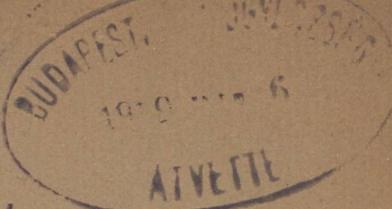


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TRUTH ABOUT HUNGARY.

EXTRACTS

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HUNGARIAN TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY LEAGUE
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SZTE Egyetemi Könyvtár



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"Pátria" irod. vállalat és nyomda r.t., Budapest, IX., Üllői út 25. — 190192

Travels in Hungary, with a Short Account of Vienna in the year 1793.

By Robert Townson, L. L. D.

Taught by experience how much we are obliged to leave undone for want of time, not only in the common concerns of life, but likewise in tours of the nature as the one I was going to set out upon, I impatiently waited at Vienna for fine weather; and only in fine weather could it be prudent to travel in a country which, according to the accounts current at Vienna, was little better than in a state of nature, and its inhabitants half savage; and the weather had hitherto, ever since the breaking of the frost, been cold and gloomy. Indeed so savage was the character of this people drawn by some, that many less accustomed to travel than myself would have given up their intended tour altogether; and I myself, had I not learned to make deductions from popular accounts, would hardly have ventured without a battalion of grenadiers for protection. If I came back alive I was told I ought to think myself fortunate. On making the acquaintance, however, of some Hungarians, who furnished me with letters of introduction, I found these accounts to arise from national hatred; and on the 5-th of May, though the weather for the climate and season of the year was not fine, I set out on my tour, accompanied by a servant, who had lived several years in Hungary and spoke the different languages in use there; the Hungarian, German, Wallachian, and different dialects of the Sclavonian. (pp. 32—33.)

At Wimpassing is the Hungarian Custom House. As an order had a short time before been published by the Austrian government prohibiting any Frenchman from residing in the distant provinces, or going indeed beyond a certain distance from the capital, I expected to have been examined; but I passed on unquestioned. (pp. 34—35.)

At Vienna I learned that the Hungarians neither liked the Austrians, nor the Austrian government, and during my stay in Hungary, in every society I found a confirmation of it.

In ancient animosities, handed down from father to son, in opinions kept alive by vulgar proverbs and sayings, we may often find the cause of national hatred; so to the frequent wars which were carried on between these two nations may be attributed some part of the mutual dislike now subsiding. But Hungary has been at war with its other neighbours, and yet with these national animosities have ceased: we must therefore look further.

Hungary has had its turbulent times, and its public misfortunes, like other nations, probably more than an equal share; and what history of a country is not so full of them, as almost to deter one from turning over the page of history, which is hardly more than a recital of disasters; where years, if years there have been of peace and public happiness, are passed over in a few words, whilst wars, famines, pestilences, and other great calamities which vex society, are detailed in forcible language? But that page of history fills the Hungarian with the deepest sorrow, which records that the crown of Hungary was worn by a prince from a foreign house, and that he kept his court out of Hungary.

This has now been the case for a long series of years. The crown from being elective has become hereditary in the house of Austria, whose court is at Vienna. The sovereign seldom visits his Hungarian dominions; the high office of Palatine was for many years vacant; no diet was called for twenty six years, but the kingdom, like a province, was governed by royal mandates. Hence this nation considers itself as treated like an Austrian province, and not like a powerful kingdom; discontent and unwillingness to support the public burdens on their part arise, and dissatisfaction and indifference to their prosperity in the court, which in turn considers them as perverse subjects and useless to the state; and hence a general feebleness; and thus a country under a warm sun, with a fertile soil, and near eight millions of inhabitants, makes no more figure amongst the nations of Europe than a province.

It is certainly an unfortunate circumstance for a privileged

kingdom or province to be under the same government as those which are arbitrarily governed. Where even governements have nothing in view but the public good so many hindrances in conducting public affairs are thrown in their way, through party spirit and unjust jealousies, by the leaders of the people, that often the best disposed rulers are inclined to act without enquiring the sense of the nation, and are anxious to get rid of the inconvenience of obtaining its consent; and the facility they find in governing those parts of the empire which they can arbitrarily govern is always contrasting itself with the difficulties they find in governing the privileged.

Though some of the neighbouring parts of the Austrian monarchy have still their diets, yet they are for form sake alone, and in none of the important acts of legislation or taxation are they consulted. But Hungary has still retained the invaluable right of giving itself laws and imposing its own taxes, and it jealously watches the incroachments of the court. How then could the despotic government of Joseph II. fail to be to this nation a cause of great complaint, when it had almost alienated from him the allegiance of his other subjects accustomed to be arbitrarily governed?

The whole government of this well-meaning Monarch was a continued series of alterations and innovations in the government of those which had no privileges, and of infringements on the rights of those which had; where established principles of government, modes of taxation, and general police, were, by sovereign mandates, annulled, and replaced by others. I have seen a list of the ordinances published by Joseph II. from January 1781 to November 1783, that is less than three years, and it amounted to two hundred and seventy-one.

It was the avowed intention of this Sovereign to form out of his extensive hereditary dominions, peopled by twenty-five millions of inhabitants, governed by different laws, enjoying different privileges, speaking different languages, and in different degrees of civilization, one uniform governement, where the same code of laws, the same mode and quantity of taxation, and even where the same language should prevail*; in which

* His Belgic subjects may be excepted.

privileges should cease, and the burdens of the state be equally borne. (96—99).

The Hungarians are a brave, generous, and hardy race of man. Voltaire, in his Eloge of Montesquieu, speaking of this nation, says, »Une nation fière et généreuse, le fleau de ses tyrans et l'appui de ses souverains (p. 100).

(Concluding lines) p. 452.

Time had moved rapidly on, and had reached the middle of October. I had yet other countries to see; I must therefore leave Pressburg, and Hungary likewise. I crossed the Danube, on leaving this city on a pont volant like that at Komorn and, after travelling a few miles on a very magnificent road, I reached Wolfsthal, the confines of Austria. Here I bid farewell to my favourite Hungary; and though the country before me, on the banks of the Danube was remarkably pleasant and afforded the most beautiful prospects, I could not leave that behind without regret; and I frequently looked back to thank its generous inhabitants for the friendly reception they had given me, and to wish them every kind of public prosperity. The Hungarians are a noble race of men; and of the variety of nations amongst which I have travelled, the one I esteem the most. This small tribute of praise I owe them and I pay it with pleasure.

Voyage minéralogique et géologique en Hongrie.
Par F.-S. Beudant, Paris, 1822.

Introduction. (Page 15.)

Une contrée à laquelle la nature a prodigué toutes ses faveurs ; qui est située dans la partie le plus tempérée de notre hémisphère ; traversée par un des plus grands fleuves de l'Europe, et arrosée par plusieurs autres rivières considérables ; où les parties basses sont d'une fertilité prodigieuse, tandis que les montagnes, que leur hauteur dérobe à la culture, renferment une abondance excessive de richesses minérales, semble devoir exciter puissamment la curiosité du voyageur et l'attention du naturaliste. Des peuples, qui pendant huit siècles, ont résisté aux efforts réunis de toutes les nations voisines ; qui, à peine sortis de la barbarie, ont commencé à se créer des lois stables, à établir un gouvernement que les temps n'ont point changé, et avec lesquels toutes les nations européennes se sont successivement mises en harmonie ; qui ont su allier une liberté presque sans bornes avec des formes monarchiques et des institutions féodales ; qui dans les revers ont déployé une incroyable énergie, et dans leurs erreurs mêmes ont toujours conservé la noblesse et la générosité de leur caractère, semblent commander un intérêt général, et devoir attirer l'attention de tous les hommes éclairés.

La Hongrie est, en effet, un des pays de l'Europe qui présentent les plus beaux sujets de recherches et d'observations. L'historien ne peut manquer de mettre un intérêt particulier à suivre, dans leur origine, dans leurs brigandages même, toutes ces hordes barbares qui vinrent fondre sur l'Europe dans les premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne ; et dont la Hongrie, devenue la première proie, fut en quelque sorte la patrie. L'arrivée des

Magyares (vulgairement Hongrois^{*)}), l'histoire de leur établissement, la recherche de la route qu'ils ont pu suivre depuis les montagnes de l'Asie, les traces presque effacées de leur séjour en différents lieux, sont autant de sujets d'études capables d'exciter longtemps une attention scrupuleuse. L'élévation presque subite de ce peuple à un degré de puissance tel qu'il put subjuguer ou maintenir dans le respect tous ses voisins; l'origine et abolition de l'esclavage; l'origine de la féodalité, qui existe encore avec des lois libérales et justes; les changements progressifs des moeurs; la naissance des lois; le commencement de la civilisation; les rois électifs et héréditaires; l'organisation militaire; tout, enfin, offre à chaque pas un nouveau sujet de recherches et d'intérêt. L'immense variété des productions naturelles de toute espèce; la célébrité des mines d'or, les seules de ce genre qui existent en Europe; les mines de fer, semblables à celles de Suède; les mines de cuivre, les opales, et par-dessus tout des terrains qui paraissent offrir, dans leur composition, des phénomènes particuliers, sont autant de sujets propres à captiver l'attention spéciale des naturalistes, et à les conduire à une foule de découvertes plus ou moins importantes.

Cependant, malgré l'intérêt que présente la Hongrie, sous tant de rapports différents, c'est encore une des contrées de l'Europe que nous connaissons le moins. D'une part, les Hongrois engagés sans cesse dans des guerres extérieures ou intestines, ont dû négliger constamment tout ce qui n'était pas absolument nécessaire à leur existence politique: d'une autre, placés à l'extremité de l'Europe, entourés de nations sans culture, hors de toute communication avec les peuples civilisés, les Hongrois n'ont pu suivre les progrès des sciences et des arts dans les autres contrées, et par conséquent sont restés dans un cercle très étroit d'observation sur leur propre pays. Plus

^{*)} J'écris hongrais pour me conformer à la prononciation adoptée généralement en Hongrie par les personnes qui parlent français, et qui toutes trouvent quelque chose de dur et en quelque sorte d'injurieux dans la manière dont nous prononçons habituellement ce mot en France. J'avoue qu'après avoir passé quelques moments en Hongrie, j'ai trouvé aussi que le mot hongrois s'accordait mal avec l'amabilité que j'ai partout rencontrée, et j'ai été porté presque tout de suite à prononcer hongrais. Je ferai remarquer que le plus souvent l'h est à peine aspiré, et que l'on dit souvent l'Hongrie, l'Hongrais, au lieu de la Hongrie, le Hongrais.

d'un siècle, il est vrai, depuis les derniers troubles jusqu'à nos jours, s'est écoulé dans une parfaite tranquillité, dans une libre communication avec toutes les parties de l'Europe; et on pourrait s'étonner, d'un côté, que les connaissances acquises ne se soient pas assez répandues en Hongrie pour y faire naître l'émulation et exciter à une multitude de recherches du plus haut intérêt; de l'autre, que les Autrichiens, après la réunion des deux royaumes, n'aient pas conçu un vif désir d'étudier en détail un pays, qui, sous tant de rapports, devait leur présenter quelque chose d'extraordinaire. Mais tout s'explique avec facilité; car, si les désastres matériels des guerres et des révolutions peuvent se réparer assez promptement, il n'en est pas de même de leurs effets sur le moral: ceux-ci ne s'effacent qu'avec une extrême lenteur. Les peuples de la Hongrie ont vécu trop long temps dans l'insouciance et l'ignorance des connaissances humaines, pour pouvoir se livrer tout-à-coup à des études qui exigent une application continue, et se mettre au niveau des nations qui, depuis plusieurs siècles, en ont suivi les progrès successifs. D'ailleurs mille causes arrêtent encore, en Hongrie, les progrès des connaissances utiles: des usages anciens; des préjugés sans nombre, qu'il est difficile de déraciner; et, surtout, la diversité des langues, sont les obstacles qui s'opposent le plus fortement aux louables efforts, que des hommes, d'un très grand mérite, font constamment pour l'intérêt de leur patrie. D'autres causes se sont opposées aux recherches des savants étrangers, dans l'intérieur de la Hongrie; d'abord, cette contrée se trouve hors de toutes les routes fréquentées, et il faut en faire nécessairement l'objet d'un voyage spécial; or, par cela même qu'elle a peu de relations avec ses voisins, elle n'offre aucune des facilités de communication auxquelles on est habitué dans les autres pays: il en résulte, que pour la parcourir, il faut se préparer d'avance à toutes les privations. D'un autre côté, l'énergie que les Hongrois ont déployée dans leurs guerres extérieures et intestines; la vigueur avec laquelle ils ont repoussé les agresseurs; la fureur qu'on a montrée de part et d'autre, soit dans la défense, soit dans l'attaque; les milliers d'hommes que les armées étrangères ont perdus sur le sol hongrois, ont laissé dans l'esprit des nations voisines des craintes et des préventions, dont les hommes éclairés reconnaissent aujourd'hui le peu de fondement, mais qui n'en



subsistent pas moins encore. On regarde le climat de la Hongrie comme extrêmement malsain, les peuples comme étant encore à demi-barbares, et le pays, par conséquent, comme très-peu sûr pour les étrangers, contre lesquels on suppose qu'il existe toujours une certaine antipathie.

Heureusement, tous ces rapports sont exagérés : il est vrai qu'on ne trouve pas en Hongrie, toutes les facilités qu'on pourrait désirer de rencontrer habituellement : que les Hongrois, placés sur les confins de la civilisation européenne, élevés au milieu des camps, ou livrés entièrement à l'économie rurale, ont conservé longtemps, et conservent même encore, une certaine rudesse qui contraste avec les formes souples des autres nations policiées ; mais il suffit d'avoir vécu quelques moments au milieu de ce peuple, pour reconnaître que c'est chez lui que se trouvent aujourd'hui à leur plus haut degré, cette noble franchise, cette hospitalité patriarcale, cette simplicité de moeurs que la haute civilisation a fait si souvent disparaître. Loin de conserver alors tous les préjugés qui ont pris naissance chez les peuples voisins, dans les temps de troubles et de désastres, on ne quitte qu'à regret un pays où l'homme se retrouve dans toute sa dignité ; et chaque Hongrois qu'on a connu est un ami, dont on a peine à se séparer.

Notions géographiques sur la Hongrie.
Limites des provinces Hongroises. (pp. 16—20).

Sous le nom de royaume de Hongrie, on a souvent compris, après les conquêtes de divers rois, la Bulgarie, la Valachie, la Transylvanie, la Moldavie, la Galicie, la Hongrie proprement dite, l'Esclavonie, la Serbie, la Bosnie, la Croatie, la Dalmatie, quelques parties de l'Autriche, de la Moravie, etc. Mais, par suite des guerres et des traités, plusieurs de ces Etats sont successivement sortis de l'héritage des rois de Hongrie ; la Bulgarie, la Valachie, la Moldavie, la Serbie, la Bosnie, la Croatie Turque, sont entrées sous la domination de l'empire Ottoman ; l'archiduché d'Autriche a repris son étendue ;*) la Moravie est devenue une dépendance de royaume de Bohème, dont l'administration

*) Le nom d'Autriche est une francisation du mot allemand Oestreich (royaume de l'Est) qu'on a donné, dans le dixième siècle à cette partie des Etats allemands qui se trouvaient à l'orient des autres.

particulière correspond cependant directement avec les chambres suprêmes de Vienne ; la Galicie, conquise par les rois de Pologne, a été ensuite réunie à l'empire d'Autriche, comme province particulière et indépendante de la Hongrie ; enfin, la Transylvanie est devenue également une principauté, qui dans la suite a été cédée à l'Autriche, et qui conserve encore ses droits particuliers.

Il n'est donc resté sous le gouvernement direct des rois de Hongrie, que la Hongrie proprement dite, l'Esclavonie, une partie de la Croatie et de la Dalmatie ; c'est ce qui constitue le royaume de Hongrie, qui, avant 1809, s'étendait jusqu'à l'Adriatique, et possédait une partie des îles qui se trouvent sur la côte orientale de ce golfe. Mais, par le traité de Vienne de 1809, la Dalmatie hongroise, la plus grande partie de la Croatie, les frontières banates, furent cédées à la France, et réunies, avec la Carniole et une partie de la Carinthie, sous le nom de Provinces Illyriennes. Le royaume de Hongrie se terminait alors à la Save, par la ville de Zagravia (Agram) dont le comitat se trouvait par-là diminué de plus de deux tiers.*). C'est encore la limite actuelle ; car, quoique l'Empire Autrichien ait recouvré tout ce qu'il avait perdu depuis la Save jusqu'à l'Adriatique, ces provinces n'ont pas été réintégrees dans le royaume de Hongrie.

Mais, n'ayant ici pour but que de nous occuper de l'histoire naturelle minérale, il ne sera pas nécessaire de nous astreindre précisément aux limites politiques du royaume, et nous pourrons, sans inconvénients, comprendre dans notre exposé la principauté de Transylvanie dont les montagnes complètent le bassin qui doit nous occuper. Cette réunion, qui semble en quelque sorte commandée par la nature, est d'ailleurs d'autant moins déplacée, que la Transylvanie est habitée par les mêmes peuples, gouvernés en général par les mêmes lois, et que son histoire politique est tellement liée avec celle de la Hongrie proprement dite, qu'il est presque impossible de parler de l'une, sans entrer dans des détails souvent très étendus sur

*.) Le comitat de Zagravia qui comprenait anciennement 300 lieues carrées de pays, en a perdu 213 5/10. De plus on en a enlevé, par les régiments croates et le littoral hongrois, 631 lieues carrées ; de sorte que la perte totale qu'a éprouvée le royaume de Hongrie est de 844 5/101 lieues carrées.

l'autre. Nous prendrons donc la Hongrie dans l'acception vulgaire, qui n'en sépare point la Transylvanie, et qui y comprend même plutôt cette principauté, que les provinces d'Esclavonie et de Croatie. Néanmoins, pour éviter autant que possible de nous trouver en opposition avec les ouvrages de géographie, nous désignerons l'ensemble des contrées qui doivent nous occuper ici, sous la dénomination collective de *Provinces Hongroises ou États Hongrois*, et nous désignerons chacune d'elles par son nom propre toutes les fois que nous voudrons en parler en particulier.

La Croatie hongroise (*Horvát-Ország*, hong.: Kroatien, all.) et l'Esclavonie (*Tót-Ország*, hong.), dont l'étendue est peu considérable, se trouvent à la partie sud-ouest de l'espace occupé par les provinces hongroises: elles sont toutes deux comprises entre la Drave, la Save et la partie du Danube située entre les embouchures de ces deux rivières, depuis Eszek jusqu'à Belgrade: la Croatie en est la partie occidentale, et l'Esclavonie la partie orientale. La première est limitée à l'ouest par la rivière de Szutla et les montagnes de Matzol qui la séparent de la Styrie; elle est bornée à l'est par la petite rivière d'Ilova et les montagnes dont elle descend, qui la séparent de l'Esclavonie.

La principauté de Transylvanie (*Erdély-Ország*, hong. Siebenbürgen, all.; Ardéalul, valaque) se trouve au contraire au sud-est.*). Elle est bornée au nord par les comitats de Marmaros et de Szatmar, à l'est par la Moldavie, au sud par la Valachie (Rumaoneasske, valaque), à l'ouest par le Banat et les comitats hongrois d'Arad et Bihar: ou plutôt, elle est limitée de tous

*). Le nom de Transylvanie (*Trans sylvania*, lat.) a été donné à cette principauté, par suite de sa situation au delà des pays couverts de bois qui se trouvaient à l'extrême orientale de la Hongrie proprement dite, et en conséquence de ce qu'elle n'offrait elle-même que des forêts. C'est encore ce que désigne l'épithète hongroise *erdély*, de *Erdő*, forêt; *Erdélyország*, pays ou royaume des forêts. Quant à l'expression allemande *Siebenbürgen* (littéralement sept châteaux), on n'est pas trop d'accord sur son origine. Les uns la font venir des sept premiers chefs qu'avaient les Hongrois lors de leur invasion, et qui y firent bâtir sept forteresses; les autres, avec peut-être plus de raison, la font venir des sept villes allemandes qui s'y trouvent, savoir: Hermanstadt, Bistritz (Besztercze), Klausenburg, Kronstadt, Mediasch (Medgyes), Mühlenbach (Szászsebes), et Schäsburg (Segesvár).

côtés par des groupes de montagnes, qui se trouvent dans les directions que nous venons d'indiquer.

Enfin, la Hongrie, qui à elle seule occupe un espace près de trois fois aussi étendu que les provinces précédentes réunies, s'étend depuis les bords du Danube et de la Drave jusqu'aux crêtes des hautes montagnes qui forment les limites de l'Autriche, de la Moravie, des deux Galicies et de la Bukovine.

Précis de l'histoire politique de la Hongrie. (p. 47.).

Nous venons de voir quelle est la situation, quelles sont les principales circonstances géographiques que présente la Hongrie. Mais que de dévastations, que de crimes et de barbarie ces belles contrées n'offrent elles pas à l'histoire! Que de peuples divers se sont égorgés au milieu de ces plaines! Que de hordes de brigands se sont disputé le terrain, avant l'invasion des Hongrois! Que de flots de sang y ont, depuis, fait répandre les vains mots de *liberté* et de *patrie*, jusqu'à l'époque où cette nation belliqueuse a pu jouir de la vraie liberté, à l'ombre d'un trône héréditaire.

Des différents peuples que renferme la Hongrie. (pp. 61—76.).

Après cet exposé rapide de toutes les révolutions dont, pendant dix-huit siècles, la Hongrie a été le théâtre; après les invasions de tant de peuples divers, qui, tour à tour, vinrent l'ensanglanter, on ne sera plus étonné de ce mélange bizarre de nations, de cette variété de langages qu'on rencontre à chaque pas, du peu d'avancement des sciences et des arts, et en général du retard qu'a éprouvé la civilisation dans ces contrées. Mais, après tant de désastres, la Hongrie enfin est heureuse, et ne peut désormais que gagner successivement, à l'ombre d'un gouvernement aussi stable que sage, avec l'amour du bien qui anime les uns, la confiance et la soumission qui conduisent les autres.

Sous le rapport de la diversité des peuples, nul pays ne peut sans doute être comparé à la Hongrie. La population de ce royaume est un assemblage hétérogène de nations de toute espèce, dont les unes descendent des anciens habitants de ces contrées, les autres des diverses hordes qui s'y sont précipitées, des migrations des contrées voisines, des

colonies qui y ont été appelées, ou enfin des familles que la beauté du sol et l'espoir du commerce y ont attirées. On compte, en effet, en Hongrie un grand nombre de peuples qui sont connus sous des noms différents : Slowaques, Russniaques, Croates, Serbes, Illyriens, Carnioliens, Magyars, Kumans, Jaszons, Szeklers. — Valaques, Bulgares. — Saxons, Souabes, Bavarois, Franconiens, Autrichiens. — Grecs, Arméniens, Albaniens. — Italiens. — Français. Juifs. — Zingares, etc. Mais, quoique attachés depuis des siècles à la même patrie, liés par des intérêts communs, gouvernés, à peu près par les mêmes lois, et vivant généralement entre eux en assez bonne intelligence, la plupart de ces peuples sont pourtant encore distincts : chacun d'eux conserve avec une sorte d'orgueil le souvenir de son origine, et ne contracte, en général, d'alliance qu'avec les siens ; il en résulte que la plupart ont conservé leurs langues ou leurs dialectes, leurs moeurs et leurs usages, et souvent même leur physionomie particulière. D'ailleurs, quoique réunis souvent dans les mêmes lieux, on peut cependant en général assigner à chacun d'eux des cantons particuliers, qui sont, en quelque sorte, devenus leur patrie.

Les Magyars forment une partie considérable de la population des provinces hongroises ; mais il est évident que leur nombre est plus petit que celui des peuples Slaves réunis. Il est même étonnant qu'il soit aussi considérable, et on a peine à concevoir, comment il est arrivé que la souche de ce peuple, qui était peu forte lors de son premier établissement, à la fin du neuvième siècle, ne se soit pas confondue avec les naturels du pays, et qu'elle ne se soit pas éteinte, au milieu de toutes les guerres, de tous les désastres qu'elle a eu particulièrement à supporter. Mais, au contraire, le nombre des individus, dont le Magyar est aujourd'hui la langue maternelle, est extrêmement considérable, et il en résulte une nation particulière, qui occupe tout le pays plat du centre de la Hongrie. Il paraît que ce peuple s'est d'abord étendu, des plaines de Munkacs où il est arrivé, dans toute la partie fertile du pays ; qu'il a forcé les peuples Slaves à se retirer dans les hautes montagnes, où il n'a jamais cherché à s'établir, parce que le climat y convenait peu à la vie pastorale qu'il menait, ou à l'agriculture.

Cependant, les Hongrois se sont aussi établis dans la Tran-

sylvanie, dont ils occupent les comitats de Kraszna, de Torda, d'Albe inférieure, Albe supérieure, Doboka, Hunyad, Klausenburg, Küküllő, Szolnok inférieur, Szolnok moyen, Zarand et les districts de Fogaras et de Kövár.

Les Magyars m'ont paru avoir encore conservé, dans les plaines de la Hongrie, des caractères particuliers qui les distinguent des autres peuples.

Ils sont généralement vifs, même emportés, et francs jusqu'à la rudesse; mais ils sont très accueillants et toujours prêts à rendre service. L'enjouement, joint à la vivacité, à une certaine inconstance, à l'étourderie même, si j'ose le dire, donne au caractère de ce peuple, la plus grande analogie avec le caractère français. Admis quelquefois dans des sociétés nombreuses, où tout le monde d'ailleurs parlait français, la gaîté des uns, l'emportement des autres, la vivacité des discussions, ces passages brusques d'une conversation à une autre, et, plus encore sans doute l'affabilité de tous, m'ont souvent fait oublier que j'étais en pays étranger: au reste, ce caractère est généralement en Hongrie celui de la bonne société; il ne doit pas être attribué plus aux Magyars qu'aux nations Slaves; il est le même chez tous, et contraste d'une manière frappante avec la gravité des Allemands.

Séjour à Vienne (205—206).

Le principal objet du séjour que je fis à mon passage dans la capitale de la monarchie Autrichienne, était de terminer les préparatifs de mon voyage en Hongrie, en me procurant les cartes et les ouvrages que je n'avais pu trouver à Paris. J'espérais aussi recueillir auprès des savants et dans les collections, quelques renseignements nouveaux sur la contrée que j'allais parcourir. Mais, à cet égard, mon espoir a été presque totalement déçu: personne n'a pu rien ajouter à ce que je connaissais déjà par les ouvrages que j'avais consultés. Je trouvai qu'à Vienne on était, sous ce rapport, aussi peu avancé qu'à Paris, et que, de plus, il existait une foule de préventions contre la Hongrie. Plusieurs personnes même, à la vérité étrangères aux sciences, m'exhortèrent à prendre toutes les précautions pour prévenir les dangers auxquels j'allais m'exposer. Heureusement mon parti était pris, et

je savais parfaitement tout ce que j'avais à craindre et à espérer en Hongrie. L'histoire m'apprenait suffisamment que tous ces préjugés étaient les restes de l'ancienne antipathie nationale, que plusieurs siècles de guerres affreuses avaient naturellement développée dans l'esprit des Autrichiens. C'est à ces préjugés que j'attribue le peu de politesse de quelques employés de la police, qui commencèrent à me regarder de fort mauvais œil, aussitôt que j'annonçai mes projets d'aller en Hongrie; je fus même obligé, à ce sujet, d'en remettre quelques-uns assez vertement à leur place. Mais ces petites difficultés, qui tenaient, sans doute, aux circonstances du moment, à la défiance qu'inspirait encore le nom français, disparurent aussitôt que je me fus adressé directement aux autorités supérieures, et je n'eus alors qu'à me louer de tout le monde. M. le comte de Caraman, ambassadeur de France près la cour de Vienne, qui voulut bien me recevoir avec une bonté particulière, demanda lui-même les passeports dont j'avais besoin à la chancellerie hongroise, et m'obtint de la chambre des mines les ordres nécessaires pour qu'on mit à ma disposition tout ce que je pourrais désirer en Hongrie, dans les mines de l'Etat. Toutefois je fus obligé d'en attendre longtemps l'expédition, mais ce fut particulièrement alors que je pus visiter les divers établissements de Vienne, qui ne se rattachaient pas directement à l'objet de mon voyage, et faire au dehors quelques excursions, qui m'empêchèrent de regretter le temps que je dérobais à la Hongrie.

(p. 208.) Mes préparatifs de voyage étant enfin terminés, je quittai Vienne le 28 mai 1818. Mais il fallut encore subir une épreuve pour les passeports. Un commis arrêta à la barrière la voiture qui me conduisait, me fit beaucoup de questions sur l'endroit où j'allais, sur celui d'où je venais et surtout d'où j'étais. Ma réponse : «je suis de Paris, je vais parcourir la Hongrie», lui causa le plus singulier étonnement, et il se frappa plusieurs fois la tête, en répétant: von Paris! nach Ungarn! (de Paris! en Hongrie!) Les Autrichiens ont une idée tellement désavantageuse de la Hongrie, qu'ils ne conçoivent pas qu'on puisse se résoudre à y mettre seulement le pied: c'est pour eux une vraie Sibérie. Quitter Paris pour aller dans ces climats glacés! visiter ces peuples sauvages et barbares! devait nécessairement passer pour une véritable folie auprès d'un commis de la barrière.

Cependant celui-ci me parut en juger autrement, car il ajouta, en déployant mes larges papiers: combien ce Monsieur doit être savant! Malheureusement pour lui, qui ne l'était guère, les passeports que l'on délivre à la chancellerie hongroise sont toujours en latin; il y entendait si peu de chose, qu'il me demanda si dominus magnificus étaient mes noms de baptême: je l'affirmai gravement; et baptisé de cette sorte je pus continuer tranquillement ma route.

Affabilité hongroise (p. 211).

On m'avait tellement répété à Vienne qu'il était extrêmement désagréable de voyager en Hongrie; qu'il y régnait une très grande sévérité pour les étrangers, que peu s'en fallut que je n'eusse quelque appréhension, lorsqu'un valet de ville vint me signifier l'ordre de passer à la police. Mais ces rapports exagérés, ou plutôt, ces fausses idées qui ont pris naissance dans l'antipathie nationale des Autrichiens pour les Hongrois, n'ont fait que rendre ma surprise plus agréable, lorsque je me présentai devant le magistrat: je trouvai en lui un homme extrêmement honnête, qui m'assura que nulle part je ne serais plus libre que dans son pays, et qu'il me suffirait de m'annoncer comme étranger pour être parfaitement reçu partout. En effet, dans tout le cours de mon voyage, j'ai reçu de toutes parts les marques les plus touchantes d'intérêt; j'ai été accueilli de la manière la plus affable par tous les gentilshommes hongrois; et leur noble hospitalité, en me faisant souvent oublier les fatigues, a gravé dans ma mémoire autant de souvenirs aimables que la nature m'a offert d'observations précieuses.

Tome II. Chapitre. Route de Bude au lac Balaton.

(p. 433—435.)

Les forêts de Bakony sont renommées depuis longtemps par leur immensité, par les difficultés qu'on éprouve à les parcourir; elles ont servi plus d'une fois de refuge aux habitants dans ces temps de désastres où des hordes étrangères portaient partout la flamme et le fer, et à ces époques, plus déplorables encore, où des factions, sans cesse renaissantes, désolaient ce beau royaume. Le roi André Ier, défait par son frère Béla, et abandonné de ses troupes, ayant trompé la vigilance des gardes

qui le tenaient prisonnier, se sauva dans les forêts de Bakony, où, après avoir erré longtemps, il périt de misère. On fait beaucoup de contes dans le pays sur ces forêts, qu'on prétend être toujours infestées de brigands; si bien qu'on ne les traverse jamais sans être armé; et qu'un domestique d'une maison où j'avais été reçu à Pest, apprenant que j'allais parcourir cette contrée, jugea à propos de placer, à mon insu, un grand sabre dans ma voiture. Mais il aurait fallu des brigands bien élevés pour me laisser le temps de me mettre en défense, car le grand sabre était le plus souvent sous mes bagages, et mes pistolets dans ma malle. Heureusement je n'ai pas eu besoin de tous ces attirails, qui sont généralement plus embarrassants qu'utiles; et comme j'ai fait en Hongrie plus de 800 lieues dans les parties les plus reculées, les plus propres à servir de retraite aux brigands, et que je m'y suis trouvé dans toutes les heures de jour et de nuit, sans qu'il me soit jamais rien arrivé, je pense que ce pays n'est pas moins sûr que toutes les autres parties de l'Europe civilisée. Tous les contes qu'on fait de côté et d'autre à cet égard, me paraissent tenir au souvenir que l'on conserve des anciens temps, où il existait sans cesse des factions, dont les partisans se retiraient dans les montagnes.

«Hungary and Kossuth or, an American Exposition of the late Hungarian Revolution.»

By Rev. B. F. Tefft, D. D.

Philadelphia, 1852.

The Magyar, though Tartar in his extraction, had crossed his blood so often with the best blood of other nations, that, on his arrival in Hungary, he constituted a race by himself, quite superior to most other races. (p. 42.)

Thus, after intermarrying for several centuries with the best families of China, and the mingling and mixing for five centuries more with the Caucasians, and in the peculiarly fortunate manner here mentioned, the high-minded and independent Tartar had become the higher-minded and more independent Magyar, whose physical, intellectual and moral traits rendered him almost a paragon of his species. (p. 43.)

The present aspect of the Magyar is a living confirmation of his origin. In support of his Caucasian genealogy, he is tall and manly in his bearing, symetrical in shape, easy, elastic, and yet dignified in movement. In the somewhat irregular form of his head, and in the lively brunette of his speaking face, you behold the traces of his Tartar relationship. His hair, too, is generally very dark, his eye piercing and black, his countenance grave and full of thought, his speech, when not excited, slow, imperessive, oriental, grand. When roused, there is a spirit, a power, an impetuosity, in his entire person and action, that declare the brilliancy and fervour of his mind. He is naturally a genius.

His moral sentiments are of the highest order. He is too proud to be dishonest, low, or mean. He is governed, at all times, by a high sense of what is right and just. As a master, he is careful, kind and generous. As a subject, he is fixed, resolute, unyielding to what is wrong. If rich, he is profuse in his expenses, elevated in his tastes, liberal in his charities.

If poor, his pride will not suffer him to complain, while his general demeanour cannot be distinguished from that of the wealthiest baron in the land. . . . His hospitality is unbounded. Whether rich or poor, he receives his visitors with joy, and dismisses them with unwillingness.

The liberty which, in all things, he demands for himself, he freely acknowledges in all others. Freedom, indeed, is the word which concentrates in itself the whole life and being of a Magyar (p. 43 and 44.)

The peasant, it is true, cannot maintain all this magnificence of apparel; but, in every other respect, he is equal to the proudest magnate of his race. Somewhere about his person, there will be seen some token of his relationship, if he be the poorest countryman in the land. If, as in the northern districts of his country, he mixes too freely with the lower population, he may, as it is certain he does, lose a portion of his neatness, of his taste; yet even there, he can be easily singled out from his associates, by the expressiveness of his features and the dignity of his form.

In Transilvania, also, are found the Szeklers, a singular race of people, who profess to be descendants of the Attilan Huns. They were found in the country by the Magyars, living where they now live, and, from their physical aspect, language, customs and style of dress, were recognised, or at least acknowledged, as kindred of the conquering tribe (p. 52.).

The Sclave is a very inferior character to the genuine Magyar. How far we are to regard him the representative of all the peoples, who have inhabited Hungary from the earliest times, having the mingled blood of the Cimmerian, the Segthian, the Goth and the Tartar in his veins, it is not easy precisely to determine. It is extremely probable, however, that, in the successive expulsion undergone by these various tribes, the country was never entirely cleared of any one of them; and, consequently, the one now known as the Slavic, which certainly differs to some extent from the same tribe as seen in Russia and other parts of Europe, may have received as many modifications so there have been immigrations to they country where the dwell. One thing, nevertheless, is certain. To whatever extent this mixture of bloods may have been carried in their case, they have not

derived the physical and mental advantages from it, which the science of physiology would lead us to expect. However indolent may have been the slumbering Cimmerian, we should presume, from what experience of the other barbaric nations had been thus infused into his natural temperament, he would have risen above the slow, heavy, stupid Slave, who now inhabits the mountain border of this country. No race of people were ever so entirely mean. (p. 49.)

The largest division of this great family are denominated Sclavacks, who are found in the barren mountains lying in the north and west of Hungary. They are a poor, illiterate, filthy, degraded race, without sense enough to appreciate their position, or spirit enough to attempt any self-improvement, could they realise their wants. Their persons are of middling size and height, with very broad shoulders, coarse features, and ill-shaped heads, which are rendered still more ugly by a covering of long, shaggy, flaxen hair. Their clothing is as unclean, as irregular, as uncomely as their persons. (p. 49. and 50.).

The Sclavonians, an other branch of the great family of Slaves, occupy a couple of provinces of their own, which, however, have been, since the eleventh century, an integral part of Hungary. Sclavonia and Croatia, the provinces referred to, are always spoken of together, because their nation is homogeneous, and their fortunes have been united. The people are not only very small in stature, but miserable in aspect, wearing apparel still coarser than that of their Sclavack brethren, and presenting every indication of poverty and misery. (p. 50.)

The Serbs, though slightly more elevated than the two preceding branches of the great Sclavic race are still Serbs, or serfs, which, from the natural history of the word, can be nothing else than slaves. The term, a corruption of the Latin *servus*, a servant, has been justly applied to them, ever since they have been known to Europe, as a mark of their servility and meanness . . . Under the various sub-cognomens of Servi, Illyri, and Rasciani, or Raczes, they are always the same ignorant, indolant, degraded beings so graphically described by the name of Serbs. Both Servia, and the Serbian portions of the Banat, are sufficient demonstrations of the character of the generations which successively vegetate and rot upon their soil. (p. 51.)

The Wallack, who is fastened to the fields of Transylvania, boasts of a descent from the Romans of the imperial times. He claims to have remained in the country after the Goths had taken possession of it and the larger portion of the Roman colonies had retired. His claim, however, can be only partially admitted, as his physical and mental traits indicate as much of Sarmatian as of Roman blood. Whatever be his genealogy, indeed, his abject condition cannot be misunderstood. Not only in appearance, or in title, but in fact, he has always been a slave. While the Sclavonian himself, insignificant as he is, has received an acknowledgement of his freedom, and talks loudly about a nationality, the Wallack, until very recently, has never aspired to a personal recognition by the government, or document of being free, (p. 51.)

Bordered on the west and north-west by Germany, and having been connected with it politically for more than three hundred years, Hungary has received from it many accessions to her population at different times. In the north of Hungary, but particularly in Transylvania, are the elements of the Saxons, who were first invited into the land in the twelfth century, while Bela the Blind was king. His widow, the princess Helena, extended the invitation the second time, when large immigration took place. Those settling in Transylvania were created into a distinct municipality by Andreas the second, who permitted them to elect their own magistrates, to make their own private laws, to choose and support their own clergymen, to trade throughout the country without the payment of any tax, and to cut their wood and pasture their cattle on lands belonging to other tribes. Such privileges could not fail to give them prosperity in business. They have consequently thrived. They are the best farmers in Hungary but, in every other respect, they are immeasurably inferior to the Magyars. (p. 53.)

Among the alien population, in spite of their long residence in the country, must be ranked the sons of Abraham according to the flesh. As is their custom everywhere, they make their residence almost wholly in the towns, and gain their livelihood by their ordinary methods of taking usury and selling jewelry and clothes; and many a Shylock among them has amassed his millions, though living among his enemies, and in spite of oppres-

sions scarcely to be paralleled even in the bloody annals of his race. Their fortunes have been extremely checkered in this unhappy land. They were settled in the country, in large numbers, when it was first conquered by the Huns. At one time they had prospered to such a degree that they held the Magyars themselves in a state of financial bondage, governed all the monetary interests of the nation, and claimed to have mortgages upon many of the crownlands as security for large sums of lent money, which the impoverished and needy monarchs found it impossible and inconvenient to restore . . . Their character need not be described. It is enough to say, that, in Hungary as elsewhere, they never fail to follow the richest promises, or yield to the heaviest bribes (p. 54.)

The superiority, which the Magyars have always maintained, and ever must maintain, is based entirely upon their character; for, if we except the Szeklers. their distant kindred, together with certain portions of the Germans, one gemine Magyar has more of the manly and ruling elements of humanity, than ten of the remaining people.

In one of the Southern States of our own great Union, the black Slaves of America are to the dominant population as four to one. In Hungary, the ratio between the ruled and the ruling is only two to one (*today one to one*); while there is nearly as great a difference, in every thing but color, between the Magyar and the majority of his countrymen, with the exception above stated, as between the American and the negro. The African as often rises above the general level of his race, in this country, as does the Sclavack, the Sclavoian, or the Serb in the country of the Magyar. (p. 57.)

It would be utterly impossible, on this or the other side of the Atlantic, to find the remnants of a people, to whom the sovereignties of the several enlightened states could be, with historical and legal accuracy, resigned; for, though it would not be difficult to discover, in all these states, some fragments of our nearest predecessors, it is now well known, that they were themselves the conquerors of other peoples, who held prior possession of the countries. In England, it might be possible for the present rulers, who represent the Norman conquerors, to yield their supremacy to the living descendants of the original Anglo-

Saxons; but, by the same theory, the crown could not easily pass backward, through the Danes, Saxons, and Romans, to the present race of Britons. In America, we should be compelled to dissolve the existing republic, and call back the red men of our eastern and western forests, to exercice dominion over us; and when these, before they could take command, would be bound to quit their claim in behalf of that unknown people, who, prior to their captivity or annihilation, by the modern Indian tribes, enjoyed the possession of our hills and valleys. In Hungary, the task of retrocession would be still more difficult; and *the Magyars, who have held their country more than three times as long as we have held our own, and by exactly the same title, have always been, and are yet, a sovereign and independent people.* Though surrounded by their conquered countrymen, the Sclaves, they are no more bound to abdicate in their favor, than the English are bound to deliver their sceptre to the Welsh, or the Americans to the descendants of Red Jacket and King Philip. The instincts of humanity, and the practice of all nations, as well as the laws of necessity, establish the validity of the claim to all the territories and dependencies of Hungary. (p. 172.)

The land of the Magyar is not only legally and justly his possession, according to the law of nation, together with all its associated provinces, but his title has been ratified, in the usual form, by the surrounding states for a long course of ages. The supremacy the dominant race has been thus legally established. It has received, also, a still higher ratification. It has been acknowledged, for many centuries, by the Sclavic provinces themselves. Not only their constitutions, but their statute laws, as well as every thing pertaining to their local governments, have constantly recognised themselves, during all this time, as dependencies of Hungary, of which the Magyars has ever been the ruling people. The French in Canada might as rightfully throw up their connection with the Provincial Parliament, in which the Anglo-saxon influence is justly paramount, or with the Imperial Parliament of Great-Britain, as the Sclaves of Hungary could renounce their longstanding and legally-established relations to the race that conquered them (p. 172—173.).

Nor can it be denied, indeed, that the victorious people have granted much greater liberty to the subject race, ever since their

subjugation, than it has been convenient for England to grant to the French in her North-American possessions. This is a part of the domestic history of Hungary, which, by nearly all foreigners, has been too little understood, or too partially considered. The Sclaves of Croatia and Sclavonia, which are united in their administration, have always enjoyed a municipal independence. They have their own General Assembly, or Diet, which meets at their capital of Agram, where all their private matters are discussed and settled according to their own wishes. The National Assembly has ever been characteristically generous and high-minded in its liberality toward them. These Sclavonian provinces, in their separate capacity, have borne about the same relation to the Hungarian kingdom, that the counties of Hungary, properly so called, have had to the same general government. They have been cordially admitted in to the common fellowship of the nation (p. 173.).

This local independence of the provinces and counties is one of the most remarkable features of the Hungarian constitution, having no parallel, perhaps, excepting in the independent but united states of our own great republic. There is no difference among these constituent parts of the nation, whether their inhabitants are Magyars, or Sclaves, or Saxon (p. 174.).

According to the fundamental law of the country, therefore, *Hungary has always been a popular government, and, in every thing but the name, a republic.... The Magyar has never claimed any more rights, than he has freely and fully granted to his Sclavic and Saxon brethren.* All over the kingdom, from the earliest times, the superior state-officers have been almost entirely raised to their respective posts by popular election; . . . The people of Hungary, always a liberty-loving people, from the time when their first leader was elected till the total extinction of his lineage, have ever maintained more of the forms and functions of local self-government, than have the people of our own republic (p. 175.).

Nouvelle Géographie Universelle.

Par Élisée Reclus. Vol. III. p. 289.

(Paris, 1878.)

Hongrie et Transylvanie, qu'une fiction constitutionnelle sépare politiquement du reste de l'Autriche et qui en sont réellement distinctes au point de vue de l'administration intérieure, jouissent, en comparaison des provinces de la Cisléithanie, d'un avantage considérable, celui d'avoir une véritable unité géographique Il est vrai que les pays serbes et croates d'outre-Danube, ainsi que le territoire de Fiume, ont été rattachés à la Hongrie, malgré leurs affinités naturelles ; mais si l'on ne tient pas compte de ces régions habitées presque uniquement par des populations slaves, le royaume de Hongrie est une des parties de l'Europe qui présentent, en dépit de la variété des races juxtaposées, l'ensemble le plus homogène et le plus compact. Très-inférieure à l'Autriche allemande en nombre d'habitants, en richesse et en civilisation, la Hongrie lui est en revanche bien supérieure, au point de vue politique, par la forme de son territoire et le groupement de ses peuples. Tandis que l'Autriche cisleithanienne se développe des bords du Rhin à ceux du Dniestr en une longue bande irrégulière de montagnes et de plaines, qui s'élargit et se resserre successivement en formes bizarres, la Hongrie se présente au centre du continent sous l'aspect d'un ovale presque régulier de terres basses environné d'une enceinte de monts. Le milieu de ce pays si nettement délimité est occupé par une vaste plaine qui fut un lac, d'autres bassins secondaires, à l'ouest celui de Presbourg, à l'est ceux de la Transylvanie, emplissent le reste de l'immense amphithéâtre, mais en se rattachant aux campagnes de la Hongrie centrale par la pente du sol et le versant des eaux. De même la race la plus importante du pays, celle qui par la force de l'épée, aussi bien que par l'influence de la langue, des institutions et des moeurs, a depuis des siècles la prépondérance dans la

région des Carpates, occupe la grande plaine sur le deux rives du Danube, et les autres populations sont réparties sur le pourtour de manière à graviter vers la nationalité dominante par tous leurs intérêts matériels. Aussi, malgré les invasions et les guerres, malgré les haines nationales, les divers peuples de la Hongrie ont ils dû à la remarquable unité de leur territoire de rester presque toujours groupés, de force ou volontairement, sous le même régime politique. Ensemble asservis par le Turc et plus tard par l'Autrichien, ils sont maintenant réunis en un seul État autonome, fier d'avoir reconquis les signes extérieurs de son indépendance. Quelles seront ses destinées prochaines ? C'est avec anxiété que l'on attend le grand changement d'équilibre qui ne peut manquer d'avoir lieu dans l'Europe danubienne ; mais quel que soit le groupement politique futur des populations de l'Orient, la nation établie dans l'immense arène qu'entourent les Carpates aura toujours la plus large part d'influence dans le territoire conquis et défendu par elle. On a souvent prétendu que l'empire du monde devait appartenir aux hommes de race aryenne et que les autres familles ethniques étaient destinées à subir le joug : il est bon, pour l'avenir de l'humanité, qu'en Europe même, et dans une partie vitale du continent, ce soit précisément une nation non aryenne, quoique fort apparentée aux autres Européens par les croisements, qui exerce le rôle principal. Aux orgueilleuses prétentions des Indo-Européens les Magyars répondent par leur histoire. Ils ont eu de grandes défaillances ; néanmoins quel est, parmi leurs voisins, celui qui osera se dire supérieur à eux par l'intelligence, la bravoure ou l'amour de la liberté ?

Agricultural industry and education in Hungary.

Preface.

Chelmsford, 1902.

As Chairman of the Essex Agricultural Party that visited Hungary last May and June, I desire to express our grateful appreciation of the generous hospitality we received in that country. Our reception by the Minister of Agriculture, by the National Agricultural Society, by municipalities, by local agricultural organizations, and by individual agriculturists of all ranks far exceeded our utmost expectations and left a profound impression on our minds of the friendship felt by the Hungarian for the English nation, which we, as individual Englishmen who experienced their kindness, most heartily reciprocate.

From a farmer's point of view the tour proved most instructive and interesting. The good farming and abundant grain and forage crops, the breeding of excellent horses and cattle, the former especially in amazing numbers, the production of pure, wholesome wines and tobacco, the organization of agricultural industries, and, lastly, the complete measures taken by the State to foster in every way all agricultural developments and improvements (especially in their well-managed stud farms and in their agricultural and horticultural colleges and schools), led us to believe in a great future for a country of such splendid agricultural resources and remarkable enterprise, and impressed us with the advantage of close commercial intercourse between the two countries.

EDWARD A. FITCH.

Maldon, Essex.

The political evolution of the Hungarian Nation.

Knatchbull-Hugessen.

London, 1908.

The army question constitutes a problem for the jurist as well as for the authority on military matters and can no more be settled by the »obiter dicta« of foreign critics than the problem presented by the existence of fragmentary nationalities can be settled by the ill-considered intervention of foreign celebrities of the magnitude of Björnson and Tolstoi, whose »a priori« condemnation of British action in South Africa should make Englishmen hesitate to attach undue importance to his criticisms of an Anglophil nation. British public opinion has, apparently arrived at the conclusion that the Magyars are consistently guilty of the employment of methods of barbarism in their treatment of subordinate races. Trial by newspaper, condemnation without investigation are such laboursaving processes that their employment is naturally popular, more especially when the means of forming a considered opinion are not easily accessible. The Magyars are themselves largely to blame for the fact that judgment has been allowed to be passed on them on the ex parte statements of self-interested agitators and of humanitarian philosophers, and that they are left to console themselves with the conviction that the abuse of which they are made the target is begotten of ignorance of actual facts, of past history and of the vital considerations of national expediency. The problem presented by the persistence of minor nationalities is not confined to Hungary, but affects a large part of Europe, from Ireland to Bessarabia, and the measure of the abuse lavished by the spectator of the process of absorption, which is going on as slowly and as surely now as in the past, is in inverse proportion to the magnitude of the absorbing nation. What Russia does, and has done with impunity, would have evoked the thunders of Exeter Hall if perpetrated by a weaker country. Wreschen passes almost

unperceived, while a petty Slovák village earns European notoriety through the disturbances resulting from the dismissal of a disorderly priest. The Irishman and the Pole has a recent historical basis for their claims to independent existence, as well as the justification of antiquity, which is wanting in the case of the fragmentary nationalities of Hungary.

The aboriginal population of what is now Hungary, scattered, incohesive tribes incapable of resisting Magyar arms, or, later Magyar civilisation, died out or was absorbed by the superior race. The process of civilisation was purely Magyar. The development of Governemental institutions proceeded along purely Magyar lines, and bore hardly a trace of either Slav, or, save for the fact that Latin was the literary medium, of Western influence. As we have seen, the mass of the existing nationalities was imported or filtered into the country long after it had received a permanent Magyar stamp desirable or undesirable aliens, who, in most cases, repaid the hospitality they received by lending themselves to the disruptive policy of the Habsburgs. The disappearance or absorption of the aborigines was due, not to fire or sword or violent compulsion, but to the essential superiority of the Magyar nation, so convinced of that superiority that it never saw the necessity of magyarising races which, in early days, would have been as wax to receive the permanent impress of Magyar nationality. The gates were opened wide to European culture from the time of St. Stephen, whose maxim «regnum unius linguae uniusque moris debile et imbecille» shows his recognition of the fact that the only language and civilisation which had hitherto counted for anything in Hungary was the Magyar, as well as his appreciation of the benefits derivable from contact with the West. There is no approximately pure race in Europe except the Basques, the Jews and the Gipsies, but there are many countries in which the factors have existed which produce the fusion of heterogeneous elements into a single nation — common recollection of dangers surmounted, common history, common religion and common civilisation. Such factors were largely wanting in Hungary. The dangers surmounted were surmounted by the Magyars, who alone did the fighting, the bearing of arms in defence of the fatherland being the privilege

of the nobility. There was no common history, for history was solely made by the Magyars. There was no community of religion, as St.-Stephen turned to Rome for the national religion instead of the Eastern Church, thereby, in all probability, saving the Magyars from degeneration to the level of the Balkan races, and from ultimate absorption in the ocean of Slavdom. Civilisation, such as it was, was purely Magyar, and all governmental institutions were directly developed from the great migration westwards. The races imported into Hungary at a later date arrived too late to alter accomplished facts even if they had possessed a far higher degree of civilisation than any of them had in fact attained. What they chiefly cared for was freedom to exercise their various religions and such freedom they received at the hands of Hungary, the land par excellence of religious tolerance. The better class aliens received the rights of nobility or became fused in the Magyar nation. The inferior elements remained apart, in a condition neither better nor worse than that of the great mass of Magyar peasants and had little or no consciousness of distinctive nationality, or power to resist a deliberate policy of magyarisation, had such a policy ever entered the heads of the predominant race, which, unfortunately, it never did. Unfortunately, for the reason that successive Habsburgs were enabled to utilise the forces of ignorance for the purposes of their traditional policy of divide et impera — of centralisation and absolution. For the existence of hostility to the Magyar idea, tentative and embryonic before 1848, the Magyars have to thank, in the first place, their own consciousness of a superiority which made deliberate magyarisation superfluous, and in the second place, the Habsburg connexion. There never has been any recognized citizenship in Hungary but Magyar citizenship. Though from time to time the Habsburgs encouraged the separatistic tendencies of the Serb, the Croat, the Saxon and the Slovák, the fact remains that from the time of St.-Stephen to the present day there has been and is no territory in Hungary but the territory of the Sacred Crown, and no political rights save those conferred by membership of that Crown. Austria made a last attempt to produce a mongrel federalism in Hungary in 1861, and now itself suffers from the poison of particularism and nationalistic

antagonism which the Habsburg so long tried to infuse into Hungary for their own purposes.

Nothing can be more misleading than the majority of the maps which purport to show the geographical distribution of the constituent races of Hungary. The broad, uniform smudges of colour which indicate that this part is Magyar, this Servian, this Slovak, and so on, and serve as a text for the disquisitions of the prophets of federalism, obscure the fact that the various races are so intermingled in all parts of the country, and so interpersed with Magyars, that it is impossible to effect clear-cut geographical subdivisions for federalistic purposes such as are possible in Bohemia, where the country is peopled by only two races, the Germans and the Czechs, between whom the lines of demarcation are comparatively easily drawn.

A glance at the map appended to the recent book of Mr, Ernest Balogh (*Magyar Kultura és a nemzetiségek*. Budapest. 1908.) would do more to disperse erroneous nations as to racial distribution than many pages of statistics. Minute squares of colour, showing the interpenetration of the nationalities, replace the familiar broad smudges, and the result bears as much resemblance to the ordinary ethnographical map of Hungary as a pleasant's plumage does to the tricolor. The great central plain of the Danube and the Tisza is almost solidly Magyar, as is the eastern part of Transylvania; elsewhere, except in the Serbo-Croatian district south of the Szava, the patchwork diversity of colour points an unmistakable moral — the impossibility of territorial subdivision for purposes of local autonomy, which would result in the subjection of Magyar and German intelligence to inferior types, whose sole claim to political differentiation lies in the fact that they speak a bastard variety of the language of more important races. The Magyar element is wanting in not one of 413 electoral divisions; the German only in 37, Slováks are absent from 211, Roumanians from 233, Croatians from 344, Servians from 351. Ruthenes are to be found in 57 divisions and fragments of other races in no less than 360. As regards the eighteen divisions of what Brote and other agitators regard as Roumania irredenta — Transsylvania and Hungary up to the Tisza, the Roumanians are in an actual majority in only eleven; Magyar and German form over 37 percent of the

population; and in no single district in which the Roumanians are in the majority is there an admixture of less than eleven percent of other nationalities. Though the Magyars constitute no more than $54\frac{1}{4}$ percent of the whole population of Hungary proper, they are more than three times as numerous as the numerically strongest nationality, whereas the German population of Austria form no more than $38\frac{1}{3}$ percent of the inhabitants of the hereditary provinces. Between the subordinate races there is no collision or solidarity: the Magyar is the only binding element. Panslavism, PanGermanism and PanRoumanianism, have alternated from time to time, and in every case the source of agitation was to be found outside the limits of Hungary. Roumanians and Slovaks have nothing in common. The Roumanian hates the Servian, and the Servian hates the Roumanian. The German settlements are too scattered for it to be possible to carve out a characteristically German territory not permeated with Magyar, or Slovak, or Roumanian elements, are too far removed from Germany to dream of union therewith, and too good Hungarian citizens to wish such union were possible inspite of the prognostication of M. Cheradame. The Germans of Zips fought in Rákóczi's army, stood side by side with the Magyars in the fight for freedom in 1848, and prayed for the restoration of the Hungarian Constitution the sole guarantee of their liberties. The Transylvanian Germans are less disposed than those of selfpreservation must compel them to ally themselves with the Magyars against the numerically preponderant, but educationally inferior, Roumanians. Eisenmann and others suggest that the Magyars might take a hint from the cantonal system of Switzerland, but Switzerland is populated by three equally civilised races, the geographical demarcation of which is natural and distinct.

An inferior civilisation cannot swallow up a superior one. The Slováks in the north-western part of Hungary are more compact than most of the nationalities, but they are on too low a plane to be able to stand alone. In the north-east they are mixed up with Magyars and Germans who would never submit to the domination of an inferior race which has never done anything for its adopted country or for itself. According to Hunfalvy, the great authority on the nationalities of Hungary,

the Slováks, so far from being aboriginal inhabitants, are of Moravian origin and wanderend into Hungary in the fifteenth century. They had no conception of a separate national existence before 1848, when, as the author of the petition to Francis Joseph stated, they awoke from their sleep of nine hundred years duration. Not until 1850 was there a Slovak grammar. In 1862 a society, the Matica Slovenska, was formed for the purpose of fostering the Slovak literature and promoting the use of the Slovak language — a task which was complicated by the fact that both literature and language had first to be invented. Discontented with the proverbial blessedness enjoyed by races which have no history, the Matica also invented the absurdity of an independent Slovak Duchy, alleged to have existed prior to the arrival of the Magyars, and to have continued down to the time of St. Stephen. So far Slovak literature has nothing to boast of save a third-rate poet or two and a few translations. The creation of an independent Slovakia is unthinkable. and Slovak autonomy, implying the subordination of Magyar and German intelligence to more numerical superiority, would be intolerable. The very existence of a Slovak question, of a Slovak nationality, is a proof that the Magyars have not been guilty of undue interference with the natural development of subordinate races whose separatistic tendencies, devoid of historical justification, are the artificial production of the traditional Habsburg policy, and of the times in which we live. Servian autonomy is equally unconceivable, The Serbs of Hungary proper, less than half a million strong, are to be found in considerable numbers only in four counties. Elsewhere they are numerically unimportant, and provided that their ecclesiastical autonomy is respected, have no more wish for a separate political existence than they have for reunion with the inferior civilisation of their congeners in Servia, the limit of whose capacity for orderly self-government are sufficiently notorious.

The Croatians stand on an altogether different footing, especially since the passing of Law XXX. of 1868, which confirmed and greatly extended the autonomous rights, the limits of which were concisely defined by Werbőczy over three hundred years ago. As we have seen, in 1848 Croatia fought nominally in defence of the unity of the realms of the Habsburgs,

but the address presented by its Diet to the Crown in June 3rd of that year puts a different complexion on the matter. «The triple Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia reserves to itself the right to unite not only the sister races now living under Austrian domination in Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Istria, Görz, and the islands, but also in connexion with the districts belonging to Turkey, should these be recovered to found a southern Slav Kingdom.» There in a nutshell, is the essence of Croatia's action in the past and of its ambitions for the future. After Világos, Croatia was not slow to discover the fact that it had put its money on the wrong horse, and complained, not without justification, that it received as a reward for its efforts on behalf of the Habsburgs no more and no less than Hungary received as a punishment. It soon recognised the folly of having exchanged the liberties it enjoyed under Magyar supremacy for the despotism of Bach and his successors, and on the occasion of the presentation of an address to Francis Joseph on September 24, 1861, stress was laid on the fact that »closer political connexion with Hungary is the best guarantee of the Constitution: for a union of forces enables a more successful resistance to be offered to the encroachments of Austria's policy of absolutism.« Consequently, when in 1868 an arrangement was come to between the Magyars and the Croatians, it was hoped and believed that the latter would abandon Panslavism and »Illyrian« ideas for ever. The hope was doomed to disappointment, and almost from the start the authors of their limited independence. From time to time attempts were made to lull Magyar susceptibilities with assurances of attachment to the Hungarian connection, and by declaring that hostility hereto was to be found only in the rare ranks of an extremist party; but no reliance could be placed on such protestations. Croatians will never abandon the idea of a great southern kingdom. To satisfy their megalomania, Dalmatia must be annexed to Croatia, dualism must become trialism, and Hungary must be deprived of the essential condition of vitality, the control of its access to the sea. As a matter of fact, far greater concessions were made to Croatia in 1868 than it was historically entitled to claim. Law XXX. gaze is a measure of independence very different to that with which it was contented in the days when Gáj and Illyrism

had not been born or thought of. Then Croatia was a nation, in the sense in which the Saxons of Transylvania constituted a nation before the Act of Union; now it claims to possess all the attributes of independence. It has its own coat of arms surmounted by the crown of St. Stephen, and its own flag, which is hoisted alongside that of Hungary when Parliament is occupied with the discussion of Hungarian-Croatian common affairs (Law. XXX. Sect. 63.) a fact which is calculated to produce the erroneous impression that Croatia possesses a separate existence, different from and superior to that which it enjoys as a member of the Sacred Crown an impression which is strengthened by the second section of the governing Act, which requires the Diploma Inaugurale to be published in Croatian as well as in Hungarian, and to contain a guarantee of Croatia's territorial integrity and Constitution. Croatia now has its own appellate jurisdiction and its penal laws are not identical with those in Hungary. It deals with its own budget and has independent legislative powers as regard internal local matters, including religion and education. The official language is Croatian and all communications addressed to Hungarian Government officials must be replied to in that idiom. Croatian deputies to the Hungarian Parliament may also use their own language in addition to the Magyar, a concession in which racial malevolence affects to find justification for ignorance, real or feigned of the official language of Parliament, and for deliberate obstruction of the course of purely Hungarian business.

It is a far cry from local autonomy to complete independence under a Croatian king, from subordination to the Sacred Crown to the substitution of a bastard trialism for the dualism of today. Croatia claims to occupy the same position with respect to Hungary as Hungary does towards Austria; in other words, to be an independent kingdom with no connexion save such as results from the identity of the monarch and from the existence of common affairs and affairs of common interest. But an independent Croatia is an historical absurdity.

The realisation of Croatian ambitions would be as distasteful to the Servian population of Croatia as the success of the Home Rule agitation would be to Ulster. Relations always have been and always will be, strained between Croatian Catholics and

the orthodox Servians. The prospect of a forced racial and ecclesiastical subordination to the Croatians causes the Servians to look for protection to the Magyars, just as local Servian oppression as regards the use their language and Servian religious intolerance, is gradually forcing the Roumanians to the conclusion that the Magyars are their natural allies and protectors against Slav pretensions. But the foreign public listens only to the propagandists who earn cheap martyrdom by treasonable agitation such as no European nation would be foolish enough to let pass unpunished. The magyar have made a mistake in neglecting to inform Europe as to the nature, origin and object of Roumanian intrigue, and in allowing public opinion to be formed chiefly by voluntary exiles who have left their country in order to escape an insufficient punishment.

For centuries the Roumanians of Hungary had no notion that they could boast a Roman origin. Not until they turned to Roman Catholicism did they conceive the idea that they were anything but what they are — Balkan Slavs whose remote ancestors were more or less Latinised by contact with the Roman colonial forces. It would indeed be remarkable if a Roman army of occupation had left no illegitimate mementoes of its stay in the country, but what percentage of Roman blood is likely to be traceable in its descendants after a nomad existence of over a thousand years in the Balkan Peninsula? There is not a particle of evidence to show that the Roumanians were already domiciled in Transylvania when the Magyars arrived there. As we have seen, the theory of a settled political existence in a permanently Romanised Dacia is a late invention of Sinkai and his followers. The idea of a uniform, united, Roumanian nation never occurred to anyone before 1848, and even after that date the ideas of Bishop Siaguna, the prophet of Roumanian union, went no further than a demand of local selfgovernment and of ecclesiastical autonomy for the Roumanians of Transylvania. The notion of a greater Roumania was not yet conceived. Majorescu, the chief of Siaguna's immediate followers and imitators, went a step further and demanded the union of all Roumanians in Transylvania, Bessarabia and Bukovina under Austrian hegemony, and with the benevolent support of the German Confederation. The aim of the modern agitators is

the creation of Dako-Roumania, including Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania, Hungary up to the Tisza and the parts of Servia which border on the Danube. Thus united, the ten million or so, theoretically homogeneous, descendants of Trajan's legionaries, are to be the arbiters of the fate of the Balkan provinces. From the point of view of Roumania proper this is the justification for Roumano-Transylvanian irredentism in Hungary. Abuse of the Magyars is merely the first stage of a campaign, the ultimate object of which is the union of all Roumanians. The irredentist agitation might just as well be begun in Bessarabia instead of in Hungary, except for the fact that Russia has a short way of dealing with inconvenient propagandists, and that the Magyars are on the side of excessive tolerance. The Roumanians see a justification and an example in Italy's struggle for union, oblivious of the fact that in that case the fight was for re-union; whereas there never was a greater Roumania, united or disunited, than the scattered Roumanians never conceived the idea of a common origin till a few years ago, and that the country has yet to be discovered which can boast with certainty of being the cradle of the Moldavo-Wallachians or Transylvanian Vlachs.

The Roumanian agitators from time to time demand 1.) the separation from Hungary of Transylvania and of the parts beyond the Tisza, or 2.) Transylvanian autonomy i. e. the right of the ignorant majority to dominate their superiors in wealth and education; or 3.) the formation of units of self-government in Transylvania by drawing arbitrary lines which should divide the country into linguistically exists. There is no justification for anyone of these demands: no recurrence to a past of Roumanian unity based on common history, on distinctive civilisation, or on the right of prior occupation. An Italian claim to Provence and a Russian claim to Brandenburg and Berlin on the ground that they were once occupied by Slavs would be no more absurd from the historical point of view. As regards the demand for Roumanian control of Transylvania and Hungary up to the Tisza, it is to be observed, that the Roumanians are in an actual minority, forming about 40 per cent of the population; so whatever justification it may possess from other points of view, it has none from that of mere numbers. With respect to the sug-

gested »Sonderstellung« of Transylvania the position is somewhat different. Of a population of 2,250,000 the 1,276,000 Roumanians form 56 per cent, whereas the Magyars number only 698,000 and the Saxons 217,000; but it would be not merely tyranical to give rights of predominance to a Roumanian majority, but it would be absurd, as no one can suppose that Transylvanian autonomy could long remain Roumanian autonomy when the preponderance of wealth and education is on the side of the minority. As regards the third alternative proposed, the specifically Roumanian territory contains 57.55 per cent Roumanians. Only in two counties does the Roumanian percentage reach 80, while in some it sinks as low as 33. As has been already mentioned, only in eleven of the eighteen electoral divisions of Transylvania and Hungary up to the Tisza are the Roumanians in an actual majority and in no preponderatingly Roumanian district is there less than an 11 per cent admixture of other races. The towns are almost entirely Magyar, and when not Magyar, are German, so even in the parts to which Brote points as distinctively Roumanian, wealth and civilisation are entirely non Roumanian.

But history, wealth and education are of no importance in the eyes of separatistic agitators. As regards education, the Roumanians of Hungary are on a lower plane than any constituent race. In 1890, of Roumanian males only 19·89 per cent could read and write their own language; of females, only 8·19. In 1907 86 per cent were entirely illiterate and it is absurd to suggest that such a race is fit for autonomy or could be politically self-sufficient. The agitators would reply that the low percentage of literates is due to Magyar oppression and obscurantism. Let us examine this allegation. In 1889, 5·71 per cent of Roumanians could speak the Magyar language; in 1890 the figure had risen to 6·95, an increase of $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent in ten years, which hardly bears out the statement that the Roumanians are being robbed of their language and compulsorily magyarised, according to a favourite lie, intended for foreign consumption, Law XVIII. of 1869, which made Magyar a compulsory subject of instruction in all schools, and the Roumanians were consequently deprived of the means of learning their own language. What are the facts? In 1881 there were 2781 elementary schools in

which Roumanias was the sole language of instruction, and only 322 in which both Roumanian and Magyar teaching was given. In 1892 the number of purely Roumanian schools had risen to 3289 and the Magyar-Roumanian to 364 a 9 per cent increase in favour of the Roumanian language. The fact should be noted that though the Roumanians of Hungary are on a lower educational level than any other nationality, there is one place where the darkness is still more intense than in Transylvania, namely Roumania proper, where only 13 per cent of the population can read and write and only 18 per cent of the children of the age of instruction go to school. The commercial capacity of the Roumanians in Transylvania is commensurate with their intellectual abilities. But for the existence of trifling cottage industries, it might be said that the manufacturing arts are unknown to the Roumanians. The taxable capacity of the Roumanians is smaller than that of any race in Hungary, which would have the pleasure of paying for Roumanian autonomy, unable to finance itself. Roumanian centres, disseminators of distinctive Roumanian civilisation in Hungary, may be searched for with a magnifying glass, but the search would be vain. Distinctive language without distinctive culture confers no claim to special consideration. A distinction must be drawn between the purely political conception indicated by the word «people» and the implication of a special form of civilisation contained in the word «nation». Language and origin, as Mancini has pointed out, are no more than the raw materials for the construction of a nation. What were the sins of which the Magyars were guilty towards the Roumans which justified the actions of latter in 1848? To have admitted them to a footing of religious equality and to have put them on the same level as regards political rights and the right to own land as Magyars themselves. Before that date the Roumanian common people were no worse off than the vast majority of the dominant race which had no political rights and could not own real property. Unfit for freedom, it was not until they were free that they rose against their liberators.

Nothing can hold Hungary together but the Magyar idea and the development of Magyar culture. Magyars created Hungary, formerly the «bulwark and shield of Christendom»

and none but Magyars can preserve it. Europe or in any case England, has no use for a Hungary that is not Magyar. Englands traditional policy favours the existence of a strong power in Eastern Europe and Dako-Roumanism and other separatis- tic fads, can only tend to threaten the existence or undermine the influence of that necessary power. Federalism may possibly be applicable to Austria, every constituent nationality of which is a fragment of some greater nation, but not to Hungary, where its application would involve the neglect of all the lessons taught by past history, where there is a homogeneous Magyar nation, which has, for a thousand years, maintained its hegemony in spite of internal and external enemies, of mutinous subordinates and autocratic Habsburgs. «Hungary» — as Rudolph Springer writes — «is geographically the most concentrated of lands, it is an ideal of concentration which will mock all attempts at political subdivision.»

La Hongrie Calviniste.

Psr. E. Doumergue.

(Toulouse, 1912.)

Avant-Propos.

Là bas, au bout de notre Occident, et presque au commencement de l'Orient, pays des rêves, s'étend un des plus beaux jardins de Dieu sur cette terre: plaines infinies et fécondes, montagnes sauvages, fleuves profonds, aux poissons quelquefois énormes, métaux précieux, diamants, vins qui ont la couleur et la valeur de l'or, comme le tokaji;*) sources innombrables, dont les eaux rendent la santé à une foule de malades . . . c'est la Hongrie. Et l'on comprend le fameux proverbe de ses habitants, avec son jeu de mots intraduisible: «En dehors de la Hongrie, on ne peut pas vivre: Si on vit, on ne vit pas . . . comme ici. Si est vita, non est ita.»

Pour cette première raison, et pour d'autres plus importantes encore, mon voyage d'étude dans la Hongrie calviniste a été en même temps un voyage d'un agrément singulier. Et même «agrément» est un mot impropre; il faut parler d'enchantedement. Ce fut un vrai rêve, comme je n'en avais encore jamais fait, et comme je n'en ferai jamais plus.

Ce n'est pas que j'aie vu toutes les beautés de ce pays si curieux. Je n'ai pas pu traverser le grand lac Balaton, ni parcourir les hautes montagnes du Tátra. Mais peut-être y a t'il autre part des lacs et des montagnes aussi pittoresques, sinon plus. Par contre, je ne crois pas que l'on puisse trouver quelque part un plus magnifique spectacle que celui offert par Buda, vue des quais de Pest. Budapest est en effet une ville formée de deux villes, jadis séparées, aujourd'hui unies par le Danube, large de 200 à 250 mètres. Or, Pest est une plaine et Buda est une colline, crénelée de palais et d'églises. Par une belle

*) Prononcer tokayi.

lumière, c'est merveilleux. D'autre part l'on affirme que, sauf dans les steppes de la Russie ou dans les prairies du Far-Ouest américain, on ne trouve rien de plus immense que la «grande plaine» hongroise. On peut rester des heures et des heures en chemin de fer, aller d'un côté, de l'autre, et c'est la plaine, aussi loin que vos yeux peuvent voir. C'est infini de mélancolie.

Les Hongrois ont beaucoup de ressemblance avec les Français, surtout avec les Français du Midi. Ils en ont la vivacité, l'ardeur, l'imagination, l'exubérance, l'éloquence, même la faconde. Le Hongrois est parleur ; il parle facilement, et avec passion. J'ai vu, dans des banquets, le même orateur porter deux, trois toasts. J'ai vu un simple paysan, revenant, de son travail, les pantalons blancs à la Turque et le tablier bleu sur son pantalon, se camper droit dans une chambre, comme un gentilhomme et faire un petit discours tout à fait bien tourné.

Les calvinistes hongrois sont non seulement hongrois, mais magyars. C'est-à-dire qu'ils représentent l'élément le plus ancien (celui qui a pu fêter, il y a peu de temps, le millénaire de son établissement en Hongrie) le plus important, le plus caractéristique. Or, le Magyar est généreux, chevaleresque, affectueux, avec quelque chose de très simple, de très primitif. La réception qu'il vous accorde est magnifique et cordiale : je ne sais ce qu'elle est le plus.

Mais ce que je puis dire, c'est que cette inoubliable réception m'a rendu possible des études qui, autrement, auraient été plus qu'incomplètes.

De telle sorte qu'une réflexion s'impose. Si quelque chose est célèbre, c'est bien non seulement le patriotisme, mais le nationalisme des Magyars. Et cependant il n'y a peut-être pas de nation qui ait eu plus besoin des autres nations que la Hongrie.

Toutefois — cette seconde réflexion est inséparable de la première — il n'y a rien ici au déshonneur de la Hongrie. Tout au contraire. Car si la Hongrie recevait beaucoup, elle avait donné plus encore.

Elle avait donné son sang pour arrêter l'invasion mulsumane, et devant Belgrade avec Hunyadi, elle avait sauvé l'Europe.

Puis, toujours au prix de son sang le plus pur, la Hongrie protestante avait lutté, contre les Habsbourg, contre l'invasion

non pas tant catholique que jésuitique. Les Philippe II d'Espagne, et les Habsbourg de Vienne étaient pour l'Europe, du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle, ce que les Turcs avaient été à la fin du Moyen âge. Et à la défense de l'Europe moderne, dans laquelle s'illustrerent la Hollande et Richelieu, et la Suède, la Hongrie prit la plus noble part avec ses Bocskay, ses Bethlen et ses Rákóczy. Certes c'est assez pour sa gloire, une des plus grandes parmi les plus nobles nations du continent.

Leur foi protestante les réunit, les inspira, créa leur langue, leur littérature, fortifia et exalta leur nationalité.

Mais ce fait, cet acte, n'est qu'un symbole. La Hongrie tend la main à ses soeurs, et tout particulièrement à ses soeurs de France et de Genève. Il y a là un grand devoir — aussi agréable que grand — à remplir, tout particulièrement pour les fils de Calvin,

Lamartine et la Hongrie.

Le grand poète français qui fut aussi le héros de la Révolution de février 1848 répondit à l'adresse enthousiaste de la Société Hongroise de Paris qui venait saluer en lui le nouveau ministre des Affaires étrangères de la jeune République française, par les paroles suivantes qui témoignent de sa vive admiration pour la Hongrie :

«Si la France avait besoin d'être éclairée sur les vertus, sur le courage, sur l'esprit de liberté et de fraternité qui anime votre nation, je serais assez heureux pour en porter le témoignage. J'ai traversé votre patrie, j'ai été témoin des vertus pastorales en même temps qu'héroïques de ce grand peuple, qui en entrant dans une grande union fédérative n'a jamais perdu le caractère distinctif de sa nationalité primitive. Si vous nous apportez des voeux pour la liberté récente de notre pays, nous vous reportons nos respects pour la liberté antique et toujours sage et glorieusement maintenue dans le vôtre. Quand vous retournez dans votre belle patrie, dites-lui qu'elle compte en France autant d'amis qu'il y a de citoyens français.»



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