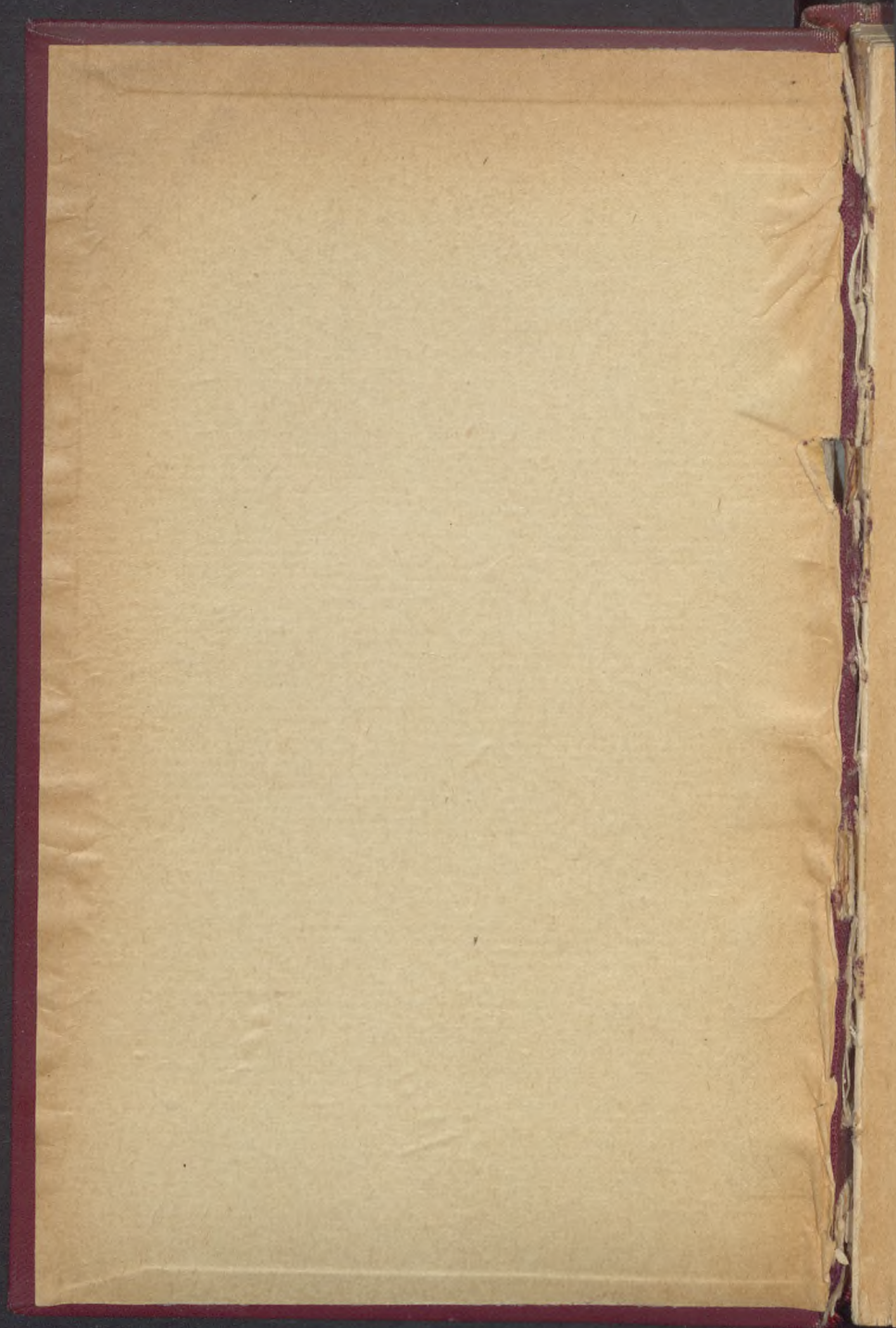
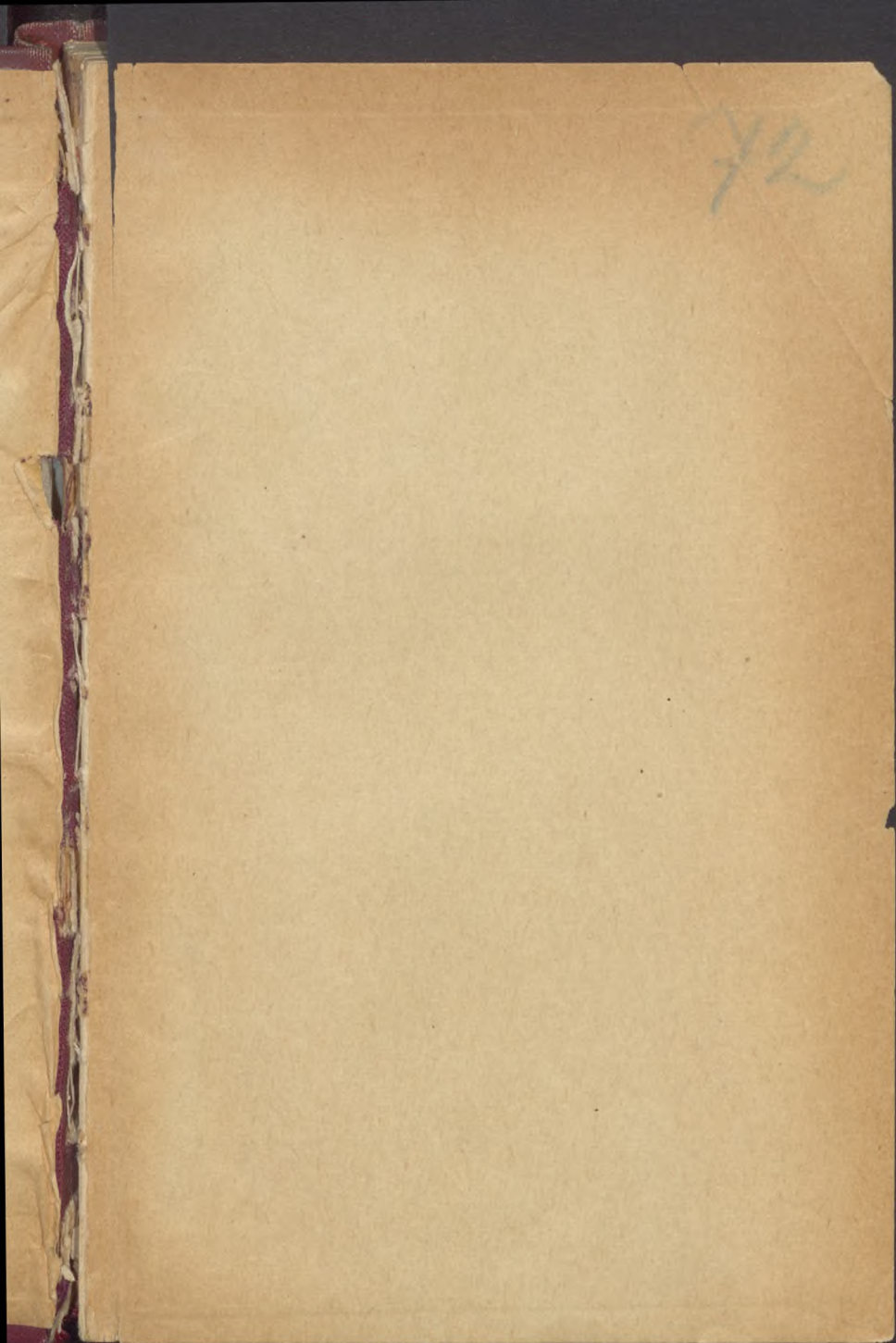
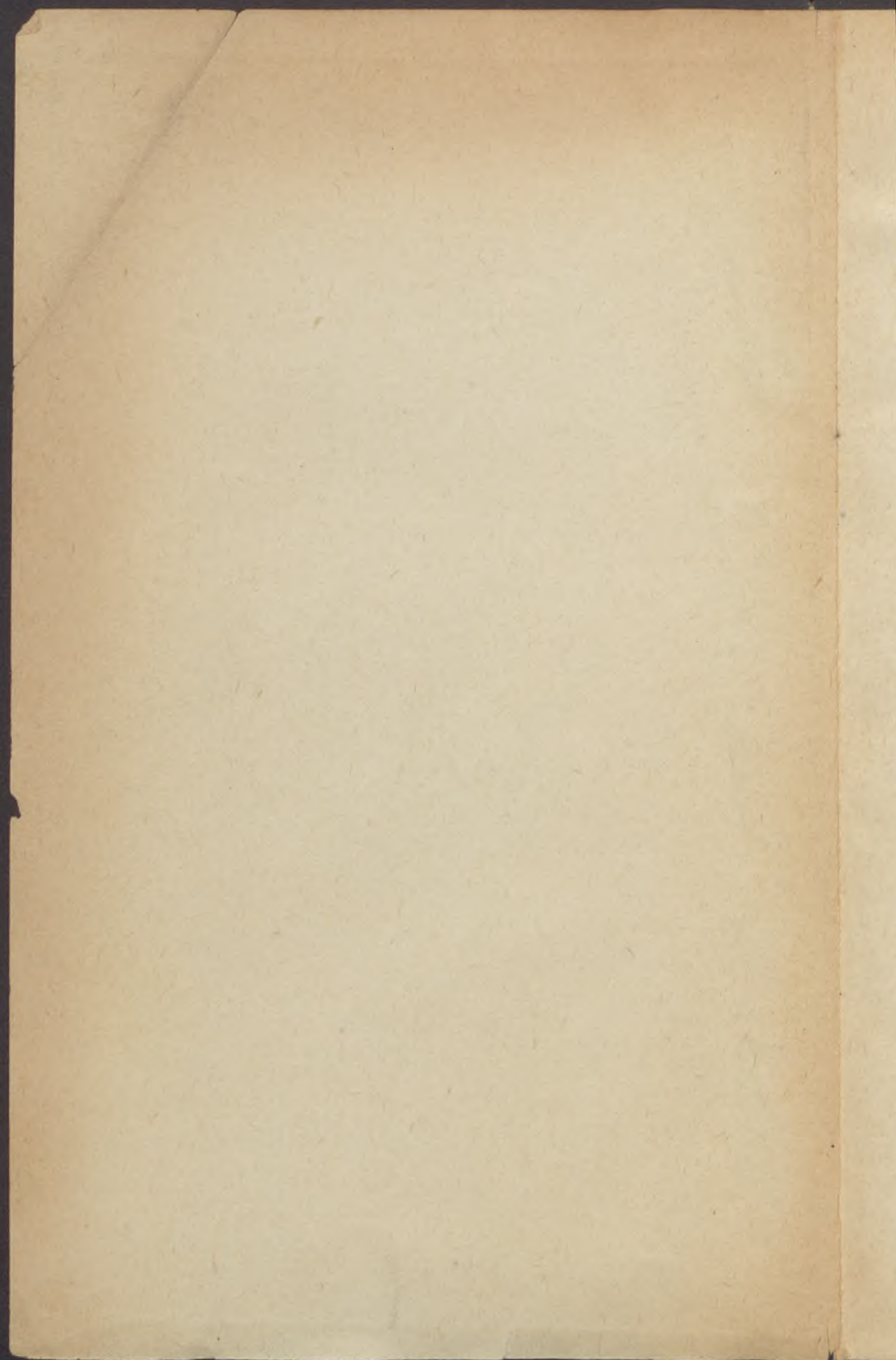


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A  
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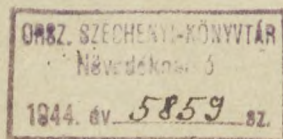
BY

ERNEST FLACHBARTH

PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND PHILOSOPHY  
OF LAW AT THE STEPHEN TISZA UNIVERSITY OF DEBRECEN,  
AND DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE FOR MINORITY LAW

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# A HISTORY OF HUNGARY'S NATIONALITIES

## I.

### *The Middle Ages*

ACCORDING to the present conclusions of Hungarian linguistics and historiography, the conquering Magyars settled in a region occupied by a Slav population — Moravo-Slav, Slovene, and Bulgaro-Slav — at the juncture of mountainous regions and the plain, forests and grassy meadowland, in the border-area of the highlands in the north, the Transdanubian downs in the west, the spurs and the broader valleys of the Krassó-Szörény mountains in the south, and the fringes of the Transylvanian basin in the east. Meanwhile the Alföld, the Great Plain, the eastern section of Transdanubia and the centre of Transylvania were virtually uninhabited. By the thirteenth century, however, this Slav element had been completely assimilated by the Magyars. Consequently, their number could hardly have exceeded that of the latter, for in that case the process of assimilation would have worked in the opposite way, as it did in the case of the Bulgaro-Turks — a kindred race to the Magyars — who eventually were absorbed by the Slavs. The only Slav people that were not assimilated by the Magyars were the Moravo-Slavs living along the north-eastern frontier, in the valleys of the rivers Morva, Vág and Garam. These were the ancestors of the present West Slovaks, and their area of settlement was not occupied by the Magyars to any extent until the eleventh century, when the defence of the country's marches was entrusted to Magyar and Székely as well as kindred Petcheneg and later Cumanian borderers.



When the frontier marches were pushed out and the extensive territories thus gained for agricultural cultivation bestowed on individual landowners, further colonisation became necessary, which made extensive changes in the country's ethnic map. The German knights, craftsmen and traders, as well as peasants, who had settled in scattered villages at an earlier date, were followed from the twelfth century onwards by the basic stratum of the Saxons of Upper Hungary and Transylvania, who constituted a branch of the German wave of colonisation moving east with the aim of clearing virgin forest land. Up to the present, their original home in Germany has not been determined with satisfactory scientific precision. The Germans of Western Hungary appear to be of even later origin. It was not until this time that, in addition to Magyars and Germans, Moravo-Slavs, Poles and Russians penetrated to the forests at the foot of the Tátra, the present Central and Eastern Slovakia, the Zólyom Forest (*Silva de Zoliom*) and the Szepes Forest (*Silva Scepus*). All these contributed to the formation of Central and Eastern Slovakia's linguistic and ethnic picture. To quote the Czech historian Chaloupecky, "early history does not distinguish a Slovak nation as an original ethnic unit . . . Not until the thirteenth century do the 'Slovak' dialects, the youngest of all Slav idioms, begin to develop from a Slav mixture in the valleys between Tátra, Fáttra and Mátra". Thus the Slovak ethnic character was not shaped until centuries after the Magyar conquest from a blending of various Slav elements. The thirteenth century also marks the beginning of the Ruthenian immigration into their present area of settlement at the foot of the north-eastern Carpathians; it did not take the form of a mass movement, but of gradual infiltration. The Rumanians as inhabitants of Transylvania's southern fringe are first mentioned in Hungarian historical records at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In addition, the fact that among the place-names in the present area of Rumanian settlement in Hungary and Transylvania those of Rumanian origin

feature in surprisingly small numbers, while there is not a single one among the major rivers that run through at least three or four communities, is evidence against a priority in time of the Rumanian settlement to the Magyar, and against the theory of 'Daco-Rumanian continuity'. The Rumanian language and ethnic character was not formed in Transylvania and along the Lower Danube, but in the heart of the Balkan Peninsula, somewhere in the border region between Albania and Bulgaria; witness the Albanian loanwords and the grammatical structure of the Rumanian language. In spite of the immigration of the peoples enumerated and others from the East (Turks, Petchenegs, Cumanians, Uz, and the Jazygues of Alanian origin), however, in the late Middle Ages the Magyars, whose numbers were further increased by swift assimilation of the racially kindred peoples, constituted the vast majority — according to Professor Julius Szekfű's estimate 85—87 per cent. — of the country's population.

From their former home, the shores of the Black Sea, the Magyars brought with them a spirit of racial and linguistic tolerance. This had been instilled into them by the vast confederations of ethnically different tribes, of whom they had themselves been members and subsequently leaders. In their new home this eastern tolerance was coupled with the spirit of Christian forbearance. One of the most striking manifestations of the latter is the famous Chapter VI of the *Admonitions* of St. Stephen, Hungary's first great king, to his son, St. Emeric, who died young. It deals with the admission of foreigners and the care of guests (*de detentione externorum et de nutrimento hospitum*), and contains the following passage: "For as guests come from various parts of the provinces, they bring different languages and customs, knowledge and arms, all of which adorn the royal court, render it more magnificent and shake the self-confidence of foreigners. For a country of one language and one morality is weak and fragile. Therefore I exhort thee, my son, to accept them with



benevolence and hold them in esteem, in order that they may prefer staying with thee than elsewhere". The *Admonitions* were, if not written, at any rate inspired by St. Stephen, and Hungarian public opinion invested them with such authority that when the collection of Hungary's laws, the *Corpus Juris Hungarici*, was compiled, it was headed by the *Admonitions* as the first book of St. Stephen's decrees. To use the technical terms of modern law, Chapter VI is doubtless one of 'foreign law' rather than of 'minority law'. It deals with the advantages accruing to the royal court from the admission of foreigners and prescribes a benevolent, worthy treatment of guests. The hypothesis that in the sentence *nam regnum uniusque linguae uniusque moris imbecille et fragile est* the word *regnum* means not the state, but simply the royal suite or family, is however far-fetched, since in the Middle Ages the term 'guests' (*hospites*) denoted those of a country's inhabitants who differed from the ruling people linguistically and ethnically, so that the correct interpretation of the passage quoted from the *Admonitions* must after all be that it refers to ethnic elements different from the Magyars and that — without determining their legal position with precision, without granting them privileges or, beyond that, autonomy — it wishes to apply the ethical principle of benevolent, decent treatment of them. 'St. Stephen's principle', an idea so frequently recurring in our days, quite simply means this ethical principle.

How did this principle assert itself in the medieval Magyar state? The books of our historians maintain that the charismatic Hungarian Kingdom, i. e. that of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, attempted a conscious assimilation of the racially foreign elements, for which purpose they were settled sporadically within the territory occupied by the Magyars — witness numerous place-names ending in Csehi, Németi, Tóti etc. (Czech, German, Slovak) — and not endowed with privileges of any kind; while the feudal kingdom dropped this policy of assimilation, endeavoured to condense the nationalities, combined them into juridical entities



and did not deny privileges even to the smallest nationality settlement. This policy was adopted with a view to subordinating them directly to the king's power instead of the large landed proprietors, whose numbers had been greatly augmented by many grants, so that they should pay taxes and send soldiers direct to the king. These privileges, however, did not go so far as autonomy, which was not achieved by the nationalities until the fifteenth century, in the kingdom of the Estates. As against this opinion the prevailing conception is that throughout the whole of the Middle Ages the non-Magyar peoples received special treatment, and that this was some form of autonomy, varying according to peoples and ages, though not of course an autonomy in the present sense of the word, whose chief characteristic is the election of officials. Thus the thirteenth century did not mark the beginning of a new nationality policy but merely the continuation of the one already existing.

Historical research has not as yet ascertained the legal and social position of Hungary's non-Magyar peoples in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with sufficient clarity and it is therefore impossible to adopt a definite attitude in the above controversy. Nevertheless Article 19 of the Golden Bull of 1222, which decreed that guests of whatever nationality (*cuiusque nationis*) were to be treated according to the liberty granted them from the beginning, seems to contradict the theory that a new Hungarian nationality policy was introduced in the thirteenth century. But the representatives of both contradictory opinions agree that from the thirteenth century onwards the kings of Hungary established the various non-Magyar ethnic elements as juridical entities and endowed them with privileges; the only controversial point between them being whether the legal position of the guest-peoples might be termed autonomy or not. Before answering this question let us briefly examine the medieval legal situation of those nationalities which maintained their racial characteristics; that of the kindred peoples assimilated

at an early date (Petchenegs, Cumanians, or Jazygues) and of the Székelys, who were already Magyar at the time of the conquest, lies beyond the sphere of our interest at this point.

The series of legal sources regulating the position of the nationalities in Hungary since the thirteenth century is opened by the *Diploma Andreanum*, the charter given by King Andrew II to the Saxons of Transylvania, which the latter still call the Golden Charter (*goldener Freibrief*). The *Andreanum* united the Saxons inhabiting the neighbourhood of Nagyszeben into one territory (*unus sit populus*), from which it withdrew the Székelys and declared solemnly that magnates (*jobbagnones*) might not acquire estates in the Saxon area. The *Comes* of Nagyszeben, nominated by the king, was set at the head of this territory. Justice was administered by him, or in his place by officials to be taken from among the territory's inhabitants, together with judges elected by the Saxons. The Saxons chose their own clergy and paid them the tithe. The territory also had a seal of its own. In the fourteenth century the Saxon territory (*Királyföld*, King's Land) consisted of seven *sedes*, each headed by a royal judge, who had replaced the officials; these were taken from among the distinguished Saxons (*gräve*) and sat in judgment together with the elected judges (*iudex terrestris*). As a result of the discontent voiced by the people against the royal judges King Matthias entrusted the choice of the latter to the people (1469). Matthias subsequently extended this organisation of the seven Saxon *sedes* to those of Selyk and Medgyes (1486), and later to the Burzenland and Beszterce as well. With this the Transylvanian Saxon 'University' (*universitas Saxonum*) was constituted, the administrative and jurisdictional organisation of all the Transylvanian Saxons, which was so called after 1497. It was headed by the *Comes* of Nagyszeben who was elected by the Saxons themselves. In the course of the fifteenth century the Saxons made alliances, unions with the Magyar nobles and the Székelys, and appeared as a



separate body at the Transylvanian assemblies. In its broad outlines we have before us the system of the 'three nations' (*tres nationes*) — an expression first used by the Union of Segesvár in 1506 —, the basis of the Transylvanian Principality's constitution, which came into being in the following century.

King Stephen V's charter of 1271 gave the Saxons of the Szepesség (in the North of Hungary) the right to elect their own Count, or judge (*comitem seu iudicem*), who was to sit in judgment together with the royal sheriff in keeping with the province's rights and sanctioned customs in all matters arising between them, except for minor cases concerning rights of property or inheritance, which fell within the jurisdiction of the province's *comes*. Moreover, they might choose their own parish priests and collect tithes. But these privileges only applied to the 24 towns and villages specified by name in the charters of 1321 and 1328, which ratified the charter, and not to the remaining German-inhabited areas of the Szepesség. In 1412 King Sigismund pawned 11 of these 24 towns to the King of Poland. The result was that — with the exception of Lőcse and Késmark, which had become royal free boroughs, — the community of the poorer towns that remained under Hungarian rule had declined by the sixteenth century, in contrast to the development of the Saxons in Transylvania, whose autonomy became increasingly fortified and extended.

In addition to the particular rights of the Saxons in Transylvania and the Szepesség, the interests of the Germans who had immigrated into Hungary were indirectly served by the privileges of the numerous German-inhabited towns, which must not be forgotten in estimating the medieval legal position of the Germans in Hungary. A review of these privileges would, however, far exceed the limits of this book.

As regards the situation of the Rumanians in the Middle Ages, recent historical research reveals that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries various Rumanian



settlements adjacent to the country's frontiers possessed autonomy resembling that of the noble counties. Thus in the districts of Déva and Jófő minor cases were judged by their own courts of law, in the eight Rumanian districts situated within the territory of the counties Krassó and Temes representatives of the district participated in the administration of justice alongside the Castellan, while in the district of Hátszeg the tribunal subordinated to the Castellan comprised 24 and subsequently 12 Rumanian members elected from the ranks of the Rumanian *kenéz*, priests and commoners. In Mármaros the cases of lesser significance were settled by the voivode. All these departments were therefore exempted from the authority of the regular administrative body, the county, whose autonomy their own resembled in many respects. The organ of this autonomy was the elected *karajnok*, *krajník*, or voivode, whose sphere of authority corresponded roughly to that of the noble county's deputy sheriff.

Even more modest than that of the Rumanian districts was the autonomy of the Ruthenes living in nine villages within the area of the royal domain of Munkács, which took shape in the second half of the fourteenth century. Its head was called the voivode; he was elected annually by the Ruthenes themselves and his office confirmed by the royal Castellan. His sphere of authority comprised jurisdiction in minor cases.

It is a noteworthy fact that among the non-Magyar peoples of medieval Hungary the Slovaks had no autonomy of any kind. Nor do we possess any indication that they ever claimed autonomy. This may be explained by the fact that the bulk of the Slovak people, the earliest associates of the Magyars, already belonged to the country when the administrative organisation instituted by St. Stephen was established. The Slovaks fitted into this from the beginning and consequently in their case there was no need or opportunity to apply the new forms of organisation introduced in the various territories of nationalities who had immigrated at a later date.

Far more extensive than the autonomies of the nationalities above described inhabiting the territory of Hungary in its narrowest sense was that of the Croats. The greater part of the region between the Drave and Save was occupied by the Magyars at the time of the conquest, but only its eastern section was peopled with a Magyar racial element. The majority of its population were Slovenes, who like the Slovaks fitted themselves into the Magyar administrative and jurisdictional system from the beginning. Slavonia, also Slovene-inhabited, that part of present Croatia which lies beyond the Save and extends to the Kapella mountains, and which lived a life of comparative independence between Hungary and Croatia, was joined to the country by King St. László. A few years later, in 1091, he also subjected the remaining part of Slavonia beyond the Kapella, which was ruled by the Croats, as well as Croatia itself, to his rule. His successors set a common Ban over Croatia and Slavonia and the two countries joined Hungary as a *pars adnexa*. Throughout the Middle Ages it remained a separate administrative and jurisdictional unit and lived according to its own legal principles.

If we interpret autonomy in its original sense as the creation of legal maxims, then beside Croatia and Slavonia the Saxons of Transylvania and those of the Szepesség also undoubtedly possessed autonomy, for they too lived in accordance with their own statutes and legal practice, as was specially emphasized in the charters of 1224 and 1271. The Rumanian districts in Transylvania and the Ruthene voivodeship of Bereg, on the other hand, did not possess the right of creating statutes. Since however, within certain limits, they governed themselves by means of their own organs, thus also participating in the administration of justice, they were also entitled to autonomy in a narrower sense of the word, to self-government. As early as the thirteenth century the Transylvanian Saxons elected their own judges and those of the Szepesség their own Count or judge, and thus the argument



that nationality autonomies did not develop until the age of the Kingdom based on the Estates, since the essence of autonomy is the election of officials, proves untenable. All the self-governments referred to are territorial autonomies, the unit in each case being a territory, with all its inhabitants. But none of them comprised the nationality concerned as a whole, and they are not therefore national autonomies in the present sense of the word. The majority of Hungary's Ruthenes lived outside the voivodeship of Bereg, a large number of Rumanians beyond the privileged districts. Towards the end of the Middle Ages the Transylvanian Saxon *Universitas* extended indeed to practically all the Saxon settlements in Transylvania; but the Saxon Province of the Szepesség comprised only part of the Saxons living in the Szepesség, while the remaining German population of Upper Hungary enjoyed no territorial autonomy whatsoever. Thus the Germans, Rumanians and Ruthenes of Hungary had no autonomy as collective bodies, but in keeping with the particularism of the Middle Ages, only certain sections of them enjoyed autonomous rights. The problem as to which nationality and what part of it should receive autonomy and what the contents and extent of this autonomy should be was not determined by theoretical considerations, but by those of practical government.

The autonomies referred to did not create bodies rigidly separating the members of the respective nationalities from the country's other inhabitants. Thus in particular they did not prevent them from rising to the country's nobility, which according to Stephen Werbőczy's code of law, the *Tripartitum* published in 1517 (Book II, title 4), in its stricter sense constituted the nation, the *populus* partaking of legislative power. Innumerable data show that German *gerébs* (*gräven*) and *soltész*, Rumanian voivodes and *boérs*, Slav and Rumanian *kenéz*, rose to the rank of nobles, and occasionally even obtained the country's highest offices. The privileges and life of the nobility, of course, separated them from the community to which



they had hitherto belonged as by a chasm, at the same time bringing them nearer to the Magyars who, as founders of the state, were represented in larger numbers among the nobles than in the country's entire population. Frequent intermarriages promoted their total assimilation into the nation, the *populus*. Often this involved the linguistic magyarisation of the new noble's family, though there were nobles, especially in the Slovak-inhabited regions of Upper Hungary and in particular the area occupied by the Hussites in the fifteenth century, whose mother-tongue was the nationality language; there are even instances where the mother-tongue of ancient families of Magyar nobles was not Magyar. But all this had no political consequences. Every noble, regardless of his mother-tongue, was a member of the *populus* and this, in medieval Hungary, even more than in the West European countries, talked Latin at the Diet, drew up its laws and other documents in Latin, and found its historical memories in Latin books. Similarly there was no difference in law within the lower classes of society between members of the Magyar and other peoples. On the contrary, some of our laws exempted the Serbians, Ruthenes and Rumanians belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church from the general obligation of tithe-paying (Acts IV, 1481 and XLV, 1495).

There are hardly any instances of differences seriously disturbing the peaceful co-existence of Magyars and other peoples in medieval Hungary. While the Hussite revolution in Bohemia was expressly anti-German as well, while in 1450 the German teachers were banished from Wilno, while at the end of the fifteenth century the Vend (Slav) language was prohibited in Saxony under pain of death, in medieval Hungary we know of only two incomparably milder cases that arose from reasons of nationality policy. One of these happened in 1438. Their leader having been thrown into the Danube by the Germans when the Habsburg King Albert ascended the throne, the Magyar citizens of Buda protested and demanded that the judge be Magyar and Ger-

man in turn and the council consist of Magyars and Germans in equal proportions. Their wish was granted. The other instance came about in 1458, when the Magyar citizens of Kolozsvár achieved the same rights. But even in these cases the Magyars were only defending themselves against repression by the Germans. The extent to which the German citizens of other towns supplanted the Magyars is sufficiently illustrated by a few data contained in a page of Teutsch's work on the history of the Transylvanian Saxons. According to this, at Nagyszeben the Germans had to be in a majority even in the convents and at Segesvár only Saxons might live in the Fortress, according to the local statute. At Brassó, Magyars were allowed to participate in public rights within certain limits only, and in other Saxon towns too the Magyar citizens had to fight to emancipate themselves. These historical facts are the best proof of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom's tolerance for the nationalities.

## *II. The Era of Turkish Occupation*

FOR 150 YEARS following upon the terrible defeat suffered at the hands of the Turks at Mohács in 1526, Hungary was divided into three parts. The Great Plain, with large portions of Transdanubia and the region between the Drave and Save, came under Turkish occupation. In the east, medieval Transylvania with the *Partium* — parts of ever-changing size of the Great Plain's eastern rim and the territory situated at the foot of the north-eastern Carpathians — developed into a Principality under Turkish suzerainty. The area left to the Hungarian Kingdom at the time of the Turkish dominion's greatest extent, from then on under a common ruler with Austria, consisted of no more than the present Slovakia, Transdanubia, and the western margin of medieval Slavonia and Croatia, without Dalmatia. Thus the territory subjected to Turkish rule was in fact the major part of the area settled by the Magyars in the Middle Ages.



This vast political change involved equally important ethnic changes. In the territory occupied by the Turks, Serbians penetrated into the southern counties, thus increasing the numbers of those who had already fled to Hungary from the Turks since the second third of the fifteenth century. The eastern fringe of the Great Plain was covered by numbers of Rumanians from the mountains dividing Hungary and Transylvania. At the same time a Rumanian torrent from the surrounding mountains flooded the centre of Transylvania, and additional masses of Rumanians, fleeing from the Turks, arrived from beyond the Carpathians. The western border region of the Hungarian Kingdom was invaded by Croatians coming from their original home that had been subjected to the Sultan's rule, who proceeded to found 180 communities in the country. An even larger number of fugitive Croats flooded medieval Slavonia and Croatised its Slovene population. Numerous Magyars from the Great Plain found a new home in Upper Hungary, and especially in the towns life became more Magyar than ever. But at the same time Magyar blood kept on flowing in the border fortresses, and the shifting movements of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, directed against the Catholic and Protestant Magyars in turn, prepared the move southwards of the Magyar-Slovak and Magyar-Ruthene linguistic frontiers respectively, — a development clearly perceptible in the following period. Another ethnic consequence of the Turkish dominion was that Vlach shepherds of uncertain racial origin poured into the region between the Drave and the Save, and even into Upper Hungary through the Carpathians on the one hand and Transdanubia on the other, where they became assimilated with the Slovaks and Ruthenes and augmented the proportion of the Slav element, to the detriment of the Magyars.

But all these ethnographical changes did not modify the nationality policy of the Hungarian Kingdom. On the whole, the legal position of the privileged nationality that had already lived there in the middle ages (Saxons of the



Szepesség) and of the partner countries (Croatia, which now spread its name to medieval Slavonia as well, and Slavonia itself, which for this reason was pushed eastward) remained the same as before. Only the autonomy of the Ruthenes of Bereg, who on account of their landlords repeatedly came into Transylvania's sphere of interests, withered away by the sixteenth century. The nationalities newly arrived neither received nor demanded any privileges. The only exception was the kind of self-government granted to the Vlach immigrants of Croatia by the Vlach Statute of King Ferdinand II in 1630 and Leopold I in 1667. According to this the community of the Vlachs consisted of three military districts, with a chief justice in each, who were elected by the Vlach *kenéz* and the seniors of the villages, and confirmed by the general. While the regulation of the Vlachs in Croatia and Slavonia caused the Hungarian Diets much trouble, the legal position of the Vlachs who led a nomad life in Hungary proper was not fixed by law.

One of the greatest achievements of Hungary's political and juridical legal genius in this age was the creation of the Transylvanian constitution, the system of the four creeds and three nations. In the Transylvanian Principality, Magyar-ruled from first to last, the Diet of Torda in 1557 and other Diets following upon it ensured the free practice of the Evangelical, subsequently the Reformed and finally the Unitarian faith, beside which the Catholic was the fourth accepted religion (*recepta religio*). With this Transylvania anticipated the famous law ensuring liberty of conscience in Rhode Island by practically 100 years. The Greek Orthodox Church was not an accepted religion, but though the sovereigns of Transylvania endeavoured to win the Rumanians belonging to it over to Calvinism, they did not impede the free practice of the Greek Orthodox faith. The system of the three nations grew out of the unions made between Magyar, Székelys and Saxons in the fifteenth century. Voting at the Diets was done according to the nations, but the Parts of Hungary proper, which

stood under Transylvanian rule, also had a vote. If a motion was accepted by three votes, the fourth had to yield. The members of the Princely Council were elected by the three nations in equal proportions. Thus the holders of executive power — at any rate in principle, for in actual fact the sovereign's power was almost absolute — were the three nations. Thus the latter were political bodies, estates. Whether a subject was a member of a nationality was not determined by his mother-tongue or the profession of his nationality feelings, but by the fact of his participating or not in the respective nationality's privileges.

While in Hungary proper the language of the Diets in this period continued to be Latin, in Transylvania from 1565 onwards the laws were drawn up and discussed at the Diets in Magyar. The Saxons did not protest against this. Within their own territory, on the other hand, the Saxons might use their own language unimpeded. Besides the Saxon *Universitas*, a body representing all the Transylvanian Saxons developed at the end of the fifteenth century, the most powerful means of conserving the Saxon nationality was the Evangelical Church. After the Reformation the Saxons joined the Lutheran Church in a body, and since the latter had Saxon followers only — for the Magyars who went over to Protestantism generally accepted it in the form of Calvinism, while a fragment of them became followers of the Unitarian Church — the Evangelical Church in Transylvania came to be the veritable national church of the Saxons. As in the Middle Ages, the Saxons continued to live according to their own legal principles in this period.

The Rumanians, standing as they did outside the three nations, had no political standing whatever in the Transylvanian Principality. Nor did they lay claim to such a thing at that time. It was not until the eighteenth century that they began to demand recognition as a fourth nation. The Rumanians who had risen to the rank of nobles, however, possessed the same rights as the Magyar nobles, with whom they were equally members of the 'Magyar nation'.



### III.

#### *The Age of the Great Settlements*

WHEN THE TURKS were driven out, Leopold I, King of Hungary and Holy Roman Emperor, extended his power to the entire territory of historical Hungary and Transylvania, with the exception of the Bánát, which did not return until 1717. But Transylvania, instead of being reincorporated into the Hungarian Kingdom, was governed by separate authorities and on the basis of laws different from those of Hungary, in its quality as a Principality.

The territory delivered from the Turks had been so utterly devastated by the 150 years of foreign rule that it had literally to be repopulated. The process of settlement lasted more than a century and brought peoples of various nationalities to the Great Plain, partly from the country itself, and partly from abroad. From those parts of the country that had escaped Turkish dominion, Magyars came in the first place and in great numbers, but beside them Slovaks — primarily those belonging to the Evangelical church — and a smaller contingent of Ruthenes also exchanged their mountain homes for the Plain. The only considerable body of Slovaks settled in the county of Békés.

The colonists coming from abroad were for the most part Serbs, Germans and Rumanians. As early as 1690, 36,000 Serbian families had appeared in the Bácska and Szerémség under the leadership of Arsén Tchernoyevich, Patriarch of Ipek. They had joined the Christian army pursuing the Turks in Serbia, but when the latter reconquered that territory were compelled to flee from it. Far more valuable from a cultural and economic point of view were the German settlers who arrived from various parts of the German Empire. Though only a small proportion of them came from the Suabian regions of Germany, most of them originating from the Frank and Bavarian-Austrian tribe, popular usage in Hungary calls them all Suabians, as opposed to the country's medieval Germans, who are equally incorrectly termed Saxons. Considerable masses

of Suabians settled in the counties of Baranya and Tolna, and also in the Bácska and Bánát. They were joined by a number of French from Alsace, who soon became Germanised. The Bunyevátz and Shokátz came from the banks of the river Buna in Bosnia, and all of them Catholic, southern Slavs, established smaller colonies in the Bácska and the county of Baranya. When the Bánát too was freed, its eastern half was flooded by Rumanians not only from within the Carpathian Basin, but also from beyond the Carpathians. The reason for this development was that in the eighteenth century the system introduced by the Phanariot voivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia, which exploited the people even more severely than that of their predecessors, forced additional masses of them to emigrate. These made their way partly to the Bánát, partly to Transylvania, thus further reinforcing the Rumanians already living there. While Transylvania had 250,000 Rumanian inhabitants in 1700, by 1761—65 their number had risen to 547,000.

Nor did the ethnic composition of those parts of Hungary which had escaped Turkish dominion remain unaffected by this migration of peoples. The place of the Magyars streaming to the Great Plain and of those destroyed in the course of Rákóczi's war of liberty (1703—1711) was taken by Slovaks and Ruthenes descending from the mountains. The penetration of Slovak villagers into the towns lying within their area of settlement, a movement that had started in the preceding period, now assumed growing dimensions and reduced the proportion of German town-dwellers in particular. In certain regions the baroque age's attempts at reconversion to Catholicism also encouraged the settlement of Catholic Slovaks in Evangelical German towns and villages.

In those parts of Hungary proper that had not been subject to the Turks, and in those that came under Hungarian administration as soon as the Turks were driven out, the legal position of the nationalities remained the same as before. The original nationalities were content



with their lot, and the new ones did not claim privileges. The Suabians migrating to Hungary arrived in smaller groups. Hoping to find better material circumstances than the poverty they had left in Germany, they did not even dream of demanding legal guarantees for the maintenance of their German nationality. Even less did the Rumanians fleeing the Phanariot régime contemplate such a thing. The Serbs, on the contrary, claimed nationality rights. In this they relied on King Leopold I's charter of 1691, which in the words of László Szalay, the great nineteenth-century Hungarian historian, is 'a curious mixture of Albanian public law based on the temporal authority of the Bishops, and inexperience in the principles of Hungarian government, or indeed civil government in general'. For this charter invested Tchernoyevich's people with the privilege that their ecclesiastical and secular estates might elect an archbishop of Rascian (Serb) nationality and language (*ex natione et lingua Rasciana*) from whom, as from their ecclesiastical head, (*capite suo ecclesiastico*) they depended in both religious and temporal matters. At the same time, however, Leopold I declared that he would do his utmost to lead the Serbian people back to their former territory as soon as possible; in other words he considered their sojourn in Hungary no more than temporary. But since all attempts to expel the Turks from Serbia proved ineffectual, the Serbs stayed on in the country and obtained further privileges in return for their services to the dynasty at the time of Rákóczi's war of liberty. King Joseph I's charter of 1707 recognised the Archbishop as head of the Serbian nation (*caput nationis*). These privileges were sanctioned in 1713. The Serbs now aimed at an extension of these privileges to the original Serb inhabitants of Hungary; it was their wish that congresses meeting from time to time for the election of the patriarch of Karlovitz, who with the cessation of the patriarchate of Ipek had become the supreme ecclesiastical head of all Serbs, be consolidated and made into political institutions.

The Serbian newcomers were organised into a border region extending from the Save to the Maros. This was not subject to Hungarian administration, but was governed by the Viennese War Council. Upon repeated requests from the Hungarian Diet the Tisza and Maros sections of the Border Region were eventually dissolved in the years 1743—51, with the exception of the boatmen's battalion of Titel, which was not subordinated to Magyar civil administration until 1873. Part of the Serbian population of the dissolved Border Region went into military service in the Bánát, in the Illyrian border-regiment of the Bánát, where civil administration was also only introduced in 1873. But even the Serbian population of the dissolved Border Region was not subordinated to the Hungarian authorities in every respect; their church and educational affairs were settled in the last instance by a special court committee; the Transylvanian, Bánát and Illyrian deputation, which was established in 1745, shrank to an Illyrian committee in 1755 and officiated up to 1777. The *Rescriptum Declaratorium Illyricae Nationis* issued by Queen Maria Theresa subordinated the above-mentioned affairs to the Hungarian Court Chancery and threatened the Patriarch with the stoppage of his annual salary if he dared continue to call himself the 'head of the nation'. This decree also regulated the election of the Metropolitan and the congress meeting for this purpose.

The Bánát, which was recovered on the basis of the Peace of Passarovitz in 1717, was governed by the Viennese War Council up to 1751, when Queen Maria Theresa divided this territory into two sections at the urgent request for reincorporation by the Hungarian Diet. The administration of the northern part was entrusted to the Provincial Office residing at Temesvár and headed by a general. This was superintended by the Viennese Court Chamber and, up to 1755, by the court committee already referred to. In the southern section three border-regiments were organised, a German, a Serbian and a Rumanian, and this territory remained under military administration



right up to 1773. The northern section came under Hungarian administration in 1778, but the Serbian-inhabited town of Nagykikinda and its environs became a privileged territory (*districtus*), in order to avoid its coming under the authority of the Hungarian county.

It is clear from the above that the administration of the nationality districts of the Bácska and Bánát slipped out of the hands of the Hungarian authorities for decades, and in some cases even for a century and a half. The military authorities of Vienna used the nationalities living there in the service of anti-Hungarian interests, and even went so far as to prevent mass-settlements of Magyars in the Bánát.

In order to complete the picture it must be mentioned that when, with the first partition of Poland in 1772, the 13 towns of the Szepesség pawned in the fifteenth century returned to the Hungarian Crown, Queen Maria Theresa organised them — together with the towns of Lubló, Podolin and Gnézda, which belonged to the Polish crown domain of Lubló — in 1778 into a municipality independent of the county authorities, which constituted the district or *provincia* of the sixteen towns of the Szepesség. The district was governed by the appointed administrator, who conducted matters with the aid of the *comes* elected from among his candidates by the judges and delegates of the towns, and of other officials. With the abrogation of Saxon law, however, Hungarian law came into force.

In Transylvania the *Diploma Leopoldinum* of 1691 sanctioned the system of the accepted religions and the rights of Transylvania, and among them expressly the municipal rights of the Saxon nation. It declared that in all administrative, judicial and economic offices Transylvanians — Magyars, Székelys and Germans — would be primarily employed without regard to religion, thus indirectly corroborating the system of the three nations as well; moreover, it expressly guaranteed the place of the royal judge of Nagyszeben, in accordance with the accepted laws of Saxon nationality, in the Privy Council. Though

the statutory system of Transylvania remained unchanged under the Habsburg dynasty and the Rumanians were still outside the constitution, yet the religious union at the beginning of the eighteenth century, i. e. the conversion of part of the Rumanians to the Catholic Church while retaining their original liturgy, nevertheless created a certain basis for the political self-assertion of the non-noble Rumanians. For Act VI of 1744 declared the Greek Catholic faith to be an accepted religion, gave it equal rights with the other churches, and made the Greek Catholic bishop a member of the Transylvanian Diet. Innocent Micu (Klein), bishop of Fogaras and later of Balázsfalva, who was of German origin, claimed recognition of the Rumanians as the 'fourth nation', but neither the three Transylvanian nations nor the Court of Vienna were willing to accede to this. Since the Catholic Church devoted incomparably more care to the training of her priests than the Greek Orthodox, the Rumanian priests educated in Catholic seminaries played an important part in promoting cultural life among the Rumanians, where it had hitherto been almost wholly neglected. A further step towards improving the legal position of some of the Rumanians was the establishment of the two Rumanian border-regiments (1762), whose Rumanian members were exempted from the landlord's authority exercised over them by the Saxon town of Beszterce.

In contradiction to the theory that the nationality problem did not arise until after the French Revolution, the Serbian, and to some extent the Rumanian claims set forth above show that the modern nationality question already cast its shadow before it in the eighteenth century. On the other hand there is no doubt that in the Magyar-administered regions of Hungary and Transylvania there was practically no friction to speak of from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The Transylvanian Saxons, to whom Opitz applied the epithet *Germanissimi Germanorum*, repeatedly sought support at the Court of Vienna against the other two Transylvanian Estates. But



this was a case of political tactics to reinforce their position in constitutional law, which was unparalleled in Europe — in the years 1761—65 only 120,000 of Transylvania's 940,000 inhabitants were Saxon — rather than a nationality movement in the present sense of the word. They were linked to the Magyars and Székelys by their equality of rights as estates and their common interests against the Rumanians, in defence of which they sometimes resorted to measures unheard-of in the case of the Magyars and Székelys. Thus in 1776 the Saxons drove the Rumanians out of nine villages in the *sedes* of Szeben and consistently denied them the right to acquire land and hold office. They were fond of Transylvania, their common home with the Magyars and Székelys, and their hymn, which came into being at the beginning of the following century, calls it 'the land of blessing' (*Land des Segens*). The Rumanian rebellion under Hóra and Kloska during the reign of King Joseph II broke out for social, not for nationality reasons, and the Rumanian prelates and nobles took no less vigorous action against it than the Magyars and Saxons.

We may at this point adduce a few very characteristic examples illustrating the friendly spirit prevailing between Hungary's nationalities and the Magyars. A Slovak folk-song dating from the early eighteenth century invokes the help of God and the Virgin Mary that 'Hungary, this golden apple, may not perish', for those who protected it (Rákóczi and Bercsényi) 'lie deep under the soil by now'. Daniel Krman, the Slovak evangelical superintendent, while a priest at Zsolna, blessed Rákóczi's colours and was his envoy to the Swedish Court. Peter Bod, author of the first Hungarian history of literature, the *Magyar Athenas*, notes in his preface that he does not grudge the Transylvanian Saxons and the Slovaks living in Hungary the name of Hungarians, for they too 'have called themselves Hungarians in foreign lands'. According to the eminent Slovak historian Rapant too, not only the Slovak nobles, but the *honoratiores* and even the lower classes of society

were imbued with a Hungarian national consciousness. As regards the German settlers, Matthias Bél, the great eighteenth century scholar of Slovak origin, wrote that they adopted the Magyar customs voluntarily; and he reports that the recently immigrated Suabians in the county of Heves 'are cross if they are not considered Magyars'. David Fröhlich, the rector of the *lyceum* at Késmárk, called himself a *Deutschungar* as early as 1641. The battles fought together with the Magyar Protestants for the common religion, the common memory of the galleys to which Magyar, German and Slovak Protestant ministers had been condemned, the horrible experience of Caraffa's Bloody Assize at Eperjes welded the Saxons of the Szepesség together with the Magyars at the beginning of the eighteenth century to such an extent, that since Rákóczi's war of liberty they constantly participated in all Magyar political movements and even made great sacrifices for the common cause; already at the beginning of the eighteenth century Jacob Kray, notary of Késmárk, and Urban Czelder paid with their lives for their loyalty to the Prince. The most touching testimonial of the Ruthenes' devotion to Prince Francis Rákóczi II is drawn up by himself in his memoirs; and even forty years after his voluntary exile they regarded him as their sovereign. The Magyar-Croat relation is best illustrated by the history of the Zrinyi family. Nicholas Zrinyi, the Croat Ban, fell at the head of his Magyar and Croat champions at Szigetvár as one of Christianity's greatest heroes. One of his grandsons, Nicholas, was a Hungarian poet and raised an everlasting memorial to his heroic grandfather in a brilliant seventeenth-century Hungarian baroque epic. His younger brother Peter was a distinguished Croatian poet, but participated in the conspiracy of the Hungarian lords and was put to death at Wiener-Neustadt. His daughter Ilona was the mother of Francis Rákóczi II. As the second wife of another of Hungary's heroes of liberty, Emeric Thököly, she defended the fortress of Munkács against the Austrian troops with a courage that put men



to shame. These few examples prove beyond a doubt how vividly the idea of 'Hungarism' lived in the minds of the non-Magyar peoples in this period.

As in the Middle Ages, so in this period too there was only one point where the interests of the Magyars clashed with those of a nationality, but in these cases too the Magyar interests were always common to those of another nationality. Act LXII of 1563 ordained that the nobles who had fled to free boroughs from the Turks might buy houses in these towns, but only on condition that they would pay the taxes and public services in common with the burghers and that the purchase would be effected in keeping with the liberty and usage customary in the town. Following a complaint by the Magyars that in the royal free boroughs, as well as the mining and Slavonian towns, they were not admitted either to the purchase of houses or to public offices, Act XIII, before the coronation in 1608, ordained that in all free boroughs the judges and councillors, as well as the other officials, were to be chosen in turn, without difference of religion, from the ranks of the Magyars, Germans and Slavs. At the Diet of 1751 the Magyars and Slovaks of Besztercebánya were forced to complain that the Germans were depriving them of their rights. The cities with a German majority were thus continuing to treat the Magyars unequally, to ignore them in filling the public offices and hinder their purchase of houses, and it is only natural that the Hungarian Diet took them under its protection. But in this period too, our laws remained of a defensive character, while for example in neighbouring Bohemia a law enacted in 1615, before the Battle of the White Mountain, pronounced that every child must learn the Czech language and that those who spoke it would inherit a double portion and the real estate from their parents, while those who did not would get only money. Foreigners — the Czech law goes on — must not be allowed to live in the country and to acquire the right of municipal citizenship until they have learned to speak Czech, but even in the latter case their successors may not

hold office for three generations. This shows how differently, how aggressively the Czechs reacted to the wave of nationalism at the beginning of the seventeenth century, while the Hungarian legislation continued in a spirit of wise moderation.

#### IV.

#### *The Development of the Modern Nationality Movements*

THE NATIONALITY problem, as a state-creating factor of prime importance, was born in the storm raised by the French Revolution. The great revolution transferred sovereignty from the king to the nation, and the nation is constituted by the totality of the citizens. In contrast to this political conception of the nation Herder, Fichte, Arndt and German romanticism regard the nation as an ethnic and linguistic community. When asked how far the frontiers of Germany reached, Arndt answered with what has since become a household word: *Soweit die deutsche Zunge klingt.*

In Hungary the nationality movement announced itself in both its senses in the very year following the outbreak of the revolution. Joseph II, that great ruler of enlightened absolutism, who had wanted to incorporate Hungary into the Empire, died in 1790. In Act X of 1791 the Hungarian Estates declared the following: Hungary is a free and, with regard to her entire legitimate form of government, an independent country, consequently she is not subordinated to any other country, but has an existence and constitution of her own, and therefore the king must govern her according to her own laws and customs. Moreover, since Joseph II had wanted to make German the country's official language, Act XVI of 1791 decreed that the Magyar tongue (*nativa lingua Ungarica*) be spread and renewed, and auxiliary teachers employed at the gymnasia, academies and university for the teaching of the Magyar language. The first of these laws gives very forcible expression to the nation's consciousness of its



political, the second of its linguistic community, even though not as yet in the garments of modern phraseology.

These two laws mark an important turning-point in the history of Hungary. The Court of Vienna, extremely distrustful of the Magyars and taken aback by this manifestation of Hungarian national consciousness, attempted in the first place to play off the Serbs against the Magyars. King Leopold II allowed the convocation of a Serbian national congress to be held at Temesvár, and designated a royal commissioner in the person of General Schmidfeld. The latter not only permitted but sympathised with the resolution passed by this congress, which desired the detachment of a separate territory for the Serbian nation, the establishment of the minor authorities required there and the organisation of a separate court office. This last request was soon granted by the king, who set up an Illyrian Court Chancery at Vienna. It is true that this office, which regarded as one of its chief purposes the spreading of the German language among the Serbs and the establishment of German-Illyrian schools, only existed for a short while and was abolished by Francis I in 1792 (Act X of 1792). The other postulate of the congress, namely that the Serbs should receive a separate supremacy and territory, was not and could not be fulfilled. In opposition to the radical Serbs, the moderate ones, among them the dignitaries of the church and the nobles, opposed this motion, and the leader of the moderate tendency, Sava Thököly, of Arad, very appropriately pointed out that this would be a political monster, a state within the state. Instead of this Act XXVII of 1791 gave the Serbs the right to buy land and hold office in the same way as the country's other inhabitants, and full liberty for the Greek Orthodox faith, and also sanctioned those of their privileges that were not contrary to the constitution. Accordingly, Act X of 1792 gave the Greek non-united archbishop and bishops the right to vote at the Diet.

The law passed in the interests of the Magyar language and the acceptance of the Protestants, which did not even

extend to Croatia and Slavonia, upset the Magyar-Croat friendship that had existed for centuries, started political controversies and went so far as to arouse the idea of separation in certain Croatian deputies, though only recently, after the death of Joseph II, the Croats had decided to attach themselves to Hungary by inseparable bonds and submitted themselves to the Diet's majority in common Magyar-Croat affairs. In other words, they had wished to make closer their union with Hungary, which had been loosened by Act CXX of 1715 in that it did not require the assent of the Hungarian Diet for the enforcement of statutes passed by the Croatian Diet and sanctioned by the king. The Croats opposed both the German and Hungarian language and demanded the maintenance of Latin as the official language. At the same time the Protestants were denied the possibility of holding office in Croatia. In this the Croatian Estates defied the spirit of the new age, which was diametrically opposed to the conservation of Latin as the official language and the restriction of the Protestants rights. In both questions the Magyars represented the standpoint corresponding to the spirit of the time. The development of Magyar-Croat relations and the entire nationality problem in Hungary might perhaps have taken a totally different course if instead of the dead Latin tongue the Croats and certain other non-Magyar deputies had asked for the use of their own language in official life, while recognising the natural primacy of the Magyar state language.

Act XXVII of 1791, which pronounced the emancipation of the non-united Greek Church, benefited the Greek Orthodox Rumanians in Hungary as well. In Transylvania recognition as the fourth nation continued to be the chief aim of the Rumanians' political ambitions. In a memorandum addressed to the emperor, not the king of Hungary, and entitled *Representatio et humillimae preces universae in Transsylvania Valachicae nationis* etc., whose second form with critical remarks, *Supplex libellus Valachorum*, was drafted by the Saxon Eder and which on this



account is usually quoted under the latter title, the Greek Catholic bishop Bobb and the Greek Orthodox bishop Adamovich demanded that the expressions 'tolerated', 'not received' and '*admissi*', being offensive to the Rumanians, should not in future be used in the laws, that they be incorporated among the country's nations, that the Greek Orthodox priesthood, nobility and people be given full equality of rights, that in appointing officials and deputies, in filling the court and state offices the Rumanians be taken into consideration in due proportion, and that the counties, hundreds, districts and communities of Rumanian majority be called by Rumanian, those of mixed population by Magyar-Rumanian and Saxon-Rumanian names, or named after the rivers and fortresses. The officers of the Rumanian border-regiments also applied to the king for recognition of the Rumanians as the fourth nation. In the State Council of Vienna, Kaunitz himself declared the establishment of a fourth nation in Transylvania to be impossible, while in the Transylvanian Diet not only the Magyars and Székelys but also the Saxons who pursued delaying tactics in the matter moved the question, and instead Act LX of 1791 guaranteed the Rumanians free practice of the Greek Orthodox faith in Transylvania as well. In addition, a decree issued by Leopold II enabled them to hold office.

At the Transylvanian Diet of 1791 differences arose between the Saxons and the other two nations, which already bore the mark of an incipient nationality movement. For centuries the Saxons had not objected to the Diets of Transylvania conducting their discussions and drawing up their laws in Magyar, yet now they suddenly declared that they were only willing to take the oath on the country's unity in German or Latin, but not in Hungarian. But in spite of this they finally decided to take the oath in Hungarian. Even greater indignation was provoked among the Magyars by the fact that the mayor of Nagyszeben, as *consul* of the Saxons, refused to support the protest against Joseph II's Germanising decree. A further cause for

dissension was the idea — as yet appearing only in embryonic form — of the Transylvanian Union. At this time the Diet — with the consent of the Saxons — only requested of the king that Transylvania be represented by four members at the coronation diets and that the person of the Lord Chancellor be common, but that within the Chancery separate departments be set up for Hungary and Transylvania. But the Saxon *Universitas* declared that they would on no account consent to the uniting of the two chanceries and the union of the two countries. At the same time they protested against government demanding Magyar or Latin reports from the Saxon towns. All these were tokens of the great struggle that was to open in the following century about the linguistic question and the Union.

In contrast to the Saxons of Transylvania, the Germans living in Hungary were imbued at this period with the spirit of 'partial patriotism', that is to say, they considered themselves citizens of the Magyar mother-country in the first place, and their duties towards the community were determined by conditions of life of that country and its founders, the Magyars. The country's second largest nationality, the Slovaks, also took their stand on the basis of Hungarist patriotism. It is extremely characteristic that Anthony Bernolák, who in 1790, published the first Slovak grammar that laid the foundations of a Slovak literary language — as distinguished from the one hitherto employed by the Slovak authors, and which, though teeming with Slovakisms, was Czech, — also espoused the cause of the Magyar official language. The Ruthenes, though their relations with Russia, after an interval in the course of the eighteenth century, were again becoming more animated around 1790, also wholly identified themselves with the Magyar nation.

While in the case of the Ruthenes there was as yet no trace of a separate national consciousness in the first half of the nineteenth century, Bernolák's grammar, despite the author's intention, paved the way for the development of



a Slovak national consciousness, for the so-called national awakening. The first sign of this was the Literary Society founded at Pozsony in 1801. By 1824 John Kollár, an Evangelical minister in Pest, had written his famous poem entitled *Slávy dcéra* (The Daughter of Glory), the first great literary manifestation and apotheosis of the Panslav idea. Part of the Slovak Evangelical younger generation became disciples of this cultural Panslavism, and in 1840 Count Charles Zay, the Superintendent of the Evangelical Church, on publication of the almanac entitled *Jitrenka* and edited in a spirit of Panslavism by the secret society of the Slovak pupils, was compelled to warn the masters of the Evangelical gymnasium at Lőcse that he would not tolerate a Panslav tendency. The Czechs looked to the Slovaks for a revival of their Slavdom, which had fallen off in the proximity of the Germans, and therefore they regarded the beginnings of the Slovak nationality movement with great satisfaction. With a pamphlet published in 1843, Count Leo Thun, later Austrian Minister of Education, started the polemic literature that was to fill entire libraries and subject Hungary's Slovak policy and her nationality policy in general to unfounded or at any rate greatly exaggerated criticism abroad. In opposition to the Czech tendency of the Kollár group, the triumvirate of Štúr, Hodža and Hurban in the 'forties of the past century finally separated the Slovak literary language from the Czech. In contrast to Bernolák, whose grammar was based on the West Slovak dialect, the one standing closest to the Czech tongue, they relied on the Central Slovak idiom. Since 1847 this circle was represented in the Magyar parliament by Štúr, a man devoted to the conservatives and the Metternich—Kolowrat government, and an ardent apostle of cultural Panslavism, but whose programme did not go beyond claiming Slovak schools and linguistic rights. The majority of the Slovak educated classes, and in particular the Catholics, were not affected by these political and literary movements. In the subsequent development of the Slovak policy three tendencies may be observed: the Czecho-Slovak, the

autochthonous Slovak and the Magyarophile (*magyaron*) tendencies appear at an early date.

The Serbian nationality movement had an expressly political, and even an irredentist character in the eighteenth century. After 1791 this became even more strongly emphasized. Knowing the radical mood pervading the national congress at Temesvár it is not surprising that the Patriarch elected there, Stratimirovich, requested the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to unite the Szerém-ség, i. e. his own residence too, to Serbia. The Serbs living in Hungary were considerably impressed by the revolt of the inhabitants of their one-time country against the Turks (1812). The poetical and literary work of Vuk Stefanovich Karadjich, who lived for a time in Hungary and was well known abroad, especially in Germany, was wholly permeated by the Greater Serbia idea. He regarded all the South Slavs, including the Bulgarians and Croats, as Serbs. His influence on his people was further enhanced by the fact that on the basis of the South Herzegovinan dialect he created the modern Serbian literary language.

To unite the South Slavs was equally the aim of the Illyrianism voiced by the Croat Louis Gaj. But while Karadjich imagined such a union under Serbian leadership, Gaj, a devoted follower of cultural Panslavism, made no distinction between Serbs and Croats. Since, however, his programme clashed with the Greater Serbia one, with Garasanin's Yugo-Slav plan, he subsequently contented himself with Illyria Minor, which would have extended to Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia. Like Karadjich, Gaj also renewed the Croatian language on the basis of the South Herzegovinan dialect; moreover he introduced an orthography resembling the Czech in place of the Magyar orthography hitherto used. Thus the new Croatian literary language only differed from the Serbian in that the one used Latin and the other Cyrillic characters. The Illyrianism of Gaj attained its full flower in the 'forties. Previous to that, in 1832, Count John Draskovich had mooted the idea of constituting an independent Catholic South Slav state,



as a reaction to Act VIII of 1830, which contained the first positive measures referring to the official use of the Magyar language. The linguistic question was undoubtedly an important factor in aggravating Magyar-Croat relations. Act VIII of 1830 only extended *intra fines Regni Hungariae*, that is, the territory of Hungary proper in the narrowest sense of the word, and did not affect Croatia and Slavonia. Act III of 1836, on the contrary, which together with the Latin text of the laws declared the Magyar text to be 'original and decisive', i. e. authentic, and which decreed, among other things, that lawsuits might be conducted at the High Court of Justice in Magyar as well, comprised Croatia too. Although the only practical consequence of this law as regards Croatia was that the few Magyars were able to bring Magyar actions in the High Court, and although the next language law, Act VI of 1840, did not affect the *adnexae* countries at all, for the parliament of 1843-44 the Croatian delegates were instructed by the *Sabor* of Zagreb not to speak Magyar in the Hungarian parliament. When one of them made a speech in Croatian, parliament, waiving all formalities, declared Magyar to be the exclusive language of parliamentary discussions. This resolution was subsequently incorporated in law by Act II of 1844. The Illyrian party made use of this case for an incredible amount of agitation against the Magyars and prevented the Magyarophile Croatian small nobles of Turmező by terrorism from exercising their right of voting. The mistakes made on both sides were grist to the mill of Illyrianism, which was so openly supported by Vienna that the sovereign honoured Gaj with the gift of a valuable ring, while no Hungarian author had ever received a similar distinction.

Like the Slovak, the development of Rumanian national consciousness was primarily influenced by the renovation of the literary language, in particular the grammars of George Sincai, Samuel Micu (Klein) and Peter Maior, who declared war on Cyrillism. It is extremely characteristic that these works were published at Buda

with the support of Magyar nobles and scholars, while their authors suffered many rebukes and even denunciation from the Rumanian prelates. All three scholars took as their basis the theory of Daco-Rumanian continuity. This was set forth at great length in Maior's *Istoria pentru începutul* (1812) and Sincai's *Cronica Romanilor*, and pretends that the Rumanians are descendants of the Romans and Dacians, whose ancestors remained in Transylvania after the withdrawal of the Roman legions, and who are consequently its original inhabitants. The ideology of the Rumanian nationality movement was built up on this wholly untenable basis and spread all over the two Danubian principalities as well by the Rumanians of Transylvania. The programme of Rumanian irredentism was also elaborated by a Transylvanian Rumanian, Michael Cogalniceanu by name. To-day there is no longer any need to deal with the indefensible nature of this theory, since philological research has proved beyond a doubt that — as witness the numerous Albanian loanwords of the Rumanian language and the Albanian-like structure of its syntax — the Rumanian language was born in the depths of the Balkan Peninsula, somewhere in the border region between Albania and Bulgaria. The Rumanian nationality movement in Transylvania was aimed against the Saxons, and subsequently against the introduction of the Magyar official language. In 1837 the Greek Orthodox bishop Moga asked the Transylvanian diet's protection for the Rumanians living in the Királyföld (the Saxons' territory), and in 1843 he repeated this request together with the Greek Catholic bishop Lemény. And when the Magyar members of the Diet of 1841—43 proposed that the Magyar language be made official, Lemény protested in the diet against the supremacy of the Magyar tongue.

The Saxons too protested against the language bill of 1841 and begged the King to refuse it his sanction, in spite of the law's provision that they might use the German language in their internal administration and correspond in Latin with the *gubernium*. As the idea of a



union between Hungary and Transylvania grew more and more popular among the Magyars and Székelys, the Saxons became increasingly nervous, since they feared for the maintenance of their privileged position in the event of such a union being realised.

As regards the other Germans in Hungary, they not only became spiritually absorbed in the Magyar nation in this period, but there was an incipient linguistic Magyarisation among them in the towns. The Ruthenes showed no sign of a 'national awakening'.

Thus in the 'forties of the nineteenth century the nationality question stood in the very foreground of Hungarian and Transylvanian politics. Even practical politics began to be affected by Panslavism, the Yugoslav and Greater Rumanian ideas, the plan of a trialistic solution of the Habsburg Empire's nationality problems and the idea of Czecho-Slovak national unity. The short-sighted Court openly or covertly supported Illyrianism, the Saxons and Štur, unmindful of the fact that by weakening the Magyars it was enfeebling itself. This of course alarmed Hungarian public opinion and serves to explain how radicalism was able to prevail over moderation in the linguistic question. The moderate standpoint was represented by Count Stephen Széchenyi, the creator of modern Hungary, the 'greatest Magyar', who in a speech at the Academy on November 27, 1842 pointed out the dangers involved by an external linguistic Magyarisation. Francis Deák, the subsequent creator of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, was equally antagonistic to such Magyarisation. But public opinion followed the Radicals, with Louis Kossuth, the brilliant orator, at their head.

Though to-day, after the lapse of a century, we must agree with Széchenyi, it must be admitted that the peaceful co-existence of Hungary's peoples was broken up after many centuries by certain nationality leaders. First and foremost among them were those who pursued the mirages of Panslavia, Illyria, Daco-Rumanian continuity or the Czecho-Slovak union without any sense for practical

politics. Further disturbing elements were those who in contrast to the spirit of the age clung to the antiquated Latin tongue and disdained the Magyar language, though by the 'twenties of the past century it had become the tongue of many a great poet; and those who could not find the means to persuade Hungarian public opinion that certain concessions made to the nationality languages in official life need not necessarily be opposed to the interests and Hungarian character of the state. Moderation and comprehension can be claimed only by those who are themselves able to be moderate and understanding. But such moderation and understanding was lacking in the leaders of the nationality movement. There was not one among them who would have exhorted those belonging to his nationality to moderation, as did Széchenyi. But even greater is the responsibility of the Court of Vienna which, in following the principle *divide et impera*, played off the nationalities, above all the Serbians, against the Magyars, and whose constant intrigues and duplicity created discord instead of harmony.

## V.

*The War of Liberty, 1848/49*

UNDER the influence of the February revolution in Paris, in the spring of 1848 the system of the Estates collapsed in Hungary, the serfs were liberated and the country's relations with Austria assumed the character of a personal union not only legally, but in actual fact.

These revolutionary events set the nationalities in motion as well. The Croatian Congress at Zagreb, — one of whose originators was Gaj — addressed a petition to the sovereign. In this they demanded the union of Croatia-Slavonia (including the three eastern Magyar counties), the Austrian-administered Dalmatia, Fiume which since the eighteenth century had been annexed to Hungary proper as a *corpus separatum*, and the Croatian Border



District, and the subjection of this entire territory to a body independent of the Hungarian government. Their connexion with Hungary they desired to maintain formally. The meeting asked for General Baron Joseph Jelachich to be nominated Ban of Croatia, but he had already been appointed by Vienna at the instigation of Kolowrat and entrusted with the task of impeding a Magyar-Croat agreement. The *Sabor* unlawfully convoked by him pronounced the separation from Hungary and direct dependence upon Vienna. Hungary's Prime Minister, Count Batthyány, offered Jelachich, who had been removed at the request of the Hungarian government but pardoned in Vienna, fulfilment of all the Croatian demands. Subsequently the Ministers Deák and Szemere drafted a Bill according to which the Croats would have been given a separate ministry at Zagreb, only the Ministers of War, Finance and Commerce being common in the two countries, while Croat state-secretaries would have been appointed for these affairs as well, and Croatian accepted as the exclusive official language in Croatia. On August 27 the Cabinet Council would even have contented itself with a mere relationship of alliance, provided that Fiume and the coastline remained with Hungary. On September 17, however, Jelachich crossed the Drave and marched practically up to the gates of the country's capital, when he was defeated and compelled to withdraw from the country.

In these stirring days the Serbs worked with the Croats for the Illyrian idea. Jelachich was solemnly inaugurated as Ban by the Serbian patriarch Rajachich at a joint Serbian-Croat meeting. The national congress of Karlovitz demanded that a separate Serbian Voivodeship be detached from the country, which was to comprise the Bácska and Bánát, the counties of Szerém and Baranya. But in the same month the Serbian movement, instigated by the Austrian consul at Belgrade and the Serbian government authorities, broke out in a revolt in which between ten and twelve thousand Serbian troops participated. With fearful savagery, the rebels massacred

the Magyar and Suabian population, who became even more closely linked under the strain of mutual suffering. In the summer of 1849, shortly before the collapse of the War of Liberty, negotiations were begun between George Stratimirovich, the leader of the Serbs, and the Hungarian government, in the course of which the latter showed itself willing to agree that the language of communities and schools, of churches and registers be fixed according to the majority of the population, and that a separate department in the Ministry of Education, as well as a theological faculty at the University of Budapest, be organised for the Greek Orthodox faith. However, the intrigues of the Belgrade government and the Austrian consul frustrated this agreement.

The Slovak public meeting convoked by Štur, Hurban and Hodža at Liptószentmiklós summarised its claims in twelve points, which culminated in the demand that the Slovaks should have a national assembly of their own and that Slovak should be the language of discussions and meetings within their ethnographic frontiers. Moreover, they claimed the right to use their own language in parliament, the foundation of Slovak schools and a Slovak University, the use of the Slovak national banners and the Slovak word of command for the Slovak National Guard. But there was no question of separation from Hungary. At the Slav congress opened at Prague on July 2, however, Štur went so far as to hope by breaking down the Magyars to achieve the independence of the Slav population 'united by the Danube'. Subsequently a Slovak National Council was formed in Vienna and with the support of the Austrian government, and their troops penetrated into Hungary on September 19, a few days after the invasion of Jelachich; but this venture collapsed within a few days. Two later invasions, directed by Austrian generals, also proved failures. The attitude of the Slovak people towards the Hurbanists was divided. But the fact that about a quarter of the 437,300 infantry of the National Guard at the disposal of the Hungarian government and practically a quarter of



the 15,545 *honvéds* were Slovaks of Upper Hungary seems to indicate that the overwhelming majority of the Slovak people sympathised with the Hungarian War of Liberty.

In Transylvania, the general Magyar-Székely public opinion demanded the union with Hungary, which was resolved upon by parliament on May 30. The Rumanians at first showed sympathy for the idea of this union, which meant union with the Rumanians of Hungary in the same political organism, and consequently a reinforcement for them. Nevertheless, the public meeting at Balázsfalva asked for discussion of the union to be postponed until 'the Rumanian nation should become a constitutional nation in the country's legislation'. The resolution passed by the meeting consisted of sixteen points, and was headed by the claim that the Rumanian nation be granted 'national independence in political respect', that it should be represented in parliament in proportion to its numbers, that it should have officials in administration, jurisdiction and the military offices, the language be employed in legislation and administration 'in due proportion', and that it should be allowed to hold a national assembly every year. Moreover, they demanded rights equal to those of the other Transylvanian Churches for the Greek Orthodox Church, and the Rumanian metropolitanate. The meeting constituted a national committee, which has since played a decisive part in Transylvanian Rumanian politics. The law of the union was also voted for by the Rumanian deputy Bohecel and blessed by the Greek Catholic bishop Lemény. But under the influence of Simon Barnutiu's agitation Rumanian public opinion considered the union invalid because the Rumanian nation as such had had no part in creating it. The Hungarian parliament, supplemented by the Transylvanian deputies, sought an agreement with the Rumanians from the very beginning. A Bill introduced in the Upper House by Baron Nicholas Wesselényi, the most important Magyar politician in Transylvania, proposed to enact the emancipation of the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches, Rumanian as the

language of education in their schools, the drawing up of protocols in the Rumanian-inhabited communities in Magyar and Rumanian, and the admission of Rumanian private documents. Subsequently a proposal was drafted by the committee sent out to discuss the details of the union. This went even beyond Wesselényi's Bill and was intended to give the Rumanians the following additional rights: the Rumanian nationality language was to be guaranteed, and its use to be unrestricted in their church and school life; at the meetings of the municipalities, towns and communities Rumanian might also be spoken; the laws were to be published in Rumanian as well; in the National Guard the language of command was to be Rumanian; in every branch of administration, with due regard to their abilities, Rumanians were also to be employed; in every court of law there was to be a Rumanian agent to conduct the cases of the poor Rumanians; in the lower and higher offices of the state Rumanians to be accorded equal consideration with subjects speaking other languages; a chair of Rumanian language and literature was to be established at the university; the Greek Orthodox Rumanians were to be independent of the Serbian patriarch, and a separate department was to be organised in the Ministry of Education for investigating Rumanian ecclesiastical and educational affairs. But events prevented the parliamentary discussion of this very liberal proposition, for in the meantime the conflicts between the Székely borderers and the riotous Rumanian peasants who under the influence of the liberation of the serfs seized farmsteads unlawfully, aggravated the situation and the Rumanian deputies from Transylvania left parliament, while those from Hungary remained. After Jelachich's invasion a second meeting was held at Balázsfalva, which did not even recognise the Hungarian government and subordinated itself directly to the Emperor. The Austrian military Commander-in-Chief at Nagyszében only fanned the flames. He declared himself the sole lawful government of Transylvania and confronted



Saguna, the Greek Orthodox bishop of Nagyszeben, who at the New Year had introduced the Magyar official language into the diocesan consistory, with the alternative of either submitting to him or being locked up. Henceforward Saguna was an obedient tool in the hands of the Austrian government, while Lemény, the Greek Catholic bishop of Balázsfalva, exhorted his people to obedience to the government and the law and was removed as a result. The Commander-in-Chief left the disarming of the Magyar volunteer forces and national guard to the Rumanians armed by him. This was followed by an armed conflict between the two peoples. After the victories obtained towards the end of the year by the Hungarian General Bem, Saguna and the Saxon Godfrey Müller, at the instigation of Puchner, the military Commander-in-Chief, and notwithstanding the opposition of the members of the Rumanian Committee headed by him, which had only been overcome with difficulty, on December 31 called the Russian General Lüders, then stationed at Bucharest, into Transylvania. The public meeting called three days before by Puchner and presided over by Saguna demanded that all the Rumanians living under the sceptre of the Habsburgs should be organised into a political corporation. On the basis of this resolution Saguna presented a 'national petition' to Francis Joseph I at Olmütz, requesting the convocation of a Rumanian national congress, at which all the Rumanians living in the Monarchy were to elect a national and an ecclesiastical head and a national administrative council organised for them, and a Rumanian national assembly to be convoked annually to discuss Rumanian national interests, and also for the Rumanians to be represented in proportion to their number in the Austrian *Reichsrat*, while the imperial constitution was to set up a Rumanian body to safeguard their national interests, and the sovereign was to assume the title of 'Grand Duke of the Rumanians'.

But meanwhile General Bem had cleared Transylvania of the Austrian and Russian troops and driven the

Rumanian rebels, with the young Jancu Avram at their head, back into the Ore Mountains. In this situation John Dragoş, the Rumanian member of the Hungarian parliament, which had temporarily fled to Debrecen from the Austrian forces advancing from the west, endeavoured to mediate between the Magyars and Rumanians. Louis Kossuth, later Regent of Hungary, who had at all times attached great importance to an agreement with the Rumanians, charged him with the task of opening negotiations with Jancu. Kossuth proposed, while retaining Magyar as the state language, to guarantee the Rumanians the use of their mother tongue in schools, churches and municipal life, and also the expenses of a better organisation of the Rumanian schools and the raising of their educational level; also the publication of laws and decrees in Rumanian, equal rights for the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic priesthood, free management of their ecclesiastical affairs, and their employment in public offices without prejudice. Finally, with the exception of Saguna, he promised to give the rebels quarter. These negotiations were interrupted by the unauthorised surprise attack of a Hungarian *honvéd* major on Abrudbánya. The Rumanians wrongly suspected treason behind this, and murdered Dragoş together with many innocent Magyars. In spite of this tragic incident, however, negotiations between the Hungarian government and Jancu were soon resumed. They were conducted by Balcescu, who had fled to Hungary when the revolution that defeated the Wallachian chief Bibescu was suppressed, and to whom Kossuth now confided this task. Jancu greeted Balcescu warmly and drew up a memorandum for Kossuth in which he undertook to prepare the Rumanian people for peace. The result of Balcescu's mediation was a Bill under which the Rumanian language was to be used in the exclusively Rumanian-inhabited counties, and the language of protocols was to be both Rumanian and Magyar; in the said counties the language of instruction in the schools was to be Rumanian, in the courts cases might be conducted in



either Rumanian or Magyar, Rumanians might petition the authorities in their own language, the Greek Orthodox Rumanians were to enjoy full liberty in administering their Churches and schools, a separate department was to be organised for the Greek Orthodox faith in the Ministry of Education, as well as a theological faculty at the University of Budapest, while the Greek Orthodox congregations and schools were to receive equal advantages with the other denominations, the Rumanians might hold synods in church and school matters, and in the overwhelmingly Rumanian communities the language of command in the National Guard was to be Rumanian. In an agreement made on July 15, 1849, a compromise was also reached, directed against Panslavism, on the lines that the Hungarian government would form a Rumanian legion to fight against the Austrians and Russians in Hungary. Jancu would have been given the rank of general and the task of attacking the Russians in Wallachia Minor. But a month later the Hungarian army was compelled to lay down its arms at Világos, and the plans that might have brought about a decisive turn in Magyar-Rumanian relations became void.

In many respects the Transylvanian Saxons proceeded on the same lines as the Rumanians in the War of Liberty. In opposition to the conservative minority, the liberal majority under the leadership of Gooss accepted the Union and the deputies of the Saxons voted for it in the Transylvanian Diet. Their deputies also appeared at the parliament of Pest, but subsequently some of them left, allegedly because the Saxon claims were not met, although parliament intended to guarantee the election of the *Comes* in future. When the War of Liberty broke out, the Saxons took the side of Puchner and — as has been seen — the Saxon Godfrey Müller went to Bucharest with Saguna to call Lüders into Transylvania. But Saguna's Olmütz memorandum was rejected by Saxon public opinion. The anti-Hungarian literature of the Saxons brought up an unfortunate incident in the War of Liberty, namely, that Stephen

Louis Roth, a Saxon Evangelical minister in the service of Puchner, was condemned to death and shot by a Hungarian court martial on May 11, 1849. Yet there could in general be no objection to the behaviour of the Magyar *honvéd* forces. This is clearly demonstrated by Transylvanian Saxon historiography, which — with laudable impartiality — fully recognises that Bem, the Commander-in-Chief of the Hungarian forces in Transylvania, showed mildness and justice towards the vanquished. It is remarkable that in his *Von der Union und nebenbei ein Wort über eine mögliche Daco-romanische Monarchie unter Österreichs Krone*, written against the Union, the Saxon Daniel Roth first raised the idea of uniting Moldavia and Wallachia with Transylvania and thus annexing it to Austria. This plan was also propagated by Jon Maiorescu in the name of the Rumanian revolutionary government at the German *Reichstag*. The idea resembles that proclaimed by Popovici in 1905.

In contrast to the Transylvanian Saxons, the Germans living in Hungary sided with the Magyars heart and soul in the War of Liberty. The Ruthene people and educated classes also identified themselves with the Magyar cause almost unanimously. Adolf Dobriansky's Austro-Slav policy was the isolated enterprise of a man who wanted to assert himself at all costs. The Rumanians living in Hungary too behaved loyally, and their parliamentary deputies mediated honestly between the government and the Rumanians of Transylvania. The smaller nationalities: Vends, Bunyevátz, Shokátz and Croats living in Hungary (Muraköz) also stood by the Magyars. In contrast to the Serbian masses, certain eminent Serbian personalities served the Magyar cause heroically. Among them were General Damjanich, who died a martyr's death at Arad, and Sebő Vukovich, who followed Kossuth into exile when the War of Liberty failed.

Thus in this critical phase of Hungarian history the non-Magyar population of Hungary proper mostly remained loyal to their native land. Except for a small proportion



of the Slovaks, the Serbians of the southern region were on the whole the only ones to turn against Hungary, and they had not lived under Hungarian administration for more than half a century. The rest of the nationalities were swept away by the revolutionary impetus of the Magyar nation and Louis Kossuth, which caused amazement throughout liberal Europe. Another reason that made them support the Magyar cause was the great achievement of liberating the serfs. On the other hand, the Rumanian and Saxon inhabitants of Transylvania, which had only recently been reunited to Hungary, fought against the Magyars. The Saxons did so in the hope of thus preserving their medieval privileges, and the Rumanians because they wished to be recognised as a fourth nation at a time when the old Transylvanian constitution had become obsolete. In this struggle the ideas of the new era were undoubtedly represented by the Magyars. Croatia endeavoured to build up an existence as a separate state out of her previous autonomy. In the service of Austrian interests, however, she soon exceeded the limits of such an attempt and turned against Hungary, with the aim of compelling the latter to give up her new order, and the Hungarian government obviously had to offer resistance. The Serbs, Transylvanian Rumanians and Saxons as well as the Hurbanist Slovaks threw in their lot with Austrian absolutism, and thus the issue was not one of 'Magyar oppression' as against 'nationality rights', but rather a struggle between Magyar constitutionalism and Austrian absolutism.

In any case, the essence of the nationalities' claims was impracticable. No Hungarian government could accede to the total separation of Croatia or the foundation of a Serbian Voivodeship. As may be seen from Saguna's petition of Olmütz, the 'national independence from the political point of view' of the Rumanians meant the simultaneous application of the contradictory principles of national autonomies built up on the territorial and the personal principle. The heterogeneous character of Hungary's population makes it impossible to establish the ethnic frontiers

claimed by the Slovaks. All these were exaggerations produced by young nationality movements, which resulted in discrediting the reasonable claims as well.

Nevertheless the Hungarian government evinced the maximum of compliance with the Croats and a serious desire to satisfy the Rumanians at all times. The negotiations conducted with Jancu and Stratimirovich resulted in the law of July 21, 1849, which was accepted by the Parliament of Szeged. Under it, everyone might speak his own language at the meetings of the communities and counties. The language of official documents was to be determined by the nationality exceeding half the population in the communities, and by the majority of the body of deputies in the counties. Everyone might use his own language in court cases before juries. In the elementary schools the language of teaching was to be that of the community or church; the language of the registers and of the Churches in general, that of the parish. Private persons might make applications to the authorities in any one language. The synod to be held annually by the Greek Orthodox Church might decide freely on all questions of Church and school life; the synod was to elect the bishops and to decide whether the Serbian and Rumanian nations should remain united as regards their Church or not. The Greek Orthodox Church and its schools were to enjoy the same advantages as the other Churches; it would administer and have control of its own Church and school foundations, and a theological faculty was to be set up for it at the University of Budapest. All offices and places would be filled solely according to merit and ability, irrespective of nationality and religion. All well-founded grievances of the Serbs and Rumanians must be removed by the government, either by its own power, or by Bills to be submitted to parliament. This is the first instance in the history of the nationality question where a law regulates the use of nationality languages in such detail. This law was built up on the principles of the purest liberalism. Accordingly, it gave rights to the individual persons belonging to the



nationalities, and not to the nationalities as collective factors, though it recognised the Serbs and Rumanians as nations. But with the end of the War of Liberty a few weeks later the law became ineffective.

Kossuth in his exile went even further in respect of nationality rights. His plan for a constitution drafted at Kütahya in 1851 proposed the following solution of the nationality problem: to further their nationality interests, the subjects belonging to a nationality were to join in communities; through representation by community they should then form district unions; and by welding the districts together in a national union, they were to give themselves any organisation they pleased. They might elect national chiefs, whom they might call voivodes, hospodars or what they liked. They might make rules for themselves according to which their union was to be governed. In other words, they might pursue all their moral and social interests with full social autonomous freedom. These unions would have nothing to do with the state, or vice versa. The state would require nothing beyond their meetings being public and that the law be upheld against those who infringed it. Kossuth declared the nation to be an interest of society, just like religion. As in the case of religion, 'the development of a nationality must be brought about by means of association within the state', and 'the same procedure that was employed in establishing the autonomy of the Churches must be applied to the affairs of the nationalities'. These ideas produce a wholly modern effect. On the pattern of the system 'free Church in a free State' Kossuth elaborated the system of a 'free nationality in the free state'. The first resolution passed by the nationality congress assembled at Geneva in 1925 also drew a parallel between national-cultural freedom and liberty of conscience.

## VI.

### *The Era of Absolutism and the Provisorium*

THE END of the Hungarian War of Liberty and the incorporation of Hungary into the Austrian Empire did not fulfil the expectations of the nationalities who were fighting the Magyar nation.

Although the imperial constitution dated March 4, 1849, which was soon abrogated, proclaimed — even before the Hungarian nationality law of Szeged — the equality of all 'ethnic tribes', in contrast to the law of Szeged it did not concretely specify the rights of the 'ethnic tribes'. Transylvania, Croatia and Slavonia with Fiume, and the Muraköz, which had always belonged to Hungary, were directly subordinated to Vienna as a separate Crown province. But since the autonomy of the crown provinces was much more limited than the former Croatian autonomy and the Border Region was not reannexed to Croatia, the Croat Ban's Council refused to promulgate the March Constitution. Subsequently an imperial decree of the year 1850 dissolved the Croat *Sabor*. The claims of the Transylvanian Rumanians and Saxons and of the Hurbanist Slovaks to separate territories were disregarded.

Only for the Serbians did the imperial patent of September 18, 1849, apportion a separate territory, namely the 'Serbian Voivodina and Bánát of Temes' consisting of the Bácska and Bánát, as well as two districts in the Szerémség. But even this territory was given an Austrian provincial governor (*Landeschef*) and its administration conducted in German. Even the Serbian sign-boards were exchanged for German ones. Out of the 1,436,000 inhabitants of the Voivodina 436,000 were Serbs, the rest being Magyars, Rumanians and Germans, and this regulation exasperated the Rumanians as well.

In Hungary, although an imperial decree dated October 17, 1849, declared the language employed by the majority of the population to be the official language, this meant no more than a preparatory step for the introduc-



tion of a wholly German administration. In the northern counties the Slovak language, provisionally introduced, was soon replaced by the *bibliština*, the medieval Czech language employed in the Evangelical Church, the language of the Bible of Králice, in glaring contrast to the Hurban group's attempts at creating an independent Slovak literary language. Hurban and Štúr were placed under police surveillance: this was the thanks they got for their services to the Austrians.

The Rumanian Jancu, who started a movement against the high taxes, was also arrested. He was ill-treated in prison, and the 'King of the Mounts' begged and wandered raving across the Transylvanian mountains. The Rumanian National Committee and the two border-regiments were dissolved, the leading paper of the Rumanians in Transylvania, the *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, suspended. In the Transylvanian administration the Rumanians were granted two posts, as sheriffs, and in the Királyföld the Saxons expelled them from the schools.

But the Saxons themselves were equally bitterly disillusioned. The Saxon *Universitas* was dissolved and the Saxons forbidden to call their territory the 'land of the Saxons' as they had done hitherto. The Saxon population hated and despised the foreign Galician and Czech officials and their religious feelings were deeply hurt by the fact that the absolute government endeavoured to force Catholic ceremonies on them.

Bach's absolutist system also Germanised educational affairs. All he allowed the nationalities in Hungary proper were three Slovak, one Slovak-Magyar and one Rumanian secondary-school, and the teaching of scripture, the Russian language, and history in Russian at the secondary-school of Ungvár.

There was not a single nationality in the country that would have been pleased with the new system. Towards the end of the 'fifties not only the nationalities of Hungary proper, but even the Saxons and Rumanians of Transylvania began to draw nearer to the Magyars. The Germans living in Hungary — in spite of the government's Germa-



nising policy — continued to identify themselves politically with the Magyars in full measure. Partly under the influence of the Russian forces which came to assist the Austrians, and partly under that of the Czech officials introduced under the Bach system, the Ruthene Alexander Duchnovich, first in Ruthenian, then for a time in a mixed Old Slav-Russian language and eventually, towards the close of his life, in Great Russian, endeavoured both by his literary activity and politically to turn the Ruthenes in a Russophile direction. But he met with no response among the people, while his fellow ministers, with the bishop of Munkács at their head, turned a deaf ear to these attempts.

The Diploma of October 1860 attempted to reorganise the Habsburg Empire on the basis of the 'historico-political individuality' of the various Crown Lands. The Serbian Voivodina was abolished. This development was not even regretted by the Serbs themselves who, under the leadership of Svetozár Miletich, at that time looked to an independent Hungary for the weakening of the Habsburg Empire and realisation of their irredentist aims. On January 21 and 31, 1861 Fiume addressed a petition to the monarch, begging to be reunited with Hungary, whereupon martial law was proclaimed. Yet in the elections for the Croatian *Sabor* more than 97% of the Fiume electors refrained from voting or voted *nessun*. The patent of February 1861 created a common Imperial Council for the entire Monarchy at Vienna. But neither Hungary and the Magyars of Transylvania, nor the Croats and Serbs sent representatives. At the same time the sovereign invited the Croatian *Sabor* to communicate its wishes about pending questions to the Hungarian parliament. The Croatian Act, XLII of 1861, supported the independence of Croatia, and claimed Fiume and the Muraköz for the Croats too. On the basis of the October Diploma the Hungarian parliament, which insisted on the validity of the laws of 1848, met again and appointed a committee, which prepared a Bill on the nationality question. Like the law drafted at Szeged in 1849 this, in keeping with the liberal spirit of the age,



proposed to give rights to the individual subjects belonging to the various nationalities, not to the nationalities collectively. It served as a basis and pattern for the Hungarian nationality law of 1868.

This was the situation when the leaders of the anti-Magyar Slovaks presented the memorandum of Turócszentmárton, on June 6, 1861, to the Hungarian parliament and subsequently to the Emperor. Beyond the assurance of the Slovak nation's individuality and the rights of the Slovak language by positive laws as well as recognition of the latter as a diplomatic language, the memorandum continued to claim division of the country according to ethnic frontiers and the creation of a separate Slovak district (*okolia*). It contained the following points: Slovak to be the official language in this territory, and also in the Slovak linguistic diasporae, the Slovak language to be permissible with the higher authorities, the organisation of a separate Slovak court of appeal and court of exchange, modification of the Hungarian linguistic laws, the laws to be drafted by parliament in Slovak too, the creation of Slovak academies of law and a university chair, state support for their literary society, and finally permission for them to found societies and start collections for the latter. Though Vienna did not accede to these requests, they once again won the favour of the Court, which allowed them to found a cultural society, the *Slovenská Matica* and the establishment of Slovak secondary-schools at Nagyróce and Turócszentmárton. The memorandum of Turócszentmárton demanded the organisation of a Slovak territory within Hungary, and it is characteristic of Slovak public opinion at the time that Joseph Miloslav Hurban himself exclaims as follows in a poem written in 1861: 'who would separate those whom God himself has joined, who would separate the Slovaks and Magyars? One is our freedom, our happiness and misfortune, one country and one king unite us from time immemorial.' Thus even Hurban himself had drawn the inevitable conclusions from his bitter experiences of 1849.

In Transylvania after the October Diploma part of the Saxons also desired the Union with Hungary. At the Conference of Gyulafehérvár convoked by the provisional Chancellor of Transylvania in 1861, the majority of the Saxons accepted the Magyar proposal to invite the Transylvanian deputies to the Diet of Pest. Like the Magyars, the three Rumanian councillors of the government qualified the October Diploma as illegal, against which Rumanian public opinion protested violently. Nor did the Diploma satisfy Saguna, who demanded that the rights of the Rumanian nation be guaranteed expressly, the Rumanian language be given equal rights with the other two, and even the appointment of a Transylvanian Chancellor of Rumanian nationality and the convocation of a Rumanian national congress. On the Magyar side everything was done to win over the Rumanians. This was when the Rumanians got such a firm footing in Transylvanian administration that in certain counties the Magyars shared the public offices with them, and a tri-lingual administration was introduced under Nádasdy's chancellorship. In the social sphere too, a considerable rapprochement was to be observed between Magyars and Rumanians.

However, relations between Magyars, Saxons and Rumanians again took an unfavourable turn when the Saxons and Rumanians sent their deputy to the Imperial Council formed under the February patent. Yet the Saxons were not pleased with the Council's atmosphere. At the *Landtag* of Nagyszeben in 1863—65, from which the Magyars — with the exception of three deputies — remained absent, a Bill was accepted by the Rumanians and Saxons. This recognised the Rumanian nation, the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches by law, and declared the four nations: the Magyar, Székely, Saxon and Rumanian, to possess entirely equal rights. Another Bill stated that the Magyar, German and Rumanian languages enjoyed the same rights in public offices, so that any one of them might be used by parties in all petitions and public proceedings, all judgments or verdicts to be drafted



in the language of the bill of particulars, and criminal sentences to be pronounced in the mother-tongue of the accused. The official language of the communities and municipalities was to be determined by the respective corporation, and the superior authorities to communicate with them in the same language. The language of teaching in the schools was to be determined by whoever provided for them, and the church registers to be kept in one of the three languages. The sovereign gave his preliminary consent to this Bill, but ultimately it was not sanctioned and thus did not come into force.

The eighteen years following the failure of the War of Liberty proved that the Viennese government, just as before 1848, was still incapable of solving the nationality problem in Hungary. Common discontent brought the nationalities and nationality politicians who had turned against Hungary in the War of Liberty closer to the Magyars. If in spite of this improved atmosphere no common denominator could be found for a solution that would satisfy all the nationalities, the reason was that between them, the Rumanians and Saxons of Transylvania, as well as the Slovaks, and the Magyars, there yawned a deep chasm in matters of principle. The Magyars seriously and honestly endeavoured to satisfy the nationalities. In keeping with the liberal spirit of the age, they saw the solution in guaranteeing the equality of the individual nationality subjects and consequently their linguistic rights. The leaders of the nationalities, on the other hand, claimed recognition of the nationalities as collective bodies, their endowment with a political personality and territorial autonomy. These demands were not and could not be fulfilled by the Magyars, for that would have meant contradicting the liberal ideas of which they were at that time some of the most ardent protagonists in the whole of Europe.

## VII.

### *The Age of Austro-Hungarian Dualism*

THE Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 established the relationship of the two countries on the basis of equality between Austria and Hungary. Apart from the person of the sovereign only external defence, foreign affairs and the financial affairs relating to both remained common, while in all other affairs Hungary's sovereignty was complete. With the organisation of the Royal Hungarian *Honvéd* Army and the militia, Hungary even gained direct control over part of the army. But while here the language of command was Magyar (in Croatia and Slavonia Croat), the language of command in the joint army and the official language of the common ministries of War, Foreign Affairs and Finance continued to be German. The Union of Transylvania with Hungary was sanctioned by Act XLIII of 1868. Act XXX of 1868 regulated the relations between Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia in the sense that the partner countries constituted an autonomous province within Hungary. The law provided that the autonomous territory was to comprise the Slavonian part of the Border Region, which historically belonged to Croatia, and Dalmatia. But in fact the Border Region was not re-annexed to Croatia until 1871 and 1881, and Dalmatia never; the latter stood under Austrian administration until 1918. As regards the autonomy of the town of Fiume, as a separate body annexed to the Hungarian Crown, an agreement was to be reached by common consent through negotiations between deputations from the Hungarian and Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian parliament and from Fiume. But the scheme accepted by the Magyar and Fiumean members of the committee did not satisfy the Croatian members, whereupon the monarch decided on July 28, 1870 to create a *provisorium* for Fiume, under which the town and its environs were governed in all branches of their administration by the municipality, the Governor and the Hungarian Ministry.



## THE NATIONALITY LAWS

Within Hungary proper (which by this time included Transylvania) the position of the nationalities was regulated by Act XLIV of 1868. According to the preamble to this law 'All Hungary's citizens, according to the fundamental principles of the constitution, constitute one nation from the political point of view : the indivisible, unitary Hungarian nation, of which every subject of the country, to whichever nationality he may belong, is a member endowed with equal rights'. On the basis of the principle of equality of rights, the law provides that, since personal ability is the only decisive factor in the filling of offices, the nationality of a subject cannot be regarded as an obstacle to his rise to any office or dignity existing in the country ; on the contrary, the government will see to it that in the national judicial and administrative offices, particularly in the lord-lieutenancies, persons from the various nationalities, who are perfectly at home in the required languages and also otherwise suitable should be employed as far as possible (Art. 27.) In consequence of the nation's political unity the state language is Magyar. This is the language of discussion and procedure in the Hungarian parliament and the government's official language in every branch of government. The laws are framed in Magyar, but they are also to be published in authentic translation in the languages of all the other nationalities (Art. 1.). The official language of all tribunals appointed by the government is Magyar exclusively (Art. 13). Within these limits the law regulates the use of the nationality languages as follows. In all matters where they apply for the protection of the law and the assistance of a Judge, without a lawyer's intervention, all the country's inhabitants may employ their mother tongue before their own municipal court ; before another court the language of administration or the protocol of the respective community ; before their own district courts the language of their own community and before other tribunals the language of the

protocol of the municipality to which the respective court belongs (Art. 7). In these cases the judge settles the complaint or petition in the latter language (Art. 8). The writs, decrees or verdicts of the court of appeal must also be announced or issued to each party in the language in which he desires, inasmuch as the latter is the court's language of administration or one of the protocol languages of the municipality (Art. 12). Even more extensive are the rights regarding the mother-tongue before the administrative and Church authorities. Every citizen may present petitions in his own language to his own community, church authority and municipality, to the organs of the latter and to the government. In petitions addressed to other communities, municipalities and their organs he may use the respective community's or municipality's language of protocols, or one of these languages (Art. 23). At parish and church meetings as well as municipal assemblies those having the right to speak may use their mother-tongue freely (Arts. 3 and 24). The borough meetings choose their own language of administration; and the protocol is also to be conducted in whatever language one-fifth of the voting members considers necessary (Art. 20). In their intercourse with the inhabitants of a community its officials are obliged to use the language of the latter (Art. 21). The communities may use their own language of administration in memorials addressed to their own municipality, its organs and the government, and in memorials addressed to other municipalities and their organs, one of the languages of the municipality concerned (Art. 22). The protocols of the municipalities may also be conducted in all the languages desired by at least one-fifth of the members of the municipal body of councillors (Art. 22). In their documents addressed to the government they may use any of the languages employed in their protocols parallel with Magyar, and in their documents exchanged among themselves, either Magyar, or one of the protocol languages of the municipality to which the document is addressed (Art. 4). In the sphere of



internal administration, in cases where use of the Magyar language encounters practical difficulties, the municipal officials may in exceptional cases use any one of the protocol languages of their municipality as well, but if considerations of state control and administration should require it, their reports and documents may equally be submitted in Magyar (Art. 5). Within the area of their own municipality, in their official intercourse with the communities, assemblies, societies, institutes and private persons the municipal officials are to use the language of the latter as far as possible (Art. 6). The parishes may determine the language in which their registers are kept and their church affairs administered at will. The higher ecclesiastical corporations and authorities themselves determine the language of discussion, protocol, administration and communication with the parishes, but if this should not be Magyar, their documents must also be submitted in authentic Magyar translation for purposes of state supervision. Among themselves they may also use the language of the Church they are corresponding with (Art. 15). The higher and supreme Church authorities may use their language of administration or protocol and the Magyar language in parallel columns in their petitions addressed to the government, in petitions addressed to the municipalities and their organs the protocol language, or languages of the latter, the parishes towards the government and their own municipality their own language of administration, and towards other municipalities one of the latter's languages (Art. 16). As regards the language of education in the schools, the law provides that the parishes may determine the language of instruction in their schools at will (Art. 14). The language of private institutes established by private persons or communities is determined by the founders (Art. 26). The language of teaching in the state schools, where no law provides for it, is a matter for the Minister of Education, who, however, is bound to see that as far as possible citizens of whatever nationality who live together in great

numbers should be able to find schools near to the region inhabited by them up to the point where higher education begins (Art. 17). In the districts where more than one language prevails, a chair of language and literature must be established for each of them at the middle and high state schools (Art. 18). At the University, chairs must be created for the languages prevailing in the country and their literature (Art. 19). Subjects of whatever nationality as well as communities, churches and parishes have the right to establish lower, middle and high schools either out of their own resources or by association and to this end, as well as for the promotion of other institutes serving the purposes of language, art, science, agriculture, industry and commerce, the individual citizens may form clubs or societies, draft statutes, proceed in the sense of the statutes approved by the government, collect funds and manage them corresponding to their lawful nationality interests under control by the government. The cultural and other institutes of this kind — the schools, however, within the limits of the laws of public education — enjoy equal rights with the state's institutes of a similar nature and degree. The societies and the institutes founded by them may also communicate with each other in their own language, while the resolutions of Art. 23 are decisive as regards use of language in their intercourse with others (Art. 26).

Like the Szeged law of 1849 and the Bill drafted by the parliament of 1861, the nationality law of 1868 did not take the nationalities as collective bodies, but as individuals, thus attempting to regulate the question of language on a personal basis. But on this basis, as was stated by Louis Eisenmann, a man by no means prejudiced in favour of the Magyars, it was the most liberal product of the legislation of its age. Hungary has frequently been attacked on account of the preamble to this law, which, as has been seen, determines the idea of the political nation by saying that all the country's citizens, to whatever nationality they may belong, constitute the



indivisible, unitary Hungarian nation. It was inferred from this that the nationality law only recognised the Magyars (taken in the ethnic sense) as the nation, at the same time debasing the non-Magyar ethnic elements of the country into nationalities. This wide-spread view omits to notice the fact that the creators of Act XLIV of 1868, Francis Deák and Baron Joseph Eötvös, those noble-minded Magyar followers of the liberal doctrines, took the French, and in general the West European conception of the nation, which in contrast to the German and Slav conception developed under the influence of Herder, and the Italian idea of a nation formulated by Mancini, considers the nation as constituted by all the citizens of the state, and not by those belonging to a linguistic, ethnic, racial community. The 'indivisible, unitary' Hungarian nation, an expression that recalls the idea of the '*république une et indivisible*', is simply the epitome of all the Hungarian citizens, since the law states quite unequivocally that the members of the nation are the citizens belonging to any nationality. Consequently it is out of the question that the word 'nationality' should have been meant to express inferiority. For in the sense of this law the Magyars too are a nationality. This is clearly demonstrated, for example, by the following sentence in Art. 1: 'the laws are framed in Magyar, but are equally to be published in authentic translation in the languages of every other nationality living in the country'. The languages of all the other nationalities must be interpreted as the languages different from Magyar, and the latter too is a nationality tongue, the language of the Magyar nationality.

Although the nationality law was built up on an individualist basis, the Hungarian parliament of 1868 also made laws that expressly recognised the collective character of certain nationalities. First among these is Act IX of 1868, which codified the elevation to the rank of an archbishopric of the metropolitanate created for the Greek Orthodox Rumanians during the era of absolutism and

having equal rights with that of the Serbians, and of the Transylvanian Greek Catholic archbishopric. The law, while reserving the right of supreme superintendence to the king, recognises the right of the followers of the two Serbian and Rumanian metropolitanates to manage and arrange their church and school affairs and trust funds relating thereto separately and independently, within the limits of the country's laws, at their congresses, which are to be assembled periodically and previously announced to the king by the respective metropolitanates ; to direct and administer them independently by way of their own organs under the statutes to be made at these congresses and sanctioned by the king, and to organise their congresses, also with reservation of the supreme right of sanction. These very comprehensive autonomies, which extended to the independent management and arrangement of their school and church affairs and of trust matters referring thereto, and their independent administration and direction by their own organs under the statutes made at their congresses, that were granted to the Greek Orthodox metropolitanates which comprised the whole of Hungary's Serbian population and the majority of the Rumanian, were undoubtedly nationality autonomies, and their recipients were all the Serbs and the majority of the Rumanians.

While these autonomies were based on the principle of personality i. e. comprised all the Greek Orthodox Serbs or Rumanians living in the country, the Croats, whom the nationality law recognised as a separate political nation, were given extensive territorial autonomy by Act XXX of 1868. Both in respect of legislation and administration this autonomy extended to administration, the religious and educational affairs of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, as well as to matters of justice, including every grade of legislation except maritime law. The organs of the autonomous territory were the Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Diet and the Ban responsible to it, who was appointed by the king on the proposal of the joint Hungarian Prime



Minister and with his countersignature. The link between the national government of the autonomous territory and the king was the Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Minister without Portfolio in the Central Government, who was a voting member of the joint (Hungarian) Cabinet Council and responsible to the joint (Hungarian) parliament. The autonomous territory was represented by 40 members delegated from its own parliament in the Hungarian Lower House, and by three in the House of Magnates. In view of the necessary technical training, the Central Government was bound to appoint both the Croatian-Slavonian departments of the central offices and its organs acting within the territory of the annexed provinces, as far as possible, from the ranks of the Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian citizens. In the territory of Croatia-Slavonia Croatian was the official language of the organs of both the autonomous and the central government. In the Hungarian parliament the members from Croatia-Slavonia were also entitled to use the Croatian language. The Hungarian Ministry was obliged to accept Croatian reports and petitions originating from the autonomous territory and to deal with them in the same language. Within her frontier, Croatia was entitled to use her own national colours and coat-of-arms — the latter below the Crown of St. Stephen — in her home affairs. According to Act XLI of 1868 in Croatia the standards of the *honvéd* army also bore the Croatian colours.

The position of the mainly Italian-inhabited town of Fiume was regulated by the *provisorium* established by a decision of the monarch on July 28, 1870. Under this and the statute of 1872 the sphere of authority of the municipal body of representatives extended to the establishment and regulation of the town's administrative organs, superintendence and control over them, the economic and financial regulation and management of the municipal funds, the advancement of the interests and progress of the town and its area by providing for the municipal institutions, representation of the muni-

cipality as a legal corporation, and ultimately the treatment and discussion of political and national problems, expression of opinions referring thereto, communication of the latter to other municipalities and the government, or their submission to the legislative corporation. The mediator of the Hungarian government in all affairs to which the town's autonomy did not extend was the Governor who, standing at the head of the administration of the town and its area, also conducted the elections for Fiume's municipal body of representatives and presided at the general meetings. In affairs pertaining to the autonomy's sphere of authority the government exercised its rights through the Governor, who was also in charge of maritime affairs along the whole Magyar-Croat seaboard and president of the royal naval authority of Fiume. Italian was the official language of government as well as of administration and jurisdiction. According to decree No. 3870/1871 I. M. this was also the official language of the royal tribunal at Fiume and only in cases of maritime law were parties allowed to use the Croatian language both in their petitions and in verbal procedure before the court. Authentic Croatian translations had to be appended to all judgments passed in Italian and originating in Croatian. On the other hand, Italian translations had to be subjoined to judgments passed by the higher courts in Fiumean cases (Art. 27).

Summing up the Hungarian legal maxims referred to above, one must come to the conclusion that, with the exception of Switzerland, no European country regulated the legal situation of her nationalities more favourably than Hungary. In Switzerland the settlement of the nationality problem was facilitated by the fact that up to 1876 Switzerland was a confederation of states, whose member states, the cantons — with the exception of one or two — were unilingual. Consequently linguistic questions could not even arise within them, but only in the confederation, and there too, on account of its comparatively small sphere of authority, within very narrow limits only.



Several of Austria's Crown Lands, such as Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, as well as Galicia and the Bucovina, were fragments of their Czech or Polish populations' recently lost existence as a state, and since their incorporation had enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy which could not be taken from them in 1867 either. But the autonomy of the Croats was more extensive than theirs, while the national autonomy of the Greek Orthodox Serbs and Rumanians in Hungary was unparalleled in Austria, so that Hungary's nationality legislation was at least equivalent to the Austrian.

Nevertheless, some of the nationalities were not content with this, to them, extremely advantageous legal position. The Croats did not acknowledge the Hungarian Act XXX of 1868, and the Croatian Act I of 1868, because they regarded the electoral decree, on the basis of which the Croatian *Sabor* was constituted and accepted the Magyar-Croatian agreement by a colossal majority — 69 votes against 4 — as forced upon them. The Rumanian, Serb, Saxon, Slovak and Ruthene nationality parties, on the other hand, were dissatisfied with the nationality law of 1868 because the Hungarian parliament had accepted it in preference to the Bill tabled by Alexander Mocsonyi and supported by them. This Bill suggested that the Magyars, Rumanians, Serbs, Slovaks, Ruthenes and Germans be recognised as nations within the country having equal rights, and their political, national and linguistic equality guaranteed. According to the Bill all these would have been entitled on national holidays to hoist their own national colours beside the Magyar on the public buildings. The official language of the counties, districts and communities would have been the language of the majority nation, their second official language that of the more considerable minorities. Each of the legitimate nations, the nationality parties suggested, was to be represented in adequate numbers in the upper legislative house, the central government, the higher tribunals and the municipal offices; their deputies to

have the right to speak their own language in the legislature; the laws and decrees to be communicated to the public authorities in their own language as well; the educational affairs of the various nationalities to receive equal support from the state budget; lectures on the country's laws to be given at the university in the languages of the various nationalities as well; the possibility for everyone to take examinations in his own language; and academies of law functioning in the language of the various nationalities to be established in the regions where they were in a majority. A chasm in principle yawned once again between this Bill and the nationality law, namely, whether the nationalities or the individuals — persons and legal bodies — of a nationality should be invested with nationality rights.

Although the leaders of the Rumanian, Serb, Slovak and Saxon movements attacked the nationality law most vehemently, Hungary's leading statesmen gave further proof of their sincere intention of solving the nationality problem on the basis of complete equality of rights by giving the law a very liberal interpretation. Thus Francis Deák, leader of the government party, declared in a speech made in connexion with the Serbian theatre at Ujvidék that the nationalities must be granted adequate funds for their cultural purposes out of the state budget, or else nothing must be given for similar Magyar purposes either. With respect to the Serbian high-school at Ujvidék he adopted the attitude that 'if the middle-school of a certain region does not teach, or at least not mainly in the language which is that of the people living in that region: then the advancement of culture will be a difficult task indeed'. However, this objectivity and benevolence on the part of Hungary's statesmen was not reciprocated by the nationalities and under Coloman Tisza's long ministry there ensued a more energetic period of Hungarian nationality policy (1875—1890).



## THE NATIONALITY POLICY OF COLOMAN TISZA'S GOVERNMENT

The overture to this policy was the abolition of three denominational Slovak schools in Upper Hungary (Nagy-rőce, Turócszentmárton and Znióváralja) even before Coloman Tisza, in 1874, and the suspension of the biggest Slovak cultural society, the *Matica*, in 1876. The inquiry which had been opened by the competent supreme church authorities under the pressure of public opinion, not of the Hungarian government, established among other things that several teachers of the school at Nagy-rőce had praised the Russians, expressed their hope that 'this soil would be snatched from the Magyars by them', and forbidden their pupils to greet those of the small town's citizens who evinced Magyar sympathies or to marry Hungarian girls. The teacher of the Magyar language declared before his pupils that he would rather teach Mongolian than Magyar. The teachers educated at the teachers' training college connected with the institute tore the Hungarian badges off their pupils' coats, and so forth. The teachers of the school at Turócszentmárton, according to the findings of the inquiry, maintained political relations with Prague, neglected the teaching of the Magyar language, and the funds of the school were illegally transferred to the patronate of the school by the Evangelical Deanery of Turóc. At Znióváralja the teachers forbade their pupils to associate with the local teachers' training college's pupils of Hungarian sympathies on the ground that they were 'renegades' and 'Magyarones'. As a result the Minister of Education was obliged to suppress the Evangelical secondary-schools of Nagy-rőce and Turócszentmárton. In the case of the Catholic school at Znióváralja, he would have been prepared to transform it into a state institute with Slovak as the language of teaching, but the stipulations made by the patronate were such as to frustrate all attempts at changing the spirit of the school. The reason for suspending the *Matica* was that the management of its funds was questionable. From the literary

point of view this society served the same nebulous Panslav and Russophile tendency which also permeated the Hurbanist leaders of the Slovak nationality movement of the age who resided at Turócszentmárton. It is characteristic of the Panslav tendency of this small clique that on the death of Tsar Alexander II their papers appeared with black borders and that they were represented by a committee of four at the celebrations organised at Kiev to commemorate the 900th anniversary of the conversion of the Russians. In addition, the group at Turócszentmárton collaborated with the Czechs in the spirit of Czecho-Slovak solidarity, dualism or reciprocity (*vzájemnosť*), which meant that after 1880 Slovak articles appeared in the Czech papers and vice versa. This policy, which did not take the real circumstances into account, could make no impression on the Slovak masses; and since it never succeeded in bringing a single member into parliament at the parliamentary elections, the Turócszentmárton group was obliged to retire into 'passivity' in 1884. In opposition to them the Magyarophile Slovak educated classes started the *Slovenské Noviny*, a paper edited by Samo Czambel, the most distinguished Slovak linguist, in 1886, whose publishers, the Minerva, acted in the interests of Magyar-Slovak understanding since 1869, and which was joined by several Slovak poets such as Graichmann and Kubáni.

The policy of the Rumanians in Hungary, based on the new Rumanian State since 1859, was simply a branch of the irredentist policy of Bucharest, which aimed at the creation of Greater Rumania. Cuza, the first prince of Rumania, pronounced the maxim that he could never give up Transylvania. Charles I of Rumania, on the other hand, upon meeting Count Julius Andrassy, the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs at Vienna in 1873, declared that in his opinion the only way to neutralise the ever-growing irredentist movements in Rumania was for Hungary to give her Rumanian inhabitants an autonomy similar to the Croatian. The success of the Rumanian



army at Plevna and the proclamation of the Rumanian kingdom only enhanced Rumanian national consciousness and fed the Rumanian irredentist movement. In 1884 John Slavici, a confidential agent of Demetrius Sturdza, the Secretary General of the Rumanian Academy, leader of the Rumanian liberal party and subsequently Prime Minister, who had returned to Transylvania from Bucharest, started a paper called the *Tribuna* at Nagyszeben. From this time onwards the question of the Rumanians living in Hungary became a veritable trump card, a means of defeating governments, in the hands of the Bucharest politicians. With its aid the liberals first defeated the conservative government, and subsequently the conservatives ousted Sturdza. It is characteristic of the irredentist aims of the Bucharest circles that according to the articles of the Rumanian Academy formed in 1867 only six of its twenty-one members were from Rumania, while all the others were originally from other states, among them six from Transylvania and Hungary. As a result of this influence from Rumania the majority at the congress of Hungary's Rumanians at Szerdahely in 1869, headed by the Greek Catholic Archbishop Vancea, in opposition to the Greek Orthodox Archbishop Saguna, that old and experienced leader of the Rumanian nationality movement who represented the activist attitude, made a declaration of passivity. This meant that the Transylvanian Rumanian deputies were recalled from the parliament sitting at Pest, while those from Hungary stayed on in parliament under the leadership of Alexander Mocsonyi. The policy of passivity was also maintained by the congress of Nagyszeben in 1881, where the idea arose of addressing a memorandum requesting redress of their complaints to Francis Joseph I not in his quality of King of Hungary, but as Emperor of Austria. In opposition to them Mocsonyi, Babeş, Cosma and bishop Roman at the head of the opposition preferred observance of the Hungarian constitutional forms, and the Rumanian people in Transylvania, in spite of the policy of passivity, took part in the parliamentary elections and

occasionally succeeded in sending Rumanian candidates to parliament. Apart from this the Hungarian government party too always had parliamentary members of Rumanian nationality. In the face of the opposition the congress of 1887 again decided to submit the memorandum. A little later, in 1890, the Rumanian university students published a memorandum in Rumanian and four world-languages. The data it contained were refuted in a reply published by the Magyar students, which was followed by a reply from the Rumanians.

The murder of Prince Michael Obrenovich of Serbia, of which Belgrade accused the one-time prince Alexander Karageorgeovich, who had fled to Hungary, and Svetozár Miletich, leader of Hungary's Serbs, as well as the organisation called *Omladina* at whose head he stood, damped the Serbian irredentist movement, and the policy of Serbia's new prince, Milan Obrenovich, relied on Austria-Hungary. But after the agreement between Austria and Hungary Svetozár Miletich, who in 1861 had pursued a Magyarophile policy, turned against the Hungarians. Fearing that dualism might increase the strength of the Monarchy, he demanded the federalisation of Hungary and Serbian administration in the Bácska and Bánát, i. e. the former Voivodina. He even went so far as to proclaim the union of all Serbs. When the Russo-Turkish war of 1876 broke out he began to recruit volunteers for Serbia, whereupon he was condemned to five years imprisonment, during which he became mentally deranged. In 1881 a new irredentist wave started in Serbia: Pasich, the subsequent creator of Yugo-Slavia, set himself the aim of supporting the broken-up and as yet 'not liberated' portions of the Serbian people and of maintaining the Serbian national consciousness among them. But it must be noted that the landed Serbs in the Great Plain of Hungary, who grew increasingly wealthy, sought to establish social contacts with the Magyars and endeavoured to adapt themselves to the leading circles of Budapest politically as well. Politically ambitious Serbs — with the



exception of the intransigent Michael Polit — more than once found their way into the Hungarian parliament on the mandate of the Magyar government party.

The Transylvanian Saxons split up into two parties after the Compromise: the Young Saxons who accepted the new situation, and the Old Saxons who longed to get back their Transylvanian privileges. But in the programme decided upon at Medgyes in 1872 they once again made a united stand against any loosening of Austro-Hungarian dualism and in favour of revision of the nationality law, maintenance of the Saxon *Universitas* and the law assuring the municipal rights of the Saxons. Act XII of 1876 on the regulation of the Királyföld and the Saxon *Universitas*, which opposed these claims, — and which, as it happens, was voted for by two Saxon members — raised a veritable storm among the Saxons. This law abolished the office of Saxon *Comes* and transferred his title to the Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Szeben in his capacity of president of the general meeting of the Saxon *Universitas*. The sphere of authority of the Saxon *Universitas*, as an exclusively cultural authority, continued to extend to disposal of its assets, and the employment of the funds under its management and control over the latter; but the assets might only be devoted to cultural purposes and its free income must be used for the good of the entire population, without distinction of religion or language. The general meeting of the *Universitas* disposed of the latter's assets under control of the government.

As in all other privileged territories in the country, Act XXXIII of 1876 introduced the general system of administration here too, and divided the Királyföld among the various counties. This was a natural consequence of the liberal Hungarian government's effort — as was and is the case in all other uniform states — to regulate the whole country's system of administration on identical principles and to abolish enclaves. The Saxon *Universitas* continued to exist as a cultural authority, and although the income from its assets had to be applied

for the benefit of the Királyföld's entire population, i. e. not only of the Saxons but the Rumanians and Magyars living in that area as well, the Saxons continued to influence the administration of their funds decisively, since under the law nine of the general meeting's twenty-three members were elected by the Saxon towns, the lord-lieutenant of Nagyszeben — with the exception of a single case — was always a Saxon, the same applied to the secretary of the *Universitas*, the vice-president was elected by the general meeting, and thus the Saxons only had to bring in one of the eleven members to be elected by the population of the non-urban territory to assure their majority at the general meeting. After Act XII of 1876 the Transylvanian Evangelical Church (*Landeskirche*) was still fully under the control of the Saxons, who would not hear of the plan occasionally proposed in the Evangelical Church of Hungary to unite the two churches. Although the Hungarian government appointed a Saxon Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Szeben after the reorganisation of the Saxon *Universitas*, the Saxon members, in protest against the law, seceded from the Hungarian government party to which they had hitherto belonged and sat in parliament as members not belonging to any party. Relations between the Magyars and Saxons became increasingly strained with the formation of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Schulverein* in Berlin in 1881, which, in contradiction to the Bismarckian German Empire's policy of loyally refraining from all interference in Hungarian affairs, tried to obtrude itself as the protector of German educational affairs. The Saxons wholly identified themselves with this action, which was of Austrian origin, while the Germans living in Hungary would not so much as hear of the Berlin society and disapproved the procedure of the Saxons. In 1890 however, under the premiership of Count Julius Szapáry, whom the Saxon members proposed to impeach for having submitted Act XII of 1876, the Saxon members returned to the Hungarian government party, because they did not feel strong enough to fight on two fronts: against both



Magyars and Rumanians, who were acquiring more and more land in the former Saxon territory.

In Croatia the unionist party, which had voted for the Compromise, was opposed by the party of Starchevich, whose sincerity was undoubted but who possessed no political elasticity. This party, which wanted to settle the Croatian question directly with the sovereign, eliminating both Hungary and Austria, gained a great electoral victory in 1872. Thereupon the new majority resolved upon revision of the treaty of 1868, and one of their followers, Eugene Kvaternik, unfurled the flag of mutiny at Rakovica. As a result the government had him shot and the leaders of the 'party of rights' arrested. Ban Mazuranich, (1873—1880) relying on the majority resulting from the unionist party with part of the national party which stood on the basis of a South Slav ideology, introduced a definitely Croatian policy, which — in contradiction to the equality of rights given to the Serbs in 1867 — prohibited the official use of the Cyrillic script and the Serbian language and employed Croats exclusively in public offices. At the same time Magyar-Croat relations were gravely affected by an order of the director of the revenue-office at Zagreb — an undoubted infringement of the Compromise — to put a Hungarian inscription on the shield on the building of the revenue-office and bearing both the Hungarian and the Croatian coats-of-arms. The populace removed the shield by force, whereupon the Hungarian government had it replaced. This incident aggravated the existing differences between Magyars and Croats, while the Serbs, oppressed by the Croats, drew ever closer to the Magyars; and under the banate of Count Charles Khuen-Héderváry the government relied increasingly on the Serbs instead of the Croats, so that the influence of the former grew steadily in Croatia.

The Russian and Czech sympathies of the Slovak nationality politicians, the almost undisguised irredentist tendencies of the Rumanians and Serbs, the stubbornness of the Croats and the *allddeutsch* bearing of the Saxons make it

comprehensible that the government adopted a more energetic policy. A further motive was the appearance of Panslavism with the publication of Danilevski's famous book in 1869. Under Tsar Alexander II, Panslavism became an official item in the Russian government programme, and consequently a war between Russia and Austria-Hungary appeared imminent towards the end of the 'eighties. In these circumstances it was the duty of the Hungarian government to break with the doctrinaire liberalism of the nationality policy pursued in the years following the Compromise, and to put up a more energetic resistance to the Panslav and irredentist movements of certain of the nationalities.

But how did this energy manifest itself? Among the many critics of Coloman Tisza's nationality policy the Czech historian Macůrek, in his work written on Hungary's history, describes the nationality policy of the Tisza régime by saying that Tisza denied the nationality law and started a campaign of the most oppressive Magyarisation. By Magyarising the non-Magyar territories, he intended to strengthen his party against the radical Party of '48. Although in certain denominational Rumanian and Serbian schools the non-Magyar languages remained optional subjects for a while, they soon disappeared from there as well. In 1889 the government introduced the Magyar language in the only Rumanian secondary-school and refused the request of the Rumanian bishop of Arad to be allowed to establish Rumanian secondary-schools at Arad and Karánsebes. For the time being, the Magyarisation of the elementary schools met with certain obstacles, for on the basis of the law of 1868 the various denominations were able to found private schools and maintain them. But the law of 1879 removed the non-Magyar languages from the denominational and parish schools as well, made the teaching of Hungarian compulsory in all denominational and parish schools and placed the denominational schools under state control. The number of Magyar lessons was first fixed at 17, subsequently at 26 per week and in the



state schools organised since 1873 Magyar was made the exclusive language of instruction. The Cultural Society of Upper Hungary was founded in place of the *Matica*, suspended in 1875, with the purpose of spreading the Magyar language among the Slovaks in every branch of public life. The Transylvanian Magyar Cultural Society pursued a similar object in Transylvania, while a society was established for the Magyarisation of the Transdanubian Germans at Sopron, two others at Szeged and one at Nagyvárad. Intercourse between the Slovaks and the Czechs, and of the Rumanians of Hungary with those living beyond the Carpathians, was rendered more difficult by the government and the importation of periodicals from abroad prohibited. The church offices were occupied by "Magyars and Magyarones", and the Magyar language pressed upon the churches even where there were no Magyars. Only the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches retained their national languages, but even here the government attempted the establishment of a Greek Catholic Hungarian Church with the aim of influencing the other Greek Catholics. Throughout Hungary, only Magyars or 'Magyarones' could become officials. All official documents were published in Hungarian exclusively, the tribunals only accepted information lodged in Magyar and did not permit use of the non-Magyar languages except in cases where the applicant did not speak Hungarian. Though Slovak, Rumanian and Serbian petitions were allowed in the administrative sphere, these too were only dealt with in Magyar. Magyar was the internal official language as well. At the general meetings of the counties the use of any language other than Magyar was only allowed to persons totally ignorant of the latter. The administrative reform of 1886 abolished the privileged territories and the autonomy of the royal free boroughs, where the equality of linguistic rights still subsisted in a certain measure. In the political sphere the electoral law of 1874, by arbitrary disposal of the constituencies and a peculiar regulation of suffrage, assured the prepon-

derance of the Magyars even in the exclusively Serbian, Rumanian, and Slovak territories. The non-Magyars, as less wealthy people, were excluded from the right of suffrage and passive franchise was only given to persons speaking Hungarian. The constituents sympathising with the opposition, especially in cases of non-Magyar candidates, were forbidden to vote.

This condensed summary of the grievances of the nationalities actually gives an exaggerated picture of the faults of Coloman Tisza's nationality policy. Both for reasons of foreign and internal politics this nationality policy was not and could not be as generous as had been that of Francis Deák. Faults undoubtedly appeared in the execution of the nationality law. The reason for them was partly inherent in the law itself, which in certain respects did not take the possibilities of practical life sufficiently into consideration; thus for example when prescribing that in communicating with the members of their community the parish officials must use the language of the former even if they had moved to that community alone or with a few others from a region of different nationality. When, on the principles of Montesquieu, Act IV of 1869 separated jurisdiction from autonomous administration, several provisions of the law became obsolete, for henceforward the ordinary tribunals were nominated by the government, and the language of these, according to Art. 13 of the law, was Hungarian exclusively. But if the nationality languages did not gain sufficient ground in the administration, the fault lay largely, and perhaps principally, in the fact that the non-Magyar members of the local bodies of representatives and of the municipal committees mostly did not attach much importance to their language becoming the official language of the community or municipality. The Saxon towns and communities of Transylvania, as is shown by the archives of the Hungarian Home Office, consistently used the German language in their correspondence with the higher authorities. The Serbian Greek Orthodox patriarch of Karlovitz also communicated



with the government in Serbian. As is shown by these instances, the obstacle to the assertion of the rights assured in the nationality law was very frequently that those interested did not wish to take advantage of them, partly because they identified themselves with the conception of the Hungarian national state, and partly from apathy and indifference. On the other hand the Hungarian government naturally never attempted to force the use of nationality languages on nationality citizens who did not wish to avail themselves of the same. The number of officials of non-Magyar birth and mother tongue was always very considerable in Hungary. But anti-Hungarian propaganda on the pattern of Macúrek simply accused these of being 'Magyarones', i. e. of having Magyar sympathies, as though to be German, Slovak, Ruthene, Bunyevázt, Shokázt, Vend, Croatian and Rumanian necessarily implied being anti-Magyar, and sympathy for the Magyars automatically deprived a citizen of his nationality character. It reflects praise rather than discredit on the Hungarian nationality policy that it was able to turn a considerable proportion of the nationalities into 'Magyarones', that is patriots with Hungarian sympathies and feelings, and could safely entrust public offices to them.

Even less justified are the objections which can be raised from the point of view of nationality policy against the educational laws made under the Tisza government. Act XVIII of 1879 did indeed decree that in all teachers' training colleges where the language of teaching was not Hungarian, the Magyar language, already a compulsory subject since Act XXXVIII of 1868, had to be taught in such number of lessons as would enable all candidates to acquire it in speech and writing during the full course of instruction. Moreover, it decreed that the Magyar language had to be adopted as a compulsory subject in all elementary schools. But the forbearance with which this stipulation was carried out is illustrated by the fact that in those elementary schools where no teacher capable

of teaching the Magyar language was employed it had to be taught only from the time when such a teacher could be employed. The teachers already in office were given four years from the enforcement of the law to master the Magyar language sufficiently to be able to teach it in school. Act XXX of 1883 upheld the right of the denominations to determine the language of teaching in the public middle schools maintained by them. Wherever this was not Magyar, they were only obliged to provide for the teaching of Magyar language and literature as an ordinary subject in a number of lessons making possible an adequate mastery thereof. In the VIIth and VIIIth classes of the secondary schools with a non-Magyar language of instruction the Magyar language and the history of its literature had to be taught in Magyar and the matriculation examination in this subject had to be passed in the same tongue. Accordingly these laws did no more than provide for the teaching of the Magyar language as an ordinary subject in the teachers' training colleges and middle schools and to-day, after the lapse of sixty years, it is practically incomprehensible that the same nationality circles should have protested against them so violently who subsequently, in their own national states, found the compulsory teaching of the state language self-evident, as indeed everybody does to-day. Act XII of 1876 placed the denominational schools under the superintendence of the state inspector of schools, but this too is taken for granted in all European countries.

Even after the educational law of 1879, a vast number of elementary schools continued to teach in nationality languages. Thus, according to the data of the year 1898—99, the number of elementary schools with a non-Magyar language of instruction was 6015, i. e. more than one-third of all elementary schools. The teachers of these schools were trained at the end of the century in six teachers' training institutes with a nationality language of instruction, four of them Rumanian, the number of which subsequently rose to six. In fourteen of the city



schools the language of instruction was a nationality language even in the school year 1913—14. In the same school year nine German and five Rumanian secondary schools were functioning. In addition, there existed a Rumanian technical school. As regards the infant schools in the school year 1910—11 the language in 18·8 per cent. of them was German, in 9·1 per cent. Slovak, in 5·1 per cent. Rumanian, in 3·7 per cent. Serbian, in 1·1 per cent. Ruthene and in 1·1 per cent. Croatian. (These data only refer to Hungary proper, while in Croatia instruction was generally given in Croatian or Serbian, and in Fiume chiefly in Italian.) Thus Macúrek's allegation that the Magyar language was introduced in the only Rumanian private secondary-school is unfounded, and he is unfair to suppress the fact that the reason why the government did not allow the establishment of the Rumanian secondary-school planned at Karánsebes was that the sum available for this purpose was insufficient to establish a school of appropriate instructional value, and that on similar grounds the Hungarian government also abolished several Magyar schools, or transformed them into lower grades. In the Rumanian school at Belényes the Hungarian government found it necessary to introduce Magyar as the language of teaching for all subjects except Rumanian language and literature and scripture, because the pupils held a meeting contrary to the interests of the state. Another of the Czech author's assertions contradicted by facts is that in the denominational elementary schools with a nationality language of instruction the Magyar language was taught first in seventeen and subsequently in twenty-six lessons a week. In the years 1902—1906 the writer of this book was a pupil at the German Evangelical elementary school at Gölncibánya, and consequently knows by personal experience that in the first three classes the Magyar language was taught in altogether two lessons a week.

As regards the constitution of the Transylvanian Magyar Cultural Society and of other Hungarian cultural

societies, the nationalities had no just grounds to complain, since the Rumanians also had several cultural societies in Transylvania, among them the Astra (*Asotiatune Transilvana*), which possessed more than 50 local branches, a capital of about a million crowns and an annual budget of 35,000 crowns. The culture of the Slovaks was fostered by the Slovak Museum Society and that of the Serbs by the Srpska Matica. The correct way in which the Hungarian Post Office forwarded foreign periodicals was best illustrated in 1897, when the Post Office of Királyháza delivered a book of suspicious contents arrived from Bukovina to the addressee and, the postmaster having been denounced for this reason, the Minister of Commerce declared that postal consignments could not be detained. In glaring contrast to this Czecho-Slovakia after 1918 did not admit the daily papers of Budapest to the country with the exception of one or two opposition papers, and the books published in Hungary after 1918 only if the censor found no objection to them. The Hungarian government never interfered in the question of the language of divine services, whether they were held in Roman Catholic and Protestant or in Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches. The organisation of a separate diocese for the Hungarian Greek Catholics, which by the way did not come about until 1912, was a scheme to which the nationalities should have been the last to object. Among the Roman Catholic clergy and the Evangelical ministers the Slovaks and Germans were represented by larger numbers than the Magyars. Alexander Rudnay, who made the statement : *Slavus sum et si in cathedra Petri forem, Slavus ero* was Prince Primate of Hungary, as was also John Csernoch, who was descended from Slovak parents from Szakolca. The Evangelical bishop Frederic Baltik, who came from the Slovak nationality movement, was subsequently much attacked by the Slovak nationality party because it was during his term of office that the dioceses were reorganised in a way that deprived the Slovaks of their majority in the Cis-Danubian diocese. That not only Magyars and 'Ma-



gyarones' could become officials is illustrated among other things by the fact that Tuka, Slovakia's present Prime Minister, as well as the ministers Fritz and Polyák were Hungarian civil servants. Undoubtedly, the electoral law of 1874 was bad, but it was by no means directed against the nationalities. On the contrary, the Magyars had far more reason to complain, for in the Magyar constituencies sympathising with the party of independence an incomparably greater number of votes was required for a mandate than in the nationality constituencies, which were regarded as the domain of the government party. It followed from this same fact that, with the assistance of their parliamentary members of the government party, the nationality constituencies obtained comparatively far more public buildings, schools and, when industrialisation started, state subsidies than the towns and communities of the Great Plain.

The nationality policy of the Tisza government and of the Hungarian governments since 1867 in general was no more prejudicial to the nationalities than the nationality policies of most European states at the time; on the contrary, in many respects it was more advantageous to them. Rumania, which claimed autonomy for the Rumanians living in Hungary, gave the Magyars of Moldavia no educational and linguistic rights at all, and in fact in their churches foreign, Italian and Polish priests made them sing Rumanian songs and say Rumanian prayers. The Russian government did not permit the printing of Ukrainian books and musical compositions, or stage and other productions. After the war of 1870—71 the German government banished the Lithuanian language from the elementary schools of East Prussia, except for scripture from the middle grade upwards and Lithuanian reading and writing in the higher grade. In France the Bretons, Basques and Flemish had no educational or linguistic rights at all. Thus, apart from being milder than most European states at the time, Coloman Tisza's nationality policy stood far above the Czech, Rumanian

and Yugo-Slav nationality policies after 1918. Tisza undoubtedly made a mistake in failing to eliminate the very evident shortcomings of the nationality law by a new law; but it must be admitted that this was hardly a practicable course, because the nationalities would have alleged it to be an attack against their rights in spite of the fact that the nationality parties had opposed the nationality law of 1868.

## NATIONALITY RADICALISM

The leaders of the nationality movements in Hungary were intent upon creating an effect on foreign policy rather than the improvement of the position of the nationalities. This is clear if we consider for example that the Rumanian Committee of Nagyszeben resolved to present the memorandum planned throughout the past decade to the Emperor after the establishment of the *Liga Culturala*, the latest organ of irredentism in Rumania (1891). But in 1892 the delegation requesting an audience in Vienna was not received by the sovereign 'for constitutional reasons', and the Cabinet Office simply transmitted the memorandum delivered there to the Hungarian government, which dispatched it unopened to the President of the Committee. The memorandum qualified the Hungarian state as a formation with the sole purpose of aiding the Magyars to exploit their fellow citizens. Hungarian public opinion received this provocation with natural indignation, and the Hungarian government brought an action against Aurelius Popovici, the author of the *Replica*, and against those who had published the memorandum in the press. The jury condemned Popovici to four years state imprisonment, but he escaped his punishment by fleeing to Rumania. The memorandum-case also attracted much attention abroad. Fourteen of the accused were condemned to state imprisonment from eight months up to five years, and among them Ratiu, the President of the Committee, to two years. But in 1895, hardly a year later, at the



governments's suggestion the king pardoned all those who had not as yet served their sentence. After the verdict Charles Hieronimy, Minister of the Interior, prohibited the Committee from exercising any functions, and when the latter met without permission and declared that it would continue to function, he dissolved it. For the rest, the Minister invited all Rumanian youths desirous of obtaining official posts to apply to him, whereupon he would endeavour to advance their requests. The Committee, however, proclaimed that all those who accepted office through the Minister of the Interior would be considered renegades and traitors to their race by Rumanian public opinion. By this reply to the Hungarian government's gesture the Rumanian Committee proved that its object was not the appeasement of the dissatisfied Rumanians, but the maintenance of discontent and through it the enfeeblement of the Hungarian state.

In the course of the memorandum-case the Rumanians also sought allies within Hungary and attempted to unite the nationalities into a united front against the government. Three Slovak politicians appeared at the Conference held at Nagyszeben in July 1892, which announced complete Rumanian-Slovak solidarity in the nationality question. In the following year the representatives of the Rumanian, Slovak and Serbian nationality movements met at a conference held in Vienna on Rumanian initiative, but all they resolved was to hold another conference in Budapest in the autumn. But on account of the delaying tactics of the Serbs, who appeared sulky as a result of the Rumanian-Serbian differences in the Bánát, this meeting did not take place. The only result of the Rumanian action was that three Slovak lawyer-politicians also undertook the defence of the accused in the memorandum-case. The Budapest Conference did not take place until August 1895, under the presidency of the Rumanian George Pop, the Slovak Paul Mudroň and the Serbian Michael Polit. The resolution passed there declared that they desired the maintenance of Hungary's

territorial integrity and admitted the primacy of the Magyar language in the higher offices and tribunals ; but they protested against the character of the state being generally Magyar and claimed that the languages of the nationalities should also be used in schools, offices and tribunals, and to this end they demanded that the nationality law be enforced, Transylvania given autonomy, and a ministerial department set up for each of the nationalities, with the object of protecting their interests and acting as mediator between them and the Crown. In addition they demanded the reform of the electoral system and assurance of the right of meeting and association by law. The Congress also declared that the three nationalities would enter into an alliance with each other ; but at the same time they also made an alliance with the Magyar People's Party — which had been constituted against the 1894 and 1895 church laws, which did not affect the nationality question directly — and stated that they would support the latter at the elections. It was resolved to organise an executive committee consisting of four members from each of the nationalities and they planned to submit a memorandum on the position of the nationalities in Hungary to the sovereign. In 1896, immediately preceding the celebrations to commemorate the thousand years of Hungary's existence, this executive committee issued a proclamation in which it protested against the idea of the Hungarian national state and qualified the millennial celebration, as well as the exhibition arranged upon this occasion, as an empty sham, since the overwhelming majority of Hungary's population was dissatisfied. The nationality congress, which was after all a Rumanian political move, failed to provoke unanimous enthusiasm in Slovak circles. Its resolutions were sarcastically commented upon by Czambel's paper, which declared after the dissolution of the Rumanian Committee that it wanted to be on good terms with the Magyars in the first place, and only in the tenth with the Rumanians and Serbs.



As regards the policy of the Slovaks, a third movement was added to the Panslav and Magyarophile ones at the time of millenary celebrations: namely, the Czecho-Slovak trend. The Turócszentmárton group — as has been shown above — had already maintained active friendly relations with Prague. But instead of accepting the idea of Czecho-Slovak national and linguistic unity, a conception of Czech origin, they had always professed the national and linguistic independence of the Slovaks and expected salvation from Moscow, not from Prague. The *Československá Jednota* (Czecho-Slovak Unity), a society founded at Prague in 1896, proclaimed: 'Bohemia and Moravia, Slovakia and Silesia are our country'. The *Detvan* society of the Slovak undergraduates studying at Prague, which was powerfully influenced by Thomas G. Masaryk, who since 1897 used to spend the summer at Turócsbeszterce near Turócszentmárton, was taken under the wing of this society. In 1898 this Czech-influenced group started the *Hlas*, a periodical edited by Paul Blaho at Szokolca, which was wholly Czecho-Slovak in tone. The Czecho-Slovak rapprochement progressed so rapidly that in his famous pamphlet entitled *Co hati Slovákov*, the publicist writing under the pseudonym of Meakulpinsky demanded restitution of the linguistic unity interrupted by Anthony Bernolák to replace the existing linguistic dualism. Both the Magyarophile Czambel and the group at Turócszentmárton were violently opposed to this movement. In contradiction to the thesis of Czecho-Slovak linguistic unity Czambel developed the theory that the Slovak tongue was in point of fact a South Slav language and suggested that the *bibliština* be eliminated from the Evangelical churches of the Slovaks. The Turócszentmárton group, on the other hand, defied the *Hlas* party in their press and by organising political meetings, but they found it difficult to fight single-handed against the political influence and particularly the economic strength of the Czechs. It must further be mentioned that since 1895 the Magyar People's Party, with Catholic tendencies, whose

programme demanded enforcement of the nationality law, endeavoured to win over the Slovaks, and at the parliamentary elections of 1896 the Slovak national party supported the People's Party, some of its followers even taking up the latter's ideas. At a later date a separate Slovak people's party was constituted, among whom Andrew Hlinka also worked, but this party soon returned to the nationality party.

The turn of the century showed a picture of discord and decline in the case of the other nationality parties as well. In the Rumanian nationality party a conservative and liberal fraction arose alongside the former Mocsonyi-opposition, both of them supported by the corresponding party in Rumania. The weakening of the irredentist organisation at Bucharest in consequence of the scandals in the Liga Culturala also affected the Rumanian policy in Hungary. It came to light that the Rumanian government accorded a yearly subsidy to the Rumanian Churches and schools in Hungary. In order to put an end to this intolerable state of affairs the Hungarian government made an agreement with the Rumanian government that the latter would deposit funds corresponding to the annual subsidy with the Treasury, the annual interest of which would then be remitted to the Hungarian government for the maintenance of the schools hitherto supported by Bucharest. Comparative calm reigned among the Croats, Serbs and Saxons. At Fiume, however, the first signs of Italian irredentism began to show themselves in the last years of the century. Under the premiership of Baron Dezső Bánffy (1895—1899), who professed himself to be a chauvinist, but obtained the pardon for the accused in the memorandum-case, the Hungarian legislature passed Act IV of 1898, which made the use of Magyar place-names compulsory in official life and occasioned many attacks from the nationalities as a result. Under Bánffy's successor Coloman Széll (1899—1903) the nationality movements again became more lively. Under the influence of the extremely active *Hlas* party the Slovak nationality party



abandoned the passivity which it had observed for almost twenty years, accepted the unity, indivisibility and independence of Hungary and in its new programme claimed enforcement, not revision, of the nationality law of 1868. This programme entirely omitted to mention the organisation of a Slovak administrative region. As a result of this activity the party entered the parliament of 1900—1905 with four mandates. The Rumanian nationality party continued in passivity for the time being, but its younger members favoured action, and at a by-election in 1903 Aurelius Vlád was returned on the party's programme. In 1905 the party, maintaining its former programme in its entirety and demanding enforcement of the nationality law, also decided upon action and sent eight members to the Budapest parliament at the elections of 1905. These proceeded to found the Nationality Club with two members of the Slovak nationality party, that had shown itself considerably weaker at the recent elections, and with one member of the Serbian nationality party. The Club voted no-confidence in the cabinet of General Baron Géza Fejérváry, which met with resistance throughout the country and defied the constitution. After the elections of 1906, which had been called for by the coalition government formed after the victory of the national opposition, the number of the Nationality Club's members rose to 25 deputies (14 Rumanians, 7 Slovaks and 4 Serbs); but in addition the government parties, as hitherto, also included nationality members.

#### THE COALITION AND THE LEX APPONYI

The aversion evinced by Crown Prince Francis Ferdinand for the Magyar nation and especially for the coalitionist government once again brought the leaders of the nationality movements, who had been held at a distance by the sovereign, closer to Vienna; not to the Hofburg, but to the Belvedere, the so-called 'workshop' of the Crown Prince, which maintained confidential rela-

tions, among others, with Alexander Vajda-Voevod, later Rumanian Prime Minister and Miron Christea, later Rumanian patriarch at Bucharest; Hodža, subsequently Czecho-Slovak Prime Minister, Ivo Frank of the Croatian 'party of rights' and the *Alldeutsch* Edmund Steinacker. At one time the Crown Prince was particularly impressed by Aurelius Popovici's *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Gross-österreich* (1905); in this work the Rumanian publicist proposed the transformation of the Monarchy into fifteen autonomous allied states. According to his detailed scheme not only Croatia, but also the areas inhabited by the Rumanians in Transylvania, the Serbs in the South and the Slovaks in Upper Hungary would each have been separate autonomous states, the Ruthene-inhabited territory was to be joined to East Galicia, and the areas inhabited by the Saxons in Transylvania and the Suabians in the Bánát would have been exempted as enclaves from Rumanian and Serbian authority respectively. The Crown Prince subsequently dropped this plan; but immediately preceding the outbreak of the first Great War he adopted one made by the Rumanian politician Filipescu, which recalled the Roth-Maiorescu conception of 1848/49 to annex Transylvania to Rumania and establish connexions between a Rumania thus increased and the Monarchy that would resemble those existing between Bavaria and the German Empire. Thus the Rumanians looked to Francis Ferdinand for the creation of *Romania Mare*; and during his visit to Sinaia in 1907 he was already cheered with cries of 'Long live the Emperor of the Rumanians!' by the Transylvanian Rumanians living in Rumania.

For a while the Crown Prince also contemplated the possibility of trialism in the form that, under leadership of the Catholic Croats, the South Slav-inhabited areas of the Monarchy should constitute a third state beside Austria and Hungary, as exponents of the Habsburg dynasty's great power politics in the Balkans. From the Hungarian point of view both Popovici's and Filipescu's plans and the trialistic conception represented sheer irredentism,



since they all aimed at making parts of Hungary into separate states or seceding from her, and consequently the conscious or instinctive self-defence of the Hungarian government against them was in every way justifiable.

The patronage of the Crown Prince helped to stimulate the nationality movements during the coalition. When Count Charles Khuen-Héderváry exchanged the office of Ban of Croatia for the Hungarian premiership (1903), the national party that had supported him in Croatia collapsed. Some of the Croats, who had hitherto been sharply opposed to the Serbs, entered into a coalition with the latter. In the Resolution of Fiume in the year 1905 this coalition declared the struggle for Hungary's complete political independence to be justified, for 'every people has the right to determine its own existence and fate freely and independently'. The Croatian-Serbian coalition therefore stood on the basis of the peoples' right of self-determination. The Resolution further claimed the incorporation of Dalmatia into Croatia and a regulation of Magyar-Croatian relations that would ensure 'the independent political, cultural, financial and general economic existence and development of the Croatian nation.' The resolution of Fiume was predestined to pave the way for a close political collaboration between the Hungarian Party of Independence that rose to power in 1906 and the Croatian-Serbian coalition, but this cooperation did not come to fruition. The regulations for railway employees submitted to parliament by the Hungarian Minister of Commerce Francis Kossuth, — although Clause 57 of Act XXX of 1868 had decided the Croatian linguistic question in the sense that within Croatia the official language of the organs of the central government was Croatian, — stipulated acquaintance with the Magyar in addition to the Croatian tongue for railway employment in Croatia. This provoked weeks of obstruction on the part of the Croatian members. And when, under Act XLIX of 1907 the government enforced the regulations by decree, Theodore Pejachevich, the Ban of Croatia, resigned and a tendency opposed to the Croatian-Serbian coalition

gained the ascendancy. Magyar-Croatian relations were further aggravated by the notorious Friedjung case. On the basis of forged documents placed at his disposal in good faith by the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office the Viennese Professor Henry Friedjung accused the Croatian-Serbian coalition of treason. The Zagreb government started criminal proceedings against 53 of the latter's members, while the coalition on the other hand called Friedjung to account in Vienna. In the course of the case the forgery became evident and the Austrian historian was obliged to apologise to his prosecutors, while proceedings were suspended at Zagreb after an initial verdict had been pronounced. No responsibility whatever devolved upon the Hungarian government for this regrettable incident. But it was undoubtedly a mistake to raise the linguistic question unnecessarily, though this may be excused on the grounds that, with the exception of this and the above-mentioned case, the Hungarian government observed the provisions of the Magyar-Croatian Compromise with the utmost exactness throughout the fifty years of dualism.

In the Slovak-inhabited regions the Slovak nationality movement was radicalised by the robust personality of Andrew Hlinka rather than by the members of parliament, who did not have a definite programme. Hlinka, who came from the People's Party, supported Lawrence Šrobár, his subsequent antagonist, with such enthusiasm at the elections of 1906 that his ecclesiastical superior, the bishop of Szepes, called upon him to refrain as a priest from electoral agitation. Hlinka did not obey, whereupon the bishop suspended him *ab officio*, and subsequently, when he arbitrarily had a hymn referring to the Virgin Mary as Hungary's patroness sung as though it concerned the patroness of the Slovaks, *ab informata* as well. At the same time the tribunal condemned Hlinka to two years state imprisonment for asserting in the course of the electoral agitation together with Šrobár and without any foundation, that in the Magyar schools it was not even per-



mitted to pray in Slovak and make the sign of the cross, that the Magyar youths were being discharged from the army but not the Slovaks, etc. (State imprisonment in Hungary is *custodia honesta*. Those under arrest may do what they like, they may read, write letters and receive visits.) Before beginning to serve his sentence the priest of Rózsahegy went on a tour of Bohemia, where the *Československá Jednota* had already been arranging public meetings of protest against his sentence. This is when the celebrated Csernova case took place. The population of this small Slovak village wished its new church to be consecrated by Hlinka, who had been born there. But as a suspended priest the latter could not perform the consecration and declared that he had no objection to its being done without him. However, the people of Csernova attacked the priests who arrived for the consecration, and in their defence the gendarmerie fired into the crowd and thirteen inhabitants of Csernova were killed, while two more died of their wounds in hospital. The tribunal condemned forty persons, but at the request of the Bishop of Szepes and on the proposal of the Minister of Justice the king pardoned them. Hlinka, who had meanwhile been condemned for various press offences in addition, entered the state prison, and before he had served his sentence the Bishop of Szepes withdrew his suspension, reserving to himself the right to open ecclesiastical proceedings against him. This was the Csernova case, the only case of bloodshed in the thousand years of Magyar-Slovak co-existence. Csernova made a great stir abroad too, and among others the famous Norwegian author Björnsterne Björnson and Leo Tolstoi championed the Slovak cause against the Hungarian government. In many respects, however, their criticism of Hungary's nationality policy was based on false information. Thus for example Björnson — in glaring contrast to actual facts — alleged that in the Hungarian parliament the Slovaks were thrown down the stairs, that many of the Slovak children brought to Hungarian soil died, many others ran away, etc. This

is when a series of attacks against Hungary's nationality policy was started by Seton Watson (Scotus Viator) who, particularly on the basis of information received from Anthony Štefanek, the subsequent Czecho-Slovak Minister, demanded reform and enforcement of the nationality law, instruction in the mother tongue at the elementary and secondary schools, and use of the nationality languages in the lower Courts as well as in the post office, railways and inland revenue offices. It coincided with the beginning of the Czech Kramář's Neoslav movement, which desired to transform Austria-Hungary into a Slav state in order to separate it from the German alliance. This idea was proclaimed by the Czechs at the Slav congresses of Prague (1908) and Sofia (1910). At the latter the Slovak nationality circles were represented by Louis Bazovsky, who subsequently became a Magyarophile under Czecho-Slovak rule, and who asserted that the Slovaks sympathised with the Czechs. Consequently the Slovak nationality party, although its new programme was based on the territorial integrity of the country, again identified itself with a movement that was directed against Hungary's vital interests. But all these movements, no matter how loud the echo they roused both abroad and within the country, did not penetrate to the depths of the Slovak people's soul, but only affected the surface of a comparatively small proportion of the Slovak educated classes. According to statements made at a later date by Seton Watson and Lawrence Šrobár, previous to the first Great War Hungary counted no more than about 500 'conscious', that is anti-Hungarian, Slovaks who participated in the Slovak nationality movement.

Rumanian nationality policy also became considerably radicalised in the last years of the coalition government. This was primarily due to the influence of the Liga Culturala, which began to recover from its internal troubles about 1908 and whose Secretary-General, Jorga, subsequently Rumanian Prime Minister, who came to an unhappy end, invited the Rumanian nationality politicians



to state all the grievances suffered by Rumanians at the hand of the Magyars. Jorga exercised a powerful personal influence especially on the young Rumanian poet Octavian Goga, who proclaimed the necessity of a radical policy relying on broad strata of the people instead of the policy of the Rumanian nationality party which, to his mind, was not sufficiently democratic.

Chief among the laws made under the coalition government which provoked attacks from the nationalities was Act XXVII of 1907, the work of Count Albert Apponyi, then Minister of Education. Since at present this law is still frequently brought up in attacks against Hungary's nationality policy, its essence may be outlined here.

In the first place the law ordained that every school and teacher must develop and strengthen the spirit of loyalty to the Hungarian native country and the consciousness of belonging to the Hungarian nation — in its political sense, of course — in the minds of the children. Hungary's coat-of-arms must be placed at the main entrance of the schools and at suitable places in the classrooms, maps and pictures taken from Hungarian history hung up on the walls of the classrooms, and Hungary's national flag with the coat-of-arms be hoisted on national holidays. The teacher must explain the significance of the historical pictures to the children. Wherever there was no school with Magyar as the language of instruction, in all denominational schools that constantly had pupils either of Magyar mother tongue or whose instruction in the language was desired by their father or guardian, the Minister might decree its use as the language of teaching in their case, while if their number attained twenty or constituted 20 per cent. of the total number of pupils, the Magyar language must be used as a subject for them. If, on the other hand, the mother tongue of at least half the pupils was Magyar, it was also the language of teaching, but the supporters of the school could also provide instruction in their mother tongue for those of the pupils who did not speak Hungarian. In the schools with a non-Magyar

language of instruction the Hungarian tongue must be taught according to a curriculum and in a number of lessons to be established in agreement with the patrons of the denominational schools in such measure as to ensure that at the end of the fourth year the children of non-Magyar mother tongue would be able to express their ideas intelligibly in Hungarian speech and writing. The teachers of parish and denominational schools with a non-Magyar language of instruction were only to receive government grants as a supplement to their basic salary or extra allowance if *a*) the Magyar language, arithmetic, Hungary's geography and history, as well as the citizens' rights and duties were taught with the aid of text-books and means of instruction approved by the Minister and *b*) they used patriotic readers and means of instruction sanctioned by the Minister. If the state contributed a grant exceeding 200 crowns to supplement the basic salary of a parish or denominational school-teacher, his employment was dependent on the Minister's sanction. The teacher of a parish school would be held to commit a disciplinary offence if he neglected the teaching of the Hungarian language, used schoolbooks or appliances prohibited or not approved by the government, or if he pursued a course dangerous to the state, especially if he committed acts directed against the constitution of the state, its national character, its Hungarian character, independence, territorial integrity, the employment of the state language as determined by the law, the coat-of-arms, the insignia and the flag of the state. In such cases the disciplinary procedure against a denominational teacher must be initiated on the Minister's order by the proper denominational authority, but should he deem it necessary in the interests of the state, the Minister might also order the initiation of disciplinary procedure directly against a teacher employed at a denominational school or an elementary school maintained by private persons or societies. Should it come to light in the course of the proceedings that the non-state authority had had an active



hand in the fault committed, by either direction, order or interdiction, the Minister could either secure an adequate guarantee against the recurrence of similar acts or withdraw the government grant; in serious cases the school could be closed, and in the case of repeated offences the school must be closed. If the clergyman had been a party to the act, his state grant might be withdrawn for a fixed period, or permanently. If the competent high church authority should not stand adequate surety for the redress of the situation within six months, the Minister could close the school and establish a state school in its place. If the teaching of the Magyar language were ineffectual on account of the teacher's inefficiency, the latter must be pensioned or retired with a gratuity. If the teacher was not a member of the Teacher's National Pension Fund, the supporter of the school had to appoint a legally qualified assistant teacher, and should this not be done within sixty days, the Minister could appoint the teacher at the Ministry's cost.

Accordingly there is nothing in this law that would conflict with the legitimate interests of the nationalities. The *Lex Apponyi* supplemented the law of 1879, which introduced the Hungarian language to the elementary schools as a compulsory subject, when it decreed that in the schools with a non-Magyar language of instruction it was to be taught in such a manner as to ensure that at the end of four years the pupils would be able to communicate their ideas in Magyar speech and writing. Besides, a similar decree had already been issued by the Minister of Education in the pro-nationality Fejérváry government, who considered it an absurd situation that 1340 of the 3343 non-Magyar elementary schools did not teach the Magyar tongue with success, 24 years after the passing of Act XVIII of 1879. The compulsory teaching of the state language was intended to enable a child of normal intelligence to learn so much of it within four years as to make itself understood with its aid in speech and writing. This was by no means an obstacle to its

learning to read and write in its mother tongue as well, and learning the other subjects in the same language. The child's more extensive linguistic knowledge would only give it an advantage over children speaking the state language only. In other countries the grievance of the nationalities was actually that their children cannot acquire the state language at school. With the system of state-subsidised denominational schools the Hungarian government could not erect a state school teaching in Magyar in every village. Therefore it had every right to demand that wherever Magyar was the mother tongue of 20 children, or one-fifth of the pupils were Magyar by speech, the schools of the denominations should provide for their Magyar instruction, or respectively, if half the children were Magyar by speech, the school's language of instruction should also be Magyar, but if the parish should so desire, there should also be instruction in the language of the local nationality. (In the case of fewer Magyar children a special ministerial decree was needed to teach the Magyar children in Hungarian.) The execution of these dispositions met with all the fewer difficulties as the law of 1879 had already required knowledge of the Magyar language from the teachers. The provisions referring to patriotic education, the state's coat-of-arms, the historical pictures, the patriotic contents of school-books and means of instruction, the disciplinary calling to account of disobedient or anti-state, anti-law and anti-Hungarian teachers, withdrawal of the state subsidy in the case of such instructions having been given to the teacher by the authority supporting the school, or the closing of the school, and the cessation of the state subsidy of clergymen sharing in faults of this kind, are so natural as to need no vindication. On the contrary, it must be admitted that the law was very lenient in only compelling the school-supporting authority to initiate disciplinary procedure against the guilty teacher if the latter enjoyed a government grant and the Minister summoned the school-supporting authority to do so, or in contenting



itself with the employment of a legally qualified assistant teacher instead of dismissal of a teacher who was inefficient in teaching the Hungarian language if the latter was not entitled to a pension. That certain leading personalities of the nationalities simply objected to the Hungarian educational laws because the Magyar language had to be taught at the nationality schools is strikingly illustrated by the case of Mme Aurelius Vlád, wife of a leading Rumanian politician, who protested bitterly against instruction in the Hungarian tongue at an examination. The action started against her was suspended by a pardon procured by the government.

Another decree, under which religious instruction had to be given in Hungarian everywhere, is also ascribed to Apponyi by some historians. The fact is that it was George Lukács, Minister of Education in the Fejérváry government, who decreed that in the state schools whose language of instruction was Magyar, scripture was also to be taught in that language, because even in the public elementary schools whose language of instruction was Magyar the Rumanian and Serbian Greek Orthodox as well as the Rumanian Greek Catholic clergymen taught the Magyar children belonging to their church, in their own language. This decree was therefore mere self-defence against the Rumanian and Serbian clergymen's efforts at denationalisation. In extenuation of this decree Apponyi allowed that the religious rites might be taught in the language of the Church, but the chief prayers and the fundamental dogmas of religion had to be taught in Magyar as well. Ultimately decree No. 1797/1914 ordained that scripture must be taught in the children's mother tongue.

## THE NATIONALITY POLICY OF COUNT STEPHEN TISZA

This happened during the second administration of Count Stephen Tisza, which also withdrew those conditions for service on the State railways that had been offensive to the Croats in 1913. The defeat of the coalition was followed by Khuen-Héderváry's second cabinet, but in the background there already stood Count Stephen Tisza, the great Hungarian statesman, who was murdered in 1918, because some misguided people regarded him as responsible for the war, whereas at the common Austro-Hungarian Cabinet Council in 1914 he had tried to avert it. As early as 1883 Stephen Tisza had been opposed to the chauvinists, and since 1893 he had repeatedly declared that in the face of the common menace of Pan Slavism the Magyars and Rumanians must find the way to a mutual understanding. At the parliamentary elections of 1910 only eight instead of twenty-five members were delegated to parliament by the nationalities, among them four Rumanians, three Slovaks and one Serb. The chief factor in the Rumanian national party's decline was Goga's movement mentioned above, his own followers and those elements of the nationality party who sympathised with him being the ones who were defeated at the elections. The violent quarrel that broke out between Goga and the *Tribuna* of Arad, as well as the leaders of the party, was put an end to by Constantine Stere, who had been sent to Hungary by the liberal party in Rumania. The territorial gains of Rumania after the second Balkan War encouraged Rumanian irredentism against Transylvania both this side of the Carpathians and beyond them. When the negotiations started between Tisza and the Rumanian national party after the Peace of Bucharest miscarried, Goga attributed this to the Rumanian awakening stimulated by the above historical events. Even before the elections of 1910, discussions had been begun between the Prime Minister, Khuen-Héderváry, and Tisza on the one side, and John Mihú and Basil Mangra on the other,



whose object was that the Rumanian members should join the government party in the same way as the Saxons. But these discussions were fruitless, because the Rumanians made the impossible demand that the government should guarantee them a certain number of mandates *a priori*. In the speech made in the new parliament's debate on the Rescript, Tisza dealt fully with the Rumanian nationality question, with which he was familiar as a native of Bihar, and which was in fact the country's most important nationality problem. According to him the responsibility and the mission of creating a basis for harmonious rapprochement devolved upon the Rumanian clergy and the Hungarian government. The Prime Minister accepted his opinion, and several members of the opposition welcomed his speech. Subsequently, when Tisza came to be Prime Minister, further negotiations were initiated between him and the Rumanians. According to a letter addressed by Tisza to the Rumanian prelates, the negotiations at the end of the year 1913 and the beginning of 1914 had achieved a certain rapprochement, but not a definite success, because the Rumanians demanded concessions of a political nature. Tisza would have been inclined to make certain concessions in education, the linguistic question and franchise, but the majority of the Rumanian national party claimed autonomy, which ran counter to the traditional principles of Hungary's nationality policy.

After their failure at the elections of 1910 the Slovak nationality party submitted a memorandum to the government (1911), wherein they claimed restitution of the *Matica* and an adequate number of Slovak secondary-schools, and for the interim period until this wish should be fulfilled, compulsory teaching of the Slovak language in the secondary schools of Upper Hungary and permission to start a collection for the purposes of such private schools with Slovak as the language of instruction. As in the case of the Rumanians, differences appeared among the Slovaks after the elections, between the Catholic majority and

the Evangelicals, who though in a minority were disproportionately influential, the Slovak nationalists and the Czecho-Slovak party. In 1913 Hlinka tried to found a Slovak Catholic People's Party distinct from the Slovak national party. His paper, the *Ludové Noviny*, calmly accepted the support of the Hungarian government, took its stand against the pro-Czech group in Budapest headed by Milan Hodža and — *tempora mutantur* — took the formerly much-attacked Bishop of Szepes, Alexander Párvy, under its protection against them and received him with respect and obedience on the occasion of his confirmation circuit in Liptó. To surmount the differences, Matthew Dula, President of the National Party of Turócszentmárton, suggested the constitution of a Slovak National Council, which was to have united all the Slovak groups (1914), but the outbreak of the first Great War prevented the realisation of this plan. The pro-Magyar group suffered a severe loss with the death of Samu Czambel (1909); in him they lost their most active protagonist, and the most dangerous opponent of Czecho-Slovakism.

In view of the troubles which followed the victory of the secular political parties over the hierarchy, and the discord within the Greek Orthodox Serbian Church, the king, by virtue of his right of superintendence, suspended the autonomy of this Church in 1912. The Serbs protested against this and Lucian Bogdanovich, Patriarch of Karlovitz, was murdered at Gastein. These events took place immediately before the outbreak of the Balkan War, from which Serbia emerged as the strongest power in the Balkans. This greatly enhanced the national consciousness of Hungary's Serbs and stimulated Panslavism and Serbian nationalism, especially among the younger generation.

Serbia's rise also encouraged the desire for independence in Croatia. Since 1913 the new Ban, Baron Ivan Skerlec, had again relied on the Serbo-Croat coalition at a time when the idea of uniting all the South Slavs in a single state was steadily gaining ground. When those



of the railway employment provisions that had been objected to by the Croats were abrogated, and the most important cause of Magyar-Croat differences thus removed, this was no longer sufficient to counterbalance later developments.

In these years, besides the Germans living in Hungary, the Saxons of Transylvania also began to accept the idea of the Hungarian State, and one of their members of parliament stated that 'they adopted the standpoint of the Hungarian State altogether consciously and without any mental reservation'. The Ruthene intellectual classes, and with them the broad masses of the people, continued steadfast in their traditional loyalty to the state and their pro-Magyar sentiments, although the outlines of a Ruthene nationality movement began to take shape in the Pravoslav ideas that started to spread in Mármaros immediately before the first Great War. The first Pravoslav (Greek Orthodox) organisation began among the Ruthenes, who had been Greek Catholics since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, partly under the influence of American emigration, but for the time being it was restricted to the limitrophe county of Sáros. At a later date Iza in the county of Mármaros became the centre of the schismatic movement. When it was discovered that Count Vladimir Bobrinski, the President of the Galician Society of St. Petersburg, stood behind this organisation, in the course of the trial at Mármarosziget in the years 1913-14, 32 of the 94 Ruthene accused were found guilty, the heaviest punishment being four and a half years state imprisonment. Without exception, those sentenced were poor Ruthene peasants who had become involved in this movement through religious fanaticism and discontent with the Greek Catholic clergy; but the religious motive had been consciously thrust forward by the Russian factors standing behind it, who believed that Russophilism, the political aim, would in any case be realised through the agency of the Russian religion.

In the year when the first Great War broke

out, and six days after the verdict at Mármaros-sziget, a bomb was thrown at Debrecen which killed among others the secretary of Stephen Miklóssy, since 1912 bishop of the Greek Catholic diocese of Hajdudorog. This diocese, whose area had been detached from the Ruthene Greek Catholic diocese of Munkács, and partly from the Rumanian Greek Catholic dioceses of Nagyvárad and Szamosujvár, was intended to save roughly a quarter of a million Greek Catholics of Magyar mother-tongue from the menace of Rumanisation and Slavisation, which had threatened them under the Rumanian and Old Slav liturgy. Both in Rumania and Russia strong agitation was set on foot against the establishment of the new diocese, which resulted in the assassination at Debrecen. The perpetrator of the crime was the Bessarabian Catareu (Kataref), who was in touch both with the Rumanian Jorga and the Russian Bobrinski, whom he had just met when the latter arrived in Bucharest after giving evidence in the Mármaros-sziget case. When the Austrian police requested the police of Bucharest to arrest Catareu, it was generally believed in Bucharest that the Rumanian police helped Catareu over the Russian frontier in a car. This seems to indicate that certain Russian and Rumanian irredentist circles also had a hand in the attempt.

The first Great War started in this sultry atmosphere. On the whole, the broad masses of Hungary's nationalities did their duty towards their country loyally. For the Germans this was facilitated by the fact that Hungary was an ally of the German Empire. In the case of the Saxons, as was not denied by their most eminent historian even under the Rumanian era, the former cool correctness 'gradually developed into a feeling of close attachment to Hungary.' In striking contrast to the Czechs, the Slovak soldiers stood firmly by their oath and did not desert to the enemy, and Count Stephen Tisza himself spoke of their behaviour with appreciation. After the constitution of the Czecho-Slovak legions comparatively very few Slovak prisoners of war joined the legions, where the



Slovaks and the Slovak language were neglected and the formation of separate Slovak units refused. The mutiny in 1917 of the Slovak soldiers in the Imperial and Royal 71st. Infantry Regiment stationed in the occupied town of Kragujevác, for which 44 soldiers were executed, was the only case when Slovaks refused obedience. But some of the Slovaks who had emigrated previous to the Great War supported the movement for the constitution of a Czecho-Slovak state, one of whose leading figures beside Beneš and Masaryk was Milan Štefánik, a man of Slovak nationality, who had acquired French citizenship even before the Great War. The Ruthenes afforded even less cause for complaint. Even if there were some who rendered voluntary services to the Russians who occupied their native soil for a few months at the end of 1914 and the beginning of 1915, others only did so under the compulsion of threats while others hid the Hungarian soldiers from the Russians, or intentionally led the Russians astray. Count Stephen Tisza showed full understanding for the precarious position of this people, disapproved of unfounded denunciations and advised against driving the Ruthenes into a course of conduct contrary to their real feelings. In general the Serbians of the South also fought well, even against their racial kin from Serbia, and the same applies to the Croats. The number of prisoners of war of Croatian and Serbian nationality was not large, though there were younger officers who went over to the Serbian army in captivity. Of the Rumanian politicians, Goga and the two Lucacius escaped to Rumania as soon as the war broke out. Those who remained made the most attractive declarations of loyalty, even after Rumania had entered the war, but to-day we know that these protestations were entirely worthless, since in a speech made at a later date in the Senate at Bucharest Alexander Vajda-Voevod, then Premier of Rumania, admitted that according to an agreement existing between the Rumanian politicians in Transylvania and the Regat they were to proceed jointly, while the Rumanian governments, no matter what

party they belonged to, were bound to support the Transylvanians financially. The policy of Rumania was at all times closely associated with the aspirations of the Transylvanian Rumanians; the latter did the work of destruction, while Rumania played a constructive part. Even before Rumania entered the war, several major cases of espionage occurred in Transylvania, the more intelligent Rumanians liable to military service deserted over the frontier in masses and an atmosphere of fanatic irredentism reigned among the younger people. And when in 1916 Rumanian forces occupied the border region of Transylvania for a few weeks, only to be driven out again by the Central Powers, the majority of the teachers and masters of Rumanian nationality who had stayed on during the Rumanian occupation fled with them, since they feared the consequences of their treason. The Rumanian soldiers, however, as Tisza stated, behaved quite well.

After the Rumanian declarations of loyalty, which came when the war had broken out, Tisza saw the opportunity and, notwithstanding the fruitless discussions of 1913-14, made another attempt to achieve a Magyar-Rumanian agreement. In a letter addressed to Metianu, the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Nagyszeben, on September 21, 1914, copies of which were sent to several other Rumanian Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic prelates, going beyond his previous attitude, he declared himself prepared to envisage 'a reform of the 1907 law for public education that would make allowances for the demands regarding denominational schools', and also legislative measures that would permit use of the nationality language in communicating with the state authorities, and a modification of the law of suffrage that would 'place Rumanian political representation on a more equitable basis'. The Rumanian prelates welcomed Tisza's initiative. The Prime Minister published his correspondence with Metianu, and at the same time a decree issued by the Minister of the Interior allowed the Rumanians to wear the Rumanian colours in addition to the Hungarian ones, while Rumanians



arrested or sentenced for political crimes were pardoned. This step was received with gratification by the Rumanian prelates in Hungary as well as by part of the press, yet the negotiations failed to achieve the desired success, for it was hoped on the Rumanian side that upon the intervention of the Germans Tisza would be compelled to grant them autonomy. Simultaneously, the Rumanian prelates carried out decree No. 1797 of the year 1914 in the sense that in the schools whose language of instruction was Magyar the Greek Orthodox pupils of Hungarian mother-tongue were still taught scripture in Rumanian. Tisza protested vigorously against this procedure to Metianu and declared that he had not expected such an answer to this decree. But even after this, right up to the spring of 1916, he was constantly occupied with the idea of an agreement with the Rumanians in which he would have found one of the finest rewards of his political work, and he asserted repeatedly that once the war was over he would solve the Rumanian question without regard to the international situation. But after the Rumanian invasion and the behaviour of the Rumanian teaching staff described above the proposal could not be continued and Count Albert Apponyi, Minister of Education in the Esterházy Cabinet, informed the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic metropolitans that he would secularise the Rumanian denominational schools in the border region, because this was the only way for the state to guarantee itself against the influences of Rumania, at the same time ordaining the appointment of permanent inspectors as ministerial commissioners in place of the school-inspectors to control the Rumanian denominational teachers' training institutes lying in the interior of the country, in partly Rumanian-inhabited counties. In the schools thus secularised the Rumanian language continued to be a compulsory subject. The archiepiscopal synod of Nagyszeben noted the Minister's resolution and submitted certain requests, the greater part of which the government was prepared to grant (e. g. that only teachers speaking Rumanian and if

possible of the Greek Orthodox faith should be nominated to the secularised schools, that 15—18 schools should remain denominational, etc.), but the metropolitan synod ordered that the question be laid before the diocesan synod, whereupon the Minister stopped the government grant made to the schools.

During the Great War the government gave repeated proofs of its objectivity and goodwill towards the nationalities. Tisza for instance wanted to send people who spoke Rumanian the soldiers of Rumanian nationality in the military hospitals behind the Isonzo front, to help them get in touch with their families and assist them generally — this out of motives of pure humanity. In a letter to the Archduke Joseph he wrote that 'he was fond of the Rumanian country-folk.' He objected to certain strict military measures against the Serbs of the south, and disapproved of 'certain military procedure' in more than one case. The arrest of the Serbian Pribichevich was suspended at his instance, and he repeatedly succeeded in having heavy sentences reduced. During the war the Hungarian government continued to adhere to the existing laws in its nationality policy. One of the historians of the Slovak nation, in illustrating what he considered anti-Slovak procedure on the part of the Hungarian government, cannot adduce more than one single concrete case, namely that Joseph Kačka was imprisoned because he 'instructed the Slovak soldiers how to behave like Slovaks' and called upon the people not to buy war loan; surely no more convincing justification of the Hungarian government's nationality policy could be desired.



## VIII.

### *The Trianon Period*

After the Great War of 1914—1918 the leaders of the nationality movements in Hungary claimed the peoples' right of self-determination for their own nationalities, while denying the same right to the Magyars, and not even providing an opportunity for their own people to manifest their real wishes.

As early as October 29, 1918 the *Sabor* of Zagreb decided to terminate all political connexion with Hungary and Austria, and that the legislative national assembly of the united Slovene, Croatian and Serbian nation would finally settle the form of the state. On November 25, in the South Slav National Council, Pribichevich made the Croatian-Serbian coalition vote for union with Serbia. The new S. H. S. state claimed Fiume, which had been occupied by Croatian troops on October 15, and also the Muraköz and the Vend-inhabited region, which the South Slav forces were unable to occupy until the armed resistance of the people had been broken. The union of the Bácska and Bánát with the new state was proclaimed at a public meeting held at Ujvidék on November 25, where the Magyars, Germans and Rumanians, who constituted over 61 per cent. of the population, were not represented at all.

After the Czecho-Slovak Republic had been constituted on October 28, a conference hastily convened at Turócszentmárton declared that it alone was entitled to speak and act in the name of the Czecho-Slovak people living within Hungary and that the Slovak people was part of the united Czecho-Slovak nation, for whom they claimed the unlimited right of self-determination on the basis of complete independence. 103 persons were present at this meeting, among them 38 from the small town of Turócszentmárton and 17 from the county of Turóc, while the Slovak population of 8 counties was represented by 8 participants in all, and that of 6 counties not at all. Although

the Slovak Evangelicals constitute only one-sixth of the entire Slovak people, about 73 per cent. of the participants were of that faith. Over a million and a half Magyars, Germans and Ruthenes of Upper Hungary were not, of course, represented at the meeting. The text of the declaration was drawn up by Milan Hodža; the original text accepted by the meeting referred to the Slovak, not the Czecho-Slovak nation and its right of self-determination, and the final text of the declaration was thus simply a forgery. At the conference held next day it was decided by a majority to demand autonomy for Slovakia, which it was proposed would come into force in ten years. This resolution was not recorded in the minutes and for that reason the Slovaks called it a secret clause. For the rest, the members of the conference of Turócszentmárton were as yet unaware of the agreement made between the Slovak and Czech organisations in America on May 30, 1918, under which the Slovaks should have received an administration, a parliament and tribunals of their own, and in Slovakia Slovak was to have been the official language in schools, offices and public life in general. When the Pittsburgh Agreement became known in Slovakia, Hlinka and Jehlička, representing the Slovak people's party, addressed a memorandum to the Paris peace conference in which they requested political autonomy for Slovakia and, to prove that this was the Slovak people's desire, the appointment of a plebiscite under the control of Entente troops. On the Czecho-Slovak side, Lawrence Šrobár, the first authorized Minister of the Prague government in Slovakia, vindicated the refusal of autonomy in a document addressed to the American Slovak League by alleging that the Magyars and Magyarophile Slovaks would be in a majority in the Slovak parliament. Milan Ivánka, another exponent of the Czecho-Slovak idea, declared during the Tuka case that, had the Slovaks been given autonomy, the first Slovak parliament would undoubtedly have decided on returning to Hungary.

The Eastern Slovaks (Sloviaks), who differ greatly



from the Western and Middle Slovaks both in linguistic and ethnic aspects, proclaimed the East Slovak republic under the leadership of Victor Dvorčák at Kassa on December 12, 1918, as a protest against Czech rule ; but the Czech occupation prevented the East Slovak government from consolidating itself.

The Rumanian leaders resolved at Gyulafehérvár on December 1, 1918 upon the union with Rumania of the Rumanians living in Transylvania, the Bánát and Hungary and the territories inhabited by them. Clause III of the Gyulafehérvár resolutions promised the nations living in the above-mentioned areas full national freedom in the sense that each nation was to govern itself in its own language, with its own administration, through persons elected from among themselves, and that each nation was to have a right to representation in the legislative corporation as well as to participation in the government in proportion to its population. However, the Rumanian government and public opinion never accepted these resolutions as legally binding and they were never realised.

The most important of the Ruthene National Councils established after the war, that of Ungvár, declared on November 9, 1918 its loyalty to Hungary's territorial integrity, just as the Ruthene National Congress held on December 10, 1918 also supported Hungary's territorial integrity. On December 26, 1918, seventeen days before the Czechs marched in, the Rada of Ungvár protested unanimously against Masaryk's assertion that the Ruthene nation wished to belong to the Czecho-Slovak state. The Counter-Rada, of Ukrainian tendencies, at Huszt worked in the interests of a union with the Ukraine and for a few weeks part of the county of Máramaros was occupied by Ukrainian legionaries. On November 18, 1918 the National Council constituted at Eperjes decided in favour of union with Russia and not until January 6, 1919, when the Czechs had occupied the town, did they make a declaration in favour of Czecho-Slovakia.

The majority of the Hungarian Germans remained

loyal to the idea of the Hungarian state in these critical times as well. At a meeting held at Késmárk on November 4, 1918 the Germans of the Szepesség declared that they would continue to be true to Hungary and wished to continue to belong to her. According to the resolution of Késmárk the Germans of the Szepesség had never felt themselves to be anything but Hungarians and had never experienced neglect, disadvantage or slights on account of their German origin. At a meeting held at Késmárk on December 9 the Germans of Upper Hungary also protested against their future citizenship being determined against their will, without their opinion and assent being asked. Their ancestors had received privileges from the kings of Hungary that had ensured their independence and full autonomy for centuries. Hungary had been a home to them, and her good and ill fortune had been theirs too. The Suabians of the Bánát and Bácska were annexed to Yugo-Slavia and Rumania respectively against their will and without asking their opinion. At the plebiscite held at Sopron at the end of the year 1921 that small portion of the West Hungarian Germans, who were given an opportunity to express their wishes, voted for Hungary, not for Austria, which proves that linguistic and ethnic unity is not always identical with national unity. The Transylvanian Saxons, on the other hand, declared their union with the kingdom of Rumania in the resolution passed at Medgyes on January 8, 1919 and, appealing to the Rumanian resolutions of Gyulafehérvár, expressed the expectation that they would be able to maintain themselves as a national and political unity in the Rumanian state. Nevertheless, it is extremely characteristic of the people's real state of mind that certain Saxon ministers who participated in the meeting of Medgyes were openly accused of treason to the people and of having allowed themselves to be bought and bribed.

Oscar Jászi, the Nationality Minister with international and pacifist convictions in the revolutionary Károlyi government, a Jewish doctrinaire lacking all



practical administrative experience, had the idea of organising the country on federal lines, which would guarantee the autonomy of all its nations, on a territorial or personal (cadaster) basis. At the Rumanian National Party's meeting at Arad (November 14, 1918) he professed himself ready to transfer the authority in all territories where the Rumanians were in a majority with the proviso that this area should be represented in the Hungarian government, but the Rumanians rejected this plan and a week later troops from the Rumanian kingdom crossed the Transylvanian frontiers. On December 1, the union with Rumania was proclaimed, and it is characteristic that Jászi placed special trains at the disposal of the Rumanian politicians travelling to Gyulaférvár. The government also discussed the resignation of power with the Slovak National Council, but a few days later the Hungarian Minister of War and the Czecho-Slovak Minister Hodža established a line of demarcation between the Czecho-Slovak and Hungarian forces.

The People's Law No. 10 of 1918 gave the Ruthenes the full right of self-determination in respect of both legislation and administration in the spheres of internal administration, justice, educational, cultural, religious and linguistic questions, so that the Ruthenes living in the counties of Máramaros, Ung, Bereg and Ugocsa might constitute an autonomous territory. The autonomy was vested in the National Assembly, the Ministry and the Governor. The head of the Ministry was the minister responsible to the Ruthene National Assembly and the Hungarian Parliament; in non-autonomous matters he was a member equal in rank of the Hungarian government, and in autonomous affairs the supreme administrative head of the autonomous territory. The province stood under his superintendence and control. The Ruthene people was represented in the Hungarian parliament in proportion to its number. The law gave the non-Ruthene population municipal and cultural autonomy. People's Law No. 6 of 1919 also declared the German citizens of

Hungary to be a unitary nation. It ordained the constitution of autonomous territories in the German-inhabited regions, if the latter were coherent areas, in agreement with the other nations living there. In these territories German was to be the language of communication with the Germans even in non-autonomous affairs. This autonomy was to have extended to the same questions as that of the Ruthenes. The German Minister's sphere of authority would also have been identical with that of the Ruthene Minister, but an administrative council, presided over by a governor, would have stood at the head of the provinces. The citizens of any other nationality living in the German provinces and the Germans living beyond their territory were to enjoy a cultural and municipal autonomy or proportional participation therein, and in addition the people's law ensured their right to representation at their own national assembly. People's Law No. 30 of 1919 also constituted Slovakia (*Slovenská Krajina*) into an autonomous territory with a right of self-government extending to internal administration, justice, public education and religious questions, and divided the autonomous territory into three provinces. The deputy of the Slovak Minister — whose sphere of authority was to equal that of the Ruthene and German Ministers — was to be a secretary of state. The people's law intended to leave the choice of the governor to the Slovak National Assembly. This autonomy would not have affected the free cultural development of the minority nations living within the autonomous territory or the use of their languages. Even in common affairs, the language of communication among the nations of this area would have been their own mother tongue.

The revolutionary government issued these 'people's laws' at a time when Upper Hungary had been almost entirely occupied by the Czechs, the occupation of the Ruthene-inhabited area was imminent, and the South and Transylvania had been seized by the Serbs and Rumanians respectively. Consequently these people's laws — with the



exception of the Suabian settlements in mutilated Hungary — were inapplicable from the very moment of their origin. They were the creations of an impotent government, which deliberately disbanded the regiments returning from the front and gave free vent to all centrifugal tendencies, even encouraged them and loosened even those bonds which had tied the patriotic elements among Hungary's nationalities to the country. Thus the cause of the country's dissolution was not so much the nationality question as the fact that the loss of the war and the revolution involved the deterioration of the nationality problem by demoralising the army and, by adopting the federal system as a basis from the very first, encouraging the irredentist leaders of the nationality parties, at the same time neglecting the nationality elements of patriotic feelings and not giving them adequate assistance to resist those who wanted separation at any price, as well as the comparatively weak Czech, Rumanian and Serbian forces invading the country. The decline of public security and the prospective deterioration of the defeated country's economic situation aroused the idea of union with neighbours in the good graces of the Entente even in the materially-minded but hitherto irreproachably loyal nationality elements. These tendencies were further enhanced by the Károlyi government's transfer of power to the Communists in March 1919, which drove many nationality-subjects into the arms of the Czechs, Rumanians and Serbs, although the Red troops starting out to recover Upper Hungary were on the whole gladly welcomed by the Magyars, Slovaks, Ruthenes and Germans of Upper Hungary as Hungarian soldiers. For the rest, Decree No. 27 of the Communist government allowed every nation inhabiting a coherent and extensive territory the constitution of a separate National Council.

The Treaty of Trianon, signed on June 4, 1920, annexed 31·7 per cent. of Hungary's territory, with 5·3 million inhabitants, to Rumania, 19·4 per cent., with 4·1 million inhabitants, to Yugoslavia; and 18·9 per cent.,

with a population of 3·5 millions, to Czecho-Slovakia. Austria, the former ally, though she herself had wanted originally a plebiscite in this area, was allotted the present Burgenland out of three western counties of Hungary, representing 1·4 per cent. of the country's territory with a population of about 300,000, and that without a plebiscite. Fiume and its environs, with its 50,000 inhabitants, transitorily became a free city, that is, a separate state, until d'Annunzio's coup *de main* acquired it for Italy. Under a resolution of the Ambassadors' Conference at Spa even Poland obtained Hungarian territory in the northern corner of the counties of Árva and Szepes, which were cut off from the rest of the country in consequence of the Czech occupation.

According to the census of 1910, in the territory allotted to Rumania 31·6 per cent. of the population was Magyar and 10·8 per cent. German, in that annexed to Yugoslavia 41·9 per cent. of the population was Croatian, 13·5 per cent. Magyar and 10·6 per cent. German, in the territory awarded to Czecho-Slovakia 48·1 per cent. of the inhabitants were Slovak, 30·3 per cent. Magyars, 12·3 per cent. Ruthenes, 7·4 per cent. Germans. Thus in the territory allotted to Yugoslavia the Serbs constituted hardly one-quarter of the population, and the Czechs in the territory awarded to Czecho-Slovakia a mere fraction. In the territory occupied by the Rumanians the latter were only just in a majority as against the incomparably more civilised Magyars and Germans. In the whole of Czecho-Slovakia, even according to the Czecho-Slovak census of 1921, which was strongly prejudiced against the nationalities, only 50·2 per cent. of the total population were Czechs, while in Yugo-Slavia the Serbs constituted no more than 46·2 per cent. of the total population. The Rumanians represented 71·9 per cent. of Rumania's population. The Treaty of Trianon, therefore, abolished Hungary's nationality problem by setting up three nationality states in two of which the proportion of the nationalities surpassed that of pre-war Hungary (with the exception of Croatia), but all of



which lacked the historical and dynastic tradition, the geographical unity, the social and cultural superiority of the state-forming nation, the multitude of family connexions, the feeling of a common destiny developed by centuries of community and habit, and the mediating, one might almost say diplomatic role of the Magyar language, factors which in Hungary had welded a considerable proportion of the nationality citizens together with the Magyars, bound the others to them by a thousand ties and thus facilitated the appropriate handling of her nationalities.

The nationality struggles of these three states are so well-known that it would be superfluous to dwell on them at any length. Not only the Magyars and Germans, but the Slovaks, Ruthenes and Poles in Czecho-Slovakia, the Croats, Slovenes, the Macedonian Bulgarians, Albanians and Rumanians in Yugo-Slavia, and the Russians, Ruthenes and Dobrudjan Bulgarians in Rumania felt these states to be veritable prisons to them and burst the framework of the new state formations at the first possible moment. It is particularly characteristic that the Slovaks and Croats, whom Prague and Belgrade had alleged to be Czecho-Slovaks and Yugo-Slavs, set up national states of their own in 1939 and 1941 respectively, thereby discrediting the ideas of Czecho-Slovak and Yugo-Slav unity forever.

The position of the Magyars was the worst among all the nationalities. The Germans were shown some consideration on account of Germany being a power, the Slav nationalities on account of the Slav idea in Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia and because of the powerful Russian neighbour in Rumania, while — like the Macedonian and Dobrudjan Bulgarians — the Magyars could not receive effective protection from their mutilated native country. Besides, the Little Entente took over the principle of *divide et impera* from Vienna and, in order to weaken the Magyars, made minor concessions not only to the Slav, but also to the German minorities, in order to oppose them to the Magyars and be able to play them off against the

latter. At first the oppressed Magyars hoped for a mitigation of their fate from the League of Nations. But when it became evident in 1929 that the League of Nations Council neither could nor would change its treatment of the minorities, the number of Hungarian minority petitions submitted at Geneva decreased.

The essential features of Czecho-Slovakia's, Rumania's and Yugoslavia's nationality policy were that beyond gradually supplanting, or wholly suppressing the use of minority languages in official life and the schools, it assailed the minority populations with a view to breaking their economic strength and thereby their power of resistance and national consciousness. This aim was served by denying citizenship to tens of thousands of minority subjects — in open infringement of the minority treaties — an execution of the land reform in the sense that the land taken from the minority landowners should not, if possible, get into the hands of minority claimants even in the minority areas, and prejudicial management of the minority banking institutes in favour of the Czech, Rumanian and Serbian banks. There was also neglect of minority manufacturers, merchants and workmen in granting rediscount and other credit, in cases of state contracts and public works, heavier taxation for minority taxpayers and stricter collection of their taxes, and so forth. The much-emphasized democracy of the Little Entente at best only manifested itself in the first years, and then only towards the majority people. Subsequently even the semblance of democracy was abolished by the introduction of dictatorship in Yugoslavia (1929), the law for the dissolution of parties in Czecho-Slovakia (1933), and the suspension of parliamentary government in Rumania (1937). From first to last the people who were not Czech, Serbian and Rumanian citizens were considered as mere objects to be ruled, as may be seen especially from the murders of the two Radich and Sufflay, and the sentencing of Tuka to 15 years penal servitude. The glittering façade of democracy concealed a rigorous police régime, equipped with a relentless system



of espionage, a host of *agents provocateur*, a strict press censorship, a *cabinet noir* for opening letters and listening in on telephone conversations, false witnesses, etc. The Little Entente states had learned these methods from foreign absolutism, but of course applied them far more brutally. Political actions brought against minority citizens, not only politicians, but small people as well, were a common occurrence. There was hardly a day without an arrest or a search-warrant issued against a minority subject in one or another of the Little Entente states. It would take volumes simply to enumerate these political persecutions, the sentences passed in them, and to describe the tortures so frequent in the Czech, Serbian and Rumanian prisons. In Hungary, political criminals were sent to a state prison, while in the new states they were treated worse than robbers and murderers.

From the point of view of humanity the position of the nationalities was therefore incomparably worse in the Little Entente states than it had been in Hungary before 1918, although before the first Great War Hungary's nationality policy was not limited by any obligations of international law, while in the Minority Treaties made at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on September 10 Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia, and at Paris on December 10 Rumania solemnly engaged themselves to respect certain rights of the minorities, the signing of these treaties being a primary condition for recognition of their existence as states or for their territorial increases. In addition, Czecho-Slovakia undertook in Articles 10—13 of the Minority Treaty to grant the Ruthene territory south of the Carpathians the most far-reaching autonomy compatible with the unity of the state in local administration, public education, religious and linguistic questions, while Article 11 of the Paris Minority Treaty obliged Rumania to grant the Transylvanian Székelys and Saxons religious and educational autonomy. But the three states did not fulfil these obligations of international law any more than they honoured their constitutional and other laws and statutes made for

the purpose of executing these treaty obligations. While Hungary had observed the autonomy guaranteed to Croatia without any obligation of international law, with painstaking care, and hardly a case or two occurred in fifty years that the Croats might have qualified as an infringement of their autonomy, throughout the whole duration of their existence Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania never effected a single letter of the provisions for the autonomy of the Ruthenes, and the Székelys and Saxons respectively.

In post-war Hungary the number of the national minorities according to the figures of the 1930 census amounted to 683,207 altogether (7.9 per cent. of the country's population), among them 478,630 Germans (5.5 per cent.), 104,819 Slovaks (1.2 per cent), 27,683 Croats (0.3 per cent), 20,564 Bunyeváztz, Shokáztz and other South Slavs (0.2 per cent.), 16,221 Rumanians (0.2 per cent.) and 7,031 Serbs (0.1 per cent.). The national minorities did not constitute the majority of the population in a single county, municipal or county borough, and even among the rural districts there were only four where a national minority (the Germans) was in the majority.

Even before the Treaty of Trianon, which imposed minimum minority obligations on Hungary, was signed, Decree No. 34.044/1919. M. E. took certain measures towards the up-to-date execution of the Nationality Law of 1868. After the Treaty was ratified, Decree No. 4.800/1923. M. E. regulated the use of minority languages before tribunals and administrative authorities as well as in the schools by provisions more generous than those of the Nationality Law. One of these was that the state and district authorities, as well as the district courts and tribunals are obliged to use the minority language if the minority constitutes at least one-fifth of the population within their area, and any office contravening this stipulation is liable to disciplinary procedure. Subsequently Act II of 1924 provided that officials, or judges familiar with the minority language in question were to be employed at these authorities and courts of justice. Under Decree



No. 4.800/1923 the language of instruction in the schools maintained by the denominations was to be determined by the supporters of the schools, while in the case of state and parish public elementary schools, in communities where the number of minority children obliged to attend school amounted to at least 40, or the minority constituted the majority of the population, if the parents of 40 children obliged to attend school so desired, the minority language was the language of instruction. These provisions were enforced by Decree No. 110.478/1923—VIII. VKM, which was modified by Decree 11.000/1935. M. E. According to this, in the minority schools the Magyar language, as well as geography, history and principles of constitutional law were to be taught in Hungarian, singing in the minority language and Hungarian, the other subjects in the minority language, and scripture in the mother tongue of the children, but in such a way that in the higher classes the subjects taught in Magyar or the minority language were to be repeated in the minority language or Magyar. Thus Hungary, notwithstanding the loss of most of her nationalities, continued to develop her nationality law in the Trianon era and unbiassed foreign experts (including C. A. Macartney) admit that this nationality law is one of the most liberal in Europe.

The relations between Magyars and national minorities in this period were calm and cordial. The vast Report on the Situation published by the Presidency of the European Nationality Congress in 1931 summed up the position of Hungary's largest nationality, the Germans, on the basis of information derived from the minority itself by stating that the minority demands of the Hungarian Germans referred to questions of language and culture and were based on Hungarian laws and legitimate decrees, but that in other respects the legal position of the Hungarian Germans was the same as that of the Magyars and for that reason the Hungarian Germans had not established a separate political party, but had joined the

various Hungarian parties according to their ideology, economic and social views. The Hungarian Suabians therefore continued to identify themselves with the idea of the Hungarian state and the aims of Hungarian policy, and their Hungarian patriotism — as was especially stressed by the report — was emotionally strongly emphasized too. When National Socialism rose to power in Germany, a quarrel broke out among the Hungarian Germans between the 'Ungarländischer Deutscher Volksbildungsverein' founded by the late Jacob Bleyer in 1924 and the National Socialist opposition, which, though formulating the linguistic and cultural demands more sharply, also collaborated with the Hungarian parties politically. It was recognised by the Slovaks as well that the principle of equal treatment fully asserted itself in Hungary with regard to the nationalities, and also that there were no practical difficulties from the linguistic point of view in official communication with the Slovaks, since in the more important Slovak areas of settlement some of the officials were more or less familiar with the Slovak language. In the cultural field the chief objection was that the supporters of denominational and parish schools did not take advantage of the existing rights regarding Slovak tuition more frequently, and that greater scope should also be given to Slovak teaching in the state schools. It is clear from this that the indifference of the denominations and communities, that is, of the minority citizens, or even their downright resistance was to blame if in spite of the Hungarian government's goodwill, which was acknowledged by the minorities themselves on innumerable occasions, the number of elementary public schools with a minority language of instruction remained below the proportion of the minorities. As regards the question of Magyarisation of names, which came into considerable prominence during this period, German writers have remarked that the propaganda started to encourage the Magyarisation of names was an internal affair of Magyar society that did not really affect the Germans, if this



propaganda appealed to persons who had already lost their original ethnic character in any case and consciously professed themselves to be Hungarians. The Hungarian régime cannot indeed be reprehended for encouraging persons who had become assimilated Hungarians and felt themselves Hungarians to exchange their foreign name for a Hungarian one, although the fact that even to-day innumerable assimilated civil servants, who consciously profess themselves to be Magyars, still have foreign names in Hungary proves that this persuasion was not very forcible. And as to the Magyarisation of the names of non-assimilated minority persons, it follows from the above that in most cases it is the result of causes inherent in themselves, for no bold and resolute man who clings consciously to his nationality can be compelled to take such a course. Like the linguistic and cultural question, this problem too is closely connected with that of assimilation. In Trianon Hungary the assimilation of part of the nationalities to the Magyars, principally on account of the latter's numerical superiority, progressed even more rapidly than before 1918. Although the opinion was sometimes voiced that from the racial point of view assimilation might be detrimental to the Magyars, it can hardly be expected that the Hungarian régime would actually impede the process of natural assimilation and thereby thwart the evolution of a linguistically homogeneous society. Part of the nationalities of Trianon Hungary, and in particular the intelligentsia, approved the idea of linguistic assimilation and as a result did not take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the minority laws and statutes in either the question of official language or the minority schools. In the Trianon era these topics were at least as controversial between the pro- and anti-assimilationist parts of the nationalities as between those devoted to their own nationality and the Hungarian government.

## IX.

*The Re-annexations*

UNDER the first Vienna Award of November 2, 1938 the major part of the Magyar-inhabited areas of Upper Hungary returned to St. Stephen's Crown, and in March 1939, in consequence of the dissolution of Czecho-Slovakia, the greater part of the Ruthene-inhabited territory, after the former had for a few weeks belonged to the Slovak Autonomous Territory organized within the 'second' Czecho-Slovak Republic, and the latter for some months constituted part of the Ruthene Autonomous Territory placed under Ukrainian leadership. The second Vienna Award on August 30, 1940 re-annexed part of Transylvania and East Hungary to the country, while with the collapse of Yugoslavia in April 1941 the Bácska, the so-called triangle of Baranya, the Muraköz and the Vend-inhabited region also returned to Hungary.

The census which was taken of the population of Hungary on February 1, 1941, later amplified to include the re-incorporated Southern Territories, gives the following results, according to mother tongue and nationality.

|                      | Mother tongue |          | Nationality |          |
|----------------------|---------------|----------|-------------|----------|
|                      | number        | per cent | number      | per cent |
| Magyars .....        | 11,367,342    | 77.5     | 11,881,544  | 80.9     |
| Germans .....        | 719,762       | 4.9      | 533,045     | 3.6      |
| Slovaks .....        | 268,913       | 1.8      | 175,550     | 1.2      |
| Rumanians .....      | 1,100,352     | 7.5      | 1,051,026   | 7.2      |
| Ruthenians .....     | 564,092       | 3.8      | 547,770     | 3.7      |
| Croats .....         | 127,441       | 0.9      | 12,346      | 0.1      |
| Serbs .....          | 164,423       | 1.1      | 159,000     | 1.1      |
| Bunyevázt, Shokázt . | 77,484        | 0.5      | 54,585      | 0.4      |
| Vends, Slovenes..... | 69,586        | 0.5      | 20,336      | 0.1      |
| Gypsies .....        | 57,372        | 0.4      | 76,209      | 0.5      |
| Yiddish .....        | 126,312       | 0.9      | —           | —        |
| Hebrew .....         | 5,659         | 0.8      | —           | —        |



|                              | Mother tongue |          | Nationality |          |
|------------------------------|---------------|----------|-------------|----------|
|                              | number        | per cent | number      | per cent |
| Jews .....                   | —             | —        | 139,041     | 1.0      |
| Others .....                 | 29,435        | 0.2      | 27,218      | 0.2      |
| Unknown .....                | 1,400         | 0.0      | 1,992       | 0.0      |
| Total Population 14,679,573. |               |          |             |          |

This was the first census in Hungary where two questions were asked: mother tongue, that is, the language which the individual considers as his own language and which he speaks best and most willingly, and as regards nationality, without prejudice and without regard to language, the nationality to which he feels and believes that he belongs.

It will be seen from the above figures that 514,113 more people stated that they considered themselves of Hungarian nationality than those whose native tongue was Magyar. Most of these were found among the Germans of Hungary, where many stated that they were of other nationality, mainly Hungarian. In round figures this number was 187,000, or 25.9 per cent. of all the Germans in the country. Thus at the very height of the German 'völkisch' movement more than a quarter of the Germans by language declared themselves Hungarian by nationality. Even more remarkable was the relatively high number of Croats who did not declare themselves as Croatian by nationality, some 115,000 out of 127,000, or 91.5 per cent, the same being observable with the Vends, the figures being 49,000 out of 70,000, or 71 per cent. This probably reflects the satisfaction felt by the Croats of the Muraköz and the Vends living north of that region at returning to Hungary, which most of them always regarded as their country. This also accounts for the differences shown by the Bunyevázt and Shokázt, where the figures were 23,000 out of 77,000, or 29.5 per cent. Of the 269,000 Slovaks by language, 93,000 or 34.7 per cent declared themselves as not of Slovak nationality. Most of these were probably such as had continued to live in Hungary during the Trianon period, though a large number

of those who came back as a result of the re-incorporation of Upper Hungary also declared themselves as Hungarians. In the case of the Rumanians, Serbs and Ruthenians on the other hand the proportion of those who stated themselves to be of any other nationality was very much smaller — 4.5, 3.3 and 2.9 per cent. A difference in favour of nationality was only in evidence with the gypsies and the Jews, where more stated that they were of Jewish nationality than those who spoke Yiddish or Hebrew.

These statistics again confirm the theory that language and nationality are not the same, and also the historical fact that in Hungary a considerable section of those whose native tongue is not Magyar identify themselves politically with the Magyars and not with their linguistic relations.

At the time of the second Vienna Award the Hungarian government entered into certain obligations towards the German Reich in the Viennese German-Hungarian protocol affecting the Hungarian Germans. But these hardly went beyond the minority rights obligations undertaken in the Treaty of Trianon, and even less beyond the rights already formerly given to the nationalities by the Hungarian laws and decrees. The protocol ensures the right of the persons belonging to the German ethnic groups to preserve their German ethnic character. They incur no disadvantages by the fact of belonging to the ethnic group and professing the German National Socialist ideology. An innovation among the details is that in the filling of offices and the establishment of autonomous corporations, where they are filled by appointment, the Germans must be taken into consideration in proportion to their percentage, and the German officials must mainly be employed by the authorities in the German areas of settlement and the central authorities to which these are subordinated. The protocol differs from the Treaty of Trianon in that it obliges Hungary to maintain ethnically German high, middle and technical schools in addition to the public elementary schools, and to provide for the training of efficient German teachers. The provision that



the Germans may use their own language in those administrative districts where they constitute one-third of the population gives them less privileges than Decree No. 4800/1923. M. E. After laying down the Hungarian Germans' duty of loyalty to the Hungarian State the protocol proceeds to guarantee the right of the Germans living in the returned Transylvanian and East Hungarian areas to re-migrate to Germany.

As regards the inhabitants of Rumanian nationality who remained in the above territory and became Hungarian citizens, the award itself only obliged Hungary to accord them the same treatment as other Hungarian subjects, which had at all times been natural in Hungary. For the rest, Rumania entered into similar obligations in favour of her citizens of Hungarian nationality.

Without any obligation prescribed by international law, the Hungarian legislature passed Act V of 1941 for the defence of nationality sentiment. According to this, anyone who offends another person in his nationality sentiment by using an expression degrading to a nationality living in the country, or committing such an act, unless his action is liable to more severe penalties, may be sentenced to imprisonment up to six months, and if the act was committed in the press or otherwise publicly, up to a year. This law has an epoch-making significance not only from the point of view of Hungarian law, but also from that of minority law in its entirety.

After the Vienna Protocol, Ministerial Decree No. 700/1941. M. E. modified Decree No. 11.000/1935. M. E. in the sense that in future those subjects which according to the latter decree had to be taught in Magyar in the minority schools (geography, history, constitutional law), were also to be taught in the nationality language. The mixed system would only continue in communities where the parents of children below 15 so desired. This decree extends to all the nationalities, although the Vienna Protocol did not oblige the Hungarian government to this. This ministerial decree was enforced by Decree No. 25.370/1941 of the Minister

for Education in the sense that by March 1, 1942 at latest 372 schools throughout the country's territory had to go over to full mother-tongue instruction, unless those in charge of 20 nationality children obliged to attend school requested the maintenance of mixed teaching. In the latter case the language of instruction was to be determined by secret ballot under control of a committee of three members (a delegate from the Ministry of Education, or from the superior church authority, a representative of the community, and one of those in charge of the children). In the returned territories there was no need for a decree of this kind, because there — as shown by Decree No. 133.200/9—1939 of the Minister for Education, according to which the former Slovak, Ruthene and German schools continued to exist there — the mixed system was not introduced at all. For the rest, in putting Decree No. 25.360/1941 into practice the Ministry observes the principle that in cases where, in the above-mentioned conditions, maintenance of the mixed system is desired, voting is waived and, if the school has more than one teacher, it is divided into two sections: a mixed and a mother-tongue one.

In executing the provision of the Vienna Protocol, according to which the Hungarian Germans may found societies for special, e. g. youth, economic, sports and artistic purposes, Decree No. 2.300/1941. M. E. permitted the compulsory *levente* groups to establish a German section with the assent of the Minister of National Defence. Moreover, the Association of the Germans in Hungary (Volksbund der Deutschen in Ungarn) may set up an organisation or organisations bearing the character of societies for the purposes of occupying and educating young people out of school hours, whose members, of course, can only be of German race.

Act VI of 1939, enacting the return of Sub-Carpathia, instructed the Prime Minister to submit a separate Bill on the regulation of Sub-Carpathia's autonomy. The legal situation of this territory was temporarily regulated differently from the country's general administration by



Decree No. 6.200/1941. M. E. Under this decree the Regent nominates for this territory a Commissioner and a Supreme Adviser with the rank of Minister. The Commissioner's competence includes the country's right to pass statutes and the sheriff's and school district inspector's sphere of authority. The Supreme Economic Adviser advises the Commissioner in matters of public interest and presides over a committee of eight appointed by the Prime Minister, which may adopt expert opinions and suggestions. The official languages of the state in Sub-Carpathia are Magyar and Ruthene. The laws must also be published in authentic Ruthene translation. The Sub-Carpathian territory has a separate official gazette, which appears in parallel columns in Magyar and Ruthene. The inhabitants of Sub-Carpathia may also address the state and autonomy authorities acting in that territory as well as the Ministries in Ruthene, in which case their petitions must be dealt with in that language. As regards the Sub-Carpathian territory the Minister of the Interior, in distinction to Act IV of 1898 regulating the official language of the communes, may establish the official language of the communes as Magyar and Ruthene. Accordingly Decree No. 14.500/1939 of the Minister of the Interior also appointed Ruthene official names for the communes of this territory. The significance of this decree from the point of view of Hungarian nationality law is epoch-making, because it represented the first break with the old principle consistently observed since the elimination of the Latin official language, that throughout the entire territory of Hungary Magyar was the exclusive official state language.

All these new legal maxims prove that as soon as part of the nationalities torn from Hungary in 1918 had returned, Hungarian legislation and the government immediately granted the nationalities more extensive rights than they had possessed in either pre-war or Trianon Hungary. The government consider both that the percentage of the nationalities is higher than it was in Trianon Hungary and that their national consciousness has grown

as compared to the situation in 1918. At the same time, however, they bear in mind that the various nationalities are not all in the same position. But beyond the laws and decrees the great goodwill evinced by the government towards the nationalities and a whole series of practical measures serve the purpose that the nationalities may be content in the Hungarian country to which they have returned after an interval of twenty years.

The Regent, H. S. H. Admiral Nicholas Horthy, when addressing the inhabitants of the returned Upper Hungary for the first time at Kassa in November 1938, concluded his speech in Slav, thereby giving a token of his goodwill towards the nationalities. This same sentiment is reflected by numerous statements of Hungary's Prime Ministers. When Decree No. 700/1941. M. E. was issued, Count Paul Teleki declared: 'Everybody has an incontestable right to cherish his own mother tongue, ancestral customs and traditions, and it is the duty of the Hungarian as of any other state to assist its citizens of other native tongues in this effort, to make it possible for them to acquire knowledge in their mother tongue, nay, to encourage this. We must enable them to develop their nationality culture freely, to preserve and foster their separate nationality character — to use a modern term: their ethnicity — but we must also take care that this should happen unanimously and reciprocally, and not in the form of opposition among the various nationalities. We do not want, nor is it possible, to make anyone Magyar or make anyone appear Magyar against his will and feeling, but for this very reason we cannot allow anyone to be counted to another nationality against his will and Magyar sentiment, or to be forced there by pressure'. While the principle followed in Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia was that 'each nationality had as many rights as it was able to obtain', Count Paul Teleki, true to Hungary's ancestral traditions, proclaimed a constructive nationality policy, which does not regard the nationality question as an everlasting conflict but tries to solve it by mutual



understanding and condemns assimilation by pressure, yet at the same time protests against the attempts of young nationalisms to denationalize Magyars. Nicholas Kállay, the present Prime Minister, has also repeatedly called the attention of Hungarian society to the prime importance of the nationality question and introduced adequate practical measures to influence public opinion in the same direction.

After the return of part of the territories severed from Hungary for twenty years, the Hungarian parliament invited Slovak, Ruthene, German and Serbian members into the Lower House. The Greek Catholic prelate Alexander Illiczky became Supreme Adviser of the Sub-Carpathian territory. The government set a Lord-Lieutenant of Rumanian nationality at the head of the county of Máramaros. Of the former Czech, Rumanian and Serbian officials the Hungarian state in general took over those who had not been actively anti-Magyar in behaviour during the occupation.

The number of elementary schools teaching in one or another of the nationality languages amounts to 2,862. Of these, 2,099 are state schools. In these schools 4,955 teachers teach in nationality languages, and 980 under the mixed system in one nationality language and also Magyar. Thus, in contrast to conditions in 1918, the situation is that the state itself provides for instruction of the nationality children in their mother tongue in the first place, and not the denominations. Beside the elementary public schools the language of teaching is one of the nationality languages in 34 city schools, 11 apprentice, 3 commercial and 1 industrial middle school, 10 male and female teachers' training colleges, and 34 secondary-schools. Although Hungary's present territory does not even amount to one-half of the Hungarian Empire before the first Great War or to two-thirds of pre-war Hungary without Croatia, the number of nationality schools to-day exceeds that existing in Hungary proper immediately preceding 1918.

The *Volksbund der Deutschen in Ungarn* mentioned above comprises the National Socialist party in Hungary. Slovak culture is served by the Slovak Cultural Society in Hungary (*Uhorsko-Krajinsky Vzdelaváci Spolok Slovensky*), which has now been functioning for over half a century, and the St. Adalbert Catholic society, which was constituted in 1941. The most outstanding cultural society of the Ruthenes is that named after Duchnovich and that of the Serbs the *Srpska Matica*. As regards the affairs of Hungary's Rumanians a final picture cannot be gained until the supervision of the societies functioning in the returned Transylvanian areas has been completed. Each one of Hungary's major nationalities has a daily and periodical press.

It is clear from the above that in recent years the Hungarian government, although the return of territories, and even more the war, have affected its constructive work, has laid the foundations of a nationality policy that bears in mind the requirements of the times, the events of the past quarter of a century, the increased consciousness of our nationalities and, above all, the true interests of the country itself, the Realm of St. Stephen.



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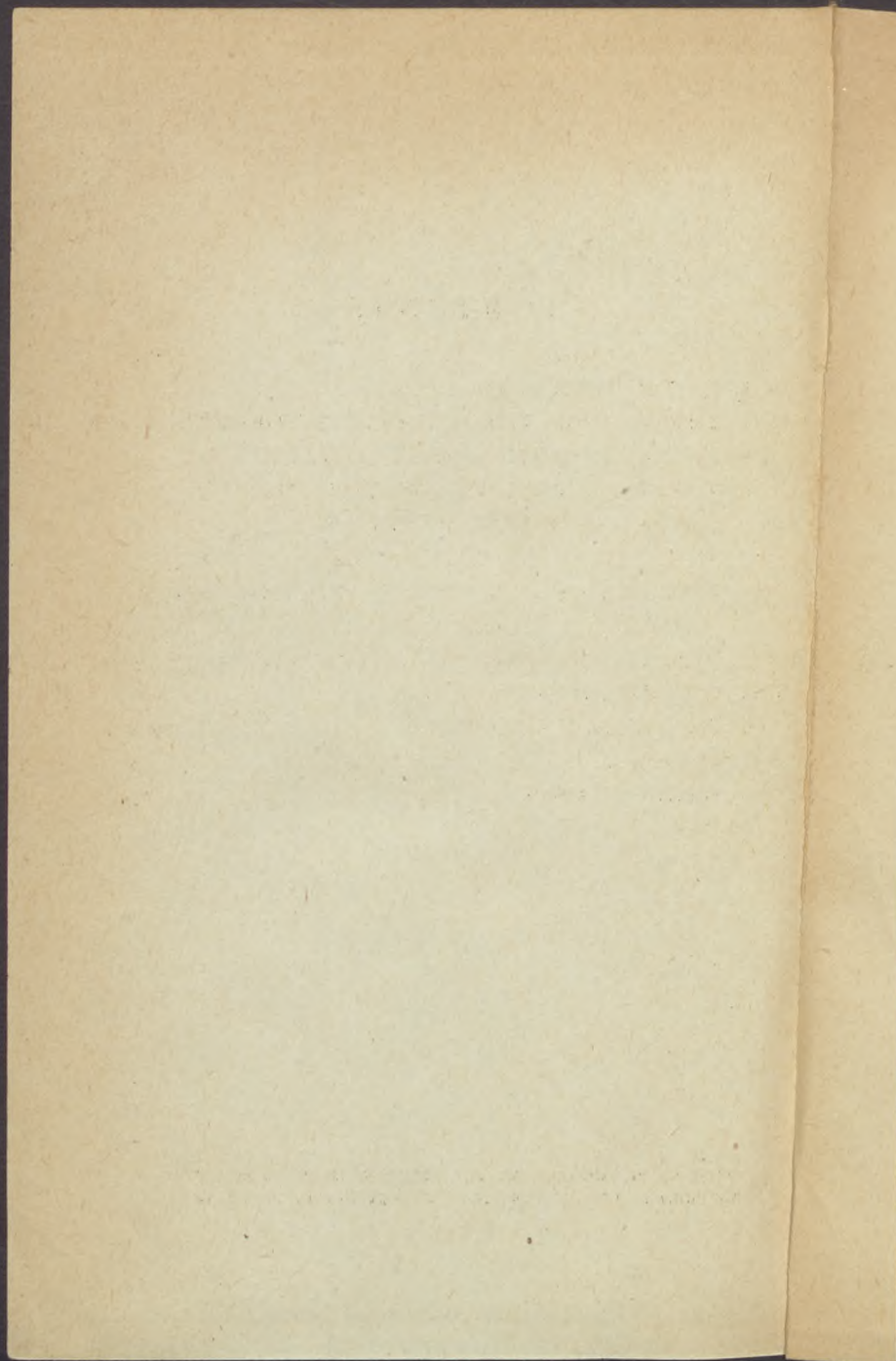
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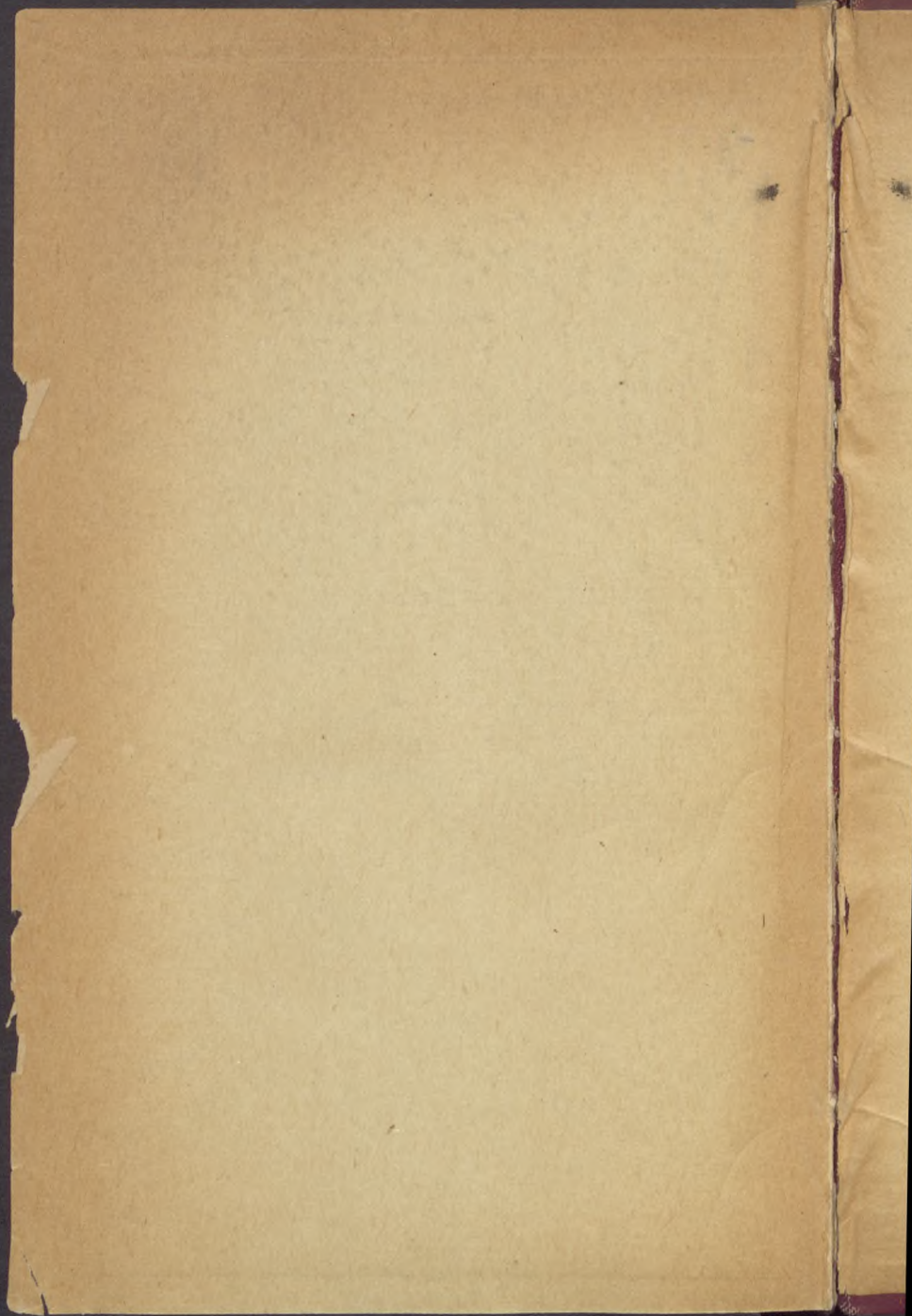
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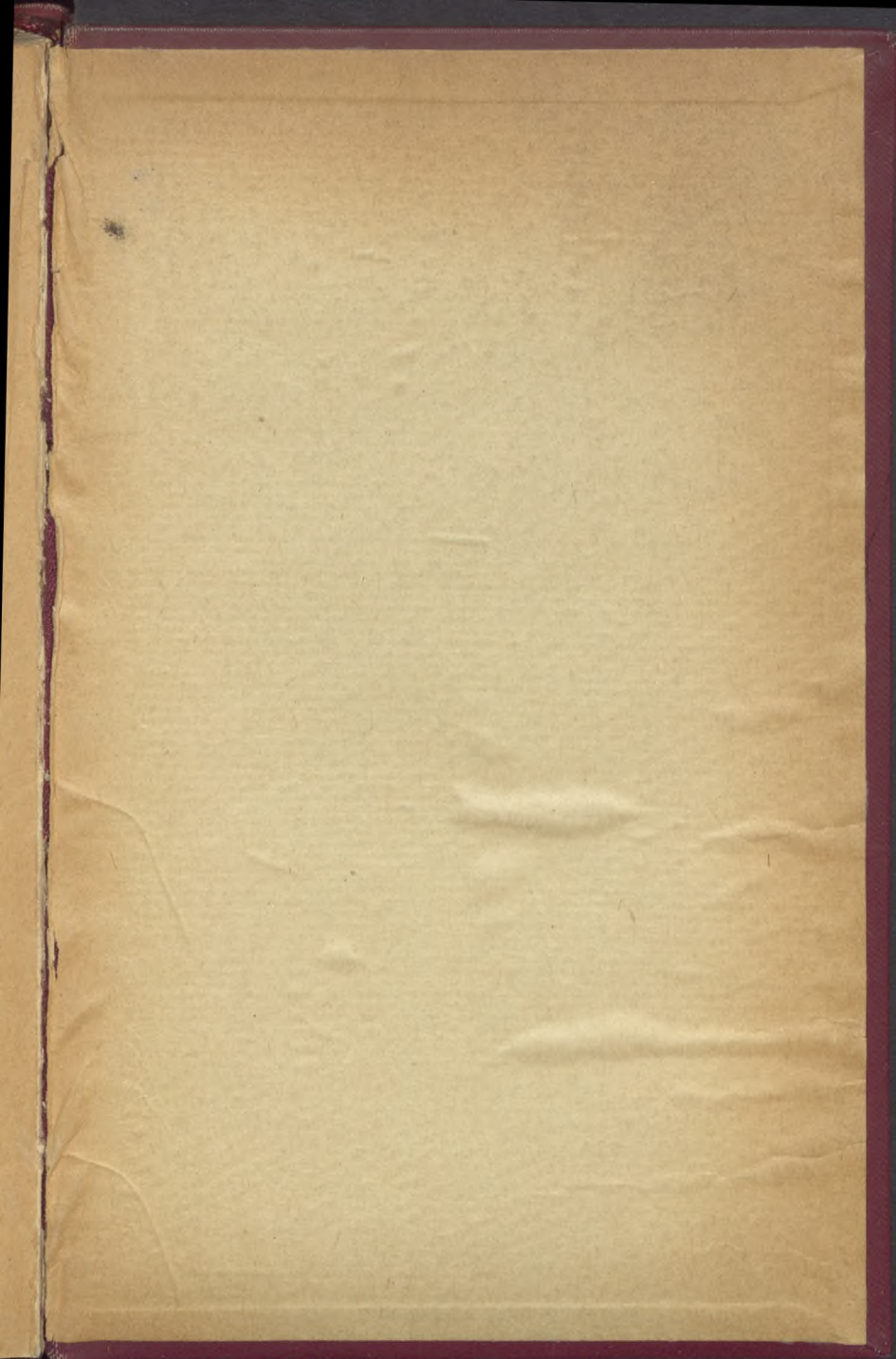




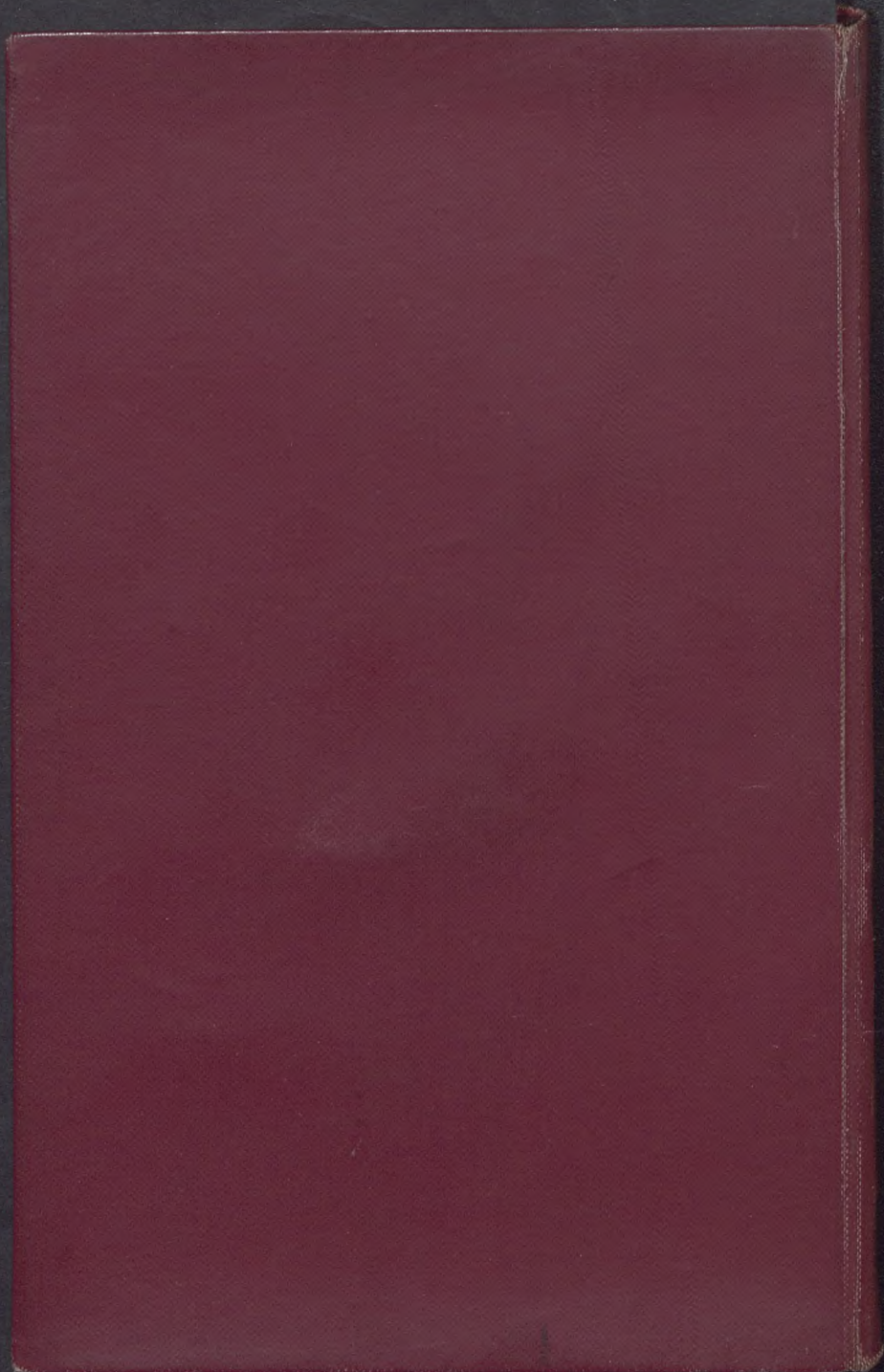












S. H. Q.

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