would not recognize the validity of the election of any man save August Senor. One hundred and fifty votes were recorded, and of these only twenty-seven for Senor; yet Wächter declared the latter elected and swore him in without delay. On appeal to headquarters, Tisza endorsed Wächter's action, and in due course Parliament confirmed the Premier's decision.⁴¹⁹

The growing power acquired by the Minister of the Interior to override local opinion, makes it all the more unpardonable that the clauses of the Law of Nationalities relating to the linguistic proficiency of officials, should have been so entirely neglected. Knowledge of the local language is not one of the qualifications required of county officials, and even to-day there are still many *szólgabirós* who can speak no language save Magyar.⁴²⁰ In December, 1907, Count Andrassy found it necessary to issue a circular insisting that all officials who come into close contact with the people, shall acquire a thorough knowledge of the local idiom; but it is to be feared that this circular will merely be shelved, like so many of its fellows.

⁴¹⁸ *Geogr. Nachrichten III.* (1881), p. 57.

⁴¹⁹ See debate of March 1, 1879.

⁴²⁰ For instance, Mr. Pereszlényi, the *szólgabiró* who was involved in the massacre of Csernova (see p. 341) knew no Slovak. But for this, the massacre might perhaps have been averted.

ADMINISTRATIVE EVILS

The "Asiatic" conditions of Hungarian administration are, in the opinion of the well informed "Mercator,"⁴²¹ not due solely to the manner in which the local officials are at present appointed; "for the financial administration, with its state officials, is quite as bad as the political." But far worse even than the repeated scandals among treasury officials, is the treatment to which the peasantry are subjected at the hands of local notaries. These officials often exercise an almost despotic power within the bounds of their narrow kingdom, and as the schedules of taxation are in most counties drawn up in the Magyar language only,⁴²² those non-Magyars who do not know the language of state (and they form the vast majority) are entirely at their mercy. It must not be supposed that these schedules are easily understood, for quite apart from the terrors of Magyar official phraseology, the number of items which they contain⁴²³ makes it hard for an educated man, still harder for a peasant, to satisfy himself that he is not being overcharged. In many a village the notary and the Jew are the only persons able to explain to the unfortunate peasant the meaning of these mysterious documents, and needless to say, the information is not volunteered for nothing, and is not always strictly correct. Besides, it is by no means unusual to find a notary who knows no language save Magyar appointed to a Slav or Roumanian district, in which case explanations are rendered almost impossible. The peasant is then obliged to spend a couple of days in visiting the nearest town, in order to discover what a particular notice requires of him; and before his work permits him to leave, the specified time may already have elapsed.

Thus it is hardly too much to say that the Magyar authorities show less respect for the languages of the nationalities than does an army of occupation for that of a conquered country; and where so little consideration is shown, it is ridiculous to expect enthusiastic loyalty on the part of the victims. Before passing from this subject, I propose to cite three typical instances of the manner in which linguistic rights are respected in local government; in each case I have simply

⁴²¹ *Die Nationalitätenfrage*, p. 62.

⁴²² The county of Pressburg is a notable exception.

⁴²³ Land tax, house tax, earnings tax, licences for game and firearms, income tax, additional income tax, to say nothing of county and communal rates.

translated the report given by the *Pester Lloyd*, which was for a whole generation the official organ of the Liberal Party and its interpreter to the foreign public.

(1) July, 1894.—“ In the interests of the language of state, Count Joseph Zichy, then High Sheriff of Pressburg county, in October of last year brought forward a motion in the county assembly, by which all communes within the county of Pressburg should be bound in their internal administration, in all official acts, in issuing certificates, etc., to use the Hungarian⁴²⁴ language only, as being the language of state. In this sitting Dr. J. Derer, the Panslav advocate of Malaczka, rose amid general disturbance and protested against this resolution, which he described as illegal. Amid great excitement, the motion of the permanent committee in favour of its acceptance was carried. Dr. Derer hereupon moved a minority vote against this. In his appeal to the Minister of the Interior he referred to Law XLIV. of 1868, §§ 20 and 22, which lay down that the communes can themselves prescribe their own official language. The decision of the Minister, Mr. Hieronymi, has now been published; he rejected the appeal on the ground that the vice-sheriff is justified in endeavouring within his sphere of action in the communes under him, to secure a wider currency for the Hungarian language of state. Naturally the Pan-slavs (die Herren Panslaven) are, according to the *Pressburg Zeitung*, scarcely edified at the effect of their appeal.”⁴²⁵

(2) December, 1907.—“ The town of Zombor summoned a meeting of town council for to-day, in order to decide upon the offers for the lease of the town rates. The permanent committee recommended the acceptance of the offers of a Budapest firm. No decision, however, was arrived at owing to an incident. George Nikolics, member of the town council, put forward a motion in the Serb language and spoke in its favour in the same language. High-sheriff Charles Fernbach, together with the Chief Fiscal Sigismund Turszky, and the councillor Gregory Buday, endeavoured to persuade Nikolics, who had formerly been captain of police and has a complete mastery of the Hungarian language, to bring forward his motion in Hungarian. Nikolics, however, declined to do this, on the ground that he had a legal right to speak Serb. The high-sheriff then rejected the motion, closed the sitting amid great

⁴²⁴ The Magyar language is of course meant.

⁴²⁵ *Pester Lloyd*, July 20, 1894, cit. Brote, op. cit., p. 69.

uproar and withdrew, accompanied by the applause of members of the assembly." ⁴²⁶

(3) January, 1908.—“ On the 10th inst. in the sitting of the communal assembly of Miava, the retired postmaster and nationalist agitator, Samu Jurenka, declared that he would only pass the minutes, if they were drawn up in the Slovak language as well. The chief *szólgabíró* protested against this irregular and unpatriotic attitude; he described Jurenka's declaration as ‘instigation,’ adding the warning that if a similar attitude were again adopted, the legal sphere of the county assembly would be suspended, since the Hungarian authorities would under no circumstances tolerate that the action of legal corporations should be misused for Panslav propaganda and incitement.” ⁴²⁷

It would be an insult to the intelligence of my readers, to comment upon these incidents.

I have endeavoured to show how greatly the local administration of Hungary stands in need of reform, and it is permissible to hope that this may speedily follow the introduction of universal suffrage. The redistribution of the counties, their adjustment to the ethnical conditions of the country and to its judicial divisions; the democratization of the county assemblies by a wide extension of the franchise; the reform of the present system of appointment of county officials, and their appointment for life; the appointment of non-Magyars to local offices in districts where the population is non-Magyar; the strict enforcement of those provisions of the Law of Nationalities which deal with the use of non-Magyar languages in the administration and with the linguistic proficiency of local officials; the introduction of severe checks upon corruption and inefficiency—these are only the most important features of a far-reaching programme of administrative reorganization, which alone can assure to Hungary progress and tranquillity in the future. Without administrative reform the racial question in Hungary can never be solved, and indeed it is not even possible to take the first steps towards a solution. Nor will these steps be taken until the Magyars realize that, in the words of one of their noblest writers, ⁴²⁸ “ a vexatious administration rouses more antipathy than the most cruel despotism.”

⁴²⁶ *Pester Lloyd*, December 6, 1907.

⁴²⁷ *Pester Lloyd*, January 10, 1908.

⁴²⁸ Eötvös, *Die Nationalitätenfrage*, p. 168.

CHAPTER XIII

Electoral Corruption and Electoral Reform⁴²⁹

Igazad, sógor, de senki sem hiszi.
(You're right, coz, but no one'll believe you.)

Magyar Proverb.

EVER since universal suffrage became an accomplished fact in Austria, the real centre of interest in the Dual Monarchy has been transferred to Hungary, where the question was originally raised in the autumn of 1905. The present political situation of Hungary is unique in Europe. The Party of Independence, after upholding extreme Radical principles during forty years of Opposition, at length attained to power, only to be captured in its turn by reactionary influences. As a result we have an Extreme Left which is at once ultra-Conservative, ultra-Protectionist and ultra-Chauvinist—an overwhelming majority which will tolerate no conflicting opinions and which is not ashamed to thin the scanty ranks of its opponents by suspension of immunity and even by more violent methods. But while within the walls of Parliament there is no Opposition worthy of the name, the country is full of discontent and impatience. In October 1907 Mr. Mezöfi, the only Socialist deputy in the House, was received with loud and hostile cries when his interpellation on electoral reform was announced, and only a single member of the entire Coalition party voted for its urgency. This would seem somewhat illogical in a party whose leaders at their accession to power laid repeated stress on the transitional nature of their government. The Coalition has now been in office for two years and a half, and so far no indication

⁴²⁹ The germ of this chapter is contained in an article entitled "Politische Verfolgungen in Ungarn," published last December in the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, and republished in April, 1908, in pamphlet form in English, French, German (*Political Persecution in Hungary: An Appeal to British Public Opinion*. By Scotus Viator) and in an article in the *Manchester Guardian* of November 30, 1907, entitled "Backward Hungary: Her Political and Social Needs."

has been given as to the lines on which this reform, admittedly the chief item in their programme, is to proceed. As Count Andrassy, the Minister whose duty it will be to introduce the Bill, has justly observed, the whole future of Hungary depends upon the manner in which this problem is solved; and hence no apology is needed for its discussion in a book which deals with the racial question in Hungary.

The present electoral law of Hungary, when it was passed in 1874, compared not unfavourably with that of many other countries, especially Austria, where the complicated curial system prevailed. But since that date it has been out-distanced by all its neighbours, and is to-day probably the most illiberal franchise in Europe.

The qualifications for the vote are so elaborate and so involved that the official organ of the Government once described the Hungarian franchise as "the confusion of Babel." They are based upon property, taxation, profession or official position, and ancestral privileges⁴³⁰; and care has been taken

⁴³⁰ See Law XXXIII (1874). Property qualification: (a) In free towns, owners of houses which contain three dwellings paying house tax, and owners of land paying taxes on a direct income of 32 crowns (§ 3, a, b). (b) In country districts, owners of "a quarter urbarial session" or its equivalent. This nominally corresponds to about 14 acres, but as a result of the elaborate provisions of § 4, it varies greatly in the different counties. (c) Owners of houses whose house tax was imposed on a basis of 210 crowns of clear income (§ 6, a). (d) In Transylvania, house owners who pay ground tax on a direct income of 168 crowns, 159 crowns 60 heller and 145 crowns 60 h. respectively, according to the class under which they are scheduled for purposes of taxation (§ 5, a).

Taxation qualification—(a) Merchants, manufacturers or town artisans, paying taxes on income of at least 210 crowns (§ 6, c, d). (b) In boroughs, those who pay taxes for at least one apprentice (§ 6, e). (c) Those paying State taxes on a direct income of at least 210 crowns (§§ 5, b, 6, b). (d) Those paying income tax on 210 crowns income in Class I., on 1,400 crowns in Class II., or in the case of officials on 1,000 crowns in Class II. (§ 7).

Professional and official qualification: All members of the Hungarian Academy, academy artists, professors, doctors, veterinary surgeons, engineers, chemists, foresters; public and communal notaries, advocates, clergy, schoolmasters (§ 9).

Ancestral qualification: All those possessing the franchise previous to 1848 (§ 2). In 1905 32,712 persons still voted by right of ancient privileges (*Ung. Stat. Jahrb.* xii. p. 431). In 1872 Transylvania had 73 deputies and 121,415 electors, of whom 80,896 (or 66.6 per cent.) were noble. If the ancestral qualification had been abolished, the number of electors at that date would have sunk in the county of Csík from 15,000 to 1,729, in Háromszék from 11,418 to 4,950, in the

“ THE CONFUSION OF BABEL ”

to exclude not merely servants in the widest sense of that word, but also all apprenticed workmen and agricultural labourers (§ 10). Hence the proletariat is entirely unrepresented in the Hungarian Parliament, and even the skilled artisan is a negligible quantity in politics ; less than 6 per cent. of the working classes, and only 13 per cent. of the small trading class, possess the franchise. No fewer than 59 per cent. of the electors are owners of over 8 acres of land. Indeed only six per cent. of the entire population enjoys the franchise, and as a result, a number of constituencies have become little better than rotten boroughs. At present there are two constituencies with less than 200 voters, nine with less than 500, 49 (or 11 per cent.) with less than 1,000 : while 280 more contain less than 3,000 voters.⁴³¹ As the proportion of voters who actually come to the polls is not high in Hungary,⁴³² the elections of 1901 presented the following startling result. Almost one-third of the deputies (125) were elected by less than 100 votes ; close upon two-thirds (254) received less than 1,000 votes ; 377, or over 91 per cent., received less than 1,500 votes, and only 11 candidates received more than 2,000 votes.⁴³³ In 1905 there was no contest in 108 seats, or 26 per cent. of all the seats.⁴³⁴

Though the Magyars are never tired of emphasizing the need for uniformity in the lands of St. Stephen, they did not scruple to introduce a special franchise for Transylvania, which is skilfully devised in such a way as to secure the Magyar “ hegemony.” While in Hungary, as a whole, the franchise is possessed by 6·1 per cent. of the population, in the central districts by from 6·5 to 7·5 per cent., in Transylvania, on the other hand, only 3·2 per cent. are enfranchised. Indeed

towns of Oláhfalú and Elizabethstadt from 623 and 275 to 17 and 130. Among these “ noble ” voters the percentage of illiterates was very high.

⁴³¹ Gróf Kreith Béla, *Térkép az 1906 országgyűlési képviselőválasztások eredményéről, 1906 ; Ung. Stat. Jahrb. xiv.* The nine “ rottenest ” are as follows : Bereszk, 142 voters ; Szék, 182 ; Erzsébetváros, 258 ; Abrudbánya, 254 ; Oláhfalú, 262 ; Vizakna, 330 ; Szamosujvár, 366 ; Ujegyház, 437 ; Toroczko, 500. These are all either Magyar or Saxon. Seven constituencies (Karánsebes, Gödöllő, Homonna and four districts of Budapest) have over 7,000 voters.

⁴³² In 1896, 73·5 per cent. of the voters came to the polls ; in 1901, 67·3 per cent. ; in 1905, 67·8 per cent. ; in 1906, only 61·9 per cent.

⁴³³ Bunzel, *Studien zur Sozial und Wirtschaftspolitik Ungarns*, p. 109 note.

⁴³⁴ See Appendix xi.

the more Roumanian a county is, the fewer voters does it possess.⁴³⁵ Thus out of the 74 deputies whom Transylvania sends to Budapest, 35 represent the 4 Magyar counties and the 15 chief towns,⁴³⁶ which together form only 28 per cent. of the population; while only 30 represent the remaining 72 per cent. of the population, which is of course overwhelmingly Roumanian. In other words, among the Roumanians there is an average of one deputy to every 50-60,000 inhabitants, among the Szekels of East Transylvania, 1 to every 4-5,000! Moreover, in Transylvania the qualification is from three to six times lower in the towns than in the rural districts, for the excellent reason that the Roumanians are in a hopeless minority in most of the urban communes. Nor is this all. In the rural districts of Transylvania the qualification is infinitely higher than in other parts of Hungary. In the latter the vote falls to all owners of a "quarter urbarial session" (roughly 14 acres), in the former it is limited to taxpayers who can show a net income of 159 crowns. Owing to the greater poverty of the soil and the primitive conditions which still prevail in Transylvania, the practical result of this is that a Roumanian peasant must own at least six times as much land as his Magyar equal, before he can obtain a vote. This helps to explain why in the 25 more or less Magyar counties of Hungary the proportion of voters to the entire population is nearly twice as large as in the Roumanian counties.

The statistics with which I have inflicted the reader tell an eloquent tale, and he will no longer be surprised or incredulous when he reads that the Hungarian franchise is not exactly monopolized, but effectually controlled by two classes—the Gentry and the Jews. No one who has any knowledge of Hungary can venture to deny this assertion, for the Magyar "intelligents" and the enfranchised portion of the *petite bourgeoisie* are mainly recruited from these two classes.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁵ In Kolozsvár 8 per cent. are voters; in Debreczen, 7.1; in Szeged, 6.9; in Nagyvárad, 6.5; in Hódmező, 7.9; in Marosvásárhely, 6.9; in the counties of Somogy, 7.3; Hajdu, 6.8; Bereg, 7.1. But in the Roumanian counties of Kolozs, 1.7; Kisküküllő, 2; Alsófehér and Torda-Aranyos, 2.2; B. Naszód, 2.3; Fogaras, 2.8; Hunyad, 3.2. See *Ung. Stat. Jahrb.* xiv. p. 424.

⁴³⁶ These are, of course, either Magyar or Saxon.

⁴³⁷ So far from blaming the Jews for the dominant position which they have secured in Hungary, I can only admire the enterprise and industry to which they owe their success. I merely wish to draw attention to the very large grain of truth which underlies the odious

GERRYMANDERING

The proletariat has no share in political life, and if it has not been found possible to exclude the non-Magyar races entirely from the franchise, numerous devices, of which we shall have to speak shortly, have been successfully employed for the past 40 years to keep them from the polls or to prevent them from electing men of their own nationality. In short, under the present franchise the non-Magyars and the working classes are little better than political helots. There is no pretence of democratic representation; or rather there is a great deal of pretence, but absolutely no reality.

If the distribution of seats is unequal, gerrymandering, or electoral geometry as the Germans aptly call it, has reached its acme of perfection in Hungary. The constituencies have been cut up in the most arbitrary fashion, in defiance of geography, population and nationality, but with the one great object of favouring the Magyar element. There is only one polling booth in each constituency, and as the non-Magyar constituencies are apt to be larger than the Magyar, it will not surprise the reader to learn that the larger the constituency, the farther from its centre is placed the polling booth. It is only necessary to glance at an electoral map of Hungary to see the truth of this assertion; indeed a score of instances could be cited where the polling place is in the extreme corner.⁴³⁸

Strangely enough, this is most noticeable in the mountain districts, where difficulties of communication would seem to call for some other arrangement, and the fact that the Magyar strength lies in the towns serves to emphasize the handicap thus laid upon those coming from a distance, who are in the main non-Magyars. The constituencies on the frontier are often carved into long and narrow strips, which seem to mock at the convenience of the inhabitants,⁴³⁹ in many others the boundary follows so tortuous and serpentine a route that the general effect reminds us of the most difficult

nicknames, "Judaeo-Magyar," and "Judapest" invented by Dr. Lueger, the Mayor of Vienna.

⁴³⁸ E.g., Karánsebes, Weisskirchen, Mühlbach (Szászsebes), Fogaras, Máramaros Sziget, Tecső, Belényes, Tápé, Kászony, Töke-Terebes, Vág-Illava, etc.

⁴³⁹ E.g., Tecső, Huszt, Bethlen, Szász Regen, Oklánd, Illyefalva, Szászváros, Szászsebes, Karánsebes, Duna Vecse, Duna Keczel, Gyalu.

Chinese puzzles of our childhood.⁴⁴⁰ One constituency⁴⁴¹ is divided into two portions, the larger of which is separated by another large constituency (to say nothing of the river Maros) from the smaller portion which contains the polling booth; in⁴⁴² another a distance of sixty miles separates the polling place from the southern boundaries of the constituency. Under such circumstances it is often necessary for voters to leave home on the morning before the election in order to arrive in time to record their votes. How insuperable the difficulties must have been twenty or thirty years ago when the railway system was less developed, can easily be imagined; and even to-day the climate and the weather play a very important part in elections, owing to the great distances which many voters have to cover.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴⁰ E.g., Fülöp Szállás, Orosháza, Szolnok, Alsó Dubas, Beregszász, Arany-Maróth, etc.

⁴⁴¹ Toroczkó.

⁴⁴² Karánsebes.

⁴⁴³ An electoral map which also marked the geographical features and the railway system of the country, would form a most valuable commentary on these difficulties of communication.

In this connexion it may be mentioned that a Hungarian railway time-table forms a highly instructive commentary on the policy adopted towards the nationalities. The railway system of Hungary may be compared to a wheel, of which the frontier forms the rim, while the main lines form the spokes. All radiate from Budapest, the principal being those to (1) Pressburg-Vienna, (2) Kremnitz-Oderberg-Berlin; (3) Kassa-Tátra-Oderberg; (4) Debreczen-Máramaros Sziget-Lemberg; (5) Kolozsvár-Kronstadt-Bucarest; (6) Szeged-Temesvár-Orsova-Bucarest; (7) Szabadka-Neusatz-Belgrad; (8) Bosnisch-Brod-Serajevo; (9) Agram-Fiume; (10) Steinamanger-Graz. The services on all these lines are good, except that leading through Transylvania. But there are no facilities for crossing from one line to another, the trains being so slow and the connexions so bad that it is almost simpler to return each time to Budapest and start afresh on a new spoke. The real interest begins when a Slovak wishes to cross into Moravia, a Ruthene into Galicia, a Roumanian into Bukowina, a Serb of the Banat into Bosnia or Croatia, a Croat into Dalmatia. In each case the connexions are execrable or there are no connexions at all. The Slovak centres, Turócz, Szakolcza, Neusohl, Trencsén are as inaccessible to each other as though they were across the frontier. To get from Máramaros Sziget to Kolozsvár, from Eperjes to Munkács, from Neusatz to Agram, from Kolozsvár to Bistritz, even from Hermannstadt to Kronstadt, great patience and resolution is required. *Crede experto.* Hermannstadt, the Saxon capital and still a very important garrison town, can only be reached by branch lines, along which the trains crawl at a truly Oriental pace. After taking a whole day to get from Kolozsvár to Kronstadt, most of a day from Kronstadt to Hermannstadt, and another whole day from Hermannstadt to Arad, my curiosity was aroused; and the evasive answers with which my questions

ELECTORAL USES OF AN ARMY

On the other hand every obstacle is thrown in the way of the Opposition voters, especially in the case of a non-Magyar candidate. Bridges have sometimes been broken down or declared unsafe for vehicles on the day of the election, in order to force Opposition voters to walk impossible distances or lose their votes. With the same object, all the horses in the outlying villages of a constituency have been placed under veterinary supervision, which is of course withdrawn on the day following the election. And even when the outlying voters have reached their destination, their troubles are not ended. It is quite a common trick to keep a body of peasant voters waiting all day outside the village in rainy or frosty weather, in the hope that this treatment may thin their ranks or induce them to transfer their allegiance. At Pancsova in 1875 the non-Magyar voters were made to wait two days in the open in ice and snow, before they were admitted to the poll.⁴⁴⁴ Meanwhile in full view the rival voters are probably being ostentatiously feasted or plied with drink and money. If the Opposition voters remain firm, they may perhaps at length be admitted to the poll, only to be subjected to still greater indignities. But sometimes a cordon of troops or gendarmes blocks all entrance to the town, until the recording officer has closed the poll. Then, if the frantic peasants, who have come miles to vote, are rash enough to resist, ball cartridge is freely used, and dreadful scenes of bloodshed ensue. At the elections of 1896 thirty-two persons were killed and over seventy wounded; and though the death roll on this occasion was unusually high, military intervention always claims its victims.⁴⁴⁵ (See Appendix xxiii.)

were parried, convinced me that these difficulties form part of a deliberate plan to isolate the nationalities so far as is possible (the main arteries are of course inevitable) from the outer world and from each other. A whole chapter might easily be devoted to the elaboration of this theory.

⁴⁴⁴ In case the reader should be tempted to reject this as incredible, it should be mentioned that in Hungary there is no fixed hour by which the poll must be closed. This is left to the discretion of the returning officer, and if his friends are delayed, the election may be prolonged into the night or the following day, or when once his friends have voted, the poll may be prematurely brought to an end. At Szilágy Cseh in 1884, over 600 Roumanian voters were prevented by the troops from entering the town, and the returning officer meanwhile declared the election at an end; 140 Magyar electors thus secured the return of their candidates in the teeth of a large Roumanian majority.

⁴⁴⁵ Even the scanty records of Hungarian elections which appear in the Viennese press are highly suggestive. For instance, in 1896, according to the *Neue Freie Presse*, troops had to intervene actively at

ELECTORAL CORRUPTION

At every general election the troops of the Joint Army are requisitioned by the Magyar authorities to "preserve order" at the polls; the regiments quartered in Hungary itself are regarded as insufficient, and fresh battalions are poured into the country from Galicia and Styria.⁴⁴⁶

At an election in a Slovak or Roumanian district, it is by no means unusual for the authorities to send 1,500 troops and 100 gendarmes to "preserve order" in a single constituency⁴⁴⁷; and the Magyar Press is full of tales of the "terrorism" exercised by the non-Magyar agitators in such favourable circumstances! Of course, in reality, so far from being able to terrorize, they are scarcely free to turn round without the permission of the authorities, who shamelessly set the law at open defiance. Hitherto the Hungarian Government has been free to employ the military for purposes of electoral coercion; but it is to be hoped that the reformed Austrian Reichsrath will no longer submit to this misuse of the splendid institution of the Joint Army, and that the elections of 1909 will be conducted on West European principles.

It must not, of course, be supposed that such practices are universal in Hungary. All depends on the locality and the administrative officials. While, for instance, in the County of Nyitra the corruption and tyranny of the authorities baffles description, in the adjoining county of Pressburg an entirely different system prevails, and the elections are conducted in an orderly and impartial manner. At the same time, it is no exaggeration to say that for the past forty years an honestly conducted election in a non-Magyar con-

Vágújhely, Tyrnau, Illava, Igló, Lőcse, Lubló, Kis-Thalia, Szabad-barand. At Tyrnau the hussars were stoned by the mob and attacked them with drawn swords. At three villages near Lubló there was bloodshed between Liberals and Clericals. At Dunapataj blood was shed "owing to a trifling incident, after which the hussars rode into the Opposition voters." At Diosad the gendarmes gave a salvo and killed a Liberal voter. At Tura the gendarmes, in trying to separate Liberal and Opposition voters, used their weapons, and killed one and severely wounded two others. Many of the most scandalous incidents, especially those in Roumanian districts, are not reported at all.

⁴⁴⁶ It is interesting to follow the movements of the troops on the eve of a general election, as recorded in the Press. See especially *Pester Lloyd* and *Neue Freie Presse* of October 25-26, 1896.

⁴⁴⁷ At a bye-election in Szentes in January, 1900, two battalions of infantry, fifty gendarmes and many police were sent to "preserve order." The streets were patrolled as if under martial law; a cordon was drawn, and only voters were let in.

stituency has been a very rare occurrence ; and the Roumanian petition of 1892 to His Majesty was only stating the brutal truth when it asserted that a non-Magyar citizen " can only take part in the electoral campaign if he disregards his life and personal safety," and that Hungarian elections " have well-nigh assumed the character of a civil war." ⁴⁴⁸

The way in which electoral rolls are prepared in Hungary throws a lurid light upon local administrative methods. Everything depends upon the personal character of the local notaries, *szólgabiró* ⁴⁴⁹ or village mayor, of whom the former are notorious for their arrogance and Chauvinism and the latter for his helpless subservience. Applications by Opposition electors, above all applications by non-Magyars, are often simply ignored. Names are arbitrarily omitted or intentionally mis-spelt, or entered with wrong age, profession or address, and thus disqualified at the poll ; and the fact that the lists are drawn up solely in the Magyar language, even in parishes where those speaking Magyar may be counted on the fingers of one hand, makes these manipulations a safe and easy task. Persons accused or suspected of " Pan-Slav " tendencies are thus apt to find their names passed over in the electoral rolls, Their verbal complaints will be met with insolent or stolid neglect, and their formal written appeals are in danger of finding their way into the waste-paper basket. Needless to say, the higher the qualification and the intelligence of the persons concerned, the more likely is this abuse to occur, and I myself know the manager of a large bank and a prominent Slovak advocate who were in this way deprived of their votes at a former election. ⁴⁵⁰ As an instance of what is possible among the officials who direct the elections in Hungary, I cannot do better than quote an incident which occurred in June, 1907, at Gernyeszeg, a purely Magyar constituency in Eastern Transylvania. Here at a bye-election between two rival candidates of the Inde-

⁴⁴⁸ Brote, Appendix xli. Denkschrift der Rumänen an den Kaiser-König, p. 332.

⁴⁴⁹ Stuhlrichter, or local executive official.

⁴⁵⁰ Most of the so-called Pan-Slavs in the County of Turócz, have been treated in this way. According to the author of *Die Unterdrückung der Slovaken*, there were in 1895 22,812 electors in [the county of Nyitra, but a few years later they had sunk to 17,073, and of the 5,739 thus disqualified, not a single man was a Magyar. The significance of this begins to emerge when we realize that 73 per cent. of the population of this county is Slovak.

ELECTORAL CORRUPTION

pendent Party, the opening of the poll had to be delayed for several hours, because the voting roll had mysteriously disappeared!

Needless to say, the officials take an active part in politics, especially during elections; and nowhere is their zeal so manifest as in the non-Magyar districts. The regulations which enjoin their political neutrality are openly flouted, and the local officials are frequently the most prominent, not merely in canvassing, but in intimidating and bribing the peasant electors. The village notary especially keeps a close eye upon the voters of his district, and his intimate knowledge of their private means and taxable capacity, backed often enough by his alliance with the all-powerful Jewish publican and usurer, enables him to exercise very considerable pressure when the day of the election comes round. If the fight is closely contested, unwilling or wavering voters are often dragged from their houses, and browbeaten into voting for the "desirable" candidate. The Magyar officials know very well that these illegalities, so far from exposing them to reprimands or punishments, are the surest path to promotion and the favour of the authorities. Those who shout loudest are the greatest patriots, and those who prefer to be patriotic in their mother tongue are traitors and agitators, and as such must be ruthlessly suppressed. In extreme cases, where the Magyar hegemony is endangered by the candidature of a Slovak or Roumanian, the county officials are supported in their "patriotic" efforts by the High Sheriff. For instance, in 1906, when the election of the Slovak candidate at Rózsahegy seemed certain, the High Sheriff of Liptó came over in haste and canvassed from door to door among the Jewish shopmen, until a majority could be secured for the Magyar and Anti-Semite candidate.

The same partiality prevails among the officials who direct the elections. As I have already indicated, administrative efficiency varies greatly in the different counties, and one result of this is, that while in one county corruption and bribery are confined to the agents and canvassers of the candidates, in another the electoral officials are themselves guilty of the most outrageous illegalities. In each county the recording officers are appointed by the Central Committee of the County Assembly, which is only too often a mere tool in the hands of the High Sheriff or of a few powerful local magnates. A great deal, therefore, depends on the personal character of the recording

PUBLIC DECLARATION

officer, for he is charged with all preparations for the poll and disposes over the gendarmes and troops which may have been requisitioned to preserve order. With him are present during the election representatives of each commune in the constituency (generally their mayors) and also representatives of the rival candidates.⁴⁵¹ But their helplessness becomes at once apparent whenever the president stoops to illegalities. Their protests are disregarded, and their withdrawal only opens the way for even greater abuses. For instance, cases could be cited where during the five or ten minutes which elapsed between the departure of one *Vertrauensmann* and the arrival of another, the president arbitrarily disqualified a whole batch of electors and even credited some of their votes to the other side!

There is no secret ballot, and to vote by public declaration before a mainly Magyar electoral committee requires very considerable courage on the part of a Slav or Roumanian peasant voter, who knows only too well the acts of petty tyranny and injustice by which the local demi-gods can revenge themselves for his refusal to support their candidate. The minutes and the entire proceedings of the election are conducted in Magyar, and the slightest slip in that language often serves as an excuse for disqualifying him. Votes are sometimes annulled *en masse* on the wildest pretexts. For instance, a voter who, from ignorance of the language, failed to understand a question put to him, or mispronounced the candidate's name, or put his Christian name before his surname (and not vice versa according to the Magyar custom), is often ordered to stand aside, and loses his vote. The list of such sordid electioneering tricks could be added to almost indefinitely, but the lengths to which this swindling is sometimes carried can best be realized from the following account of the notorious Szenicz and Verbó elections in May, 1906.

Szenicz is a constituency of 2,391 electors, situated in the county of Nyitra on the Moravian frontier. The population is entirely Slovak, with the exception of a handful of officials and Jewish tradesmen. On the eve of the general elections of 1906, Szenicz and the neighbouring villages were filled with gendarmes and troops; and on the polling-day the returning officer, Mr. Coloman Szabó (the *szólgabiró* of Holics), cut off the Slovak voters by a military cordon from all access

⁴⁵¹ What the Germans call *Vertrauensmänner*.

either to the polling-booth, or to the village inns. Their leaders were not allowed to communicate with them, and they were kept waiting outside Szenicz without food or drink till late at night, before they were even admitted to record their votes. As there seemed to be no prospect of the Magyar candidate being returned, Szabó and Pfauser, the presidents of the two committees, then proceeded to annul votes wholesale. Fifty-seven Slovak electors were disqualified because they either pronounced the candidate's name wrongly, or credited him with a wrong Christian name, or omitted, or were ignorant of it, or described him as "Frank" or "Frano" Veselovsky, instead of "Veselovsky Ferencz" (the Magyar form). Others were rejected because their names or ages were entered incorrectly on the voting-roll, even when there could be no question of mistaken identity; while certain names were treated as having been struck off the roll, because a careless clerk had written them half through the line instead of above it. In short, every possible trick or manœuvre, some just within the letter of the law, others far beyond it, was employed to thin the ranks of the Slovak electors—with the result that 326 Slovak voters were disqualified and the Magyar candidate was elected by a majority of 141 votes. After the election, 214 voters charged Szabó with misuse of his official position and violation of the law regulating elections. The inquiry into the case was entrusted to Dr. Szále, the *szólgabíró* of the neighbouring district of Szakolcza, who had organized the electoral campaign in favour of the Government candidate. The plaintiff's counsel was not allowed to attend the inquiry, and Mr. Szále did not even examine Szabó, the accused official! On the other hand, he succeeded by threats and other devices in inducing 86 of the petitioners to withdraw from the action. The remainder held firm, but the Fiscal, in rejecting their appeal, did not scruple to argue that *their evidence could not be considered, because they all belonged to the Slovak party!*⁴⁵²

The election of Szenicz was wholly eclipsed by that in the neighbouring Slovak constituency of Verbó, where the total number of electors only amounted to 1,522. Baron George Rudnyánszky, the candidate of the Constitutional Party, was opposed in the interests of the Slovak national party by Dr. Julius Markovič, a well-known Slovak doctor in Vágújhely,

⁴⁵² See his verdict, translated in Appendix 22.

who has done more than any other man to improve the condition of the Slovak peasantry by the foundation of village banks and co-operative societies, and by strenuous opposition to the fearful abuses of usury as practised by the Jewish tradesmen of North-west Hungary. Out of the 1,522 voters, the Magyars could not count on more than 400 to 500, even including those amenable to bribes, and thus in order to bring in their candidate, extremely drastic measures were adopted. Voting, it must be remembered, is by public declaration. A peasant, then, is asked to name the candidate for whom he votes. "Gyula Markovics," he may reply. "Gyula? Gyula?" says the returning officer, "there is no candidate called Gyula. Stand aside." And the unlucky voter, who ought to have said, "Markovics, Gyula," instead of "Gyula Markovics," has lost his vote. Another may make the same mistake with his own name, or may, from ignorance of Magyar, use a wrong number in stating his address. By these and similar dodges man after man was disqualified; yet at 10 p.m., after all the Magyar voters had polled, the Slovak candidate was still leading by 150 votes, and Rudnyánszky's cause seemed desperate. The situation was saved by a little band of roughs, who were allowed to force their way into the polling-booth, upset the president's table, and smashed the lamp. In the darkness the registers were torn up, and thus the election had to be annulled. The Magyar papers, ignoring the fact that Markovič was known to be leading easily, had the effrontery to assert that the disturbance was due to his supporters. Such an accusation merely added insult to injury, for the Slovak headquarters were outside the village and were surrounded by troops and gendarmes, who also guarded the polling-booth, and who could have stopped such disturbances in a moment, unless they had been given the hint to hold aloof.⁴⁵³ Most significant

⁴⁵³ At the time of the elections I was in Budapest, and the newspaper which I happened to buy next day contained the following report of the incident: "At 10 p.m. Julius Markovics (Nationalist) had 494, George Rudnyánszky (Const.) 349 votes. Owing to the unbridled agitation of the Nationalist party a brawl arose with the second committee. The petroleum lamp was thrown down on to the voting cards of the Constitutional party. After the general panic Zocher, the Returning Officer, quashed the election." (See *Magyar Hirlap*, May 4, 1906.) This was printed in ordinary type, among a crowd of other electoral results, as if such an event was of every-day occurrence. In other countries whole columns would have been filled with sensational

of all, no inquiry was ordered, and the drunken louts who had caused the mischief were allowed to go unpunished.

A fortnight later, on May 18, a fresh election was held at Verbó, the chiefszólgabíró Szále acting as returning officer. Over 1,200 troops and 100 gendarmes had been requisitioned to preserve order, and on an appeal of Mr. Hodža to the Minister of the Interior, instructions had been issued for a "pure election." Three Slovak deputies (Jehlička, Juriga and Skyčák) were, despite their immunity, forcibly expelled by the gendarmes. The main body of Slovak electors was assembled outside the village, and, despite heavy rain, were kept waiting till dusk in the open fields, surrounded by a strong force of troops. They were not allowed their own "marshals," but were placed at the mercy of a Magyar canvasser, who beguiled over 150 peasants before an entirely sham electoral committee, where they recorded their votes without discovering the deception. The Slovak candidate, hearing of this in time, collected them once more and brought them to the proper polling-booth, only to find that Szále absolutely refused to admit them. Meanwhile votes were annulled wholesale on the most flimsy pretexts. All those who failed to give the candidate's name, age and address in correct Magyar were promptly disqualified, and the Slovak candidate was robbed of something like 700 votes. Dr. Markovič's representative on the committee was charged no fewer than six times, and for the last two hours no Slovak representative was present at all, with the result that whole batches of Markovič's supporters were credited to the rival candidate! Thus an absolutely safe majority of over 200 for Markovič was twisted into a minority, and Rudnyánszky was declared elected by 95 votes. Not content with their victory, the authorities took action against a number of villagers for carrying white banners on the day of the election—an ancient custom which denotes that the villagers to which the banners belong intend to vote solid for one particular candidate. The Lutheran pastor of Krajne and seven peasants were sentenced to ten days and 150 crowns (£6 5s.) each, and five others to five days and 100 crowns each. Such is the history of this astounding election, which threatens to rob Coloman Tisza and Bánffy of their laurels, and re-

details and indignant protests: in Hungary it was not even thought worthy of editorial comment. No more eloquent proof of the prevalent corruption could be found than this unnatural indifference.

veals the Coalition Government as the worthy champion of the Magyar "liberal" tradition.

Wholesale bribery has always been recognized in Hungary as a political instrument of the first importance, and it formed the basis of that far-reaching system of corruption to which the Liberal Party owed its thirty-eight years of power. In former years the electors were invariably regaled with food and drink for days, sometimes for weeks, before the day of the poll; and the money which in Britain is spent in hiring public halls and deluging the country with pamphlets and fly-leaves is applied in Hungary to the refreshment of the inner man. Though since 1899 greater respect may be shown for appearances, the corruption strikes as deep roots as ever, while in the non-Magyar districts no trick is too mean or discreditable to ensure the return of a "patriotic" member. The large proportion of uncontested seats is in no small measure due to previous monetary arrangements, especially where there is a limited number of voters; and rumour has it that not a few deputies speculate upon their parliamentary salaries. Be this as it may, a large mass of electors have their price, and even to-day an election is still regarded in many country districts as an opportunity for getting blind drunk for nothing. No disgrace attaches to bribery, and indeed its success is only too often regarded with envy and admiration.⁴⁵⁴

In 1899, it is true, Mr. Coloman Széll introduced an elaborate Corrupt Practices Act, as a reaction against the disgraceful trickery and violence of Baron Bánffy's régime; but this law, like so many others in Hungary, has for the most part remained merely ornamental. The blame for this does not attach to Mr. Széll, who was probably genuinely disgusted at the excesses of his predecessors, but to the bad administration against which every educated Hungarian inveighs; and until the latter is radically reformed, no great improvement can be expected in the matter of purity of elections. Meanwhile, even this law directly sanctions bribery under certain prescribed forms. In other words, the candidate may drive his supporters to the poll at his own expense, may supply those coming from a distance with food and drink, and may entertain individual voters in his house "so far as this does not exceed the limits of ordinary hospitality."⁴⁵⁵ With this exception, however, the new law looked very well

⁴⁵⁴ Schwicker.

⁴⁵⁵ 1899, xv. § 9.

on paper, and meanwhile the local authorities might be trusted to maintain their ancient reputation. The baneful effects of the system upon the moral standard of the peasants, and indeed of society as a whole, cannot be too strongly emphasized; and one of the most sterling merits of the little band of non-Magyar deputies is their resolute condemnation of corrupt practices, and their endeavour to appeal to the reason and sentiment rather than to the appetite and pockets of their constituents. May they long remain true to the motto of Kollár, "Our people must base its existence upon virtue!"

Of course, no one will ever know the sums spent by the Governments of the past forty years for electoral purposes; but the scandals which came to light in the spring of 1907 render it highly probable that considerable sums have been diverted from the Budget for necessary electoral "expenses." Mr. Ugron, the well-known Clerical Independent, did not hesitate in 1900 to accuse Baron Bánffy of not handing over to his successor the electoral fund of the Liberal Party; and though Mr. Ugron's statements are not always very accurate, the existence of such a fund can hardly be called in question. In this connexion we cannot do better than quote from an Address moved in November, 1898, by the National Party, under the leadership of Count Albert Apponyi: "The Premier has partly in his earlier, partly in his most recent announcements, declared it to be the duty and business of the Government to collect, control and distribute electoral money for the support of official candidates, and make use of the power of the public offices." In a word, the brazen assertion of Baron Bánffy, that absolutely no incorrect use of money was made at the elections of 1896, need not be taken seriously; indeed it was received by the House in the same spirit in which it was uttered. In the course of the same debate (Feb. 17, 1898), Mr. Rohonczy, a Liberal deputy, had openly asserted in the House that at the "Bánffy elections," the Government spent six million crowns to defeat opposition candidates. His assertion was, of course, denied, and he subsequently admitted that he was not in a position to prove the exact sum. But when he confessed to having himself received 9,000 crowns on that occasion, and 4,000 crowns at each of the two previous elections, his statement was accepted on all sides as *bona fide*.⁴⁵⁶ Of course there is

⁴⁵⁶ On July 11, 1891, Mr. Charles Eötvös, the well-known Independent

not necessarily anything discreditable in the grant of pecuniary support to a poor candidate by his party ; the real significance lies in the admission of the manner in which a large portion of this money was spent, and of the direct and active support received by “ desirable ” candidates from the central and local executive authorities. Besides, there is all the difference in the world between a *party* fund for electoral expenses, and a *Government* fund for the same purpose. It is the latter which exists in Hungary, and in the so-called “ pure ” elections of Mr. Széll (1901), and Count Tisza (1905), the Governmental support to Governmental candidates was reckoned at close upon ten crowns a head for the number of electors. For instance, in a constituency with 1,000 electors, the “ desirable ” candidate would receive from 8,000 to 10,000 crowns, and made his arrangements accordingly.⁴⁵⁷ Each of these general elections must, therefore, have cost the Government at least eight million crowns. Thus with charming impartiality the Government provides money for its own supporters and troops and gendarmes for the benefit of its opponents. The money thus placed in the hands of candidates is of course distributed with varying degrees of delicacy. The banknotes may be handed over concealed in a newspaper, or may be left protruding from a pocket in sight of the proper people : on other occasions such hypocritical tricks may be dispensed with altogether.

Meanwhile, Mr. Rohonczy’s avowed object of provoking an inquiry was not achieved, and time after time, when interpellations have been made respecting specially outrageous electoral incidents, the House has almost unanimously decided to ignore them, and has accepted with significant readiness the most childishly inadequate explanations. Scandals of this kind, instead of being probed to the bottom, are ignored or hushed up ; for “ no nation possesses so much *esprit de corps* as the Magyars, and nowhere are all facts which might

deputy, admitted that his candidature in Pápa cost him 6,200 crowns (of which 800 were not spent in a lawful manner), but maintained that his rival, afterwards a Secretary of State, spent over 40,000 crowns in order to obtain a majority of eleven votes.

⁴⁵⁷ I have been assured that no less than 500,000 crowns were spent in three elections in the single constituency of Liptó S. Miklós, in order to secure the return of Mr. Lányi, a member of the Liberal Cabinet. Needless to say, such a statement cannot be proved ; but the fact that a man like my informant could have even believed it possible is highly suggestive.

compromise the ruling nation in the eyes of the foreign public, passed over in such unanimous silence.”⁴⁵⁸ As Mr. Rákovszky, the clerical leader, once pertinently remarked in Parliament,⁴⁵⁹ a single newspaper article would suffice in Britain to produce a parliamentary inquiry on a question of corruption. But in Hungary matters are very different. The county in which Mr. Rákovszky's home is situated, has long been the scene of specially flagrant electoral corruption and political persecution, and yet his attitude has been one of open and unqualified approval. Doubtless he regards all means as justifiable, when applied against the race to which his ancestors belonged, but which he himself pursues with all the fanaticism of a convert.

Electoral freedom of speech and action is a mere farce wherever opposition voters are concerned, and is continually violated in the case of non-Magyar candidates. Not merely are voters intimidated or forcibly prevented from recording their votes, but obnoxious candidates are prevented from addressing meetings of their adherents. For instance, last year at a bye-election in Bazin (County Pressburg) two Slovak deputies were forcibly ejected from a village where they wished to speak in favour of the Slovak candidate, Mr. Ivánka.⁴⁶⁰ An even more typical case was reported in the following laconic words in the *Pester Lloyd* during the elections of 1905:—“Cséke (Bihar Co.)—The Roumanian candidate has roused the population to such an extent, that he has been arrested by order of the fősölgabiró!” An incident whose occurrence in any other country might have caused the fall of the Government, is in Hungary dismissed in a couple of lines. Incidents of this kind occur so frequently, that public opinion has long ceased to wax indignant, especially as the majority of these illegalities are committed against the non-

⁴⁵⁸ These remarkable words, which have gained in truth during the forty years which have elapsed since they were written, are quoted from a leading article of the *Neue Freie Presse* (Nov. 18, 1868). In those days the Viennese organ had not yet joined the conspiracy of silence which too often surrounds the truth in Hungary.

⁴⁵⁹ Ten years ago, it is true.

⁴⁶⁰ This treatment is not confined to Nationalist deputies. At the last election in Dunapataj two Magyar members of Parliament, Messrs. Nagy and Madarász, were forcibly ejected from the town by order of the returning officer. They protested to the President of the Chamber against this violation of their parliamentary immunity, but without obtaining any satisfaction.

Magyar helots, and not against "the ruling nation" (azural-kodó nemzet). An incident which occurred at the general elections of 1906 will give the reader a still clearer idea of the arbitrary and scandalous conduct of the local authorities in many Hungarian counties. The constituency of Girált in the county of Sáros, on the Galician frontier, was to be contested by Count Aurel Desewffy, a member of the Constitutional Party, and Mr. Pivko, a small Slovak proprietor, as a Slovak national candidate. Girált contains 2,027 electors, of whom the vast majority is Slovak, and as there was a real danger of Pivko being elected, drastic steps had to be taken to avert such a disaster. One fine morning Pivko was arrested by a couple of gendarmes and thrown into prison at Eperjes. Though he had all the necessary papers to prove his identity, all his protests were in vain, and he was neither allowed to call in an advocate, nor to wire to his brother or to the Minister of the Interior. In prison he remained for forty-eight hours, and meanwhile, as he failed to present himself for nomination, his rival Desewffy was elected unopposed! He was then released with faint apologies, and no further proceedings were taken against him. By way of adding insult to injury, the szólgabiró Kerekes forbade him to set foot in the county of Sáros for ten years to come, though needless to say no legal title could be found for such a prohibition.

Those non-Magyars who succeed in running the electoral gauntlet are often prevented from addressing their constituents. For example, Mr. Milan Hodža had arranged to hold meetings on one Sunday of the autumn of 1907, in order to deliver the customary annual report of his parliamentary activity. But the chief szólgabiró of Neusatz (Ujvidék) interposed his veto on the ground that the general discontent among the population and especially among the working classes had assumed such dimensions that such meetings were calculated to endanger the public order! Meanwhile the unsuccessful candidates are brought to trial for remarks made on electoral platforms or contained in their party programmes. Here again examples might be quoted *ad nauseam*. On September 6, 1902, Dr. Rudolf Markovič and his brother were found guilty of holding a meeting in the previous October in the village of Hrussó without previously intimating it to the authorities (see p. 324). One of the incriminated passages in the former's speech was the following sentence: "Let

ELECTORAL CORRUPTION

us hold together, there is no power on earth which can crush us." These outrageous remarks savoured of treason to the Magyar officials, the plain fact being that a Slovak who no longer cringes to the local tyrant already stands self-convicted of "Panslav" leanings.

It is evident that an electoral system such as has been described above, so far from being worthy of a country whose constitutional Charter dates from the thirteenth century, actually eclipses that of England in its most corrupt epoch before the Reform Bill, and that of Tammany at the present day. The system has so many grave defects that it is difficult to know where to begin with a reform; but this does not supply the Government with an excuse for further delay. An extension of the franchise is now admitted on all sides to be inevitable, and the only question now at issue is whether the ruling caste can succeed in rescuing some fragments of its old privileges from the grasp of the young democracy.

The Coalition was guilty of a fatal error of judgment in refusing to accept office in the spring of 1905; for the so-called "unconstitutional" Government of Baron Fejérváry was thus enabled to overtrump the Opposition by including Universal Suffrage in its programme. The proposals of Mr. Kristóffy aroused rage and consternation in the camp of the Coalition, and corresponding enthusiasm among the working classes and the non-Magyar helots. The Russian revolutionary movement of that autumn had already prepared the soil, and the ideas of Kristóffy, transplanted into Austria, rapidly grew into the stately tree of a rejuvenated and democratic Reichsrath. Meanwhile at the eleventh hour the Hungarian Coalition capitulated to the Crown (April, 1906) and accepted office on the basis of a transitional programme. The new Cabinet solemnly pledged itself to postpone all discussion of the military questions which had evoked the crisis, until a radical measure of electoral reform had been adopted by the House and a new Parliament elected on a really representative basis could express its opinion at the polls. Though anxious to postpone the evil day as long as possible, the Wekerle Cabinet knows that there is now no escape from the dilemma. *La vérité est en marche et rien ne l'arrêtera plus.* The real question is how the principal of Universal Suffrage will succeed in running the gauntlet of a House whose main-

A PARLIAMENT OF REACTION

stay are the landed interest and professional politicians, both of whom are threatened by the Socialist leanings of the proletariat. At least a quarter of the House is composed of mere "carpet-baggers," who owe their position solely to the narrow franchise and to the favours of some all-powerful political Maecenas. When entrance to Parliament is no longer largely dependent on the wirepulling of a few individuals and the greasing of a few hundred palms, but on the successful organization of a numerous electorate, then an entirely new class of men will enter the worn-out Parliament of privilege, and the poisonous Chauvinism of the present day will be supplanted by a growing enthusiasm for social reform.

Unhappily the present House is Kossuthist merely in its attitude towards Austria, and in all internal questions favours a scarcely veiled mediaevalism such as may well make its former leaders turn in their graves. The brilliant financier who gives his name to the Cabinet, is an opportunist of the first water, while the two representatives of Western culture, Mr. Francis Kossuth and Count Albert Apponyi, are the reluctant victims of their corrupt *milieu*. This fact became apparent to all the world when these men and Count Julius Andrassy consented to share the sweets of office with Mr. Géza Polónyi, whose scandalous collapse in February, 1907, cannot have surprised any of his countrymen, and who was peculiarly unfitted for the position of Minister of Justice.

Reaction has for the moment gained the upper hand in Hungary, and it may be taken for granted that a House which is so essentially oligarchic as the present, will make desperate efforts to modify any measure of universal suffrage in an illiberal sense. An attempt may be made to neutralize any accession of strength to the non-Magyars by giving the Magyar districts and the towns more than their fair proportion of seats. But such a manœuvre would only have the effect of strengthening the Socialists, whose chief following lies among the artisans of the towns and among the Magyar peasantry of the Alföld; and the fact that the latter can no longer be relied upon, shows how grave is the situation of the dominant caste. As the Socialists are strongly in favour of equal rights and linguistic liberty for all races, the result of the manœuvre would merely be to drive most of the non-Magyars into their arms. Unfair distribution, then, if carried

very far, would become a two-edged weapon. Skilful gerrymandering will no doubt place the non-Magyars in a minority in all constituencies which are situated on a linguistic frontier; for Count Andrassy is hardly likely to adopt the just and enlightened system now in vogue in the Moravian Diet, by which each race has a separate register and all inter-racial contests are avoided. But even when all the resources of geometry have been exhausted, Universal Suffrage is bound to bring a great accession of strength to the non-Magyars, especially in Transylvania—for the simple reason that the existing franchise throws all its weight into the Magyar scale. Hence a much more insidious plan is being discussed in certain sections of the Independent Party. Universal Suffrage, they admit, is a pledge to which they are irrevocably committed. But of course this universal suffrage must be brought into harmony with “the idea of the Magyar state” (a magyar állam eszme), and it is obvious that in any well-regulated country a knowledge of “the language of state” is an essential qualification for a vote. In other words, these Radical stalwarts proclaim their adherence to the great principle of Universal Suffrage, but at the same time are anxious to exclude from its benefits those 40·9 per cent. of the population who are still entirely ignorant of the Magyar language! The difficulty would thus be solved in a manner worthy of Magyar constitutional casuistry. But happily the Coalition Government was unwary enough to commit itself in its compact with the Crown to a measure of Universal Suffrage at least as liberal as that put forward in 1905 by Mr. Kristóffy. As the latter was careful to remind his audience, in the course of a brilliant public address last March, the new reform is therefore bound to extend the franchise at any rate to all males over twenty-four who are capable of reading and writing any Hungarian language. But even without this pledge, it is hardly credible that the Sovereign would ever give his sanction to a bill which excluded half the nation from political rights for no other reason than for the accident of their birth.

Another group of Chauvinists favours a still more Jesuitical method of securing the Magyar hegemony in the new Parliament. In their view the franchise should be extended as widely as possible among the people—geometrical allowances being doubtless made, and loopholes being left for the inventive genius of the local officials; but a “patriotic” test

must be imposed upon all candidates for Parliament.⁴⁶¹ Even as it is, any candidate guilty of "instigation of one class, nationality, or confession to hatred of another," or of agitation against the political unity of the nation or the institutions of property and marriage, is *ipso facto* disqualified. But the Chauvinists would like to see even these outrageous limitations increased and applied with such severity as to exclude every non-Magyar or Socialist who dared to criticize the Divine right of the Magyar clique. In short, all kinds of fantastic schemes are on foot, whose sole and avowed object is to counteract the effect of a reform of the franchise; and it will require all the firmness of the Sovereign and the Heir-Apparent to overcome the reluctance of the Government and the virtual hostility of its adherents.

In any case the crying grievances of the present system can never be removed unless three safeguards are imposed upon the extended franchise. In the first place voting must be by ballot, for in the words of Mr. Kristóffy, to abandon the ballot "especially in our country, where governmental and economic hypertrophy has reached its climax, is as much as to take back with one hand what has been given with the other." Moreover, the most stringent and detailed rules must be introduced for the guidance of voters at the poll. The voting papers must be printed on uniform paper, must not be transparent, and must be drawn up not in Magyar only as hitherto, but in Magyar and all other languages spoken in the constituency in question. All writing on the voting paper must be strictly prohibited, and only a cross filled in opposite the name of the candidate for whom the elector wishes to record his vote. Great care must be taken to prevent the voter from being overlooked or influenced in any way while he is recording his vote, and still more to prevent him from carrying away a voting-paper from the polling-booth. The old evil system of separate entrances to the booth for rival parties must of course be finally abolished. I mention these apparent trifles because they have been found in other countries to be essential to the purity of elections, and their

⁴⁶¹ This plan was explained to me with great gusto by a Seminarian priest, who had stood for Parliament as a candidate of the Independent Party. I could not help feeling thankful for Hungary's sake that he had not been elected. Of course the plan was not his invention, it has often been discussed in the Magyar Press.

ELECTORAL CORRUPTION

neglect might render the introduction of secret balloting entirely illusory.

Secondly, there must be polling booths at regular distances in every constituency, so arranged as to enable all voters to reach the poll on foot in all weathers. It may not prove possible to establish a polling booth in every parish (község or Gemeinde): but there is nothing to prevent them from being sufficiently numerous to enable every man to exercise his political rights without hardship or inconvenience.

Thirdly, the elections must on no account be conducted by the county officials, who are mere creatures of the ruling oligarchy, and whose corrupt and autocratic tendencies would poison the whole reform. Royal officials from headquarters must be appointed *ad hoc*, and not appointed on the eve of the election by the influence of the Cabinet, but at stated intervals, and on the basis of some arrangement between all existing parties. Finally, appeal against electoral abuses must be rapid, cheap and easy, not slow, expensive and futile as at present. These two latter innovations are essential to the success of Electoral Reform. In most Hungarian counties, local administration is so bad that all honest Hungarians, irrespective of race, inveigh bitterly against it; and its democratization must be the first task of the coming People's Parliament, if social and economic disaster and revolution are to be averted. It is obvious, then, that the extended franchise,—the only legal instrument by which this democratization can be affected, must not be placed in the absolute control of the corrupt officials whom it threatens with a just Nemesis.

Finally, the complicated system of plural voting devised by Count Andrásy and so opportunely revealed by the Social Democratic organ *Népszava*, can hardly be accepted as a basis of electoral reform.⁴⁶² Its real object is, under pretence of safeguarding the interests of the Magyar race, to perpetuate the

⁴⁶² Mr. Paul Balogh, the most brilliant of Hungarian statisticians, has shown that the introduction of plural voting would still leave the nationalities in an absolute majority in 179 of the existing constituencies, while in 195 others the nationalities already form a minority, so that the Magyar element does not stand in need of the plural vote there. Indeed, this system would, in the event of all other races combining, enable them to wrest from the Magyars certain seats in which the latter commanded a clear majority. See articles on *Die Pluralität im Wahlrechte* and *Das Pluralstimmrecht und die Nationalitäten*, in *Pester Lloyd* of September 2, 4 and 8, 1908.

THE COALITION'S PLEDGE

reactionary and oppressive sway of a narrow oligarchy. Less than four years ago in his electoral address the present Minister of Education, Count Albert Apponyi, described the electoral system of Hungary as "belonging to the realm of fables," and as "forming the laughing-stock of the world" (January, 1905). His colleague's Reform Bill is likely to accentuate the truth of these words.

The Coalition is solemnly pledged to introduce universal suffrage "*on at least as broad a basis*" as Mr. Kristóffy's Bill; in other words, the suffrage must be universal, secret and equal for every man who has reached the age of twenty-four and is able to read and write. Hence only direct perjury on the part of the Government can avert this reform much longer; and their reluctance to fulfil the pledge will not avail against the fact that the Royal word is also given. For many months there have been furtive endeavours to secure a revision of the compact with the Crown; but Francis Joseph, with a true instinct for the great issues involved, has remained resolute in his desire to extend to Hungary the reform which rejuvenated Austria in 1907. The Coalition leaders in their rash endeavour to tamper with electoral reform are engaging in a struggle upon four fronts—against the dynasty, against Croatia, against the nationalities, and against the working classes. Each of these separately is a formidable enemy; to resist all four at once is simply to court disaster. Yet racial Chauvinism and class interests combine to blind the ruling caste to the danger of its position; and there is every reason to fear that Hungary is on the eve of internal convulsions similar to those which preceded the great Reform Bill of 1832. It is sincerely to be hoped that a wide extension of the franchise may be attended with the same blessings in Hungary as in Britain; for upon it depend many problems, not only of the Dual Monarchy, but even of the Northern Balkans.

CHAPTER XIV

Association and Assembly in Hungary

“The laws are merely an instrument for concealing the arbitrary action of the government.”—Count Apponyi (now Minister of Education) at the elections of 1896 (eighth ward of Budapest, October 25).

THOSE who talk of personal freedom in Hungary either do not know their subject, or are guilty of deliberate misrepresentation. It is merely ridiculous to talk of liberty of the subject in a country where societies, unions and clubs of all kinds, public or private, have to obtain Governmental sanction for their existence and can be arbitrarily dissolved at any moment by Ministerial order; where the Minister of the Interior can actually dissolve a political party as illegal; where the previous intimation of public meetings is not a mere formality, but is used by the local authorities as a means of paralysing all opposition; where boys are expelled from school for talking their mother tongue in the streets; where political offenders are detained for weeks and months untried in prison; where candidates for Parliament are arrested or reduced to silence; where an electoral address is often treated as a penal offence; where deputies are prevented from addressing their constituents and Parliamentary immunity is suspended for purely political reasons.

The reader will be disinclined to believe that such things are possible in the twentieth century in a State which boasts of possessing the most ancient constitution on the Continent. But if he has read the preceding pages at all carefully, he will probably have realized that the resemblances between English and Hungarian institutions, of which Magyar statesmen talk so glibly, are superficial and non-essential. Habeas Corpus, press freedom, strict severance of the judicial from the executive arm, unrestricted right of association and assembly—are conceptions wholly alien to the Magyar spirit, and indeed are incompatible with the monopoly of political power by a

single race. It is with the last of these four liberties that I propose to deal in the present chapter.

No Law of Association has ever burdened the Hungarian statute book, and the formation of societies depends upon the goodwill of the Government. The Law of Nationalities (1868, xliv. § 26) guarantees in the most precise terms the right of all citizens, irrespective of nationality, to found associations and societies for the furtherance of language, art, science, trade or agriculture, to collect funds for their support and to prescribe their own language. The most important of the non-Magyar societies, the Matica Slovenska or Slovak Academy, was however dissolved in 1875 by Coloman Tisza,⁴⁶³ on a charge of political intrigue, and its entire funds and buildings were illegally confiscated. Closely following upon this act of oppression, a Ministerial order was issued on May 2, 1875, by which every association is bound to submit its statutes to the Government, and can only be definitely constituted after the official sanction has been granted. This has often been withheld or interpreted in the most absurd and arbitrary fashion, and with every decade since the Ausgleich the reins of reaction have been drawn tighter. In 1898, when the intolerable condition of the agricultural labourers led to a so-called "Agrarian Socialist" movement, Bánffy enforced the rescript of 1875 with the utmost severity, and on February 26 of that year issued a fresh order to the county authorities, empowering them to punish any infringement of the rules of association or the slightest connexion with a suspended or dissolved association, with fines and imprisonment up to £8 and fifteen days. Thus under Bánffy, than whom no statesman ever described himself as a Liberal with less justice, it became virtually impossible to form societies at all. Twenty-eight of the existing associations were dissolved, including two in Czegléd with 3,742 members.⁴⁶⁴ In the county of Szatmár the heads of an association numbering 300 members were summoned to court, and the dissolution of their society announced to them. When their members continued to meet in defiance of the order of the court, gendarmes forced their way into the building, and one of the members was killed in the ensuing scuffle. A capital example

⁴⁶³ See p. 166. The Matica was suspended on April 6, 1875, i.e., within a month after Tisza's accession to power (March 2), and definitely dissolved on November 12 of the same year.

⁴⁶⁴ Bunzel, *Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftspolitik Ungarns*, p. 28.

of the strange grounds on which permission is sometimes withheld, is supplied by the case of several associations of agricultural labourers in the counties of Bács and Torontál in 1898. These could not be sanctioned, ran the official verdict, "because the towns contain sufficient associations following exactly analogous aims, and hence those who wish to found the association can satisfy their desire for further self-culture within the limits of already existing associations. Moreover, through the formation of fresh associations the powers of those already existing would be weakened."⁴⁶⁵

In November, 1874, the Government imposed its veto upon the Slovak temperance leagues of north Hungary. The so-called "rosary" temperance society which had been founded in Ó-Bystrica in imitation of Father Mathew's institutions, secured within a few months no fewer than 30,000 members, and its founder was encouraged by this success to invite several Redemptorist Fathers from Galicia to extend the activities of the society. This was treated by the authorities as "Panslavism," and the Fathers were obliged to withdraw. The real reason of Governmental action, however, was that the Jewish publicans found it impossible, owing to the new movement, to pay their rents to the country magnates whose influence was paramount in high quarters.

Perhaps an even more characteristic example is that of the Slovak singing society of Tiszolcz. In 1879 a number of citizens of this little town submitted to the authorities the bye-laws of their proposed society. These were rejected owing to some trivial technicality, and the amended rules were simply ignored. In December, 1886, the petitioners filed a new copy, and were promptly fined 15s. for inadequate revenue stamping; on appeal the fine was reduced by one-half, and a higher court disallowed it altogether. In May, 1887, the county authorities decided that in view of Panslav manifestations in the district the bye-laws must be disallowed, and the Government, when appealed to, declined to interfere. In 1890 a fresh draft of the bye-laws was submitted to the county authorities, who refused to recommend their adoption, owing to the "Panslavism" rampant in Tiszolcz; and again the Government dismissed the appeal. At the next general elections, one of the leading county officials undertook to recommend the bye-laws for approval, if the petitioners would support the

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 27, cit. from *Neue Freie Presse*.

A SLOVAK SINGING SOCIETY

Government candidate. A new draft was therefore submitted, and the name of the proposed society was changed to please the whim of the county clerk. But after endless delays the Government merely returned the bye-laws to the municipality of Tiszolcz for an expression of opinion, and their sanction was no nearer than before. To this day the town has failed to obtain permission to found its singing society!⁴⁶⁶

In the same way the Roumanians have in vain attempted to obtain official sanction for the formation of an Agricultural Association, and numerous women's and teachers' leagues and reading clubs.⁴⁶⁷ In September, 1870, the Catholic Slovaks founded the Society of St. Adalbert at Tyrnau, for the publication of cheap literature for the people, especially religious and devotional books, calendars and collections of popular tales.⁴⁶⁸ From the very first the society had to face the hostility of the Magyars, and has been repeatedly in danger of dissolution. At its second general meeting in Nyitra, in September, 1871, its proceedings were cut short by a crowd of roughs, and no help was given by the authorities. This incident was actually greeted with approval by a number of Magyar journals, and the Minister of the Interior declined to order any inquiry, though the facts were laid before him.⁴⁶⁹

In 1870 permission was refused to the Roumanian students of Kolozsvár to form an academic society "Minerva," on the grounds that there were already enough of these societies, and that 70 or 80 Roumanian students were too few to form a society!⁴⁷⁰ In 1886 an association of the Roumanian ladies of Szatmár for literary and benevolent aims was forbidden on similar grounds.⁴⁷¹

In 1888 sanction was refused to a society of Roumanian workmen for advancing funds in the case of sickness, on the ground that no need was felt for such a society⁴⁷²; and in 1890

⁴⁶⁶ The details of this case are abridged from Thomas Čapek, *The Slovaks*, pp. 197-200.

⁴⁶⁷ Brote, op. cit. p. 70.

⁴⁶⁸ Permission had for many years been withheld by the late Primate Scitovsky, himself of Slovak origin; by way of contrast, the new Primate, a Magyar, yielded to the persuasions of the Slovak clergy.

⁴⁶⁹ See *Aeltere und neuere Magyarisirungsversuche*, pp. 71-73.

⁴⁷⁰ Ministerial Order No. 4,290 of February 4, 1870, cit. "The Roumanian Question" (Reply of the Roumanian Students of Transylvania, 1892), p. 98.

⁴⁷¹ Ministerial Order No. 18,252, vii. of April 7, 1886, cit. *ibid.* p. 99.

⁴⁷² Ministerial Order No. 84,717 of 1888, cit. *ibid.*

to a society of Roumanian ladies of Kolozsvár in aid of Greek Catholic girls' schools, on the ground that the latter did not require any help.⁴⁷³

A flagrant example occurred only last spring of the vexatious manner in which the non-Magyar politicians are affected by this lack of the right of association. On February 18, 1908, several of the Roumanian deputies in the Hungarian Parliament opened a small political club at Arad. Shortly afterwards the police of that city applied to Parliament for the suspension of the immunity of Messrs. Goldis, Suciu, Pop and Oncu, on the ground that the club had been opened without previous intimation to the police, and that its statutes had not as yet received the sanction of the Minister of the Interior. At the end of July, Messrs. Suciu and Pop were sentenced to a fine of 150 crowns each, with the alternative of eight days' imprisonment; the other two deputies were acquitted.⁴⁷⁴

But this act of political vexation is a mere trifle compared to the attitude adopted by Dr. Wekerle's first Cabinet towards the Roumanians. For in 1894 Mr. Hieronymi, the Minister of the Interior, went so far as to dissolve the executive committee of the Roumanian National Party, thus placing an arbitrary limit upon the programme which a political party may adopt, and indirectly challenging the non-Magyars to employ violent measures to secure what they might not attempt by constitutional means. This iniquitous step was justified on the ground that a political organization based upon some special racial individuality violates the unity of the political Hungarian nation ("a politika magyar nemzet"), and hence no Hungarian Government can tolerate permanent organizations on a nationalist basis within the frontiers of Hungary.⁴⁷⁵ At the elections of January, 1905, Count Tisza's Government declared that it still stood "irrevocably on the standpoint" of Mr. Hieronymi. No more scandalous infringement of political rights can well be imagined, and Dr. Wekerle may

⁴⁷³ Ministerial Order No. 50,406 of August 1, 1890, cit. *ibid.*

⁴⁷⁴ See *Pester Lloyd*, 31 July, 1908.

⁴⁷⁵ On this principle the Irish Nationalist party, whose avowed aim is the dissolution of the Union with Great Britain, and which bases its existence on the idea of Irish nationality, would be refused admission to the Imperial Parliament as subversive of the idea of political unity.

See Appendix xvi. for Mr. Hieronymi's order. See also Government declaration on the subject, published on January 14, 1905, in *Magyar Nemzet*.

be congratulated on the fact that, intolerant as his second Cabinet is in all racial matters, it at least has not attempted to enforce this reactionary decree of his first administration.

The Minister of the Interior even goes the length of dissolving trade unions, whose very existence in Hungary is recent and precarious.⁴⁷⁶ As the statutes of trade unions require the sanction of the Minister, they often lie for years unheeded or are simply rejected altogether. Even the present Coalition Government, which makes so great a parade of its enlightened policy of social reform, has not hesitated to annul trade unions in the interests of employers of labour. In 1906 the waiters' union in Arad was suspended, the miners' union in Pécs (Fünfkirchen) was annulled.⁴⁷⁷ In December, 1907, the chief *szólgabíró* of Békéscsaba, accompanied by police and gendarmes, took possession of the Peasants' Club, ejected its members by main force, seized all its papers, books and loose cash and closed and sealed the building.⁴⁷⁸ In January, 1908, the captain of police in Kaposvár provisionally suspended another union, because, in the words of the newspaper report, "it attempted to terrorize a printer's assistant."⁴⁷⁹ In February, 1908, the Minister of the Interior dissolved the iron and metal workers' union in Győr (Raab), because it had organized a boycott of the waggon factory in that town.⁴⁸⁰ Such incidents are, however, as nothing compared to the general uncertainty under which the Socialists work, and which helps to explain, if it does not justify, the acrid tone habitually employed by their representative organ the *Népszava*.

The treatment of the Social Democrats in Hungary during the last ten years has no parallel west of the Vistula. In 1898 agrarian disturbances and the threatened agricultural strikes were met by a veritable reign of terror on the part of the Government. Not merely was the Socialist Press muzzled and confiscated. The help of the postal authorities was requisi-

⁴⁷⁶ On January 1, 1902, the Hungarian trade unions had only 9,999 members. At that date only 2·39 per cent. of the industrial workmen were organized; but on January 1, 1904, their numbers had risen to 41,138 (9·74 per cent.); on January 1, 1906, to 71,173 (15·07 per cent.); a year later to 140,000.

⁴⁷⁷ *Bericht der Parteileitung der soz. dem. Partei*, 1906-7, pp. 37-41.

⁴⁷⁸ *Pester Lloyd*, 8 Dec., 1907.

⁴⁷⁹ *Pester Lloyd*, January 15, 1908.

⁴⁸⁰ *Pester Lloyd*, February 2, 1908.

tioned in order to obtain the private correspondence of the leaders; domiciliary visits and arbitrary expulsions took place in many of the chief towns, and large numbers of workmen were forcibly photographed by the police. Peasants were forbidden to visit neighbouring districts or arrested for travelling without passports in their own country!⁴⁸¹ In the brief space of eighteen months—from June 13, 1897, to December 31, 1898—sentences were passed against Socialists for political agitation, which reached the total figure of 171 years and 80 days, in addition to fines of over 30,000 crowns. Meanwhile a highly reactionary measure received the sanction of Parliament, which, under pretence of “regulating the legal relations of agricultural employers and employed,” made organization or strikes on the part of the workmen well-nigh an impossibility. By these drastic steps the Government temporarily crushed the agrarian movement among the peasants, who, despairing of improved conditions in Hungary, began to emigrate in thousands, until by the year 1907 many districts had been depleted of the flower of their population. The alarming increase of emigration dates from the Bánffy-Darányi repression; and it is highly significant that Bánffy’s Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Darányi, should continue to hold the same office under the Coalition Government.⁴⁸² During the winter of 1907–8 the financial crisis in America and the consequent unemployment put a check to emigration from Hungary, and the figures for 1908 will therefore be less alarming. During the past three years Socialism has again begun to gain ground in Hungary, partly owing to the disgust felt by the working classes at the manner in which politicians wrangled over a barren constitutional issue, while neglecting the most pressing economic questions. In 1905 the Agricultural Labourers’ League numbered 13,814 members; at the end of 1906, 48,616 members; in June, 1907, 72,562 members in 577 groups. Since then several hundred branches have been dissolved, with the result that in December, 1907, the numbers had sunk to 11,910 in 145 groups. In the year preceding this latter date, 698 agricultural labourers were sentenced by *szólgabirós* to 6,721 days (=18 years, 261 days) and 29,772 crowns in fines; while sentences amounting to 62 months and 4,300 crowns were passed on Socialist newspapers by the Budapest courts alone.

⁴⁸¹ Bunzel, *op. cit.* p. 30, *cit.* from *Pester Lloyd*.

⁴⁸² See Appendix xii. for emigration statistics.



A SLOVAK FESTIVAL.

(From the painting by Joža Ubrka.)

PUBLIC MEETING

II

No public meeting of any kind may be held in Hungary without previous intimation having been given to the *szólgabiró* and his formal permission having been granted. Intimation is of course necessary in most Continental countries, and there is no doubt a good deal to be said for such a formality. But to make the holding of a meeting dependent upon the whim of some local bureaucrat, opens the door to every kind of abuse and petty tyranny. In the case of "patriots"—in other words of adherents of the Government—the permission is accorded as a matter of course; but applications made by non-Magyars or Socialists are treated in a very different manner. Either they are not dealt with till the last moment and then rejected owing to some technicality, such even as a blot or a mistake in spelling, with the result that the meeting has to be postponed; or they are refused on the flimsiest pretext, or finally they are ignored altogether.⁴⁸³ Magyar ideas of freedom of assembly may be gathered from the debates of May 9 to 11, 1878, when a Ministerial Order of Tisza restricting this freedom was under discussion. The famous Szilágyi defended the citizen's right of resistance to illegal measures of the authorities, and based his contention not only on the practice of all constitutional states, but even on the new criminal code of Hungary itself. Tisza, however, polemized against what he described as a "street-riot doctrine," and Parliament approved the restrictions which he had imposed.

In 1894 a meeting of Slovak electors of the Turócz district, convoked to discuss the question of the nationalities and electoral reform, was simply forbidden by the *szólgabiró*; and indeed for many years previous to the Széll Ministry it was well-nigh impossible for the Slovaks to hold a political meeting of any kind.⁴⁸⁴

In 1898 a Ministerial order was sent to all county and municipal authorities, by which popular meetings are only permitted if announced twenty-four hours beforehand and

⁴⁸³ E.g., in the autumn of 1902 the *szólgabiró* of Ráczekeve simply ignored an application for holding a Socialist meeting at Soroksár. The *Népszava* thereupon published two articles entitled "From Asia," attacking the county notary and "the notorious Ox of the Ráczekeve district, *szólgabiró* Rudnyánszky," and suggesting that their heads should be knocked together to see which sounded hollowest. The editor was prosecuted for these articles, but was somewhat unexpectedly acquitted (January 19, 1904). See *Pester Lloyd* of that date.

⁴⁸⁴ Even in October, 1908, the Slovak electoral meetings were forbidden.

sanctioned locally. Any neglect of this rule, or the continuance of a meeting after it has been dissolved, are punishable with fourteen days and £8.⁴⁸⁵ Meetings were then forbidden wholesale, in the hope of crushing out the Agrarian Socialist movement. As an example of the reasons adduced for such refusal, we cannot do better than quote the words of the captain of police in Czepléd (June 11, 1898): "The meeting is not allowed," he wrote, "because it does not seem suitable that the workmen should concern themselves with questions which offer no advantages to them, or should be roused to excitement in public assemblies." A well-known story in Hungary tells how a waggish official once forbade an open-air political meeting for want of space, the proposed "room" being "too cramped and low." As recently as October, 1907, the notorious *szólgabiró* of Holics, on the Moravian frontier, Szabó by name, forbade a political meeting on the following astonishing grounds: "I cannot sanction the holding of the popular assembly, firstly . . . because in the matter of 'Universal, secret, equal and communal suffrage,' it is not mentioned in what sphere the exercise of this suffrage is aimed at—whether in communal or municipal autonomy, or in the Churches, or in the State. It is not stated in what connexion this right of franchise is to be exercised, and *it is also not made clear whether this right of franchise, whose propaganda it is desired to proclaim, is to be exercised in the territory of the Hungarian State or in that of another State.*"⁴⁸⁶

An equally outrageous case occurred the same autumn in Pressburg, where a joint political meeting was to have been held in favour of Universal Suffrage by Mr. Bokányi and another Socialist leader, and a number of non-Magyar deputies. Permission was refused because speeches in Slovak were announced. And yet there are many thousand Slovak workmen in the city, to say nothing of the surrounding population.

Even when permission is granted, a police officer attends officially and has the right at any moment to dissolve the meeting or deprive the speaker of the word. Any phrase which might be construed as a demonstration against the authorities, against the upper classes, against property, is apt to draw

⁴⁸⁵ Bunzel, *op. cit.* p. 26.

⁴⁸⁶ The original document (which I have had in my possession, and part of which is literally translated above) was written in pencil (except the signature) on an odd sheet of shabby foolscap paper, and signed, "Szabó, főszólgabiró," Holics, October 9, 1907, with official stamp.

down this fate upon the meeting. For instance, on July 23, 1899, the Slovaks of Liptó St. Miklós held a public meeting, in which they demanded the use of the Slovak language in the schools. One of the speakers, a schoolmaster named Salva, who has since been suspended for “ Panslav agitation,” was admonished by the *szólgabiró*, Mr. Jóob, to avoid using the term “ Slovak,” and even when he substituted for it the word “ man,” he was not allowed to proceed.⁴⁸⁷

On February 3, 1908 the Socialists of the county of Vas held a congress at Szombathely (Steinamanger), but hardly had the secretary begun to read the annual report when the police official who was present dissolved the meeting, on the ground that the speaker was inciting against employers of labour.⁴⁸⁸ In April, 1908, the Socialist apprentices of Budapest wished to hold a congress, but Dr. Boda, the captain of police, refused his permission and declared that he would never allow persons under tutelage to hold meetings of any kind.⁴⁸⁹ In the same month the Social Democrats had summoned a congress to meet at Békés during Easter week, and delegates from 214 communes had announced their intention of attending. At the very last moment the chief *szólgabiró* of the district forbade the opening of the congress, on the grounds that the holding of assemblies at Easter is offensive to religious sentiment, and that the programme of the meeting, in advocating the nationalization of land, involves an “ incitement against property,” in the sense of the criminal code.⁴⁹⁰ According to the report of the Social Democratic Party, over 200 Socialist meetings were prohibited in Hungary in the year 1906-7 alone.

But if the right of assembly is thus interpreted in Hungary on ordinary occasions, what is to be said of the manner in which it is applied at parliamentary elections? Freedom of speech depends not upon the letter of the law, but upon the whim of the local officials, and prosecutions are frequent for phrases used in electoral speeches and programmes. A whole book might be written to describe the illegalities of a single general election. But rejecting all stories of victims and opponents and merely

⁴⁸⁷ Čapek, op. cit. pp. 192-3. It is said that the Slovaks are sometimes referred to as “ Chinamen ” in speeches or addresses, in order to avoid treatment of this kind. It is interesting to learn that English is occasionally employed by returned Slovak emigrants, when they do not wish to be understood by the local officials.

⁴⁸⁸ *Pester Lloyd*, February 4, 1908.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, April 19, 1908.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, April 18, 1908.

consulting the files of a Ministerial organ during the elections of 1896, we find that (apart altogether from rioting, cavalry charges and volleys of ball cartridge) in Aranyos-Maróth two priests and a clerk were arrested for canvassing, by order of the High Sheriff,⁴⁹¹ that in Ugod the szólgabíró arrested the priest of Jáko because he "instigated the peasants,"⁴⁹² and that in Kisucza-Ujhely the priest and his curate were arrested owing to their "unbounded agitation."⁴⁹³ Needless to say only the most glaring cases are chronicled in the official Press; the arrest of an opposition candidate at the height of the election is by no means an unheard-of incident in Hungary, and the supporters of a non-Magyar are treated with the very scantest ceremony. A szólgabíró has even been known to expel a Social Democratic candidate from his constituency, on the pretext that the Minister of the Interior's permission had not been obtained for his candidature. At a bye-election in Bazin (Co. Pressburg) in the spring of 1907, two Slovak deputies were actually ejected from a village where they wished to address a meeting on behalf of the Slovak candidate, Mr. Ivánka; and similiar treatment has repeatedly been meted out to Roumanian deputies in Transylvania. Candidates are frequently prohibited from addressing their constituents.⁴⁹⁵

Reasons of space prevent me from describing the endless restrictions placed in Hungary upon the personal liberty of the subject, at least of the non-Magyar subject. A whole book could be written upon the affronts and vexations by which the official classes seek to render the lives of nationalists intolerable. Meanwhile the incidents which I propose to quote will perhaps impress those readers whom the recital of broken and neglected laws has left unmoved.

A careful system of espionage is organized by the local notary and szólgabíró, the Jewish innkeeper proving a valuable auxiliary; and the appearance of a foreigner in an outlying district is viewed with great suspicion, unless he is in the company of some "patriotic" Magyar, bent upon showing him "Potemkin villages." A Ruthene professor from Galicia who has devoted many years to the study of folklore and peasant

⁴⁹¹ *Pester Lloyd*, October 29, 1896.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, October 30, 1896.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, November 13, 1896.

⁴⁹⁵ See p. 267, for the treatment of Mr. Hodža. In September, 1908, Mr. Dušan Pelcš, a Serb deputy, was forbidden by the local authorities of Dragotin to give his annual address to his constituents. See *Pester Lloyd*, September 17, 1908.

customs, visited some years ago a small Ruthene colony which still exists in the great plain of Hungary. When he went among the peasants and talked to them in their native language, the *szólgabiró* scented treason and asked him for his passport. It was written in Polish. What further proof was necessary? He was arrested as a Panslav agitator, and was detained in the local jail until a telegram from the Austrian Premier to Budapest released him from his uncomfortable position.⁴⁹⁶

In the autumn of 1907 Dr. Paul Blaho, the Slovak Member of Parliament, entertained some Czech journalists, personal friends of his own, at his house in Szakolcza without announcing their arrival to the police. For this, on February 3, 1908, his parliamentary immunity was suspended, not on the ground that the law had been violated (for it had not), but that the visit had political objects!⁴⁹⁷ In the same way another Slovak deputy, Mr. Skyčák, entertained a Bohemian priest at his house for a single day, and having omitted to notify his arrival, was sentenced by the *szólgabiró* of Námestó to a fine of £8.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁶ In May, 1907, I spent four nights in the little town of Turócz St. Márton and made the acquaintance of a number of Slovak Nationalists. I afterwards learnt that the *szólgabiró* called upon one of them and questioned him about the object of my visit. One of our letters, bearing a Canadian stamp, was opened in the post—a practical illustration of the suspicion with which American correspondence is regarded by the North Hungarian authorities. In Máramaros-Sziget my letters were again tampered with at the *Poste Restante*; but the effusive politeness of the official had staved off the discovery until it was too late to make a complaint. A fortnight later I had occasion to mention these little incidents to a Magyar acquaintance, and frankly asked him whether they were to be explained by political reasons. "Oh, no," he said, "it has nothing whatever to do with politics; but the Government is very anxious to know how much money comes into the country from America and Bohemia, and that may possibly be at the bottom of it. Curiously enough," he added, "something of the same kind happened to me the other day. I received a large order (he was a prominent manufacturer in one of the chief towns of Hungary) from Prague, which was addressed entirely in the Czech language, and when it arrived, I found written on it, 'envelope to be returned.' Of course I did not return it; but I mean to ask an explanation from the postmaster, and am very curious to know what he will say." Another acquaintance of mine, who is of Slovak origin, and takes a keen interest in village customs and peasant art, tells me that on his wanderings in "Slovensko" he often passes himself off as a photographer or a preparer of picture post cards, in order to ward off the inquisitive inquiries of local officials.

⁴⁹⁷ See Parliamentary Sitting of February 3, 1908.

⁴⁹⁸ *Pester Lloyd*, June 12, 1908.

Every effort is made to prevent the erection of public inscriptions of any kind in a non-Magyar language ; and as a result, there are not half a dozen inns with Slovak inscriptions throughout Slovensko—a territory as large as Lancashire, Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland, and inhabited by over two million Slovaks. The Jews, who hold most of the drink licences in their hands, dare not put up notices in Slovak for fear of the proprietor's disapproval.⁴⁹⁹ Even such notices as "Beware of the steam tram," or "Keep off the grass," are generally posted in Magyar only ; and of course in every railway station and post office of the kingdom all inscriptions are exclusively Magyar. The Slovak or Roumanian peasantry who are ignorant of the language, are ordered about like cattle by the officials whose duty it is to attend to all passengers irrespective of language ; and I myself have more than once seen the booking-office window slammed in the face of a peasant who dared to ask for a ticket in his native tongue. The inconvenience caused to foreigners who are expected to recognize the historic towns of Hermannstadt, Kronstadt, Tyrnau, and Pressburg under the alias of Nagy Szeben, Brassó, Nagy Szombat, and Pozsony, is trifling compared to the injustice suffered by the non-Magyars, who are thus treated as aliens in the country of their ancestors.

The same fate follows the non-Magyars after death. The Town Council of Budapest has prohibited the erection in the leading cemeteries of the city of tombstones bearing non-Magyar inscriptions. This act of petty interference with the most sacred family rights was of course directed against the 130,000 Germans and the 30,000 Slovaks who live in Budapest. In some churchyards in the north of Hungary it has been found necessary by the Slovaks, who were unwilling to place Magyar inscriptions over their dead, to resort to neutral Latin as the only language which they could employ without opposition.

⁴⁹⁹ In this connexion it may be mentioned that at every election for Parliament or county assembly pressure is brought to bear upon the village Jews to vote for the "desirable" candidate. Refusal is apt to involve loss of licence and is therefore rare.

The only inn in Turócz St. Márton which could pretend to describe itself as a hotel, is that in connexion with the Slovak national Casino (*Hotel Dom*). Simply because it is in Slovak hands, a licence has been purposely withheld from it ever since its foundation fifteen years ago. When the chief inn in Nagy Szombat (Tyrnau) fell into Slovak hands eighteen months ago, a similar attempt was made to deprive it of its licence, and was only prevented with great difficulty.



A SLOVAK CHURCHYARD.

In a country where the racial feud throws its shadow upon the graves of the dead, it was hardly to be expected that the non-Magyars would be free to erect monuments to their national heroes. In 1895 public subscriptions were invited from the Roumanians of Transylvania for the erection of a monument to Jancu, their leader in 1848; but the Minister of the Interior prohibited this action and confiscated the money which had already been collected by the "Albina" Savings Bank. This money was deposited in a bank in Arad, and after a lapse of nine years, instead of being restored to the original subscribers, was arbitrarily handed over by the Minister of the Interior to the Roumanian literary and cultural League, a society whose avowed aims are the very reverse of Jancu's admirers.⁵⁰⁰

When in October, 1902, a handsome monument was erected to Matthias Corvinus in the market place of Kolozsvár, John Motia, a Roumanian priest, had the temerity to remind public opinion that the great king whom the Magyars celebrated as one of the glories of their race, was a Roumanian by birth, and had even less of Árpád's blood in his veins than the present writer. After quoting the ancient proverb "King Matthias is dead, and with him justice has died," he reminded his readers that Corvinus, should he rise from the dead, would see close to his statue the home of modern justice, where the flower of his Roumanian nation were sentenced for their loyal appeal to his successor.⁵⁰¹ The Jury Court of Kolozsvár sentenced Father Motia for this article to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 1,000 crowns, for incitement against the Magyar nationality and glorification of a criminal act. The Curia annulled this decision and ordered a fresh trial, but the court again imposed the same severe sentence. On June 2, 1904, the Curia at length acquitted Motia of *laudatio criminis*, and sentenced him on the other charge to two months and 200 crowns.⁵⁰²

But it is not merely monuments which are regarded as illegal ;

⁵⁰⁰ In Ireland, on the other hand, no attempt was made by the Government to prevent the erection of monuments to the United Irish rebels of 1798 (e.g., in Wexford) to Wolfe Tone, and to the so-called "Manchester martyrs" of 1867 (Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien), who were hanged for killing a policeman in the endeavour to rescue Fenian prisoners from a prison van. On the Kilrush monument to these last there is an inscription in English, Irish, and French, denouncing the tyranny of the English Government.

⁵⁰¹ A reference to the Memorandum trial of 1894 (see p. 301).

⁵⁰² *Pester Lloyd*, June, 1904.

the most harmless objects are liable to confiscation, if they serve the purpose of encouraging a non-Magyar language. In 1907 the American Slovak League issued national medals, bearing on the one side the head of Dr. Paul Mudroň, the well-known Slovak advocate in Márton, and the words, " Já som pisni ze som Slovak " (I am proud to be a Slovak), and on the reverse the phrase, ' Za tu našu slovenčinu ' (For our Slovak language).⁵⁰³ Following the custom of many German patriotic and charitable societies, the League also issued Slovak stamps. On April 3, 1908, the Minister of the Interior, Count Andrásy, issued a special order to all county assemblies, forbidding the sale or use of these stamps and medals, and enjoining the confiscation of the latter.⁵⁰⁴

In December, 1907, the attention of the County Assembly of Csík was drawn to the fact that certain Roumanian parishes were employing seals with Roumanian inscriptions; these were promptly confiscated.⁵⁰⁵ In the same month the Court of Rózsahegy ordered domiciliary visits in all the photographic studios of the town, in the hope of discovering the negative of a snapshot of Father Hlinka's arrest. This photograph had been reproduced as a picture postcard and widely circulated in the North of Hungary; it was now confiscated, as constituting the glorification of a penal act.⁵⁰⁶ A reproduction of this photograph will be found on the opposite page; it is given not for its artistic value, which is *nil*, but as an example of what a Hungarian Court regards as *laudatio criminis*.

Great severity is shown to those non-Magyars who venture to carry distinctive banners or colours either at elections or on other occasions. Two ministerial orders of 1874 and 1885 prohibited the use of all save the Hungarian national emblems, though of course no law to that effect exists.⁵⁰⁷ A few examples will suffice to show how these orders have been interpreted. In 1886 forty-eight youths of Brassó (Kronstadt) were sentenced for wearing Roumanian tricolour ribbons at the Easter festivities to eight or ten days' imprisonment each and fines varying from 100 to 160 crowns. In February, 1900, twenty-four youths of Salistye were condemned for the same offence to twelve days' imprisonment each, or a total of nine months

⁵⁰³ See *Pester Lloyd*, January 14, 1908.

⁵⁰⁴ See *Pester Lloyd*, April 12, 1908.

⁵⁰⁵ See *Pester Lloyd*, December 30, 1907.

⁵⁰⁶ See *Pester Lloyd*, December 4, 1907.

⁵⁰⁷ No. 26,559 of July 6, 1874, and No. 62,693 of November 24, 1885.



THE ARREST OF FATHER HLINKA.
(From an amateur photograph confiscated in Hungary.)

252

FORBIDDEN CELEBRATIONS

and eighteen days; in October, 1903, two priests and an advocate to two days and 100 crowns each. In April, 1908, another Roumanian priest was sentenced to eight days and 200 crowns, because he had decorated the acolytes at the funeral of a parishioner with Roumanian colours.⁵⁰⁸ At the elections of 1906 in Verbó seven Slovak peasants from Brezova were sentenced to ten days and 150 crowns each, and five others to five days and 100 crowns each, for carrying white banners on the polling day. This is an ancient custom at Hungarian elections, signifying that the voters of a particular village are voting solid for one candidate; but it was treated by the local Magyar authorities as savouring of Pan Slavism. Most incredible of all, however, was the fine imposed upon two Slovak patriots for allowing their children to run about with two-coloured ribbons on their dress!

Even an after-dinner speech or the dispatch of a telegram may lead to serious consequences. In 1892 Gustav Maršal, a Slovak medical student, was brought before the Court of Ujvidék (Neusatz) on the usual charge of "incitement," incurred in a toast which he gave in a company of jovial friends. In his post-prandial eloquence, he was charged with saying that the Danube is and will remain a Slav river. On its banks grow many willows: if only a Magyarone could hang on each! The lower court and the Royal Table in Szeged acquitted Maršal, but on appeal by the Public Prosecutor, the Curia found that his speech revealed "a deep hatred towards the Magyar nationality," and therefore sentenced him to six months' imprisonment.⁵⁰⁹

The celebration of anniversaries dear to the non-Magyar population is frequently forbidden. The Roumanians are not allowed to commemorate February 28, of the date of Horia's rising in 1785, which broke the chain by which the serfs were bound to the soil; nor May 15, the day of the Roumanian Assembly at Blaj (Balázsfalva) in 1848, and the national oath of loyalty to the Emperor as Grand Prince of Transylvania. In the same way in 1893 the celebration of the centenary of the poet Kollár's birth was absolutely prohibited, and this decision of the county authorities was confirmed by the minister of the Interior. In Mosócz an attempt was made to place a wreath upon the house of Kollár's birth; but this was frus-

⁵⁰⁸ See p. 320. The rivalry of orange and green would have been impossible in Hungary, for the simple reason that only orange would have been tolerated by the authorities.

⁵⁰⁹ *Nápor-Odpor*, p. 87.

trated by gendarmes, who scattered the poet's admirers and trampled the wreaths and flowers under foot. In Turócz St. Márton an order was issued that all guests must be announced to the szólgabiró within an hour of their arrival in the little town, under pain of a heavy fine or immediate expulsion. A dinner arranged in honour of the occasion in the Slovak club was prohibited by the authorities; gendarmes with fixed bayonets guarded its entrance and even prevented an evening dance and the singing of a choral society. A formal greeting sent by the Slav Society in St. Petersburg in honour of the great poet, was opened by the postal authorities and confiscated.

On September 8, 1892, a monument was to be unveiled in the little churchyard of Hluboka over the grave of the Rev. J. M. Hurban, the leader of the Slovak bands in 1848. From far and near the country people flocked into Hluboka to be present at the ceremony. But before this could take place, gendarmes appeared upon the scene and ordered the crowd to disperse, threatening to use force unless their orders were strictly obeyed. Only two or three of the nearest relatives were allowed to enter the churchyard at all, and in their indignation at this cruel treatment, they very naturally renounced the ceremony.⁵¹⁰

The pupils of the Roumanian gymnasium and commercial school of Kronstadt (Brassó) have for a number of years past secretly placed wreaths on the grave of Andrew Muresianu, the author of the Roumanian national song "Desteapteto Romanei" (Roumanians awake). In May, 1908, seventeen schoolboys were brought before the police of Kronstadt on this charge, but all denied having taken part in the demonstration. The captain of police required the head master to supply the names of the offenders within twenty-four hours, as otherwise a disciplinary inquiry would be opened against the school.⁵¹¹

Of the difficulties with which the non-Magyar press and consequently the literatures of the non-Magyar races have to contend, we have spoken in another chapter. A brief allusion may be made here to the attitude of the Magyar authorities towards the theatrical performances of the nationalities. A campaign had long been conducted by the Magyar Chauvinists

⁵¹⁰ See p. 306. Contrast with this the imposing annual processions through the streets of Dublin to Parnell's grave on the anniversary of his death.

⁵¹¹ See *Pester Lloyd*, May 18, 1908.



SLOVAK TOMBSTONES.
(CARVED AND PAINTED.)

290

FORBIDDEN THEATRICALS

against the existence of the German drama in Hungary; and when on December 20, 1889, the German theatre of Pest was burnt to the ground, the Town Council withheld permission for its re-erection. On November 29, 1894, a Magyar deputy delighted Parliament with the blasphemous phrase: "It is to God's help that we owe the burning of the German theatre." In 1896 an order was sent to the directors of all Hungarian watering-places, forbidding them in future to accept offers from German theatrical companies. In the same year Slovak theatricals were prohibited in Miava, Rózsahegy, Tiszolcz and Breznobánya⁵¹²; and anything more ambitious than amateur or peasant plays is almost invariably forbidden in 'Slovensko.' In Versecz, the last German performance was held on September 14, 1897; the manager, in a farewell address, announced that the Minister had refused to renew his licence, and that his company were now without a home.⁵¹³ As a special favour of Count Apponyi, the Minister of Education, to whose province all theatrical matters belong, one of the leading Bucarest actors was allowed to go on tour in Transylvania last summer, after his performances had already been vetoed by the local authorities.

Perhaps, however, the most outrageous examples of interference with personal liberty are those connected with the Magyarization of family names. Not merely are all non-Magyars entered in the registers and in all public documents under the mangled Magyar form, but petitions are rejected by the Courts if even their signatures retain the non-Magyar forms. Worst of all, pressure is put upon the officials in all Government services—especially the railways and post office—to adopt Magyar names. Three striking examples of this will be found in Appendix xxv.

Even in purely commercial matters the Government exercises an unfair pressure upon the nationalities. Two examples of this must suffice. In 1903 a limited company was started in Turócz St. Márton, for the manufacture of cellulose. The venture was financed by the Tatra Bank, and a capital of 1,500,000 crowns was all subscribed within a few months. Some of the directors of the board, who were all Czechs or Slovaks, obtained from the Minister of Commerce the promise of the necessary "concession" when the works were ready. On the strength of

⁵¹² April 15, May 5, October 6. See *Nápor-Opdor*, p. 90.

⁵¹³ Schultheiss, *Deutschtum und Magyarisierung*, p. 39.

this, the factory was erected and finished in 1904 ; but on the day when the machinery was first tested, the High Sheriff appeared with gendarmes and ordered the factory to be closed. For eighteen months the new factory remained idle ; permission for the opening was steadily withheld. At length, the Czech shareholders grew tired of the deadlock, and accepted an offer of purchase from a rich Jewish Magyar bank (the Hungarian Credit Bank) which already owned two cellulose factories. The very day after the sale had been effected, the new " patriotic " owners began to work the factory without waiting for the concession, and all opposition on the part of the authorities vanished.

A typical example of the difficulties encountered by the young Slovak banks is supplied by the following incident, which I give in the words of a Magyar newspaper : " In August, 1907, Mr. Skyčák, the Slovak deputy, summoned the shareholders of the Slovak People's Bank founded in Jablonka to a new general meeting, because the Court had declined to register the institution owing to formal errors (in the application). The *szólgabíró* of Turócz, Bulla, however, broke up the meeting forcibly, because foreign citizens also wished to take part in the meeting." ⁵¹⁴

It is not necessary to enlarge further up on this subject. The large number of instances which I have adduced above, even at the risk of wearying the reader, should have made it abundantly clear that the liberty of the subject and the right of assembly and association are virtually non-existent in Hungary, or at best are at the mercy of administrative officials whose standards are hardly those of Western Europe.

⁵¹⁴ See *Pester Lloyd*, August 12, 1907.

CHAPTER XV

The Persecution of the Non-Magyar Press

"Against arbitrary action as such, men feel no antipathy ; but what disgusts, enrages, embitters them is that duplicity by which they are told, ' You have Liberty of the Press,' and it is not true ; ' You are subject only to the law,' and it is not so ; ' Your nationality is not endangered,' and it is a lie. . . . Such trickery infects even the mildest blood with poisonous venom."

SZÉCHENYI, *Ein Blick auf den anonymen Rückblick* (p. 39).

PRESS freedom in the proper sense of the word cannot be said to exist in Hungary—or rather it exists for the Magyars alone of all the races of the country,⁵¹⁵ and even then only for those Magyars who refrain from espousing the cause of the downtrodden proletariat, and who in their criticisms of the present reactionary régime succeed in evading the ever-watchful Public Prosecutor. The law which regulates Press affairs dates from 1848 and was drawn up amid the enthusiasm and excitement kindled by the news from Paris. In its own day it was a genuinely liberal measure and represented a decided advance upon previous practice ; but it has long ago become antiquated, and now stands in urgent need of revision. More than one of its clauses shows that its authors sympathized with Wilkes and Junius, but recent Governments have none the less found it possible to interpret its phraseology in a highly reactionary sense.

The Press Law of 1848 (Article XVIII.) finally abolishes the preventive censorship and secures to every one the right to communicate and spread his thoughts freely through the medium of the Press. This phrase expressly includes all printed literature, engravings or prints produced either for sale or for distribution. Leaving aside the provisions which deal with libel and with incitement to crime or to breach of the peace, we find that the restrictions imposed upon liberty of the Press in

⁵¹⁵ And of course for members of other nationalities who have submitted to Magyarization.

political questions are contained in paragraphs 6 to 8. Press attacks on the dynasty and its members are punishable with imprisonment up to six years and a maximal fine of 6,000 crowns ; and this formed the ground on which Mr. Polónyi was being prosecuted at the very moment when he was admitted to the Coalition Cabinet as Minister of Justice. He who through the Press incites (a) to the dissolution of the territorial unity of the State or of the dynastic link with Austria, (b) to the forcible alteration of the Constitution, (c) to disobedience against the lawful authorities, and (d) to the commission of crime, is liable to imprisonment up to four years and a maximal fine of 4,000 crowns. Special Jury Courts are erected for the trial of all Press offences.

These provisions, if strictly applied, would seem to offer little opportunity for the oppression of the nationalities ; but they have been effectively reinforced by subsequent legislation. The new Criminal Code which became law in 1878, contains specially stringent provisions (§§ 170-4) against political offenders.

- (1) Instigation to the committal of any offence, whether by words in a public assembly, or by the dissemination or public display of printed matter or pictures, is punishable by two years' imprisonment and 4,000 crowns.
- (2) Similar incitement to disobedience to the law or the lawful action of the authorities, " direct incitement of one class of the population, one nationality or religious denomination to hatred of another," and " incitement against the legal institutions of property and marriage " are punishable with two years' imprisonment and 2,000 crowns (§ 172).
- (3) Instigation against the monarch and his succession, the Dual System, Constitution and Parliament, may be visited with five years' imprisonment (§ 173).
- (4) Glorification of any action which has been punished as an offence under these three sections (*laudatio criminis*) makes its author liable to six months' imprisonment (§ 174).

As if such provisions did not confer sufficient powers upon the Court, the Curia has interpreted " direct incitement " under section 172 to mean " any spoken or written word, any action which is capable of producing in another hatred against a nationality, etc." Direct and indirect are thus made interchangeable terms by the highest court in the land, and all

“ A TENDENCY HOSTILE TO THE STATE ”

criticism of the existing régime of course becomes a penal offence.

All this is merely part of a system for creating patriotism by Act of Parliament. What is known as “ a tendency hostile to the State ” is pursued with ruthless severity by the Magyar authorities. Law XXVI. of 1893, which specially enjoins the prosecution of primary schoolmasters for such a tendency, defines it to include “ every action which is directed against the Constitution, the national character, unity, independence, and territorial integrity of the State, and against the use of the language of State as prescribed by law.” This is at once so far-reaching and so evasive, that it affords unlimited scope for arbitrary sentences against all who decline to renounce their racial identity, and who dare to draw the all-important distinction between “ Hungarian ” and “ Magyar,” a distinction which the language of State alone of all the languages spoken in Hungary is incapable of drawing. All such persons are without further ado branded as Panslavs or Irredentists, though this is in reality a mere *tu quoque* in the mouths of the Pan-Magyars, who naïvely admit that the language question can only be solved by force, and in the same breath assert that nowhere in Europe is freedom so complete as in Hungary. The falsity of this last assertion may be gathered from the records of political trials for Press offences during the last quarter of a century.

Before, however, passing to a discussion of these trials, it is necessary to point out the exceptional position enjoyed by Transylvania in matters of the Press. Though Magyar statesmen have for the last two generations laid repeated stress upon the need for political unity, and have on this ground justified the assimilation of Transylvania and the iniquitous treatment of the Saxon University, on the other hand they have not scrupled to uphold a special franchise and special Press laws for Transylvania, so contrived as to place the Magyar minority in a favoured position. A stringent Press Law had been promulgated for Transylvania in 1852 by the Absolutist Government in Vienna ; and the Constitutionals who framed the Ausgleich of 1867 allowed this reactionary measure to remain in force, while reviving the more liberal law of 1848 for the benefit of the rest of the country. Hence in Transylvania the Public Prosecutor possesses special discretionary powers, of which he makes full use against the Roumanian Press ; and it is still possible to impose severe punishment for the spread,

not only of confiscated pamphlets and other literature (as elsewhere in Hungary), but even of printed matter which had been allowed to pass unchallenged.

The composition of the special Jury Courts by which Press offences are tried, forms a still more serious grievance. Since no one with an income of less than 400 crowns can sit as jurymen, the non-Magyars are handicapped by their poverty, and the majority rests automatically in the hands of their enemies.⁵¹⁶ In 1871 three Press Jury Courts were erected in Transylvania by ministerial order—two in the Magyar towns of Kolozsvár (Klausenburg) and Maros-Vásárhely, and the third in Hermannstadt. In the latter, however, the Saxon jurymen acquitted the non-Magyar editors whom the Government saw fit to bring before it for political articles; and consequently in 1885 the Jury Court of Hermannstadt was abolished—once more by ministerial order—and all cases which it would have decided fell under the jurisdiction of the Chauvinists of Kolozsvár. Similar drastic measures were not found necessary against the other Press Courts: for all save that of Hermannstadt had from the first proved to be docile instruments of a tyrannous executive. Their entire proceedings were of course conducted in the Magyar language, and the natural result was that no one who was not entirely conversant with Magyar could be appointed as a jurymen.

In other words, not merely are 40 per cent. of the population of Hungary disqualified from serving as jurymen in political trials, but the non-Magyars have almost invariably been tried by their bitterest political enemies, and the sentences have been notoriously coloured by the prevailing disease of Chauvinism. Little wonder that the committee of the Roumanian National Party, when tried collectively in 1894 for their political activity,⁵¹⁷ declined to defend themselves before a court composed of those against whom the incriminated petition had been directed. "Do not then ask us," they exclaimed with a defiance worthy of those Romans from whom they claim descent, "do not ask us to become the accomplices of this mock justice of yours."

A number of legal restrictions attend upon the foundation of a newspaper in Hungary. A declaration must be handed in

⁵¹⁶ The only exception is the Germans, who are generally well-to-do. But in their case intimidation and assimilation have done their work.

⁵¹⁷ In the "Memorandum" Trial. See p. 301, and Appendix xv.

CAUTION-MONEY AND FINES

to the local authorities, stating the place where it is to appear, and who are its proprietor, printer, and responsible editors; and this must be communicated to the Minister of the Interior. It is no longer possible, as in the period preceding 1848, to withhold for years the permission to found a non-Magyar newspaper⁵¹⁸; and the security cash deposit of 20,000 crowns which is required for every daily paper⁵¹⁹ naturally affects the entire Hungarian Press irrespective of language. None the less this weighs far more heavily upon the non-Magyars, not merely because they have so little spare capital at their back, but especially because fines imposed upon their newspapers can be deducted from the caution money and as publication can be at once stopped by the authorities if the deficiency is not speedily made good, it will be seen that this provision supplies the Government with a convenient handle against the non-Magyar Press. It was doubtless this fact which suggested to Coloman Tisza the policy which was elaborated by Bánffy and brought to perfection by the present Coalition Government—the deliberate design namely of involving the Nationalist Press in chronic financial difficulties and if possible of reducing it to bankruptcy. And indeed the levy of countless fines for the most trivial Press offences would undoubtedly have produced the desired effect, but for timely financial support from abroad. Just as the Irish Party was financed from America, so the Roumanians of Hungary receive aid from their kinsmen in Roumania, the Serbs from Belgrad, the Slovaks from Bohemia and the United States. The Magyars, instead of treating this as natural and inevitable, indulge in wild charges of treason and bribery. The chief reason, however, that the grapes are sour, is that the Magyars have no kinsmen of their own outside Hungary, from whom they could under any circumstances receive support, whether financial or military.

A copy of every newspaper must be deposited with the local authorities, signed by the responsible editor, under a penalty of 400 crowns. Advantage is taken of this and other trifling regulations, to worry the life of non-Magyar or Socialist editors by endless petty formalities and vexatious summonses and inquiries. Proceedings are instituted on the very flimsiest pretext, often without any intention beyond involving a "Pan-

⁵¹⁸ See p. 79.

⁵¹⁹ Note, for others 10,000 crowns.

PRESS PERSECUTION

slav " or " Irredentist " editor alarm, expense or loss of time. Here again there are great differences between the different counties and municipalities ; but I am understating the facts when I say that it is the exception for the local authorities to treat the non-Magyar journalists with courtesy and common fairness.

Quite apart from continual press-actions, the non-Magyar Press is handicapped by frequent confiscations of single numbers of a newspaper. Not merely the regular political journals, but even the comic papers are confiscated, for a joke or caricature which is distasteful to the Government, or for a poem or folksong which seems calculated to kindle national sentiment. Such confiscations have been especially frequent since the Coalition Government came into power. In 1907 the Slovak weekly newspaper *Ludové Noviny* was confiscated no less than twenty times,⁵²⁰ and more than one of the leading Slovak or Roumanian journals has frequently shared the same fate. The lengths to which this practice is carried may be gathered from an incident which occurred only last year. A people's Almanac edited by Dr. Paul Blaho, the Slovak member of Parliament, was confiscated for reproducing an ancient folksong of the seventeenth century. This song, which sings the praises of Jánošík, the Johnnie Armstrong of Slovak popular tradition, was regarded by the authorities as threatening the existence of the Magyar national state.

Another not uncommon device for the annoyance of the non-Magyars is the withdrawal of the post-debit.⁵²¹ In the case of non-Magyar newspapers which are actually published in Hungary itself, this step is only resorted to occasionally and for brief periods, by way of a salutary warning. But all the Slovak newspapers published in the United States are under this ban, and quite a number of important Czech, Roumanian, Servian, and Russian papers have from time to time been subjected to the same indignity, on account of their articles in defence of the nationalities.

The severity of the laws as they stand in the statute book is of less importance than the manner in which they are interpreted by the Courts : and here Hungary has an unique record

⁵²⁰ *Pester Lloyd*, December 12, 1907.

⁵²¹ The special arrangement by which the Post Office in Hungary, as in Austria, Germany and other countries, agrees to deliver newspapers with the same promptitude as letters and at specially reduced rates.

in the matter of political persecution. I am fully aware of the serious nature of this charge, and I propose to prove it not by vague generalizations but by concrete examples—by passing in review a number of the press actions to which Slovak and Roumanian journalists have been subjected during the past thirty years.

In May, 1886, Cornelius Pop-Pacurar was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for an article published in the Roumanian newspaper *Tribuna*, which contained the assertion: "this country belongs neither to the Magyars nor to the Roumanians, but is the common country of both." The article was really a polemic against a violent effusion of the Magyar paper *Kolozsvári Közlöny*, which had argued that the Hungarian State could never be anything but Magyar and could never make any concessions to the nationalities, since this would merely prove fatal to itself. Provoked by such sentiments, Pacurar had broken a lance against the Kossuth cult, and exclaimed, "The Magyar should not keep coming and telling us that this territory (i.e. Transylvania) is Magyar and only Magyar; for they force the Roumanians to try to prove to them that it is Roumanian—or else a desert." Needless to say, the extreme provocation under which he had written was not taken into account, and no action was taken against the incendiary articles of the Magyar newspapers in Kolozsvár. Indeed, during the whole period succeeding the Ausgleich, not a single Magyar newspaper has ever been prosecuted for incitement against one of the other nationalities, though the whole press has re-echoed year in year out with the most libellous and venomous attacks upon the non-Magyars. To no people in Europe is the idea of fair play so alien as to the Magyars. A Magyar newspaper may with impunity express regret that the city gates are no longer receptacles for the head of traitors,⁵²² or describe flaying alive as suitable punishment for a Slovak patriot.⁵²³ But if a non-Magyar journalist vents his wrath in unmeasured adjectives or lays unwelcome stress upon the polyglot nature of Hungary's population, he is haled without mercy before the courts and left in prison to repent his rashness.

⁵²² *Magyar Hirlap*, September 22, 1894, cit. Brote, op. cit. p. 92.

⁵²³ A writer in the *Čechische Revue*, a Review of high standing in Prague (Bd. ii. Heft 3, December, 1907), cites two horrible sentences to this effect from the Coalition organ *Egyetértés*; but I have been unable to verify the quotation, as I only read the Bohemian article after my return home, and as *Egyetértés* cannot be consulted in any library in the British Isles.

PRESS PERSECUTION

In September, 1888, General Trajan Doda, M.P., was brought to trial for the address which he had issued to the electors of Karánsebes in October, 1887. In it he had accepted the mandate, but announced that he would not take his seat, in order to show to the sovereign and to the world at large "that there is something rotten in the State," and that the Roumanian people has been "by violence and intrigue ejected from all its positions in the constitutional struggle." It was not, he added, merely a vote in Parliament, but the national honour of the Roumanian people which was at stake. For this address, General Doda was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of 2,000 crowns; as a fit of apoplexy prevented the old man from appearing, the verdict was pronounced in his absence.⁵²⁴ Joan Slavici, who had reproduced Doda's address in the *Tribuna*, and had commented on it as a sign of national awakening, was also sentenced in April, 1888, to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 200 crowns.

On September 11, 1890, John Macaveiu was brought to trial before the Court of Kolozsvár for two brilliant articles in the *Tribuna*,⁵²⁵ criticising the idea of the Magyar state (a magyar állam eszme) as a monstrous and impossible dogma. The State, he argued, cannot belong to the Magyars alone, for it is not to them alone that it owes its existence. If the Magyars were to acquire a monopoly in the State, the Roumanians would be forced to regard themselves as subjects of another state, but "so long as our beloved monarch calls all nationalities under his sway 'my beloved peoples,' so long have we the right and duty to call ourselves his loyal subjects and not strangers." "Europe," he contended, "and Europe alone, is called upon to solve the future of this country." For this article Macaveiu was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment, and S. Albini, as responsible editor, to six months' common gaol! Macaveiu returned from prison broken in health and died shortly afterwards.

In 1891, the students of Bucarest University published in several European languages a pamphlet describing the situation of their Roumanian kinsmen in Hungary. To this the Magyar students of Budapest and Kolozsvár published an answer purporting to refute the charges of oppression and intolerance. Hereupon the Roumanian students of the various Universities

⁵²⁴ He was afterwards pardoned by a special act of the Emperor-King.

⁵²⁵ Then published in Hermannstadt.

THE "REPLIQUE" TRIAL

of Austria-Hungary in their turn entered the fray, and appointed a committee out of their midst, to draw up and publish a counterblast to the Magyar pamphlet. This so-called "Replique" duly appeared at a printing press in Hermannstadt, was sent openly through the post and allowed by the public prosecutor, who duly received a copy, to go unchallenged. After a whole year had elapsed, the "Replique" was confiscated by the authorities in Kolozsvár, and those who had helped to spread it were brought to trial for "incitement against the Magyar nationality" (which was, of course, treated as coincident with the "Hungarian nation"). The printer, Nicholas Roman, was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and 600 crowns, Aurel Popovici, a member of the students' committee, to four years' imprisonment and 1,000 crowns. Mr. Popovici, who evaded the execution of this sentence, is of course an exile from his native country, and has become one of the foremost advocates of a federalized Austria-Hungary. His book on "The United States of Great Austria," though marred by a very natural prejudice against the Magyars, shows wide reading and considerable political judgment, and the sensation which its publication caused in the spring of 1906, led to the foundation of that mysterious Viennese weekly *Gross-Oesterreich*, which preaches the unadulterated Pan-Austrian doctrine. But for the tyranny of the Magyar authorities, it is safe to say that Mr. Popovici's book would never have been written.

In the course of the year 1894 the editors of the *Tribuna* were sentenced to repeated fines and terms of imprisonment for publishing congratulatory addresses to the victims of the "Replik" trial.

On March 26, 1892, the Committee of the Roumanian National Party, in its official capacity, addressed a petition to the Emperor-King, complaining of the many illegalities to which their nationality had been subjected. On June 1 a deputation of 300 Roumanians appeared in the Hofburg of Vienna to deliver this so-called "Memorandum" to His Majesty in person, but they were not admitted to an audience, and on July 26 the Hungarian Premier returned the document to the party president, Dr. Ratiu, with the remark that it could not be submitted to the monarch, since its framers had no legal right to speak in the name of the Roumanians of Hungary! After six months' delay, legal proceedings were instituted against its authors, and on May 7, 1894—or twenty-six months after the date of the petition—the president of the Roumanian

PRESS PERSECUTION

National Committee, John Ratiu ; the vice-president, George Popp de Basesti and Eugene Brote ; the secretaries, Father Basil Lucaciu, Demetrius Comsia and Septimius Albini, sixteen other members of the committee and four other Roumanians who had helped to distribute copies of the Memorandum, were brought to trial before the Press Jury Court of Kolozsvár, on the usual charge of incitement.⁵²⁶ After a trial lasting eighteen days, Father Lucaciu (who had already been thrice convicted for political offences) was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, Comsia to three years, Coroianu to two years eight months, Dr. Ratiu and one other to two years each, four other accused to two and a half years each, two others to eight months each, and three others to eighteen, twelve and two months respectively.⁵²⁷ In October, Albini, against whom the charge had been postponed owing to illness, was condemned to two and a half years. Thus a total of *thirty-one years two months'* imprisonment was imposed upon the leaders of a political party for exercising their natural right of petitioning their sovereign. To crown this infamy, the Roumanian political organization was dissolved by ministerial decree, and an arbitrary limit was thus placed upon the programme on which a parliamentary candidate may seek election.⁵²⁸ The reader must form his own opinion of this incident ; I for my part refuse to describe a country where such a decision is possible, as either Western or liberal.

Consideration of space forced me to relegate to an appendix the long series of political trials which followed the suppression of the Roumanian Party.⁵²⁹ But lest the reader should suppose that the storm of persecution shows signs of abatement, I propose to cite a number of instances which have occurred during the past eighteen months.

⁵²⁶ See Appendix xv.

⁵²⁷ The comments of the Magyar Press upon the Memorandum Trial would form an interesting Appendix : I content myself, however, with a reference to the official *Pester Lloyd*, which said of the accused (May 27, 1894) that they " eignen sich wohl zu den Talmihelden eines schlechten Operettenlibrettos, nicht aber zu nationalen Heroen eines historischen Dramas." Those who read the fiery declaration published by Dr. Ratiu and the other defendants (Appendix xv.) will probably be of a very different opinion. The *Journal des Débats* of 19, 20, 24 May and 29 June, 1894, contains accounts of the trial.

⁵²⁸ See Appendix xvi. (The Dissolution of the Roumanian National Party).

⁵²⁹ See Appendix x., containing statistics of the non-Magyar political trials between the years 1886 and 1908.

THE LIMITS OF CRITICISM

In September, 1906, a Roumanian journalist, Avram Indreica, was sentenced by the Court of Nagyvárad to seven months' imprisonment for reproducing an anti-Magyar article from a Viennese newspaper.

In June, 1907, an action was announced against a Roumanian editor for reproducing a speech delivered by the Greek Oriental Metropolitan of Hermannstadt, severely criticizing the new Education Acts of Count Apponyi. Let us imagine for a moment the prosecution of the *Daily Mail* for printing the Archbishop of Canterbury's criticisms of Mr. Birrell! The fact that nothing further has been heard of this action would seem to suggest that the charge was regarded as too flimsy even for a Hungarian Press Jury.

In November, 1907, Basil Macrea, one of the responsible editors of the Roumanian paper *Lupta*, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 1,200 crowns, for an article attacking the Apponyi Education Bills in February, 1907⁵³⁰—in other words, two months before they received the sanction of Parliament, and at a moment when they were being discussed on all sides. Of course the offence was the usual "incitement against the Magyar nationality"; but in effect such actions deprive the nationalities of the right to criticize freely legislation which affects them even more nearly than the Magyars. For a non-Magyar to say "nihil de nobis sine nobis" is still regarded as little short of treason in Hungary.

In November, 1907, John Jovan, one of the staff of the *Tribuna*, was sentenced to six months and 500 crowns for publishing a telegram of greeting sent by the Roumanian students of Vienna to Dr. Vaida on the occasion of his forcible expulsion from Parliament, and for commenting favourably on this telegram.⁵³¹

In the same month Demetrius Lascu was sentenced by the Nagyvárad Press Court to six months and 500 crowns, for an article entitled "Furor Asiaticus," containing severe criticisms of the behaviour of the administrative authorities towards the nationalities. Needless to say, no steps have been taken to verify the accuracy of Lascu's charges. Lascu stood for Parliament at the last election in Ugra (Bihar county), but failed to obtain a majority. A number of Roumanian voters were tried and punished for electoral excesses, the voters on the

⁵³⁰ See *Pester Lloyd*, November 23, 1907.

⁵³¹ See *Pester Lloyd*, November 21, 1907.

Magyar side going unpunished. The town theatre of Jassy in Roumania arranged a special benefit performance for the victims of this trial; and the *Tribuna* of Arad published an account of this performance, and in its editorial comments praised the condemned Roumanians as sufferers in the national cause. For this remark an action is pending against the editor of the *Tribuna*, for the offence of *laudatio criminis*.⁵³²

During a sitting of the Hungarian Delegation in February, 1908, Mr. Holló, the well-known Independent deputy, so far forgot himself as to boast of Hungary's tolerance towards its non-Magyar races, and to compare that "tolerance" with the oppressive policy of Germany and Russia towards the Poles. On three consecutive days of the very week in which he made this speech, three Roumanian editors were sentenced in three different courts for newspaper articles, to ten months and 400 crowns, eighteen months and 1,500 crowns, and eighteen months and 2,000 crowns respectively.⁵³³

A very common method of intimidation, which has been specially adopted against the Roumanians, is to sentence them not to state prison, according to the regular legal practice for political offences, but to ordinary jail confinement, which, it is hardly necessary to add, is far more trying to clergymen and journalists than to vagabonds or burglars. For instance Andrew Baltes, editor-in-chief of the *Tribuna*, was sentenced in 1894 to four months *jail* for publishing a poem in honour of Michael the Brave.⁵³⁴ Father Lucaciu, the famous Roumanian priest (now member of the Hungarian Parliament) was in 1889 detained five weeks in a common jail previous to trial, for holding an electoral speech: the court acquitted him, but of course did not compensate him for this treatment. In 1892 he was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment for another electoral address, and in June, 1893, to four months for "libelling the Government." On the latter occasion, the court lumped the two sentences together, and commuted them into thirteen months of common jail. In the same way Pollakovič, the

⁵³² See *Pester Lloyd*, November 2 and 13, 1907.

⁵³³ In Maros-Vásárhely, Theodore Pacatian (editor of the *Telegraful Roman*, the official organ of the Metropolitan of Hermannstadt and the Greek Oriental Consistory); in Budapest, George Stoica, editor of the *Lupta*; in Kolozsvár Julius Joanovici, of the *Libertatea*. See *Pester Lloyd*, of February 8, 9, 10, 1908.

⁵³⁴ The Wallachian Hospodar, who overran Transylvania at the end of the sixteenth century.

American citizen whose case I have discussed in another part of the book, though sentenced to seven months' state prison, was actually confined throughout this period in an unhealthy county jail, where he eventually fell ill with bronchitis.⁵³⁵

In this connexion I cannot do better than cite a conversation which I had with a prominent public prosecutor in Hungary during the spring of 1907, on the subjects of the Juriga and Hlinka trials. The impression left upon me is one which I am not likely soon to forget. With unveiled ferocity this gentleman declared that it was monstrous to treat these rascally Panslav agitators as gentlemen, and to allow them decent quarters in a state prison. The proper place for them, he said, was in a common jail, among thieves and other criminals.

A similar device is that by which the trials of non-Magyars are often intentionally delayed or protracted. Meanwhile the victims sometimes have to languish for weeks or months in preliminary arrest ; and even when they are allowed to remain at large, the continual summonses and inquiries to which they are subjected, act as an intimidation. Father Hlinka was kept for five months untried in prison for a political offence,⁵³⁶ and Dr. Šrobár was only released at the end of six weeks because he threatened to refuse all food. Such instances of preliminary confinement for political offences are now of more frequent occurrence in Hungary.

In the last three years there has been an outburst of prosecution against the Slovaks, whom the Government seeks to crush by every means in its power. If till then the Slovak press has fewer press actions to show than the Roumanian, the explanation of this is very simple. On the one hand, the Magyars always affected to despise the Slovaks,⁵³⁷ and left their repression in the hands of the local administrative demigods ; on the other

⁵³⁵ See p. 321 and Appendix xxiii.

⁵³⁶ See p. 335.

⁵³⁷ Two years ago an influential Magyar Jewish journalist, in a conversation with a friend of mine, poured contempt upon the Slovaks, their culture, intelligence and prospects, contrasting them with the Roumanians, whom he described as a real danger for Hungary. This year my friend discussed the same subject with him, and found that his whole attitude had changed. The Slovaks were a "Culturvolk," their art and literature deserved recognition, and in fact the savage Roumanians could not be mentioned in the same breath with them. These two conversations are typical of the gradual change which is coming over the public mind, and which in a few years will force its way even into the corrupt Chauvinist Press. "La vérité est en marche, et rien ne l'arrêtera plus."

hand, a Slovak Press can hardly be said to have existed before the twentieth century, and the newspapers which kept the torch of Slovak nationalism alight in the dark days of Tisza and Bánffy could be numbered on the fingers of one hand. These, however, were treated with a severity which left nothing to be desired. A whole series of press actions were directed against the staff of the *Národné Noviny* in Turócz St. Márton, which at that time still represented the political views of most educated Slovaks.⁵³⁸ It was hoped to intimidate the little band of journalists by repeated imprisonment and the prospect of financial ruin; and but for the stubborn and indomitable spirit of Mr. Hurban Vajanský (now the chief editor of the little paper), there is little doubt that this end would have been attained.

In the previous chapter I have related the manner in which the authorities prevented the unveiling of a tombstone to the memory of Joseph M. Hurban. Mr. Svetozár Hurban Vajanský, the son of the dead leader, in passionate indignation at this insult to his father's memory, published a violent article in the *Národné Noviny*, entitled "Hyænism in Hungary." "Such an event," he wrote, "as took place in Hluboka on the 8th of this month, has not been known—to quote the words of an old peasant woman—since the days when Roman soldiers kept watch by the Saviour's grave." After describing the behaviour of the gendarmes in the churchyard, he continued :

The instruments of the Government acted with animal brutality and proved that in this state, depraved by Magyarization, the last traces of humanity and justice have disappeared; it has forfeited the title of a legal state, and we are now, as in prehistoric times; dependent upon self-help, and can only pray to God that the day of deliverance may come at last and may bring with it the ruin of those diabolical forces which now rule unrestrained.

And this is freedom! With bayonets they expel gratitude from the hearts of the people, they pollute a quiet village with hordes of gendarmes, in order to demoralize the people and rob them of the last vestige of human feeling. Thus they vitiate filial piety, and every nobler thought; thus they show that power is theirs, that the gendarme's rifle can shoot, that they are gods and our unhappy people but a worm which can be crushed at any moment.

What heroism!—to send armed columns against the handful of educated Slovaks, silently mourning their dead, against the assembled women of Hluboka and Brezova. That is a heroism and a victory

⁵³⁸ The change which has taken place in recent years and for which Mr. Hodža's newspaper, the *Slovenský Tyždenník*, is mainly responsible, is described on pp. 201-2.



MR. SVETOZAR HURBAN VAJANSKÝ.

306

“HYAENISM IN HUNGARY”

which must bring its revenge. God is not so unjust, fate is not so cruel, that an open deed of violence should remain unavenged. Vengeance will surely come, in answer to our cry, as once it fell upon the Ammonites in answer to the cry of the prophets.

They have wreaked their vengeance on the dead and on the living: they would not allow us to celebrate the memory of a man who is already dead. “They are afraid that we shall waken him,” cried an old peasant woman, as she saw the thirty bayonets encircling the grave of Hurban. . . . But they cannot hinder the awakening with their bayonets! Yes, we shall waken him in spirit: his spirit shall dwell among us and shall encourage us to the desperate struggle against this Babylonian corruption, against this Sodom.

On the ground of this article, whose exaggerated phrases were but the natural outburst of outraged filial affection, Svetozár Hurban was charged with “incitement against the Magyar nationality,” and “against an institution of the constitution,” and was sentenced at Pressburg to a year’s imprisonment and a fine of 600 crowns!

In the course of less than three years,⁵³⁹ Isidore Žiak Somolicky was four times sentenced to terms of imprisonment amounting to sixteen months and fines of 1,300 crowns, for articles attacking the prevailing Chauvinism in Magyar circles. In October, 1899, he was once more brought to trial for an article entitled “Megalomania.” After recounting for the benefit of the Magyars a number of unpleasant home truths, the writer indulged in somewhat cheap jests at their love of magnifying everything in the public life of Hungary and describing as “great” what was really very small indeed. For instance, he said, over 700 small villages in Hungary have the prefix “Nagy” (great). For this article the jury convicted Somolicky of “incitement to class hatred,” though this had not formed the charge on which he was indicted. As a result, the case had to be reheard, when the jury found a similar verdict on the proper count, and Somolicky was sentenced to three months and 800 crowns.⁵⁴⁰

On June 23, 1898, Ambrose Pietor was sentenced to eight

⁵³⁹ October, 1895—April, 1898.

⁵⁴⁰ An interesting illustration of a Jury Court verdict is supplied by a libel action brought against Nathan Grünfeld, editor of the *Nyitrai Hírlap*. In February and March, 1906, the defendant had accused the Nyitra Central Bank, of which he had formerly been a director, of falsifying its balance sheets. Three of the directors took action against him before the Jury Court of Pressburg, which acquitted him *after hearing only the witnesses for the defence*. On September 1, 1908, the Curia annulled this judgment and ordered the witnesses for the prosecution to be heard also. See *Pester Lloyd* of latter date. This incident further illustrates the slowness of Hungarian justice.

months' imprisonment and a fine of 1,200 crowns, for instigation to class hatred and incitement against the Magyar nationality, incurred in two articles published in the *Národné Noviny*. In the first, entitled "Slavery Above and Below" and written eleven whole months previously, he had discussed a strike of Slovak bricklayers in Budapest, and had declared that they were treated worse than dogs. In the second, entitled "Paralysis Progressiva," he entered a strong protest against the violent Magyarization of the ancient placenames of the country, and the substitution of a barbarous jargon invented for the purpose.⁵⁴¹

On December 5, 1906, the *Národní Hlasník* in Turócz St. Márton published an article entitled "The Political Persecution of the Slovaks," in which the Magyar boast of freedom and racial equality was described as mere lies and humbug. An action was brought before the Budapest Jury Court against Milosch Pietor, the responsible editor of the paper, who stated that he first took charge of the paper on the very day on which this article appeared, and that the responsibility lay with his late father, who had ordered its publication. The court declined to allow Pietor to bring forward witnesses to prove his contention, held him personally responsible for the article, and sentenced him to four months' imprisonment.⁵⁴²

On May 13, 1907, John Greguska published an article in *Slovenský Tyždenník*, passing in review the cruel treatment of the nationalities in the forty years following the coronation. A nationality, he argued, can be oppressed, humiliated, ill-used, but its annihilation is a physical impossibility. For this article he was sentenced for incitement against the Magyar nationality to three months' imprisonment and 600 crowns.⁵⁴³

The same Greguska published a similar article in the same paper on September 13, 1907, entitled "Awake, ye Sleepers," in which the Slovaks were urged to shake off the old lethargy and prepare for action. Here again on the usual charge he was sentenced to five months and 1,000 crowns.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴¹ The sequel to this trial is related on p. 328. In 1902 Joseph Škultéty brought an action for perjury against a lieutenant of gendarmerie and two of his men, in connexion with the Pietor trial. The Court, however, decided that Škultéty had thereby committed the offence of "libel against the authorities," and sentenced him to a month's imprisonment. See *Nápor-Odpor*, p. 104.

⁵⁴² *Pester Lloyd*, October 13, 1907.

⁵⁴³ *Pester Lloyd*, January 26, 1908.

⁵⁴⁴ *Pester Lloyd*, February 19, 1908

AN UNIQUE RECORD

In the same paper John Bagyula published an article containing the phrase, "The Magyars hurl themselves like a wild horde upon the nationalities, in order to rob them of their land, their language and their religion." For this he was charged with incitement against the Magyar nationality (as usual, this was deliberately confused with the radically different conception, "the Hungarian nation") and condemned to one year's imprisonment and a fine of 1,200 crowns.

Father Hlinka, before entering upon his term of two years' imprisonment imposed upon him for speeches delivered on an electoral platform,⁵⁴⁵ published in the *Ludové Noviny*, a farewell article to his parishioners. He went to prison, he declared, with a clear conscience, knowing that he must suffer for the rights of the Slovak people. On his return he will contend for Slovak liberty with redoubled energy; persecution and imprisonment will not intimidate him. For this article a fresh action was brought against the unfortunate priest; and on May 4, 1908, he was sentenced to eighteen months' additional imprisonment and a fine of 400 crowns. The deliberate aim of the authorities is to break him in health and spirit by prolonged imprisonment; nothing else can explain their vindictive and cowardly action.

If we summarize these trials, we find that between the years 1886 and 1896 no fewer than 363 Roumanians were committed for political offences, and that sentences amounting to ninety-three years one month and twenty-three days were imposed upon them.⁵⁴⁶ Excluding those cases which were tried before the ordinary courts, we find that from 1884 to 1894, thirty-six trials of Roumanians took place before Hungarian Press Juries, and that in these sixty-six persons were condemned to terms of imprisonment amounting in all to fifty-three years and to fines whose total exceeded 18,000 crowns. Between 1897 and 1908, 214 Roumanians were sentenced to thirty-five years nine months' imprisonment and to fines amounting to 51,937 crowns. Between 1906 and 1908, no fewer than 560 Slovaks were sentenced to a total of ninety-one years seven months and 42,121 crowns. The fierceness of the persecution under the Coalition Government becomes apparent from the fact that between June, 1906, and June, 1907, 245 Slovaks were condemned to nineteen years and four months; in the last three months of 1907, twenty-six more

⁵⁴⁵ The notorious Hlinka trial is described at length in chapter xviii; and the Juriga trial much more briefly on p. 196.

⁵⁴⁶ See Appendix x. (a) and (b).

PRESS PERSECUTION

to a total of three years, and in the first three months of 1908, 48 more to a total of 39 years and 6 months, in addition to fines and heavy costs. Drawing the balance, we reach the following remarkable total: Between the years 1886 and 1908 (end of August) 890 non-Magyars were condemned, for purely political offences, to a total of 232 years 6 months and 2 days, in addition to heavy costs and 148,232 crowns in fines.

In this connexion it would be unjust if I were to pass over in silence the persecutions to which the Socialist Press of Hungary has been subjected. A great deal might be written of the manner in which the Liberals under Bánffy repressed the agrarian movement of 1898. The outside world has for forty years past accepted the Liberals of Hungary at their own value, and rarely troubled itself to put their principles to the hard test of fact. The so-called Liberals have been replaced by a party which is professedly Radical and democratic; and yet the Coalition Government has outbid all its predecessors in its severity towards the representatives of Labour and of Socialism. Half a dozen instances of its true attitude will therefore not be out of place in the present volume.

Mr. Polónyi, for many years the most loud-mouthed exponent of Kossuthist views of liberty and independence, became Minister of Justice in the new Coalition Cabinet, and ere three months had elapsed, the weapons of "nocturnal censorship" and confiscation were once more being employed against the Opposition Press. In July, 1906, in answer to an interpellation to Mr. Bródy, on the confiscation of the *Világszabadság*, the organ of the Agricultural Labour party, Mr. Polónyi—who a few months before had preached the annihilation of the Fejérváry Ministry for its action against openly disloyal newspapers—now resorted to the same hackneyed phrases which every muzzler of Press liberty had employed from the days of Junius onwards.⁵⁴⁷ The

⁵⁴⁷ After admitting that the epoch in which we live was built up on Press freedom, he went on: "But if any one understands by 'Press freedom' that one may not punish a crime, because it was committed through the Press (great excitement in the House) then I must declare with regret that I do not regard this as compatible with the essence of Press freedom. If some one dares under the aegis of Press freedom to instigate uninformed fellow-citizens to crimes which would cause irreparable loss—there exists no constitutional state where the existing legal order would not defend itself against this." Obviously incitement to crime must be strictly punished. The real question in Hungary is what is to be regarded as "crime," more than one of the sec-

SOCIALIST TRIALS

movement among the agricultural population for higher wages and more humane treatment is naturally most distasteful to the reactionary landowners who form a majority in the present Parliament. They were interested in the suppression of any agitation among the harvesters, and therefore used their influence to secure the confiscation of articles such as those published by the *Világ szabadság*. While the local authorities raged against strikers and agitators (the *szólgabiró* of Orosháza alone is said to have imposed sentences amounting to 30,000 days' arrest in the course of the year 1906-7),⁵⁴⁸ action after action has been brought against the *Népszava* and other Social Democratic newspapers, and quite a number of Socialist pamphlets and leaflets have been confiscated.

In June, 1907, the *Világ szabadság* (Freedom of the World), the organ of the Agrarian Socialists, published two articles which preached upon the text of Proudhon, "La propriété est le vol," and urged the labourers to strike. For this, Stephen Kovács was sentenced to eight months and 800 crowns, Julius Franczia to one year and 1,000 crowns, on a charge of incitement to class hatred.⁵⁴⁹

Early in 1907, when the Agricultural Labourers Bill was laid before Parliament, Rudolf Ladányi published a pamphlet entitled "The Flogging-bench Act" (A derestörvény),⁵⁵⁰ in which he argued that its provisions would place the labourers at the mercy of their employers, and exhorted them to oppose the measure by every means in their power. The Bill did not become law till some months after the publication of his pamphlet, and then in a somewhat altered form, so that it might have been presumed that free criticism of so controversial a measure would be allowed. Ladányi, however, was prosecuted for incitement to class hatred, and after a spirited defence, in which the judge treated his counsel with marked severity, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 600 crowns.⁵⁵¹

In 1907 an article appeared in the organ of the "Socialist

tions of the Criminal Code being reactionary in the highest degree and incompatible with the Press Law of 1848 (e.g., §§ 171-174, 567).

⁵⁴⁸ *Bericht der Parteileitung*, 1906-7, p. 50.

⁵⁴⁹ *Pester Lloyd*, November 17, 1907.

⁵⁵⁰ A reference to § 3 of the Bill as subsequently adopted, by which workmen under the age of 18 and all members of workmen's families who are under age are subjected to the "domestic discipline" of the proprietor (in other words, may be flogged for certain offences).

⁵⁵¹ *Pester Lloyd*, November 16, 1907.

PRESS PERSECUTION

Count" Erwin Batthyány, *Társadalmi Forradalom* (Social Revolution) three articles under his own name, expounding Marxian doctrines and violently attacking the army and the propertied classes. An action was brought against the paper by the public prosecutor in Szombathely, and as Count Batthyány had meanwhile moved to London, the responsible editor, John Horváth, was charged in his place with incitement and agitation, and sentenced to three months and 100 crowns.⁵⁵²

On October 29, 1907, the *Népszava* published an article on the massacre of Csernova under the title "Who are the murderers?"⁵⁵³ The author maintained that the gendarmes had no excuse for firing on the crowd, and openly criticized the brutal attitude of the Government and the bishop towards the Slovak nation. Stephen Hegedüs, a shoemaker's apprentice, gave himself out as the author of the article, and was sentenced to two months and 1,000 crowns for incitement to class hatred and instigation against the Hungarian nation.⁵⁵⁴

In the summer of 1906, Trajan Novák, the secretary of the Social Democratic party in Temesvár, visited the commune of Sagh in order to discuss with the natives the formation of a local Socialist branch. The village notary and the landlord's agent ordered him to leave the place, on the ground that he was urging the workmen to break their harvesting contracts; and on his refusal, he was arrested and sentenced by the *szólgabiró* to one month's imprisonment and a fine of 200 crowns. On leaving prison Novák described the incident in a Socialist newspaper of Temesvár, and spoke of the *szólgabiró* Váczy as a man who trod the laws under foot. For this remark an action was brought against Novák, and when he fled abroad to escape punishment, John Tóth, the responsible editor of the paper, was sentenced to three months and 200 crowns.⁵⁵⁵

At the end of August, 1907, a leading workman was ejected by the police from the town of Székesfehérvár for his political activity. In an article entitled "And you are to love *this* fatherland!" the *Népszava* commented on the incident as follows: "The proletariat have no fatherland, for the patriots have robbed them of it. And yet they are expected to love this country. Here no law exists to protect the weak; and yet we are to love the fatherland of our oppressors. They possess the

⁵⁵² *Pester Lloyd*, February 15, 1908.

⁵⁵³ See p. 339. ⁵⁵⁴ *Pester Lloyd*, February 16, 1908.

⁵⁵⁵ *Pester Lloyd*, February 26, 1908.

“ INCITEMENT TO CLASS-HATRED ”

right of association ; we do not. They are protected by the law in their economic efforts ; we are persecuted, sabred or shot ! They are served by troops and gendarmerie, we are murdered by them. Theirs are all property and all rights ; ours are all burdens and misery. Theirs are the special train, the saloon-car, the free ticket ; ours are the police cell and the prison van. But for all this we too are to love this fatherland of theirs ! ” In short, a hackneyed sermon on the text “ ubi bene, ibi patria ! ” On March 14, 1908, Joseph Varró, a carpenter’s apprentice, was tried as the author of this article, for the usual incitement to class hatred, and was condemned to *a year’s imprisonment and a fine of 1,200 crowns*.⁵⁵⁶

At the monster demonstration organized by the Socialists in October, 1907, a flyleaf entitled “ To the vagabonds who have no fatherland ” (A hazátlan bitangokhoz) was distributed among the crowd. Its author, Maurice Fleischmann, described the Coalition Government as a police régime, whose aim was plunder and whose sole success was the ruin of the people. In April, 1908, Fleischmann was sentenced to nine months and 1,000 crowns, for incitement to class hatred.⁵⁵⁷

At the risk of wearying the reader, I have endeavoured to prove my original contention that Press freedom is virtually non-existent in Hungary ; and I cannot close this chapter without expressing my astonishment that it should have been left to me to publish the first English account of a state of affairs at once so lamentable and so outrageous.

⁵⁵⁶ *Pester Lloyd*, March 15, 1908.

⁵⁵⁷ *Pester Lloyd*, April 22, 1908.

CHAPTER XVI.

Judicial Injustice

“It became a second nature of the Hungarian national character not to take the law seriously, not to comply with, but to evade it. Even to-day we are still suffering from this fact.”

Count Julius Andrassy (now Minister of the Interior) in 1897.⁵⁵⁸

IN Hungarian justice moves at an Asiatic pace. An interval of many months separates the offence from its trial, and meanwhile the accused person only too often languishes untried in prison. The abuses of this system, which are mainly due to those dilatory and easy-going habits which are innate in every Magyar, are specially flagrant in the case of political offences. Persons charged with instigation “against the Magyar nationality” (instigation against other nationalities goes unpunished) or with “class hatred” (which of course means hatred of the *upper* classes) are kept in suspense for months and occasionally even imprisoned pending trial, until the Public Prosecutor has taken a leisurely survey of the facts. Those who take the trouble to study the law-court reports in any Hungarian newspaper will find that even most of the Press offences for which legal proceedings were taken, are eight, ten, fifteen, even eighteen months old before they come into court.

These judicial delays are sufficiently reprehensible; but if they formed the only complaint against Hungarian justice it would have been obviously unfair to mention them. A far more serious charge consists in the disagreeable fact that two kinds of justice exist in Hungary to-day—one for “patriots,” that is for Magyars, but of course only such Magyars as refrain from active resistance to the ruling clique and from open sympathy with the oppressed proletariat—and another for the non-Magyar races and the working classes, the helots of the Magyar oligarchy. That this is no mere sweeping assertion will become abundantly clear from the details contained in this chapter.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ungarns Ausgleich mit Oesterreich*, p. 221.

NON-EXECUTION OF THE LAWS

The linguistic provisions of the Law of Nationalities in the matter of justice, remained from the first a dead letter, and their non-observance has led to the gravest abuses and injustice. Under sections 7 and 8 of this law, every citizen has the right to employ his mother tongue in all petitions and applications to the communal and district courts, and if he avails himself of this right, the judge is bound to answer the complaint in the language of the appellant, and to conduct the trial in the language of the plaintiff or witnesses, while the official record must be drawn up in the language chosen by mutual agreement between the rival parties.⁵⁵⁹ The judge is further bound to issue all summonses in the language of the parties concerned, to interpret to them all essential documents which are written in a language of which they are ignorant, and finally to interpret his decision to each party in whatever Hungarian language they may desire. The sentence must be pronounced in the same language as that in which the record of the trial has been conducted.⁵⁶⁰

Now except in certain cases among the Saxons of Transylvania—and not always even among them—these provisions are set at open defiance throughout the length and breadth of Hungary. Petitions are not accepted by the courts unless they are drawn up in Magyar⁵⁶¹; and even when the non-Magyars submit to this illegality, a Saxon or Roumanian will have no chance of obtaining a hearing if he dares to sign

⁵⁵⁹ Failing agreement, the judge selects the language to be used out of the languages in use in the district, but is bound to provide for the translation of the record by a regular interpreter, if required.

⁵⁶⁰ One of the foremost officials charged by Baron Bánffy with the supervision of Nationalist practices assured me in private conversation that the judicial sections (7-9) of the Law of Nationalities were only intended to last until the mediaeval system of law which still prevailed in Hungary had been revised.

Personally, I refuse to credit Deák and Eötvös with so dishonest an intention; but the fact remains that when the judicial system was re-organized in 1871 these sections necessarily [became obsolete, yet no linguistic provisions were introduced in their stead into the new law.

⁵⁶¹ By Ministerial Order No. 326,710 of November 12, 1875, it was announced that all applications to the courts, whether regarding legal proceedings or the execution of deeds, would only be accepted if drawn up in Magyar. Another Ministerial Order (No. 43,721 of September 7, 1875) obliged all communes to use Magyar only in their correspondence with the courts. By Order 947 of 1888, the Minister of Justice prescribed that all documents for the registration of title deeds must be drawn up exclusively in Magyar. The necessity for an official Magyar copy in every case is, of course, clear. See *Roumanian Question*, pp. 85-86.

his name after the manner of his nation. Ferdinand Strauss and Joan Lucaciu must masquerade as Strausz Nándor and Lukács János, before their case can be considered. Not merely are the inscriptions and notices in all Hungarian courts of justice posted exclusively in the Magyar language, even in counties where 90 per cent. of the population is non-Magyar ; but all summonses are issued exclusively in Magyar, regardless of whether the person summoned knows that language. Many of the judges are entirely ignorant of the local language, or have a very inadequate knowledge of it, and thus in their intercourse with the people are dependent upon some half-educated junior clerk. Persons who are rash enough to insist upon the letter of the law merely bring down the wrath of the judicial demigods upon their heads. Last April, for instance, when a Roumanian priest declined to answer the questions of the *szólgabiró* in anything but Roumanian, this was treated as an aggravating circumstance, and the sentence was increased accordingly.

Magyar justice compels all parties at law to prepare and recognize Magyar translations of their complaints and depositions, without their being in a position to convince themselves of the accuracy of the translation. The whole proceedings in court are conducted in Magyar, and sentence is pronounced and published exclusively in Magyar—even if it is a sentence of death ! A characteristic instance of this was cited by the *Národnie Noviny* in 1900. A blacksmith was condemned for some offence, and requested the judge to explain the sentence to him in his native tongue, as he knew no Magyar. “Érti, nem érti, mindegy—“It doesn’t matter whether you understand or not,” replied the courteous judge.

If there is an interpreter, the defendant can obtain from him a translation of the sentence ; but this is a private transaction, and involves a fee which the peasant may regard as prohibitive.⁵⁶² His legal right to an official gratis translation is entirely disregarded. The natural result is that the non-Magyar peasantry have come to regard interpreters’ fees as a penalty imposed upon them for the use of their mother tongue, and so long as this continues it is obvious that their suspicion of Magyar justice will remain. The existing grievance is all the more crying, since no modern language—not even

⁵⁶² The official interpreters charge 5 crowns for the half day, and this is exacted even in petty appeals from the local Justice to the District Courts.

English before the days of Bentham—can boast of such a horrible legal jargon as Magyar. Many a legal document, with its labyrinthine sentences and involved constructions, taxes all the ingenuity of an educated Magyar, and is, of course, utterly beyond the comprehension of a Slovak or Roumanian peasant.

Many Magyars are in the habit of boasting of the manner in which the Law of Nationalities is carried out, at the same time emphasizing the equality of all individual citizens before the law, irrespective of race or religion. The sooner this presumptuous boast is withdrawn the better; for where half the population can only obtain justice in an unknown tongue, it is mere hypocrisy to talk of equality before the law. Those who pretend that the law is carried out are either ignorant of the facts or purposely concealing them; and this was tacitly admitted by the present Premier, Dr. Wekerle, in the summer of 1906, when he publicly declared in the House that he was not in a position to fulfil that provision of the law by which the decision is to be given in the same language in which the petition is handed in.⁵⁶³

Open pressure is put upon the judges by the central government, and only too often their promotion is made dependent upon their so-called "patriotism." When the Law of Nationalities was passed in 1868, there were a considerable number of non-Magyars in judicial positions; but within a few years all the Roumanians had been transferred to purely Magyar districts and their places supplied by men who were ignorant of the local language.⁵⁶⁴ About the same time the presidents of the various courts were advised from headquarters that in future they should employ the Magyar language only, and should instruct the advocates in their sphere of jurisdiction to prepare all documents in that language, since no others would be accepted or recognized. Appeals against this illegal action were rejected by the higher courts; the central authorities declined to interfere; and when the matter was brought before Parliament, Perczel, the Minister of Justice, made the significant reply that the action of the judges *was not in accordance with the law*, but that he would endeavour by means of an amendment bill to bring the law into harmony

⁵⁶³ See page 197.

⁵⁶⁴ See Parthenius Cosma's speech in Parliament, May, 1879. *Magyarisirung in Ungarn* contains a German translation of the debates (see p. 282).

with their action! In other words, the mouthpiece of Hungarian justice openly encouraged his subordinates to set the laws at defiance, and tacitly excluded half the population from their natural rights. Many instances could be adduced to show that this policy has been consistently pursued by all subsequent Governments; but I prefer to limit myself to one from the last year of the Bánffy Ministry. In February, 1898, Mr. Alexander Erdély, the Minister of Justice, publicly expressed his thanks to the jury courts of Hungary for the manner in which they had checked anti-national agitation, in other words for their brutal attitude towards the non-Magyars and the Agrarian Socialists. When a Cabinet Minister so far forgets his duties, it is no wonder that justice in Hungary tends to become a mere tool in the hands of the executive.

While all the linguistic provisions of the Law of Nationalities remain a dead letter, and, in the trenchant words of a Slovak patriot, the non-Magyar "stands like an ox" before the courts of his native land, his situation is aggravated by the arbitrary action of the lower courts. Not content with employing all the severity of the law against the non-Magyar "agitators," they endeavour to break their spirit and alienate their supporters by every imaginable kind of petty tyranny and persecution. Actions are brought by the authorities, not so much with a view to enforcing the law, as with the deliberate aim of crushing out all resistance to the policy of Magyarization. Lest the reader should accuse me of exaggeration, I propose to bring forward a considerable number of concrete cases to illustrate my assertion.

On July 31, 1905, as Peter Sokol and several other Magyar canvassers in Liptó St. Miklós were returning home, some one threw a stone at them. The sequel was a trial for violence against the individual; and as it was impossible to prove who had actually thrown the stone, every one in the group of men from which it came was sentenced to one month's imprisonment! This decision of Mr. Chudovsky, president of the Sedrial Court in Rózsahegy, was reversed by the Curia. It may be described as a worthy miniature companion to the larger painting of the Csernova trial. (See p. 347.)

This same Peter Sokol, a notary in the county of Liptó, and a violent agitator on the "patriotic" side, was charged on two separate counts with misuse of his official position, having beaten a peasant called Chovanka, and having, on

July 14, 1905, shut him up for twenty-four hours in the local gaol, solely because he agitated for the Slovak cause. Though the facts were beyond dispute, the Public Prosecutor declined to take action against a "patriotic" official; and the trial resulted in Sokol's acquittal!

In the Sedriar Court of Trenčsén, John Valásek and twenty-four peasants from Predmier were charged with breach of the peace (under §§ 175, 176 of the Criminal Code). Their offence consisted in a demonstration against Father Teselský, the candidate of the People's Party, in the course of which stones were thrown and the lives of the Magyars were said to have been endangered. The case was allowed to drag on for close upon eighteen months, and finally all the defendants were acquitted and the president of the Court reprimanded the procedure of the Crown prosecutor and the examining magistrate.

During the elections in Liptó St. Miklós, two Slovak peasants, Kovačik and Kraliček, were charged with an offence against the "liberty of the individual." They were said to have instigated the gipsy musicians, who were playing at the election, to kick John Kucharik out of the village inn. But the leader of the gipsies gave evidence that Kucharik threw a bottle at one of the fiddlers, and tried to smash another of the instruments, and that this was the sole cause of his ejection. As a result, both defendants had to be acquitted. Their real offence had of course been support of the Slovak candidate.

John Jurečka and nine other villagers of Poruba were accused of threatening the village mayor during these same elections, and of beating a couple of his friends. The action was merely brought forward in order to influence their votes on the day of the poll, and after the usual delays, resulted in their acquittal.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁵ This and the four preceding instances are drawn from an article, entitled "A Contribution to the Statistics of our Persecutions" in the new Slovak monthly review, *Slovenský Obzor*, vol. i. part 7 (December, 1907). No attempt has been made to disprove the facts recorded in this article, for the documentary evidence is beyond dispute. But an action has been brought against its author for "incitement against the Magyar nationality," and in July 1908 Joseph Žak was sentenced for it to two months' imprisonment! To give my reader an idea of what is treated in Hungary as "incitement" against the Magyars, I quote the incriminated passages *in toto*. (1) "Above all, people in Slovensko do not devote sufficient attention to political trials. W

Martin Kelo, the schoolmaster of Jalovec, a man of over seventy, was brought into court on a similar charge of breach of the peace, because he "offered resistance" to a soldier on the day of the election. I wish I could give my readers a true idea of what "resistance to the soldiers" at a Hungarian election means! ⁵⁶⁶

Francis Veselovsky, a Slovak advocate and ex-deputy, was some years ago brought to trial for incitement against the Magyar nationality. His offence consisted in not hoisting any flags on his house in Nagy Szombat (Tyrnau) during the public reception of a prominent Magyar statesman, and in using the word "Emperor" instead of "King" in a public speech. The latter is certainly a highly improper phrase in the mouth of a Hungarian citizen, but by no stretch of the imagination can it be described as incitement against the Magyars; and in any case the pettiness and spite of the authorities in prosecuting him on such grounds cannot be stigmatized too strongly. The Corporation of Dublin would find Hungary a most uncongenial place of abode.

In Hrádek (Liptóujvár) John Králik, the mayor of a neighbouring village, was brought before the szólgabiró for the terrible crime of hoisting the colours of the Slovak candidate, Dr. Stodola, on the church tower! Strangely enough he was acquitted.

Less fortunate was a Roumanian priest, Father John Popovici, who was sentenced last April to eight days and 200 crowns for "action hostile to the State" (államellenes cselekedetért). At the funeral of a parishioner he had decorated the little acolytes with Roumanian national colours.⁵⁶⁷ The szólgabiró in passing sentence treated as an aggravating

are accustomed to political persecution; for our whole national struggle is really nothing but a continual strife with courts, szólgabirós, notaries and similar individuals" (p. 385). (2) "At the very beginning I must remark that the great number of charges which are groundless both in form and substance, throws a very strange light upon Hungarian Justice. The courts bring actions, issue summonses, intimidate people, for absolutely no reason. Thus not merely a biassed application and definition of the paragraphs of the law . . . but also quite arbitrary accusations and summonses, etc., are prominent features of political trials in Hungary. To Hungarian Justice may well be applied the words of Spinoza: '*Quia unusquisque tantum iuris habet quantum potentia valet.*'" Such phrases are severe and possibly libellous, but by no stretch of the imagination can they be interpreted as "incitement against the Magyar nationality."

⁵⁶⁶ See p. 289.

⁵⁶⁷ See *Budapesti Hírlap*, April 11, 1908.



A CHURCH INTERIOR.
(THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF VELKA PALUDZA.)

E. Mátek.

320

circumstance the priest's refusal to answer questions in any save his mother tongue. Here is a practical example, if any were needed, of how the law of Nationalities is observed in non-Magyar communities.

One of the most outrageous cases of recent years is that of Francis Pollakovič, a young Slovak who had become an American citizen and after ten years' residence in the United States had returned to Hungary in the summer of 1907. On October 9 of that year he was arrested on a charge of "incitement against the Magyar nationality." A few days before, he had distributed copies of a Slovak national song among a number of friends at the skittle alley of the inn of Bobró, and had then urged them "to hold together as Slovaks, not to give up their mother-tongue, to battle for their Slovak language and their rights." After remaining in jail from October 9 till December 17, he was on the latter date brought for trial before the Court of Rózsahegy, and sentenced by Mr. Chudovszky to seven months' state prison. Pending the appeal, he was detained in an unhealthy cell, and fell ill with bronchitis. The representations of the American Embassy failed to secure his release. At the end of his term of imprisonment he was removed across the frontier, without even being allowed to say good-bye to his relations.⁵⁶⁸

In Kovačica (Antalfalva), a large Slovak community in the County of Torontál in South Hungary, an attempt was made in April, 1907, to introduce a Magyar service into the Lutheran Church, although in a population of 6,000 there were not twenty Magyars in all, and of these only a single individual who knew no Slovak. Mr. Čaplovič, the clergyman, received an order to preach in Magyar once or twice every month, in direct violation of the constitution of the Church, which gives every congregation the absolute right to choose the language in which its services are to be conducted. Instead of complying, he brought the matter before the church session, which unanimously decided against the innovation; but at length yielding to the reiterated orders of the Superintendent, he consented to deliver a Magyar sermon at the close of the ordinary Slovak service. The congregation, however, were equal to the occasion, and by remaining in its pews and singing the Slovak version of Luther's "Feste Burg," compelled him to abandon the attempt. A

⁵⁶⁸ Appendix xxiii. contains a translation of the indictment against Pollakovič.

JUDICIAL INJUSTICE

week later the same tactics were tried, but on this occasion the *szólgabíró* introduced gendarmes and *cleared the church at the point of the bayonet!* As a result of this incident, in May, 1908, 30 men and 5 women were sentenced to a total of 6 years and 8 months' imprisonment and 5980 crowns in fines, on a charge of forcible hindrance of a religious service.⁵⁶⁹ Mr. Čaplovič, despite his weak compliance with an illegal order, was deposed by the Superintendent, and a Magyar clergyman was sent in his place, but since his appearance the great mass of the congregation has boycotted the church, and threats of secession from the Lutheran Church have begun to be heard.⁵⁷⁰

In the Greek Catholic parish of Izé (Máramaros county), the priest was an elderly and tactless man, a bad preacher and a bad reader of Mass. By his personal qualities and by his Magyar leanings he earned the dislike of his parishioners, some of whom actually insulted him in church. He brought the culprits before the *szólgabíró* and had them punished; but naturally this course destroyed the last shreds of his popularity, and the Bishop was more than once besought to replace him by another priest, but without effect. The consequent discontent at length took the form of a secession of 370 Ruthene peasants to the Greek Oriental Church in the course of the year 1903. The villagers applied to the Serb Patriarch, who sent a doctor of theology to be their priest; but the Ministry, taking alarm at this development, telegraphed to the local authorities to detain the intruder on arrival, and then demanded from the Patriarch his prompt recall. The seceders have ever since been denied the ministrations of an Orthodox priest, at the instance of the Government; yet they have stubbornly maintained a boycott of the church, burying their own dead and dispensing with the sacraments; and early in 1907 a deputation of women went to the Serb Bishop of Budapest, bringing their children, some as old as three years, for baptism. In April, 1904, the leaders of the Secession movement were tried at Huszt for "incitement

⁵⁶⁹ Under Section 190 of the Criminal Code (*vallás háborítása*).

⁵⁷⁰ In the Synod of the Mountain District, held on September 19, 1907, the church authorities were empowered to exclude Nationalist agitators and individuals "who are untrustworthy in a patriotic respect" from candidature as clergy or teachers. Steps must be taken, it was argued, to prevent the recurrence of an incident like that of Kovačica. When a Mr. Vanovic deprecated the persecution of any one for his love for his mother tongue, he was greeted with stormy protests from the Synod. See also Appendix x. c.

against a confession." Maxim Vassili Pleska, who was accused of extolling the "Little Father" as their overlord, and of foretelling his people's deliverance by Russia from the yoke of the szólgabiró, was sentenced by the court to one year's imprisonment and 500 crowns; Vakaró, Lazar and Kemény to 14 months each, three others to two months and 180 crowns each, and five to a week each. On appeal, the Court at Debreczen reduced most of the sentences by about half; but they were again raised by the Curia, and one of the unfortunate men (Vakaró) died in prison.

Perhaps the strangest commentary upon the judicial attitude towards the non-Magyars in certain districts of Hungary is supplied by the case of the two Markovič brothers, which attained a certain notoriety owing to the decision of the higher court, and the publication of a lengthy narrative of the trials by one of the victims. The following narrative, which is drawn from this book, is based upon documentary evidence, and has never been called in question; but I have naturally omitted Dr. Markovič's own comments on the case.⁵⁷¹

On November 3, 1901,⁵⁷² Dr. Rudolf Markovič, advocate, and three other Slovaks met in the Protestant schoolhouse of Lubina (county of Nyitra) to make preliminary arrangements as to the foundation of a village co-operative society: and on the 10th the society was formally constituted in the same place. On the ground of evidence given by four Jews of Lubina, none of whom were present on either occasion, Dr. Markovič and his friends were summoned before the szólgabiró for illegally holding a public political meeting without previous intimation. All four accused denied having discussed any political matters at their meeting, which was not in any way public; and no proof could be adduced. The szólgabiró, however, sentenced them to a fine of twenty crowns each, on the following grounds: "Though the accused denied that the meeting in question was a popular assembly (népgyülés), and maintained that they were holding the opening meeting of a co-operative society: since, however, Dr. Rudolf Markovič admitted that the invitations to vote for the members of the County Committee were drawn up in his own office, and since these invitations⁵⁷³ were actually

⁵⁷¹ Dr. Julius Markovič, *A Nyitrai Politikai Bűnper (The Nyitra Political Criminal Trial)*. Vágújhely, 1903.

⁵⁷² Markovič, *Bűnper*, pp. 48-49.

⁵⁷³ These invitations were dated on November 13, i.e., ten and three

sent to the individual electors, it is clear that the popular assembly [here, of course, he begs the question] was held not merely with the object of founding the co-operative society; and since the accused themselves do not pretend to have reported the popular assembly, therefore they must be found guilty." On appeal, the court of second instance dismissed the case, because though the evidence of the Jews made it probable that the meeting in question had the character of a political public assembly, yet probability in the absence of definite proof was no basis for the sentence.

On October 10, 1901, Dr. Rudolf Markovič and his brother Dr. Julius Markovič passed through the little village of Hrussó on their way to Ó-Tura, and stopped half an hour in the house of Adam Szetvák, where they thanked those who had voted for the former at the previous elections. The two brothers ordered a supply of beer for the dozen or so of villagers who had assembled in the house. As a result of this action, they were charged before the *szólgabiró* for holding an illegal political assembly. The inquiry dragged on for ten months, all the men in Hrussó were summoned to give evidence, and the Markovič brothers had to appear no fewer than eight times. At last, on September 6, 1902, they were sentenced to ten days and 200 crowns each. In his verdict the *szólgabiró*, Dr. Csenkey, argued that the evidence of the accused could not be taken into account, and that those who were present on the occasion could not be heard in evidence, "*because they had themselves committed the same offence by their presence.*" He graciously added that "no action was taken against them, having been led astray (the bad grammar is in the original) by the accused, and in consequence of their low standard of education and their ignorance."⁵⁷⁴ On appeal, the Vice-Sheriff of the county confirmed this judgment (September 26, 1902). A final appeal was made to the Minister of the Interior, who replied, in April, 1903 (i.e., after seven months' further delay), that the facts on which the sentence of the lower court is based "*seem*" (*látszik*) to be proved, since the notary overheard the sentence, "Let us hold together; there is no power on earth which can crush us." He then ordered a retrial of the case. Comment on this incident would be an insult to the intelligence of the reader.

days *after* the two meetings in question. They were sent *privately* to individual electors.

⁵⁷⁴ Markovič, *Bünper*, p. 63.

THE NYITRA TRIAL

On September 22, 1901, Dr. Rudolf Markovič, as candidate of the Slovak National Party, held speeches at the villages of Hrussó, Lubina, and Bottfalu, and was supported on the platform by his brother and the Rev. J. Csulik. The notary Brhlovics summoned the local justice Svondrk as incriminating witness with regard to the meeting in Hrussó, but as Svondrk deposed that he was absent at the time on official business, this part of the charge had to be dropped for lack of evidence. In the case of the other two meetings the principal witnesses for the prosecution were Brhlovics the notary, who was not present himself and could only speak from hearsay, and three Jewish usurers belonging to the district. The three defendants were charged with inciting their audiences against the Magyars, misrepresenting the Magyar attitude towards the Slovaks, and saying—"Let us hold together, so that we may get the better of the Magyars and oppress them as they are now oppressing us." Needless to say, all three denied having used such childishly improbable expressions. They had spoken in favour of a reduction of taxes, of the use of Slovak as well as Magyar in the taxation schedules, of Slovak schools: they had condemned civil marriage and the non-execution of the Law of the Nationalities, but they were not guilty of incitement against the Magyars. The indictment went so far as to maintain, in flagrant defiance of the facts, that the witnesses were *unanimous*⁵⁷⁵ in regarding these speeches of the defendants "as so incendiary as to endanger the property and persons of their opponents." In reality, sixteen witnesses were summoned for the defence, among others two clergymen, and all these emphatically denied that any inflammatory expressions had been employed by the speakers. After a delay of sixteen months, the trial was opened before the District Court of Nyitra, on January 26, 1903, and was conducted in a highly illegal manner. A number of essential witnesses had not been heard at all at the preliminary inquiry, and others though heard were not cited at the trial. The appeal of the defence against this was disallowed on the ground that after so long a time had elapsed, these witnesses could no longer recollect clearly the course of events; yet at the last moment one of these very witnesses was admitted at the instance of the prosecution.

The speech of Mr. Chudovsky, the Public Prosecutor, deserves

⁵⁷⁵ "A tanuknak egyertelmü nyilatkozata szerint" (according to the unanimous declaration of the witnesses)—a direct lie.

JUDICIAL INJUSTICE

special attention, in view of his subsequent record. He of course accused the defendants of glowing hatred towards the Magyars, without making any effort to conceal his own hatred of his Slovak compatriots, declared "that a good patriot does not go to Prague," and threw doubt upon the evidence of one of the witnesses for Markovič, since he was born in Prague and had been an official in Russia. Not content with this, he denied that the Law of Nationalities secured to the Slovaks any kind of linguistic rights, and argued that in claiming the Slovak language of instruction in primary and secondary schools (under section seventeen of that law) the Slovaks were guilty of incitement against the Magyar nationality! In Hungary, said Mr. Chudovsky, it was unpatriotic to desire more than one language, since this must mean the partition of the country into several provinces, which in the Magyar language was justly described as Panslavism.

One of the principal witnesses for the prosecution was the under-notary Barancsik, a man who had formerly been sentenced by the same court to seven months' imprisonment for a common burglary committed in a railway cloak-room, but who had none the less been appointed to the responsible post of a village notary. The defence claimed that in accordance with section 222 of the Criminal Code, a convicted criminal could not be heard on oath, and Barancsik, when questioned by the judge, made no attempt to deny the facts. None the less the presiding judge ordered the oath to be administered to Barancsik, because though once a criminal, he had atoned for his misdeed by his patriotic actions and opinions, and because his evidence in this case had proved him to be an honourable Magyar!⁵⁷⁶ The objections of the defence to Pless and Deutsch, two Jewish usurers, upon whose evidence the chances of a conviction depended, were overruled by the court, though both were admittedly bitter enemies of the accused, and were known to have suffered materially from the societies which Dr. Julius Markovič had founded. Indeed Deutsch, who had previously been prosecuted by Markovič for libel, actually expressed in court the wish that the father of the Markovič brothers had died⁵⁷⁷ before

⁵⁷⁶ Markovič, *op. cit.* pp. 193-4.

⁵⁷⁷ The expression he used was stronger and literally means "had become a carrion" (*megdöglött volna*). This statement of Deutsch was cited in the final verdict of the court of second instance, as proving his prejudice against the Markovič brothers, p. 306 et seq.

he had bred two such men, since then the district would have been free of them.

On February 7, 1903, the decision of the court was announced. "The objections raised by the defence against the witnesses for the prosecution were not valid; for instance, the fact that the president had allowed Barancsik's evidence, invalidated their complaint against him. Barancsik, Pless, Deutsch and Herzog were entirely trustworthy, while the ten witnesses for the defence could not be relied upon, some because they admitted that they did not remember the whole of the speech, two others (Krafta and Pisny) because they were officials in Markovič's bank in Vágújhely, another (Hrusovsky) because he was an enthusiastic adherent of the Slovak party and edited a Slovak paper, another (Dr. Duchany) because he helped Dr. Markovič to compose his speech." In other words, the process of reasoning followed by the judge may be summed up as follows: A "Panslav" always lies, a patriotic Magyar or Jew never lies: therefore the accused are guilty. Dr. Rudolf Markovič was sentenced to five months and 500 crowns, Dr. Julius Markovič to two months and 200 crowns, and Rev. Louis Csulik to three months and 3,000 crowns.

The defendants appealed against this decision, and on August 6, 1903, the court of second instance in Pressburg reversed the sentence of the lower court and acquitted all three defendants. The verdict⁵⁷⁸ admitted the objections of the defence to be valid, on the grounds that the evidence in the trial conflicted with that brought forward in the preliminary inquiry, that Pless, Deutsch and Herzog were notoriously hostile to the accused, that Herzog had been obliged to withdraw part of his evidence as unfounded, that Barancsik's criminal conviction debarred him from appearing on oath, and that the evidence of these four witnesses could not be relied upon more than that of the twelve witnesses for the defence. In thus reversing all the grounds on which the previous decision rested, the court tacitly cast the gravest possible censure upon the conduct of the trial in the lower court; but no steps were taken against the officials involved, and indeed Mr. Chudovsky (who was not of course responsible for the illegalities of the judge, but whose indictment of the accused had clearly transgressed the legal limits) was only a year later promoted to the position of judge of the Sedrial Court of Rózsahegy. (See p. 335.)

⁵⁷⁸ No. 858, 1903, B.

JUDICIAL INJUSTICE

The offence of *laudatio criminis* is a special feature of the Hungarian criminal code, and the manner in which it is interpreted is without parallel in other civilized countries. Needless to say, even in Hungary it has not yet been found necessary to prosecute any one for the glorification of murder or other bestial actions; the paragraph exists, and is applied merely for political purposes. A few startling instances will suffice to enlighten the reader.

On June 11, 1894, twelve Roumanian priests were brought to trial at Kolozsvár, for having sent an address of sympathy to the victims of the "Replique" trial (see p. 301), which was duly reported in the *Tribuna*. Of the twelve, one was acquitted, but all the others were sentenced to three months' imprisonment each for *laudatio criminis*, and two of them were fined 400 and 200 crowns as additional punishment, while the *Tribuna* forfeited 600 crowns of its caution money.

On June 23, 1898, Ambrose Pietor, one of the editors of the *Národné Noviny* in Turócz St. Márton, was sentenced to eight months' imprisonment for two articles in which he severely criticized the new Bill for the Magyarization of place-names. On his return home from prison, he was greeted at the railway station by a large crowd of friends and admirers; Mr. Dula, a Slovak advocate in Márton, delivered a short speech of welcome, and his daughter and two other girls presented Pietor with a bouquet of flowers. The crowd escorted the carriage at a walking pace as far as Pietor's house, and when gendarmes attempted to surround the vehicle, began to sing national Slovak songs. As a result of this perfectly orderly incident, during which no disturbance of any kind occurred, no fewer than twenty-four persons were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from fourteen days to three months, and on appeal most of the sentences were substantially increased. Among others Matthew Dula was condemned to six months, and Svetozar Hurban to five months, the total sentences amounting to fifty-two months! The three girls who had presented the flowers were fined £16. In December of the same year eight Roumanians of Salistye were sentenced to eight days each, for going to welcome their priest on his return from prison.

Such incidents have grown commoner in recent years. Father Ladislav Moyš, then priest of Lucski, was brought before the court of Rózsahegy on January 29, 1907, on a charge of *laudatio criminis*. On the festival of Saints Peter and



FATHER FERDINAND JURIGA, M.P.

(NOW UNDERGOING 2 YEARS' IMPRISONMENT FOR NEWSPAPER ARTICLES.)

Paul in the previous year (June 28, 1906) he had preached a sermon upon those sick and in prison—according to a very common practice in Catholic countries on that day—and at its close had asked the congregation to join him in prayer for all prisoners. The whole neighbourhood was still under the impression of the arrest of Father Hlinka, the popular priest of Rózsahegy, and Dr. Šrobár, the candidate whose election he had endeavoured to secure; and the authorities, assuming that he had prayed for Hlinka and Šrobár by name, regarded this action as likely to foster hostility to the State! The prosecution of Moyš on the charge of glorification of a penal act was in itself a flagrant violation of the law; for Hlinka and Šrobár were not brought to trial till many months after Father Moyš' sermon, and therefore had not been convicted of any criminal act which admitted of glorification. It was found necessary to acquit Father Moyš, since no incriminating evidence could be obtained; but so far as the authorities are concerned, the will must be taken for the deed, and it is not too much to say that justice and order lose their meaning in a country where such prosecutions are possible.

On the festival of Corpus Christi, 1907, three peasants of Láb (a village in the county of Pressburg) displayed, instead of the usual pictures of the Virgin, the portrait of Father Juriga, the Slovak national priest and deputy, who is at present undergoing two years' imprisonment for a couple of articles against the Magyar Chauvinists. For this presumptuous act they were charged with *laudatio criminis* and sentenced at Pressburg to three months' imprisonment each.

What a farce such prosecutions sometimes become may be gathered from the case of Gideon Turzó, who published in the Slovak comic paper *Černokňazník* a poem in praise of Hlinka and his companions in prison. Although this poem also appeared *before* Hlinka had been convicted, the jury none the less sentenced Turzó for glorification of a penal act to four months' imprisonment!⁵⁷⁹

In the same way Father Edward Šándorfi, priest in Verbó, was sentenced in February, 1908, to two months for *laudatio criminis*: the offence was incurred by an article in *L'udove Noviny* praising Father Juriga as a national martyr.

Still more scandalous than these prosecutions for the offence of *laudatio criminis*, are the occasional attempts of the authorities to invalidate wills made in favour of national Slovak aims,

⁵⁷⁹ *Pester Lloyd*, January 31, 1908.

JUDICIAL INJUSTICE

or at least to engulf in the expenses of endless litigation most of the money involved. An account will be found in Appendix xxv. of the devices which have been resorted to, to rob the Slovak cause of monetary bequests.

The abuses which we have shown to exist in the Hungarian judicial system must not betray us into rash generalizations. The Hungarian Bench and Bar contain men of as high character and proved ability as those of any other country in Europe; and the stormy scenes which mark the proceedings of the Chamber of Advocates in Budapest show how keenly many members of the legal profession resent the reactionary policy pursued by the governing classes of the country. Unhappily the low standards of the administration are not without their effect upon the lower courts of justice, whose officials are in certain districts greatly inferior to those in others.* The executive still exercises an unhealthy influence upon the judicature in cases with a political tinge, and Chauvinism on the part of a public prosecutor or a judge is one of the surest roads to promotion. Even the most fair-minded and scrupulous judge is liable to be infected by the all-pervading racial intolerance; while with most juries the conviction of a "Panslav" or a Socialist is a foregone conclusion. Matters are specially bad in the Slovak districts, where the mass of the population is devoid of political influence and is even shut out from the control of local affairs. But serious as are these judicial grievances, their redress is far less urgent than the reform of the franchise and the grant of free right of assembly and association. When these two concessions have been made, the faults of the judicial system—which are very largely due to overrapid and unforeseen development—will easily be repaired, and the way will be opened for the much needed revision of the Criminal Code and legal forms of procedure.

In the following chapter I propose to describe in greater detail one of the most notorious "Panslav" trials of recent times, and the lamentable results to which it directly led.

* See Appendix xxviii. for a startling incident since going to press.

CHAPTER XVII

A Political Trial in Hungary and its Sequel

"In this country the political opponent is not merely a personal enemy ; he is also at once branded as the enemy of the fatherland."

Pester Lloyd (leading article), February 15, 1907.

RÓZSAHEGY is a small town of 8,000 inhabitants, situated in lovely scenery on the Vág, in one of the western valleys of the Tatra Mountains. The central square of the town crowns the summit of an outlying ridge, at either end of which rise the church and town hall, and the Piarist seminary and gymnasium. Round the base of the hill lies a dirty but thriving little town, full of shops and cheap stores, while a long straggling street leads to the new factory town (Rózsahegy-Gyár), over a mile away. Rózsahegy (really Rosenberg), like most North Hungarian towns, was originally founded by German colonists ; to-day it is divided between the Slovaks and the Jews, and with two important exceptions,

Note.—Authorities for this chapter: (1) The indictment and verdict (No. 2,634, December 6, 1906) in the first Hlinka trial, of which I possess copies ; (2) *A Political Criminal Trial in Hungary*, published by the American Slovak Association of Journalists of U.S.A. and dedicated "To the free and fair people of the United States." This pamphlet, though based on original documents, must be used with considerable caution, owing to its omissions and inaccurate translations. (3) Reports of the massacre of Csernova and of the subsequent trial, in *Pester Lloyd*, and other newspapers (in English, see *Times* of Oct. 30, Nov. 1, 1907, and *Spectator* of Nov. 2, 1907, March 28, 1908). (4) A private account of the massacre sent to me direct from Rózsahegy ; this contains exaggerations, but is on the whole accurate. (5) Two detailed reports of the Csernova trial of last spring, drawn up on the spot by persons for whose trustworthiness and accuracy I can vouch, but whom, for obvious reasons, I cannot allude to by name. I also had the advantage of personal conversations in May and June, 1907, with two of the leading actors in the drama—Mr. Chudovszky and Dr. Šrobár. Appendix xxi. contains the defence of Father Hlinka before the Court of Pressburg in May, 1908. This speech, and the photograph which forms the frontispiece of my book, will enable the reader to form his own personal impression of the Slovak leader.

most of the shops in the town are owned by the latter. The population of the surrounding district is overwhelmingly Slovak : in the whole county of Liptó 92·5 per cent. are Slovaks and 90·6 per cent. understand no Magyar. With the exception of the government and county officials, the Piarist Fathers and some of the regular clergy, there are no Magyars in the district ; but the Jewish element here, as in most parts of Hungary, has allowed itself to be assimilated. While partially retaining German as the language of the family, they have for the most part adopted the extreme Chauvinist principles now favoured by official circles.

In 1905 the Town Council, which is patron of the parish of Rózsahegy,⁵⁸⁰ presented Father Andrew Hlinka to the vacant living. Hlinka, who is a native of the neighbouring village of Csernova, rapidly acquired great influence among his parishioners, the more so because he encouraged them in the use of their native Slovak tongue. As a member of the Town Council, he took a leading part in exposing the municipal jobbery and corruption which had so long been rampant in Rózsahegy. The town having fairly large revenues, and the sanitary and lighting conditions being still somewhat primitive, local rates were practically unknown. None the less extravagance and dishonesty allowed a debt to accumulate. Large sums were squandered on building repairs—sometimes, as in the case of the church and of the town inn, double the estimated figure. At last a heavy rate had to be imposed, and the scandal could no longer be concealed. The municipal elections were fought under the impression of these revelations, and as a result the Slovaks for the first time gained a majority in the Town Council and, declaring for a policy of retrenchment and economy, put a stop to building schemes which would have cost the town an additional sum of 600,000 crowns. Needless to say, as most of the defeated party happened to be Magyar in politics, these events tended to increase the racial friction in the town.

Meanwhile Father Hlinka did not confine his attention to municipal problems, but took a more or less active part in politics. For many years the constituency of Rózsahegy was held by the old Liberal Party, which governed Hungary from the Ausgleich till the fall of Count Tisza in 1905. Part

⁵⁸⁰ By right of a special charter dating from the year 1424, allowing them to elect as their priest *quemcumque et undequaque*.



KŐSAHEGY.

332

of the settled policy of this party had been to force the non-Magyar races of the country into political passivity, and thus to secure safe seats in the non-Magyar districts, with which to outvote the staunch Kossuthists of the central plains. Among the Slovaks Kossuthism never gained any hold, but except in a few small centres like Turócz St. Márton, national sentiment was either dormant or despairing. Thus the only serious rival of the Liberals in the North was the People's, or Clerical, Party, section 13 of whose official programme favoured the execution of Law XLIV. of 1868 guaranteeing the Equal Rights of the Nationalities. In 1905, however, when the People's party had joined the Coalition, this section was so interpreted as to lose whatever practical value it may have possessed; and the alienation of the Slovaks was completed by the fact that Count Zichy, the nominal leader of the party, was falling more and more into the hands of two ultra-Magyar Chauvinists, Abbot Molnár and Mr. Stephen Rákovszky, a landed proprietor in the Rózsahegy district. At the elections of 1906, as the Liberal Party had disappeared entirely from the political arena, the People's Party regarded Rózsahegy as a seat which they might occupy unopposed. Their annoyance can therefore be imagined when the Slovaks of the district, still elated by their municipal victory, decided to contest the seat in the interest of the newly formed Slovak National Party. Their candidate, Dr. Šrobár, a local Slovak doctor, was eagerly supported by Father Hlinka, who on more than one occasion addressed village audiences in his favour, and publicly demanded the execution of the Law of Nationalities. Great enthusiasm prevailed and on the day of the election Dr. Šrobár headed the poll till the very last moment. The High Sheriff, informed by telephone of the course of events, came over from Liptó, and by canvassing from door to door among the Jewish shopkeepers, induced a large number of them to record their votes for Mr. Beniczky, the Clerical and Magyar candidate, who was thus elected by a majority of 104. Throughout the day perfect order prevailed—a most unusual occurrence at a disputed election in Hungary.

On May 10, 1906 (i.e. within a fortnight of the election), Father Hlinka was suspended by the Bishop of Szepes (Zips) *ab ordine et officio*, on the ground of political agitation! Against the nine Piarist priests and Hlinka's own curate, who had canvassed actively on the Magyar side (the latter it

is said by the express orders of the Bishop!) no steps of any kind have been taken.) The Papal Nuncio, when appealed to on the subject, demanded an explanation from the Bishop, and Hlinka was then permitted to read Mass, but not to preach or dispense the sacraments. In their indignation at this suspension, the parishioners decided to boycott the town church, and refused all intercourse with the priest appointed as Hlinka's substitute. They even attempted to organize processions, but these were promptly forbidden by the *szólgabíró* (the local executive official). On June 19, the Bishop, influenced by a memorial against Hlinka addressed to him by the Magyar Szövetség, once more wholly suspended Father Hlinka, this time on the ground of simony, committed at the time of his appointment to Rózsahegy. The vice-president of the society, Mr. Géza Chudovszky, if he did not actually take part in drawing up the memorial, was present when it was handed to the Bishop, and yet did not regard this fact as a reason for not presiding over the court which subsequently tried Father Hlinka! Over two years have now elapsed, yet the contents of the memorial have been carefully kept secret, and thus the public is still ignorant of the nature of the charges against Hlinka. The nearest approach to simony of which he can be accused, is that being a man of some private means, he gave, previously to his appointment as priest of Rózsahegy, 75 crowns (£3) to a number of poor persons, to enable them to take part in the deputation of welcome to Dr. Párvy, the newly appointed Bishop.

Father Hlinka, who had gone to plead his case personally with the Bishop, wired the same day to Dr. Šrobár: "New suspension. Arrive to-night." As the result of this telegram, a crowd of several hundred persons awaited the arrival of the train, gave Hlinka an ovation and indulged in hostile cries against the Magyars and the Jews. Gendarmes ordered the crowd to disperse, and they obeyed without any disturbance taking place.⁵⁸¹ (A week later, Father Hlinka, Dr.

⁵⁸¹ In the subsequent trial one of the charges against Dr. Šrobár was that he had made known Hlinka's wire—as if this were a criminal act!—and had thus caused an anti-Magyar demonstration, or in legal phrase, had "incited one nationality to hatred of another." It transpired that the Postmaster of Rózsahegy had revealed to the *szólgabíró* the contents of the wire, thus violating postal secrecy. The authorities had therefore ample time to act, and theirs would have been the blame, had the bloodbath of Csernova been forestalled in Rózsahegy itself.

Šrobár and a number of other Slovaks were placed under arrest, and an inquiry was instituted against them for agitation and instigation during the recent elections. Hlinka, as well as three others who were merely charged with uttering anti-Magyar cries in the street, were left for *five months in prison previous to trial*.

At last, on November 26, 1906, the trial of Fathers Hlinka and Tomik, Dr. Šrobár and thirteen other Slovaks was opened before the court of Rózsahegy. A proclamation was issued, by which so long as the trial lasts all public meetings and demonstrations are prohibited in Rózsahegy and the surrounding district, and every citizen must report all visitors to the police, under heavy penalties. The town was filled with gendarmes, forty guarding the courthouse, and forty the residence of the presiding judge. The latter, Mr. Chudovszky, himself of Slovak origin, has for many years, especially in his former capacity as public prosecutor in Nyitra, taken a prominent part in opposing national sentiment among the Slovaks. Since coming to Rózsahegy, he has been one of the leading members of the Magyar Szövetség (Union), which founded and owns a local Magyar paper (*Rózsahegy és Vidéke*) in which the most violent attacks upon the Slovaks and their tactics have frequently appeared. Needless to say, Mr. Chudovszky and Father Hlinka had long been on the worst possible terms. On these and other grounds (some of which were exaggerated and incorrect) the defence appealed to the court of second instance at Pressburg against the competence of Mr. Chudovszky to preside. The appeal was, however, overruled, the Court holding that Mr. Chudovszky was himself best fitted to decide as to his own impartiality. The latter took up the position that even if the five charges preferred against him were true (and this he denied) he would still be quite justified in presiding over the trial.⁵⁸² As the appeal accused him of "often trespassing the limits of a prosecutor" in political actions against the Slovaks, of leading the Magyars of Rózsahegy in their boycott of the Slovaks, of writing "outrageously libellous" articles against them in the local paper, and of quarrelling with the town council led by Hlinka, on a matter of rent, it is obvious that if even a fraction of such charges were true (and there is every reason

⁵⁸² This was the attitude which he took up in a private conversation with the present writer.

to accept his denial of their truth) Mr. Chudovszky would still be the last person in all Hungary competent to conduct the trial.

The accused were charged, under section 172 of the Criminal Code, with "instigation against the Magyar nationality," which the Public Prosecutor persisted throughout the trial in confusing with "the Hungarian nation!" No fewer than ninety-seven witnesses were summoned for the prosecution, close upon forty for the defence, but of the latter all save four were disallowed by the Court! Moreover it is a remarkable fact that the incriminating witnesses almost without exception had either voted or taken an active part in the election *on the other side from Hlinka*, or else were members of the gendarmerie: that many of them were local officials or in positions of dependence on the authorities: and that some of the most important possessed only a smattering of the Slovak language. More than one witness was prevented by the presiding judge from answering questions put by counsel for the defence. One of the witnesses, a county official, hinted that Father Hlinka and his followers had leanings towards Russia; but the president forbade his cross examination. It is difficult to grasp the reasons for this refusal, since the charge of intrigue with Russia lies at the root of the whole "Panslav movement," as the Pan-Magyars have christened the growing revival of national sentiment among the Slavs of Hungary; and hence any clue to the reality of Panslavism ought to have been probed to the bottom. At one point the president declared that to sing "Isten áld meg a magyart" (God bless the Magyar) could not be described as a demonstration, when sung under Hlinka's window by an unfriendly crowd; and yet the Slovak hymn "Hej Slováci" which contains no attack on the Magyars was treated as an "incitement against the idea of the Magyar state." Strangest of all was the treatment of Peter Cheben, one of the accused. This man was sitting one Sunday before the door of his house, and read aloud to a group of fifteen to twenty women an article from a Slovak newspaper. In it the phrase occurred, that there was nothing left for the Slovaks to do, but to take hoes and scythes into their hands and work harder than ever. A Jewess named Mrs. Eckstein, passing by with her maid, understood Cheben to be inciting the women round him to take up hoes and scythes and drive the hated Magyars from the town! The article in question

CHURCH BOYCOTTS

was laid before the court, and it was proved that the witness had had no fewer than twelve lawsuits with the defendant and therefore was a somewhat prejudiced person. None the less, her statements were allowed to stand against the denials of the other women.

Thus the issue of the trial was a foregone conclusion. Sentences were passed as follows :—

Father Hlinka, 2 years and fine of 1,500 crowns.

Dr. Šrobár, 1 year.

Father Tomik, 4 months and 300 crowns.

Andrew Janček, 6 „

George Greguš, 6 „

Peter Cheben, 6 „

Antony Matiasovsky

Michael Serafin

Joseph Janovec

Steve Jesensky

George Novák

John Vlkolinsky

} 3 months each and 5,500 crowns.

Total: 5 years and 10 months imprisonment and fines of 8,720 crowns (costs extra).

At the very time of the Hlinka trial, when the whole neighbourhood was in a fever of excitement, the Bishop saw fit to transfer Father Moyš, priest of Lúcski (a village of 1,400 inhabitants, some miles east of Rózsahegy) to another and inferior charge, on the ground of "Panslav agitation." To prevent "excesses" arising from this high-handed action, troops were sent to Lúcski (*Pester Lloyd*, November 30, 1906). As a result, the parishioners vowed not to set foot in the church until their priest is restored to them. They erected in the open air the picture of a favourite saint, to which they go in procession, presumably to invoke his intercession. Meanwhile the new priest is sternly boycotted, and for nearly two years the population has voluntarily deprived itself of the sacraments and has buried its own dead. No one will supply the priest with provisions, no servant will stay with him; he is obliged to hack his own wood, and is dependent upon the protection of soldiers. This tactless Bishop has transferred as many as twenty of his clergy as a punishment for national feeling, evidently failing to realize that his action only serves to spread the Slovak movement over a wider area. Mean

while the unfortunate boycotting movement has spread from church to school. At the Hlinka trial it transpired from the address of the public prosecutor and from the evidence of four local teachers, that parents no longer sent their children to schools where the instruction was solely Magyar. In three villages near Rózsahegy, out of 306 children only 46 appeared at the final examination: in Bielapotok, out of 100 only 4. The Court was amply justified in ascribing this to Father Hlinka's influence; its fault lay in ignoring the fact that Hlinka was simply claiming the fulfilment of one of the fundamental laws of the state.⁵⁸³

Father Hlinka's persecution by the civil authorities finds its counterpart in his treatment by the Bishop of Szepes (Zips), who is a pliant instrument in the hands of the Magyar Government. Father Hlinka was suspended on June 19, 1906, *ab ordine et officio*, on a charge of simony. A private discussion of his case had previously been held before the Bishop, and Mr. Chudovszky had been consulted. But no formal investigation has ever taken place, and Hlinka has never been heard in his own defence, though over two years have elapsed since his suspension. Of the eight points upon which the charge of simony was based, seven have gradually been allowed to drop, and the main hope of his accusers rests upon false information supplied to the Roman Curia regarding the eighth point. Hlinka is accused of having written to Mr. Szmrecsányi, the former High Sheriff of Liptó county, and to have promised, if elected priest of Rózsahegy, to use his influence in support of the Liberal Party and to refrain from all political action on behalf of the Slovaks. No such letter has been produced, and its very existence is effectively disproved by the sworn evidence of Mr. Szmrecsányi at the political trial of Father Hlinka in November, 1906. On that occasion he stated that he had given Hlinka nothing and had asked nothing from him, and expressly denied having helped Hlinka to the appointment in any way whatever. Hlinka's defenders only ascertained indirectly that this imaginary document had been dispatched

⁵⁸³ I am quite aware that in the strict legal sense Hungary, like our own country, has no "fundamental" laws. But those who regard Habeas Corpus and the Act of Settlement as two of the foundations on which modern Britain is built, will hardly attempt to deny that the Law of 1868, guaranteeing equal rights to the various races of Hungary, partakes equally of the nature of a fundamental law, which may not lightly be revoked or left unexecuted.

THE APPEAL TO ROME

to Rome, and they at once took steps to inform the Curia of Mr. Szmrecsányi's evidence. The decision, however, is still pending.

Neither Bishop Párvy nor Father Hlinka can be said to have shown conspicuous tact or forbearance in their mutual relations; and it is possible that the Bishop, who has allowed himself to be captured by such extreme Chauvinists as Mr. Stephen Rákovszky,⁵⁸⁴ may have been the dupe of unscrupulous informants. If the supporters of Hlinka were unwise enough to treat the question as a trial of strength between Hlinka and Párvy, the Roman Curia might well take alarm, and in the interests of church discipline agree to rid the Bishop of "this turbulent priest." To Rome the political aspect of the case is a matter of complete indifference, and if Bohemian advocacy of Hlinka's cause should appear more lukewarm than Magyar official support of Párvy, the Slovaks will inevitably go to the wall. In any case, a loophole must be left to the Bishop for an honourable retreat, and there can be little doubt that this might be found but for the influence of the Coalition Government.

Meanwhile, Hlinka's persecution continues. On May 4, 1908, he was brought from the prison of Szeged to answer to a fresh charge of "incitement," incurred in two farewell articles addressed to his parishioners on his entrance into prison. For this the Court of Pressburg condemned him to eighteen months' imprisonment and a fine of 200 crowns, thus making a total of *three years and a half* for political offences.⁵⁸⁵ The object of this unjust and vindictive policy is, of course, to deprive the Slovaks of one of their ablest leaders, and thus, if possible, to crush out all resistance to Magyarization.

THE MASSACRE OF CSERNOVA

Previous to his suspension, Father Hlinka had, partly out of his own means but chiefly by public subscription, arranged for the erection of a church in his birthplace, Csernova, a Slovak village of 1,300 inhabitants, situated within the parish of Rózsahegy. To the cost of erection, which reached the figure of 80,000 crowns (£3,300), no one belonging to the official world

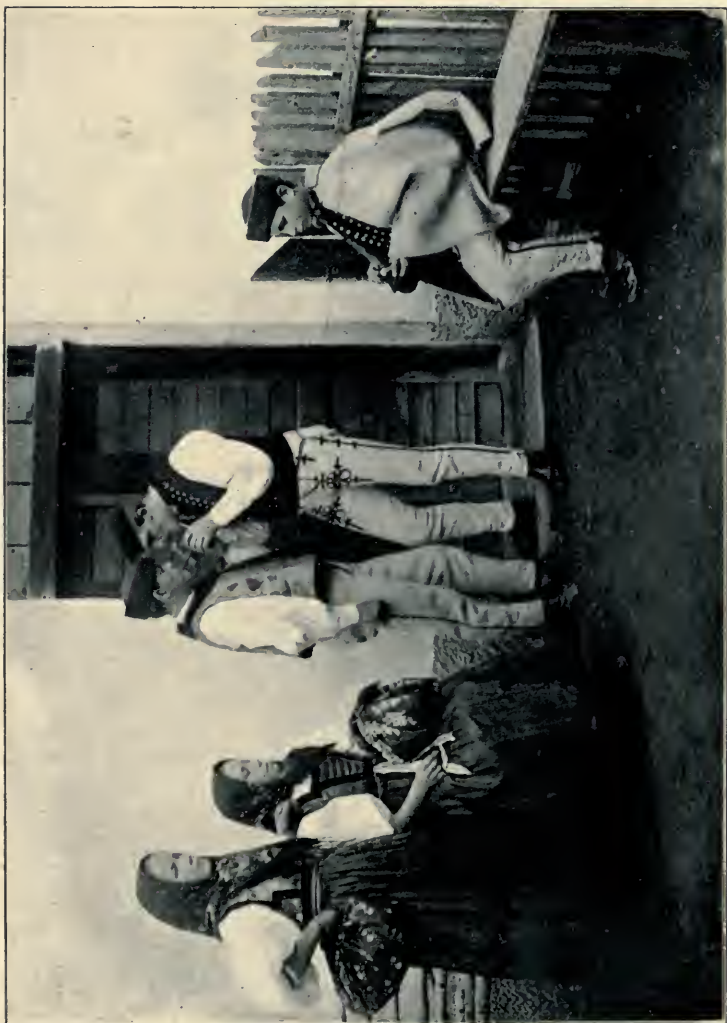
⁵⁸⁴ One of the leaders of the People's Party and Vice-President of the Hungarian Parliament.

⁵⁸⁵ See *Pester Lloyd*, May 5, 1908, and Appendix xxi., containing his speech in his own defence.

A POLITICAL TRIAL IN HUNGARY

contributed a single farthing; everything was done by the unaided efforts of the parishioners, and their friends. Under these circumstances, they naturally regarded themselves as entitled to some say in the matter of the consecration. In September, 1907, as the church was approaching completion, a petition in favour of its consecration was handed in to the bishop; this document, which was only signed by four of the villagers, was drafted by Father Hlinka himself. The great majority of the people of Csernova, however, were indignant at this petition, and only willing to consent to the ceremony on condition that Hlinka was allowed to be present. This was the general sentiment expressed at a meeting which was held in the village on October 6, and which was attended by Deán Pazúrik and Father Fischer, the unpopular substitute of Hlinka since his suspension. Father Pazurik helped the villagers to prepare a fresh petition to the bishop, and promised to use his influence in its support. To the original petition Bishop Párvy replied by fixing October 20 as the day of the consecration and entrusting Canon Kurimsky with the ceremony; to the second petition and to a third which insisted more strongly than ever that before the ceremony took place Hlinka must either be rehabilitated or finally condemned, the bishop returned no answer whatever. Deputations and messages were equally without effect. Father Pazúrik did indeed obtain a postponement of the date, but merely in order to announce from all the pulpits of the neighbourhood that the ceremony would definitely take place on Sunday, October 27. Alarmed at this, the villagers sent a fresh deputation to Pazúrik and Fischer. They were met with evasive answers from the two priests, but it transpired at the subsequent trial that Pazúrik ordered the painter to be finished with his work inside the church by the following Sunday. On Saturday, the 26th, Bačkor the village mayor visited Pazúrik and advised him to abandon all idea of the consecration, owing to the excitement which prevailed in Csernova. According to Bačkor's own story, the priest replied, "Whether it ends well or ill, the consecration must take place."⁵⁸⁶ The villagers had already

⁵⁸⁶ At the trial (see p. 347) when Bačkor gave evidence to this effect, he was interrupted by the judge, who remarked that Father Pazurik could not possibly have said this. Bačkor repeated his evidence no less than three times, until at last, yielding to the intimidation of the judge, he conceded that the phrase used by Pazurik might have run, "Whether it ends well or ill, we must go there."



A SLOVAK PEASANT GROUP.

3.45

THE CSERNOVA MASSACRE

telegraphed to the canon who was to officiate, that they would not permit the ceremony, and as a result Canon Kurimsky actually gave up his journey to Csernova. But the clergy of Rózsahegy, under the influence of the civil authorities, decided not to let the matter drop, and doubtless by way of pouring oil upon the troubled waters, sent gendarmes on the previous day to Csernova. As a last resort, the villagers had removed and hidden the various church utensils and vestments required for the ceremony; but the gendarmes recovered these by force and set a watch upon the church. On Sunday morning early the villagers sent a further deputation to the Rózsahegy clergy, begging Fathers Pazúrik and Fischer to renounce their intention, since the greatest excitement prevailed in the village. Mr. Andaházy, the chief szólgabiró, who had received a report from the gendarmes in the village, also strongly advised the priests to desist, since he could not answer for the consequences. Only when they stubbornly ignored his repeated warnings, did he give them an escort of gendarmes and instruct Mr. Pereszlényi the under-szólgabiró to accompany them to Csernova. The latter, unlike some of those who accompanied him, is a genuine Magyar by birth, and is specially suited to his official position amid a Slovak population, by reason of the fact that he is ignorant of the Slovak language!

In two carriages the false apostles of Magyar culture set forth upon their self-imposed errand, escorted by Pereszlényi and his eight gendarmes. At the entrance of the village of Csernova, in the long narrow street, a crowd of several hundred Slovak peasants had assembled. A solid phalanx blocked the way, the cortège was greeted with cries of "Turn back," "We don't want you," and a spokesman came forward from the crowd and begged the szólgabiró to desist from the attempt to consecrate the church. The szólgabiró ordered his coachman to force a passage through the crowd, and when the latter attempted to obey, a number of young fellows seized the horses' heads and tried to turn the carriage back in the direction from which it came. At this moment stones must have been thrown from the back of the crowd; for when all was over, it was discovered that, though no one else in the party had been hurt, one of the gendarmes had received a slight injury in the face. Fortunately this could speedily be remedied by the application of some English sticking-plaster, and he was then doubtless free to assist his comrades to remove the dead

and dying. For without any preliminary warning to the crowd to disperse, the gendarmes began to fire upon the peasants. Some accounts assert that Pereszlényi himself brandishing his stick, gave the order "quick fire"; but he has publicly denied this in the press, and there is no good reason for doubting his word.⁵⁸⁷ The commander of the gendarmerie appears to have ordered one of his men to fire on any one whom he saw lifting stones, and hence the first victim was a woman, shot through the breast at a distance of two paces. The other gendarmes followed suit, though none had actually heard the command to fire.

It matters very little who gave the order to fire; one dreadful fact stands beyond all doubt. Without even resorting to the bayonet, far less to the butt-ends of their rifles, the gendarmes fired indiscriminately into the crowd, packed together as it was in the narrow roadway, and some are said to have reloaded and discharged again. Nine persons were killed on the spot, including two women; three more succumbed to their wounds in the course of the day; twelve more were seriously wounded, and three of their number have subsequently died. Among the slain was a woman far advanced with child, who in her dying agony gave birth to an infant. Another was a girl of sixteen, who tried to seize a gendarme's rifle and was shot down in the attempt. The number of persons slightly wounded is said to have exceeded sixty.

For a time all was in confusion. The panic-stricken peasants scattered in all directions, the clergy fled in just horror at the bloodshed caused by their own insistence. The *szólgabíró*, instead of sending for doctors in all haste, turned back to Rózsahegy to summon the military and to make preparations for a judicial inquiry! A young peasant had the presence of mind to run for a doctor; and thus Dr. Srobár, the leader of the Rózsahegy Slovaks, was the first to appear upon the scene. This so incensed the *szólgabíró*, who soon afterwards returned to Csernova with a clerk to draw up a report, that he at once had the youth who had fetched Dr. Šrobár arrested and put into prison. So great was the terror among the villagers, that when Dr. Polgár, the official surgeon, arrived, hardly any of the wounded would trust themselves to his care. An even clearer idea of the depth of feeling among the peasantry may be obtained from the fact that the rela-

⁵⁸⁷ See *Pester Lloyd*, Oct. 27 to Nov. 2, 1907.

COUNT ANDRÁSSY'S STATEMENT

tives of the victims refused the assistance of the Magyar clergy and buried their dead without the rites of the Church ; that all the wounded with one exception refused to receive a Magyar priest : and that the eighteen persons who were arrested for their share in the incident declined to attend the Magyar prison chaplain's Mass.

Such an incident naturally could not be ignored by Parliament, and two interpellations were brought before the Lower House in the course of the week. Despite the conflicting reports which were circulating in the Press, the Speaker, Mr. Justh, did not regard the matter as urgent, and the discussion was not open till Wednesday, October 30th.

Mr. Hodža, the Slovak leader, in addressing his interpellation to the Minister of the Interior, was repeatedly interrupted by loud and hostile cries. The Deputy-Speaker rebuked him for speaking at such length, and actually insinuated that he was treating the incident in a cynical manner. When Mr. Hodža protested against this charge, he was at once called to order, and when he apologized for the length of his explanation, a deputy cried out that he was simply talking to waste the House's time. When at length, roused by other frivolous and insulting interruptions, he went on to inquire, " who then were the murderers ? " he was greeted by a storm of abuse and shouts of " *You* are the murderers." Mr. Rákovszky was obliged to suspend the sitting for five minutes, and even after proceedings were resumed a second suspension was almost rendered necessary. But if the attitude of the House in general was sufficiently reprehensible, the reply of Count Andrassy was even more extraordinary. He began by expressing his surprise that Mr. Hodža had dared to interpellate in this particular matter. He then stated that according to information received, all idea of consecrating the church had been abandoned, and that the clergy had come with the very object of calming the people and of announcing that the consecration would not take place. It is unfortunate that Count Andrassy made no attempt to explain why the clergy charged with such a message (which they must have known would be received with the greatest delight by the people), took an escort of gendarmes with them, to say nothing of an unpopular official who could not speak the language of the villagers, and why on finding a large crowd blocking their progress, they did not at once make known their errand. Incredible as it may seem, the explanation

was regarded as satisfactory by the House, which gave new and signal proof of its racial intolerance by its attitude to the whole affair. But it sets too great a demand on the credulity of external observers, and his speech will go far to confirm the impression, already widespread in Hungary, that Count Andrásy's utterances on the racial question do more harm to his own cause than all the mistakes of the Coalition Government or the unlovely Jingoism of its satellites in Parliament.

After this promising beginning Count Andrásy went on to assert that the standpoint of the villagers, in not allowing anyone save Hlinka to consecrate the church, was in itself an offence against all order in State and in Church—an assertion which was greeted with stormy applause from the House. When, he added, the crowd threw stones, and caught hold of the rifles of the gendarmes, their captain gave the order to fire; and this being so, he, the Minister of the Interior, took full responsibility for their action, and saw not the slightest reason for suspending the officials concerned from office. In conclusion, Count Andrásy quoted from an article published some months before in Mr. Hodža's paper, *Slovenský Tyždenník*, entitled "We can wait no longer." This article referred to the victory of the well-known Roumanian priest Father Lucaciu at a recent bye-election, despite the swarms of gendarmes and troops employed by the authorities, and contained the following passage: "The Roumanians are not afraid of a little blood; and the result was that this nation has won. But we Slovaks are but a timid people. We have never indulged in violence, and so our position is a worse one than that of the Roumanians." Only those who know of the veritable pitched battles by which alone the Roumanians have sometimes managed even to reach the poll, can realize the terrible truth of these words.

Mr. Günther, the Minister of Justice, rode the same high horse as his colleague, actually boasted of the withdrawal of the postal delivery from certain foreign newspapers, and appeased the outraged feelings of the House by the assurance that eight Press actions were pending against Mr. Hodža's journal alone, to say nothing of other Slovak newspapers. Thus an incident which could never have occurred in most Western countries, or whose occurrence would have caused the fall of the Government, was merely treated as a pretext for renewed abuse and persecution of the wicked "Panslavs."⁵⁸³

⁵⁸³ Mr. Széll, the ex-Premier, however, affects to believe that "inci-

"MASTERS IN OUR OWN HOUSE"

Needless to say, the attitude of the Magyar Press corresponded to that of the parliamentary Jingo⁵⁸⁹; and even the *Pester Lloyd*, which treated the matter with conspicuous moderation, wrote as follows: "We shall say no more of the Hlinkas and the Hodžas. These are small fry, who live upon blind nationalism, just as those amongst us who rise to honours and riches through frenzied Chauvinism.⁵⁹⁰ People of that sort one seizes by the collar if they break the law, and *basta*." The writer takes himself more seriously when he goes on to argue that prosecutions are no policy, and that the general policy of the Government towards the nationalities must be changed. "But," he adds, "we want to be the masters in our own house."⁵⁹¹ Here is the crux of the whole Hungarian question. Soft phrases about the policy of Deák, comradeship, "the moral suasion of culture and law," are mere waste of breath, so long as this odious phrase is upheld. If the Magyars are the masters, the other races must be servants, and while this relationship subsists it is absurd to talk of equality.

The unhappy incident of Csernova was used by Father Hlinka's enemies to blacken his reputation still further, and at the same time to touch a weak spot in his armour by making his sister the scapegoat of the subsequent trial. The story was spread abroad that Father Hlinka wished at all costs to prevent the consecration of the church, incited the people of Csernova to resistance, and then decamped to Moravia, in order to be out of harm's way. The true facts are very different. More than three months before the massacre Father Hlinka had made arrangements with Czech friends

dents like that of Csernova occur in every country." See his speech at the Congress of Magyar Cultural Leagues, June 21, 1908, reported in *Pester Lloyd* of following day.

⁵⁸⁹ A selection of the comments of the Magyar Press would be most instructive reading. The massacre was invariably described as the "revolt!"

⁵⁹⁰ A very delicate reference to the prevalent corruption.

⁵⁹¹ A similar confusion of ideas is betrayed by another article of the *Pester Lloyd*, April 3, 1907, where the writer advocates a coalition of all Hungarians "against Austria and against the nationalities." If then the nationalities are not Hungarians, what are they? If they dare to call themselves Slovaks or Roumanians, they are promptly accused of Pan Slavism or Daco-Romanism. Here we have the same state of mind as created the proverb "tót nem ember" ("the Slovak is not a man").

to give a series of lectures upon the Slovaks the following autumn in a number of Bohemian and Moravian towns. The first lecture was to have been held at Göding on October 13 but a week before Hlinka sent the following telegram to the professor who had been entrusted with the arrangements: "Impossible owing to dedication of church in Csernova and possible visit of Bishop:—Andreas." Hlinka's idea that the Bishop was coming proved to be based on a misunderstanding; and as the dedication did not take place on the 13th, and as there seemed no prospect of any fresh arrangement, Hlinka yielded to the pressure of his friends, and left Rózsahegy on October 17 for Moravia. During the next few days he lectured at Olmütz, Kremsier and other places, and was in Göding when a telegram arrived announcing the massacre. In his horror and excitement at the news, he wished to hurry back to Rózsahegy, but his friends, knowing that this would merely have led to his arrest, restrained him with difficulty and eventually induced him to continue his course of lectures as announced. Yet at this very time certain Magyar newspapers were spreading the story that Father Hlinka, disguised in woman's clothing, had agitated among the peasantry for days before the massacre and fled out of danger at the critical moment!

Father Hlinka was probably well advised in continuing his lectures, for they contributed materially to the storm of indignation which the incident of Csernova aroused in Bohemia, and indeed in most parts of the Austrian Empire. Father Šillinger, a Moravian member of the Reichsrath, brought forward an interpellation on the subject, which led to a heated demonstration against Magyar policy. The speeches of Professor Redlich for the German Liberals and Professor Masaryk for the Czechs accurately reflected the opinion of most Austrians; and Dr. Weisskirchner, the President of the House and one of the leaders of the Christian Socialist party, formally expressed the sympathy of the House towards the relatives of the victims. This attitude was keenly resented by the Hungarian Parliament as an unwarranted interference in the private affairs of an independent state, and mutual recriminations between the two countries were the result. In this connexion it is impossible to bestow full approval upon either Parliament. On the one hand, Hungary was fully entitled to treat as an insult the cries of Austrian hot-heads for active intervention. On the other hand, no true

believer in the Dual System could concede the theory of absolute non-interference between two States which are *interdependent*, not independent, of each other. Had the Csernova incident occurred upon the Servian or Roumanian frontier, it might easily have led to complications with Belgrad or Bucarest, such as must have involved not merely Hungary but Austria as well. The idea that Austria must blindly and unquestioningly follow Hungary, or Hungary Austria, in dealing with some internal affair which influences opinion in both countries, and their relations to neighbouring states, is altogether intolerable and would speedily prove fatal to the partnership. It is only necessary to consult the history of the last half century, in order to realize that the theory of non-interference has never been acted upon in the past, and that Hungary has been the chief offender.⁵⁹²

Eighteen villagers were at once arrested for complicity in what was officially described as "the revolt of Csernova"; and a number of gendarmes were quartered in the village for months afterwards. The gendarmes who had fired the volley were brought before a court martial but acquitted of all blame. But this was not deemed sufficient by the local authorities, who were determined that all the responsibility should be thrown upon Hlinka and his supporters. On March 2, 1908, therefore, no fewer than fifty-nine persons were brought to trial before the court of Rózsahegy on a charge of "violence against the authorities and against private individuals." As usual the presiding judge was Mr. Géza Chudovszky, Father Hlinka's leading opponent in the district; and the fact that the latter's sister was the principal defendant merely serves to emphasize his unfitness to conduct this new trial. In such circumstances a severe sentence was to be expected; but the cruel truth surpassed all expectations. Mrs. Fulla, née Hlinka—a woman of fifty-seven—was condemned to three years' imprisonment, while twenty-two men and sixteen women (including one who had lost her husband in the massacre, who was herself severely wounded

⁵⁹² Andrassy's action against the Hohenwart Ministry in 1870, and Bánffy's action against Badeni in 1897, are only two of the most notable instances. Andrassy's attitude in 1878, when he won the Tisza Cabinet for the Austrian policy in Bosnia in defiance of Hungarian public opinion, hardly fits into the same category, and since 1867 no case has occurred where *Austrian* influence has caused the fall of a *Hungarian* Cabinet.

in the breast, who had seven children, and against whom nothing was proved save that she was present in the crowd) were sentenced to terms varying from eighteen to six months' imprisonment. Thus a total of thirty-six years and six months' imprisonment was imposed on these unhappy peasants for acting as every self-respecting man or woman would have acted in their position.

A full account of this astounding trial would form a highly instructive commentary on the Magyar judicial attitude towards the subject races; but the proportions of the present volume compel me to be brief, and I must confine myself to recounting a few of its most salient features.

It was, of course, established beyond all doubt that the villagers had agitated previously against the ceremony; indeed Father Pazurik actually received a threatening letter, warning him that he would be beaten if he attempted to consecrate the church. It was further proved that the crowd resisted and threatened the authorities on their arrival, and one gendarme swore that he heard cries of "Kill the Jews," which might have referred to the Hebrew origin of Father Fischer. But so far from blaming them for their resistance, I fail to see what else they could have done without sinking to the level of mere beasts of burden.

The fifty-nine defendants were selected in an entirely arbitrary manner. Those peasants who came forward as witnesses at the preliminary inquiry in order to establish their alibi, found themselves brought to trial for the same offence as those arrested at the time; and this wholesale indictment entirely denuded the defence of witnesses, since all those who could give first-hand evidence concerning the incident were either killed or in the dock. In such circumstances, the principal witnesses were the gendarmes, the *szólgabiró* and the two priests, all of whom were naturally hostile to the defendants.

The judge conducted the trial with extreme severity and partiality, repeatedly browbeating and contradicting the witnesses. One witness, Francis Holota, he interrupted with the words, "That is a lie, I will not let you say more of that." When one of the defendants, in cross-examination, asked that Father Fischer should be heard in support of a certain statement, Chudovszky exclaimed, "Kindly don't offer me advice. We shall soon see whether there is any truth in your tittle-tattle." One witness, Stephen Fiath, in his excitement cried, "It was a murder,

COLLECTIVE OFFENCES

just a regular murder''; whereupon the judge fined him 100 crowns, with the alternative of five days' arrest. When a female witness, Ludmilla Druppa, asserted that Mrs. Fulla incited the crowd to throw stones at the gendarmes (a fact which the great majority of witnesses denied), and when Mrs. Fulla indignantly interrupted and called the witness a liar, the judge promptly imposed on her a fine of 100 crowns. On the other hand, he treated witnesses for the prosecution with marked leniency, refused to press home facts which seemed to favour the accused, and more than once prohibited counsel for the defence from questioning and cross-examining. A good deal turned on the question whether Pereszlényi's coachman used his whip against the crowd, as this might be regarded as a provocation. The villagers maintained that he did, while the gendarmes to a man denied it. Yet Mr. Chudovszky refused to permit the coachman himself to be put on oath! In the same way he would not allow the official report of the coroner to be read in court, though one of the gendarmes maintained that a peasant had seized hold of his bayonet and no trace of such a wound was to be found on any of the survivors. It had been established at the inquest that all the wounds were in vital parts, and their position proved the gendarmes to have fired upon the unfortunate peasants *in their flight*; and it was to prevent the publication of these awkward facts that Mr. Chudovszky disallowed the reading of the report.

It was proved that no one was injured by the stones which the villagers threw, so that the danger of the priests and gendarmes cannot have been very great. Indeed, only one person out of the entire fifty-nine admitted having thrown a stone; only against the first seven was any direct share in the resistance proved; the remainder were merely present in the crowd and raised cries and shouts of protest. Judgment was therefore based upon an anachronous provision of the Hungarian criminal code, by which *collective* offences are punishable more severely than individual offences.⁵⁹³ The judge doubtless had in his mind a famous pronouncement of the Supreme Court that mere passive presence in a crowd guilty of excesses constitutes a committal of the same offence.⁵⁹⁴

Father Pazurik maintained that he and his colleague, when

⁵⁹³ § 163 (1878 v.) for collective offences up to five years, for individual up to three years.

⁵⁹⁴ Under the terms of § 176.

they went to Csernova, had no intention of consecrating the church without the consent of the villagers, and merely wished to read to them a letter of Hlinka, which approved of the ceremony. The improbability of this story may be gathered from the fact that the dedication had been announced for that day from all the pulpits of the neighbourhood, that a deputation from Csernova had in vain urged Pazurik to desist, and that the szolgabíró invited a friend whom he met on the road to come with them "to the consecration." The priests appear to have brought with them all that was requisite for the service, but this they explained at the trial by their intention to telephone for the Bishop's permission to proceed with the ceremony, in the event of the villagers expressing their approval. Considering that they only arrived in Csernova at 10.15, that the nearest telephone was well over a mile distant, and that some delay would have been almost inevitable in establishing connexion with Szepes Váralja (seventy miles away), it is difficult to see how they could have hoped in any circumstances to begin the ceremony before midday, after which hour high mass may not be celebrated. In short, their story can scarcely be taken seriously; either they had already obtained the Bishop's permission, or else they went prepared to conduct the ceremony by force. The fact that Canon Kurimszky, who was originally deputed to officiate, never came at all, suggests that the former alternative is the true one.

Mr. Andaházy, the chief szolgabíró of the district, gave evidence that on the morning of the massacre he had received reports from the gendarmes in Csernova warning him of the excitement in the village, that he called upon Fathers Pazurik and Fischer and repeatedly urged them to abandon the project. When they still persisted, he instructed Mr. Pereszlényi to accompany them, but to withdraw all the gendarmes immediately if they should meet with any resistance. Both the priests and Pereszlényi, in the course of their evidence, asserted that they had merely met each other accidentally on the road to Csernova, but the latter, when confronted with his chief, admitted that he might possibly have received instructions to go with them, though he had no recollection of receiving them. It is highly characteristic that Mr. Andaházy, who alone of all the authorities showed signs of tact and humanity, has since the massacre been removed from office, and Pereszlényi promoted to his place!

A TRAVESTY OF JUSTICE

Perhaps, however, the most astounding incident in the whole trial is the fact that this same Pereszlényi acted as reporter for the Hungarian Telegraphic Bureau,⁵⁹⁵ and thus was responsible for the reports of the trial in the Hungarian Press. As Mr. Chudovszky would not allow a single representative of Slovak or Czech newspapers entrance to the court, the outside world was mainly dependent for its information concerning the trial upon one of the chief witnesses for the prosecution, who had taken a prominent part in the actual massacre, and whose reputation depended upon the conviction of the prisoners.

I think I have said enough to show that the Csernova trial was a mere travesty of justice, and that the sentence was literally a punishment imposed for daring to survive massacre. The Court of Rózsahegy has no mercy: for it justice and equity alike are a sealed book, and from its brutal decisions we may appeal to a higher court, to the public opinion of the civilized world. If the incident had occurred in Turkey or in Russia, it would have aroused a storm of indignation throughout Europe; and the fact that it actually occurred in the country of the Golden Bull and the Pragmatic Sanction is no reason why it should be allowed to pass unpunished. Nor is it unreasonable to express the hope that the venerable Emperor-King, on the occasion of his impending Diamond Jubilee, may see fit to extend a pardon to Father Hlinka and the victims of the Csernova trial, even if no general amnesty should be proclaimed for political offences.

⁵⁹⁵ Except for the first two days.

CHAPTER XVIII

Slovak Popular Art

BY DUŠAN JURKOVIČ

THE cradle of the Slovaks lies beneath the shadow of the Tátra mountains. Their most typical settlements are the "kopanica"—lonely huts girt by forest and mountain, far from the world, far even from their nearest neighbours, with a mere patch of cultivated ground planted amid the wide heath. Here our people lives its own life apart—a life which has well-nigh become part of the surrounding nature. At home the Slovak is of a conservative bent, but in the greater world he proves himself open to new ideas and ready of judgment. At home he clings passionately to his old traditions, and in out-of-the-way spots he lives even to-day very much the same primitive life which his ancestors led a thousand years ago.

He built his house himself, and there are still many places where he prepares with his own hands and according to his own taste all the various necessities of life. Throughout the spring and summer he is busy in the woods and in the fields, and in winter the whole family works at home. The men prepare articles of wood, metal, plaster, straw or leather; the women devote themselves to sewing, painting and decoration. Both sexes spin and weave, while the children assist at the work; and thus the entire family is kept busy. The dwelling-house is at the same time workshop and school.

Before turning to a description of the Slovak dwelling-house, I am obliged to say something of the people itself and its highly original manner of life; for it is impossible

Note.—I should like to draw the attention of my readers to a charming publication of Mr. Jurkovič, *Prace Lidu Nažeho—Les Ouvrages Populaires des Slovaques* (Ant. Schroll & Co., Vienna, 1908). Four parts have already appeared (7 crowns each), containing in all 40 excellent reproductions of village art, several in colour.



E. Málek.

A SLOVAK PEASANT HOME.
(NORTHERN DISTRICT.)

352



PEASANT COMMUNITIES

to understand the one without the other. The northern districts of the county of Trencsén are in this respect still untouched by the outside world, and the primitive manner of life has by no means died out. Families still live in groups (hromada) or communities (zadruha), a practice which in almost every district of Slovensko has vanished without leaving a trace behind. The "group" is the home and refuge of the entire family, however large. Its eldest member is the manager (gazda), who in common with his wife the gazdina, manages the property and controls the household. The individual members of the family are on a footing of absolute equality among themselves, but all are subject to the gazda, or in the case of the women to the gazdina. According to true patriarchal tradition, the older members are held in peculiar reverence by the younger; but we none the less find quite young men as managers, for the many cares of this position often tempt the older men to hand it over voluntarily.

Every male member of the family, on reaching manhood, becomes part owner of the property, which is held in common and is indivisible; the cash profits are divided annually in equal portions among all the members. Larger properties of this kind require the labour of young people of both sexes, and hence every member of the family must marry early. The dower of a bride consists, not in any portion of the property, but in cash and in clothes, and indeed the latter are often worthy of a place in a museum of arts and crafts. The happy possessor of twenty beautiful costumes is not looked upon as wealthy.

In case the number of male hands is insufficient, an outsider can by common agreement be admitted; but this course is only adopted as a last resort of dire necessity.

The last regular "groups" disappeared in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The indirect causes of the decay of this almost communist mode of life are the courts of law and the Jews. Wastrel members of the family, ejected for drunkenness, would seek the aid of the village publican (generally a Jew), in whose bar he had wasted his substance, and would successfully dispute in court the indivisibility of the joint property. The forms which such official partitioning of property take among the Slovaks are only too well known to the initiated, but to the foreigner it is well-nigh impossible to describe them. Suffice it to say that the individual members of the family eventually lose their whole means, and are

forced as glassware peddlars to seek a scanty living by wandering across the Continent. None the less one or two partitioned "groups" have clung firmly to their old manner of life, and hence are still fairly prosperous.

The common dwelling-house of the whole family, large, roomy, one-storied, is built fronting on to the road or on to a stream. On this side is the front door, which leads into the "black room" (cierna izba). This is a commodious room, used by all members of the family for their various kinds of work; here the *gazdina* cooks and the joint meals are taken. In the corner towards the courtyard stands the hearth; above it hangs the large kettle which serves for the preparation of their food. The walls are plastered with yellow clay, but only to two-thirds of their height; the upper portion and the ceiling are blackened with smoke, and retain a permanent shiny black colour which has earned the room its name.

From the lobby a stair leads to the upper story. Here the rooms are not heated in winter; indeed, except in the "black room," there is hardly ever any heating. The upper rooms are used by married members of the family, and here they keep their private belongings, especially their dresses and household linen. Except the beds and a great array of chests, there is no furniture to speak of. Even though the inhabitants are Catholics, pictures of saints are seldom to be seen upon the walls. Above the vestibule they are wont to fasten little statues, whose meaning the present generation can no longer explain; perhaps they are an artistic survival of the household penates of pagan times. The houses are decorated with branches of palm and of lime, juniper flowers and berries and various plants—a custom which has doubtless some primeval meaning which is now lost to us.

The mountain villages and townlets were also entirely built of wood, and fitted up according to the needs and status of their owners. Nestling close together, they are irretrievably doomed in the event of fire; and hence many of the most characteristic and ornamental of these wooden houses have perished. In former days every man was at once his own designer and workman, and in this way the carpenter's and builder's crafts had their root in the people itself, as is proved by the most characteristic specimens of Slovak houses. Through the development of household industries and by its own exertions, our people had attained to a certain degree of prosperity,



A SLOVAK PEASANT HOME.
(SOUTHERN DISTRICT.)

E. Málek.

and at the very time when home industries had reached their highest point we find the greatest progress in building and in the treatment of interiors. It was in the plains, where lack of wood naturally rendered development on different lines necessary, that the Slovaks first began to employ solid material for building. The stone houses of the southern districts of Trencsén and Pressburg counties are built on exactly the same plan as the wooden huts of the north. The most characteristic innovation here is the arched and projecting porch—the so-called *výstupok* or *žebráčka*—on either side of which are niches containing seats. It is on this porch that the Slovak peasant woman concentrates all her skill in decoration and design. But in the southern districts the building art of the Slovaks undoubtedly sinks to a lower level, since the peasants follow a more intensive form of agriculture, and have no time left over for any save the most necessary work. The carvings on wooden houses are the work of the carpenter, who also executes all decorations on the gables and any paintings or inscriptions on the walls; in the southern districts, on the other hand, the woman of the house is herself responsible for all the decorations without exception. For though the woman is not spared any of the work in the fields or the necessary household duties, she remains a model of tidiness, good order and taste. Just as the English proverb says, *My house my castle*, so the Slovak woman has every right to exclaim: *My house my pride*. How charming are all these simple little houses without false adornment, with their white-rimmed and gaily-coloured windows, with their quaint porches, dazzling white and painted in rich designs, enticing the stranger to enter. How many ideas of decorative art are to be found both inside and outside these Slovak houses—above all on the walls of the dwelling-room and above the hearth. The simplest dwelling-room, with its hearth but no chimney-piece, became by a gradual evolution the “show” room of the house—the “white room” (*biela izba*), as it was called—whose design makes its sure appeal not merely to the intelligent townsman, but even to the gentry whom old culture has made sensitive to its personal surroundings.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹⁶ [Mr. Jurkovič has himself put this assertion to the most practical of all tests, by planning his charming villa at Zábovřesky outside Brünn (Moravia) on the lines of Slovak peasant architecture, while, of course, adapting them to modern requirements.—R.W.S.W.]

SLOVAK POPULAR ART

The earliest and most characteristic specimens are to be found in outlying mountainous districts, which also can boast the most tasteful peasant costumes. Hitherto we possess no complete study of Slovak national dress; the excitements of the political struggle have led to a neglect of the subject, and I greatly fear that ere the calm necessary for such studies has been restored, it will already be too late. For the national garb is slowly but surely disappearing, and carrying with it all its rich treasure of delicate design. If the Slovak Museum in Turócz St. Márton does but take timely steps to secure the necessary collections, it might become the interpreter to future ages of Slovak popular culture and art, and might win for itself a unique position among the museums of Europe, as a haunt of artists and students of peasant life and manners.⁵⁹⁷

The national dress of the Slovaks was from the very first prepared by each family in its own home. And it is in its earliest form—consisting of underclothes of hemp and of the woolly “halena” material, and a kind of divided kilt—and later on when this original form is supplemented by rich ornamentation, that its simple character shows to most advantage and it attains its highest aesthetic value.

In the plains, where the economic conditions are more favourable and intercourse with the towns is easier, the national costume assumes new forms and even new materials in almost every parish, and yet every change introduced has been carefully adapted and blended with the characteristic Slovak style. In the mountainous districts the material employed both for the costume and for embroideries consisted exclusively of coarse bleached linen thread, dyed with saffron and a decoction made from willow bark and wild pears; whereas in the plains coloured silks are used to embroider and decorate. The original geometrical patterns were worked without any frame, right on the linen itself, the threads being counted. These straight-lined ornamentations, combined with drawn thread work and prepared in various colours, for the most part yellow or red, have the very greatest artistic value. In Slovak embroidery may be traced the whole technique of

⁵⁹⁷ Even as it is, this Museum contains a unique collection of Slovak costumes, embroideries and local pottery, and compares favourably with any museum in Hungary outside the capital. Yet the very name of Turócz St. Márton is omitted from Baedeker. The iniquitous treatment of the earlier Slovak museum in Márton has already been related in the text (see p. 166).



A SLOVAK COTTAGE INTERIOR.

E. Mátek

SLOVAK NATIONAL COSTUME

artistic needlework design, and one continually comes across articles of clothing, especially baby linen and churching-cloths, which, we are amazed to find, must have taken a whole lifetime to prepare. To-day it is already generally known that the Slovaks follow the so-called Holbein technique in their embroidery, and from the oldest dated specimens of this work, we find that they worked in exactly the same way during the Holbein period. They also used for these costumes artistic textures which had been prepared according to the same process as ancient costumes discovered in Egyptian tombs. Lacework of all kinds has survived up to the present day among the peasantry, and modern home industries could easily be developed on these lines.⁵⁹⁸

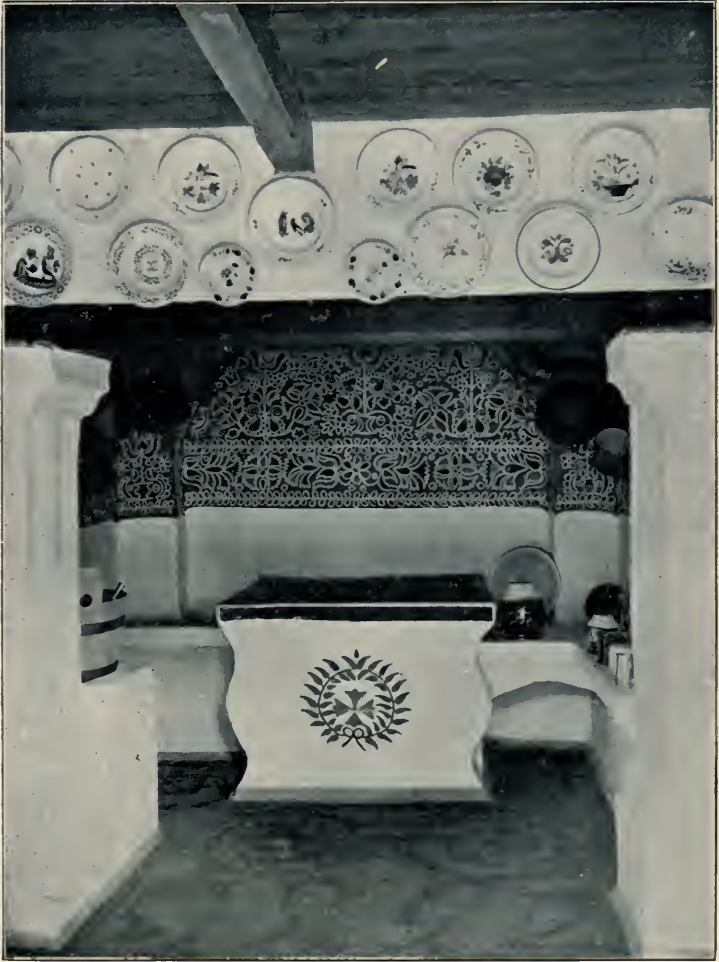
The Slovaks, then, are divided according to their costume into two groups: the White Slovaks (bieli Slovaci) of the mountain districts, and the Red Slovaks, who belong to the more prosperous south. The dress of the former is cut in simple straight lines and square shapes, and adorned with geometrical designs, while the natural white colour of the material predominates. The latter choose bright materials for their dress, which has already been essentially modified by foreign influences, but none the less remains effective owing to its harmonious blend of colours. The difference in dress bears out the contrast between the fiery temperament of the southern Slovak and the soft, pensive and melancholy character of the mountaineer.

This lowland district is the birthplace and home of Joža Uprka, a few of whose pictures are reproduced in the present

⁵⁹⁸ Naturally the Government endeavours to bring before the world all the artistic products of Slovensko, under the device of "industry of the Magyar people" (there being no distinction in the Magyar language between the words "Magyar" and "Hungarian"). In the course of the last twenty years, it is true, three excellent exhibitions of Slovak art have been held in Vienna; but no one was found to supply the public with the true facts of the case, and hence there are many people to-day who imagine that everything which comes from within the political frontiers of "Magyarország" is really Magyar. Through the introduction of home industrial products the Slovaks might be brought into contact with the whole civilized world, and that is just what Government circles regard as so dangerous. Hence, instead of coming to the aid of the Slovaks, they hinder industries of this kind from assuming large dimensions. Attempts have already been made in this direction, but the undertaking has its representatives in a society controlled by the Government, with the result that foreigners can only come into contact with this society.

volume. Uprka lives in the Moravian Slovensko, at a two hours' drive from the Hungarian frontier. This frontier is merely political, it does not correspond to ethnographical and cultural divisions; and this in itself explains the fact that Uprka is the artist alike of the Moravian and of the Hungarian Slovaks. He fetches his models even from the Little Carpathians, and makes excursions for study as far as the "White Mountain" (Biela hora) in that range of hills; while, on the other hand, Hungarian Slovaks visit the places of pilgrimage lying to the west of the Moravian frontier, and have thus provided Uprka with many of the most charming motives for his pictures.

The Czech art critic, V. Mrštík writes as follows regarding Uprka and his work. "After completing his studies, Uprka shook off the dust of Prague, as soon as he realized the cruel mockery of the model dressed in Slovak costume. He felt that it was not enough to hang clothing on a handsome human form, but that he must study everything in the very spot where these gay blossoms grow and flourish. And so he settled in Moravia, and mastered what had really lain hidden in his own soul. As son of the soil, healthy, spirited, full of verve, and yet at times of a dreamy and thoughtful disposition, he watched the people in the fields, in church, in their own homes, in the village inn, at the fairs and processions; he studied the children, the old women, the young girls, the village patriarchs, the splendid figures of the young men, and everywhere he endeavoured to gain insight into the character of the people. Their country unveiled its inmost secrets to his gaze, and the whole poetry of the Slovaks found in him its truest and most spirited interpreter. What some call 'mystère des formes,' became for him an open book, his figures must all move and stand in this way and in no other, he knows their walk, their every action is familiar to him, and as he himself belonged to this little world of theirs, he felt it to be in the nature of things that the girls' light movements, the old men's prayers, the children's play should be as they are and not as among other peoples. He portrays them all in their natural truth and beauty, with all their gaiety and simplicity, with their traits of weakness and brutality, with all the passion, the dreaminess, the breadth of the true Slav character. There is not one of his sketches of which you can say, 'ce n'est pas de notre pays.' All his figures are so intimately bound up with their own native dis-



INGLE-NEUK IN A SLOVAK COTTAGE.

358'

trict, with the poetry of the fields, that those who look at his pictures seem to breathe in the very soul of the country ('The Sowers,' 'King's Festival,' 'A Spring Idyll,' etc.). His composition is simple and yet rich with the glowing colours of his native land and of the people whom he loves so passionately. His pictures combine lyrical balance and epical calm; to reproduce what he feels is not enough for his desires, he transcends the bounds of what is possible, and from the realm of sight he seems to pass to the realm of sound. His exquisite picture, 'A Pilgrimage to St. Antony,' breathes a boundless silence over the people as they kneel sunk in prayer. Noise and clamour, the neighing and whinnying of frightened horses, come to us from his later picture of the 'King's Festival,' painted with a true dramatic power. As is the case with all artistic geniuses, Uprka's own native district supplies the key to his originality; for there every peasant is a poet and an artist in embryo, taste and temperament assert themselves in every motion, and above all in the clear and passionate colours of the national dress. The 'gorgeous East' has breathed upon the land; beauty and strength of race speak to us from its colours. The crowds at a fair, a pilgrimage, or a church festival, convey the impression of a garden in flower, where the dominant red and white mingle with every imaginable colour, and form a rich and varied symphony."

It is impossible to do justice to popular art within the limits of the present work. Everything which the people makes has its own character and style. I need only refer to the metal ornaments—clasps and brooches, girdles, cudgels, axe hilts, spinning-wheels, pieces of furniture, the painted Easter eggs (Kraslice) and "little doves" (as symbols of the Holy Ghost), all of which are decorated, carved, poked, inlaid, or painted.⁵⁹⁹ As time went on, the production of such articles spread from the outlying peasant houses to the villages and little towns, and thus a local art industry gradually arose and flourished. I need only mention the native pottery and modelling in clay, weaving and dyeing, leather work, and work in brass and other metals. These simple observers of nature, with their clear unspoilt perception, have borrowed from nature a few of the most ancient forms of ornament; the eye of the born artist of the people has given its own interpretation to the magic forms of nature.

⁵⁹⁹ See plates opposite pp. 372, 374, 376.

But popular art did not rest content with a mere slavish imitation of nature, and free play was given to the Slovak people's peculiar gift of invention and combination, through which its art was raised to a quite unusual standard of taste. Of course even here the due limits were sometimes exceeded, and the playful fancy of certain less talented individuals degenerated into the bizarre.

This popular art is a precious heritage whose mysteries the child drinks in with its mother tongue and the popular poetry of the race. Wherever decoration is attempted, from the cradle to the coffin, to the churchyard and the sepulchral cross,⁶⁰⁰ everywhere the same ruling motive is to be found; for the Slovaks did not merely build their own houses, they imparted to them a style and character which is entirely their own, and proved themselves capable of work on a still more ambitious scale, by building their own churches. The great majority of wooden churches have, it is true, perished, and those which have survived have been injured by repeated restorations. The church of Velká Paludzá (Nagy Paludza), of which two reproductions are included in the present volume, dates from the year 1773.⁶⁰¹

The Slovak districts of Hungary have not received the attention which they deserve; and unjustly enough, it is in matters of art and culture that they are most neglected. The stream of modern pseudo-culture is undermining the work of our people, and the lack of interest in the Slovaks displayed by the Government cannot be deprecated too strongly. The authorities realize clearly enough that it is impossible to Magyarize or exterminate a race so well preserved and so distinctive as the Slovaks, but for this very reason they give free play to demoralizing influences, in the hope of ruining those whom they fear. The Slovak who has renounced his nationality is more accessible to Magyarization both in language and in politics. The most striking example of this is supplied by America; for though the Slovak emigrant often returns home stronger both from an economic and a national point of view, he none the less lays aside with his national costume the songs, the habits, and the customs of his race, and no longer preserves his simple poetic outlook upon life, his sense of personal dignity or his ideal love of a home life.

⁶⁰⁰ See plates facing pp. 286, 290.

⁶⁰¹ See plates facing pp. 204, 320.



PORTION OF AN EMBROIDERED SLOVAK SHROUD.

360

VILLAGE TREASURES

The Jewish dealers, with a keen sense of the aesthetic value of Slovak popular art, have been for years past denuding the Slovak districts of their artistic treasures. The German museums are especially rich in these articles, and only too often no indication is given of their true origin. The present generation is only partially educated in such work, and having no idea of their monetary value, is often tempted to part with real treasures for a few pence. A few old women, who all their lives have sat up at night with needle in hand—in fear lest they should lose the result of their labours carry them with them to the grave. The exquisite piece of needlework which is reproduced on the opposite page, was intended as the winding-sheet of a Slovak peasant. Let us hope that this is no omen for the fate of the Slovak race, and that what has been saved from the hands of strangers will still serve as an inspiration to the Slovaks in their national revival.

CHAPTER XIX

Slovak Popular Poetry⁶⁰²

BY SVETozár HURBAN VAJANSKÝ

“In Gebirgen, Thälern pflegen sich uralte Sitten, Religionen, Gebräuche, Spiele, Erzählungen, Traditionen, Sprichwörter, Gesänge, Sprachformen, und andere Schätze der Volkstümlichkeit, am längsten und reinsten zu erhalten. *Goethe.*”

THE Slovaks of Hungary, generously endowed with the gift of imagination, have created a rich popular literature of their own; and the words of Goethe which we have just quoted are amply justified in their case. To take but a single instance, the original forms of speech are so well preserved in the Slovak language, that every Slav philologist is obliged to learn it thoroughly. In form, grammar and syntax it is almost as original and important as the old ecclesiastical language of the Slavs.

Slovak popular poetry, which has exercised a decisive influ-

⁶⁰² [Svetozár Hurban was born on January 16, 1847, at Hluboka (county of Nyitra), where his father, Joseph Miloslav Hurban, the well-known Slovak leader in 1848, was Lutheran pastor. He was educated in Germany, and from 1874 to 1878 practised as a young advocate in Szakolcza and Liptó St. Miklós. He served in the Bosnian campaign of occupation in 1878. After his return, he became editor of the *Národné Noviny* in Turócz St. Márton—for many years the only Slovak political paper. He has more than once been imprisoned for political offences, having been sentenced to one year for an article protesting against the insults offered to his father's grave (see p. 306), and six months for the part which he took in welcoming his brother editor, Ambro Pietor, on the latter's return from prison (see p. 328). In any country save Hungary Mr. Hurban would be in high honour as a poet and critic; but his gallant resistance to Magyarization has earned him continual persecution. It is one of the tragedies of the Slovak race that a man of so essentially poetic a temperament as Svetozár Hurban should have been driven into the arena of politics. His Russophil sympathies, resting as they do upon a literary basis, have caused friction between him and the younger generation of Slovak leaders, who look not to St. Petersburg but to Prague and Vienna. But he will always be revered as the man who kept the tiny flame of



WALL DECORATION IN A SLOVAK COTTAGE.

362

SONG AND MELODY

ence upon the literature of our race, takes three main forms—the lyric song, the epic poem and the epic story, saga or fairy tale. In many of the people's habits, customs and games are to be found the first elements of drama, and often enough there occur obvious survivals from pagan times, as, for instance, the old lines about the drowning of Morena (or Death), a winter goddess—

Morena, Morena, for whom didst thou die ?
Not for us, not for us, but for the Christians.

The supply of proverbs and phrases is well-nigh inexhaustible ; the collection of Mr. Zaturecky fills a folio volume of 600 pages. Nor has Slovak literature allowed these treasures to lie fallow ; even in the sixteenth century there appeared collections of popular songs. But it was not till the nineteenth century that a true appreciation was attempted. The pioneer in this direction was Paul Joseph Šafařík, the brilliant historiographer of the Slavs, a Slovak by birth, who in collaboration with John Blahoslav published a classic collection of Slovak songs. His example was followed by another Slovak, John Kollár, the famous author of "The Daughter of Slava." The poet's two-volume edition of "National Songs of the Slovaks in Hungary" was printed in Buda in 1834, and affords a proof of the versatility, the richness of expression and the depth of feeling of the Slovak people. In recent years such collections have multiplied, until they form quite a library of Slovak songs and melodies. In many of them the melodies play an all-important part ; for often a little verse which when read is insignificant and pointless, is thrown into relief and acquires lyrical value through its melody, for the text was composed singing, and can only be understood when sung. The Slovak song breathes

Slovak nationalism burning in the dark days when it was nearest to extinction.

His chief works are (a) *Poetical* : Tatry a more (Tatra and Sea), a collection of poems ; Zpod jarma (From under the Yoke) ; Besedy a dumy (Causeries and Dreamings) ; (b) *Novels* : Suchá ratolest (The Rotten Branch), by which is meant the Slovak nobles who have deserted their nationality ; Kotlin ; (c) *Stories and Sketches* : Lalia (The Lily) ; Svetace piene (Flying Shadows) ; Husla (The Violin) ; Two Sisters ; The Young Minister. German translations have appeared of "Der Kandidat," "Der Nachtwächter," "Das Weib des Holzhauers," "Der schwarze Idealist," "Das Heimatslied." May English translations soon follow !—R.W.S.W.]

out the fresh air, the scents of the woods and meadows and mountains, for these were its cradle and its source.⁶⁰³

The Slovaks possess an ancient Gentry class, which has, it is true, allowed itself in recent times to be Magyarized, but which is none the less Slovak in nature, and living as it does in the midst of the people, speaks and sings Slovak, when wine or song have rubbed off the false veneer of Magyar customs. There is even a small Slovak middle class, consisting of tradesmen, merchants and small manufacturers. But the vast majority of the race is made up of peasants tilling the soil, fishers and craftsmen, pedlars and men engaged upon home industries—in other words, classes who are in direct and permanent contact with the surrounding nature. The scenery in which they live is, in its northern district, of Alpine grandeur, and farther south of soft idyllic beauty, with rich meadows and wooded hills, sinking gradually into the great Hungarian plain. Only two Slovak rivers—the Poprád and the Dunajec—flow into the Vistula and the Baltic Sea; with these exceptions the country faces southwards, and connects with the geographical system of the Danube and the Black Sea. There are, however, numerous Slovak colonies in the southern plains, in the Banat and even as far as Sarmia⁶⁰⁴; so that the Slovaks cannot be regarded as a race of mountaineers pure and simple.

This variety of climate and scenery—the wild torrents and beetling crags of the Tatra, the soft outlines of the fertile lowland valleys—has wakened an echo in the soul of the people, and is reflected in the varied forms and notes of their popular poetry. We find in it a discord which is strengthened by the sad fate of the race, but also a harmony which reveals an eternal aspiration towards the beautiful. Our people's temperament is so rich, its joy of living so intense, that long centuries of repression in every department of life have not availed to rob their poetry of its joyous character. No doubt its underlying tone is one of melancholy, but never has it yielded to despair. At the close of the saddest song, there is a flash of hope and confidence, as though it were impossible that God should desert a people which believes in Him. Such a song is the following—

⁶⁰³ A fairly exhaustive bibliography of Slovak songs is to be found in the work of Dr. V. Zibrt, published in 1895.

⁶⁰⁴ For instance, the town of Békéscsaba, with 35,000 inhabitants.

PAGAN INFLUENCES

Our home was once in blossom,
But faded is the flower.
Good-night, my Slovak brothers,
Past is your hour !

But though our home has faded,
'Twill surely flower again.
Its joyous dawn shall lighten
The eyes of future men !

Slovak popular poetry contains obscure but highly interesting reminiscences of prehistoric and mediaeval times—of the brief and distant days when the Slovak nation was powerful and famous. In many a song there occur the names of heathen deities and references to old primaeval customs. Thus we find Svantovit the Slav Jupiter, Perun the god of thunder, the nymph-like Vily, Zmok the treasure-god, Lel the god of love, Lojda and Živa, the Venus and Ceres of the Slavs. In an old game of question and answer played by the Slovak girls (no one of the other sex is allowed to take part), we find the name of the goddess Djundja (Ďunda), whose attributes can no longer be traced. The girls form two choirs of equal number, and as they sing, dance to a slow and solemn measure.

1st Choir.

Hoja, Ďunda, hoja—The Queen has sent us—Hoja, Ďunda, hoja.

2nd Choir.

Hoja, Ďunda, hoja—What did the Queen send you for?—Hoja, Ďunda, hoja.

1st Choir.

Hoja, Ďunda, hoja—For three carts of stones—Hoja, Ďunda, hoja.

2nd Choir.

Hoja, Ďunda, hoja—And what are the stones for?—Hoja, Ďunda, hoja.

1st Choir.

Hoja, Ďunda, hoja—To build golden bridges—Hoja, Ďunda, hoja.

And so they go on indefinitely. The girls' faces glow, their voices ring more passionately, their slow movements grow more lively and more rhythmical; involuntarily we are reminded of the mysterious practices of pagan times.

There is frequent mention of the god Vajan, always in connection with fire and fire-offerings. On the evening of June 23, great fires are lighted on many of the heights throughout Slovensko—*Vajanske ohne*, the flames of Vajan, as they are called—and a whole series of hymns are sung in his honour.

It is highly interesting that in these old fragments the names of the heathen mythology should have survived all the efforts

of the Church to erase them from the people's memory. Even more remarkable is the fact that these names exactly coincide with those which we find in similar songs of the Russians, the Obotrites (a now vanished Slav tribe in Mecklenburg) and the Serbs.

Strange as it may seem, the Slovak people, while it has preserved the memory of pre-Christian times at least dimly and fragmentarily, has allowed more recent historic events to sink into oblivion. The barbarian invasions, the inroads of the Huns and the Magyars, have not left a trace behind, and only the great epoch of Saints Cyril and Methodius, of Rastislav and Svatopluk, has struck a plaintive echo in the soul of the Slovak people. The most exquisite fragment of any historic importance which has survived to the present day is the song which celebrates the departed glories of Nitra, the capital of the Moravian Empire. The melody is also very ancient—

Nitra, milá Nitra, ty vysoká Nitra,
Kdeže sú tie časy, v ktorých si ty kvitla ?

Nitra, sweetest Nitra, Nitra throned so proudly,
Where are now the days of thy bloom and glory ?

Nitra, sweetest Nitra, mother of the Slovaks,
Bitter tears of sorrow flow when I behold thee.

Once thou wert the mistress of those wide dominions
Which the March and Danube and the Visla ⁶⁶⁵ water.

Svatopluk our hero held high court within thee,
When his royal sceptre still compelled obedience.

Once thou wert the holy city of Methodius,
When he won our fathers to our Lord's Evangel.

Now upon thy glory lies a gloomy shadow.
Such are time's sad changes, such the world's revenges.

This song is widely known and often sung ; it gives expression to the deep sadness and pathos of the Slovaks, whose eyes fill with tears as they sing its melancholy but exquisite air. For the fall of the Moravian Empire was a fatal blow, from which the race has never recovered.

Other historic songs are of far more recent date—for the most part from the rising of Francis Rákóczy, though a few go back as far as the Turkish occupation and even the reign of the great Matthias Corvinus. Some tell of the gallant defence of Brezno and other towns against the Turks, and of the captured Slovak maidens who remembered the land and speech of their fathers even in the Sultan's harem.

⁶⁶⁵ Vistula.

JÁNOŠÍK THE ROBBER

One figure stands out prominently in the popular songs of later times—Jánošík, the robber, the hero, the social liberator. Countless songs and epics recount his exploits and invest him with the renown of a benefactor and martyr of the people, their champion in the struggle against the intolerable yoke of feudal serfdom, an avenger of the bloody wrongs which they endured at the hands of the Gentry. Jánošík is a name which lives in the mouth of every Slovak; wherever injustice is done, there his name is to be found, and there is hardly a river, a valley, a cave or a precipice in all Slovensko with which it is not connected. Jánošík with his twelve comrades fled into the primæval forests of the Carpathians, in order to escape from the tyrants and to avenge the death of his father, who was beaten to death upon the flogging-bench (*deres*). His headquarters were in the mountains of Králova Hôla (on the outskirts of the counties of Liptó, Zólyom and Gömör); but the traces of his brief career as outlaw are to be found everywhere from Pressburg as far as Kassa and Eperjes in the north-east; here a cave and there an oak, a lime-tree or a spring is associated with the name of Jánošík. Marvellous tales are told of his strength and desperate valour, his ubiquitous presence, his generous moods and deeds of genuine chivalry. The rich oppressors he robbed of gold and treasure, in order to divide them among the people; to the needy travelling student he measured out the "anglia" or English cloth, by spreading it from tree to tree. Veritable epic poems are the songs which celebrate his deeds—how with twelve heroic comrades he fought against three counties, how he plundered and burned the castles of the nobles, how he defended the common people and summoned them to the fight; but a pathetic lyrical note is struck in the songs which recount his capture, his tortures and death upon the gallows at Liptó St. Miklós. They hanged him in heavy irons, and in this plight he lived three days and three nights, proud and obstinate, and sang from the gallows a song of the final deliverance of his people from the grim bondage of feudalism.

All along the mountain there winds a woodland path;
My father was a true man, and I must be a robber.
Yes, I must be a robber, for bitter are our wrongs,
Falsehood is on the lord's side, but on the robber's, truth!

The figure of Jánošík has found its way into modern Slovak literature, and the poet John Botto has written a fine epic

poem, "The Death of Jánošík," which may fairly be classified as popular poetry, so widely is it known and sung. It begins thus—

On Králova there gleams a fire,
And round it gather falcons twelve—
Twelve Tatra falcons, snowy-white,
Fair as a single mother's brood.

Naturally the lyrical element is by far the strongest in Slovak popular poetry. In it are reflected the griefs and wants of everyday life, the close affinity with nature, the eternal conflict of the elemental powers of good and evil. As in the folk-songs of all races, the infinite themes of love play the chief part; the longings of the absent lover, the joys of married life, the beloved's death or faithlessness, the intrigues of relations—all recur in endless variations, and yet are seldom flat or monotonous. The Slovak folk-song collections, though they contain close upon 100,000 such songs, are still far from complete; indeed, the fount is inexhaustible, and is ever brimming over with new songs, so that there can never be any question of completion.

Needless to say, these songs are not all pearls. Many of them are made up of mere jests and doggerel rhymes or plays upon words and sounds; yet even in the coarser songs we find a certain delicacy of expression—never mere vulgarity for its own sake, as in the street songs of a great city, and this is noticeable even in songs whose *double entendre* is of doubtful taste.

Most Slovak songs have a tinge of melancholy; for the life which they portray is earnest and sad even when it is most exuberant.

Ye mountains black and gloomy,
The storm clouds o'er ye lay.
She bathed her brother's golden locks
And armed him for the fray.

"And tell me, sweetest brother,
When shall I see thee home?"
"Sweet sister, look thrice from thy window bar,
And soon shalt thou learn my doom."

The first morning she lookéd out,
Red gleamed the dawn and bright.
White rays fell all along the land.
"My brother goes out to fight."



SLOVAK PEASANT EMBROIDERY.

368!



THEIR MAGIC MELODY

The second morning she lookéd out,
And oh, the dawn gleamed red.
Red rays fell all along the land
"My brother has fought and bled."

The third morning she lookéd out
And oh, the dawn frowned dark.
Black shadows fell upon the land.
"My brother lies cold and stark."

To heaven she raised her lily arms
And ne'er a word she spoke.
Amid the roses red she fell,
Her little red heart broke.

This feeble rendering can give no real idea of the tenderness and sweet melancholy of the original, still less of the harmonious effect produced by text and melody together. Indeed, the melody often breathes inspiration into mediocre words, and supplies and explains what the words have left unsaid. There are many Slovak songs with absolutely trivial or worthless words, which none the less produce upon a stranger unacquainted with the language an effect of tragedy and vigour; their true magic lies in the melody. For the Slovak peasantry have thrown their whole heart into these melodies, which help them to endure their gloomy fate, and brighten the gray monotony of everyday life.

I sing, I sing, and seem in merry mood,
And none can guess the sorrow of my heart.

I sing, I sing, and none would ever dream
That my whole path is watered by my tears.

My mouth is gay, and smiling are my cheeks,
But O! my heart, its sorrow longs and bleeds!

In the case of a people whose connexion with nature has been so intimate, it was only to be expected that natural phenomena would figure largely in their poetry. The sun and moon, and even the distant sea, so far beyond the peasant's ken; the mighty crags of the Tatra range, the strength and swiftness of its rivers, the mystic beauty of its primaeval forests, the lush meadows and the fruitful fields, the wind which sweeps across the stubble—these all form the themes of the Slovak song. Great stress is laid upon Nature's softer and more kindly traits; the song of the nightingale is not of this earth, but has been stolen from the angels, the dew upon the grass is the tears of the gentle meadow-maidens. But the

darker powers of nature also play their part ; eerie superstition and the uneasy dejection inspired by the unknown or the mysterious are strangely blended with a touching submission to the dispensations of Providence. The black starless night is the evil stepmother who offers a stone to the child that cries for bread, and lays vinegar before it in the place of water ; fierce winter, with its drifting snow, is the cruel feudal lord who battens upon the blood of his serfs. The grim Werewolf (Vlkolak) and other spirits of evil surround the children of the lonely peasant with unknown dangers.

The Slovak folk song runs through the whole gamut of human passions. The joys and sorrows of the human heart, love and hate, embarrassment and triumph, hope and dejection, devotion and defiance, flattery and mockery are reflected in its mirror ; bloodthirstiness and godless despair alone are missing.

Humour and satire also play their part, but always tinged with a quaint *bonhomie*, an easy-going temper and a deep fund of human nature. Slovak humour is as a rule more farcical than sarcastic ; its roguery has very little sting. Thus the Slovak maiden sings as she goes—

Oh, I have a lover, whose beauties are three,
Pockfaced and bowlegged and squinting is he.
A rich bride am I ; my three treasures are sung—
Three carts of old shavings, of rags and of dung.
And—richest of dowries—my merits are three,
I sleep hard and work light and eat solidly.

These crude jokes, banal as they may be, are expressed in terse pregnant phrases of which only a rich and well-developed language is capable.

The influence of the folksong upon Slovak poets made itself felt from the very beginning of the modern literary revival ; such writers as Janko Král, Ján Botto, Samo Chalupka—the latter the author of more than one powerful ballad—drew their inspiration entirely from popular sources.⁶⁰⁶ But the higher poetry also sips at the clear fount of popular song, and thus enriches the literary language with many a telling phrase or idiom. In this way the poet Hviezdoslav⁶⁰⁷ has interwoven his

⁶⁰⁶ Mr. Hurban has made effective use of Slovak folksongs in more than one of his own novels. "Kotlin" contains a charming description of how the heroine Lejla, when asked to play a nocturne of Schubert, plays instead a simple Slovak air.

⁶⁰⁷ Paul Országh-Hviezdoslav, who is Svetozár Hurban's only



A SLOVAK PEASANT'S WAIS'COAT.

276

FRANC

SLOVAK ORIGINALITY

epic poems, "The Woodman's Wife" and "Gabriel Vlkolinský" with exquisite songs, which rapidly won the popular ear and are sung by hundreds who have no idea of their modern origin. Their deeper insight into life does the poet all honour; but their highest merit lies in their kinship with the earliest products of the genius of the race.

The Slovak people, despite all external influences and the ravages wrought by so-called "education" in an alien tongue, has lost but little of its originality. Factories, railways, emigration, Magyar schools, have not availed to rob the Slovaks of their nationality and of their beautiful and sonorous language; and to-day, amid many signs of impending change, new waters still well forth from the perennial source of their popular song and melody.

peer among living Slovak writers, was born on February 2, 1849, at Alsó Kubin (county of Árva). At one time he practised as an advocate, but now lives in retirement in his native town, and devotes himself to literature. His best works are "Hájnikova Žena" (The Woodman's Wife): "Ežo Vlkolinsky" (Village Annals): Hagar: Elegies and Psalms. He has translated Hamlet and A Midsummer Night's Dream into Slovak.

CHAPTER XX

Slovak Popular Melodies

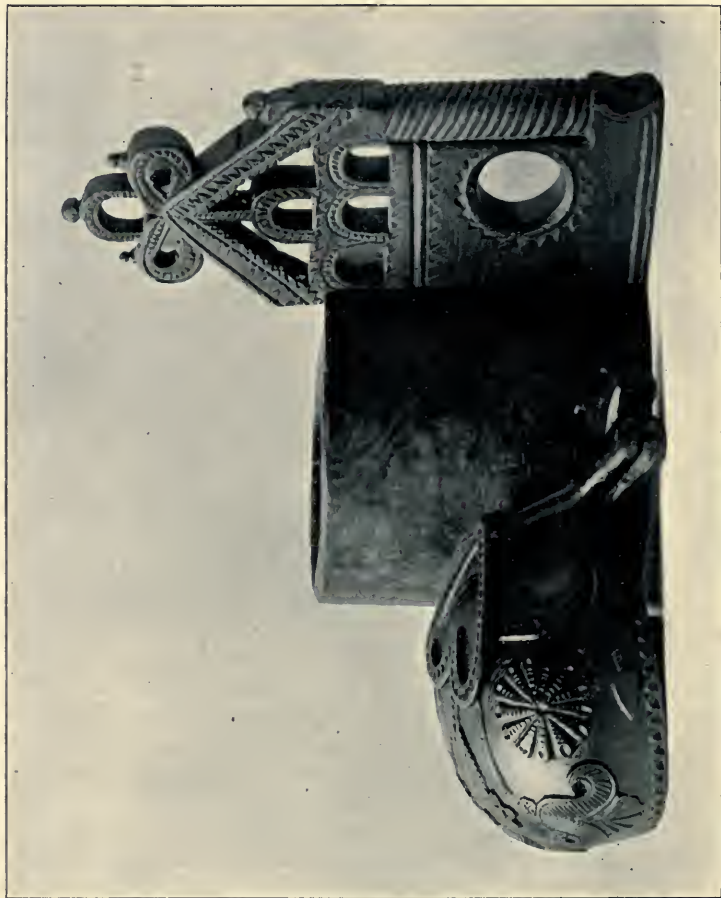
Böse Menschen haben keine Lieder.

(I) BY MILAN LICHARD.

I

THE songs of the Slovaks are scarcely known beyond the boundaries of their narrow home. In recent times intimate relations with our Czech kinsmen have done something to atone for this neglect ; for more than one distinguished Czech musician has turned his attention to the Slovak folksong, and by imparting an artistic form to the existing raw material has made our popular melodies accessible to a wider public. Apart from the work of a few native Slovak musicians, something like a dozen books have appeared in Bohemia, dealing with Slovak popular songs and melodies. Unfortunately all these works treat only of a small portion of these songs, and indeed from a musical point of view the least characteristic portion, so that it is still by no means easy to obtain a clear conception of the true nature of the Slovak song. For with few exceptions they have passed over those songs which are composed in the ancient mediaeval Church modes, and which are still to-day a living tradition among the people ; or if the peculiar songs are referred to, no stress is laid on their modes, and no real idea is given of the beauty and simplicity of these venerable melodies. For this very reason I propose to discuss our songs from this point of view ; for it seems to me that the living folksong must be taken just as it is found, no matter whether modern music has long ago rejected these old scales. Only the conservatism of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches has saved them from extinction ; and it is our duty to retain them in our popular songs and to rescue what has not perished.

A collection of Slovak folksongs has been published in Turóc Szent Márton (Turčiansky Svätý Martin) under



SLOVAK PEASANT ART.
(DRINKING CUP, IN BRASS.)

572



ANCIENT CHURCH MODES

the title *Slovenske Spevy*. Two thousand melodies have already appeared, and yet the collection is far from complete—indeed the most interesting districts have not yet been thoroughly explored. None the less what has already been published gives a sufficiently clear idea of the nature of the Slovak song. Slovak songs are, without exception, composed of strophes reaching up to ten bars, and triple time (3-4) is unknown. This and the fact that every note has a syllable for itself are such essential features of the Slovak song, that those melodies which are composed in triple time or allow several notes to one syllable, can be at once dismissed as of foreign origin. Nor do we find iambic forms (—), which can only be expressed in music by means of an *Auftakt*. The occasional occurrence of the 6-8 time is probably due to an irregular, almost spasmodic attempt to reproduce the rhythm of the dactyl; for the common people, as was only to be expected, does not strictly observe time when it sings, but follows its own inner feelings. The attentive listener will often trace this rhythm, but it is alien to the true nature of the song.

What may be called the undisciplined nature of the folksong leads to far more serious abuses, when we try to commit to paper the song as it is sung by the peasantry. For an endless number of these songs are based on ancient modes, a musical ear will not allow the intervals to be modified, and we hear notes which it is impossible to reproduce in our notation. Hence it greatly depends on the musical judgment of the editor whether he gives even the approximate value of the intervals as sung. Without a close knowledge of the ancient modes, the Slovak melodies cannot be correctly harmonized, and this doubtless accounts for the inaccurate versions of some of the melodies which have been given to the world, and which are of course the more marked, the more elaborate the setting is.

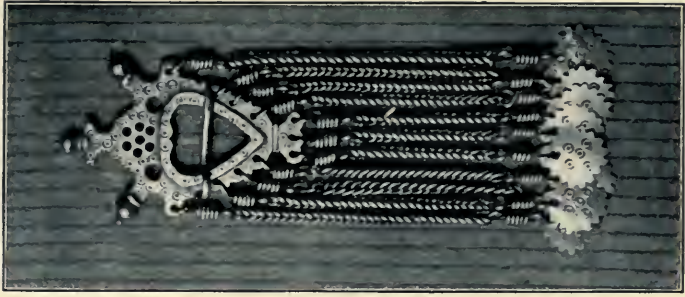
Turning to the inner structure of Slovak songs, we begin with simple motifs consisting of a few notes, and then go on to themes built up on a thoroughly artistic principle—which clearly shows that melodies of this kind date from a time when these modes were in full favour and that their composers must have been really trained musicians. For unless these modes had been widely in vogue, it is obvious that the common people, who had no knowledge of musical rules, could never have composed such melodies.

SLOVAK POPULAR MELODIES

In these songs the motif is treated in various ways. The first half of the tune often consists of two strains (*a*) and (*b*), of which (*a*) states a motif, (*b*) either varies or transposes it so as to end on a half-close. Sometimes the resemblance between (*b*) and (*a*) is in rhythm alone; in a few cases they are entirely different. When the second half leads to a full-close it not infrequently completes the stanza in cross-metre—its first strain balancing the second of the earlier half, its second strain balancing the first. At any rate, there is, in almost every case, a rhythmical symmetry between the two halves of the tune, and the few exceptions which occur seem to be due less to deliberate structure than to faulty transmission.

The Slovak folksong shows greater variety of rhythm and of internal structure than its Magyar fellow; the latter is for the most part limited to a single foot (— ˘ —), which occurs, it is true, in Slovak songs also, but must in their case be ascribed to Magyar influences (Ex. IV.). This rhythm has also unquestionably been affected by gipsy music, which in Hungary generally supplies the lack of instrumental music, and appropriates the melodies which it hears, only to transform them according to its own taste. Cases of the contrary are also not altogether unknown, the Slovaks adopting some Magyar air which appeals to them, and even adding a version of the original words. At the present day these mutual influences have already grown so strong that in many cases we are no longer able to assert with accuracy the origin of some particular song. This is to be regretted, if only because the pure form of the Slovak song suffers in the process, and the gipsies, those musicians of nature, show none too great respect for the melody. Those time-honoured melodies which date from the Reformation period, have been the chief sufferers, and traces of such influences are to be found on almost every page of the Turócz collection (Ex. V.). Modern intervals have been smuggled into the ancient scales, disagreeable harmonies have been added, wrong time has been introduced, and so on; so that the whole is little better than a faint echo of what it should be. Those who would hear the Slovak song in its primitive purity, must go among the peasantry of the mountains, where gipsy music has never spread its infection, and where the original airs are to be heard unspoiled. They will never hear them in the towns, and least of all from gipsy bands!

These old scales are a special characteristic of the Slovak



SLOVAK PEASANT ART.
(STICK, POKERED AND PAINTED; BRACELET; BROOCH.)

374.



THEIR NATIONAL CHARACTER

song, which distinguishes it so widely from its Czech neighbour ; for they have already disappeared from the Czech folksongs, and only a few traces are to be found on the linguistic frontier. This loss is certainly to be regretted from a historical point of view, even by those who do not admit that the musical world is the poorer for it. The German folksong also knows them no longer ; and yet Johann Sebastian Bach was an incomparable master in their treatment, and to him alone it is due that certain Lutheran hymns in these modes have survived to the present day in his settings, and quite apart from their immediate Church purpose, provide us with a rich source of instruction.

The peculiar rhythm and the antique scales impart to the Slovak song a special national character of its own, and when full justice is done to these features, we hear something which to the modern musical ear may possibly sound strange and unusual, but which is in any case *genuinely Slovak* (Ex. VI. a—f). This peculiar charm is produced by the different position of the semitones in the old scales, with the result that effects of sound are produced such as are unattainable by the diatonic scale. We must not, however, suppose that all the intervals which are rendered necessary by the position of the semitones, have been preserved unaltered ; on the contrary, we find varied chromatic changes both up and down the scale, and are faced by the hitherto unexplained fact that these intervals are better preserved when going down the scale than up.

Since our songs do not always begin and end with the key-note, it is naturally by no means easy, in the case of these ancient but corrupted melodies—especially when an error in transcription occurs—to recognize the keynote or scale as the case may be (Ex. VII.). The surest way to do this is to construct the scale out of the intervals in descending—a task in which any one can succeed with a little practice. When the scale has thus been constructed, it is easy enough to decide which intervals have been tampered with, and we shall find :—

(1st) that the minor sevenths have been chromatically raised, in order to preserve the leading tone (seventh of the scale).

(2nd) that in ascending the scale the augmented fourth of the Lydian mode is changed into a perfect fourth.

(3rd) that in the Dorian scale, the major sixth, being in conflict with the weak character of the minor third, changes into a minor sixth.

(4th) that wherever even a passing modulation gives to an interval the character of the new keynote, the preceding whole-tone is chromatically raised.

All this not with infallible certainty, but in the majority of cases. The causes were, on the one hand, melodic considerations (scarcely singable progressions), and on the other, harmonic considerations arising from the implied harmony. In the actual harmonic treatment this last reason becomes still more cogent, and divergences of this sort are always to be regarded as justifiable, even if the character of the old mode is affected by them.

Arbitrary mutilations, which are for the most part due to ignorance of these modes, fall under quite a different category, and can easily be corrected on the lines which we have indicated above; indeed it is our duty to correct them, even if the common people have adopted these wrong intervals (Ex. IX.). The gipsies have done a great deal of damage by introducing the "Magyar Scale." This scale, which has been fixed by Francis Liszt, is really a harmonic minor scale, with raised fourth and seventh, so that an *exaggerated interval* ($1\frac{1}{2}$ tones) follows the third and sixth. The earliest notations of Slovak songs, which it is true do not date back very far, do not show this mutilation, which must therefore date from quite recent times; the people has been attracted by them, owing to the intensely melancholy effect which they produce and hence they have found a place in our collections. But they deserve to be ejected without mercy, since they give a foreign tinge to our vigorous Slovak songs.

The part-song, still universal among the Russian peasantry, has almost disappeared from our midst (Ex. X.). Only in the extreme north-west corner of Hungary are traces of it to be found. Trios are the commonest form, the development of quartettes being seriously hampered by the political situation, and everything done to discourage this kind of part-singing.

There is not much to be said about the more recent songs, set in the modern major or minor scales; while retaining the even division of time and the rhythm of which we have spoken above, they resemble in other respects the popular airs of other Western nations. The Slovaks seem to possess an almost inexhaustible spring of new melodies. Indeed a careful observer will find that the singer often surrenders himself so wholly to his fantasy as to vary the air in the second strophe, with



SLOVAK PEASANT ART.
(PAINTED LINEN BEETLER, AND BRASS CANDLESTICK.)

376



the result that it is well-nigh impossible to arrive at the original melody in the case of certain inveterate singers. This, too, explains the great number of variations which have been sanctioned by popular usage; and we must regard it as specially fortunate when one of these singers hits upon the true popular note, and does not sin against the national character of the Slovak song.*

* [Singing is the chief passion of the Slovaks, and plays its part even in politics. At every election scores of electoral songs and lampoons are invented and sung by the peasantry. The Slovak leaders—Hlinka, Juriga, Blaho, Hodža—are the heroes of a whole series of popular songs; and the tragedy of Csernova already circulates in rude epic verses among the Slovak population. Not merely this, but Slovak candidates for Parliament have little prospect of success, unless they are good singers. Nothing finds its way so surely to the heart of the Slovak people as a well-sung song. An old peasant woman once complained to a friend of mine that her son was a useless, disappointing fellow. What was the matter? inquired my friend; did he drink? or would he not work? “Oh no,” said the old woman, “but *nothing will make him sing*. It is a great misfortune.”—R.W.S.W.]

ANCIENT CHURCH MODES

VI Slovak Folksong, in the Ancient Church modes (4 parts)

VI

Spirited but slow.

(a) Ionian mode

Musical score for (a) Ionian mode, 4 parts. The score is written on four staves. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo/mood is "Spirited but slow." The music features a variety of note values including eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. Dynamics include *f* (forte) and *p* (piano).

Musical score for (b) Dorian mode, 4 parts. The score is written on four staves. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo/mood is "Quick." The music features a variety of note values including eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. Dynamics include *f* (forte).

Quick

Musical score for (b) Dorian mode, 4 parts. The score is written on four staves. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo/mood is "Quick." The music features a variety of note values including eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. Dynamics include *f* (forte).

(b) Dorian mode

Musical score for (b) Dorian mode, 4 parts. The score is written on four staves. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo/mood is "Quick." The music features a variety of note values including eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. Dynamics include *f* (forte).

Very slow

(c) Phrygian mode

Moderate

(d) Lydian mode

Moderate

(e) Mixolydian

Very Moderate

f. Aeolian

VII Example of wrong transcription.

Slow

By this wrong transcription one falls into the following false harmonies.

and so on,

After correction of this wrong transcription the song appears as Phrygian.

p

mf

VIII Changing of intervals (marked with *)

Aeolian

101

Lydian (with semi-cedence, beginning on the second)

102

Dorian (already modulated in the first bar into the key of the subdominant)

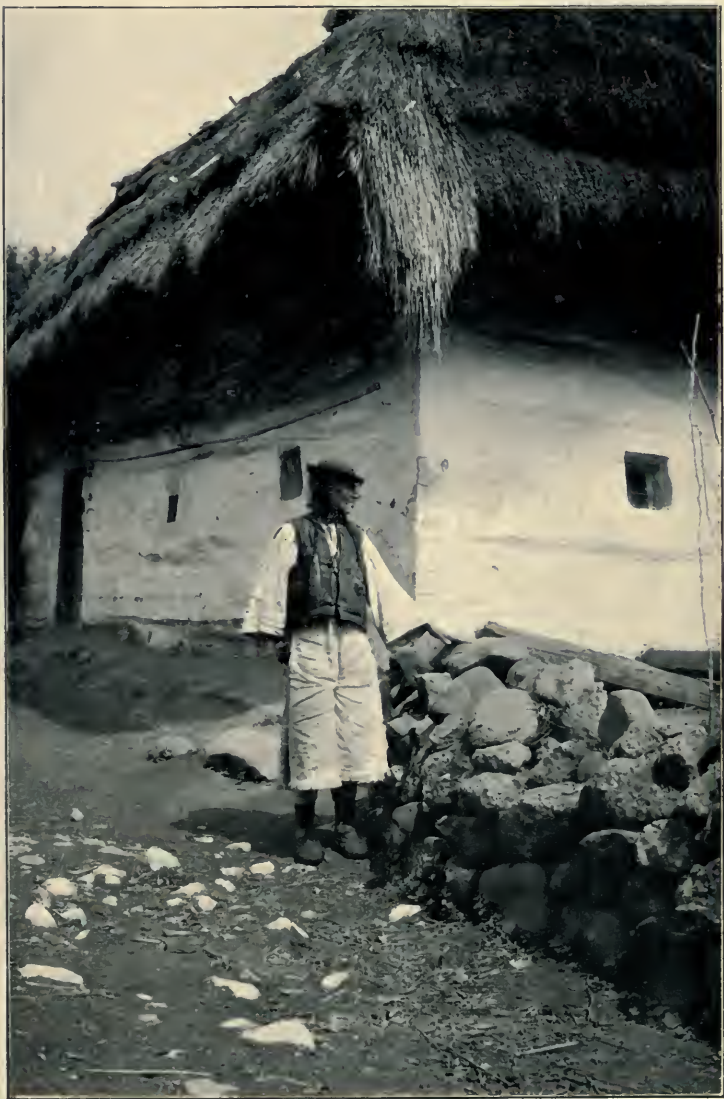
103

Dorian *Lyvely*

104

IX Intrusion of augmented intervals.

X Folksong for several voices.



A SLOVAK PATRIARCH.

282

II. BY REV. ALOIS KOLÍSEK

Though the Slovaks are so rich in expressive and characteristic songs, their musical literature is very scanty—mainly owing to the unfavourable political conditions under which they live. Their development is arrested at the primary school; at the gymnasium or the *lycée* their very existence as Slovaks is challenged; while at the academies or the university there is no room for non-Magyar national feeling. Hence there is only a very small educated class among the Slovaks, and there can be no real demand for musical literature, while composers or musicians by profession are of necessity few and far between. Musical activity is not wholly dependent on private interest and the study of music in the family, but also very largely on the holding of concerts and the formation of musical and singing societies. Without this there can be neither producers nor consumers—neither a musical public nor professional musicians. Here again political considerations intervene; for Slovak singing societies or choral unions are only sanctioned in very exceptional cases, and Slovak concerts are always liable to be forbidden at the last moment. And yet, despite these difficulties, the Slovaks have done good work in the field of music and popular poetry.

Among the few composers of Slovak origin, John Leopold Bella is chiefly remarkable for his church music. When still a boy of sixteen he wrote an instrumental mass which was played with great effect in the cathedral of Neusohl; perhaps his best production is "The Prayer of St. Cyril." Of special value are his articles on music and song, in which he points out the distinctive character of Slovak popular melodies.⁶⁰⁸

Few people have known so much of Slovak popular poetry as Milan Lichard, whose chief thesis is that in any treatment of the Slovak song its original choral, almost ecclesiastical, character must be preserved.⁶⁰⁹ In Lichard's versions many old songs really sound just like old church chorales, and retain an old-world character which is rarely to be found in the work of other modern musicians.

Another very promising Slovak composer is Nicholas

⁶⁰⁸ *Letopisy Matice Slovenskej*, vol. x., contains his article, "Thoughts on the Development of Popular Music and Slovak Song."

⁶⁰⁹ Lichard is also well known as a musical critic. The musical part of (1) *Slovensko*—an almanac published in 1901 by the Czech Art Union—"Umělecká Beseda," and (2) of *Detva*, by Karol Medvecký (Detva, 1905)—are his work.

Schneider-Trnavský, one of the few Slovaks who have made music their profession. He has devoted his attention to the harmonizing of Slovak songs, his object being, in his own words, to provide "a musical frame" for the simple airs. Among his various works may be mentioned a symphonic poem entitled "Jánošík" (see p. 367), from whose romantic legend both Trnavský and Vítězslav Novák are endeavouring to construct the first Slovak opera. Trnavský's works have met with approval abroad: on a recent concert tour with the singer Umírov, which brought him success in Paris and Berlin, the German authoress Ossip Schubin greeted his music as that for which she had always waited but never found. His own modest phrase, "To be a Slovak and a composer is still a long way from being a Slovak composer," may perhaps be traced to the Slovak failing—lack of self-confidence; but the wretched conditions of Slovensko are enough to dishearten any enthusiast for art and culture.⁶¹⁰

Far more attention has been paid to Slovak melodies by our Czech kinsmen, who have studied and collected the folksongs of the Slovaks, not only in Hungary, but also in Moravia. There is, of course, no great difference between the two branches of the Slovak race, but those of Moravia are far ahead of their kinsmen in political rights and in education, owing to their good fortune in belonging to Austria. It is, however, true to say that the Slovaks of West Hungary (Nyitra, Pressburg, Trencsén counties) differ more radically from those of the East (Sáros and Szepes counties) than from those of Moravia. The same applies to their songs. The Moravian collections⁶¹¹ contain many folksongs which occur in almost exactly the same form among the peasantry of N.W. Hungary; there are merely slight differences of dialect, the Moravian, for instance, converting the hard "r" into a "ř."

The famous Czech composer, Antonin Dvořák, who secured so many triumphs in England, owes much to Slovak popular melodies; indeed, he first made his name in Europe with his "Moravské Dvojpěvy" (Moravian Duets), which won the warm approval of Brahms. Dvořák also composed several melodies in the Slovak style, which give a simple but masterly rendering of the divine art of the folksong.

⁶¹⁰ The American Slovaks have recently produced a promising young composer, Vladimír Šaško, a teacher of music at the Music School in Chicago. His "Slovak Rhapsodies" are worthy of note.

⁶¹¹ See Bibliography, p. 527.



A VILLAGE WORTHY.

E. Malek.

284

In dramatic musical art the Slovak folksong was first made use of by Joseph B. Foerster, who based his opera "Eva" on the Slovak drama in three acts, by the Czech authoress Gabriela Preisova. Foerster studied Slovak melodies among the peasantry itself, and made every effort to impart their peculiar melody and rhythm to his own work. He rarely employs an original folksong, but he has reproduced with the true feeling of an artist the characteristics of Slovak music.

Among the real masters of Slovak melodies the name of Leoš Janáček, director of the organ school at Brünn (Brno) will always be closely linked with Moravian and Slovak songs, not merely on account of his admirable essays on folksong and melodies, but also his own compositions based on popular motifs, which are of very high merit. His chief production is an opera in three acts entitled "Her Foster Daughter" ("Její pastorkyna"), adapted from the drama of Gabriela Preisova. Its peculiar feature is the use which he makes not only of songs, but of popular sayings. The opera, which was first produced in Brünn in 1904, was in the opinion of its first conductor entirely new in musical expression, and possessed a character which was all its own. "Its novelty is due to diligent and thorough study of the folksong, especially among the Slovaks. It depends for its dramatic effect upon the *melody of the spoken word*. . . . His method of composition is wholly individual, and can only be compared at all to that of the French composer Charpentier in 'Louise'; in the latter one might say, the music triumphs through its dramatic element; in 'Her Foster Daughter' the drama through its music. As Trnavský justly observes, Janáček has in this opera "created a new specifically Slovak style of recitative, which is by far the most effective treatment of the Slovak folksong."

The first of the Czech composers to whom the idea occurred of introducing popular elements into classical music was Pavel Křížkovský, to whom the revival of choral singing and composition was due. Indeed, without him there might have been no Smetana,⁶¹⁴ or at least his appearance might have been

⁶¹⁴ Smetana is peculiarly Czech in character, yet even in him there are certain traces of Slovak melodies—e.g. Blaženska's song in Act iii. of "The Secret."

retarded for many years. Křížkovský's finest compositions—"Dívča, dívča, lastovička" ("Little maid, thou little swallow") and "Ach dyž sem já šel od svej milenky" ("Ah, when I left my love")—are derived from Slovak folksongs; and the original accompaniments of Slovak songs which we admire so rightly in Novák, had already been successfully attempted by Křížkovský.

Joseph Nešvera, whose oratorio "De Profundis" attracted attention in England, composed an opera "Radhošť," which acquires a popular tinge through its free use of the folksong. Among others he introduces the song "Já som báča velmi stary"—not in its genuine old Lydian mode, but in the modern D minor. Radhošť is a Moravian hill, whose name is derived from an ancient Slav deity once worshipped here, and which is associated with a whole cluster of poetic sagas and traditions.

A blind Czech composer, Stanislas Suda, also wrote a one-act opera, "U božich muh" ("Beside the Martyrs' Column"), in which the rhythm and melody of Slovak poetry is imitated: the dance, which is the most original part of the piece, is drawn from Slovak models.

Few Slavs have ever combined so happily genuine musical inspiration and the modern art of composition, as Vítězslav Novák in his "Slovak" works. Specially worthy of mention are his ballad settings, his symphonic orchestral poems and his overture to the modern Czech drama "Maryša." His "Slovak Suite" is a masterpiece of the same type as Uprka's paintings, a composition full of life and originality, alike in rhythm and form. These charming pictures of Slovak life—(1) In church, (2) Among the children, (3) The lovers, (4) At the music, (5) At night—were at first set simply for the piano, but have since acquired fresh colour and brilliancy by their adaptation to orchestra. Some reproach Novák for his excessive "modernism," but it cannot be denied that he has assimilated the genius of the Slovak song and produced work which is strictly true to nature. While Janáček imitates popular instruments more closely, Novák excels in his piano accompaniments, which instead of slavishly following the melody of the song, have a being and a character of their own. According to his own confession, he first studied Slovak songs more with the object of learning their relation to the songs of other Slav races and of accustoming himself to the Slovak instruments—the bagpipe, the shepherd's flute (fujara),

THEIR PLACE IN SLAV MUSIC

and the cymbal ; and he was only gradually led on to graft Slovak motifs upon his own composition.

Quite apart from the Czechs, there is more than one master of world-wide reputation who has used Slovak melodies in his compositions. Brahms and Liszt especially employed many Slav motifs—the latter apparently in the idea that they were Magyar. Of more recent composers, Paderewski has been influenced by Slovak melodies in his opera "Manru," the scene of which is laid in a village of the Tatra mountains ; while the darling of the Viennese public, Lehár—whose nationality it has hitherto been impossible to establish—owed one of his great successes, "The Tinker" ("Der Rastelbinder"), to his use of the motifs of Slovak airs.

Perhaps, however, the gipsy musicians have done most of all to spread the Slovak song ; and indeed their audiences often have no idea that the strange melodies which they play, often improved, often disfigured by their characteristic additions, are really Slovak folksongs. The gipsy conductor, Banda Marczi, recently won an open competition in Budapest "for the playing of Magyar folksongs" ; but these were in reality songs of the county of Liptó, where the native population is purely Slovak.

If we ask ourselves wherein the importance of Slovak popular melodies lies, we cannot do better than quote the words of the poet Kollár : "The songs of the common people have not only a linguistic but also an aesthetic and ethnical value ; they are pictures in which every people depicts its character most truly, they are the history of its inner life, the key to the sanctuary of nationality. . . . To lovers of poetry and the aesthetic sense, Slovak popular songs should be more welcome than the output of many a volcanic Parnassus of the present day." For Slav music as a whole they have a real significance, since Slav music shows to a quite unusual degree the influence of popular ideas and customs. Wherever instrumental and choral music flourishes the popular song tends to disappear, and this explains the fact that Scandinavia, Hungary and Russia are to-day richer in such poetry than England or Germany, and that it died out sooner in Thuringia and Saxony where choral music was encouraged, than in other parts of Germany. Among the Slovaks theatres, balls and orchestras have not yet had time to obscure the natural feelings of the people, whose temperament is probably in many respects little changed since the days of Cyril and Methodius. All

SLOVAK POPULAR MELODIES

Slav nations have beautiful folksongs, but the most characteristic of all are those of the Slovaks, as though to recompense them for their cruel fate. Everywhere—in the fields and woods and vineyards, mowing or spinning or carrying grass—we find them singing; and their melodies strike a new note in the music of Western Europe. Theirs, then, is the task to evolve a music which may serve to draw closer the bonds of Slav brotherhood. “The Slovak,” writes Bella, “tells in his fables of the despised youth who goes to free his elder brothers from the spell which bound them; and so it seems to me that the outcast Slovak may become through his music the deliverer of his Slav brethren.”

“Music is the only universal language; the translations of literary masterpieces only convey a dulled image of the race which has created them. Poets such as Vajanský and Hviezdoslav deserve to be translated, as worthy representatives of their race; the artist Uprka, who is already becoming known in reproductions of his works, requires to be interpreted by competent critics. But if a Slovak Grieg arose, Europe would learn more about the Slovaks in a day than all our efforts will ever teach her. Gipsy music, which most foreigners mistake for Magyar, has certainly done more for the Magyar cause than all the translations of Petöfi, Jókai or Madách. What the foreign public knows of the Czechs is not the poetry of a Vrchlický or a Svatopluk Čech, nor the paintings of a Manes or a Čermak, but above all the symphonies and concertos of Dvořák and the operas of Smetana. It was only after the appearance of Grieg that the outside world first acknowledged the culture of Norway. To the Slovak, then, I would say: ‘You are forbidden to speak, to write, to sing. *Compose!* You know what deadly fear the government of Metternich displayed towards the ideas of the Revolution, and how censorship, state prison, political trials were the result. And yet this was the very moment which music chose to free the human soul from its griefs and broaden its horizon; this was the time of Beethoven’s most exquisite symphonies. Speak, then, through music, and the whole world will understand you. To-day brute force is of no avail against genius, and on the day that you send forth works like the symphonies of Dvořák, Smetana’s “*Moje Vlast*” or Grieg’s “*Per Gynt*,” it will no longer be possible to ignore you.’”⁶¹⁵

⁶¹⁵ See article of William Ritter in the *Národné Noviny* of October 3, 1907 (No. 116).



DAY DREAMS.
(From the painting by József Uprka.)

DAY DREAMS

Thus would be realized the words of the Slovak poet Andrew Sladkovič :—

Ty žiješ, pekná moja otcina
V citov mladistvých priestore
V nadejach tvojich duch Hospodina
V spevoch tvojich svitania zore.

Thou livest, my fair fatherland,
Within the realm of youthful dreams,
In thy fond hope—the breath of God,
In thy sweet songs—the star of dawn.

And here I may fairly bid farewell to the reader in the words of one of our favourite Slovak folksongs :—

Spievajže si, spievaj,
Spevavé stvorenie :
Ved' je spev najmilšie :
Tvoje potešenie.

Slovensky si spievaj
I v zime i v lete :
Ved' to najkrajši spev :
Na tom božom svete.

Sing thy fill, sweet singer,
Brimming o'er with music !
Singing still and singing
Is thy dearest pleasure.

'Tis Slovak thou must sing in,
In winter as in summer :
For no song is sweeter
All the wide world over.

THE SLOVAK NATIONAL HYMN.

Text by S. TOMÁŠIK.
Polish Melody

Hej Slováci.

Harmonised by
JOSEPH LÖW.

Up ye Slov-aks! still is liv - ing our true Slov-ak lang-uage While our loy - el
Hej Slov-á - ci! eš - te na - ša Sloveňské reč ži - je! Do kiel' na - še

hearts are beat - ing tru - ly for our nat - ion liv - ing living yea and deathless
verné srd - ca za nás na - rod bi - je ži - je, žije duch slovenský.

is the Slov - ak Spir - it Hell and light - ning Hell and light - ning rage in vain eg -
bude žit' na va - ky Hroma pe - klo. málne va - ša proti nám sú

sinet us Hroma pe - klo málne va - ša proti nám sú vzteky! -
vzteky.

The musical score is written in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. It consists of four systems, each with a piano accompaniment (mf, p, f) and a vocal line. The lyrics are provided in both English and Slovak. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line and chords in the right hand. The vocal line is a simple melody with lyrics written below the notes.

HEJ SLOVÁCI.

Up, ye Slovaks, still is living our true Slovak language,
While our loyal hearts are beating truly for our nation.
Living, living, yea and deathless is the Slovak spirit:
Hell and lightning, Hell and lightning rage in vain against us.

Language is God's own good gift—our God who rules the thunder.
Who, then, who in all the world shall dare to wrest it from us?
Were the world of devils full, for every man a devil,
God the Lord is on our side, and Death our foes shall vanquish.

O'er our heads may burst the storm, the rocks may reel and shudder,
Crashing oak and trembling earth shall not avail to daunt us.
Resolute we stand, unshaken as the mountain summits:
May the black earth yawn and swallow every shrinking traitor!

CHAPTER XXI

The Racial Question—A Summary

“Race is everything: there is no other truth.”—*Disraeli*.

“A state which is incompetent to satisfy different races, condemns itself; a state which labours to neutralize, to absorb or to expel them, destroys its own vitality; a state which does not include them, is destitute of the chief basis of self-government.”—*Lord Acton*.

IN the preceding seven chapters I have endeavoured to analyse the chief grievances from which the non-Magyar races of Hungary are suffering, and to show that the Law guaranteeing the Equal Rights of the Nationalities has long remained a dead letter in almost every particular. Primary and secondary education, instead of resting upon the principle of instruction in the mother tongue, has been for a generation past enlisted in the cause of Magyarization; the state never erects non-Magyar schools, and only grants subsidies to those already existing, in order thereby to enforce a stricter control. The local administration is in the hands of a narrow and powerful caste, which by means of an illiberal franchise is able to hold the non-Magyars in a permanent minority, and to exclude them from the control of their local affairs; the officials treat the Nationalities as foreign interlopers, and show little or no consideration for their languages and national customs and traditions. A far-reaching system of electoral corruption and gerrymandering, backed by a complicated and unequal franchise, makes it impossible for one-half of the population to gain more than twenty-five seats in Parliament, and concentrates all political power in the hands of a small clique of influential nobles and ecclesiastics, professional politicians and Jewish financiers. The dependence of the Judicature upon the executive renders the non-Magyar leaders liable to continual vexations at the hands of the law; judges, prosecutors and juries are all alike recruited from the ranks of their bitterest enemies, and a hostile verdict is thus only too often a foregone conclusion. The persecution of the non-Magyar Press is carried on with the deliberate purpose

WHAT IS NATIONALITY ?

of reducing it to a state of bankruptcy or subservience. The absence of any rights of Association and Assembly place the Nationalities and the Socialists at the mercy of the authorities, and renders infinitely more difficult the task of organization ; while the petty annoyances and restrictions imposed upon those Slavs and Roumanians who remain loyal to the language and traditions of their ancestors, embitter their lives and aggravate racial differences.

Such is the briefest possible summary of the present situation of the Nationalities of Hungary ; and the reader, if he has studied my quotations from the official statistics, from the Magyar daily press and from the utterances of Hungarian statesmen, will already be aware that the governing classes of Hungary have pursued an active policy of Magyarization for more than a generation past, and that the frenzy has increased rather than abated since the commencement of the new century. To-day in Hungary it is a test of patriotism to deny the right of any Hungarian race save the Magyar to a distinct national existence. Louis Kossuth once wrote in his famous organ the *Pesti Hirlap*, " Verily, verily, I say unto you, there never was and cannot be a Slovak nation in Hungary." Coloman Tisza, during a memorable debate in the Hungarian Parliament, made the arrogant retort, " There is no Slovak nation." And in our own day a Magyar student of the racial question has written as follows :—" Our Nationalities can never substitute any other culture for the Magyar ; for a special Serb, Roumanian or Slovak culture does not and cannot exist." ⁶¹⁶ Such an attitude forces us to inquire into the meaning of the word " nationality," and no better definition can be found than that of one of the greatest and most liberal Magyar statesmen. Baron Eötvös in a well-known treatise argues that " we must recognize as a distinct nationality every aggregate of people in which the feeling of their distinct personality is awake." ⁶¹⁷ If this test be applied to Hungary, it can no longer be denied that the non-Magyar races do possess distinct national cultures and individualities of their own ; and the proud retort of the Magyars that the Hungarian constitution knows of no nation save the Magyar, is a mere legal quibble at the expense of patent facts. The Roumanians, the Slovaks, the Serbs of Hungary

⁶¹⁶ E. Baloghy, *A Magyar Kultúra és a Nemzetiségek*, p. 210.

⁶¹⁷ *Die Nationalitätenfrage*, pp. 12-3.

THE RACIAL QUESTION IN HUNGARY

are keenly conscious of their national rights and traditions, and are more determined than ever to assert them.

When travelling in Hungary, I was continually met by the shallow argument that the nationalist movement among the non-Magyar races is the work of a few agitators, and that it will soon collapse if only these are muzzled and imprisoned. This argument contains a slight grain of truth: for every political movement since the dawn of history has been the work of the few rather than of the many, and the masses of the people are always helpless when deprived of their leaders. But the argument at once falls to the ground when applied to the case in point. The policy of muzzling has now been in force (with a brief interval) for over thirty years, and so far from crushing out the movement, each fresh persecution only serves to add fuel to the fire. Moreover, a careful study of the statistics of these persecutions reveals the significant fact that the movement is by no means confined to a few agitators. Out of the 363 Roumanians who were tried for political offences between the years 1886 and 1896, there were 41 journalists, 29 advocates, 6 students, 1 engineer, but there were also 12 women, 5 doctors, 32 teachers and professors, 42 priests and no fewer than 155 peasant farmers and proprietors. In the same way, out of the 508 Slovaks who have been haled before the courts since 1896 for political offences, as many as 316 were simple peasants and many of the others apprentices and workmen. These figures in themselves sufficiently disprove the assertion of the Chauvinists that a few professional agitators are responsible for all the mischief—an assertion for which not a vestige of proof can be adduced, and which could be applied with equal truth to the national Magyar movement of the early nineteenth century.

More than one distinguished and really enlightened Magyar has told me that the nationalist agitation is a mere matter of place-hunting. Give their leaders a few good posts, they argued, and the whole movement will die down. To this there is one very obvious answer: If the remedy is so extremely simple, why has it never been applied? The place-hunting argument is merely a convenient libel in the mouths of racial monopolists, and has been ingenuously believed and repeated by men who are far too honourable ever to employ it in private life. In reality the nationalist leaders have everything to gain by a betrayal of their principles. As one of them said to me with pardonable bitterness: "Surely

the Magyars do not suppose that we enjoy going to prison ? ' It is true that imprisonment affords many of the non-Magyar leaders opportunities, which have hitherto been denied them, of learning foreign languages and other subjects which will help them in their future career. A Slovak doctor whose acquaintance I had the privilege of making, is at present following the example of Louis Kossuth, and learning English in a Hungarian prison ; while Father Hlinka is endeavouring to acquire a knowledge of Roumanian under similar circumstances. In the same way one of the pioneers of Social Democracy in Hungary—by birth an uncultured peasant, but a man of original and receptive mind—owed to the repeated terms of imprisonment to which he was subjected most of the education and no small portion of the knowledge to which his success was due. The Government, by its shortsighted cruelty, is thus contributing to the education of its political opponents, just as the reactionary policy of the Government in the forties rendered possible Louis Kossuth's oratorical triumphs in Britain and the United States.

This, however, is a point of view which is scarcely likely to appeal to the victims, and has merely been alluded to as one more proof of the folly of persecution. A national movement is Hydra-headed, and the arrest of its leaders is of no avail, unless it is followed by their execution. The Magyar newspaper which regretted the abolition of the grand old custom by which the city gates were decorated with the heads of agitators,⁶¹⁸ was thus merely expressing—somewhat crudely for the nineteenth century and "the most liberal nation in the world"—the view which every Magyar holds as a secret conviction.

So long as the governing classes of Hungary retain their present power and inclinations, the racial question will remain a mere question of brute force—*eine Machtfrage*, in the expressive German phrase. Just as formerly it was thought necessary to force all men into the bosom of the Church for the sake of their immortal souls, so now denationalization is justified on grounds of political expediency and the moral wellbeing of the victims. "Le prétexte ordinaire de ceux qui font le malheur des autres, est qu'ils veulent leur bien." In reality, the state is made a Moloch to which six races are to be sacrificed in the interest of the survivor. The sole possible justification for such a policy of Magyarization would be its success ;

⁶¹⁸ *Magyar Hírlap*, September 22, 1894 ; cit. Brote, op. cit. p 92.

THE RACIAL QUESTION IN HUNGARY

and of success no one cognizant of the facts can venture to speak. Despite all the efforts of successive governments, Magyarization has only been achieved among the Jews (who will remain Magyars just as long as the State, and not a moment longer) and among the Germans of the towns, who are naturally more amenable to Magyar influences. In the thirty years preceding the last census (1870-1900), the Magyars have gained 261 communes, but lost no fewer than 456 (a net loss of 195): while the Roumanians, though they lost 42 communes to the Magyars and 22 to other races, have gained 362 communes (a net gain of 298). The Slovaks have gained 56 communes from the Magyars, but lost to them 89 others; but they have made good this loss by a net gain of 175 communes at the expense of the Ruthenes.⁶¹⁹ Meanwhile the genuine Magyar population is beginning to lose ground; emigration has thinned its ranks; and in recent years the "two-children system" has made alarming strides, especially among the peasantry of Baranya and Vas.⁶²⁰

The ill success which has attended all the efforts of the Chauvinists, does not disprove the existence of a policy of Magyarization: it merely proves its impossibility. It proves that blood and fire are the only effective means of assimilating eleven million human beings, and that unless these methods are adopted, the oppressive "half-measures" which act as substitute for extermination, will bitterly revenge themselves upon their authors. Moreover, the Magyars are courting

⁶¹⁹ Balogh, *Népfajok*, pp. 944-52—a work published in 1902 under the aegis of the Minister of Education.

By	(A) Number of Communes gained from								Total.
	Mag-yars.	Ger-mans.	Slov-aks.	Rou-manians.	Ruth-enes.	Serbs.	Croats.	Others.	
Magyars . . .	x	45	89	42	40	22	15	8	.. 261
Germans . . .	76	x	15	13	1	30	28	5	.. 168
Slovaks . . .	56	15	x	3	176	3	—	—	.. 253
Roumanians . . .	309	42	—	x	—	11	—	—	.. 362
Ruthenes . . .	2	—	1	1	x	—	—	—	.. 4
Serbs . . .	—	—	2	6	—	x	—	—	.. 8
Croats . . .	10	14	1	—	—	21	x	—	.. 46
Others . . .	4	—	—	—	—	—	3	x	.. 7
Total . . .	457	116	108	65	217	87	46	13	.. x

(B) Number of Communes.

	Gained. Lost. Net result.				Gained. Lost. Net result.		
	Gained.	Lost.	Net result.		Gained.	Lost.	Net result.
Magyars . . .	261	456	.. -195	Roumanians	362	64	.. +198
Germans . . .	168	116	.. + 52	Ruthenes . . .	4	217	.. -213
Slovaks . . .	253	106	.. +147	Serbs . . .	8	87	.. - 79
				Croats . . .	46	46	.. 0

⁶²⁰ See articles of Gustav Beksics and Julius Vargha in *Budapesti Hírlap* of May 12 and June 2, 1904: cit. Popovici, op. cit. pp. 111-2.

BRUTE FORCE AND HISTORIC RIGHT

danger when they appeal to force rather than right in the racial question, or when they seek to conceal this appeal under an insistence upon historic right. Brute force and historic right are only too often merely two sides of the same question; and indeed a similar train of argument to that employed by the Magyars, would justify a revival of the realms of Svatopluk, of Dushan or of Zvonimir, or even a reduction of Hungary to the position which it occupied under Leopold I, or after the capitulation of Világos. In short, the argument of force reduces itself to claims of conquest dating from the ninth century, and any serious attempt to apply such an argument would plunge all Europe into a condition of anarchy, from which not even Hobbes's theories could rescue it.

The natural haughtiness of the Magyar has invented a term of reproach for each of the races which share Hungary with him. The German is contemptuously spoken of as the "Sváb" (Swabian), the Serb as "Vad Rác" or thieving Rascian, the Roumanian as "oláh" or "Wallach"; while the Slovak figures in the notorious proverb, "Tót nem ember" "the Slovak is not a man."⁶²¹ The non-Magyar schoolboy is mocked at and abused by his Magyar comrades and even by his masters. A Roumanian leader has told the story how his little boy, who attended a Magyar school, was made to learn the poem "Magyar vagyok, magyar maradok" (I am a Magyar, a Magyar I remain). His father consoled the child at night with the assurance that *he* would not be called upon to recite it. Next day the boy returned from school in floods of tears. The master had summoned him to repeat the poem; at first he hesitated and remained silent, but when pressed, he at length altered the opening words to "*Román vagyok, román maradok*," and was beaten for his insolence to the Magyar nation. "And what do the Magyars gain by such compulsion?" added the father as he told the tale; "they simply plant hatred, the deadliest hatred, in the children's souls; and they themselves will reap the fruits."⁶²² A Roumanian deputy, Mr. Maniu, put even the Chauvinists of the Coalition to shame, when in the autumn of 1906 he told the House how his kinsmen in Transylvania were greeted at school

⁶²¹ It is by no means uncommon at popular concerts to supplement the national anthem by the scurrilous song "Hunczfot a német" (the German is a craven rogue).

⁶²² Schultheiss, p. 74.

THE RACIAL QUESTION IN HUNGARY

by cries of "Stinking Wallach." And never shall I myself forget the impression left upon me by a conversation with another Roumanian leader, a man of the highest culture and intelligence. "Whatever happens," he said to me, "I mean to send my children to Magyar schools; but my wife does not approve of the idea." "Oh, really," I said, not much interested and little dreaming what was coming. "Yes," he went on, "I myself was educated at Magyar schools, and what we young Roumanians had to endure there, can never be forgotten in this life. I wish my children to go through the same experience: children of that age never forget."^{62c} The tone in which he spoke left me in no doubt as to the depth of his feeling; and the incident gave me more insight into the racial question than many weeks spent in the study of books and statutes.

There are, of course, many educated non-Magyars who take the Magyar side—who in fact go further and abjure their native language and customs, and load with abuse those who refuse to follow their craven example. But this does not prove the justice of the Magyar cause; it only proves that, human nature being what it is, men will always be found who prefer "the loaves and fishes" to the bitter bread of adversity. For the young Slovak or Roumanian entering upon life, the choice of a career is a matter of grave difficulty. Every public position, every office high or low, almost every chance of distinction in life depends upon his accepting "the idea of the Magyar state" and becoming an advocate of Magyar as opposed to non-Magyar culture. An almost irresistible premium is put upon apostasy, and then we are told that apostasy is voluntary and not demoralizing in the highest degree. Those who are loudest in their profession of Magyar sentiments, will often be found to be renegades, alike in nationality and in faith; and more than one Slovak landowner or Galician Jew has been known to denounce the scandal of permitting in Hungary any language or national traditions save the Magyar. But if once the wind blew steadily from another

⁶²³ Most Scotsmen or Irishmen who have been brought up at English private schools, will remember how their nationality was generally made a term of reproach; but with us the intolerance of the small boy changes at a public school to good-natured chaff and at the university to friendly tolerance. In Hungary, on the contrary, the prejudices of the small boy, instead of being checked or rebuked by his masters, are fanned to white heat, and grow more and more bitter as he approaches manhood.

quarter, these " patriots " would strike a very different note.

The growth of national feeling among the non-Magyar races is not, then, the work of a few agitators ; it is a natural evolution, a fresh stage in the history of South-Eastern Europe. The resistance of the Magyars to such a movement can command neither our approval nor our respect ; for it is at once a crime against civilization, and a futile attempt to hold in check the forces of nature. The Magyars persist in ignoring that moral and political country which Burke distinguished so carefully from the geographical. They aim at uniformity, and dream of " a national unitary Magyar state," which can only be erected upon the ruins of liberty. For " liberty provokes diversity, and diversity preserves liberty by supplying the means of organization. . . . The co-existence of several nations under the same state is a test, as well as the best security, of its freedom." " The denial of nationality implies the denial of political liberty." ⁶²⁴

The various solutions which have been suggested for the racial question may be roughly grouped under four heads—assimilation, autonomy, federalism and separatism.

(1) The first alternative—that the non-Magyar races should abandon their national identity, languages and culture and should submit to assimilation by the Magyars—need hardly be discussed seriously. Even the most degraded and backward people possesses the instinct of self-preservation, and in a much higher degree the races whom the Magyars would fain assimilate. The very variety of their traditions and culture increases the difficulty of the task ; for it is not a struggle between two rival cultures, but a war of extermination waged by a single culture simultaneously against five fronts. With the single exception of the Germans, all the non-Magyar races of Hungary are undoubtedly more backward than the Magyars—a fact which must be ascribed to their misfortune rather than to their faults. But the difference lies not between culture and unculture, but merely between varying degrees of culture ; and the progress made by the Nationalities during the last thirty years has greatly diminished both this difference and the prospects of assimilation.

Above all the numerical strength of the Nationalities forms a fatal obstacle to their Magyarization. In point of fact all the non-Magyar races have shown a numerical increase at each census since the Ausgleich ; and the addition of two

⁶²⁴ Lord Acton, *Essays on Liberty*, pp. 289, 288.

THE RACIAL QUESTION IN HUNGARY

million recruits to the Magyar ranks between the years 1880 and 1900 ⁶²⁵ is a statistical triumph which is open to the very gravest doubts. But even if we accept it as strictly accurate we find that the Magyars form only 54·4 per cent. (8,588,834) of the population of Hungary proper (exclusive of Croatia-Slavonia), as compared with 48·6 per cent. (8,132,740) non-Magyars. From the former figure must be deducted 594,451 Jews, to say nothing of the numerous Jewish converts and other renegades. Thus even according to the most favourable estimate, we find that for every Magyar in existence there is one non-Magyar who must be assimilated before Hungary can become a "national Magyar state"; and this is rendered infinitely more difficult by the fact that almost seven millions of the population do not even understand the language of their rulers.⁶²⁶

Obviously, then, Magyarization is a mere Utopian idea, such as could only be realized by exercising the same pressure which sent the author of Utopia to the scaffold. The German Empire, with its 60,000,000 inhabitants, aided by an administrative machine as perfect as that of Hungary is faulty, has utterly failed in its efforts to assimilate the three million Poles of Posen. Seven centuries of English occupation have failed to destroy the feeling of Irish nationality; and to-day, despite the gradual disappearance of linguistic differences and the support of a powerful Anglophil minority, we seem to be as far as ever from a solution of the problem. How, then, can eight million Magyars, a tiny drop in the Slav ocean, who do not possess a world-language like German or English, whose institutions cannot bear a comparison with those of Western Europe, whose culture, despite many excellent and brilliant features, is not of that outstanding quality which alone could endow it with expansive energy—how can they ever hope to assimilate races whose languages, despite their linguistic poverty, have a far higher economic value in the modern struggle for life? The Magyar language, so far from being the barbarous jargon for which its enemies hold it, is expressive and sonorous, and possesses a rich poetic literature whose charm and originality cannot be disputed. But none the less it is and always will remain a fatal handicap to Magyarization, since it forms a linguistic backwater outside the main currents of European thought and culture. It

⁶²⁵ *Ung. Stat. Jahrb.* xii. p. 18.

⁶²⁶ Appendix v.

is not spoken beyond the narrow bounds of Hungary,⁶²⁷ and even within its own country occupies an inferior economic status to German, which is the *lingua franca* of commerce and finance throughout South-Eastern Europe. No foreigner will ever take the trouble to learn the Magyar language; unless he wishes to reside in Hungary or to make a special study of its institutions; nor would he do so, even if it were the easiest language in Europe, instead of being one of the most difficult. The non-Magyar races of Hungary are very differently situated; and interest as well as sentiment prompts each of them to remain true to the language of their ancestors. The Germans can hardly be expected to renounce for the sake of Magyar unity the countless advantages which kinship with Austria and Germany confers; while the Slavs are even less likely to shut themselves off from intercourse with the hundred and fifty millions of the Slav world, and to restrict their outlook to the narrow provincial vista of Budapest. At present the Slovak pedlar can wander from Pressburg to Vladivostok without encountering serious linguistic difficulties; while the educated Croat or Slovak, after a month's study, can read Turgeniev or Dostoievsky in the original. The "literary Panslavism" conceived of by Kollár is no fantastic ideal; that it has not been realized long ago is solely due to the backwardness of education in Slav countries.

But quite apart from the practical realities of linguistic Panslavism, each of the Slav races of Hungary forms with its own immediate kinsmen across the frontier a race which is at least as numerous as the Magyar. The Serbo-Croatian language is spoken by about nine million persons, and is spread over an area as large as Great Britain. The Ruthene or Little Russian language is spoken by almost thirty million people, and may be heard as far east as Azov and the Caspian Sea. Even the Slovak language is so closely allied to the Czech, that the two races can communicate without difficulty, the more so as Czech is still the church language of the Lutheran Slovaks; thus Czechs and Slovaks together amount to very nearly nine millions. Even the Roumanians are more numerous than the Magyars, reaching in the various countries which they inhabit a total of little under ten millions.

Thus even if we admitted assimilation to be desirable in the abstract, we should still regard its realization as a wild chimæra, utterly beyond the bounds of practical politics.

⁶²⁷ Except by the 9,000 Magyars of the Bukovina.

(2) The natural antithesis to a policy of assimilation is to be found in separatist tendencies; and as a matter of fact it has become an almost universal practice among the Magyars to charge the nationalist leaders not merely with lack of patriotism but with direct treason and disloyalty. Refusal on their part to adopt the Magyar language and culture earns for the Slovak or Ruthene the nickname of "Panslav," for the Roumanian that of "Daco-Roman," for the Serb that of Pan-Serb; and all these terms of abuse are glibly bestowed by adherents of the Pan-Magyar ideal, by the most violent racial propagandists of the modern world. The word "Panslav," as applied to the Slovaks, is a misnomer for Slavophil. Every Magyar, either unconsciously or deliberately, confuses these two very different conceptions; and the loose habit, so widespread in the Magyar Press, of describing as "Panslavism" all agitation in favour of the Slovak language, has served to increase the confusion. As I have endeavoured to show in former chapters, it is little short of ludicrous to accuse the Slovaks of Panslavism in its true Russophil sense. All their traditions are Western, and ties of religion and language bind them to Prague rather than to St. Petersburg, while their spontaneous action at every crisis in modern Hungarian history, effectually proves that their sympathies lie with Austria rather than with Russia.

In the case of the Ruthenes, Russian sympathies would be more natural, since they form one of the two main branches of the Russian race, and since the Greek Uniate Church to which they belong has preserved more than one resemblance to the Orthodox Eastern Church.⁶²⁸ Tactless Magyarization has actually driven some of the Uniate Ruthenes to secede to Orthodoxy, and fantastic tales of the Great White Czar are from time to time traceable among the ignorant peasantry.

⁶²⁸ The Greek Uniate Church in Hungary is composed of two quite distinct branches: (a) the Ruthene Church which is a fragment of the Uniate Church of Poland (originally founded in 1595, when the metropolitan of Kiev and seven bishops acknowledged the Pope). In 1771 Clement XIV erected the Uniate bishopric of Munkács for the Ruthenes of Hungary, and in 1816 a second Uniate bishopric was founded at Eperjes; (b) the Roumanian Church, which dates from the Union of 1698. It possesses a metropolitan, residing at Blaj (Balázsfalva), and three bishops, of Nagyvárad (dating from 1776), Lugos (1850) and Szamos-Ujvár (1873), each with a chapter of six, canons. In 1900 there were 1,841,272 Uniates in Hungary, of whom 246,628 Magyars, 101,578 Slovaks and 410,775 Ruthenes belonged to (a) and the 1,064,780 Roumanians to (b).

But to speak of active "Panslavism" among the Ruthenes is a patent exaggeration, and the modern movement in Galicia, which reacts upon the few leaders whom they possess, is quite as hostile to Moscow as to Cracow.

The Pan-Serb propaganda, of which so much has been heard during the past year, must be considered from a different standpoint. Historic traditions of several centuries justify and explain the close intercourse between the Serbs of Hungary and their kinsmen in Belgrad. Southern Hungary was long a harbour of refuge for the Serb race, whose Patriarch received numerous privileges from Leopold I and his successors. Neusatz (Ujvidék) thus became a focus of Serb national culture in the days when a Turkish pasha misgoverned in Belgrad. Many Hungarian Serbs joined Kara George and Milosch Obrenovitch in their struggle for liberty, and volunteers from Servia returned the compliment in 1848 and fought under Stratimirovič against the Magyars. This did not deter the exiled Kossuth from negotiating with Prince Michael of Servia and holding out the prospect of concessions to the Nationalities; but the hopes thus kindled among the Hungarian Serbs were rudely dispelled by the severity with which Coloman Tisza crushed the Serbophil agitation of Miletič during the Serbo-Turkish War of 1876. Since then the Serbs of South Hungary have declined both in numbers and in influence, and do not constitute a danger for the Magyars. In Slavonia, where the Serb element is virile and progressive, the situation is different. It has been the settled policy of the Magyars for a generation past to sow discord between the Serbs and the Croats; and Baron Rauch's recent campaign against persons suspected of Pan-Serbism is a despairing effort on the part of the Budapest Government to undermine the unlooked-for "solidarity" displayed by the Serbo-Croatian Coalition in the Diet of Agram.

The phantom of Pan-Germanism has also raised its head from time to time among the prosperous Swabian peasantry of South Hungary; and the active anti-Magyar propaganda of the Pan-German League in Munich gave the Magyars some pretext for reprisals. The obvious impossibility of the scattered German colonies of the Banat and Transylvania ever forming part of a greater Germany, did not deter the Government. The poem "Gedenk' dass du ein Deutscher bist" brought upon its author's head a charge of instigation against the Magyar nationality, and he was ejected from

THE RACIAL QUESTION IN HUNGARY

the land which had inspired the exquisite lyrics of Nicholas Lenau.⁶²⁹

In resenting the influence which Bucarest exercises upon the Roumanians of Transylvania, the Magyars forget that it is above all due to their own policy. Quite apart from the thousands of Roumanian labourers whom economic reasons have driven to emigrate, a numerous band of political émigrés has found its way to Bucarest during the past forty years—educated Roumanians for whom there was no opening in their native Hungary and who therefore sought their fortunes in the young kingdom of Roumania. That these persons, many of whom fill posts of distinction in their adopted country, are openly hostile to the Magyars and seek to inflame the public opinion of Roumania against them, finds its explanation in human nature. That certain exaltés dream of a Pan-Roumanian state stretching from Orsova to Kischinev and from Constanza to Grosswardein, would not be worth denying; for such fantastic schemes have their parallel in every civilized country. But they do not enjoy the support of any serious leader of opinion in either country, and the dangers which any attempt to realize them would involve alike for Roumania, for Austria-Hungary and for Europe, have long been clearly understood in Bucarest. The present Premier of Roumania, Mr. Demeter Sturdza—formerly a zealous champion of his Transylvanian kinsmen—summarized this view in a notable speech in the Roumanian Senate in November, 1893. "No one in our kingdom," he said, "thinks of conquering Transylvania, because we do not possess the strength for such an undertaking: because such an undertaking, even were it possible, would of necessity involve the disruption of Austria-Hungary, and because this destruction would be fatal to the Roumanians themselves and would cause a general disturbance in Europe. . . . The existence of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is a European necessity of the first order, just as the existence of the Roumanian state is also. As the former cannot undertake anything against the existence of the Roumanian state, so the kingdom of Roumania cannot take steps against the existence of Austria Hungary. That is the political basis of the conditions in Eastern Europe, and hence all Irredentist tendencies are nothing but absurd and morbid fancies or criminal designs; hence, fortunately,

⁶²⁹ The poet Lenau was a German Hungarian.

such tendencies cannot gain ground, and have no political significance whatever." ⁶³⁰

The reckless charges of separatist tendencies levelled against the Nationalities need not be taken too seriously. The Magyars claim a monopoly of treasonable practices, and resent the stubborn loyalty which the Roumanians of Transylvania have always displayed towards the House of Habsburg. In reality the connexion with Austria shields Hungary from the very possibility of Panslav or Daco-Romanist schemes being realized at her expense. For aspirations which are merely ridiculous when directed against the Dual Monarchy, would enter the realm of practical politics as soon as Hungary stood alone. In that event, Roumania, with her brilliant army and reorganized finances, could not be blamed for attempting the conquest of Transylvania, while Servia might be inclined to seek compensation in the Banat for the loss of Bosnia. Hungarian independence, in whatever form it might be achieved, would involve at least temporary military and financial disorganization; and a Serbo-Roumanian alliance, with the possible co-operation of Bulgaria, would have strong prospects of success, the more so as the non-Magyar population of Hungary could not be relied upon in a war against their own flesh and blood.

Separatism, then, can only be regarded as a solution by those ignorant persons who believe in a dissolution of the Dual Monarchy and the inevitable European conflagration which that event would kindle.

(3) A third alternative is the revision of the present Dual system, and the substitution of a federal constitution for the entire Habsburg dominions. The most celebrated Federal proposal is that of the Bohemian historian Palacky, who advocated the formation of eight national groups or provinces, ⁶³¹

⁶³⁰ Mr. Take Jonescu, the Conservative leader, says in his pamphlet *La politique étrangère de la Roumanie*, p. 11, "S'il y a une accusation contre laquelle tous les Roumains, ceux des provinces soumises aussi bien que la jeunesse universitaire qui a pris l'initiative du récent mouvement patriotique, se défendent avec véhémence, c'est celle de suivre une politique irredentiste. En effet, la politique irredentiste est impossible pour l'état roumain."

⁶³¹ 1, German Austria; 2, Czech Austria (with Slovak districts); 3, Polish Austria; 4, Ruthene Austria (with Ruthenes of Hungary and Bukovina); 5, Illyrian Austria (all South Slavs); 6, Roumanian Austria (Transylvania and the Roumanian parts of Hungary proper and Bukovina); 7, Magyar Austria; 8, Italian Austria.

THE RACIAL QUESTION IN HUNGARY

each with its own local diet, but all subject to the central Parliament in Vienna in matters of defence, diplomacy, finance, commerce and customs. Curiously enough Palacky put forward the Hungarian constitution—purified from certain obvious abuses—as a model for the local diets; for not all his Slav prejudices could blind him to the fact that the kernel of Hungarian institutions was thoroughly sound⁶³² and that its imperfections were mere temporary blemishes. In Palacky's happy phrase, of the three constitutional systems which are possible in the Habsburg Monarchy, Centralism secures the hegemony to the Germans alone: Dualism partitions it between two races, the Germans and the Magyars; Federalism alone guarantees those equal rights of all nationalities which it is the historic mission of Austria to achieve. For him national equality simply meant the emancipation of the Slavs and Roumanians from the Germans and Magyars.

The October Diploma of 1860 would have made development upon Palacky's lines possible, without at the same time tilting recklessly at the Hungarian constitution as did the February Patent of 1861.⁶³³ But the experiment remained on paper; and the statesmen of the day, after vainly attempting to impose a rival Centralist scheme, were at length forced by external circumstances to adopt Dualism as a necessary compromise of the moment. In the generation following upon the Ausgleich, political power was monopolized in Austria and in Hungary by the Germans and the Magyars⁶³⁴; and Palacky's ideas fell into abeyance. By an irony of fate, their revival has coincided with the most violent of all the Magyar onslaughts upon the Dual System, and has been reserved for one of the victims of a Magyarizing policy. Mr. Aurel Popovici, who in his student days was sentenced by a Magyar jury to four years' imprisonment for his advocacy of the Roumanian cause, published in the spring of 1906 a book entitled *The United States of Great Austria*. The facts that it has been adopted by the Jingoës of Vienna as the basis of their Pan-Austrian designs, and that the Hungarian Government thought it worthy of the honour of confiscation, have brought the book into further prominence.

Mr. Popovici propounds an elaborate scheme for a Federal

⁶³² Palacky, *Oesterreichs Staatsidee*, p. 61.

⁶³³ See pp. 119-120.

⁶³⁴ While their fellow-conspirators the Poles and Croats sank into a period of political stagnation.

FEDERAL PROJECTS

Austria, composed of fifteen racial states,⁶³⁵ each possessing a Diet where local affairs would be discussed in the local language, but each sending delegates to a central Parliament, to which all matters of diplomacy, defence, finance, customs, railways, coinage, patents and civil and criminal law would be referred. The central Government would be conducted by an Imperial Chancellor, and an Imperial Court of Appeal would decide disputes between the various states. The German language would necessarily be adopted as the official language of the Empire. Special privileges would be secured to the smaller racial enclaves scattered throughout the territories of the larger nationalities; and the mediaeval historic boundaries would be definitely abandoned. As for the Magyars, *ils morderont sur du granit* (!) and their discontent would be paralysed by the gratitude and approval of all the other races of a regenerated Empire.

The fatal objection to Popovici's scheme lies in his own admission that it could *never* be accomplished by Parliamentary means, and that the Emperor alone is capable of achieving this truly national *coup d'état*. Racial prejudice blinds Popovici to the manifold injustice which would inevitably attend it, and to the deadly injury which it would deal to constitutional Government throughout South-Eastern Europe.

A far more brilliant and original proposal is that of Dr. Carl Renner,⁶³⁶ better known under his pseudonym of "Rudolf Springer." Realizing that no system of provincial autonomy can hope to unravel all the intermingling racial threads of the Habsburg dominions, he boldly abandoned as impracticable this solution of the racial question. Nation and State never have been, and never will be convertible terms, and so long as "the fetich of provincial boundaries" is not dethroned, friction between the various races is bound to continue. "The Crown Lands (Kronländer) are the internal enemy of the Habsburg Monarchy." A clear distinction must be drawn between the state as a territorial conception, and nationality as a conception of individuality, of kinship, of mutual association. This distinction leads "Rudolf

⁶³⁵ German Austria, German Bohemia, German Moravia and Silesia, Czech Bohemia, Magyaria, Transylvania, Croatia, West and East Galicia, Slovacia, Carniola, Voivodina, Szekelland, Trentino, Trieste.

⁶³⁶ Dr. Renner, who was till recently an assistant librarian in the Austrian Reichsrath, is now a member of the House, sitting for Neunkirchen in the Social Democratic interest.

Springer" to the highly ingenious idea of creating a dual basis for the executive—a territorial and a national; the individual citizen would thus in all national matters be subject to his own national corporation, but in all other respects to the ordinary civil authorities. In short, the national problem would be solved in the same way as the religious—and the Nationalities, like the Churches, would be recognized as corporate bodies in the State. The adherence of a particular citizen to a particular nationality would concern the State as little (or as much) as his adherence to a particular creed, and would altogether cease to be a menace to the unity of the State. National "universities" would be formed, in the mediaeval sense of the word "universitas"; each nationality would form a corporation within the State; and the new territorial unit of the Circuit (*Distrikt* or *Kreis*) would be the foundation upon which to rest the machinery of interracial compromise.⁶³⁷

There is every reason to hope that "Rudolf Springer's" ideas will be realized in Austria before many years have elapsed; a promising beginning has already been made in Moravia, where the system of national voting colleges for the elections to the Diet has been attended with very real success. But its application to the Monarchy, as a whole, is much more improbable. Some revision of the Ausgleich is doubtless inevitable in the course of the next twenty years; but the abrogation of Dualism in favour of a federal system is only possible if the Independents of Hungary persist in their separatist policy, and thus drive Austria and the dynasty into alliance with Croatia, the Nationalities and the Socialists. "Rudolf Springer" does not appear to realize that his theories could be carried into effect both in Austria and in Hungary, without necessarily affecting the Dualist structure of the State. To him, as to Popovici, the Magyars are a fatal obstacle, which cannot be bent and therefore must be broken.

(4) A somewhat less revolutionary or improbable solution is the grant of autonomy to the various races. This might take two forms. Either the autonomy of Transylvania might

⁶³⁷ The above is a very inadequate interpretation of the ideas which underlie Dr. Renner's epoch-making books, *Der Kampf der österreichischen Nationen um den Staat* (1902), and *Grundlagen und Entwicklungsziele der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (1906). Both are indispensable for the student of modern Austria.

be revived, the privileged position of the old historic nations ⁶³⁸ might be restored, and similar privileges assured to the other races of the country ⁶³⁹; or new political divisions might be introduced, and local Diets created for each of the various nationalities, all subject to the central Parliament in Budapest. But not even the most uncompromising Roumanian leader of to-day regards Transylvanian autonomy as practical, or even desirable; and it merely remains on their programme as a protest against the treatment meted out to them since the Union, and as an article of barter in view of possible negotiations. In the same way the *pia desideria* uttered by the Slovak leaders of the sixties, no longer commend themselves to their more practical successors, and indeed have been abandoned by all save a few dreamers in provincial towns. ⁶⁴⁰

Racial autonomy is a solution which is open to many grave objections; but its impossibility is clinched by the fact that the Magyars could never be induced to give their consent. In the words of Eötvös, "the question of nationality rests not upon logic but upon sentiment, and no solution can be accepted as just or permanent which is distasteful to any of the races of the country." Provincial autonomy would weaken not merely the Magyar race, but also the Hungarian nation; while the possible advantages which it might secure to the Nationalities could be attained far more effectively by less drastic measures.

The four solutions which we have discussed would all seem open to radical objections and difficulties. It would therefore be mere presumption on the part of a foreigner to propound a rival scheme. But there can be no objection to summarizing the most necessary of the reforms which are an essential preliminary to its solution.

I. There must be a wide extension of the parliamentary franchise—wide enough to admit the vast mass of working men to political rights, and only withheld (if withheld at all) from those who cannot read and write. This reform must be based upon five leading principles: (a) secret ballot, with

⁶³⁸ The Saxons and Szekels in Transylvania, and the Serbs of the Banat.

⁶³⁹ The Slovaks, Ruthenes and Roumanians.

⁶⁴⁰ The idea of transforming Hungary into a "monarchical Switzerland," as advocated by Dr. Polit, the Serb deputy, does not of course involve the erection of local diets, but merely a thoroughgoing reform of the present system of county government.

THE RACIAL QUESTION IN HUNGARY

unsigned voting papers drawn up in all the local languages ; (b) polling in each commune ; (c) conduct of elections by officials sent from headquarters ; (d) distribution of seats according to racial boundaries, and on a basis of population ; (e) elaborate precautions against corruption, and their strict enforcement.

II. This reform must be followed by a revision and democratization of County Government on the following lines :—

- (a) Redistribution of the counties according to racial boundaries.
- (b) Wide extension of the franchise for the county assemblies, but retention of a low tax qualification.
- (c) Abolition of "virilist" votes.
- (d) Appointment of officials for life and revision of the form of election.
- (e) Employment of such officials only as have passed adequate tests in the various local languages.
- (f) Right of any member of a county or communal assembly to employ his own language during the debates.
- (g) Retention of Magyar as the official language of the minutes in all county and communal assemblies, but their publication also in any language spoken by one-third of the population in the county or commune in question.

In all this it should be possible to follow the principles of local government which are practised in the British Isles. In other words, it should be possible, without granting any kind of autonomy to the various nationalities, to introduce special legislation to meet their individual requirements. There is no reason why the Slovaks should not possess an educational system of their own, just as the Scottish nation has its own systems of education, law and local Government, without any system of "Home Rule." There is no reason why the law courts of Transylvania should not be specially organized to suit Roumanian and Saxon needs, just as the courts of Dublin and Edinburgh are essentially distinct from those of London.

III. Judicial Reforms.—The introduction of Slovak on equal terms with Magyar as the language of the courts of first instance in purely Slovak districts, and the extension of the same principle to the German, Roumanian, Ruthene and Serb districts.

IV. Unrestricted Right of Assembly and Association.—

Hence the right to found leagues, societies and clubs for any purpose, whether cultural or political. Incidentally the funds and buildings of the Matica Slovenska ought to be restored.

V. Right of Petition.—The right of every citizen to present petitions and complaints to the courts in his own language.

VI. Liberty of the Press, and the abandonment of political actions against the Nationalities and the Socialists, save in altogether exceptional cases. This would involve a revision of paragraphs 171 to 173 of the Criminal Code, regarding “incitement of one nationality against another.” If these offensive clauses are to be retained at all, they must at least be enforced equally against Magyars and non-Magyars, not exclusively against the latter as hitherto. For instance, the misuse of the word “Panslav” to describe advocates of the Slovak language, should be rigorously repressed.

VII. Education.—The fulfilment of the State’s pledge (1868, XLIV. § 17) to provide instruction in the mother tongue “up to the point where the higher academic culture begins.” This would involve (a) the introduction of Slovak as the language of instruction in all primary schools in purely Slovak districts, and in a due proportion in mixed districts; (b) the introduction of Slovak as language of instruction in a certain number of the industrial and commercial schools maintained by the State; (c) the erection of at least three Slovak gymnasia and one Slovak Academy of Law; (d) provision for proper instruction in the Slovak language both in teachers’ seminaries and in the Catholic and Lutheran theological colleges.

Similar treatment must be extended to all the other races of the country.

VIII. Use of the non-Magyar languages in addition to Magyar on all taxation schedules, Government notices and circulars, and in all railway stations and post-offices.

IX. Total abolition of the offence of *laudatio criminis*.

X. Entire immunity of all members of Parliament for all political offences save high treason.

XI. Substitution of the baton for the rifle in the gendarmerie, or at least the imposition of more stringent rules against the provocative and callous behaviour of the gendarmes, which so often leads to bloodshed.

XII. The introduction of a clear distinction between the words “Hungarian” and “Magyar” in all legal documents and official communications, and the adoption of this distinc-

THE RACIAL QUESTION IN HUNGARY

tion by the Magyar press. So long as the official language of the country employs one and the same word ("magyar") for two such different conceptions as "the political Hungarian nation" and "the ethnical Magyar race," and so long as responsible statesmen perpetuate this misunderstanding in their speeches, the fundamental condition for clear thinking upon the racial question is lacking, and the lamentable confusion of ideas which prevails in Hungary to day will continue or grow worse.

None of these suggestions in any way impair the sovereignty of the Crown of St. Stephen or the territorial unity of Hungary: and it cannot be argued that it would dethrone the Magyar language from its dominant position. They would merely deprive the Magyars of their unjust racial monopoly, and force them to rely for their supremacy upon moral and intellectual qualities. Magyar would still remain the official language of State, and the sole language of Parliamentary debate, of the central executive and of the courts of appeal. A complete mastery of the Magyar language would still be an essential qualification for every official in the Government departments, in the county jurisdictions and in the courts of law. The Magyar language would remain the official language of the two Hungarian Universities, and a compulsory subject in all secondary schools.

It must not of course be supposed that such a programme would be acceptable to the Coalition Government. But this need not disturb us; for Hungary's future does not lie with them. The day of reckoning is at hand, and Universal Suffrage, even if it does not deprive the Coalition of their Parliamentary majority, will introduce new democratic elements into the House and infuse a new tone into public discussion. It is useless to expect reform from a racial oligarchy; only the coming People's Parliament can regenerate Hungary.

The racial question in Hungary is not without its bearing upon the crisis in the Near East. So long as the governing classes of Hungary pursue a Slavophobe policy, and by their treatment of the Nationalities render cordial relations between the Dual Monarchy and her southern neighbours impossible, so long will the Northern Balkans remain discontented and unsettled, and the burning question of Serbo-Croatian unity—beside which that of a Big Bulgaria is mere child's play—will remain unsolved. The present political situation of the

race is intolerable, and keeps the whole eastern side of the Adriatic in a fluid condition. The Serb race owns allegiance to five different states; three millions are to be found in the kingdom of Servia, two and a half millions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, half a million in Turkey, a million in Croatia-Slavonia, and half a million in South Hungary. Add to this the Croats in Croatia and Dalmatia, and we have a homogeneous population inhabiting a tract of country almost as extensive as England and Scotland together. That so numerous a race, whose national consciousness has long been thoroughly awake, can be subjected indefinitely to uncongenial forms of government, is quite unthinkable in the twentieth century. Nowhere in Europe does historic tradition count for so much as among the southern Slavs, to whom the glories of Stephen Dushan and St. Sava, and the stricken field of Kossovo are living memories even to-day. But the present position of the kingdom of Servia is untenable. The feuds of rival parties still leave her internal policy at the mercy of the ex-Premier, Dr. Pašič, a man of ability but of chequered past; while the sinister figures of the regicides lurk in the background and spin their intrigues even within the walls of the Konak itself. Externally Servia remains as ever at the mercy of the Dual Monarchy, whose occupation of Bosnia and the Sandjak cut her off from the sea and holds her in abject economic vassalage. The uncertain position of King Peter and his dynasty affects the country's prestige, while the smouldering feud with Bulgaria, which the new situation is likely to kindle into flame, adds to the general uncertainty and to the depression of trade caused by the recent tariff war with Austria-Hungary. The Bulgarian propaganda had endangered Servian influence in the Turkish province of Old Servia, and until the Turkish revolution suspended racial strife, Servia was straining every nerve to check the activity of the Bulgar bands and to reassert her claims to the Ottoman inheritance.

Meanwhile she is accused of Pan-Serb propaganda in Bosnia, where the growing discontent of thirty years can no longer be kept hidden from the outer world. Austro-Hungarian rule has worked wonders in the occupied provinces, and has reclaimed a desert for civilization. But no well-informed Austrian would attempt to deny that certain administrative abuses do exist, and that the Catholic propaganda of Archbishop Stadler has aroused intense resentment

THE RACIAL QUESTION IN HUNGARY

among the Orthodox and Mohammedan Serbs who together form over two-thirds of the population. Unhappily Baron Burian's tactful and enlightened endeavour to introduce self-government by instalments, has met with opposition from the permanent officials, the Magyar Government and the Catholic hierarchy, and has not been rendered easier by the Bosnians themselves. The idea that discontent in Bosnia is due to Pan-Serb propaganda can easily be traced to the present Ban of Croatia and to Budapest official sources; for the Magyars, having no kinsmen of their own, seem incapable of realizing that ties of kinship are stronger than artificial frontiers. In reality most of the surplus energy at Belgrad which survives the endless feuds of Old and Young Radicals, of regicides and adherents of the Obrenovitch, had been expended upon Macedonia, not upon Bosnia. Indeed the Bosnians need no prompting, and the telegram addressed by their refugee leaders to the sovereigns at Reval showed them to be alive to the situation and if necessary prepared for action. But this does not of course mean that the feeling of Serb solidarity has been weakened; on the contrary it is stronger than ever, and the Bosnian crisis has dispelled the temporary friction between the Courts of Belgrade and Cettinje.

Meanwhile the attitude of Austria-Hungary towards Servia is to a great extent determined by the situation in Croatia. Till recently the rivalry of Serb and Croat—who represent the difference between East and West, between Byzantium and Rome, between Athos and Monte Cassino—placed Croatia at the mercy of the Hungarian Government for a whole generation. But the rashness of Mr. Kossuth and the Coalition has destroyed the old Magyarophil party in Croatia: Croat and Serb are united against Budapest. To-day Agram aspires to be the capital of a South Slav kingdom within the Habsburg Monarchy; and the most serious opposition to this comes not from Belgrad but from Budapest. The realization of this ambition would involve the substitution of "Trialism" for Dualism, and would deal a fatal blow to the Magyar hegemony in Hungary. Even as it is, Croatia has been governed absolutely since February, 1908; Baron Rauch has degraded the high office of Ban of Croatia to that of a mere "exponent of the Hungarian Government"; he and his ministers (sectional chiefs) have not a single follower in the Diet of Agram, and therefore the Diet is not allowed to sit. The Croatian Ausgleich has been violated by the important Railways Act of

last year ; the autonomy of the Croatian University is infringed, and the prisons of Croatia are being filled with persons suspected of Pan-Serb leanings. All these oppressive measures have only served to strengthen the Serbo-Croatian solidarity ; and the Magyars, who deluged Europe with charges of Austrian absolutism, have themselves been converted by an irony of fate into the stern upholders of Absolutism in Croatia.

This situation cannot last indefinitely, and the annexation of Bosnia will bring the Croatian crisis to a head. There are already signs of an approaching contest between Austria and Hungary as to the legal status of the new provinces. Hungary seeks to revive the ancient suzerainty of the Crown of St. Stephen over Bosnia, forgetting that to enforce the claims of Louis the Great would involve a war of conquest against Roumania and Servia. Austria on the other hand takes up the position that the original occupation in 1878 rests not upon historic right, but upon a mandate of the Powers and upon the necessities of her own geographical situation ; Bosnia's position as a Turkish province is the sole historic fact which requires to be considered, and hence if claims of conquest and suzerainty have any value, obviously the Sultan must resume possession. In this conflict of opinion, Croatian support will be an invaluable asset ; and when the new Bosnian Diet meets, Parliamentary government can no longer be suspended in Croatia. The opposition of Servia and Montenegro need not greatly alarm the Ballplatz, so long as Croatia approves of the annexation ; but if the Croats were driven by the reactionary Magyar policy into the arms of Belgrade, then the position of the Monarchy would be one of real danger. Everything points to the need of a definite understanding between Vienna and Agram. This forms part of a natural evolution, and will only be delayed, not averted, by a postponement of electoral reform in Hungary. The politicians who supply in Budapest the place of statesmen, are between the Scylla of racial equality and the Charybdis of social revolution.

Meanwhile for Servia the all-important problem of foreign policy is a reconciliation with the Dual Monarchy ; and more than one far-sighted politician has favoured closer union with her great neighbour. Economic and military unity need not affect Servian independence, as is shown by the present position of Hungary ; while the example of the German *Bundesfürsten* shows that such a step need not even involve

THE RACIAL QUESTION IN HUNGARY

the expulsion of the native Servian dynasty. For Austria-Hungary, on the other hand, the main problem is whether the union of the Southern Slavs is to be achieved with her aid or despite her opposition; and the voluntary inclusion of Servia within the Habsburg Monarchy might prove the first step towards a final solution of the complicated South Slav question. Unhappily the consent of Servia is more than doubtful, and the growing war fever may sweep King Peter off his feet. Servia's natural allies are Turkey and Italy, but it is probable that the latter has been neutralized by Austrian assurances of support in Tripoli or even in Albania. Servia's declaration of war without an ally could only result in the occupation of Belgrade by Austrian troops and then Russian intervention would be almost inevitable. The bellicose utterances of Prince George of Servia are sufficiently explained by a desire to restore the Karageorgevitch dynasty to popular favour, but they also represent a dangerous speculation upon the goodwill of the Russian Jingo. A true instinct tells the young prince that Servia's final submission to the loss of Bosnia without territorial compensation, would cost his father and himself the throne; but he seems less willing to realize the absolute madness of an aggressive policy. A close understanding between Servia and the Dual Monarchy would be desirable from every point of view; but unfortunately the trend of opinion in both countries is at present strongly in the opposite direction.

The Austro-Hungarian Government very naturally differs from those of her neighbours who affect to regard the occupation as provisional rather than permanent. But while all reasonable persons in this country will admit that the civilization of Vienna is superior to that of Belgrade, and that annexation was merely a question of time, they will, on the other hand, strongly deprecate Baron Aehrenthal's choice of time and will find it difficult to comprehend Austrian indifference to treaty obligations. The Treaty of London (1871), to which the Dual Monarchy was a party, expressly laid down that "no Power can break its treaty engagements or modify their stipulations except by friendly agreement and with the assent of the other contracting parties." These words defy all Baron Aehrenthal's attempts at explanation. At the same time it would be unjust to regard the Ballplatz as a mere dupe of Germany's desire to throw back the cause of

disarmament; for (long before the present crisis) all serious statesmen were aware that the Balkan situation rendered disarmament impossible. Besides there are good grounds for believing that Baron Aehrenthal acted without consulting his German ally, whose faculty for keeping state secrets has been startlingly illustrated by the now famous interview in the *Daily Telegraph*.

In seeking to evade international control of the Bosnian question and to negotiate with the Porte alone, Austria-Hungary imagined a false analogy with the colonial policy of Great Britain, who in developing her Empire has shown but little regard for the wishes or interests of other Powers. The indignation expressed by the British Press at Austro-Hungarian action, is not unnaturally regarded in Vienna as mere cant and hypocrisy, since the Great Power which is responsible for the Cyprus Convention would seem to be peculiarly unqualified to pose as a stern upholder of the Treaty of Berlin. Yet the parallel between Bosnia and Egypt is far from exact, since the British Government fully recognized the special interests of France in Egypt, and only regarded the occupation as definitely irrevocable after the conclusion of the Anglo-French Agreement.

The real interest lies in the attitude of the governing classes of Hungary towards the annexation. In 1878 Magyar public opinion was markedly hostile to the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and even Count Andrassy's presence at the Ballplatz did not suffice to allay the opposition to such a move. The unpopularity which the Tisza Cabinet earned by its consent was probably not without its influence upon Andrassy, when he declined Beaconsfield's proposal for annexation instead of an European "mandate." In 1908 Andrassy's post is held by a German, the Hungarian Parliament is controlled by a Kossuthist and Pan-Magyar majority, and yet no Magyar voice has been raised in protest against the annexation. The reasons for this complaisant attitude on the part of the Coalition Cabinet have not yet transpired; but it has already been suggested that their consent was purchased by the Crown's surrender to the reactionary Franchise Bill of the great Andrassy's son, the present Minister of the Interior. This, however, must be dismissed as an impudent reflection upon the honour of the Emperor-King, who pledged his word in 1906 for the introduction of Universal Suffrage in Hungary. It is far more probable that the Hungarian Government hopes,

by raising the Bosnian question and all the complicated issues which it involves for Croatia, for Hungary and for the Monarchy as a whole, to divert attention from the franchise and thus to delay indefinitely the discussion of this much-needed reform.

The key to the whole Balkan question lies among the Serbo-Croatian race; and the future of Bosnia and Servia depends upon the situation in Hungary and Croatia. Thus it is not too much to say that the racial question in Hungary reacts upon all problems of the Near East, and that the manner of its solution will exercise a decisive influence upon the Balance of Power in the Balkans. The extension of the Hungarian franchise is an event not merely of local, but of European importance, and it is well that the foreign public should realize the gravity of the issues involved.

A genuine Reform Bill is the first step towards a solution of the racial question in Hungary—a question whose continued neglect might prove fatal to the Dual Monarchy and the Habsburg dynasty. The Young Turks have recognized all races of the Ottoman Empire as their brothers: the Russian Government is on the brink of an understanding with the Poles: public opinion in Austria demands every day more strongly a final compromise between the rival races of Cisleithania; in Germany a large section of the nation condemns the unjust and short-sighted policy adopted towards the Poles of Posen. Among the Magyars alone is public opinion unanimous in favour of racial monopoly; and Count Andrassy's reactionary project of plural and public voting would, if passed into law, merely give a new lease of life to the oligarchy which upholds this monopoly in the interests of its own narrow class. A settlement in Croatia would then be rendered impossible, the constitutional position of Bosnia would remain uncertain, and a serious blow would be dealt at Austro-Hungarian prestige throughout the Balkans.

The fate of the Near East depends less upon the attitude of the Porte or the Czar of Sofia, than upon the course of events in Agram, Budapest and Vienna. The historic mission of the House of Habsburg is the vindication of equal rights and liberties for all the races committed to its charge. The abandonment of this mission would leave Russia supreme in the Balkans, and would endanger the very existence of a Great Power upon the Middle Danube.

Appendices

APPENDIX I

REPORT OF THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON THE QUESTION OF THE NATIONALITIES (1861).

THE Committee appointed to consider the question of the Nationalities considered it above all necessary to lay down the main principles which should serve for guidance towards the solution of this task.

Two courses lay open to it, as a basis of its procedure: the wishes formulated by the nationalities of the country, as, for instance, in the Memorandum of the Turóc assembly and also by the Serb Congress and on behalf of the Transylvanian Roumanians, or a characterization of those limits within which the individual nationalities can freely realize their demands in this direction.

The Committee chose this second point of departure, for it considered it incompatible with the principle of legal equality laid down in 1848, that a question which is so closely related to personal freedom, should be solved in the way of concessions; because owing to the circumstance that the individual nationalities in the country are scattered and mixed, the satisfaction of their concrete wishes would either involve such territorial changes and alteration of boundaries as would endanger the political unity of the country, or would lead to the complete suppression of the lesser racial fragments which are to be found in the territory of the larger nationalities; because finally the way of concessions would most surely serve to perpetuate the friction between the individual nationalities and to drive into the background the free and beneficial competition between individuals and corporations within the bounds of legal equality, by the unfruitful endeavour to win rights.

Hungary seems, by reason of its peculiar geographical conditions, called upon to endeavour once and for all to solve the question of the nationalities by legal provisions under the shelter of which the just demands of the individual citizen, in whatever part of the fatherland, should be protected in such a measure as to guarantee in free union the possible development of the individual nationalities as corporations.

The elements of such legal provisions are offered in our country by (1) the communal autonomy which has existed for centuries; (2) the autonomy of the individual denominations, which extends not only to church affairs but also to the internal organization and

management of their schools ; and above all the Municipal System, whose rational basis is formed by the preservation of individual freedom against the extension of the power of the State, and by the free movement of physical and moral units within the most necessary limits of the unity of the State.

Starting from this view, and while respecting the legal limits imposed by the old municipal rights of Croatia and by § 5 Article vii. of 1847-8 regarding Transylvania, we thought it our duty above all to lay down two main principles :—

- (a) that the citizens of Hungary of every tongue, form politically only one nation—the unitary and indivisible Hungarian nation, corresponding to the historic conceptions of the Hungarian state.
- (b) that all peoples dwelling in this country—Magyars, Slovaks, Roumanians, Germans, Serbs, Ruthenes, etc.—are to be regarded as nationalities possessing equal rights, who are free to make valid their special national claims within the limits of the political unity of the country, on a basis of freedom of the person and of association, without any further restriction.

A. Of the National Rights of Individuals and of Corporations.

§ 1. Every citizen has the right, in his memorials to his own communal or municipal¹ authorities, as also to the state authorities, to employ his mother tongue.

§ 2. But other communal or municipal authorities are only bound to accept such memorials as are written in one of the languages usual in the commune or district in question.

§ 3. In the communal debates every one can speak in his mother tongue.

§ 4. The business language of the commune is determined by the communal assembly ; but in such a way that at the request of the minority its language also be employed in the conduct of business.

§ 5. The communal magistrates are bound in their official dealings with the individual inhabitants, to employ the language of the latter.

§ 6. The Church congregations (község : Gemeinde) have free control of the administration of all their internal affairs, and especially of the choice of the language to be employed in keeping the registers and in instruction in their elementary schools.

§ 7. Every denomination and every nationality is equally entitled to claim the help of the state for such communes [or parishes] as are unable to bear their own church expenses or educational expenses.

¹ The word "Municipality" in Hungarian legal phrase includes both county assemblies and town councils.

§ 8. Every denomination and nationality is free to erect secondary and higher schools; the choice of the educational system and of the language of instruction in such schools, as also in similar schools already erected by the various denominations and nationalities, rests—subject to the Government's right of supervision—with the individuals or bodies who are founding them.

§ 9. In the state schools the decision as to the language of instruction belongs to the Ministry of Education, which in its decrees on this point is bound to take into account the languages in use in the district of the school in question.

§ 10. At the National University chairs of language and literature are to be erected for all the nationalities inhabiting the country.

B. Of the Jurisdictions.

§ 11. In the assemblies of the Jurisdictions all those who have the right to speak, can use their mother tongue.

§ 12. The language of the minutes of debate and the business language of the officials of the Jurisdiction are determined by the General Assembly; but at the same time all nationalities in the territory of the Jurisdiction retain the right to demand that the minutes be kept in their own language.

§ 13. In case the Magyar should not be adopted as the Jurisdiction's language of the minutes, these minutes are, with a view to facilitating governmental control, to be drawn up in the Magyar language also.

§ 14. The officials of the Jurisdiction are bound in their intercourse with the communes and individuals under them to use the language of the latter—especially in oral deliberations which affect either individuals or the State.

§ 15. The Jurisdictions communicate with one another in the Magyar language; but those Jurisdictions of mixed nationality, which have one and the same business language, are allowed to communicate with one another in this language.

§ 16. In the case of Jurisdictions in whose territory the business language adopted by a single Jurisdiction or the language employed in the territory of such a Jurisdiction by individuals and corporations is not in use, all memorials must be submitted to them in the Magyar language also.

§ 17. The Jurisdictions communicate with the state authorities in the Magyar language.

C. Of the State Authorities.

§ 18. The business language of the state authorities is the Magyar.

§ 19. The offices and dignities of the State are, according to Act V. of 1844, to be filled in virtue of capacity and merit, without regard to nationality.

§ 20. The competent Ministers are bound to ensure that the

offices of the various state authorities shall draw from the midst of the different nationalities a sufficient number of individuals who are equipped with the necessary knowledge for dealing with the documents submitted by municipalities of mixed language and by the individuals and corporations under them. This consideration is also to be taken into account in filling the posts of High Sheriffs.

D. Of Parliament.

§ 21. The language of deliberation and business in Parliament is the Magyar.

§ 22. The laws are also to be promulgated in the languages of all the nationalities inhabiting the country, in authentic translations to be prepared by Parliament.

§ 23. All laws running counter to the above provisions, especially the limitations contained in § 3 of Act V. of 1847-8, in § 2e of Act XVI. of the same year, and in § 7 of Act VI. of 1840, as also those decrees which occur in the Transylvanian *Approbatis et Compilatis* and which insult the Roumanian nationality, are once more repealed.

§ 24. The rights thus assured to all nationalities inhabiting the country, are proclaimed as a fundamental law and placed under the protection of the national honour.

That close link which exists in this country between racial and denominational conditions, make it impossible to separate altogether the commerging claims; and we therefore wish it to be expressly declared, that all those points which relate to church congregations and schools, are to be regarded as emanating from those laws of our country which regulate the autonomous rights of the various denominations, and whose maintenance in their full substance—especially the maintenance of the fundamental laws XXVI. and XXVII. of 1790-1, guaranteeing the rights of the Protestants of both confessions and of the Greek Oriental Church—we should like to emphasize in this place.

In the addenda to this our report we have the honour to submit to the honourable House of Representatives the documents which were consigned to the Committee, and the separate proposal brought forward by Messrs. Alois Vlad and Sigismund Popovics, members of Committee.

PEST, August 1, 1861.

(Translated from Appendix XIII. of vol. iii. of *Der ungarische Reichstag*—1861, pp. 334-8.)

APPENDIX II

MEMORIAL OF BISHOP STEPHEN MOYSES OF NEUSOHL TO HIS MAJESTY

YOUR Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty! most gracious sovereign lord:—

It is an undoubted historic fact that the kingdom of Hungary was not founded by Saint Stephen upon any one special nationality, but rather upon the Christian faith and upon the laws borrowed from pre-Christian peoples.

So far as the written records of this kingdom show us, history knows nothing of a special privileged position of the Magyar people.

Even the conquerors under Árpád were not Magyars alone, but came in company with Cumanes and Russians, who all spread themselves throughout the country.

At the real foundation of the kingdom under Stephen, the predominant—our native history says, the exclusive—influence was exercised by foreigners, Italians, Germans and Slavs. King Stephen expressly declares himself for the equal rights of all the languages in use in the country. The various divisions of the country as well as the highest dignities of the kingdom have preserved even to the present day their Slav names.

After the country had been completely Christianized, the various races inhabiting it lived in brotherly concord, without any trace of a privileged position for the Magyars. Indeed, the Germans and Slavs from time to time gained the upper hand to such an extent that the Magyars felt it necessary to seek the protection of the Diet against this. Even on such occasions the Diet always proclaimed the most complete equality, without the slightest privilege for the Magyars. This did not, however, prevent the Magyars from being either completely or at least partially excluded from the magistracy of several municipalities, in accordance with the Royal privileges granted to the latter. Above all was this the case in the city of Buda (Ofen).

The Latin language, which was employed for over eight hundred years in the legislature, administration and judicature, was specially qualified to arrest the jealousy of the various nationalities.

This was, moreover, recognized by the municipalities² of the country, and was specially cited in defence of the Latin language

² Here used in the legal sense, to include town councils *and* county assemblies.

against the Germanizing efforts of the Emperor Joseph II of glorious memory. But it was just the very efforts of the Emperor Joseph which awakened the national movements in Hungary: among the Slovaks, it is true, only in the field of literature: among the Magyars politically as well.

Naturally the non-Magyar inhabitants of the country have no objection to raise against the efforts of the Magyars to develop their language on their own territory. Indeed, they are even ready to recognize cheerfully the privileged position of the Magyar language in the higher administrative spheres of the state, within limits prescribed by Your Majesty; they wish, however, free play for their own languages in church, school, communal and municipal administration, as well as in direct communication with the organs of the public administration, in so far as is necessary for the assertion of their rights as men and as citizens.

The Magyars, however, will not take into consideration these just and inalienable claims, but employ every means of violence in order to cut off the Slovak people from every path to culture and thus to let it languish in a state of moral and national unconsciousness, as a prey to future Magyarization.

No wonder that the county committees and magistrates who have been active since October 20 of last year up to the present day have by excesses of all kinds ruthlessly terrorized the unsuspecting Slovak people. The same is true of the Diet which assembled in the course of this year. It has none the less caused a painful impression upon Your Majesty's devoted servant, the petitioner, that even the Royal Palatinal Council has committed a similar injustice. Despite the clear wording of the Royal Rescript of October 20, 1860, addressed to the Chancellor of Hungary and providing for the protection of the various nationalities, the Royal Hungarian Palatinal Council, by its decree of October 20, 1861 (No. 61,917), none the less threatens all Slovak and German Catholic elementary schools with the introduction of the Magyar language. Considering the circumstance that the diocese of Neusohl which is entrusted to Your Majesty's most devoted petitioner contains thirteen parishes with pure German, ninety-three with pure Slovak, four with Slovak-German, and not a single one with Magyar population, the result of this threatened measure of the Royal Palatinal Council would be to reduce to zero the progress of the elementary schools within this diocese—which has in any case been slight, owing to the circumstances of the past eleven months—without the intended Magyarization of the people being thereby attained.

Although the Royal Hungarian Chancellery by two separate decrees of October 5, 1861 (No. 13,583) solemnly enjoined the Royal Hungarian Palatinal Council to satisfy so far as possible the claims of the various non-Magyar nationalities of the country, when provisionally

MEMORIAL OF BISHOP MOYSES

reorganizing the Catholic gymnasiums ; none the less the decree of October 21, 1861, issued to the governing bodies of the gymnasiums had the exact opposite effect, and indeed so far as the gymnasium of Neusohl is concerned, stood in direct conflict with the opinions expressed (in compliance with official instructions), both by the diocesan court and the governing body of that gymnasium. As a result this gymnasium—as also those others where similar linguistic conditions prevail—has become involved in such incredible confusion, that alike the expenditure of the parents and the time of the pupils—time which can never be made good—are robbed of all their fruits.

The regrettable partiality of the provisional organization of the gymnasiums is clearly shown, among other things, by the fact that though capable and well qualified men who have been employed for years as teachers but are free from ultra-Magyar tendencies, cannot be dispensed with altogether, they are placed in the lowest category in the matter of salary ; while persons of doubtful and entirely untested capacity, if only they appear reliable in respect of such tendencies, are provided with the highest salaries.

Since, moreover, the county officials show practically no consideration towards the non-Magyar population, and in open violation of the already mentioned Rescript of H.M. sent on October 20, 1860, to the Royal Hungarian Chancellor, orders and instructions are sent to non-Magyar communes drawn up in Magyar only and hence wholly incomprehensible to the people ; and since, moreover, protection against such excesses is to be found neither with the counties nor with the Hungarian Palatinal Council ; it is thus clear that the county authorities, which are influenced by extremists and enemies of the harmless non-Magyar people, and also the Royal Hungarian Palatinal Council, unscrupulously violate the most sacred rights of the non-Magyar peoples—among whom the Slovaks alone far exceed two million souls—although these peoples have ever shown inviolable loyalty to their king and although their rights have been asserted by solemn pronouncements of the sovereign. It is further clear that the intention unhappily prevails, of condemning these non-Magyar inhabitants of the country to perpetual ignorance and brutalization by depriving them of every suitable instrument of culture, and thus to tread under foot their feelings of human dignity, in defiance not only of the whole course of our country's history in the days preceding the present terrorism, but also in defiance of that boastful ostentation with which the late Diet in Pest sought to acquire abroad an undeserved reputation of liberalism by employing the hollow phrase of "Equality."

Since then Your Majesty's most devoted petitioner—in virtue of the Divine appointment to the Episcopal dignity, as expressed through the most gracious act of Your I.R.A. Majesty—feels bound to regard himself as the natural advocate of the spiritual posses-

sions of those committed to his charge : he therefore ventures—resting upon the inalienable rights of his diocesans, and upon the services which they have rendered to the country alike in peace and before the enemy, calling to mind the country's history previous to the last twenty-five years, relying upon the sanctity of Your Most Gracious Majesty's word—to take refuge at the foot of Your Most Gracious Majesty's throne in the most unbounded confidence, most humbly begging Your I.R.A. to deign to order, that in the sense of Your Majesty's Rescript of July 21, 1861, to the Hungarian Diet, the rights of nationality of the loyal non-Magyar people, both in regard to the development of their language and nationality and to their administrative conditions, be laid down and clearly formulated, and no less effectually and permanently assured.

For the rest recommending himself most earnestly to Your Most Gracious Majesty's favour—in deepest reverence, Your Imperial Royal Apostolic Majesty's most loyal subject and submissive chaplain,

STEPHEN MOYSES,

Bishop of Neusohl (Besztercebánya).

VIENNA, December 5, 1861.

(Translated from *Petitionen der Serben und Slowaken vom Jahre 1861*. Vienna, 1862.)

APPENDIX III

THE LAW OF NATIONALITIES

(Act XLIV. of the year 1868.)

SINCE all citizens of Hungary, according to the principles of the constitution, form from a political point of view one nation—the indivisible unitary Hungarian nation—of which every citizen of the fatherland is a member, no matter to what nationality he belongs: since, moreover, this equality of right can only exist with reference to the official use of the various languages of the country, and only under special provisions, in so far as is rendered necessary by the unity of the country and the practical possibility of government and administration; the following rules will serve as standard regarding the official use of the various languages, while in all other matters the complete equality of the citizens remains untouched.

§ 1. Since by reason of the political unity of the nation the state language of Hungary is the Magyar, the language of deliberation and business in the Hungarian Parliament is in future also the Magyar; the laws will be promulgated in the Magyar language, but are also to be published in an authentic translation in the languages of all other nationalities inhabiting the country; the official language of the Government in all branches of the administration is in future also the Magyar.

§ 2. The minutes of the county assemblies (Jurisdictions) are to be kept in the official language of the State; but they can also be kept at the same time in that language which at least one-fifth of the members of the body representing the Jurisdiction wishes as the language of the minutes.

If divergences should occur between the different texts, the Magyar (text) is the authoritative one.

§ 3. In the assemblies of the Jurisdictions every one who possesses the right to speak in them, can speak either in Magyar, or in his mother tongue in the event of this not being Magyar.

§ 4. The Jurisdictions, in their communications with the Government, employ the official language of the State; but they can also employ in a parallel column one of those languages which they use in their minutes. In communicating with each other, however, they can employ either the language of State or one of those languages which has been adopted under § 2 for the conduct of the minutes, by that Jurisdiction to which their communication is directed.

§ 5. In the conduct of internal business the officials of the jurisdictions employ the official language of State; but in so far as this involves practical difficulties with regard to one or other jurisdiction or official, the officials in question can in exceptional cases employ one of the languages used for the minutes in their Jurisdiction. Whenever, however, considerations of state control or administration demand

it, their reports and official documents are to be submitted in the official language of State also.

§ 6. The officials of the Jurisdictions, within the limits of their jurisdiction, in their official intercourse with the communes, assemblies, associations, institutions and private individuals, employ so far as possible the language of the latter.

§ 7. Every inhabitant of the country—in those cases in which without the intervention of an advocate he personally claims or can claim, as plaintiff, defendant or petitioner, the protection of the law and the help of the judge—can employ

- (a) before his own communal court—his mother-tongue.
- (b) before any other communal court—the language of business or of the minutes in the Commune in question.
- (c) before his own District Court—the language of business or of the minutes in his own commune.
- (d) before other courts, whether they may belong to his own or to another Jurisdiction—the language of the minutes employed by that Jurisdiction to which the court in question belongs.

§ 8. In cases to which § 7 applies the Judge deals with the charge or the petition in the language of the charge or of the petition; he conducts in the language of the parties at law or of the parties cited, as the case may be, both the hearing of parties and witnesses (in the case), the examination in court and other legal functions of the judge both in litigation and in criminal cases; but he conducts the reports of the trial in that language which the parties at law choose by mutual understanding from among the languages in which the minutes are conducted in the Jurisdiction. Should an understanding not be reached in this connexion, then the judge can conduct the report of the trial in one of the languages used for the minutes in the jurisdiction, but is bound to declare its contents to the parties, if necessary even by the help of an interpreter.

In the same way the judge is bound to declare or to get interpreted to the parties the most important documents of the trial, if these should be written in a language which one or other of the parties does not understand.

The writ of summons is, in the interests of the party to be summoned, to be drawn up in his mother-tongue if this can at once be established, but otherwise in the language used for the minutes in the commune in which the party to be summoned dwells, or else in the official language of State.

The verdict of the judge is to be pronounced in the language in which the reports of the trial were drawn up; but the judge is bound to announce or publish it to each individual party in that language which the latter desires, in so far as this language is one of the languages used for the minutes by the county assembly to which the judge belongs.

§ 9. In all those civil and criminal actions which are to be conducted subject to the intervention of an advocate, the hitherto prevailing practice, both as to the language in which the trial is to be conducted and as to the language in which the verdict is to be pronounced, will be everywhere maintained in courts of first instance—so long as the legislature does not come to any decision regarding the final organiz-

LAW OF NATIONALITIES

ation of the courts of first instance and the introduction of oral proceedings.

§ 10. The Church courts themselves prescribe their language of business.

§ 11. In the land registration offices the business language of the particular court is to be used for the conduct of their business ; but if the parties demand it, both the decision and the extract are to be given in the official language of State or in one of the languages used for the minutes by the County Assembly in whose territory the registration office is situated.

§ 12. In appealed cases, which were not conducted in the Magyar language, or in which certain of the documents are not Magyar, the Court of Appeal gets the records of the trial and the documents so far as is necessary translated into Magyar by those accredited translators who are to be appointed at state expense at all courts of appeal ; and brings up the action for trial in this attested translation.

The Court of Appeal will always draw up its decrees, resolutions and verdicts in the official language of State.

When the case has gone down to the competent court of first instance, the latter will be bound to announce or publish the decree, resolution or verdict to each party in the language in which the latter demands it, provided that this language is the business language of the court or a language of the minutes in the county assemblies.

§ 13. The official language of all Courts which are appointed by the Government, is exclusively the Magyar.³

§ 14. The Church congregations can, without infringement of the legal rights of their ecclesiastical superiors, prescribe according to their pleasure the language in which the registers are to be drawn up, and in which their church affairs are to be conducted, and further—within the limits imposed by the Education Act—the language of instruction in their schools.

§ 15. The higher church corporations and authorities themselves determine the language of deliberation, of the minutes, of the conduct of business, and of intercourse with their parishes. If this should not happen to be the official language of State, then for reasons of state control the minutes are to be submitted in an authentic translation in the official language of State also.

When the different churches or higher ecclesiastical authorities communicate with one another, they employ either the official language of State or the language of that Church with whom they are communicating.

§ 16. The upper and supreme Church authorities, in their memorials to the Government, make use either of their business language or their language of minutes, adding in parallel columns the official language of State ; in their memorials to the local assemblies and their organs, they can use the language of State, or where the minutes are in several languages, one of these ; but the church congregations, in their official intercourse with the Government and with their own Jurisdictions, can use the official language of State or their own business language, while

³ By Law IV. 1869 § 3 all Judges are nominated by the King through the Minister of Justice.

in their intercourse with any other Jurisdiction, they can employ one of the languages used by the latter for its minutes.

§ 17. The right of prescribing the language of instruction in those schools which have already been erected by the State or the Government, or in those schools which may in the future be erected according to need, forms—in so far as the law does not prescribe—part of the duties of the Minister of Education. But since from the standpoint of general culture and well-being, the success of public instruction is one of the highest aims of the State also, the State is, therefore, bound to ensure that citizens living together in considerable numbers, of whatever nationality, shall be able to obtain instruction in the neighbourhood in their mother-tongue, up to the point where the higher academic education begins.

§ 18. In those secondary and higher educational institutions belonging to the State, which at present exist or may in the future be erected in districts where more than one language is in general use, chairs of language and literature are to be erected for each of these languages.

§ 19. In the National University the language of the lectures is the Magyar; at the same time chairs are to be erected for the languages belonging to this country and for their literatures—in so far as such chairs have not already been erected.

§ 20. The communal assemblies themselves choose the language of their minutes and business. The minutes are also to be conducted in that language which one-fifth of the voting members regards as necessary.

§ 21. The communal officials are bound, in their intercourse with persons belonging to the commune, to use the language of the latter.

§ 22. In its memorials to its County assembly and the latter's organs and to the Government, the commune can employ the official language of State or its own business language: in its memorials to other municipalities⁴ and their organs, either the official language of State or one of the languages in which the municipality in question conducts its minutes.

§ 23. Every citizen of the country can submit his memorials to his own commune, to his ecclesiastical authorities, to his municipality and its organs, and to the Government, in his mother-tongue.

In his memorials to other communes or municipalities and their organs, he can employ either the official language of State or the language of the minutes, or one of the languages used for its minutes by the commune or municipality in question.

The use of languages in the province of Justice is regulated by §§ 7 to 13.

§ 24. In communal and church assemblies those who have the right to speak, can freely use their mother tongue.

§ 25. When private persons, churches, private societies or educational institutions and communes lacking autonomy do not in their memorials to the Government employ the official language of the State, the Magyar original text of the document dealing with such memorials is to be supplemented by an authentic translation in the language of the memorial.

⁴ See note on p 422, (Appendix I).

LAW OF NATIONALITIES

§ 26. As hitherto, so in the future both individual citizens, communes, churches and congregations of whatever nationality, shall have the right to erect by their own exertions and in the way of association both elementary secondary and higher educational institutions. With this object and for the erection of other institutions which advance the cause of language, art, science, agriculture, industry and commerce, the individual citizens can, subject to the legal control of the State, join together in societies or leagues, can draw up statutes, and after the Government has sanctioned these statutes, can act in accordance with them; they can also collect money funds and can, subject to Governmental control, administer these funds in conformity with their lawful national claims.

Educational and other institutions which have been founded in this manner enjoy equal rights with state institutions of a similar character—but the schools, only in the event of the provisions of the law of Public Instruction being observed.

The language of private institutions and societies is prescribed by the founders.

The societies and the institutions founded by them communicate with one another in their own language; in their intercourse with others the provisions of § 23 are decisive regarding the use of language.

§ 27. Since in future also personal capacity will be the decisive factor in the filling of offices, a person's nationality cannot be regarded as an obstacle to his appointment to an office or dignity in the country. On the contrary, the Government will take care that in the judicial and administrative offices of the country, especially in the office of High Sheriff, persons of the various nationalities shall so far as possible be employed, who possess the necessary linguistic knowledge to a full degree, and who are also otherwise qualified.

§ 28. The provisions of the older laws, which conflict with the above regulations, are hereby annulled.

§ 29. The provisions of this law do not extend to Croatia Slavonia and Dalmatia, which possess a special territory and form politically a special nation; for these (countries) the decision in matters of language will depend upon that agreement which has been reached between the Hungarian Parliament on the one hand and the Croatian-Slavonian Parliament on the other hand, by right of which the deputies of these countries may in the Joint Hungarian-Croatian Parliament speak in their mother-tongue also.

APPENDIX IV

POLYGLOT HUNGARY: ITS POPULATION ACCORDING TO RACE (INCLUDING CROATIA)

	1840 (Fényes).	1853 (Hain).	1880		1890		1900		1900 Revised. ⁶
			(Drawn from the p.c.)		Hungarian Statistical p.c.		Year Book). p.c.		
Magyar	4,812,759	5,413,327	6,445,487	7,426,730	8,679,014	7,880,317	45.4	45.4	7,880,317
German	1,273,677	1,492,601	1,953,911	2,107,577	2,114,423	1,897,725	11	11	1,897,725
Slovak	1,687,256	1,884,696	1,864,529	1,910,279	2,008,744	1,998,203	10.5	10.5	1,998,203
Roumanian	2,202,542	2,488,036	2,405,085	2,591,905	2,785,265	2,781,058	14.6	14.6	2,781,058
Ruthene	442,903	478,905	356,062	383,392	427,825	417,679	2.2	2.2	417,679
Croat	{ 429,868	1,248,617	{ 2,352,339	1,554,000	1,670,905	1,663,400	8.7	8.7	1,663,400
Serb	{ 886,079	1,043,988	—	1,057,264	1,042,022	1,041,966	5.5	5.5	1,041,966
Jew	828,365	276,620	624,826 ⁷	707,961 ⁷	826,222 ⁷	851,378	—	—	851,378
Others	244,035	77,667	264,689	318,251	394,142	390,614	2.1	2.1	390,614
	—	14,458,000	15,642,102	17,349,398	19,122,340	19,122,340	—	—	19,122,340

⁶ Here I have subtracted all *unbaptized* Jews who are classed as Magyars, and also a round sum of 200,000 for the Gipsies, whom the official statistics arbitrarily class as Magyars. The Jews are of course good *Hungarians*, but to class them as *Magyars* is a ludicrous misrepresentation.

⁷ In these years the Jewish figures are also contained in those of the other races, so that the Magyar and German figures must be regarded as in reality decidedly lower.

INCREASE OF POPULATION PER CENT.

	Average, 1896-1900.	1904.	Average, 1896-1900.	1904.
Magyar	13	12.6	Roumanian	5.8
German	—	—	Ruthene	15.5
Slovak	13.9	14.1	Serb	9.6

It would thus appear that the Magyars are increasing *less* rapidly than ten years ago, while the Slovaks, Roumanians, Ruthenes, and even Serbs, are increasing *more* rapidly. Perhaps the spread of the "two child" system among the Magyar peasantry partly accounts for this. Emigration among Slovaks, Magyars and Ruthenes is approximately the same; the fact that Roumanians and Serbs emigrate less accounts for their higher rate of increase.

APPENDIX V

KNOWLEDGE OF THE MAGYAR LANGUAGE *

1890.

	Magyars.	Non-Magyars who knew Magyar.	Non-Magyars who knew <i>no</i> Magyar.
	p.c. of population	p.c. of non-Magyars	p.c. of non-Magyars
In Hungary proper. . .	7,357,936 48·5	1,078,487 16·4	6,726,565 83·6
In Hungary and Croatia .	7,426,730 42·8	1,112,702 11·3	8,809,966 88·7

1900.

	Magyars.	Non-Magyars who knew Magyar.	Non-Magyars who knew <i>no</i> Magyar.
	p.c. of population	p.c. of non-Magyars	p.c. of non-Magyars
In Hungary proper. . .	8,588,834 51·4	1,365,764 16·8	6,766,976 83·2
In Hungary and Croatia .	8,679,014 45·4	1,413,185 13·6	9,030,141 86·4

* See *Ung. Stat. Jahrb.*, xii. p. 18.

APPENDIX VI

EDUCATION STATISTICS

NON-EXECUTION OF THE EDUCATION LAWS. A.—Non-Attendance at School.⁸

	1869.		1881.		1890.		1900.		1906.	
	P.c.		P.c.		P.c.		P.c.		P.c.	
Children liable	2,304,887		2,119,676		2,324,569		2,936,750		3,153,736	
Children attending	1,093,077		1,656,337		2,057,812		2,384,122		2,507,916	79.5
Attending no school	1,211,810	52	463,339	21	466,757	18.4	552,628	18.8	645,820	24

It will be seen that during the last twenty-six years school attendance instead of improving, has grown steadily worse, and the erection of new schools has not even kept pace with the growth of the population despite the appalling growth of emigration in recent years. Magyarization is beyond all question the chief cause of this lamentable state of things.

⁸ See *Ung. Stat. Jahrb.*, i, p. 312; x, p. 340; xiv, p. 339

B.—Imperfect Attendance at School, and its causes (1905-6).⁹

	Total Number of		Number of Schools (with pupils) in which Instruction											
			Lasted			Lasted less than Eight Months				Owing to want of			Owing to Other Reasons.	
			9-10 Months.	8-9 Months.	Owing to Infectious Illnesses.	Room.	Teachers.							
State	2,046	290,593	1,387	207,715	495	59,762	93	16,791	19	1,793	10	605	42	3,927
Communal	1,473	239,902	662	161,270	533	53,025	67	8,593	16	2,250	21	1,245	174	13,519
Confessional	12,734	1,298,358	4,039	482,502	6,235	611,418	579	64,920	84	7,874	211	12,025	1,586	119,619
Total	16,561	1,848,176	6,302	865,551	7,328	727,631	748	91,131	119	11,917	247	14,115	1,817	137,831

⁹ *Ung. Stat. Jahrb.*, xiv, (1906), p. 351. Thus not merely do 645,820 children still attend no school at all, but 254,994 of those actually attending are admitted to have attended for less than eight months. How much less is not of course stated, but in many, many cases four months is the maximum.

C.—Illiterates.

	1869.	1880.	1890.	1900.
Could neither read nor write	8,343,116	7,844,861	7,865,604	8,025,242
Could only read	1,282,759	893,857	542,244	242,100
Total population	13,219,350	13,728,622	15,133,494	16,721,574

From this table it will be seen that though the proportion of illiterates to the total population has steadily decreased, the actual number of illiterates has positively increased during the last thirty years.

MAGYARIZATION IN THE SCHOOLS

A.—Language of Instruction in Primary Schools.¹¹

County.	Number of Schools in which Language of Instruction was given.				Number of Children attending Magyar Primary Schools where their Mother Tongue was not even used as a Subsidiary.
	1869.	1880.	1890.	1900.	
Magyar	5,819	7,342	8,994	10,404	1905-6.
German	1,232	867	674	389	11,742
Roumanian	2,569	2,756	2,582	2,309	271
Slovak	1,822	1,716	1,115	500	2,440
Serb	159	245	312	129	241
Croat and Wend.	93	68	39	5	165
Ruthene	473	393	211	76	23
Mixed (2 languages)	1,467	2,335	2,878	3,251	1,665
Mixed (3 languages)	165	102			
Total	—	15,824	16,805	17,146	16,561

¹¹ See *Das Ungarische Unterrichtsweisen* for 1879-80, p. 21; and *Ung. Stat. Jahrb.*, ix, p. 321-2; xiv, p. 343.

¹² The lowness of this figure is explained by the fact that so many Ruthene children do not attend school at all.

B.—Language of Instruction in Slovak Primary Schools, and their Annual Reduction.

See *Das Ungarische Unterrichtsweisen* (Official Reports of Ministry of Education), and from 1892 onwards, *Ungarisches Statistisches Jahrbuch*, vols. i.-xiv.

I have been unable to supply the figures for some of the earlier years, as the statistical publications have an unfortunate habit of omitting certain tables in certain years. But for the last sixteen years the list is complete, and the reader can see at a glance that a steady policy of expelling the Slovak language from the schools has been pursued since 1879.

Schools with Slovak Language of Instruction.	1869	1871	1892	1,018
1874	1,821	1,892	828	
1875	1,971	1,893	747	
1876	1,805	1,804	704	
1877	1,814	1,895	602	
1879	1,901	1,896	558	
1881	1,837	1,897	533	
1883	1,514	1,868	528	
1884	1,378	1,869	500	
1885	1,408	1,900	492	
1886	1,349	1,901	427	
1887	1,368	1,902	477	
1888	1,389	1,904	326	
		1,905	241	

C.—Magyarization of Slovak Primary Schools.

For simplicity's sake, I have limited these statistics to the ten counties where over half the population is Slovak, though in some respects those dealing with other counties are even more striking.

County.	Total Population.	Percentage of Slovaks.	Percentage of population understanding Magyar Language.	Number of Primary Schools.			Language of Instruction.			Rightful Number of Slovak Schools (on basis of population).		
				State.	Communal.	Denominational.	Total.	Magyar only.	Magyar with help of other language.		Mixed, Mag., Slov.	
												Slovak only.
Arva	84,950	94.7	5.6	9	4	93	106	9	25	29	17	100
Trencsén	286,369	92.8	6.8	48	13	295	156	69	132	87	73	144
Liptó	81,920	92.5	9.4	9	—	91	100	12	6	12	72	92
Zólyon	123,742	89.4	17.4	24	29	108	161	33	58	39	33	143
Turóc	51,954	73.6	12.3	23	1	48	72	19	19	27	25	52
Nyitra	427,328	73.1	17.5	76	28	359	475	215	78	149	25	346
Sáros	172,706	66.1	11.8	35	2	205	262	52	170	—	7	17
Szepes	170,535	58.2	15.1	9	13	214	236	28	72	120	15	7
Bars	164,852	57.5	41.5	24	11	171	207	126	51	23	7	62
Pressburg	300,126	51.1	39.2	14	22	266	288	139	45	40	15	17

D.—Slovak Children in Primary Schools (1905).

247,710 Slovak children attended primary schools.

Of these, 80,360 Slovaks attended schools where their language is not merely not taught, but not even used on the

" 79,415 more

" 66,506 "

Only 18,312

Either this is a lie, or it is a European scandal.

E.—Generable Table showing Magyarization in the Schools and Violation of Law of Nationalities.

Section 17, xxxviii., 1868, (Law of Nationalities), pledges the State to supply instruction in the mother tongue to all its citizens, as far as the University. (See Appendix III.)

How far this important clause has been carried out may be seen from the following tables (1905-6) :—

(a) Schools belonging to the State. (b) Total number of Schools in Hungary.

	Total.	Number whose Language of Instruction is				Total.	Number whose Language of Instruction is			
		Magyar.		Non-Magyar.			Magyar.		Non-Magyar.	
		Mixed.	Slovak.	Mixed.	Slovak.		Mixed.	Slovak.	Mixed.	Slovak.
Infantschools—(a) Kindergarten	527	427	0	0	0	1,631	416	13	0	
(b) Asiles	30	27	0	0	0	172	56	2	0	
(c) Summer Asiles	25	18	0	0	0	734	130	65	10	
Elementary schools.	2,045	2,044	0	1	1	11,742	1,665	3,154	241	
Grammar schools (Bürgerliche Schulen)	138	138	0	0	0	263	0	12	0	
Industrial schools	26	26	0	0	0	458	32	12	0	
Commercial schools.	2	1	0	1	0	86	1	3	0	
Gymnasias (classical schools)	28	27	1	0	0	128	3	9	0	
(a) Complete (8 classes)	10	10	0	0	0	41	0	3	0	
(b) Incomplete.	22	22	0	0	0	25	0	1	0	
<i>Realschulen</i> —(a) Complete.	3	3	0	0	0	14	0	2	0	
(b) Incomplete	—	—	—	—	—	45	3	4	0	
Theological Institutions	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

F. Summary.

	Percentage of Population.	In Hungary (without Croatia).			Percentage of Commercial and Industrial Schools.	Percentage of Gymnasias.	Percentage of Real Schools.
		Percentage of Primary Schools.	Percentage of Grammar Schools.	Percentage of Commercial and Industrial Schools.			
Magyar	51.4	70.9	95.4	91.1	91.7	92.3	
Non-Magyar	48.6	19.0	4.5	2.7	7.1	7.8	

APPENDIX VIII

STATE AID AND PATRIOTISM (1905-6)

	Primary Schools. ¹			Amount of Subsidy (in crowns).
	Total Number.	Which are subventioned by State.		
		Total.	Per cent.	
State	2,046	—	—	—
Communal	1,473	966	65	647,448
(a) Unitarian . . .	36	30	83	19,398
(a) Calvinist . . .	1,903	1,511	79	672,823
(b) Roman Catholic	5,301	3,380	63	1,496,150
(b) Jewish	466	296	63	96,543
Greek Catholic. . .	1,963	1,225	62	505,029
Lutheran	1,331	804	60	276,623
Greek Oriental. . .	1,723	316	18	81,498

I have arranged the sects in order of their Magyar character (a) or their Magyarizing tendencies (b) as the case may be ;¹ and it is a curious coincidence that state aid is actually granted to their schools in this proportion.

The low proportion of the Greek Oriental Church is partly to be explained by its frequent refusal to accept subsidies, in order not to give the Government an excuse for interference.

See *Ung. Stat. Jahrb.*, xiv. p. 351.

APPENDIX IX

MAGYARIZATION OF THE SLOVAKS THROUGH THE CHURCH (1905-6)

	Total Number of Parishes.	Number of Parishes in which Slovak is official language of congregation.	Number of Slovak Parishes where in spite of this Magyar sermons are preached every year.				Total number of Parishes where Magyar language has gained a foothold.
			At least twelve times.	At least nine times.	At least thrice.	Once or twice regularly.	
Roman Catholic	1,313	754	2	5	37	13	105 or 13 p.c.
Lutheran . . .	611	241	13	9	19	28	78 or 32 p.c.

See *Üng. Stat. Jahrb.* xiv, p. 420.' The naivety with which such monstrous statistics are compiled and published officially affords a striking proof of the violence of Chauvinist feeling in government circles.

APPENDIX X

POLITICAL PERSECUTION OF THE NON-MAGYARS ¹³

(A) Roumanian Political Trials (1886-1896)

- I. (December 15, 1884) at Hermannstadt. George Baritiu, editor of *Observatoriul*, accused on the ground of an article attacking the Government for its prohibition of the Roumanian Church Council; argued that the Ausgleich was a crime against the Roumanians, and dreamt of a Magyar Plevna. Acquitted.
- II. (February 3, 1885) Hermannstadt. Cornel Pop-Pacurar and Joan Slavici accused on ground of article in *Tribuna*, which dealt with a recent trial in which two Saxon peasants were tried and condemned for murder. Though neither of them knew a syllable of Magyar, the entire proceedings were conducted in Magyar, and this in a town which had for 700 years been a centre of German culture. Acquitted.

As a result of these two acquittals, the Press Jury Court was, by Ministerial Order of June 27, 1885, transferred from Hermannstadt to Kolozsvár, which being a Magyarized town, could be depended upon to give severe sentences.

- III. (May 12, 1886) Kolozsvár. Cornel Pop-Pacurar was sentenced to one year, and Joan Slavici to 200 crowns, for two articles published in the *Tribuna* (Hermannstadt) in November, 1885, and January, 1886, which contained polemics against the assertion that the Hungarian State can never be anything but Magyar, and can take no account of the nationalities, since it would thereby only injure itself. "To save Roumanian society and the whole country from the convulsion to which the ill-considered policy of the Magyars is leading, is the aim of our whole activity." For other extracts, see Chapter XV, p. 299.

- IV. (March 24, 1888) Kolozsvár. Stephen Bobancu was sentenced to four months and 100 crowns for an article in *Gazeta Transilvaniei* (August 24, 1887, i.e. seven months before) which talks of the persecution of the non-Magyars, and of the resolve of the Magyars that the Roumanians shall not preserve their nationality. Aurel Muresianu acquitted.

¹³ The following is a summary of Appendix 49, of Brote, *Die rumänische Frage in Siebenbürgen und Ungarn*, Berlin, 1895.

APPENDIX X

- V. (April 25, 1888) Kolozsvár. Joan Slavici sentenced to one year and 200 crowns for an article in *Tribuna* (November, 1887) commenting on the speech of General Doda, M.P. "From day to day there are increasing signs that the Roumanians are awakening and understand the patriot's voice." "Our discontent is great, and we can no longer endure our wrongs," etc.
- VI. (August 30, 1888) Arad. Stephen Albu sentenced to one year and 1,000 crowns (reduced on appeal to three months) for two articles in *Rumänische Revue* (July and August, 1887, i.e. a year previously) attacking Magyar Chauvinism. "The Magyars no longer see in the other peoples comrades in their State, whose strength adds to its strength: they merely see in them opponents whose strength means their weakness." "The State as at present governed only assures protection to the Magyar national interests," etc.
- VII. (September 17, 1888) Arad. General Trajan Doda, M.P., sentenced in absence to *two years and 2,000 crowns for his electoral address* in Karánsebes (October 14, 1887, i.e. eleven months previously). "By violence and intrigue the Roumanian people has been ejected from all its positions in the constitutional struggle." "We are preparing for a severe and exhausting struggle." "To-day it is no longer a question of a seat and a vote in the Hungarian Parliament . . . the national honour of the Roumanian people is at stake." Gen. Doda was afterwards, owing to a paralytic stroke, pardoned by the Emperor-King.
- VIII. (March 20, 1889) Kolozsvár. Septimius Albini, editor of *Tribuna*, sentenced to one month's common jail and 200 crowns for libel against Cosma, a Magyarophil Roumanian.
- IX. (July 4, 1889) Szatmár. Rev. Basil Lucaciu was arrested for an electoral speech, in which he expressed the hope that the Roumanians would at last show signs of life and take action. He was at once arrested and detained five weeks in a common jail previous to trial! The court acquitted him.
- X. (July 31, 1889) Temesvár. Valerius Barcian, charged with an article in *Luminatorul* entitled "The Birth of Our Lord"—a Christmas review of the political situation. "If we demand the possibility of progress in culture and science, the cultivation of our national language and the exercise of our national rights, then the Magyar language and culture are forced upon us; and if we raise complaints, we are sent to prison; if we demand the observance of existing laws, and the grant of true legal equality, then

we only meet with words of scorn : we are called enemies of the State, and are driven across the frontier." Acquitted. On appeal of the Public Prosecutor, a second trial was ordered, and accused was sentenced to six months and 1,000 crowns.

- XI. (August 14, 1890) Kolozsvár. Trajan H. Pop, as author, sentenced to one year's imprisonment, and Dr. Aurel Muresianu, as responsible editor, to six weeks' common prison, for two articles in *Gazeta Transilvaniei* (March and April, 1890). "This country is not Magyar, and this State is not 'Magyaria,' but common to all the nationalities—and let usurpers take this to heart." He further talks of "lords and rulers on the one side, political slaves on the other," and adds that "with the dawn of the coming century the day of universal freedom will break."
- XII. (September 11, 1890) Kolozsvár. Joan Macaveiu, as author, sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment, S. Albini, as responsible editor, to six months common jail, for two articles in *Tribuna*, attacking the idea that the Magyars alone are the State. If they only have a future in the State, then we Roumanians may demand the abolition of the Law of Nationalities, "and then we shall be compelled to regard ourselves as subjects of another State." "So long as one drop of Roumanian blood flows in our veins, we shall not permit it to mingle in the same bowl as the blood of Arpad's descendants. So long as our beloved Monarch calls all nationalities under his sway 'my beloved peoples,' so long have we the right to call ourselves his loyal subjects and not strangers." "Europe and Europe alone is called upon to solve the future of this country." "The State and the idea of the State may not belong to the Magyars alone, for it is not to the Magyars alone that the State owes its existence." "This 'idea of the State' (i.e. 'a Magyar állam eszme') must be erased from the political lexicon of the Magyars." Macaveiu returned from prison broken in health, and died soon afterwards.
- XIII. (November 13, 1892) Debreczen. Rev. Basil Lucaciu sentenced to eighteen months for an electoral address praising the spirit of the Roumanian Memorandum to His Majesty, referring to "the brutal violence" with which Roumanian national culture is hindered in Hungary, and urging all true Roumanians to assemble for a discussion of the situation.
- XIV. (March 17, 1893) Torda. Rev. Basil Suciu charged with introducing politics into one of his sermons! Acquitted.
- XV. (June, 1893) Szatmár. Rev. Basil Lucaciu sentenced for

libelling the Government to four months' common jail. This was combined with his previous sentence and converted into *thirteen months' common jail!*

- XVI. (August 31, 1893) Kolozsvár. The "Replique" Trial (see p. 301). Eugene Brote, as proprietor of the printing press in Hermannstadt, Nicholas Roman, as manager, and Aurel Popovici, as disseminator of the pamphlet. In 1891 the students of the University of Bucarest published a pamphlet on the situation of the Roumanians in Hungary, which provoked an answering pamphlet from the University students of Budapest and Kolozsvár. The Roumanian students at the Austro-Hungarian Universities then published a third pamphlet, entitled a "Replik," as answer to the Magyar students. This Replik was printed in Hermannstadt, was not challenged by the authorities, or confiscated by the post office. After a whole year had elapsed, the Public Prosecutor in Kolozsvár confiscated it on the ground of "incitement against the Magyar nationality," and took action against the printers and Popovici, who was a member of the students' committee. Brote did not appear, and has thus made Hungary impossible for himself. Roman was sentenced to one year and 600 crowns, *Popovici to four years and 1,000 crowns.*
- XVII. (August 18, 1893) Kolozsvár. Andrew Baltes, as editor of *Tribuna*, sentenced to two months' common jail and 1,000 crowns, John Popa-Necsa, as printer, to one month, for an article containing the sentence—"If we stand outside the law, if those whose duty it is to protect the law commit illegalities, must we not defend ourselves with the same weapons with which we are attacked?"
- XVIII. (September 12, 1893) Kolozsvár. For an article published in *Tribuna* ten months previously, entitled "Political Retrospect," and recounting the past oppression of the Roumanians, with extracts from the well-known historian Roumanian Xenopol, Sept. Albini was sentenced to three months and 200 crowns, J. Russu-Sirianu to two months and 100 crowns, R. Baltes to one month and 60 crowns, Dordea to fourteen days and 40 crowns. The editor had declared himself unable to remember the name of the author of the article in question; hence the indiscriminate sentence. Eugene Brote was accused, but did not appear after so long an interval of time.
- XIX. (December 16, 1893) Hermannstadt. The Public Prosecutor complained of the non-appearance of Brote as editor of the *Tribuna*, and demanded that his paper should therefore be suppressed. The judge complied with this demand,

ROUMANIAN POLITICAL TRIALS

and further imposed on Brote in absence a fine of 1,000 crowns. Sentence was at once carried out, but the court of second instance several months later revoked it as illegal.

- XX. (December 22, 1893) Kolozsvár. For an article in *Foaia Poporului* entitled "Roumania on our Side" (which argued that the more the Roumanians in Transylvania were illtreated, the more sympathy they would receive from the kingdom), J. Russu-Sirianu, as editor, was sentenced to twenty days' prison, J. Popa-Necsa, as printer, to three months' common jail, and the paper to a fine of 1,000 crowns. E. Brote, as proprietor of the paper, was also charged, but did not appear.
- XXI. (February 2, 1894) Hermannstadt. The Public Prosecutor raised a fresh complaint against the absence of the new proprietor of the *Tribuna* and *Foaia Poporului*, J. Popa-Necsa (he was in prison!). The court ordered the publication of both papers to cease. Decision reversed on appeal.
- XXII. (March 13, 1894) Kolozsvár. *Foaia Poporului* published an article by George Petrovici, a schoolmaster, severely attacking a colleague who had accepted a prize of 50 crowns from the State as a reward for his success in spreading the Magyar language. Petrovici was sentenced to two months, Russu-Sirianu, as editor, to fifteen days, and Popa-Necsa to 200 crowns.
- XXIII. (March 29, 1894) Kolozsvár. Andrew Baltes, as editor of *Tribuna*, was sentenced to four months' common jail for a poem entitled "Michael the Brave" (in honour of the great Voivode of Wallachia) which he had published in his paper. Popa-Necsa was fined 1,000 crowns.
- XXIV. (April 18, 1894) Kolozsvár. *Tribuna* published an appeal to the Roumanian schoolmasters, not to accept the state subventions offered by the new Teachers' Salaries Bill (not yet passed into law), because the Government will thereby gain control over the Roumanian schools and will seek to Magyarize them. For this appeal George Petrovici was sentenced to four months' jail and 200 crowns, George Craciun to three months and 100 crowns, A. Baltes to 600 crowns, Popa-Necsa to 400 crowns, and the paper to 1,000 crowns more.
- XXV. (April 23, 1894) Kolozsvár. *Tribuna* published a congratulatory address to those condemned in the "Replik" trial. For this Simeon Bratu was sentenced to twenty days' jail, A. Baltes to 120 crowns, and the paper to 600 crowns.
- XXVI. (April 24, 1894) Kolozsvár. For a similar congratulatory

APPENDIX X

address published in the *Tribuna*, Aurel Lazar and Munteanu, two school teachers, were sentenced to six weeks' jail, Rev. Babutiú to four weeks, Geo. Lupu to two weeks, Popa-Necsa to twenty days or 400 crowns, and the paper to 1,000 crowns.

- XXVII. (May 17 to June 4, 1894) *The Memorandum Trial*. Kolozsvár. On March 26, 1892, the Roumanian National Party in its official capacity addressed a petition of grievances to the Emperor-King. The Public Prosecutor instituted proceedings against the entire committee for this act. The passage in the petition to which he specially took exception referred to the autonomous rights of Transylvania and to the illegal and unconstitutional manner in which this autonomy had been annulled, and declared the Act of Union (XLII. 1868) to be a clear defiance of all the rights of the Roumanian people as forming the majority of the population of Transylvania. After a trial lasting eighteen days, the following sentences were passed: Dr. John Ratiu, president of the executive committee of the Roumanian National Party, two years; Rev. Basil Lucaciu, secretary, *five* years; Demeter Comsia, under-secretary, three years; Julius Coroianu, two years, eight months; Dr. Barcianu, Dr. Mihali, Rubin Patitia and Gerasim Domide to two years, six months each; Michael Veliciu to two years; Aurel Suciú to eighteen months; George Pop to one year; Nicholas Cristea and Dionysius Roman to eight months each; P. Barbu to two months. Four others were acquitted; Eugene Brote and Aurel Popovici did not appear. On October 9, 1894, the postponed action against Septimius Albini, who had fallen ill during the trial, and Romulus Crainicu (both members of the committee) was opened in Kolozsvár; Albini was sentenced to two years and six months, Crainicu had died in the interval, so unfortunately could not be sentenced.
- XXVIII. (June 12, 1894) Kolozsvár. George Moldovan sentenced to one month's jail for an article in *Foaia Poporului*, which spoke of the cruel persecutions to which the Roumanians were subjected by the Magyars. The paper was fined 600 crowns.
- XXIX. (June 24, 1894) Kolozsvár. Four priests, four schoolmasters, a doctor and two editors of the *Tribuna* prosecuted for a congratulatory address to the victims of the "Replique." The court dismissed the action, owing to the period of limitation having expired.
- XXX. (July 5, 1894) Kolozsvár. For a similar address, published in *Tribuna*, Archpriest Cuteanu was sentenced to 600

ROUMANIAN POLITICAL TRIALS

crowns, A. Baltés to 400 crowns, Popa-Necsa to 200 crowns, and the paper to 600 crowns.

XXXI. (September 22, 1894) Szatmár. Rev. Basil Lucaciu (already sentenced to five years) charged with libel against an administrative official, incurred in a complaint addressed to the Minister of the Interior. Sentenced to six months' jail and 400 crowns.

XXXII. (October 2, 1894) Kolozsvár. For a congratulatory address to the victims of the Replik trial published in the *Tribuna*, A. Baltés was sentenced to three months' jail, Popa to two months, and the paper to 1,000 crowns.

XXXIII. (October 16, 1894) Kolozsvár. George Moldovan sentenced to two months' jail for an article in *Foia Poporului* (February 25, i.e. nine months previously) entitled "Foreign Opinion on our Side."

This campaign of political persecution was still raging when Mr. Brote published his book in 1895. I only wish that considerations of space did not prevent me from treating the subsequent trials in the same detail.

APPENDIX X

(B) Roumanian Political Trials (1897-1908).¹⁴

Year and Month.	Name.	Court.	Sentence.		Offence.
			Imprisonment.	Fine.	
			Yr. Mo. Days.		
1897. June 8	Dr. N. Nilvan } Nagy- Vasile Dragos } Somkuta	Hermannstadt	— — —	Crowns. 1300	For singing a Roumanian national song.
" " Oct. 6	Andrew Baltes, editor (<i>Trîbuna</i>)	" Kolozsvár	— — —	1300	
" " "	Rev. V. Morar, priest of Ciufud	" "	1 4 0 CP.	600	
" " "	Crăciun Simion, teacher	" "	1 0 0 SP.	600	Article in <i>Foaia Pop.</i>
" " "	Joan Simu, student of theology	" "	0 6 0 SP.	400	
" " 16	P. Călcianar, advocate in Orsova	" Weisskirchen	0 0 5 Arrest	200	
" " "	J. Neagu, capt., Glodna-Rom.	—	0 6 0 SP.	100	Instigation against Magyar nationality.
" " 18	Rev. J. Păcurar, priest of Tûr	" "	0 6 0 C.P.	—	
" " "	Geo. Făgărăsan, teacher	" Hermannstadt	0 6 0 S.P.	240	
" " 20	Dr. Joan Ratiu, President of Roum. National Party	" Hermannstadt	1 6 0 S.P.	400	For summoning meeting of Roumanian delegates.
" " "	Dr. O. Russu	" "	0 0 10 Arr.	140	
" " "	Dr. A. Frâncu	" "	0 0 3 Arr.	50	
" " "	Dr. N. Vecerdea	" "	0 0 3 Arr.	50	
" " "	Onoriu Tilea	" "	0 0 3 Arr.	50	
" " "	Zaharie Boi	" "	0 0 3 Arr.	50	
" " "	Dr. I. A. de Preda	" "	0 0 3 Arr.	50	
" " "	Dr. A. Murăşan, editor (<i>Gaz. Tr.</i>)	" Minist. Order	0 0 8 S.P.	50	
" " "	Rev. E. Beşa, assist. priest of Poiana	" Hermannstadt	0 1 14 C.P.	100	For summoning meeting of delegates in Kronstadt. For a toast.
" " 22				50	

¹⁴ Based in the main upon statistics published in the Roumanian journal *Trîbuna* in Arad (No. 215), on December 1, 1906, and supplemented or corrected by my own study of the law-court reports of the Magyar daily press.

ROUMANIAN POLITICAL TRIALS

Nov. 8	Rev. M. Rubinovici, asst. priest Brusnic	Hermannstadt	0	6	0	S.P.	538	"Instigation."
Dec. 8	<i>Foaita Poporului</i>	"	—	—	—	—	64	do.
18	Aurel Ciato, student	"	0	6	0	S.P.	—	"Instigation."
Feb. 12	Rev. J. Secheli, priest of Tarian	Nagyvárad	0	3	0	C.P.	300	Agitation against Church Laws.
Mar. 14	Manoilă Sara, Vurpar	Gyula-Fehérvár	0	5	0	S.P.	200	Instigation.
Apr. 16	Geo. Micu, teacher	Szeged.	0	2	0	S.P.	—	"
June 8	Aurel Trif (<i>Tribuna Pop.</i>)	Nagyvárad	0	3	0	S.P.	100	Article "The time has come."
Dec. 13	Avram Giurgiu	Maros	0	0	14	Arr.	120	Instigation.
" "	Andrei Russu	Vásárhely	0	0	14	Arr.	120	"
" "	T. L. Albini	Gyulafehérvár	13 weeks	—	—	preventive arrest	—	For starting fund for erection of monument to Jancu, the Roumanian leader in 1848.
" "	Dr. Vasile Lucaciu	"	—	—	—	—	553	Condemned to pay expenses of the gendarmes sent by the authorities to protect his house!
" "	Rev. I. Băbuț, priest of Bucium Sasa	"	0	1	0	C.P.	—	Instigation.
" "	Grigorie Sima, Bucium Sasa	"	0	0	8	Arr.	—	} For going to welcome their priest on his return from prison.
" "	Aurel Danciu	"	0	0	8	Arr.	—	
" "	Joan David	"	0	0	8	Arr.	—	
" "	Geo. David	"	0	0	8	Arr.	—	
" "	Nich. Băieșan	"	0	0	8	Arr.	—	
" "	Virgil Todescu	"	0	0	8	Arr.	—	
" "	Simion Băndea	"	0	0	8	Arr.	—	} For crying "Down with the Magyars."
" "	I. Naicu	"	0	0	8	Arr.	—	
1899. Jan. 20	Dimitrie Palcu Curtici	R. Cúria	0	3	0	S.P.	100	For crying "Down with the Magyars."
" "	Petra Drăgoi	"	0	0	8	C.P.	—	} For singing the "Lucaciu Hymn."
" "	Ilie Stefanida	"	0	0	8	CP.	—	
" "	Rev. Giurgea, Halmágy	—	0	2	0	Prev. Arr.	—	For conduct at county elections.
Feb. 22	Emanuil Măglaș (<i>Tribuna Pop.</i>)	Nagyvárad	0	2	0	C.P.	—	For article "Happy Country" (which he describes as a country of thieves).

NOTE.—C.P. = common prison; S.P. = State prison.

APPENDIX X

Roumanian Political Trials (1897-1908)—continued

Year and Month.	Name.	Court.	Sentence.		Offence.
			Imprisonment.	Fine.	
1899. Apr. 22	Dr. Aurel Lazar	Nagyvárad	Yrs. —	Crowns 100	Instigation.
June 12	Rev. J. Jurca, priest of Dragomircești	Szeged	— 2 weeks	—	
1900. Feb. 10	Twenty-four youths from Szelistye	—	: 2 days each (i.e. 288 days' total)	—	For carrying Roumanian tri-colours.
1901. Aug. 27	S. Moldovan (<i>Foia Pop.</i>)	—	0 0 14 A.P.	100	Instigation.
Oct. 27	Sever Bocu (<i>Tribuna</i>)	—	0 3 0 S.P.	100	"
1902. Mar. 19	Andrei Baltes (<i>Tribuna</i>)	Kolozsvár	2 0 0 C.P.	8400	Instigation
June 18	N. Novacovici	Deva	0 2 0 S.P.	200	Speech in favour of Jancu's monument
Oct. 4	P. Baciú (<i>Neven</i>)	Szeged	0 6 0 S.P.	200	Article "The Racial Question in Parliament."
Nov. 21	V. Lazar (<i>Foia Pop.</i>)	Kolozsvár	0 4 0 S.P.	600	Article "An Easter Present."
" 27	Teodor Păcățian	"	0 8 0 S.P.	1987	For book entitled "The Golden Book," containing (without all comment) <i>de-cumensis</i> dealing with the Roumanian question during the past century.
1903. Feb. 6	G. Mohan	Kolozsvár	1 3 0 S.P.	11,000	Article in <i>Tribuna</i> .
Mar. 30	"	"	0 1 0	500	Ditto "The rope is straining."
" 31	"	"	0 8 0	1600	Ditto "The Magyar Policy."
Apr. 6	Tr. H. Pop (<i>Gaz. Trans.</i>)	Máros Vásárhely	0 0 0 3	20	3 articles.
May 14	Dr. Casiu Maniu	Kolozsvár	1 0 0 0	200	Incitement against Magyar nationality.
" 15	Rev. I. Stupineanu	Deva	0 3 0 0	—	For forbidding Roumanian school children to greet him in Magyar.

ROUMANIAN POLITICAL TRIALS

Date	Accused	Place	Charge	Year	Prison	Term	Notes
"	Joan Moța (<i>Libertatea</i>)	Kolozsvár			0	2	0
Sept. 12	Vasile E. Moldovan	—			0	3	0
Oct. 12	Dr. N. Oprean	—			0	0	2
"	Rev. T. Oprean	—			0	0	2
"	Rev. J. Petrovici	—			0	0	2
"	Lipovan, teacher	—			0	0	2
Nov. 11	Dr. V. Moldovan (<i>Tribuna</i>)	Kolozsvár			—	—	—
"	J. Jovanovici (<i>Libertatea</i>)	—			0	5	0
1904. May 13	Vasile E. Moldovan (<i>Tribuna</i>)	—			0	4	0
Oct. 26	Sever Bocu (<i>Tribuna</i>)	Nagyvárad			0	0	14
1905. Feb. 16	Valeriu Joanovici (<i>Libertatea</i>)	Kolozsvár			1	0	0
Mar. 12	Five Roumanians	Nagyvárad			—	—	—
July 19	Silv. Moldovan (<i>Foia Pop.</i>)	Kolozsvár			—	—	—
1906. Apr. 3	Milan Markovici (ed. <i>N.R.</i>)	Budapest			0	9	0
Jan. 22	J. Russu-Sirianu	Arad			—	—	—
Feb. 27	Petru Crina Damaschin	Budapest			0	0	7
"	Avram Andreica (<i>Tribuna</i>)	Nagyvárad			0	6	0
Apr. 17	M. Gaspar (Drapelul)	Kolozsvár			0	10	0
"	Dr. C. Jurca (Drapelul)	"			0	8	0
"	Dr. Stephen Petrovici (Drapelul)	"			0	6	0
Apr. 22	Sever Secula (<i>Tribuna</i>)	Nagyvárad			—	—	—
July 1	Joan Mota	Curia			0	0	14
"	J. Sacarea	"			0	0	14

NOTE.—C.P. = common prison; S.P. = State prison.

Romanian Political Trials (1897-1908)—continued

APPENDIX X

Year and Month.	Name.	Court.	Sentence.		Offence.
			Imprisonment.	Fine.	
June 7	Rev. Nich. Bolboca	—	Yr. 0	Crowns. 100	Church choir in Vermes (1 day and 10 crowns each).
" "	Joseph Miciău, teacher	—	0 5	Art. 100	
" "	27 men and 7 women.	—	0 5	Art. 100	
Aug. 14	Rev. Simeon Blajovan, priest of Hódos	—	0 0 34	Art. 340	
" 18	Rev. Traian Gaspar, priest of Hezeris	—	0 1 0	S.P. 10	Violence at elections.
Sept. 8	Paul Iomanet	—	0 0 10	—	
" "	Ana Kollar	—	0 3 0	Art. 100	Protest against Magyar hymns in a Roumanian church.
" "	Joan Kovács	—	0 3 0	Art. 100	
" 24	Stephen C. Pop (<i>Liberitatea</i>)	Kolozsvár	0 3 0	S.P. 400	Two articles. "The Journey to Vienna," "Unitis Viribus,"
" "	Avram Andreica (<i>Tribuna</i>)	Nagyvárad	0 7 0	S.P. 1200	
Nov. 7	Aurel C. Domsa (<i>Unirea</i>)	Kolozsvár	0 8 0	S.P. 1200	Instigation.
Dec. 12	V. Tenca, Tauf.	Nagyvárad	0 8 0	S.P. 500	
" 20	Daniel Iliescu, schoolmaster	Temesvár	0 0 14	20	"
" "	G. Roșu Pancsova.	Arad	0 0 14	100	"
" 28	Dr. J. Hotărán, adv. in Világos	"	0 0 21	100	"
" 6	Rev. J. Jercosan Pancsova	"	0 0 14	100	"
1907. Feb. 12	Vasile Moldovan, journalist	Kolozsvár	1 6 0	1000	"
" "	Rev. J. Cure	—	0 3 0	C.P.	Electoral agitation.
" "	Aurel Cure and 2 others (3 each)	—	0 9 0	C.P.	
" "	M. Jordan and 3 others (4 each)	—	1 4 0	C.P.	
Mar. 2	Rev. Simeon Blajovean	Temesvár	0 1 0	S.P.	

ROUMANIAN POLITICAL TRIALS

Mar. 5	Rev. And. Ghidiu, arch-priest	Police Court, Karánsebes	0	0	15	A.	200	Electoral agitation (total, 50 days and 1,025 crowns).
"	Dr. Peter Barbu, professor	"	0	0	10	A.	200	
"	Dr. M. Brediceanu, advocate	"	0	0	8	A.	200	
"	Emilia Brodatschi	"	0	0	8	A.	200	
"	A. Sîrbu	"	0	0	8	A.	200	
"	M. Săbăilă	"	0	0	1	A.	25	
Mar. 8	Petru Lasiău, peasant	Déva	0	2	0	C.P.	—	
June 12	24 amateur actors	Beins	—	—	—	—	480	
"	Mrs. Vlăd (wife of M.P.)	Déva	—	—	—	—	200	
"	Voicu Nişescu, student	Nagyvárad	0	3	0	—	200	
Sept. 12	Aurel Domsu	Kolozsvár	0	8	0	S.P.	500	
"	Rev. Geo. Magheru	Temesvár	1	0	0	S.P.	—	
Nov. 2	Dr. Demeter Lascu	Nagyvárad	0	6	0	S.P.	500	
"	J. Jova	"	0	6	0	S.P.	500	
"	Vasilie Macrea	Budapest	0	6	0	S.P.	1200	
1908. Feb. 8	Theodor Pacaŝian	Maros-Vásárhely	0	10	0	S.P.	400	
"	George Stoica (<i>Lupta</i>)	Budapest	1	6	0	S.P.	1500	
"	Julius Joanovici	Kolozsvár	1	6	0	S.P.	2000	

NOTE.—C.P. = common prison; S.P. = State prison.

APPENDIX X

(C) *Slovak Political Trials (1898-1908)*¹⁵

Year.	Name.	Profession.	Sentence.			Court.	Offence.
			Yr.	Mo.	Days		
1898	Izidor Žiak-Somolický, author		0	8	0	Budapest	Instigation against Magyar nationality (§ 172). Ditto. Ditto (incurred in a toast delivered at a banquet). Ditto (for publishing translations of 2 articles by Profs. Baudouin de Courtenay and Florinsky.
	Ambro Pietor, editor		0	8	0	"	
	Ignác Országh, landowner		0	3	0	Besztercebánya	
1899	Joseph Škultéty, editor		0	0	21	Budapest	Total of 52 months. <i>Laudatio criminis</i> , incurred in welcoming Ambrose Pietor at the station of Turócz St. Márton on his return from imprisonment (see above). A speech of welcome was made by one of his oldest friends, and the two girls presented a bouquet of flowers. The incident was perfectly orderly. "Instigation" (§ 172), for publishing two Slovak poems. § 172. "Instigation" during his candidature for Parliament.
	Antony Novák, printer		0	0	7	"	
	Matthew Dula, advocate		0	6	0	"	
	Hurban Vajanský, poet		0	5	0	"	
	Paul Mudroň and another advocate		0	3	0	"	
	Vladimir Mudroň and 5 other officials		0	2	each	"	
	Joseph Škultéty, Ďuro Čajda, and Anton Bielek, editors		0	2	each	"	
	Joseph Capko, brewer, Con-stantine Hurban, manu-facturer, and 5 others		0	2	each	"	
	Miss Etelka Cabilkova and Miss Svehlova and other		—	—	—	"	
	Milosch Pietor, editor		0	0	3	"	
1903	Dr. John Mudroň, advocate		0	0	5	Nyitra	
	J. Valášek, advocate and ex M.P.		1	0	0		

¹⁵ Based in the main upon statistics published in Slovenský Obzor, Vol. I. No. 7, and supplemented or checked by my own study of the lawcourts reports of the Magyar daily press.

SLOVAK POLITICAL TRIALS

1904	Dr. Rudolf Markovič, advocate.	0	5	0	500	Nyitra	“Instigation.” Court of second instance acquitted them, owing to proof of grave abuses on the part of the prosecution in the lower court. “Instigation.”
	Dr. Julius Markovič, doctor	0	2	0	200	“	
	Rev. Ljudevit Čulik, Lutheran pastor.	0	3	0	300	“	
	Igor Hrušovský	0	0	3	20	Pressburg	
	J. Babka, schoolmaster	0	0	3	20	“	Do.
	Joseph Gregory Tajovský, official.	0	3	0	200	Besztérczebánya	He published an article in the <i>Ludove Noviny</i> , advocating the boycott of a Magyar theatrical company. Instigation during Parliamentary elections.
	Fr. Veselovský, advocate and ex M.P. (Tyrnau).	1	0	0	1,000	Nyitra	§ 172.
	John Štrobl, printer (Turócz S.M.).	0	1	0	600	Budapest	
	Stephen Svetský	0	3	0	1,000	Pressburg	Libel against official personage.
	Milan Hodža, M.P.	—	—	—	267	Budapest	For treating of politics in his newspaper, <i>Slovenský Tyždenník</i> , before the necessary cautionary money had been deposited.
	4 Slovak peasants, Kassa	0	0	5	20 each	“	“Instigation,” incurred in resisting the introduction of a Magyar service in a Slovak church.
	Igor Hrušovský, journalist in Vágújhely.	0	1	0	500	Pressburg	Libel against an official. Purely political.
1905	Ditto.	—	—	—	500	Nyitra	Libel incurred through the Press.
	18 peasants (8 men, 10 women) from Pribilina.	0	0	215	869	Rózsahaegy	Four were sentenced to 19 days, six to 15 days, seven women to 4 days, and one woman to 21 days. The fines (amounting to £36) were to be borne by all equally. The offence was excesses during the elections at Liptó.
	12 peasants from Pribilina and Kókava and	0	0	194	—	Rózsahaegy	Seven were sentenced to 21 days, one to 15 days, four to 8 days. The offence was excesses during the elections at Liptó.
	Martin Nůdzik, peasant from Kókava.	0	3	0	300	“	Excess during the elections at Liptó.
	John Beňo, peasant from Pribilina.	0	4	0	—	“	(In all 3 cases, all those convicted were Slovaks. The Magyar electors were left unpunished.)

APPENDIX X

Slovak Political Trials (1898-1908)—continued

Year.	Name.	Profession.	Sentence.				Court.	Offence.
			Imprisonment.		Days.	Fine.		
			Yr.	Mo.				
1906.	10 peasants in Nagy-Bittse (Co. Trencsén)—One to Seven to		0	0	6	120	Nagy Bittse — — Nyitra Eperjes Pressburg Rózsahegy Pressburg Rózsahegy " " " " " " " " " " " "	Total of 29 days and 470 crowns. The offence was disturbance at night in Nagy Bittse. Purely political.
	Joseph Teslík	Two to (Szakolcza)	0	0	5	150		
	John Straka	carpenter (Kassa).	0	0	4	20		
	Miss Gizela Friedrichova (Rozsahegy)		0	0	14	—		
	J. Baňári (Zubrica, Co. Árva)		0	0	6	—		
	Rev. Ferdinand Juriga, M.P.		2	0	0	1,200		
	Rev. Andrew Hlinka, R.C. priest of Rózsahegy.		2	0	0	1,500		
	Dr. Vavro Šrobár, doctor		1	0	0	900		
	Andrew Janček, manufacturer.		0	6	0	500		
	Đuro Greguš, baker		0	5	0	200		
Peter Cheben, peasant		0	5	0	100			
Rev. Joseph Tomik, R.C. priest of Revúca.		0	4	0	300			
Joseph Matašovský	peasant	0	2	0	100			
Joseph Janovec	sants	0	2	0	100			
D. Novák	in	0	2	0	100			
Joseph Vlkolinský	Róz-	0	2	0	100			
M. Jesenský	sahegy	0	2	0	100			

Total of 5 years and 10 months' imprisonment and fines of 8,720 crowns. (See pp. 337-9.)

SLOVAK POLITICAL TRIALS

John Lesko Kóra (Istebné) and 21 Slovak peasants from Liptó county.	0 0	3 0	0 14	—	“ “	Total of 3 months and 294 days. Excesses during the elections at Alsó Kubin (under § 176 of Crim. Code).
Joseph Levota 14 Slovak peasants from Vetrná Poruba (Liptó Co.) 1 man to 1 man and 2 women to 5 men and 5 women to	0 0 0 0 0	5 3½ 3 1 1	0 0 0 0 0	— — — — —	“ “ “ “ “	Electoral excesses (§ 176). Electoral excesses at Liptó (§ 176). Total of 22½ months! Electoral excesses at Liptó (§ 176). They beat a Magyar canvasser.
5 Slovak peasants from Východná (Liptó Co.). 6 Slovaks of Liptó St. Miklos 4 to 2 to	0 0 0 0 0	4 3 0	0 0 0	— — 800	“ “ Pressburg	Electoral excesses at Liptó (§ 176). Total of 18 months! “Instigation” and <i>laudatio criminis</i> , incurred in articles in <i>Ludove Noviny</i> . Sentenced not to State prison, as is invariable in the case of political offences, but to common jail. Sentenced to 2 crowns or a day's arrest each, for a school strike.
Robert Švoch, Szokolca 20 Slovak boys and 3 girls from Vlkolínec. Martin Albíny, Rózsahegy	1 — 1	0 — 0	0 — 0	400 — 400	Rózsahegy Rózsahegy Pressburg	“Instigation,” incurred in <i>Ludove Noviny</i> . Fined 1 crown each for refusing to send their children to the Magyar school. Each fined 5 crowns or 1 day's arrest for school strike.
8 peasants of Vlkolínec 94 peasants of Csernova Igor Hrušovský (Vágújhely) 2 peasants of Malaczka	— — 0 0	— — 2 0	— — 0 17	— — 400 —	“ “ Nyitra Malaczka	Demonstration against the Magyar candidate at the elections. “Instigation” incurred in article in <i>Slovenský Týždenník</i> . Libel against official honour, in article.
Dušan Forubský, journalist in Budapest. ditto	1 0	0 0	0 0	1,200 100	Budapest “	

1907

Slovak Political Trials (1897-1908)—continued

Year.	Name.	Profession.	Sentence.			Fine.	Court.	Offence.
			Yr.	Mo.	Days.			
	Ivan Pivko, proprietor, Kubin		0	0	14	Crowns. 50	Eperjes	<p>"Instigation" incurred as Parliamentary candidate in Girált. Total 44 days and £1 13s. 4d.</p> <p>"Instigation," incurred by resisting the introduction of the Magyar language into their church service.</p> <p><i>Laudatio criminis</i>, incurred by collecting voluntary gifts for the support of their imprisoned deputy, Father Juriga. Total, 300 kr. (£12 10s.).</p> <p>"Instigation" in article in <i>Národný Hlasník</i>.</p> <p>Libel against official honour, incurred in a remark made during his defence at the previous trial!</p> <p>"Instigation."</p>
	4 Slovaks of Neusatz—2 to 2 to		0	0	8	20	Neusatz	
			0	0	14	20	"	
	6 Slovak peasants of Láb .		—	—	—	50 each	Malaczka	
	Ignaz Polák, peasant		0	3	0	100	Budapest	
	Rev. Andrew Hlinka . .		0	1	0	400	Rózsahegy	
	Joseph Teslík, printer in Szakolcza.		0	0	14	200	Pressburg	
	22 peasants of Zohor (Co. Pressburg).		0	3	0	—	"	
	3 men and 5 women to		0	2	0	—	"	
	6 women to		0	1	0	—	"	
	4 women to		0	0	14	—	"	
	4 women to		0	0	0	—	"	
	3 peasants of Láb (Co. Pressburg)		0	3	0	each	"	

Under § 176. They set upon their priest and gave him a beating, because of his Magyar sentiments. Total sentence of 3 years and 6 months. For months after the incident military were quartered in the village as punishment.

Condemned to total of 9 months for *Laudatio criminis*, incurred by displaying Father Juriga's photograph

SLOVAK POLITICAL TRIALS

Paul Kulišek	Lutheran	0	0	15	200	Miava	} Sentenced for permitting the school children to decorate their classroom with Croatian colours. Excesses at the elections in Alsó Kubin. The Slovak and Magyar electors indulged in a free fight. Only the Slovaks were prosecuted. Condemned for carrying white banners at the elections in Verbó. Total of 1,120 crowns (£46 10s.).
Vladimir Lajda	school-	0	0	15	200	"	
Michael Simonovič	masters	0	0	15	200	"	
11 Slovak peasants of Hruštín (Co. Árva). 6 to 5 to		0	2	—	443	Rózsahegy	} "Instigation" incurred in the violent abuse of a schoolmaster who beat a child till he drew blood, because it did not know its Magyar lesson. "Instigation" in an article.
7 Slovak peasants of Brezova		0	0	14	160 each	Miava	
Stephen Gablík Kvantolík		0	3	0	—	Trencsén	} Disturbance in a church. Denounced by their priest. Condemned for their open and provocative national Slovak sentiments, e.g. for keeping a purely Slovak household and educating their children in similar sentiments. They were also deprived of their posts, but the higher Court modified this sentence.
Milosch Pietor, journalist in Turócz S.M.		0	4	0	400	Budapest	
5 Slovak peasants of Láb, each		0	1	0	100	Malaczka	} For disciplinary offence, of a political nature. "Instigation." Acquitted, but counsel for prosecution appealed. Electoral excesses during the elections of May, 1906 (i.e. 18 months previously!). "Instigation," incurred in article in <i>Ludove Novny</i> .
Rev. Louis Hrdlička, Lutheran pastor in Tótkomlos.		—	—	—	200	Lutheran Seniorial court (804 crowns costs)	
J. Styk, schoolmaster in Tótkomlos.		—	—	—	100		
Rev. Vladimir Hurban, Lutheran pastor in Pazova.		—	—	—	200	Budapest Seniorial Court Pressburg	
Rev. Rudolf Kocárek, R.C. priest.		—	—	—	—		
Anton Mally, peasant		0	1	0	—	"	
Helena Král, peasant		0	1	0	—	"	
Julius Šlachta, official, Rózsahegy.		1	0	0	1,200	"	

Year.	Name.	Dwelling.	Sentence.			Court.	Offence.
			Yr.	Mo.	Days.		
1907	John Valášek, advocate,	Miava	—	—	—	Pressburg	Disciplinary fine imposed by Chamber of Advocates. <i>Laudatio criminis</i> , incurred by praising Father Hlinka. "Instigation", incurred in article in <i>Napred</i> . "Instigation", incurred in article in <i>Robotnicke Noviny</i> (a Slovak Socialist newspaper). "Instigation", incurred by singing a Slovak song in an inn. He was kept in prison for 3 months before trial. <i>Laudatio criminis</i> . Publicly drank a toast to Father Juriga, M.P. The higher Court acquitted the priest, but condemned the advocate to a fine of £20 (500 crowns). <i>Laudatio criminis</i> , incurred by publishing some verses in a Slovak comic paper <i>Černoňazník</i> , praising Father Hlinka and Dr. Srobar. Condemned, although at time of publication Hlinka had not yet been sentenced! <i>Laudatio criminis</i> and "instigation" in article in <i>Ludove Noviny</i> . "Instigation", incurred in article in <i>Slovenský Tyždenník</i> (Sept. 13, 1907) entitled "Awake ye Sleepers."
	Margaret Šipos		0	1	0	"	
	J. Čaderna, workman, Pressburg.		—	—	—	"	
	J. Lehočký, journalist, Pressburg.		0	2	0	"	
	Fr. Polakovič, workman .		0	7	0	Rózsabegy	
1908	Rev. J. Záhora, R.C. priest		0	1	0	Brezno	
	Dr. M. Zibrin, advocate, Brezno.		0	1	0	"	
	John Greguška, official		0	3	0	Budapest	
Gideon Turzó, proprietor .		0	4	0	"		
1908	Joseph Matúskovič, journalist, Szakolcza		0	4	0	Pressburg	
	John Greguška		0	5	0	—	

SLOVAK POLITICAL TRIALS

Stephen Tadleak, Pressburg	0	4	0	400	"	as a national martyr.) "Instigation" incurred in <i>Robotnické Noviny</i> .
John Dlhôš	0	4	0	400	"	"Instigation" incurred in <i>Zvolenské Noviny</i> .
Mrs. Anna Fulla, and 23 men and 17 women.	36	6	0	—	Rózsahegy	(See page 347.)
John Baď'ala	1	0	0	1200	Budapest	"Instigation" incurred in 3 articles in <i>Slovenský Tyždenník</i> .
Ferdinand Bulik	0	4	0	500		The Kovačica (Antalfalva) Trial (see page 321).
Martin Mikuš	0	4	0	500		Total of 6 years, 8 months and 5,980 crowns. 96 members of the congregation were brought to trial; 61 of these, who had been kept in prison during the whole inquiry, were set at liberty.
6 others (3 months each)	1	6	0	1200		"instigation" in newspaper article.
8 others (2½ months each)	1	8	0	1400		
11 men and 5 women (2 months each).	2	8	0	2150		
3 others (1 month or 15 days each).	0	2	0	230		
Paul Ursin, carpenter's apprentice.	0	1	14	300		
Rev. Andrew Hlinka	1	6	0	200		(See page 339.)
Paul Cifersky	0	5	0	100		Article "The Violent Acts of Chauvinism."
Andrew Obuch	0	3	0	300		Article "Gessler's Hat" in <i>Národné Noviny</i> .
Vladimir Hurban	0	2	0	1200		For reproducing without comment in <i>Národné Noviny</i> a translation of the Norwegian poet Björnson's article in <i>Neue Freie Presse</i> in December, 1907.
Joseph Vachálek	0	3	0	60		Article in <i>Robotnické Noviny</i> .
Joseph Cipar	0	4	0	300		Article, "Violence in Self-Defence."
Paul Cifersky	0	8	0	1200		Articles, "Sitting on Bayonets" and "A Hundred Meetings" in <i>Slovenský Tyždenník</i> .
Joseph Žak	0	2	0	—		For publication of article, "A Statistic of Our Sufferings" in <i>Slovenský Obzor</i> (see page 319).
5 Slovak women from Lúčky	0	0	25	—		For Church disturbance, in connexion with boycott (see page 337).
Joseph Pristupny	0	3	0	400		Article in <i>Ludové Noviny</i> .

(D) SUMMARY OF THE ABOVE TRIALS (1898 TO MARCH, 1908)

Court.	Number of Trials.	Number of Persons Condemned.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Crowns.
Budapest	16	16	4	5	8	6,487
Pressburg	22	36	11	9	0	8,875
Rózsahegy	16	330	53	3	8	7,109
Nyitra	7	9	3	0	10	4,050
Besztercebánya (Neusohl)	5	27	4	10	28	800
Trencsén	1	1	0	3	0	—
Kassa	1	4	0	0	20	80
Eperjes	3	3	0	4	18	120
Malacka	3	13	0	5	17	800
Miava	4	36	0	1	15	1,950
Bittse	1	11	0	0	29	470
Neusatz (Ujvidék)	1	4	0	1	14	80
Breznobánya	1	2	0	2	0	—
Total	81	503	79	0	17	30,881

According to years, the statistics work out as follows: In 1898 sentences amounting to 19 months; in 1899 to 4 years 4 months and 28 days; in 1903 to 22 months and 8 days; in 1904 to 26 months and 26 days; in 1905 to 2 years and 14 days; in 1906 to 13 years 7 months and 11 days; in 1907 to 12 years 7 months and 20 days; and in the first three months of 1908 to 40 years and 8 months. During the years 1900-1903, while the Széll Cabinet was in power, some attempt was made to treat the Nationalities as human beings, and the persecution ceased. The Coalition Cabinet has thrown all such scruples to the winds.

SLOVAK PRESS ACTIONS

(E) *Press Actions against the Národné Noviny.* (1892-1906).

- I. (Dec. 17, 1892.) Svetozar Hurban Vajanský was sentenced at Pressburg to 1 year, a fine of 600 crowns and 515 crowns costs. Offence:—(a) incitement against an institution of the constitution (§ 173 Crim. Code); (b) incitement against the Magyar nationality (§ 172). Incurred in an article entitled "Hyaenism in Hungary" (for extracts from this article see p. 306).
- II. (Oct. 3, 1895.) Izidor Ziak Somolicky, sentenced to 2 months and 50 crowns. Offence: incitement against the Magyar nationality. Incurred in an article entitled "Don't expect holy water from the Devil!" (Feb. 16, 1895, i.e., 8 months previously). The change of government, he argued, would bring the Slovaks no good, the tyrannical attitude of the Government and Administration towards the nationalities would remain unaltered.
- III. (Feb. 6, 1896.) I. Z. Somolicky, sentenced to 2 months and 50 crowns. Same offence. Incurred in an article entitled "Magyar Effrontery." In it he discusses an advertisement published in an official Magyar educational paper, inviting applications for "a position as teacher for the purpose of Magyarization." He then urges the Slovaks to unite against the enemy.
- IV. (March 9, 1896.) I. Z. Somolicky, sentenced to 4 months and 100 crowns. Offence: libel against the Government and the authorities. Incurred in an article entitled "Political Bandits" (May 21, 1895, i.e., 10 months before). He attacks the "ruling classes" and "the Judaeo-Magyar Press," declares that the Government conducts a bandit policy against the nationalities and does not respect the law.
- V.-VI.-VII. (Ap. 18, 1898.) I. Z. Somolicky, sentenced to 8 months and 1,200 crowns. Offence: incitement against the Magyar nationality, incurred in three articles—(a) "The Magyar-Roumanian Alliance" (Sep. 30, 1897); (b) "Herod" (Oct. 22); and (c) "Help the people" (Oct. 27). The second of these describes as barbarous the forcible removal of Slovak children to South Hungary, in order to further Magyarization. Owing to a campaign in France and Russia this slave-trade was abandoned, and now the kindergarten was established as a new means of Magyarization. Refusal to attend was followed by violence and brutal treatment of mothers and children. The author protests against such cruel Vandalism. The third article describes how under pretext of "helping the people," Slovak children were removed from

APPENDIX X

cholera-stricken districts, and Slovak emigrants sent back from America at their own expense. The only real help would consist in abandoning forcible Magyarization and supplying the people with means of economic progress.

- VIII.-IX. (June 23, 1898.) Ambrose Pietor sentenced to eight months and 1,200 crowns. Offence:—(a) instigation to class hatred, incurred in an article entitled "Slavery above and below" (July 15, 1897, i.e., 11 months before), in which he declared that the Slovak bricklayers on strike in Budapest were treated worse than dogs; (b) instigation against the Magyar nationality, incurred in an article entitled "Paralysis Progressiva," protesting against the forcible Magyarization of the primeval Slav placenames, which are described as "foreign," and have to make way for barbarous jargon invented for the purpose.
- X. (June 12, 1899.) Joseph Škultéty, sentenced to 3 weeks and 300 crowns. Same offence, incurred in a review of a pamphlet by Baudoin de Courtenay, professor in Cracow, on the persecution of the Slovaks.
- XI. (Oct. 20, 1899.) I. Z. Somolicky, sentenced to 3 months and 800 crowns. Same offence, incurred in an article entitled "Megalomania." Everything in Magyar public life was described as "great," whereas it really was very small. 746 small villages in Hungary have the prefix "Nagy" (great). The jury convicted him of "incitement to class hatred," though this had not been referred to at the trial. The decision was therefore annulled and the case reheard, when the jury found a similar verdict on the proper count.
- XII. (Dec. 4, 1899.) Antony Novak, sentenced to 1 week and 50 crowns, for a review of Courtenay's pamphlet on the Slovaks.
- XIII. (March 21, 1903.) Svetozar Hurban Vajanský, sentenced to 2 months and 400 crowns. Offence: incitement against the Magyar nationality, incurred in an article entitled "We must not give in" (Nov. 25, 1902). He attacks the deadly Chauvinism which prevails in Hungary and urges his readers to defend Slovak honour and Slovak culture, since through them alone can the Slovaks achieve anything. What is foreign can only have a negative value for us, until our intellect has made it entirely our own.
- XIV. (Ap. 25, 1903.) Svetozar Hurban Vajanský, accused of instigation against the Magyar nationality in an article in which he attacked a ministerial order prescribing

SLOVAK PRESS ACTIONS

twenty-four hours weekly for instruction in Magyar. The first instance of an acquittal.

XV.-XVI. (May 15, 1903.) Antony Novak, sentenced to 1 month and 120 crowns. Same offence, incurred in two articles—(a) "In defence" (Dec. 4, 1902), which contrasts the Chauvinist attitude with Deák's policy. Deák said, "In political matters we will give you nothing, but in cultural matters everything." To-day nothing is given, and even what the Slovak people creates for itself is taken from it; (b) "Countless Exiles" (Jan. 27, 1903), which discusses emigration and ascribes it to forcible Magyarization and the tyranny of the authorities. The peasants are ill-treated by the *szóigabiró* and the notary, the educated classes are dragged into court.

XVII. (Mar. 23, 1904.) John Strobl, sentenced to 1 month and 600 crowns. Same offence, incurred in an article "Let us honour intellectual work" (July 18, 1903, i.e., 8 months before). Culture and language are the two bulwarks of nationality, and of these the Slovaks are being robbed.

It will be observed that the sentences imposed upon the Slovaks during these years are much milder than those inflicted on the Roumanians. Till recently, the Magyars regarded all movement among the Slovaks as almost beneath contempt, and it is really only since the accession of the Coalition Government to power, that they have begun to admit the existence of a "Slovak danger." This new frame of mind is reflected in the annals of the political trials of the last two years, and the outrageously severe sentences imposed.

APPENDIX X

(F) *Press Actions against Slovak Newspapers (1905-1908).*

	Number of Confiscated Articles.	Number of Actions.		Sentences.			
		Total.	Already finished.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Crowns.
<i>Slovensky Týždenník</i> (weekly)	13	—	4	2	0	27	2,167
<i>Ľudové Noviny</i> (weekly)	18	14	8	6	2	14	5,500
<i>Národné Noviny</i> (thrice weekly)	8	8	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Pokrok</i> (weekly)	—	2	2	0	0	5	150
<i>Hlas Ľudu</i> (monthly)	2	2	2	0	3	0	200
<i>Zábavno-poučné Knižky</i>	—	1	1	—	8	—	120
<i>Národný Hlásnik</i> (fortnightly)	4	4	2	0	11	0	900
<i>Obzor</i>	—	1	1	0	0	3	20
<i>Robotnícké Noviny</i> (fortnightly)	4	4	3	0	6	0	600
<i>Orava</i> (monthly)	2	2	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Černokňazník</i> (monthly)	—	1	—	0	4	0	—
<i>Zvolenské Noviny</i> (monthly)	2	1	—	0	4	0	400
<i>Napred</i>	2	2	2	—	—	—	835
<i>Slovenský Obzor</i> (monthly review)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Total	55	43	25	11	3	19	10,892

N.B.—This table was compiled last February, but may already be quite out of date, owing to the violence of the campaign against the Slovak Press. The treatment of the Roumanians has been if possible more outrageous.

(G) SUMMARY OF POLITICAL TRIALS.

	Years.	Mths.	Days	Fines (In Crowns).
143 Roumanians (1886-1896)	93	1	23	42,464
210 Roumanians (1897-1908)	38	9	3	51,327
14 Germans (1898-1903)	2	10	10	7,720
7 Ruthenes (1904)	5	0	0	2,100
4 Serbs (1898-1906)	1	1	0	2,500
560 Slovaks (1896-1908)	91	7	26	42,121
938 non-Magyars (1886-1908)	232	6	2	148,232

APPENDIX XI

ELECTORAL STATISTICS

A.

General Elections.	Number of Uncontested Elections (with Voters).	Number of Electors on the Roll.		Number of Electors actually voting.		Number of Votes falling to Elected Candidates.	Number of Votes falling to non-elected Candidates.	Average number of Votes cast in each Constituency.	Average number of Votes falling on each elected M.P.
		Total.	P.c. of Total. popula- tion.	Total.	P.c.				
1896	132 256,522	889,714	5'6	654,633	73'5	479,507	175,126	1,585	1,161
1901	116 251,707	1,025,245	6'1	690,725	67'3	468,167	222,558	1,672	1,133
1905	108 255,952	1,056,818	6'0	716,397	67'8	516,248	200,149	1,734	1,249
1906	189 472,253	1,085,323	6'1	672,762	61'9	542,930	129,832	1,629	1,314

B.

Number of constituencies containing	In 1881	1896	1907
Under 200 voters	1	2	2
From 200 to 500 voters	12	10	7
From 500 to 1,000 "	52	48	36
From 1,000 to 1,500 "	68	48	35
Under 1,500	133	108	80
From 1,500 to 3,000 "	230	231	200
From 3,000 to 7,000 "	50	74	126
Over 7,000	—	—	7

APPENDIX XI

C.16

	Total Population (1900).	Magyar Population.		Jewish Population.	Number of Constituencies.	Number of Electors.	Electors form p.c. of Population.
		Total.	P.c. of whole pop.				
1. THE 7 SLOVAK COUNTIES.							
Árva	84,950	1,467	1·7	2,648	2	11,148	13·2
Trencsén	286,369	7,994	2·8	11,315	8	10,388	3·4
Liptó	81,920	2,671	3·3	3,082	2	7,184	8·5
Zólyom	123,742	8,922	7·2	2,842	4	8,536	6·5
Turóc	51,924	2,169	4·2	2,022	2	3,879	7·3
Nyitra	427,328	80,516	18·8	24,890	11	23,933	5·3
Sáros	172,706	10,571	6·1	12,179	6	14,915	8·4
2. THE 11 ROUMANIAN COUNTIES.							
Fogaras	92,145	4,917	5·3	855	2	2,669	2·8
Hunyad	302,710	32,067	10·6	4,032	6	10,642	3·2
Alsó Feher	209,836	35,409	16·9	3,852	7	5,013	2·2
Szolnok-Doboka	236,526	46,861	19·9	11,767	7	7,453	3·0
Krassó-Szörény	441,266	21,079	4·8	4,343	7	26,338	5·7
Torda-Aranyos	160,472	40,720	25·4	2,465	4	3,790	2·2
Kolozs	204,231	54,678	26·8	5,124	4	3,791	1·7
Bestercze-Naszód	117,649	8,309	7·0	6,346	2	2,947	2·3
Szeben	162,291	6,653	4·2	1,029	6	5,276	3·0
Arad	329,400	71,710	21·8	3,983	7	19,394	5·5
Szilágy	206,968	76,270	36·9	8,874	5	19,609	8·9
3. THE 4 SZÉKEL COUNTIES.							
Udvarhely	117,850	112,258	95·3	1,198	5	7,146	5·9
Csik	127,995	110,643	86·5	1,514	4	6,307	4·6
Háromszék	136,797	116,354	85·1	889	7	6,027	4·3
Maros Torda (Maros Vásárhely)	177,967	102,995	57·9	3,340	5	6,181	3·3
	17,715	16,057	90·7	1,625	2	1,496	6·9
4. THE 9 MAGYAR COUNTIES (with 3 chief towns).							
Hajdu	148,519	148,083	99·7	6,613	4	10,754	6·8
Csongrád	131,873	131,119	99·4	2,098	4	6,969	5·1
Jász, N. S.	349,403	347,239	99·4	10,681	7	23,298	6·3
Heves	253,368	251,078	99·1	10,246	7	15,003	5·6
Szabolcs	287,301	283,777	98·9	23,226	6	14,669	4·7
Győr	97,045	95,451	98·4	3,085	3	6,319	6·9
Borsod	255,194	241,578	94·7	16,341	8	15,739	5·6
Somogy	344,194	309,205	89·8	10,929	8	26,070	7·3
Komárom	158,966	138,049	86·8	4,896	4	10,228	6·0
(Kecskemét)	56,786	56,351	99·2	1,926	2	3,708	5·8
(Debreczen)	72,351	71,332	98·6	6,078	3	6,044	7·1
(Szeged)	100,270	96,438	96·2	5,776	2	7,726	6·9

¹⁶ See *U. S. J.*, xiv. p. 421-4.

APPENDIX XII

SLOVAK BANKS¹⁷

	Branches.	Capital. (in crowns).	Reserve (in crowns).	Date of Foundation
A. Limited Companies.				
1. Turócz St. Márton Savings bank	2	171,600	219,480	1868
2. Korpona " "	—	60,000	78,596	1872
3. Német Lipcse " "	—	80,000	5,525	1874
4. Rózsahely Loan Institution	1	1,000,000	120,000	1880
5. " Tatra North Hungarian Bank " (Turócz St. Márton)	3	800,000	242,649	1885
6. Neczpál Loan Institution	—	36,018	12,297	
7. Miava Bank	—	120,000	15,922	1892
8. Zsolna branch Bank	—	160,000	74,423	1894
9. People's Bank in Vágújhely	1	180,000	106,018	1895
10. Tiszolcz	—	121,020	73,679	1895
11. Petrovecz	—	120,000	85,091	1896
12. " Nagy Szombat and Environs People's Bank "	—	100,000	28,858	1896
13. Bakobánya People's Bank.	—	20,100	11,979	1898
14. Zólyom " "	1	500,000	20,893	1900
15. Námesztó " "	—	100,000	13,996	1901
16. Nagylak " "	—	100,000	14,515	1901
17. O-Tura Lending Inst.	—	40,000	11,261	1901
18. Bään People's Bank	—	60,000	2,317	1904
19. Kiszács " "	—	102,000	7,713	1904
20. Town Bank, Trencsén (Mestanské Banka)	—	100,000	66	1904
21. Turán People's Bank	—	20,000	1,590	1904
22. Galgócz " "	—	100,000	—	1907
23. " Nagy Szombat Economic Bank "	—	100,000	—	1907
24. Szokolcza Commercial Bank	—	100,000	—	1907
25. Jablonka People's Bank	—	100,000	—	1907
26. Rózsahely " "	—	100,000	—	1907
27. Pressburg " "	—	200,000	—	1907
B. Mortgage Banks.				
28. Mutual Aid Society, Breznobánya	—	406,220	47,119	—
29. Industrial Bank, Liptó S. Miklós	—	128,000	44,602	1896
30. Mutual Aid Society, Znio Váralja	—	60,000	12,402	—
31. " " " Mosocz	—	37,900	10,745	—
32. " " " Szokolcza	—	—	19,369	—
Besides these there are about 50 tiny village institutions of a similar nature, generally founded by priests, teachers, etc.	—	—	—	—
Total	—	5,322,858	1,282,198	
Total profits in 1906		438,308		

115 Magyar Institutions in the same territory, with Capital 285,507,000
Loans 312,871,000
Clear profit 4,372,000

¹⁷ See *Naše Slovensko*, parts 2 and 3 (monthly Slovak magazine published in Prag), pp. 61-5,
118-21: Milan Frič—Národohospodárské Poměry ná Slovensku.

APPENDIX XIII

EMIGRATION STATISTICS

A. Total Emigration

1896	..	24,846	..	1902	..	91,762
1897	..	14,310	..	1903	..	119,944
1898	..	22,965	..	1904	..	97,340
1899	..	43,394	..	1905	..	170,430
1900	..	54,767	..	1906	..	178,170
1901	..	71,474				
<i>Total 1896-1906</i>						889,402

B. Emigration and Re-immigration

	1905. ¹⁸		1906. ¹⁹	
	Left	Returned to	Left	Returned to
	Hungary.		Hungary.	
Magyar	43,754	4,575	52,121	7,797
German	28,303	2,453	30,551	3,987
Slovak	38,770	4,038	32,904	6,562
Roumanian	17,747	2,506	20,859	3,102
Ruthene	7,287	1,012	4,920	1,560
Croat	17,523	1,885	16,016	2,711
Serb	10,376	930	9,950	1,670
Others	2,101	167	1,881	223
Men	122,059	14,489	121,282	23,289
Women	43,802	3,077	47,920	4,323
Total	165,861	17,566	169,202	27,612

¹⁸ See *U. S. J.*, xiii. pp. 56, 61.

¹⁹ See *U. S. J.*, xiv. pp. 66, 72.

APPENDIX XIV

PROGRAMME OF THE ROUMANIAN NATIONAL PARTY
OF HUNGARY AND TRANSYLVANIA (VOTED AT THE
CONFERENCE OF HERMANNSTADT, MAY 11-14, 1881.)

The National Party takes action, within legal bounds, to obtain the following rights:—

- I. To regain the autonomy of Transylvania.

2. To introduce, in accordance with the law, the use of the Roumanian language in all districts inhabited by Roumanians, alike in the courts of justice and in the administration.

3. To employ only Roumanian officials in the districts inhabited by Roumanians ;' as for the non-Roumanians, only those are to be employed, who can speak and write the Roumanian language, and know the customs of the people—the existing practice which admits unknown persons ignorant of the people being thus superseded.

4. The revision of the Law of Equal Rights of the Nationalities, and its genuine and loyal execution.

5. The maintenance of the autonomy of the churches and denominational schools, considered purely as a national question. The provision in the Budget of the resources necessary to the Roumanian schools and other institutions for national education, with regard to the monetary sacrifices and the blood tax to which the Roumanian nation contributes on behalf of the fatherland : the abolition of those laws and decrees which are an obstacle to national development.

6. To draw up a project of electoral reform, to be based on the principle of Universal Suffrage, or at least on the principle that every citizen paying direct taxes shall receive the franchise.

7. Since the prosperity of the State depends upon that of every citizen, and since the protection of one nationality and the repression of others excites the discontent or disturbs the tranquillity of the citizens and fosters mutual hatred among them ; the National Party will combat the Magyarizing tendencies displayed by the organs of the State both directly and indirectly, regarding them as unpatriotic tendencies.

8. The National Party is determined to ally itself to all other parties of the country, which, having regard for the interest and well-being of the people, interest themselves in questions of public liberties and necessary administrative reforms, as also in economic and financial questions and such public charges as have become insupportable.

9. The question of Dualism not being one of practical politics at the present moment, the National Party reserves to itself the right of returning to it at the right occasion.

(From *Programmes Politiques des Roumains de la Transylvanie et de la Hongrie*, Bucarest, 1894.)

APPENDIX XV

DECLARATION OF THE ACCUSED COMMITTEE OF THE ROUMANIAN NATIONAL PARTY BEFORE THE JURY COURT OF KOLOZSVÁR (MEMORANDUM TRIAL, MAY, 1894)

Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Jury—

The Memorandum for the publication and circulation of which we are haled before this court contains, as you have been able to convince yourselves, nothing save the grievances of the Roumanian people, which delegated us to demand the protection of the Throne for its rights and privileges, at present neglected and trodden under foot. What forced us to take this step was the deep conviction that there can be no question of our finding justice either from the Legislature or from the Government of this country. In vain have been all the promises which were so often given to respect our national rights; in vain have we tried all legal methods; in vain have we lodged our complaints with all the competent authorities of the State. Racial intolerance has declared a war of extermination against our language and our nationality. There was, then, but one course left to us, an appeal to the supreme factor in the State and to the public opinion of the civilized world.

In the presence of this Memorandum, which does but contain the simple truth, and is a faithful image of the sufferings and injustices endured for centuries by the Roumanian people of Transylvania and Hungary, the Government was faced by the alternative of justifying itself in the eyes of the Crown or wreaking its revenge upon us. Justification being impossible, it has chosen revenge. It prevented us from reaching the steps of the Throne, and now it subjects us to the verdict of those against whom we appealed.

That which is under discussion here, gentlemen, is the very existence of the Roumanian people, and the national existence of a people is not discussed, but affirmed. Hence we have no intention of coming before you to prove our right to exist. In a

MEMORANDUM TRIAL

question of this kind we cannot defend ourselves before you ; we can only accuse before the civilized world the system of oppression which seeks to rob us of the dearest belongings of a people : its faith and its language. Thus we can no longer regard ourselves as accused, but rather as accusers. As individuals we have nothing to look for before this Court, for we have acted solely as mandatories of the Roumanian people, and an entire people cannot be brought to justice. The grievances of the Roumanians cannot be judged by an exclusively Magyar jury. The Roumanian people could not worthily consent to defend itself before an exclusively Magyar jury, before a court where the Magyars figure both as accuser and judge.

It is a political and constitutional question which is at stake, resulting from a struggle of centuries waged by the autochthonous Roumanian nation against the Magyar hegemony. There can be no question of judgment ; you can condemn us as individuals, but not as the representatives of our people. Moreover, you have yourselves realized that it is not a question of law, but merely of force ; this fact you have not even attempted to conceal, for you have trampled under foot the most elementary legal forms which are observed even against common criminals in the courts of law. The world will learn with astonishment that a court has been found to judge men who were deprived of the possibility of having defenders. You have loftily proclaimed that force is superior to law, and you have not even sought to conceal from the world what is not so much a judgment as an execution.

Do not then ask us to become the accomplices of this mock trial, by making on our side the pretence of a defence. The Press has incited Magyar public opinion—as represented by the jury of Kolozsvár—against us and against the whole Roumanian people. Here in this city we have been insulted and terrorized ever since we denounced to the civilized world the persecutions which we endure. Can there then be any question of trial or defence in the legal sense of these words ? No. Act then as it may seem good to you ! We know ourselves to be innocent : you are masters of our persons, but not of our conscience, which is in this cause the national conscience of the Roumanian people. Though you are not competent to judge us, there is none the less another tribunal which is larger, more enlightened, and assuredly more impartial ; it is the tribunal of the civilized world, which will condemn you once again, and yet more severely than it hitherto has done. By your spirit of mediaeval intolerance, by a racial fanaticism which has not its equal in Europe, you will, if you condemn us, simply succeed in proving to the world that the Magyars are a discordant note in the concert of European nations.

APPENDIX XV

I hereby declare in the name of myself and all my colleagues that for the reasons which I have adduced before, we abstain from all defence.

DR. JOHN RATZIU.
GEORGE POP DE BASESTI.
PATRICIN BARBU.
DR. BASIL LUCACIU.
RUBIN PATITIA.
MICHAEL VELICIU.
JULIUS COROIAN.

DR. THEODORE MIHALI.
SEPTIMIUS ALBINI.
GERASIM DOMIDE.
DEMETRIUS COMSIA.
BASIL RĂTZIU.
NICHOLAS CRISTEA.
AURELIUS SUCIU.
DR. DANIEL POPOVICI-BARCIANU.

of the legislature
sylvania; and
registers
The

APPENDIX XVI

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ROUMANIAN NATIONAL PARTY (1894).

FROM the High Sheriff of the County of Szeben (Hermannstadt) and Count of the Saxons—

To the President of the Roumanian National Party, Dr. John Ratziu, Advocate.

In consideration of the Ministerial Order No. 321 sent to me by his Excellency the Royal Hungarian Minister of the Interior, regarding the constitution of the National Roumanian Party in conformity with § 104 of the electoral law: "Societies and parties, etc., can only be organized during the elections," while societies formed for a larger purpose, not exclusively in view of the elections but with political tendencies, societies whose activity is permanent, cannot evade the control of the authorities, who must exercise control and approve this activity.

The existence and activity of the Roumanian National Party not being based on the electoral law, have no legal base. This is why H.E. the Minister of the Interior has seen fit to prohibit for the future the action of the society which exists under the name of "Roumanian National Party." On the other hand, the leaders of this party are free to continue the activity of their society without infringing the law; in this case, however, the aim and the means employed for the realization of this aim, must be shown forth in a clear and detailed manner, while in accordance with Circular No. 1508 of 1875, of the Minister of the Interior, they (the leaders) must draw up statutes, whose approbation by the Minister is to be applied for through the medium of their municipality.

In acquainting the honourable president of the Roumanian National Party with this decision of the Minister, in order that he may conform to it and acquaint all the members of the party, I at the same time inform you, in virtue of this same ministerial decision, that if you do not suspend all activity in this direction—for the guidance to continue to work in this direction—severe legal action will be taken against you.

GUSTAV THALMANN, High Sheriff.
Magy Szeben (Hermannstadt), June 20, 1894.

APPENDIX XVII

THE PROGRAMME ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS OF THE NATIONALITIES (1895)

(Summarized from the *Pester Lloyd* of August 10, 1895.)

1. Owing to ethnical conditions and historic development, Hungary is not a state upon which *one* people can impress its national stamp. The Roumanians, Serbs and Slovaks, therefore, wish that while respecting the integrity of the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen, all those consequences may be drawn which are necessary to the administration of the state, in respect of the preservation and development of the individual peoples of Hungary.
2. The idea of a Magyar national state is a contradiction of the ethnical conditions of Hungary and her historic development, and threatens the existence of the other peoples.
3. In self-defence against this danger, the Roumanians, Slovaks and Serbs (while retaining their existing programme) form a League to protect their nationalities in all legal ways, and hope that the Germans and Ruthenes will join them.
4. This League leaves every nationality free to work for its own special objects.
5. Full freedom should be conceded to the non-Magyar peoples of Hungary, according to linguistic frontiers; so that in autonomous districts (counties, towns and communes) the stamp of the particular nationality in question should be given to both the administrative and judicial authorities, by the use of the national language. The counties should be rounded off according to linguistic boundaries.
6. From this standpoint the Law of Nationalities of 1868 is not satisfactory, for "it is not observed and is quite illusory." It merely serves to delude foreign opinion as to the alleged tolerance towards the nationalities. If the latter once succeed in being represented in Parliament, they will strive to secure the alteration of this Law, in the sense of National Autonomy.
7. The nationalities of Hungary cannot share in the legislature of the state. An unjust electoral law exists for Transylvania; and even in Hungary proper the electorate is divided up and the registers kept in such a way as to injure the non-Magyar electors. The violence and pressure exercised at the elections are unparalleled in civilized Europe.

8. The League desires the introduction of universal direct equal and secret suffrage : a juster distribution of seats : the removal of administrative pressure at elections : the abolition of the law by which delay in payment of taxes brings with it the loss of the franchise.

9. The League desires a clear and democratic Law ensuring free right of Assembly and Association, since no such law exists and since the governmental Decrees on the subject are both out of date and are arbitrarily interpreted by the administrative organs.

10. The League demands that the legal church and school autonomy shall be respected ; at present they are rendered quite illusory by the arbitrary proceedings of the administration.

11. Press Freedom. The Jury Courts exist only for press matters, and their places of sitting are decided in such a way that only hostile Magyars sit on a jury in non-Magyar press actions (as is proved by the transference of the Jury Court from Hermannstadt to Kolozsvár), and thus all freedom of movement is destroyed for the non-Magyar Press. The League, therefore, demands either the transference of the Courts to places where the interpreter system will not be necessary, or their complete abolition, and the subjection of press actions to the ordinary courts.

12. They claim an unified law guaranteeing Liberty of the Press, instead of the special law for Transylvania.

13. They claim entire freedom of religion, and consequently the revision of the Church Laws, especially as they unfavourably affect the nationalities.

14. They claim representation of the interests of the non-Magyar nationalities by a Minister without portfolio, similar to the Minister for Croatia.

15. A central Committee of the nationalities is formed, composed of four Roumanians, four Slovaks and four Serbs.

16. Its functions are to maintain a strict organization, and to lodge periodical protests against the prevailing policy of denationalization.

17. To promote harmony between the various nationalities.

18. To work in the European Press.

19. There will be periodical meetings of the Congress.

20. The Central Committee shall prepare a report on the situation, to lay before the next meeting, with a view to laying it before His Majesty.

21. If its meetings are prevented, the above principles are to serve for the guidance of the Roumanians, Slovaks and Serbs.

APPENDIX XVIII

PROTEST OF THE NON-MAGYAR COMMITTEE (JANUARY, 1898.)²⁰

The situation in Hungary, created by the exploitation of the powers of the state in favour of a single race, has produced such a degree of discontent and bitterness among the millions of Slavs and Roumanians, that the Executive Committee of the Congress of Nationalities of the year 1895, holds it to be its duty towards fatherland and throne, to draw the attention of influential circles to conditions which are incompatible with the well-being of the State, and to enter a protest against the daily increasing policy of violence.

In our Monarchy's critical situation, many are disposed to regard Hungary's position as consolidated. This is a great error. If in the other half of the Monarchy, the rivalry between Slavs and Germans has come to a head, the executive in that country is at least endeavouring to compose differences and to heal strife. In Hungary there is a latent struggle between a race which is in a minority but holds the executive in its hands, and races which form the majority, but are at the mercy of an arbitrary executive, which brutally represses even the slightest movements of the nationalities within the limits of the Constitution; so that but few signs of their discontent and bitterness can reach the surface—a situation which is far worse than that of Austria, where the contest does show itself on the surface. In Hungary the executive makes not the slightest effort to smooth down differences, but on the contrary creates ever fresh conflicts with the nationalities, as is shown by the recent Bill for the Magyarization of Place Names.

Many years have indeed passed, since Hungary believed itself to have acquired a liberal constitution, guaranteeing its independence as a state. Thirty years ago the nationalities of Hungary, especially the Roumanians, Slovaks and Serbs, greeted joyfully the new constitutional era; for promises were made by the leading Hungarian statesmen that the nationalities would obtain all possible concessions which the unity of the Hungarian State would permit. But the first great disappointment was the Law of Nationalities of the year 1868, which was based on quite other principles than the Draft proposed by the Roumanian and Serb members of Par-

²⁰ Translated from *Die Wahrheit über Ungarn*, pp. 25-31.

liament; for this Draft, while respecting the unity of the State, took into account the ethnical conditions and historic development of Hungary and would thus have rendered the ethnical and cultural progress of the nationalities possible. But even the few concessions made by the Law of 1868 were to remain . . . a dead letter. There is not a single paragraph of this Law which has *not* been violated by the executive and its other authorities, a fact which the Roumanians and Serbs proved beyond all doubt, so long as they could still effect an entrance into the Hungarian Parliament. But the truths to which these deputies gave utterance gradually became inconvenient for the ruling race. The Hungarian Parliament aimed at representing a national state, and this being incompatible with the election of nationalist deputies, the executive took the necessary violent steps. The three million Slovaks of North Hungary failed to effect the entrance of even a single member into Parliament, and the few deputies of the Serbs and Roumanians were excluded by means of violence to the electors; so that at present nearly ten million non-Magyars are without a single representative. Foreign opinion was not deceived by the fact that men of Slovak, Serb and Roumanian birth sit for the non-Magyar constituencies. These are well-known renegades, who identify themselves with the ruling race, and assist in the policy of violence towards the nationalities. Such unnatural conditions are aggravated by the fact that it is the non-Magyar constituencies from which the Government is recruited, while the genuine Magyar constituencies for the most part return Opposition candidates. These conditions have no parallel in Europe, and the Hungarian parliamentary system is a veritable caricature . . . for there is no example in the parliamentary life of Europe of the majority of the population, counting almost ten millions, being shut out from representation.

But if the nationalities are shut out from political life, alike in Parliament and in the county assemblies, and even in the communes, one might at least have thought that no hindrances would be placed in the way of their cultural development. Thirty years ago the leading statesmen of Hungary gave the clearest pledges that the nationalities would be allowed their national education, from the elementary school to the University, and that the State would contribute from state funds towards this. Meanwhile not only was this promise not observed (despite the Law of Nationalities) but the State restricts and destroys even those schools and other cultural institutions which the nationalities have created out of their own means. The Slovak gymnasia, and the Slovak "Matica" were forcibly destroyed, and their funds confiscated. The denominational schools in the former "Military Frontier," which were a stronghold of the nationalities, were converted into communal schools.

The still existing denominational schools of the Roumanians and Serbs are seriously hampered by the arbitrary measures of the Government inspectors of schools, and their fate depends upon how far they submit to Magyarizing tendencies. In one town of South Hungary the Serbs were prohibited from buying with their own money a site for their new denominational gymnasium. The position of the other non-Magyar churches is no better. In North Hungary the Lutheran presbyteries were arbitrarily dissolved, and the wardens deprived of office, and a canonical crime was invented against the Lutheran Slovaks.²¹ The Roumanian and Serb hierarchy is completely under the influence of the Government . . . and the conflict between the Serb hierarchy, the submissive tool of the Hungarian Government, and the Serb national Church Congress, cannot be bridged over.

This inroad upon Church autonomy partly took place through the so-called Church Laws. The enactment of these laws was not a necessity for Hungary, and was prompted by quite other reasons than those [which caused similar legislation] in the West of Europe. In Hungary, as in all Eastern Europe, religion is more or less linked with nationality. Thus the inroad of the State upon the powers of a denomination is at the same time an inroad upon a nationality. But for this very reason the Church Laws were introduced, in order that the nationalities might be weakened.

It will hardly be possible to deceive the outside world regarding events in Hungary. It will be in vain to argue that the nationalist movement in Hungary is the work of individual agitators. This is the usual argument employed to mask every arbitrary rule. The leaders of the Roumanians, Serbs and Slovaks, far from fanning discontent, endeavour to check the ever-increasing bitterness and discontent among their countrymen. The sad memories of the dreadful civil war of 1848-9 make it the duty of every true friend of the people to refrain from all agitation. Unhappily the leading factors in the country have made of the question of the nationalities a question of force (*eine Machtfrage*), and thus neglected the interests of the Monarchy as a whole. It is clear as daylight, that so long as the executive in Hungary aims at the national extinction of the Roumanians, Serbs and Slovaks, friendly relations with Roumania and Servia are impossible.

We may be spared the reproach of following centrifugal tendencies. Our loyalty and devotion to throne and fatherland can hardly be doubted. In a *contented* Hungary there can be no centrifugal tendencies, just as there can be none in free Switzerland.

In full loyalty to throne and fatherland we must enter a solemn protest against the violence done to the majority of the peoples

²¹ Sydačoff describes this as a lie and considers its untruth proved by the fact that the most zealous Magyars are *Lutherans* (sic!).

NON-MAGYAR PROTEST OF 1898

of Hungary. We protest against the tendency of the executive to create a homogeneous national State in defiance of Hungary's history and ethnical conditions, and of the law which recognizes the individual nationalities. Especially do we protest against the most recent acts of the Hungarian Government and Parliament, against the Bill for the Magyarization of Place Names which has been adopted by Parliament ; against the limitation of assemblage and the illegal prohibition of our legally convoked meetings.

And since we are prohibited from meeting together, and raising our voices as constitutional citizens of our fatherland against the violence done to our kinsmen, we therefore appeal to the Crown and claim its protection, and that the Royal sanction may be withheld from the Law for the Magyarization of Place Names in Hungary.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONALIST CONGRESS OF 1895.

(Signed by Dr. Julius Coroianu for the Roumanians.
Dr. Emil Gavrilă for the Serbs.
Dr. Paul Mudroň }
Dr. John Vanovič } for the Slovaks.
Miloš Stefanovič }

APPENDIX XIX

THE ROUMANIAN PROGRAMME OF 1905. (From *Pester Lloyd*, Jan. 11, 1905).

The programme of the year 1881 remains in full force.

The party demands that the Roumanian people be recognized as a constructive political individuality in the state, and that its ethnical and cultural development be secured by constitutional guarantees, the territorial integrity of the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen being always fully respected.

The party demands the single language of command in the army, with effective recognition of the individual regimental languages: the introduction of two years' service, and the abandonment of Magyarizing efforts in the army.

The party demands the complete and strict execution of the Law of Nationalities, the legal enforcement of the use of the various languages in administration, justice and education.

The public officials shall be bound to show a knowledge of the language of the people in word and writing.

All denominations shall receive complete autonomy and shall be subventioned from State funds.

Elementary Instruction shall be free: where the Roumanian population is in the majority the language of instruction shall be the Roumanian. A solemn protest is entered against the Berzeviczy Primary Education Bill.

Obligatory Church marriage shall be introduced, and lack of Church connections (*Confessionslosigkeit*) shall be entirely abolished.

The Communes and Counties shall receive complete autonomy and be newly divided up with regard to linguistic boundaries.

Virilism and the right of the higher administrative officials to nominate candidates shall be abolished.

The party demands the introduction of Universal Suffrage with voting by ballot, a redistribution of the constituencies, and the holding of elections at the official seats of public notaries. The party further demands the right of the minority to representation in Parliament.

It demands the regulation by law of the right of Assembly and Association, and unrestricted press freedom, it demands the alteration of the system of taxation on the basis of progressive taxes, the abolition of taxes on the most necessary articles of daily consumption, the reduction of the land tax, the abolition of entails (*Fideikommiss*), the renting out of state property in allotments, and the inalienability of a minimum of property (*Unveräußerlichkeit eines Besitzminimums*.)

APPENDIX XX

PROGRAMME OF THE SLOVAK NATIONAL PARTY,
Drawn up at a meeting in Turócz St. Márton, in January 1905.

- (1) Unity, indivisibility and independence of Hungary.
- (2) Equal rights for the Slovak language in schools and law-courts, in accordance with Law XLIV. of 1868.
- (3) Revision of the Church Laws.
- (4) Complete autonomy of the various Churches.
- (5) The State to promote the development of elementary schools.
- (6) Erection of industrial and agricultural schools, with Slovak language of instruction.
- (7) Checks to be placed on the subdivision of small peasant holdings.
- (8) Revision of taxation to suit the economic needs of the Slovak districts.
- (9) Regulation of the rivers of North Hungary.
- (10) Introduction of new law regarding agricultural servants.
- (11) Regulation of the relations between workman and employer.
- (12) Check to usury in all its forms.
- (13) State aid for co-operative societies.
- (14) Reform of the administration.
- (15) Communal and district autonomy.
- (16) Speedy and impartial justice.
- (17) Universal suffrage and electoral redistribution.
- (18) Free right of assembly and association.

APPENDIX XXI

THE DEFENCE OF FATHER HLINKA BEFORE THE COURT OF PRESSBURG. (4 MAY, 1908.)

[I have devoted Chapter XVIII. to the case of Father Hlinka, which typifies the treatment meted out to the Slovak leaders. But I do not wish the reader to be entirely dependent upon my presentment of the case, and hence, in order that he may form a personal impression of Father Hlinka, I have reproduced his portrait as my frontispiece, and I here give a translation of the speech which he delivered in his own defence before the Court of Pressburg. For my own part, I would endorse Father Hlinka's facts more readily than his epithets. But wider licence may be allowed to the victim than to the aggressor; and I would ask those who may be inclined to take offence at his apparent egotism, to recall the noble defence of St. Paul before Festus.]

“ I have to confess that I am faced with a heavy task. I have to defend a man who stands *a priori* condemned, a fortress from which the last soldier has withdrawn and the last shot has been fired. I myself am this man, my innocence the fortress whose defence I must undertake. It is really quite unnecessary for me to speak after my esteemed counsel, who has proved my case with such telling words and arguments. Not even I myself could put my case so convincingly as he . . . But since it is no ordinary criminal that stands before you . . . but an ‘ agitator-in-chief,’ the real culprit of the Csernova murder, and so on—the Public Prosecutor, in his indictment, has dished up every imaginable fact about my person save what is honourable or laudatory, who even went so far as to describe me as a coward who in demagogic fashion incites the ‘ credulous masses ’ and persons of limited intelligence, who instead of bearing the responsibility for his own deeds sends ‘ a person called Cifersky,’ ‘ the fraudulent Bielek,’ or ‘ the swindler Dubravsky ’ to answer for him. To-day I answer him in his own way, though I know that my speech is only likely to act as oil upon the fire of the national struggle. And if I knew beforehand that my speech would earn me the gallows, I still would not be silent; I shall tell the truth publicly—the truth which none save the Public Prosecutor can doubt—for what I do, I do from love of my country and from absolute conviction. We expect

FATHER HLINKA'S SPEECH

for our action no thanks, no increase of salary, but persecution and years of imprisonment. And yet I say the truth publicly, that he may know that he has to do with men of honour.

"I do not fly away, Mr. Fiscal, nor do I send a Cifersky or a Bielek, nor even the editor of the *Ludove Noviny* in my place. Here I stand, although I could have escaped from the prying eyes around me. Honour is more to me than liberty, or even life itself. Which of the many patriots of to-day would have acted like me, I leave to the Fiscal to decide. But as I do not desire to try the patience of the Court, I will turn to the indictment itself, and will briefly refute the charges of the Fiscal.

"The Fiscal holds me responsible for all Hungary's evils: according to his account I have incited all Europe against the Magyars, I was the cause of the bloodbaths of Panad and Csernova, it was I who roused the poet Björnson, above all, I am responsible for the 750 assemblies in Bohemia.²² I sold the fatherland, I caused the emigration of our people and incited our workmen against the aristocracy. My answer to this is as follows:—First, the Fiscal charges me with lack of patriotism, without bringing forward a single proof of so grave a charge. I hope to prove the contrary. I do not look upon patriotism as a virtue, but as a duty, and never boasted of my patriotism, but always did my duty towards the fatherland and towards society. I set little value on empty speeches and do not serve my country with pompous phrases. To *work* for the fatherland and above all for the people is worth more than continual speeches about gallant ancestors. I am ready to enter the field with any one in defence of my country, above all with the Public Prosecutor. . . . He even threw doubt upon the duties of my calling, which I never learnt from the Codex Penale, least of all from King's Counsel, but from my Master in Nazareth and from the book of life which is called the Gospel. Would I stand here to-day and listen to the insults of the Public Prosecutor, if I were really not disposed to fulfil my duties, if I did not love the Slovak people, Slovak culture and my native town? Should I have already breathed the prison air for close on half a year? Assuredly not. Had I not chosen, the Public Prosecutor might have brought the severest charges, the court might have passed the severest sentence, and yet in neighbouring Marchegg or Göding its hand would have been powerless against me. But since in my heart there dwells a greater strength than that of gendarmes or of jails, I came here of my own free will. Since I am subject to the law, which does not rest upon bayonets and cannot arbitrarily be

²² On Sunday, March 22, 1908, the Sokol Society held popular meetings at 715 places in Bohemia and Moravia, to protest against the Csernova trial. A resolution was passed at all these meetings, *declaring the Slovak question to be an European question.*

changed, I presented myself in the consciousness of my innocence. I am a man as other men, and understand what freedom means ; I have an equal right to live, and know how to value the comforts of life. And yet—I freely choose two years' imprisonment among socialists, duellists and criminals. When I heard my condemnation by the courts . . . I left the orator's platform where success awaited me, I left the company of educated men, and freely delivered myself up ; so that my enemies were astonished that I, who the day before had been close to the Bavarian frontier, appeared on November 30 at eight o'clock at the prison of Szeged, after a journey of thirty-six hours. And then the Public Prosecutor talks of cowardice. . . .

“Of the slanders which he has directed against my priestly character, I will not speak here, for that does not belong to this court. Let him but inquire, and if he has one spark of feeling, he will confess that I have done my due share as priest, in church and school, in society and also in politics. I have always struggled against the stream of the world, and combated evil and immorality ; I always respected the dignity of my order and staked my person for the general good. Truth and the people have ever been my guiding stars, and so too shall I act in the future. This is what I would recommend to the public prosecutors, and to the Magyarophil priests (Magyaron pap). Let these gentlemen go less often to the club, to social functions, to 'tarok' parties, let them devote more of their time outside office hours to the education of the people, and less to political action against the people ; then assuredly no one, neither Juriga nor Hlinka, not even the most sacrosanct agitator, will ever estrange the people from them. But if the people has to look for these Magyarone priests, not in the school, in the church, or in the confessional, but in the casino (club), at the skittles alley or on excursions, then the coldness and aversion of the people is not to be ascribed to us, but to themselves and their own behaviour. The Public Prosecutor charges me with my lectures in Bohemia, Moravia and Austria, indeed I have no hesitation in asserting that to-day's trial is the reward for these lectures. To this charge, too, my reply shall be brief. I gave my lectures publicly, on the cultural needs of the Slovaks ; thousands listened to me, and I was not afraid to speak with a full sense of my responsibility. In Vienna I even invited the correspondent of certain Budapest newspapers, that he might convince himself with his own eyes and ears as to whether I was inciting against the Magyars or my fatherland. He did actually attend my lecture, and informed the Budapest journals that the Devil is not so black as he is painted. Hlinka, he said, is not so dangerous as he is described, for he speaks only of the spiritual necessities of the Slovaks. Of the contents of my speeches I can only say, 'Ask those who heard me.' So far as the fact of

FATHER HLINKA'S DEFENCE

my journeys is concerned, I may reply, what is permitted to Paul, is not forbidden to Saul. It was from the Magyars themselves that I learned this habit. If Eugene Zichy goes to the Caucasus or Siberia to seek his kinsmen, if the Magyars often look across to their brother Csangos in the Bukovina, why may not I too regard such action as natural? Our Minister of Education always goes to international and interparliamentary conferences, and not always to his own or his country's honour.²³ My visit was paid at the invitation of my friends—Czechs and Austrian Slovaks—is that a crime or an offence? If so, let me be prosecuted for it. Whether our Magyar brothers may like it or not, the fact remains eternally true that we Slovaks form with the Czechs a single race, a single culture, a single nation. Till the most recent times we had a common language, and even to-day our Protestants use the Bohemian language in their churches. Quite other views has more than one great Magyar patriot held on this question—men like Széchenyi, Deák, Mocsáry. . . . Let me quote the words of Széchenyi. 'Let every one remain loyal to his mother tongue, never renounce the language which he speaks at home, and carry it with him to his grave. . . . Only a worthless fellow who has no faith and no God, forgets his fatherland and turns away from the sound of his mother tongue.'

"Gentlemen of the jury, the question of the Nationalities is an universal question, even a world-question. It lies at the root of national, psychological, even economic movements. It cannot be solved by money fines and terms of imprisonment, any more than Christianity and other world problems. It is not to be solved by fire and iron, for to-day, gentlemen, such methods are no longer possible, and great masses of the population clamour for a solution. As a proof of this you have Zohor, Csernova, Lucski, Hrustin, and the pathetic case of Spis. And it is growing with every day: it is a commencement of spiritual life. And for this reason it would be incredibly narrow to attempt the solution of this question by imprisoning the leaders of so natural a movement, for petty or material reasons. That is pure absurdity and unreason. It is true that every movement has its material side, but not as an end in itself, merely as a means. It is true that bread, personal interests, seats for Parliament, banks and other 'affairs' play their part in a movement, even in the most sacred. . . . But to ascribe to a single man the whole movement, as does the Fiscal, is a frivolous slander. One could say the same of the patriotic movement of the Magyars, though the Fiscal would doubtless raise an energetic protest. But we act according to our principles, and what the one has, the other has an equal right to. At whose door will the Fiscal lay the Ruthene, the Czech, the Irish, the Finnish

²³ A reference to the attack of the Norwegian poet, Mr. Björnson, upon Count Apponyi, at the International Peace Congress in 1907.

questions? Or does he regard Siczynsky's²⁴ act as prompted by greed of gain, when we know that he gave his last ten crowns to the coachman who drove him to prison, for, as he said, 'I know the gallows await me, so I need no money'? Do you not see in this a certain psychological connexion? This mistaken act of a fiery young man suggests anything save mere greed of gain, for prison or gallows I do not regard as gain.

"These are political questions, which have their root in the soul of man. Let the Fiscal only pay us Slovaks a visit, and he will realize that a great deal depends on the Nationalities Question; if he were to study the soul of the people, he would see a complete transformation, and a whole array of problems—industry, the land question, and so on—all of which depend on this question, and he who solves this cruel question most happily, is the greatest patriot. The Fiscal dismisses it simply with the word 'Panslavism,' although he cannot believe this charge himself. 'Panslavism,' to quote the words of Mocsáry, 'is nothing more nor less than a bogey behind which those who made it laugh in their sleeves.' Whether this true patriot spoke the truth, I leave to the Fiscal to judge. To us this question means our civilization; we are proud of this culture of ours, or I may say of this natural right, and will part from it under no circumstances, and who dare blame us for this?

"Gentlemen of the jury, surely in the history of the Hungarian people the period of the Renaissance is the noblest—the period when men struggled for culture. Do not these struggles supply Magyar history with its most splendid scenes, and yet who speaks in condemnation of them or treats them as prompted by sordid gain? Meet out then to us the same measure; for what the Magyar, the Frenchman, the German feels, inspires us Slovaks too. I know well that it is the most delicate of questions, in which education, race, public opinion and preconceived ideas are hard to overcome. But where the most sacred treasures are at stake, we might fairly expect from the Public Prosecutor greater objectivity and more readiness to credit our motives. He is very much mistaken if he thinks that these are words of cowardly fear of prison; not merely do we not fear it, but it has to be endured. Moreover we know well that the struggle of the nationalities is the fiercest of the twentieth century . . . for here the strong seeks to exterminate the weak, and the one finds in the other a greater foe than even a murderer. Against such a man all is allowable, all is justified, as may be seen in the speech of the Public Prosecutor. Yet these things bring no man to anything but injury. If we judge thus, I can easily understand why the Fiscal finds in me not a man and a brother, but an ordinary and danger-

²⁴ The Ruthene student who assassinated Count Andrew Potocki Governor of Galicia, in April, 1908.

FATHER HLINKA'S DEFENCE

ous criminal; and I neither desire nor intend to argue with him about it. I remember too the proverb, 'Do not to others as you would not be done by.' But I protest most energetically against his charges of sordid and material motives, for I have sacrificed all my means to my convictions and principles, which is more than the Fiscal can say.

"In the matter of Csernova, my defender has already given an adequate answer; I merely need to endorse his account of the origin of the church in Csernova and my relation to it. This only would I add—that during the trial of that affair I was already in the power of the law, in prison: if then the Court had wished, it could easily have summoned me to Rózsahegy, and therefore the matter does not fall to be discussed here, the more so as I appealed to the Public Prosecutor of Rózsahegy to hold me responsible if necessary. Instead of doing this, he held me up to obloquy as the originator and cause of this lamentable affair. The President of the court asked every defendant and witness, 'Did not Hlinka prompt you?' They searched the houses of my relatives, used my correspondence as evidence, sent my sister to prison, persecuted the whole family; and yet the result was that even Mr. Chudovszky had to confess that I had nothing to do with the massacre of Csernova, and hence despite all his efforts could not be brought to trial. It was physically impossible; for though Magyar newspapers had it that I had been seen in woman's clothing inciting the people, I had in reality for a fortnight before this terrible event been on the other side of the frontier, as thousands of people could bear witness. I first heard the dreadful news in Göding, where I gave a lecture that very day. This is my answer concerning Csernova, and I shall gladly bear the brunt of the charge, even if the state prison which has been described as so pleasant should be converted into my life-long prison. I have always followed a straight path, and this I shall continue to do, yielding to no fear and courting no advances.

"And now at length I have reached the true subject of the trial, the two articles which I wrote. But since the Public Prosecutor has said little or nothing about them, I too will not be long. I merely wish to defend these two articles by saying, 'Tolle et lege': take and read them, gentlemen of the jury, and the trial can only end in my acquittal. I will briefly describe their genesis and aim, but before I do this, I must answer the Fiscal's charge that when I wrote the article 'Rózsahegy in state of siege,' I sought to evade my responsibility by flight. Here the Fiscal is very far wrong. The examining magistrate at Szeged called me to him, showed me the *Ludové Noviny* and asked me whether I had written the article in question. As it was only signed with the pseudonym 'Mešťan' (townsman), I could not in my excitement remember, for over three months had elapsed, and I have

written a great number of articles for the *Ludové Noviny*. I therefore declined to take the responsibility of the article, until the court showed me the MS. ; when some weeks afterwards it was shown to me. I acknowledged it, although I knew what was in store for me, I need not have done so, since I had . . . written it as a private letter, not to the editor, and how it came into the paper I do not know. Nor do I inquire, simply in order that the Fiscal may see how I fly away, and that the new editor of the *Ludové Noviny* may not have to escape abroad. To-day the Fiscal has Andrew Hlinka before him, and not the shoemaker Cifersky or Dubravsky—which gives him no small pleasure, since now patriotic laurels will be his. The article 'Rózsahegy in state of siege' was based on the following incident:—We organized in Rózsahegy and its neighbourhood ten meetings of electors in favour of Universal Suffrage. The szólgabiró forbade them all, and Rózsahegy and the villages round about were occupied by troops. We ourselves wanted to discuss the steps to be taken, but scarcely had we met together when three gendarmes forced their way into the room and prevented us. I protested to the szólgabiró against this injustice, and interpellated in the county assembly. The szólgabiró answered: 'For you there exists no right.' I wrote of these abuses to my friend, who then published it in the paper. These are the circumstances by which the matter should be judged.

"Are we to regard it as fair treatment of the people that the single family of Palugyay should portion out the whole county of Liptó. Wherever one looks, there are none but Palugyays. I would ask you, gentlemen, to consider what it means for the administration, when in one county²⁵ ten Palugyays hold office:—

Maurice Palugyay, as High Sheriff.

Julius Palugyay, as Vice-Sheriff.

Armand Palugyay, as director of the Board of Orphans.

Árpád Palugyay, as notary.

Gaspar Palugyay, as registrar.

Aladar Palugyay, as castellan.

John Palugyay, as clerk to the Board of Orphans.

Alois Palugyay, as clerk to the Vice-Sheriff.

Paul Palugyay, as szólgabiró.

"When all these belong to one family, there can be no question of control or administration, and the people groan under the pressure of these men. It is easy to realize how these gentlemen are capable of acting towards the people, when they send gendarmes to the leaders, to the educated and independent citizens, who are placed absolutely at their mercy, and whose lives, liberty and rights are in their hands. It was of these abuses, gentlemen of the jury, that I wrote, with the purest intentions of serving the general well-being. I mention the names of those against

²⁵ About the size of Clackmannan and Kinross.

FATHER HLINKA'S DEFENCE

whom Liptó has the weightiest complaint ; if then there can be any question of incitement against a class, then this was directed solely against the Palugyay family and was a condemnation of acts which deserved publicity. These gentlemen naturally describe themselves as patriots and defenders of the fatherland, but on the properties of these aristocrats there are no schools. Mr. Rákovsky has none on his property, which includes Nagy and Kis Stiavnicz ; in the former the State has provided a school, but from the latter village the children have to walk an hour in all weathers to the school of Ludrova. In Nemes Ludrova the gentry have no school. On Joachnova, the property of Mr. Zoltán Turansky, an all-powerful agrarian, there is also no school. Not even in Turika, his home and birthplace, is there a school, or he would have to pay a heavy rate. But this is exactly what the gentry do not like ; theirs are fame, government, the county assembly—the burdens and taxes are the people's.

“ Oh, these social conditions, so suited to the middle ages ! here flourishes the slavery of the modern era. With us in Liptó the daily wage of a woman for 14 to 16 hours' work is 48 heller (5*d.*), while the man earns at most a crown (10*d.*). There are labourers among us who serve their masters for 80 crowns a year, receiving in addition some cabbages, 10 kilogrammes of dripping and 10 of salt, and a patch of potato field. On these a poor Slovak has to live with his wife and a pack of children. His dwelling is a wretched hovel, for which his wife must work 100 days at the busiest time, so that there is no time to think of clothes, school, or culture of any kind whatever. These 100 days the woman must work for nothing, but lest she should die of hunger at her work, she receives two heller for her breakfast and two heller for her afternoon meal (in all *one halfpenny per diem*). If the woman does not die during these 100 days, it is only due to her enduring and sturdy constitution, for she has to work in summer from 3 o'clock in the morning till 9 o'clock at night, and during harvest even longer. At other times she receives a wage of 24 heller (2½*d.*) a day, so that she is better off than the man, who receives 20 heller (2*d.*) a day—for his yearly wage of eighty crowns works out at this rate.

“ All this, gentlemen, is no mere fairy tale, but stern reality ; those who would convince themselves of it, need only to go to Turika to the fields of Mr. Turansky, or to Paludza to the fields of the Palugyays. This is the state of affairs among the Slovaks in the twentieth century. Whose duty is it to speak out in such a case ? Only the priest can do so, for he is independent and has no family. But woe to him if he does it ! He fares as I have fared, and his fate is many years of prison. But that these gentry may more easily prolong these unjust conditions, they don their attilas and denounce us as agitators and Panslavs. And for

these there is room enough in Vác and Szeged, were they even innocence itself and did they bring with them a whole array of principles and liberties. Our patriotic labours are declared illegal, and we are persecuted as agitators, as to-day's trial clearly shows.

"My second article 'Perhaps the last word' I wrote as a farewell on entering prison. It is a conventional custom among all races and nations that the parting friend grasps for the last time the hands of his comrades and calls to them a last 'God speed.' But to me this was not allowed, because the sentence found me abroad. I wished to bid my own people farewell, under the impression of the events in Csernova, where whole families had been shot down or cast into prison. In my article I described why I had been condemned and must endure two years' imprisonment. And *this* was an incitement against the Magyar nationality? I have now dwelt six months among Magyars, I hear nothing disagreeable from them, and get along with them quite well; the Magyar local papers write of me sympathetically and kindly. I myself wrote an article in a Magyar newspaper, to the effect that I can come to terms with the Magyars, that the Magyar nation and people have never harmed me. In it I talk of the ecclesiastical authorities, who are to blame for the melancholy state of affairs in Rózsahegy; and I mention by name Rákovszky, Sonderlich, Chudovzky and Soos, who are entitled to demand satisfaction from me. Sonderlich, the notary, who has conducted the affairs of the town in such a way that it has debts of 2,400,000 crowns (£100,000), which of course the people have to pay: Chudovzky, who threw me into imprisonment pending trial, because I refused to vote him a free lodging in the Town Hall: Rákovszky, with whom not long ago I went hand in hand in founding societies and holding meetings.²⁶ To-day, because I ventured to act independently, I have become obnoxious to him, and he clamours, 'Crucify him.'

"And are these men to be regarded as Magyars? Assuredly not; and therefore my article was not written against Magyars, and I may claim my acquittal.

"Gentlemen, I have reached the end of my defence, and I have only one thing more to say. . . . Before you withdraw to deliberate and pronounce upon me the momentous verdict . . . which will decide whether I am to be shut off still longer in prison from my calling, I have one request to make to you in the name of truth and of my own person. Dismiss, I beg of you, all personal factors and impressions, and forget for a moment the massacre of Csernova and the articles which were written against me, forget the speech of the Fiscal about my journey in Bohemia, and take my two articles in your hands. Read them and judge them, and

²⁶ Messrs. Rákovszky and Chudovzky are Magyarized Slovaks, the other two are of German or of Jewish origin.

FATHER HLINKA'S DEFENCE

I am convinced that your verdict will set me free. Above all, consider that the author of these articles was Andrew Hlinka, 'the enemy of the Magyars,' but the friend and priest of the people: that they were written under the pressure of the local clique, by one who was groaning, and still groans, under the blows which they had dealt. Remember that every word and every line was written by a lover of the people; and the truth will surely find its way into your hearts. As you enter this hall, tie the bandage of the Goddess Justitia before your eyes, and think that these articles were written not by any nationalist or leader of the people, but by a man who can form an impartial political opinion of you—and *then* pronounce your decision. And if even then you doubt, turn in spirit, I beg you, to Kufstein, to Munkács, to Döbling. Do not forget the asylum of Döbling, where sixty years ago the greatest Magyar, Count Stephen Széchenyi, found his tragic end. You will see that for this freedom, in whose name you may deprive me of the precious gift of freedom, a Mariassy, a Zichy, a Batthyány, a Széchenyi, suffered there, and that in these cells, beneath the load of fetters, Freedom springs into being. These feelings naturally kindle pain in our hearts, but in this pain the people finds its greatest treasure. With tolerance and neighbourly love your verdict will be an acquittal: and should your decision after all be unfavourable, I turn to the learned Judge, and would point out that I have been punished with a heavy sentence for a small offence; I therefore would beg him to weigh the circumstances under which my articles saw the light, and the punishment which he assigns will then be moderate. And now, gentlemen, I await your decision."

APPENDIX XXII

THE SZENICZ ELECTION (MAY 2, 1906).

The following appeal was lodged with the Fiscal in Nyitra :—

To the Royal Fiscus in Nyitra!

Sir!

The undersigned herewith hand in the following charge against Coloman Szabó, president of the Parliamentary Election of Szenicz, and base it on §§ 154, 158 and 169 of Law XV. of 1899, which C. Szabó violated in order to influence the election in favour of the candidate, Mr. Emödy. Regarding the marshalling of the electors, he made the following dispositions:—As headquarters for Emödy's voters he selected the Árpád Square, where all roads meet, for Veselovsky's voters the square behind the hospital and churchyard. We raised no protest against this action, since we knew that it would have been in vain. The drawing of lots for these positions took place without our party being present, and it was confirmed by the Minister. Moreover, the President of the election promised not only to look out a good place for our party, but even to permit us entry into the inn of Stephen Holčík. When requested for the election passes, he replied that he would not give them on any account whatever. Not content with not keeping his promises on the polling day, he even ejected us from the square behind the hospital (in itself a bad enough position), on the pretext that brawls might arise between us and Emödy's supporters from Jablonic.

The electors from Čáčov Koválov Sojč, St'epanov, Stráž, Smolinsk, Čárov and Šáštin, had to get out of their carriages a long way from the town and to reach their comrades by a roundabout way, escorted by gendarmes. . . . The rope which was drawn round the market place, was only removed at midday by order of the commandant, so that the electors from Rohov, Rovensko, Kunov and Koválov arrived too late. The military cordon was maintained till 3 o'clock next day as far as the Janossy house, so that our voters could not even get to any of the inns. When the innkeeper Holčík was about to set up a beer barrel at the Slovak headquarters, he was forbidden by the military commandant, under pain of losing his license. At midnight the cordon was removed, except that which separated our voters from

²⁷ These passes enable the marshals of each party to circulate freely through the cordons of troops and gendarmes.

THE SZENICZ ELECTION

the polling booth and Holčik's inn. Passes were supplied solely to persons of the Emödy party, who did not permit our voters to pass through the cordon, and even hindered an officer from letting them through.

When Coloman Szabó and Alois Pfauser, the presidents of the second committee found that even then the polling was unfavourable to Emödy, they simply rejected 326 votes of our party, on which account our voters personally brought forward a charge of violation of the Electoral Law. We also bring forward the charge of deprivation of the franchise, and request that these two matters be treated together. As witnesses: Dr. C. Horvath, advocate: C. Kresák, bank director: Martin Braxatoris, evang. pastor: Daniel Kopa, evang. teacher: Samuel Hatala, evang. teacher: and if necessary others also. We beg the Royal Fiscus to take up our charge.

(Signed) St. Fajnor, Dr. L. Šimko.

The verdict of the Fiscus ran as follows:—

10466-906.

With regard to the above accusation and petition, in accordance with points 1 and 3, § 101, XXXIII. of 1896, I suspend the inquiry. The plaintiffs have the right to appeal to the Fiscus in Pressburg. Grounds.—The accused deny having influenced the election in Emödy's favour, Coloman Szabó maintains regarding the place of assembly of the two parties, that he conferred with the representatives of Veselovsky's party, *who then selected their own place*. Regarding the assembling of the voters, the president prescribed their routes in the interests of both parties, i.e. routes where the opponents could not come into collision. The military cordons did not prevent any person from voting. That the voters from the above-mentioned villages arrived late at the poll and only voted towards the close, is explained by the fact that they had not yet reached the place of assembly. He does not believe that the military cordons roped off the way. Holčik's inn was only cut off from the voters till 10 o'clock, and then it became so crowded that even Veselovsky and Fajnor requested that the voters should be removed, in order to prevent general drunkenness. For this reason the inn was again cut off from the voters, although even then Veselovsky's electors had free access to the bar. No elector was illegally deprived of his vote, only those electors were declared unqualified to vote, whose identity could not be established, or who owing to drunkenness could not pronounce either their own name or that of the candidates. *The testimony of the witnesses cannot be considered, since they all belong to the Veselovsky party and further make statements the truth of which they could not know under the circumstances, and which are not even contained in the accusation.* But even if their testimony were recognized as authentic, they could not

APPENDIX XXII

prove the guilt of the accused on the basis of § 154, XV., 1899, since the accused justified themselves according to these sections; for the party headquarters were by agreement between the representatives of each party situated at equal distances from the polling booth. Cards of legitimation were supplied to neither party, and regarding Holčík's inn, the latter supports the accusation. For the rest, it cannot be proved that the accused influenced the election in favour of Emödy. On the ground of inadequate proof, the inquiry is suspended.

NYITRA, *December 31, 1906.*

CSERNANSZKY.

On appeal to the Fiscus of Pressburg, the following decision was obtained.

S. II./1907.

I hereby confirm the verdict of the Royal Fiscus in Nyitra, which I have carefully read through, with the remark that I personally inquired into the matter of the other allegations.

STEPHEN KRAL.

THE ELECTION IN SZENICZ

B. Statistics of illegally annulled votes (compiled by J. Kresák, manager of the branch office of the "Tátra" Bank in Szenicz, and Drs. Horvát and Fajnor, advocates in Szenicz.

Commune.	Electors who are said to have pronounced the candidate's name wrongly.	Electors whose names were missing from the roll.	Electors whose age did not agree with that given on the roll.	Electors "whose identity could not be established."	Number of rejected electors.	Of these, the charge was withdrawn by
Osusko	1	—	10	—	11	7
Chropov	3	—	7	2	12	11
Oresko	2	1	1	—	4	3
Malý Kovalovec	5	—	—	—	5	5
Lopašov	1	—	2	1	4	4
Rohov	2	—	—	—	2	1
Častko	—	4	5	—	9	4
Šandorf	—	6	—	—	6	3
Turó-Luka	—	56	—	—	56	—
Sobotišt	9	7	2	6	24	—
Hradišt	—	5	—	—	5	1
Rovensko	4	2	4	—	10	—
Štepanov	1	—	6	—	7	3
Smrđaky	—	2	—	—	2	2
Smolinsko	—	—	14	2	16	16
Rybek	—	4	—	1	5	—
Lieskove	—	1	—	2	3	—
Velký Kovalov	14	—	—	—	14	14
Podbranč	10	1	—	1	12	12
Kunov	2	—	—	—	2	—
Hluboké	3	1	—	1	5	—
	57	90	51	16	214	86

	Voters on the Roll.	Voted for Veselovsky.	Emödy.	Votes polled.	Votes rejected, Slovak.	Magyar.
Total .	2,391	757	898	1,655	326	0

APPENDIX XXIII

BLOODSHED AT ELECTIONS

Bresnitz von Sydačoff, in his sensational tract *Die Wahrheit über Ungarn* (pp. 70-71) quotes verbatim the following report of Mr. Julius Endrey, M.P., upon a bye-election at Maros-Vásárhely during the Premiership of Mr. Széll:—

To-day's election was stained not only by bribery and official pressure, but also by a bloodbath started by the gendarmes. The polling-booth, the school, and indeed the whole neighbourhood was thickly beset with gendarmes and military. Since the public could not, owing to the cordon, enter School Street, it collected in the neighbouring Louis-Kossuth Street, and cheered the voters of the Kossuth Party. Between midday and one o'clock, when the supporters of the Government party appeared and proceeded to vote, they were received with hooting by the crowd. Some children even threw snowballs at the carriages in which the voters of the Government party sat. A gendarme then seized a child and began to ill-treat it, by belabouring it with the butt of his rifle. Several persons in the crowd tried to intervene in the interest of the child. "Don't ill-treat it," said a townsman, "it is only an unripe child." The gendarme then let go of the child, which disappeared crying in the crowd. In the next moment one gendarme raised his rifle: two others followed his example, and several shots fell in rapid succession. A fearful outcry filled the air. Several persons staggered to the ground covered with blood. Ten persons had fallen victims to the volley—among them three who were killed on the spot. These are Daniel Nagy, miller; John Pipás, peasant, and Isaac Farkas, miller's apprentice. The seventeen year old carpenter's apprentice, John Simon, was brought into hospital in a dying condition. Six others were brought into hospital, several of them fatally wounded. The rest will be crippled for life. At the news of the bloodbath the voters of the Kossuth Party scattered, not daring to go to the poll. Thus the candidate of the Government Party was declared elected.

Witnesses state that there was absolutely no reason for the gendarmes using their weapons.

High Sheriff Árpád Mikó had received the order from the Premier, Mr. Széll, that the constituency must unquestionably remain in the hands of the Government party.

APPENDIX XXIV

THE POLLAKOVIČ CASE

The following is a careful translation from the original indictment brought against Francis Pollakovič, the young American Slovak, who was sentenced to seven months' imprisonment for "incitement against the Magyar nationality" in December, 1907. This document will give my readers some idea of the manner in which "incitement" is interpreted in the Hungarian Courts:—

Enclosing here below the papers of the inquiry brought against Francis Pollakovič and companion for the offence of "incitement against a nationality," I beg to bring forward the following indictment:—

I accuse of the offence of incitement as laid down in Alinea 2 of § 172 of Criminal Code

1. Francis Pollakovič, aged twenty-four, Roman Catholic, native of Szlanicz, *resident in Szlanicz*, who was from October 9, 1907, in provisional arrest and since October 13, 1907, in imprisonment pending trial, and further

2. Andrew Matkovcsik, junior, aged nineteen, R. C., native of Szlanicz, resident in Szlanicz, draper's assistant, being still at liberty, as being companions in the deed, according to § 70 of Criminal Code:

In that they did on October 6, 1907, in Bobró, in presence of a company of fifteen to twenty persons, sing both alone and together the first stanza of the song "*Piesen slovenskej chudoby*," that as a result of their joint decision A. Matkovcsik did distribute printed copies of this song among the members of the assembly, and that F. Pollakovič *did make a speech to the assembly in which he summoned those belonging to the Slovak nationality to hold together as Slovaks, not to give up their Slovak mother tongue, to battle for their Slovak mother tongue and their rights; through which they did incite the Slovak nationality to hatred against the Magyars.*

I prescribe the Royal District Court of Rózsahegy as competent for the chief hearing of the case.

I enclose in three copies the Accusation and the list of witnesses to be heard.

I propose that the preliminary arrest ordered against F. Pollakovič be maintained until the trial.

Reasons :

According to the result of the inquiry, *F. Pollakovič was one of the members of the so-called "Sokol" Union, who as former Hungarian citizens emigrated to America, acquired the right of American citizenship, and came, on July 4 of this year, to Turócz St. Márton in order to greet the Slovak nationalist agitators.*

APPENDIX XXIV

After this had taken place, F. P. went to his native village Szlanicz. There after his mother's death he sold all her moveable and immoveable property and incited the Slovak population against the Magyars.

Maurice Ródosi and Meinhardt Kovalcsik, natives of Szlanicz, witnesses, gave evidence that F. P. used every occasion to awake in the Slovak inhabitants of his home hatred against the Magyars.

Since his appearance in the village unrest and dissatisfaction gained ground. In spite of his foreign citizenship,* he meddled in the elections of members of the county Committee, proclaiming loudly in the inn that one must only vote for a man who holds by the Slovak nationalists, but not some renegade or traitor who betrays the Slovak nationality, that the Slovaks must hold together, because if they hold together they can win their rights.

Vendelin Zimányi, witness, also gave evidence that F. P. in the inn of Szlanicz in the presence of several people *loudly proclaimed that the Slovaks want peace, but if the Magyars do not give them Slovak schools, there can be no peace.*

According to the evidence of witnesses F. P. was in company with F. Matkovcsik when he made these statements.

But it was not only in Szlanicz that he carried on his work of undermining, whose aim was the kindling of hatred against the Magyars ; he also visited other communes in company with A. Matkovcsik.

On October 6, of this year, F. Pollakovič and A. Matkovcsik appeared in Bobró, where they took part in a skittles party arranged by about twenty young men.

On this occasion F. P. drew from his pocket a song called "Piesen slovenskej chudoby," bade his companion A. M. distribute it among those present, and soon both began to sing the song.

According to the result of the inquiry, it was possible to establish that they sang the first stanza of the said song, or a great part of it. The translation of this runs as follows : "The tyrants torture our nation with unabashed and destroying injustice. Her loyal sons groan in fetters, and our glorious nation is trodden into the dust, our mother tongue, our manners, our poor are robbed of their rights, and driven into the wide world ; they enchain and crucify the liberty which God gave us. Kindle thy wrath, O people ! Be quick to struggle with injustice ! Up, ye loyal youths ! Wage deadly war on this injustice ! "

At the close of this F. P. delivered an appeal to those assembled, in which he urged them to celebrate October 10 as workmen. Soon, however, he went on to appeal to them as Slovaks, to hold together and struggle for their Slovak rights and Slovak mother tongue.

This appeal then stands in close connection with the contents of the song, whose text I have given above and which the accused sang with the object of inciting those assembled against the Magyars.

This song, however, by its title tells the poor Slovaks, why when mentioning tyrants it means the Magyar, who according to the contents of the song torments the Slovaks, puts them in chains, robs them of their language and rights, in a word it represents the position of the Slovak inhabitants in this country as such that on hearing these things the common people, infected by the doctrines proclaimed by Slovak agitators, falls into involuntary hatred against the Magyars.

THE POLLAKOVIČ CASE

If, however, to the contents of the song is added that appeal which F. P. addressed in his speech to those assembled, and in which he summoned the Slovak inhabitants not to give up asserting those rights of which the tyrannous Magyars wish to rob them, but to struggle for their rights and language ; it is clear that F. P.'s intention was to incite the Slovak inhabitants to hatred against the Magyars, and that the singing of this song and F. P.'s speech were calculated to incite the inhabitants of Slovak nationality against the Magyars.

Since, however, the deliberate nature of the acts with which F. P. and A. M. are charged can be established, and their joint activity in the offence committed can also be proved, there exists in their case the offence of joint guilt, as laid down in § 70 of the Criminal Code.

The facts sketched above can be proved by the evidence of the witnesses John Jassák, Joseph Dedinsky, Charles Jassák, Joseph Monyak, Béla Tempek, Antony Odrobinyak and Joseph Jagelcsak, natives of Bobró, which facts regarding the contents of the song and speech already mentioned, are calculated to prove the offence of *incitement*, which infringe point 2 of § 172 of the Criminal Code.

Imprisonment pending trial is to be upheld against F. Pollakovič, according to points 2 and 4 of § 141 of the Criminal Code ; because the reasons of the order based on the paragraph already quoted, subsist in this case also.

BELOPOTOCZKY,
Royal Advocate.

RÓSAHEGY,
November 15, 1907.

APPENDIX XXV

PARLIAMENTARY TOLERANCE

(Note on p. 196)

When the leading politicians of the country employ such hostile and unmeasured language towards the nationalities, it is hardly to be expected that their followers should set an example of tolerance. The little group of nationalist members has been subjected to repeated insults and abuse in the House. Mr. Justh, the Speaker, has always been conspicuous for his dignified impartiality; but the Vice-Presidents have vied with each other in setting his example at defiance. One of these, Mr. Stephen Rákovszky (one of the leaders of the People's Party), called out during the speech of a non-Magyar deputy, "Get out! Ass, stupid fool, coward!" Father Lucaciu, who was sitting near him, asked him whom he was addressing, whereupon Rákovszky flung the word "coward" at him. When the Roumanian leader retorted, "A coward is he who insults a priest, knowing that he cannot claim satisfaction with weapons," the ex-diplomat simply exclaimed, "Be quiet, or I'll box your ears." (See *Pester Lloyd*, April 3, 1908.)

The temper of the House towards the nationalities was reflected in its reception of a speech made by Mr. Goldis during the Education debate (April 6, 1907). When he quoted the saying of Edmund Bartha, "that it was both mistaken and impossible to bring up Magyar children in a German spirit," he was greeted with loud applause; but when he added, "equally mistaken and impossible is it to educate Roumanian children in a Magyar spirit," the applause changed to loud and angry protests. (See *Pester Lloyd*, April 6, 1907.)

An appeal having been lodged against Dr. Polit's mandate (June, 1906), Mr. Olay, one of the members of the Judicial Committee to which the case was referred, told Polit to his face that his mandate would be annulled, even if no valid ground was found—because he was cultured and a good speaker, and consequently the most dangerous of the Serbs. (See *Pester Lloyd*, June, 1906.)

But the most startling example is supplied by the notorious Vaida incident in the spring of 1907. Towards the close of a lengthy speech against the new Education Bill of Count Apponyi, Dr. Vaida recited two Magyar poems, the one written by a Magyar Chauvinist in abuse of the Roumanians, the other by a Roumanian patriot returning these insults with interest in the language of his enemies.

PARLIAMENTARY TOLERANCE

This later poem, he argued, went far to prove the futility of the present policy of Magyarization in the schools : for this policy did not convert the Roumanians into Magyars, but either produced no effect whatever, or else made the Roumanians bilingual and thus doubly dangerous to the Magyars. Dr. Vaida had spoken to a thin and inattentive House, and it was only next day that the Chauvinists realized, from the stenographic report of the debate, the nature of the poems which he had cited. The House worked itself into a frenzy of indignation, and Count Apponyi argued that after such a disgraceful and unpatriotic speech there was nothing left for Dr. Vaida but to resign his seat. His non-Magyar colleagues induced him to offer a public apology to the House (April 10, 1907), though there was absolutely no cause for apology ; but when he rose to his feet, he was greeted by a storm of abuse and insult and was hardly able to proceed. When, two months later (June 7, 1907), he again appeared in the House, a still more disgraceful scene occurred. Mr. Eitner described him as a "traitorous villain" ; Mr. Joseph Horváth cried, "What do we care for the rules of the House ? It is a disgrace to the Magyar nation if this blackguard is here." Mr. Rátkey addressed the House as follows : "My own opinion is that so long as the deputy Vaida possesses a mandate, he is entitled under the rules of the House and of the Constitution to enter this House. But a sense of honour, Magyar patriotism and the sovereignty of the Magyar nation . . . must surely bid him not to appear here. I beg to remind him that so long as he remains in this House the standing orders and the laws protect him. But I advise him not to claim this right too long, for there are feelings and questions which cannot be bound by the standing orders for any length of time. (Applause.) The honourable member should take care that the House does not employ this means of satisfaction against him." This menace naturally increased the tumult, and the President had to suspend the sitting. After the interval a solid mass of Magyar deputies bore down upon Vaida and his tiny group of friends, and pressed them through the folding doors at the back of the House.

The non-Magyars are helpless against the growing violence of the majority ; and the shameful terrorism exercised against them after the massacre of Csernova (described on p. 343) has shown that the Chauvinists regard their very presence in Parliament as an insult to the majesty of the "ruling Magyar nation."

APPENDIX XXVI

THE MAGYARIZATION OF FAMILY NAMES AND OFFICIAL PRESSURE

In 1881 the various forestry departments of Hungary received the following circular from headquarters :—

... Hence it is easy to justify the endeavour of leading circles, that hand in hand with the development of Magyar literature and with the declaration of patriotic feeling, the officials of the Forestry department should crown with a list of *names of good Magyar sound*²⁸ the building whose foundation has cost so much self-sacrifice, trouble and activity. But it is regrettable that despite the evidence of this good feeling there should hardly be a body in all Hungary in which we meet with so many foreign-sounding names as among the forestry officials. Both in order to restore this balance, and also *as your benevolent superior, who is convinced that under equal conditions the Magyarization of your names does involve some advantage for you*, I consider it to be my duty, in order to further your best interests, to urge and encourage you to a general movement. But I also enjoin you to endeavour to plant a similar spirit among the subordinate foresters. The formalities for the Magyarization of names have now been made so easy that it is merely necessary to hand in to the Vice-Sheriff of the County a petition bearing a one-crown stamp, and accompanied by the baptismal certificates of the children and employment papers. In the latter the places of birth and abode, position and moral character are to be filled in.

KOLOZSVÁR,

GIRSIK, *m.p.*²⁹

December 16, 1881.

On February 5, 1898, the Minister of the Interior sent the following circular to all municipalities of Hungary :—

(No. 13,211.)

I send you herewith ten copies of a pamphlet by Alexander Telkes, President of the Central Society for the Magyarization of Surnames, entitled, "How should we Magyarize our family names?" for suitable distribution among the public of your municipality, with the request to instruct all officials to further the salutary (üdvös) movement for the Magyarization of names in the widest possible circles. For the Minister,

JOSEPH LATKOCZY,

*Secretary of State.*³⁰

²⁸ Jó hangzatos magyar névsorral.

²⁹ Cit. p. 7, Die Magyarischen Kulturvereine in der Hermannstädter Comitatsversammlung-Separatabdruck aus No. 3433 des *Siebenbürgisch-Deutschen Tageblatts*.

³⁰ Published by *Kronstädter Zeitung*, cit. Schulthess, *Geschichtskalender*, 1898, p. 199.

MAGYARIZATION AND OFFICIAL PRESSURE

On January 25, 1898, a private circular was addressed by Urban Sipos, the School Inspector of Bihar county, to all schoolmasters under him :—

I call your attention to the fact that by permission of the Minister of Education your colleague, Nicholas Radovich, teacher at the state school of Közepes, has changed his name to "Keti," Aug. Bruckenthal, teacher at the state school of Haimagi, to "Bihari," and finally John Modora, teacher at the state school of Olosig, to "Tinodi." I therefore request you in your correspondence with them in future to use Magyarized names. In this connexion I express the hope and expectation, that these patriotic examples, which affect neither religious conviction nor the interests of the mother tongue, but are merely a proof of a patriotic sentiment above all question—will be speedily followed by the teachers who do not as yet possess names of a Magyar sound ; for otherwise I should, to my great regret, be forced to the conviction that the teachers in question have not the necessary will and courage to offer unequivocal proofs of their loyal devotion to the Magyar fatherland, or they would prove that they subordinate this lofty aim to other trivial considerations. While urging you to further the patriotic movement to which I have referred, I remain, with regards,

ORBAN SIPOS,

*Royal Inspector of Schools.*³¹

NAGYVÁRAD, January 25, 1898.

Dr. Guntram Schultheiss (*Deutschtum und Magyarisierung*, p. 74, note) cites a case of a Roumanian schoolboy who was forbidden to write his name Majoru with an "u" at the end. He had no need, said the teacher, of "Daco-Romanists" in his school ; names must be written in good Magyar.

³¹ Cit. Popovici, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Gross-Oesterreich*, pp. 102-3.

APPENDIX XXVII

HOW WILLS ARE RESPECTED IN HUNGARY

A.

Michal Bernat, a native of Bella in the county of Turócz, who died on August 13, 1896, provided under the terms of his will for payment of 600 crowns (£25) on behalf of poor Slovak school children. The money was to be handed over to Dr. Paul Mudroň, one of the leading Slovak advocates, and to be applied according to his discretion.

The authorities (Royal Districtual Court) recognized all the other legacies of the will, but not that relating to the Slovak school children in question. After the delays usual in Hungarian legal proceedings, the Court decided on January 9, 1898, that the money should be assigned not to Dr. Mudroň, as the will prescribed, but to the Magyar School Inspector. The court argued as follows: 'There is no "association of Slovak school children" possessing statutes sanctioned by the Minister,³² hence this association, having no legal status, cannot inherit or receive legacies. The money, having been left not to Mudroň, but to the Slovak school children, who have no legal status, cannot be assigned to Mudroň, since there is no one to whom he could hand it over and no one to whom he could render account. The testator clearly had his own neighbourhood in mind, in other words the children of Turócz. In matters concerning the school children of Turócz the Royal Inspector of Schools is alone qualified to decide, and the money must therefore be assigned to him, not to Dr. Mudroň.'

Dr. Mudroň brought the following appeal against this decision. 'The court is bound to the provision of the will, and as testator had confidence in Mudroň and left the money to be disposed of by him, it cannot be assigned to any other person. The court argues that there is no "association of Slovak school children," but the will says nothing of an association, but only of "the school children." Moreover, if these school children have a legal status in the event of the money being assigned to the Inspector, they must also have this legal status in the event of its being assigned to Mudroň. If the school children really have no legal status, then the legacy is

³² The following narrative is based upon information supplied to me by persons upon whose honour and trustworthiness it is safe to rely, but whose names I could hardly mention without drawing down the vengeance of the authorities upon their heads.

HOW WILLS ARE RESPECTED

invalid, and the money falls to the legal heirs—in this case to the widow.'

None the less the Royal Table (court of second instance), on January 26, 1899, confirmed the lower court's decision and further appeal was impossible.

A claim was then brought before the Sedrial Court of Neusohl, summoning the Royal Inspector to hand over the 600 crowns to Paul Mudroň for the purposes of the will. This court, on October 25, 1899, decided in favour of Dr. Mudroň, and ordered the Inspector to disgorge on the ground that the provisions of the will must be strictly observed.

The Inspector in his turn appealed against this decision, and on May 27, 1903, the Royal Table in Budapest reversed the finding of the lower court, rejected Mudroň's claim, and found him liable for 220 crowns costs. The money, argued the Table, is to be regarded as a *trust*. Since, however, a trust can only exist with the sanction of the authorities, this legacy which possesses no such sanction cannot be regarded as existing, and the claim must therefore be rejected.

Against this finding a further appeal was made to the Curia as court of supreme instance, on the following grounds. 'The decision of the lower court rests on the assumption that the legacy is a trust. This assumption cannot be maintained, since the capital was to be paid out at once, while a trust carries with it the idea of duration of the capital. Bernat's will orders the payment of 600 crowns to Mudroň, to be assigned by him at his discretion to deserving Slovak pupils. Only in this event can the will be said to have been respected.'

On September 7, 1903, the Curia confirmed the decision of the Table. After seven years' legal proceedings, the money remained definitely in the hands of the enemy, and has been used to further Magyarizing tendencies, instead of those Slovak national sentiments which Bernát had at heart.

B.

Matthias Čvikota, a native of Valcša in the county of Turócz, died on April 25, 1903, leaving a fortune of 160,000 crowns (£6,660), which he had acquired as a merchant in Russia. Having no family, he decided to leave the entire sum "to the Slovak nation," for educational and other purposes. As, however, Hungarian law does not recognize the existence of any such thing as a Slovak nation, he bequeathed the money, acting on legal advice, to three leading Slovaks—Ambro Pietor, Fraňo Zachar, and Dr. Imre Korauš, and described in a private letter to the latter the manner in which he wished the sum to be applied, exclusively in the interests of Slovak culture.

The Vice-Sheriff of Turócz County, Coloman Beniczky, endea-

voured to upset the will. It was discovered that a brother of Čvikota was still alive, and he was with some difficulty unearthed at Cracon. Though an altogether worthless and dilapidated character, Ferdin and Čvikota, when brought before Beniczky, firmly declined to contest a will which represented his brother's last wishes. As a result of this an inquiry was instituted into Ferdinand Čvikota's state of health, and two county doctors, John Haas and Ernest Lax, declared him irresponsible for his actions. Two other doctors, John Petrikovič and John Šimko, reported him as normal and sane, but their opinion was overruled. The County Fiscal instituted proceedings with a view to placing Čvikota under control. The Court ordered his examination by its medical officer Dr. Kolczonay, who found Čvikota to be weak-minded owing to excess of alcohol. The beneficiaries under the will then had Čvikota examined by a Budapest specialist Dr. Németh, who after six days' inquiry decided that despite clear traces of alcoholic excess he was fully responsible in a legal sense. Before the final decision had been reached, Čvikota died. The court then decided that the beneficiaries under the will must bear the entire costs of the action on the ground, that Čvikota would have had to be placed under control.

The Vice-Sheriff then summoned some surviving distant relatives of Čvikota, and induced them to contest the will. The Court of first instance admitted their plea, annulled the will, and ordered the beneficiaries under the will to bear the costs. An appeal was lodged against this decision, but the final stage in the proceedings has not yet been reached.

Meanwhile five years have elapsed since Čvikota's death, and his wishes have so far been rendered nugatory. The costs of these endless legal proceedings are naturally very heavy, and even if the will is finally recognized, it may unhappily be taken for granted that they will have to be borne not by the petitioners, but by the beneficiaries. Thus either the clear sense of the will will be violated, or the legal expenses will exhaust the greater part of the bequest; in either case the Slovaks will be unjustly deprived of a sum of money (£6,600) which might have rendered invaluable services in the furtherance of Slovak culture and education. And all this takes place in the twentieth century in a state which prides itself upon its ancient constitution and its liberal institutions.

APPENDIX XXVIII

THE SITUATION IN CROATIA ³³

The same century which saw Henry II's expedition to Ireland saw the final union of Croatia with Hungary, whose King could assert the triple claims of conquest, inheritance, and election. For eight centuries the Croats, while recognizing as their Sovereign the wearer of the Crown of St. Stephen, retained a certain, but ill-defined, measure of Home-rule. The Turkish conquest which dismembered Hungary naturally tended to strengthen Croatian autonomy, and this fact was strikingly emphasized when the Diet of Agram accepted the Pragmatic Sanction eleven years before it was sanctioned by the Hungarian Parliament. The eighteenth century closed amid a general revival of national sentiment, and in Croatia this was encouraged by Napoleon's creation of a new Illyrian State, reaching from Laibach to Ragusa. The reality lasted only nine years, under the enlightened rule of Marshal Marmont. The dream still remains, though the name of Illyria vanished in the storms of 1848. Croat nationality, developed by the genius of Louis Gaj, was roused to fever-pitch by the efforts of the Hungarian Diet, led by Kossuth, to impose the Magyar language upon Croatia; and the linguistic monomania of the Magyars, which is unhappily repeating itself to-day, was unquestionably the reason why all the non-Magyar races of Hungary, above all the Croats under Jellačić, fought on the Austrian side in 1848. During the next twenty years the Croats were subject to Austrian absolutism, which tactlessly wasted the fruits of victory, by alienating all the races that had espoused its cause. After this interlude, the Ausgleich between Hungary and Austria was followed in 1868 by the Ausgleich between Hungary and Croatia. While the Germans in Cisleithania, by the grant of autonomy, won Polish support against the weaker races, the Magyars made substantial concessions to the Croats, in order to obtain a free hand against the five other races of Hungary proper. Then as ever Croatia proved to be the Achilles' heel of Hungary; and the famous "blank-sheet" which Deák left the Croats to fill in, while characteristic of his generous nature, has served only to whet instead of assuaging the appetite of the Croats. The Croatian

³³ Part of the above appeared as a leading article in the *Spectator* of March 14, 1908.

Ausgleich is based upon a contract between the Central Parliament and the Diet of Agram, and secures to Croatia complete autonomy in all matters of administration, justice, education, and to some extent even finance. Its main provisions have been summarized on pp. 138-9.

Despite the great services of Bishop Strossmayer and a few others, it cannot be said that Croatia has kept pace with Hungary in the remarkable revival of the past forty years; but this is perhaps due less to the inferior political talents of the Croats than to backward agrarian conditions. Hungary, after acting with generosity in 1868, has steadily favoured the *status quo*, and has thus created the impression among the Croats that she wished to stem their progress. Since the Ausgleich relations between the two countries have more than once been strained almost to breaking-point, nor has military occupation been unknown; but despite ominous rumblings, the machine of State has never absolutely refused to move. The system by which Croatia was so long kept within bounds has become identified with the name of Count Khuen Hedérváry, who was Ban from 1885 till the fall of the Liberal Party in 1905. His methods were far from noble, but they were generally effective. He aimed at maintaining a Governmental party in touch with the Liberal Party in Hungary proper and with a majority in the Diet of Agram. This National Party, as it was called, shared the fate of the Hungarian Liberals in 1905-6 and since then chaos has reigned in Croatia.

The responsibility for this state of affairs rests with Mr. Francis Kossuth and Mr. Polónyi (the ex-Minister of Justice), who as leaders of the Independent Party concluded in the autumn of 1905 a pact with the Opposition in the Croatian Diet. This pact, known as the Fiume Resolution, the exact terms of which are still doubtful, was above all else a reckless attempt to overthrow the existing régime in both countries, and in this it succeeded only too well. But the Resolutionists, or Serbo-Croat Coalition as they are now called, did not possess a working majority in the Diet; and progress was made impossible during the winter of 1906-7 by the obstruction of the Starčević Party. This party, named after its founder, pursues a "Sinn Fein" policy, claiming absolute independence for Croatia (though under Habsburg sway), not recognizing the Hungaro-Croatian Ausgleich, but, unlike its Irish kinsman, allowing its members to take their seats in the Diet.

As if the situation were not lamentable enough already, the Hungarian Coalition in May, 1907, provoked a conflict with the Serbo-Croat Coalition by a new Bill regulating the status of the railway officials. The point at issue was by no means sensational; but, none the less, it raises the whole question of the Constitutional relations of Croatia and Hungary, which has been more or less dormant since 1868. In practice, Magyar, as the language

THE SITUATION IN CROATIA

of State, has always been the official language of the railway system of the entire country, but the awkward fact remains that the law recognizes the rights of the Croatian language. The Hungaro-Croatian Ausgleich of 1868 declares (in § 9) the railway system to be one of the "joint affairs" of the two countries, while § 57 recognizes Croatian as the official language for all organs of the joint Government within the bounds of Croatia (and hence also for the railways). Hence the attempt of the new Bill to legalize Magyar as the language of all State railways at once roused the Croats from their tacit recognition, and induced them to insist upon a strict fulfilment of the Ausgleich.

This *impasse* speedily led to obstruction by the forty Croat delegates in the Hungarian Parliament; the Kossuthist Government was hoist with its own petard, and the business of Parliament was at a standstill throughout the early summer. At length the Wekerle Cabinet introduced a law containing a single clause, which authorized the Minister of Commerce to enforce the disputed clauses by Ministerial order pending their acceptance by Parliament! The Croats were beaten, but only by a trick of fatal precedent to its inventors; and the price of victory was the final ruin of the Magyarophil party in Croatia. A Magyar official was appointed Ban, but failed to obtain support from any Croat party; and his successor, Baron Paul Rauch, despite the attendance of whole regiments of troops at the February elections, could only secure the return of a single Unionist! All three heads of his Government (the so-called sectional chiefs) were defeated, and Mr. Supilo, the able Dalmatian journalist who leads the Serbo-Croat Coalition, disposed of an absolute majority in the new Diet. Parliamentary Government became impossible in Croatia unless the Hungarian Cabinet yielded; and the Diet was consequently prorogued on its opening day. Thus Croatia has been governed on Absolutist principles for over a year past, and the Coalition Government is pursuing an exactly identical policy towards Croatia, to that adopted by the Fejérváry Government against the Coalition in 1905.

Baron Rauch, soon after his appointment as Ban, publicly accused the Independent Serb Party (one of the chief parties of the Serbo-Croatian Coalition) of high treason and anti-dynastic tendencies. Its eighteen members thereupon published a manifesto to the nation, calling upon Baron Rauch to bring forward proof of his assertion, as otherwise they would assume him to have "maliciously lied, slandered and informed" (April 10, 1908). As Baron Rauch declined either to retract or to make good his accusation, they published a fresh statement declaring their assumption to be correct (April 15). In consequence of this affair one of their number, who was also a professor at Agram University, was placed on the retired list by Rauch's government. Another professor, Dr. Šurmin, who watched a demonstration of students against the

APPENDIX XXIX

Ban without making any attempt to restrain them, was arbitrarily suspended from his chair. The students, by way of protest against this open violation of University autonomy, organized a strike and withdrew to Prague and Vienna, and the lectures were unattended all last summer.

The annexation of Bosnia will bring the Croatian crisis to a head, for the opinion of Agram on a matter of such vital interest to Croatia, cannot be ignored indefinitely.

APPENDIX XXIX

(Note to page 330)

As this book goes to press, the newspapers report the discovery of scandals which have forced Mr. Emerich Latkóczy to resign his position of Vice-President of the Administrative Court of Appeal—one of the highest legal posts in Hungary. Latkóczy accepted a present of 60,000 crowns from a chemist of the name of Korbuly, as the price of obtaining for him a chemist's licence on the Baross-tér (the square outside the chief railway terminus in Budapest).

An interesting sidelight is thrown upon the prevailing system of "protection" in the provinces by one of Korbuly's statements (see *Pester Lloyd*, October 20, 1908). His first intention, he said, had been to apply for a chemist's licence in Miskolcz, but on learning that no one save a protégé of the High Sheriff (the name was openly given in the newspaper report!) had any prospect, he attempted to procure a licence in the capital.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A MERE list of names would be worse than useless to the reader, and he can hardly be expected to read through all the authorities for himself. No attempt has been made to criticize them in detail, but brief comments have been added for the guidance of the reader regarding the more controversial books and pamphlets quoted. A severe verdict upon a particular author's attitude towards the nationalities does not necessarily involve a condemnation of his views on other historical questions.

Those books which are marked with an asterisk may safely be regarded as indispensable to a study of the question, and I have therefore dispensed with all further comment upon them, as also upon the standard works cited in the first section.

I cannot emphasize too strongly the fact that a comparison of the Hungarian Laws with the official statistics published by the Government and with the public speeches of Hungarian statesmen, supply the real clue to the results at which I have arrived.

(N.B.—Wherever a German or other translation is available I have cited it by preference, since the reader cannot be expected to consult Magyar, Czech or Slovak originals.)

(1) GENERAL HUNGARIAN HISTORY

- Fessler, Ignaz Aurelius. *Geschichte von Ungarn*. 2nd ed. 5 vols. Leipzig, 1877.
- Mailáth, Graf Joseph. *Geschichte der Magyaren*. 2nd ed. 5 vols. Regensburg, 1852-3.
- Szalay, Ludwig. *Geschichte Ungarns*. 3 vols. Pest, 1866-74.
- Horváth, Michael. *25 Jahre aus der Geschichte Ungarns*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1867.
- Csuday, Eugen. *Die Geschichte der Ungarn*. 2 vols. Pressburg, 1900.
- Sayous, Edouard. *Histoire Générale des Hongrois*. Paris. No date.
- Leger, Louis. *Histoire de l'Autriche-Hongrie*. 1st ed. Paris, 1879; later editions revised.
- Helfert, Joseph Alexander Freiherr von. *Geschichte Oesterreichs vom Ausgange des Wiener October-Aufstandes 1848*. 4 vols. Prag and Leipzig, 1869-86.
- *Geschichte der österreichischen Revolution im Zusammenhange mit der mitteleuropäischen Bewegung der Jahre 1848-9*. Vol. i. (bis April 25, 1848). Freiburg, i. B. 1907.
- Springer, Anton. *Geschichte Oesterreichs seit dem Wiener Frieden, 1809*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1863.
- Rogge, Walter. *Oesterreich von Világos bis zur Gegenwart*. 3 vols. Vienna, 1872.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Rogge, Walter. Oesterreich seit der Katastrophe Hohenwart-Beust. 2 vols. Vienna, 1879.
- Krones, Franz von. Geschichte der Neuzeit Oesterreichs. Berlin, 1879.
- Friedjung, Heinrich. Der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in Deutschland. 2 vols. Stuttgart.
- Oesterreich von 1848 bis 1860. vol. i. (1848-51). Stuttgart, 1908.
- Marczali, Henrik. A legújabb kor története (History of the most Recent Times). Budapest, 1892.
- Márki, Alexander, and Beksics, Gustav. A Modern Magyarország, 1848-96 (Modern Hungary), forming vol. x. of "A Magyar Nemzet Története (History of the Hungarian Nation), ed. by Alexander Szilágyi. Budapest, 1898.

(2) CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL

- *Corpus Juris Hungarici. Editio Millenaria. Lipsiae, 1901-2.
- *Landesgesetzsammlung. Amtliche Ausgabe, 1865-7, 1868, etc. (Published at first by Moriz Rath, afterwards by Ludwig Toldi, in Budapest.)
- *Gesetzartikel des ungarischen Reichstages, 1847-8. Pest, 1848.
- Der ungarische Reichstag von 1861. 3 vols. Pest, 1861. (Report of debates, with appendix of documents.)
- Steinbach, Gustav. Die ungarischen Verfassungsgesetze. Vienna (Manz), 1900. Useful pocket edition.
- Die Zertrümmerung des siebenbürgischen Sachsenlandes. (German translation of parliamentary debates, 1876.)
- Die Magyarisirung in Ungarn. Munich, 1879. (German translation of the debates on the Education Bill of 1879.)
- Der siebenbürgische Landtag. Protokoll und Reden. Hermannstadt, 1863.
- Aemtliche Actenstücke betreffend die Verhandlung über die Union Siebenbürgens mit dem Königreich Ungarn. Hermannstadt, 1865.
- See also Stenographic Reports of the Hungarian Parliament, the Austrian Reichsrath, and the Austrian and Hungarian Delegations.

- *Andrássy, Graf Julius, jun. Ungarns Ausgleich mit Oesterreich. Leipzig, 1897. A brilliant and convincing plaidoyer against the very policy which its author subsequently adopted.
- Beksics, Gusztav. A Dualismus. Budapest, 1892. (Historical and constitutional studies by a representative Liberal. See p. 175.)
- Bertha, A. de. La Constitution Hongroise. Paris, 1898. Based on Radó-Rothfeld (*q.v.*). Its attitude to the nationalities is contained in the phrase, "l'idéal de l'avenir, c'est l'assimilation des races, c'est l'unité nationale" (p. 140).
- *Bidermann. Geschichte der österreichischen Gesamtstaatsidee, 1526-1804. 2 vols. Innsbruck, 1867, 1889.
- Cziráky. Conspectus publici juris regni Hungariae ad annum 1848. Vienna, 1851.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Deák, Franz. Ein Beitrag zum ungarischen Staatsrecht. Pest, 1865. (A brilliant answer to Lustkandl's book [*q.v.*]).
- Die wahre Rechtscontinuität in der ungarischen Frage. 1864. (Non-Magyar.)
- *Eisenmann, Louis. Le Compromis Austro-Hongrois de 1867. Paris, 1904. (Absolutely indispensable.)
- Friedjung, Heinrich. Der Ausgleich mit Ungarn. Leipzig, 1877.
- Helfert, J. A. Freiherr von. Revision des ungarischen Ausgleichs. Vienna, 1876.
- Jellinek. Die Lehre von den Staatenverbindungen. Vienna, 1882.
- Rechte der Minoritäten. Vienna, 1889.
- Kmety. A Magyar Közjog Tankönyve. (Manual of Hungarian Public Law. 2nd ed. Budapest, 1902.
- Lowell, A. L. Governments and Parties in Continental Europe. London. No date. (Vol. ii. contains a concise summary of the Hungarian Constitution.)
- Lustkandl, Wenzel. Das ungarisch-österreichische Staatsrecht. Zur Lösung der Verfassungsfrage. Historisch-dogmatisch dargestellt. Vienna, 1863. (The official Austrian standpoint under Schmerling.)
- Maithstein, Wildner von. Ungarns Verfassung. Leipzig, 1843. (Involved its author in an acrimonious controversy with Louis Kossuth.)
- Palacky, Franz. Oesterreichs Staatsidee. Prag, 1876. (Contains Palacky's famous Federal proposals.)
- *Polner, Ödön. Magyarország és Ausztria közbjogi viszonya. (The constitutional relations of Hungary and Austria.) Budapest, 1891. (A standard Magyar work.)
- Radó-Rothfeld, S. Die ungarische Verfassung. Berlin, 1898. Extremely misleading on the racial question, but contains useful documents.
- Scharberg, B. von. Die Verfassung Siebenbürgens. Vienna, 1844.
- *Schuler-Libloy, Friedrich. Siebenbürgische Rechtsgeschichte. 3 vols. Hermannstadt, 1868.
- Das ungarische Staatsrecht. Vienna, 1870.
- *Springer, Rudolf (Dr. Carl Renner). Der Kampf der oesterreichischen Nationen um den Staat. Leipzig, 1902.
- *——— Grundlagen und Entwicklungsziele der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie. Vienna, 1906.
- Die Krise des Dualismus. Vienna, 1904.
- Tezner, Friedrich. Die Wandlungen der österreichisch-ungarischen Reichsidee. Vienna, 1905. (Strongly Austrian.)
- *Timon, Ákos von. Ungarische Verfassungs und Rechtsgeschichte. Berlin, 1904.
- Ulbrich, J. Das österreichische Staatsrecht. 3rd ed. Tübingen, 1904. (Contains references to Hungary also.)
- *Virozsil, Dr. Anton von. Das Staatsrecht des Königreichs Ungarn. 3 vols. Pest, 1865.

(3) STATISTICAL

isches Statistisches Jahrbuch, from 1890 onwards. (Published by Royal Statistical Bureau, on behalf of the Minister of Commerce. Invaluable.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Das ungarische Unterrichtswesen am Beginne des Jahres 1875. (Report of Minister of Education to Parliament.) Budapest, 1877.
- *Das ungarische Unterrichtswesen am Schlusse des Schuljahres, 1877-8. (Im Auftrage des k. u. Min. für Kultus und Unterricht) dargestellt von Dr. J. H. Schwicker. Budapest, 1879. Continued annually till the present day.
- L'enseignement en Hongrie. (Min. Roy. des Cultes et de l'Instruction publique.) Budapest, 1900.
- Education in Hungary. (Published by Ministry of Religion and Public Instruction.) Budapest, 1908. Both these volumes are extremely misleading. See criticism on pp. 208, 218-19.
- Czoernig. Ethnographie der österreichischen Monarchie. 3 vols. Vienna, 1857.
- Ficker. Die Volkstämme der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie. Vienna, 1869.
- *Fényes, A. Statistik des Königreichs Ungarn. 3 parts. Pest, 1843.
 ——— Ungarn im Vormärz. Leipzig, 1851.
- Hickmann, Prof. A. L. Geographisch-statistisches Universaltaschenatlas. Vienna, 1902.
- Horn, Julius. Das Königreich Ungarn. Pest, 1864.
- Jekelfalussy, J. The Millennium of Hungary and its People. Budapest, 1897. (Issued in English by the Ministry of Commerce. Misleading.)
- Schwartner. Statistik des Königreichs Ungarn. 3 parts.
- Pusztay. Die Ungarn in ihrem Staats- und Nationalwesen. Leipzig, 1843.

(4) THE RACIAL QUESTION

- *Auerbach, Bertrand. Les Races et les Nationalités en Autriche-Hongrie. Paris, 1898.
- Argus. Nemzetiségi Politikánk Hibái és Bünéi (The Faults and Crimes of our Policy towards the Nationalities). Budapest, 1908. (Written by a Roumanian publicist who stands halfway between the Government and the Nationalities.)
- *Balogh, Pál. Népfajok Magyarországon (Races in Hungary), 1902.
- Baloghy, Ernő. A Magyar Kultura és a Nemzetiségek (Magyar Culture and the Nationalities). Budapest, 1908. (Upholds the unbending Magyar view, "Our nationalities cannot substitute any other culture for the Magyar, for there is not and cannot be a special Serb, Roumanian or Slovak culture" p. 210.)
- Bánffy, Baron Dezső. A Magyar Nemzetiségi Politika (The Magyar Policy towards the Nationalities). Budapest, 1902. (The ultra-Chauvinist view of "no-quarter.")
- Bauer, Otto. Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie. Vienna, 1908. (A masterly analysis of the question, from the Socialist standpoint: but would have produced far more effect if it had been compressed to less than half its size.)
- *Bidermann. La loi hongroise sur les Nationalités (Revue de Droit International.) I. (1869), pp. 513-49; II. (1870), pp. 20-37.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bidermann. Russische Umtriebe in Ungarn. Innsbruck, 1867.
(Based on research.)
- Boldényi. Le Magyarisme ou la Guerre des Nationalités en Hongrie. Paris, 1850. (Highly instructive, because of its violence: written from the standpoint that in all the Habsburg dominions "la nation réelle et unique c'est le peuple Magyar.")
- Charmatz, Richard. Deutsch-Oesterreichische Politik. Leipzig, 1907. (Studies on Liberalism, Federalism and Foreign Policy in the Dual Monarchy, from a German Radical standpoint.)
- Chéradame, André. L'Europe et la question d'Autriche au seuil du XX^e siècle. Paris, 1902.
- L'Allemagne, la France et la question d'Autriche. Paris, 1901. (Both are obsessed by the Pan-Prussian nightmare, and by a baseless fear of the break-up of the Dual Monarchy.)
- *Eötvös, Baron Joseph. Über die Gleichberechtigung der Nationalitäten in Oesterreich. Vienna, 1850.
- Die Garantien der Macht und Einheit Oesterreichs. Leipzig, 1859.
- Die Nationalitätenfrage. Pest, 1865.
- Der Einfluss der herrschenden Ideen des XIXten Jahrhunderts auf den Staat. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1854.
- Fadejev, General Rostislaw. Neueste Schriften. Leipzig and Vienna, 1871. (One of the ablest Russian exponents of Pan-Slav theory.)
- *Gumplowicz, Ludwig. Das Recht der Nationalitäten und Sprachen in Oesterreich-Ungarn. Innsbruck, 1879.
- Henry, René. Questions d'Autriche-Hongrie et Question d'Orient. Paris, 1903.
- Des Monts de Bohême au Golfe Persique. Paris, 1908. (The former is greatly superior to the latter.)
- *Hunfalvy, Paul. Ethnographie von Ungarn. Budapest, 1877.
- *Hungaricus. Das magyarische Ungarn und der Dreibund. Munich, 1899. (A very able Roumanian plaidoyer.)
- Láng, Louis. Les Nationalités en Hongrie et en Autriche (*Revue Politique*, vol. xviii., pp. 30-59).
- *Mercator. Die Nationalitätenfrage und die ungarische Reichsidee. Budapest, 1908. (A pamphlet of great ability and moderation, by a Magyar politician who advocates fair play towards the nationalities.)
- Mocsáry, Louis. Nemzetiség (Nationality). Pest, 1858.
- A Válság (The Crisis). Eger, 1906. (For forty years past Mr. Mocsáry has been the only Magyar who dared to raise his voice in defence of the nationalities.)
- Oesterreich und die südslavische Bewegung, von K. von Th. Leipzig, 1876.
- Petrovic, Alexander. Die madjarischen Sonderbestrebungen im Reiche der Habsburger. Berlin, 1904. (A well-written and highly suggestive account of modern Hungarian politics, by a former head of the Press bureau of the Servian Foreign Office.)
- Pogodin. Politische Briefe aus Russland. Leipzig, 1860. (By a real Russian Pan Slav.)
- *Popovici, Aurel. Die Vereinigten Staaten von Gross-Oesterreich. Leipzig, 1906. (A work of great originality and importance,

BIBLIOGRAPHY

based on wide reading in most European languages, but marred by political phantasy and a violent hatred of the Magyars, which is explained by his unjust and cruel treatment at their hands.)
 Rumäne, Ein. Die Sprachen und Nationalitätenfrage in Oesterreich. 2nd ed. Vienna, 1860. (Directed against "the Magyar national state.")

Sydačoff, Bresnitz von. Die panslavistische Agitation und die süd-slawische Bewegung in Oesterreich-Ungarn. Berlin, 1900.

— Die Wahrheit über Ungarn. Berlin, 1903. (A violent and somewhat scurrilous writer, who blends Wahrheit and Dichtung in a highly ingenious manner; but gives numerous interesting facts not obtainable elsewhere. The only book I have found where the possibilities of the Slovak movement are frankly faced.)

Vrba, Rudolf. Der Nationälitäten—und Verfassungsconflict in Oesterreich. Prag, 1900. (A Czech point of view.)

*Winkler, Heinrich. Skizzen aus dem Völkerleben. Berlin, 1903. (Based upon an intimate knowledge of the Magyar language and the Magyar people.)

(a) THE SLOVAKS

> Apologie des ungrischen Slavismus. von S. H. Leipzig, 1843. (Letters addressed to Kossuth as editor of *Pesti Hirlap*: moderate and reasonable.)

Aeltere und neuere Magyarisirungsversuche in Ungarn. Prag, 1876. (Well-informed but bitter; deals almost exclusively with the Slovaks. Written by a Slovak Lutheran pastor.)

*Beschwerden und Klagen der Slaven in Ungarn, vorgetragen von einem ungarischen Slaven. Leipzig, 1843. (Contains translation of a Chauvinist article in *Társalkodó* and the Circular of Count Zay to the four superintendents.)

*Borbis. Die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche Ungarns. Nordlingen, 1861. (A serious work containing the various charters of the Lutherans in Hungary.)

— Die Märtyrerkirche der evangelisch-lutherischen Slovaken. Erlangen, 1863. (Here the author throws off all restraint and exposes Slovak grievances.)

Čapek, Thomas. The Slovaks of Hungary. (The only book in English on the subject: based on facts and knowledge, but uncritical. The absence of references deprives it of most of its value.)

*Grünwald, Béla. A Felvidék (The Highlands). Budapest, 1878. (For criticism of this book, see notes 202, 213, 214, 216.)

Hodža, M. M. Der Slowak: Beiträge zur Beleuchtung der slawischen Frage in Ungarn. Prag, 1848. (Written by a Slovak leader with perhaps pardonable violence, but without all sense of moderation or proportion, in doggerel German.)

Hurban, Svetozár, and Francisci, John. Storočna Pamiátka Národenia Stefana Moyšesa. Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1897. (Biography of Bishop Moses, with memorial poem by Hviezdoslav.)

Memorial addressed by American citizens of Slovak birth to the Hungarian members of the Interparliamentary Peace Congress held at St. Louis, 1904 (in English, French and Magyar.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Papkoff, Alexandre. *L'esclavage au centre de l'Europe*. St. Petersburg, 1889. (A protest against the forcible removal of Slovak children to Magyar districts.)
- Pietor, Ambro. *Nápor-Odpor*. Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1905. (Notes on Magyarization, by a former editor of the Slovak *Národné Noviny*.)
- *Petitionen der Serben und Slovaken vom Jahre 1861. Vienna, 1862. (Contains: (1) Resolutions passed by Serb National Congress and its Address to H. M. (2) Memorial of Slovaks to Hungarian Parliament. (3) Address of Slovak deputation to H. M. (4) Memorial of Bishop of Neusohl to H. M.)
- Sašinec, Franz. *Die Slovaken*. Prag, 1875. (Neither very able nor very accurate.)
- Les Slaves d'Autriche et les Magyars*. Paris, 1861. (Criticizes Magyar Chauvinism, without being anti-Magyar, but also without stooping to facts.)
- Sollen wir Magyaren werden? 5 Briefe geschrieben aus Pesth an einen Freund an der Theis. von D. H. Karlstadt (Croatia), 1833. (Singularly moderate: a superior type of pamphlet.)
- Eine Stimme der Nordslaven Ungarns über Oesterreich nach der Schlacht bei Königgrätz. Vienna, 1866. (Of little value.)
- Stodola, Dr. Emil. *Príspevok ku Statistike Slovenska* (Contributions to Slovak Statistics). Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1902. (Štúr, Ljudevit). *Das XIXte Jahrhundert und der Magyarismus*. Leipzig, 1843. (Not worthy of Štúr.)
- *Thun, Graf Leo. *Die Stellung der Slovaken in Ungarn*. Prag, 1843. (Correspondence between him and Pulszky, see pp. 85-9.)
- Die Unterdrückung der Slovaken durch die Magyaren. Prag, 1903. (Written in a vein of violent and uncontrolled hatred against the Magyars, but its facts are with one or two exceptions only too accurate.)
- X. Y. Z. *Ungarn und die Apostel des Panslavismus*. Berlin, 1908. (A violent tract against the Slovaks, originating from the office of the *Slovenské Noviny*, the Slovak organ of the Magyar Government.)

(b) THE SAXONS AND OTHER GERMANS OF HUNGARY

- Der Kampf der siebenbürger Sachsen für die Überreste des Feudalwesens. Budapest, 1874. (An apology for Tisza's bad faith.)
- Die Ausrottung des Deutschtums in Ungarn. Hermannstadt, 1881.
- *Friedenfels, Eugen von. Joseph Bedeus von Scharberg: Beiträge zur Zeitgeschichte Siebenbürgens im XIXten Jahrhundert. 2 vols. Hermannstadt and Vienna, 1877-85.
- *Geographische Nachrichten für Welthandel und Volkswirtschaft, III Jahrgang, Heft 1-3. Berlin, 1881.
- Hundert Jahre sächsischer Kämpfe. Hermannstadt, 1896. (Ten lectures by some of the most cultured of the present Saxon leaders. An admirable supplement to Teutsch's History.)
- *Kaindl, R. *Geschichte der Deutschen in den Karpathenländern*. 2 vols. Gotha, 1907.
- Löher, Franz von. *Die Magyaren und andere Ungarn*. Leipzig, 1874. (Written with a strong German bias.)
- *Das Erwürgen der deutschen Nationalität in Ungarn*. Munich,

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1874. (By a Saxon author, with preface of Löher. An able criticism of the Bills then under discussion, for the abolition of Saxon autonomy.)
- Majestätsgesuch wegen Corruption im Grosskukler Comit. Hermannstadt, 1881.
- Preussische Jahrbücher*, vols. xxix. (pp. 629-39), xxxiii. (pp. 471-92), xlvii (pp. 41-8, 524-37), xlvi. (pp. 150-70). 1872, 1874, 1881.
- Schultheiss, Dr. Guntram. Deutschtum und Magyarisierung in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Munich, 1898. (Very anti-Magyar.)
- Schwicker, J. H. Die Deutschen in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Vienna, 1883. (Uncontroversial.)
- Das neue politische Programm der siebenbürger Sachsen. (*Unsere Zeit*, 1890. ii. pp. 166-73.)
- *Teutsch, G. D. Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen. vol. i. (till 1700). Hermannstadt, 3rd ed., 1899. (One of the best popular histories in any language). vol. ii. (till 1815) by his son, Dr. Friedrich Teutsch. Hermannstadt, 1908.
- Teutsch, Dr. F. and others. Bilder aus der vaterländischen Geschichte. 2 vols. Hermannstadt, 1899.
- Wastian, Heinrich. Ungarns Tausendjährling im deutschem Lichte. Munich, 1896. (An offensive overstatement of a just cause.)
- Wattenbach, W. Die siebenbürger Sachsen. Heidelberg, 1882. (A brilliant little essay.)

(c) THE ROUMANIANS

- Bertha, A. de. Magyars et Roumains devant l'Histoire. Paris, 1899. (A reasonable presentment of the Magyar case.)
- *Brote, Eugen. Die rumänische Frage in Siebenbürgen und Ungarn. Berlin, 1895. (Absolutely indispensable for any student of the subject. Contains many of the most important documents as Appendices.)
- Fiedler. Die Union der Walachen in Siebenbürgen (Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie, phil.-hist. Classe). Vienna, 1858.
- Hintz, Johann. Geschichte des Bistums der griechisch-nichtunierten Glaubensgenossen in Siebenbürgen. Hermannstadt, 1850.
- *Hunfalvy, Paul. Die Rumänen und ihre Ansprüche. Vienna, 1883.
- *Jancsó, Benedek. A Román Nemzetiségi Törekvések története és jellenlegi Állapota (The History and Present State of the Roumanian Nationalist Aspirations). 2 vols. Budapest 1899. (The standard Magyar authority upon the subject.)
- *Jorga, N. Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes. 2 vols. Gotha, 1905.
- Papiu Ilarianu, A. Die constitutionelle Unabhängigkeit Siebenbürgens. Breslau, 1862. (The Roumanian standpoint under Schmerling.)
- Piç, Jos. Lad. Zur rumänisch-ungarischen Streitfrage. Leipzig, 1886. (A dry scientific thesis.)
- Programmes politiques des Roumains de la Transylvanie. Bucarest, 1894. (Contains also the text of the Memorandum and of the Law of Nationalities.)
- "Reply." Die ungarischen Rumänen und die ungarische Nation. Antwort der Hochschulg Jugend Ungarns auf das Memorandum

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- der rumänischen Universitätsjugend. Budapest, 1891. (I have not been able either to consult or to obtain the exact title of the Manifesto to which this is an answer.)
- “Replique.” The Roumanian Question in Transylvania and Hungary: Reply of the Roumanian students of Hungary. Vienna and Budapest, 1892. (An incredibly tactless production: but its greatest tactlessness is its truth.)
- Schwicker, J. H. Die nationalpolitische Ansprüche der Rumänen in Ungarn (*Westöstliche Rundschau*). Leipzig, 1894. (By a Magyarophil Saxon.)
- Der Dakoromanismus (*Oesterreichisch-ungarische Revue*, vol. xvi), 1894.
- *Slavici, J. Die Rumänen in Ungarn, Siebenbürgen und der Bukowina. Vienna, 1881. (Uncontroverted, but written from the Roumanian side.)
- Xenopol. Histoire des Roumains. 2 vols. Paris, 1894. (A standard work by a historian of the kingdom.)

(d) THE RUTHENES

- *Bidermann, H. L. Die Ungarischen Ruthenen. Innsbruck, 1862.
- Bergner, Rudolf. In der Marmaros. Munich, 1885 (travel sketches).
- Fiedler. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Union der Ruthenen in Nordungarn. (Sitzungsberichte phil.-histor. Abteilung. Akademie der Wissenschaften, xxxix. p. 510 sqq. Vienna.)
- Globus, vol. iv. p. 369, Die ungarischen Ruthenen.
- Joannicius Basilovits. Brevis notitia foundationis Theodori Koriatovits. Cassoviae (Kassa), 1799.
- Kupczanko, Gregor. Die Schicksale der Ruthenen. Leipzig, 1887.
- Meszáros, K. Magyarországi Oroszok Története (History of the Hungarian Ruthenes). Pest, 1850.
- *Pelesz. Geschichte der Union der ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom. 2 vols. Würzburg and Vienna, 1878-81.

(e) CROATIA

- Deák, F. Denkschrift über das Verhältniss zwischen Ungarn und Kroatien. Vienna, 1861.
- Horn, M. Le Compromis de 1868 entre la Hongrie et la Croatie. Paris, 1907. (Written from the Croatian standpoint, based on study of documents.)
- Horváth, Stephen. Ueber Croatien als eine durch Unterjochung erworbene ungarische Provinz des Kön. Ungarn wirklichen Theil. Leipzig, 1844.
- Hirtenfeld, Dr. J. Ban Jellačić. Vienna, 1861. (Biographical sketch.)
- Laveleye, Emile de. The Balkan Peninsula. Preface by W. E. Gladstone. London, 1886. (Contains interesting reminiscences of Bishop Strossmayer.)
- Leger, Louis. La Save, le Danube et le Balkan. Paris, 1884. (By a well-known authority on the Slavs.)
- Loiseau, Charles. La Hongrie et l'Opposition Croate (*Revue des 2 Mondes*, vol. cxxxi., pp. 101-29), 1895.
- Le Balkan Slave et la Crise Autrichienne. Paris, 1898.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Loiseau, Charles. *L'Equilibre Adriatique*. Paris, 1901. (Few foreigners have so intimate a knowledge of Croatian affairs as M. Loiseau.)
- Pesty, F. *Diê Entstehung Croatiens* (*Ungarische Revue*, vols. ii., iv., v.).
- *Pliverić, Joseph. *Beiträge zum ungarisch-kroatischen Bundesrechte*. Agram, 1886. (Indispensable.)
- *Das rechtliche Verhältniss Kroatiens zu Ungarn*. Agram, 1885. (A controversy with Professor Jellinek on points of constitutional law affecting Croatia. Important.)
- Szalay, Ladislaus von. *Zur ungarisch-kroatischen Frage*. Pest and Leipzig, 1863. (By a distinguished Magyar historian.)
- Wachsmuth, W. *Geschichte des Illyrismus*. Leipzig, 1849. (Written by a Magyarophil Croat; sentimental introduction by Wachsmuth.)

(f) THE SERBS

- Helfert, Baron J. A. von: *Vad Rác*. *Geschichte der süd-ungarischen Bewegung und Kämpfe gegen die Zumuthungen des Pan-Magyarismus*. Vienna, 1908. (From the *Oesterreichisches Jahrbuch*, 1907-8.)
- Kállay, Benjamin von. *Geschichte der Serben*. Trans. by J. H. Schwicker. Budapest, 1878. (As administrator of Bosnia, Baron Kállay made every effort to remove the traces of this brilliant product of his early days. But it remains the best general history of the Serbs.)
- *Picot. *Les Serbes de Hongrie*. Prague, 1873.
- Die serbische Bewegung in Südungarn*. Berlin, 1851. (Written neither from Austrian nor from Magyar, but solely from Serb standpoint.)
- Schwicker, J. H. *Politische Geschichte der Serben in Ungarn*. Budapest, 1880.
- Szentkláray, Jenő. *100 Years of the History of South Hungary* (from 1779). Budapest, 1880. (In Magyar. A work of wide research.)

(7) MISCELLANEOUS

- Acht Jahre Amtsleben in Ungarn, von einem k.k. Stuhlrichter in Disponibilität*. Leipzig, 1861.
- Andrássy Gyula, Gróf. *Beszédei* (Count Andrássy's speeches). Ed. by E. Lederer. 2 vols. Budapest, 1891-3.
- Apponyi Albert, Gróf. *Beszédei* (Count Apponyi's speeches, 1872-95). 2 vols. Budapest, 1897.
- Benkő. *Transsilvania*. 2 vols. Vienna, 1778.
- Beöthy, Ákos. *A Magyar Államiság Fejlődése Küzdelmei* (Struggles in the Development of the Magyar State). 3 vols. Budapest, 1906.
- Bertha, A. de. *La Hongrie Moderne*. Paris, 1897. (Very useful.)
- Beust, Count. *Memoirs*, ed. by Baron de Worms. 2 vols. London, 1887.
- Bunzel. *Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftspolitik Ungarns*. Leipzig, 1902.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Csengery, Anton. Franz Deák. Leipzig, 1877. (By his private secretary.)
- Czecz, J. Bems Feldzug in Siebenbürgen in den Jahren 1848 und 1849. Hamburg, 1850. (Idolizes Bem.)
- *Deák, Ferencz. Beszédei (Deák's Speeches), ed. by I. Kónyi. 6 vols. 1886-98. Budapest. (Of the greatest importance.)
- Levelek (1822-75). (Deák's Selected letters.) Budapest, 1890.
- Desprez, Hippolyte. Les Peuples de l'Autriche. 2 vols. Paris, 1850. (Not very deep.)
- Drage, Geoffrey. Report to Royal Commission of Labour (on Austria-Hungary). Foreign Reports, vol. xi. London, 1894.
- Drei Jahre Verfassungsstreit. Beiträge zur jüngsten Geschichte Oesterreichs, von einem Ungar. Leipzig, 1864.
- Durch welche Mittel lässt sich die Verbreitung der magyarischen Sprache unter den Einwohnern Ungarns am sichersten erzielen? Basel, 1834.
- Ebeling. Graf von Beust. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1870-1.
- Falk, Max. Széchenyi István Gróf és Kora (Count Széchenyi and his Time). Pest, 1868. (By the famous editor of the *Pester Lloyd*.)
- Gérando, A. de. De l'Esprit publique en Hongrie depuis la Révolution française. Paris, 1848. (In German also. By a Frenchman married to a Magyar wife.)
- La Transylvanie et ses Habitants. 2 vols. Paris, 1845.
- *Görgei, Arthur. Mein Leben und Wirken in Ungarn. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1852.
- Grünwald, Béla. Az új Magyarország (The New Hungary). Budapest, 1890.
- Hartig, Graf. Genesis der Revolution in Oesterreich (translated in vol. iv. of Coxe's House of Austria, Bohn's Library).
- Helfert, J. A. Baron von. Revision des ungarischen Ausgleichs. Vienna, 1876.
- *Irányi, Daniel, and Chassin. Histoire politique de la Révolution en Hongrie. 2 vols. Paris.
- Jászi, Oszkar. Az új Magyarország felé (Towards the New Hungary). Budapest, 1907. (On Socialism and its progress in Hungary.)
- Janotychk von Adlerstein. Archiv des ungarischen Ministeriums und Landesverteidigungs-Ausschusses. 3 vols. Altenburg, 1851. (Very anti-Magyar.)
- Klapka, Georg. Memoiren. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1850-1. (By the defender of Komárom.)
- *Kollár, Jan. Ueber die literarische Wechselseitigkeit zwischen den verschiedenen Stämmen und Mundarten der slawischen Nation. 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1844.
- Koloman von Tisza und der magyarische Chauvinismus. Leipzig, 1889.
- *Kossuth, Ludwig. Meine Schriften aus der Emigration. 3 vols. Pressburg, 1880-2.
- L'Europe, l'Autriche et la Hongrie. Brussels, 1859.
- Gesammelte Werke. 3 vols. Leipzig and Grimma, 1850. (Trans. by his secretary Zerffy.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Kossuth, Lajos. *Beszédei* (speeches). Ed by his son, Mr. Francis Kossuth, who as Minister of Commerce has omitted the worst anti-dynastic remarks.) Vol. xi. of the complete Magyar edition of his writings. Budapest, 1905.
- K., L. von. *Ungarns Wünsche*. Leipzig, 1843.
- La Hongrie politique et religieuse*. Brussels, 1860. (A pamphlet of a superior kind, directed against Germanization from Vienna.)
- Láng, Ludwig. *100 Jahre Zollpolitik*. Vienna and Leipzig, 1906. (A brilliant and readable study of economic history, with especial reference to the Dual Monarchy.)
- Leschka, Stephanus. *Elenchus Vocabulorum Europaeorum . . . etc.* Budaë, 1825.
- Marbeau, E. *Slaves et Teutons*. Paris, 1882.
- Maurice, C. E. *The Revolutionary Movement of 1848-9 in Italy, Austria-Hungary and Germany*. London, 1887. (Perhaps the best account in English.)
- Orosz. *Terra Incognita* (Notizen über Ungarn). Leipzig, 1835.
- Pulszky, Franz. *Meine Zeit, mein Leben*. 4 vols. Pressburg, 1880-3.
- Palacky, Franz. *Geschichte Böhmens*. 5 vols. Prag, 1843.
- *Gedenkblätter*. Prag, 1874.
- Pó, Imre. *A Magyar Nemzet Történetének új Alakulása* (The New Development of the History of the Magyar Nation). Budapest, 1906.
- Recouly, Raymond. *Le Pays Magyar*. Paris, 1903.
- *Šafařík, P. J. *Slavische Alterthümer*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1843. (An epoch-making book.)
- Sayous, Ed. *Histoire des Hongrois et de leur Littérature politique de 1790 à 1815*. Paris, 1872.
- Schlesinger, Max. *The War in Hungary, 1848-9*. Preface by Francis Pulszky. London, 1850.
- Siebenbürgen und die oesterreichische Regierung in den letzten vier Jahren*. Leipzig, 1865.
- Silbernagl. *Verfassung und gegenwärtiger Bestand sämtlicher Kirchen des Orients*. (Contains information hardly obtainable elsewhere.)
- Soll und kann die ungarische Sprache zur einzigen Geschäftssprache in Ungarn . . . gemacht werden? Pressburg, no date (previous to 1834).
- Stiles, W. H. *Austria in 1848-9*. 2 vols. New York, 1852. (By the American Minister in Vienna.)
- Széchenyi, Graf Stephan. *Fragment eines politischen Programmes*. Leipzig, 1847.
- *——— *Ein Blick auf den anonymen "Rückblick"*. London, 1859.
- *Munkái* (Complete Works). The first two vols. (Budapest, 1905) contain *Hitel* (Credit) *Stadium*, *A Kelet Népe* (The people of the East), etc.
- Szemere, B. *Batthyány, Görgei, Kossuth: politische Charakter-skizzen aus dem ungarischen Freiheitskrieg*. Hamburg, 1853. (Defends Batthyány and attacks the other two.)
- Szilágyi, Sándor. *Erdélyország története tekintettel mivelődésére* (History of Transylvania, with special reference to its culture). 2 vols. Pest, 1866.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Tisza, Graf Stephan. Ungarische Agrarpolitik. Leipzig, 1897.
- Urmössy. Tizenhét év Erdély történetéből (16 Years of Transylvania's History). Kolozsvár, 1887. Only the first part (1849-52) has appeared.
- Wesselényi Baron Nikolaus. Eine Stimme über die ungarische und slavische Nationalität. Leipzig, 1844.
- Der Winterfeldzug 1848-9. Vienna, 1851. (Inspired by Prince Windischgrätz.)
- PERIODICALS: For the "forties" see *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* (1817 onwards), *Jelenkor*, *Társalkodó*, *Athenæum*, *Hirnök*, *Pesti Hirlap*, *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*; for recent times, *Pester Lloyd*, *Budapesti Hirlap*, *Neue Freie Presse*, *Die Zeit*.
- Oesterreichisch-ungarische Revue*, *Ungarische Revue*, *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, *Rumänische Revue*, *Čechische Revue* (1906, etc.), *Preussische Jahrbücher*, *Unsere Zeit*, *Die Grenzboten*, *Westöstliche Revue*, *Questions Diplomatiques*, *Revue des deux Mondes*.
- See also Wurzbachs Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserreichs Oesterreich (60 vols, 1856-91).
- Schulthess. Europäischer Geschichtskalender, 1860, etc.
- Die Völker Oesterreich-Ungarns: ethnographische und kulturhistorische Schilderungen. 12 vols. Vienna, 1882.
- Die oesterreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild. 25 vols. Vienna, 1886 (beautifully illustrated).
- See also *Jahrbücher für slawische Literatur Kunst und Wissenschaft* (ed. Jordan). Leipzig, 1843, etc.
- Vierteljahrsschrift aus und für Ungarn* (ed. Henszlman). Leipzig, 1843, 1844.
- Literarische Berichte aus Ungarn* (ed. Hunfalvy). 1878, etc.
- Slavische Blätter*. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für die Gesamtinteressen des Slaventhums (ed. Lukšic). Vienna, 1865, etc.
- (8) BOOKS IN ENGLISH ON HUNGARY AND THE MAGYARS.
- Paget, John. Hungary and Transylvania. 2 vols. London, 1839. (An admirable book of travel.)
- Pardoe, Julia. The City of the Magyar. 3 vols. London, 1840. (Sentimental Reisbilder, very inaccurate.)
- Paton, A. A. Researches on the Danube and the Adriatic. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1861. (His strictures on Magyar racial policy might have been written to-day.)
- Boner, Charles. Transylvania: its products and its people. London, 1865. Far the best book of Transylvanian travel in any language. Very partial to the Saxons, who still quote it to-day as a standard work.
- *Patterson, Arthur J. The Magyars. 2 vols. London, 1869. An admirable book, based on intimate knowledge of the Magyars, to whose ideal side he does full justice; but of little use for a study of the racial question. On p. 2 he says, "I know little or nothing from personal acquaintance of the Slovak area on the north-east, or of the Croatians and Serbs along the southern frontier."
- Felbermann, Louis. Hungary and its People. London, 1892. Wholly unreliable, and in so far as the Slovaks are concerned, little short of libellous. On p. 210 we read, "Whilst the Magyars are now

BIBLIOGRAPHY

one of the most cultured and advanced races in Europe, there being scarcely a peasant who cannot read or write, the Slovaks, on the other hand, remain almost as ignorant as their ancestors were when Arpád conquered Hungary; and *therefore we must come to the conclusion that the Slavs are inferior to the Magyars.*"¹ He adds, "If we have to define the general character of the Slovak peasants, *we must describe them as ignorant and cowardly, so much so that a Magyar boy can often frighten a whole gang of Slovaks.*" Such assertions are unworthy of a serious writer, the more so as they are untrue.

Colquhoun, Archibald and Ethel. *The Whirlpool of Europe.* London, 1907.

Forster-Bovill, W. B. *Hungary and the Hungarians.* London, 1908.

SLOVAK MUSICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

(a) SLOVAK NATIVE COMPOSERS

Bulla and Lihovecký. *Sbierka slovenských štvospospevov pre mužske a miešané sbory* (Collection of Slovak Quartettes for male choirs and mixed Choirs). Turčiansky Svety Martin (Turócz St. Márton), 1901. 60 heller. Contains 18 popular songs, and renderings of the national songs "Hej Slováci" and "Bratislava, Bratislava."

Figuss, William. *Slovenské ľudové piesne* (Slovak Popular Songs). Prague (Kotrba). 5 crowns. All collected in Slatina, county of Zólyom.

Francisci, Miloslav. *Trávnice*.² Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1908. So far two parts have appeared, containing 100 songs each. 3 crowns each. Already in its 2nd ed.

*Lichard, Milan. 6 *vencov zo slovenských národných piesní složených v antických stupniciach*: pro miešaný sbor (6 Garlands of Slovak Folksongs, composed in the ancient keys: for mixed choirs). Turčiansky Sv. Martin. 1 crown.

Ruppeltdt, Karol. *Spevníček dvojhlasných slovenských piesni* (Slovak Songbook: duets). Ružomberk (Rózsahegy) (Salva). 60 heller. The little book, which is dedicated "to his brother teachers and the Slovak youth," contains 60 songs.

*Slovenské Spevy (Slovak Popular Songs). Turčiansky Sv. Martin. *The best collection.* Vol. i. contains 603 songs, vol. ii. 766, vol. iii. (incomplete) 475. 17 parts have already appeared.

*Schneider-Trnavský. *Sbierka národných slovenských piesni* (Collection of Slovak National Songs)—piano accompaniment. Published by the Slovak Society "Detvan" in Prague.

——— 3 Slovak Songs. Published in Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg) in Bohemia (Česká Hudba).

——— 10 Songs. Prague (Mojmir Urbánek).

¹ In reality, in 1900, only 51·4 p.c. of the population of Hungary (without Croatia) could read and write—61·2 p.c. of those over the age of 6 (*U. S. J.* xii. p. 353) and the percentage of alphabets is actually lower among the Slovaks than the Magyars!

² The word "trávnice" means the girls who mow grass and sing on their way to work: the word came gradually to mean all songs set to a slow tune in Alexandrine verses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Salva, Karol. Národní Spevník (National Songbook). Rózsáhegy, 1897.
- Škultéty, Joseph. Venec slovenských národních piesní (Garland of Slovak Popular Songs). Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1897.
- Teslik, Joseph. Slovenský ľudový spevník. Skalica (Szakolcza), 1904. (The last 3 are without the music.)

(b) BOHEMIAN AND MORAVIAN COMPOSERS

- Bartoníček, Edward. Smeš ze slovenských písní (Potpourri of Slovak Songs). Prague (F. A. Urbánek). 3 crowns.
- Slovenské spevy (Slovak Songs, 2nd potpourri). Moravská Ostrava (published by the author). 4 crowns.
- Bendl, Karel. Twelve Gipsy Songs. London (Novello). Czech and English text. Compositions for the poems of Adolf Heyduk the Czech poet, who studied Slovak and Gipsy life; they contain traces of Slovak melodies.
- *Dvořák, Antonín. Moravské Dvojpěvy (Moravian Echoes). Berlin (Simrock). 13 duets for soprano and alto, with piano accompaniments. The following are of Slovak origin: (1) Where blue the Danube flows; (8) Sweeter than the violet is my gentle maiden; (9) Let us sing to-day joyous roundelay; (10) Thrive and grow, thou comely grass.
- Čtyři Písne. Vier Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte. Berlin (Simrock), 1887. English words by Mrs. John Morgan, authorized by Dvořák. The first—Dobru noc (good-night)—is based on one of the most exquisite and popular of Slovak airs.
- The following other compositions of Dvořák have been published in London:—The Spirit Bride (ballad), St. Ludmila (oratorio), Missa solennis—all three for solo, choir and orchestra—and The Heirs of the White Mountain (hymn for choir and orchestra).
- Holain, Ludvík. Moravian Folksongs. Olmütz (Promberger). 13 parts.
- Hopp, Hippolyte. A Potpourri of the favourite Slovak songs of Jano Hudeček, for violoncello and piano. Hodonín (Göding).
- Šumena—a symphonic poem, based on the poem of the same name, by Smetana. Hurban. Hodonín.
- Hrazdina, M. Z lužů moravských (From Moravia's Meadows). Ostrava in Moravia. Contains 8 Slovak songs.
- *Janáček, Leoš. Moravská lidová poesie v písničkách (Moravian Popular Poetry). Contains 53 songs.
- Její Pastorkyná (opera text and music). Prag (Mojmir Urbánek), 1908. 15 crowns. Published at the expense of the "Club Přátel umění" in Brünn (Brno).
- Jávurek, Dr. Norbert. Moravian Folksongs, 1875.
- Kolár, Emil, and Vavra. Slovanské Melodie (Slav Melodies) Olmütz (Promberger).
- Kožušníček, Láda. Slovákcké Trojzpěvy (Slovak trios for male and female voices). Kutná Hora (Česka hudba).
- Kuba, Ludvík. Slovanstvo ve svých zpěvech (Slavdom in its Songs). Part iii. contains 143 Slovak songs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Musil, František. 20 Glees, based on motifs of Hungarian-Slovak national songs. Brunn (Benedictine Press). 5 crowns 20 heller. German text by Kirsch.
- *Novák, Vítězslav. Slovenské Spevy (15 Slovak Songs). Prague (Umělecká Beseda).
- 25 slovenských lidových písní (25 Slovak folksongs). Prague (Mojmir Urbánek). 2 crowns 50 heller.
- Ranoša (The Unfortunate).
- Nešťasná vojna (Unhappy War).
- Vražedny milý (The Lover as Murderer).
- Slovak Suite. For piano or orchestra. (All 4 published by M. Urbánek.)
- Novotný, V. J. 25 Slovak Songs for solo and piano. Prague (Kotrba).
- Polášek, J. N. Trávnice (25 Grass-songs). Rózshegy (Salva).
- Procházka, Ludevít. Z luhů slovenských (From Slovak Meadows). Prag (Starý).
- Sedlák, Rudolf. Our Songs—pocket edition of 50 favourite Moravian and Slovak songs. Bošovice in Moravia. 2 crowns.
- Zelinka, J. E. Na nivách slováckých (On Slovak Fields). Prague (Kotrba). 2 crowns. Here the melody is often freely invented by the composer.
- On Slovak literature, consult the following:—
- Schaffarik, Paul Joseph. Geschichte der slawischen Sprache und Literatur nach allen Mundarten. Ofen, 1826.
- Talvj (Mrs. Robinson, born Therese von Jacob). Historical View of the Languages and Literature of the Slavic Nations. New York and London, 1850.
- Geschichtliche Uebersicht der slavischen Sprache und Literatur. Leipzig, 1837.
- Czambel, Samu. Die slovakische Sprache und Literatur. (Die österr.-ungar. Monarchie in Wort und Bild. Ungarn, vol. v., pp. 434-50.)
- Vlček, Prof. Jaroslav. Dějiny Literatúry Slovenskej. Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1889.

INDEX

A

Abdul Kerim, 170
 Absolutism in Croatia, 415, 511
 Academy, Hungarian, 75-6, 187
 Acton, Lord, 392, 399
 Adalbert, Slovak Catholic Society of St., 277
 Address of Deák (1861), 119
 Administration, 150, 234-48
 Administrative officials, 292, 303
 Agitators?, are the non-Magyar leaders mere, 394
 Agram, see Zagreb
 Agrarian Socialism, 186, 275, 311, 318
 Agricultural Labourers Act, 195, 311
 — League, 280
 Albina Bank, 201, 287
 Alexinatz, battle of, 170
 Alföld, 180, 186, 203, 269
Allgemeine Zeitung, 79
 America, Slovaks in, 202, 384
 Andaházy, Mr., 341, 350
 Andrassy, Count Julius, 105, 136, 167, 170, 189, 347
 — Count Julius, jun., 152, 160, 193, 198, 203, 245, 250, 269, 272, 343
 — speech on Csernova, 343-4
 Andrew II., 5
 Anniversaries, forbidden, 289
 Antalfalva, see Kovačica
 Apponyi, Count George, 91
 — Count Albert, xvi, 127, 172, 176, 177, 178, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 199, 203, 225, 227, 232, 233, 273, 274, 487, 503
 — his opinion of the franchise, 273
 — his low opinion of Hungarian laws, 274
 — Education Acts, 227-33, 303
 Arad, 159, 172, 277, 278
 Arad, the "martyrs of," 105
 Arany, the poet, 39
 Archduke Charles Stephen, 232
 Architecture, Slovak village, 355

Armenians, Magyarized, 4
 Army, Joint, 177, 190
 — its use for electoral purposes, 255-6
 Arnulf, King, 17
 Árpád, 4
 Arsenius, Serb Patriarch, 34
 Art, Slovak Popular, 352-61
 Asiatic ideas in Hungary, 180
 Assemblies, County, 151, 235-6, 239-42
 — Communal, 152, 242, 248
 Assembly, right of, 281-4
 Assimilation, blood and fire the only effective means, 396, 399-401
 Association, right of, 157, 275-80
 Augsburg Confession, 29
 Ausgleich, 7, 37, 92, 119, 136, 137, 161, 163, 189, 200, 211, 239, 295, 406, 408
 — Croatian, 138, 195, 414, 510
 Austria, 173, 193
 Autonomy, Church, 155, 208, 233
 — racial, 399, 408, 409
 Avars, 15

B

Babes, Emil, 211, 212
 Bach, Alexander, 106, 108, 115, 141, 168, 237, 238
 — Joh. Sebastian, 375
 — Hussars, 238
 — System, 108-10, 117, 161, 237
 Bácska, the, 6, 34
 — Slovaks in, 34
 Balkans, situation in, 273, 412-418
 Ballplatz, the, xi., 418
 Balogh, Mr. Paul, statistical studies, 272, 396
 Balogy, Mr. Ernest, denies existence of non-Magyar culture, 393
 Ban of Croatia, 139, 414, 510
 Banat of Temesvár, 6, 94
 Banda Marczí, 387

INDEX

- Bánffy, Baron, 182, 184, 189, 190,
197, 223, 264, 280, 318
— no true Liberal, 275
— System, 184
Banks, Slovak and Roumanian, 201
Bar, Hungarian, 330
Barancsik, witness in Nyitra trial, 326
Baross, Gabriel, 176
Bárton, School Inspector, 165
Basil, St., 231
Batthyány, Count Louis, 93, 98, 101,
207
— Count Erwin, 312
Bayonets in Church, 322
Bazin 266, 284
Beckx, Father, 110
Beethoven, 388
Békéscsaba, 279, 364
Beksics, Gustav, 175
Bel, Matthew, 46
Bela IV, 22
Belcredi Ministry, 133
Belényes, 172, 215
Belgrad, 33, 113, 169, 184, 347, 403,
414
Bella, John Leopold, composer, 383,
388
Bem, General, protests against Mag-
yar excesses, 103
Benedek, 117, 134
Benedicti, 45
Beniczky, Mr., 333, 507
Beóthy, 94
Bernat, Michael, his will, 506
Bernolák, Anton, 47, 53
Berzeviczy School Commission, 226
Beust, Count, 134, 135
Bismarck, 134, 135, 171, 200
Bittó, 163
Björnson, Mr., 485, 487
"Black room," the, 354
Blaho, Dr. Paul, 285, 298
Blaj (Balázsfalva), 94, 289
Blasendorf, see Blaj
Bloodshed at elections, 255, 498
Blood Tribunal of Eperjes, 32
Blowitz, saying of, xvii
Boda, Dr., captain of police, 283
Bohemia, immigrants from, 25
Bohemian Grammar, 45
Bokányi, Mr., 282
Bosnia, 24, 27, 169, 215, 413-417, 512
Botto, John, 367
Boycotts, Church, 337
Bribery at elections, 263
— of a judge, 512
Brute force and historic right, 395-7
Bucarest, 113, 181, 184, 300, 347, 404
Budapest, 100, 135, 157, 170, 171,
190, 414
Budapesti Hírlap, 159, 173, 199, 220
Bulgaria, 413
Bulgars, 15
Burian, Baron, 414
Byzantine culture, 7
- ### C
- Camarilla, Court, 92
Candidates, arrest of electoral, 266,
284
Canvassing by officials, 258
Čaplovič, Mr., 321
Carpathians, 4, 15, 367
Catechism, Latin-Slovak, 45
Catholicism and Slovak language, 46
Cažapinovič, trial of, 169
Čech, Svatopluk, 388
Cellulose factory, 291
Chalupka, Samu, 130, 370
Chancellor, Hungarian, 92, 127, 426
Charles Robert, 23, 24
Charles the Great, 15
Charter, Free (1224), 5
Chauvinism in the forties, 41, 63
Chauvinists, Magyar, xix, 149, 169,
173, 179, 182, 197, 203, 220, 226,
271, 273
Cheben, Paul, sentenced in Hlinka
trial, 336
Chlopy Army Order, 191
Chorvats, 15
Christian Socialist Party, 346
Chudovszky, Mr. Géza, 318, 325, 334,
335, 347-9, 489
Church Autonomy, 155
— Laws, 178, 182
— modes, Slavonic, 372
Cilli, Count of, 25
Cisdanubian Synod, 72
Cithara Sanctorum, 46
Clericalism in Hungary, 177, 185
Coalition, Hungarian, as Opposition,
192; as Government, 195, 203,
227, 249, 263, 273, 294, 309, 313,
339, 412, 510
— Serbo-Croatian, 403, 510
Collective offences, 349
Committee on Question of Nationali-
ties (1861), 124-6, 421-4
Confessio Csengerina, Montana, Pen-
tapolitana, 29
Confiscation, 166
Congress of Nationalities, 182, 476
Congrua, 229

INDEX

Constitutional Party, 260
 Control, State, 229
 Convention with Roumania, Kosuth's, 114
 Corruption, Electoral, 168, 184, 190, 236, 249-73
 Corrupt Practices Act (1899), 263
 Corvinus, see Matthias
 Count, Saxon, 145
 County divisions, 234
 — government, 144, 239-42
 Couza, Alexander, 114, 181
 Criminal Code, 233, 319, 349
 Crisis of 1905, 191-2, 227
 Croatia, 7, 43, 92, 131, 137, 138-40, 147, 195, 234, 414, 417, 509-12
 — absolutism in, 415, 511
 — racial question in, 7, 43
 Croatian Ausgleich, 138, 195, 414, 509, 510
 Croats in Hungary, 12
 Crown of St. Stephen, 25, 34, 96, 139, 183, 184, 234, 412
 Csák, Matthew, 23
 Csáky, Count Albin, 221
 Cséke, electoral incident at, 266
 Csernova, massacre of, xiii, 312, 339-42, 484
 — trial, 347-51
 Csetnek, 31
 Csulik, Rev. J., trial of, 366
 Curia, Joseph II and Roman, 36
 Čvikota, Matthias, his will, 507
 Cyprus Convention, 417
 Cyril, St., 17, 231, 366
 Czepléd, societies dissolved in, 275
 Czechs, 44, 133, 186, 372, 401
 Czech influence on Slovaks, 25, 28, 44-6
 Czech Realists, 186

D

Dacia, Roman colonists of, 6
 Daco-Romanism, 181, 182, 402, 405
Daily News, xvi, 193
 Damjanich, renegade Serb, 102, 104
 Danubian Confederation, idea of, 115
 Darányi, Mr. Ignatius, 194, 203, 280
 Daxner, Stephen, 99, 101, 129
 Deák, Francis, 37, 40, 115, 119, 122, 126, 132-3, 135, 147, 161, 162, 163, 167, 200, 211, 212
 Deák Party, 163, 167, 203
 Debreczen, 33, 100, 104, 170, 323
 Dembinski, 100
 Denominations in Hungary, 205

Derer, Dr. J., 247
 Desewffy, Count Aurel, 41
 — jun., 267
 Diet of 1790-1, 37
 Diploma, the October, 117
 Diplomas, teachers', 230
 Dissidents, 189, 190
 Dissolution of Trade Unions, arbitrary, 279
 Distribution of seats, 253
 District Courts, 239
 Djundja, Slav goddess, 365
 Dobriansky, Adolf, 124
 Dobrowský, 44
 Doda, Gen. Trajan, 159; trial, 300
 Doležal's Slav Grammar, 47
 Domiciliary visits, 279, 288
 Dorian scales, 375
 Dual System, 34, 37, 118, 136, 192, 347, 406, 414
 Dugonics, Andrew, 54, 69
 Dunapataj, elections at, 266
 Dushan, Stephen, 19, 397, 413
 Dvořák, Antonin, 384, 388

E

Easter, assemblies at, 283
 — eggs, Slovak, 359
 Education, Hungarian, 156, 165, 171, 174, 205-233, 411
 — Primary, 207-10, 212
 — Acts of Count Apponyi, 227-33, 303, 502
 Educational statistics, 436-8
 "Election" in County Government, 243
 Electioneering tricks, 259
 Electoral Corruption, 168, 184, 190, 236, 249-73 (chapter xiii)
 — Freedom of Speech, 266, 283
 — Funds, 265
 — Reform, 272, 409-10
 — Statistics, 467-8
 Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, 25
 Embroideries, Slovak, 356, 361
 Emigration, 186, 201-2
 — statistics, 470
 Endrey, Mr. Julius, 498
 Eötvös, Baron Joseph, 124, 126, 147, 161, 163, 167, 207, 211, 237, 393;
 his tolerance, 126
 — Mr. Charles, 176, 264
 Eperjes, 32
 Equality, Racial, 125, 126, 141, 147;
 in Transylvania, 132, 161
 Erdély, Alexander, 318
 Essek, 184

INDEX

Eszterházy, Count M. J., xiv.
 Eugene, Prince, 6, 28, 33, 243
 Excesses in 1848, 103
 Executive, its influence on Judica-
 ture, 330
 Expulsions from school, 213

F

Fadejev, General Rostislav, 57
 Family Names, Magyarization of, 187,
 188, 291, 504-5
 Federalism, 118, 133, 406
 Fejérváry, Baron, 192, 194, 268, 310,
 511
 Felbermann, Mr., reckless statements
 of, 525-6
 Ferdinand V (I as Emperor), 73, 92,
 140, 206, 235
 Fines against non-Magyar Press, 297
 Firczák, Bishop, 220
 Fiscal, 240
 Fischer, Father, and Csernova, 340,
 348
 Fiume, 7
 — Resolution, 510
 Fleischmann, Maurice, trial of, 312
 "Flogging-bench Act," the, 311
 Foerster, Joseph B., composer, 385
 Folksongs, Slovak, 50, 372
 Franchise, County, 239, 241
 — Parliamentary, 168, 250-2
 Francisci, John, only Slovak High
 Sheriff, 122, 130, 163
 Francis I, 27, 235
 Francis Joseph, Emperor-King, 102,
 106, 117, 128, 132, 133, 192, 273,
 351, 417
 Frankfurt, Diet of (1848), 99
 French Revolution, 38, 126
 Friedjung, Dr. Heinrich, the historian,
 101, 104, 106, 514
 Fulla, Mrs., trial of, 347

G

Gaj, Louis, 43
 Galicia, 185
 Gasparčik, Mr., 214
 Geduly, Superintendent, 164
 Geography in school, 231
 George of Servia, Prince, 416
 George Podiebrad, 25
 Gepidæ, 17
 Gerhart, Paul, 46
 German free towns, 30-1
 Germanization, under Joseph II, 35,

38; under Bach, 109-11; under
 Schmerling, 120
 Germans in Hungary, 9, 20, 171, 185,
 399, 403
 — of Austria, 131, 137, 237
 German settlers in North Hungary,
 22, 30, 31
 German Theatre, 291
 Gernyeszeg, electoral incident at, 257
 Gerrymandering, 253
 Géza II, 21
 Gipsies in Hungary, 3, 374
 Girált, electoral incident at, 267
 Giskra of Brandys, 25
Gitrenka, 68
 Golden Bull, 33
 Goldis, Mr., 502
 Görgei, Arthur, 99, 100, 104, 105, 176
 Greek Catholics, 322, 402
 Greek Oriental Church, 105, 137, 155,
 322, 402
 Greguska, John, trial of, 308
 Grieg, Edward, 388
Gross-Oesterreich, xi., 301
 Grünfeld, Mr. Nathan, 307
 Grünwald, Béla, 98, 119, 128, 129,
 164, 166, 210, 220

H

Habsburg, House of, 136, 418, 407,
 418
 Habsburgs, Kossuth's deposition of,
 104
 Hattala, Martin, 80
 Haynau, Baron, 101, 110
 Hegemony, the Magyar, 147, 159, 162
Hej Slováci, 78, 130, 336, 390-1
 Helfert, Baron, the historian, 102
 Helfy, 149, 217
 Henszlman, 55
 Hentzi, General, 176
 Heretics, laws against, 28
 Hermannstadt, 5, 143, 144, 172, 244
 — Jury Court annulled, 296, 441
 Hieronymi, Mr. Charles, 179, 247, 278
 High Sheriff, office of, 153, 239, 241,
 258
Hirnök's scheme of Magyarization, 71
 Historic rights, brute force and,
 395-7
 History in Schools, 231
 Hlavaček, Michael, 68
 Hlinka, Father Andrew, 288, 305,
 309, 329, 332-9, 395; his trial,
 332-9; his speech in his own de-
 fence, 484-93
 Hluboka, 98, 290, 306

INDEX

Hodža, M. M., 74, 95, 99
 — Dr. Milan, 196, 262, 267, 343, 344, 377
 Hohenwart Ministry, 347
 Holló, Mr., and Hungarian tolerance, 304
 Hollý, John, 47
 Holuby, executed by Magyars (1848), 101
 Horia's revolt, 289
 Hrobařík, execution of, 101
 Hrussó, incident in, 324
 Hunfalvy, Paul, 87
 Hungarian Academy, 39, 86
 — institutions, their superficial resemblance to English, 274
 — liberty, vii., xx
 Hungary, polyglot nature of, 3
 — influence of geography on, 4
 Hunyády, John, 27, 30
 Hurban, J. M., 51, 81, 91, 97, 98, 100, 108, 124; his grave, 290, 306
 — Svetozár, 306, 307, 328, 362-3 (author of Chapter xix.), 454, 463, 464
 Hus, John, 19
 Hussites in Hungary, 27, 30, 47
 Hviezdoslav, Paul Országh, 370
 "Hyaenism in Hungary," 306

I

Illiterates in Hungary, 207, 251, 456
 Illyrism, and Gaj, 43
 "Incitement" against a denomination, 294, 323
 — against the Magyar nationality, 289, 294, 299, 300-1, 314, 336
 — against property or marriage, 294, 312
 — to class hatred, 229, 313, 314
 — direct and indirect, 294
 Independence, Party of, 173, 174, 191, 194
 Indreica, Avram, trial of, 303
 Innsbruck, 93, 140
 Inscriptions, non-Magyar, 286
 Interdependence of Austria and Hungary, 347
 Ipek, 7
 Ipolyi-Stummer, Bishop of Neusohl, 165
 Irányi, Daniel, 173, 176, 187, 195
 Irish Party, 278, 297
 Irredentists, 182
 Italians of Fiume, 3
 Ivánka, Dr. Milan, 196, 266
 Ize, incident of, 322

J

Jagellon, House of, 28
 Janáček, Leoš, 385
 Jancu's monument, 287
 Jansky incident, the, 176
 Jánošík the robber, 298, 367-8
 Jassy, 304
 Jászberény, 190
 Jehlička, Father, 196, 214, 262
 Jellačić, Baron, 93, 95, 99
 Jena, Slovaks at, 51
 Jesuits, 33, 46, 177
 Jeszenák, Baron, 72, 101
 Jews, 3, 173, 188, 205, 246, 252, 286, 331, 353
 Jókai, Maurice, 237, 389
 Joób, Mr., 283
 Joseph II, 36, 206; character, 35
 Jubilee of Emperor-King, 351
 Judicial Injustice, 314-30
 Julian, Cardinal, 25
 Junius, 310
 Juriga, Father F., 196, 214, 262, 305, 329
 Jurkovič, Mr. Dušan (author of Chapter xviii.), viii.
 Jury Courts, 172, 296, 307, 309
Jus resistendi, 243
 Justh, Mr. Julius, 343, 502
 Justice, Hungarian, 154, 170, 314-30

K

Kalksburg, Jesuits of, 177
 Kalnóky, Count, 167
 Kara George, 403
 Karánsebes, 159, 300
 Karlowitz, 94
 Károlyi, Count Stephen, 180
 Karpfen (Karpona), 31
 Katkoff, 57
 Kazinczy, Francis, 38
 Kemény, Baron Gabriel, 146
 Kerkápoly, Charles, 200
 Késmark, 50, 213
 Khuen Hedérváry, Count, 138, 191, 510
 Killing Time, the, 32
 Kindergarten Act, 221
 Kirchdrauf, 189, 350
 Kisfaludy, 39
 Klapka, General, 114, 115, 134
 Klausenburg, see Kolozsvár
 Kolisek, Father Alois, author of Chapter xx., B
 Kollár, John, 50, 51-7, 74, 130, 289, 363, 387, 401; celebration of his centenary forbidden, 289

INDEX

- Kolowrat, Count, 104
 Kolozsvár, 133, 140, 157, 172, 181
 — Jury Court of, 287, 296, 300-2
 Königgrätz, battle of, 119, 134, 135
Königsboden, Saxon, 5, 143-4, 240
 Koriatowicz, Theodore, 5
 Kossuth, Louis, vii., xi., 83, 87, 90,
 91, 98, 103, 104, 105, 168, 181,
 195, 220, 393, 395.
 — in exile, 113, 115, 177
 — and the Press, 40, 81
 — and the Croats, 45
 — and the Slovaks, 74
 — Slovak origin of, 49
 Kossuth, Mr. Francis, xvi., 192, 193,
 203, 269, 414, 510
 "Kossuth gallows," 101
 Kossuthists, 172, 176, 190, 269, 333
 Kosuty, village of, 49
 Kovačica incident and trial, 321
 "Kral" and "Király," 21
 Král, Jan, 98, 370
 Kralova hora, 367
 Kremnitz, mint at, 24
 Kremsier, 119
 Kristóffy, Mr. Joseph, xvi., 192, 193,
 203, 268, 271
 — his franchise bill, 268, 270
 Křižkovsky, Paul, composer, 385
 Kronstadt, 144, 288, 290
 Kulturkampf in Hungary, 178
 Kurimszky, Canon, 341, 350
 Kuzmány, Charles, 102, 106, 129

L

- Láb, trial of three peasants of, 329
 Ladányi, Rudolf, trial of, 311
 Lajos Komárom, incident at, 60
 Language of command, Magyar, 176,
 190
 — of Instruction, 216, 230-1, 432,
 437
 — "the national," 40, 69
 Lányi, Mr., 265
 Lascu, Demetrius, trial of, 303
 Latin language, 63
 Latkóczy, Emerich, 512
Laudatio Criminis, 287, 288, 304,
 328, 329
 Law of Nationalities, English trans-
 lation of, Appendix iii., pp. 429-33
 Leagues, Cultural, 180
 Legion, Hungarian, 115
 Legitimacy, 104
 Lehár, composer, 387
 Lel, Slav god of love, 365
 Lenau, Nicholas, 404

- Lengyel, Mr. Zoltán, 194
 Leopold I, 32, 34, 46, 397
 — II, 37, 136, 206, 235
 Leschka, Stephen, 47
 Letopis, 131, 383
 Leutschau (Löcse) gymnasium, 48,
 67, 68, 174, 213
 Liberalism, German, 137
 Liberal Party in Hungary, 167, 191,
 194, 332, 338, 510
 — its illiberal nature, 169, 173
 Lichard, Mr. Milan (author of Chap-
 ter xx., A), 383
 Linguistic laws, 42
 Linz Treaty of (1645), 30, 112
 Liptó St. Miklós, 95, 186, 265, 283,
 318, 367
 Liszt, Francis, 376
Literary Reciprocity of all Slavs, 55
 Local Government laws, 173
 Louis I, Emperor, 16
 — II, Emperor, 16
 — the Child, 17
 — the Great, of Hungary, 24, 415
 — II, of Hungary, 27
 Lucaciu, Father Basil, 302, 304, 502
 Lúčky, Church boycott at, 337
Ludové Noviny, 298, 309
 Lueger, Dr., 184
 Luther, 28
 Lutheran Church in Hungary, 29,
 71-4, 78, 111-3, 164, 321
 Lutheran Hymns, 375
 Lycée of Pressburg, 48

M

- Macaveiu, John, trial of, 300
Machtfrage, eine, 395, 480
 Macrea, Basil, trial of, 303
 Macsary, Alexander, 46
 Madách, 388
Magyar esprit de corps, 265
 "Magyar" and "Hungarian," 247,
 295, 412
 Magyar hegemony, the, 32, 87, 177,
 251, 258, 270
 Magyar invasion, the, 4, 18
 Magyarization, xx., 10, 40, 43, 57,
 Chapter v (59-89), 71, 113, 140,
 145, 150, 162, 174, 175, 180, 184,
 209, 214, 216, 339, 395
 — in the Church, 64, 321, 322, 440
 — in the Schools, Chapter xi.,
 437-8
 — in Praise of, 175
 — of family names, 187, 188,
 504-5

INDEX

- Magyarization of placenames, 189
 — an Utopian idea, 400
 Magyar language of command, 176
 — language, 38, 39, 40, 412;
 — knowledge of, 14, 151, 227, 400, 511
 — nationality, rise of, 36, 38-43
 — "national state," the, 183, 197,
 198, 199, 217, 223, 300, 399
 — town population, 13
 — Press, viii., 63, 73, 76, 84,
 151, 163, 297, 345, 351, 412
Magyarország and Magyarization, 71;
 and Scotus Viator, xiv.
 Mailáth, Count John, 61, 75
 — Count Joseph, 193
 "Mamelukes" of Tisza, 169, 176
 Maniu, Mr. Julius, 397
Manru, Paderewski's opera, 387
 March, battle of the, 19
 Maria Theresa, 36, 37, 206
 Maros, the river, 4, 254
 Maros-Vásárhely, 172, 296
 Marriage Act, Civil, 178
 Maršal, Gustav, trial of, 289
 Mary, Queen of Hungary, 26
 Masaryk, Professor, 186, 346
 "Masters in our own house," 345
 Matica Slovenská, 50, 130, 163, 166,
 275
 Matthias Corvinus, 25, 27, 287, 366
 Matthias II, 29
 Matuška, John, 78
 Maximovič, Dr., 213
 Meetings forbidden, political, 281, 282
 Melodies, Slovak Popular, 372-89
 Meltzl, Oskar von, 187
 Memorandum, Roumanian (1892),
 179, 180, 301
 — Slovak (1861), 120, 128,
 — Trial, 179, 301-2, 446, 472-4
 "Mercator," 151, 246
 Methodius, St., 17, 47, 231, 366
 Mezőfi, Mr., 249
 Mezőhegyes, 186
 Miava Communal assembly, "Pan-
 slavism" in, 248
 Michael Obrenovitch, 114, 181, 403
 Milan Obrenovitch, 169
 Miletič, Svetozár, 169, 170, 215, 403
 "Military Frontiers," the, 6
 Millenary, Magyar, 184, 223
 Ministerial Orders, 315
 Misappropriation, Railway Fund, 195
 Miskolcz, 100
 Mocsáry, Mr. Louis, xvii., 171, 174,
 217, 486, 488
 Modes, Church, 372
 Moga, General, 99
 Mohács, battle of (1526), 5, 27, 34, 136
 Moimir I and II, 16
 Molnár, Abbot, 333
 Mongol invasion, 5, 22
 Montenegro, 415
 Monuments, to King Matthias, 287;
 to Jancu, 287
 Moravia, Great, 16, 17
 Moravian Diet, 270, 408
 Morena, Slav goddess, 363
 Mosocz, 51, 289
 Motia, Father, trial of, 287
 Moyš, Father, 328
 Moyses, Bishop Stephen, 127, 128,
 164, 425-8
 M:štík, Czech art-critic, 358
 Mudroň, Dr. Paul, 183, 288, 481, 506
 Munkácsy (formerly Lieb), 187
 Muresianu, Andrew, 290
 Museum, Slovak National, 166, 356
- N
- Nagy-Enyed, 103
 Nagy-Röcze gymnasium, 129, 164
 Nagy-Szeben, see Hermannstadt
 Nagy Szombat (Tyrnau), 196
 Napoleon I, 177
 — III, 113
 Napoleonic Wars, 90, 206
Národné Noviny, 306, 316, 328;
 Press actions against, 463-5
 National feeling among Magyars, 36
 — Guards, 98, 100
 " — idiom," the, and Count Ap-
 ponyi, 232
 — Party, 172, 176, 178, 264
 Nationalities, Law of, xvii., xviii., 139,
 147-160, 161, 174, 183, 197, 213,
 245-48, 275, 315, 333
 — its violation, 147-160, 165, 171,
 183, 210, 315, 317
 — Congress of the, 182, 476-7
 — Party of, 195
 " — Section," the, 182, 190
 Nationality, Eötvös' definition of,
 393, 409
 — Kossuth and, 82, 83
 "Nations," the three, 140
 Németh's interpellation, 173
Nemzeti Ujság, 75
Népszava, xvi., 272, 279, 281, 312
 Nešvera, Joseph, 386
Neue Freie Presse, naïve comments of,
 266
 Neusatz, see Ujvidék
 Neusohl (Besztercebánya), 22, 28,
 31, 100, 127, 164

INDEX

- Nicholas I, Czar, 104
 Nikolics, George, and Serb language, 247
 Nikolsburg, 134
 Nitra, see Nyitra
 "Nobility, sandal," 235
 Nobles, "common," 42, 235
 — in German towns of North Hungary, 31
 Nógrád County ball, 70
 Notaries, 240, 246, 258
 Novák, Trajan, trial of, 312
 — Vitězslav, composer, 384, 386
 Nyitra, 16, 19, 100, 123, 257, 277, 496
 — trial, 325
- O
- Oath, teachers', 233
 Obert, Karl, 95
 October Diploma (1860), 117, 406
 Oedenburg Town Council, 14, 151
 Okolie, Slovak, 128
 Olay, Mr., 502
 Olmütz, 106
 Otto the Great, 18
 Outlook, 193
- P
- Paderewski, 387
 Pagan deities, Slav, 365
 Palacky, Francis, 133, 406
 Palatinal Council, 92, 109, 127, 206, 426
 Palkovič, George, 48, 77, 78
 Palmerston, 113
 Palugyay family, the, 490
 Pan-Austrians, 97, 115, 301, 406
 Pancsova, electoral incident at, 255
 Pan-Germans, xi., xiii., 403
 Pan-Magyars, 58, 336, 402
 Pannonia, 17
 Pan-Serbs, 403, 414
 Panslav Archduke, a, 232
 — Trial, a notorious, 331-6
 Panslavism, 56, 58, 59, 67, 97, 116, 153, 163, 164, 166, 167, 213, 214, 247, 268, 276, 283, 285, 289, 344, 403, 405
 — literary, 55-6, 401
 — schoolboy, 213
 Pap, George, 183
 — Stephen, 179
 Parliamentary Tolerance, 502-3
Partes subjectae, 184
 Pašič, Dr., 413
 Patacsics, Archbishop, 54
 Patent, February (1861), 118, 406
 Patriotism by Act of Parliament, 233, 295
 Pauliny-Tót, W., 163
 Pázmáneum, 214
 Pázmány, Cardinal, 29, 30
 Pazurik, Dean, 341, 348
 Peasant communities, Slovak, 353
 People's Party, 185, 319, 333
 Persecution, statistics of political, 309-10, 441-66
 Personal factor in Hungarian politics, 177
 — Union, 203
 Perun, Slav god of thunder, 365
Pesti Hirlap, 41, 71, 82, 393
 Peter, King of Servia, 416
 Petition, language of, 153; right of, 411
 Petitions, electoral, 260
 — Slovak, 73, 96, 121
 Petőfi, Alexander, 49, 187, 387; his Slovak origin, 49
 Petrovič, Mr., 196
 Photography, compulsory, 280
 Pietor, Ambrose, trial of, 328, 464
 — Milosch, condemned for his dead father's offence, 308
 Pivko, Mr., arrest of, 267
 Place names, Magyarization of, 189
 Pleska, Maxim, trial of, 323
 Plevna, 215
 Plural voting, 272
 Poetry, Slovak popular, 362-71
 Pogodin, Michael, 57
 Poland, 25
 Poles, 54, 137
 Polit, Dr. Michael, 166, 170, 183, 196, 215, 409, 502
 Political Persecution, 309-10, 441-66
 Pollakovic, Francis, 202, 321, 499-501
 Polling booths, situation of, 254
 Polónyi, Mr. Géza, 175, 194, 269, 294, 310, 510
 Pongrácz, 25
 Popovici, Mr. Aurel, 181, 301, 406, 444
 — Father John, 321
 Pop-Pacurar, trial of, 299, 441
 Poprád, 5, 364
 Posen, 400
 Post debit, withdrawal of, 298
 Pozsony, see Pressburg
 Pragmatic Sanction, 34, 136, 351
 Prague, 17, 50, 99
 Preisova, Gabriela, 385
 Press Law (1848), 293

INDEX

- Press, Liberty of the, in Hungary, 40, 81, 174, 293-6, 310, 313
 Pressburg, 4, 14, 48, 78, 99, 111, 189, 339
 —, Slovak Chair at, 48, 73, 77, 79
 — county assembly, "Panslavism" in, 247
 Protest of non-Magyar Committee (1898), 478-81
 Protestantism and Magyarization, 68
 Protestant Patent, 111-2, 117
 Protestants, persecution of, 32
 Proudhon's motto, 311
 Provisorium, 127, 131, 239
 Prussia, war with, 134
 Pulszky, Francis, 55, 85
- R
- Racial war in Hungary, 94, 101-4
Rácz (Serbs), 94, 397
 Radetzky, 92
 Radicals of Hungary, 163
 Railway Servants' Bill (1907), 195, 511
 — System of Hungary, 254
Rákóczy, Francis, 33, 34, 366
 — George, 30
Rákosi, Mr. Eugene, 220
Rákovszky, Mr. Stephen, 185, 204, 333, 339, 491; on electoral corruption, 266; offers to box Father Lucaciu's ears, 502
Rannicher, Deák and, 212
Rastislav, 16, 366
Ratio Educationis, 206
Rátkay, Mr., 503
Ratziu, Dr. John, 180, 301, 474
Rauch, Baron Levin, 138
 — Baron Paul, 403, 414, 511
 Reaction, Austrian, 131, 184, 256
 — in Hungary, 194-5, 199, 269
Realschulen, 171, 214
Redlich, Professor Joseph, 346
 Reform, minimum of electoral, 271-2, 409-10
 Reformation in Hungary, 26, 28, 29
 Regalist deputies, 132
Reichsrath, Austrian, 131, 184, 256, 346
Renner, Dr. Carl, 407, 408
 "Replique" Trial, 301, 328, 444
 "Reply," Roumanian, 181
 Repression, Magyar policy of, 204
Restauration, 109, 236
Révay, Baron, 122
 Revolution of 1848, 90, 93
Rieger, Ladislav, 133
Ritter, William, on Slovak music, 388
Rohonczy, Mr., 264
 Rolls, preparation of electoral, 257
 Rome, Hlinka's appeal to, 338-9
Roth, Stephan Ludwig, 95
 Roumania, Kingdom of, 181, 182, 215, 404, 415, 480
 Roumanians, 10, 94, 131, 132, 141, 142, 159, 161, 168, 183, 214, 220, 224, 233, 246, 286, 344, 393, 396, 480; origin of, 6; numbers 10
 Roumanian atrocities, 103
 — Cultural League, 181
 — Memorandum, 179, 301-2, 472
 — national colours, 288-9
 — National Party, 179; dissolution of, 278, 296, 301-2, 475; programme of, 470-1
 — officials, 317
 — Political Trials, 441-53
 — Press, 295, 309
 — Programme of 1905, 482
Rozgony, battle of (1321), 23
Rózsahegy, 100, 101, 331, 491
 — court of, 288, 327
Rudnay, Cardinal, 47
Rudnyánszky, Baron George, 260
Rudolf, Emperor, 29
 Russia, 169, 186
 Russian intervention (1849), 104
 Russification, 57, 88
 Russophil Slovaks, 185
Ruthenes, 5, 12, 159, 183, 322, 396, 401, 402
Ruyter, Admiral Van, 32
- S
- Šafařík*, P. J., 50, 80, 86, 363
Salistye, 328
Samo, 15
 "Sandal nobility," 235
Sandjak of Novibazar, 413
Sašinek, Francis, 163
Sava, Saint, 231, 413
Saxons, 5, 24, 131, 140, 143-6, 171, 244-5, 315
 Saxon autonomy, 143-6, 244-5
Schässburg, 143
Schintau, first printing press of Hungary, 45
Schlesinger, Max, reckless statements of, 102, 104
Schlick, Count, 100
Schmerling, Anton von, 118, 119, 120, 127, 131, 133, 141, 161, 168
Schmidt, Conrad, 143

INDEX

- Schneider-Trnavsky, Nicholas, 384
 Schwarzenberg, Prince Felix, 108, 110
 Schwechat, battle of (1848), 99
 Scitovsky, Primate, 118, 277
 Sennyey, Baron, 178, 215
 Senor, August, 245
 Separatist tendencies, 405
 Serb atrocities, alleged, 102
 — immigration, 34
 — Patriarch, 7, 322
 Serbo-Croatian Unity, problem of,
 413, 415
 Serbs, Independent, 511
 — in Hungary, 7, 12, 94, 114, 127,
 169, 183, 214, 215, 224, 231, 239,
 393, 396, 403, 413, 480
 — and Kossuth, 82
 Serfdom, 90
 Servia, 169, 403, 413, 415, her future,
 415-6, 480
 Sigismund, Emperor, 5
 Sillein, synod of, 29
 Šillinger, Father, 346
 Simunić, General, 99, 101
 Singing and politics, 377
 Skyčák, Mr. Francis, 285, 292
 Sladkovič, Andrew, 389
 Slav Congress in Prague, 99
 — Empire, possibility of, 18
 — influences in Hungary, 20, 26
 — liturgy, 17
 — music, 387
 — Olympus of Kollár, 54
 — origins, 15
 "Slava, The Daughter of," 52
 Slovak autonomy, mythical, 21
 — Banks, 201, 469
 — chairs, 73, 77, 78
 — dialects, 44, 130-1
 — folksongs, 50, 131
 — gymnasia, 157-8, 164-6, 213
 — hymns, 46
 — language, 44-5, 48, 68, 80
 — National Party, 333; its pro-
 gramme, 483
 — national costume, 356-7
 — nobility, 42, 86
 — numbers, 11, 12, 396, 401
 — petitions, 73, 96, 120-2, 128
 — Political Trials, 454-65
 — popular art, 352-61
 — popular melodies, 372-89
 — popular poetry, 362-71
 — Press, 60, 174, 202, 297, 306,
 466
 — Schools, Magyarization of, 437
 — Submissiveness, 33
 — theatricals, 291
 "Slovak nation, There is no," 60, 166
 Slovaks in Moravia, 11
 — in U.S.A., 202
Slovenský Obzor, 319
 Smetana, 385, 388
 Sobieski, John, 28
 Social Democratic Party, 283, 395
 Socialism, Agrarian, 186, 275, 311
 Socialists, 249, 269, 279, 310
 — meetings forbidden, 283
 — persecution of, 280, 311
 Somolický, I. Z., trials of, 307, 463
 Somssich, 134
 South Slav Kingdom, 414, 416
 "Special Services," 231
Spectator, controversies in the, xiv.
 "Springer, Rudolf," 407
 Šrobar, Dr. Vavro, 305, 333, 342
 Stadion, Count, 106
 Stadler, Archbishop, 413
 State aid and Patriotism, 439
 State control, 229
 Statistical Year Book, Hungarian,
 viii, 217, 434-40, 467-9, 470, 513
 Štefánek, Mr., 214
 Stephen, St., 19
 — racial tolerance, 21
 Stratimirovič, General, 403
 Strossmayer, Bishop, 510
 Štúr, Louis, 48, 51, 77, 78, 79, 95, 99,
 106
 — his linguistic reforms, 80
 Sturdza, Mr. Demeter, 181, 404
 Suciú, Mr., 277
 Suda, Stanislas, 386
 Suffrage, Universal, 96, 137, 183, 192,
 194, 203, 268, 270, 412, 417, 418,
 490
 Šulek, Slovak student, execution in
 1848, 101
 Svatopluk, 15, 16, 17, 19, 47, 69,
 366, 397
 Sviečeny, 109
 Swabian Settlers, 36
 Sydačoff, Bresnitz von, 498
 Sylvania, 364
 Systema Scholarum, 206
 Szabó, Mr. Coloman, 259, 494;
 — unique reasons for prohibiting a
 meeting, 282
 Szápáry, Count Julius, 177, 178
 Szatmár, 33, 275
 Szeberinyi, Superintendent, 74, 78
 Széchenyi, Count Stephen, 39, 91, 93,
 200, 293, 486, 493; and fair play,
 75
 Szeged, 191, 289, 339, 486
 Szekels, 5, 6, 94, 132, 140, 235, 252

INDEX

Széll, Mr. Coloman, xiii., 158, 176, 180, 190, 191, 193, 199, 263; his "pure elections," 190, 498; as Chauvinist, 199
 Szenicz, 101; election at, 259, 494-7
 Szepes, Alexander Párvy, Bishop of, 333, 337, 339, 346
 Szepes Váralja, see Kirchdrauf
 Szilágy Cseh, incident at, 255
 Szilágyi, Desiderius, 179, 189, 281
 Szlávý, Joseph, 163
 Szmrecsányi, Mr., 338
 Szólgabíró (executive official), 115, 152, 237, 240, 242, 245, 270
 Szontágh, Gustav, 70
 Szövetség, *Magyar*, 163

T

Talia requirit lingue nationalis dignitas, 61
 Tatra Mountains, 4, 321, 369
 "Tatra" Bank, 291
 Taxation Schedules, 246
 Teachers' diplomas, 230
 — salaries, 228
 Teleki, Count, 140
 Temesvár, 33, 93, 102, 312
 Temperance Leagues, dissolution of Slovak, 276
 Tendency hostile to the State, 225, 229, 230, 233, 295
 Thalmann, Gustav, 475
 Thun, Count Leo, and Slovaks, 85-7
 — and Protestants, 110, 207
 Thurzó, Count George, 30
Times, 193, 195
 Timon, Professor, and Slav influences, 20
 Tisza, Coloman, 124, 127, 139, 145, 149, 163, 166, 171, 172, 173, 182, 211, 215, 243, 245, 275, 393, 403; and corruption, 168
 — Count Stephen, 191, 192, 194, 198, 219, 265, 278, 332
 — "clique," 177, 191
 Tiszolcz, 98, 276
 Tököli, Emerich, aids Turks, 32
 Tolls, town, 31
 Torontál county, 276
Tót nem ember, 49, 59, 397
 Trade Unions, arbitrary dissolution of, 278-9
 Tranowský's Slovak hymns, 46
 Transylvania, 5, 24, 27, 103, 131, 140-6, 172, 181, 182, 201, 224, 234, 251, 295, 312, 404, 408
 —, union with Hungary, 92, 94, 132, 140-6, 179

Transylvanian Diet, 132, 133
 — franchise, 252, 257
 — Press law, 295
 Trefort, Augustus, 164, 171
 Trencsén, 23, 99, 186, 319
 "Trialism," 414
 Tribunals of Public Defence, 103
 Tricolours, Roumanian, 288
 Triple Alliance, 171
 Turks, 6, 27, 32, 33, 170, 366
 Turóc] St. Márton, 120, 122, 129, 130, 158, 164, 166, 183, 185, 285, 290, 333, 356
 Turzó, Gideon, trial of, 329
 Tyrnau University, 46, 47

U

Ugron, Mr. Gabriel, 176, 212, 264
 Ujvidék (Neusaatz), 162, 184, 212, 267, 403
 Uniate Church, 402
 Uniformity and Liberty, 399
 "Union or Death," 141
 Universal Suffrage, 96, 137, 192, 194, 203, 268, 270, 412, 417, 418, 490
 University, Saxon, 143, 146, 244-5, 295
 Uprka, Joseph, and his Art, 357-9

V

Vág, river, 19, 23, 100, 331
 Vaida, Dr. Alex., 196, 303, 502
 Vajan, Slav god of fire, 365
 Varna, battle of (1444), 27
 Varró, Joseph, trial of, 313
 Vay, Baron, 118
 Velká Paludza, church of, 360
 Verbó election, 261-2
 Veselovsky, Mr., 260, 320, 495
 Vice-Sheriff, 31, 240
 Vienna, 25, 135, 170, 171, 189
 Vienna, Congress of (1815), 39; siege of (1683), 32; Treaty of (1606), 29, 112
 "Viennese spectacles," xx.
 Világ, 41
 Világos, capitulation of, 105, 237
 Világsszabadság, press actions, 311
 Villafranca, Peace of, 115
 Virilist votes, 151, 239, 410
 Visontai, 188
Vitam et Sanguinem, 35
Vivat Sequens, 197
 Vladislav I, 25; II, 26
 Vlček, Professor, 186

INDEX

Voivody, Serb, 109
 Vörösmarty, the poet, 39
 Voting by public declaration, 259
 Vukovics, 102

W

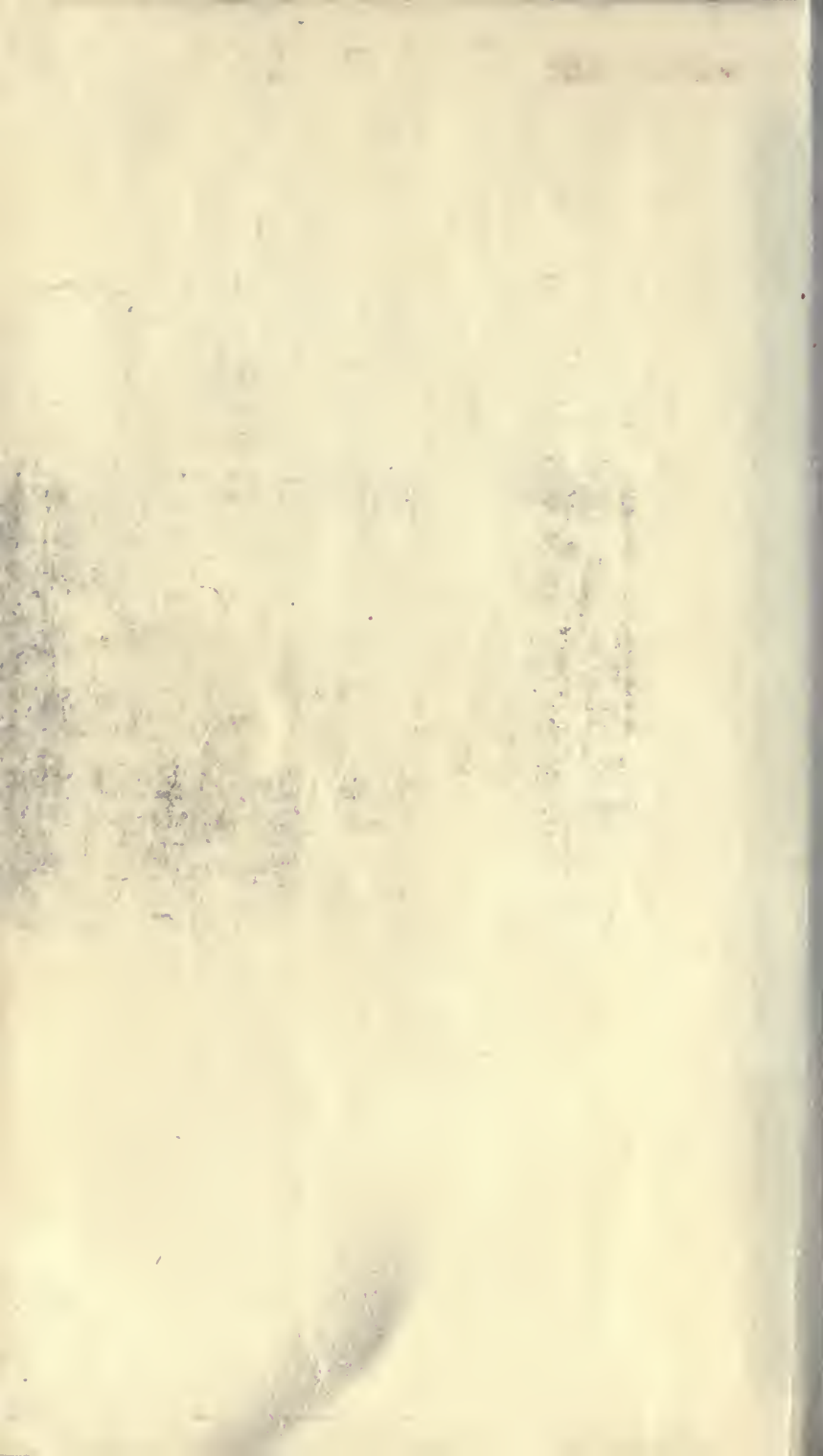
Wächter and the Saxons, 245
 Wages in Slovak districts, 491
 Wallach, "Stinking," 398
 Weiss, Dr. Julian, 193
 Weisskirchner, Dr., 346
 Wekerle, Dr. Alex., 153, 178, 182,
 193, 195, 197, 224, 269, 511; racial
 intolerance of both his Cabinets,
 278; his significant admission, 317
 Welsh, 21
 Wesselényi, Baron Nicholas, 77
 "White room," the, 355
 Who are respected in Hungary, How,
 51, 56-8
 & indischgrätz, Prince, 99, 100
 Wittenberg, Slovaks at, 28
 Wlassics, Dr., 219, 230
 Wolfe Tone, 287

Z

Zabojsky, Bishop of Zips, 129
 Zadruha (peasant communities), 353
 Zagreb, 139, 184, 403, 414, 415, 417,
 510
 Zapolya, John, 27
 Zaturecky's collection of proverbs,
 363
 Zay, Count Charles, 65, 71
 — and Magyarization, 66-7
 Zay's alternative, 89
 Zenghis Khan, 22
 Zichy, Count Aladar, 194, 333
 — Count Eugene, 104
 — Count Ferdinand, 185
 Zips towns, 22, 121
 Zižka, 24
 Zmok, Slav treasure god, 365
 Znio Váralja gymnasium, 129, 165
 Zólyom county, 164
 Zombor Town Council, Serb lan-
 guage in, 247
 Zrinyi, Count, 131
 Zsedényi, 113
 Zsilinsky, 166
 Zvonimir, 19, 397







BINDING SECT. JUN 10 1976

MAR 24 1988

SH. 18-3-88 -

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

University of Toronto Roberts

DB
919
S4

Seton-Watson, Robert William
Racial problems in Hungary

94

