BRITISH RADICALS KNOWLEDGE OF, AND ATTITUDES TO AUSTRIA-HUNGARY 1890–1914

PART I
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AS A WHOLE, AND THE AUSTRIAN CROWNLANDS IN PARTICULAR

SUSAN HANSEN

This article concerns non-governmental British Radicals knowledge of, and attitudes to Austria-Hungary as a whole and to the western, Austrian part in particular, during the quarter of a century preceding the 1914–1918 war. A more detailed analysis of the eastern or Hungarian part of the Dual Monarchy is the subject of a future article by this author. The attempt in both articles is to try and identify who British Radicals were where possible, and what they were able to know about the Habsburg Empire between about 1890 and 1914.[1]

INTRODUCTION

Of the Great Powers in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, the one that probably was least known about in Britain was Austria-Hungary. That roughly rectangular-shaped Empire straddled central Europe from the Swiss Alps in the west to the Carpathian Mountains in the east, and from the Sudeten Mountains of Bohemia in the north to the mountains of Montenegro in the south. The Hungarian plain gave the overall geographical impression on a map of the existence of a castellated kingdom. This polyglot land of about 50 million people was ruled like a giant family estate, the owners of which were Europe's oldest and greatest dynasty – the Habsburgs. Indeed, as if to personify tradition and a sense of continuity, the head of that illustrious House – the Emperor Francis Joseph – was to achieve the distinction of having the second longest reign in European history.[2]

Perhaps the only time in the period following the Napoleonic Wars that the Habsburg Monarchy had stirred British popular imagination, was following the civil war of 1848–9, when fleeing

---

[1] For a definition of the term 'British Radicals', see the articles listed at the end of the text of this publication.

[2] That is without the need for a regent. The longest is that of Johann II, Prince of Liechtenstein (1840–1929) from 1858 until his death, a total of 70 years, 3 months. Francis Joseph (1830–1916) also succeeded to the throne at 18. See Illustration 1 : His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Austria.

Magyar[3] rebel leaders found sanctuary in Britain from the reprisals exacted by the Austrian General Haynau.[4] Such leaders appeared to British opinion to be the paragons of persecuted liberalism. Louis Kossuth[5] implanted the idea that the Magyars were alone in struggling for freedom from an oppressive German regime in Vienna. It was an image that prevailed in Britain right down to a few years before the First World War, when R. W. Seton-Watson[6] began to shed light on the plight of the other races in the Empire.

The Habsburg State held aloof during the Crimean War of 1854–6. In the Austro-Piedmontese War of 1859–60 the Habsburg Empire appeared to be the reactionary State resisting the liberal and nationalistic forces of the Risorgimento. Thereafter it only touched British consciousness as one among the Great Powers of Europe. This was largely as a result of its eclipse by Prussia as a result of the Seven Weeks War of 1866, that had culminated in the disaster of the battle of Königgrätz.[7] The Dual Alliance of 1879 signalled to Europe the cementing of the supremacy of Prussia in the new German Empire, the tacit agreement of Austria-Hungary to be its ally, and henceforth to pursue any aggrandizement not in central but in eastern Europe. The policy of *Drang nach Osten*[8] was to prevail in the Dual Monarchy until its demise in 1918. There really were very few points of contact with British interests. Austria-Hungary was the only one of the continental Great Powers not to have imperial territorial possessions outside of Europe, and consequently it in no way came into conflict with British colonial interests or those of the latter's allies. Additionally, as a virtually land-locked state with a navy that could easily be blockaded in the Adriatic, it constituted no threat to British naval supremacy. When problems arose in the Balkans, Britain was more concerned to keep Russia at bay, that is to say from Russia fulfilling her aspirations of seizing Constantinople and having a naval presence in the Mediterranean. The Tsarist Empire was of increasing concern to Britain throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries for the geographical points of imperial conflict were increasing. In particular Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet were great worries to makers of Anglo-Russian policy. That is why the Entente of 1907 was such a relief to British foreign policy officials. In the Balkans, Britain could support Austro-

---

[3] Pronounced as 'Mojor'.

[4] Julius Jakob, Baron von Haynau (1786–1853), Austrian soldier, nicknamed 'Hyena of Brescia', pacifier of Hungary 1849.

[5] Louis (Lajos) Kossuth (1802–1894), Hungarian revolutionary; important writings: *Memories of my Exile* (1880–82).

[6] Robert William Seton-Watson (1879–1951), British historian; numerous writings, including *Racial Problems in Hungary* (1908) and *The Southern Slav Question* (1911).

[7] Otherwise referred to as 'Sadowa', 3rd July.

[8] There have been many attempts to translate this phrase to express the notion of the expansion of German culture, language, territorial control, and settlement into eastern European lands populated by Slavs, Turks, and other racial groupings. The versions implying an outright aggressive foreign policy are 'thrust towards the East' and more commonly 'drive towards the East'.

Hungarian desires on occasions, besides upholding the 'sick man of Europe'[9] in order to check Russian advances. Austria-Hungary only caused concern to British policy-makers when as Germany's chief ally and as a member of the rival Triple Alliance she embarked on a Dreadnought[10]-building campaign from 1907 onwards. Even some observers, such as Wickham Steed,[11] interpreted the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908, as evidence of Berlin's aggression rather than merely policy directed from Vienna.

(I)

The apparent limitation of interest by British people to confining their knowledge and travelling experience within the Monarchy to the western German-speaking lands was in keeping with the feeling that modern European civilization primarily resided in the Teutonic areas. To travel east or south-east of Vienna was to venture into the seemingly unknown, as if entering 'darkest Africa.'[12] As in Tsarist Russia, communications were far from being good. Additionally, the languages of the Dual Monarchy were a barrier to Western travellers. Magyar is distantly related with Finnish and Estonian in Europe. Many of the other tongues are akin to Russian such as Czech, Slovak, Polish, Ukrainian and Serbo-Croatian. Given the little expertise about Russian in Britain, it is not surprising that even less was known about the languages of the minorities in Austria-Hungary, the people of who were far fewer in number. As with Russia, likewise the religious beliefs of some parts of the Monarchy were not conducive to fostering contacts with British travellers. The Ruthenes, Rumanians and Serbs had adherents to Orthodox Churches. Many Muslims lived in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Jews were seemingly in every province, though particularly strong in Galicia, the Bukovina, and in east and north-eastern Hungary.[13]

As with Russia, Austria-Hungary was predominantly an agricultural country. The feudal system that still persisted, especially in Hungary, gave the impression of a vast land struggling to come to terms with the modern world. The clothing of the peasants, particularly of the women's

---

[9] i.e. Turkey, otherwise referred to as the Ottoman Empire.

[10] New class of battleship inaugurated by the British in 1906. All previous vessels were rendered outdated and outclassed by this innovation. The naval arms race was subsequently greatly accelerated by the Powers of Europe.

[11] Henry Wickham Steed (1871–1956), first and middle names usually abbreviated to 'H. W.' – hence 'H.W. Steed', otherwise referred to by his middle and last names only, as shown in text above. English journalist for *The Times* 1896– editor 1919–22; then subsequently proprietor and editor of *Review of Reviews*, 1923–30. Writer, major publications: *The Hapsburg Monarchy* (1913); *Through Thirty Years* (autobiography), (1924).
See Illustration 13 for a photograph of him taken in 1921.

[12] Harry Hanak, *Great Britain And Austria-Hungary During The First World War,* Oxford University Press, London (1962), p. 1.

[13] See Illustrations 2–6: Maps of Austria-Hungary showing location in central Europe; major political, linguistic and ethnic, religious, and provincial areas.

headscarves, contrasted sharply with the sabre-carrying, bejewelled and fur-coated outfits of the Magyar nobility. With such impressions, adding to the vast size of the country, its remoteness and inaccessibility, it is not surprising that British popular imagination was able to absorb the fictional creation of Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, set in Transylvania.[14]

Another reason for lack of knowledge, quite apart from the scarcity of British travellers in most of the Habsburg Monarchy, was that very little was written in English about it. Most books were written in German and French. Furthermore, as apparent in Harry Hanak's[15] survey of the literature in English about the Habsburg realm,[16] one notices that most of what was written was about the Czechs and the Hungarians. The other racial groups barely get a mention. The overall works about the Empire are virtually uncritical of the status quo.

More books were written about the Magyars and Hungary than any other people and area of the Empire. P. E. Turnbull[17] in 1840 wrote in his work *Austria* noting the multi-racial state of the Empire and holding the view that a strong Hungary could only exist connected with Austria.[18] He believed that the Magyar nobility would never revolt against Austrian absolutism, despite their loud protests. They would limit themselves to passive resistance. That latter forecast was proved wrong just eight years later, when the Magyars fought in an attempt to gain independence from the Habsburgs. D. T. Ansted[19] writing in 1862 was even less well-informed, for he claimed that in about half a century Czech, followed shortly by Hungarian, would become dead languages.[20]

---

[14] Abraham ('Bram') Stoker (1847–1912) wrote his story about the vampire named Count Dracula in 1897. 'Dracula' means 'son of the dragon' or 'son of the devil'. Stoker was partly inspired by the story of a 15th century Wallachian tyrant named Vlad Tepes – 'Vlad the Impaler' – scourge of the Turks. The idea was implanted in Stoker by Professor Arminius Vámbéry (1832–1913) of Budapest.

[15] Harry Hanak (1930–2007), Czech-born historian. Jew. Reader in International Relations, School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES), University of London. For his autobiographical memoir and an appreciation of his life, see http://www.ssees.ucl.ac.uk/hanak.pdf produced in January 2008 by one of his colleagues, a British historian of Romania, Dennis Deletant (1946–).

[16] Harry Hanak, *Great Britain And Austria-Hungary During The First World War* (1962), Introduction pp. 1–9.

[17] Peter Evan Turnbull (1786–1852), Clergyman.

[18] Harry Hanak, *Great Britain And Austria-Hungary During The First World War* (1962), p. 5.

[19] David Thomas Ansted (1814–1880), MA (Cantab.); FRS; Professor of Geology at King's College, London, 1840–53; Geological consultant and mining engineer. See: *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London. From November 18, 1880, to March 17, 1881*. 'Obituary Notices of Fellows Deceased', Vol. XXXI, Harrison and Sons, London (1881), pp. i-ii.

[20] *A Short Trip in Hungary and Transylvania in the Spring of 1862*, William H. Allen & Co., London (1862), p. 79. Maybe Ansted was influenced in his thinking about this, and came to this conclusion, by the idea of the process of natural selection put forward by Charles Darwin, with whom he was in correspondence. It also ought to be borne in mind that it was only as recently as 1844 that Latin ceased to be the official language in Hungary. So, for Anstead, the disappearance of Czech and Hungarian would not be particularly surprising. (This author recognizes that in reality the latter two languages were becoming more important as a result of the awakening of 19th century nationalism, thus displacing Latin).

Most writers in English were pro-Magyar. Richard Bright in 1818,[21] John Paget in 1839,[22] and H. Ellen Browning in 1897[23] were duly impressed with Magyar hospitality. As early as 1849, J. Toulmin Smith had written emphasizing the similarities between the English and Hungarian constitutions, drawing on such parallel examples as the Magna Carta of 1215 vis-à-vis the Golden Bull of 1222.[24]

Louis Felberman[25] also praised the Magyars. Of his books, *Hungary and its People*[26] was the most noteworthy. Hanak wrote of this work

> ... the binding ... was green, white, and red. All the stock arguments in favour ... were collected in this book. The Magyars were brave, proud, clean, chaste, kind-hearted, hospitable, obliging, and of fine physique. They were the ruling race of Hungary not merely because they had conquered the land, and because of their numerical strength, 'but by reason of their intellectual superiority.'[27]

Felberman's attitude to the Slovaks illustrated his bias to the Magyars. Despite the latter granting full liberties to the former, the Slovaks remained ignorant people. Consequently '... we must come to the conclusion that the Slavs are inferior to the Magyars.'[28] He claimed that the Slovaks were nevertheless much better off than the Russians, thereby adding to the widely-held idea that the further east one went in Europe the more one ventured into uncivilized realms.

C. M. Knatchbull-Hugesson[29] also expounded the notion of Magyar racial superiority who according to Hanak '... wrote the best history of Hungary that appeared in English in the early years of this century.'[30] (i.e. 20th century). Knatchbull-Hugesson maintained that the minority races were keen to be influenced by the Magyars and that the races' discontent was due to Habsburg machinations and to the Magyar consciousness of superiority.[31] No doubt his attitude was strongly coloured by his Austro-Hungarian wife to whom he dedicated the two-volume work.

---

[21] *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary, With Some Remarks on the State of Vienna during the Congress in the Year 1814,* Archibald Constable and Co., Edinburgh (1818).

[22] *Hungary and Transylvania.*

[23] *A Girl's Wanderings in Hungary*, London.

[24] Harry Hanak, *Great Britain And Austria-Hungary During The First World War* (1962), p. 2.

[25] Louis Felberman (1861–1927), Hungarian-born author and journalist. Knight of the Imperial Order of Francis Joseph. Went to live in Great Britain at the age of 20. Founder of Hungarian Society in London.

[26] *Hungary and its People*, Griffith Farran & Co., London, (1892).

[27] Harry Hanak, *Great Britain And Austria-Hungary During The First World War* (1962), p. 5.

[28] *Hungary and its People* (1892), p. 210.

[29] Cecil Marcus Knatchbull-Hugesson 4th Baron Brabourne (1863–1933), member of a Kent family, cricketer.

[30] Harry Hanak, *Great Britain And Austria-Hungary During The First World War* (1962), p. 6.

[31] C. M. Knatchbull-Hugesson, *The Political Evolution of the Hungarian Nation.* Vol. 1, (1908), pp. 300–307.

Literature in English about the Czechs was spearheaded by Count Francis von Lutzow.[32] As a member of the diplomatic service he was sent in the 1870s to the London embassy. His observations in Great Britain led him to the conclusion that ignorance about Bohemia prevailed. Amongst his works he wrote a history of Bohemia, which (in the Czech edition) was the first to be confiscated in Austria-Hungary once the Great War began. He was to be of great importance in helping R. W. Seton-Watson as a source about the Czechs. Additionally, C. Edmund Maurice who also wrote a history of Bohemia, in 1896, for 'The Story of the Nations'[33] series, advocated the Czech cause. He maintained that 'Few countries have been more strangely misunderstood by the average Englishman than Bohemia has been.'[34] Other writers generally sympathetic to the Czechs were A. H. Wratislaw,[35] James Baker – to be referred to in detail later in this article, Mandell Creighton,[36] H. H. Milman[37] and James Bryce.[38] However, Grenville Cole and Randolph Hodgson both noticed Czech antagonism with Germans.[39] They were unimpressed with the Czechs. Hodgson considered the Czechs to have the disadvantageous Slav flaws of suffering from melancholia and to be fatalistic. He claimed that they were looking towards a huge Slavonic Empire, an Empire of the Tsars.

---

[32] (1849–1916), Czech historian of Bohemia; member of Austrian Reichstag 1885–89; Chamberlain to the Emperor 1881–death; Ilchester Professor in Slavonic Languages at Oxford. So as to disseminate more widely his ideas, he wrote in English, of the history of Bohemia, Prague, historiography, literature, and Slavic poetry. Main works: *Bohemia: An Historical Sketch*, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London (1896), *A History of Bohemian Literature,* Heinemann, London (1899), *The Story of Prague*, J. M. Dent & Co., London (1902), *Lectures on the Historians of Bohemia*, Henry Frowde, London (1905), *Life & Times of Master John Hus*, E. P. Dutton & Co., London (1909), and *The Hussite Wars*, J. M. Dent & Sons, London (1914).

[33] *Bohemia*, London (1896).

[34] ibid, p. vii.

[35] Albert Henry Wratislaw (1822–1892), English Slavonic scholar of Czech descent, schoolmaster. Significant works: *John Hus, the commencement of resistance to papal authority on the part of the inferior clergy*, London (1878), and *Sixty Folk Tales from exclusively Slavonic Sources*, London (1889).

[36] (1843–1901), 1st Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge 1884–1891, Bishop of Peterborough 1891–1896, Bishop of London 1897–1901. Most noted for, and see: *A History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation*, London (1882–1894 and 1897).

[37] *History of Latin Christianity*, London (1854–1855 and 1867).
Henry Hart Milman (1791–1868), ordained 1816, Professor of Poetry at Oxford 1821–30, Dean of St. Paul's 1849–death. Historian, edited what was long the standard edition of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

[38] *The Holy Roman Empire*, London (1864).

[39] Grenville Arthur James Cole (1859–1924), Professor of Geology at the Royal College of Science for Ireland. Very enthusiastic cyclist. *The Gypsy Road: a journey from Krakow to Coblentz*, Macmillan & Co., London (1894). (Hereafter, simply referred to as *The Gypsy Road*)
Randolph Llewellyn Hodgson (1870–1952), *On Plain and Peak, sporting and other sketches of Bohemia and Tyrol*, A. Constable & Co., London (1898). (Hereafter, simply referred to as *On Plain and Peak*)

Consequently, it could be stated that British public opinion in 1914 was so uninformed about Austria-Hungary as a Great Power, that

> ... if the ... 'man in the street' were asked why Great Britain was at war with the Austro-Hungarian Empire the confusion, vagueness, and inaccuracy of his answers would be an indication that the Dual Monarchy, was only an enemy as the result of her alliance with Germany, an alliance aimed principally at Russia.[40]

(II)

If one undertakes a review of the main works produced in English from about 1890 onwards with regards to the Dual Monarchy, then it is possible to come to an understanding of what Radicals had access to during the 1890–1914 period under review. The following is an analysis of the works of key writers without being an exhaustive list of what was in print. There is special reference as to just how little was known by the British public about the Habsburg Crownlands – that is the Austrian part of the Empire. As those areas, with the exceptions of Galicia and the Bukovina were the more westerly parts, and therefore more accessible to people from the British Isles, it is a fair conclusion to presume – albeit mistakenly – that even less should have been known of the lands of St. Stephen – that is Hungary. It needs to be kept in mind that the writers were not necessarily Radicals themselves.

Personal knowledge of Austria-Hungary was very limited in Britain. Edward VII and the wealthy few went to the spa resorts which were located in the German-speaking areas of the Austrian part of the Dual Monarchy. Those visits were ostensibly for health reasons, but in reality the resorts acted as foci for the social contacts of the European wealthy classes. For example, in 1906, Campbell-Bannerman's wife died at Marienbad, in the same suite of rooms that she and her husband had annually occupied for over 25 years.[41] However, those visitors did not make excursions into the interior of the Dual Monarchy. In the case of the Bohemian spa resorts, few British travellers crossed the Sudeten Mountains.

James Baker[42] was one who was particularly interested in knowing about the Austrian province of Bohemia. This is understandable because of its westerly point in the Dual Monarchy, and

---

[40] Harry Hanak, *Great Britain And Austria-Hungary During The First World War* (1962), p. 1.

[41] T. P. O'Connor, *Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman* (1908), p. 127.

[42] James Baker (1847–1920), F.R.G.S., F.R.Hist.Soc. Itinerant traveller and author. Relevant publications: *Pictures from Bohemia, Drawn with Pen and Pencil*, Religious Tract Society (RTS), London (1894); *A Forgotten Great Englishman; or, The Life and Work of Peter Payne, the Wycliffite*, Religious Tract Society (RTS), London (1894); *Austria: her People and their Homelands*, John Lane, London (1913); *The Kingdom of Bohemia: a Buffer State against Berlin*, Paper read at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute held at Oaxton Hall, Westminster, 27th March 1917 and published in the RCI Journal, Vol. VIII (New Series) (1917), pp. 554–563.

also having such strong German influence. Another factor making the area of growing significance was the advancement of industrialization in the second half of the 19th century. It was the industrial hub of the Monarchy. Baker noted such developments in his travels there.[43]

In researching about the Englishman, Peter Payne the Wycliffite, living in 15th century Bohemia, Baker visited

> ... towns and castles rich in historical and archaeological interest, yet where we were repeatedly assured by resident professors and editors, no modern Englishman had ever set foot. A research for years past through the visitors' books in famous churches and castles has confirmed their words ; for in the years 1889 to 1894 no English names could be seen, so curiously do our countrymen travel in well-worn grooves in Europe.[44]

In another book, particularly beautifully illustrated by the same author and published in the same year, the unfamiliarity of Bohemia to the British is expressed yet again. On the first page of the Preface, Baker wrote

> Cross through the passes that alone lend access to this mountain-locked land, and one is in a land of romance almost unknown to the British tourist. Hitherto the travellers who have visited Bohemia have been the seekers after health, who have gone to her famous baths lying on her borders, such as Teplitz, Carlsbad, and Marienbad ; ...[45]

and on the next page

> Bohemia, ... is still an unknown land, and the English traveller who wanders amidst its small towns and villages could give curious items of the wonder and surprise of the inhabitants at the sight of an Englishman, even as strange as those of the more distant traveller who penetrates into the far east of Asia ; ...[46]

Even on the eve of the Great War, James Baker was still expressing the sentiment that little was known by British travellers about the Habsburg Monarchy. For example, in 1913 he published *Austria : Her People and Their Homelands* that covered the provinces of the Crownlands. After the Introductory chapter, he spends the next three describing Bohemia again. Interestingly

---

[43] W. W. Rostow (1916–2003), the modern American economist, would probably have ranked its development at the 3rd of his 5 industrial developmental stages – the 'take-off' point.

[44] James Baker, *A Forgotten Great Englishman ; or, The Life and Work of Peter Payne, the Wycliffite* (1894), p. 36 footnote.

[45] James Baker, *Pictures from Bohemia, Drawn with Pen and Pencil* (1894), p. 5.

[46] ibid, p. 6.

enough, his point of entry to the Empire was by the Elbe into Bohemia and not by the Danube through Vienna. He chose to swing eastwards through Austrian Silesia, Moravia, into Galicia and then to the Bukowina. Only in chapter XI does he come westwards to Vienna. The remaining 18 chapters are a progress through the western provinces, (though obviously not Croatia-Slavonia as that was part of Hungary), then down the Adriatic coast; and finally covering the area of what is now regarded as modern Austria, finishing with the Tyrol.
His Preface says it all really. On page vii he wrote

> It is rather a significant fact that in the English Catalogue of Books issued between the years 1836 to 1872 there are only two books noted on Austria, ... and between the years 1872 to 1889 there are no books issued on the Austrian Empire.
>
> That is, in fifty-three years two books are catalogued for English readers upon this great Empire. Since that date there are such books as Whitman's "Story of the Nations," some statistical books, especially Geoffrey Drage's "Austria-Hungary," and one or two light books of travel; upon separate parts of Austria, such as Bohemia, the Tyrol, the Danube, more books have appeared, but upon Austria as a whole there is a dearth unaccountable of works in the English tongue.

Baker then mentions the names of foreign authors and Austrian authorities that he consulted in compiling his book, claiming that he leant heavily on his notes from the many trips he had made since 1873. On the next page he stated

> One fact will illustrate how little Austria and its nature marvels are known to the English reading public. I asked three well-read men, one an Alpinist, the length of the great chain of mountains, the Carpathians. The first answer was "about fifty miles," the second "about twenty miles," and the Alpinist said "perhaps hundreds of miles"; but the fact that they swept round Southern and Eastern Austria for the length of over eight hundred miles astonished the three men.

If one argues that Baker was writing these words in the Preface in order to interest prospective purchasers of his book, then why did he feel it incumbent upon himself to repeat the notion of unknown Austria throughout his work? Again and again he drives home the point. With the provinces of Galicia and the Bukovina (spelt the official German way of 'Bukowina' in his book), it could be argued that his references to how little known they were to British people[47] was hardly

[47] James Baker, *Austria: Her People and Their Homelands* (1913), p. 77 and pp. 83, 90, for those provinces respectively. This book was illustrated by Donald Maxwell (1877–1936) who was to be considered good enough at his work to become the Official Artist to the Admiralty during the First World War. With regards to the book

surprising. After all, even today, how many people, not just from the British Isles but even the rest of Western Europe, know about, let alone travel to, what is now south-east Poland, western Ukraine, and north-east Romania. Instead, one would expect British observers to be familiar with the western Crownlands. However, according to Baker, even that was not the case. The opening sentence of chapter xiii 'STYRIA (THE STEIERMARK) AND GRAZ' of his book stated that 'THE [sic] province or dukedom of Styria is but very little known to the English-speaking traveller, ...'[48] The population of the province in 1900 was 1,356,058, of which about two-thirds were of German racial composition and the rest being Slovenes in the southern part.[49] The capital of Graz, lying just 140 miles south-west of Vienna had a population of 138,370[50] lying well within the German-speaking area of the Duchy. Given that the province and its capital were German-speaking and that it was so near to the imperial metropolis, even connected to it by railway, it is very surprising that James Baker was making this observation. In the province of Carniola, next visited by Baker, where he was accompanied by a party of British writers and journalists, they were informed by the locals before journeying to Adelsburg (where there are vast caverns), of the awareness of the visits made by the English naturalist, Sir Humphrey Davy, in the second and third decades of the 19th century.[51] Though in itself an interesting comment, the lapse of nearly a hundred years since the occasions hardly seems to dispel the image of unknown Austria. More contemporaneous to the writing of his book, and somewhat amusingly, on his way down the Adriatic coast, Baker met a group of British tourists at Zara – the capital of the province of Dalmatia – who had disembarked from the steamer for the sole pleasure of searching out the Maraschino factory for which the place had a great reputation.[52]

Undoubtedly, one of the reasons why Austria, and indeed so many hitherto other remote parts of other countries were becoming more known to British travellers and readers, was as a result of the 19th century laying down of the railways. The railways transformed people's awareness of previously unknown or isolated communities. Once observers had written up the discovery of

---

about Austria, he no doubt suited Baker's intentions about discovering that country. Also for the future, Maxwell's many illustrated works were to be given such titles as: Unknown Kent (1921), Unknown Sussex (1923), Unknown Surrey (1924), Unknown Essex (1925), Unknown Norfolk (1925), Unknown Suffolk (1926), Unknown Dorset (1927), Unknown Somerset (1927), and Unknown Buckinghamshire (1935). Further words implying discovering the remote were in other titles such as '... Enchanted ...', '... Adventures ...', and '... Detective ...', etc. Obviously he was intent on exploring for something, the 'known unknowns' (to word-play on a Donald Rumsfeldian phrase).

[48] ibid, p. 114.

[49] *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, (1911), vol. 25, p. 1059, article: 'Styria'.

[50] ibid, vol. 12, p. 395, article: 'Graz'.

[51] Sir Humphrey Davy (1778–1829), scientist, chemist, discoverer of laughing gas (1799) and inventor of miner's safety lamp (1815), etc. See *Humphrey Davy* by Sir Harold Hartley, EP Publishing Ltd, Wakefield, England (1976), relevant to above: pp. 122, 141–142, 145–146.

[52] James Baker, *Austria: Her People and Their Homelands* (1913), pp. 154–155.

such areas and places 'the armchair traveller' was better informed than those of previous generations. This in turn generated the desire for more literature to be produced to satisfy the reader's curiosity. This goes a long way to explaining the late 19th century increase in the number of books and articles about Austria-Hungary in English.

Evidence of this is stated in James Baker's book, in his description of entering the province of Carinthia, on his return journey from the Adriatic coast

> ... after passing the long Karawanken tunnel, that opened this country more fully to the world, we pass Rosenbach, and make our halt in Villach, one of the chief towns in Carinthia.
>
> The development of this district through the new railway that since 1897 has made Villach a most important centre for all travellers has been most remarkable. I first visited Villach in that year when there was but one small station and the ordinary inn accommodation. Now there are two important stations and numerous large hotels, ...[53]

Baker claimed that the director of the woodwork school in Villach commented on English people's knowledge of aesthetical appreciation. Baker wrote that '... many of these heads of schools, museums, etc., in Austria, had studied well the work of other countries, ...'[54] This was an indication that at least the better educated, professional classes of Austria might well have a greater awareness of English ways than British people knowing much about Austria.

It is with some sense of relief that the reader of Baker's book sees the opening sentence of chapter xxi : 'IN[sic] the Duchy of Salzburg we are in a territory that has been known to English travellers for centuries, ...'[55] However, he again praises the development of the railways for opening up new areas of the province that had previously been little or totally unknown to English travellers. In referring to Bad Gastein, which he claims was once Bismarck's favourite health resort, Baker wrote : 'Until this new [Tauern] railway was open, the Gastein valley and this noted Spa was only reached by a drive of three or four hours from Lend, but now the station is on the outskirts of the town.'[56] The benefits of railways to the English traveller are noted with regards

---

[53] ibid, p. 182. See also p. 193.

[54] ibid, p. 184.

[55] ibid, p. 199.

[56] Ibid, p. 200. Bismarck visited there in the years 1877–79, 1883 and 1886. No doubt the healing waters helped oil the political machinations necessary for the formation of the all-important Dual Alliance of 1879 between the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires. 1883 and 1886 were just the years before the signing of the "Reinsurance" Treaties with Russia ; and 1883 that before The Skierniewice Agreement confirming the *Dreikaiserbund* between the three rulers of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia. In 1887, the Dual Alliance of 1879 ; the Triple Alliance of 1882 (with Austria-Hungary and Italy); and the *Dreikaiserbund* of 1881 were all due to expire – an enormous crisis for German foreign policy. Bismarck was undoubtedly in Bad Gastein on 'a working holiday'.

excursions to and around the Salzkammergut lakes, just east of the city of Salzburg.[57] Another occasion that Baker references rail communications for facilitating English travellers is in the penultimate chapter of his book that deals with the south Tyrol.[58]

In leaving the Salzkammergut area by train, Baker arrived at a point just east of Passau where the Danube entered Austria-Hungary from Germany. His intention was to journey by steamer via Linz to the Austrian border with Hungary. He stated that : 'If but very few books have appeared in English during the last century on Austria, there have been many books on the Danube, ...' and proceeds to name four.[59] He could not but help adding that in his opinion of August 1873, the Danube was not blue in colour but yellow-green. Depending on the time of year and the width of the river the colour alters. Once past Linz and not far from Krems, Baker noted the famous castle of Dürrenstein[sic: Dürnstein] where '... all English travellers ...' want to see the place '... where Richard the Lionheart was imprisoned, until he heard the song of the troubadour Blondel."[60] Baker relates over the following page of how he and his wife were the sole visitors to actually stop and clambour over the ruins of this lofty fortress that commands such a fine view both up and down the Danube. By way of general comment, Baker stated that on the Danube there were particular stopping places '... but these towns are not tourist-fashionable, so there is no crowd of vehicles or hotel touts to worry the traveller."[61] One has to remember that very few British people went on continental holidays in the pre-1914 world – and they were the well-to-do elements of society. Clearly, James Baker was in that category.

In coming to the final province of his descriptive travels, Baker in the last sentence of chapter xxvii, expressed the belief that the Tyrol was '... perhaps to English readers the best known province of Austria."[62] This was hardly surprising as it was the most westerly part of the Habsburg Monarchy and that which was overwhelmingly German-speaking.

In conclusion to his book, and to show his admiration for Austria, he wrote

> ... we have been able to give glimpses of the diversity of the people who inhabit this territory – varied, antagonistic, emulous, and yet all working forward in one conglomerate mass, uplifting their homelands and their people, and in so doing advancing the great Empire of Austria, and maintaining her position as the great balancing influence in Central Europe.[63]

---

[57] ibid, pp. 222–223.

[58] ibid, pp. 285–286.

[59] ibid, pp. 229–230.

[60] ibid, p. 261. See also pp. 180–181 for Baker's comment on Aquileia in the Küstenland, the place that Richard was shipwrecked at on his return from the 3rd Crusade and where he subsequently spent some time in prison.

[61] ibid, p. 265.

[62] ibid, p. 276.

[63] ibid, p. 301, last sentence of the book.

No wonder he had been awarded the title of 'Knight of the Imperial Order of Francis Joseph' in 1908, the Diamond Jubilee year of that reigning monarch.

Whether or not Baker was of a Radical disposition is not easy to ascertain from such writings. On the one hand, he showed a Radical trait in expressing clear sympathies for the minority races in Austria-Hungary – especially the Czechs – and as shown in using the word 'Homelands' in the title *Austria : her People and their Homelands*. In that 1913 book surveying the Crownlands he wrote as if that part of the Dual Monarchy consisted of peoples under the auspices of the Habsburgs in a federal State system.[64] Furthermore, he also had a deep interest in the study of history, which is yet another Radical characteristic, as indicated in his book about *A Forgotten Great Englishman ; or, The Life and Work of Peter Payne, the Wycliffite* (1894), and being a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. Baker's work *Pictures from Bohemia, Drawn with Pen and Pencil* (1894) was liberally illustrated giving attention to aspects of Nature that he observed on his travels – the latter being yet another indicator of possibly being a Radical. The fact that the publications about 'Peter Payne' and the 'Pictures from Bohemia' were issued by the Religious Tract Society may show an inclination towards a Christian moral output indicative of some Radicals. Finally, Baker was a literary figure of standing, while his itinerant travels in distant lands was characteristic of Radicals who did such things and had the familial money for both – not surprisingly a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.[65] Following his demise, his recreations were listed as having been archaeology, foreign travel, glee-singing, and music[66] – all of them characteristic interests of Radicals. Even the five clubs that he belonged to, showed a disposition to the type of mind held by Radicals – Authors', Bristol, Musical, Savage, and University.

However, on the other hand, the counterbalancing argument in favour of Baker not being a Radical is there too. He made it clear that the Czechs had an independent history before the Habsburgs absorbed Bohemia. In fact his study of Peter Payne showed deep sympathy for the Wycliffite and Hussite positions – and therefore an animosity to the Catholic Church. He would not have favoured the Habsburgs continuing domination of the Czechs for political or religious reasons. Eventually he was to shift to a stance advocating the separation of Bohemia from the rest of Austria-Hungary as expounded in a paper he read in 1917 called *The Kingdom of Bohemia : a Buffer State against Berlin*.[67] Even the title indicated an anti-German attitude – but then one realizes that that would have been perfectly understandable in the middle of the 1914–1918 war.

---

[64] See preceding footnote.

[65] He travelled in Greece, Russia, Lapland, Egypt ; in 1899 Tunis and Sicily ; Georgia and Palestine 1903 ; Spain 1906–9 ; Bosnia 1907 ; Bukovina 1911 ; quite apart from those occasions when he visited Bohemia, the study of which he was specializing in.

[66] *Who Was Who, 1916–1928,* p. 44.

[67] *The Kingdom of Bohemia : a Buffer State against Berlin*, Paper read at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute held at Oaxton Hall, Westminster, 27th March 1917. Published in the RCI Journal, Vol. VIII (New Series) (1917), pp. 554–563.

Nevertheless, even if one allows for that, the unacceptability of the Habsburgs to him would have been evident due to their being a German family who for political and religious reasons held sway over Bohemia. Whatever one might surmise about him, Baker's knowledge of the northern and north-easterly parts of the Dual Monarchy must have been considered considerable for he was the author of a British Parliamentary Command Paper entitled : *Report on technical and commercial education in East Prussia, Poland, Galicia, Silesia, and Bohemia.* This was prepared for the Education Department and published in 1900.[68] Maybe, Baker was a Radical in his younger days, but as he aged, changed his attitudes to becoming a non-Radical. Certainly, the outbreak of war in 1914 was the last straw for many a waverer, R. W. Seton-Watson being a fine example. Anyway, enough of such speculation! On balance he almost certainly was one, but only by a much more thorough study of Baker's life, might it be possible to come to an understanding as to whether he was without doubt a Radical or not. Here, it is sufficient to know that his books were available for reading by those who definitely were Radicals.

Lest one think that Baker was the only one producing works of interest from the 1890s onwards about Austria-Hungary, it has to be said that other writers too were drawn to the progress being made in the more westerly parts of the Empire. Grenville A. J. Cole for example, published a book called *The Gypsy Road : a journey from Krakow to Coblentz* in 1894, the same year as Baker's *Pictures from Bohemia, Drawn with Pen and Pencil.* As the title indicates, Cole's work was about a journey from Krakow to Coblentz – a distance of 1,055 miles. With the exception of the last 300 miles, the journey was in Austria-Hungary. Starting in Galicia, he went through north-west Hungary, and then Moravia into Bohemia, and finally on to Coblentz in the German Empire.[69] Whereas Baker had commented on the opening up of previously less well-known parts of Austria by the development of the railways, Cole chose to do his journey on another form of 19th century invented transport – the bike. In those early days of bike development, some quite unusual shapes of machines were produced, that nowadays are rarely or never seen. Today, with such a journey in mind, people would think of two-wheeled devices such as mountain bikes. But Cole did his journey on a tricycle and the pictures illustrating his book show that his accomplice was using a 'penny-farthing' machine.[70]

In the Preface to his book, Cole refers to the development of transport as changing people's perceptions of what they saw as tourists. He also mentioned the speed of conveyancing. Cole says that '... the cyclist is exploring routes that have been closed for a good half-century.' It is fair to

---

[68] Cd. 419. Printed for HMSO by Wyman and Sons, Ltd.

[69] G. A. J. Cole, *The Gypsy Road* (1894). See Illustrations 7–9 for the distances to be covered and maps of the route.

[70] ibid, pp. book cover, iii, xi, 3, 30, 101, 137, 151(?), 155, 158, and 167 for examples of small pictures of the types of bikes used, both of which are described on p. 7 as being 'nickel'. On p. 11 the penny-farthing was referred to as '... the graceful old "ordinary" to which enthusiasts still cling ; ...'. Though the latter went out of fashion and off the road by the end of the 19th century, they are now slowly making a come-back in Britain, being manufactured in Leicester. At the time of writing, three races of such bikes take place every year in Britain.

understand that as meaning that since the time of the Year of Revolutions, 1848–9, Austria was closed off from foreign, unofficial observations.[71] Unsurprisingly as an avid cyclist, Cole favoured the bike over the train as indicated in a comment at Zabornia, south of Krakow before the Hungarian border. He was conversing with an inn-keeper when the latter said that the coming of the railway down in the valley had resulted in the building of 'commonplace modern hotels'. Apparently, their construction had drawn off business from the Krakow road. Cole's attitude was that, 'We have heard this kind of complaint in England, and cycling is its obvious remedy.'[72] This sounds like the complaint of businesses in our own time with the construction of automobile by-passes. Another example of Cole favouring the bike over rail, was the encounter with a postman soon after leaving Orávka near the Hungarian border. He had never seen 'a high bicycle' (i.e. colloquially known in Britain as a 'penny-farthing' bike) before. Cole wrote indicating that such a memorable meeting was unknown to rail travellers.[73]

Cole was very much aware of the different languages in use in the Monarchy. He refers to a valley – the Lower Kubin, to use the English version – and gives the other linguistic variants of it. He claimed that the German version of such a place would be what an English person would see on a map and what would be spoken when using German. However, in his book he claimed to prefer using the local language of a place rather than German as the former was the only language on signposts. He asked the question as to why the places were translated into German as it would appear to him to make no more sense in doing so than if they were rendered into French. He pointed out that the Hungarians would actually prefer French to German. He wrote : 'The Hungarian and Slavonic languages can no longer be ignored ; the very cumbrousness of German has brought them to the front again, and all our maps and geography-books are already out of date.'[74]

Cole had an entertaining conversation with a manager in the famous silver-mining area of Schemnitz. The official said that Cole and his accomplice should visit his French wife as the latter spoke English. Cole willingly accepted the offer and enquired as to why she spoke English if she was French. The official's reply was astonishingly : '"Ah," he said, "of course she does – French and English – it is all the same – of course it is."' Cole excused that ignorance by asking the readers of his book if they could name the language spoken '... in a land as near us as Moravia?'[75] Cole maintained that for the British reader, the 15th meridian line was the limit of usual knowledge of linguistic usage. Even making allowance for the fact that miners did not have adequate educational opportunities, the rest of the conversation was extraordinary. The miner said : "English may be spoken in England," he admitted ; "but in London, or Paris, you would naturally speak German. How would you understand one another otherwise?" Cole recollected having this opinion put to

[71] ibid, p. vii.

[72] ibid, p. 15.

[73] ibid, pp. 21–22.

[74] ibid, p. 28.

[75] ibid, p. 63.

him on more than just this one occasion. He stated that German '... carries one at present over more ground in Europe than any other tongue."[76] These points of linguistic considerations went a long way to explaining why well-educated Englishmen might know something about the westerly German-speaking lands of the Dual Monarchy, but nothing of the rest of that State.

Usually associated with language was the question of nationality. At Bélaház, not long before leaving Hungary by crossing the Little Carpathian Mountains to enter the Austrian province of Moravia, Cole entered an inn run by a Jewish couple who could speak fluent German, even though the clientele were Slavs. He observed that the proprietor's 'nationality' was at once guessable by his beard, whereas the Slavic locals were clean-shaven. The way that the customers were compelled to acknowledge their debts to the innkeeper by themselves writing in a book their drinking and other costs, may have been good business practice, but was no doubt bitterly resented, and probably leading to future animosity.[77] Thus are racial stereotypes made!

During the journey across Moravia on their way towards Bohemia, between Brünn and Iglau, Cole wrote

> Amusing guesses were made at our nationality in a country where so few Englishmen are seen. In Hungary, having come from Krakow, we were commonly regarded as Poles ; on second thoughts it was suggested that we were Frenchmen. The Observer [his 'penny-farthing' companion] was one day taken for a Bohemian, whereon he at once went and had his hair cut. Hence, in the Tchech[sic : Czech] district we were not concealed, even by protective mimicry ; and the two English cyclists were as great a wonder as Patagonians.[78]

Of natural interest to the travellers were the sites of the famous battlefields of Austerlitz in Moravia[79] and of Kolin in Bohemia.[80] The former was the location of the victory of Napoleon over the combined Austro-Russian forces in December 1805. The latter was the Austrian victory over the Prussians in June 1757, during the Seven Years War. Cole, understandably, was critical of the slaughter entailed in these encounters, but additionally negative about Carlyle's account of the latter battle. Cole indicated that Carlyle had '... abhorred "the nationalities," themselves "abhorrent of German speech" ...'.[81] It would seem as if possibly Carlyle's strong pro-German sympathies were not in step with Cole's attitudes towards the subject races of the Dual Monarchy. Certainly, Cole indicated in his book time and time again his sensitivity to, and problems resulting from, the use of

---

[76] ibid, p. 64.

[77] ibid, pp. 85–86.

[78] ibid, p. 96.

[79] ibid, pp. 93–94.

[80] ibid, pp. 113–114.

[81] ibid, p. 114.

the various languages in those areas where a non-German element predominated.[82]

Towards the end of his book, Cole compares what he saw to what he knew of in England. At Brüx, he maintained that '... the chimneys and the smoke-blasts ...' led him to belief that '... we might as well be at home in the Black Country.'[83] On the following page, he then made a comment regarding the industrially ravaged area before him and stated that no Englishman could justifiably complain as England once had a better environment '... from Dudley to Sheffield and the Tyne.' A further point of comparison that Cole made was between the spa towns of Karlsbad and Matlock. He claimed that the former far surpassed the latter as a town, though the surrounding scenery was superior in the English resort.[84]

Cole was sensitive to the existence of the minority races of the Dual Monarchy, but as to whether he was a Radical or not, it is too difficult to say. Clearly, he was not merely riding his bicycle through an area of Europe little known to his British compatriots for just the exercise. As a geologist, the opportunity to examine the mineral resources of the western ranges of the Carpathian Mountains must have been very exciting. As mentioned above, he visited the silver-mines of Schemnitz. He was collecting specimens and taking photos for his research and teaching purposes. His prime aim in visiting various parts of Europe was for professional reasons, not to analyze the political ramifications of what he saw. What is in *The Gypsy Road* is only of interest to us as a by-product of his real intentions for making the journey. So, on the basis of merely examining this one book, it would be over-ambitious to draw the conclusion that Cole was a Radical. However, as with Baker's works, such a publication was helping to broaden British awareness of Austria.

Another British writer was Randolph Ll. Hodgson. He was a keen sportsman with regard to hunting. His so-called 'sport', so common among the richer classes of the time, was to trek over moorlands or through forests to shoot at what seemed like any animal in sight.[85] He wrote two relevant works in the decade of the 1890s. In chronological order, they were called *Wanderings Through Unknown Austria*[86] of 1896 and *On Plain and Peak*[87] subtitled 'Sporting and other Sketches of Bohemia and Tyrol' of 1898. Both works were lavishly illustrated with pictures by Her Serene Highness Princess Mary of Thurn and Taxis – a total of 63 in the former book and 35 listed in the latter.

In looking at the latter published book first, one can read as early as page 4 the comment

---

[82] ibid, for examples see pp. 89, 91, especially 115–117, the latter experience being just 28 miles from Prague, and 143.

[83] ibid, p. 137.

[84] ibid, p. 143.

[85] An idea of the massacre of wildlife can be gained from the statistics in chapter IX of *On Plain And Peak*, pp. 135–143.

[86] Macmillan and Co. Ltd., London (1896).

[87] Archibald Constable & Co., London (1898).

It is curious what a vague idea the average Briton possesses of geography, even today. I met an old college friend a few weeks ago, whom I had not seen since we were at Cambridge together. After we had exchanged greetings, and expressed surprise at coming across one another quite unexpectedly, we began to inquire into one another's well-being.

"And what have *you* been doing with yourself?" was his first question.

"I have been in Bohemia for the last six months," I said.

"Bohemia! Where's that?" he asked.

"In Central Europe ; it forms part of the Austrian Empire," I replied, for I always like to give information – when I can.

"Does it?" he said ; "I always thought Bohemia was *a suburb of London*."[88]

Just four pages later, Hodgson stated that the history of the province was 'a sealed book' for most Englishmen. He maintained a derogatory attitude towards the Czechs putting them into the categories of being musicians, thieves, or both, slating them further in the following pages of the same chapter. In talking of the peasants, he wrote that their '... cottage is nothing more than a hovel, and household and personal cleanliness are things unknown.'[89] As with Cole, he noted that the Czechs would not speak German with Germans even if they had the ability to converse well.[90] The link between their language and their nationality gave them a sense of pride, or if one can say 'arrogance', that barred them from doing so. But, clearly, Cole and Hodgson had different perspectives of Bohemia. Cole was witnessing it at close quarters riding through the towns and villages on his tricycle and meeting the ordinary people. Hodgson however, was the guest of those in much higher social positions – very wealthy individuals – accommodating him in castles and palaces. Hodgson's book *On Plain and Peak* is dedicated

TO
MY FRIEND
PRINCE ALEXANDER
OF
THURN AND TAXIS
THE BEST SPORTSMAN
I KNOW

Though the Bohemian branch of the Thurn and Taxis family were nothing like as wealthy as their

---

[88] The author of this article jokingly wonders whether Hodgson's friend had 'Belgravia' in mind or not.

[89] *On Plain and Peak*, ibid, p. 13.

[90] ibid, p. 10.

German counterparts,[91] the former's pedigree was beyond dispute.

Before having spent time gaming on the estates of the Thurn and Taxis family in Bohemia, Hodgson had been a guest at another of that family's residencies, namely at Castle Duino on the northern coast of the Adriatic Sea.[92] That earlier visit resulted in the 1896 book *Wanderings Through Unknown Austria*.[93] In a way the title says it all – unknown Austria – that is until one realizes that the entire area covered was in fact the coastal and immediate inland surrounds of the Gulf of Trieste. Surely, if that part of the Monarchy was unknown to British travellers and readers, then there was almost no chance of Englishmen knowing of more inaccessible regions.

In the Introduction, Hodgson relates how he came to write the book. In a discussion with his hosts at Castle Duino, Princess Mary exclaimed to him

> "I always wonder how very little you English know of Austria. The fact that Vienna is a pretty town, where everything English is particularly liked ; that Prague is a fine old city, and that here and there we have first-rate shooting, is about all that is known of Austria by foreigners. And it is a pity! Who really has seen the wonderful mountains of the Tyrol, mountains that are just as fine as any in Switzerland ; the charming lakes of the Salzkammergut ; the green valleys of that greenest of lands, Styria? Who has spoken of the mysterious charm of the great Bohemian forests of oak and pine, the quaint little towns of Carinthia, the beautiful banks of the blue Danube? How very few people know the *puzsta*, the immense plains of Hungary ; and who has explored the wildernesses of Galicia and Transylvania, or the wonderful beauty of the Dalmatian coasts from the Bocche di Cattaro up to here, where we are on the shores of the Adriatic Sea? And just here – this little spot so full of memories and classic associations – who has ever heard even the names of Istria and the Littoral? And yet how pretty and interesting the

---

[91] Their wealth resulted from involvement in the German postal services dating from the 16th century until the second half of the 19th century, for example : postage stamps. The less affluent branch had moved to Bohemia in the early 19th century. Prince Alexander (1851–1939) had made many hunting trips to Africa. He married in 1875 Princess Marie (Eng. 'Mary') zu Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingsfürst, (1855–1934). Both keen supporters of the arts, he played the violin while she was an amateur painter, hence her contributions to the illustrations in Hodgson's books. Alexander declared Smetana's (1824–1884) last house as a museum and gave some land for a memorial to the composer.

[92] Castle Duino was part of the inheritance that Princess Mary brought with her on marriage into the family of Thurn and Taxis. At the time of this writing it is open to the public, being just 11 miles (almost 18 km) northwest of Trieste. As a slow car driver doing about 40 mph the author of this article found that the distance can be covered in just 20 minutes. It is worth taking the coastal road rather than the faster E70 inland one because of the beautiful view of the Gulf of Trieste that one gets. As a bonus in using that road, if there is the time one can stop off at Miramare Castle on the way, thereby seeing the home of the Archduke Maximilian, ill-fated Emperor of Mexico and his wife Charlotte. See Illustrations 10 and 11 for Castle Duino, and 12 for Miramare.

[93] Randolph Ll. Hodgson, *Wanderings Through Unknown Austria*, Macmillan, London, 1896.

scenery is in this unknown part of Austria. ...” ... “you ought to write a book about it.”[94]

Hodgson protested that he did not like the idea of writing, an act of his which incidentally also did not have the support of the Prince. But Hodgson was persuaded by Alexander's wife Princess Mary to think about it with the suggestion that he could narrate what he saw about Castle Duino first, and then things observed on short trips out from there. He had the encouragement of knowing that his work would be illustrated by the Princess.

On one excursion, Hodgson went by steamer to Grado, which is roughly as far west of Duino as Trieste is east. He wrote that Grado could be an attractive coastal resort if only people chose to go there. He commented that the beach was sandy, having good-looking bathing sheds (very characteristic of that era) ; that the water was 'lukewarm' – which no doubt compared favourably with what's around the British Isles ; and that drowning seemed out of the question as it was so shallow. In his sporty, sharp manner, he stated : 'What Grado wants is a good waking up. If the inhabitants were a little more speculative ; if they would build a good hotel and open a railway line, etc., it might become a flourishing place. At present there is no accommodation for visitors, so no visitors go there.'[95]

Hodgson's experience in Austria was in complete contrast to Baker's and Cole's. Hodgson was the guest of aristocracy, and therefore whatever his private views may have been, criticizing the established order in print would have been unthinkable. Indeed he was probably hoping for more hunting holidays in the company of the family of the Princess Marie of Thurn and Taxis. His disdain for the lower orders of society closed his mind off from the condition of the minorities. As such, he would appear to have been a non-Radical. Also in support of that suggestion, was his obvious delight in hunting. He seemed to be shooting at anything that moved, whether it flew, or whether it ran on four legs such as the deer. Radicals hated cruelty to animals and would have found his shooting sprees absolutely detestable. Indeed many Radicals were vegetarians, not for health reasons, but so as to avoid eating meat. Finally, Hodgson's initial objections to the idea of writing a book about the environs of the north Adriatic coastal area are possibly revealing too. Most Radicals were prolific writers, seemingly having no problem about expressing their ideas on paper – in fact enjoying the experience. Hodgson however, baulked at the idea, until persuaded by his hostess into doing so.[96] This may well be yet another indication of his having a non-Radical disposition.

What is fascinating in the works examined above produced by Baker, Cole, and Hodgson is the

---

[94] ibid, pp. 3–4.

[95] ibid, p. 66.

[96] Admittedly, Hodgson managed to produce three works about cricket (1930, 1933, and 1946), each of them consisting of well over 200 pages. But by then he was whiling away his time as 'A Country Vicar' (*nom de plume*) of South Baddesley, near Lymington in Hampshire, and Austria-Hungary had long since been consigned to history. Having served in the parish for nearly 30 years, he retired in 1947.

repeated assertion that the areas they visited were unknown to British people. Of course, it could well be suggested that their remarks were a form of snobbery – the idea that they had been to somewhere that the reader had not been to, or was highly unlikely to visit. It could well have been a way of saying that they had the wealth to undertake such journeys when most people in Great Britain could only dream of such adventures. It should also be stated that by creating an air of mystery about where they went to, prospective readers might be more inclined to read further, and even buy the book. However, on balance, these thoughts do not preclude the reality that the Dual Monarchy was gradually becoming better known as a result of improved communications in the second half of the 19th century. The use of the telegraph, and above all the extension of the rail system were opening-up hitherto unknown places in central and eastern Europe for British travellers. The gradual spread of the telephone would break down further barriers in peoples' knowledge. Cole's use of a tricycle and his 'penny-farthing' companion may seem somewhat quaint and amusing to us now. We may even regard them as having been a bit eccentric in undertaking such a feat. But those relatively newly-invented machines got them across a fair distance of central Europe, more than a 1,000 miles, unthinkable to a previous generation that would have had to rely on horses. The advance of industrialization was changing peoples' lives, so as to increase their awareness of the world in general. Austria-Hungary would inevitably loose its isolation and mystery.

Of other writers in English of this period, most that wrote about the Habsburg Monarchy were relatively uncritical of the status quo. Such were S. Whitman,[97] G. Drage,[98] R. Mahaffy,[99] F. Gribble[100] and G. Mitton.[101] They tended to concentrate on the lives of the elite of the Dual Monarchy, especially that of the Emperor Francis Joseph.

Though of great importance with regards this subject, these aforementioned works do not purport to be a comprehensive list. Nevertheless, it gives a good idea of what late Victorian Radicals and those of the Edwardian eras were able to read, and consequently indicates how their opinions could be formed. As Hanak succinctly stated: 'Those few Englishmen who were in-

---

[97] Sidney Whitman (?–1925), political writer. *The Realm of the Habsburgs* (1893), published by Bernhard Tauchnitz, Leipzig; and with J. R. McIlraith, *Austria*, 'Story of the Nations' series (1899), published by T. Fisher Unwin, London. Austrian Grand Gold Medal for Arts and Sciences, Viribus Unitis.

[98] Geoffrey Drage (1860–1955), Conservative MP Derby 1895–1900; many governmental appointments and publications, of which most relevant: *Austria-Hungary* (1909), published by John Murray, London. This 846-pages work is the greatest pre-1914 mine of statistical information in English about the Dual Monarchy.

[99] Robert Pentland Mahaffy (1871–1943), barrister. *The Emperor Francis Joseph* (1908), published by Duckworth & Co., London.

[100] Francis Henry Gribble (1862–1946), man of letters. *The Life of the Emperor Francis Joseph* (1914), published by Eveleigh Nash, London.

[101] Geraldine Edith Mitton (c. 1880–1955), author of novels, children's books – especially for boys, and particularly of travel works of areas visited in the British Isles and South Asia, but also *Austria-Hungary* (1914), published by Adam and Charles Black, London.

terested in the political life of the Monarchy usually fell victim to Austrian and Magyar propaganda.'[102]

(III)

In the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Great War, the two British individuals who knew more about, and did more to spread knowledge of the Habsburg Monarchy than any others, were Henry Wickham Steed and Robert William Seton-Watson. Whereas the authors previously examined above tended to write one or two books and then dissipated their literary skills on other topics, Steed and Seton-Watson wrote many, many publications over periods of more than ten years each. They wrote not just books, but also in newspapers and journals, etc. Both of them spent extensive lengths of time in the Monarchy and so gradually they became regarded as the leading British experts about the Habsburg State. Once the Great War commenced, their expertise started to be felt and acknowledged in the British Foreign Office, so that from the Autumn of 1916, it is fair to say that British Governmental circles became increasingly intent on the destruction of the Dual Monarchy.

Steed was the *Times* correspondent in Vienna from 1902 until July 1913. Besides his newspaper articles and many contributions to journals such as the *Edinburgh Review*, he produced at the end of his tour of duty in 1913 his epoch-making work *The Hapsburg Monarchy*[103] which in itself would have ensured his fame regarding his expertise about the Habsburg State. His autobiography *Through Thirty Years 1892–1922*[104] is also of great importance in tracing the development of his ideas.

The key to Steed's attitude to Austria-Hungary lay in his attitude to Germany. Steed had gone to Germany in 1892–93 as a young student with the intention that he would then study in France. The reasons for first going to Germany

> ... were characteristic of the period. Germany was regarded in England as an earnest land given to deep study and thought. France, on the contrary, was held to be light, frivolous, elegant, but not serious. And I was terribly in earnest.[105]

By the time he returned to Germany again in 1896 he noticed a significant change towards

---

[102] Harry Hanak, *Great Britain And Austria-Hungary During The First World War* (1962), p. 9. A not surprising comment from Hanak who was both a Czech and a Jew.

[103] (1913), Hutchinson & Co., London.

[104] William Heinemann, Ltd. London (1924). Naturally, the historian has to make allowance for the fact that this work was published after the First World War and therefore with hindsight of the horrors of that conflict in mind. Still, it is an acceptable output of his anti-German, anti-Austro-Hungarian frame of mind.

[105] H. W. Steed, *Through Thirty Years* (1924), vol. 1, p. 9.

hostility to Britain. Under the influence of the German Emperor's attitudes, society was permeated by the ideas of a 'Greater Germany.' Consequently, he maintained that 'Among my German friends I found a less amiable and more aggressive temper.'[106] Steed saw that the Prussian State and the writings of Treitschke[107] had produced a brand of German nationalism that would become a threat to Britain. He believed, for example, that German aims of aggrandizement in South Africa were behind that country's support for Kruger's policy.[108] Steed recorded that he had observed as early as March 1896, that

> ... it was ... clear that something fundamental had changed in Germany. For one thing, reactionary tendencies had definitely got the upper hand, and German liberalism was dead.[109]

Following a residence of six years in Rome, Steed became the *Times* correspondent in Vienna in 1902. He was not impressed with Vienna, for he '... had expected to find a country smart and efficient ... . Yet, in many respects, things seemed even slacker in Austria than in Italy.' He considered the people to be '... terribly slow and unintelligent.'[110]

Steed tried to understand '... the meaning of the dual system for a long time'[111] which eventually revealed itself to him as a result of the internal crisis of 1906. Quite simply, the Magyars withdrew their opposition to Francis Joseph's will regarding his desire for the exclusive use of the German language in the armed forces, in return for his withdrawal of the threat of introducing universal suffrage into Hungary. Steed saw in such an arrangement a balance of forces within the Dual Monarchy firmly attached to Imperial Germany. He derived the idea from Louis Eisenmann's[112] book *Le Compromis Austro-Hongrois De 1867 : Étude Sur Le Dualisme* published in 1904.[113] Steed's attitude, therefore, was that the dual system had made Austria-Hungary '... a branch establishment containing a reserve of more than fifty million souls upon whom Germany could draw for all her needs.'[114] And again, Steed spelt out the importance of Austria-Hungary when he

---

[106] ibid, vol. 1, p. 66.

[107] Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–1896), German historian. Main writing : *History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century* (1879–94).

[108] H. W. Steed, *Through Thirty Years* (1924), vol. 1, p. 69.

[109] ibid, vol. 1, p. 70.

[110] ibid, vol. 1, p. 195.

[111] Harry Hanak, *Great Britain And Austria-Hungary During The First World War* (1962), p. 14.

[112] Louis Eisenmann (1869–1937), writer of central European affairs. Note : Not to be confused with Louis Felberman (1861–1927) of footnote 25 above.

[113] Paris (1904). Submitted as a doctoral thesis in political science and economics in the Faculty of Law of the University of Dijon.

[114] H. W. Steed, 'What is Austria?' in *Edinburgh Review*, (Oct. 1917), p. 377.

wrote :

> From the outset, nay, even before the declaration of war, I was persuaded that Austria-Hungary would be the pivot of the struggle, and that, unless she were discomfited and transformed, if not dismembered, Germany could not be truly defeated.[115]

As far as he was concerned, Austria-Hungary did not have a role independently to play from that of Germany. As he was anti-German, so he was essentially anti-Austro-Hungarian.

Wickham Steed therefore saw the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 as part of the German *Drang nach Osten*. For Steed, the annexation was not just the cause of an international crisis but '... was the final turning point in the life of the Monarchy ... .'[116] By including even more Slavs within the Empire, the Habsburgs would find it increasingly difficult to evade the dual system, or so it was supposedly hoped by Germany, the Germans in Austria, and the Magyars. Indeed, it was the dual system that fundamentally flawed what chances the Habsburgs had '... of reversing the verdict of history.'[117] The Habsburgs needed to evolve an internal organization to Austria-Hungary better adapted to the nationalities problem than that of the dual system. Only then could the Monarchy have a '... sure way of escape from its difficulties into a more prosperous and tranquil future ... .'[118]

The Zagreb and Friedjung trials cost Steed what confidence he had in the Monarchy rejuvenating the State. The immoral and cynical methods, obviously sanctioned at the highest level, totally disillusioned him. He turned during 1909 and 1910 to the various nationalities, with the exception of the Poles and Ruthenes, to seek a solution to the internal structure of the Dual Monarchy. He believed that by his working with the non-German and non-Magyar elements that the Habsburgs could be saved from themselves, and a European catastrophe prevented. His strong anti-German sentiment, was expressed in the notion that by working with those subject nationalities lay '... in the worst hypothesis, the only safeguard against the ultimate success of German schemes for the mastery of Europe and the East.'[119]

H. Wickham Steed's sentiments towards Austria-Hungary were those of a non-Radical. He worked as a major correspondent for the non-Radical newspaper, the *Times*. His dislike of German militarism was paramount in his attitudes about central European politics. Even to the point at which he was far less impressed with German cultural contributions to European civilization than Radicals would have been. For example, he stated that 'In comparison with good French writers,

---

[115] H. W. Steed, *Through Thirty Years* (1924), vol. II, p. 38.

[116] Harry Hanak, *Great Britain And Austria-Hungary During The First World War* (1962), p. 17.

[117] H. W. Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy* (1914), p. 13.

[118] ibid, p. 295.

[119] H. W. Steed, *Through Thirty Years* (1924), vol. 1, p. 325.

most German writers ... reminded me of an experience on a foggy night in London ... .'[120] His concern for the minority races in Austria-Hungary was not primarily humanitarian, but was instead based on their political weight and potential. Steed tended not to see their sufferings and deprivations as the prime consideration, but rather to see their value in terms of disrupting the notions of a German-dominated central Europe. Radicals would put the injustices suffered and the humanitarian concerns as first priority for consideration and remedy.

Furthermore, Steed was actually critical of Radicals. For example, in 1911, following the Agadir crisis, the Radicals mounted a campaign to have Edward Grey replaced as Foreign Secretary. Steed claimed

> ... to understand the origin of ... [the] campaign against Sir Edward Grey which was then being carried on in some English Radical newspapers. "Grey must go," they cried ; and the German-Jewish organs of Vienna answered, "Grey will go."

He called them '... these quacking ducks ...' and considered it appropriate to disturb them by throw [ing] a stone into the pond ... .'[121] He did so by writing an article entitled 'Is it War?' in the 1912 edition of the *Daily Mail Year Book*. He claimed that 'This article caused the German and pro-German "ducks" in London, ..., to quack lamentably.'[122]

And yet again, regarding the summer of 1914, Steed wrote that Grey had been in difficulties for some years :

> A section of the Liberal Party, ... was under German influence. Another section favoured peace at any price. ... Lloyd George, was credited with pro-German leanings while his colleagues, Lord Morley, Mr. Charles Trevelyan and Mr. John Burns, were opposed to war on any consideration and were thus pro-German in effect.[123]

In contrast, Steed praised the stance of the non-Radicals Asquith, Grey, and others.

When the Sarajevo murders occurred, Steed refused to condemn them outright, and indeed cautioned others working for the *Times* to do likewise. His words were callous towards the crime

> ... the whole position seemed so perilous as to make it imprudent for the British press to indulge in unqualified sentimentality about the Sarajevo murders.[124]

---

[120] ibid, vol. 1, p. 38.

[121] ibid, vol. 1, pp. 350–351.

[122] ibid, vol. 1, p. 354.

[123] ibid, vol. 1, p. 392.

[124] ibid, vol. 1, pp. 394–395.

He believed that

> ... if British newspapers were hastily to adopt the Austrian hypothesis that the murders were a dastardly crime on the part of Serbia which merited prompt and condign punishment, they might be playing into the hands of war mongers[sic] in Vienna and Berlin.[125]

Such were the calculations of a pragmatically-minded, non-Radical. Radicals, such as Edith Durham, and at that time R.W. Seton-Watson, placed more emphasis on their sorrow that the assassinations had occurred and the concern to maintain peace, rather than stressing Austro-German machinations.

Harry Hanak stated that Steed '... was a Liberal, a believer in nationalism, and a crusader for the sake of the oppressed.'[126] Maybe in those claims there was a kernel of truth, but his desire to check German ambitions was even greater. Certainly, Steed was incorrect in his belief that the creation of a number of middle-ranking States in central Europe would be a block to German or any other hegemony. Likewise, he mistakenly thought that the new States would live peacefully together, blaming their previous estrangement on the notion that it had been deliberately fomented by the Habsburgs in their policy of 'Divide and Rule.' Additionally, the same could be said of those new States, in the incorrect idea that they would be permanently anti-German, as the only way to guarantee their continued independence.

END OF PART 1

Singled out for detailed analysis (and not mentioned in the above review) is the book produced by the Eighty Club following its visit to Hungary in 1906. Having referred to the writings of the distinctly non-Radical Henry Wickham Steed it is to be noted that in a forthcoming article about this topic, the focus will be on the Hungarian part of the Dual Monarchy, and in particular the ideas of the initially Radically-minded R. W. Seton-Watson. The analysis of the Eighty Club book illustrates the duping of British visitors to Hungary by the Magyars. Seton-Watson's works (along with the efforts of Steed) show an ever-increasingly critical side, of British growing factual awareness of that part of Europe.

---

[125] ibid, vol. 1, p. 394.

[126] Harry Hanak, *Great Britain And Austria-Hungary During The First World War* (1962), p. 19.

Comparison of territorial sizes :

Austria-Hungary : 241,333 square miles of which :

Austria : 115,903 square miles

Hungary : 125,430 square miles

Germany today : 137,847 square miles

Japan today : 145,894 square miles

UK today : 94,060 square miles

(Note : The figures for Austria-Hungary are exclusive of the 19,700 square miles of Bosnia-Herzegovina. That area which the Habsburg Monarchy 'occupied and administered' during 1878-1908 was then formally annexed to the empire).

OTHER ARTICLES

THESE ARE ABOUT THE IDENTIFICATION OF BRITISH RADICALS DURING THE LATE VICTORIAN AND THE EDWARDIAN ERAS :

P. Hansen, 'The Identification of 'Radicals' in the British Parliament, 1906-1914'
in *The Meijo Review*, Vol. 4, No. 3, March 2004, pp. 31-62.

Susan Hansen, 'The Identification of 'Radicals' in the British Parliament, 1906-1914 : Some Attitudes to Foreign Policy'
in *The Meijo Review*, Vol. 6, No. 4, March 2006, pp. 1-32.

Susan Hansen, 'The Identification of 'Radicals' in the British Press, 1889-1914'
in *The Meijo Review*, Vol. 10, No. 1, June 2009, pp. 1-31.

Susan Hansen, 'The Identification of 'Radicals' in the British Intelligentsia, 1900-1914'
in *The Meijo Review*, Vol. 10, No. 4, March 2010, pp. 1-23.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1 :

FRANCIS JOSEPH
(1830-1916)
EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA 1848-1916

Illustration 2 :
CENTRAL EUROPE SHOWING THE LOCATION OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
(*Frye's Complete Geography* by Alexis Everett Frye, Ginn & Co., London (1902), p. 165)

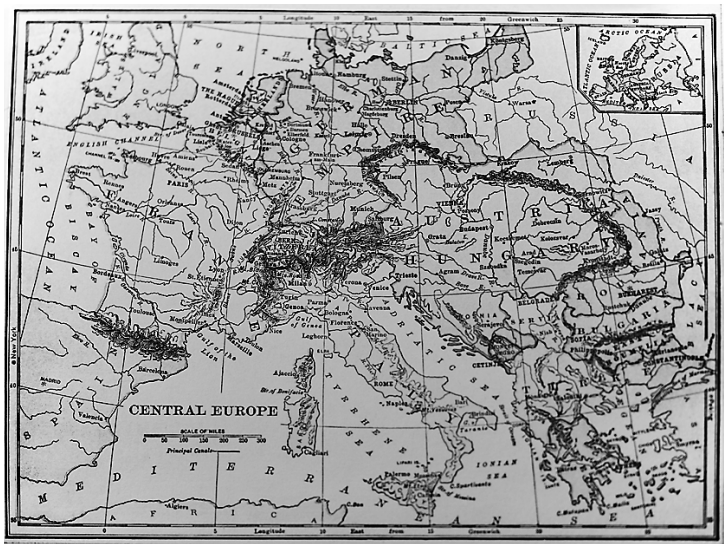


Illustration 3：

THE HABSBURG EMPIRE 1867–1918（POLITICAL）

（*Recent History Atlas 1860 to 1960* by Martin Gilbert, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London（1978）, p. 5）

Illustration 4：

THE HABSBURG EMPIRE 1867–1918（LINGUISTIC AND ETHNIC）

（*Recent History Atlas 1860 to 1960* by Martin Gilbert, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London（1978）, p. 6）

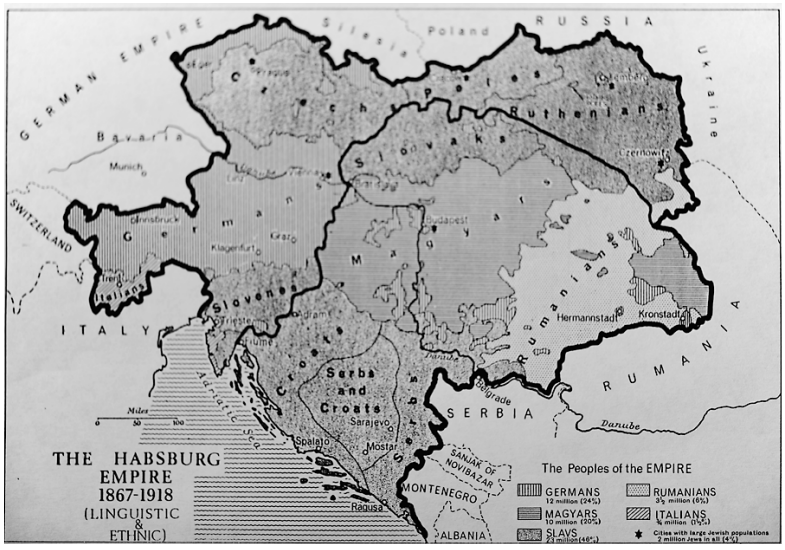
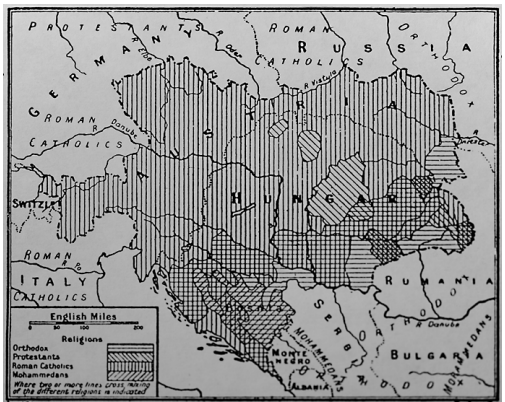


Illustration 5 :

THE HABSBURG EMPIRE 1867–1918 (RELIGION)

(*The Great War*, H. W. Wilson and J. A. Hammerton (eds.), Amalgamated Press, London (1918), Vol. 10, p. 49)



MAP SHOWING THE MAIN DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOUR CHIEF RELIGIONS PROFESSED BY THE HETEROGENEOUS POPULATION OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Illustration 6 :

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY (PROVINCES)

Key :

A-S = Austrian Silesia
B = Bohemia
B-H = Bosnia-Herzegovina
BU = Bukovina
C = Carinthia
CA = Carniola
C-S = Croatia-Slavonia
D = Dalmatia
G = Galicia
H = Hungary
K = Küstenland
LA = Lower Austria
M = Moravia
S = Salzburg
ST = Styria
T = Tyrol
UA = Upper Austria

(created by Susan Hansen (2012))

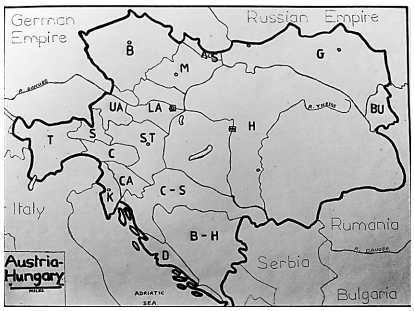


Illustration 7 :

'TABLE OF JOURNEYINGS' showing the distances travelled between key points on the journey from Krakow to Coblentz. Above the information is an illustration of the types of bikes shown scattered throughout this book – a tricycle and a 'penny-farthing'.

(Grenville A. J. Cole, *The Gypsy Road : a journey from Krakow to Coblentz*, Macmillan, London (1894), p. xi)

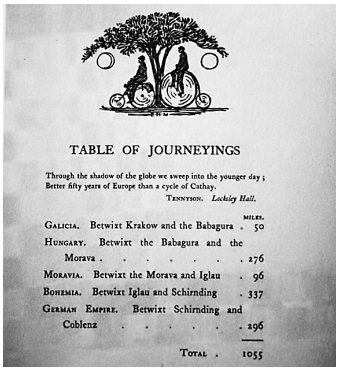


TABLE OF JOURNEYINGS

Through the shadow of the globe we sweep into the younger day ;
Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay.
TENNYSON. *Locksley Hall.*

		MILES.
GALICIA.	Betwixt Krakow and the Babagura	50
HUNGARY.	Betwixt the Babagura and the Morava	276
MORAVIA.	Betwixt the Morava and Iglau	96
BOHEMIA.	Betwixt Iglau and Schirnding	337
GERMAN EMPIRE.	Betwixt Schirnding and Coblenz	296
	TOTAL	1055

Illustration 8 :

MAP : 'THE WAY OUT OF POLAND INTO BOHEMIA' showing the route taken from the province of Galicia, through part of north-west Hungary, through Moravia, and into Bohemia.

(Grenville A. J. Cole, *The Gypsy Road : a journey from Krakow to Coblentz*, Macmillan, London (1894), p. 82)

Illustration 9 :

MAP : 'A PROSPECT OF CENTRAL GERMANY' showing the route taken through northern Bohemia to exit into Germany.

(Grenville A. J. Cole, *The Gypsy Road : a journey from Krakow to Coblentz*, Macmillan, London (1894), p. 140)

Illustration 10 :

CASTLE DUINO

(Randolph Ll. Hodgson, *Wanderings Through Unknown Austria*, Macmillan, London (1896), p. 6)

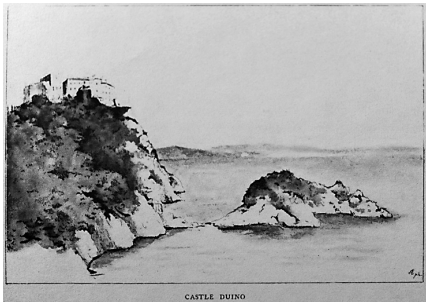


Illustration 11 :

CASTLE DUINO FROM THE RAILWAY

（Randolph Ll. Hodgson, *Wanderings Through Unknown Austria*, Macmillan, London（1896）, p. 130）

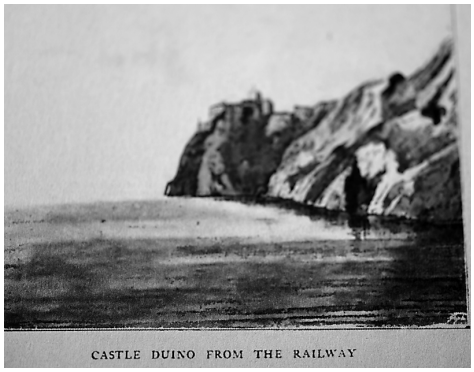


Illustration 12 :

MIRAMAR

（Randolph Ll. Hodgson, *Wanderings Through Unknown Austria*, Macmillan, London（1896）, p. 32）

Illustration 13 :

H(ENRY) WICKHAM STEED

On leaving the White House having met President Harding, July 1921.

(*Northcliffe* by Reginald Pound and Geoffrey Harmsworth, Cassell, London (1959), the left hand half of the picture facing p. 832)

The following selection of pictures from *Peoples Of All Nations* has been specially chosen to show life in what were the Austrian Crownlands before the 1914–18 conflict, and not Hungary, as the latter is the subject of a separate forthcoming article. Though this undated, 7-volumed work was probably published in 1924, the illustrations are of life very much as if they had been taken ten years earlier. The wordings of the captions and accompanying descriptions have been altered on occasions by the author of this article, when thought appropriate.

VIENNA, CARINTHIA, AND THE TYROL

Illustration 14 :

CARINTHIAN PEASANT GIRL IN GALA DRESS

This costume and accompanying headdress were probably made by her during the wintry, snow-bound period. One can observe the flower and foliage embroideries, the linen pleats, and the openwork kerchief.

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 1, p. 320)

Illustration 15 :

FRAÜLEIN KAISER OF VIENNA

The headdress is of Alpine origin.

The use of a shawl as a bodice, the silk-fringed fan, and the skirt having a suggestion of the crinoline, are reminiscent of the early days of waltzing in the imperial capital.

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 1, p. 321)

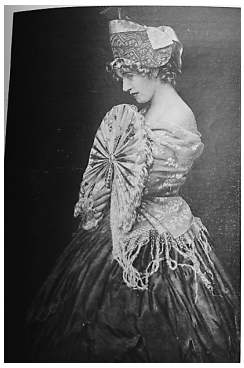


Illustration 16 :

TYROLEAN PACKMEN

Packmen like these could still be seen in the years following the Great War carrying provisions in isolated parts of the Tyrol. This was despite the fact that the main valleys had been opened up by rail and roads. Right across the Tyrol, these men would carry their folded miniature shops containing small wares of every kind, from one mountain hamlet to another. The costume, Alpine hats and long pipes are typical of this part of Austria.

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 1, p. 325)

Illustration 17 :

FARMER OF NORTHERN TYROL

Note the Tyrolean hat and long pipe.

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 1, p. 326)

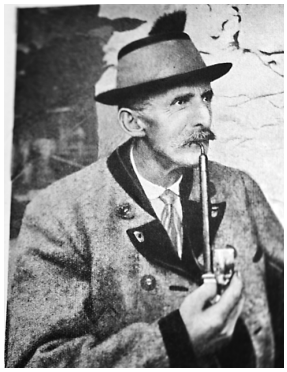


Illustration 18 :

BOHEMIAN APPLE WOMAN OF VIENNA

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 1, p. 328)

Illustration 19 :

WOMAN PEDLAR OF VIENNA

In the forested Alpine provinces of Austria, one of the ways of passing the winter at home was and still is by making small wooden toys. The illustrated ones are set in motion by the swinging of the wooden pendulums hanging beneath this woman's umbrella.

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 1, p. 329)

BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA

Illustration 20 :

MORAVIAN COUPLE

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 2, p. 1507)

Illustration 21 :

CZECH COSTUME

Note the golden embroidery

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 2, facing p. 1508)

Illustration 22 :

JEWISH CHILDREN

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 2, p. 1520)

Illustration 23 :

CARPATHIAN PIETY

Oxen in front of a Carpathian wayside shrine

The man has removed, and is carrying, his hat in his right hand – presumably as a sign of reverence before the shrine.

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 2, p. 1521)

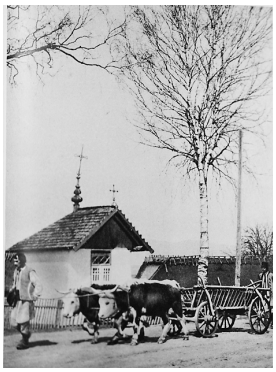
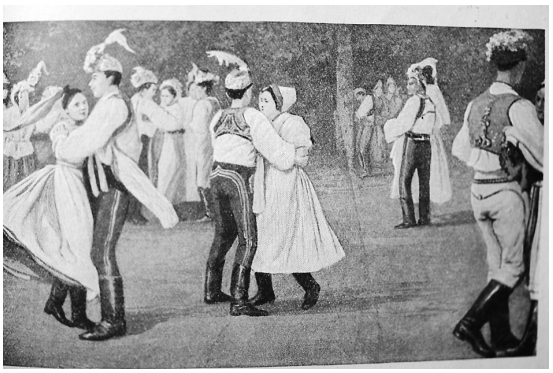


Illustration 24 :

PRAGUE : FOLK-DANCING

Stamping boots and swirling voluminous skirts are the chief characteristics of these performances

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 2, p. 1547)



KÜSTENLAND

Illustration 25 :

ISTRIAN COASTAL TUNNY FISHING

The man suspended at the end of this long wooden structure is looking out for shoals of fish that swim into the traps set by him.

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 4, p. 3068)

Illustration 26 :

QUAYSIDE OF TRIESTE – THE CHIEF SEAPORT OF AUSTRIA

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 4, p. 3080)

Illustration 27 :

POLA – THE MAIN NAVAL BASE OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

This is the Via Sergia street in Pola.

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 4, p. 3082)

Illustration 28 :

GRADO

Grado – a small fishing port at the head of the Adriatic. The women perform some of the household tasks in the streets.

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 4, p. 3091)

GALICIA

Illustration 29 :

EAST GALICIAN JEWS

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 6, p. 4122)

Illustration 30 :

EAST GALICIAN HARVESTING WITHIN SIGHT OF THE CARPATHIAN HIGHLANDS

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 6, p. 4128)

Illustration 31 :

EAST GALICIAN JEWISH TRADING

The chief customers were Ruthenian peasants, such as pictured here in the small town of Solotwina.

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 6, p. 4130)

Illustration 32 :

EAST GALICIAN OIL INDUSTRY

Ruthenians of the oilfields of Bitków

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 6, p. 4131)

Illustration 33 :

EAST GALICIAN PEASANT WOMAN

This sheepskin coat was worn in both summer and winter. It is ornamented with elaborate designs in coloured leather, worn over a variegated skirt, and accompanied by strings of coral.

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 6, p. 4135)

Illustration 34 :

TATRA MUSICIANS

Feast days are an extra excuse for performing their skills in the villages of these wild, heavily-forested regions of the Carpathian Mountains.

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 6, p. 4139)

Illustration 35 :

CRACOW CATHEDRAL IN A CORNER OF THE MARKET PLACE

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 6, p. 4143)

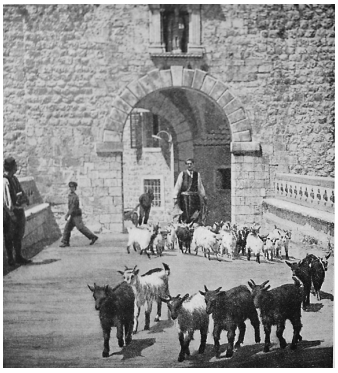
DALMATIA

Illustration 36 :

RAGUSA

Immense walls defend this Adriatic seaport of great strategic importance. The town is entered across a bridge and through the narrow Porta Pille, pictured here, over the arch of which is a statue of Blasius, patron saint of the place.

(*Peoples Of All Nations*, J. A. Hammerton (ed.), Amalgamated Press, London, Vol. 6, p. 4563)



BIBLIOGRAPHY

As cited in the text and notes.