NATIONALITIES IN HUNGARY

BY
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How I wish that I could widen the compass oj the Polity, so that it might stand firmer! It totters, it crumbles away, because it is incomplete, exclusive, unjust. Ij it were just it would be unshakable.

MICHELET.

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Instead of dividing the country according to the ethnographical majorities, it behoves to transform the *comitat* into an organ of common and democratic *self-government* of the different races. This *regime* will open the way for a Confederation of the Danube.—The first condi-

tion of existence for such a confederation is not to nurture an aggressive frame of mind against any of its members or neighbours.—The international situation of the monarchy and the future of Hungary depend in the first place upon the conception which will prevail with regard to the national minorities 199

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HISTORICAL FORE WORI)

Hungary was founded by the Hungarians or Magyars, ten centuries ago. Its frontiers have scarcely varied since. It. includes no province 1 *i annexed by force.*

Till 1526, Hungary was an independent kingdom. At that time, it was the victim of a Turkish invasion, and offered the Hungarian crown to the house of Habsburg, in order to obtain from that powerful dynasty support against Mussulman pressure.

Of Hungary — next to England the most, ancient constitutional kingdom in Europe — the Habsburg monarchs endeavoured to make a province subject to Austria. In resistance to those designs consists essentially the history of the Hungarians.

From the Congress of Vienna to 1848, the struggle against the tutelage imposed by the autocratic government of Vienna became particu-

larly close. The Hungarian Parliament, sitting at Pressburg, was the standard - bearer of liberalism in the Habsburg monarchy.

In the. momentous years 1848-49, the Hungarians, led by their great chief Kossuth, were at the head of the rising directed against the absolutist power of the House of Habsburg, which thene made use of its Slav subjects — bound up with the reactionary party owing to their political bias and out of admiration for the Tsar — to keep down the Hungarians. But they did not yield till overwhelmed by the armies of the Tzar Nicolas I.

From 1849 to 1867, the Austrian concuerrors strove hard, to make Hungary an Austrian province. Kossuth and the hungarian emigrants won under these circumstances the sympathies of the European democracies. Kossuth met with enthusiastic support in the United States. He conceived vast schemes. He planned, a general reconciliation of the Danube peoples, a union of Magyars, Yugo-Slavs, Rumanians and Tchechs, in order to overthrow the Austrian autocracy and set up in its place a Confederation of free and

equal peoples. Unfortunately, the ground lost, by democracy- on the continent of Europe after the 1848-49 republican and liberal upheavals, prevented the practical working out of his well-laid plans, the success of which might have staved off the dreadful catastrophe the world has just, witnessed.

However, in Hungary, Francis Deák was not unsuccessful in preparing a working agreement between his country and Austria, which was beginning to be gradually weakened by the failure attending her foreign policy. In the end Austria recognized in Hungary a State equal to herself. This system, known as the Compromise of 1867 showed two flaws: Bohemia remained a mere, province of Austria, and Croatia remained a « dominion » of Hungary. But, regarding the nationalities dwelling inside the limits of Hungary, wise Deák, fully acknowledging that the one lasting foundation (or political unity was that the feelings of the people and the governing will should concur, took care that perfect equality among the diverse Hungarian nationalities should be secured or them by law.

In those days, Hungary possessed the hearty sympathies of Anglo-Saxon public opinion, as much because of the. liberal spirit prevailing within her borders, as on account of the reserve shown in foreign policy. The military party in Vienna wished to drag the monarchy into eastern adventures on the side of Russia. The Hungarians opposed these designs and supported, the peace-policy of England. To circumvent, this resistance, the military party at Vienna and the aggressive Slavism from St. Petersburg stirred up nationalistic strife in Hungary. Unfortunately, in the ensuing forty years, Hungary contributed by her errors to those estrangements.

Restricted electoral rights put political power into the hands of a band of self-seeking politicians. The unfair distribution of landed property prevented the peasantry from acquiring any. The hardships arising from so faulty a system marked out the majority of the population as forming an inferior body among the citizens. Among the Hungarians dissatisfaction with these political and. economic iniquities vented itself in social disaffection. Among the Slavs and Rumanians

the same discontent found an outlet in race hatred.

The gang of politicians in power followed, blindly the behests of Vienna and. Berlin, on the understanding that they were, allowed every kind of misrule in the State on the substance of which they lived.?

I

In 191i those men surrendered the Hungarian people into the hands of the man-killers. A three-fold compulsion weighed upon the unlucky prey: that put forth by the military party in Berlin, that enforced by the authority in Vienna, that proceeding from the domination of a go-vernment which the discretionary war powers made, master over death and life alike. It was then that events confirmed the coarse utterance, of Bismarck: «When the emperor of Austria bids them, mount their horses, they will ride out».

The victory of the Entente rescues the Hun-garian people. But this liberation finds the nation, in a most parlous condition. Kossuth's idea: the substitution of a. complex of free and equal peo-ples for the system of compression and inequa-lities subsisting under the monarchy, may be

put into practice without the co-operation of the Hungarians. And, putting forward as a plea the very acts of injustice committed by the ancien régime *against the nationalities in the minority, the neighbours of Hungary would now commit fresh acts of injustice against the Hungarian people.*

Worse still: the removal of the unfair division of landed property, a reform which the former régime, did. not allow to be. undertaken in days of quiet, will have to be. effected on the morrow of a horrible war, as a consequence of a domestic revulsion and amid a universal crisis.

The dawn of day finds New Hungary in the throes of the gravest internal and international embarrassments. Hut she may recall the words of a deep French thinker: « We put our trust in the vitality of that Magyar people which has survived so many misfortunes, and which, whatever may happen, the politicians most, bent upon re-casting the map of the East, will have to take into account, so long as it remains faithful to its glorious motto: I prefer the risks of liberty to the stillness of servitude ».[1])

[1]) Léon Bourgeois. *La Hongric.* Paris, 1875. Publications of the « Conférence Tocqueville ».

PREFAOE
TO THE SECOND EDITION

The present essay was written, and partly edited, in 1917, with the aim of pleading the cause of the minor nationalities in Hungary. At that time, a project for transforming Hungary into a State of associated nations with equality of rights, as Deák proposed, would, have given general satisfaction. Events, however, have changed the aspect of things. Already, indeed, exaggerated pretensions are asserting themselves among legitimate demands for national restoration.

The author would only wish to dwell upon two particular aspects of the Hungarian question, one of which is of a positive, the other of a political and moral order.

Almost all the writers dealing with the subject have fallen into the same error. They would, base their projects of reorganisation merely upon the total number of individuals belonging to the diverse races inhabiting Hungary, a country actually composed of sixty-three counties

(«comitats»). These are by no means mere administrative districts, but deeply rooted organisms which hardly have undergone any change for centuries. The « comitat» is not to be considered, as the equivalent of the French « departement »; but rather of the Swiss « canton ». If, for international reasons, reforms wFre ever contemplated with regard to Switzerland, no one could, think of studying such a scheme without taking the « cantons » into consideration. In order, then, to obtain exact notions on the subject of Hungary it is unavoidable to examine in detail her ethnographical structure, that is: the « comitats ». By this method, clear notions of the complexity existing in the life of the numerous intermingled races may be arrived at. On the other hand, the consideration of mere columns of figures would but lead to abstract conclusions such as scholars are wont, to form, and the application of which would bring about an unjust state of things and consequent permanent unrest.

Hungary is then a mixed country with very sinuous ethnographical outlines, complicated moreover by numerous enclaves. While it may be an easy matter to restore, a province to the motherland from which it may have been severed, or for a homogeneous people to break a treaty binding it to a certain State, merely to enter a dif-

ferent bond, it must be. considered as a most delicate undertaking to create new statutes for an agglomeration of nations, the more thorny, indeed, if the State in question is in such peculiar conditions as those Hungary is in.

So, to make certain that the evil conditions prevailing in the Balkan peninsula, shall not be repeated in Hungary, and if a new order of things is to be arrived at. without sowing in the. meantime the seeds of future conflict, but in assuring to each, nation a liveable existence, it becomes necessary that the Great Powers — without, disregarding their debts to their allies — should maintain an equal balance in the midst of so many different peoples, and that the. latter as interested parties, should meet each other in a spirit of loyalty, and be ready to enter upon mutual concessions.

For the small nations in the. East, the choice is between anarchy and accommodation.

The. principle of free self-disposal for the peoples is now to be applied by a Humanity of ancient nationalistic education. It should not. be forgotten that there are still existing some old-fashioned representatives of chauvinism, who endeavour to give their covetousness a semblance of righteousness, but whose heart is haunted by one desire only, namely that of seeing the cudgel change hands.

We are hopeful that tendencies of a similar character, which would go far to make of the Peace Congress a second « Vienna Congress», will not be able to assert themselves, against the larger views held by the leaders of European politics, or, indeed, against, the moral elevation and the profound sense of realities that guide the decisions of the present leader of the great. American nation.

PREFACE
OF THE FIRST EDITION

There are three powers, according to C hamfort, that govern the world, viz: iron, gold and public opinion, In no lime was the ascendency of the latter greater than in our day. On the other hand, at no time was the nature of things submitted to so much distortion with a view to pleasing opinion. Among the errors thus made current, those which have been foisted into Austro-Hungarian history are most frequent and confusing. It would seem actually impossible to obtain a true picture of that monarchy without studying its organs singly and in detail, or to grasp the working of the whole without an acquaintance with all the parts of the engine. Hut the authors belonging to the several. nationalities struggling for predominance in that conglomerate of countries, have generally limited themselves to exposing the standpoint particular to the race of each.

.4.$■ to the foreigners, they were guided either by quite casual personal sympathies or else by

the temporarily prevailing interests of their own country. The very nature, moreover, of the subject bore in itself a great number of difficulties with which those authors had to grapple: Historical traditions, economical and social evolution, foreign politics and, finally, the moral atmosphere of the epoch; all of these no to make up the elements of questions of nationality which are of a particularly complex and unstable character. If, indeed, an enquiry on these delicate subjects is to be conducted so as to lead, to satisfactory results, it would not suffice to merely survey the facts, in order to disentangle the trend of events. On the contrary, it is necessary to trace effects back to their cause, to distinguish between subterfuge and real motives, and, especially, to penetrate the intimate relations that exist between forces of different order, and which may be either of a concording or of a conflicting nature. From all this there would accrue an inextricable task for even the ablest it they had merely visited those countries. For want of due preparation and leisure, humble detail, the very instrument of truth must evade their grasp to give room, instead, to preconceived, notions and hasty generalisations. We therefore, do consider it useful to draw up, as an impartial observer a general survey of the past and present history of the nationalities in Hungary.

CHAPTER I

Vienna and the spirit of centralisation.

At the conclusion of the Vienna Congress, the dominions of the Habsburgs extended from the pontifical territories to Russia, and from Switzerland to the frontiers of Turkey.

The second State of the Continent in relation to area and for the number of its inhabitants — Russia owning greater vastness, France being more thickly populated — the Austro-Hungarian monarchy occupied first rank, thanks to its international position and actual power. Its territorial conformation compelled the setting up of considerable armed forces. To collect these, and to freely dispose of them, the men who governed Austria after the Congress of Vienna, impressed by the French Revolution and the fall of the

ancien régime in France, opposed the new spirit. The council of Vienna became the mainstay of the authoritative principle in Europe.

For three centuries Vienna had been considered as the heart of civilisation within the Danubian regions. The pleasantness of private intercourse compensated the narrowness of public life in the capital. Thanks to the presence of the court and of the great institutions of the State, owing, also, to accumulated wealth, Vienna had become the centre of business and pleasure, the metropolis of the nations between the Rhine and Moldavia.

Ethnographical conditions and national traditions as well as local resistance had prevented the Habsburg Empire becoming a centralized monarchy, such as France or Prussia. Nevertheless, the men who gathered within the capital from the frontiers of the agglomerated countries of which Austria was formed, would ever become moulded on the same pattern during their time of service and devoted to the House of Habsburg. Drawn up around the sovereign at the seat of power, they concentrated their attention upon govern-

ment only. Their aim consisted mainly in closely binding the different countries into a homogeneous unity. It was none the less in the nature of things that the populations themselves should remain attached to their traditions and their past. The heads at Vienna would only view the general aspect of the whole; at home, the squires would follow their particularistic instincts exclusively. The chief care of the former was to avoid the splitting-up of the monarchy and to maintain it in the ranks of the great powers, while the others showed themselves disposed to such sacrifices only as would accord with the conditions of existence for their own native land. Europe, as a continent, was imperfectly known to one part of the inhabitants and their actions were dominated by the narrow sentiments of regionalism, or inspired by mere ambition coupled with the tenacious desire for national self-preservation. The others, versed in court matters and affairs of chancellery, would confine themselves within these circles, while remaining strangers to their own country and to their time.

The great families surrounding the throne, in

common with the Church, the Army and the civil servants, made up a most powerful governmental organism which accomplished everything that force and adroitness could achieve. The machinery worked. to perfection as long as it met with no other but provincial resistance. With the greater development, however, of public life, with the access to public functions increasingly gained at first by the middle classes and then by the labour elements, the reins of power slipped out of the hands of the centralistic potentates. The faith which they had put in an artificial concentration of mere material forces, their systematic ignoring of the weight of national energies, the obstinacy with which they clung to power, could but delay the satisfaction of particular aspirations, while compromising in the meantime the general interest. An «Austrian» nationality, in the same sense as one could have spoken of French nationality among the subjects of Louis XIV, existed only at Vienna, in the hereditary States and within the Alpine districts; in those parts only would love of country merge into devotion to the prince.

With all the other nationalities of the empire these sentiments were of a more complex and uncertain character. Traditions and affections would everywhere be jealously protected and brought forward. The greater the indifference • these were found to meet with, the more would the efforts for unification be resented and the more obdurate, and even hostile, would those peoples become in regard to the interests of the state as a whole. Thence the monarchy derived its occasional failings which, at times, took the appearance of deadly weakness. Not in vain, however, had blood, customs and destinies intermingled during three centuries. Under the pressure of common dangers, in the face of the grenadiers of Frederick or of the Napoleonic eagles, a vigorous solidarity took the place of antagonisms, prompted as it was by the dynastic sentiment and belief in the permanent utility of the ancient association. In such circumstances the sovereign appeared in the light of a shepherd to the peoples, around whom they would press during the storm. Thus the Habsburg Empire was by no means an object likely to encourage at-

tack from without. Herein, indeed, was to be found the keyword to the enigma which had struck the most sagacious of historians and was termed by him the secret of the history of the monarchy: its « inalterable capacity for reconstitution ». *)

The great Habsburgs of the eighteenth century knew how to nurture that instinct of solidarity, that readiness for mutual defence at supreme junctures. The century following benefited yet for a period from this historical fund. Two generations however sufficed to exhaust it. Under a government which strove witli stubbornness to arrest the course of the times, with a bureaucracy whose one preoccupation was the strict application of the centralizing principle besides the interested anxiety for the preservation of its own power, the nations began to affirm their individuality more and more and to shake the fetters impeding their progress. In consequence of this conflict, the efficiency of the Empire — though alleged to excuse the existence of the system — was found wanting at the moment European

[1]) Sorel. *L'Europe et la revolution frani'uise.* Paris, 1885. I. 463-

complications imposed upon it the most imperious exigencies. The internal crises which the prevailing governing methods had brought about, the debility caused by these crises and, finally, the reverses due to such weakness went to make up the whole history of the monarchy ever since the Congress of Vienna.

At the outset of the 19th century — not withstanding the utterances of authors who pass by in silence the facts disagreeing with the sentiment of the present day — Austria still disposed of strong bonds in the Balkans and even in Italy. The races prospering along its frontiers pushed their branches into the neighbouring lands. The ethnical composition of the empire might have become a magnet, inasmuch as to attract into its sphere the feeble groups beyond the borders, thus to amalgamate into one commonwealth all the *Danubian countries.*

The monarchy of the Habsburgs might have become on the continent, an United Kingdom. It is due to those who guided its destiny that this consummation failed to materialise, for they had refused to march forward. It was not a mere

combination of fortuitous circumstances that prevented Austria from reaching that goal; but she missed it owing to the ideas which generally prevailed in that country on matters of government.

CHAPTER II

Ancient Hungary. — Hungarian parliament, fountainhead of liberalism in the monarchy. The nationalities in ancient Hungary.

The main opposition against the concentration of power such as Vienna practised it arose from Bohemia and Hungary. Each of these countries had previously possessed a civilization of its own and known higher destinies. The Ottoman peril, as much as their own internal troubles, caused them to seek cover under the sceptre of Habsburg. The duel which was current in all Christendom between the central power and the single states, took in Austria the complexion of a war for independence. Nevertheless in each of those kingdoms it led to a different issue. Hungary gained for herself the appearances of a constitutional State and even preserved a certain amount of actual freedom. These advantages came to her

through her geographical position, but were mostly due to the vigilance with which the Hungarians watched over their ancient liberties and to the revolutions they had carried through in defence of these liberties and were due, finally, to the political state of things in Europe. The Bourbon rivals of Habsburg, came to the support of the Hungarians, openly at times, secretly at others, according to circumstances.

Hungary was, during two centuries, both client and instrument of the French monarchy, as were also Poland and Turkey. The long-standing connection of French and Hungarian politics ceased only on the establishment of an understanding between Versailles and Vienna. Hungary, after many storms, remained firmly set within the frame of the empire. The nation as such was disarmed, but nevertheless persevered in living its own life.

The foundations and the outward forms remained intact. The attempts at centralization. aggressive though they did appear at the start, giving rise to violent reactions, almost invariably dwindled into deferential, clandestine or caressing

methods of persuasion. While shunning direct encroachments, by degrees Vienna succeeded in bringing into its dependence the affairs of war, finance, commerce, in short, all the instruments of power. Three centuries after her decline, Hungary had thus preserved her *facade.* The articles of the constitution of the sovereign kingdom of Saint-Stephen still subsisted. Generation followed upon generation within this Sleeping palace, content to take for realities the texts of the written law. Thoroughly imbued with these abstractions, Austro-Hungary found in them its strength and none the less a source of weakness.

Under those provisions the Hungarians saw their public rights and civil liberties maintained. Seldom did those in power dare to interfere with the latter, while the former could never have entirely disappeared even had they done so in the rest of the continent. Whenever the Diet, i. e. the States General, failed to raise a solemn voice in defence of those liberties, there arose instead the murmur of the assemblies of the «comitats» (counties) which were at one and the same time the only executive organs of the State, the

instructors of the deputies, and the sanctuary of the public spirit.

Royalist republicans as the Hungarians were, somewhat after the English conception, they yet added to the tenacity with which Britons defend their rights the haughtiness proper to warrior tribes — vestige of a remote Asiatic origin — joined, moreover, to that force, and exaggeration perhaps, which inveterate ideas acquire in the course of centuries.

This cult of an ancient constitution was not however, symptomatic of antagonism towards the Habsburgján association. It was only in the hours of crisis and uttermost strain that tendencies of that kind could make themselves felt. It had, indeed, become a classical tradition in secret diplomacy to seek an understanding with the Magyar factions each time a foreign power quarrelled with the house of Austria. However, where Louis XIV had succeeded, Frederick, the Convention and Napoleon failed. Adrien Lézai, whom the latter had sent to Hungary on a mission of investigation (towards 1800), perceived with remarkable acuteness the reasons for such disappointments.

The following is his summary in respect of the Hungarian spirit:

«Hungary's chief complaint is not that of having been united, but rather of being ill-united, of being reckoned merely as an Austrian province after having been one of the Powers of Europe.

She suffers in her pride, her prosperity, in everything; but the kings too, in their turn, are losers through this. All that she might be worth to them in importance, can only be expected to count on the day when she will be governed from Buda. [1])

The laws promulgated by her parliament invariably manifested the intent that Hungary was by no means to be regarded as an imperial province, but as a separate State. «She is not subjected to any other nation — as one of those laws had it — she possesses her own titles to existence as well as a constitution of her own. » [2]) On this point all parties were constantly agreed. With regard to Hungarian liberty the Right (conservative) would

[1]) Chélard. *Napoléon el la Hongrie.* Revue Britannique, 7, VI.

[2]) Nnlli alteri populo ant regno obnoxium, habét propriam suain consistentiain atqne eonstitutionem. 1790, X.

ever constitute but a deferential Left, both disagreeing only inasmuch as the former would disapprove of any extension of the venerable chart, while the latter would advocate social reforms of great moment.

Parliament belonged to the nobility and the clergy, while the mandatories of forty-nine free cities disposed in common of one single voice. Nevertheless, a tribune was there available, the only one in the whole monarchy at that period.

The spirit animating that assembly corrected the drawbacks of its antiquated structure. That privileged order strove to elevate the liberties concentrated in their hands, to a state of civil freedom. The Hungarian parliament stood in the Habsburg empire as a pillar of liberalism.

In ancient Hungary political rights were the prerogatives of birth. But that society of nobles knew no privilege of race. It renewed itself through

a sort, of natural selection, receiving within its body any commoner who had distinguished himself in pursuits of war or in works of peace. Since the remotest times indeed, thousands of Germans, Slavs or Rumanians, plebeians or immigrants, would adopt the customs, often also the language, of Hungary, and become Hungarians in fact. The nationalist ideal, and all it carries with itself, was unknown. The foreigner, as well as the serf, of whatever origin, would emerge into a Hungarian nobleman in the same manner as the inhabitants of distant counties, on being attracted by the gleam of the city, would transform themselves into townsmen.

By this process, the stock of the nation became enriched with the flower of the surrounding peoples, as. indeed, was the case of most of the great commonwealths who all have owed their rise to a similarly happy intermixture. As a consequence of the spontaneous selection here alluded to, the races whom the Magyars had, on their advent, found inhabiting the soil of the kingdom, as well as those who immigrated at more recent periods.

continued to form a population of peasants and priests. The Croatians alone made an exception.

In the 12th century Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia had accepted the suzerainty and followed the fortunes of the Hungarian Kings. It is to this day a moot point forming the subject of sterile discussions between the Croatian and Magyar jurists whether the primary character of the bond has been that of a voluntary union of their two nationalities under the sceptre of one prince, or whether it had been a case of the stronger imposing his will upon the weaker.

Dalmatia, at all events, was incorporated with Austria in 1814. As to Croatia-Slavonia, it remained a dependency of Hungary, to the same extent, more or less, as is the case of the larger « dominions» of Britain to-day. A free state within its own borders, Croatia, politically, formed a single community with Hungary at least as far as relations with the other Habsburgian dominions and foreign countries were concerned. In electing the Croatian « banus » (vice-roy) it was the time-honoured custom that the sovereign

should make the appointment according to the proposal of the «palatine», i. e. the first dignitary of the Hungarian crown.

While the Croatians had thus constituted a nation for themselves, the other races inhabiting Hungary lived in dispersion within the kingdom: in some instances jealousy preserving ancient privileges, in others entirely merged among the rural multitudes.

Germans in the middle ages had descended from the regions of the upper Rhine to settle down in the towns as colonists, merchants, miners. etc. However, the descendants of those «guests», as they had been termed in the charts, went by the appellation of «Saxons».[1]) In Transylvania they formed a community of their own, with territories, privileges, with private customs and public traditions over which the centuries passed without diminishing in any way their identity.

[1]) In the eighteenth century, however, Austrian and Hessian agriculturists were made to colonize in the Hungarian plains. They were called * Swabians » (Schwaben) by the natives.

Northern or Upper-Hungary was the home of the Slovak. This branch of the Slavs had contributed of old to the constitution of Great Moravia. In the eleventh century, however, the Moravian Empire broke down and the Slovaks ceased to form a State; they could not even be said to constitute a separate province of Hungary. Without having marked out for themselves any particular territory, those honest and peaceful populations lived disseminated between and along the slopes of the northern chain of the Carpathian mountains.

The southern marches became the refuge of the racial fragments which the Turkish advance had dislodged from the Balkans. Ever since the 14th century, batches of Serbs would cross the Danube and settle dispersedly in groups within the Hungarian plain. Moreover, in 1691, answering an appeal of the emperor Leopold I, from thirtyfive to forty thousand Serbian families came to settle in Southern Hungary [1]) Religion

[1]) Further immigration in masses took place also at later periods, the latest of which was after the defeat of the Ser-

stood them in the stead of nationality and brought them, eastwardly, into contact with Russia. This very fidelity of the immigrants to the orthodox Church furnished the main elements of friction between them and Vienna in some instances and with the catholic Magyars and Croatians in others. The military virtues, however, of those schismatics obtained for them the protection, and even the favour, of the Vienna Council, who had it at heart to keep them in their dependence. The argument of the Council was that the territories inhabited by the Serbs bad been won back from the Turks by the imperial arms and had consequently become the patrimony of the House of Austria. The Hungarian parliament also refused to sanction a new political constitution within the Kingdom; the Serbs, on their part, insisted on clamouring for an autonomous organisation. The Hungarian state authorities, after many vicissitudes carried the day: While granting a less restricted religious freedom and civil rights to the

bian rebellion in Turkey in 1813, when eleven thousand families with a total of sixty three thousand souls entered Hungary·

orthodox, they obtained in 1792 the definitive return of «Illyrian affairs» to the Hungarian chancel ry. [1])

The term « Illyrians » was then applied to all adherents to the Greco-Oriental creed, the Serbians as well as the Ruthenians and Rumanians. Religion was the foundation of their private life and at that time their only moral preoccupation.

The Ruthenians or Ukranians inhabited some districts of the north-eastern Carpathians. In the south of those regions, in ancient Dacia, the Rumanians formed the most considerable part of the rural population. History has not. as yet, solved the question of their origin. Were they the descendants of the Roman colonists and of their barbarous subjects, or those of a tribe of Apulian herdsmen? It is a matter of fact that in the course of the centuries masses of Balkanic nomads and of elements which Turkey did not wish to retain for itself had been incorporated with those folks.

[1]) See: Picot. *Les Serbes de Hongric.* Prague, 1873. Valuable indications are to be found in this work, although the learned author cannot be said to have escaped certain prepossessions.

Magyar serfs who formed almost half of the rustic classes underwent the same fate as the peasants of an other origin. The relations of the landlord with his subjects varied only according to the customs prevailing in each region. [1])

There is no country in Europe where the human element has been exposed to more fluctuations, and where its definitive settlement has been accomplished later, than in Hungary. From 1526 to 1715 constant wars devastated the country. transforming the Danubian plain into a vast desert. The advance of the Turk caused the population of whole cantons to flee into the nor-

[1]) The first census taking into account the different races living within the Habsburg monarchy took place in 1851 after Hungary had but been incorporated with Austria; it was then simply a matter of establishing the total number of each race in the whole of the empire. Tt follows from Cziirnig's official book, c *Distribution of the Tribes of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy,* Vienna 1861 that at the time of the census of 1851 there were, approximately, in Hungary, including Croatia, out of a total population of 13.667,000 souls: 4,866,000 Magyars, 2,250,000 Rumanians, 1,7000,000 Slovaks, 1.300,000 Germans and 446,000 Serbians; besides. 450,000 Serbians and 1,329,000 Croatians in Croatia.

The statements contained in Czörnig's book are, however, subject to caution Since that epoch, the figures of the censuses are more and more employed to sustain the arguments of the fanatics. Every one tries to exaggerate the numbers of his own race to the detriment of the adversary, as though the scales of History could be influenced by such petty proceedings !

them Carpathian mountains and into Transylvania. At the re-establishment of peace those Magyar refugees would return to the plains. Slavs, Rumanians would leave their arid rocks to seek rich pastures. Colonists would also come from the Balkans, Austria, Germany, Italy and even from Lorraine. Their number is put down at. about 2 millions. In the course of the XVIIIth century Hungary was the theatre of a regular migration of peoples. Races were thus intermingled and interjoined by both hazard and time.

Herdsmen as well as tillers of the soil of whatever race would but concern themselves with winning their daily bread and following their creed. Often the latter would be interfered with: the landlord would try to impose his own religion upon the serfs. But never would their language nor their customs be interfered with. Agrarian troubles and rebellions were not, however, spared to the kingdom, their motives being mostly questions of creed, material want and general restiveness. Interested authors have not been slow in trying to give those vicissitudes the com-

plexion of national agitation. Krasinsky gave his judgment with more equity:

«The annals of Hungary, lie wrote, contain nothing about struggles of this nature and although the country had repeatedly undergone foreign conquest and interior commotions, partisan strife had ever been either political or religious in character; we have seen no outbreaks between the different races of which its population is composed [1]).»

The modern era brought a complete change. Everywhere the political and social aspirations were to take a national character.

[1]) Krasinsky. *Histoire religieuse des geuples slaves.* — Paris 1853-1862.

CHAPTER III.

Bohemia. — Awakening of the national spirit. — Pan-Slavism. — Rival influences of Russia, Austria and Turkey in the Balkans. — Social and religious reasons for the movement among the Slav and Rumanian serfs of Hungary. — The friendly attitude of ancient Hungarian society with reference to the nationalities, and its part in their intellectual development.

Whilst Hungary succeeded in resisting century-long assaults, Bohemia, which was more exposed, less extensive[1]) less powerful and less fortunate, was defeated in the memorable battle of the «White Mountain» in 1620. The large domains fell to the share of the partisans of the Habsburg family. The citizens emigrated and either became impoverished or were absorbed by

[1]) Hungary, together with Croatia-Slavonia, measured 322,000 square kilometers. (Croatia-Slavonia 43,000). The territory of Bohemia comprised 52,000 square kilometers, that of Moravia 22,000; and that part of Silesia which Austria kept after the Seven Years'War, 5,000 square kilometers.

the flood of German colonists. The victor subjected the kingdom to the regime of the hereditary States of Austria.

Soon after the close of the XVIIIth century, however, in Bohemia as well as in Hungary, language and literature took a remarkable development, The memory of the ancient grandeur was refreshed and everybody thought of the necessity of national restoration. The dissimilar conditions of the two countries, however, impressed upon this movement very different characters.

What really subsisted in Hungary continued in Bohemia but as a vague souvenir. Everything had been dissolved there, even the framework of the ancient kingdom of St. Wenceslaus.

Bohemia. Moravia and Silesia formed separate provinces with the same administration as the other Austrian provinces. As in the latter, the power of the monarch was illimited in those countries. The Estates were maintained simply for the sake of appearances.

The Tchech idea makes its appearance in those regions, so to speak, like a religious belief. A few

imaginative men revived it. They found disciples, some protectors among the aristocracy and faithful followers among the *bourgeoisie.* The initiators were what one calls bookworms, learned men with over-excited minds but lacking experience. «Modest scholars», wrote Mickiewicz, <i poor, laborious men who remind us of the self-denial of the Fathers of the Church; they love nationality as these holy men love religion. » *)

One third of the population of the kingdom, i. e. the majority of the *bourgeoisie,* were Germans. Those Tchech stimulators themselves came from the German universities and mixed the thoughts of their neighbours with the piously gathered debris of the national heritage. Germanic *bourgeois* and Tchech patriots agreed with each other like citizens of the same class brought up in separate mental spheres. They lived on friendly terms, for they had not to dispute with each other over their respective rights to a domination equally inaccessible to either of them.

[1]) *Les Slaves.* Cours professe an College de France, 1842-44. Paris, 1914. 23.

The Tchech movement seems essentially intellectual in its first stages. History and archaeology were its inspirers. These pointed out that all Slavs were descended from the same common origin; they proclaimed a very intense spiritual fraternity embracing the entire descendance. The past, embellished with striking colours, maintained the hope for a glorious future.

« God will show to the world great things by the Slavs and with the Slavs, » announced Dobrovsky in 1795. «The kingdom of Bohemia will become more and more important; Poland, which has been punished because it neglected its mother tongue, will revive again: the Russian empire will ‘ extend its boundaries as far as the Indian and Persians frontiers; the Slavs will reconquer their ancient territories. » [1])

This spirit of prophecy, whch we find already in the books of Dobrovsky in spite of his vast culture and great erudition acquired from the XVIIIth century, becomes still more general and more exalted with the romanticists.

[1]) Denis, *La Bohémé depute la Montague Blanche.* Paris, II. 65.

The Danubian plain is an immense necropolis of peoples. No sooner has one begun to dig the earth than one discovers remnants of human bones; no sooner has one dusted off tiie charts than one finds traces of ancient formations of States; even the names of mountains, rivers and villages are funereal monuments.

Each one of the races whose descendants lived between the Baltic and the Mediterranean Seas had its period of transitory hegemony over neighbours. Those souvenirs took for the Slav scholars the signification of title-deeds authorising them to claim integrally the primitive domain of their ancestors. They condemned what the progress of the centuries had constructed upon the ruins of the past. The universe seemed to them a thing which one might knead just as one liked to do. They announced a new partition of the world.

Those tendencies manifested themselves not only in the rich and cultivated country of Bohemia. One finds them in all fractions of peoples within the monarchy and even with regard to their brothers subject to the Ottoman Empire. The national revival appeared but like a first stage

to the generation which came into activity towards 1830. A kind of vague and nebulous schoolroom imperialism was grafted on the natural and legitimate wishes of Slav opinion. And above those dreams there floated a collective utopian scheme, i. e. the fantastic chimera of uniting all the branches of the race under the direction of the only Slav power constituted in Europe: — Russia.

The ancient city of Prague was the point upon which those aspirations were concentrated. The armies of the tsar had camped there during the Napoleonic wars. They were received in the most enthusiastic manner. After the. re-establishment of peace that city attracted scholars from all Slav quarters, some of whom had travelled during their studies as far as Kief or the monasteries of Mount Athos. Those doctors of Slavism displayed a lively activity in the domain of literature. They established intellectual relations between the western Slavs and their great sister in the East. They prepared the way forthat intellectual movement which formed itself round the gilded cupolas of Moscow.

A fervent interest in the small peoples of their own religion or blood persisted in the Russian world where preoccupations of the moral order play such a great part. Two distinct marks distinguished that ardour from the analogous feelings of the other big peoples: the support which that racial enthusiasm met with in the orthodox church, and the crusading spirit which it was able to place at the disposal of the ambitions of the Muscovite statesmen.

The latter were possessed of the traditional thirst for new territories which dated from the epoch of Peter the Great. The hazard of events stayed it in vain: all was useless. The names of Alexander and Constantine in the Romanof dynasty appeared as symbols of its perseverance in this systematic expansion which made of a country of secondary importance the most extensive empire on the Continent.

The religious, literary and sentimental action of the Greco-Slav world was a troublesome and

not always docile auxiliary of the chancelry of Petersburg. This propaganda reached the Slavs of Austria and Hungary even at an epoch when circumstances advised the Russian court to spare that of Vienna and when the former contented itself with exerting reserved and distant patronage over the orthodox subjects of the Habsburg dynasty.

« As I am the head of the Greek Church », wrote Catherine 11 to Joseph II, «it would be my duty to recommend to your Majesty the true followers of the Greek Church, but this is useless... 1 know your humanity. »

The disadvantages of the influence exercised by a foreign sovereign upon a certain part of her subjects had not escaped Maria Theresa. This emotion was renewed on the morrow of the Congress of Vienna when Alexander I. made a journey to Buda. It was feared, as the police reports of that time tell us, -that the presence of the Russian sovereign could excite beyond measure his Hungarian coreligionists. [1]) The Slav idea

[1]) Fournier. *Die Geliehnpolizei auf dem Wiener-Konoress.* Wien, 1913.

appears in the personality of that prince as a. strange mixture of old-fashioned chancelry fancies and sincere humanitarian desires. His successor Nicholas rejected all the subversive elements in the Slav idea. He suppressed the club of the « United Slavs » founded in 1825 with a view to organising a federation embracing the whole race. Nicholas did not content himself with gagging the enthusiasm of the Slavs. On hearing of the July revolution he ordered, in spite of his sympathy for France, any vessel hoisting the *tricolore* to be received with cannon-shots. Under his reign Russia became the European dungeon.

The Slav sentiment of those princes adapted itself to the ways of thinking of the day. A particular suggestion, however, dominated their thought. Lord Hervey, when travelling through Italy and having come near the sea where he was set across a lagoon, is reported to have dipped his finger in the water and to have exclaimed: «Ah! the water is salted, it is ours. » The same feeling prevailed in the hearts of the people at Petrograd for all that was of Slav blood or of orthodox religion.

During the reigns of Alexander and Nicholas the sacerdotal power and the spiritual patronage of the tsar constantly increased among the Slavs of the Habsburg empire owing to the credit and prestige of Russia. For some time still the two courts were united by the harmony of their principles and the necessities of the situation. Nature religion and policy, however, were preparing on the Danube, for use by the government of Petrograd, instruments pretty similar to those which it had employed so skilfully in Poland and so efficaciously in Turkey.

Constantinople, Petersburg and Vienna were exerting rival influences upon eastern Christians. The Sublime Porte there was ruler. Some time before, the tyranny of the landlords and the discontent of the lower classes of the population had facilitated Turkish conquest. «The Turks are kind to the peasant, they promise him liberty, »

wrote the king of Bosnia to the Pope in 1463. The chronicles report that Sultan Mourad ordered a janizary to be put to death because he had taken a bowl of milk away from a Serbian country-woman. In the course of the centuries, the Christian serfs of Walachia or Moldavia went, often, in search of a more pleasant life, to the infidel people, into the *Raya,* i. e. that military zone environing the Turkish frontier castles. Later on. this term was applied to all Christian serfs of the sultan. The manners and customs of that empire, however. underwent thorough modifications. From that time the term « Raya » became a synonym for miserable slave. The indulgence of Islam towards the humble helped that religion in establishing its reign in the Danubian principalities. At the epoch of its decadence the distress of the rural masses efficaciously contributed to put an end to its authority.

«If the year is good », stated a Bosnian Raya towards 1830, «we have no bread during four months; if the year is not good, we are without

[1]) Jorga. *History of the Rumanian People.* Gotha. 1905. II. 7.

bread during six, even seven months. And when « nizams » *) come into our country there is not even a nail left on our Avails to hang ourselves from.» « 1 should prefer becoming a Turk », observed one of the travellers, rather than see myself exposed to such misery. » To which the answer was: «Yes, our spahije[2]) have done that to be able to remain our masters. We, however, shall not betray our grand faith, we shall bear all for it like our ancestors until God have mercy upon us.[3])

All that belonged in the East to the orthodox rite was attached to Russia through the force of that religious ideal.

An ambassador reported to the senate of Venice as long ago as the end of the sixteenth century: « The sultan fears the Muscovite, for this

[1]) Irregular Turkish troops.

[2]) Landlords.

[3]) Tkalac. *Souvenirs de jeunesse d'un Croat e.* Revue Britannique. Paris, 1897, II, 215.

prince is orthodox; the peoples of Moldavia, Bulgaria and Morea are devoted to him because he too belongs to the Greek creed. And they are ready at any moment to take up arms in order to free themselves from the Turkish yoke. » [1])

With the increase of its power Russia became more the loadstar of those small peoples. Their chiefs, the priests, were the first who formulated the idea of Slav solidarity. « We do not. expect any help, except from God and mighty Russia, » wrote in 1756 the metropolitan of Montenegro. — And in 1814, after the failure of the revolt against Turkey, the Serbian notables wrote to the archpriest Nenadovic: « ...If you have no money, why do you not go on foot, begging your way through the country until you find the tsar? »

In 1774, the treaty of Koutchouk-Ka'inardj conferred upon the Russian government the right to watch over the interests of its co-religionists in Turkey. The common faith and hope for an efficacious patronage made of all the « rayas » clients of the Muscovite sovereign.

[1]) Hurmuzaki. *Documents concernant ihistoirc des Houma ins.* B nearest, 1890, III. 69.

The catholics of the Balkans looked upon the Habsburgs as their natural protectors. Besides, many other ties had been formed between that dynasty and the regions situated in the immediate vicinity of its patrimony. The hazard of war or treaties had brought its banners within these regions. The convention of Passarevic, concluded in 1718, won for the house of Habsburg the region called Small Walachia as well as northern Serbia with Belgrade. The peace concluded in this town, in 1739, to be sure, separated those provinces from Habsburg and confined it to its present frontiers. The military power of the dynasty continued nevertheless to exert a great attraction upon those warlike populations without any distinction of religion whatsoever.

Along the Ottoman frontier, from the Adriatic to the boundary of Russia, the Habsburg dynasty had established a chain of military colonies, permanent military stations after the manner of the Cossacks, which could be of service both in wars and in the case of internal troubles. With the

exception of certain districts inhabited by Siculians, a Magyar tribe in the East, these frontier guards were taken from among Croatians, Serbians and Rumanians; some, descended from ancestors who had fled from the Turks into Hungary, others autochthonous, all enjoying a better life than their kinsmen who remained rayas and with whom they kept in constant touch both through neighbourly feelings and through family relationship. These «confirms» were direct dependencies of the chief of the army; they constituted a seminary of officers who knew the language and the customs of their kith and kin in the Balkans. These folks received from the domains of ■the house of Habsburg every support and their arms; on Habsburg ground they found refuge when fortune favoured the Turk.

In « Liberated Serbia », by the poet Obradovic, which appeared at Vienna towards the end of the XVIIIth century, there is to be found a picture which represents Joseph 11 removing the fetters from Serbia. [1]) As a matter of fact the

[1]) V. Léger. .\ou celles etudes tdeices. Paris. 188G, 393.

Serbians for a long time placed their hope in Austria. On different occasions Kara-George, commander of the *rayas* who had risen against Turkey, made overtures to the court of Vienna. The geographical situation and the material preponderance of Austria seemed to counter-balance at certain times the religious and moral prestige of distant Russia.

But, while Russia practised in these countries an active and astute policy seconded by powerful natural currents, the Council of Vienna acted in Eastern matters on principles of excessive prudence. These consisted in preserving simultaneously most opposite interests: in safe-guarding the integrity of the Ottoman Empire; in cultivating friendship with Russia which had for principal object the destruction of that empire: and lastly, in increasing the sympathies for Austria among the Christian population, who were in constant strife with the Sublime Porte, without alienating the Turk. Such a trait of subtle prudence could succeed in other places and under other conditions. In the Balkans, at that time the battle field of half civilised peoples who were

excitable and particularly subject to illusions, this policy was not of a nature to assure an advantage to Austria in its intimate rivalry with Russia.

General Radetzky, who viewed things more clearly than the men of the Chancelry, wrote after the Peace of Adrianople: « Whatever they have gained in point of liberty and independence, Serbia, Moldavia and Walachia owe it to Russia. Whatever they still need for their complete emancipation they may expect only from the tzar. These three countries are bound indissolubly to Russia ». *)

The orthodox clergy was the great auxiliary of Muscovite advance. Besides, the printing of books in Cyrillic characters was considered at Vienna as a propaganda directed against the Roman Catholic church. [2]) This circumstance considerably increased the religious hold of Russia. The orthodox inhabitants of the Habsburg countries received

[1]) V. Beer. *Die orientalische Politik Oesterreichs.* Prague, 1883, 385.

[2]) It is only under Joseph II that the orthodox people obtained the permission to print books at Vienna and at Buda.

their liturgic books from Russia. Their priests were generally Russians at heart. From their pulpits they announced and celebrated the successes of the tsar's arms. Above all they brought to his service voluntary, assiduous and most eager agencies. [1])

The clergy exercised an unrestricted influence over these primitive peoples.

« My father », says protopope Nenadovic in his *Mémoires,*[2]) «placed me, when still young, into the hands of our priest so that he should teach me how to read. I commenced to spell out of a primer of Moscow in which the initial letters were

[1]) At the beginning of his career Kara-George, the commander of the Serbians against Turkey, wavered between Austria and Russia. But then already Stratimirovic, the Serbian Metropolitan of Hungary, conceived the idea of a Serbian State with a Grandduke as king. Archbishop Sangborski, one of the priests who had come to Buda with the suite of the grandduchess Alexandra Paulovna, wife of the Palatine of Hungary, served as intermediary to Stratimirovic. It may be noted here that the Court of St.-Petersburg received very coldly the overtures of the ambitious prelate.

Consult, concerning the role of Stratimirovic: *Compte-rendu de la société archéoloyiciue de Moscow,* 1868, reprinted by Kallay. *History of the Serbians.* Budapest, 1877, I. 467. (In Hungarian). Concerning Sangborski: Beer, Op. *cit.* 186. Grégoire Jakschitch, in his excellent work: *L'Europe et la resurrection de la Serbia,* Paris, 1907, has not taken into account these details.

[2]) Belgrade, 1867, translated by Louis Léger. *La Save, le Danube et les Balkans.* Paris, 1889, 123,

printed in red. The poor priest instructed me exactly as he had been instructed himself. At this time — it was at the end of the XVIIIth century

nobody in Serbia had any idea of what a school might be. Whoever wished to learn anything was obliged to go to the local priest or to the monastery. The poor pupils were kept at work or had to care for the horses; but they accepted voluntarily that fate in order to learn something. At that time there were with us no influential men but mayors, priests, monks and gendarmes. I thus learned how to read from the priest Stanoíé; 1 commenced to read the calendar. I knew by heart all the holy days. And the good women said to my mother: — You may certainly consider yourself happy, sister, in having so wise a son, who understands all the holy days, and keeps you from sin, which it is so easy to commit in working on forbidden days.»

A permanent chain of military posts formed the barrier between Turkish Serbia and the Habsburg territory. At gun-shot distance the posts kept guard in wooden huts built upon four posts, the «cardak». During the day

a sort of wooden gong served as a signal for alarm; at night, it was a bundle of straw dipped in pitch. In the rear of this military line there were the villages inhabited by the Serbians, who were subjects of the Christian prince, but as superstitiously devoted to their priests as their brothers in Turkey.

In (he course of the XVIIIth century, at the time of their wars against the Porte, Russia and Austria had armed these people and aroused their spirits. After the conclusion of peace the Serbians of Turkey continued on their own account the struggle against the hereditary enemy, sometimes openly, sometimes after the manner of the Chouans. Thanks to their heroic deeds, to the spell of poetry, and common religion, the pashalik (district) of Belgrade appeared to the Serbians of Hungary as a sort of legendary country, at the very moment that blood was being shed there and that famine raged; the humiliation of the Christians became a regular system with the Turks and the very bells of the churches were condemned to silence. [1]) All along, among the

[1]) Kanke. *Scrbien und die Türkei.* Leipzig, 1879, 32 and 226.

Serbian peasants of Hungary, every time that disagreements about taxes or fields degenerated into mutiny, the report was spread that Kara-George was about to place himself at their head, except when some priest announced the arrival of a Russian prince who would lead them as « a roaring lion ». « Come, brothers », said the leaders, «be united in religion and, by the cross, let us awaken the Serbian king who has been dead now these four hundred years. » [1])

During that time from beyond the Danube, the insurgent mountaineers of the pashalik cast greedy glances upon the prosperous cities, those storehouses of wheat, and arsenals, with supplies in abundance from the adjoining Hungarian provinces. There was here, so they imagined to themselves, sufficient ammunition and sufficient gold to expel the Turk and to penetrate even as far as Constantinople. Some isolated bands passed repeatedly into Hungary for the purpose of raising trouble. Or they arrived there attracted

[1]) Kallay. *History of the Serbian Revolution.* Budapest, 1909. (In Hungarian). II. 114 and 295.

thither by the rumour of some movement on the part of the peasants in the Marches.

These disturbances always had a religious character: they were directed against the « Romans » i. e. against the Magyars, the Germans, and the catholic minority of the Serbians.

While the Serbians in the Balkans at no time renounced their warlike traditions and endeavoured by means of such periodical revolts to obtain their own emancipation, Walachia and Moldavia, likewise vassal provinces of the Ottoman Empire, were being led downward under very different conditions.

These were provinces destined, so to say, for public sale, the prey of merchants or of adventurers who came most frequently from the *Phanar,* the Greek quarter of Stamboul. They exploited the country even up to the day when a higher bid or some palace intrigue incited the

Porte to send to Bucarest or to Jassy an emissary skilled« in the art. of cutting off the heads of the great». [1]) If the successor of the victim wanted to escape a similar fate, he had no choice but to oppress. The peasant neither could nor dared free himself from his misery. Any indication of welfare subjected him to the rigours of the collectors of imposts. A traveller in the XVIIIth century called the principalities « the Peru of the Greeks »,[2]) And indeed, the «hospodars» and their agents did not show any more mercy to the serfs than the « conquistadors » had shown to the natives. The situation of the country-people became worse from year to year. In 1819, according to the testimony of the Englishman Macmichall. the hovel of the Rumanian serfs appeared almost more miserable than the huts of their equals in Egypt or in Sicily. [3])

Moldavia and Walachia were bounded in the north by the Carpathians and reached in that

[1]) Xenopol. *Hisloire des Rouniains.* II. 257.

[2]) Raichewitch. *Osservazioni intorno la Valachia c la Moldavia.* Napoli, 1788, 164.

[3]) Macmichall. William. *Journey from Moscow to Constan· tinople.* London. 1819, 105.

direction as far as Transylvania. This great mountain citadel which dominates the Magyar plain, was since time immemorial an integral part of the kingdom of St. Stephen. However, in 1541, when the sultan incorporated into the Ottoman Empire those pieces of Hungary which he had just conquered, he made of the province of Transylvania a separate duchy under the sovereignty of the Porte. While the emperor and the sultan were in arms against each other for the possession of Hungary, the duke of Transylvania became the « roi de Bourges » of the Magyars, and his duchy the last asylum of their liberty. To maintain Transylvania was one of the pivots of French policy in the East from the time of Francis I to Louis XIVth. At the end of the XVIIIth century, Emperor Leopold resumed possession of this country alleging his title of king of Hungary. He called it «the most ancient member of Hungary ». However, he refrained from joining to Hungary this centre of permanent resistance against his authority. In consequence thereof Transylvania continued to possess a distinct government. But common traditions, man-

ners, customs and interests maintained its moral unity with Hungary.

Rumanians formed a considerable part of the rural population of Transylvania and adjoining regions of Hungary. Philologists and ethnographers, however, have not succeeded yet in solving the question of the origins of this people[1]). But there is not the least doubt that its manners and customs presented the essential features of those nomadic herdsmen who yielded only slowly and with extreme reluctance to the necessity of a settled life[2]). Some preferred to lead an old-fashioned but free life in the high valleys of the Carpathians; others, attracted by the enticements of an easier life, established themselves in the plain and became serfs. The Rumanians were schismatic. Their « Kenez », i. e. bailiffs constituted a'noble caste which became in course of time Catholic and Hungarian.

All the sovereigns of Hungary — without ex-

[1]) Concerning this controversy consult Auerbach. *Les races et les nationalités d'Autriche-Hongrie,* Paris, 1893. And Pittard, La Roumanie. Paris, 1917, 23.

2) The Rumanian language knows no ancient expression for the idea of large accumulations of people. See Jorga. *Op, rit.* T. 198.

cepting Mathias Corvinus who was descended from those bailiffs — saw themselves obliged to issue severe orders against the Rumanians who, being of an unsettled and vagabond character, constituted a permanent danger for the herds, the cultivated fields and for the habitations of the other races in Transylvania, mostly consisting of farmers with a settled residence. Neither centuries nor laws succeeded in suppressing the hereditary liking of these herdsmen for a nomadic life. Sometimes they came down from the Carpathians towards the plains of Moldavia or Walachia, sometimes they abandoned the Principalities and directed themselves towards Transylvania. Its laws considered them as foreigners. The statutes recognised three privileged classes they were called «nations» and possessed each a territory of its own —, i. e. Magyars, Saxons, and Siculians (Szeklers). There where four religions enjoying equal rights: the catholic, lutheran, calvinist and socinian creeds. As to the Rumanians, the Constitution declared with reference to them: « Although the Walachian nation does not form part of the Estates, it is nevertheless

tolerated for the advantage of the kingdom ». As late as 1732, bishop Innocent Klein addressed a petition to the court demanding that the Rumanians be not treated like foreigners, but as true children of the country.

The orthodox faith ruled over the whole life of this people. « This sect has the blindest faith in its priests —, so wrote a traveller —, it would follow that faith even to fanaticism. [1]) The orthodox clergy vegetated in a state of ignorance almost as great as that of their parishioners. In vain did the Estates forbid « Walachian serfs without instruction » to be ordained as priests; a kind of ecclesiastic proletariat imperceptibly formed itself which was incapable of educating the peasant, but lived at his expense and increased the burden which his subjection imposed on him. Even as late as under the reign of Joseph II. there was seldom a man in the lower clergy capable of writing.

Religion and nationality seemed to this people so identical that one always tried to win it by

[1]) Guibert. *Journal d'un voyage fait en Allém agne en 1773.* Paris, 1803, IT. 77.

means of the former. For this purpose the protestant sovereigns of Transylvania took into consideration the fusion of Calvinism with the orthodox creed. For the very same reasons the Habsburg dynasty undertook a vast action with a view to converting their orthodox subjects to the Roman church. The year 1697 brought the conversion of great masses. The Rumanians of Hungary and Transylvania were divided between two churches: the Greek catholic or uniate. and the Greek oriental church.

This conversion, however, was but an apparent one for many adherents of the uniate church. Some of them, supported by the orthodox clergy of the neighbouring countries, emigrated to Russia; others remained at home, but returned to the faith of their ancestors. As in previous times an important section of the subjects of the Habsburg family directed their looks towards the cross of Byzantium.

Vienna, however, possessed a powerful means for the purpose of drawing those populations to itself. Military service represented in the eyes of those peasants liberation from serfdom.

When, in 1763, the first frontier-regiments were organised in Transylvania, the peasants came in great masses in order to enlist as soldiers. But that levy ended in a tragic way. No sooner had the colonel pronounced the traditional form of the oath, i. e. that the soldiers would faithfully serve the emperor by water and by land, than the conscripts threw away their guns and declared that they would not go on the water. A serious rebellion was the result. The leaders died on the wheel. [1]) At the end of the XVIIIth century about one third of the Rumanians of Transylvania were enlisted as soldiers of permanent regiments and derived material advantages therefrom. But the mentality which their Austrian officers inculcated upon them increased the social and religious animosity they felt against their Hungarian masters.

This animosity and the spread among the people of belief in the secret assent of the sovereign to their cause called forth that bloody uprising of the peasants known under the name of «the revolt

[1]) Janeso. *History and Actual State of the national Rumanian aspirations.* Budapest, 1896, I. 795. (In Hungarian).

of Hora ». In several towns the rebels proclaimed that, according to the will of God and Emperor, whosoever should refuse to adopt the orthodox religion and to put on the costume of the peasants was to be impaled before his house.

This rebellion met with a bloody end. In course of time attempts were made to ameliorate somewhat the condition of the labouring classes without, however, eliminating the initial causes of those troubles: serfdom, lack of instruction and religious fanaticism.

Doubtless language and religion isolated the masses of the Rumanian people from the remaining population and the aristocracy; those masses, owing to their atavistic instincts of herdsmen, supported serfdom less patiently than other races long accustomed to a settled and sedentary life. In the eyes of the Rumanian of Transylvania, who was used to stay in his native country, Moldavia and Walachia represented large refuges to. which he withdrew owing to his migratory instinct or in the hope of finding there better conditions of life. Nevertheless, he found in these regions much heavier burdens than those to which

he had been accustomed in his own country. In Transylvania he had been a serf subject to a rigorous and often unjust social discipline, but in the principalities he was nothing short of a slave.

If on the one hand social and religious reasons often caused dissensions and sometimes even serious collisions between the petty people of the Marches and Magyar authorities, yet the nobility, and at the beginning even the rising *bourgeoisie,* in these regions gave their preference to constitutional Hungary. Very patriotic Croatian families in Croatia itself sent their sons to Hungary for the purpose of completing their studies there. *) The Serbian or Rumanian gentry associated with the nobility of the « comitats» (counties). The clergy, the merchants, and the rare representatives of the liberal professions composing the middle classes of those peoples found a

[1]) Tkalae. Op. *cit.* I. 95.

sure refuge in the kingdom at a time when misery, insecurity and perfect lack of any intellectual movement whatsoever waited for them in Serbia or in Moldavia and Walachia. Here were principalities destined, so to say, for public sale, with Greek as the language of their exploiters, and the Rumanian language confined to the people exhausted by exactions; revolts, repressions and civil wars unceasingly alternating with one another. In Hungary, peace, prosperity, traditions of classical instruction, a form of worship originating from the ancient national civilisation, a movement of ideas which was doubtless not of a nature to spread its light as far as the West but vast enough to be able to make its influence felt upon these primitive and only half-educated peoples. With that, the Hungarian nobleman who protected the *belles-lettres,* the scholar who cultivated them, considered the language and manners of the Serbian, Rumanian and Slovak somewhat in the same way as enlightened, intelligent men consider local literature and customs. They took a sympathetic interest in all that.

It was at Pest that the Slovak savant Safarik

and some Serbian authors founded the literary society *Matica Sprska,* i. e. the queen of the Serbian bees. [1]) Rumanian language and literature had their first development in Transylvania. Calvinistic Magyar princes substituted the Rumanian liturgy for the liturgy of the Orthodox, written and recited in the old Slav tongue. It was they who ordered the priests to teach the people in their own language. When, at the beginning of the XIXth century, the personal animosity of the uniate bishop of Transylvania deprived the « Basilite » Sinkai of his post of inspector of the primary schools, this founder of Rumanian history was hospitably received by a Hungarian magnate. It was in the house of this man that he finished his works in which he expresses his gratitude to his host. The first Rumanian savants were Transylvanian priests and professors. They took for models their Hungarian colleagues with whom they entertained cordial relations. They imitated these Hungarians' worship of the past, their zeal for educating their people, but also they

[1]) See Picot. *Op. cit.* II, 195.

copied the excesses of their imagination as well as their exaggerated romanticism.

Hungary was the cradle of the literature and the national spirit of the Serbians as well as of the Rumanians. Even the Slavs of Austria made the best of these fortunate circumstances. At Pressburg, which, till 1848, saw the coronation of the kings of Hungary, and was the seat of her Parliament, Slav studies were always welcomed. The protestant lyceum of this town possessed from 1803 a faculty of Tchecho-slovak literature. Palacky and Kollar — to mention only the most illustrious names — had received their instruction at that college.

Tchech and Slovak are allied but by no means analogous languages. When the Hussites of Bohemia introduced protestantism among the populations of Upper Hungary, the protestant Slovaks made of the Tchech dialect their ecclesiastic language. In the same regions the clergy and catholic aristocracy encouraged, for religious motives and at a very early date, the language of the people, i. e. Slovak.

The Tchech revival attracted numerous Slovaks

to Prague. The latter produced excellent writers of Tchech literature. An advantageous influence upon Slovak literature resulted from the movement of ideas in Prague. The Tchechs began to consider the Slovaks as their vanguard. Strong affinities and reciprocal exchanges prevailed between these neighbours. With all this, the majority of the Slovaks endeavoured to cling to the peculiar life of their race as much against Bohemia as against the Magyars. One of the most popular of the Slovak leaders, Stur, declared in 1846: — «So much insistence upon racial life makes itself manifest among our selves and the people that neither Kollar nor all the Tchechs combined could ever change or destroy it. » ‘)

Kollar was at the head of that limited group of Slovak intellectualists which aspired to the union of his nation with the Tchechs and the creation of a vast Slav State under the protectorate of Russia. These ideas gave the inspiration to Kollar for the poem «Slavy Dcera» («The daughter of glory»), in which all whom he considered adversaries of

[1]) Tourtzer. *Louis Stur el l'idée de rindépendauce slovaque.* Cahors, 1913. 179.

the Slavs, principally the Magyars, are precipitated into the eternal fire. They find themselves there in good company, for the poet subjected Napoleon to the same fate for having burned Moscow. This appeared in 1832 in the capital of Hungary. Its vehement author continued to exercise his clerical duties in the Protestant community of this city.

Up to about the year 1830 — this statement originated from a most determined adversary of the Magyars — Hungary was «the Eldorado of national equality ». The printing establishment of the Hungarian University at Budapest published numerous works of Slav and Rumanian savants. The races which dwelt in Hungary and the adjoining countries drew their civilisation from the same sources as the ancient Magyar educated classes, and they often benefited through mutual fraternal support.

CHAPTER IV

Origins and social causes of racial antagonism. — The monarchy divided into two camps. — Slavism the support of the reaction.

Fully four fifths of the Hungarian land was in the possession of three hundred and twenty-five-thousand nobles, whilst the commoners, though counting nearly seven million souls, only owned the remaining fifth, and that only in serfdom.[1])

« Our civil organisation, » declared Deák, one of the leaders of the liberal opposition, [2]) « has entrusted to seventy thousand families of the nobility all the landed property, and seven million inhabitants do not own any real estate. This system is attenuated somewhat by the fact that two hundred thousand yeoman estates afford

[1]) These figures date from 1810. See Aesády. *History of Serfdom in Hungary.* Budapest, 1906. (In Hungarian).

[2]) Deák. *Speeches.* Budapest, 1882, I. 21. (In Hungarian).

subsistence to four hundred thousand households. Those plebeians support all by themselves the public charges, their masters remaining exempted from taxes.

The statistics relating to the distribution of property show clearly how it came about that the Magyar character of the Kingdom was preserved. At the same time the extreme uneasiness which had got hold of the working classes, without distinction of race, becomes intelligible. In 1808, the nobles joined the troops, full of apprehension as to the fate of their families which they had left in the country. In 1831, during an epidemic, the serfs, Slovakish as well as Magyar, massacred the gentry whom they accused of poisoning the wells.

Enlightened minds in Parliament were fully aware of the social danger. The freeing of individuals and of the land was the kernel of their policy. Their projects, however, met with the opposition of the privileged interests on the one hand and with the diffidence of the Vienna Council on the other. The latter, though wishing to improve the fate of the peasant, was anxious to have the cre-

dit for the change attributed to itself, in order to gain the devotion of the plebeians and use it for its own ends whenever it would be necessary to oppose the political aspirations of the Hungarian liberals.

In 1834 Deák declared in the Chamber of Deputies: — « A nation is only strong if free hands are there to defend the land and its independence. » And ten years later Kossuth says; — Either liberate the serf, or social revolution will be inevitable; again, in 1846, he entreats the deputies: — « Let us share burdens with the people ! The tide is rising. We must satisfy the people and unite ourselves to them ». It seemed as though these lovers of progress were on the point of rallying both the rising middle-classes and the people. If they did not succeed it was owing to the excessive nationalist passions and to Europe being divided into two camps.

At that time, all the way from the Balkans to the Mediterranean we find the national instinct in an exalted state. As individuals in a revolution so are nations and even fragments of nations in that period putting forth their claims. The

craving of the lower elements for betterment has contributed greatly to this movement. Formerly the lower classes drifted patiently towards public life. Here and here, thanks to talent and luck, a few remarkable individuals rose to fortune while the others, from generation to generation, kept advancing with a slowness equal to that of ideas, mankind and things. At length the general advance of humanity quickened. The newcomers claimed tempestuously *en masse* their share in the good things of the world. In homogeneous countries such pushes had brought about social upheavals, while in mixed states they easily degenerated into excesses of racial enmity.

The first to awaken the Slavs of the West were sons of country-people or poor clergymen. Several, and not the least remarkable of them, had either seen the light in Hungary, or were attached to her by the memories and the pangs of a troubled youth. Kollar, the poet, while a student at Pressburg, had been reduced to studying near a stove which his comrades heated with the remainders of coffins stolen from a neighbouring cemetery. After a stage in the Germanic universities,

he came back to the above-named town where he met a Moravian. Palacky. During the night-walks which the two companions loved to undertake they poured out their hearts to each other.

The poet would exclaim, «My dear friend, we are unhappy, our people are miserable I » They cried together and would embrace one another, with no other witness but the moon above their heads. » *)

Doubtless, that same moon shed her light on other groups of young enthusiasts. The Magyar glebe, the home of the indigent squire, provided a swarm of young men, eager for novelty, f < full of aptitude, ambition and impulse. How could these men, whatever might be their blood, fail to feel ill-humour against the barriers that kept them from well-being and influence?

Amongst the Hungarians, were they sons of peasants, educated citizens, or liberal noblemen, the se feelings showed themselves in a violent opposition to the Vienna Council. As to the Slav, he regarded the Magyar as the guardian of the establi-

[1]) Mémoires de Kollar; translated by L. Léger. *Husses et Slaves.* Paris, 1890.

shed order of things. Add to that the difference in social position, prolonged through many centuries. In private life, at all events, a great inequality always existed between the noble, be his attitude ever so liberal on the platform, and the Slav issued from the people. Thence sprang the embittered state of mind of the latter, inspiring him with a violent desire for national restoration from which he naturally expected the betterment of his personal lot.

Everyone was thus seeking comfort in his own national aspirations, and a force, eventually destined to dominate European politics, was growing. Another element of passion, meanwhile, would also play its part in the grouping of the nations within the Habsburg monarchy: this was to be found in the attachment of some fractions of the population to the old order of things and in the opposition to it of the others. Round the latter standard Hungarians would rally in their majority. Their struggle was for liberation from the tutelage of the Council of Vienna, which was regarded as the pillar of the traditional order, Russia being second prop in this respect.

The Magyar, too, feared in tsarism the menace of autocracy and detested it as the oppressor of Poland.

The Poles, though themselves belonging to the great Slav family, had just experienced the Muscovite rule in its severest and gloomiest aspect. The Magyars, enthusiastic by nature, in near contact with the theatre of those sufferings, and having in past times often been victims of much the same fate, took to heart, more than any other nation, the distress of Poland. Of all the legislative assemblies in Europe, the Parliament of Presburg alone had asked for interference in favour of the Polish revolution in 1830. The Hungarian country seats sheltered many of its victims. Through the influence of these refugees and of the spirit of the times, a generation of young Magyars grew up with ideas of romantic liberalism. The institutions and traditions of the land also helped to form their character.

In Bohemia too. Lord Byron, the happenings of the days of July, the martyrdom of Poland, and the historical events which formed the steps of progress in the century, caused many youthful

hearts to beat higher. Yet, Bohemia possessed no Parliament, no «comitats», no institutions through which the public spirit might assert itself, be enlightened, and increase in vigour.

Liberal opinions had made still less headway amongst the Slavs in the South. Modern ideas could hardly force their way into those far-off provinces. Part of their soil was occupied by military settlements and permanent militia, to which nothing mattered beyond the person and the service of their sovereign. Not only the feelings in regard to the government at Vienna, were different in each nation of the monarchy, but also their aversion against, or their inclination towards, Russia contributed to their division. Whilst the Poles and the Magyars held the Tsar in execration, several million subjects of the Habsburgs venerated in him the head of their Church, or considered him as the magnanimous and disinterested protector of their nationality. To the natural mysticism of the Slavonic soul, was added that emotionalism which, in the face of great troubles, leads all too readily to illusions. The Russia of their imagination fascinated the

Orthodox, captivated the Tchechs and the catholic Croatians. From the mountains of Bohemia to the mouth of the Cattaro, the Muscovite sympathies wore the aspect of a spiritual belief.

About these symptoms the Cabinet of Vienna did not greatly concern themselves. Slavism appeared to them as a conservative element, while Hungary, on the contrary, with the spreading of liberal ideas, forced herself upon the defenders of the ancient order not only as a local energy, refractory to their authority, but as the actual seat of a threatening conflagration. The unskilfulness which was brought into play in the attempt to avert it, only helped to fan the flame of rebellion.

In the face of this danger, the Council of Vienna sought the support of all those among its subjects in whom the respect of tradition and authority prevailed over the ideas of progress. We have seen how social conditions, militarism, and the seething of Slavism, caused the nationalities of Hungary to incline towards the conservative party. To the ciashings produced by the several excesses of national enthusiasm was soon added the irritation which the tendencies of these races

to side with its adversaries caused in Hungarian society. Towards 1840, the Tchech writer Kampelik advised the Slovaks to trust to the throne and to the German party. Louis Stur the Slovak leader who, high-souled though he was, showed little political perspicacity, took to the same path. In Croatia an analogous movement was favoured by gentlemen much esteemed at court. All those alarms caused a great number of Magyars to abandon the generous spirit of tolerance they had inherited from their fathers, a mistaken course, indeed, and which was found to precipitate the events they had wished to obviate. The attitude of those Magyars contributed to send their co-citizens of a different blood into the camp antagonistic to the national cause.

It is at that time that the conflict of languages gained in violence, as a natural consequence of the animosity amongst men: Public affairs formerly were dealt with in Latin, after a style which reminded French travellers of the language derided in the «Malade imaginaire». Modern life imperiously discountenanced Latin. No one thought of substituting German for it, since it seemed na-

tural that Hungarian, the language of the men managing the affairs of the State, should replace Latin. In this, legislation merely sanctioned the custom: in 1828, out of the sixty-three «comitats» of Hungary, six only continued to use Latin. In 1836. Parliament decided henceforth to draw up the laws both in Latin and Magyar; in 1844 Latin was finally discarded from the law-texts as well as from the parliamentary debates.

There was no intention of imposing the use of Magyar on all the races of the kingdom, but merely to give it the place of an intermediary language instead of Latin.

In cjuieter times, doubtless, these measures, applied with tact, would hardly have encountered any resistance. But the chauvinism of the Magyar youth shocked the chauvinism of Hie Rumanians, Serbians and Croatians. This inconsiderate and intolerant infatuation on every side could be traced to the same fountain-head; it fed everywhere on the same general ideas and made use of an identical phraseology. In vain an eminent statesman, Count Széchenyi, opposed his more elevated conception of patriotism to so much frenzy:

«Let us develop our personal virtues, let us increase our moral qualities», quoth he in the Hungarian Academy in 1842. — «It is incumbent on the individual to prepare the triumph of the nation. Whence can a nation gather the strengtl;. the virtues necessary to sustain its political action if not through the humane and honourable accomplishment of duty by the greatest number of individual citizens? Especially is it necessary to acquire the gift of amenity, the power to attract and assimilate the neighbouring elements. Can he be said to possess that faculty, who, instead of awakening sympathy, merely acts upon futilities, and who, by insisting upon the use of the Magyar language, the wearing of the Magyar costume and the immoderate display of our national colours, dreams of conquering in the meantime, and by such means alone, both the hearts and the minds? Does he possess the assimilative faculty he who refuses to respect in others that which he intends shall be respected in his own concerns? Great, indeed, is the art of winning the hearts of men, and he may scarcely be said to possess an inkling of it who treats with contempt an adver-

sary, generous and impassioned as we are ourselves, in regard to racial traditions; seeming ever ready to throw mud instead of employing chivalrous manners towards an other. »

Eloquent though such entreaties may have sounded, they yet failed to silence the exuberance of the Magyars. Neither did those noble words effect a change in the jealousy and feverish racial sentiments which the non-Magyar elements opposed to the overbearing patriotism of the former. The bureaucracy, on its own part, ever hostile to innovation, and, in this case, discountenancing the forwardness of the Hungarian liberals, encouraged that resistance. The free use of their own particular tongues was by no means an object of claim with the non-Magyar nationalists. They would insist upon the maintenance of the official Latin, merely in order to prevent Magyar from taking its stead and thus gaining a precedence objected to by them. The Croatians were first in expressing this view. In 1842, Slovak clergymen petitioned the emperor, in their turn, asking for the conservation of Latin. Political emulation, and not care for a national patrimony,

was thus behind the quarrel of languages now in full play, and its importance has been exaggerated by some, who represented it as the pivot of the conflict. It was but the symbol or, rather, a standard raised above the camps which were being formed and on the point of entering into action. Above it all stood aloof the central government, official Austria, with its chiefs entirely absorbed in preoccupations about European affairs, with subalterns entirely given up to bureaucratic routine, and resolute adversaries, all of them, of the spirit of the century.

In Bohemia, the Slav revival, though having at first been fruitful in works of national concentration. in efforts towards a better system of public education, and towards literary achievements, in one word, a landmark in the national development, took now a pronounced chimerical character.

A similar phenomenon could be observed in Croatia. Here, Louis Gaj, the philologist, caused the legitimate national aspirations to deviate towards the limits of the Utopian. He had formed a party whose claim was the unification of all the

peoples between the Adriatic and the Black Sea. (viz: of the Slovenians, the Croatians, the Serbs and the Bulgarians) into a vast. «Illyria», greater still than the ephemeral kingdom founded by Napoleon under that name. « Aula est pro nobis » was the incitement Gaj would whisper to his followers. [1])

As a matter of fact he had at Court influential protectors who planned for Croatia a double mission; firstly, in its foreign relations, this Slav and Catholic country was to be a counterpoise in face of the Russian and orthodox expansion in the Balkans; and secondly, in its domestic relations, it was hoped that the Croatians would be firm supports against the Magyars who gave to the Government ever more and more cause for disquietude.

In Bohemia as in Croatia one noticed at the head of the movement thinkers who, because of their lack of practical experience, were not in the habit of considering realities. While moral reasons and ethnical affinities forced them towards

[1]) Thalae. *Op. cit.* V. 29.

Russia, their innate propensities, their dependency, the lack of means of action turned them towards Vienna. These men who cared but little for the century-old equilibrium of the States put their hope in two Powers whose very principle consisted at that time in the denial of every innovation.

In Hungary, the Parliament showed itself to be the torch-bearer of the spirit of reform. The traditional desiderata of the legislative assembly corresponded to the social aspirations of the new classes in such a manner that the enlightened nobility remained the natural head of the masses of the nation. But with their non-Magyar compatriots it was Slav action and the immense prestige of the Crown which attracted the leaders of public opinion towards Austria. They hoped to find their account in this dispute between the Council of Vienna and the Hungarian magistrature.

It is not necessary to imagine these groups as firm and constant phalanxes awaiting the word of command to rush forward. Powerful reasons

for divergence separated these adversaries, but they were counterbalanced by multiple bands of attachment. Subjects of the same sovereign, these men were in incessant contact; their ancestors had experienced the same fate during a long sequence of centuries. That produced abundant elements of entente and conciliation. And the liberal passion of the youth in all nations seemed a palliative against the rivalry of the races.

Accordingly, during the crisis of 1848, a struggle was seen within each group, exposing it to be influenced by the one or the other of the European schools of political thought then at war. At last, and this is one of the most important consequences of that time, those contrary pretensions and the antagonisms which they aroused manifested themselves only by- a rivalry in penmanship , the violence of which responded to the romantic taste which took pleasure in colouring and in immeasurably exaggerating ideas. But this process by no means radiated beyond the intellectual circles: the higher classes, ecclesiastics and intellectual civilians. As regards the po-

pular masses, who were still strangers to these arguments, they continued to cultivate the ground and only low murmurs betrayed their fermentation.

CHAPTER V.

The revolution of 1848 and the (non-Magyar) nationalities.

The events of 1848 enlarged the frame work of parties, drew new lines, gave substance to latent covenants and exercised a decisive influence.

The revolution had upset the ancient order. Austria obtained a constitution. A representative government was established at Budapest. From this time on Austria and Hungary became in effect two associated States, but nevertheless distinct from one another, each being governed by its own responsible ministry. However, after a short period of general satisfaction, a series of grave problems came up before the heads of the new regime. At first that of the relations between those two States. Then, in Hungary, the relations of the nation as a whole in regard to the different enclosed races of which only one, that of the Croatians,

constituted a national body and possessed an autonomous administration. In Austria there existed similar but still more complicated conditions: one was obliged to determine the situation of the numerous provinces, at first in their relations with the State, then among themselves, finally one had to establish the life conditions of the nationalities which shared those provinces.

The historical units stood out against the empire. They themselves were opposed by regions with interests of their own and by the provinces which feared to be reduced to the condition of vassals. Moravia declared itself to be an autonomous principality. Silesia did quite the same; its preferences went to Poland.[1]) The Ukranians demanded the division of Galicia into two parts one Polish, the other Ruthenian. The Slovenians of the southern cantons decided against the Italians; they demanded the establishment of a Slovene kingdom. Austria gave the impression of those Japanese nests of boxes in which each

[1]) V. Springer. *Geschichte Oesterreichs.* Leipzig. 1863. II. 270. And Denis. *Op. cit.* II. 221.

box contains another of different colour and material.

From the tribune of the Austrian Parliament assembled at Vienna, every nationality claimed its rights. In that Constituent Assembly, however, one looked in vain for the sense of moderation and the spirit of give and lake. The word « equality » was on every lip, but this term had become synonymous with domination.

It was in Bohemia that this struggle was the keenest. No sooner had the ancient regime come to an end than the two adversaries, Tchechs and Germans, disputed with each other about the heritage. These contradictory ambitions affected the external relations of the monarchy and were of a nature to shake its internal fabric.

With the revolution the desire for unity, which had been working in Germany for a long time, took a precise form. It was a question of transforming the weak German Confederation into an important power. A constituent assembly, comprising representatives of all the Federal States, was to meet at Frankfort on April 29, 1848. With the exception of Hungary, the Italian and Polish

provinces, all the countries of the Habsburgs formed part of this confederation. Whilst the Germans of Bohemia desired an intimate association of Austria with Great Germany, the Tchechs resolutely opposed this project. The committee which prepared the elections for the Frankfort Parliament invited Palacky to associate himself with its work. The celebrated historian refused his adherence in a most remarkable letter. And the publicist Havlicek expressed the views of his compatriots in a less elevated but more succinct manner: « Our natural confederation is Austria. We meet there with our Slav brothers and, owing to the strength of our position we shall always have the preponderance there.» In the parliament of Vienna the Tchechs energetically combated any rapprochement of Austria with Germany. The Austrian liberals considered the latter not only as the cradle of their nationality, but as ʌ support of their political emancipation. Feudalism weighed less heavily on Germany than on Austria, in spite of the thirty-four sovereigns of the former country. Along the Rhine and in the southern provinces France had destroyed feudalism and

established her own principles. Ancient, studious and high-minded Germany was dear to all friends of progress.

At Pest no one doubted that if those «United States of Germany» were destined to come into existence, the force of circumstances would impose upon Austria a government of similar tendency. After all, the parliament of Frankfort decided that no part of the Germanic Confederation could be merged into a single State with a non-German country. That seemed to the Magyars an efficacious guarantee against any offensive return of the Vienna centralists. The house of Habsburg could not think of Germanic unity in any other manner than under its own sovereignty. Last the Slavs believed that their hegemony was assured in a great and powerful Austria; they could not imagine a great Austria in any other shape. Already at that time there were sentimental reasons which inclined the majority of the Slavs towards official Austria; afterwards political speculations confirmed these propensities.

The separation of Austria from Germany could not have sufficed to assure to the Slavs the first

place in the monarchy. In order to reach this aim it was necessary to modify its interior construction in accordance with their wishes. National aspiration and race consolidation became associated in their minds with historical visions and rationalistic theories of equality in matters of State, and these were quite exclusive of one another.

« History », declared Palacky, « has brought together in the south-eastern part of Europe, along the whole length of the Russian frontier, a group of peoples differing greatly from each other as regards language, customs and history: Slavs, Germans, Rumanians, Magyars, not to mention even Greeks, Turks and Albanians. These tribes, not one of which is strong enough to resist the powerful neighbour of all, have pooled their common interests because of their weakness; the Danube is their bond of union, and the State which binds them together could not be far away from that stream without becoming a danger to them; this State is, also, indispensable for the security of Europe and for humanity. If Austria did not exist, it would be necessary to create it. It is ac-

tually enfeebled and threatened because it has failed to recognise the moral basis of its power, which is absolute respect for the rights of the different ethnical groups. The equality of all the races is a matter of natural equity: no nation upon earth should exact from an other that it should renounce its own individuality; nature recognises among nations neither masters nor slaves. Austria has forgotten this truth; hence the difficulties in which she finds herself; but it is not too late for Austria to attach herself to the anchor of safety — Justice ! »

In the above quotation the highest humanitarian ideal, the most just ideas ran along an abyss of utopias. What Palacky intended was that, under the expression « absolute respect for ethnical rights » we were to understand the dismemberment of monarchy and its reconstruction in the form of eight new states which he wished to create upon the sole basis of nationality. [1]) He

[1]) In the scheme which he presented to the parliament of Krcmsier, in 1849. Palacky suggested the dissolution of the monarchy after the following fashion German Group: the two Austrias, Salzburg. Vorarlberg, the German sections of the hereditary provinces, of Bohemia, of Moravia and of Si-

claimed this new division in the name of « natorai right»; the expression « principle of nationalities » had not at that time been invented.

In his closet into which the tumult of life could not penetrate, this savant was easily able to re-model the map according to his own ideas. He was endowed with a mind of the highest probity, but *par excellence,* a man of doctrine, he did not doubt that this system would assure the perfect harmony of the nations, the grandeur of the Empire and the peace of the Continent. Those dreams however, did but very imperfectly fit in with reality.

In Austria, and still more so in Hungary, there were everywhere highly sinuous boundaries and populations intermixed and intermingled with each other in the most inextricable manner. We

lesia. Tchech Group: the Tchech sections of those three countries and the northern part of Hungary, which is inhabited by the Slovaks. Polish group: Galicia, Bukowina, the Rut henian sections (Ukrainian !) of Hungary. Illyrian group: the Slovenian sections of the hereditary provinces. Italian Group: Southern Tyrol. Lombardy and Venetia. South Slav Group: Dalmatia. Croatia, Slavonia and the districts of Hungary inhabited by Serbians. Magyar Group: the Magyar sections of Hungary and of Transylvania. Rumanian Group: the Rumanian sections of the same countries and of Bukowina. — See Eisenmann. *Le cont promts austro-hongrois.* Paris. 1904. 127.

could find in the same region groups representative of three or four nationalities. The landed proprietor, at that time almost the only store of fortune and light, was surrounded by peasants of other races. The towns contrasted with rural districts of another blood. Dissimilar groups emerged here and there from the homogeneous masses which populated a province. Last, in those very *enclaves,* there were villages heterogeneously inhabited by people of alien stock. In those mixed countries, « absolute respect for ethnical right», meant the undoing of the work of time, innumerable existences both violated and uprooted in an upheaval more brutal than that which the of the conqueror inflicts and which life after wards cloaks with its daily tide. *)

Certainly the equality of race with race is not merely an exigency of humanity but the cornerstone of the security and power of a State, provided this equality be established without destroy-

[1]) Later Palacky recognised his error. One perceived . writes M. E. Denis, that the quarrels of the races, however loud they were, had not suppressed the bonds formed by History and one took once more as a basis the traditional divisions:. *Op. cit.* II. 344.

ing the historic mould, without, spoliation and without substituting for the dependence of some the subjection of others.

The unspoken design of establishing the supremacy of his own people in the monarchy inspired file theories of Palacky. Their realisation would transform Austria into a Slav power. He added one fifth of Hungary to Bohemia, mutilated the rest and thus dwarfed the kingdom of Hungary into a secondary province. From that time there was a violent antagonism between Tchechs and Magyars which could not cease before the former had renounced their desires for spoliation and the latter had assured the free development of the Slavs in Hungary.

For the time being those menaces spread the alarm at Pest and paralysed the work of the public men who demanded a policy of justice and prudence in regard to the nationalities. At that moment the *doctrinaires,* led astray by the delusion that it was possible to piece together again the fragments of nations which had been separated many centuries, as easily as pieces of a broken

vase, convoked a congress at Prague for the 2nd of June 1848.

This convention united the representatives of all the Slav branches. Its first section included the Tchechs, the Moravians, the Silesians and the Slovaks; the second, the Poles and the Ruthenians; the third the Slavs of the South.

But in this conglomeration the political divergences manifested themselves with more effect than the ethnical affinities. At the side of some nobles and with the élite of the Tchech *bourgeoisie,* savants, and Slav politicians of the different sections of the monarchy, it was possible to notice youthful persons of restless disposition and old revolutionists gathered together from all corners of Europe. The most noted personage among these was the Russian Bakunin. This gentlemanly anarchist did not arrive at Prague to listen tö fine discourses. He has told what aim brought him thither and the method of procedure of which he made use there, as follows:

« In 1848, the first congress of the Slav people at Prague — a congress which, let it be said by the way, had been convoked by Count Thun, Pa-

lacky and Rieger, with the reactionary aim of forming, under the sceptre of the Habsburg dynasty, a powerful Tchech State, oppressive in its nature and the centre of the Austrian monarchy — had taken under our united efforts a diametrically contrary tendency, especially owing to the entirely antagonistic dispositions of the people and of the young generation of Prague. It was this which caused it to be bombarded and dissolved by Austrian troops. » *) The cannon got the better of the barricades. Flight, exile and imprisonment dispersed the Tchech radicals. The other party, under Palacky's guidance, went hand in hand with the Court. It intended to support the latter in its action against the Austrian democrats and against Hungary. It buoyed itself up with the hope of obtaining the re-establishment of the kingdom of St. Wenceslas and the preponderance of the Slavs in the monarchy as a recompense for its fidelity.

[1]) Nettlan. *Michael Bakounine.* London, 1896. (Privately printed), I. 85.

The temporary relaxation of the reins of government in Hungary, and the rude alteration of all social relations in this country, had encouraged licentiousness and provoked anarchist attempts. The lower commercial people organised jew-baitings in the towns. In many localities of the Magyar plain the village-folk firmly believed that the new order of things implied the distribution of the property of the landlords. A military intervention became necessary to make the villagers understand that they had to refrain from such excessive interpretation of liberty. The same effervescence reigned in the regions inhabited by Serbians, Rumanians or Slovaks.The forests of the land owners were cut down, their game was killed and the stocks which, up to that time, had been employed for corporal punishments, were burnt. Those poor people rejoiced at their affranchisement without realising its purport. Everywhere

the peasant was affected by his innate earth-hunger.

At first, the new democratic laws evoked universal gladness in the bourgeoisie of these races: streets were beflagged, there were bon-fires, and religious services were celebrated simultaneously by the priest, the pastor, the pope, and the rabbi. Very soon, however, the scene changed. Various circumstances contributed to that: the general revolutionary spirit, the exaggerations of the fanatic patriots of Pest, the secret proceedings of the counter-revolution, manoeuvres which originated in the Serbian and Rumanian principalities. In the last resort — and this rendered any reconciliation impossible — ambitions were distinctly put forth by these races aiming at forming national territories independent of the kingdom.

Doubtless in the Chamber and in the streets of the capital an arrogant minority would have been pleased to model the entire country after its own image. But the higher-minded, moved by real liberalism as well as by the fear of playing the game of the counter-revolution by alienating

the minority, endeavoured to bring· about acceptance of every just claim. Those of the moderate Serbians, who were sitting at. Pest, consisted in the use of their own language for their public affairs, liberty in educational matters, the autonomy of the orthodox church, and the admission of their prelates to the Upper-House. A second assembly at Újvidék (Novi-Sad) — where Mathias Ban, secret agent of Alexander Kara-George, prince of Serbia, appeared — went still further.

It insisted on the establishment of an autonomous State composed of the totality of the counties of Hungary inhibited by Serbians.

Their special delegates appeared before the parliament at Pressburg. They were received in solemn audience. There everything passed off in fine words and assurances of fraternity. But after the session, in Kossuth's apartment, there occurred angry outbreaks. The whole responsibility for this has been attributed to the «brutal challenge» of the Magyar chief. In reality, his own enthusiasm came into conflict with the still more excessive feelings of his interlocutors, who claimed, in addition to national autonomy, a separate govern-

ment and territory. One of them, Stratimirovic, a former Austrian officer, cried out: If the granting of their claims to the Hungarian Serbians be refused they will go «elsewhere». Under this menace of joining the adversaries of the kingdom, Kossuth replied to him: « In such a case the sword shall decide between us.» [1])

It was not a matter of accidental and personal causes nor the character or the tone of a minister, it was the general situation which rendered the conflagration inevitable.

Later on, in August 1848, Kossuth had occasion to express the same thought when speaking of the Rumanians: « Should Hungary then not be a

[1]) We do not possess the complete and authentic text of this statement. Picot. *Op. cit.* II. p. 223, and Helfert, *Geschichte dér österreichischen Revolution,* I, 443, give a somewhat partial version.

Λ Hungarian author, Thim, in his essay L'insurroction serbe de 1848-1849. *Hilda pesti Szemle,* 1894. 66, attributes to Stratimirovic words of such moderation that they are not at all in accord with his character. Stratimirovic even relates in his Memoires that having kidnapped his cousin, the Archbishop Rajacic sent him a delegation of priests in order to inform him that his marriage was null and void, and to order him to bring back the young girl to her parents. Stratimirovic set his dogs upon these ecclesiastics. See General von Stratimirovic, ΙΓοβ *ich erlebte.* Vienna, 1911, 29.

State? Shall each of the races inhabiting it demand a separate State upon its own account? With such principles either Hungary will go to pieces or the sword will decide. »

We have already noticed that ancient feudal Transylvania was divided into three privileged castes. They were called «nations» and each possessed its own territory — namely, the Magyars, the Saxons and the Siculians. The statutes recognised four legal religions. The liberals had long combated these prerogatives of three peoples and four religions, which their leader Wesselényi had surnamed « the seven capital sins of Transylvania ». The revolution blotted out this archaic organisation. It proclaimed civil equality and the reconstitution of the former union of Transylvania with Hungary.

The Rumanians demanded, besides guarantees in the matter of their language and religion, that they be declared the fourth « nation » of Transylvania and that they should receive an appropriate section of territory. This was their condition for recognising the re-union of Transylvania and Hungary. At the moment when every distinction

of class was obliterated, when the law made them into citizens, these people claimed a share in vanishing privileges. They did not conceive any other form of liberty. Such was the power of tradition ! Worse still, in this province the « urbárium the code of the cultivators, had been introduced late, its regulations were less clear and hence it lent itself still more to abuses, than was the case in Hungary. When the Pressburg Parliament suppressed serfdom, the last diet of Transylvania had delayed for several months the voting of an analogous law, the application of which was slow and ill-advised. The tax-payers were far from being grateful to the lords for this law. The Rumanian serfs placed confidence only in their priests and students. These informed them that from now on they were free. They therefore did not believe that they were any longer bound to show obedience to the authorities. They were reminded that they were descended from the legions of Trajan who had formerly occupied the country. In their primitive brains this illustrious origin implied an immediate consequence, namely, the right of again coming into possession of their pa-

trimony, i. e. the land of the lord or that of a neighbour.

Accordingly, through a strange paradox, some months after Hungary had proclaimed the great democratic and land reform, it began to suffer on account of the errors of the social regime which had been abolished, and the non-Magyar inhabitants — the lower classes of the people and the lower clergy \vho had been the first beneficiaries under those reforms — all revolted against Hungary.

Among the educated people of those races, some were men of talent passionately devoted to their people but, since their early youth, addicted to flighty historical reveries born from imaginations inflamed by the theories of the Congress of Prague. Others ,men of meaner quality, had already erected in their minds scaffolds for their personal enemies and for those whose property they coveted. In the case of Serbians and Rumanians alike the orthodox clergy, which up to that time had not been appreciated and moreover had been treated with a show of inferiority, added to

this wave of excitement its longings for revenge, its ambitions and its national enthusiasm.

The rural masses roused by such leaders had but little understanding for political demands. «In my youth, i. e. until after the year 1840, » Tkalac informs us, « I did not know of any one from the peasantry who had visited a school and knew how to read and write. » One desire alone animated them, namely, that for land. The leaders came from among them. Concerning public property, the political leaders had the same notions which their followers entertained with reference to private property. Their fellow-feeling for the lot of their people, the intermixture of generous illusions with covetous hatred which possessed them converged towards one end, namely, partition, while the Magyars had the contrary object in view — unity.

Never has any country sacrificed an inch of its territory except as an extreme consequence of disaster. The portions coveted by the separatists were not conquered provinces, for they hail belonged to the kingdom since its foundation. Last, each one of these provinces consisted in reality of

mixed regions. [1]) Even a philosopher who had been quite indifferent to the *raison d'Etat,* from the abstract point of view, could not have possibly agreed to this surrender.

Now considerations of this nature were not on the orders of the day in 1848.

The Magyars were in the same political state of mind as the French in 1792. They did not ignore the fact that the intrigue, which had in view the re-establishment of the former regime, was encouraging the separatist ideas. Nothing was more foreign to the Hungarian traditions than the spirit of federalism. But also at no time its essential conditions, similarity of interests and reciprocal confidence, were in default so much as at the moment when these nationalities entered into relations with the government who were preparing to deprive Hungary of its independence and to im-

[1]) In 1851. the Austrian government created a united Serbian district: the *Vorrodina.* the greater part of the territory claimed by the Serbians. According to the census taken in the same year by the Austrian authorities, this distiict included the following populations: Rumanians, 398.000; Suabes, 340.000; orthodox Serbians. 290,000; catholic Serbians, 43.000; Magyars, 241.000; Slovaks, 28.000; Bulgarians, 22.000. — See Fényes *Statistics of the Austrian Empire.* Pest. 1857, 183. (In Hungarian).

pose on it, by force of arms, a detested regime. The menace of invasion and dismemberment frightened away the supporters of a policy tending to appeasement. Surrounded by hostile frontiers, the country required a strong power to keep it together. Count Batthyány presided over the council of Budapest; Kossuth, however, was the master of the cabinet and of the nation.

The conflagration had already set in. The overexcited peasants carried wi.th them the politicians. Acts of violence against the landed proprietors, quarrels about fields or pastures, were the germs of revolts which very soon degenerated into serious insurrection. The Serbians of Hungary and the Rumanians of Transylvania refused to obey the government of Pest. The Slovaks were being worked up. Meetings were convoked with a view to make the Slovak peasant understand that he was « the autochthonous inhabitant and formerly the sole possessor of the soil in Upper Hungary. »

The deep-rooted injustice of serfdom, the universal exuberance of the national conscience, intrigues from without, the impetuous desire to

form independent states, were combined in all those troubles. In Croatia, the wished-for state already existed. There the movement took a somewhat more political character, but it reached the same results. The intellectual classes, the bourgeoisie, in general of Illyrian sympathies, and with them the aristocracy demoralised by the downfall of the *ancien régime,* combated the lower nobility which was favourable to reforms and inclined towards Hungary. This last fraction was the worst off. The cabinet of Pest, master in the centre of the empire, was without power in the periphery. All these movements were in league against it.

Solely the authority of the crown might calm dissatisfactions, smoothe over reciprocal troubles. This authority was unrestricted and nowhere more efficacious than among the populations of those distant regions, standing to a great extent under a military organisation. However, mutual errors were about to alienate the nation from the throne.

Ferdinand was a king of straw. To his surroundings the new regime seemed like an intole-

rable yoke. The army, impregnated with the same ideas, clamoured for the re-establishment of the monarchy in the plenitude of its authority. In the general action which the military leaders planned it was likewise a question of restraining the passions which had been let loose among Croatians. Serbians and the Hungarian Rumanians. Jellacic, shortly before banus (bailiff) of Croatia, was appointed to fill the first place among those who had set this mighty machine in motion.

The nation still hesitated between its royalist traditions, the generaly upward mental tendency, and fear that the victory of the Austrian arms would place the power into the hands of the former leaders. The court wavered between its aversion from the new order of things and the risks of dealing offhand with the situation. But the success of the Italian campaign caused the balance to go down in favour of the followers of the flag. In August, Radetzki occupied Milan. In September. Jellacic and his Croatians crossed the Drave. It was civil war: on the one side the army and dynastic Austria, allied to the Slavs and Rumanians of Hungary; on the other the peo-

pie of Vienna,the Austrian democrats, the Polish proscripts and the Magyar patriots. [1])

Imperial officers took command of the armed bands in Hungary. [2]) They were unable to keep them in the desired channels. These movements degenerated into peasantry revolts. And at certain moments they even threatened in some manner to serve the Balkan intrigues.

Alexander Kara-George, out of regard for his sovereign, the Porte, observed an apparent neu-

[1]) However, political passions, animosities, private interests, broke up the general line between the factions and the races. As a matter of fact the Germans of Transylvania were keenest on fighting the Magyars. Those of Hungary, on the contrary, supplied numbers of soldiers and excellent officers to Um armies of Kossuth. The Catholic Serbians placed themselves on the Magyar side. The majority of the Rumanians of Hungary, in contrast to their brothers of Transylvania, bore witness to their sympathies for the Hungarian cause, in the first plaee through fear of their Serbian antagonists. It was possible even to find some Tchech volunteers in the Hungarian army.

[2]) On two occasions an effort was also made to incite the Slovaks; but these undertakings failed because of the indifference of the majority of the Slovaks.

trality in the war of Hungary. In reality he aided Austria. The voice of blood, dynastic interest and vague designs for the future incited him to send Serbians of the Principality to increase the army which was fighting against the Magyars.

The Hungarians had then against them an army comprising Imperial regulars, insurgent Serbians of Hungary and auxiliary troops gathered from the Principality. As to the Serbian leaders, national feeling prevailed with some, while, with others, it was faithfulness to Austria; finally there were others who expected nothing good from the alliance with absolutism and would have preferred to be allied to the Magyars.

More than one of the Serbian notables of Hungary was in the ranks of the last-named, either for the sake of the Catholic religion, or on account of their feelings for liberalism, or because of their predilections for Magyar institutions. On of them Sabbas Vukovics, [1]) was guardian of the seals in the Kossuth cabinet.

[1]) For the events of this epoch it is profitable to compare with the account of adverse origin, mentioned in the work of Mr. Picot, the *Memoires* of Vukovics, Budapest, IBM. (In Hungarian).

Among the Serbians, either subjects or allies of Austria, at the side of those who desired to create a Serbian province within the monarchy, there were others who favoured the secret hope of detaching their own part from it. Mathias Ban, a native of Ragusa, emissary of Kara-George, had influenced a meeting at which the Serbians of Hungary claimed to inhabit a country separated from the kingdom. Very soon this war engendered a lively agitation among the tribes of their blood. Irregular troops, coming from Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro, appeared in Hungary, Vague plans of action were the rule: sometimes that of a general uprising in the Balkans; at other times that of seizing certain provinces of the empire in common action with the Slav subjects .of Habsburg.

The prince of Montenegro sent word to Jellacic that if this general desired to occupy Dalmatia in order «to give Europe a new configuration» he would join him with his Montenegrins. [1])

[1]) For the translation of this letter see Ch. Loiseau. *Le Halkan slave.* Paris, 1898. 53.

However, Russia remained the ally of Austria, and all these covetous dreams remained barren.

The Rumanians of the principalities had done their share towards fomenting agitation among their brothers of Transylvania. They were however unable to render them any assistance in the ensuing campaign. They themselves had just sketched out a revolution. There was no beneficial reform to mark its trace. [x]) And this movement did not bring about any tangible result except the occupation of Moldavia by the Russian forces in March and that of Walachia by the same, conjointly with the Ottoman troops, in September.

One part of these revolutionists took refuge in Hungary and Transylvania. Utopian ideas flourished in their ranks. Only recently they had spo-

[1]) In Walachia the constituent assembly had not accepted the emancipation of the serfs. See Jorga, *Op. cit.* II. 293. .

ken of declaring war against Turkey, Russia and Austria; of faking from these powers Bessarabia and Bukowina; of depriving Hungary of Transylvania and the Banat in order to re-establish ancient Dacia. [1]) After that, some of them who had followed the teachings of Michelet, enthusiasts for the fraternity of peoples, offered to act as intermediaries between the Transylvanian Rumanians and the Magyars. Others, who had never left their homes and had deeply breathed in the air of local hatred, added oil to the fire. Seeing power on the side of Austria, they conceived the idea of uniting all their countrymen under the rule of Austria in order to create an « Austrian Dacia ».

After the rupture between the Magyars and Vienna the military administration of Transylvania worked up the Rumanian masses. It was insinuated to them that the Magyars desired to re-establish serfdom and to abolish their religion. Already in the XVIIIth century these countries had suffered bloody outbreaks, because of anarchical strife among the peasantry. The disturban-

[1]) Xenopol. *Op. cit.* IT. 510.

ces which now arose were even worse. In vain did some Rumanians more nobly inspired, with Janku at their head, a sort of village Danton, show themselves opposed to these revolutionary excesses. Fanaticism, robbery and thefts were the order of the day. The uprising changed into a social war. These Rumanian peasants, armed for the cause of legitimacy, committed excesses of the same sort as those committed in the name of equality in France during the Terror. Their passions were first of all let loose against the archives, the charters; for they believed that their state of subjection was defined in these papers. They then attacked the individuals and the property of the land-owners, terminating their bloody exploits by means of the torch. The country was covered with ruins, reeking with an imperfectly extinguished thirst for revenge and exasperated hatreds.

These terrible trials justified the Hungarian politicians who had advised the coming to an

understanding with the nationalities by means of all concessions which it was possible to make without destroying the unity of the State. Public opinion began to favour those who endorsed the principles of the illustrious Wesselényi, who had proclaimed: «If rights, duties and common interests unite the different inhabitants of our country, it will be a robust body even with a variety of languages.» In the last phase of revolution too, we notice constant attempts at making predominant this enlightened conception of the questions of language and nationality.

In September 1848, a delegation of the Transylvanian diet, ordered to elaborate the conditions of the re-union of this province with Hungary, submitted to the President of the council the text of a decree, entitled «The civil rights of the Rumanian nation safeguarded in the spirit of equality». Entire equality; the use of their language in the administration and in the courts of law; the bi-lingual system in common affairs; the employment of the Rumanians in all public functions in proportion of their number; educational liberty, chairs of Rumanian in the Magyar universities,

chairs of Hungarian in the Rumanian high and middle schools, a Rumanian section in the department of education and religion — these are the essential points of this project. [1])

If the vicissitudes of the civil war prevented these projects from being carried out, we find the same spirit of conciliation in the project of a bill which Baron Eötvös, minister of education and religion, submitted to the chamber on August 4, 1848. He proposed to determine everywhere which should be the language used in imparting primary instruction, according to the language of each race and that the study of Magyar, as the official language, should be within reach of the inhabitants. Parliament accepted this proposal, but it added the following amendment: «Instruction in Hungarian is to be obligatory. Wherever the scholars do not understand the Hungarian language, instruction shall be given in their mother tongue ».

However, in the course of these debates several representatives declared that if more prudence

[11]) See Janeso, *Op· cit.* II. 561.

had been shown in the propagation of Magyar, the situation would be less compromised in the Marches. Patriotic exaggeration, the lurking thoughts of political mistrust ended by yielding to these grievous experiences. In the negotiations with the Serbians and Rumanians the counsels of men of a more enlightened political turn of mind were followed. At last, in July, 1849, the minister presented to the chamber a law assuring the free development of all the nationalities established upon the territory of Hungary. » ') It was excellent, but it had come too late.

Simultaneously with the efforts to establish civil peace in Hungary there were attempts at conciliation with Austria. In the empire of the Habsburg dynasty the revolution had left the so-

[1]) The text of this legislative project can he found in the work of Irányi and Chassin. *Histoire politique de la rdvo'ution de Hongrie.* Paris, 1859, I. 357.

vereign out of question. The throne was not shaken. In Hungary the idea of royalty was rooted in customs and manners to such an extent that national self-assertion took a monarchical and loyal aspect. The war was carried on in the name of Ferdinand who had renounced the crown, against his successor, Francis Joseph, who had been refused recognition.

At the outset, the Magyars were not unanimous in rallying round the revolution. A warlike enthusiasm animated the youth of the nation. The Magyar peasant, who had but lately become owner of his land, took up his scythe to defend his property. Among the older generations some were openly hostile to the uprising, others accepted it as a tragic necessity. The first engagements were not successful. Everything was ready for a compromise.

But the errors of reaction constituted the counter-part to the excesses of civil war. This inflexibility gave a new start to the subversive elements in Hungary; to those who fought in order to preserve public liberties and the integrity of the territory, it gave the bitter certitude that the

nation could place confidence only in her own power.

On Marci) 6th, 1849, one sole constitution was granted for the whole of the empire by an imperial manifesto. A few days later the Austrian parliament was dissolved by decree. This brought about the military dictatorship. Moderate elements were offended, liberals amazed, whilst the hopes of national autonomy for the Tchechs and small nations attached to the Dynasty were destroyed, and the Magyars exasperated, because these measures lowered their country to the rank of a province under Austria's orders. On April 14th the radical party in the Hungarian parliament voted the dethronement of the Habsburg dynasty and invested Kossuth with the highest authority.

Fifty years previously, Adrien Lézai, when returning from Hungary, where Napoleon had sent him to examine the opportunity of an insurrection, declared to his master that, if the Magyars were authorized to freely elect a sovereign, there was no doubt that a prince of the Austrian house would be chosen. [1])

i) Chélard. *Op. cit.*

This event had a twofold effect: the Magyar camp, where the majority disapproved the abolishment Act, was divided; at the same time it gave a new and redoubtable adversary to the Hungarians. In his mystic belief in his omnipotence Tsar Nicolas contemplated from afar, and not without contempt, this tumult of peoples. He had contented himself with sending an autograph letter to Prince Windischgraetz congratulating him upon his suppression of the Prague riots. The Russian troops passed the Carpathians. After a heroic resistance the Hungarians retired before the crushing forces by which they were encircled and surrendered their arms to the generalissimo Paskevic.

This tragedy was terminated by reprisals as cruel as they were imprudent. These executions, engendered by blind passion or absolute ignorance of the popular soul, were carried out in a manner calculated to strike the contemporary imagination and to influence that of future generations.

Legend has enveloped this revolution with its roses and thorns. But on going right into its depth

it seems that this revolution could have been prevented by wise measures applied at the proper moment which perhaps could have quelled it even in its wildest convulsions.

One is tempted to believe that without the explosions of 1848/49 the settlement of the relations between all those countries, the admission of fractions of peoples to the concert of internal nations could have taken a natural and pacific course. But all went wrong because of these troubles and because the Crown was not able to bring its moral authority to bear upon the situation in the sense of conciliation.

Civil war made a terrible breach in the cement of the Empire. The secession of the races thus assumed a permanent character and created deep rancour and tenacious pretensions which partly still persist.

CHAPTER VI.

Absolutism. — Modification of ideas on the subject of nationalities in Hungary. — Kossuth and Deák. — «Compromise» of 1867. — Law concerning Nationalities.

The victors in the revolution represented two most different classes of men. First, the land owning gentry who occupied the steps of the throne with hereditary subservience. Fervently devoted to the Church, sensitive to the point of honour, friends of the people in the manner of ancient times, they considered the supreme administration of Society as their own patrimony. To this task they brought humanity and sometimes talent, but very little of the essential quality of statesmen: intuition with regard to the future.

Side by side with this high aristocracy, and as its silent rival, there was «the long robe», the aristocracy of second rank reduced to desk work, and the *bourgeoisie* which utilised employment

as a means of improving its condition. For these classes the state was an idol — the idol whose cult supports the clergy.

After the revolution had been subdued, Prince Schwarzenberg and the generals who led the empire by drum-beats, entrusted its reorganisation to this group, for whose chief they selected Alexander Bach. This man, ex-leader of the Vienna liberals, reached tl»e dignity of Minister of the Interior because of his happy aptness in defending the most varied causes. He employed Jacobin methods in advancing absolutism. Without considering the historic formation of the State, the particular conditions and the moral temperament of the nations, he broke with the old institutions, and forced all branches of the service to accept his way of unified administration. In 1852, German was decreed the official language of State and School. Like Joseph the Second, Bach germanised on a rationalistic principle with the intention of rendering the people proof against their traditional «prejudices».

This minister possessed all the qualifications wanted to make an excellent public steward. Yet

even they who availed themselves of his useful reforms were exasperated at his oppressive and arbitrary management. The police watched the clergyman in the sanctuary, the professor at his desk, the magistrate on the bench. Servile obedience became the only state-virtue. Those who lacked it were subject to violent persecution. Viel-Castel, in those days, met with an officer who highly praised hanging, «which, he said, he had often used, and which he recommended, as a means of coercion, to all nations which do not care to perish». *) Prince Ernest of Saxe-Coburg while passing through X'ienna, every morning read with astonishment in the Official Gazette, how many strokes had been ordered by the military tribunals. [3])

Necessity for a strong hand served as a pretext for this regime. Its admitted purpose was the maintenance of the Habsburg dynasty both in Germany and Italy. At any rate nothing contributed so much to the diminution of the heritage of

[1]) Viel-Castel, *Mé moires.* I. 29.
[2]) Saxe-Coburg. *Aus meinem Leben.* Berlin, 1888. II. 46.

Charles the Fifth as absolutism, whereby Austria was paralysed at home and abroad. Germany divided, France uncertain, Italy hostile, Russia nourishing bitter rancour, an empire without allies and without friends — all these factors entered into the international balance of the autocratic government. To these foreign difficulties were added the puzzling state of finance, and internal fermentation. The nationalities which had passed into the ranks of the counter-revolution «laboured» under the same benefits as their former Magyar antagonists. This common fate effaced the particular rancour of each. By and by *frondeurs* and loyalists joined in a permanent plot of discontent and spite, in a sort of passive semi-revolt, more violent in Hungary than anywhere else, but rife in every country and encompassing nearly all classes of society. Finally — is there any worse condemnation of a regime? — in the ill-fortune of the ministry and in the failure of its foreign policy rested the last hope of the majority of citizens.

They had not long to wait. These Caesarian conceptions involved Austria, weakened by civil war, in foreign conflicts. Obliged to cross swords

with France she lost Lombardy in 1859. In 1866 she was obliged to renounce her German aspirations, forced as she was to make war on Prussia. Posterity is hard upon those abandoned by the fortune of arms, whatever may have been their courage on the battlefield. The causes of this misfortune may be sought in the political system and in the weakening of *morale.*

Solferino overthrew Bach. After his government inspired by militarism and worked by bureaucracy, the land-owning gentry, conservatives and regionalists, came to power. At Vienna, an assembly of notables had been instituted. Its pronouncement was for the re-installation of «historico-political individualities», that is to say, the re-establishment[4] of the actual life and legislative autonomy of each country, whereby an extensive federation might be established, within which only the highest affairs of state were to be dealt with in common. This principle, however, was applied according to the views of men of the *ancien régime.* Not only in the king's Council but in the Assembly, the high aristocracy *were the decisive voice.* The new system assured the domination of this

class to such an extent, that even up to the present time on the borders of the Danube the term «federalism», means the regime of the land-owning gentry. Thus the Act ensuring their preponderance of power, called the «October diploma», was forced upon his people by Francis Joseph in 1860, disappointing those most illmatched elements: the centralists bureaucracy, the liberal *bourgeoisie* in Austria, and the whole of Hungary.

So the latter refused the « Diploma », considering it a mere gift of charity. She re-demanded her abolished constitution and the entire re-establishment of the democratic laws of 1848. In face of this resistance, and also for reasons of foreign policy, a fresh crisis broke out in 1861 which brought chevalier Schmerling into power. Again the management of the State was re-cast by the «February Patent».

With Schmerling, what reappeared on the scene was Schwarzenberg-Bach centralism, in milder form and enveloped in a charter. The principal object of the new cabinet was to re-establish Austria's influence in Germany. It tried to counterbalance Prussia by means of liberal Germany and

therefore undertook to obtain the sympathies of the liberal milieux in Austria. This system, Germanic by reason, bourgeois by opportunism, centralists by tradition, arrayed against itself everybody which was neither one nor an other of those things in the monarchy: Tchechs. Poles, Yugoslavs, German-catholic Austrians, regionalists. and, once more, all the Hungarians.

Remarkable it was that even the majority of the non-Magyar nationalities in Hungary declared themselves against the ministry and refused to send their representatives to the Central Parliament convoked at Vienna.[1])

It was not only Bach's and Schmerling's policy which had undermined the prevailing prejudices of former times. The change of Hungarian opinion concerning co-citizens of other blood played a prominent part in that result.

[1]) Schmerliug succeeded in gaining the Saxons and Rumanians of Transylvania. Cf. Eigenmann. Op. *cit.* 335.

After the downfall of the revolution thousands of patriots had been banished. Headed by Kossuth, they waited for a favourable occasion to stir up the country. They did not escape the particular errors of proscripts: illusions, hate and exaggerated hope. New horizons, however, were opened before these men living a new life. They became aware of the connexion between Hungary's fate and the general political situation in Europe. Their patriotism rid itself of petty strife.. They recognized their former errors. Discord between the Magyars and the nationalities had primarily assured the triumph of autocracy. In order to undertake a fresh campaign against it, the causes of the disagreement of races had, first or all, to be discarded.

Kossuth, in 1851, elaborated a « project of political organisation for Hungary». [1]) In order to preserve the unity of the kingdom without detriment to the development of the different nationalities, his intention was to grant them those means by which religious bodies possess in a free state liberty of association, education and language. Later

[1]) Cf. Irányi and Chasein. *Op. cit.* I. 371.

on. experience, journeys and a clearer view of Europe transformed his previous conceptions more and more. In 1862. he wrote to Countess Karolyi: «Whoever, instead of resting content with a position of leadership for the Magyars among peoples equal to them,') would rather lord it over other nationalities, digs a grave for the future of our race and for the liberty of our nation». He had an eye for the future linking up of the Hungarian nationalities and the evolution of the Balkan peoples. His intention was to eliminate all friction and to create a genuine brotherhood between Magyars. Rumanians and Yugo-Slavs. As an irreconcilable adversary of Austria he hoped to unite all these peoples in a phalanx of which Hungary was to be the kernel: «the Danube Confederation ». [s])

Whilst Kossuth and the *réfugiés* awaited, in their exile, a favorable conjuncture for reconquering their fatherland by means of an insurrection, and helped by the armed intervention of Austria's

[1]) Deák. Op. *ell.* V. 68.

[2]) Kossuth. *My emigration notes* (in Hungarian). Budapest, VI., 12.

adversaries, another chief and other ideas prevailed in Hungary.

A constant reader of Tacitus and Horace, inured to realities, Francis Deák, with his integrity and his extreme passion for justice, presented, beside these personal qualities, the most characteristic type of the Hungarian peasant: dignity, prudence and patient energy. After having entirely devoted his life to public welfare this gentleman-farmer became a kind of «pater patriae», the arbiter and moral dictator of his nation.

Deák recognized the necessity of re-establishing harmony between his country and the Habsburg dynasty, of providing for the general requirements of the monarchy, and of assuring to it, in face of the other powers, the unity indispensable for maintaining its rank as a great power. On the other hand, he demanded from the sovereign absolute legality and respect for the constitution and the laws of 1848. Concerning the relations between Hungary and Austria he did not admit any others than those « between free and independent countries ».

« It is not unity obtained by violence which gives strength to a monarchy», he said in a message sent to Francis Joseph by the Pest parliament in 1861. « Constraint hurts individual feeling in every country, it embitters hearts and provokes desires for separation and even dismemberment. To be strong the monarchy needs the enthusiasm and the energy of all nations ».

He did not content himself with claiming the application of these principles to the relations between Austria and Hungary. He did not admit any other system in Hungary's home affairs. «What we want», he wrote in the same solemn address, «is that neither religion nor nationality be an impediment to our countrymen in obtaining definite possession of civil rights. We further desire that all exigencies of our non-Hungarian citizens concerning their nationality be guaranteed by law in everything attainable without parcelling out the country and without sacrificing its legitimate independence ».

In this sense the nationalities commission of the Hungarian parliament proposed in 1861 to make

national rights the object of statutory laws, and to place such laws under the guarantee of national honour.

In his endeavours to bring about domestic peace Deák found a precious assistant in Baron Eötvös, romance-writer and philosopher and friend of Montalembert, whose trend of spirit he recalls in so many respects. Eötvös, in 1865, published a book on the problem of nationalities in which lie summed up the views of the pick of the liberals.[1]) Here are the main ideas of this work:

«At all times different races lived together in Hungary. A sense of solidarity, however, with their common fatherland never perished. In the new era the force of events created antagonisms among the different groups. It was impossible to cut the kingdom into autonomous lots. To this were op-

[1]) Eötvös. *The question of the nationalities.* Pest, 1865 (in Hungarian). A German translation appeared in the same year.

posed the interests of state, the sentiment of the majority of the inhabitants, and their ethnical entanglement apart from the certitude that such a solution would give rise to violent contests between these new formations. In order to re-establish concord the old kingdom would have to be maintained and the most perfect liberty granted not only to the individual, but collectively.

« The basis of the aspirations of nationalities is the same as that of modern civilisation: — the craving for liberty. It is impossible to extirpate such claims by force, or to lull them by trifling concessions. National tolerance is just as indispensable in the life of nations as religious tolerance.

«How are those principles to be realized? Hungary's customs and laws have established highly-developed self-government in her counties. No more is required than to maintain this and to apply strictly in the «comitats» the law of 1848 which declares all citizens equal. »

Deak's absolute integrity together with Eötvös' elevated conceptions, and the direction they succeeded in giving to the public mind, helped to win a considerable part of the youth of the different nationalities. This youth shared the general ideas of the Magyar liberals: in their idea Hungary's political and territorial unity seemed reconcilable with the future of the different races. The young people in Hungary helped Deak's action.

In vain from 1849 to 1865 the Austrian conquest had deprived Hungary of her means of power. Finally she appeared more alive and more united than at any moment of her history. The grandseigneur, the country squire, the citizen and the rustic formed a united and entire whole. Moreover, the peasant, after the abolition of serfdom with its statute-labour and its taxes, was most indifferent to anything beyond his domestic horizon; it was only about the end of the century that the literate classes brought him back to public life. [1])

[1]) For the mentality of the Austrian peasant see Helfert» Op. *cit.* 1.122. — Friedlung, *Oesterreich von 1848 bis I860,* 1.362.

In Hungary the invasion and the foreign regime had joined the Magyar peasant indissolubly to the rest of the nation. The block of peasants stood with all its authority behind the conductors of public opinion and became the principal support of the Hungarian movement. There is no doubt that the wisdom of Deák and his friends had contributed to his success which was accelerated by European events. The moral credit and great hold of the Hungarian cause with the peasantry were, however, the principal promoters of its success.

It was under such conditions that Hungary's old desires were accomplished. She placed herself on a footing of perfect equality with Austria. In 1867, Francis Joseph recognized the Hungarian Constitution. Since then the monarchy has been composed of two different states: Austria and Hungary. The permanent union of these two states in face of the other powers was assured by the person of the sovereign and by the community of the institutions bearing international character: diplomacy and the army.

This system, called dualism, was not without deficiencies. The edifice showed two haphazard

features: Bohemia and Croatia. Bohemia remained a simple province of Austria, while Croatia concluded a compromise with Hungary; this pact however, was not a hearty one. In spite of Deák's endeavours, and as a consequence of mutual errors, there was no sincere reconciliation between Hungária and Croatia. This latter country held the only access to the sea from the Hungarian plain; besides, Croatia was a ring in the chain joining Hungary to the Slavic Balkans.

In spite of its defects the dualistic system meant considerable progress in the public life of the monarchy. Nothing was further from the state of mind of Deák and his assistants than the interpretation which was given to this system later on: executive power monopolised by two races, or rather by coteries pretending to be their representatives. After absolutism and the tentative experiments succeeding it. dualism unquestionably incorporated a superior form of political and civil liberty.

Among the first tasks of the new Hungarian government was that of regulating the situation of the nationalities. Eötvös, minister of public instruction and worship, happily succeeded in transforming his doctrines into acts.

By the law of 1868 the Hungarian nation was declared one and indivisible and, confirming the equality of citizens, this law specified that public functions should be open to all nationalities and that only merit should determine dignities and offices. It recognized Magyar as the parliamentary language *) and as that to be used in the relations between the government and the local authorities, as well as in the universities. On the other hand it contained sanctions in order to protect the languages of the minorities in the assemblies. It granted to all races illimited use of their idioms. In the national schools Magyar was to be taught only as an alternative branch among the

[1]) An exception was made for the Croatian representatives who obtained the right of speaking their language even within the Hungarian parliament.

obligatory studies. The State pledged itself to teaching in its schools the language of the nationality inhabiting the district. In the universities chairs for the idiom and literature of all races in the kingdom were founded.

«All in all this law is certainly very liberal, said one of the most prominent critics of that epoch. Once admitting the stand-point that the political nation is *one,* and that the nationalities are incorporated in the State, it must be said that on all points the law shows a truly broad spirit and a sincere desire for justice. »*)

The representatives of the nationalities, however, received these propositions with mixed sentiments. Some of them, especially aged men, had not abandoned the vision of their adolescence: the territory of Hungary divided among the races which were its inhabitants. Whilst the Slovakish and Huthenian deputies declared themselves satisfied with the projects of the government, Rumanians and Serbians presented the fol-

[1]) Eisemnann, Op. *cit.* 551.

lowing amendment: «The limits of comitats and constituencies will have to be fixed on lines embodying nationality. They will have to be handed over to the nationality forming the majority.»

Save for this opposition it seemed that the endeavours made by Deák and Eötvös with a view to ensuring simultaneously the unity of the State and the full development of all nationalities, were crowned with success. They considered it as a duty of honour to see that the law of which they were the authors was regularly applied, and to recall unceasingly to all the fact that Hungary's interests did not consist in artificial, but in moral unity founded upon the hearty adherence of all her elements and upon their free co-operation.

If the doctrines of prudence and reason were unable to prevail this must not be attributed exclusively «to narrow-minded patriotism, to which pliancy and humanization after victory were unknown», as a prominent French public man wrote. [1]) Without considering the old irritá-

[1]) Léon Bourgeois. *Op. cit.*

ting contentions there were some more general and profound reasons: particular situations within the monarchy, their relation to international affairs, the domestic evolution of the country and the moral atmosphere of Europe.

CHAPTER. VII.

Nationalities in Hungary and the international status of the monarchy. — Russian imperialism. — Views of survivors and heirs of the counter-revolution of 1848 concerning the nationalities of Hungary.

The dualistic « Compromise » of 1867 was left at the mercy of human passions. The old resentments and contradictory ambitions subsisted. Fear of evil spirits haunted the minds in both camps. At Vienna there was regret for the central authority and anxiety caused by the feeling that the extreme parties which desired a complete separation of Hungary and Austria might one day prevail, while at Budapest the recollection of the personal and military *régime* remained alive. Hungarians considered all warlike enterprises and all territorial acquisitions as dangerous, because they could give a fresh impetus to Hungary's adversaries and in cite them to new onslaughts

upon her liberties. Although the «Compromise» tried ever so much to recognize two independent groups separated by the Leitha, [1]) the forces which had concluded this truce remained ever there. In all quarters were sought adherents at home and endeavours made towards a system of alliances in conformity with the local tendencies and conditions of life. That is why one must never forget, in order to find one's way in the labyrinth of Austro-Hungarian politics, to bring all facts into line with this general *ordre de bataille.* At last, the huge shadow rising in the East and which was to dominate for fifty years the public life of the monarchy, must not be lost sight of, namely the danger of Russian imperialism.

The relations between the courts of Vienna and Petersburg showed continual instability due to the wish of avoiding the fatal struggle and to the impossibility of conciliating Russian ambitions with the life conditions of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. At Petersburg two tendencies alternated with each other with regard to Austria-

[1]) River separating Austria from Hungary.

Hungary; at times that of dividing the Balkans in accord with Vienna, at other times that of annihilating the Habsburg monarchy.

In 1870. General Fadeyeff candidly explained these aspirations and the secret practices which formed their corollary: — «As long as Austria exists as a power of the first rank», he wrote, «Russia will be unable to solve the Oriental question to its own benefit. The way leading from St. Petersburg to Constantinople must necessarily pass through Vienna. Austria will never allow Russia to take possession of the Danube and to dominate the Balkans, and Austria, because of her geographical position, will always be able to stop Russia at will. Therefore Austria must be destroyed by Russia if the latter wishes to attain her ends. The way to achieve this is an attack through panslavism. »[1])

According to the prevalence of the one or the other tendency at Petersburg, efforts were made either to emasculate and weaken the Habsburg

[1]) See the expose of the work of Fadeyeff by E. de Laveleye, *He cue des Deux Mondes,* 1871» p. 379.

empire, or to give its policy a turn favorable to the aims of Muscovite imperialism.

It was in Hungary that these projects met with the most ardent opposition. The Magyar statesmen of the generation of Deák were guided by two principles: the safeguarding of the liberal regime at home; and, abroad, the prohibition of every enterprise of conquest and the upholding of Turkey in common with England. Andrassy modified this system according to his personal conception and in conformity with the advice of Benjamin de Kallay, a perfect expert in matters oriental. From the beginning of Andrassy's career it was his circumspect and supple policy to maintain Turkey as long as possible, to gain the sympathies of the Balkan nations and to concede to them territorial expansion on the day when the fall of European Turkey would have become unavoidable, to assure thus the pacific penetration of Austria-Hungary into the Balkans while preventing Russia from encircling the monarchy by annexations or by the creation of a powerful vassal State in the Peninsula.

His projects were opposed within the monarchy

by mighty adversaries belonging to the intimate circle of the sovereign. They would have preferred rushing into Oriental adventures in cooperation with Russia. These ideas were accepted with enthusiasm by the southern Slavs and gained the approbation of the Tchechs.

The question of preponderance, the angry animosity bequeathed by the events of 1848, the quarrel about Fiume,[1]) Hungary's only maritime opening, which, after 1867, was continually claimed by the Croatians on the strength of obsolete historical promptings — all these facts kept up a rather sharp antagonism between Hungary and Croatia. If the Croatians insisted upon in-

[1]) The town of Fiume, in the remote past, belonged to the patriarch of Aquilé. In 1193, the king of Hungary made ihat town over, by donation, to the Frangipany family. In 1489. emperor Frederic took possession of Fiume, which remained in the hands of Austria till 1776. At that time Maria Theresa annexed Fiume to Hungary, so as to give to Hungary a sea-port. In 1848, the Croatian general Jellalic took possession of Fiume. In 1867, the town was handed back to Hungary. Endowed with a completely autonomous constitution, that only port of Hungary remained connected with the Hungarian state till 1918.

Fiume is an Italian town, the surrounding open country being Croatian. The whole of the port's equipment is due to the Hungarians. The swaying to and fro of political forces may settle the fate of Fiume either in favour of one claimant or of another. But the only just and safe solution for Fiume would be to internationalize it.

tervention in favour of the « rayas » and upon an energetic policy in the Balkans, it was because of solidarity of races as well as in the hope of strengthening the influence of the Southern Slavs by increasing their number through the acquisition of new provinces.

Officers anxious for action played an important part in these combinations. [1]) The most prominent representative of such ideas was, however, Mgr. Strossmayer, bishop of Diakovar. A great heart and great by his endeavours to propagate arts and science amongst his people, this erudite prelate was but a magnanimous romancer in matters of policy. He dreamed of a Catholic panslavism, of a *rapprochement* between the two Churches and of the political union of the Slavs under the auspices of Rome. It seemed to him that the first step in this direction ought to be the destruction of Turkey. Her remains would be the material wanted to increase the monarchy by the

[1]) In the first place General Bodie, former *aide-de-cami)* to Jellalic, and general Philipovic. See Wertheimer, *Graf Julius Audrassy* and, Prsibram, *Erinne ranged einee altén Oester* reichers,* II. 97.

adjunction of a yugo-slavic empire which could have formed a wall of opposition to Hungary. [1])

The Tchechs as well as the Croatians desired a system of foreign affairs favourable to Russia not only by reasons of sentiment, but even more so because of the profits such tendency promised them for their home affairs.

Bohemia's most passionate desire was a position analogous to that of Hungary. As a matter of fact, perfect parity subsisted between the crowns of Saint Venceslas and Saint Stephen. Hungary, however; was, up to the beginning of the modern era, the crucible in which were welded the best of the human elements produced by her soil. Thus

[1]) «Austria must lead the yugo-slav movement ·. wrote a high Austrian officer, «not only in view of territorial acquisitions which might be expected: not only to oppose the panslavistie aspirations of Russia by dividing the Slavs; not only to satisfy a large part of her nationalities but above all with a view to creating a counter weight to the threatened preponderance of the Magyars. — K. v. Th. *Oesterreich und die südeutschen Heu-egung.* Berlin, 1876, 72.

rural populations of foreign blood occupied the outer ring. The Tchechs shared the terrory of the kingdom with rich and cultured citizens; those Germans of Bohemia disposed of the moral patronage of Greater Germany, and of the support of the Austrian Germans who occupied the first place in the State. In Hungary the aristocracy was passionately Magyar. This country, so much divided, rose unanimously whenever its national existence was endangered. In Bohemia, part of the aristocracy belonged to the centralistic camp, while another part was favourable to the Tchechs as a consequence of its social and religious convictions. These former great feudatories considered themselves the protectors of the inhabitants of their domains. [1]) But they did not identify themselves with the nation. For many years they dragged the Tchech movement in their track, that is towards reactionary federalism. In Hungary, at moments of disturbance or under impulse from abroad the claims made by the nationalities meant a transient thrust at the unity of the country. Such claims

[1]) Eisenmann has analysed with much perspicacity the difference between Bohemia and Hungary. Cf. *Op. cit.* 349.

could be met by moderate concessions in a spirit of fraternity without sacrificing the State. In Bohemia, the plan was to create Bohemia in all points, and to create her in opposition to Vienna where the division of the empire rankled still, in opposition to the Germans of Bohemia, and, later on. to the Hungarians. The Magyars already felt uneasiness in remembrance of the part played by Bohemia in 1848; now the probable effects of the restoration of the Tchech empire on the Slavs of Hungary troubled them. When the politicians at Budapest anticipated that the transformation of the Bohemian provinces into a Tchech State would infallibly bring about the downfall of the liberal *régime,* the Russian alliance, the division of the Balkans, and the Slav preponderance in the monarchy, they threw their decisive weight on the other side of the scale.

Every deception gave fresh life to the Muscovite illusions of the Tchechs. These intimate connections with a power which its ambitions hopelessly opposed to Austria-Hungary, contributed to the harming of Bohemia. Although the parties alternated at Prague, although the feudal squires

were replaced by radical *bourgeois,* who, in their turn, were replaced by democratic elements, the general situation remained unchanged. This industrious and tenacious nation persisted in lifting up a burden too heavy for its shoulders in the shape of the entire political and diplomatic system which the Russian threat imposed upon the monarchy.

For a long time the alliance with Russia fed the dream of foreign prestige and domestic domination indulged in by the survivors and heirs of the coalition which had brought about the counter-revolution of 1848. As in those days, this group now hoped to renew the league of Austria with the dissensious nationalities in Hungary. No occasion was lost to plead their cause. The Magyars were adjured to give full vent to forces which, some day, might be turned against them in order to reduce Hungary's place in the frame of the monarchy, or to force the Magyars to accept a foreign policy in conformity with the desires of the Slavs.

Repeatedly those secret political machinations had disturbed the nationalities in Hungary. Du-

ring the Turco-Serbian war a subversive committee plotted an insurrection in the southern Marches with a view to coercing the government and obliging it to intervene in the Balkans. In Croatia serious peasant riots broke out. In the north, Russian propaganda was so intense that in 1872 the Cabinet committed the mistake of trying to annihilate it by dosing the Slovakish lyceums in Upper Hungary.

Those embroilments engendered distrust and desires for coercion with regard to the nationalities.

In cases of local competition, when are apt to be confused, and that often unconsciously, sectional advantages with public interests, plausible claims could be derived from that state of things. All this brought forth measures of exception opposed to the laws of 1868 and to the spirit which had prompted them.

CHAPTER VIII.

The nationalities in Hungary and the social crisis.

These political vicissitudes considerably damaged the nationalities. But it was above all social difficulties which checked their development: the double crisis of which Hungary was the scene of action, that of property and that of the agricultural proletariat.

In ancient Hungary, the gentry constituted the middle class. The emancipation of the serfs in 1848 deprived this class of gratuitous manual labour. It was indemnified in particularly unfavourable conditions. The economic changes put it cruelly to the test and forced into the cities a multitude of homeless country noblemen. Separated from their land which assured them independence, preserving ancient habits of authority, there remained for them no resource except public functions.

Some lived in their province and took refuge in the local administration. In Hungary the *comitats* possessed prerogatives almost as extensive as the Swiss cantons. Formerly the administration of the *comitat* had belonged to the country nobility, without pay. simply as a matter of honour. Now these offices became the means of livelihood for this class. Favouritism, tempered by kind-heartedness and local knowledge, remained its administrative method.

Others, the majority of these homeless ones, clung to the helm of the state, and formed a body of officials, which kept increasing from day to day. Between the great landed aristocracy and the peasants there existed only a hybrid bourgeoisie, of recent date, which actually depended, materially or morally, on the established power. The working classes were excluded from public life. The parliamentary regime soon showed signs of this universal subjection. In the legislative circles the number of independent men was continually diminishing. The restricted suffrage furnished the government with the most efficacious means for working the electoral system at its pleasure. The

party which held the reins became sovereign and absolute master. It made use of public patronage in order to enrich its partners and to keep its opponents at a distance. Despite the extreme individualism implanted in the manners and customs of Hungary the force of those facts gave a sort of omnipotence to the State.

Within the middle class there was neither ethnical nor social distinction between Magyars and non-Magyars. In former times the accidents of destiny, marriages, fortune and misfortune, elevated some to the directing class and sank others into the unnamed mass. These last adapted themselves to the idiom and customs of those about them. Many of the families knew the vicissitudes of fortune; this often caused changes in social situation, customs and language, to wit, in nationality. In the archives of the Chapters, where the family papers are preserved, it is possible to find innumerable examples of these transformations. The knowledge of these realities of the past teaches a great lesson in fraternity.

In our own times, within the educated classes in Hungary nationality has become, so to speak, a

moral preference. The races are not well-defined, but confused. If nationality is not determined by the place of birth, then the words of a comrade, the teachings of a professor, a wife, in a word, a lot of haphazard circumstances, bend conscience towards one side or another.

What perspectives for the future were opened to the cultivated man who adopted the Slovak, Serbian or Rumanian mode of thinking? These nationalities inhabited the outskirts of the kingdom. Commerce and industry were rare in those regions. The provincial institutions remained the privilege of the landed nobility. The bourgeoisie of those races had scarcely any access to state positions. It flung itself upon the liberal professions. With the exception of a minority of opportunists, who had rallied to the side of the government, the share of those men in the exercice of power was but very small. Their profession generally was in close dependency on public life, so that they felt the disadvantages of their political situation even in their private existence.

In any society the upward movement of the inferior classes meets with a certain resistance. In

this special case the back-wash and cross currents of social derangement rendered that resistance particularly odious. False ideas as regards the preservation of nationality, the *esprit de clique,* the hunting after employments created an obstacle almost more irritating than the legal disability.

With the Magyars of humble origin this inferiority nourished party and class hatred. The Rumanian or Slovak bourgeois, grandson of serfs, had nearly always entertained relations with the peasantry and expected from the revival of his people the appeasement of his grievances, the realisation of his hopes. The conflict of the races, after having first been a literary and political battle, entered upon a new stage: it transformed itself into a struggle of the middle classes for the administrative posts.

The ancient resentments were revived. The consequence thereof was a propaganda characterised by the exaggeration which always goes along with action of this kind. In order to justify the aspirations of their day the intellectual men in the minority groups had recourse to the re-

miniscences of the past. This past was interpreted by them with more enthusiasm than criticism. The work of their publicists and historians gives often the impression of certain ancient pictures in which the painter has clothed the apostles in the costume of his contemporaries. Those writers put info the mouths of the dead the words of the living. Their pen was employed to efface the souvenirs of eight centuries spent in common by the various races of Hungary. Thus they created at last a kind of retrospective hatred. Amongst the banner carriers of the nationalities there were men of high idealism, though they generally lacked political knowledge and the schooling of experience. Beside these exalted but perfectly reputable leaders appeared men fired with a mean ambition who complicated and thus aggravated the struggle by their intrigues and often with their bribery.

In the entirely Magyar centre of Hungary, the vaguest notions penetrated about the nationalities and the reasons of their discontent. There one took the effect for the cause and thought that those parasites. those «agitators» — the newspapers liked

to call them emissaries paid by Russia — had provoked the movement which procured them a livelihood. For centuries the struggle against Austrian tutelage had been the great question with the Hungarian nation. Its eyes remained fixed in that direction. The differences with Austria aroused the feelings of noblemen and peasants. It was the business of professed politicians to settle the problem of the nationalities.

Deák had tried to establish equilibrium and racial harmony by means of an open and generous policy. His successors treated these grave problems with the methods which were familiar to them: the artifices of subordinate officials.

There were consequently on the one hand the masses of the nation, almost foreign to the vital problem of its existence, politicians incapable of elevating themselves above the considerations of the moment, legists who entrenched themselves belli ml the letter of an old and obsolete text-book of public Law; on the other side there were men wrapped in a cloud of illusions, there were unbridled pretensions, and a system of public education which was almost of a nature to excite to

civil war. Soon the old tactics of the nationalities, which had consisted in concocting schemes with the dictatorship at Vienna, were taken up again.

This tendency, in seeking its support atVienna, touched the sensitive point of public opinion in Hungary. The authors of a memorial concerning the Rumanians of Transylvania were brought before the tribunals. This memorial had not been directed. as it should have been, to the constitutional king of Hungary, but to the Emperor of Austria at Vienna. The trial of offences against the press laws became more and more frequent. Never has repression had any other result than to overexcite the minds and to procure for the cause of' the adverse party new agents of propaganda. It was not otherwise in Hungary.

« It is always in the inferior classes that national hatred is the most energetic and the most fervent,» said Goethe to Eckermann. This thought is

correct as far as the « third estate » is concerned. Nevertheless we would look in vain for such passions within the labouring classes — the real force and source of life of the nations. In Hungary the people ignored racial rivalries. When any made their appearance, they were artificial and temporary. Except in Transylvania, where the recollection of the peasant riots and the difference of religions developed a certain animosity, even in remote country districts, the lower orders of the population lived contentedly side by side, they underwent the same fatigues and shared the same pleasures. These neighbours lived in constant reciprocal touch, they became intertwined and coalesced.

«It is very interesting from the point of view of racial psychology. » said Elysée Reclus, «to study the gradual changes in nationalities. Thus in northern Hungary the Germans, in spite of their being neighbours of the compact masses of the Germanic population, became magyarised in great numbers. In the *comitats* of the Carpathians, in the midst of the Slovaks and Ruthenians, many Germans likewise assimilated to their surroun-

dings: there they became Slavs. The contrary phenomenon can be noticed in the Banat and the other sections of southern Hungary where the Germans, who had mostly come from the basin of the Rhine about one hundred years ago, find themselves in contact with the Rumanians and Serbians.» [1])

More frequently even than among the bourgeoisie, individuals among the people or even entire enclaves became denationalised and dissolved within the foreign groups. The internal migrations contributed also to *rapprochement* and intermixture of the races. Such shiftings were particularly frequent among the Slovaks. The ungrateful soil of the Carpathians did scarcely suffice to procure them a living. They carried on a nomadic life; and at the season of hay-making they came in multitudes down into the plain in order to gather the crdps. These hard-working auxiliaries met with the best reception on the part of the Ma-

[1]) Elysée Reclus. *Nouvelle Géographie Universelie.* Paris, 1878, III, 344. It is surprising that among the contemporary writers no one has taken into account the observations of this *xavant.* whose probity and erudition can by no means be questioned, and who studied Hungary on the spot.

gyar peasant. Certain authors have claimed that the latter entertained a «morbid hatred with regard to the Slav and that he often repeated the sentence: «The Slovak is not a man.» There actually is a humourous expression with the Magyar people: «The Slovak is not a male, macaroni is not a dish.» The peasant of the Danube is firm and proud; the Slovak is docile, and meek. The proverb expresses quite exactly this difference of character. History did not preserve the name of the publicist who was the first to drop the macaroni out of this popular expression and thus to give it a signification of cruel disdain. After all, thus tampered with, that phrase is the one proof which has been produced in order to demonstrate the hatred between Slovak and Magyar peasants. Mr. Gabriel Jaray too, a Frenchman who judged the affairs of Hungary with the greatest amount of insight, confirms the fact that racial antagonism is foreign to the popular classes.» The social unpleasantness», he writes, «which prevails in the centre of Hungary, exists also in the boundary districts of the country where the different nationalities dwell. And there the social claims are some-

times made manifest under a national form, when some priest or other church official or some bourgeois propagandist has started agitating among the peasantry... As there is not any aristocracy and but little rich bourgeoisie among the nationalities, the lower bourgeois and the poor clergy have been obliged to make themselves the defenders of the peasants against Magyar aristocracy in order to keep up their influence and to win the people to their cause. They take advantage of the racial difference in order to combine the social conflict with the national conflict; but the impartial observers agree in saying that in general the masses of the peasants of the different nationalities at the present day nurse social resentments and not racial hatred. » [1])

This social malaise took its source in the economic changes and in the regime of landed property.

In 1848, the abolition of serfdom had transformed the tenant into a proprietor. Fifty years later the rural masses had a majority in the proletariat consisting of cultivators, whose land did not suf-

[1]) G. L. J a ray: *La question sociale et le socialisme eu Honnrie.* Paris, 19(19, p. 216.

fice to procure them a living, and of day labourers without property. Quite 64.5 % of the population of Hungary supported itself through agriculture. But almost half of the population did not possess any landed property whatsoever. And even among the land-owners one million and four hundred thousand had only very small lots of land, too small to suffice for their needs. The peasants owning small pieces of land, as well as the agricultural labourer. hankered after land. They had not enough of it. Indigence, the lack of economic organisation, the mode of land-tenure prevented them from obtaining it. The big inalienable domains took up one third of the cultivated soil of Hungary. Entire districts became depopulated. In certain villages it was possible to see some streets where every window was boarded up, where the grass was actually growing on the threshold. The occupant had expatriated himself.

The Magyar, the Slovak and the Rumanian intermingled on board the transatlantic vessels sailing for America. They were animated by the same aim: to earn money in order to purchase a piece of land in their native country.

CHAPTER IX.

Universal recrudescence of chauvinism. — Efforts to bring about unity in Hungary. — Errors of this action and exterior instigations, embittering the conflict of the nationalities. — Isolated voices recalling the traditions of Hungarian liberalism: Mocsary and .lászi.

Such was the particular situation of Hungary at the time when economic competition, the fury of hegemony and the opposition of two great European systems of alliance was beginning to blind the people and to give them arms against each other. Education had for its principal object to excite the minds and to develop national vanity. The electoral and parliamentary practices brought forth a formidable increase of chauvinism. Everything tended towards this disastrous and exalted state of mind, which, like the religious fanaticism of the century of the Reformation, tended to put a lever in the hands of the rival powers.

Under the pressure of this chauvinism which, through contagion, permeated almost all countries, there arose, among the Magyars, some arrogant minds which formulated the theory that their mission as a nation was to dominate over the minority races. This theory bore testimony of an utter misunderstanding of Hungary's past and of a dangerous delusion as regards its future. It was quite logical that the authors of these extravagant ideas should demand systematic absorption, sometimes even assimilation by force, of all the nationalities. These men of many words and of little effect assisted in flustering the minds of the middle class. But never did the methods which they advocated prevail in Hungary. *) However in the midst of these misgivings, the idea of strengthening the unity of the kingdom grew more and more. The aim was lawful, but the means employed were erroneous.

[1]) Tn his excellent work *La race slave*.. Paris, 1911, Mr. L. Niedenlé states that the Slovaks are threatened with the loss of their landed property, «after the fashion of what happened in Prussia. — The trustworthiness of Mr. Niederlé must be questioned. Not only has no measure of this nature been applied in Hungary .but the landed property of the Slovaks increased considerably, owing to the savings brought from America.

« It does not suffice, said, in 1882, Szilagyi, one of the best minds of the Hungarian Chamber, to claim the confidence of nationalities. One must also know how to gain it. » The idea of a « Hungarian State » became a vague and disquieting abstraction as soon as it contrasted with the sentiments and habits of one's birth-place. One's local dialect constitutes the only source of light for primitive beings. In 1900, the number of illiterates was still very considerable in Hungary. In this respect, the figures of the census were especially unfavourable to the nationalities.[1]) To insist, however, upon making the Magyar language the obligatory, if not exclusive, medium of education in those regions, was exactly the opposite course of the one which reasonably ought to be followed. Those who thus advocated the diffusion of the knowledge of Magyar with a view to the spread of bilinguism and in order to consolidate the unity of a polyglot Hungary, simply helped to retard

[1]) Of every one hundred persons in Hungary the number which could read and write in 1900. was: Germans 67, Magyars 61, Croatians 52.8, Slovaks 50,1, Serbians 41,5, Rumanians 20.4, Ukrainians 14,5. Since 1900 the number has increased on an average by 7 per cent.

the freeing of the masses from their ignorance and their credulity. The Magyar language could only form a connecting link between the various elements of the country.

At the same time, the chauvinists of Hungary omitted to consider the fact that the non-Magyar groups looked for moral support from foreign members of their own race. Therefore failure to recognise their interests, together with disregard of their traditions, was bound to make them willing helpmates of the cluster of flighty people steadfastly hostile to Hungary.

Instances of uncalled-for severity and of obtrusive proselytism merely furthered the designs of the latter. Moreover, instigation from abroad was equally forthcoming. At last, mistrust and irritation reached such a pitch among the races that any measure adopted by the legislative power became in their eyes an attempt towards denationalisation.

A law calculated to intensify the teaching of Magyar in the secondary schools was received by the Germans, Rumanians, Serbians and Slovaks with serious, and by no means unjustified, resent-

ment. Formerly, the intervention of Deák had defeated a proposal of the same kind. He had shown that the purely Magyar colleges in both the Slav and Rumanian regions constituted for the students the same hindrance, imposed upon them the same excessive strain, as did before instruction in Latin. On that occasion, Deák had not failed to remind his countrymen of the fact that in order to gain the sympathies oPthe nationalities,it was of no use attempting to denationalise them but that, instead, every effort ought to be made towards winning them as friends for the Magyar commonwealth.

No sooner had the excitement caused by the said law subsided, than protests arose with almost equal violence against a decree on the *creches* (nursery-homes), a humanitarian and socially beneficial measure. This decree had a double purpose in view: on the one hand it was intended to combat infantile mortality, on the other it was to allow the children to acquire, without great effort or constraint, a few notions of Magyar. In this manner, they secured at a tender age the advantages which accrue to bi-lingual

men, as against those who possess but one idiom, an advantage especially important in a country possessing an official language besides several native tongues. The apprehension that a few hours teaching in Hungarian might supplant the mother tongue, becomes explicable only in view of the increasing violence of the racial conflict.

Various circumstances contributed to increase the fever of excitement. Persons of little worth would put unduly to use the intense resentment as a platform on which to raise themselves. They fostered the passions among the illiterate. In some of the remote villages outbreaks of fright and anger, as well as the frantic excesses of the local officials,would at times cause bloodshed. Those interested in such a state of unrest willingly seized every pretext for agitation. Abroad, historians and publicists were loud against an imaginary slavery, though mostly possessing mere fantastic notions of the country upon which they pretended to sit as judges; others, again, disposed of only rudimentary knowledge enabling them even less to gather the truth. Some of them may have been inspired by disinterested and generous motives,

others by the conviction that the enfeeblement of Hungary would redound to the greater security of their own nation.

In spite of all such intrigues, of the passions and general tendencies of the epoch, courageous voices made themselves heard in Hungary to protest against the abandonment of the true liberal traditions.

« The chauvinists claim », writes Louis de Mocsáry in 1886, «that any means should be taken advantage of in serving Magyardom. But let us not listen to such advice. We shall leave violence to the Muscovites and the Germans. Those methods disagree as much with our interests as with the Magyar mentality. Honesty is the best policy also with regard to the nationalities.»[1]) To strictly observe both letter and spirit of the law of 1868,

[1]) *Some considerations on the Question of nationalities.* Budapest 1886. (in Hungarian).

to support the intellectual aspirations of the nationalities and to concede to them a just share in the public functions, these were the principles proclaimed and upheld by that enlightened patriot. With perfect clear-sightedness he showed that an understanding between the nations was the only possible basis upon which internal order could be established in the country, a safeguard against any attempt to break the equipoise of the monarchy to the detriment of Hungary, a strong arm against the irredentist manoeuvres of its neighbours; in a word, the *sine qua non* for the maintenance of good relations between Austria-Hungary and the surrounding countries.

More recently a Hungarian democrat, Mr. Oscar Jászi, took up the defence of the nationalities.[1] His book may appear somewhat doctrinary, and the colours he employs somewhat too dark, as, indeed, is frequently the case with literature of propaganda; his intentions, however, are generous and his conclusions just. He sets forth that the essentially Magyar character of the country

[1]) *The formation of the national States and the question of the nationalities.* Budapest, 1912. (In Hungarian.)

had not been founded, nor maintained, by violence or artifice, but owed its existence to economic and social considerations. The Magyars are comparatively more numerous than their countrymen of another nationality among the urban population, among the intellectual professions and, last but not least, among the directors of commercial and industrial enterprises.[1]) The figures show — as Mr. Jászi writes — that the rank now occupied by the Magyars has been gained by them in the course of several centuries. They owe it, in fact, to their historical evolution and not to factitious means. Methods of the latter kind will always prove powerless in the face of the living forces.

Only the spontaneous collaboration of free peoples can bring about their complete and sincere assimilation. To attain this purpose, good schools and a reliable administration in the language of the people concerned are required, and each nationality must be granted that amount of liberty which is indispensable for the development of its

[1]) See Supplement IV-VI.

particular kind of civilisation. The aim of modern Hungary can only be a polyglot democracy within the frame of the Hungarian State. This polyglot democracy will easily fulfil its mission, which is to throw a bridge between Hungary and the Balkan States.

CHAPTER X.

European atmosphere at the beginning of this century. — Evolution of the Balkan peoples. — Legitimate side and imperialistic side of the Yugoslav, Bumanian and Tchech claims.

Through the working of the various alliances, thanks also to the combats which were fought in the shady recesses of the chancelries, also in consequence, finally, of the political state of the surrounding countries ,fermentation among the races of Hungary was ever kept alive.

Behaving like an immense bulk of water inclined by its own weight, now to the left, now to the right, tsaristic Russia, defeated in the Far East, turned towards the West. Once more the ardent solicitude which the Greco-Slavonians showed towards the small peoples of the same blood and religion supplied a weapon in the international action of tsarism, the latter reverting to the old

method of fomenting internal dissensions among the Danubian States with the pretext of furthering both Slav civilisation and the orthodox creed. The tsarisfs found still more powerful instruments among the peoples of the Balkan States. In times gone by, the government of St. Petersburg had frequently made use of them in order to beat Turkey. It now turned the battering-ram against Austria-Hungary. The evolution of those countries, international conjunctures, and the general tendencies of the century, equally favoured those designs.

The Balkan States had rapidly passed through the stages separating them from independence. After having been, alternately, Turkish pashalics and vassal provinces of the Sublime Porte, they finally liberated themselves from the Ottoman sovereignty. After several centuries of humiliating subjection, the Balkanic agglomeration reached a state of sudden prosperity, liberty, and receptibility for western ideas. Above the surface, one could see public manners preserving still the mark of intrigue and dissimulation and giving rise to those outbursts of violence which had been,

during the long spell of servitude, proper to ancestral times. Beneath the surface, however, were the primitive masses of the rural population, displaying an admirable vitality. Ancient and almost legendary visions were working upon those youthful mentalities: the visions of the Walachia of Stephen the Great, the Bulgaria of Simeon, the Serbia of Duchan, empires which had extended in the Middle Ages to provinces at the present belonging to other States. To those peoples, freshly rising to a renewed civilisation and characterised by extraordinary vehemence of emotions, the impetuous and ambitious politicians supported by Russia would preach as a kind of religion the conquest of the territories inhabited by a certain number of their co-nationals.

The customs-policy adopted by the monarchy with regard to Serbia had effects quite contrary to those which its authors had expected. Those measures injured the Serbian cultivators in their

most vital interests. The securing of an outlet on the coast became for Serbia the most urgent of its needs. The constraint clumsily laid upon that valiant little kingdom by an overbearing Austria raised national sentiment to the highest pitch.

The aspirations tending to unite all the Balkan Slavs were rekindled. The old so-called « Illyrian movement» reappeared under a new aspect. It gave up claiming Bulgaria. But whilst in Metternich's time the Council of Vienna had favoured the movement towards unity of which Croatia formed the attractive pole, now, on the contrary, it was a question of detaching Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, the Austro-Slovenian regions, and the counties inhabited by the Serbians of Hungary, in order to construct out of those fragments a Yugo-Slav empire subject to the law of Belgrade.

Without taking into account the aggrandizement schemes and the combinations of external policy encouraging this action, what were the vital foundations of Yugo-Slavism? For many centuries the Croatians had been associated with Hungary arid the Serbians were underlings to the Sublime Porte; the former were Roman-catholics,

the latter orthodox. To this circumstance a pronounced diversity in manners and characters was attributable. [1]) Among a limited number of intellectual men and, consequently, among part of the bourgeoisie the ideal of unity was able to get the upper hand of tradition. But tradition remained deep-rooted in the people.

The efforts of the Serbian State, the international conditions, the narrowness of the political conceptions prevailing in the monarchy, all these things contributed to win part of the bourgeoisie of the Marches for» the Yugo-Slav idea. A Yugoslav bourgeoisie was about to be constituted, but there was no Yugo-Slav people. The causes of division remained so powerful that they separated the Croatian and Serbian peasants living together in the same villages. The impartial observers agreed in acknowledging that the century-old ditch was «covered but not filled» [2]) Through force it was possible to bring about the subjection

[1]) See the clear exposé of this disparity in the book *La Save, le Danube et le Halkan,* by M. L. Léger, Paris, 1889, p. 78.

[2]) Henry René. *Questions d'Autriche-Hongrie. el questions d'Orient.* Paris, 1903, p. 273.

Of one group. It was impossible to amalgamate the Serbian and Croatian masses with one another without crushing one or the other. Greater Croatia as well as Greater Serbia are imperialistic conceptions. The federation of the Yugo-Slav peoples is the only equitable conception.

Whatever the facts may be, Hungary will not be in a position to maintain the agreement uniting it with Croatia unless it grant to the latter country entire liberty and strictly observe with regard to this small country the same principles which it has constantly claimed for itself from its Austrian associate. The true interests of the Hungarian people are by no means contrary to a federated Croatia on friendly terms with Hungary and allied with the other southern Slavs.

The state of things was, however, by no means the same with regard to Rumania. In Hungary, to be sure, the Rumanian bourgeoisie was

practically excluded from governmental business. But the situation of the Rumanian people of Hungary seemed to be infinitely more advantageous than that of their brothers in Rumania. From 1900 to 1910 the Rumanian cultivators of Transylvania had acquired landed property amounting to eighty millions. In Rumania, where the suppression of serfdom was delayed longer than in any European country, the agrarian revolutions periodically succeeded one another; the last and most ferocious took place in 1907. At Bucarest one was pleased to speak of the «liberation » of the Rumanians of Transylvania. As a matter of fact the social and administrative imperfections, with which one could reproach Hungary, existed in Rumania even on a much larger scale.

Besides, Transylvania has never been a component part of Rumania. It is true that the majority of the peasantry in Transylvania are Rumanians. Nonetheless, almost all the towns are Hungarian or Saxon, and some extensive districts are entirely Magyar or Siculian. Three Siculian « comitats », with a Hungarian comitat in the immediate vicinity, are particularly noticeable. They

form a homogeneous territory with a population which is essentially Magyar and Protestant, and more numerous than the population of the whole of the French-speaking parts of Switzerland.

The pretensions to incorporate territories in the name of ethnic affinity became manifest even within the borders of the Monarchy. The Tchechs had been working for nearly a century for the restoration of the kingdom of Bohemia. In its first stage, this movement finished with the alliance of the Austrian Slav with absolutism, and Bohemia was submerged in the common subjection. In its second stage — from 1867 to 1914 — the Tchech effort met with unsurmountable hindrances arising from the internal situation and the international conditions of the monarchy. Herein are rooted the bitterness, the exaltation and those exaggerated pretensions which prove so prejudicial to the realisation of just demands. A most justified interest in a people, who had so long

lived in intellectual communion with them, made the Tchechs feel attracted towards their Slovak kith and kin. The contagion of the century's evil, i. e. the strong desire to get new frontiers at the expense of one's neighbour, suggested to the extreme nationalists of Prague the idea of tearing away from Hungary the counties inhabited by Slovaks. An intense propaganda directed from Prague came forth in those regions. The «Old Slovaks», who wished to preserve the individuality of their people against the Magyars as against the Tchechs, could not hold their own. This purely political and intellectual party was not adequate to the modern methods of the Tchechs and of their Slovak adherents. The Tchechs created new outlets for the industry of Bohemia and extended their influence through the force of material interests and by social welfare work.

In Bohemia, too, there was a race in the minority. But whilst the Tchechs did not tolerate any attack against the unity of their fatherland, and did not even consent to the creation of administrative districts which would have safeguarded

the rights of the German minority without detaching it from Bohemia, the chauvinists of Prague proclaimed opposite principles with regard to Hungary. They did not admit any other solution of the Slovak question than that which was intended to assure them the coveted regions.

Mr. Niederlé, the eminent professor of the faculty of Prague, recognises that the unity of Tchechs and Slovaks is «purely theoretical». The Slovaks detached themselves from the kingdom of Bohemia in 1031, i. e. nine hundred years ago. «Notwithstanding the relations which they have entertained since that time with the Tchechs, and despite numerous attempts at approximation, the separation continues. » [1]) We must add to this that the fatherland of the Slovak, i. e. Upper Hungary or Slovakia, as Tchech publicists recently called it, is a mixed country. The towns are Hungarian. some of them are «Saxon», the rural districts in the north purely Slovak, in the south Slovak and Magyar and in the east Slovak and Huthenian.

[1]) Niederlé. *Op. cit.* p. 133.

History and ethnography thus offer but feeble arguments in favour of the Tchech claims as far as the Slovaks are concerned. Did those aspirations to territorial gain serve the highly legitimate desire of re-establishing the kingdom of Bohemia? Up to that date the grievances of the Slovaks and divergent conceptions in international questions had caused dissensions between Bohemia and those directing the destinies of Hungary. The intentions of the Tchechs concerning the acquisition of a section of the Hungarian territory created an irreductible antagonism between Bohemia and the Hungarian nation.

The extreme party in Prague did not conceal that it hoped to be. able to annex the Slovak regions of Hungary either by modifying the internal equilibrium of the monarchy or by profiting by a general European overthrow. Foreseeing such events, Muscovite imperialism paid special attention to the Slovaks. Its action extended as far as America. An immense organisation, disposing of rich resources, helped Russia in bringing within reach, sometimes even in converting to the orthodox faith, the Slav emigrants of Hun-

gary. [1]) Those peasants left Hungary practically as serfs, but they returned from America conscious of being citizens. Nevertheless — strange irony of destiny! — they mostly returned from that country of liberty with feelings of attachment to the power which then represented the worst of all autocratic governments. The use which tsarism made of both the democratic ideas and the principle of nationalities proscribed in Russia, became for its neighbours a kind of permanent moral provocation.

[1]) Raoul Chela rd. *Emigration hongroise at panslavisme américain,* in La Science sociale . Paris, 1902, uovembre.

CHAPTER XII.

The war and the nationalities of Hungary. — The only means of appeasement: Broad-mindedness as regards the nationalities. The dangers of a mean policy. — The inconveniences of territorial federalism on account of the intermixture of the races. — Dismemberment of Hungary would be only a precarious work of force. — Necessity of returning to the system and spirit of Deák: to maintain unity of territory but to consider each nationality as a moral body and to assure it the free manifestation of nationality. — Universal suffrage will give to Parliament for each nationality!representatives in proportion to ils numbers. — Instead of dividing the country according to the ethnographical majorities, it behoves to transform the *eomitat* into an organ of common and democratic se/f-t/orei'wment of the different races. — This *regime* will open the way fora Confederation of the, Danube. — The first condition of existence for such a confederation is not to nurture an aggressive frame of mind against any of its members or neighbours. — The international situation of the monarchy and the future of Hungary depend in the first place upon the conception which will prevail with regard to the national minorities.

The war brought terrible trials to Hungary; the military onslaught was followed immediately by the political one. On both sides the belligerent

Powers did their best to profit by racial dissensions with a view to weakening the adversary. The ethnographical and moral conditions of Hungary were especially favourable for proceedings of this nature. The armies beating against its frontiers were partly consanguineous with those who defended them. As long as Hungary was threatened by invasion, the greatest misfortune which may strike any people, the government could not hesitate to employ all measures required with regard to the imminence of the danger. But after the eventual elimination of this peril any restrictive measures pertaining to the nationalities became useless, immoral and impolitic. Have social or national movements ever been brought to a standstill by laws of repression? Just the opposite method is required if the spirits are to be appeased. To forbid minority races to freely develop their character and state of mind would be like training a permanent vanguard for the benefit of any internal or external enemy. To oppose the course of the century, to allow oneself to be absorbed in a narrow policy at a great epoch would expose Hungary to the worst perils.

The United States were already a great school of work, of moral affranchisement and of self-respect for the peoples of Hungary. Hungarians returned from America with feelings of pride. The homes of those «Americans» could be easily distinguished by their well-to-do appearance. And as to the proprietors of these homes, they could be readily recognised by their conduct as men conscious of their rights and duties.

In the future, Russia could exert an influence of the same sort over its neighbours. Bismarck called this country «a gigantic nonentity. » The erudite Croatian Racki, however, wrote in 1884 from Moscow: «The Russian statesmen have committed many mistakes, they will still commit many, but this great people will correct them. Even the most serious errors and faults vanish in this immensity.»

When this immensity has been appeased and has become the most extensive labour-yard on the continent, the Danubian peasant, who had commenced in the United States to learn the nature of fruitful labour and human dignity, will have before him the spectacle of a series of Slav demo-

cracies. How will it be possible to follow a narrow and precarious policy when the people have such examples before their eyes? The inexorable logic of the facts will lead Hungary to provide for the welfare of the working classes with the same diligence, to create agrarian laws in favour of the peasantry, and especially to grant national reforms and immunities to the same extent, as those states of recent formation. Under what form is this affranchisement realisable?

Selfish neighbours and the adherents of the principle of nationalities would like to solve the question by means of dismemberment. It is the same with the principle of nationalities as with that of equality: the idea is salutary if it is practised with moderation and without smothering one's insight into realities; but equality carried to extremes, leads to violence and destruction.

No nation, to be sure, could consider with indifference the destiny of populations standing under

another State, but belonging to its own sphere of thought and interest owing to community of origin and similarity of language. A nation suffers in its dignity when it sees its brothers living in civil and political inferiority. As to the latter, nothing is more natural than that they should regard the stock of their race, especially if it forms an independent State, as their support and protection. That is what the principle of nationalities contains of a sincere and elevated nature.

However, to intend, in virtue of such intellectual and moral ties, to destroy centres of a time-honored collaboration, to take away from neighbours, not provinces acquired by conquest, but part of their patrimony, means only a variation of the antique instinct, nay lust, of invasion and conquest. «Those methods of seizing people by the throat and telling them: You speak the same language as we, therefore you belong to us! such methods are bad,» wrote Renan. The principle of nationalities taken in this sense is only a pretext for conquest, for hidden imperialism adapted to the style of the day.

To split up the territory of Hungary in order to annex the pieces, in accordance with whatever may be the majority of the motley population in each, to the neighbouring states, could be only a precarious work of brute force, which would be exactly the opposite of the conditions of existence and of the will of the majority of its inhabitants. It would substitute for old community a set of units which would infallibly tear one another to pieces. It would simply serve the cause of those desiring to create anarchy on the Continent in order to get the upper hand.

Others would like to transform Hungary into a confederacy of sovereign and associated parts, a kind of eastern Switzerland. In Switzerland there are three ancient, illustrious and prosperous races living side by side; in Hungary there are eight peoples exceedingly different from each other with regard to number of membership, civilisation and social conditions. In 1902, there were in Hungary 3784 monoglot communes, 4391 bi-lingual, 3248 tri-lingual ones, 1073 with four, 167 with five, 21 with six and, finally, 2 communes with seven languages. How would it be possible

to create national cantons and to make of them a federation in a country where there are so many races inseparably intermixed and intermingled with one another?

Theoretically it would be extremely simple to found an autonomous Slovakia in order to safeguard the liberty of the Slovaks, and to restore the province of Transylvania with a view to satisfying the Rumanians of Hungary. But if the question were to create something new, this system of territorial autonomy of the majority, applied to mixed populations, would increase the feelings of resentment and kindle local quarrels; these creations, instead of establishing local harmony of the races, as they are expected to do, could even lead to civil war.

Moreover those new provinces or cantons could embrace only part of their national populations. A considerable number of Slovaks and Rumanians, constituting isolated districts in the midst of the Magyar regions, would be doomed to remain separated from the new Slovakia or Transylvania.

Thus there is only one solution left, namely, that of Francis Deák: — to maintain the unity of the territory, considering, however, every nationality as a moral person, assuring it. the free manifestations of its nationality and allowing it to develop according to its own inclinations. Such a development can reach a state of perfection only in coordination with the mother-tongue.

Doubtless only a few philological scholars know all those languages. The maintaining of Magyar as the sole official language even if for exclusively practical reasons would be nevertheless resented by the other races as an act of humiliation. Therefore, equality in this matter is to be recognised and aimed at. Magyar, to be sure, is the most wide-spread of all these languages. Nothing is more characteristic in this respect than to witness what is going on at present with regard to Croatian. This language may be employed in the debates of the Budapest parliament, and, as a rule, the Croatian deputies begin their speeches with a few phrases in Croatian, then they continue in Hungarian in order to be understood by the Chamber.

It is, nevertheless, inadmissible to assure the predominance of a language by legal enactments. Magyar will remain the principal language for public life if the Magyar universities and scholars surpass those of the other races and, especially, if Hungarian society will take up again the most respectable and the most necessary of its traditions namely, treating with sympathetic comprehension the aspirations of all for whom it bears responsibility.

The abolition of restricted suffrage will establish the political equality of the various races and assure in the legislative body to each nationality an influence corresponding to its numerical importance. This mode of election applied to the counties will establish a local democratic administration and permit of giving satisfaction to the various nationalities without making the dangerous experiment of setting up new partitions on the precarious basis of an ethnographical majority.

The *comilat* is an institution as ancient as Hungary itself. Its prerogatives are almost as extended as those of a Swiss canton. If it were made

subject to popular influences, the modernised comitat, in which each race would have the right to speak its mind, would become a valuable means of self-government, a conjoined self-government in countries of mixed nationality, and a national government in countries of one and the same nationality, a fortress of sound regionalism, in a word, an institution from which every attack of arbitrary centralism would recoil.

Tn consequence of these reforms, the conceptions of the two greatest minds of Hungary, Kossuth and Deák, will meet and pave the way for the Danubian Confederacy. The foundations of the Danubian Confederacy will be laid on a regime of equity and progress in Hungary; on a peace which will not create irreparable breaches between neighbouring peoples; on the re-establishment of an independent Bohemia and an independent Poland; finally on a Yugo-Slav federation with international guarantees allowing Hungary to preserve its access to the sea.

The Danubian Confederacy, as projected by Kossuth, was directed against Austria. At the present time the first condition of existence for a fe-

deration of the Danubian countries would be to entertain no aggressive tendencies whatever against any of its neighbours.

Germany, owing to its geographical situation, its scientific equipment and the immense assiduity of its people, would always find outlets in those countries. Working Germany would keep all the advantages which a vast industrial country lias over essentially agricultural regions. Military Germany could, however, even in the event of an ephemeral success, only compromise those advantages. The convictions of the professional politicians change according to their ups and downs in life. But in Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia, the masses consist of nationalistic peasants. Whenever the existence of their fatherland may be at stake, the energy of those masses will support the elite.

The erection of a « Central Europe » with closed gates, the establishment of economical subjection followed closely by political subjection, would infallibly engender the coalition of the small peoples of the East against Germany. But it is precisely the warding against the invasion of Pán-

Germanism, which requires the most well-meaning equity towards the German minorities of Hungary and the other Danubian countries. It would be a real outrage upon the security of a state to favour or throttle a nationality according to the ever-varying aspect of diplomatic relations! Besides this is a detestable procedure, too, from the standpoint of external policy. The worries of minorities existing in foreign countries are a stimulant to the nationalist passions and to the craving for annexations, and they furnish pretexts for aggressive moves.

Universal suffrage constitutes the basis of the reforms intended for the regeneration of Hungary. Adding to that proportional representation, we shall have done all that legislation will be able to do for the free expansion and parliamentary influence of minority races. Their future, however, will depend, after all, on the spirit inspiring the Hungarian legislature and more especially the spirit which may animate Europe in the near future.

Will nationality remain a fighting instrument for the use of rival Powers? Will new injusti-

ces or the principle of retaliation applied to questions of nationality lead to new coalitions and new wars? Or will the world recognise at last that the respect due to minorities is one of the essential conditions of *rapprochement* between the peoples?

Whatever may happen, the period of transition will be laborious. Peace will bring about new ties and fetters among men; it will not succeed in abolishing hereditary hatred. Passions and prejudices will entirely disappear only with that generation which conceived them. After the war Hungary will have to combat nationalist exaggerations at home, then to feai' like excesses in the neighbouring countries, and lastly to beware of the traps, which old and new enemies could set against her. The best safeguards against such machinations will be good conduct towards the national minorities without any exception whatever and without yielding to arbitrary and fallacious considerations in form of momentary conjunctures. The collective history of Austro-Hungary and the particular history of Hungary prove that any inequality, any dependence is a source of em-

barrassment; equality constitutes the real principle of force.

The fate of the minorities must reflect closely upon the international situation of both countries. Any thing within their frontiers which may contribute towards bringing about internal appeasement. diminishes the causes of friction from without.

The interests of Europe, the common interests of the Danubian peoples are in accord on this point with the strict rights of the most exclusive Magyar patriotism. Can there be any doubt that a *régime* of blind chauvinism and of mean parliamentary intrigue could produce no other results than a Hungary torn, internally distracted and externally isolated? On the other hand, if Hungary succeeds in elevating itself to the level of a vast organisation within which all will find possibilities for free expansion, time will succeed in bringing about true affinity; then this country will acquire unity in spite of its diversity. Then lasting and sincere ties will bind it to the environing States.

CONCLUSION

This little book was written one year ago. Public Law based on historical rights has since ceased to be. The whole Universe has acknowledged as right the claim put forth by peoples for self-disposal.

Henceforth, the freely expressed will of a nationality may alone determine its destinies. « Consult the people» has become the foundation for the new code of nations.

How often has not the endeavour been made to bring public opinion in the civilised world to believe that, in Hungary, an oppressive minority kept by violence its hold over peoples resentful of the curb! At the hour when Hungary was vanquished and disarmed the time had come when to bring to the proof accusations directed less against an evildoing coterie than implicating all

the Hungarians. The decisive proof would have been a plebiscite.

Instead of that, the neighbours of Hungary took by force possession of the territories which they claimed on the strength of the nationality principle. Should that state of things be maintained, even should one organise a counterfeit poll of the people under threat of bayonets, that could not be an act of justice. It could only be a forcible act.

The rhetorics of ambition have always brought their voice to the pitch of the times. In days of old, Crown-lawyers provided their masters with the title-deeds they required for the armed assertion of their alleged inheritance rights. In the eighteenth century, claims to coveted territories came forth wreathed in terms borrowed from the philosophic theories then in the fashion, and presented themselves in the garb of virtue. Should then the nationality principle, the right of peoples to self-disposal too, be nothing but empty phrases, the *laissez-passer* of covetousness, mere pretexts suited to circumstances, thanks to which one might partition Hungary at the very moment

when Poland is being restored? The errors of that nation which has gone through so many sufferings are sunk in oblivion, its misfortunes alone are remembered. Should not the same consideration be shown to Hungary? In any case the peace of Europe would not be better served by a 1910 partition than it was by the 1772 dismemberment of Poland.

Nothing could be clearer than that nationalistic violence does almost as much harm to its perpetrators as to the victims. Such extremities check fruitful labour, stimulate race hatred to the point of exasperation and do thereby co-operate most effectively in the work of social disintegration.

The nationality problems are in the first instance questions to be faced in their moral aspect, then economic questions, and in the least degree questions involving considerations of power and prestige. It is one of the evils of our times that this last aspect usurps the first place. The future does not depend only from the territorial conformations which may result from the conflict of nationalities in Hungary. The peace of the Danubian

lands will depend on what method may be chosen to bring it about. If those peoples are all treated as equals, if the genuine will-expression of all is respected, if international guarantees are granted to minorities, still better, if one prevents compulsory unification — which begets oppression, aggressiveness, greed, all Prussian characteristics — then there will ensue a pacific development, fruitful labour, an understanding among the peoples, some day maybe, there will arise, from the complex of innerly federated States, the Danubian « United States ».

To retaliate and to use violence would be to enact afresh the old Polish partition in the heart of the continent — a second edition of that bygone Poland, whence would proceed an evil-boding contagion and dissolving force.

[1]) GENEVA, Feb. 25.th 1919.

SUPPLEMENTS

SUPPLEMENTS '

I. The population of Hungary according to nationality.
II. Map showing the Comitats (counties) of Hungary.
HI. The census of the nationality of inhabitants, specified according to counties.
IV-V1. The proportion of the nationalities in the city populations, in the intellectual professions, among craftsmen and tradespeople.
VII. Law conferring upon the Russine (Ruthenian) Nation in Hungary the right of self-disposal.
VIII. Law conferring upon the German Nation in Hungary the right of self-disposal.
IX. What the partition of Hungary means.
X. Ethnographical map of Hungary.

I.

The population of Hungary, in 1910, according to nationality:

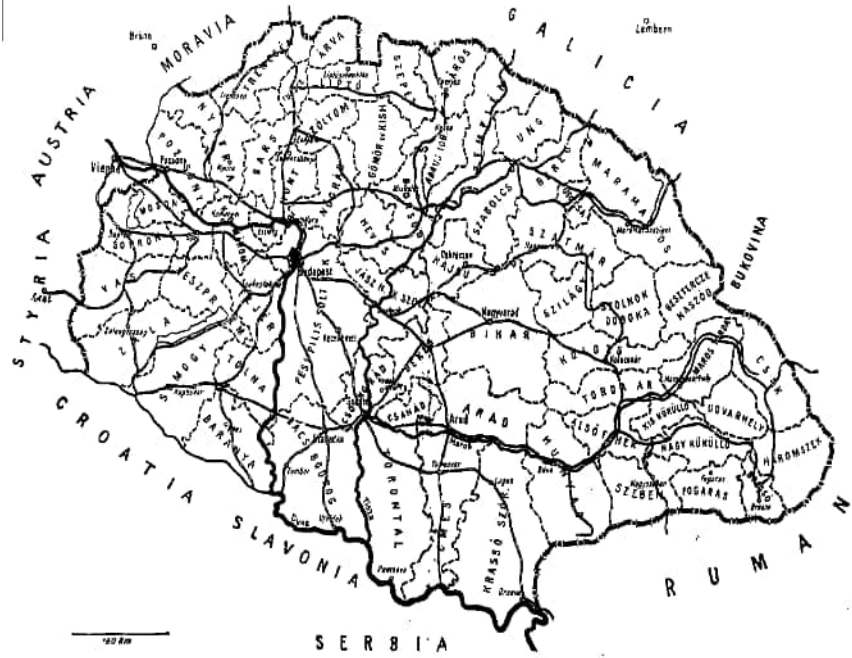
	Hungary
Rumanians	2,948,000
Magyars	9,444,000
Slovaks	1,946,000
Germans	1,903,000
Ukrainians	464,000
Serbians	461.000
Croatians	194,000
Miscellaneous	401,000
Total	18,264,000

Croatia

Croatians	1,638,000
Serbians	644,000
Germans	134,000
Magyars	105,000
Sloyaks	21,000
Miscellaneous	67,000
Total	2.416.000

Statisticians are pleased to draw ethnographical maps in which the surfaces, painted in different colours, are made to represent the different nationalities. These maps satisfy the eye, but they are far from representing reality. It suffices to consult the *Annuaire statistique hongrois* which gives the distribution of the population according to the *Comitats,* in order to understand that life here is infinitely more complex than cartography can express. Of the 63 counties of Hungary only 19 present a homogeneous nationality of at least 80 %. In 16 counties this majority of 80 % is Magyar, in 2 Slovak, and in 1 Rumanian. The Germans have the majority only in 1 single county (55 %). The highest percentage of Serbian citizens in any one county is only 32 %.

Map of Comitats



III

The census of the nationality of inhabitants taken in 1910, specified according to Comitats

COUNTY	Magyars	Germans	Slovaks	Rumanians	Ruthenes	Croats	Serbs	Others
Baranya	120,659	112,297	302	54	5	99,130	13,040	16,864
Fejér	218,922	24,365	4,389	37	5	373	914	2,025
Győr	121,104	2,023	609	17	2	309	17	527
Komárom	176,473	12,347	8,406	695	145	227	32	1,855
Moson	72,006	11,997	735	5	7	8,123	2	924
Sopron	202,197	19,718	264	63	4	9,934	44	3,257
Vas	141,011	109,160	297	33	4	31,004	12	1,880
Tolna	180,521	74,376	789	39	4	344	1,402	1,085
Veszprém	247,985	117,469	288	14	46	16,230	53	54,030
Zala	190,603	29,283	917	41	5	35	17	705
Arva	347,167	3,889	233	44	3	91,939	56	23,014
Bars	2,000	1,518	59,096	8	1	1	1	10,139
Esztergom	89,022	17,360	97,824	11	99	12	6	1,105
Hont	79,448	9,455	7,580	14	5	88	12	305
Liptó	27,215	6,417	54,328	71	7	19	19	1,172
Nográd	4,305	2,591	79,096	223	25	11	1	1,502
Nyitra	197,670	3,143	58,337	33	4	52	30	2,242
Pozsony	100,204	27,937	294,664	30	13	81	26	4,371
Trencsén	109,367	53,922	196,057	81	42	1,934	31	4,476
Turóc	13,304	9,029	284,770	172	24	28	34	3,809
Turóc	5,560	10,993	39,432	27	44	4	28	610
Zólyom	16,509	2,154	113,294	36	136	14	13	1,337
Bács-Bodrog	363,548	190,697	30,137	366	10,700	1,970	145,063	20,545
Csongrád	349,274	2,862	666	723	11	94	1,235	173
Heves	277,378	800	978	94	30	42	23	304
Jász-N.-Kunság	372,423	639	450	306	14	32	43	453
Pest-P.-S.-Kisk.	1,726,473	102,954	47,148	3,357	309	3,449	7,934	24,579
Ahanj-Torna	156,668	6,580	36,067	937	376	63	21	2,444
Bereg	113,090	20,722	1,723	215	100,949	54	12	477
Borsod	291,874	2,370	4,115	253	174	20	44	965
Gömörés K. H.	159,994	3,350	73,259	80	30	88	8	2,749
Sáros	18,088	9,447	108,255	321	28,500	15	2	6,392
Szepes	18,058	30,434	97,077	502	12,267	65	145	5,439
Ung	53,894	8,363	36,304	135	91,711	92	8	1,584
Zemplén	160,794	9,749	66,943	930	39,630	40	7	7,440
Békés	259,364	6,046	66,720	4,125	4	17	70	639
Bihar	305,643	3,566	8,457	283,096	211	130	128	3,060
Hajdú	254,918	1,044	118	326	25	53	70	983
Háromszéks	83,904	59,503	503	84,516	159,489	43	6	650
Szabolcs	246,765	856	1,117	223	194	15	7	640
Szatmár	268,385	6,020	425	119,700	114	68	27	1,185
Szilágy	87,312	916	3,727	136,467	52	5	6	2,405
Ugocsa	42,677	4,622	37	9,750	34,415	4	1	220
Arad	194,205	30,695	5,454	239,755	677	70	2,136	3,587
Csanád	198,621	1,013	17,139	14,046	110	6	3,902	341
Krassó-Szörény	33,787	55,803	2,926	236,092	2,751	319	14,674	20,143
Temes	79,960	165,893	3,080	169,030	30	240	48,965	21,597
Torontál	138,405	160,779	16,143	86,937	11	4,205	109,730	13,903
Alsó-Fehér	39,107	7,398	194	171,403	8	8	18	3,541
Beszterce-Naszód	10,737	25,639	37	87,564	213	11	6	3,666
Brassó	35,572	39,562	194	35,004	18	19	22	981
Csik	125,868	1,080	85	18,022	198	13	3	131
Fogaras	6,466	3,236	55	84,436	20	5	3	953
Háromszék	123,548	617	922	22,903	144	15	14	697
Hunyad	33,730	8,101	1,094	321,625	600	195	140	5,674
Kis-Küküllő	14,402	20,272	31	75,595	1	4	2	5,594
Kolozs	111,426	8,740	169	101,379	13	55	44	5,302
Maros-Torda	134,186	8,312	79	71,909	174	33	25	4,891
Nagy-Küküllő	18,474	69,234	53	60,301	6	57	4	7,017
Szilágy	10,159	40,757	154	113,672	205	84	95	2,795
Szolnok-Doboka	52,181	6,962	49	169,443	154	9	7	3,498
Torda-Aranyos	44,630	576	92	125,698	4	10	3	3,418
Udvarhely	118,458	2,202	33	2,840	1	5	35	589

We may take these figures as we like, the general result can not be changed and we are bound to recognize that these populations are inseparably intermingled.

Hungarian statistics take the vernacular for proof of nationality. Among the polyglot upper classes men occupying situations which made of them State-dependents, as well as a certain number of time-servers, may have consented to disown their real nationality in order to palm themselves off as Magyars. The lower orders, as a rule, understand but one speech: their own. So the main body of the people appear on the census returns under the nationality headings to which they belong in the nature of things. A close revision of the census might perhaps reveal discrepancies amounting to 5 or 10 % at most. But those corrections would not disturb the general balance of nationalities, as disclosed in the tables.

IV.

Nationality of the cities of Hungary having more then 10,000 inhabitants in 1900:

	Magyars	German	Slovak	Roumanian	Serbian
10-20.000 inhabitants	49	4	5	2	2
20-30.000 »	17	3	1	—	4
30-40.000 »	7	1	2	—	—
40-50.000 »	2	—	—	—	—
50-60.000 »	2	1	—	—	—
60-70.000 »	1	—	—	—	—
80-90.000 »	1	—	—	—	—
Above 70.000 »	1	—	—	—	—

Proportion of the different nationalities and the intellectual professions in Hungary in 1900:

	Percentage, of the population	Percentage of the intellectual professions
Magyars	51,4	77,1
Germans	11,8	9,6
Slovaks	11,9	2,4
Rumanians	16,7	6,9
Ruthenians	2,9	0,4
Croatians	1,1	0,3
Serbians	2,6	1,6

VI.

	Certificated craftsmen	I'ncertificateii craftsmen [1]	Tradesmen
Hungarians . .	61.6	42,3	63,8
Germans . .	22.5	14,6	23,8
Slovaks . .	7,9	16,5	5,8
Rumanians . .	3,4	11,4	2,5
Ukrainians . .	0,3	0,9	0,2
Croatians . .	0,9	0,9	0,6
Serbians . .	2,3	1,7	2,0
Others . .	. . 1,1	11,7	1,3

[1]) These data are taken from the work of Mr. Jászt.

VII.

Law conferring upon the Russine (Ruthenian) Nation in Hungary the right of self-disposal, promulgated by the Hungarian Republic in 1918, N° X.

1st. Article.

To the Russine nation in Hungary belongs inherently the fullest liberty and an absolute right to self-government in its own internal administration, its Judiciary, its educational affairs, religion, public worship, and language. The nation is vested with power to legislate and govern with respect to the foregoing matters, as laid down by this law.

2nd. Article.

In the «Comitats» Maramares, Ugocsa, Bereg and Ung, the territories inhabited by the Russine nation are joined together and form a single

body politic endowed with autonomy under the name of Ruszka Krajna.

The status in public law of the territories inhabited by Russines in the Comitats of Zemplén, Sáros, Abanj-Torna, and Szepes is reserved till the general peace-treaty for Europe has been concluded. [1])

While awaiting the final decision of the international peace-Conference, the frontiers of Ruszka-Krajna will be drawn, *pro tern,* by a mixed commission, consisting of mandatories of the people's Republic in Hungary and of Ruszka-Krajna.

3rd. Article.

For the management of its own affairs within the sphere of its own autonomy, Ruszka-Krajna shall create its own public bodies.

The administration of affairs of state reserved for the joint powers of the People's Republic of Hungary and Ruszka-Krajna, is vested in the joint organs of both nations.

[1]) Editor's note: Those territories are at present occupied by Czech troops, for the most part.

Those joint powers are cognizant of the foreign, military and financial affairs of State, the public rights of citizens, private and penal law, public economy, public ways, transport and traffic, social economics.

4. th. Article.

The legislative bodies of Ruszka-Krajna are:

I. Within the sphere of autonomy: the Russine National Assembly.

II. Within the scope of affairs common to the People's Republic of Hungary and Ruszka-Krajna: the Federal Parliament of Hungary. The representatives of the Russine nation on that body shall be in numbers proportionate to the numerical importance of the Russine population in Hungary.

5. th. Article.

The organs of government in Ruszka-Krajna are:

I. The Ministry for Ruszka-Krajna.

II. The Executive for Ruszka-Krajna.

6th. Article.

As head of the Ministry for Ruszka-Krajna the Russine Minister stands under joint responsibility to the Russine National Assembly and to the Federal Parliament of Hungary, In that capacity he is the supreme Executive Head of Ruszka-Krajna. The Secretary of State may represent him.

With respect to affairs reserved above for joint management by Hungary and Ruszka-Krajna, the Russine Minister shares fully and unreservedly in the authority belonging to the People's Government, of Hungary, of which he is a · member.

The seat of the Ministry for Ruszka-Krajna is at Budapest.

7th. Article.

The Administrative Head of Ruszka-Krajna is the governor for Ruszka-Krajna.

The seat of the Administration is at Munkács.

The governor is responsible for his adminis-

tration to the Minister for Ruszka-Krajna, and stands under his control.

8th. Article.

The Russine National Assembly shall be elected as directed by the People's Law, No. I, namely by a universal, secret, equal and direct vote of the Russine people in Hungary.

The representation of the Russine people in the Federal Hungarian Parliament is reserved for separate legislation.

9th. Article.

To the population in Ruszka-Krajna whose vernacular is not Russine are guaranteed local self-government and the right to national self-culture.

10th. Article.

In Ruszka-Krajna, the lands, mines and forests which are State-property, pass as such into the hands of the body of lawful representatives of the Russine collectivity in Hungary.

11th. Article.

The present law is promulgated by the People's Government of Hungary in accord with the Russine Minister for Ruszka-Krajna. The above-cited Government in agreement with the above-cited Minister, shall take any measures that may be provisionally necessary for its execution.

While awaiting the establishment by law of the arrangements to be made regarding the joint budget, as well as the separate budget of Ruszka-Krajna, the Minister of Finance will charge to his Department expenses arising under this law, on the basis of a budget agreed upon between him and the Minister for Ruszka-Krajna..

12th. Article.

This law comes into force on the day of its publication.

Budapest, 21 December 1918.

VIII.

Law conferring upon the German Nation in Hungary the right of self-disposal, promulgated by the people s Republic of Hungary (1919, N° VI).

1st. Article.

The German-speaking citizens in Hungary[1]) henceforth form a national unit. This nation puts into practice its right of self-disposal by means of the rules for self-government laid down in the present law.

2nd. Article.

When the regions inhabited by those Germans are contiguous, such regions shall be held to be territories possessed of autonomy in their own

[1]) Or Germans Hungarians. It was through fit to thus describe the German-speaking citizens of Hungary, by analogy with the phrase „ German Swiss“ currently applied to those among the Swiss whose native language is German.

right, with the concurrence of the nations of another vernacular inhabiting the same territory.

3rd. Article.

Within the limits of the present law. the right to free legislation and government conferred upon Germans in territories proclaimed to be autonomous in their own right, authorises them to set up and maintain their own Judiciary, educational establishments, form of worship, and institutions for national self-culture.

4 th. Article.

In matters falling within the powers of German self-government. German State-organs are competent. Of matters common to them and of the People's Republic of Hungary, joint-organs are cognizant.

To joint! cognizance are subject: foreign affairs, military and financial matters, the public rights of citizens, private and penal laws, public Economy, Prudential institutions and social Economics.

In the territories afore declared autonomous in their own right, and also in matters to be jointly transacted as above, German citizens are entitled to their own vernacular as being a legal language.

5th. Article.

For the German nation legislative power is vested:

I. If the business is related to autonomy: in the national Assembly of Germans.

II. If the business be conjoint between them and the People's Republic of Hungary: in the Federal Hungarian Parliament. In that Parliament, the German nation of Hungary shall be represented proportionately to its numbers.

6th. Article.

The German National Assembly shall be elected by universal, secret, equal and direct vote, as laid down in the People's law, 1918, No I.

7th. Article.

The State-organs for the German nation are:

the German Ministry and the local governing Authorities.

The German Ministry has its seat at Budapest. At its head stands the Minister for Germans in Hungary. In respect of affairs reserved for joint treatment, he belongs, on terms of the fullest equality, to the People's Ministry for Hungary. He is responsible to the National Assembly of Germans, and, as well, to the Federal Parliament of Hungary.

Each governing Authority chooses its own seat. It consists of an Executive Council composed of the Departmental heads, and the Governor is its chief.

Each Government is divided into District-Constituencies. In each Government the Deliberative Assembly represents the collectivity of German electors in the Government's resort. That Assembly, elected as prescribed in the sixth article of the present law, devises the rules under which, within the limits laid down by the present law, may be carried on the self-government of the German population within its political resort.

The supervision and control of each Government falls to be exercised by the Minister for Germans in Hungary. A law will follow determining any further powers belonging to his office, The Secretary of State has power to represent the Minister.

8th. Article.

The non-German population within the territory of each German Government, as well as the German minorities without these, are guaranteed their moral autonomy, the administration of their locality, or a proportionate share therein, and the faculty of sending representatives to their national assemblies.

9th. Article.

The present law is promulgated by the People's Government of Hungary in accord with the Minister of Germans of Hungary. While awaiting the establishment by law of the arrangements to be made regarding German-Hunga-

rian finances, the Hungarian Minister of Finance will charge to his Department expenses arising under this law, on the basis of a budget agreed upon between him and the Minister of Germans in Hungary.

10th. Article.

The People's Government of Hungary, in accord with the Minister for Germans, shall take any measures that may be provisionally necessary for the execution of this law.

While awaiting the constitution of the National Assembly of Germans, there shall be formed a Governing Council, consisting of four deputies from the « National Council of Germans in Hungary », and four from the « Council of Hungarian-minded Germans», and also of two deputies from each of the two regions inhabited by Germans.

This Council shall have power to control the Minister, and shall lay before him its plans for German-Hungarian autonomy.

11th. Article.

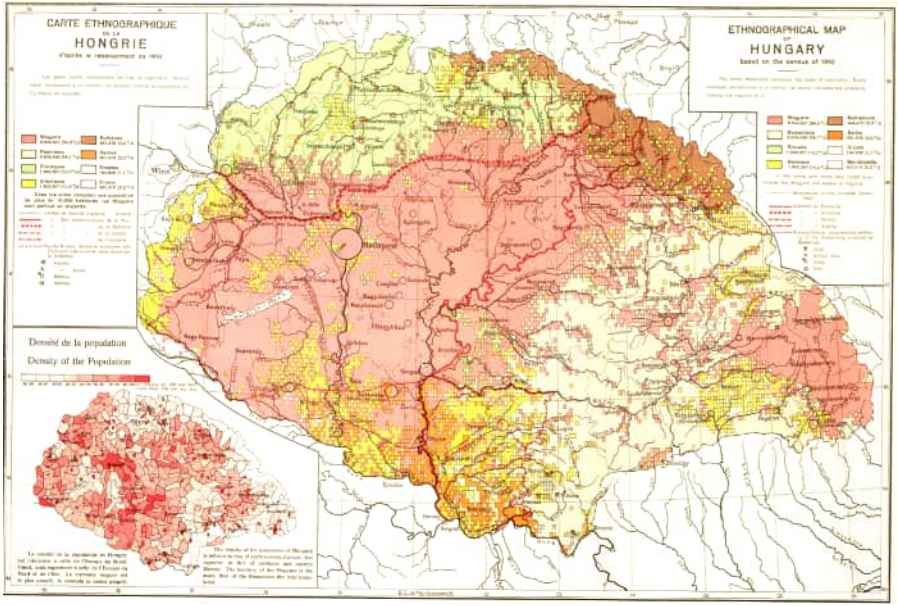
This law comes into force on the day of its publication.

Budapest, 27 January 1919.

What the partition of Hungary means.

	Territories in sq. kil.	Total population	Population according to nationality							
			Magyars	Germans	Slovaks	Rumanians	Ukrainians	Croats	Serbs	Sundry
I. Rumanian claims	120.447	6.841.879	2.420.446	742.365	127.038	2.930.291	199.932	5.702	291.093	100.952
II. Bohemian claims	34.878	1.005.812	237.904	133.783	1.526.073	1.388	45.847	1.887	257	40.103
III. Serbian claims	33.728	2. 371.230	778.908	630.359	49.774	256.421	10.809	98.820	427.891	114.254
IV. Territories to which both Serbians and Rumanians lay a claim	17.449	1.145,086	208.365	231.362	19.223	225.667	41	4.553	269.055	26.520
V. Austro-German claims	10.719	813.782	422.002	278.326	1.420	52	59	53.357	40	50.926
Total claims	194.923	10.900.229	3.658.995	1.458.134	1.085.082	2.941.095	255.708	157.273	549.536	300.405
How Hungary stands at present	282.870	18.264.583	9.944.627	1.903.957	1.046.307	2.948.186	404.970	104.808	401.516	401.412
The condition to which Hungary would be reduced, should its neighbours' claims be allowed	91.547	7.358.310	6.285.632	445.220	261.275	7.091	208.567	37.585	11.980	101.107

When this table was drawn up, the claims of Bohemia did not go beyond the districts containing a Slovak majority. Tchech troops have since occupied the region between the Northern Carpathians and the line Pressburg-Komorn-Cassovia. So it behoves to add approximately 580,000 souls to the number of Magyars living in the territories claimed by Bohemia. If this occupation was allowed, there would pass, out of the **9,944,627** Magyars in Hungary, **4,238,000** under a foreign domination.


CARTE ETHNOGRAPHIQUE
DE LA
HONGRIE
d'après le recensement de 1910
ETHNOGRAPHICAL MAP
OF
HUNGARY
based on the census of 1910
Densité de la population
Density of the Population

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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