

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

## PART II HUNGARY

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### INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

This article attempts to cover some non-official British attitudes to the Hungarian part of the Dual Monarchy. An article about Austria-Hungary in general, and with emphasis on the western Austrian part has already been published. The goal in both articles is to try and identify who the British Radicals were, and what they were able to know about the Habsburg Empire between about 1890 and 1914.<sup>2</sup>

### (I)<sup>3</sup>

The visit of the Eighty Club to Hungary in 1906 was the result of an idea put forward in the previous year by some Liberal politicians, when their Party was in Opposition. Following the Liberal electoral victory of 1906 the new Parliament contained 163 members of the Club, so clearly it had the potential for considerable political impact.<sup>4</sup> Some notable Radical M.P.s who belonged to

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<sup>1</sup> The author of this article wishes to express profound gratitude to the University College London School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES) for having been granted access to the papers of R.W. Seton-Watson.

<sup>2</sup> For a definition of the term 'British Radicals', see the articles listed at the end of the text of this publication. Throughout this article, for the convenience of the reader, names of Hungarians have been rendered in the 'Western-style' of Christian name first and family name following, which is the opposite practice to that which those people have traditionally used.

<sup>3</sup> For a summary of the route taken by the Eighty Club members on that visit, see following the end of this article's text.

<sup>4</sup> General Election of 1906, 212 members were candidates for Parliament of whom 163 were successful. 30 members in the House of Lords. Total membership of the Club about 750. Eighty Club, *Hungary. Its People, Places, And Politics* (1907), p. 28.

the Club were Thomas Burt,<sup>5</sup> G.P. Gooch,<sup>6</sup> J. Corrie Grant,<sup>7</sup> Thomas Lough<sup>8</sup> and Thomas J. Macnamara.<sup>9</sup> Of the 28-strong deputation which eventually visited Hungary, one could count Joseph King,<sup>10</sup> R.C. Lambert,<sup>11</sup> Sir Charles McLaren<sup>12</sup> and G. Toulmin<sup>13</sup> as also exhibiting Radical tendencies.

During the visit it was planned that two conferences be held, one on Labour Legislation and the other on International Disarmament. However, because of the struggle in Austria-Hungary between the Monarchy and the Magyars over the language of command to be used by the Hungarian units, it was realized that the conference on International Disarmament was too sensitive an issue to be held at that time. Consequently it was cancelled, for

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<sup>5</sup> Thomas Burt (1837–1922), M.P. for Morpeth 1874–1918. Privy Councillor 1906. Father of the House of Commons 1910–1918. President of International Peace League 1882–1914. Many articles in several journals. D.C.L. (Durham) 1911.

<sup>6</sup> George Peabody Gooch (1873–1968), M.P. for Bath 1906–1910. Educated at King's College (London) and Trinity College (Cambridge). Married in 1903 [Sophie Gabriele Emilie Marie] Else Schön (1880–1958), an art student from Saxony, daughter of Julius Schön of Berlin. Private Secretary to J. Bryce, when latter was Chief Secretary for Ireland. Historian. President of Historical Association 1922–25. President of National Peace Council 1933–36.

<sup>7</sup> J Corrie Grant (1850–1924), M.P. for Rugby division of Warwickshire 1900–1910. Educated at City of London School. Barrister. K.C. 1906. (His first and middle names were actually 'Corrie Brighton').

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Lough (1850–1922), M.P. for W. Islington 1892–1918. Educated at Royal School, Cavan, and Wesley College, Dublin. Married in 1880 Edith Helen, daughter of Rev. John Mills. Wholesale Tea Merchant. Parliamentary Secretary to Board of Education 1905–1908. Privy Councillor 1908. Member of the Royal Archaeological Society of Ireland. Author.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas James Macnamara (1861–1931), M.P. for N. Camberwell 1900–1918, and for N.W. Camberwell 1918–1924. PC 1911. Educated at St. Thomas's School Exeter, and Borough Road Training College for Teachers. President of National Union of Teachers 1896. Editor of the *Schoolmaster* 1892–1907. Author of *Schoolmaster Sketches*, *Schoolroom Humour*, and many works on educational methods, in addition to social issues. Member of London School Board 1894–1903. Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board 1907–1908. Parliamentary and Financial Secretary to the Admiralty 1908–1920. Journalist. Fellow of Journalists' Institute.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph King (1860–1943), M.P. for N. Somerset 1910–1918. Educated at Uppingham School and Trinity College (Oxford). Barrister. Author.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Cornthwaite Lambert (1868–1939), M.P. for Cricklade division of Wiltshire 1910–1918. Eldest son of Rev. R.U. Lambert, Vicar of Christ Church, Bradford-on-Avon, and of Agnes, daughter of Ven. T. Stanton, Archdeacon of Wiltshire. Educated at Shrewsbury School and Trinity College (Cambridge) B.A. (Hons.) History. Barrister. J.P. Executive Committee of the Eighty Club.

<sup>12</sup> Charles Benjamin Bright McLaren (1850–1934), M.P. for Stafford 1880–1886, and Bosworth division of Leicestershire 1892–1910. Privy Councillor 1908. Created Bart. 1902. Created Baron Aberconway 1911. Educated M.A. (First Class Hons.) (Edinburgh) 1870, and at Bonn and Heidelberg. Barrister. J.P.

<sup>13</sup> George Toulmin (1857–1923), M.P. for Bury 1902–1918. Educated at Preston Grammar School. Newspaper proprietor. President of Newspaper Society 1912–1913. J.P. Knighted 1911.

... it was of course recognised by both sides that the visit of the Eighty Club should be an occasion for diplomatic restraint with regard to all the internal debatable controversies of the hour.<sup>14</sup>

The British Liberals were to be hosted by the Independent Club, which fulfilled the role in relation to the Hungarian Independent Party, that the Eighty Club filled in relation to the British Liberal Party. The Hungarian counterpart had 260 members of its Club in its Parliament.

It was claimed in the Eighty Club's book of the visit, with regard to the Hungarian Independent Party, that 'It is true that its prime aim is not to effect political and social reforms, ...'<sup>15</sup> Likewise, it was asserted that 'The aim of the Independent Club and Party is not to affect a complete political separation from Austria.'<sup>16</sup> Apparently the 'supreme issue' was a constitutional one as to

... whether the people should work out their own programme through their elected representatives and a Ministry supported by Parliament, or should submit to a non-Parliamentary rule of Ministers selected by the Crown.<sup>17</sup>

With a desire to distance itself even more from Viennese influence in Hungary, it is extraordinary that the British Liberals could not or did not wish to see where the ultimate logical outcome of the Independent Party would be. Indeed its very name made it obvious. The Eighty Club stated that :

The Hungarian Independent Club is, as its name implies, heir to the traditions and ideals of the great patriot, Louis Kossuth. Its Magyar title ... (National Independent and Forty-Eight Club), declares this. ... The party of 1848 had again become dominant in Hungary ; a future seemed before it, such as had not been dreamed of since Louis Kossuth was a Minister, more than fifty years ago. It seemed fitting that descendants of the English Liberals who had befriended the illustrious exile should now visit his grave and his country.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Eighty Club, *Hungary. Its People, Places, And Politics* (1907), p. 25.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

As it was, the Independent Party was led in 1906 by Francis, the son of Louis Kossuth.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, the deputation's first official engagement in Hungary was to visit the grave of Louis Kossuth where they laid a wreath. On it were the words 'To the Glorious Memory of Louis Kossuth - the Eighty Club.'<sup>20</sup>

So, how could the deputation of the Eighty Club have been so misguided in thinking that they could be aloof from Austro-Hungarian politics by their visit? It seems inconceivable that they did not know, and by their visit, thereby give tacit agreement to the aims of the Independent Party which ultimately would lead to the break-up of the Dual Monarchy. The members of the deputation from the Eighty Club were used by the Magyars as political pawns, in showing Vienna that Budapest had the approval and support of British Liberal opinion. Clearly, it would have appeared somewhat more diplomatic, if the Eighty Club had included in their itinerary some areas within Austria.

The deputation of the Eighty Club appeared oblivious to the policy of Magyarisation. For example, on 19<sup>th</sup> September when they reached Pozsony, still in a private capacity as the official period of the trip had not yet begun, they were taken to the town theatre after dinner to listen to an operetta.<sup>21</sup> They knew that for 11 months every year '... Hungarian pieces only ...' were performed there, that being a rule of the subsidy given by Budapest. Duly noting that '... in September a short German season is given, ...'<sup>22</sup> they made no comment on this arrangement, apparently accepting it as satisfactory. The minority races were thereby totally excluded from hearing or seeing anything, at any time, performed in the theatre for them. The exclusion of the minorities was of course deliberately engineered by the Magyar hosts. For example, on the evening of the 22<sup>nd</sup> September, the deputation attended a banquet held in their honour as guests of the Government. The Hungarian Prime Minister and various ministers, including, it must be added, that for Croatia, were present. Count Albert Apponyi, the Minister of Education, gave a speech in which he referred to '... the meeting of two nationalities ... [as being] a valued treasure to the Hungarian

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<sup>19</sup> The Anglicized form of these names is used, because that is what was used in the Eighty Club book.

Francis Kossuth (1841-1914), Hungarian civil engineer and statesman. Educated at Paris Polytechnic and London University. Lived in Italy 1861-1894. Escorted father Louis's remains to Hungary in 1894, and in 1895 decided to take oath of allegiance and settle in his native land. Elected for Tapolca in 1895, and Cegléd in 1896. In 1898 became leader of the 'Party of Independence and '48'. In 1905 his Party won, and in further elections in 1906 with a large majority he assumed the post of Minister of Commerce, 1906-1910. In 1909 the Party split into two factions - the Kossuth and Justh elements. Increasing ill-health hampered his political activities so that he appeared less in Parliament, and then only on special occasions. In the summer of 1913 the Party was re-united, though not under his leadership. He made his last appearance in Parliament at the end of October, thereafter being consigned to his sickbed. Author of numerous articles.

<sup>20</sup> Eighty Club, *Hungary. Its People, Places, And Politics* (1907), p. 53.

<sup>21</sup> *Die lustige Wittwe*. [sic, *Die lustige Witwe - The Merry Widow* by Franz Lehár (1870-1948), première in December 1905].

<sup>22</sup> Eighty Club, *Hungary. Its People, Places, And Politics* (1907), p. 37.

people.<sup>23</sup> This reference to the 'English guests' and the Magyars totally ignored the fact that the latter were in the minority compared to the total of the rest of the races of Hungary. This discrepancy was repeated throughout the visit. For example, on 24<sup>th</sup> September, the culmination of the visit was the Conference on Labour Legislation, followed by another banquet. In opening the Conference, Francis Kossuth in his speech, stated: 'We form the majority of the Parliamentary representation of the Hungarian people, and as such we greet you here.'<sup>24</sup>

Perhaps it was not to be expected that the Eighty Club deputation, or possibly most of its members, did not see the real racial situation in Hungary, for many of those members were racist. Mr. H. de R. Walker M.P. at the same Conference was prepared to deliver a paper entitled 'Notes On The Democracies Of Australia And New Zealand.' In it, he referred in passing also to '... the West Indies or the tropical regions of Africa' and to South Africa. In the case of the former two, he condescendingly held that they are '... at present very little permeated with the principles of English civilization.' In the instance of South Africa, where he believed that the Dutch and English could yet live harmoniously together, he maintained '... but their problems are greatly complicated and diversified by the presence in their midst of several millions of half-civilised blacks.'<sup>25</sup> This was the sort of language and attitude that the Magyars were applying to the Slovaks, Romanians, Serbs and others.

At a banquet given by the Independent Club on 24<sup>th</sup> September, Francis Kossuth again drew attention to the similarity of the constitutions of Britain and Hungary, and claiming them to be '... the oldest Constitutions in the world ...' maintained that '... both recognise the holy right of opposition.'<sup>26</sup> The 'opposition' he referred to, was not the struggle of the minority races vis-à-vis the Magyar, but rather the latter seeking '... by constitutional means, and with the consent of our constitutional King the independence of our dear Fatherland.'<sup>27</sup> Charles McLaren in reply, referred

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<sup>23</sup> *ibid*, p. 90.

(Count) Albert Apponyi de Nagyappony (1846-1933), Hungarian nobleman and politician. A member of the Hungarian Parliament with exception of only a short interlude 1872-1918. From late 1880s the leader of all parties united in hostility to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. Speaker of House of Representatives 1901-1903. Minister of Religion and Education 1906-1910 and 1917-1918. Drafted the laws which when passed in 1907 vigorously pursued the policy of Magyarization. For example, during the first four years of primary education all reading, writing and counting were to be exclusively in Hungarian. This also applied to the teaching of religion from 1909. Led the Hungarian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, resulting in the 1920 Treaty of Trianon for his country. Some notable writings: *A Brief Sketch of the Hungarian Constitution and of the Relations between Austria and Hungary* (1908), *Lectures on the Peace Problem and on the Constitutional Growth of Hungary* (1911), *Justice for Hungary: review and criticism of the effect of the Treaty of Trianon* (1928), autobiography: *The Memoirs of Count Apponyi* (posthumously 1935).

<sup>24</sup> Eighty Club, *Hungary. Its People, Places, And Politics* (1907), p. 131.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid*, p. 169.

<sup>26</sup> *ibid*, p. 197.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid*, p. 198.

to ‘... those principles of political freedom with which Mr. Gladstone’s name will ever be associated, ...’<sup>28</sup> and continued by saying:

We have always been interested in the aspirations of independent nationalities, and have denounced political and racial oppression. Holland and Belgium, Greece, Italy and the Balkan States, have achieved independence with the warmest sympathy of the party whom we represent at home, ...<sup>29</sup>

The subsequent praise of the Magyar people was no doubt music to the ears of the hosts. The guests were clearly duped by the Magyar propaganda. The classic similes were produced. ‘Like all English boys, I felt the romance of Hungarian history. In imagination I pictured Hungary’s beautiful women and its chivalrous men.’ As if finally to allay any remaining doubts that their hosts might have, Sir Charles made it clear that it was not the British custom ‘... to interfere with or criticise the internal politics of other States ...’ and that the Eighty Club understood the Hungarian Independent Party to be ‘... in sympathy with those great principles which rule English political life.’<sup>30</sup> Speeches abounded. Count Apponyi made a ‘spontaneous’ oration justifying an independent Hungary. Given the constitutional complexity of the topic, one wonders what else he could have said had he actually had time to prepare it. He concluded by referring to the maintenance as a great power of Austria and Hungary in alliance: ‘... that great power will only be quite securely established when it has set at rest the national aspirations which exist within it.’<sup>31</sup> With cries of ‘Eljen!’<sup>32</sup> ringing in his ears, he must have felt confident that the deputation from the Eighty Club would have no doubts as to which nation’s aspirations he was referring to. It certainly was not those of the Slovaks, Romanians, Serbs and other minority races: they were to be Magyarised.

There appears to have been a certain naivety in the lack of observation of the deputation. For example, in their official visit to Pozsony on 27<sup>th</sup> September, they were shown around the brush factory of Messrs. Grüneberg. It was noted that about 1,200 men and women worked there from the three principal racial groups of the area: Germans, Magyars and Slovaks. Apparently, no difficulty was experienced in getting them to work together. However, that hardly seems surprising in view of the fact that to keep body and soul together most were working a 60 hours week based on piecework.<sup>33</sup> Incidentally, this was one of the extremely few occasions when any direct mention of the minority races was made in the official account of the delegation’s visit to Hungary. Again, on 29<sup>th</sup> September, while on the Danubian excursion arranged for them, the delegation

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<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*, p. 199.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>31</sup> *ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>32</sup> i.e. ‘Long Live!’

<sup>33</sup> Eighty Club, *Hungary. Its People, Places, And Politics* (1907), p. 245.

passed on the river some of the picturesque scenery in the southernmost part of Hungary. They observed 'The strangely clad peasants on the slopes, ...';<sup>34</sup> the Turkish Moslems who waved them a greeting from the Island of Ada-Kaleh not far from Orsova;<sup>35</sup> and, once again on shore, the Romanian peasants who danced and played country music for them at the health resort of Herculesfürdő.<sup>36</sup> However, the delegates were uncritical of what they saw of other minority races, and the description given in the book relating to the visit leaves the reader with the impression of a group of British tourists on holiday.

The visiting party were wined and dined at frequent banquets, and they enjoyed the scenery of the Tatra mountains and of the Danubian boat trip. At the various towns, they were greeted by the local officials and accepted the hospitality in good faith. Indeed, they had gone to Hungary with pre-conceived ideas about what their experience would be like, and consequently sought reinforcement in those views everywhere they turned. For example, Oscar Browning wrote that he

... had gone to Hungary with the idea that Latin was habitually spoken by the cultivated classes, and that it could be used in conversation as a substitute for German, the use of which is certainly discouraged. It is true that up to 1848 Latin was the official language of the Hungarian Parliament, and in the earlier part of the century it was the current tongue of society. As it is, I only met with one man who could converse fluently in that language, and he had learned it in an ecclesiastical seminary. We must therefore surrender the idea that an ability to speak Latin is a passport to Hungarian travel.<sup>37</sup>

This disappointment, however, did not stop Browning from giving a speech in Latin, before all assembled, in praise of the Hungarian River and Sea Navigation Company, while on board the Danubian vessel. The manager of the Steamship Company more appropriately replied in French, a language that probably most, if not all of those present, could understand.<sup>38</sup>

The deputation of the Eighty Club realized that the visit was the object of criticism by newspapers.<sup>39</sup> Those who went on the visit felt that they would be able '... to correct and modify statements ...' in such newspapers in the future. So they did believe that what they heard and what they saw in Hungary was an accurate picture of the state of that country, otherwise clearly they would not be in a position to make authoritative judgements on what the newspapers printed.

The deputation claimed to be aware of '... the undercurrent of racial animosity ... everywhere ...'

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<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*, p. 314.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*, p. 317.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 270-271.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 318-321.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, p. 330.

However, they chose not to speak out against it, and anyway, they saw it as rather more of a German-Magyar antipathy than involving many other races: ‘... we went as friends of all and the enemies of none, and nothing we did or said in Budapest made us anything but welcome in Austria.’<sup>40</sup> They simply brushed aside the aspirations of the minority races in Hungary, and refused to condemn the undemocratic state of political affairs:

We knew ... that the Magyars, as distinct from the Magyar-speaking population, did not form a majority of the whole nation, although they always have been the ruling race, but their percentage is larger than that of the Germans in Austria. If Mr. Kossuth’s paper at the Conference can be taken as representing the party’s views, they are certainly not anti-Labour, although we learnt with regret that no Labour member had a seat in Parliament. It is true also that the franchise is restricted, but the simple Hungarians seem not to have discovered the secrets of plural voting and University representation. The Independent Party, too, is largely an aristocratic party, but there is no evidence to prove that a more democratic franchise would have caused any important change in the balance of parties.<sup>41</sup>

Such writings, being based on the views of probably the majority of those who visited Hungary, and anyway, at least being put forward as representing all on the trip, indicate the preponderance of a non-Radical frame of mind.

(II)<sup>42</sup>

In a previous article published by this author about the Radicals and Austria-Hungary, by way of comparison, considerable comment was made of the views of the non-Radical Wickham Steed.<sup>43</sup> Well, the only other British national who knew as much, if not more than him about Austria-Hungary in the years leading up to the First World War, was the Scotsman, R.W. Seton-Watson.<sup>44</sup> The latter appeared to hold many Radical sentiments in the years preceding the Great War.

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<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*, p. 411.

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.*, p. 400.

<sup>42</sup> For a map that shows some of the places mentioned in this part of the article, see that following the summary of the Eighty Club’s visit to Hungary below. For simplicity, the places referred to in this part of the text will have a number placed after them in brackets, thus for example: {1}. That number will be found on the map, indicating the approximate location in Austria-Hungary.

<sup>43</sup> 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).



Nevertheless, he was moving away from sufficient of them, that by the Autumn of 1914 he could be described as being somewhat politically pragmatic. In that respect he could be compared to G.M. Trevelyan<sup>45</sup> who being just three years his senior followed a similar transition. It is interesting that it was the two of them who travelled in 1915 to Serbia to witness for themselves the plight of those Slavs.

Seton-Watson in the years preceding the First World War showed such Radical characteristics as having an exaggerated religious upbringing, which in turn led to the development of a strong moral conscience. He was a historian. He was strongly attracted to German culture. Suffering to animals or humans was detestable to him.

First of those factors to be examined is the religious influence in his upbringing. Seton-Watson's father<sup>46</sup> had been destined originally for a clerical life but by his own volition became apprenticed as a clerk in a Glasgow firm, which led to a life-time of commercial activity. Seton-Watson commented about his parents that '... there was never any doubt that religion and a deep interest in 'first things' was the main bond of union between them. ... the one preserved to the end of his life the strictly Puritanical and Sabbatarian ideas of the Free Church in its first prime, ....'<sup>47</sup> Seton-Watson felt that religion '... was the ruling motive and interest in life' for his father and his father's sister. He maintained that Sunday was the most important day of the week and that its religious observance be strictly upheld. He recalled how

Every toy, every weekday book was sternly banished, even singing or whistling was discouraged, two lengthy church services were supplemented by the teaching of the Shorter Catechism, ... Thus to my childish imagination Saturday was like heavy clouds banking up along the horizon, which, I knew only too surely, would overcast the whole Sunday landscape.<sup>48</sup>

The impact of that atmosphere on Seton-Watson's upbringing was heightened by his position in

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<sup>44</sup> Robert William Seton-Watson (1879-1951), British historian; numerous writings, including *Racial Problems in Hungary* (1908) using his pseudonym 'Scotus Viator', and *The Southern Slav Question and the Habsburg Monarchy* hereafter referenced as *The Southern Slav Question*(1911).

<sup>45</sup> George Macaulay Trevelyan (1876-1962), British historian. Regius Professor of Modern History, Cambridge University 1927-1940. Amongst his many writings, the following pre-Great War ones are particularly relevant with regards nationalistic aspirations: *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic* (1907), *Garibaldi and the Thousand* (1909), *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy* (1911). See David Cannadine's biography: *G.M. Trevelyan: A Life in History* (1998).

<sup>46</sup> William-Livingstone Watson (d. 1903), Scottish merchant in Calcutta, then landowner in Scotland.

<sup>47</sup> Quoted in Hugh and Christopher Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* subtitled *R. W. Seton-Watson and the last years of Austria-Hungary*, Methuen, London (1981), p. 2.

The quoted words were originally written in the 1940s by the above authors' father for his intended memoirs.

<sup>48</sup> Quoted in *ibid*, p. 6. Originally in his intended memoirs.

the family. He was an only child with no first cousin. He admitted that he ‘... was a lonely little boy ...’. Additionally, his mother<sup>49</sup> was an invalid from when he was just two years old so that he ‘... never, to my knowledge, once saw her walk or even stand.’<sup>50</sup> She ate her meals in her rooms and only saw him ‘... in the garden or at teatime and after dinner; ...’.<sup>51</sup> Correspondingly the impact that his active father made on him was much greater than that of his mother. The household was run in his earliest years by his father’s sister Jeanie ‘... who had little understanding for children.’<sup>52</sup> However from 1890 a distant cousin, Mary Lorimer, succeeded to that task. Seton-Watson was full of praise for her and of all the members of the family felt that ‘... I more than any of them owe to her eternal gratitude.’<sup>53</sup> The preponderating influence of his father can be ascertained by his comments about his father’s death in May 1903.

Although the previous weeks [of his ill-health] had prepared me for the inevitable, I felt his loss very keenly: for we had been real companions, I had the most complete and unreserved trust in his sterling worth of character, and I had no other near relatives (and indeed hardly any at all) on his side of the house. There was no one of my own generation near me.<sup>54</sup>

It was therefore not surprising that this young Scotsman should have a heightened sense of morality. He thereby possessed one of the characteristics of the Radicals, namely that of a sharpened conscience.

A further Radical characteristic showed itself in Seton-Watson’s disgust for suffering and killing of any kind. Interestingly, this arose despite the fact that his father was an enthusiastic angler who fished on Loch Leven and the River Tay. Indeed it was reputed, that through fishing in southern England on the River Itchen, his father made friends who informed him of Winchester School. Consequently the son was sent to school there. Seton-Watson’s abhorrence of suffering was succinctly stated :

... I never could get up any enthusiasm for ‘killing things,’ and various kinsmen and neighbours eventually gave me up as a bad job. This I have never regretted, ...<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Elizabeth-Lindsay Seton (1850-1899). For some years joint-editor of *Attempt*, later the *Ladies' Edinburgh Magazine*. She married William-Livingstone Watson 13<sup>th</sup> February 1878.

<sup>50</sup> Quoted in H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 6. Originally in his intended memoirs.

<sup>51</sup> Quoted in *ibid*, p. 5. Originally in his intended memoirs.

<sup>52</sup> Quoted in *ibid*, p. 6. Originally in his intended memoirs.

<sup>53</sup> Quoted in *ibid*, p. 5. Originally in his intended memoirs.

<sup>54</sup> Quoted in *ibid*, pp. 14-15. Originally in his intended memoirs.

<sup>55</sup> Quoted in *ibid*, p. 7. Originally in his intended memoirs.

His attitude to suffering showed itself clearly later in the defence of the minorities against their German and Magyar overlords within Austria-Hungary.

Like most other Radicals, Seton-Watson came from a well-to-do family that lived in comfortable surroundings. At the age of ten the family moved to the country house of Ayton which was just 7 miles from Perth and 11 miles from where they had been before in Kinross. A year later the London property was sold, from which his father had done so much of his work. Seton-Watson was sent to the preparatory school of Horris Hill followed by Winchester and, in 1898, New College, Oxford. The latter was despite the fact that he failed to gain a scholarship there. His continental travels indicate anything other than a poor background. At 14 he made his first foreign excursion with his maternal grandfather,<sup>56</sup> which was to Paris. That was followed in 1895 by going to Rome and Florence with his father. In August 1898, the year he started studying at Oxford, he began a visit to Germany seeing among other places, Nauheim, Heidelberg, Mainz, Frankfurt, and Berlin. Greece, Corfu and Constantinople were seen at Easter 1899. Soon afterwards Florence was again visited, where he had daily lessons in Italian. In order to improve his German, there followed a period of some months at Marburg. Five months on the Riviera at Mentone and San Remo ended in a hasty return to Ayton where Seton-Watson's father died in May 1903. Seton-Watson at that point '... formed the sentimental ambition of an annual visit to Italy, ...'. Additionally:

In October 1903, ..., Ayton was shut up for the winter, and was to be let for three consecutive summers, while I embarked upon a three years' plan of study at the Universities of Berlin, Paris and Vienna, ...<sup>57</sup>

He travelled extensively in France, Italy and Germany before he first visited Vienna in November 1905. Thereafter, with the exception of 1911 when he married, he visited areas of Austria-Hungary every year until 1914. Obviously such travels cost money, and his wealth was further apparent in the fact that he was 'Fortunate in not having to concern himself about earning his own living, ...'.<sup>58</sup>

It should be borne in mind that Seton-Watson freely chose to spend his money by visiting Austria-Hungary in order to gain information for his books and other various writings regarding the subject minorities. Whereas, Wickham Steed was there earning his living as the *Times* correspondent. Therefore one could conclude that their perspective of Central European affairs

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<sup>56</sup> George Seton (1822-1908), Genealogist and historian. Lawyer. M.A. (Oxon), Member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Author of many works, for example: *A History Of The Family Of Seton During Eight Centuries*. 2 vols. (1896), and the well-known *Treatise on Heraldry*. His father was a merchant in the East India Company.

<sup>57</sup> Quoted in H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 15. Originally in his intended memoirs.

<sup>58</sup> R.B. Betts, Obituary of 'Robert William Seton-Watson 1879-1951' in *Slavonic And East European Review*. Vol. 30. (1951-52), p. 252.

was substantially coloured by that difference. Steed was required to write articles for a newspaper that was considered even by foreigners to be the official mouthpiece of the British Government. Additionally, his writings had to fit in with editorial policy and to help make the newspaper sell. Frankly, Seton-Watson was free to write whatever he liked about the Dual Monarchy. Indeed it is possible to argue that his books would have sold in greater numbers had he portrayed the more traditional tourist type of guide, in which Viennese waltzes and the colourful costumes of the various peoples predominated, the latter all living in harmony under the benevolent rule of the German and Magyar oligarchies.

Like so many other Radicals, Seton-Watson had a deep and life-long interest in the study of history. Seton-Watson recalled how his maternal grandfather influenced him in his early years more than any other person with the exception of his parents. As a member of the household from 1891 until 1903, grandfather Seton inspired the young Seton-Watson with stories relating to that side of the family.<sup>59</sup> As his grandfather gave public lectures and had some of his work published, Seton-Watson believed that of the '... three successive occasions [when his grandfather] ... suffered grave set-backs in his career ...'<sup>60</sup> the second of them was when he was bypassed for the Professorship of Law and History at Edinburgh University.

At Winchester the young Seton-Watson recalls how the headmaster, Dr. Fearon,<sup>61</sup> encouraged him to specialize in history and thereby exempted him from much of the ordinary curriculum. Seton-Watson wrote of Fearon :

To him I owe a deep debt of gratitude, for ... his fine enthusiasm for many causes acted like a strong tonic. In particular, his exposition of the Civil War left a permanent mark on me.<sup>62</sup>

Consequently when Seton-Watson went to Oxford it seemed only natural that he should read Modern History in which he was awarded a First Class. It was there that he won the Stanhope

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<sup>59</sup> H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 3.

<sup>60</sup> Quoted in H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 5.

Originally in his intended memoirs. The sons Hugh and Christopher, state in the opening paragraph of the Prologue (p. 1) to their most interesting book about their father: *The Making of a New Europe*, that the motto of the Seton family was 'Hazard Zet Forward'. By way of observation, when the author of this article looked at George Seton's *A History Of The Family Of Seton During Eight Centuries* (footnote 56), she noticed that the family motto in the book was 'Hazard zet fordward' (vol. II, p. 618), and on the title page was reproduced as 'HAZARD ZIT FORDWARD'. On p. 620 this motto was confirmed, as it appears on the image of the beautiful Seton family crest.

<sup>61</sup> William Andrewes Fearon, headmaster 1884-1901.

<sup>62</sup> Quoted in H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 8.

Originally in his intended memoirs.

Historical Essay on the *Emperor Maximilian I* in 1901. He read Motley,<sup>63</sup> Prescott,<sup>64</sup> Froude,<sup>65</sup> Freeman,<sup>66</sup> Hallam,<sup>67</sup> Lecky<sup>68</sup> and Macaulay.<sup>69</sup> He came under the very strong influence of Ferdinand Gregorovius<sup>70</sup> and Ranke,<sup>71</sup> ‘to my mind one of the greatest of all historians, ...’.<sup>72</sup> While in Berlin in 1904 he paid a visit to the home of Otto von Ranke,<sup>73</sup> the son of Leopold. Various pictures and awards relating to the latter’s life were everywhere in the house so that the visit took on something of the atmosphere of a pilgrimage for Seton-Watson. Indeed he described it as ‘Perhaps

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<sup>63</sup> John Lothrop Motley (1814-1877), American historian and diplomat. Of his works, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* 3 vols. (1856), and the *History of the United Netherlands* 4 vols. (1860-67) are the most well-known. U.S. Minister to the Austrian Empire 1861-67, and to Great Britain 1869-70. Died near Dorchester, and is buried in London.

<sup>64</sup> William Hickling Prescott (1796-1859), American historian. Of his publications, his most literary outstanding work *The History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843), was followed by *A History of the Conquest of Peru* (1847).

<sup>65</sup> James Anthony Froude (1818-1894), English historian, novelist, biographer, and editor of *Fraser’s Magazine* 1861-1874. Rector of University of St. Andrews 1868-1871. Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford 1892-1894. Particularly noted for: *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth* 12 vols. (1856-1870), title revised to be until the defeat of the Spanish Armada, (1893). *Life of Carlyle* (1882-1884).

<sup>66</sup> Edward Augustus Freeman (1823-1892), English historian and architectural artist. Admirer of Gladstonian liberal politics. Preceded J.A. Froude as Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford 1884-1892. Tutored Arthur Evans who went on to discover the Palace of Knossos on Crete. Freeman’s daughter, Margaret, married Evans. Both Freeman and Evans were activists in the 1874-1878 Bosnia-Herzegovinan uprising against Ottoman rule. Evans collaborated with Freeman over the writing of the latter’s 4<sup>th</sup> volume of the *History of Sicily*. Main historical works: *History of the Norman Conquest* (1867-1876) and *History of Sicily* (1891-1894).

<sup>67</sup> Henry Hallam (1777-1859), English historian. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, JP. Outstanding works: *The View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages* (1818), *Constitutional History of England* (1827), and *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (1837-1839).

<sup>68</sup> William Edward Hartpole Lecky (1838-1903), Irish historian and political theorist. M.P. for Dublin University 1895-1903. *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland* (1861), *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe* 2 vols. (1865), *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne* 2 vols. (1869), *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century* 8 vols. (1878-1890) – 12 vols. (1892) of which 5 vols. separated out to form *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century, Democracy and Liberty* 2 vols. (1896), amongst other works.

<sup>69</sup> Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859), British historian and Whig politician. M.P. for Calne 1830-1832, Leeds 1832-1834, Edinburgh 1839-1847 and 1852-1856. Various posts included: Secretary to the Board of Control 1832-1833, Secretary at War 1839-1841, Paymaster-General 1846-1848. Rector of Glasgow University 1848-1850. Barrister. Created Baron Macaulay 1857. As a result of his appointments in India during the 1830s, especially influential in furthering the spread there of the English language. Most famous historical work: *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second* 5 vols., last volume being posthumously published (1848-end of his life).

<sup>70</sup> Ferdinand Gregorovius (1821-1891), German historian from East Prussia. Moved to live in Italy in 1852. He was the first German to be made an honorary citizen of Rome 1876. Eventually returned to Germany and died in Munich. Specialized in the medieval history of Rome, hence his *Die Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter* (1859-1872) translated into English (1894-1902).

the most interesting house to which I had the entrée ...<sup>74</sup> while he was staying in the German capital. It is interesting to note that Seton-Watson was taught by the Radical historian, H.A.L. Fisher,<sup>75</sup> and praised him above all others at Oxford: '... it is the bare truth to say that I owed more to one, Herbert Fisher, than to all others put together.'. And again: 'Fortune was kind when it assigned to me such a tutor as Fisher.'<sup>76</sup>

At the end of his studies at New College, Seton-Watson wished to become a historian. His father did not oppose that idea but wanted his son first to train in the Scottish legal profession to fall back on if not successful in writing history. No doubt that would have come to fruition had Seton-Watson's father not died at the crucial juncture in his son's life. It was then decided, after consultations with friends and relatives, to proceed immediately to writing. It was Seton-Watson's intention to study the German Renaissance and Reformation with a view

... to make this my main life work, the purpose being to interpret German political and religious thought and culture to my own country - not stopping at Luther, but on the contrary tracing the threads of development through the tragedies of the Counter-Reformation and the Thirty Years' War and providing, as I hoped, the clues to the German Romantic, Liberal and Imperialistic movements of the twentieth century.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886), German historian. Professor of Berlin University. Appointed as Royal Historiographer to the Prussian Court 1841. Ennobled 1865. Prussian Privy Councillor 1882. Honorary citizen of Berlin 1885. Principally remembered for his: *Geschichte der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514* (1824), *Die römischen Päpste, ihre kirche und ihr Staat im sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (1834-1836), *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (1845-1847). His use of primary sources in the writing of history, and his insistence that each period of time has its unique value, established him as the father of modern historiographical writing.

<sup>72</sup> Quoted in H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 9. Originally in his intended memoirs.

<sup>73</sup> Otto von Ranke (1844-1928), Evangelical pastor and theologian.

<sup>74</sup> Quoted in H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 16. Originally in his intended memoirs.

<sup>75</sup> Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher (1865-1940), English historian, educator and Liberal politician. M.P. for Sheffield Hallam 1916-1918, and for Combined English Universities 1918-1926. Appointed as a member of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India 1912-1915. President of Board of Education 1916-1922. Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University 1913-1917. PC 1916. Most relevant works to this article: *The Medieval Empire* (1898), *Studies in Napoleonic Statesmanship: Germany* (1903), *Bonapartism; Six Lectures Delivered in the University of London* (1908), *The Republican Tradition in Europe* (1911), *Napoleon* (1912). Pamphlet: *The Value of Small States* Oxford Pamphlets No. 17 (1914). Article: *The Political Writings of Rousseau* The Edinburgh Review Vol. CCXXIV No. 457 (July 1916).

<sup>76</sup> Quoted in H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 12. Originally in his intended memoirs.

<sup>77</sup> Quoted in *ibid*, p. 15. Originally in his intended memoirs.

In order to promote the study of history and to perpetuate the memory of his father, Seton-Watson established at Glasgow University the 'Watson Historical Prize.' Additionally he wrote to the University expressing his desire that History as an academic discipline ought to be freed from its dependence on Literature for exam purposes and that the former should thereby be granted '... a position more worthy of a study whose growing importance is generally acknowledged.'<sup>78</sup>

Seton-Watson visited Austria-Hungary in the winter of 1905 with the aim of collecting materials for writing a history of the Habsburg Monarchy from the reign of Maria Theresa to the present. Thus the study of the past formed Seton-Watson's main pre-occupation in the period of his life preceding his first visit to Austria-Hungary in 1905 when he was 26.

Another facet of Seton-Watson's Radical frame of mind was his inclination towards Romantic influences. He had published some poetry entitled *Scotland for Ever!* at the end of his school career. He admitted that it was 'Written in the high Byronic style, ...'<sup>79</sup> and that at that time he read a considerable amount of poetry. Likewise, when he visited Florence and took daily Italian lessons from Padre Fabbri he stated that 'It was a real pleasure to hear him read from Dante or from Pellico.'<sup>80</sup> And again, Seton-Watson recalls that of the two people who during his teenage years influenced him most outside the family circle, the Abernethy minister, Dugald Butler, '... was the most thorough-going idealist ...'. Butler's interest in antiquarian research, which soon involved him in writing a history of his parish, added to his literary knowledge, and his ability to quote poetry apparently endlessly, made him extremely likeable to Seton-Watson.<sup>81</sup> Apart from poetry Seton-Watson's interest in Italy exhibits a fascination with the Romantic elements of the past. His Special Subject at Oxford had been the Italian Renaissance and, as mentioned earlier, by 1903, he had the notion of an annual visit to Italy, '... in a seductive blend of travel and research.' He wrote of

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<sup>78</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 19. Originally a diary entry for 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1905.

<sup>79</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 9. Originally in his intended memoirs.

George Gordon Byron, 6<sup>th</sup> Baron Byron, later George Gordon Noel, 6<sup>th</sup> Baron Byron, simply referred to as 'Lord Byron' (1788-1824). A leading figure in the Romantic Movement. English poet. Extensive travels in Europe, especially in the Mediterranean lands, living in Italy for 7 years. Died in Greece helping the national struggle against Ottoman overlordship. Of the best-known of his output: *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Cantos I & II* (1812) and the rest (1818), *She Walks in Beauty* (1814), and *Don Juan* consisting of a total of 17 cantos (1819-1824).

<sup>80</sup> Quoted in H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 11. Originally in his intended memoirs.

<sup>81</sup> H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 11.

Dugald Butler (1862-1926). Born and educated in Glasgow. M.A. 1883. Ordained. Minister of Abernethy. Of his writings: *The Ancient Church and Parish of Abernethy: A Historical Study* (1897), *John Wesley and George Whitefield in Scotland: or, The Influence of the Oxford Methodists on Scottish Religion* (1898), *Henry Scougal and the Oxford Methodists: or, The Influence of a Religious Teacher of the Scottish Church* (1899), *Scottish Cathedrals and Abbeys* (1901), *The Life and Letters of Robert Leighton: Restoration Bishop of Dunblane and Archbishop of Glasgow* (1903).

his experiences of 'the Eternal City' in 1904. In doing so, he attempted to analyze why he felt an increasing dissatisfaction and unease with the place. He refers to Rome as '... the mother of the Modern World, the cradle of our civilization and our law, ...'. He came to the conclusion that '... in no other city is one so sensible of the ravages of time and of the destructive influence of History. ... Rome can boast of nothing which has not suffered from the teeth of time ...'.<sup>82</sup> Seton-Watson's interest in history thereby blended in with his sentimental and Romantic feelings.

Like so many other Radicals, Seton-Watson exalted the contribution that German culture had made to European civilization, and stressed that admiration more strongly than any concern for the growth and dangers of Prussian militarism. Naturally his success in learning the language and studying German history attracted him to understand and appreciate more about Germany itself. He recalled, for example, of how he had visited Berlin in 1903 on the very day of Mommsen's<sup>83</sup> funeral and of how he admired the way Germans rendered so much respect for the passing of a leading historian. Their spirit was in tune with his.

Just two years previously he had had further cause to admire the German way, when in 1901 he was nursed back to health after suffering rheumatic fever in Marburg. The additional complications of pneumonia and pericarditis had put his very life in danger. His first political letter for a newspaper was written following his experiences of four months in hospital and naturally pertained to Anglo-German relations. Quite apart from relating how well treated he had been both before and during his hospitalization, he claimed that he '... never found a trace of that irritable jealousy of which we have heard so much under the name of Anglophobia ...'.<sup>84</sup> He claimed that any obstacles to good feelings between Britain and Germany were generated by journalists, not by the people.

In 1905 he held the view still that peace in Europe lay in establishing good Anglo-German

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<sup>82</sup> H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 18. Originally from contemporary notes on Rome.

<sup>83</sup> (Christian Matthias) Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), German historian from Schleswig, classical scholar, archaeologist, jurist, journalist, and politician. Professor of Law at Leipzig University 1848–1851. Professor of Roman Law at Zürich University 1852–1854. Professor of Law at Breslau 1854–1857. Research Professor at Berlin Academy of Sciences 1857. Appointed a member of that same Academy 1858. Professor of Roman History at Berlin University 1861, where he lectured until 1887. Pour le Mérite 1868. Honorary citizenship of Rome. Nobel Prize for Literature 1902. Published more than 1,500 works, his most renowned being: *Römische Geschichte* 3 vols. (1854–1856). This compared the politics of Republican Rome with his own age regarding concepts such as democracy, the nation-state and emerging imperialism. No vol. 4 was written, but one called vol. 5 (1885). As a politician, and possibly/probably known later than 1903 to Seton-Watson, he desired the assimilation of ethnic minority groups into German society. Very anti-Slav, e.g. calling Czechs 'apostles of barbarism' and that 'the Czech skull is impervious to reason, but it is susceptible to blows'. (Issue No. 11923 of *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, Sunday 31<sup>st</sup> Oct. 1897, front page, paras 2 and 5 respectively of the article entitled 'An die Deutschen in Oesterreich', signed 'Th. M.').

<sup>84</sup> H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 13. Originally from the *Spectator* 21<sup>st</sup> June 1902.



relations. In reply to the anti-German outpourings of the *Spectator* he wrote :

The obstacles are imaginary or passing. Our common interests, our ties of kinship and religion, which it is the fashion today to ignore, are intimate and enduring. The three great Teutonic nations – Britain, America and Germany – are the natural allies of the future ; ...<sup>85</sup>

Seton-Watson admitted that he and the *Spectator's* editor, St. Loe Strachey,<sup>86</sup> were not reconciled in their differing attitudes towards Germany.

Unlike Wickham Steed, and despite the Kaiser's tactless remark at the time of the Algeiras Conference that Austria-Hungary was Germany's 'brilliant second on the duelling-ground,'<sup>87</sup> Seton-Watson did not see the Dual Monarchy as a totally subordinate ally of Berlin. Instead, he believed that Austria-Hungary was very much an independent Great Power in its own right. Consequently he did not see the need, before August 1914, to reduce German power in central Europe by the reduction, if not total dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy.

Having surveyed some of Seton-Watson's main Radical sentiments before he first visited the Dual Monarchy in the autumn of 1905, it is now necessary to see how they were reflected and modified in his opinions between then and 1914. It must be remembered that during that period, that is between the ages of 26 and 35 years old, his ideas changed quite substantially, in response to his growing disillusionment with the Habsburg State's apparent inability to reform itself and move towards a more democratic form of government.

Seton-Watson went to Austria-Hungary in 1905 for several reasons. He went there to collect material for a projected history of the State since Maria Theresa's time. He also went there because he was persuaded to do so by the increasing interest that the *Spectator* showed in his reports about the Dual Monarchy, allied to their distancing from his pro-German sympathetic returns concerning Germany. There was also simply the fact that he had not been there before. He was additionally very interested in the ensuing struggle within the Dual Monarchy over the question of the Magyar desire for the use of the Hungarian language in the army as compared with the present exclusive use of German as the sole language of command. One must also realize that the revolutionary events occurring in Russia at that time were causing widespread interest in central and eastern Europe.

Seton-Watson went from Austria to Hungary because he believed the Magyars to be suffering oppression from Vienna. In that belief he was typical of those in Britain who inherited the mid-

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<sup>85</sup> *ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>86</sup> John St. Loe Strachey (1860-1927), British barrister, then journalist and newspaper proprietor. Editor of *The Spectator* 1887-1925.

<sup>87</sup> H.W. Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy* (1914), pp. 226-227.

nineteenth century Kossuthist image of an enslaved Magyar nation struggling for liberty from the German Austrians. He was observant of ‘... the obviously unfair and often bitter manner in which the press of Vienna commented upon Hungarian affairs.’<sup>88</sup> He held the view at that time that ‘... the Habsburg monarchy is the pivot of the balance of power, and its disappearance would be a European calamity; ...’<sup>89</sup> so he was not advocating the disintegration of that State.

Instead of finding the Magyars the sole people to be involved in a struggle against oppression, Seton-Watson found them very much masters in their own half of the house and the oppressors of various minority races in the Hungarian part of the Empire. Furthermore he felt particularly bitter towards the Magyars as they attempted to deceive him when he was conducted to the various areas of the Kingdom. The Magyars, when observing other races, had merely explained them away to Seton-Watson, by describing those races as being really Hungarians but with regional differences of costumes, song and dance. Wickham Steed recalls the moment when he heard from Seton-Watson the latter’s tale of disillusionment :

“I found I must leave Hungary if I wished to save my love for the Magyars.” ... His quiet voice rose to a pitch of passionate indignation as he exclaimed : “They lied to me ! They lied to me!”<sup>90</sup>

Henceforth instead of feeling the need to champion one of the nationalities efforts to attain freedom from oppression, namely that of the Magyars, Seton-Watson was fully occupied with the causes of the Romanians, Slovaks, Serbs, Croats and others.

The ruling oligarchy in Budapest since the *Ausgleich* of 1867 had adopted the policy of Magyarisation towards the other races in Hungary. The centralist tendencies of the Magyar government were clearly outlined as early as 7<sup>th</sup> May 1906 by Count Apponyi to Seton-Watson. Apponyi claimed that Croatia was recognized to be “... a nation with its own distinctive rights and position, which we fully recognise and which we are willing to extend. But in the rest of Hungary there is only one nation in the state, namely the Hungarian.” He put forward the idea that if Magyar were adopted as the language of command in the army in the Kingdom then a further step towards solving the issue of the Nationalities would have been taken. Apponyi claimed that a measure of local government already existed in the counties but that it was out of the question to grant it on the basis of nationality like Scotland. He bluntly stated that “... there can only be one state and one state idea.”<sup>91</sup>

Professor Louis Lang<sup>92</sup> who was the Rector of Budapest University and who also ‘... firmly

<sup>88</sup> H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 28. Originally an ‘autobiographical fragment.’

<sup>89</sup> ‘The European Outlook’ in the *Scottish Review*, 18.1.1906.

<sup>90</sup> H.W. Steed, ‘Tributes to R.W. Seton-Watson : A Symposium’ in *The Slavonic And East European Review*, Vol. 30 (1951-52), p. 332.

<sup>91</sup> H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 32.

believed in the policy of Magyarisation, ...<sup>93</sup> pointed out to Seton-Watson that in Hungary the policy was working and that in Austria the towns were not being Germanized. In referring to the Slovaks and the ultimate goal of Magyarisation he stated “We shall just keep on at it until there is not a Slovak left.”<sup>94</sup> In practice the policy was perpetrated by the teaching of Magyar in the schools. In daily life if one wished for advancement then a grasp of the language was essential. As Professor Lang told Seton-Watson :

“No one could get on in Hungary without knowing Magyar. Even domestic servants who knew no Magyar were at a disadvantage, and tradespeople found a knowledge of Magyar absolutely essential.”<sup>95</sup>

Consequently, though only about half of the total population of Hungary consisted of true Magyars, nevertheless, virtually 80% of those in urban areas spoke Hungarian and were therefore becoming assimilated. What Seton-Watson witnessed as Magyarisation in Hungary was comparable to the Russification policy perpetrated by the Tsarist regime in Finland, Poland and other regions of the Russian Empire.

Quite apart from listening to the views of the Magyars who naturally had a vested interest in promoting Magyarisation, Seton-Watson also made contact with prominent figures among the various nationalities to collect their interpretation of events. Among the Saxons of Transylvania he met a Lutheran pastor (Dr. Friedrich Teutsch<sup>96</sup>); the director of the Saxon Savings Bank (Dr. Karl Wolf<sup>97</sup>); and the director of the *Siebenburgish-deutsches Tagblatt* (Herr Krafft<sup>98</sup>). Of the Romanians in that province he met a historian (Canon Augustin Bunea<sup>99</sup>) and the legal adviser to the Metropolitan of Blaj {1} who was later to become thrice Prime Minister of Romania in the inter-World War period (Iuliu Maniu<sup>100</sup>). On his subsequent journey into north-west Hungary he met among the Slovaks, two newly elected members of parliament (Dr. Milan Ivanka<sup>101</sup> and Milan Hodža<sup>102</sup>). Some of the others who were at that time prominent, or who would become so in the years following the outbreak of War in 1914, were Thomas G. Masaryk,<sup>103</sup> Professor of Philosophy at Prague University {2}; the Austrian historian Dr. Heinrich Friedjung;<sup>104</sup> the historian Oszkár Jászi;<sup>105</sup> Aurel Popovici<sup>106</sup> who wrote *The United States of Greater Austria*; and Hinko Hinković,<sup>107</sup> a

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<sup>92</sup> Economist and one time Minister of Commerce between 1899 and 1903.

<sup>93</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson Papers. Box 1. 'Hazard Zet Forward. Journey 1906,' p. 2.

<sup>94</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson Papers. Box 1. 'Hazard Zet Forward. Journey 1906,' p. 3.

<sup>95</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson Papers. Box 1. 'Hazard Zet Forward. Journey 1906,' p. 2.

<sup>96</sup> Friedrich Teutsch (1852-1933), Evangelical Bishop to the Transylvanian Saxons 1906-1932. Had studied in Heidelberg, Leipzig and Berlin, theology and history under Wilhelm Wattenbach and Heinrich von Treitschke. Wrote more than 1,300 works, example of which (that had been begun by his father): *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk* 4 vols., of which 2 (1907) covering 1700-1815, 3 (1910) covering 1816-1868, 1 (1925) covering earliest times to 1699, and 4 (1926) covering 1868-1919.

Croatian lawyer in Agram ( Croatian : Zagreb). These people and many others besides, formed a network of informants that he was able to build up in the years preceding the First World War. As listed, they were certainly not all politicians. Seton-Watson even invited some of them to be his guests in Britain. For example in July 1910 Dr. Josip Smodlaka,<sup>108</sup> a leading Croatian politician in Dalmatia, and Dr. Herceg from Split {4} were taken by Seton-Watson to Oxford, Edinburgh, to Ayton, and through the Highlands to the Isle of Skye. In October the Romanian poet, Octavian Goga,<sup>109</sup> was his guest at Ayton for ten days.<sup>110</sup>

During the years 1905–1914 Seton-Watson discovered that the Magyars were behaving in Hungary in an autocratic way redolent of Russia. Firstly, arbitrary government seemed to exist, for in Hungary as well as in Russia, the very laws that had been made by those in power were

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<sup>97</sup> Karl Wolff (1849–1929), Politician and journalist. President of the Saxon Popular Party. A director of the *Hermannstädter Allgemeine Sparkasse* 1885–1919, *Siebenbürger Vereinsbank* and *Revisionsverband*. Leader of the co-operative movement as the President of the *Verband Raiffeisenschen Genossenschaften* from establishment 1886–1928. He and liberal Saxons had good relations with Ministry of Agriculture. Secretly believed that the best way to hinder Magyarization process was to use the co-operative movement to go along with the Hungarian wishes for modernization in Transylvania. Co-operative movement bought estates from some Hungarians in that region and broke up the land into smaller units for redistribution amongst the less well-off landowners. Wolff got on particularly well with Hungarian Minister of Agriculture Count András Bethlen de Bethlen (1847–1898) when the latter was in that office 1890–1894. The latter oversaw the introduction of agricultural statistics, published articles on economics, and established the Institute of Experimental Plant. Bethlen also served as the administrative chief of Brassó and Szeben Counties, the latter being where Hermannstadt was located. In 1896, through Wolff's initiatives had installed an electricity station in that city.

<sup>98</sup> Wilhelm Johann Krafft (1833–1908), Publishing Company: 'W. Krafft Hermannstadt'. Publisher of *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk* by Friedrich Teutsch (mentioned above). Also associated with Karl Wolff (mentioned above), as a member of the directorate of the *Hermannstädter Allgemeinen Sparkasse*, and as a founder of the *Raiffeisenverband* in 1892.

<sup>99</sup> Augustin Bunea (1857–1909), Priest and historian. Born in: Hungarian: Sárkány; Romanian: Șercaia.

<sup>100</sup> Iuliu Maniu (1873–1953), Born in Hungary. Politician of Romanian ethnicity. Studied at a Calvinist College, and then Law at the Franz Joseph University, then at Budapest and Vienna, being awarded a doctorate in 1896. Became a member of the Romanian National Party of Transylvania and Banat, being one of its collective leaders in 1897. On several occasions represented the Party in the Budapest Parliament. Settled in Blaj as mentioned in text above. An advisor to Francis Ferdinand regarding the latter's thoughts of re-organizing Austria-Hungary along the lines of Popović's *The United States of Greater Austria*. After Ferdinand's assassination, moved to a position of unification of Transylvania and Banat with Romania. Prime Minister of Romania four times: 1928–1930, 1930, 1932–1933, and 1944.

<sup>101</sup> Milan Ivanka (1876–1950), Slovak politician. The Slovak National Party's publication, *Národní hlásník*, 1868–1914, was originally a monthly production, but later became weekly. He published this during 1906–1914.

<sup>102</sup> Milan Hodža (1878–1944), Slovak politician and journalist. Member of Hungarian Parliament 1905–1910. Supporter of Franz Ferdinand's ideas for re-organizing the Dual Monarchy along federal lines. Vice-chairman of Slovak National Party 1906–1914(?). Many posts connected with Czechoslovakia following the Great War, culminating in that of Prime Minister 1935–1938.

simply not carried out. For example, in 1906 Seton-Watson met a Magyar lawyer, Dr. Mandel of Arad [5], who insisted that Hungary's very existence depended on the need for a single language. He proceeded to inform Seton-Watson that the Law of 1868 had not been implemented because the government had realized that it was too dangerous to do so, due to the separatist tendencies.<sup>111</sup> Likewise in June 1907, Seton-Watson was introduced to Professor Concha, while in Budapest.

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<sup>103</sup> Thomas (Czech: Tomáš) Garrigue Masaryk (1850-1937), Politician, philosopher and sociologist. At Vienna University was a student of Franz Brentano. Doctorate completed there 1876. Appointed Professor of Philosophy in the Czech part of Prague University 1882. Established a magazine devoted to Czech culture and science, the *Athenaeum* 1883. A member of the Austrian Parliament in the Young Czech Party 1891-1893, and in the Realist Party 1907-1914. Helped Hinko Hinković in defending those accused in the Croat-Serb trial 1909. From the outset of the First World War spearheaded the movement for Czechs and Slovaks to break away from the Dual Monarchy and form a separate country. Met Seton-Watson for the first time in July 1907 with very little association until 1910. Thereafter occasional meetings, and once war had broken out, met in October 1914 when he convinced Seton-Watson of the need for an independent Czechoslovak State. From December 1914 left Austria-Hungary and spent the war years elsewhere whipping up support for his cause. President of Czechoslovakia 1918-1935. Of his writings: In Czech *Foundations of Concrete Logic* (1885), Czech *The Social Question re Marxism* (1898), *The Spirit of Russia* (1919, originally German *Russland und Europa* 1913), *The Problems of Small Nations in the European Crisis* (1915), *The Making of a State* (translated by H.W. Steed 1927, originally Czech [*The World Revolution*] 1925). It is the opinion of the author of this article, that Masaryk did more than any other Habsburg subject to bring about the collapse of Austria-Hungary.

<sup>104</sup> Heinrich Friedjung (1851-1920), Austrian historian and journalist. Had studied in Berlin under Mommsen and Ranke. Taught history and German at the Commercial Academy in Vienna 1873-1879 when dismissed for criticizing the government. Became active in politics as a supporter of the Greater German view of solving the aspirations of German nationalists. One of the 5 who created the Linz Programme of 1882. Editor of periodical *Deutsche Wochenschrift* 1883-1886, then of newspaper *Deutsche Zeitung*. Municipal councillor in Vienna 1891-1895. Friedjung Trial of 1909, more of which below in this article. Example of his work: *Der Ausgleich mit Ungarn. Politische Studie über das Verhältnis Österreichs zu Ungarn und Deutschland* (1877).

<sup>105</sup> Oscar (Hungarian: Oszkár) Jászi (1875-1957), Hungarian historian, politician and social scientist. Studied Budapest University, awarded Doctor of Political Science 1896. Against Hungarian nationalistic aspirations of separation from Austria. Employed for ten years as a drafting clerk in the Department of Economics' Ministry of Agriculture. Wanted to establish a socialist party that would also appeal to Hungarian nationalism. Visited Paris for six months starting in January to experience academic and political life there 1906. Returned to Hungary disillusioned with the latter's intellectual efforts. Founded 'League for Universal Suffrage by Secret Ballot' August 1905, this being the beginning of his political career. As being a civil servant was incompatible with political activities of any kind, he resigned from the Ministry of Agriculture June 1906. Appointed Professor of Sociology at Kolozsvár University 1910. United a number of progressive groups into the National Civic Radical Party June 1914, calling for universal suffrage, radical land reform, an autonomous customs area, and State control of education. On outbreak of war, Party supported pacifist movement. Minister of Nationalities, vainly hoping to keep the minority peoples within the bounds of Hungary, Oct.-Dec. 1918. Hoped for a Danubian Confederation modelled on Switzerland. In response to the intolerance of Bela Kun's communist regime, emigrated from Hungary May 1919. In U.S.A. as a history professor 1925-death. Of his writings, the most well-known is *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (1929).

Concha was noted for his expertise concerning constitutional law and its practice.<sup>112</sup> But with Seton-Watson he evaded the real issues indicated for discussion and even pretended that to pursue total Magyarisation was a mistake. However as Seton-Watson wrote

... at last he gave himself away utterly. In answer to one of his remarks, intended to have a soothing effect upon me, I pointed out that according to the Law of Nationalities of 1868 the State was bound to erect *gymnasia* where non-Magyars lived in greater masses. I then boldly produced the Law from my pocket and turned to paragraph 18 line 12 on elementary and secondary education. He read through and then admitted that I was right and that he had *forgotten that point*. This, the Professor with whom I was to speak as an authority on the Nationalities Law, and with regard to its *main* clause almost.<sup>113</sup>

Occasionally the authorities perpetrated massacres. Probably because the massacres were far

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<sup>106</sup> Aurel Constantin Popovici (1863–1917), Lawyer and politician. Ethnic Romanian Austro-Hungarian. Signed the *Transylvanian Memorandum* with colleagues of National Romanian Party 1892. This pleaded for equal rights with Hungarians in Transylvania, and an end to persecutions and Magyarization. He advocated federalization as a solution to the ethnic-political problems of the Dual Monarchy producing the work *The United States of Greater Austria* (1906). This found favour with many in consort with the heir to the throne Archduke Franz Ferdinand.

<sup>107</sup> Hinko Hinković (1854–1929), Politician, lawyer, and publisher of ethnic Croatian origins. Member of Party of Rights (existed 1861–1929 the year in which Yugoslavia was proclaimed) and editor of its newspaper *Freedom*. Published article advocating political co-operation with Serbs 1879. Elected to Croatian Parliament 1884. Condemned Austro-Hungarian dualism, denied legality of Croatia-Slavonia's political arrangements with Hungary, called for the unification of all Croatian-inhabited lands, i.e. Croatia-Slavonia, Slovenia, Dalmatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Military Frontier, as well as criticizing many administrative aspects. Conflict with colleagues 1886, leading to his leaving the Party. One of the founders of the Croat-Serb Coalition 1905. During the First World War lived in exile and agitated against Austria-Hungary in favour of the creation of a united south Slav state.

<sup>108</sup> Josip Smolaka (1869–1956), Politician. Ethnic Croatian Austro-Hungarian. Split in Dalmatia was where the Party of Rights was strongest and where it had its headquarters. Twice Mayor of Split 1918 and 1943. Today, Split is the second largest city of Croatia.

<sup>109</sup> Octavian Goga (1881–1938), Politician, journalist, playwright, poet and translator. Ethnic Romanian Austro-Hungarian. Member of Romanian National Party in Transylvania. Arrested by Hungarian authorities. On release continued agitation, fled to Romania where his political activities led the Hungarian authorities to sentence him to death *in absentia*. During the Great War joined the Romanian army. Prime Minister of Romania 1937–1938.

<sup>110</sup> H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 81.

<sup>111</sup> *ibid*, p. 38.

<sup>112</sup> Győző Concha (1846–1933), Legal and political theorist. Amongst other posts: Professor at Budapest University 1892–1928.

<sup>113</sup> H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 49. Words '*forgotten that point*', were written in the original notes of 1907 in anticipation of his writing *Racial Problems In Hungary*, with a pencil line under them.

fewer in number and occurred less often than the pogroms in Russia, little was heard of them. The virtual absence of news of such atrocities led people to the conclusion that the Dual Monarchy was infinitely more civilized than Tsarist Russia. On 27<sup>th</sup> October 1907, for example, in Černová {6}, 14 Slovaks were killed and many others hurt when the Hungarian authorities fired on a crowd involved in the consecration of a newly built church. As if to make matters worse 18 villagers were subsequently put on trial and received jail sentences from 6 to 18 months in length.<sup>114</sup>

Arbitrary arrests, long periods in detention before unfair trials that resulted in unreasonably harsh prison sentences and fines, were some of the judicial injustices rampant in Hungary. For example a Slovak, Francis Pollakovič, who had lived for ten years in the U.S.A. and who had actually become an American citizen decided to return to Hungary in 1907. In early October he distributed copies of a Slovak national song among his friends in Bobró ({7} Slovakian : Bobrov) and had counselled them “to hold together as Slovaks, not to give up their mother-tongue, to battle for their Slovak language and their rights.”<sup>115</sup> He was subsequently arrested on the charge of “incitement against the Magyar nationality.” From 9<sup>th</sup> October to 17<sup>th</sup> December he was detained in jail before a trial that ended with seven months in prison. He was then summarily deported.

Likewise a renowned case in 1906 was of Father Hlinka<sup>116</sup> who had been active in politics on behalf of the Slovaks in the neighbourhood of Rózsahegy ({6} Slovakian : Ružomberok).<sup>117</sup> Initially he was suspended by his ecclesiastical superior, the Bishop of Zips ({15} Hungarian : Szepes ; Slovakian : Spiš), on a charge of political agitation. Subsequently Hlinka and others were arrested and charged with shouting anti-Magyar statements in public during the recent elections. They were held for five months in prison before being brought to trial. Eventually on 26<sup>th</sup> November 1906 Hlinka and 15 others were tried under section 172 of the Criminal Code with “instigation against the Magyar nationality,” which the Public Prosecutor persisted throughout the trial in confusing with “the Hungarian nation!”<sup>118</sup> Hlinka was sentenced to two years imprisonment and fined. Eleven others were also convicted to varying lengths of prison with fines so that a total of 5 years and 10 months confinement was meted out. As if that were not sufficient, on 4<sup>th</sup> May 1908 Hlinka, who was in prison at Szeged {8}, was charged with “incitement” because of the two articles

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<sup>114</sup> *Times* 29<sup>th</sup> October 1907, p. 5.

<sup>115</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson using his pseudonym ‘Scotus Viator’, *Racial Problems In Hungary* (1908), p. 321.

<sup>116</sup> Andrew (Slovak: Andrej) Hlinka (1864-1938), Politician. Ordained a Catholic priest 1889. One of the two founders of the Slovak People’s Party in 1913. He became its Party Chairman, a post he retained for the rest of his life. Prior to the Great War, his political activities were disapproved of by his superiors, as referred to in the text above. Advocated that Slovaks should separate from Hungary, and by 1918 held the view of uniting with the Czechs.

<sup>117</sup> In this place, there is a life-size statue of Hlinka standing in a square looking towards the town hall. Also there is a memorial plaque with Seton-Watson’s name and his pseudonym of ‘Scotus Viator’ written on it. This is accompanied by a bust of him fixed to the wall of the town hall.

<sup>118</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson using his pseudonym ‘Scotus Viator’, *Racial Problems In Hungary* (1908), p. 336.

that he had written to his parishioners on entering jail. He received a further year and a half's sentence with a fine '... thus making a total of *three years and a half* for political offences.' Seton-Watson wrote that he believed that:

The object of this unjust and vindictive policy is, of course, to deprive the Slovaks of one of their ablest leaders, and thus, if possible, to crush out all resistance to Magyarisation.<sup>119</sup>

Many other examples of Magyar oppression resulting in judicial injustice could be cited as having been perpetrated against the non-Magyar peoples of Hungary. The Hlinka case has been chosen because it was known to have particularly outraged Seton-Watson's conscience. Indeed he had a portrait of Father Andrew Hlinka as the first picture in his book *Racial Problems In Hungary*.

The Hlinka case also indicates how some ecclesiastical dignitaries worked with the State in furthering Magyar aims, for this was all perpetrated against Hlinka, with the connivance of his clerical superiors working in conjunction with the civil authorities.<sup>120</sup> Though a tenuous comparison can be drawn with Tsarist Russia, where the Russian Orthodox Church was virtually synonymous with the State, it must be remembered that in Hungary the religious map was far more chequered. Nevertheless, a further example of religious and political entanglement in the interests of Magyarisation can be cited from Kovačica (9; Serbian: Коваџица/Ковачица; Hungarian: Antal-falva) in southern Hungary in April 1907. Of a Slovak population of about 6,000 people, there were not 20 Magyars in total.<sup>121</sup> However the authorities ordered the clergyman to preach in Hungarian every month. Though reluctant to do so, he agreed to give a Hungarian sermon at the end of the

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<sup>119</sup> *ibid.*, p. 339.

<sup>120</sup> It has been claimed that János Csernoch (Slovakian: Ján Černoch) (1852–1927), Cardinal-Primate of Hungary was one of those who did so. He was born in Szakolcza, and yet despite his Slovak origins and family relations to several Slovak agitators was ambivalent to their movemental cause. He financed some Slovak activities but was reputed to support the integrity of Hungary after 1910. As early as 1887 he had been appointed as Royal chaplain to the House of Habsburg. In 1901, he became a deputy in the Hungarian Parliament. Protonotary Apostolic 1907; Bishop of Csanád 1908–1911; Archbishop of Kalocsa 1911–1912; Archbishop of Esztergom 1912–1927; created Cardinal May 1914. He received the red biretta from Franz Ferdinand who was assassinated in June. In addition to that he had been a Royal counsellor. Recipient of the Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Stephen 1915. As Primate, in December 1916, he crowned Karl as the last Habsburg monarch of Hungary.

<sup>121</sup> On first reading Seton-Watson's account of this in *Racial Problems in Hungary* (pp. 321–322), the author of this article suspected the use of the term 'Slovak' to be erroneously written for 'Serbian'. After all, this location is only about 29 miles (47km) from Belgrade – a good way from Slovakia. However, the facts can be attributed to the amazingly complex multinational nature of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The first Slovaks arrived in this region in 1783, after which others followed to bolster the Military Frontier against the Ottoman Empire. Even as recently as 2011, the census indicated the ethnic population of the municipality as: Slovaks 41.85%; Serbs 33.26%; Hungarians 9.98%; Romanians 6.11%; Romani 3.19%; others and undeclared 5.61%. Padina is another Slovak-majority community in the area, just to the north-east.



ordinary service which was held in Slovak. The congregation, who had the ecclesiastical right to choose which language their services should be delivered in, resisted by singing Luther's hymn "*Feste Burg*,"<sup>122</sup> thus forcing the pastor to abandon his efforts. A week later the same situation arose with the result that the authorities '... cleared the church at the point of the bayonet!'<sup>123</sup> The following May, 35 people were sentenced as a result of the matter to a total of 6 years and 8 months with fines for the '... forcible hindrance of a religious service,' under section 190 of the Criminal Code. Furthermore the civil authorities took it upon themselves to replace the pastor by a Magyar clergyman whereupon the congregation simply boycotted the church.

Opportunities for affecting changes to the system of government in Hungary were duly hampered by the anti-democratic attitudes of the Magyar oligarchy. The fact that elections were held at all and that a parliament met in Budapest was at least an improvement on what the situation was like in Russia prior to 1905. The Emperor Francis Joseph introduced universal male suffrage into Austria and by threatening to do the same in Hungary broke the Magyar resistance to his will over maintaining German as the sole language of command in the army. By the latter understanding, it was proved beyond doubt that the Magyars wished to avoid democratic tendencies for the obvious reason that they would be displaced from power in Hungary if the political situation were otherwise. In 1910 once the elections of May were held only 8 non-Magyars sat in the new parliament compared with 26 in 1906.<sup>124</sup> So clearly, representation of the subject nationalities was, if anything, getting worse.

Intimidation and corruption of all kinds occurred at Hungarian elections. Indeed Seton-Watson's book *Corruption and Reform in Hungary*<sup>125</sup> produced in 1911, and subtitled *A Study of Electoral Practice*, came in response to the elections of the previous year. In the Preface, Seton-Watson's Radical sentiments are expressed :

... I am at a loss to understand why the various well-meaning societies which exist in this country [i.e. Britain] to defend the interests of oppressed nationalities throughout Europe and Asia, should so persistently ignore the cause of the Slovaks, Roumanians and other races subjected to Magyar rule.<sup>126</sup>

The excuses given by the Magyar authorities for cancelling electoral meetings or placing obstacles in the way of the electors varied enormously. Seton-Watson quoted 33 documents in supporting evidence of such practices in his book. For example on 25<sup>th</sup> May 1910 there was a ban placed on an

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<sup>122</sup> In Slovak of course.

<sup>123</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson using his pseudonym 'Scotus Viator', *Racial Problems In Hungary* (1908), p. 322.

<sup>124</sup> H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 81.

<sup>125</sup> Constable & Co., London (1911).

<sup>126</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson, *Corruption and Reform in Hungary* (1911), p. vi.

electoral meeting to be held at Nagyborove (10| Slovakian: Vel'ké Borové) simply due to the occurrence of religious processions.<sup>127</sup> On grounds of public hygiene, because '... seventeen [c]ases of the infectious disease of sore throat and whooping-cough have arisen' in the neighbourhood of Örményes (11| Romanian: Armeniş), all gatherings were forbidden under Order No. 5616 of 1892. That naturally included meetings for the electoral speeches of the candidates.<sup>128</sup> And again, the previous day, a ban had been placed on the use of motor-cars to convey the Romanian candidate from one part of the neighbourhood of Ohába-Bisztra (12|) to another. The reasons for the ban were clearly stated to be that

... the representative of the Government ... has to use the far slower conveyance of a carriage, [and] would be obliged either to leave one meeting far sooner or to arrive late at the next. ... popular meetings cannot possibly be allowed to take place for however short a time without the presence of the Government authorities.<sup>129</sup>

It is evident that the Magyars feared gatherings of people who might become unruly. The officials were also determined to oversee what took place at such meetings so as to be able to prevent any anti-Magyar outbursts or canvassing that could possibly bring success to opposition candidates.

Seton-Watson recorded his own personal experiences at the election in Szakolcza (13| Slovak: Skalica) on 1<sup>st</sup> June 1910. He relates of how he needed to get through two cordons of hussars and gendarmes in order to reach the town square. There only '... a small group of officials and canvassers for Government party, ...' occupied the area before the polling booth. Any peasants within the vicinity seemed inebriated at the expense of the Government candidate. Seton-Watson wrote that:

Drunken howls came to us from every inn, accompanied by the scraping of many gipsy fiddles. The Government electors were being regaled with a thoroughness calculated to drown even the most desperate scruple.<sup>130</sup>

On reaching the outskirts of the town Seton-Watson saw a very different scene '... as though the whole countryside was gathered together.' All those people were prevented from entering the town at bayonet point. During the day, of those assembled each village is summoned separately to vote. Seton-Watson reckoned that a total of 2,738 people were eligible to vote on that day in Szakolcza. After many hours of waiting, during which time electoral irregularities of many kinds

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<sup>127</sup> *ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>128</sup> *ibid.*, p. 147. 24<sup>th</sup> May 1910.

<sup>129</sup> *ibid.*, p. 146. 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1910.

<sup>130</sup> *ibid.*, p. 81.

had occurred, the tension between the crowd and the troops was so intense that the Government opposition candidate told the assembled people that he was withdrawing from the contest. He declared that fair play was impossible and that to delay any longer would probably result in bloodshed. Consequently he requested that they return to their homes.

As a footnote to this indictment of anti-democratic behaviour it was recorded by Seton-Watson and his accompanying friend, Father Kolísek,<sup>131</sup> that when they left the scene they temporarily stopped for about 20 minutes at the home of Mrs. Drizhal, widow of a former Rector of a school in Brünn (14 Czech: Brno). As she was an old friend of Kolísek the visit did not seem out-of-place, and anyway as she was about 70 years old she could hardly be considered to constitute a threat to the Magyar cause. Just over two weeks later, on 16<sup>th</sup> June, she was nevertheless fined £4 because she had failed to notify the police of the visit of two foreigners. She subsequently appealed in vain to the county authorities.<sup>132</sup>

Once Seton-Watson had crossed back into Austria following the Szakolcza election, he wrote about his experiences in the Viennese newspapers, which resulted in a storm of protest from Hungary. Prime Minister Count Khuen-Héderváry<sup>133</sup> was reputed to have said:

“Facts must be collected against him before proceedings can be taken. We are not afraid of an Englishman. The English Fleet cannot come here, and as for the English Army, we are not afraid of it.”<sup>134</sup>

One newspaper<sup>135</sup> demanded Seton-Watson’s expulsion from Hungary but another, the *Reichspost*, pointed out the impossibility of that as “the stranger had already betaken himself to more friendly Austria.” Finally, the *Magyarország* printed an article on 23<sup>rd</sup> June stating that Seton-Watson ought to visit Ireland, India and South Africa rather than Hungary in order to find governmental malpractices.<sup>136</sup>

The reason for such anti-democratic behaviour was simply that the Magyars would lose power

<sup>131</sup> Alois Kolísek (1868–1931), Monsignor, Professor, Ph.D. (in theology), and politician. Later to be a member of the Revolutionary National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic.

<sup>132</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson, *Corruption and Reform in Hungary* (1911), pp. 85–86.

<sup>133</sup> Károly Khuen-Héderváry de Hédervár (1849–1918), Hungarian politician. Ban of Croatia-Slavonia 1883–1903. As well as other appointments, Prime Minister of Hungary 1903 and 1910–1912. As Ban, he had pursued a strong policy of Magyarization, bringing Hungarian into official use, and ensuring that Hungarian symbols were given equal status with those of the Croats. His 1<sup>st</sup> Ministry as Prime Minister was rendered impotent by the constitutional crisis in Hungary over the matter of military affairs. With his 2<sup>nd</sup> Ministry, after nearly 18 months of managing to contain the opposition, he once again found the armed forces issue to be used by others to hamper parliamentary business.

<sup>134</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson, *Corruption and Reform in Hungary* (1911), pp. 87–88.

<sup>135</sup> *Pesti Napló*. 11<sup>th</sup> June 1910. This Hungarian newspaper published during the period of March 1850–October 1939.

if they had a system that was otherwise. Seton-Watson was able to show, using the official statistical data supplied to him by the Hungarian authorities themselves, what the true numerical position of the Magyars in Hungary really was. That information he made public in *Racial Problems In Hungary*. According to the census of 1900 as shown in the *Ungarisches Statistisches Jahrbuch* and reproduced in his book, of 19,122,340 people living in Hungary only 45.4% were Magyars.<sup>137</sup>

If one examines Seton-Watson's development of ideas about Austria-Hungary then it can be seen that there were certain landmarks in his thinking. Firstly, it could be argued that the publication of his work *Racial Problems In Hungary* at the end of 1908 was one such occurrence. It publicly proclaimed his total disillusionment with the original Kossuthist views that he had held and established him as the foremost knowledgeable and most implacable British critic of the situation as it then existed in Hungary of the period. From the time of its publication the true identity of 'Scotus Viator' was known.<sup>138</sup>

Further landmarks in Seton-Watson's thinking were the Zagreb treason trial of May 1909 and the Friedjung trial of December of the same year. In the former case more than 50 Serbs were arrested and accused of treason, the accusation being that they had worked on behalf of Serbia<sup>139</sup> in the recent Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. For a variety of domestic and international reasons, both Austria and Hungary had good reasons for wishing to work together in order to establish the guilt of those people and thereby give a crushing humiliation to Serbia and to the existing Serbo-Croat co-operation then in existence in the South Slav lands of the Dual Monarchy.

Seton-Watson disliked the arrests, with the ensuing censorship and general repression. However he was certainly not pro-Serb. He personally attended the trial. What stirred his conscience most

... was the manifest injustice of the way the trial was conducted. He wrote ... in ... the

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<sup>136</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson, *Corruption and Reform in Hungary* (1911), p. 88.

Seton-Watson was aware of and sensitive to such charges. In his *The Southern Slav Question* he draws the analogy between the relationship of Hungary proper to Croatia as being similar to Britain if Ireland were granted Home Rule. 'Those who are reluctant to learn from the past history of Ireland itself, may learn from the history of Hungary and Croatia, how Ireland should NOT be treated, and how ineffectual are repression and lack of sympathy in the solution of any national or racial question.' R.W. Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question* (1911), p. ix.

<sup>137</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson using his pseudonym 'Scotus Viator', *Racial Problems In Hungary* (1908), p. 3.

<sup>138</sup> H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 71.

<sup>139</sup> The spelling 'Servia' has been used in this article to refer to 'Serbia' in the pre-First World War era, in line with the practice at the time. Naturally, whichever version has been used in quoted extracts has been left in the original. These footnote remarks are in keeping with the policy adopted in the accompanying preceding article published by this author about Austria.

Morning Post ... that 'the whole trial is a travesty of justice, inspired and controlled by what to English ideas is a despotic Government.'<sup>140</sup>

The trial helped shift Seton-Watson's main interest to concentrating on the South Slavs. When the trial ended in October, prison sentences were meted out to 31 people of whom two brothers received 12 years each. Seton-Watson published in the same month his *Absolutism In Croatia* in which he held that such measures would not succeed in separating the Serbs from the Croats. He felt that the best policy would be to satisfy both nationalities by transforming the Dual Monarchy into a trialist State.

The Friedjung trial was a further moral disillusionment for Seton-Watson with those responsible for political matters within the Habsburg State. Friedjung published in a newspaper an article based on papers shown to him by the Austrian Foreign Ministry and with the approval of the Foreign Minister, Ährenthal,<sup>141</sup> which indicated that Serbia had intrigued in Croatia and fomented feeling against Austria-Hungary. Consequently 52 members of the Croatian Diet began legal proceedings against Friedjung. Some of the documents emanating from the Foreign Ministry were found to be false. Friedjung distanced himself from the authenticity of the documents by publicly proclaiming that two of them were evidently concocted and that therefore he could not vouch for the remainder. Whereas before, Seton-Watson had been foremost a critic of Hungary, now he felt shaken by the immoral methods used by the Dual Monarchy's leading figures. He felt that the very honesty of its foreign policy was in question. He claimed that '... I have learnt lessons from it which will last me all my life.'<sup>142</sup>

The First Balkan War of 1912 acted as another stage in Seton-Watson's political development. He was very impressed with the victories attained by Serbia and with the national spirit of the people. Their ability to inspire the South Slavs living within the Dual Monarchy won his admiration. He reversed the attitude which he had held just two years previously. He realized the growing dilemma between his strengthening sympathies for the South Slav people and the future

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<sup>140</sup> H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 69.

<sup>141</sup> Alois Lexa von Ährenthal (1854-1912), Austrian diplomat. Posts in Paris 1877, St. Petersburg 1878-1883, Foreign Office in Vienna 1883-1888, St. Petersburg 1888-1894, Foreign Office in Vienna 1894-1895. Ambassador to Romania 1895-1899, to Russia 1899-1906. Believed strongly in the idea of the need for good Austro-Hungarian - Russian relations, wishing to compromise over the differences of the Balkans as a means to that end. Advocated a very friendly attitude towards Russia at the time of the latter's war with Japan. Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary 1906-1912. However, even Germany did not know of his having come to a secret agreement with his Russian counterpart in 1908 over the proposed Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. As a result, Austria's relations with Russia totally collapsed. Ährenthal was created a Count in gratitude for his services to the Habsburg State. Russia was left embittered, and determined not to back down in the event of a similar crisis involving Austria-Hungary in the Balkans - hence catastrophe in 1914.

<sup>142</sup> H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 78.

of Austria-Hungary.

If one traces the development of Seton-Watson's attitudes, towards the political structure of the whole of Austria-Hungary, in the period preceding October 1914, it appears that he sought reform, not revolution. He did not publicly advocate the total dissolution of the Dual Monarchy. As a Radical, there were significant differences between him and the other acknowledged British contemporary expert on the Habsburg State, Wickham Steed.

In Seton-Watson's first book *The Future Of Austria-Hungary And The Attitude Of The Great Powers*<sup>143</sup> (1907) he was extremely optimistic about that State's prospects. In the opening sentences of the Introduction he swept aside the popular notion that the Dual Monarchy would totally disintegrate at the death of its aged ruler, Francis Joseph.<sup>144</sup> Seton-Watson had full confidence in the heir to the throne, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand. At the end of the Introduction he argued '... that France and Great Britain must make every effort to preserve the Dual Monarchy (however modified internally) as a political and economic unit in the modern world.'<sup>145</sup> The book looked at the relations of Austria-Hungary with Germany, Russia, Italy and the Balkan States, and went on to analysis the internal condition. Seton-Watson supported the view expressed by the Czech historian, Palacký,<sup>146</sup> that "If there were no Austria, it would be necessary to create one."<sup>147</sup> He then proceeded to claim that it was in Germany's best interests to accept the existence of an independent Austria-Hungary. He aptly quoted Bismarck's telling words: "The preservation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a strong and independent Government is *for Germany* a necessity of the balance of power in Europe."<sup>148</sup> Seton-Watson came to the conclusion, that if any of Austria-

<sup>143</sup> Using his pseudonym 'Scotus Viator', Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd. London.

<sup>144</sup> Seton-Watson was very much holding the same view four years later in his *The Southern Slav Question* of which see p. 177.

<sup>145</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson using his pseudonym 'Scotus Viator', *The Future Of Austria-Hungary* (1907), p. vii.

<sup>146</sup> Francis (Czech: František) Palacký (1798-1876). Czech historian and politician. As a young student in Bratislava, enthusiastically studied Slavonic languages. Became proficient in eleven and familiar with some others. Settled in Prague 1823. First editor of *Journal of the Bohemian Museum* 1825. Though at first published in German and Czech, it was the latter language that went on to become the one of greatest literary importance in Bohemia. His main writing, *The History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia* (1836-1867), narrated the history of the Czechs down to 1526, and was based on extensive archival research. A new edition, free from censorship, was published 1876. The 1848 Year of Revolution compelled him to enter politics. He refused to attend the Frankfurt Parliament claiming it to be for German affairs only. Instead, he acted as President of the Slavonic Congress at Prague. He advocated Austroslavism — a strong Austria federated with south German States and Slavonic ones. The triumph of reactionary forces by 1852 led him to abandon politics. Following liberal concessions in 1860-1861 he became a life member of the Austrian Senate. Non-attendance was his reaction to the Czech predicament, for virtually the rest of his life. In Bohemia, where he was regarded as the leader of the nationalist-federal Party, he strove tirelessly for a Czech State that he hoped would include Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian Silesia. He attended the Pan Slavist Congress in Moscow 1867.

<sup>147</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson using his pseudonym 'Scotus Viator', *The Future Of Austria-Hungary* (1907), p. 1.

<sup>148</sup> *ibid*, p. 2.

Hungary's neighbours were to annex territory at the Dual Monarchy's expense, the disadvantages would far outweigh the advantages.<sup>149</sup> He further added that Hungarian striving for independence from Austria was a fundamental mistake for the Magyars as they would ultimately be unable to stand alone.<sup>150</sup>

Seton-Watson had read at that time Aurel Popovici's book *The United States of Greater Austria*. The work suggested totally abolishing the Dual system and replacing it by a single central government and parliament with 15 inferior regional governments which would deal with economic and cultural matters locally. Those regions would be an attempt to have boundaries analogous to the various major nationalities. Seton-Watson certainly thought highly enough of the ideas expounded to bother to ask Romanians in Transylvania what they thought of them.<sup>151</sup> He later recalled :

The thesis which I took back with me was that an Austria rejuvenated by universal suffrage, pursuing a liberal and farsighted policy of racial tolerance and forcing the Magyars to abandon their tyrannous designs of hegemony, might rapidly become one of the strongest states on the Continent, and render itself immune from the dictation of either Berlin or St. Petersburg. My whole outlook was Austrophil and even Germanophil, and quite opposed to that of Andre Cheradame, ... and other writers of the French school : the only point at which our views coincided in those days was our common condemnation of Magyar megalomania and assimilationist policy.<sup>152</sup>

Despite Francis Joseph's reputation as a reactionary, absolutist monarch, Seton-Watson was not prepared to condemn him. The Emperor had introduced universal male suffrage into Austria in January 1907 and claimed to be prepared to do the same in Hungary at some time in the future. Seton-Watson believed him. Meanwhile others looked to the heir-apparent, Francis Ferdinand, who was known to be antagonistic to the Magyars.

Such were Seton-Watson's ideas prior to 1908 when in the first few months of that year he began to take a greater interest in the South Slavs. Seton-Watson's views regarding the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in October 1908 were very different from those of Wickham Steed. Seton-Watson welcomed the act, for it indicated to him that the Dual Monarchy was capable of decisive, independent political action<sup>153</sup> and therefore led him to believe that hope

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<sup>149</sup> *ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>150</sup> *ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>151</sup> H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), pp. 36-37.

<sup>152</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 40.

André Chéradame (1871-1948), French journalist and writer. Worked for newspaper *Le Petit Journal*. His books about European politics from the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century claimed the existence of German militarism and the intention of the German General Staff to strive for the formation of a Greater Germany.

yet existed for some masterstroke that would reform the internal structure of the Habsburg State. He did not see the annexation as being merely an extension of Germany's influence in the Balkans, unlike Steed, for it was noted by him that Vienna had kept Berlin uninformed of its intentions, to the latter's intense annoyance, right up to the last moment, when it then appeared to be virtually a *fait accompli*.

One needs also to put the annexation into the context of Seton-Watson's attitudes to the States neighbouring Austria-Hungary. Bosnia and Herzegovina nominally formed part of the Turkish domains. Seton-Watson had outlined, however, a re-organization of the Near East in his article 'The European Outlook' in the *Scottish Review* of 18<sup>th</sup> January 1906. In it the Ottoman Empire was to be dissolved for it was '... the only state which Seton [sic] then viewed with undisguised hostility.'<sup>154</sup> So clearly the change of sovereignty in Bosnia-Herzegovina from the Ottoman Turks to Austria-Hungary seemed a move in the right direction.

Likewise Seton-Watson had a very low opinion of Serbia at that time. The murder of the Servian King and Queen in 1903 had been fiercely condemned in Britain and Seton-Watson '... was typical of liberal-minded British people in his hostility to the regime which had emerged from it.'<sup>155</sup> Consequently Seton-Watson viewed the official annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary as merely a natural progression from Habsburg administration of the provinces to full incorporation. He did not consider the move to be depriving Serbia of territory which might form a South Slav kingdom for that would imply a loss of territory for Austria-Hungary which he simply was not prepared to countenance. Consequently, despite the international crisis produced by the annexation, Seton-Watson who was in Vienna in December 1908 and January 1909, was enjoying '... the period of his most friendly relations with Austrian political circles.'<sup>156</sup> Even the publication of *Racial Problems In Hungary* at the end 1908 did not dent significantly his popularity, for the book found favour in various circles comprising academics as well as bureaucrats seeking social reform and administrative efficiency. Most significantly it was greeted by those who adhered to 'Greater Austria' with its programme of replacing the Dual system '... by a strong centralized monarchy; resistance to Magyar demands; some sympathy for the non-Magyar peoples of Hungary; and a forward foreign policy in the Balkans.'<sup>157</sup>

By the summer of 1909 Seton-Watson's main concern was to focus on the South Slavs. In a letter in October he found he could

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<sup>153</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question* (1911), p. 177.

Seton-Watson nevertheless admitted that in his opinion the annexation '... was resented ... by British Radicals, who saw their dreams of international disarmament dispelled for an indefinite period, ...'

<sup>154</sup> H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 30.

<sup>155</sup> *ibid*, pp. 61-62.

<sup>156</sup> *ibid*, p. 62.

<sup>157</sup> *ibid*, p. 63.



... sympathise strongly with the idea of Croato-Servian unity, but I am convinced that it can only be realised within the bounds of the Habsburg Monarchy, and that its realisation outside those bounds would be desirable neither in the interests of the Croats and Serbs nor in those of Europe as a whole. ... I regard the present regime in Servia as thoroughly corrupt and inefficient - worse even than the Hungarian.<sup>158</sup>

Seton-Watson believed that Servia must eventually be incorporated within the Dual Monarchy and interestingly expected the same fate to befall Romania. He placed his faith in the Habsburg Empire as becoming a trialist State. His idealism as a Radical went beyond his belief in a rejuvenated Austria-Hungary, for he trusted that the enlargement of the Monarchy would be done peacefully, and that those two States would join the Empire of their own volition.

The Friedjung trial of 1909 shook Seton-Watson's confidence in the foreign policy of Austria-Hungary, for he realized that such documentary forgeries could only have been sanctioned by those at the highest levels of state. Evidence was building up, apparently on a widespread basis within the Monarchy, to make it evident that corruption and repression had become part of the machinery of government. Seton-Watson nevertheless continued to collect more material, weigh the evidence, and produce further writings about the Dual Monarchy. He published *The Southern Slav Question*<sup>159</sup> and *Absolutism In Croatia*<sup>160</sup> in 1911 and 1912 respectively, quite apart from his journalistic outpourings.

But it was the Balkan War of 1912 that helped to alter Seton-Watson's attitude to the South Slav question and in particular his perspective on Servia. The Servian victories and the enthusiasm that they inspired amongst the South Slavs within Austria-Hungary impressed Seton-Watson. Furthermore, he accepted Servia's desire for an outlet to the Adriatic Sea, but did not feel that it should be achieved at Albania's expense. Consequently, Seton-Watson decided to tour Servia and Macedonia. In doing so, he '... found himself increasingly sympathetic to the Serbian point of view: of his old dislike of the kingdom of Serbia not a trace remained. ... many of the [Serbian] officers clearly showed themselves to be not only good soldiers but highly civilized and intelligent Europeans.'<sup>161</sup> This represented a significant transformation of the thoughts of 1909 and 1910. Furthermore, he met and fundamentally disagreed with J.D. Bouchier,<sup>162</sup> the *Times* corres-

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<sup>158</sup> Seton-Watson to Ivo Frano Lupis-Vukic, a member of the Dalmatian Diet, quoted in *ibid*, pp. 75-76.

<sup>159</sup> Constable, London.

<sup>160</sup> Constable, London.

<sup>161</sup> H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 94.

<sup>162</sup> James David Bouchier (1850-1920), *Times* correspondent in the Balkans. First went to Romania and Bulgaria 1888. Headquartered at Athens for 15 years, then at Sofia (where he was to eventually die). Instrumental in helping to bring about the First Balkan League 1911-1912. Though highly critical of Bulgaria's involvement in the Second Balkan War and in the Great War, nevertheless remained a staunch Bulgarophile to the end of his life.

pondent in Bulgaria. Seton-Watson held a far greater respect for Austria-Hungary's ability to survive as a Great Power and to threaten Serbia's existence than Bouchier maintained. Indeed Bouchier believed that the Dual Monarchy would disintegrate in the near future.

Seton-Watson had pinned enormous hopes for the future development of the Habsburg Monarchy on the eventual accession to the throne of Francis Ferdinand. When the Archduke was murdered in June 1914 it came, therefore, as a terrible blow to Seton-Watson's optimism. He felt that the Serbs had killed the key man who could have aided their cause and consequently they had brought disaster upon themselves. He wrote for the *Contemporary Review* an article praising Francis Ferdinand and those political attitudes attributed to him, and hoping that the new heir to the throne, the Archduke Charles, would live up to his predecessors' supposed reformist intentions.<sup>163</sup>

His genuine sorrow at the untimely demise of Francis Ferdinand stood in marked contrast to the cold, pragmatic attitude of Wickham Steed. When the latter wrote to Seton-Watson just a week after the assassination he bluntly stated: 'I had little faith in F.F. ... His disappearance is such a godsend to the dynasty that I am tempted to believe that somebody could have jogged the elbow of Providence.'<sup>164</sup> Two days later Steed wrote yet again to Seton-Watson, this time commenting on the late Archduke's health and maintaining that for more than 6 years he was informed of Francis Ferdinand's suffering from an incurable disease that would eventually make him mad. Indeed Steed pessimistically wrote that 'The Archduke was himself convinced that he would not outlive the Emperor.'<sup>165</sup> In the *Times* Steed deliberately played down the expression of heartfelt condolences, ostensibly for fear of playing into the arms of the militaristic clique in Vienna who were determined to use the murder as a weapon against Serbia.<sup>166</sup>

Seton-Watson was even more shocked at the ensuing Austro-Hungarian response against Serbia. In 1925, he was to write placing the blame for the death of the Archduke on the Habsburgs; '... unless we are to lose all sense of proportion,' he argued, 'we must assign the main guilt to Austria-Hungary, who, by a policy of repression at home and aggression abroad, had antagonised all sections of the Yugoslav race.'<sup>167</sup> The rapidity of the changes in Seton-Watson's mind and the total disillusionment with the turn of events in the summer of 1914 can be ascertained from a letter that he sent from London to his wife who was then in Scotland:

The solutions I have advocated for years - South Slav, Hungarian - died a natural, or rather a most unnatural death at midnight before last. From now onwards the Great

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<sup>163</sup> 'The Archduke Francis Ferdinand' in *Contemporary Review* August 1914, pp. 165-174.

<sup>164</sup> Steed to Seton-Watson, 6<sup>th</sup> July 1914. R.W. Seton-Watson Papers. Box 26, Wickham Steed.

<sup>165</sup> Steed to Seton-Watson, 8<sup>th</sup> July 1914. R.W. Seton-Watson Papers. Box 26, Wickham Steed.

<sup>166</sup> H.W. Steed, *Through Thirty Years* (1924), vol. 1, p. 394.

<sup>167</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson, *Sarajevo* (1926), p. 155.

Serbian State is inevitable; and we must create it. I find Steed and Strachey are absolutely at one with me in this. ... this much is clear. Dalmatia, Bosnia, Croatia, Istria must be united to Serbia ... Romania must have all her kinsmen.<sup>168</sup>

At the beginning of the war, Seton-Watson also advocated the loss of the Polish-speaking areas from Austria-Hungary, so that it was not much more of a mental leap to accept the total dissolution of the Dual Monarchy. He passed that final stage in the development of his thinking when he met Masaryk in Rotterdam for two days of talks in October 1914.

### (III)

As someone who held Radical sentiments, Seton-Watson opposed the oppression of national minorities in other States besides Austria-Hungary. Consider, for example, the case of Russia. When he was in Berlin in 1903 he first heard about the Finns. The mother-in-law of Alan Gardiner,<sup>169</sup> the Egyptologist, was a Finn.<sup>170</sup> Additionally his first residence was owned by Baltic Germans from whom he made further Finnish contacts. He learnt '... with growing indignation ... of Russian repression under General Bobrikov, and Finnish nationalist reactions.'<sup>171</sup> The importance of

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<sup>168</sup> Seton-Watson to his wife, 6<sup>th</sup> August 1914. Quoted in: H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), pp. 101-102.

<sup>169</sup> Alan Henderson Gardiner (1879-1963), eminent English Egyptologist specializing in hieroglyphics. Educated at Charterhouse, and then Queen's College Oxford where he earned a 2<sup>nd</sup> in Classical Moderations in 1899 and a 1<sup>st</sup> in Hebrew and Arabic in 1901. After 3 months in father's office went to spend 10 years in Berlin. In 1901 he married Hedwig von Rosen. He was a student in Berlin of famous Egyptologist and philologist Kurt Heinrich Sethe (1869-1934). While in Berlin he helped prepare an Egyptian dictionary sponsored by 4 German academies under Professor Erman. Of his numerous articles, an example of one of this period published in 1904 was about an inscription describing the instalment of a vizier in Ancient Egypt. Most famous book: *Egyptian Grammar* (1927). He helped Carter and Caernarvon at the opening of Tutankhamun's tomb 1923. Reader at Manchester University 1912-1914. Like Seton-Watson, he never had to worry about earning a living. Neither of them liked teaching. Knighted 1948.

<sup>170</sup> Hedwig Gardiner, née von Rosen (d. 1964) was from Austria-Hungary, a daughter of the Hungarian Jewish head of the Hungarian Press Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna. He had married a Swedish-Finnish woman. Von Rosen, amongst others, gave Seton-Watson introductions to some notable Hungarians, such as to Mr. Füzcséry the public prosecutor - indeed, the chief one against Hlinka.

<sup>171</sup> Nikolay Ivanovich Bobrikov (1839-1904), Russian soldier and politician. Appointed Governor-General of Finland 1898. Tsar Nicholas II signed 'February Manifesto' decreeing that the laws of the Russian Empire took precedence over those of Finland 1899. Bobrikov ordered that all governmental correspondence between offices be conducted in Russian, and that education in that language was to be increased in schools 1900. Finnish army abolished, and Finnish conscripts could be forced to serve anywhere in the Empire 1901. Tsar granted Bobrikov dictatorial powers to dismiss government employees and close newspapers 1903. Finns feared and hated Bobrikov. He was mortally shot in June 1904.

such exposure cannot be under-estimated on the young formative mind for as Seton-Watson pointed out: 'It was my first direct acquaintance with the nationalist movements of the Continent, and bore fruit the following summer in my first serious letters to the press.'<sup>172</sup> He stated the main facts of Russian repression in the *Spectator* on 13<sup>th</sup> February 1904 and '... at greater length, making my first appearance in The Times, the Scotsman, and the Daily News with a letter of nearly a column on 'The Russification of Finland.'<sup>173</sup> Seton-Watson also gave strong support to the Ukrainians in their resistance to Tsarist autocracy. In his proposed visit to St. Petersburg in 1914 he anticipated finding liberal-minded Russians who would lend a sympathetic ear to the aspirations of the non-Russian people.<sup>174</sup>

Likewise, in Austria-Hungary, it is known that he sympathized with the Poles and their desire for independence. However, he had an even greater liking for the Ruthenes in the province of Galicia, whose fate he considered to be similar in relation to their Polish overlords as the Slovaks and Romanians experienced with their Magyar masters. It seemed that wherever one east European nation appeared to be oppressing another nationality, Seton-Watson was prepared to champion the latter's cause.

One of the literary vehicles for propagating Seton-Watson's views in Britain about nationalism was the creation of the *European Review* in 1914. It was to be produced quarterly and was to inform people about Europe's smaller nations and national groupings. It was to cover those peoples who already had independence as well as those who were still aspiring to it. The articles would range over political as well as social and economic matters, but also contain the arts, literature and music of the various peoples. Interestingly, it was prepared to comment on any impact that the racial struggles had on British foreign policy. Political propaganda from any of the Great Powers was to be avoided. But in keeping with true Radical sentiments it was made clear that regarding those Powers '... it will not hesitate to criticise their racial policy, wherever this may seem oppressive.' Furthermore, as if to protest against centralist tendencies by those Powers in the forms of assimilation, as for example, Russification, Magyarisation and Ottomanisation, it was stated that:

Above all, the aim of the European will be to interpret and encourage national individuality, wherever found, and to protest against the growing modern tendency towards an unthinking uniformity.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> H. and C. Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe* (1981), p. 16.

<sup>173</sup> *ibid.*, p. 16.

In July 1911, Seton-Watson spent his honeymoon in Finland and Sweden. During the year he did not travel to Central Europe. *ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>174</sup> *ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>175</sup> Paper headed 'The European. A Quarterly Review of Nationality.' No folio number. R.W. Seton-Watson Papers, Box X. *European Review* 1913-14.

Seton-Watson financially underpinned the creation of the *European Review* by guaranteeing the £1,500 necessary to cover the possible deficit on 8 issues.

With regard to topics specifically about Austria-Hungary, in the *European Review*, Seton-Watson clearly intended to project his ideas about that State, and in particular the plight of the minorities within it. He drew up, for example, a list of topics relating to Hungary which could constitute articles.<sup>176</sup> The first four topics related to the political and religious matters so central to Seton-Watson's thinking about Hungary. There are labour and social questions, as well as religious, music, literary, and other aspects of culture. Seton-Watson also compiled a similar list of topics relating to his interests about the South Slavs. Of the 25 items, the top four indicated his emphasis on the political and religious dimensions likely to have greatest consequences for the future of Austria-Hungary.<sup>177</sup>

The *European Review* is also of great interest from the point of view of seeing who Seton-Watson was commissioning to write the various articles. Quite apart from the names of contacts that he had in Central Europe, it can be deduced who his British collaborators were. The latter consisted of a surprisingly large number of Radicals. For example, in a draft of the titles of the articles and their authors for the first six issues, Seton-Watson had in mind the following: himself for the Foreword of issue 1; 'The Idea of Nationality in Modern Europe' by Gooch for the next contribution; and Brailsford<sup>178</sup> for 'The Prospects of the Albanian State.'<sup>179</sup> On one of his pages of formative jottings, Seton-Watson wrote a list of 25 names under the heading of English contributors. Amongst them were the Radicals: Brailsford, E. G. Browne,<sup>180</sup> Noel Buxton,<sup>181</sup> Miss Durham,<sup>182</sup> H. A. L. Fisher, Gooch, Mrs. Green, Aubrey Herbert,<sup>183</sup> Hirst,<sup>184</sup> H. Law,<sup>185</sup> Gilbert Murray,<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> See APPENDIX 1 below – pp. 47–48. R.W. Seton-Watson Papers. Box X. European Review 1913–14. No folio number.

<sup>177</sup> See APPENDIX 2 below – pp. 49–50. R.W. Seton-Watson Papers. Box X. European Review 1913–14. No folio number.

<sup>178</sup> Henry Noel Brailsford (1873–1958), Journalist, editor, and author. Amongst others, wrote for the *Manchester Guardian*, *Tribune*, *Daily News*, and *Nation*.

<sup>179</sup> Paper headed 'Private. The European.' No folio number. R.W. Seton-Watson Papers, Box X. European Review 1913–14.

<sup>180</sup> Edward Granville Browne (1862–1926), Persian scholar and Orientalist. Sympathized with Ottomans in their war with Russia leading him in 1877 to study Turkish. At Cambridge University continued his studies of Oriental matters. Spent the summer holidays of 1884 in Constantinople. Elected to a fellowship of Pembroke College, Cambridge 1887, enabling him to make his one and only visit to Persia Oct. 1887–Oct. 1888. Was appointed Lecturer in Persian at Cambridge University 1888–1902. Professor of Arabic 1902–1926. His working knowledge of Persian, Turkish and Arabic was remarkable, talents which very few other Westerners could match. Though first and foremost a scholar by virtue of his many publications, mostly related to history and literature, he also took a keen interest in politics. For example, this showed itself in his involvement in the formation of the Persian Committee. As he supported the cause of oppressed peoples, he believed strongly in Irish Home Rule.

Nevinson,<sup>187</sup> and G.M. Trevelyan. Even if Seton-Watson did not contact all of them, at least he was aware of them, and of their interest in the smaller racial groupings of Europe.<sup>188</sup>

## (IV)

The effects of Seton-Watson's strict religious upbringing had a lasting influence on him. He saw religion as an active force in life and believed people's conscience and conduct should be guided by it. One project that Seton-Watson started, which he decided would help the Slovaks, was to pay for two of them to come to Edinburgh to study each year. Seton-Watson realized that pastors had great influence in the political and social aspects of the lives of the Slovaks. He believed that, if a couple of theological students studied annually in Edinburgh, they would both further their knowledge of religious issues, and also be inspired by the British way of life, particularly those aspects that tended towards the democratic way of doing things. Hopefully such influences could be transplanted to Hungary, for pastors formed part of the better educated elements of society and were consequently often regarded by the illiterate peasants as being

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<sup>181</sup> Noel Edward Buxton (1869-1948), M.P. for Whitby division of North Riding of Yorkshire 1905-1906; North Norfolk 1910-1918, and again 1922-1930 when he was created Baron Noel-Buxton. PC 1924. Had been aide-de-camp to his father when latter was Governor of South Australia 1895-1898. Chairman of the Balkan Committee.

<sup>182</sup> Mary Edith Durham (1863-1944), Traveller, writer, and anthropologist. Correspondent for the *Times*, *Manchester Guardian*, and *Nation*. Especially sympathetic to the Albanians.

<sup>183</sup> Aubrey Nigel Henry Molyneux Herbert (1880-1923), diplomat, traveller, and politician. Honorary Attaché in the Diplomatic Service at Tokyo 1902, and Constantinople 1904. M.P. for South Somerset 1911-1918, then Yeovil division of Somerset 1918-death in 1923. Travelled frequently to the Balkans and the Middle East. Championed Albanian nationalism even to the point of twice being offered the throne in 1913, when the new State was founded.

<sup>184</sup> Francis Wrigley Hirst (1873-1953), Writer and economist. Contributed regularly to the *Speaker*. Then editor of *The Economist* 1907-1916.

<sup>185</sup> Hugh Alexander Law (1872-1943), M.P. for West Donegal 1902-1918. A JP for County Donegal. Wrote *Anglo-Irish Literature*, and was part author of *History of Ireland* in 'Nations of To-day' series.

<sup>186</sup> George Gilbert Aimé Murray (1866-1957), Academic and writer. Fellow of New College, Oxford 1888. Professor of Greek at Glasgow University 1889-1899. Again Fellow of New College, Oxford 1905. Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford University 1908-1936.

<sup>187</sup> Henry Woodd Nevinson (1856-1941), Journalist and writer. Contributed to the *Daily Chronicle*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Daily News* and *Nation*. For about thirty years, starting with the Greco-Turkish war in 1897, he had an uncanny sense of being in the right place at the right time to witness and record major international events as they happened. This included the Boer War, the Russian upheavals of 1905-1906, being in India, seeing the 1<sup>st</sup> Balkan War from the Bulgarian lines, being on the western front and at the Dardanelles during the First World War, etc.

<sup>188</sup> Paper headed 'The Interpreter.' No folio number. R.W. Seton-Watson Papers. Box X. European Review 1913-14. 'The Interpreter' was the name originally considered by Seton-Watson for *The European Review*.

natural leaders of the people. The idea had existed in Seton-Watson's mind from at least as early as 1909.

Seton-Watson worked to bring the project to fruition through the 'Committee On Correspondence With Other Reformed Churches' that belonged to the Church Of Scotland. He was in regular contact with its Convener, the Rev. Robert W. Weir,<sup>189</sup> who besides profusely thanking him for the financial contributions<sup>190</sup> he was making, also was very clear about the benefits of such donations:

There is no doubt that the bringing of students from the Reformed Church of Hungary to Scotland (chiefly by the U.F. [i.e. United Free] church) has had a decided effect on that church.<sup>191</sup>

The fact that the Magyars viewed educational matters to be linked to the future of their dominance over Hungary can be ascertained from a letter from the trustees of a legacy to a student in 1913. The trustees met on 28<sup>th</sup> October and sent a letter informing him, that despite his having been funded during the previous year, he would not have his financial support renewed as

... according to the informations [sic] gathered it has been satisfactorily ascertained to the committee, that the petitioner is not reliable in point of nationalistic feeling, and therefore he has not been considered worthy of getting the bursary, ...<sup>192</sup>

Seton-Watson's religious concern extended to other issues besides that of the Slovaks. For example in 1911, the Reformed Church of Bohemia and Moravia invited him to attend '... an international presbyterian conference in Prague ... and the first meeting of the slavic protestants.' In the letter the hope was expressed that Seton-Watson would impart '... a right idea of Hungary ...' to his fellow countrymen who would be going there after the conference.<sup>193</sup> Likewise, in February 1914, the Secretary to the National Bible Society of Scotland wrote to Seton-Watson with some

<sup>189</sup> Robert Walter Weir (b. 1843). Edinburgh University (M.A.) 1862. Ordained 1868. Married 1881. Edinburgh University (D.D.) 1906. Convenor of Committee On Correspondence With Other Reformed Churches 1899. Lecturer on Pastoral Theology in the Scottish Universities 1907-1908. Several significant publications between 1877 and 1913. Noted for collecting a great many portraits of Scottish clergymen, thereafter on display in the General Assembly buildings.

<sup>190</sup> Seton-Watson was not seeking publicity, for the contributions were to remain anonymous donations. Weir to Seton-Watson, 11<sup>th</sup> April 1911. R.W. Seton-Watson Papers. Box Y. Slovak Students In Edinburgh, 1912. Also Report of 'Committee On Correspondence With Other Reformed Churches,' May 1912, p. 758.

<sup>191</sup> Weir to Seton-Watson, 29<sup>th</sup> November 1912. R.W. Seton-Watson Papers. Box Y. Slovak Students In Edinburgh, 1912.

<sup>192</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson Papers. Box Y. Slovak Students In Edinburgh, 1912.

<sup>193</sup> Zilka, pastor in Melnik, Bohemia, to Seton-Watson, 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1911. R.W. Seton-Watson Papers. Box I.

information relating to the Quincentenary of John Hus in 1915. The Secretary was clearly inspired by religious fervour ‘... for getting the Book received and considered by men of influence. Bohemia is still perhaps the most priest-ridden country in Europe.’<sup>194</sup> Seton-Watson’s interest in the matter must have been more than merely passing, for he succeeded in obtaining agreement from the Czech historian, Count Lützwow, that the latter would write the Quincentenary article on Hus for the *European Review*.<sup>195</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Factual knowledge as compared to superficial, tourist impressions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was very limited indeed in Britain. That state of affairs had only begun to be rectified by Wickham Steed and R.W. Seton-Watson in the years immediately preceding the First World War. Most writers and travellers to the Dual Monarchy had the Kossuthist notion of the Magyars constituting the only nationality struggling for freedom from Habsburg rule. The members of the Eighty Club, who visited Hungary in 1906, and who were predominantly non-Radicals, were successfully duped into accepting that view.

Wickham Steed did not hold Radical sentiments either, for he worked for the non-Radical newspaper the *Times*, and very much believed that Austria-Hungary was the tool of Germany in south-east Europe. He saw the diminution of German schemes in central Europe as requiring the destruction of the Habsburg State. He elevated his anti-German feelings to a level above those of consideration for the sufferings of the oppressed minority races. For him, high politics were of paramount importance and peoples’ struggles for a better way of life only of secondary significance.

Unlike Steed, Seton-Watson did not have to go to Hungary if he had not wished to. As he had no need to work to earn a living he could have stayed in Scotland and managed his inherited landed estate. He wanted to be an historian, an understandable, desirable occupation for a Radical. Yet he chose to be a different one from that of his maternal grandfather – the genealogist. Instead, having been brought up in a strict religious household instilling in him a strong Christian conscien-

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<sup>194</sup> R.H. Falconer, Secretary of NBSS to Seton-Watson, 28<sup>th</sup> February 1914. R.W. Seton-Watson Papers, Box I.

<sup>195</sup> Lützwow to Seton-Watson, 27<sup>th</sup> March 1914. R.W. Seton-Watson Papers. Box X. *European Review* 1913-14. Count Franz von Lützwow (English: Count Francis von Lutzow) (1849-1916), Bohemian historian of Czech ethnicity. Active in politics, he entered the Austrian Parliament. He even became Chamberlain to the Emperor. However, despite this, he strove for Bohemian independence from the Austro-Hungarian State. He produced his books in English in order to gain a wider readership in the West concerning Bohemia, thus advertising the Czech cause. Amongst his works: *Bohemia An Historical Sketch* (1896, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1910); *A History of Bohemian Literature* (1899, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1907); *The Story of Prague* (1902, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1907); *Lectures on the Historians of Bohemia* (1905); *Life & Times of Master John Hus* (1909); and *The Hussite Wars* (1914). All these were published in London, and the last-named one in New York as well.



ce, and in the tradition of Gladstonian support for oppressed peoples, he felt compelled to become a voice for them. As such, to use the words of the historian A.J.P. Taylor to describe the British Radicals, he could be regarded by some governments as being one of 'the trouble makers',<sup>196</sup> and certainly was so by that of the Magyar nobility.

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<sup>196</sup> Taylor, A.J.P., *The Trouble Makers : Dissent Over Foreign Policy 1792-1939 (Ford Lectures ; 1956)*, Hamish Hamilton, 1957.

**SUMMARY  
OF THE ROUTE  
OF THE EIGHTY CLUB TRIP TO HUNGARY, 1906**

Idea: Visit to take place in the 4<sup>th</sup> week of September.

About 30 members, accompanied by ladies, would proceed independently to assemble in Budapest on evening of Thursday, 20<sup>th</sup> September.

In reality, most met in Vienna on Tuesday the 18<sup>th</sup>, agreeing to travel together next day as far as Pozsony (Pressburg), and then on the 20<sup>th</sup> by steamer down the Danube.

19<sup>th</sup> Wednesday: an hour's train ride covered the 35 miles from Vienna to Pozsony.

Even though in a private capacity still, invited to listen to the operetta *Die lustige Wittwe* (see footnote 21) at the town theatre.

Also, listened to Czigány band.

20<sup>th</sup> Thursday: steamer cancelled due to rain. Train instead, which was quicker by hours to Budapest. Throughout trip, free first-class rail passes everywhere in Hungary for members.

21<sup>st</sup> Friday: Cemetery visited to lay wreath upon the grave of Louis Kossuth.

Supper at Hotel Pannonia, followed by theatre.

22<sup>nd</sup> Saturday morning: Group split into separate parties to sightsee places of interest in Budapest. Most saw Royal Palace in Buda which included the gardens, the St. Stephen's Monument, and the Gothic Cathedral of St. Matthias.

Others, perhaps more interested in social/educational work, visited schools.

Many statues of national heroes seen: warriors, poets and statesmen.

At noon, the whole party gathered to visit the Parliament buildings.

In afternoon, many accepted invitation of the Minister of Agriculture to visit the Agricultural Museum.

In evening, guests of the Government at the Országos Casino, home of the famous Gentry Club. Dinner presided over by Prime Minister for about 100 people, accompanied by the Berkes Gipsy Band. (Ferencz Kossuth who was the Minister of Commerce was absent due to ill-health).

23<sup>rd</sup> Sunday: Individuals could choose to follow their own interests, but carriages available at the hotel.

Over Margaret Bridge to Margaret Island, which was a public park having many attractions.

Ruins of St. Margaret's Convent seen on return to hotel.

Lunched at hotel, accompanied by music, as guests of the Corporation of Budapest.

7:00pm, many attended performance of *Lohengrin* at the Grand National Opera House.

11:00pm, opera still not finished, but left to go to the Park Club, a luxurious house on outskirts of the town, where guests were received by Countess Károlyi with husband Stephen Károlyi and other distinguished Hungarians. About an hour there, before returning to Hotel Hungaria where supper awaited those who wished to have it.

**24<sup>th</sup> Monday: The culmination of the visit.**

Afternoon occupied by Conference on Labour Legislation.

Evening banquet, courtesy of the Independent Club.

25<sup>th</sup> Tuesday: Began journey by train to High Tátra district of Carpathian mountains.

After an hour passed through Hatvan, then over vast plain with 'unpronounceable' names to Kassa.

Having crossed plain, train ascending foothills, and came in sight of mountains.

Almost dusk when Tátra-Lomnicz was reached. Carriages provided for those who wanted them, others preferred the brisk walk up the hill. Reached Palace Hotel, 900 metres above sea.

26<sup>th</sup> Wednesday: 18 miles through mountain forest roads to Lake Csorba. Passed through Tatrafüred. Another hour's drive and further climbing to a hotel at Lake Csorba.

During afternoon some fished, while others went for a walk. Dozen ascended as far as Lake Poprád.

Return journey, covering what had been done in carriages, was completed by cog-wheeled railway that connected villas and hotels round Lake Csorba with main railway. Transported through the night to Pozsony.

27<sup>th</sup> Thursday: 8am, their special train drew into Pozsony, a few miles from the Austrian frontier. Because of its mixed architecture '... it was perhaps the most interesting place visited by the deputation during the entire tour.'

Council Chamber welcome

Brush factory visited

Isabella Home Industry Society's Depot visited to see lace, embroidery and needlework.

Cathedral

Castle

Lunch for 65 people at Green Tea hotel

Various other sites in afternoon e.g. Palugyay wine cellars

4:30pm train for Budapest. (First stopping station on route was Érsekújvár).

Nagykárolyi Castle, two days for some, (who chose not to go to High Tatra?), shooting in the forests.

28<sup>th</sup> Friday night: left Budapest by train for Orsova

29<sup>th</sup> Saturday: 8am arrived at a quay on Danube where steamer of the Hungarian River and Sea Navigation Company awaited them.

Through the famous Kazán Pass.

On southern or Servian side, Trajan's road was clearly visible.

On northern or Hungarian side Széchenyi's road, built 1834-37.

After couple of hours against the current, steamer reversed and sailed back again to Orsova, then past Island of Ada-Kaleh<sup>197</sup> with Turkish inhabitants.

Onwards down towards the Iron Gate.

Lunch, followed by speech in Latin praising steamer company. Manager of Company replied in French. 'Health' proposed for captain and crew. Replied to in Hungarian.

Before lunch, had descended as far as Turn-Severin (a Roumanian town) where the remains of Trajan's bridge could be seen on both shores. Having retraced route and landing at Orsova, saw Crown Chapel.

3:00pm train left Orsova, up Cserna valley in less than an hour to Herculesfürdő. The baths, followed by music.

7:00pm dined as guests of Minister of Agriculture. British speeches signalling end of trip to Hungary.

9:30pm carriages at door for station about 30 minutes away. Train began return journey to Budapest.

Many went to Mezöhegyes, about 20 miles from Szeged - State farm. Estate in two sections - the more important being horse-breeding, Mezöhegyes; other at Kisbér, Bábolna and Fogaras. At Mezöhegyes alone about 3,000 horses. But also on other section of the farm, various crops, large herds of cattle, sheep and pigs.

Returned towards the station and taken to a State-owned hotel for lunch. Speeches again! Left from Szeged by train to return on main line to Budapest.

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<sup>197</sup> From Turkish meaning 'island fortress'. Work of fort construction begun in 1669 but not finished until 1737. Island about 1.9 miles (3km) from Orsova, measuring 1.7km by 400-500 metres. On 12<sup>th</sup> May 1913 the island was occupied by Austro-Hungarian forces, a fact that was never officially recognized by the Ottoman Empire. In 1971, the island was totally submerged by the rising waters of the Danube as a result of the Communist construction of the Iron Gates dams scheme. The inhabitants, most of whom were of Turkish ethnicity and that numbered about 1,000, went to live in already established fellow communities in the Black Sea province of the Northern Dobruja in Romania, and to a lesser extent with other groups in south-eastern Europe.

The Royal Hungarian Agricultural Museum in Budapest. Founded in 1897, but since 1899 new buildings erected.

The official programme of the visit was concluded at end of day at Herculesfürdő. However, though the party had separated and members were journeying back by different routes, other things were seen.

Some spent 30<sup>th</sup> seeing the town of Szeged, which was the second largest place in Hungary with more than 100,000 inhabitants. River Tisza (Theiss) partly destroyed it by great flood in 1879. Some members chose to return to Great Britain via Italy. To do this they went by train to Fiume. Night passage by steamer to Venice.

Some members arrived at Fiume on 3<sup>rd</sup> October, leaving two days later. Had chance to see Abbazia and Bukari.

'The direct and natural route from Budapest to England passes through Vienna, ...'. Some spent three days being hosted in Vienna.

MAP OF PLACES IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY MENTIONED IN THE TEXT  
WITH REGARDS TO  
R.W. SETON-WATSON



The numbers are referenced in the text thus: e.g. {7}

Created by Susan Hansen, 2014

## APPENDIX 1

The European Review will publish from time to time articles dealing with the following or similar Hungarian subjects: -

The Greatness and Decline of the Hungarian Gentry

Electoral Reform in Hungary: an unsolved Problem.

Local Government in Hungary as a Racial Question.

Magyar Calvinism in the XXth Century.

Land-Hunger in Southern Hungary.

Industrial Problems in an Agrarian State.

The Magyar Emigrant in U.S.A.

The Position of the Jew in Modern Hungary.

Louis Kossuth and the Danubian Confederation.

German and Slavonic Influence upon Hungarian Institutions.

The Soul of Hungarian Music.

Madách and the Human Tragedy.

The Ballads of Arany.

The Kurucz Tradition in Hungarian Literature.

Romanticism and Decadence in Hungarian Literature.

A Great Humourist: Coloman Mikszáth.

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The Slovaks and their Right to a National Education.

Slovak Decorative Art.

The Slovak Folksong.

The Situation of the Roumanians in Hungary.

The Roumanian Uniate Church.

Schaguna and the Roumanian Orthodox Church of Hungary.

German Minorities in Europe: 2. The Saxons

3. The Banat and Bačka

The Ruthene Uniate Church in Hungary.

The Serbs of Southern Hungary and their Patriarchate.

Translations of short stories, drama, poems and folksongs, from the Magyar, Roumanian, Slovak, Serbocroat, [sic] Ruthene.



## APPENDIX 2

The EUROPEAN REVIEW will publish from time to time articles on the following and similar Southern Slavonic subjects: -

Serbo-Croat Unity as an[sic] European Question

The Growth of a Southern Slav Consciousness

The Future of Islam in the Balkans

The Future of Montenegro

Parliamentary Government in Bulgaria

Economics and Nationality in the Balkans

The Commercial Relations of Austria-Hungary and Servia

The Danube-Adriatic Railway

The Agrarian Problem in Bosnia

The Orthodox Church and the Idea of Nationality

The Bulgarian Exarchate: a historical survey

Servia and the Vatican

Slavonic Liturgies in the Roman Church

The Influence of Italy upon the Southern Slavs

The Croat and Serb Emigrant in U.S.A.

The Pomaks

Renaissance Art in Mediaeval Servia

Meštrović and his Art

Bulgaria and American Ideals of Education

The Development of the Croat Novel

The Servian Ballads

The Dawn of Bulgarian Literature

The Folksongs of Macedonia

Vuk Karadžić and his Legacy

Translations of Croat and Serb poetry, folksongs, and short stories

## COMPARISON OF GEOGRAPHICAL SIZES

Austria-Hungary 241,333 square miles of which :

Austria 115,903 square miles

Hungary 125,430 square miles

(Note : The figures above 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).

At the beginning of 2014 :

Germany : 137,847 square miles

Japan : 145,894 square miles

UK : 94,060 square miles

## OTHER ARTICLES ABOUT THE 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.

Susan Hansen, 'British Radicals Knowledge of, and Attitudes to Austria-Hungary 1890-1914  
Part I Austria-Hungary as a Whole and the Austrian Crownlands in Particular'  
In *The Meijo Review*, Vol. 13, No. 3, November 2012, pp. 1-46.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

This selection of pictures from *Peoples Of All Nations* has been specially chosen to show life in what was Hungary before the 1914-18 conflict, and not the Austrian Crownlands, as the latter were the subject of a previously published article. Though this 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.

## CENTRAL HUNGARY

### LORD OR HENCHMAN?

He appears to represent the archetypical Magyar. Though one might think of him as possibly being the Mayor of Debreczen, in fact he was the latter's coachman.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 4, p. 2638)



### PEASANT COUPLE IN BRIDAL ARRAY

Notice the flowery headgear.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 4, facing p. 2640)



### CLOTHES MADE BY THE HUNGARIAN HOUSEWIFE

Clearly an enormous amount of work went into producing the rich embroideries on these aprons and shirts.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 4, p. 2646)



### A MAGYAR COUPLE

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 4, p. 2650)



### GYPSY BAND

Popular among all classes, these musician are greatly sought after at weddings and social functions.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 4, p. 2659)



### MAGYAR COW HERDSMEN ENJOYING THEIR EVENING MEAL AT A PRAIRIE STATION ON THE HORTOBÁGY PLAIN

There are three varieties of herdsmen who live on the vast, flat expanse of the Hungarian Plain, of which the Hortobágy Plain forms a part – the horse herdsmen, the cow herdsmen, and the shepherds. The stations of the cow herdsmen, or *gulyás*, are dotted at wide intervals about the plain, and the life lived in the solitary domiciles is simple and primitive in the extreme.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 4, p. 2662)



### THE HORTOBÁGY RIVER

This fisherman and his geese are on the banks of the Hortobágy River which meanders across the 300 square mile plain of the same name. A young goosegirl would take care of these birds. The house is made of adobe and thatched with reeds and straw.

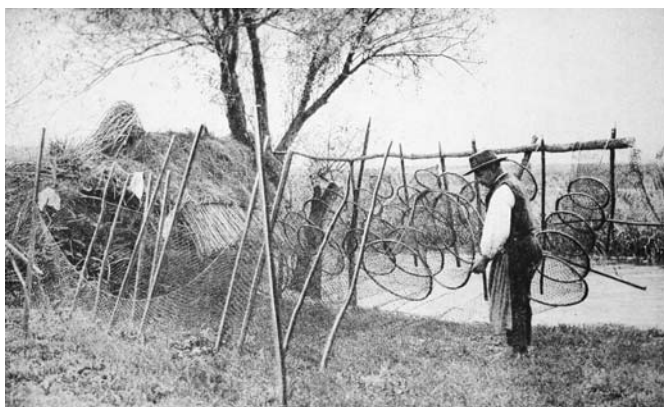
(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 4, p. 2664)



### PREPARATIONS FOR A FISHING EXPEDITION ON THE HORTOBÁGY RIVER

Preparations are begun some days before the expedition by checking the condition of the nets and traps. To make ends meet, the fisherman makes brooms, plaits mats, and creates baskets of rushes and osiers.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 4, p. 2665)



### HUNGARIAN PEDLAR

This seller expounds the qualities of his numerous wares outside the central station of Budapest.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 4, p. 2672)





### HUNGARIAN CATHOLIC PRIMATE TAKING PART IN A RELIGIOUS PROCESSION

The mitred János Csernoch (Slovakian: Ján Černoch) (1852-1927) (see footnote 120 above), can be seen walking in front of Hungarian dignitaries, thereby symbolizing the unity of State and Church.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 4, facing p. 2674)



### REPRESENTATIVES OF THE HUNGARIAN ARMY

These Hungarian noblemen are in national costume. They appear like this on important State and Church holidays, thereby giving a visual cement to the unity of the two authorities.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 4, p. 2675)



### A DANCE IN WIDE SWAYING SKIRTS

This is traditional attire.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 4, p. 2679)



### WOODEN LOOM

The home-based industry of this peasant woman, reflects the fact that despite its large size preceding the Great War, Hungary was overwhelmingly an agricultural land, very different from some of the western provinces of Austria, such as Bohemia and Moravia.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 4, p. 2681)



## NORTHERN HUNGARY

Slovakia and Ruthenia

### SOME INHABITANTS OF A CARPATHIAN HOUSE

The woman is spinning, near her son who sits in the doorway. On the roof, bundles of flax are drying in the sun. Also there, is a family of storks, the two youngsters being in the nest. Though the birds damage the crops, Ruthenians nevertheless regard the feathered visitors as tokens of good omen.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 2, p. 1508)



### LADS OF THE CARPATHIAN HIGHLANDS

The broad belts of these mountaineers are the all-important feature of their costume. When small boys, the belts were mere straps which increased in breadth as the owners increased in stature. Their baggy trousers are of bright red and blue baize. The taller peasant is wearing a narrow leather band studded with brass buttons, from which hangs a beautiful old brass crucifix.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 2, p. 1514)



## MARKET DAY

The sheepskin coats with their elaborate floral designs are the main feature of these Ruthenian women's costumes.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 2, p. 1528)



## FEMALE COSTUMES

This composite picture shows a woman on the left in Austrian Moravian costume, while the other four peasants are in Slovakian attire. Quite understandably, the outfits of the peasantry change more slowly than those of people in urban areas. This is due partly to cost, but also to a slowness of way of life and greater desire to retain traditional ways. (On scrutiny, it would appear as if the photographic technique of maquillage has been adopted - look at the inserted[?] faces - especially of the second from the left).

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 2, p. 1530)



### SLOVAK VILLAGE RELIGIOUS PROCESSION

Through the otherwise quiet streets, the chanted prayers are audible, on a holyday of a saint. The Catholic faith is adhered to by most Slovaks and Magyars. Seton-Watson saw such processions as this while visiting Hungary, a consideration of which would no doubt have displeased his puritanical Calvinistic mind.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 2, p. 1533)



### OVERFLOW OF THE CONGREGATION TO OUTSIDE OF A CROWDED CHURCH

This is the Pöstyén (Slovakian: Piešťany) Catholic church (in what is now western Slovakia). The people's faith is attested to by the fact that these, who were too late to get a seat inside, are kneeling in the mud of the courtyard as the rain falls. (There are a couple of open umbrellas).

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 2, p. 1538)



### CARPATHIAN VILLAGE WOMEN

The young faces of these peasant women quickly become discoloured and wrinkled as they are outdoors a great deal doing much of the field work. After marriage the women bob their hair and fasten their kerchiefs behind the head, not under the chin as is customary with unmarried girls. (picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 2, p. 1539)



### SLOVAKS

The man on the left is a farmer who has probably never been far outside his locality. His pipe is his only luxury.

The man on the right is an example of the fact that Slovaks rarely sport beards or moustaches. Instead, when long enough, the hair is often braided.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 2, p. 1551)



## SLOVAKS

Church-going peasants process in their Sunday best costumes.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 2, p. 1552)



## EASTERN HUNGARY

Transylvania

### YOUNG HIGHLANDERS PERFORMING A COUNTRY DANCE

Accompanied by a gypsy fiddler, these men are dancing the *De brâu*, which is almost exclusively for them, though women can join in some of its varied figures. The dancers usually have their hands on each other's shoulders or one hand in the neighbour's girdle. It is a lively, vivacious performance, danced in a bow-shape or closed circle, in which foot-and-heel play is much in evidence.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 6, p. 4224)



## TRANSYLVANIA

The richly-ornamented sheepskin coat forms the chief article of her winter Sunday costume. Apart from that, there is a handsome lace apron and glittering trinkets. The sturdy boots and eye-catching 'jampot-shaped' hat complete the appearance of the female, traditional Transylvanian dress.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 6, p. 4232)



## DANCING BEAR OF A GYPSY NOMAD

The creature is captured as a cub, and reared and tamed often at great risk to the owner. Having been attached to a strong chain it is led from village to village, to generally be exhibited and to do certain 'tricks'. Some rewards are had, for the superstitious people considered it unlucky to turn away a dancing bear.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 6, p. 4238)





### THREE SHEPHERDS

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 6, p. 4240)



### SHEPHERD PLAYING A PIPE IN THE MOUNTAINS

It is a lonely existence in the mountains with only his sheep and dogs for company. The sound of the pipe breaks the virtual silence in his life.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 6, p. 4249)



### NOMAD SHEPHERDS OF THE SOUTHERN CARPATHIANS

Besides the flock of sheep and the dogs, these two see the agile chamois, and an occasional eagle that wheels and circles overhead.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 6, p. 4250)



### TRANSYLVANIAN COUPLE

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 6, p. 4257)



### TRANSYLVANIAN FOLK DANCERS

The dress of the Călușeri dancers differs little from the Romanian national costume, but is decorated with coloured strings and flowers. A heavy fringe of coloured string with bells, which tinkle at each movement is hung below the knee. These male-only, secret society dancers, are found in both Transylvania and across the border in Romania's Wallachia.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 6, p. 4264)



### WESTERN and SOUTHERN HUNGARY

Croatia-Slavonia and Baranya

#### CROATS

Prior to the First World War, Croatia-Slavonia as part of the same Kingdom, sent representatives to the Hungarian Parliament. Croats, though closely akin to Serbs in speaking the Serbo-Croat language, nevertheless are westward-looking. These costumes indicate that.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 6, p. 4550)



### SLAVONIAN FARMER

He is wearing warm winter costume. The valleys of Slavonia are extremely fertile, and agricultur-  
alists are successful in producing fine crops of grain, various fruit including grapes, hemp, and flax.  
(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London,  
undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 6, p. 4553)



### SLAVONIAN HUNTER

The sheepskin coat with its inside fleece provides protection for both rider and horse. In the  
mountainous districts wild animals are still to be found by the persevering hunter, while goats can  
be stalked among the higher peaks and deer shot in the woodlands. Smaller game, hares, and  
rabbits are seldom considered worth the effort.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London,  
undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 6, p. 4556)



### BARANYAN BRIDAL COSTUMES

Baranya county borders Slavonia, virtually sandwiched between the north bank of the Drave River and the west bank of the Danube in southern Hungary. The capital city is Pécs (German: Fünfkirchen).

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 6, p. 4561)



### CROATS

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 6, p. 4586)



## CROATS

Thrifty Croats sow various seeds on the same ground, and prime pumpkins such as these, materialize when the maize crops have been harvested.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 6, p. 4587)



## CROATIAN YOUNG MEN

Embroideries and fringes adorn these Sunday costumes.

(picture from *Peoples Of All Nations* edited by J. A. Hammerton, Amalgamated Press, London, undated 7-volumed publication but probably 1924, Vol. 6, p. 4591)



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