



NUI MAYNOOTH
Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

Images and perceptions of Hungary and Austria- Hungary in Ireland, 1815-1875

by

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THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF PHD
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND
MAYNOOTH

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2012

Table of contents

Acknowledgements.....	iv
Abbreviations.....	v
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Austria at the Congress of Vienna through the eyes of the Irish press.....	24
Chapter 2: Hungary through Irish travellers' eyes (1815-1848).....	45
I. Vienna, the city of Kaisers, through Irish eyes.....	51
II. Irish impressions of Hungary (1815-1848).....	68
Chapter 3: Hungary as an inspiration during the campaigns for Catholic emancipation and repeal, 1800-47.....	93
I. Images of Hungary during the Catholic emancipation movement.....	94
II. Perceptions of Hungary during the formative years of repeal (1830s).....	112
III. Hungary as a source of inspiration during the years of active repeal campaigning (1840s)	125
Chapter 4: Irish responses to the Hungarian revolution and war of independence, 1848-49.....	154
I. Irish newspapers on 1848 in Hungary.....	160

II. Irish views of the Russian intervention and defeat of the Hungarian war of independence (1849).....	176
III. Individual Irish views of the Hungarian revolution and its aftermath (1849).....	193
Chapter 5: From shared brotherhood to inspirational model: Images of Hungary in Ireland, 1850-1875.....	212
I. Irish perceptions of Hungary, 1850-75.....	214
II. Images of the Hungarian Compromise of 1867 in Ireland, 1867-75.....	239
Chapter 6: The Dublin University Magazine (1833-1877) and Hungary.....	274
Conclusion.....	304
Bibliography.....	318
Glossary of terms.....	336
Maps.....	342

Acknowledgements

Of the many people who helped me along the research and preparation of this thesis, my first and foremost heartfelt gratitude goes to my supervisor, Professor Jacqueline Hill. Her suggestions, helpful guidance and unwavering attention throughout this process were invaluable.

The Department of History at NUI Maynooth, both the academic and administrative staff, have provided a supportive work environment where, as a Hungarian native away from home, I always felt reassured I could turn when various problems arose. Special thanks are due to Professor Richard Vincent Comerford, former head of the history department, who welcomed me to the department and continuously encouraged my work.

The long road to the completion of this thesis began at the Department of History at the University of Pecs (Hungary) where I originally embarked on my postgraduate studies following appreciation and support I received for my undergraduate thesis. Dr Thomas Kabdebo, former head librarian of the John Paul II library at NUI Maynooth, provided me with the chance to conduct research in Ireland for that thesis and has been continuously supportive ever since.

I am also grateful to acknowledge the financial support my research has received from the John and Pat Hume scholarships, the Irish Research Council for Humanities and Social Sciences (IRCHSS), annual scholarship of the History department and the NUI Maynooth Postgraduate travel fund.

I am equally in debt to the staff of the various libraries in which I have conducted research, such as the National Library of Ireland, the Royal Irish Academy, Trinity College library, John Paul II library at NUI Maynooth, the Russell library at NUI Maynooth and the Cambridge University Library in particular.

Last, but not least, I owe gratitude to my family and friends, as their belief in me, our long conversations about my topic, and help with various matters were much needed and appreciated throughout the years of this research.

Abbreviations

<i>D.N.B.</i>	Oxford dictionary of national biography
<i>D.I.B.</i>	Dictionary of Irish biography
<i>Hansard 1</i>	<i>Cobbett's parliamentary debates, 1803-12</i> , continued as <i>The parliamentary debates from the year 1803 to the present time, 1812-20</i> (41 vols, London, 1804-20)
<i>Hansard 2</i>	<i>The parliamentary debates...published under the superintendence of T. C. Hansard</i> , new series, 1820-9, continued as <i>Hansard's parliamentary debates</i> , 1829-30 (25 vols, London, 1820-30)
<i>Hansard 3</i>	<i>Hansard's parliamentary debates</i> , third series, 1830-91 (356 vols, London, 1831-91)
H.C.	House of Commons
H.L.	House of Lords
N.L.I.	National Library of Ireland
R.I.A.	Royal Irish Academy
Q.U.B.	Queen's University Belfast

Introduction

Since the publication and subsequent popularity of Arthur Griffith's *The resurrection of Hungary* (Dublin, 1904 and 1918), there has been little doubt both in contemporary public mind and the scholarly community that the example of Hungary carried a political message for Ireland. As there has been no systematic study of the preceding century, in terms of what was known and how that information was used about Hungary, this thesis aims to examine the extent to which that period could have furnished Griffith with a set of images about Hungary. This, beyond being a strong point for the relevance of this study, also lent a suggestion towards the structuring of the following investigation in order to analyse how these Irish images of Hungary were constructed and for what purposes.

This thesis therefore sets out to examine the nature, extent and significance of Irish knowledge and interpretations of Hungary through a six decades timeframe. It also aims to contextualize these views in terms of their importance, utility and endurance in the Irish public mind. The contemporary selecting and filtering of these pictures as a process has been essential, as a fully encompassing view of Hungary was hardly manageable. Therefore, the results of the selection, namely the choice of the images that were adopted and reasons for doing so, were those that had a significant impact on what was known of Hungary in Ireland in the given period. Factors influencing this selection and preference process, such as the role of newspapers, pamphlets and travel writings amongst others, will be examined as well as the working of the process itself.

The Congress of Vienna, held between 1814 and 1815, has been chosen as a starting point as it not only provided a political settlement for the Continent after the Napoleonic wars but it also served as a metaphorical new beginning. As the dust from the wars settled, Irish attention was directed and re-directed to the imperial city and the Austrian empire at large. Although there were numerous and well-established contacts between Ireland and the

Continent and within that with the Austrian empire well before the nineteenth century, these were mostly of a cultural and military nature.¹ These early connections mostly operated and were characterised by personal experiences, namely of people who either visited the region or settled there long term. As the nineteenth century witnessed a boom in the newspaper and pamphlets industry, paralleled with an equal growth in travel literature, knowledge about certain regions of Europe was no longer a prerogative only of those who had been there. This was equally aided by similar parallel historic developments taking place in various other parts of Europe, and thus, the idea of a closer attention, consideration and analysis of these places took a firmer formerly unprecedented root.

This thesis is going to examine the Irish reactions to and self-reflections based on Hungarian events and developments, through the larger historic framework of an imperial setting which characterized the experience and position of the two countries respectively. As an undefined and uncategorized analysis of these six decades of Irish perceptions of Hungary would have meant researching and interpreting a vast amount of material, some restrictions have had to be applied to this research. Not all Hungarian events, developments, public figures and changes have been examined for their Irish perception, and not all historic aspects that Hungarian historiography identifies as important cornerstones feature in the thesis. Beyond that, even those events and features that are discussed were still weighed according to their importance in terms of the Irish looking glass. Namely, certain events that the Irish found interesting and analysed in greater lengths and varied detail, even though they might appear episodic from a Hungarian viewpoint, were given preference. Moreover, only the most important iconic years such as 1848-49 were treated in separate chapters

¹ For this vast field, see for example the publications of the Irish in Europe project of Dr Thomas O'Connor and Professor Marian Lyons (NUI Maynooth). Thomas O'Connor and Marian Lyons (eds), *Strangers to citizens: The Irish in Europe, 1600-1800* (Dublin, 2008). Thomas O'Connor (ed), *The Irish in Europe, 1580-1815* (Dublin, 2001). Thomas O'Connor and Marian Lyons (eds), *Irish migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1601-1820* (Dublin, 2003). Idem, *Irish communities in early modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006).

while others were analysed as part of a bigger framework. The year 1875 as the closing date for the thesis was prompted by the aim of providing an analysis of the immediate Irish reactions to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. This, however, also coincided with the beginning of Isaac Butt's replacement by Charles Stewart Parnell as undisputed leader of the home rule movement. Parnell was a very different type of politician and represented an alternative political approach to the conservative federalist home rule of Butt, thereby supplying the thesis with an even more logical and appropriate end date.

It has to be stressed here how important the Irish domestic context was in this selecting, filtering and interpreting course of perception. As Irish newspapers did not employ regular special foreign correspondents at the beginning of the period, foreign information arrived in Ireland through different channels. Continental, that is mainly French and German newspapers, foreign mail sections of British newspapers and the occasional private correspondent were the main sources for Irish foreign information. Therefore it is crucial to note here that this ensured that foreign news as such arrived to the Irish shores through various degrees of filtering. This was largely influenced by these continental newspapers themselves, representing varied levels of distinct political views which in turn resulted in a conscious or unconscious interpretation and passing on of news as opposed to merely reporting about such foreign information. Equally influential for the Irish selection process was how newspapers chose their representative continental counterparts as sources for news and reports, determined by their respective stand along the line of nationalist, liberal or conservative values. Images provided by newspapers or sources belonging to a contending political camp were equally interpreted in the papers, however they were treated with varying degrees of doubt, criticism and scorn.

A further level of selection has taken place as the thesis put more emphasis on studying and evaluating those Irish images of Hungary which went beyond the contemporary there and then news value. As the Irish domestic political context is the guiding principle around which these images

were scrutinized, the allure that these supposed parallels of ongoing developments in Eastern Europe exercised across the wider political spectrum in Ireland is very instructive. Most important will be those images during the analysis that the Irish dedicated more time and effort into deeply evaluating as similar political trends. In the course of investigation due attention will be paid to identify whether certain images would potentially resurface from time to time to contribute to a more static, generic image of Hungary. In this context the underlining motives for a continuous reappearance, in terms of what such images offered, will prove to be particularly meaningful for the thesis's aim of analysing the directions of Irish interest in Hungary.

Furthermore, the thesis also aims to scrutinize the process of formulating and moulding images of Hungary into the Irish discourse, identifying the structuring of these images, be that modelling one image after another, or more fluctuating in approach. In this latter case, these images would necessarily be influenced by deeper contextual considerations, bearing in mind that the domestic political situation and imperial position of the Irish were always categories to contend with. Considerations that go beyond that were of a more universal nature, something that elevated the image into the realm of generic truths which in turn were seen to materialize in these specific examples.

A further important aspect of investigating the building principles of these images is ascertaining how balanced a view of Hungary they represented. The initial step in this analysis is to identify how the picture in question was constructed, taking the backdrop of contemporary political truths, in terms of what was known at the time, into account. Moreover, it is also crucial to identify the extent to which Irish contemporaries would have had a chance of knowing the reality of their image, following the previous logic, even if their view was mistaken or purposefully misread the situation. In this latter case, if there was such potential, the researcher was dealing with a very conscious realigning of the image. The aim of this process was to make the image more fitting for a purpose considered of higher importance than accuracy. Obviously a central and sensitive issue had to be the mixed

composition of the Austrian empire, including the kingdom of Hungary, for example. How were the mutual relations between its Magyar, Slavic and German peoples were interpreted in Ireland? The Hungarian context provided a special mediating sphere, where, given the existing dividing lines in Irish society and politics, underlining issues could be indirectly dealt with.

In terms of Ireland, the nineteenth century was a turbulent period. The Act of Union (1800) sealed the fate and basic position of Ireland for the rest of the century and in turn introduced and as it later turned out through the period, institutionalized a set of political dynamics for generations to come. The unification with Great Britain, aimed as a settlement, offered a restricted political latitudinal space and through its framework, contributed to the increase and intensification of a grievance and resentment-driven politics in Ireland. The Catholic emancipation movement and its eventual success, granted in 1829 after long and hard contests in the British parliament, was significant for various reasons. Firstly, it established that the Act of Union, sealing a specific status quo, was a settlement that as originally framed, namely that Catholics could vote but not sit in the parliament, failed to take all aspects of Irish life into consideration. More crucially, as the act lacked a degree of flexibility, all changes and alterations were subject to and were administered through decisions in the British government and parliament. The success of emancipation, however, demonstrated that Catholic positions and rights were worth fighting for, as the volume, degree and quality of support it received in wider political circles amply underlined. Contemporaries could also draw the conclusion that the British government was susceptible to reasonable arguments but equally, waves of panic swept over some Protestants though in fact many liberal Protestants supported emancipation.

Daniel O'Connell's next enterprise, the repeal movement, did not do much to alleviate let alone extinguish these feelings of rising fear and discomfort. Emancipation was intended to heal the rift between Catholics and

Protestants, but with the rise of repeal, in fact this dual dynamic seemed to be increasingly dominating political life. O'Connell's supporters were mainly Catholics in this movement, with some notable Protestant exceptions: the Protestant Repeal Association, with the poet Sir Samuel Ferguson, was in a minority. The connection between mass movement and Catholicism created a dangerous association which only further contributed to alienation from its articulated goals. In this climate, the definition of the notions Irishness and patriotism saw an increasing divergence on the Catholic and Protestant sides. There were notable attempts at cooperation and synchronization of these views, such as the aforementioned association of Ferguson, the brief repeal-federalist overtures of 1844, and the Conservative platform of home government with Butt towards the very end of the period of the thesis. These shades of grey, however, never became mainstream political forces as there were more powerful feelings and sentiments of distrust at work. The unsuccessful risings of 1848 and 1867, the famine and the British reaction, and the Church Disestablishment Act of 1869 were all events that contributed to the widening of that subtle division towards a more identifiable segmentation.

In the Austrian context, to provide a short historical background for Hungary, the enduring Habsburg dynastic connection between Austria and Hungary was formed in 1526 by the accession of Ferdinand I to the Hungarian throne.² The unfolding turbulent centuries of Turkish wars and occupation resulted in a threefold division of Hungary, as Ferdinand ruled the western segment of the country, Transylvania became an independent principality soon driven under Ottoman domination, while the central area became subject to direct Turkish rule. The eventual final delivery from the Ottoman empire's sway through wars and the treaties of Karlowitz (1699)

² Contrary to Robert A. Kann's claims, Ferdinand I was not the first Habsburg to rule Hungary, the first being Albert II of Habsburg from 1437 to 1439. See: Robert A Kann, *A history of the Habsburg empire, 1526-1918* (paperback ed., Berkeley, 1980), p. 21. George Holmes, *The Oxford illustrated history of medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2001), p. 305.

and Passarowitz (1718), although it united the territories of the Hungarian kingdom, did so under Habsburg rule.³

The diet of 1687, besides the imperial promise to observe all laws and privileges in Hungary intact, was also important in establishing the hereditary succession of the Habsburgs in Hungary with Emperor Leopold I. This diet not only renounced Hungary's right to freely elect a sovereign, it also gave up controlling foreign affairs, external tariffs, defence policies and a portion of domestic government. It was during these chaotic times that Pressburg (Pozsony in Hungarian, today's Bratislava) became the capital of Hungary for a period and similarly the seat of the diet until 1848. The Hungarian diet comprised a house of magnates and a house of representatives with well-established rules that governed who could get in to either of them. The upper house included royal princes, hereditary peers, high dignitaries of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches, representatives of the Protestant denominations, life peers, various state dignitaries, high judges and three representatives from Croatia. To the house of representatives strict electoral laws applied, with the franchise based on taxation, property, profession, official position and ancestral privileges. The kingdom of Croatia had belonged to the Hungarian crown since the beginning of the twelfth century through a personal union, where Croatia's internal affairs were regulated through a diet (sabor) and a viceroy (ban). Croatia sent deputies to both sections of the diet where they were allowed to use Croatian as an official language.

The security challenges posed by the Turkish wars and the more immediate problem of succession, as Emperor Charles VI had no male heir, resulted in the passing of a law in 1723, called Pragmatica Sanctio (Pragmatic Sanction), which grew to have lasting importance and influence for the empire. Firstly, it secured female succession, leading to Maria Theresa's succession to the throne and through her all Habsburg descendants until the dynasty would die out, although this law was not accepted by all European

³ Jeremy Black, *European warfare, 1660-1815* (London, 1994), p. 103.

states (Austrian war of succession, 1740-48). On a more lasting note, it also asserted that the Habsburg lands were 'indivisible and inseparable':⁴ which claim, although contributing to the soothing of Hungarian worries about the future integrity of the historic kingdom, also evoked a wish to see their previous privileges legally guaranteed. Therefore, the Hungarian estates saw to it that the Pragmatic Sanction reciprocated the renouncing of Hungary's right to the free election of a ruler with a constitutional guarantee of their powers as feudal estates.⁵ Thus the approval of the Pragmatic Sanction in 1723 made Hungary a hereditary kingdom under Habsburg rule which was to last as long as the dynasty, or in this case, the empire lasted (1918). It was establishing that Habsburg monarchs were to rule Hungary as kings and not as emperors. The importance of the distinction lay in the principle that the king was to observe Hungary's constitution and laws, but this was interpreted loosely by the dynasty during the period.

In the eyes of the Hungarian feudal estates, the establishment of this link did not convey enough security against any potential future attempts to curtail the distinct constitutional status of Hungary and their own feudal privileges. The centralizing efforts of Joseph II (1780-90) prompted a renewed wish to see these guarantees in more direct constitutional form. This desire coincided with the reconciling attempts of the new sovereign, Leopold II (1790-92). Against the backdrop of the danger that French events posed for the stability and safety of the empire, Leopold II was willing to grant these wishes. The diet of 1790-1 enacted that Hungary was a free and independent kingdom within the empire with the right to be governed according to her own laws and customs. Equally important were the sections that stipulated that legislative powers were jointly vested in the king and the diet, diets were to be held every three years, a coronation diet had to be summoned three months following the death of the king, while similarly taxes would have to be agreed to by the diet.⁶ The laws enacted in 1791 also allowed Magyar to

⁴ András Gergely and Gábor Máthé, *The Hungarian state: a thousand years in Europe* (Budapest, 2000), p. 168.

⁵ *Ibid*, pp 217-8.

⁶ George Bárány, 'The age of royal absolutism, 1790-1848' in Péter F Sugár, Péter Hanák and Tibor Frank (eds), *A history of Hungary* (London, New York, 1990), pp 175-6.

be taught in secondary and higher level education institutions, while Protestants were allowed to exercise their religion freely and were treated as equal applicants when it came to being considered for public offices. This latter issue had special significance and after the long decades of persecutions and forceful counter-reformation practices of the Catholic Habsburgs, Protestant faiths were legally accepted as religions of the kingdom.

Besides these codified written laws there were customary unwritten laws which secured the leading position of the nobility in the Hungarian feudal kingdom. The *Tripartitum* (1514) of István Werbőczy was the cornerstone collection of these laws, which stipulated that the nobility paid no taxes, owed service only in arms, possessed free ownership of their lands, and were subject to nobody except the legally crowned king. The fourth cardinal right codified the institution of noble resistance, which meant that if the sovereign was curtailing the rights of the nobles, they were allowed to actively resist these attempts. The nobles resigned from exercising this latter right after the Turkish wars in 1687.⁷ The nobility's service in arms was manifested in the institution of the 'nobility's insurrection' whereby all nobles were compelled to defend the integrity of the territory of Hungary from an external attack when called on by the sovereign. Through the recognition of this cardinal right, the elected sovereign swore to keep the privileges of the nobility intact who in turn would offer their 'life and blood,' i.e. their sword, to the sovereign. As the official language of the kingdom of Hungary was Latin, the phrase entered history in that lingua franca, namely 'vitam et sanguinem.' This idea, originally codified in Werbőczy's *Tripartitum*, gave rise to romantic depictions of this institution in later times when Maria Theresa's plea to the Hungarian estates on the eve of her succession as empress in 1740, after she promised to maintain their privileges, was greeted by the desired support of the nobles. Contemporary and later interpretations indulged in the heroic image this exuded, although the reaction of the nobles rather reflected a political bargaining process where

⁷ For a list of the four primary privileges of a Hungarian noble, as codified in the *Tripartitum*, see: Henry (Henrik) Marczali, *Hungary in the eighteenth century. With an introductory essay on the earlier history of Hungary* by Harold W.V. Temperley (Cambridge, 1910), p. 103.n.

their willingness to support her had nothing to do with romantic ideals but with the realpolitik of seeing their rights guaranteed.

A further very important concept to keep in mind was the idea of the political nation, the 'natio Hungarica.' According to this concept, all members of the nobility in the kingdom of Hungary belonged to this political-judicial category, a feudal elite, regardless of their ethnic or confessional background or mother tongue.⁸ At the beginning of this period this posed no real problem as the official language of the kingdom was Latin. Although laws were still worded in Latin, Magyar translations were added to these from 1790, which together with the influence of the French revolution on the national awakening slowly started to tip the balance towards a Magyarizing process. In order to retain their feudal and political privileges, those nobles who were of non-Magyar birth slowly started to assimilate and learnt Hungarian.

There were exceptions to this trend, most notably the Croats, and the decision of the diet in 1844 to elevate Hungarian to be the official language of the kingdom gave birth to a potentially explosive situation. The reform activity of the previous two decades of the Hungarian diet culminated and was summarized in the laws enacted in April 1848, sanctioned by the Emperor Ferdinand V. These laws meant a huge step in Hungary's transformation from an essentially feudal privileges-driven society towards a more modern civic society. As these steps were accompanied by the strengthening forces of nationalism, present in all nationalities of the empire to varying degrees, the introduction of Magyar as the official language was certainly not greeted by these nationalities as Latin had not only functioned essentially as a mediator but it also constituted a neutral middle-ground. A precarious equilibrium was now significantly misbalanced with the introduction of Magyar as the official language of communication.

⁸ Emil Niederhauser, 'The national question in Hungary' in Mikulas Teich and Roy Porter (eds), *The national question in Europe in historical context* (Cambridge, 1998), pp 249, 251.

The strengthening of this tendency was amply demonstrated by the events and course of the 1848-49 revolution and war of independence, as certain nationalities, such as Croats, Serbians and Romanians, took part against the Hungarian uprising on the imperial side. Following the Hungarian defeat in the war, Austria triumphed after the intervention of Russian forces, and the kingdom was subjected to direct, absolute rule from Vienna. This on the other hand meant that the wishes of those nationalities who partook in the war, such as for territorial autonomy, were left unattended. Hungary's passive resistance against the absolutism of the Emperor Francis Joseph frustrated his attempts at introducing a curtailed constitution in Hungary. The October Diploma of 1860 and the February Patent of 1861 all failed as Hungary would not agree to less than the democratic constitution of 1848. The Hungarian diet of 1861 disapproved of the emperor's centralization plan which aimed to keep certain issues in his direct hand, such as foreign affairs and war, while it delegated issues like customs, commerce, infrastructure and finance to an imperial council (Reichsrat), leaving internal affairs, education and judiciary matters in Hungarian hands. As this severely curtailed the constitutional powers of Hungary, and neither of these patents entailed the reconstitution of the legal connections between the various elements of the historic kingdom, the diet of 1861 refused to enact these imperial patents. The emperor dissolved the diet as a response.

The emperor could not sustain the reversion to absolutism during the 1860s owing to the interplay of international developments, such as Austria's gradual lessening involvement and influence in Italy, and the military defeat by Prussia at Königgrätz in 1866 which meant the end of the empire's positions in Germany. As a result, the Compromise of 1867 which created the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary and lasted until 1918 was beneficial to both parties involved. Austria could secure the empire's positions as a power in Central Europe while Hungary, after years of direct absolutist rule, was finally elevated to a state of partnership. The new state structure introduced two independent parliaments exercising legislative power in domestic issues, namely the Hungarian diet, reinstating Hungary's constitutional

independence, and the continuing Reichsrat for the rest of the empire. However, it stipulated three areas to remain in the realm of common affairs. These were the joint ministries of defence, foreign affairs and the financing of these, which were kept in check by delegations appointed by the monarch and the Reichsrat and the diet of Hungary.

As the Compromise seemed to have settled the Austrian and Hungarian dispute, the elevation of one nationality of the empire, with Magyar as the official language of the kingdom, seemed to have sown seeds of future trouble. Although the Magyars had laid the foundations of the kingdom, the other nationalities of the kingdom were not satisfied with the concessions the new state structure offered in terms of their rights as nationalities, such as language use. The nationality law of 1868 (statute xlv) was progressive in terms of the individual's language use, recognizing and allowing the use of nationality languages in church, elementary and intermediate schools and in communication with governmental bodies.⁹ Acknowledging this individual level of nationalities rights did not prove to be enough, as by the end of the nineteenth century these peoples of the kingdom were looking for political recognition as a group. Their wishes to see their status elevated with territorial autonomy would have thwarted the sensitive equilibrium of the empire; and thus the nationalities laws of the Hungarian government in 1868, despite their progressive principles, seemed only to have stalled a more serious upheaval. The division lines within the empire never really disappeared.

To give a brief summary of Hungary's constitutional position and connections with Austria, with elements mentioned throughout the historical overview above, one sees a portrait of fluctuating relations.¹⁰ After the Turkish wars, the diet of 1687 recognized the hereditary succession of the Habsburgs to the throne of Hungary. Furthermore, the diet abrogated Hungarian nobles' right of resistance, while at the same time the emperor

⁹ Kann, *A history of the Habsburg empire*, p. 362.

¹⁰ Various works can be recommended here for a general overview, see: Kann, *A history of the Habsburg empire*. Or, alternatively: Miklós Molnár, *A concise history of Hungary* (Cambridge, 2001) and László Kontler, *A history of Hungary. Millennium in Central Europe* (New York, 2002).

promised to observe all laws and privileges in compensation. The Pragmatic Sanction (1713-23), on the one hand, secured the female line of inheritance for the Habsburgs, thus essentially making Hungary a hereditary kingdom under the dynasty as long as it existed. On the other hand, this law also declared that the Habsburgs ruled Hungary as kings, not emperors, where the important distinction lay in the fact that the king of Hungary was bound by Hungary's constitution and laws. During the diet of 1790-91, under the strain of external circumstances threatening the integrity of the empire, Leopold II codified that Hungary was an independent kingdom ruled by a king legally crowned according to Hungarian laws. This Hungarian diet also saw to it that new laws required the approval of both king and the diet.

The April laws and constitution of 1848, which appointed the first government of Hungary, initiated a set of civic reforms and undid most of the existing feudal privileges. In a reaction to the unilaterally declared constitution of Olmütz of March 1849, which the dynasty issued after mistakenly thinking that a decisive defeat of the Hungarian forces had been achieved, Hungary declared the dethronement of the Habsburg dynasty in April 1849. As the Hungarian war of independence was overcome by August 1849, the dynasty, in revenge for the dethroning declaration, introduced absolute, direct rule in Hungary. Abrogating the constitution of 1848, annulling all Hungarian privileges, this direct rule, however, still did not last. Owing to a combination of internal and external circumstances, the Compromise of 1867, which created the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy, was a realistic 'armistice' between the dynasty and Hungary. This complex law gave Hungary control in domestic affairs and returned the control of territories that were separated from the Hungarian crown during the absolutist rule introduced after 1849, namely Voivodina, Transylvania and the Military Frontier. The domestic control of affairs was balanced by the creation of common ministries for affairs of defence, foreign affairs and their finances, which, throughout the existence of the dual monarchy, were always dominated by Austrian ministers.

Moving on to methodology, the systematic and complex approach of the thesis to Irish perceptions of Hungary provides this study with a unique angle. Although there are a number of works which touch upon, consider and analyse certain aspects, periods and figures mentioned in the thesis, they lack the more generic and contextualizing approach undertaken by this present work. The complexity of the study comes from the consideration of not only nationalist but also various other shades of Irish political viewpoints such as liberal Protestants, Conservatives and Unionists. A central research proposition of the thesis is the hypothesis that consideration and interpretation of images and perceptions of Hungary was not a unique and sole property of nationalists in Ireland. The identification and analysis of Conservative-Unionist readings of Hungary and the potential unearthing of their motives for evoking these images is more central to this thesis than any previous study.¹¹ The contextualizing of these images of Hungary within the Irish domestic political scene was thus a prime aim, namely the integration of varying images or perceptions into an overall scheme of analysis. In essence, the study of the images and how they were utilized in Irish public sphere aimed at identifying and reconstructing an understanding of what the various Irish sides were hoping for or looking to get from adopting such notions and images about Hungary.

Turning to secondary literature, the author is indebted to studies such as Thomas Kabdebo's *Ireland and Hungary* (Dublin, 2001). Although it primarily focuses on Arthur Griffith and his pamphlet, *The resurrection of Hungary* (Dublin, 1904 and 2nd ed., 1918), also contains an introductory broader chapter about the history of Irish-Hungarian connections, while a separate chapter deals with the Irish perception of 1848 in Hungary. A similar analytical approach yet much broader framework and range of topics are

¹¹ Drawing examples mainly from the 1880s onwards, Gary K. Peatling has convincingly shown that the use of European parallels was not exclusive to nationalists or Home Rule advocates. The Unionist opposition to Home Rule, defending the empire's integrity against self-government, equally had and was aware of its European parallels. Peatling mentioned Hungary only in the context of Home Rule debates of the 1880s. See: Gary K. Peatling, "'Continental crossings': European influences on British public opinion and Irish politics, 1848-2002" in *History of European Ideas*, xxvii (2001), no. 4, pp 371-87.

present in the works of Tibor Frank and Domokos Kosáry respectively. Frank's book, *Picturing Austria-Hungary: the British perception of the Habsburg monarchy, 1865-70* (Boulder, New York, 2005) ambitiously not only deals with British foreign political attitudes towards Hungary but also considers economic and cultural factors. This book, however, does not identify any distinct Irish perceptions. In a similar fashion, Kosáry's work also focuses on a shorter time period, *Hungary and international politics in 1848-49* (Boulder, 2003), albeit the chapter dealing with the British perceptions of Hungary offers an impressive overview of contemporary impressions. The chapter mixes discussions of high political opinion and travel writings, but a distinct Irish aspect is also missing from his consideration.

The recent article by Róisín Healy on William Smith O'Brien's Hungarian travels in 1861 and a wider study of patterns in Irish perceptions about Eastern Europe, entitled 'Inventing Eastern Europe in Ireland, 1848-1918' provide useful insights into both specific and broader sections of this field.¹² Any consideration of Western travel writing about Eastern Europe in the period would have to critically incorporate the theories of Larry Wolff. His groundbreaking *Inventing Eastern Europe* (Stanford, 1994) introduced the West-East, civilization-barbarism dichotomy as a governing principle formulated during the period of Enlightenment into the historical analysis of travel writing. Maria Todorova has criticized Wolff's somewhat elitist, somewhat oversimplifying interpretation in her *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford, 1997), claiming that contrary to Wolff's theory, based on different variables, there were multiple viewpoints and interpretations about the format, extent and limitations of this dichotomy. Although these works provide instructive theoretical frameworks for the analysis of travel writings, they do not discuss distinct Irish perceptions.

¹² Róisín Healy, 'Inventing Eastern Europe in Ireland, 1848-1918' in Cornel Sigmirean et al (eds), *Anuarul Institutului de cercetari socio-umane Gheorghe Sincai* (Targu Mures, Marosvásárhely, 2009), pp 103-19.

A further important work the thesis has benefited from consulting was the three volume anthology edited by Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis entitled *East looks West* (Budapest, New York, 2009). The first volume of the anthology, entitled *Orientations. An anthology of East European travel writing, ca. 1550-2000*, offered valuable insights into how travellers drew on their own ‘symbolic map of Europe’¹³ when they were relating places they visited to their home countries. Although the editors describe the self-reflective nature of travel writing in connection to Eastern European travellers, the dynamic of the process shared general similarities with the case of Irish travellers to Hungary. Furthermore, the comparative study of Andrea Penz on the beginnings of mass tourism in Ireland and Austria, entitled *Inseln der Seligen. Fremdenverkehr in Österreich und Irland von 1900 bis 1938* (Köln, 2005), offered a unique interpretation of the importance of the domestic context of these travels.

The jointly written *Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit als imperative Postulate: nationale Bewegungen in Irland und Ungarn im Vergleich, 1780-1870* (Graz, 2006) by William O’Reilly and Andrea Penz, offers a more comparative study of Ireland and Hungary as opposed to concentrating more on one’s perception of the other. Nevertheless, the authors’ pinpointing of various similarities and differences in certain historic processes that happened in parallel in the two countries during the given period, help an understanding of how an interest in drawing comparisons and parallels could have arisen in Ireland. Similarly useful were studies which dealt with Ireland’s connections to or considerations of various other continental countries in terms of their methodologies, approaches and contextualizing. Jennifer O’Brien’s article entitled ‘Irish public opinion and the Risorgimento, 1859-60’¹⁴ provides an insightful study into how Irish images and perceptions of Italy were influenced by domestic political constraints. For comparative purposes the Ph.D. thesis of Eva-Maria Stöter entitled ‘Irlandbild/Deutschlandbild: the reception of German culture in Ireland in the 1840s’ (NUIM, 2000) was

¹³ Wendy Bracewell, ‘Guide to Orientation’ in idem (ed), *East looks West. Orientations. An anthology of East European travel writing, ca. 1550-2000* (Budapest, New York, 2009), p. xii.

¹⁴ Jennifer O’Brien, ‘Irish public opinion and the Risorgimento, 1859-60’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxiv (2005), pp 289-305.

similarly insightful. Niall Ó'Ciosáin's *Print and popular culture in Ireland, 1750-1850* (Dublin, 2010) was helpful in providing context in terms of the development of the print industry and readership in the period. Colin Graham and Leon Litvack's co-edited *Ireland and Europe in the nineteenth century* (Dublin, 2006) highlighted the wide range of subjects that this vast field comprises.

In terms of primary sources, a multi-fold methodological approach was equally present in the range of materials considered throughout the research and writing of the thesis, ranging from newspapers, pamphlets, travel writings, parliamentary debates, diaries, correspondence and manuscript materials. As the nineteenth century brought a considerable growth in the volume and variety of materials, the research for this thesis had to take this wide range of sources into account as well. It was precisely owing to these influential factors that the closer scrutiny and analysis of a certain type of primary source could not be applied to all chapters evenly. In the case of contemporary newspapers for example, even though some of them are currently being digitized, the thesis utilized them in a selective way. The first restriction that had to be applied was the type of newspapers to be included in the analysis. Keeping time considerations in mind and the width and characteristic section of public opinion a newspaper would illustrate, research was limited to the most influential and largest selling newspapers. These papers, throughout the period of study according to their years of active publication respectively, were the *Freeman's Journal*, *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, *The Patriot*, *the Dublin Evening Post*, *the Dublin Evening Mail*, *The Nation* and *The Irish Times*. These newspapers all represented different political views, encompassing liberal, nationalist, conservative and Unionist, to provide a complex spectrum of contemporary opinion. This unfortunately, however, meant that local and county-level newspapers had to be excluded from consideration. This first level of filtering was extended further as it was only for certain chapters that a more in-depth comparative scrutiny of these papers could be carried out. These chapters were the ones with the shortest time focus such as those examining the Congress of Vienna and the 1848-49

revolution and war of independence. This did not mean that the newspapers' comparative interpretation of events only occurred in the period covered by these chapters, but such analysis had to be confined to chapters considering shorter time-spans.

Irish travel writings as a sub-genre, by the nature of their personal first-hand character, provided a special type of description and discussion of the region. As an initial step some basic information needed to be identified, such as the identity of the traveller, the purpose, the destination, the method and extent of travel in the region. These were vital details as they inform about the potential depth that can be expected from their analysis, including the nature of impressions within the travel writing itself. Such tracing of the identity of the traveller also provided biographic details such as education and rank in society, aiding the process of placing the traveller in his or her home Irish context. These latter elements were instructive in forming a picture of the traveller, namely the extent of potential previous knowledge, or the ability to faithfully describe and/or provide more background details of the region and its inhabitants. This proved equally informative on the potential bias or political implications the traveller might have possessed or was looking to have justified by interpreting images of Hungary in a certain manner. The analysis of these sources identifies whether and how these authors went beyond the mere description of what they encountered, and the way they provided more information on issues such as religion, politics and economy in Hungary and/or in the Austrian empire. A further dimension has been added by assessing how this experience of Hungary and the Austrian empire fitted into their general view of that part of Europe along with their view of Europe and Ireland's place within that entity.

The study of pamphlets, periodical articles, published and manuscript correspondence and other manuscript materials such as travel diaries also required a similar initial approach of ascertaining who created the source, as biographical data helped identify the potential purposes of publication or motives for writing. The identification of the target readership was a characteristic variant of these sources which in turn similarly predicted or

preordained a certain approach to topics and a political standpoint. The Irish print industry, as previous paragraphs alluded to this in relation to newspapers, experienced a notable expansion in the period. This was visible not only in the growth of the volume and circulation figures of newspapers, but a large variety of periodicals and magazines, dedicated to various topics, also sprang up. This change was especially noticeable from the 1830s onwards when the market, previously dominated by political magazines and periodicals, opened up towards publications combining literary and political topics. The widening readership, which accompanied this diversification in topical approaches, represented equally different political interests. With emancipation opening politics for Catholics in 1829, a similar process of expansion took place in the print industry, where the publication market's character tipped from being almost exclusively Protestant towards a co-existence of various viewpoints, including a growing number of Catholic publications.

The pamphlets and periodical articles appearing in the thesis were monitored and assessed according to the novelty factor these writings represented where recurring ideas could potentially have meant that the author was consciously relying on a degree of previous knowledge which their readers could obtain from newspapers. Laying down these basic details helped put the actual source, article or pamphlet, into a larger context where any difference from the basic political outline of a periodical for example was treated as an individualistic approach accordingly. The domestic political context and the consideration of the main political policies and theories of the period were equally good indicators for assessing the creativity of the author's ideas or whether they were adhering to existing lines of thought.

The scrutiny of manuscript sources, especially letters, aimed to assess Hungary's representation in terms of length and depth in order to determine the level of interest the region represented. The nature of such sources, notably whether the parties were mere acquaintances or had been in correspondence for a while, could have influenced the extent of details found in these sources. In most cases Hungary, or ideas regarding various images of

Hungary, were not centrally discussed, in the sense that the idea was not as fully detailed as it would have been if it was a published source. Potential common knowledge existing between the corresponding partners or the idea of discussing certain arguments in person mostly limited the researcher's chance of finding a detailed discussion of Hungary in such correspondence. In this sense, the identification of the extent to which and the motive for featuring Hungary in these sources will play a decisive role in the selection process.

In the context of parliamentary debates the specific type of event or section of Hungarian history Irish M.P.s turned to, and their way of utilizing these images, are of special significance. As these occasions were specific in their political target, in terms of the British parliament being the primary forum for actively influencing of Ireland's status and position within the empire, all political arguments and theories which utilized foreign images, especially those of Hungary, were exceptionally telling. This thesis has taken special care in identifying these political images of Hungary, their importance and value within the debate, along with the larger domestic and imperial context. Therefore, the conscious choice and selection of images, identifying what kind of Hungarian pictures were considered as especially fitting and effective by the Irish members to mould into a coherent argument with the domestic Irish context, was the most important process at play.

Owing to considerations of length, the thesis could not consider every source that mentioned Hungary. Priority therefore has been given to materials which displayed a more coherent and central interest. It was also important to evaluate whether Hungary featured as a stand-alone foreign example, or whether there was a larger and more diverse context. One prime example is the chapter dealing with Irish perceptions of Hungary during the revolutions of 1848-49, which naturally had this European profile. Equal emphasis was laid on assessing which periods or events were most likely to trigger a discussion of Hungary in these sources, along with the tracing of potential personal connections that might have contributed to the displayed interest. A further angle was the process of establishing whether new periods of

mentioning Hungary resulted in the use of different angles, topics or contexts or whether there were habitual layers of meanings and perceptions that these writings constantly worked with and ended up building upon.

For the purposes of this thesis emphasis has been confined to examining those special circumstances that allowed the formulation and recurrence of interest in foreign images in Ireland. The aim was to study the rationale that facilitated the drawing of such parallels as opposed to analysing certain developments in the history of the two countries from a comparative angle. This latter approach would have required a different methodology and set of sources that would have taken the project into a different theoretical framework. Thus, even though these chances for comparative assessment of certain topics will appear throughout the thesis, as these Irish paralleling activities worked with the assumption of comparisons available, the thesis did not take these excursions from the main line of analysis.

The choice of topics covered in the following chapters was motivated by the aim to provide a representative picture of important developments in nineteenth century Ireland through the looking glass of foreign images lifted by contemporaries into the period's political discourse. The function and justification of these images were placed in the context of the campaign for Catholic emancipation, repeal, federalism and home government, among others. These chapters considering themes of self-identification, self-determination and nationalism were then intertwined by chapters analysing the reception of continental events, such as the Congress of Vienna and the revolutions of 1848, in Ireland. These were chosen to examine both the nature of rhetorical applications of foreign images in Ireland and also the pattern of Irish connections to the continent, to the politics of status quo, and to Hungary especially. The material presented in the thesis is a result of a selection process where preference has been given to sources that were representative of identifiable patterns in the usage of images of Hungary in Ireland. These primary sources spanned all walks of Irish life and included correspondence, newspapers, pamphlets, periodicals, parliamentary debates and private diaries to demonstrate an evolution in political public opinion. Selection has been applied to concentrate on such sources that either added significant examples to the use of foreign images in the Irish context, or they were illustrative of the extent to which such ideas have penetrated contemporary discourse. The sources

appearing in the following chapters were chosen for their representative character that helped demonstrate trends and patterns of thinking present in Ireland in the period.

As to the layout of the thesis, the first chapter discusses Irish images and interpretations of the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15. This was dictated by an aim to begin by analysing the Irish perception of this empire, including Hungary, by examining an international event hosted by the Austrian empire that was of lasting importance for the whole Continent for decades to follow. The chapter analyses the pattern of Irish perceptions of that congress and Austria's role in its working through a comparative assessment of four contemporary newspapers and their editorials.

The second chapter investigates and analyses personal Irish experiences and subsequent impressions of Hungary by assessing travel literature produced by Irish travellers in Hungary in the same period, to 1848. The third chapter considers views and interpretations of Hungary during the Irish Catholic Emancipation and repeal movements. The second subsection of that chapter carries the motif on with the pamphlet literature of the 1830s, in which ideas of repeal and federalism were contested. The concluding section of this chapter considers how Hungary was perceived and interpreted within the context of the active campaigning for repeal of the act of union. The fourth chapter focuses on Irish perceptions and reflections on the Hungarian revolution and war of independence of 1848-49 which, as it happened in parallel with the Irish uprising of the same year, provided ample opportunity for contemplation. That chapter, similarly to the first one, concentrates the analysis on the interpretations offered by major Irish newspapers and their editorials published during these years.

Chapter five carries the analysis on to Irish impressions of Hungary during the years of Habsburg absolutist rule and the subsequent Compromise of 1867. As the 1848 revolutions around Europe contributed a heightening sense of brotherhood of certain peoples struggling with similar circumstances influencing their respective fates, the volume and degree of Irish perceptions of Hungary were growing and somewhat changing. Events in Hungary

culminated in the Compromise of 1867 which was considered as instructive and inspirational not only for nationalists but also for the Irish Conservatives in the home government movement. The final chapter offers a case study of the images and perceptions of Hungary found in the Trinity College-based Tory *Dublin University Magazine*. During its publication history the magazine featured articles about Hungary written by influential and inspirational editors and contributors such as Charles Lever, and Sir Samuel Ferguson, briefly a member of the Protestant Repeal Association.

The following chapters were written with the aim of providing a balanced interpretation and analysis of Irish images and perceptions of Hungary between 1815 and 1875. This firstly meant a careful scrutiny and study of the interrelations, factors and influencing patterns that governed Irish thinking and politics in the period. This served as a basis to be able to assess what images of Hungary were fitted into these patterns of political arguments and discussion platforms, why they were chosen and how they were deployed. On the other hand the thesis argues that these images of Hungary, although they might not always have been fully realistic and close to historical truths, conveyed an interesting mixture of impressions of the country. During the thesis it will become clear that Hungary was not always considered in the same light or always imagined as being in an enviable position. Interpretations fluctuated from harshly critical, to resolutely realistic and to romantically idealizing. Whatever various permutations the images of Hungary might have had, the aim of this study is to assess these views against the backdrop of an Irish domestic context, in order to establish potential reasons and inspirational motives that produced these perceptions of Hungary.

Chapter 1: Austria at the Congress of Vienna through the eyes of the Irish press

Any attempt to analyze the perception of a certain historic event, person, country or region, through characteristic examples of contemporaneous primary sources is an ambitious project. It is an invitation of readers to a time-travel which allows the reconstruction of the visited era's world-view. This chapter sets out on such a journey with the time period 1814-15, the end of the Napoleonic wars and the Congress of Vienna as framework destinations, through the media of a selection of influential Irish daily papers of the era. The first steps of this imaginary traveling include a short introduction to the politics and status quo in Europe, the main issues the congress had to deal with, and information about the daily papers involved. As a comprehensive interpretation of the views of the *Dublin Evening Post*, *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, *Freeman's Journal* and *The Patriot* on the Congress of Vienna would mount up to volumes, this present travel will be limited to one particular topic, these papers' perception of Austria, the hosting empire of the congress. Special attention will be paid to questions that are bound to arise, to determine whether there was a genuine interest in Austria, besides her role as the host, the extent of this interest, to assess how, if at all, the papers' original political affiliation directed the coverage of Austria, and to evaluate whether Austria could be considered as a sensitive topic, as a typical indicator of the different attitudes these Irish papers professed.

The Congress of Vienna, held between November 1814 and June 1815, became an iconic representation of the continental powers' answer to the challenge that French events from 1789 onwards posed to the established order. Those present at the conference were all concerned with working out a system to ensure that no power could build and extend its domination over such large portions of the Continent as France had done under Napoleon. The keywords of legitimism and balance of power in this respect not only meant the dismantling of Napoleon's empire, implying the redrawing of borders, but also the creation of a new Europe. This meant a novel approach to international politics and power relations, in which the former competition and conflict dichotomy that dominated eighteenth century high politics were replaced by key concepts of stability, alliances, concert and striving for political

equilibrium.¹ The Vienna system embodied this structural approach to European politics, where the territorial settlements, although they were aimed at keeping France's ambitions at bay, were nevertheless constructed with care to avoid the humiliation of the defeated party.² The interlocking system of rights, obligations, alliances and diplomatic conferences that followed the Napoleonic wars reflected the mutual interest of the biggest powers to achieve and maintain peace. Prussia and Austria were exhausted from the war, Russia aimed to consolidate its growing spheres of influence, while Britain's economic and commercial interests equally needed an undisturbed European scene.

Although the containment of France was declared the major issue and interest of the Allies, new lines of power play seemed to have emerged during the settlement conference. The new century and the Napoleonic wars saw Russia and Britain emerging as the two most dominant powers in Europe. The congress of Vienna, beyond the immediate French issues, witnessed a growing rivalry between these two powers where both were looking for ways and means of translating their strength to actual political advantages. Britain, the empire with large territories overseas and worldwide commercial interests, was aiming for safeguarding these interests by combining her naval and financial strength with a pronounced support of keeping the balance of power intact on the Continent.³

The congress itself was convened by the First Treaty of Paris (30 May 1814), inviting, only in theory however, all the eight signatory bodies for participation. In practice, the three continental powers, Russia, Prussia and Austria, had already decided, attaching a secret article to the treaty, to reserve the right to formulate the fate of the Continent to themselves, accepting only Great Britain, the maritime power, as an equal partner.⁴ The four powers' plan to reserve the exclusive right for decisions, naturally, was not communicated to the other signatories to the Paris treaty, namely to France, Spain, Portugal and Sweden, let alone to the other invited and affected

¹ T.C.W. Blanning, 'Introduction' in T.C.W. Blanning (ed), *The nineteenth century. Europe 1789-1914* (Oxford, 2000), p. 2. part of series: The short Oxford history of Europe, general editor: T.C.W. Blanning

² Paul W. Schroeder, 'International politics, peace and war, 1815-1914' in T.C.W. Blanning (ed), *The nineteenth century. Europe 1789-1914* (Oxford, 2000), p. 159.

³ F.R. Bridge and Roger Bullen, *The great powers and the European states system, 1815-1914* (London, New York, 1980), pp 5-15.

⁴ Harold Nicolson, *The congress of Vienna. A study in allied unity: 1812-1822* (2nd ed., London, 1966), p. 125.

sovereigns.⁵ The phrase ‘great power,’⁶ incorporating the victorious first rate powers, was coined in order to retain control for the dominating powers. To silence objections, a Committee of Eight was set up,⁷ which included all the signatories of the treaty of Paris, endowing it with the legitimacy to discuss ‘minor’ issues such as navigation on international rivers and the abolition of slave trade. Despite reducing the number of powers involved in actual decision-making, the congress lasted well beyond expectations, for about eight months. This on one hand can be attributed to already known problem issues, such as the fate of Saxony and Poland where the clashes of power interests proved to be the biggest obstacle to overcome, and to unexpected events like the return of Napoleon from the island of Elba in March 1815.

Settling the case of Saxony and Poland was vital for a successful termination of the congress, as all three continental great powers were involved either because of former possession or because they saw these territories in question as strategically important for the continental status quo. The Russian Czar Alexander I wished to see the duchy of Warsaw enlarged into an independent Polish kingdom, which naturally would have ‘enjoyed’ Russian influence. Prussia claimed all of Saxony, to which the king of Saxony, the former ally of Napoleon, did not wish to consent. Austria planned to do everything in her power to derail Russia’s Polish plans and she did not wish to see Prussia aggrandized with the whole of Saxony either. These conflicting positions were resolved by February 1815 when an agreement was reached that Prussia would obtain two-fifths of Saxony while the rest of the country would be retained by the king of Saxony. Prussia also gained Westphalia, Swedish Pomerania and territories on the left bank of the Rhine, which in turn established Prussia as a significant power in the north of Germany.⁸ Russia also managed to create the Polish kingdom Alexander I had wished for, while Austria was compensated for her losses with large territories in Italy (Venetia, Lombardy, and Milan), regaining Tyrol and Salzburg, also retaining Galicia in Poland.⁹

After finding the solution for the Saxony-Poland case, the great powers were rather at ease regarding the fate of Italy and the minor questions. At Naples, where

⁵ Ibid, p. 128.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Sir Charles Webster, *The congress of Vienna 1814-15* (2nd ed., London, 1965), p. 84.

⁸ Webster, *The congress of Vienna*, pp 140-1.

⁹ Ibid, p. 141. Austria did not recover Southern Netherlands (or Austrian Netherlands), as after a brief French annexation during the Napoleonic wars, the Congress of Vienna gave the territory to the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. After the Belgian revolution of 1830, the territory became independent Belgium. Austria was also forced to retire from southwest Germany.

King Joachim Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law, was the sovereign during the congress of Vienna, the envisaged plan incorporated the restoration of Ferdinand of Sicily to the throne. The Allies' plan was helped by the return of Napoleon, as they could then declare war against the 'public enemy'¹⁰ as the 13 March Declaration referred to him, who was, again, aided by Murat. This gave convenient reason to the Allies to remove Murat by force, clearing the way to reposition Ferdinand on the throne.¹¹ The so-called minor issues were settled relatively fast, with the final articles signed by 9 June 1815.

Britain's interests in seeing not only French but Russian ambitions equally kept at bay found its expression in forwarding Austria's case. British politics, formed by their negotiator Lord Castlereagh, envisaged Austria as a strong empire in Central Europe that not only kept France in check through Austrian territories in Italy but equally kept Austrian influence in Germany and Poland.¹² The Austrian empire, however, was left weakened by the wars, and the aim to keep growing internal unrest within her territories under check while trying to resume her power status left her vulnerable to the domination game of Russia and Britain. As Britain was unwilling to support the idea of interfering in the domestic affairs of a state in case of a revolutionary threat, Chancellor Metternich and Austria had to gravitate towards Russia and a policy that was flexible enough to overrule the interests of nationalities in favour of strategic and dynastic ones.¹³ This was an urgent need for Austria as the Austrian domestic policy of trying to maintain her internal status quo was balanced by the need for a strong ally in foreign policy. In agreement with the Russian Czar Alexander I, Metternich, who was a towering figure in Austrian politics until his fall in 1848, attributed the Viennese inter-state regulation system with an internal absolutist and potential interventionist role. This approach fitted the political tactics of both Austria and Russia. Russia was pleased to take over from the point where Britain, as her parliament would not have supported the ideology of interference, could go no

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 155.

¹¹ Webster, *The congress of Vienna*, p. 145.

¹² Bridge and Bullen, *The great powers and the European states system*, pp 26-7.

¹³ The birth of the Holy Alliance is usually attributed to Czar Alexander I's mystical religious beliefs. The Treaty of Alliance, signed 26 September 1815 by Prussia, Russia and Austria, represented Alexander's idea that political affairs of the Continent should be regulated according to Christian principles. With the original ideology fading soon, the Holy Alliance, however, came to embody a political interest that regarded the settlements of the Congress of Vienna as a long-term ideological bastion instead of a temporary territorial agreement. See Webster, pp 104-5, 163-4 and Nicolson, *The congress of Vienna*, pp 242-59.

further. The British rejection of Austrian absolutist policies worked well for Russia, as the czar was assured of the support of monarchical powers in Eastern Europe. It also meant that Austria was likely to side with Russia in the British-Russian rivalry that characterized high politics for the rest of the century.¹⁴

The general layout of the Irish daily papers of the period followed a common pattern. This included reviewing the contents of continental daily papers from Paris, Brussels and Germany, all grouped in the mail section, where the congress of Vienna received attention as early as October 1814. While these sections consisted mainly of clippings from these papers, without adding comments, the so-called 'by express' or 'Dublin, appropriate date' sections, which can be regarded as editorial parts, always took care to convey the opinion of editors or proprietors. The detailed clippings from continental papers were always directed at shedding more light on the issues the editorials had highlighted in a couple of commentary sentences. In this way these dailies had a very organized and well-structured look, allowing the readers to find both continental sources and home opinion on the same event or document.

The era of the Napoleonic wars was dominated in Ireland by the chief secretary for Ireland, Robert Peel, who besides devising a policy to suppress the circulation of opposition papers,¹⁵ also aimed at helping the so-called Castle papers to thrive. This included allocating certain amounts of money to these papers, in the form of government advertisements and proclamations.¹⁶ All four papers considered in this present chapter were included on Peel's extended list, which somewhat overshadowed the limits or rather the possible boundaries of their coverage of the congress of Vienna. In fact, however, as will be shown, the positions adopted would be very different. Although there are no accurate figures available, the estimated circulation figures for the period were low, which meant that only the wealthy or middle-class readers could afford to buy these papers.¹⁷ Taking the estimated circulation figures of Brian Inglis from his *Freedom of the press in Ireland* as a guideline, a relative order of importance, in terms of figures and readership, can be compiled.¹⁸ As these figures

¹⁴ Bridge and Bullen, *The great powers and the European states system*, pp 28-39.

¹⁵ Brian Inglis, *The freedom of the press in Ireland 1784-1841* (London, 1954), pp 135-45.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 145.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 232-4.

start with the year 1821 in his analysis, this chapter will only provide a relative estimation, not actual figures.

The ultra-Protestant, Dublin Castle-supported *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* had been established in 1725 by George Faulkner.¹⁹ This renowned journal of the Protestant community of Dublin and elsewhere provided its readers with an impressive amount of detail concerning the congress. The paper's coverage was largely characterized and certainly influenced by its general beliefs which held British interests at heart. It had the smallest circulation of the four papers featuring in this chapter, despite being strongly Unionist and Castle-supported.

The *Freeman's Journal*, the rival of *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, had been established in 1763 by Charles Lucas.²⁰ It provided an alternative viewpoint and reading, which can be traced back to the different basic liberal beliefs this paper's editors and readership professed. The supportive but always critical tone of the paper can be detected from the very beginning of its reception of the congress. In terms of readership, the paper was popular among the supporters of emancipation, although its relative leadership on the market of morning Catholic-supporting papers had always been challenged by other papers.

The *Dublin Evening Post*, established in 1778,²¹ could pride itself not only as the most influential evening paper in Ireland but also as the 'only Dublin paper that offered serious opposition to Peel.'²² This not only positioned the paper as the most liberal paper within this analysis, but also allowed the creation of a more characteristic opinion than those of the Castle papers. It was a market leader among liberal evening papers and it had the largest circulation amongst Catholic-affiliated papers. The fourth daily paper, *The Patriot*, was set up by William Corbet in 1810 and also served as a Castle paper under the close surveillance of Peel.²³ Among the four newspapers of the analysis, *The Patriot* had the closest connection to Dublin Castle. During the first six weeks of its existence over £250 worth of copies had been distributed in the country on the chief secretary, William Wellesley-Pole's orders.²⁴ Even this could not ensure a relatively high readership figure that could have challenged the position of the *Dublin Evening Post* for circulation.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 21.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 20.

²¹ Ibid. p. 22.

²² Ibid. p. 155.

²³ Ibid. p.124.

²⁴ Ibid.

The balance of European perspective versus attention to domestic Irish developments during the Napoleonic wars had always tipped towards the latter. Although all four newspapers were providing news and reports on continental events in their foreign news sections, it can generally be argued that only major campaign events, battles or significant campaigns featured in their editorials. The person of Napoleon was an exception to this trend, although even he was primarily portrayed as the personification of the military and political ambition emanating from France. The Napoleonic wars were mainly treated as a geopolitical and strategic phenomenon threatening the British empire's positions, not as a series of events shaping contemporary European status quo. Although this viewpoint was employed by all four newspapers, the Castle-papers, *The Patriot* and *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, were more vocal in analysing its implications for the empire as a whole. It was a natural consequence of this logic that the peninsular war in Spain, the only theatre of war with a continuous British presence, became the matter of central interest amongst all the campaigns of the Napoleonic wars. *The Patriot's* portrayal of Napoleon as a fair enemy,²⁵ an emperor posing challenges albeit within the old order, however, spoke clearly of the intensity of loyalist dislike towards the republican ideology of revolutionary France. In contrast, in terms of the balance of their editorials, the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Dublin Evening Post* considered placing Catholic emancipation on the imperial agenda as a question of foremost importance.²⁶ However, those editorials that focused on the Napoleonic wars always took care to convey the image of loyal Irish subjects supporting the war as an underlining theme.

Discussions of the Congress of Vienna as a central issue at the heart of the Irish press coverage following the Napoleonic wars allowed a rich variety of additional topics that newspapers could analyse in their editorials. Addressing the governing themes of the congress therefore embodied not only topics of continental geopolitical interests, but the question of the desirable shape post-Napoleonic settlements should take. Irish newspapers of the era all addressed this contrasting of

²⁵ *The Patriot*, 19 Jan. 1812.

²⁶ The *Evening Post* employed this to such extents that even the editorial celebrating Wellington's success in the peninsular war turned into a campaign for emancipation. *Dublin Evening Post*, 13 July 1813.

values of the old regime with those of emerging liberalism. Contrasting the desirability of monarchy, titled nobility, and church establishment with the growing wish for opening career to talent, and challenging the principle of legitimacy to see national independence and self-government elevated to a fundamental authority were of vital interest to some in Ireland. It was this aspect of the congress that ensured that the seemingly territorial and higher power-interest questions, such as the significance and position of Italy, would transform into topics reflecting multiple layers of meaning. Although the decade of the Congress of Vienna showed no major progress in the movement for Catholic emancipation in Ireland, yet it proved to be formative in terms of indicating where default-lines of opinion lay for the future.

Knowing the main topics of the Congress of Vienna and the basic political guidelines these daily papers followed, it is tempting to draw initial presuppositions about their possible perceptions before going into details. If going along that line of thought, one would expect *Faulkner's* and *The Patriot* to show constant support for the Austrian empire's role and position, with *Freeman's* and *Dublin Evening Post* being more critical. But in fact these papers had a lot more potential to surprise, to offer more than a mere black or white kind of perspective. However it would also be wrong to expect that these papers dealt with Austria to the same or similar extent. Their reactions to the congress and views of Austria are going to provide a firm point for analysis.

If deciding to list the number of articles that mentioned Austria merely in terms of chronology, the picture would mostly record scattered references. This would defeat the chapter's purpose of identifying clear positions in these papers' coverage. However, if deciding to allocate research hits into groups based on the daily papers themselves, the chapter would result in a sure inability to assess these papers' similarities and differences properly. To bridge this methodological gap, this analysis is going to be based on highlighting a topic in connection to Austria that received attention in these papers; this will be based on chronology to allow better understanding, which in turn is going to be supported by a comparative assessment of the daily papers' coverage.

The first point or rather idea that can be lined up is these daily papers' general impression of Austria as the empire hosting and participating at the congress of Vienna before any proceedings-specific issue got involved. Of the two Castle papers,

The Patriot analyzed Austria's situation as early as 30 July 1814, when assessing the possible tactics she should follow in post-Napoleonic Europe. The editorial refused all speculation emanating from French news dispatches relating to the reported jealousy of Austria towards the other great powers, believing that Austria was not in a position to entertain any hostility towards her Allies, not at least 'until her revolutionary wounds are healed.'²⁷ The editorial perceived Austria's present policies as wrongly directed, claiming that her 'great resources...must be cultivated by the adoption of a wise and more liberal policy than she has as yet pursued, before she can assume her constitutional rank in Europe.'²⁸ This pinch of criticism was only the beginning. *The Patriot* went on to claim that Austria lacked political and military resources to threaten Britain's maritime position, this was a cornerstone of the article, as it was only 'a concurrence of circumstances [that] gave her a momentary importance, she was able, under those circumstances, not likely to emerge again, to turn the balance of war against the modern ATTILA (sic).'²⁹

This remark was a good example to show *The Patriot's* governing attitude towards Austria, which suggested that Austria's present status among the victorious Allies was rather due to a positive turn of events or to forces out of her reach than to her own efforts. Readers of the paper saw a continuation of this line of thought in the 1 August 1814 issue, which spelled out that Austria showed 'least alacrity in the field...her name contributed, more than her efforts, to the event.'³⁰ Regarding the paper's general elevated tone when it came to a chance to talk about the Russian czar,³¹ it is not surprising, especially after reading the issue mentioned above, that Francis I was pictured as an emperor maintaining 'a sort of lofty reserve' and who was 'not more than half satisfied with what had taken place, to which he had, perhaps, reluctantly contributed his aid.'³²

Seeing the Castle-paper *The Patriot's* surprisingly critical opinion of Austria, a similar attitude from *Freeman's Journal* might not strike with the same force. On the contrary, however, in this daily paper we find a somewhat neutral, toned-down general opinion of Austria. In the first instance, readers were told that Austria 'has her

²⁷ *The Patriot*, 30 July 1814.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *The Patriot*, 30 July 1814.

³⁰ *The Patriot*, 1 Aug. 1814.

³¹ See *The Patriot's* 22 Dec. 1814 issue as an example of that, where Alexander I was characterized as a great example of 'true magnanimity.'

³² *The Patriot*, 1 Aug. 1814.

own point to carry',³³ namely that she was acting only according to her best interests. Instead of explaining what these interests were for Austria, the editorial went on to suggest that if Austria did not have these points to attend to, she 'would rather be unwilling to see them [Russia and Prussia] make such formidable acquisitions',³⁴ referring to the proposed territorial growth of the aforementioned powers. The explanation of this policy restored some of *Freeman's* liberal reputation, when it remarked that it would not have been wise to expect from Austria 'that she should become the defender of rights in one part of Europe which she is openly and despotically violating in another.'³⁵ This latter remark was meant to illustrate that the absolutist policies which governed Austria's dominions would similarly form a guideline for her actions regarding her newly acquired territories in Italy.

The last daily paper, as *Faulkner's* did not voice any specific general opinion relating to Austria, the *Dublin Evening Post*, lived up to its opposition fame, offering the most critical picture among the four papers. Here readers were shown an Austria which had the 'sturdy arrogance of a conqueror',³⁶ an empire which did not propose to treat her Italian territories with due respect or attention. In the *Dublin Evening Post's* eyes this change could only happen 'when Austria conducts herself as a magnanimous nation, then we [the paper] shall be the first to hail the happy decision which shall make a kingdom of the best part of Italy.'³⁷ An Austrian prince as the head of this kingdom would have been acceptable in the editorial's eye, as chances of total independence were illusionary, had he attended the advice of the editor to adopt liberal policies. As the paper's editor did not see any signs for this policy to become reality, a harsh attitude towards Austria was maintained.

Before readers could conclude that only Austria was subjected to such words, the 3 January 1815 issue of the *Evening Post* demonstrated clearly the opposite. In this issue, which looked back upon the year 1814, all great powers involved in the congress of Vienna came in for their share of sarcasm. In this respect, Austria could be regarded as one of the powers which had happened to be involved in the congress where 'the rights of humanity had been forgotten in the scramble for territory.'³⁸ The 7 January issue went even further in commenting upon the new situation, where 'the

³³ *Freeman's Journal*, 23 Jan. 1815.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Dublin Evening Post*, 17 Nov. 1814.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Dublin Evening Post*, 3 Jan. 1815.

people have got what they fought for—the legitimate monarchs again,’ pointing to Austria’s gaining of territory in Italy: ‘Italy is delivered over to the whiskered archdukes of the most worthless family in Europe, with the advantage of a deadly hatred on the part of the Italians. . . . Europe has received its deliverance.’³⁹

The next major point or topic to be discussed is the perception of Austria throughout the duration of the Congress of Vienna. In view of the manifold nature of the proceedings, this will be divided into sub-topics, trying to identify whether a report published by one of the papers had coverage in the other daily papers as well. Austria’s position as a power interested in Italy had proved to be a very appealing topic for these papers’ editorials. *The Patriot*’s opinion did not lighten; however it did acknowledge Austria as the power with the capacity and interest to stop France’s ambitions in Italy. The claim that ‘her military character cannot be questioned’⁴⁰ was further supported by the supplied motive as ‘the sincerity of Austria was never questioned in her hostility to France.’⁴¹ Despite this the same 6 September 1814 issue expressed serious doubts regarding the possible positive outcome of this venture. The editorial based this on the underlying judgement voiced earlier that Austria was not following a correct course regarding the fate of Italy. This issue put further stress on this claim, alleging

had she [Austria] been able to combine the resources of those several states [the northern states of Italy] into energetic co-operation with her own . . . it is more than probable that we should have never heard of that inundation of evils, which spread desolation and ruin over the whole face of Continental Europe.⁴²

The conditional ‘what-if’ of the paper, while it acknowledged the strategic importance of the Italian states in the current power struggle, laid the actual blame on Austria by suggesting that Austria had missed her chance for containing French ambition. Beyond the most immediate consequence, France building influence in the Italian peninsula, *The Patriot* rather registered this lost opportunity as the main reason for France’s subsequent appetite for conquest.

³⁹ Ibid. 7 Jan. 1815.

⁴⁰ *The Patriot*, 6 Sept. 1814.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

The *Dublin Evening Post*, on the other hand, viewed the question from a different angle, and devoted paragraphs to contemplating the possible upcoming fate of the king of Naples, Joachim Murat. His person did not excite sympathy, ‘he does really appear to be a little scoundrel, and we should heartily rejoice in seeing him plain Mr Murat’,⁴³ but the editorial, mainly on ideological grounds, did criticize the Allies’ plans to remove him. The 7 February 1815 issue’s analysis highlighted that although retaining Murat, at least to Austria, seemed better than having to deal with French influence in Italy, the principle of legitimacy would overrule interest in this case ‘in order to get rid of a plebeian.’⁴⁴

The *Freeman’s*, not sharing the *Evening Post*’s critical opinion of Murat, in an editorial on 1 February 1815 celebrated him as a ruler who maintained a government of more benefit and ability than the government ‘effected by the Ferdinands in a full century.’⁴⁵ The editorials of the *Freeman’s* echoed the same idea of the other paper with an interesting contrast when offering an opinion on the plan of the Allies to remove Murat. The 17 April 1815 issue’s ironic tone criticized the great powers’ clinging to the principle of legitimacy, highlighting that Murat would be dethroned as ‘he was a man of talent and not birth... [who] had ...none of the sluggish and putredinous (sic) blood of royalty flowing in his veins.’⁴⁶ The paper’s criticism of showing absolute and unquestioned respect towards nobility for its own sake can be deducted from the *Freeman’s* overall treatment of the congress’ proceedings, plenipotentiaries and results. Although the Austrian Emperor Francis and Joachim Murat, the king of Naples, both had proclamations published on the pages of the *Freeman’s*, the faithful word by word quotations from these texts were explained in a way to enhance the idea of Murat’s right and chance to keep the throne of Naples, despite the Allies’ will. The paper went as far as to suggest that ‘as far as fighting is concerned, there is nothing but triumph on the part of the Neapolitans and disaster on the part of the Austrians.’⁴⁷ The later issues of May 1815 were all filled with different dispatches on the situation of hostilities in Italy, never missing the chance to criticize the Allies involved in the fate of Italy.

⁴³ *Dublin Evening Post*, 7 Feb. 1815.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Freeman’s Journal*, 1 Feb. 1815.

⁴⁶ *Freeman’s Journal*, 17 Apr. 1815.

⁴⁷ *Freeman’s Journal*, 29 Apr. 1815.

This seemingly overwhelming interest culminated in the 22 May issue in a longish article pleading for Italy's independence. The governing idea of the article circulated around the assertion of differences between Austrians and Italians, as a justification for the abandoning of the Austrian plan to retain power in Italy. At first the editors speculated that 'he [Emperor Francis] and his subjects have no sort of connexion or sympathy with the Italians, their manners are different, their climate is different, their language is different,'⁴⁸ although they managed to turn the article's main focus around to list political reasons to support Italy's claim. The starting point set out the principle the Allies themselves wished to follow at the congress of Vienna, namely the denouncing of the right of conquest. This then was developed into a list of arguments ranging from the injustice of aggrandising a power's territory beyond its former lands, reminding readers that Austria had renounced claims in the treaty, to the initial idea of Italians themselves objecting to Austrian rule. The second paragraph challenged the allegation that Italy might be used as a good warehouse of resources for Austria, making it clear that 'there is no real sympathy between the ruling nation and ruled...the natives return as little as possible in any shape to the demands of the controllers.'⁴⁹ The continuing paragraph launched an attack on the character traits of Austrians, describing the Austrian as the

dullest inhabitant of a country not famous for its vivacity...he is prodigiously fond of titles and ceremony,...all his talents, not excepting his military ones, are mechanical...he contrives to maintain an equal appetite for eating and drinking, and his highest idea of the animated or the excursive is a rush over the ice in winter time in a great fantastic sledge choked up with furs....⁵⁰

The Italians, on the other hand, were described as full of life and creativity, the differences being wittily captured by Charles V, who had suggested that one 'would speak Italian to his mistress and German to his horse.'⁵¹

The perception of Austria's position in Italy, as part of the four papers' assessment of the congress of Vienna, was closely intertwined with the interpretation of Austria's sensitive, family-based connection to Napoleon. As the return of

⁴⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 22 May 1815.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 22 May 1815.

Napoleon in March 1815 meant war, the Allies made this clear quite early on with their declaration of war, and rumours and predictions of the outcome naturally arose in relation to parts of this venture. In order to keep the focus, this chapter is going to analyse only the four daily papers' reaction to a report published in a French paper that excited speculations on Austria's possible neutrality in the upcoming war. *The Patriot* remained true to its two-fold opinion of Austria, which viewed this empire as sort of a necessary evil, believing that despite the fact that Austria could exercise a much more fit policy regarding Italy, her presence in the region was indeed desirable. This belief was given a further basis with Napoleon's return, which helped *The Patriot* to give a rather lenient re-evaluation of Austria's standing. Its so-far critical interpretation of Austria in Italy, compared to Napoleon's rule of Italy, led *The Patriot* to conclude, if comparing the two systems, that Italians ought to 'consider their present state [under Austria] as one of comparative freedom and even independence.'⁵² Reporting Napoleon's escape from Elba, an event the editorial of 27 January 1815 had already contemplated, *The Patriot* could not resist the chance to congratulate itself for the prophetic call. Napoleon's person and the new situation quickly became all four papers' fascination, analyses and interpretations offering material for the editorials on a daily basis. However much the angle of viewpoint differed depending on the paper readers were looking at, they all agreed in the interest-factor of the topic.

After his return, Napoleon became the subject of *The Patriot's* criticism, which was a rather fortunate turn of events, in the light of Austria's general status on the pages of that daily paper. The editorial of 29 March 1815, in relation to the news of Napoleon's decree announcing the crowning of the Empress Marie Louisa and the king of Rome, is a good example of this altered opinion. The basic standpoint of the editorial was that the whole story had little or no truth value, suggesting that it was merely a fabrication of a French paper or Napoleon himself. The more interesting part of the editorial is, however, where the aforementioned view of the false nature of this news was further underlined by political reasoning. The editorial doubted that Austria would give support to Napoleon's claim to the throne of France, on the grounds that agreeing to the crowning of the empress and the king of Rome would be equal to viewing Napoleon's regime with a friendly eye. As *The Patriot* claimed Austria to be

⁵² *The Patriot*, 13 Feb. 1815.

firm in her opposition to Napoleon, the present report, which talked about letting Maria Louisa reside close to Austria's enemy, would be a policy worthy to make 'the prince of Machiavel ... to blush at.'⁵³ The 4 April 1815 issue of *The Patriot*, following up the topic, was delighted and satisfied to announce that the news of the crowning indeed proved to be a fabrication and Emperor Francis's 'command', which word was italicised in the editorial for further emphasis, for his daughter to assume the title of duchess of Parma, 'speaks trumpet-tongued as to the intentions of Austria.'⁵⁴ As Austria gained territories in Italy with the settlement at the Congress, Maria Louisa was given the title after Napoleon's first defeat in 1814. In the context of Napoleon's return in March 1815, the emperor's command meant that Francis, in accordance with the Allies, believed Napoleon's restoration to be only temporary.

The Patriot regarded the news of Napoleon's restoration, as it would have been advantageous to the French side only, as a fabrication, but dignified it with an opinion nevertheless. Besides calling the idea a 'moral impossibility',⁵⁵ as Austria, in the paper's view, had shown a sincere amount of interest in the Allies' campaign against Napoleon, the editorial of 19 May 1815 also pointed out that Austria 'has recovered her rank...in the scale of national importance'⁵⁶ as a result of the overthrow of Napoleon, which position she strove to keep and sustain. To fortify this position, *The Patriot* lined up other arguments as well. A ridiculing of the whole possibility of Austria's neutrality, by calling it 'moral contamination...degree of self-debasement...degradation',⁵⁷ was then followed by basic military reasoning, as the attacking force of the Allies would never leave an armed power unattended behind their lines. Thus considering the tactical part explained, *The Patriot* summed up by returning to moral grounds, claiming that the war not only would serve the Allies' purposes but also would be a great opportunity for Austria to reappear, after her military defeats, 'in a character worthy of her august rank and well-earned glory.'⁵⁸

Turning to the *Dublin Evening Post*, this paper did not disappoint those readers who expected harsh criticism of Austria from the editorials. However, maintaining this very strong opinion did not prevent a sense of reality in the *Evening Post's*

⁵³ *The Patriot*, 29 March 1815.

⁵⁴ *The Patriot*, 4 Apr. 1815.

⁵⁵ *The Patriot*, 19 May 1815.

⁵⁶ *The Patriot*, 19 May 1815.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

coverage. It was clear to the paper, which welcomed Napoleon's return, that this return also constituted the best chance for the Allies to overcome their discordances and to reunite for one purpose, the defeat of Napoleon. Thus any power that took part in the 'greatest insult, as well as the deepest injury ever inflicted by one sovereign on another',⁵⁹ as the editorial identified the new declaration of war on Napoleon, became worthy of the paper's raging comments. Austria was not listed under this heading immediately, as readers might have expected. The 13 May 1815 issue contemplated the situation from Austria's perspective and hinted that by then Austria had aggrandized her territories to the extent that she had previously expected or hoped, so another war might not be in her interest. The 13 May 1815 editorial suggested that although it was only convenience and tactical reasons that would have kept Austria away from the war, 'she should wish him [Napoleon] at the devil if a wish could produce a consummation so devoutly prayed for by all the good wives and gentle tax-gatherers of Europe.'⁶⁰ The editorial was confident that political tactics supported the analysis, believing that Austria had much more to lose, territories and reputation-wise, from another war than she could hope to gain. Thus, in the paper's view, the possibility of another military defeat at the hands of Napoleon, was a more decisive, discouraging factor for Austria than the prospect of gaining something by entering another war on the side of the Allies.

The 20 May 1815 issue of the *Evening Post* carried the analysis of Austria's position and motives on to a different level. Whereas the editorial of 13 May 1815 simply implied that Austria might shy away from war out of sheer calculation, which actually seemed something dictated by logic and would have delighted the *Evening Post*, the 20 May 1815 issue openly identified the policy of short-term self-interest as Austria's general guideline in foreign policy. The editorial would not have shown this as a wrong policy to pursue, had Austria had the same motives in mind as the editor of the paper. This would have meant taking a side for Napoleon's advantage, as, and this was consistent with the paper's earlier suggestion, a peace with the French emperor would have made it easier for Austria to secure her Italian territories. In such a case Austria would have remained neutral, which in turn for Napoleon would have meant one opponent less. The editorial saw this as a perfectly sane and advantageous path to follow, although the final sarcastic remark, 'the policy of the Austrian cabinet is but

⁵⁹ *Dublin Evening Post*, 11 Apr. 1815.

⁶⁰ *Dublin Evening Post*, 13 May 1815.

too generally in opposition to justice and common sense',⁶¹ indicated the extent of hope it attributed to such turning of events.

What the *Dublin Evening Post* considered as an illogical and insane policy from Austria's side, looked obvious and right to the *Freeman's Journal*. The 19 May 1815 issue saw no conflict between the Allies' reason for the declaration of war and Austria's interests. *The Freeman's* believed that a much simpler motive would decide Austria's involvement in the war, not tactics, not territorial interest, although these were all taken into account, but the fact that Napoleon had dared to hurt the pride of Francis I. It looked quite natural in the editorial's eye that 'His Imperial Majesty...cannot of course forget the insignificance to which he was reduced by his son-in-law',⁶² which, however personal this might have seemed, would definitely turn Austria to the Allies' side.

As the final turn of events and result of the Allies' war on Napoleon is well-known, addressing it is not part of this chapter's discussion. In their assessment of Waterloo, the four papers did not devote major attention to Austria, which was not that surprising. It was all the more interesting to perceive that the *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* throughout its coverage of the Congress of Vienna never once voiced a substantial opinion on the Austrian empire. The paper's attention was mainly characterized by its focus on British participation and anticipation regarding the arrangements of the plenipotentiaries. This particular point of view went together with showing utmost respect towards the participants and the ideologies of the proceedings, which was clear from the style of the articles which never questioned the great powers' motives or right to formulate the fate of the respective countries according to their own interests. The editorials of the paper were always full of positive, encouraging thoughts towards the actual outcomes and news that could be reported on, being especially overjoyed by the Waterloo victory of the Allies. To tie this back to the initial thought, the role of the British in defeating Napoleon was highlighted as vital, claiming the title of 'hero' for the duke of Wellington. As a consequence of this British-centred perception, it is not surprising that the hosting empire of the Congress, Austria, did not receive a detailed elaboration throughout the duration of the proceedings. All of the examples were somewhat vaguely constructed, mainly

⁶¹ *Dublin Evening Post*, 20 May 1815.

⁶² *Freeman's Journal*, 19 May 1815.

appearing when the troubles in Italy took place, never arriving at a coherent view on this power.

If putting *Faulkner's* coverage of the congress on a scale, examining what was covered and to what extent, keeping its main focus of Britain's perspective in mind, the result shows an intensive interest in the Allies' war against Napoleon and in its aftermath. The Waterloo victory of the Allies not only filled the journalists of the paper with 'grateful exultation...joy and triumph',⁶³ which they communicated to their immediate neighbours by putting the word 'victory' and 'Wellington' three times on a sign on their door, but also brought out their most characteristic opinion, claiming

let them [the Allies], therefore, negotiate with no authority disobeying him [Louis XVIII], but let them say to the PEOPLE OF PARIS (sic), send us out the heads of Bonaparte, of Carnot, of Fouché, of Coulaincourt, of Ney and Soult... throw yourselves then at the feet of your injured but merciful Monarch, and we withdraw.⁶⁴

This picture of France being at the mercy of the Allies has special significance if we consider it together with the paper's 6 July 1815 editorial, which exclaimed that 'in our souls we believe that his [Napoleon's] disaster is more lamented among the Jacobins of Great Britain and Ireland than in all the world beside.'⁶⁵ This clearly showed that *Faulkner's* attributed a higher importance and decisive future consequence to the Allies' victory, namely that the defeat of France signified not only Napoleon's and Jacobinism's defeat but it also should serve as a warning for its Irish sympathizers of the futility of hoping for a successful application of the policy in Ireland. Waterloo meant more than a military event, both challengers and defenders of the dynastic principle watched the turnout of events with eager attention. The result of the battle crushed hope for one side and meant the restoration of the principle of legitimacy and dynastic order for the other.

Faulkner's Dublin Journal was not the only one among the four daily papers that favoured a variety of sub-topics throughout the coverage of the proceedings of the congress of Vienna. The other three papers also had their own favourite aspect of the congress, apart from writing about the Austrian empire's role in the process, with *Faulkner's* being the exception in a sense that it did not include Austria among its

⁶³ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 27 June 1815.

⁶⁴ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 1 July 1815.

⁶⁵ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 6 July 1815.

favoured topics. The *Freeman's Journal* made its coverage characteristic by offering a very critical underlying tone, which steadily grew more impatient as months of the congress passed by without specific and first hand information available on the proceedings. Describing the assembly of sovereigns and plenipotentiaries as 'sitting, or standing or dancing or whatever else...' ⁶⁶ is a good example of the sarcasm which in the end culminated in indifference, declaring that the 'congress lost the recommendation of novelty.' ⁶⁷

A similar, though not so harsh, shade of judgement can be detected in *The Patriot's* treatment of the subject, 'if the purpose was to keep all Europe in the dark, then never were ministers more faithful to their mission.' ⁶⁸ Like *Faulkner's*, *The Patriot* too had Castle links, but took a different perspective. It also differed from the more liberal papers. The preference here lay more in raging against the French in general. Whereas the *Dublin Evening Post* in its 30 March 1815 issue regarded the war of the Allies against Napoleon as a war declared against an individual, *The Patriot* persisted in considering it as a war against the 'giddy, ferocious, unprincipled people' ⁶⁹ of France. Reading *The Patriot's* issues of July 1815, especially those of 3, 7 and 20 July, it becomes clear that the paper's anger was always directed at revolutionary France as a target and that Napoleon was just part of that. The *Dublin Evening Post* on the other hand went totally against *The Freeman's* caution and realism regarding Napoleon in asking 'is there any chance of his success?', ⁷⁰ and proved to be the paper most obsessed with the person of Napoleon. Not only had it published a half-page map of Elba in its 16 July 1814 issue, including a short history of the island, but the 3 August 1815 issue provided a short description of the island of St Helena, and this was topped with a drawing in the 15 August issue of the position of the five ships that accompanied Napoleon's ship to St Helena.

A comparative, concluding analysis of these four daily papers' perception of the Congress of Vienna is required to point to those similarities and differences of views which arose. In general, it is not an exaggeration to claim that the congress was considered important by all four papers. This was present in the attention with which

⁶⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 30 Dec. 1814.

⁶⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Feb. 1815.

⁶⁸ *The Patriot*, 10 Feb. 1815.

⁶⁹ *The Patriot*, 4 Apr. 1815.

⁷⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 16 March. 1815.

they viewed the congress, regardless of the angle of their political views. However if we decide to analyse and read their coverage from a special point of view, which this chapter aimed to do with putting the depiction of the hosting empire in focus, the extent of and depth of interest was diverse.

One of the papers did not provide its readers with detailed articles on Austria, namely *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, while the others gave fairly consistent coverage throughout the months of the congress. In some cases this did not vary much, for example *The Patriot's* views of Austria, especially in relation to her position in Italy, was that though she was not pursuing the best policy available, her presence in the region was desirable, as a means to control the arch-enemy France. As *The Patriot* considered this underlying reason as a governing principle, it gathered all arguments and ideologies available to support Austria in Italy. The claim that Austria was a necessary evil in Italy and in Central Europe indeed reflected the official British foreign politics of relying on Austria as part of a European balance. It is characteristic of the paper's fervour in the question that it regarded everything that could possibly have stood in way of this idea as a menace, including 'a feverish and sickly feeling of national independence, which French and frenchified (sic) politicians are endeavouring to excite in that quarter of Europe.'⁷¹

The Freeman's followed similar routes, remaining true to the starting point of viewing Austria as an opportunist empire, which acted according to its best interest, which matched her Allies' interests as well. The editorials did not have a high opinion of the host empire, although the critical edge of the 22 May 1815 issue, which pictured Austrians as a boring and dull people, was their harshest comment. Despite this, it was the *Freeman's* clear argument that Austria had no real connection to Italy, and that this imperial era of Italian history would change when chances allow it. The other main problem which the editorials frequently referred to, also in Austria's case, was the paper's dislike of the principle of legitimacy and noble birth dominating politics, instead of giving credit and chance to people of talent.

The *Dublin Evening Post* was with the *Freeman's* in that respect, although it referred to 'personal merit', and it also regarded Austria as an arrogant power, which was dominating Italy. Its editorials created an image in which Austria featured as an empire which, although following self-interest, acted along lines of policies that could

⁷¹ *The Patriot*, 6 Sept. 1814.

not be predicted. The *Dublin Evening Post*'s understanding of the political universe of the era, which was tinged with a marked enthusiasm for Napoleon, could easily imagine Austria remaining neutral in the Allies' war against Napoleon. This reasoning was based on the fact that Austria would wish to retain her territories in Italy even though the paper also realized that Napoleon's return created a united front among the Allies. The declaration that Austrian presence in Italy was a regrettable reality if Austria remained neutral against Napoleon was a discrepancy with the paper's overall celebration of nationality and the people's will as opposed to legitimacy. The only thing that could vex this position was the return of Napoleon, which overruled the paper's previous viewpoints.

As a final, concluding thought of this chapter, it can be observed that there indeed was a genuine Irish interest in Austria. It is true that the host empire was given a considerable amount of space on the pages of these four papers. However looking more closely, it also becomes clear that Austria was not the most sensitive topic among the sub-topics of their coverage of the congress of Vienna. Although it did bring these papers' differences to light, Austria was mainly a medium through which certain other issues were approached. These included the fate of Italy, where Austria's presence set the question of legitimacy versus 'personal merit' and 'talent' for the *Freeman's* and the *Evening Post*. The Castle papers, *The Patriot* and the *Faulkner's*, put the British foreign policy perspective in their focus. For *The Patriot*, however, this still included a chance for a critical approach towards Austria, Britain's ally and important member of the continental balance. *Faulkner's* followed the British point of view to the limit, never really voicing a thorough opinion on Austria, while concentrating more on the implications of Napoleon's final defeat for Britain and Ireland within that. For all four newspapers the French defeat, including Austria's sensitive family-based connection provided a good way to examine the possible future that lay ahead of Europe. Napoleon's defeat and the reinstating of the Bourbons however signalled the continuing rule of birth and dynasties, crushing Irish and continental hopes, at least for a while, of a change in political dynamics.

Chapter 2: **Hungary through Irish travellers' eyes (1815-1848)**¹

Travel writing as a genre is peculiar among the large variety of primary texts that were and are still being produced through its capacity to accommodate a wide spectrum of approaches ranging from anthropology, sociology, and literature to history. Among these disciplines, interestingly, in comparison to literature or cultural studies for example, history has tended to be the most reluctant to consider these sources as valuable additions to our understanding of a period. Exiling it to the confines of 'travel literature', denoting publications, letters or diaries produced as literary reflections or imprints of foreign travel, however, has deprived history of valuable insights into various processes of self-identification on personal and national levels alike. With this realization slowly taking root in the discipline, studies and theories of these processes of perceptions and imaging of other countries and regions have begun to appear.

Travel writing as a genre has the potential to inform about the varying degrees of self-identification on both personal and national levels through its self-reflective nature. Travellers, as Wendy Bracewell has established, use their experiences 'to think about themselves and their own societies, and about the nature of their relationship with the wider world.'² Thus, travel diaries are instructive beyond the immediate descriptions of regions as they are also indicators of the traveller's own symbolic geography. In other words, it is during these journeys that travellers identified the respective positions both the visited country and their homes occupied on a moral, material, civilisational and ideological map of Europe.³ Conversely, as Wendy Bracewell has further argued, the comparative ponderings on the home situation and

¹ An essay based on part of this chapter has been published in Hungarian in a festschrift volume. See: Zsuzsanna, Zarka, 'A dunai gőzhajózás, mint a fejlődés motorja. Ír benyomások a Habsburg birodalomról és Magyarországról a 19. század közepén' [Steamboats on the Danube as heralds of development. Mid-nineteenth century Irish impressions of the Habsburg empire and Hungary] in Árpád, Hornyák and Zsolt, Vitári(eds), *Idegen szemmel. Magyarságkép 19-20. századi útleírásokban* (Pecs, 2010), pp 31-51. Kutatási füzetek 16. Ormos Mária 80. születésnapjára [Through foreign eyes. Images of Hungary in 19-20. century travel writings. Research publications 16. Festschrift for the 80th birthday of Professor Emerita Mária Ormos]

² Wendy Bracewell, 'Guide to Orientation' in idem (ed), *Orientalisms. An anthology of East European travel writing, ca. 1550-2000* (Budapest, New York, 2009), p. xii.

³ Ibid.

that of the travel provided a chance to express a myriad of feelings ranging from self-congratulating paternalism to finding inspiration for further domestic reforms.⁴

The notion of defining oneself against the ‘otherness’ of the perceived region and peoples has long been common in literary studies. Joep Leersen has called it ‘auto-exoticism,’⁵ although it was the groundbreaking studies of Larry Wolff and Maria Todorova that introduced and applied the concepts to history.⁶ These studies are also interesting for the immediate context of this thesis, as Wolff’s theory set out that Eastern Europe as a concept was a cultural and very conscious construct of Western European Enlightenment writers. Wolff argued that this East-West dichotomy replaced and realigned the North-South, civilization-barbarism axis interpretation introduced by Roman classical political philosophy, and began to identify the Eastern part of the Continent as a less-civilized other. This process was further aided by the widening gulf in economic development and output of the two regions, while the fact that Eastern Europe was less well-known thanks to its absence from classical studies and the traditional routes of the grand tour also contributed.⁷

Wolff’s theory thus divided the aforementioned imaginary map of Europe along a default line of perceivers and perceived where he assigned the more passive role to Eastern Europe. In this construct the Eastern part of the Continent functioned as a mere quasi-mirror where Western travellers could get convenient reassurance of their own perceived higher, political, economic and civilisational, stand. Maria Todorova’s *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford, 1997) was the first study that challenged Wolff’s argument and pointed to the inherent flaw of assuming a uniform Western perspective or a unified, monolithic Eastern Europe.⁸ The debate’s impact on contemporary travel writing historiography has already proven that, regardless of the

⁴ Bracewell, ‘Guide to Orientation’, pp xi-xxi. and Bracewell, ‘The limits of Europe in East European travel writing’ in Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis (eds), *Under Eastern Eyes. A comparative introduction to East European travel writing on Europe* (Budapest, 2008), pp 61-121.

⁵ Joep Leersen, *Remembrance and imagination. Patterns in the historical and literary representation of Ireland in the 19th century* (Cork, 1996), pp 37-8. For a contextual elaboration and application of this theory, see: Eva-Maria Stöter, ‘*Irlandbild/Deutschlandbild: The reception of German culture in Ireland in the 1840s*’ (PhD thesis, NUIM, 2000), p. 41.

⁶ Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The map of civilization on the mind of Enlightenment* (Stanford, 1994).

Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford, 1997).

⁷ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, pp 4, 25-6, 41.

⁸ The complexity of these possible viewpoints was further broadened by Wendy Bracewell’s anthology that collected East European travel writings about Europe. See: *Orientations. An anthology of East European travel writing, ca. 1550-2000* (Budapest, New York, 2009).

directionality of travel and viewpoints, travel diaries are important primary sources of self and national identification.

Although Todorova's study primarily focused on the Balkans and the territory's centuries' long relations with the Ottoman empire and the residual historical legacy of the connection, her notion of the Balkans being perceived as a bridge between Europe and Asia could be applied to Hungary and the Austrian empire as well.⁹ Although Wolff's study dealt only with the period of the Enlightenment, the period's confusion about Hungary's status, stemming from the previous centuries of Ottoman wars and occupation, was also carried on into the nineteenth century. Thus the image of Hungary and the Austrian empire as an in-between region, identified with slight condescension as the poor Christian neighbour, was born. While they were clearly distinguished from Asia and the Orient characterized by Islam, it was an equally wide-spread association that they were not organic parts of the West in all respects either.¹⁰ It was perhaps precisely these characteristics of Hungary, the unfamiliarity, the excitement and adventure factor of going beyond the boundaries of the classical grand tour, that contributed to a notable increase in travel writings considering the country.

Despite the establishment of the multiplicity of foci possible in accessing Western European perceptions of Eastern Europe, neither Wolff nor Todorova distinguished travel writings produced by Irish writers from those produced by the British. Thus, although Todorova identified Britain as potentially the 'widest and most welcome market'¹¹ of travel literature by the nineteenth century, being an important global colonial empire, no distinction was made within that English speaking market. Albeit the notion of Irish travel writing is not a novel concept, Raphael Ingelbien has rightly pointed out that the general understanding of travel writing rarely included or focused on writings produced by Irish people.¹² Although Irish travel writings were

⁹ Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, p. 16. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, p. 41.

¹⁰ Todorova pointed to an existing trend in Hungarian historiography that tended to identify these bridging characteristics of Hungary, citing examples to the presence of historic developments characteristic of Western and Eastern traditions alike. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, p. 142.

¹¹ Todorova, p. 89.

¹² Raphael Ingelbien, 'Defining the Irish tourist abroad: Souvenirs of Irish footprints over Europe (1888)' in *New Hibernia Review*, xiv(Summer 2010), no 2, pp 102-17. Ingelbien refers to one anthology, see: Bernard Share (ed), *Far green fields: fifteen hundred years of Irish travel writing* (Belfast, 1992). Róisín Healy has also argued for a consideration of Irish travel writings in their own right, see notes for chapter 5 for details.

predominantly written in English, and also for an English-speaking larger British market, they nevertheless display varying degrees of specific characteristics. Despite the restrictions the intended market of the final product may have posed, the underlining theme of self-reflection, its direction, the comparison of standards would have had different starting points to travel writers from other parts of the United Kingdom.

The case studies of Irish travel writings in this chapter, however, offer further potential for a variety of viewpoints such as the different social backgrounds of the traveller, including Anglo-Irish Protestants and Catholics, landowners and middle class, all provided different approaches and views. The Irish travel writings examined in the chapter had been selected for the varied social and religious strata they represented, thus providing a broad, yet representative overview of contemporary Irish society. The different background and social status of these travellers reflected a variety in their approach and attention to the country they visited. The authors introduced below feature an Anglo-Irish landowner aristocrat couple, a medical professional, a professional travel writer, two clergymen and a housewife. Beyond the issues of period and country visited, this chapter appears here as a natural continuation of chapter one where the focal point was already identified as Vienna. Although travel publications, by their very nature, offer different viewpoints and motives for writing, they often nevertheless reflect domestic issues. The extent of these reflections may vary from author to author, as much as the method and perspective of mediating domestic Irish political opinion through perceptions of another country.

This chapter sets out to examine these lines of Irish interest, the topics, events or persons touched upon, and the possible underlying motives for examining Hungary. For the sake of keeping a tight focus, it is divided into two sub-chapters, first introducing Irish images of Vienna, the capital of the empire, while the rest of the chapter analyses the Irish perceptions of Hungary in the same period. These Irish images of Hungary, which were the results of personal experience, need to be treated separately from those interpretations where no visiting of the country took place. There is a need to do so as ‘the real power of travel writing lay in its independence,’¹³ namely that the writers of these accounts also had their own mindset and opinions, but the publication of these ideas was mainly justified and supported by the claim of

¹³ Peter Hulme and Tim Young (eds), *The Cambridge companion to travel writing* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 4.

possessing first-hand experience. Keeping the larger framework of travel, the grand tour, in mind, these decades witnessed important changes in this respect. The end of the Napoleonic wars not only opened up the Continent to travellers again but the original routes and participants of travel changed as well. This ‘democratization of travel,’¹⁴ where the emergence of novel ways of transport allowed the widening of the formerly aristocratic framework of the grand tour, also gave rise to concerns about the authenticity of travel. In this sense, novel destinations, extending beyond the traditional circle of classical Europe, became increasingly appreciated as the new sources of adventure and cultural instruction.¹⁵

James Buzard points to the years after 1815 as witnesses of the dawn of mass tourism, which was enabled by the emergence of steam power.¹⁶ Steamboats became represented as one of these new ways of adventure, which exercised a lasting effect on the Habsburg empire and within that, Hungary. Prior to the opening of steamboat-travels on the Danube, the usual route to Constantinople was a highly uncomfortable and lengthy trail. The new route not only speeded travel up but was similarly advantageous for the shipping of goods, for commerce and economy at large.¹⁷ Before the introduction of steamboats, Hungary’s situation within the Austrian empire was hindered by the infamously bad condition of roads, which made the pedestrian journey from Vienna to Constantinople, taken mostly by people who could not afford a coach, an especially challenging one.¹⁸

Hungary’s particular situation was present in other spheres of life as well. The economic conditions, underdeveloped roads, and commerce hindered by the customs system set up between Hungary and the rest of the Austrian empire, were paralleled by the hardships in political and cultural life. The atmosphere of post-Napoleonic and congress-system Europe did not favour revolutionary steps, especially as Hungary was

¹⁴ James Buzard, *The beaten track. European tourism, literature and the ways to culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford, 1993), p. 83. Or, with an alternative phrasing: ‘romantic tourists were not quite so grand as their predecessors.’ See: Amanda Gilroy, ‘Introduction’ in Amanda Gilroy (ed.), *Romantic geographies. Discourses of travel, 1775-1844* (Manchester and New York, 2000), p. 4.

¹⁵ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, pp 25-6.

¹⁶ James Buzard, ‘The grand tour and after (1660-1840)’ in Peter Hulme and Tim Young (eds), *The Cambridge companion to travel writing* (Cambridge, 2002), pp 37-53. See also Buzard, *The beaten track*, pp 19, 38, 81-83.

¹⁷ László Katus, ‘Transport revolution and economic growth in Hungary’ in John Komlos (ed), *Economic development in the Habsburg Monarchy in the nineteenth century* (New York, 1983), pp 183-204.

¹⁸ Rev. Nathanael Burton, *Narrative of a voyage from Liverpool to Alexandria, touching upon the island of Malta, and from thence to Beirout in Syria, with a journey to Jerusalem, voyage from Jaffa to Cyprus and Constantinople, and a pedestrian journey from Constantinople, through Turkey, Wallachia, Hungary and Prussia, to the town of Hamburg in the years 1836-37* (Dublin, 1838).

in front of Metternich's watchful eyes. The wish for development slowly took root, with a couple of notable figures leading the Hungarian liberals. One of the central figures of these two decades was Count István Széchenyi (1791-1860) whose active reform plans and deeds won him attention and fame among contemporaries. The process of reform in the diet was indeed slow, but considering the effect these ideas and later enactments had, and the time these nobles, who were known for holding tightly on to their rights, took to let go their centuries-long privilege of non-taxability, it can be viewed as surprisingly fast as well. The fact that these nobles had already known about the events and effects of the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars, combined with the growing popularity of liberal ideas, must have contributed to their cooperation in considering and supporting the reform ideas.

Although Austria was regarded as an optional element of the grand tour route well before the Napoleonic wars,¹⁹ she still was no match in splendour and attraction for Italy until the decades of congress Europe. Being the host of the congress in 1814-15 that settled Europe's and France's affairs, Vienna, the city of the emperor, became the Continent's desired destination to visit.²⁰ This feeling of interest and excitement was triggered by the numerous accounts that newspaper readers received throughout the Continent about the congress, including long descriptions of the wealth and glamour of numerous elegant balls. Irish newspapers, as the previous chapter has already shown, were no exceptions to this trend. This attention can partially explain the popularity and frequency of Vienna and Austria among the titles of published travelogues. The other major factor, the introduction of steamboats on the Danube, transforming Constantinople from a far away exotic destination to a manageable one, created Vienna and Pest (where boats actually started from) as ideal starting points of these journeys. Similar to the way in which the Danube was used by the travellers, this chapter is going to use the Danube to provide a natural line and clear structure, starting out in Vienna following the flow of the river.

¹⁹ James Buzard, 'The grand tour and after', p. 39.

²⁰ See for e.g. Richard Cargill Cole, *John Singleton's grand tour, 1815-1817* (New York, 1988). The travel diary of Singleton, from Quinville Abbey estate, Co. Clare, can be found in the N.L.I. (MS 16,884) along with his passport (MS 24,442). Singleton visited both Vienna and parts of Hungary. For more see, Richard Cargill Cole, 'An Irish library and a European tour, 1815-1817' in *Library Quarterly*, lv (Jan. 1985), pp 34-51.

I. Vienna, the city of Kaisers, through Irish eyes²¹

Martha Wilmot's 'lively and amusing'²² account depicting life in Vienna after the Napoleonic wars delighted Joseph Maunsell Hone (1882-1959), biographer of William Butler Yeats and George Moore and the future president of the Irish Academy of Letters (1957),²³ a century later. The Glanmire (East-Cork)-born and raised Martha Wilmot (1775-1873), also known for the Russian travel-journals she co-authored with her sister Catherine,²⁴ accompanied her husband, William Bradford, on his mission as the chaplain to the British embassy to Vienna.²⁵ Her letters, most of which were written to her sisters Alicia and Catherine, similarly to the *Russian journals*, have been edited and published.²⁶ The modest but telling title employed by the editors, *Impressions of Vienna*, does not tell everything Martha considered important to convey. Dismantling her long sub-title, one can see the justification of the letters, beyond reporting about the everyday life of her family, in chronicling her life 'in the brilliant cosmopolitan society of Vienna' when Austria was 'the political and social centre of Europe.'²⁷

Although Martha wrote most of her letters to her sisters, she did have other contacts, outside her family, who were of noble origin. These letters, beyond their notably different tone, discussed topics which gave more insights into her general impression of Austria. Instead of writing in her usual 'gay, vivacious'²⁸ style, in these

²¹ For a quick overview of the extent and large variety of this field, see: Declan M. Downey, 'Wild Geese and the double-headed eagle. Irish integration in Austria, c. 1630-1918' in Paul Leifer and Eda Sagarra (eds), *Austro-Irish links through the centuries* (Vienna, 2002), pp 41-58.

²² H.J.M. [Joseph Maunsell Hone], 'Review of Impressions of Vienna, 1819-1829 by M. Wilmot' in *Dublin Magazine, A quarterly review of literature, science and art*, xi (1936), p. 86.

²³ For more biographic information on Hone, see: Paucic J. Dempsey, 'Hone, Joseph Maunsell (1882-1959)', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a4083&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browseSearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

²⁴ Marchioness of Londonderry and H. Montgomery Hyde (eds), *The Russian journals of Martha and Catherine Wilmot: Being an account by two Irish ladies of their adventures in Russia as guests of the celebrated Princess Daschkaw...* (London, 1935). See also: Angela Theresa Byrne, 'The Irish in Russia, 1690-1815: travel, gender and self-fashioning' (PhD thesis, NUIM, 2008).

²⁵ Mary Leland, *The lie of the land: journeys through literary Cork* (Cork, 1999), p. 24 and p. 26.

²⁶ Marchioness of Londonderry and H. Montgomery Hyde (eds), *More letters from Martha Wilmot. Impressions of Vienna, 1819-1829* (London, 1935).

²⁷ Full title: *Impressions of Vienna, 1819-1829, relating to her experiences in the brilliant cosmopolitan society of Vienna as the wife of the Rev. William Bradford, chaplain to the British embassy, during a period when Austria was the political and social centre of Europe, and including a journal of a tour in Italy and Tyrol, and extracts from the diary of her elder daughter Catherine for 1829.*

²⁸ Londonderry and Hyde, *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, p. xii.

letters Martha was consciously thinking about the social status of the recipient, while she also positioned herself as a person who, through her chaplain husband, was affiliated with the British embassy. This was present in her observing and describing style, which was expected of a person of her status. Keeping these in mind, it is not surprising that she constantly referred back to Britain in these letters, while she did not refrain from criticising Austrian customs and social life either. Viscountess Ennismore (County Tipperary) was one of these contacts, in whom Martha confided her opinion on security and police in Vienna. While claiming that the ‘police of Vienna equals that of Paris,’²⁹ Martha also admitted that this had a rather pleasant effect on security in general in Vienna. Martha’s letter is a valuable contemporary source which underlines the well-known historical fact, noted in most scholarly works that deal with the Austrian empire in the period in general,³⁰ that Prince Metternich, the chancellor and head of police, was indeed aware of every foreigner, and their moves, passing through Vienna. As Martha noted, Metternich took strange pride in possessing information of this kind and found joy in ‘amusing a few select friends the other evening with *everything* (sic) that passed in the interior of a family of English travellers, ... who little imagined that all their proceedings were reported to such a man and discussed in such a circle.’³¹

These general observations must have entertained the viscountess, although those letters which reported on events not discussed in the papers of the era probably had more appeal. Such an example was Martha’s letter written on 4 May 1820 describing the annual Habsburg dynastic custom of washing the feet of twelve old men and twelve old women, ‘in imitation of our Saviour’s act of his disciples,’³² performed by the Catholic Emperor Francis I of Austria and the empress, his fourth

²⁹ Martha Wilmot Bradford to Viscountess Ennismore, 8 Dec. 1819. in Londonderry and Hyde, *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, p. 38.

³⁰ See for e.g. H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Londonderrys, a family portrait* (London, 1979), pp 21-2. See for e.g. Donald E. Emerson, *Metternich and the political police: Security and subversion in the Habsburg monarchy, 1815-1830* (The Hague, 1968).

³¹ Martha Wilmot Bradford to Viscountess Ennismore, 8 Dec. 1819. in Londonderry and Hyde, *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, p. 38.

³² Martha Wilmot Bradford to Viscountess Ennismore, 4 May 1820. in Londonderry and Hyde, *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, p. 61. Performed annually, the ceremonial washing of the feet became part of the Habsburg dynastic ritual. It symbolized the emperor’s piety, and the Habsburg connection to the Catholic church along with the emperor’s concern and care for his people. For more details, see: Daniel L. Unowsky, *The pomp and politics of patriotism: imperial celebrations of Habsburg Austria, 1848-1916* (West Lafayette, IN, 2005), pp 29-32.

wife, Caroline Augusta of Bavaria.³³ As a contrast, the letter then went on to describe a social event, a night ‘given to Princess Mary Esterházy, mother to *your friend* Prince Paul, the Austrian ambassador.’³⁴ The aristocratic family and Prince Paul the diplomat especially, were well-known to contemporaries for their wealth and social and family connections, not only throughout the Austrian empire but on the Continent too. Martha’s account of the night noted the large number of guests, with their varied respective origins, while also commenting on their social status. Although she found delight in attending the fete, she could not hide her dislike either, claiming that ‘society is upon a more agreeable footing in England and William [her husband] thinks so *from the bottom of his heart*.’³⁵ This not only reflected a sense of pride that Britain was found to be a more refined and developed society in comparison, it also revealed how foreign observers tended to measure the countries they visited or spent time in against the standards of their own country. Time spent away from one’s domestic circumstances not only made it appear better in reflection, it also showed how much relief could be gained in finding the observed country as less advanced.

It is interesting to note that while Martha did not have a high opinion of Austrian society’s mixed nature, she found no problem listing the attending Irish peers mixed together with the British. Martha’s Anglo-Irish background was manifested in such ways, where the acknowledgment of the act of union (1800) in creating a united British empire did not go together with renouncing her distinct Irish character. Her mention of a particular couple was a good example of this: ‘amongst the few ENGLISH here, are Lord and Lady Killeen, a charming *Irish* pair, he son to Lord Fingall.’³⁶ As the period Martha spent in Vienna coincided with the Anglo-Irish Lord and Lady Stewart (Londonderry) being the ambassador and ambassadress of the British empire to Austria, Martha’s letters frequently referred to that pair as well.³⁷ The passage of her 1 June 1821 letter describing their behaviour as ‘united Vanity and

³³ For the Habsburg family tree relating to this period, see: Alan Palmer, *Twilight of the Habsburgs: The life and times of Emperor Francis Joseph* (New York, 1997), p. viii.

³⁴ *Ibid.* Emphasis in original.

³⁵ Martha Wilmot Bradford to Viscountess Ennismore, 4 May 1820. in Londonderry and Hyde (eds), *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, p. 63. Emphasis in original.

³⁶ *Ibid.* As an editorial footnote indicates, Lord Killeen was Arthur (Plunkett), Lord Killeen, later ninth earl of Fingall (1791-1866). Emphasis in original. For more examples, such as Silver Oliver from Co. Limerick and the Countess de Salis (née Foster) from Co. Cork, see *ibid.*, pp 119, 197-8.

³⁷ Charles Stewart Vane, third marquess of Londonderry was appointed to the British Embassy in Vienna in August 1814. See: Edith, Londonderry, *Frances Anne. Life and times of Frances Anne, Marchioness of Londonderry and her husband Charles, third marquess of Londonderry* (London, 1958), pp 34-5.

Selfishness amount[ing] almost to madness,³⁸ is one of the most frequently quoted references in the historiography of Vienna in the era.³⁹ Martha voiced sharp criticism commenting on ‘the *regal airs*’⁴⁰ of Lady Stewart as, feeling ill during one of their balls, the latter ordered the interruption of the entertainment with one of the members of the royal family present. Besides the obvious diplomatic problems this caused, Martha also highlighted the reprehensible nature of this action as the constant ‘ostentatious display of their superior riches and grandeur’⁴¹ was not worthy of an aristocrat: ‘would George the 4th have done so?’⁴² As both Martha and Lady Stewart were representatives of the Anglo-Irish community in Vienna, Martha’s criticism this time was pronouncedly directed against the aristocratic nature of Lady Stewart’s behaviour.

Lady Stewart (Frances Anne Vane, 1800-1865) was a frequent topic of discussion in Martha’s familial letters as well. Her 17 March 1821 letter was revealing about the fundamental direction of Martha’s opinion in more than one respect. Lady Stewart’s long pregnancy was mentioned, ‘our Ambassadrice (sic) will not kitten for us,’⁴³ although she took the topic to a further level by connecting Lady Stewart and Ireland in one sentence. Martha was annoyed as Lady Stewart was not brought to bed that day ‘because she [Lady Stewart] has such a dislike to Ireland that I should have particular satisfaction in her having a young St Patrick.’⁴⁴ This witty yet critical remark perfectly illustrated Martha’s Anglo-Irish character, something she clearly claimed Lady Stewart lacked or had lost in her efforts to display herself as the representative of British power in Austria. Diane Urquhart has identified this Anglo-Irish character as a sensitive and complex matter.⁴⁵ The dual nature of the term, despite what it implies, has not always been acknowledged in Ireland. In fact it has

³⁸ Martha Wilmot Bradford to Lady Harriett Bloomfield, 1 June 1821. in Londonderry and Hyde (eds), *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, p. 108.

³⁹ See for example: Diane Urquhart, *The ladies of Londonderry: Women and political patronage* (London and New York, 2007), p. 17. Londonderry and Hyde, *The Londonderrys, a family portrait* (London, 1979), pp 25-6.

⁴⁰ Martha Wilmot Bradford to Lady Harriett Bloomfield, 1 June 1821. in Londonderry and Hyde (eds), *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, p. 108. Emphasis in original.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 109.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Martha Wilmot Bradford to Alicia Wilmot, 17 March 1821. Ibid, p. 99. For more information on Lady Stewart, see: K. D. Reynolds, ‘Vane, Frances Anne, marchioness of Londonderry (1800–1865)’, in Henry Colin Grey Matthew and Brian Howard Harrison (eds), *Oxford dictionary of national biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Oxford, 2004) Online edition available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/41159> (accessed 24 April 2012)

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ See Urquhart, *Ladies of Londonderry*, p. 5.

been looked upon as an inconveniently phrased synonym for supporting imperial Britishness, suggesting members of a certain layer of society with a British outlook, while the Irish part of the compound was in some sense overlooked.⁴⁶

Martha's letters are testimonials of this complexity, of being Anglo and Irish at the same time. We have seen her alluding to 'English' as a term comprising and including people of different origins, whereas her comments on St Patrick show that she considered herself as both Irish and English. Her sentences marvel at the spring weather 'which St Patrick has sent us all the way from Ireland,' and her letter opened with the words 'Patrick's day in the morning!'⁴⁷ Martha's mention of George IV's visit to Ireland underlines this complexity even more, as the aforementioned event was awaited by Catholics and Protestants of Ireland, for various reasons, alike.⁴⁸ A previous letter to her sister, 6 December 1820, addressed the issue that absorbed attention throughout the British empire, namely the planned divorce proceedings of George IV and Princess Caroline of Brunswick.⁴⁹ This letter, instead of going into details about Martha's feelings in relation to the topic, conveyed a rather different insight into her mindset. Although it can be read from her phrasing that she sympathized with the queen, when she alluded to 'the shameless and shameful proceedings of parliament,'⁵⁰ Martha used this topic to voice her dislike of Vienna or rather what Vienna represented for her.

Her outburst that life in Vienna was rife in 'espionage ...bribery, corruption and gallantry from high to low...churlish inhospitality of the great nobles...jealousy and dislike of the English'⁵¹ was not a sudden expression of discontent and anger. Looking through the string of letters she wrote to her family, it becomes clear that she initially did not like Vienna. The city did not give her what she expected. For a start, it was more expensive than England, and more seriously, from a woman's point of view,

⁴⁶ To employ J.C. Beckett's words, it 'used to identify one part of the populace as less deserving of the title Irish than the rest'. See: J.C. Beckett, *The Anglo-Irish tradition* (London, 1976), p. 10. Quoted in Urquhart, p. 5.

⁴⁷ Martha Wilmot Bradford to Alicia Wilmot, 17 March 1821. in Londonderry and Hyde (eds), *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, p. 98.

⁴⁸ See for the situation in Dublin especially: Jacqueline R. Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin civic politics and Irish Protestant patriotism, 1660-1840* (Oxford, 1997), pp 320-2.

⁴⁹ See for an overview: Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin civic politics*, p. 320. and John Kenneth Severn, *Architects of empire: The duke of Wellington and his brothers* (Oklahoma, 2007), pp 401-3.

⁵⁰ Martha Wilmot Bradford to Alicia Wilmot, 6 Dec. 1820. in Londonderry and Hyde (eds), *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, p. 88.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 87.

the dresses were ‘dearer, worse and a year behind us in fashion.’⁵² Her initial letters list all the discomfort she and her family experienced, ranging from fleas, uncomfortable bedding, the noise level of coaches during the night, to the workmen who seemed to have taken advantage of the fact that the Bradfords were foreigners to Vienna.⁵³ Once she overcame this initial shock, the tone of her letters slightly changed.⁵⁴ She was genuinely impressed with the Prater, the largest park in the imperial city, and the gardens around it, which besides the undoubtedly wonderful sight of a flower garden, must have been, at least partly, a result of the fact that she saw English influence in the layout of the gardens.⁵⁵

Nevertheless Martha’s happiest letters were the ones she sent when the family spent time away from Vienna. Baden, a spa-town located close to Vienna, soon turned to be her favourite in all of Austria. The vivid description of scenery around Baden, however, where they spent the summer of 1820, became entangled with her ever-present feeling of being alien and a stranger to the land. This uncomfortable feeling never left her, not even when she was describing the favourite pastime of the people of Baden, namely the walks they took, on routes designated to show the latest fashionable dresses the ladies had acquired. In sharp contrast to them, Martha took alternate routes, which satisfied her growing need for something distinctively different from Viennese scenery. Although this did, no doubt, bring her the change she was looking for, it still became acutely clear that this, again, only made her think about her position as a person away from home. Sometime after moving back to Vienna, in December 1820, she actually voiced her opinion, in her characteristic style, which became her guideline for the rest of the family’s period in Vienna. Claiming that ‘one must live out of England to know how pleasant it is to live in it’,⁵⁶ she formulated and, unconsciously, followed a basic maxim of Romantic-era travelogues, which, as

⁵² Martha Wilmot Bradford to Catherine Wilmot, 3 Sept. 1819. Ibid, p. 20.

⁵³ See her first letters to her sister Catherine (3 Sept. 1819) and to her sister-in-law, Mrs Edward Wilmot (24 Oct. 1819). Ibid, pp 20, 24.

⁵⁴ Vienna did not make a lasting positive impression on Catherine either when she visited the Imperial city accompanying the second Earl of Mount Cashell on a grand tour through Italy and France in 1803. As Martha read Catherine’s account, it is likely that, unconsciously perhaps, her opinion and experiences influenced the forming of Martha’s views on Europe. For Catherine’s account on Vienna, see: Thomas Sadleir (ed), *An Irish peer on the Continent, 1801-03. Being a narrative of the tour of Stephen, second earl of Mount Cashell through France, Italy etc...as related by Catherine Wilmot* (London, 1920), pp 205-8.

⁵⁵ Martha mentioned Kingston House and Hampton Court as influences. Martha Wilmot Bradford to Alicia Wilmot, 23 May 1820. in Londonderry and Hyde (eds), *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, p. 65.

⁵⁶ Martha Wilmot Bradford to Alicia Wilmot, 6 Dec. 1820. Ibid, p. 89.

Amanda Gilroy put it, regarded ‘the experience of geographic displacement [as a chance] to renegotiate the cultural verities of ‘home.’⁵⁷

On 25 September 1825 Martha attended the coronation of Empress Caroline Augusta as queen of Hungary in Pressburg, in Hungary.⁵⁸ The event was preceded by the opening of the diet of Hungary where, faithful to the centuries’ long tradition, the emperor, Francis I of Austria, greeted the Hungarian magnates in Latin, to which the prince primate replied. The ‘animated cheering which followed’⁵⁹, which impressed Martha’s husband, actually signalled the satisfaction of the magnates that the emperor had acknowledged the centuries-long feudal rights of Hungarian nobles. Although Martha briefly mentioned that the diet then ‘assumed the form of our Houses of Lords and Commons, Opposition and all,’⁶⁰ she displayed more interest in other features of the event.

The coronation itself was an especially elegant event and Martha provided details of all the dresses of the Hungarian ladies, the hussars and the empress alike. As the event was for nobles of the first order only, it is not surprising that Martha counted jewellery, diamonds mostly, ‘to the amount of thousands of pounds value’.⁶¹ This included the celebratory dresses of men as well, Martha mentioned the dress of Prince Eszterházy especially, as the ‘richness...and the beauty of the pearls which adorn it [his dress] is hardly credible.’⁶² With all details she provided about the elegant dresses of the Hungarian participants, it becomes a somewhat ironic juxtaposition when Martha describes her made-up-on-spot dress. As she confessed that she did not have any elegant dress with her, she decided to ornament her Church of England costume with some muslin, and as ‘the ignorance of the Hungarians’⁶³ would not be able to tell the difference, she was happy to take her seat in the church in Pressburg.

Her letter then followed all steps of the coronation, scrutinizing the emperor’s look, noting that he was dressed ‘in the crown and robe of St Stephen, not the martyr

⁵⁷ Amanda Gilroy, ‘Introduction’ in Amanda Gilroy (ed.), *Romantic geographies. Discourses of travel, 1775-1844* (Manchester and New York, 2000), p. 1.

⁵⁸ The English word ‘queen’ actually cannot distinguish whether the woman is the crowned ruler of the country or the wife of the king. The Hungarian words királynő and királyné, respectively, show this distinction. Caroline Augusta was crowned as királyné of Hungary, which means spouse of the actual ruler.

⁵⁹ Martha Wilmot Bradford to her mother-in-law, 26 Sept. 1825 in Londonderry and Hyde (eds), *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, p. 222.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 223.

⁶² Martha Wilmot Bradford to her mother-in-law, 26 Sept. 1825 in Londonderry and Hyde (eds), *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, p. 224.

⁶³ Ibid, p. 223.

of that name, but the 1st (sic) king of Hungary.’⁶⁴ Her sentences did not tell the reader that this crown and robe were staple elements in the Hungarian coronation order, although her opinion that the robe was old and ragged might have suggested such an interpretation, hinting at least how this robe was preserved throughout the centuries.⁶⁵ Martha’s description, or in her words, her ‘stupid newspaperish (sic) sort of thing’,⁶⁶ ends with her assertion that, although she had just witnessed the coronation of the queen of Hungary, crowned with the holy crown of St Stephen, this ceremony must have been like ‘Punch and Punchinello in a puppet shew (sic) when compared to Our King’s coronation.’⁶⁷

This event was the first occasion on which Martha visited the kingdom of Hungary throughout her stay in Vienna. Her collected volume of letters, *Impressions of Vienna*, also recounts the planning and the story of her nephew’s visit. This was Edward Wilmot-Chetwood, the son of Martha’s brother Robert. Well before the actual visit took place, Martha wrote a series of letters for Edward, providing a sort of guide-to-survive to Vienna,⁶⁸ repeatedly stressing the importance of possessing knowledge of French and of mastering how to waltz. This instructing of Edward proved to be a good occasion for Martha to draw a comparison between societies in Britain and in Vienna. Besides believing that the middle rank in Britain was superior to that in Vienna, she also admitted that ‘there is little doubt that amongst the labouring class the advantage is *here*’,⁶⁹ while the topic of comfort and security which a well-working police provided finds way into her letters again. While having to acknowledge that ‘English travellers are terribly disposed to leave at home their best qualities, and on the Continent acquire the vices and follies of foreigners in addition to their own’⁷⁰,

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 224.

⁶⁵ Saint Stephen, the first of king of Hungary was crowned with the holy crown Pope Sylvester II sent, becoming the first king of the apostolic kingdom of Hungary. See for e.g. Pál Engel and Andrew Ayton, *The realm of St. Stephen: A history of medieval Hungary, 895-1526* (London, 2005), pp 27-9.

⁶⁶ Londonderry and Hyde (eds), *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, p. 224.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 225.

⁶⁸ Martha Wilmot Bradford to Alicia Wilmot, 10 Oct. 1827 and 12 Dec. 1827. in Londonderry and Hyde (eds), *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, pp 303-5 and pp 308-9 respectively.

⁶⁹ Martha Wilmot Bradford to Alicia Wilmot, 12 Dec. 1827. Ibid, p. 309. Emphasis in original. For the general status of servants, the literature they used for improving their work through the nineteenth century, see Eda Sagarra’s article: ‘Benign authority and its cultivation in the Biedermeier’ in Ian F. Roe and John Warren (eds), *The Biedermeier and beyond. Selected papers from the symposium held at St Peter’s College Oxford from 19-21 September 1997* (Bern, Berlin, Frankfurt, New York, Paris, Wien, 1999), pp 63-75.

⁷⁰ Martha Wilmot Bradford to Alicia Wilmot, 12 Dec. 1827. in Londonderry and Hyde (eds), *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, p. 308.

Martha felt rather uneasy about being forced to consider the police force of Vienna as better developed than that of Great Britain.

As she made sure to endow Edward with valuable advice, she was happy to set out on a short excursion to Hungary with him. During this journey Martha chose to write a journal instead of sending letters, which accounts for a more steady flow of opinion and impressions in her writing. The general attitude that characterized her initial Viennese letters was not absent from her Hungarian journal. Revisiting the scene of the coronation, Pressburg, Martha was even less impressed than she had been during her first visit. Although she had not provided details on anything apart from the coronation on that occasion, her views remained critical. The Hungarian Plains, being ‘indeed superb, tho’(sic) so flat and unvaried’ and the Neusiedler See, ‘very, very large one [lake], and that’s all,’⁷¹ received similar treatment, where no matter how impressive the sheer look of a sight might be, it was still not enough for a lasting, positive general view.

Seeing this, it is not surprising that Martha found the castle of the Eszterházy family in Eisenstadt, one of the wealthiest families of the empire, where Joseph Haydn spent years employed by the family, disappointing. Her attitude of acknowledging wealth and luxury around her while dismissing it as ‘nothing remarkable considering the great scale of everything’,⁷² suggests some underlying reason beyond the surface. It is most likely that Martha criticised the way the family’s wealth was put on display, similarly to her comments on Lord and Lady Londonderry.

If we are to draw a conclusion about Martha’s general impressions of Vienna, it has to be noted that although she acknowledged the elegance, the wealth and other features of aristocratic life, such as the opera and the balls, she grew tired of this superficiality. This is evident in the way she talked about the Prater and the gardens of Vienna, where she laid more emphasis on their natural features and the role of these places in her family’s life. It is also characteristic of her style that whenever she could, she compared what she had seen to the British standards she was more familiar with. Her Anglo-Irish background only occasionally emerged, as noted above. On those occasions when the encountered events or customs were distinctively characteristic of

⁷¹ Hungarian journal of Martha Wilmot Bradford, 25 and 26 September 1828. In *ibid*, p. 322.

⁷² Hungarian journal of Martha Wilmot Bradford, 27 September 1828. in Londonderry and Hyde (eds), *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, p. 326.

Viennese society, as in the case of the institution of the house-master⁷³ which was noted in Hone's review as well,⁷⁴ she aimed to provide more information and explanation on the advantages and disadvantages of such practices. Although the decade she spent in Vienna was a significant one in the history of the Austrian empire, as Austria regained her position among the leaders in Europe after the congress of Vienna, Martha's letters do not ponder too much on politics. Instead, her letters have to be considered important as they illustrate everyday life in Vienna, which unique feature has been noted in another review about her work,⁷⁵ together with underlining other well-known aspects of the period, such as the presence of police and the effect of this on people's lives.

Jumping a decade ahead to the 1840s, Vienna saw the return of a couple, namely Lord and Lady Londonderry, who had formerly occupied a distinguished place, so ably described by Martha Wilmot, among the city's aristocracy. Lord Londonderry (Charles William Vane Stewart, 1778-1854), half-brother of Lord Castlereagh, the British plenipotentiary during the Congress of Vienna, was an army officer and diplomat.⁷⁶ Their return in 1840, after eighteen years, attracted less attention, as Lord Londonderry bitterly remarked.⁷⁷ Although their stay in Vienna was short, both Lord and Lady Londonderry took care to record their feelings about changes that had taken place in Vienna in the two decades they had spent away. As a former ambassador of the British empire in Vienna, and a member of both the Anglo-Irish and British aristocracy, Lord Londonderry was acutely aware of his position and the attention his words had been and would be given. His observations chronicled general improvements that were evident in the landscape of Vienna, applauding the widened and paved roads, and increase of shops as signs of progress. He marvelled at

⁷³ The house-master was a contemporary term for a house porter. The English phrase Martha used reflected the German original, Hausmeister. Martha Wilmot Bradford to Alicia Wilmot, 21 Dec. 1819. Ibid, pp 41-2.

⁷⁴ H.J.M. [Joseph Maunsell Hone], 'Review of Impressions of Vienna, 1819-1829 by M. Wilmot' in *Dublin Magazine, A quarterly review of literature, science and art*, xi (1936), p. 86.

⁷⁵ 'Short notices' in *English Historical Review*, lii (1937), no. 205, pp 179-80.

⁷⁶ E. M. Lloyd, 'Vane [Stewart], Charles William, third marquess of Londonderry (1778-1854)', in Henry Colin Grey Matthew and Brian Howard Harrison (eds), *Oxford dictionary of national biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Oxford, 2004) online edition available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26467> (accessed 24 April 2012)

⁷⁷ Londonderry remarked how the coach that Prince Eszterházy sent for them 'was only an earnest of the kind and affectionate reception we met during our stay at Vienna.' See: Charles William Vane, Marquess of Londonderry, *A steam voyage to Constantinople by the Rhine and the Danube in 1840-41 and to Portugal, Spain, etc in 1839* (London, 1842), p. 50.

the beauty of the Prater which had suffered no change, while, after a visit to Prince Metternich, Londonderry concluded that although the physique of the prince did show the passing of time, ‘the prince’s conversation ...[had] the same talent, the unrivalled *esprit*.’⁷⁸

Londonderry provided an impression of the Austrian empire that matched the British foreign policy view of Austria as a vital part of the continental balance of power. Although travel accounts of the period generally tended to follow this imperial line of policy in their attitude towards the Austrian and Ottoman empires, as assessed by Todorova,⁷⁹ Londonderry, as a former official representing this policy, was nevertheless a special case. His previous extensive stay in Austria in the forefront of high society and politics provided him and his writing with authenticity and details that stood unique among accounts published in the period. Thus his assessment of visible improvements since his last visit had more depth than a general description where reforms would have simply been regarded as civilizing measures. However such mildly patronizing attitudes probably would not have been alien to him either.

Believing that the room in which Metternich worked had not been altered during the years he spent away from Vienna, Londonderry also underlined that Metternich had remained a believer in essentially the same political principles. In this universe the worst that could happen to Metternich would be a general change in the political map of Europe. In a prophetic, or perhaps realistic, vision, Londonderry clearly saw that the prince’s position and political respect depended on the retaining of the status quo. In his own words, he claimed

I can imagine no event that would more annihilate the rock of Metternich’s ambition than another European contest. All his fame now rests on having established, by his policy and wisdom, a peace which has lasted nearly thirty years. He wishes...to carry this transcendent exploit to his tomb, and if it really became endangered, his proud and statesmanlike career would come to an untimely end.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Charles William Vane, *A steam voyage to Constantinople*, p. 58. Emphasis in original. Lady Londonderry also noted the same essential features about Vienna and she had similar remarks about Prince Metternich as well, although she gave more details such as a transcript of their conversation in French. See: [Frances Anne Vane], *Narrative of a visit to the courts of Vienna, Constantinople, Athens, Naples by the marchioness of Londonderry* (London, 1844), pp 33-9.

⁷⁹ Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, p. 95.

⁸⁰ Charles William Vane, *A steam voyage to Constantinople*, p. 96.

Meeting Metternich inspired Lord Londonderry to carry out a more general evaluation of the Austrian empire. As a good ambassador with a keen eye on meaningful details, and the way these mattered in relation to the complex picture,⁸¹ Lord Londonderry's paragraph on the financial situation of the Austrian empire was not only reflective of facts known to contemporaries but he carried this to a different level by contemplating its possible causes.⁸² What is more interesting here was his assessment of the Austrian empire:

In no state is the horror of change so remarkable as in Austria; she marches not with the times we live in, she partakes not of the irresistible movements that agitate other nations; but keeps on her wonted way, and, like the great Danube, which rolls through the centre of her dominions, the course of her ministry and its tributary branches continues without any deviation from its accustomed channel.⁸³

This expression of Londonderry's conservative political leanings admiring Austrian adherence to formerly outlined governmental traditions was not, however, without some slightly critical remarks. Although Londonderry was on the whole impressed with the Austrian empire, its politics and role in the continental system of balance, he could not help alluding to how 'all matters march slowly in Austria,'⁸⁴ such as listing the keeping of a full war establishment in the army as a major contributor to the increase in debt. Although Londonderry has been listed as a member of the 'ultra Tories'⁸⁵ political group, certain features of his political career would potentially place him closer to liberal Tories. His support for Catholic emancipation while opposed to any reforms aiming to alter the state structure, such as the reform bill of 1832,⁸⁶

⁸¹ See Lord Wellington's warm opinion of Lord Londonderry quoted in H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Londonderrys: a family portrait* (London, 1979), p.21.

⁸² The financial hardships the Austrian Empire faced throughout the nineteenth century, e.g. sinking into debts and bankruptcy, was known as well. See: Robert A Kann, *A history of the Habsburg empire, 1525-1918* (1st paperback ed., Berkeley, 1980), p. 241. For contemporary discussions, see, among others, debates in the House of Commons about the 'Austrian loan.' *Hansard* 2, iv, H.C., cc 1219-26 (14 March 1821). *Hansard* 2, v, H.C., cc 1280-5 (22 June 1821). *Hansard* 2, x, H.C., cc 437-44 (24 Feb. 1824). *Hansard* 2, x, H.C., cc 497-501 (26 Feb. 1824). *Hansard* 2, x, H.L. cc 871-85 (11 May 1824). For Lord Londonderry's analysis, see Charles William Vane, *A steam voyage to Constantinople*, pp 66-7.

⁸³ Charles William Vane, *A steam voyage to Constantinople*, pp 66-7.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 112.

⁸⁵ James J. Sack, 'Ultra Tories (act. 1827-1834)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/96357> Accessed 31 Aug 2011.

⁸⁶ Sir Archibald Alison, *Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir Charles Stewart, the second and third marquesses of Londonderry. With annals of contemporary events in which they bore a part* (3vols, Edinburgh, London, 1861). See vol. III, pp 253-8.

suggests such a position.⁸⁷ Yet Londonderry's support for Catholic relief came rather out of necessity than conviction, where changes were only acceptable if they were 'improvements for the general good, which are equally required by all parties.'⁸⁸

Londonderry's powerful words pictured Austria as an empire in the grip of debt but also pointed to a more inherent problem. In this mindset, the Austrian empire, the fortress of conservative order as regarded by contemporaries after the congress of Vienna, featured as the opposite of an ideal empire, where the need to accept certain inevitable small-scale alterations were recognized. Despite claiming this, Londonderry did not consider Austria to be weak. He rather looked upon it as an empire where the government wished time had stopped at the most favourable moment. He acknowledged Austria's efforts for keeping the peace that the congress of Vienna laboured to establish, although he also seemed to imply that Austria had further motives for doing so. He believed that the decades that lapsed had showed Austria at the height of her power, they constituted that string of fabled moments the Austrian government was aiming to immortalize. He considered this desire as a natural wish of the Austrian side, claiming that the empire actually had tools to prevent unwanted change, namely its 'geographical position, native firmness of character, and horror of changes.'⁸⁹ Therefore, in this composition, the last mentioned element constituted only a part of the complex picture, being a policy which supported the achievement of a more elemental, basic principle.

Identifying the empire's less than stable financial situation as a major weak point, Londonderry clearly saw that Austria's participating in the maintenance of the existing status quo naturally put additional expense strains on the budget. Seeing this role as a basic feature of the empire, something which British foreign policy underlined as well, Londonderry was sure that in the future this would unavoidably lead Austria into conflicts 'abroad as well as at home, since the one reacts on the other.'⁹⁰ In these circumstances, where 'commotion', whether at home or abroad, 'is dangerous and quietude her real strength',⁹¹ it was not hard to see why Austria was so firmly insisting on protecting the established order. Any disruption of peace would have shaken her 'large, widely separated, and, to this day, ill-reconciled

⁸⁷ For an overview of liberal Toryism, see the introduction in: Stephen M. Lee, *George Canning and liberal Toryism, 1801-1827* (Suffolk, 2008).

⁸⁸ Charles William Vane, *A steam voyage to Constantinople*, p. 134.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, pp 68-9.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 69.

possessions’,⁹² stirring disorder throughout the whole empire, or if it happened abroad, creating a dangerous example for territories within her empire. Naturally, these dreaded images did not form part of the aforementioned immortalized moments, they were rather signals of a dangerous reality, namely the power of nationalist movements, which Habsburg rulers were forced to acknowledge.

Lord Londonderry was not alone in his opinion about Austria’s fear of change. Sir William Robert Wills Wilde (1815-1879), renowned ophthalmic and aural surgeon of the period,⁹³ who visited Vienna in 1841, made similar observations in his records of his trip. Wilde visited all institutions and departments of the hospitals of Vienna, recording his thoughts and possible Irish applications of Austrian methods. In the case of puerperal fever, a disease attacking women in maternity wards after giving birth, he noted the lack of attention to hygiene in the wards, contemplating that it had to have contributed to the severity and occurrence of the disease.⁹⁴ Judging by his suggestions, he probably helped Dr Ignác Semmelweis, a Hungarian doctor Wilde knew from the practical obstetric clinic of Vienna Allgemeine Krankenhaus, who was on his way to discovering the real reason and cause of puerperal fever. Wilde guessed the contagious nature of the illness, however he did not realize the true source.⁹⁵

Although Wilde’s primary intention was to fill the void of a general, English-language summary of the famous medical and scientific institutions of Vienna,⁹⁶ which attracted students and visitors from all over Europe, he devoted paragraphs to his impressions of the Austrian empire as well. Wilde pointed to a rather special Irish interest when he claimed that this study of the empire’s medical system, ‘with the hope of gaining a useful lesson, or avoiding a dangerous error’,⁹⁷ could work to Ireland’s advantage. This approach was a new feature in travel writing, as compared to Martha Wilmot or Lord Londonderry, as Wilde implied that the visit to this part of Europe could actually prove beneficial in practical ways for Ireland. Wilde actually

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ On Wilde’s contribution to Irish medicine, see James McGeachie, ‘Normal’ development in an ‘abnormal’ place: Sir William Wilde and the Irish School of Medicine’, in Greta Jones and Elizabeth Malcolm (eds), *Medicine, disease and the State in Ireland, 1650-1940* (Cork, 1999), pp 85-102.

⁹⁴ William Wilde, *Austria, its literary, scientific and medical institutions, with notes upon the present state of science, hospitals and sanitary establishments of Vienna* (Dublin, 1843), pp 215-7.

⁹⁵ For more on Ignác Semmelweis, see: Thomas George Wilson, *Victorian doctor. Being the life of Sir William Wilde* (2nd ed, Wakefield, 1974), pp 108-9. Also, Barbara R. Carter K. Codell Carter, *Childbed fever. A scientific biography of Ignaz Semmelweis* (2nd ed, Somerset, N.J., 2005).

⁹⁶ See Wilde’s preface to his book: Wilde, *Austria*, pp xv and xix.

⁹⁷ Wilde, *Austria*, p. xix.

indeed ended up suggesting the application of certain medical procedures and hospital administration techniques in Ireland.⁹⁸ Despite the fact that the title of the book was more than suggestive of its contents, and perhaps its methods, Wilde felt the need to claim that his writing not only had a unique perspective on the said empire, but he also made it clear, through listing his sources, careful research and statistical data, that he aspired the book to be more than a simple travel journal.⁹⁹

Although Wilde made every effort to show that his interest lay only in science, the last pages of his preface conveyed a different viewpoint. Engaged in arguing for the creation of an Austrian academy of sciences, Wilde reasoned that it would be wise for the empire to erect a specific Austrian institution, as Austria needed to counter the force of ‘Magyarism and Slavism (sic) [as] they have raised their heads from out of the literary darkness and much of the political thraldom.’¹⁰⁰ Wilde had no sympathy for either group, he understood them as threats to the empire as these rising Hungarian and Slavic forces were set on ‘various attacks upon true Germanism [sic].’¹⁰¹ Albeit he devoted two pages to the Hungarian academy of sciences, describing its structure, members, sections and objectives, claiming how much advancement its erection promised to scientific life in Hungary, the ultimate goal of these passages was the recurring theme of providing Austrians with another argument to ‘learn a lesson from the patriotic manner in which the Hungarian people support their institution.’¹⁰² Believing that Austrians were not less worthy than Hungarians, Bohemians and Italians in the desire to have a scientific institution, Wilde identified this long-standing lack of an academy as ‘an unaccountable and unwarrantable neglect of the German race.’¹⁰³ In Wilde’s opinion, foreign policy and the economy should be considered as weighing more than nationalism, as they formed the base for keeping empires together, whereas in his view nationalism, and this was present in his treatment of the different nations of Austria, might easily turn to a disruptive force that needed constant attention.

⁹⁸ Such as the introduction of charts above the beds of patients with their vital data on them. Wilde, *Austria*, p. 141.

⁹⁹ He dedicated his work to two doctors, Robert Graves and Friedrich Jäeger who influenced Wilde’s career as an ophthalmic surgeon. Robert Graves was a teacher of Wilde, physician, author of articles and books on many diseases, including a disease of the thyroid which later been named after him (Graves disease). For more on the influence of Graves on Wilde, see: Thomas George Wilson, *Victorian doctor. Being the life of Sir William Wilde* (2nd ed, Wakefield, 1974), pp 27-8. On Jäeger, see: *Ibid*, pp 102-3.

¹⁰⁰ Wilde, *Austria*, p. xxii.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*.

¹⁰² Wilde, *Austria*, pp 110-1.

¹⁰³ Wilde, *Austria*, p.xxii.

Reviewing the state of sciences in Austria, Wilde moved on to introduce the Austrian education system. As in the preface, this chapter was pregnant with political views. Listing all nations and tongues of the empire, Wilde again underlined that he considered Austrians as part of the German nation, although he actually listed Hungary under the Slav nations. Even though Wilde regarded Hungarians as forming a separate nation, he was also firm in his belief that while the Austrian empire was a state comprising different groups, these groups, language or national groups, had, in his opinion, no claim for separate political existence. Wilde actually did distinguish between different nations and tongues of the empire, although this did not have any political connotations for him. This was reflected in his treatment of Austrian literature, which he identified as a literature made up of all works published in all tongues of the empire.¹⁰⁴

After Wilde had laid out the structure of education in Austria, he could not help but admire how efficiently it guarded tranquillity in the empire. His analysis revealed more than his opinion on the Austrian system, it showed his standpoint in Irish affairs as well. While not suggesting that Austria's structure was faultless, Wilde was still impressed that 'the poor and working classes...sigh not for a state of political liberty, of which they know nothing' and he applauded the government for 'wisely preventing their minds from being inflamed by those blisters upon society.'¹⁰⁵ By thus suggesting that ignorance contributed to the well-being of the empire, he wished that Ireland too had remained untouched by the principles of political liberty. Reading his sentences, it is obvious that Wilde did not support liberalism as a political force. In fact, he believed that knowing about it, being influenced by it, only contributed to unrest throughout the British empire, including Ireland. Since Wilde wrote his book during the years of active repeal campaigning of Daniel O'Connell, and the increasing activities of Young Ireland and *The Nation*, his readers must have been able to see these implicit and in some places, explicit criticisms of Irish domestic politics.

Although Wilde might have been serious about these ideas, especially about any Irish implications they had, he also made claims that seem strange when looking at them first. Spelling out that the peasantry in the Austrian empire in 1841 were 'some of the happiest and most contented peasantry in Europe'¹⁰⁶ was either a

¹⁰⁴ Wilde, *Austria*, p. 100.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

mistaken interpretation of the situation or, and, given Wilde's good keen sense for minute statistical details and research, this seems more likely, a very conscious claim on his part. Recalling that he was actually talking about the blessings of keeping subjects ignorant about imperial politics, his point falls into a logical sequence of thought. He praised the Theresianum,¹⁰⁷ a training institute for nobles only, as a further way of ensuring tranquillity. The separation of the education of the aristocracy from students attending lyceums and universities, in his eyes, was another contributing factor in creating and sustaining this ignorance. Wilde celebrated Austrian students as 'a quiet, poor, hard-working, temperate and submissive race---less mischievous and less equally well-informed than their Prussian and Rheinisch (sic) neighbours.'¹⁰⁸ He believed this was due to the fact that the Burschenschaften,¹⁰⁹ student fraternities, were illegal in Austria, which had a serious impact on students' life. Wilde was sure that the combination of strict censorship, the presence of police, plus an ample amount of amusement available in Vienna would ensure that students would never excite or take part in revolution. He only needed to wait five years until 1848 to be proven wrong.

Being aware of the uneasiness, even rigidity of the Austrian government when it came to political reforms, Wilde hastened to state his opinion that the government need not be suspicious of academic and/or student circles, as he believed that the danger, inherent in all societies and nations, lay somewhere else. He found the trading and working classes of a community to be 'the only material by which the educated and the political can ever hope to effect any revolutionary change in their state or government.'¹¹⁰ While he maintained that this was true for the Austrian empire as well, he was pleased to establish that the said groups in this empire 'are too comfortable, contented and happy'¹¹¹ to start a movement, which, he regretted, could not be claimed for their British counterparts. He was very critical of the views he believed prevailed among his fellow countrymen:

¹⁰⁷ The Theresianum was established by Queen Maria Theresa in 1749 to train nobles for administrative positions within the empire. See: Kann, *A history of the Habsburg empire*, p. 194 and for the Hungarian implications of the Theresianum, see: Eva H. Balázs, *Hungary and the Habsburgs, 1765-1800. An experiment in enlightened absolutism* [translated by Tim Wilkinson] (Budapest, 1997), p. 45.

¹⁰⁸ Wilde, *Austria*, p. 77.

¹⁰⁹ For the establishment and dissolution of student Burschenschaften see Mary Fulbrook, *A concise history of Germany* (2nd ed, Cambridge, 2004), pp 106-7.

¹¹⁰ Wilde, *Austria*, p. 84.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 85.

The author has heard of, and also seen much of what is called Austrian tyranny, but ardently as he loves liberty, and venerates the glorious institutions of Great Britain, he is now constrained to say that he would willingly exchange much of the miscalled liberty for which the starving, naked and often houseless peasants of his father-land hurrahs, for a moiety of the food, clothing and superior condition of the like classes of Austria.¹¹²

Wilde made the clear point that he supported the Union and the British empire, the known forces of Irish politics, rather than the views of political liberty praised and claimed by those who had no real appreciation for stability. Although Wilde admired how Austria ‘remained like a ship in calm, sluggishly rolling on the windless swell’,¹¹³ he did not forget to pinpoint that this policy might have worked for the state but from the point of view of science, it was not necessarily a fortunate one. Wilde came to a powerful conclusion by declaring that applying the same un-reforming policy for sciences, discouraging improvements, progress and discoveries, would have a lasting, and decidedly negative effect, in the long run, on the whole empire.

II. Irish impressions of Hungary (1815-1848)

A notable feature of these decades is the growing number of travel writings published about Hungary and other parts of the Austrian empire. This, of course, cannot simply be explained by the growing interest in Vienna and its aristocratic charm. Interestingly enough, after closer inspection, it becomes clear that Hungary became a popular destination not for her own sake but as a starting point of a bigger journey, made easier by technological advances. If examining the travel writings of this period, regardless of the actual decade of publication, a common feature that they all shared was the city of Constantinople. The heart of the Ottoman empire became a popular destination by the 1840s, seeing Constantinople herself became the actual goal of travel, while previously mostly professional considerations dominated Western Europeans’ reason to travel to the city. Therefore, it is important to realize here, before considering the depth and number of pages these travel writings devoted to Hungary, that Hungary and/or Austria mostly constituted the ‘journey’ part of their adventure, instead of being the primary interest of it.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 86.

The introduction of steamboats on the Danube not only reduced the time taken to reach Constantinople from three weeks to eight days,¹¹⁴ forming one of the chief allurements to travellers, but it also contributed to the development of the Hungarian transport system. The First Danube Steamship Company (Erste k.k. priv. Donau Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft) was formed in Vienna in 1830, with Austrian shareholders in the majority. However, about three-quarters of the actual traffic of the company was transacted in Hungary, starting with regular services on the Danube in 1831.¹¹⁵ Béla Czére, one of the authorities on the history of Hungarian transport, established, as quoted in the article of Irina Popova-Novak, that ‘between 1835 and 1842 the company expanded its navigation to the Black Sea, its fleet grew from 5 to 24 ships, and the number of passengers travelling on the Danube grew from 17,727 to 211,401.’¹¹⁶ Although the Viennese-formed company remained successful throughout the remaining decades of the nineteenth century, a number of other companies sprang up to accommodate the growing need for different, inland routes, such as the Száva and Kulpa rivers.¹¹⁷ The first half of the sub-section in this chapter is devoted to steamboat travellers down the Danube, while the latter half will examine those travelogues where, either because the journey took place before the introduction of steamboats on the Danube in 1829 or simply through lack of money, the writer was not in a position to avail of a steamboat journey.

The accounts of the first two travellers, namely Lord and Lady Londonderry, need to be considered together, not just by virtue of taking the journey from Pesth to Constantinople in 1840-41 together but mostly because their writings complement one another. A comparative analysis of their travelogues not only allows for an interesting case study of differences between female and male discourse in general, which has become a well-established notion in the literature on female travel writing,¹¹⁸ but it also provides a chance for ascertaining what the Londonderrys, as members of the

¹¹⁴ Reinhold Schiffer, *Oriental panorama. British travellers in nineteenth century Turkey* (Amsterdam and New York, 1999), p. 40. It needs to be noted here that Schiffer, mistakenly, refers to the destination as Istanbul which is the modern Turkish name of the city: in times of the Ottoman empire it was called Constantinople.

¹¹⁵ László Katus, ‘Transport revolution and economic growth in Hungary’ in John Komlos (ed), *Economic development in the Habsburg Monarchy in the nineteenth century* (New York, 1983), p. 188.

¹¹⁶ Irina V Popova-Novak, ‘The odyssey of national discovery: Hungarians in Hungary and abroad, 1750-1850’ in Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis (eds), *Under eastern eyes: A comparative introduction to East European travel writing on Europe* (Budapest and New York, 2008), pp 198-9.

¹¹⁷ For more on that see: Katus, ‘Transport revolution,’ p. 188.

Also: Popova-Novak, ‘The odyssey of national discovery,’ p.199.

¹¹⁸ See for example: ‘Introduction’ in Amanda Gilroy (ed), *Romantic geographies. Discourses of travel, 1775-1844* (Manchester, New York, 2000), pp 1-19.

Anglo-Irish aristocracy, paid attention to and how they understood the economics, culture and politics of the Austrian empire where they resided for many years. This analysis will identify the main features of their perceptions.

Although it is true that both of them paid attention to details of their travel, there is a notable difference between the issues they deemed it important to comment on. Lady Londonderry was more likely to record immediate impressions such as scenery during the trip, carefully noting the atmosphere and general look of cities and villages at each of their stops. Lord Londonderry was more observant about the actual journey, its technical details such as the horsepower of the different boats, and, perhaps contrary to expectations about the feminine eye for delicate particulars, he was the one who provided lengthy descriptions of the various people on board. His narrative also recorded his impressions on the state of steamers, their conditions, and their comfort level for passengers, which show that throughout the whole journey, he consciously prepared, by reflecting on all circumstances, the material for publication. There were two things they agreed on, namely that after the appearance of Murray's handbook on southern Germany¹¹⁹ there was no need to mention all aspects of their journey,¹²⁰ and they both romanticized the wild scenery of the Danube when compared to the more cultivated look of the Rhine.

Leaving Vienna, they visited those castles and mansions of Prince Eszterházy which lay in the proximity of their itinerary, namely those of Pottendorff, Forchtenstein, Esterhaz, and Eisenstadt. Although both of them were very impressed with the possessions of the Eszterházy family, they expressed that in different ways. Lady Londonderry paid more attention to style and beauty, the layout of the gardens, comfort-level and practicality when viewing these properties, and while she devoted passages to describing the peasantry, she also listed prominent members of the family and other aristocratic and royal visitors these castles had.¹²¹ Lord Londonderry on the

¹¹⁹The actual guide book became very popular, and lived to see a number of editions. John Murray, *A hand-book for travellers in Southern Germany: Being a guide to Bavaria, Austria, Tyrol, Salzburg, Styria &c., the Austrian and Bavarian Alps, and the Danube from Ulm to the Black Sea; including descriptions of the most frequented baths and watering places; the principal cities, their museums, picture galleries, etc.; the great high roads; and the most interesting and picturesque districts. Also, directions for travellers and hints for tours. With an index map* (3rd ed., London, Murray 1844). For more on Murray's handbooks, see: Jennifer Speake (ed), *Literature of travel and exploration. An encyclopedia* (New York, London, 2003), ii, pp 830-1.

¹²⁰Charles William Vane, *A steam voyage to Constantinople*, p. 6. and [Frances Anne Vane], *Narrative of a visit to the courts of Vienna, Constantinople, Athens, Naples by the Marchioness of Londonderry* (London, 1844), p. 29.

¹²¹ [Frances Anne Vane], *Narrative of a visit*, pp 44-54.

other hand, looked upon these mansions as representations of power and wealth, reflecting on the personality and the position of Prince Eszterházy rather than on his territories. He considered these mansions in terms of how they complemented Eszterházy's work, reflecting on the high status and wealth of the family within the empire, and recording that he was 'absolutely lost in admiration of the regal splendour of this family palace of the house of Esterhazy.'¹²²

Embarking on the steamboat part of the journey, Lord Londonderry turned into an even more observant traveller. He was aware of the novelty of the steamboat venture in the empire, mentioning the pivotal role Count István Széchenyi had played in setting the business up. He alluded to the friendly connection he enjoyed with the Hungarian count, and he wrote about the dinner he and his wife shared with Széchenyi on one of his estates,¹²³ where he did not hide his admiration for the extent and number of patriotic works Széchenyi was engaged in for the benefit of the empire. Knowing how significantly steamboats had reduced the time of travel between Vienna and Constantinople, he applauded the future economic advantages this would reap for the empire. However, at the same time he was conscious of the financial difficulties the project suffered from, pointing to the root of the problem: 'capital is not very disposable in Austria and Hungary.'¹²⁴

Arriving at Pesth, Lord Londonderry, as if wishing to provide some point of comparison to his readers, remarked that 'this town ranks, with regard to Vienna, as Dublin to London, and is not very much unlike the Irish capital.'¹²⁵ He did not comment further on the nature of this connection, it was not really needed as he gave clear-cut coordinates. After he had quickly summed up the major sites of interest, what he pinpointed about Pesth was that it was improving, with great plans in progress, remarking that the town was indeed in need of development. This in turn was the only critical point he raised, as if respecting and acknowledging that at least the work had been started, thereafter he resorted to a small amount of constructive criticism only.¹²⁶ As part of the description of Pesth, Lord Londonderry provided a

¹²² Charles William Vane, *A steam voyage to Constantinople*, p. 83. For his paragraphs on the castles of Esterhazy, see *idem*, pp 78-84.

¹²³ Both Lady and Lord Londonderry mentioned this event with fondness in their travelogue. See: Charles William Vane, *A steam voyage to Constantinople*, pp 82-3. and [Frances Anne Vane], *Narrative of a visit*, pp 50-1.

¹²⁴ Charles William Vane, *A steam voyage to Constantinople*, p. 112.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 115.

¹²⁶ Lady Londonderry, although she devoted only a page to the description of Pesth, also highlighted the presence of the same enterprising spirit which strove to renew and improve the look of the city.

somewhat hasty and incomplete list of Count Széchenyi's deeds, naming the clubhouse for nobles and the plan for a suspension bridge over the Danube. He rightly pointed to 'Mr Clarke' as the engineer of the enterprise,¹²⁷ as did Lady Londonderry in her travelogue, while at the same time, they both failed to mention a more important detail about the bridge.

Although it was known to contemporaries, for example through the travelogues and reviews of travelogues of Michael Joseph Quin published in the *Dublin Review*, the Londonderrys did not point to the fact that crossing the bridge would require payment of a toll, from nobles, aristocrats and non-nobles alike. This was a groundbreaking feature of the bridge-plans, as it ended a centuries-old feudal privilege of the nobles' freedom from taxes. As this right had been observed and guaranteed by all kings and emperors for centuries as a marked appreciation of the special status of the nobility, the fact that the planned suspension bridge would require a payment of bridge toll from everyone hit a nail in the coffin of feudal privileges in Hungary.¹²⁸ This sparked long debates in the Hungarian diet, which eventually passed the act in the 1832-36 session¹²⁹ but as the Londonderrys had also been personal acquaintances of Count Széchenyi, it is all the more interesting to see the information missing. However, after a closer inspection of Londonderry's political standpoint, and his comments on the Austrian empire, it becomes understandable why this detail was overlooked. This detail certainly could not be listed under efforts that embellished the superiority of the Austrian empire over its subject territories, rather than ones that undermined components of the said empire. As this victory of the reform opposition of the diet questioned the previously unassailable status of the nobility, this development, having potential danger factors for the stability of the Austrian empire, did not delight Londonderry.

Instead of an overall view of Pesth and Buda, she provided details about the costume of Hungarian peasants she saw, their carts and the layout of shop-windows.

¹²⁷ William Tierney Clark (1783-1852), English civil engineer, was the designer and contractor of the bridge. For more details on the venture, see: Judit Bródy, 'The Széchenyi chain bridge at Budapest', in *Technology and Culture*, xxix (1988), no. 1, pp 104-117. For Clark himself, see: Mike Chrimes, 'Clark, William Tierney (1783-1852)', in Henry Colin Grey Matthew and Brian Howard Harrison (eds), *Oxford dictionary of national biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004) online edition available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5481> (accessed 24 April 2012)

¹²⁸ Opened in 1849, the Chain bridge was the first permanent bridge over the Danube, connecting Buda with Pest. On the privileges, see: Henry (Henrik) Marczali, *Hungary in the eighteenth century. With an introductory essay on the earlier history of Hungary by Harold W.V. Temperley* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 103.n. See also introduction of the thesis, p. 8.

¹²⁹ Bródy, 'The Széchenyi chain bridge,' p. 110.

Moving on with their steamboat journey, the couple embarked on their new vessel named 'Zrynii' or 'Zryny', in the respective spellings. Although they both misspelt the name, which is Zrínyi in Hungarian, it is more significant here that they both identified it as the name of an 'Austrian general', who, despite being born to a Croatian noble family, was famed as a national hero in Hungary.¹³⁰ This example reflects a political idea that any member of the Habsburg empire was, in theory, an Austrian, regardless of any ethnic denominations. A somewhat similar policy was present in Hungary too, in the phrase 'natio Hungarica' or Hungarian nation, which considered every noble born on Hungarian soil, irrespective of ethnic background, as a member of the Hungarian political nation. This estate-based nationality concept meant that every noble, within the borders of the kingdom, belonged to a privileged group. In this respect, this was not an ethnic but a centuries-old tradition-based political concept. The term did not become overtly filled with 'Magyarizing' tendencies until the language debates of the diets during the nineteenth century.¹³¹ In a way, this concept was just as restrictive and exclusivist as the Austrian counterpart, which projected the same idea on an imperial level. It was this imperial level that appealed to Lord Londonderry, and there are instances in his travelogue which indicate that he considered everyone, even when it was very obvious from the name that the person in question was Irish,¹³² born in Great Britain and Ireland as part or subject of that empire, namely British.

Although a thorough analysis of each remaining step of the Londonderrys' journey would colour the picture of their view of Hungary, it is not the purpose of this chapter to provide a summary of the contents of their travelogues. However, some general features are worth noting. Besides the recurring theme of rainy weather downgrading the initially agreeable comfort-level, both books mention Orsova, the port city of the Danube just above the Iron Gate, a gorge separating the Balkan Mountains from the Carpathians. The city and the region were generally regarded as separating the Habsburg empire from the Ottoman empire, where the scenery, the people and the characteristic features of the land all signal, as noted in their

¹³⁰ On the character, family background, deeds, literary achievements of Miklós Zrínyi (1620-1664), see for example: Paul Lendvai- Ann Major (translator), *The Hungarians. A thousand years of victory in defeat* (London, 2003), pp 126-37.

¹³¹ Lendvai, *The Hungarians*, p. 127. See also: Emil Niederhauser, 'The national question in Hungary' in Mikulas Teich and Roy Porter (eds), *The national question in Europe in historical context* (Cambridge, 1998), pp 249, 251, 255.

¹³² See for example when he described the ill fate of O'Neill, a doctor he met in Lisbon whose house had been robbed and family killed. Vane, *A steam voyage to Constantinople*, ii, p. 136.

travelogues, a significant change, as the traveller enters the Wallachian region. They both also mention the institution of lazaretto or quarantine, introduced by the Habsburgs on the frontier in 1770 to keep diseases from the Ottoman empire appearing and spreading within Habsburg lands,¹³³ which, in their opinion, operated with questionable efficiency in health regulations.

As their journey reached this Ottoman stage, Lord Londonderry became more and more engaged in political analysis. He critically analysed the points Adolphus Slade made in his books which his wife seemed to have known as well.¹³⁴ While Lady Londonderry only expressed her disappointment with the lack of adventure and danger she expected after reading Slade's work, from passing the cataracts of the Danube, Lord Londonderry recited and examined some of the major political points of Slade's work. Before going into details about Slade's implications, Londonderry first viewed the context of Russia's growing influence in respect of the British-Russian rivalry that characterized the high politics of the period. The steamboat navigation venture was contextualized within this, as Londonderry believed the issue needed attention. He thought that fear of Russia's position, whether projected or real, should not prevent Austria from developing the steamboat facilities and improving the conditions of the journey to attract more travellers. In connection with the territories of Wallachia and Moldavia, which had been under Russian influence at the time, Londonderry agreed with Slade that a degree of Russian protection, where the exact extent of Russia's influence was unclear as it was not under direct rule, had a destabilizing effect for the region. However, staying on the grounds of official politics, if Austria seemed happy with this situation, then 'it is not for England to be more alive to what... may be unjust suspicion.'¹³⁵

Regardless of that, Londonderry believed that Britain's commercial interests needed to be reinstated in the region as he blamed the Whig government for contributing to Austria's closer relationship to Russia.¹³⁶ Londonderry was probably referring to the cooling relationship between the two governments, hampered by monetary issues and Austria's participation in the Holy Alliance, which had been

¹³³ For a short description of the quarantine, see: Jennifer Speake (ed), *Literature of travel and exploration. An encyclopedia* (3 vols, New York, London, 2003), i, p.221.

¹³⁴ Adolphus Slade (3rd Baron of Somerset) authored several travel books on the region, including *Travels in Germany and Russia, including a steam voyage by the Danube and the Euxine from Vienna to Constantinople in 1838-39* (London, 1840) and *Turkey, Greece and Malta* (2 vols, London, 1837). Out of these two, it is probably the first one that both Lord and Lady Londonderry alluded to.

¹³⁵ Vane, *A steam voyage to Constantinople*, p. 134.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 137.

rejected by Britain. Pointing to the Commercial League of Prussia in 1820, he also asserted that Austria's loss of influence in northern Germany forced the empire to seek influence, to counterbalance this loss, elsewhere. He held the steam navigation company to be the perfect tool for such a venture.¹³⁷ Although the opening of the Danube carried advantages for the Russians as well, namely commercial potential, Londonderry held it to be of greater future importance for Austria. Not only would it contribute to opening the Austrian empire to more credit operations, but, in case the Russian influence in the region took a dangerous turn, Austria would be in a favourable position to step in and turn the principalities, namely Wallachia and Moldavia, against the Russians, exploiting the situation. It is interesting to note here that while Lord Londonderry was considering the principalities in terms of their political significance, he did not have a high opinion of the inhabitants of the territory in general: seeing them as filthy and barbarous, he believed 'the moujik of the Russians are gentlemen in comparison to them.'¹³⁸

Lord Londonderry finished the first volume of his travelogue with an appendix in which he reproduced a counselling type of letter he wrote to Prince Metternich, dated 14 November 1840, reporting on the voyage.¹³⁹ The first sentence of this report, which claimed that he and Lady Londonderry were 'nearly the only English of rank or note who have yet undertaken this expedition',¹⁴⁰ could be read in two ways. On the one hand, it can be viewed as an example of Londonderry's awareness of his own position in British society,¹⁴¹ or, on the other hand, it can be regarded as his justification for reporting back to Metternich. Carefully balancing his good and bad experiences, Londonderry divided his report into two sections. In the first part, which comprised the early stages of the journey until just after Belgrade,¹⁴² he recited his positive impressions, while he took care to note, and recommend

¹³⁷ For this section, *Ibid.*, pp 135-140.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 121-2.

¹³⁹ Londonderry published this report in his travel book in an appendix. See: *A steam voyage to Constantinople*, i, pp 341-54. Londonderry, however, first wrote a letter to Count Széchenyi, dated 19 October 1840, telling him about his experiences throughout the journey. The tone of this letter must have been somewhat different to the report he wrote to Metternich, as Széchenyi remembered it in his diary as an 'endearing, friendly' letter. See: István Széchenyi, *Napló* [Diary] (Budapest, 1978), p. 919.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

¹⁴¹ Reinhold Schiffer believed peevishness and pomposity to be the guiding spirit of the character of Lady and Lord Londonderry throughout the whole journey. Schiffer missed the point that Londonderry was recording his experiences with their publication in mind, hence the critical and attentive remarks which were accompanied by positive ones as well. On the other hand, their behaviour can not be seen as something triggered by the underdeveloped state of the Balkans; it was not different from that they professed in Vienna. See: Schiffer, *Oriental panorama*, pp 40-2.

¹⁴² Vane, *A steam voyage to Constantinople*, pp 345-8.

changes he felt necessary. Comparing the standard of steamboats on the Rhine with those on the Danube,¹⁴³ he observed the quality of service to be falling gradually as the journey descended further down the Danube, further into barbarism. This interpretation reflected Londonderry's awareness that he was in fact getting closer to the East, considering Hungary as a middle way within that journey.¹⁴⁴

As Prince Metternich also knew about the financial difficulties of the venture, Londonderry was not afraid to allude to that either. As a good diplomat, he only expressed his belief that the money the empire invested in the steamboat company would be beneficial in the future, enhancing the commercial and industrial potential of the empire. Londonderry provided details for each and every steamer they boarded, while he included notes on the state of stations and their facilities. The second part of his report considered the remaining half of the journey until Constantinople,¹⁴⁵ and contained more critical remarks and suggestions for development than the first one. He believed improvements were necessary on this route as it was the only viable alternative to coach-travel to the same destination, namely to Constantinople, whereas steam-travel had the advantage of being faster and potentially more comfortable than former means of travel.¹⁴⁶

In conclusion to Lord and Lady Londonderry's impressions of Hungary as part of their steamboat journey to Constantinople, it can be observed that the country itself was not really central to their attention. Although they both recorded their experiences, positive and negative alike, when passing through the kingdom, they were more engaged in commenting on the scenery. Londonderry was interested in the political implications of the steamboat venture, while his wife rather looked upon it as an enterprise of commercial value. Londonderry, as a former ambassador to the Austrian empire, possessed a deeper understanding of the region's power relations and politics than a regular traveller. His analysis considered Hungary and the steamboat company as part of a bigger picture, looking at the broader implications these held for the positions of the empire. While he never departed from this imperial viewpoint, he also had a keen eye for the reforming spirit that was alive in Hungary at the time of their travel.

¹⁴³ Ibid, p. 112.

¹⁴⁴ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, pp 41, 112.

¹⁴⁵ Vane, *A steam voyage to Constantinople*, pp 348-53.

¹⁴⁶ Lady Londonderry summarized her very similar impressions and suggestions for improvement in a couple of paragraphs, see: [Frances Anne Vane], *Narrative of a visit to the courts of Vienna, Constantinople, Athens, Naples by the Marchioness of Londonderry* (London, 1844), pp 68 and 77.

Considering the audience he had in mind when publishing his work, it can be ascertained that he aimed at providing a picture favourable to the Austrian empire. This, on one hand, allowed a faithful recital of his impressions of the scenery encountered and the positive and negative features of the somewhat infant enterprise of steamboats on the Danube. On the other hand, Londonderry did not mention those aspects of the reform activities in Hungary that could have been read as unfavourable or even harmful to Austrian imperial interests. He freely commented on the financial difficulties of the empire, the lack of credit as a major obstacle, but he did not comment on the presence of those initiatives, like the proposed toll for passing through the suspension bridge, which would have affected the power-structure of the empire. Staying in line with British official foreign policy, Londonderry considered Austria as a first rate power, an important part of the continental balance of power, yet he equally marked the empire as less powerful and well-off when compared to Britain.

If readers were not fully satisfied with the account Lord Londonderry gave of a steamboat journey down the Danube, they could turn to other authors publishing in the field. Michael Joseph Quin (1796-1843), a Thurles (County Tipperary) born journalist and travel writer, author of works such as *A visit to Spain* (1823), *Secret history of the Council of Verona* (1823) and *The trade of banking in England* (1833), was one of the prime examples of a very different approach and style. Before turning to travel writing, Quin made his name as a contributor to papers such as the *Morning Chronicle*, *Monthly Herald* and *Monthly Review* on various issues of foreign affairs. He forwarded his career by becoming the first editor of the London-based *Dublin Review*, a periodical established in 1836 by Daniel O'Connell and Nicholas Wiseman to be the voice of Catholicism in England.¹⁴⁷ However, one of his most successful writings was his *A steam voyage down the Danube, with sketches of Hungary, Wallachia, Servia and Turkey* (London, 1835) which was translated into French (Paris, 1836) and German (Leipzig, 1836).

Starting at Pesh, Quin's *Steam voyage* followed the same route to Constantinople, although he undertook the journey in 1834, at the earliest stages of the

¹⁴⁷ Jessica March, 'Quin, Michael Joseph (1796-1843)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a7551&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browsearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

steamboat enterprise. In fact, Quin admitted in his first chapter that hearing about the opening of such a route, he found this novel adventure so alluring that he lost no time in embarking on a boat to Constantinople. Claiming that ‘the Danube possesses but little interest between Pressburg ...and Pesth’,¹⁴⁸ he decided to board the steamer at the latter place. His general description of Pesth, although he did not spend more time there than Lord and Lady Londonderry, gave a very different impression. Besides mentioning similar examples, like the club-house or casino, the enterprising spirit that was transforming the look of the city, and the plan for the suspension bridge, Quin also alluded to various other aspects which gave his Pesth image a more in-depth look. When introducing Pesth, he compared the city to Pressburg, the seat of the diet, as a city possessing more advantageous characteristics. Beyond his more personal reasons for favouring the scenery the Danube offered at Pesth over that of Pressburg, Quin claimed that Pesth had a particular political potential. In his own words, Pressburg was in an unfortunate and un-repairable position as ‘it [Pressburg] has, in the estimation of a Hungarian, one fault which nothing can redeem, -it is near Vienna.’¹⁴⁹ These initial remarks not only heralded a more sympathetic and in-depth approach to Hungary, when compared to Lord Londonderry or Martha Wilmot, but also signalled that Quin was writing for a potentially different readership as well.

As a supporter of Daniel O’Connell and a liberal himself, it is not surprising to see a more Hungary-centred account from Quin as opposed to the more imperial, more overview providing focus of Londonderry. In Quin’s description Pesth emerged as a city filled with life, culture and elegance which stood in contrast to Londonderry’s reserved appreciation of recent developments and improvements. Quin gave a further example of the reforming spirit he felt alive in Hungary when he referred to a special circumstance in relation to the suspension bridge between Buda and Pesth. Alluding to the economic, logistic and social advantages for inhabitants of the two sides, Quin decided to emphasize how much the proposition of a toll, payable by everybody regardless of social status when crossing the bridge, meant. After a rather journalistic phrasing, ‘never was such an innovation as this heard of in Hungary since the Danube began its course’,¹⁵⁰ he contextualized this by claiming that Hungarian nobles

¹⁴⁸ Michael J. Quin, *A steam voyage down the Danube...* (2 vols, 2nd ed, London, 1835), i, p. 2.

¹⁴⁹ Quin, *A steam voyage down the Danube*, i, p. 5.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

traditionally were exempt from paying taxes, therefore this toll-proposal would have an important influence on the future of Hungary.

In a further contrast to Londonderry, Quin did not have a similar degree of previous personal experience or contacts in the empire or in Hungary, which meant that he had to rely more on informants he met throughout the journey. One of them was an Englishman he met on the boat, who was employed by a Hungarian noble as a carer for his stud. The impressions of this unnamed Englishman about Hungarian nobles must have struck Quin, as he quoted considerably from their talk.¹⁵¹ As a person employed by a county noble, Quin's informant, naturally, had more knowledge of the characteristics of lower nobility, or gentry, who, in fact, despite their limited wealth, regarded themselves as members of the higher class who were, by their status, entitled to exploit the advantages of their position. The customs the Englishman described included the popularly employed seizure of crops or cattle as part of the tax peasants were obliged to pay, while he also alluded to the different levels of jurisdiction the same crime would fall under if committed by a peasant or a noble. As similar seizures were a lively issue in Ireland in the 1830s and 1840s,¹⁵² Quin's failure to mention this parallel might seem odd at first sight. However, as the book was written for the British as well as for the Irish market, Quin's decision not to overexpose the issue becomes more understandable. To colour this somewhat monochrome picture, the Englishman also admitted to Quin that Hungarians 'are in general a very good sort of people...to be sure they will cheat in bargaining if they can, but in other respects they are friendly, good-natured and trustworthy.'¹⁵³ Admittedly he excluded those nobles whose practices he described above from this general opinion.

During an overnight stay in a small village near Orsova, Quin met another English man, George Dewar, who was working for Count István Széchenyi as an engineer. As Dewar described Count Széchenyi with such admiration, picturing him as the indefatigable reformer working non-stop to improve his country, Quin, as a journalist, naturally, was really pleased to learn that he would have a chance to meet the count. This meeting turned out to be most influential for Quin and for the book. He

¹⁵¹ Quin, *A steam voyage down the Danube*, i, pp 26-30.

¹⁵² For a range of examples, see: T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland. A chronology of Irish history to 1976. A companion to Irish history, part I.* (Oxford, 1982), viii, pp 300-27.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

not only devoted more than a chapter to their dinner and the conversation afterwards, but his faithfully detailed description of every moment of their acquaintance elevated the figure of Széchenyi to an insurmountable hero of this section of the book.¹⁵⁴

The count emerged from these pages as a perfect gentleman, with excellent English and most civilized manners, who showed utmost care for the well-being of his guest. Finding issues of the ‘old friends the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Review*’¹⁵⁵ among the count’s readings, his interest and appreciation heightened further. The origins of the steamboat navigation on the Danube along with Széchenyi’s role in the venture as a main entrepreneur, creating capital with share-holders, ordering engines and building of vessels were all discussed during their dinner. Széchenyi, a modest man with pessimistic tendencies, would certainly not have wished to see too much praise attributed to him in Quin’s book. In his diary, Széchenyi briefly mentioned meeting Quin, following the entry with an uneasy comment about being exposed to too much attention and potential embarrassment.¹⁵⁶

As the topic of the steamboat enterprise was not devoid of political associations, Quin used this opportunity for introducing Hungarian politics in his book. Széchenyi here can also be safely identified as a prime source of information, as the grievances Quin touched upon matched the topics Széchenyi elaborated on in his *Credit* (1830). These problems were so specific to the Hungarian context that Quin had to have collected this information from Széchenyi himself. The uncertainty surrounding right to property, the inherent right of nobles to claim any land back, based on centuries-old documents, the tradition of indiscriminate inheritance of titles among sons of nobles, and the subdivision of property were all topics Széchenyi attacked in his *Credit*.¹⁵⁷ Towards the end of the Hungarian section of the journey, Quin provided a summary of the existing political, social and economic situation in Hungary, which information, again, must have originated from the count. Staying somewhat on the grounds of ideals in political culture, Quin listed those aspects of the

140 Quin took care to record the physical appearance of Széchenyi, along with some basic character traits of the Count, even alluding to illnesses Széchenyi suffered from. See: Ibid, pp 138-40.

¹⁵⁵ Quin, *A steam voyage down the Danube*, i, p. 122. Londonderry also highlighted Széchenyi’s English manners, see Londonderry, *A steam voyage to Constantinople*, p. 82.

¹⁵⁶ The entry on 24th January 1839 was about a travel report on Pressburg written ‘in the manner of Quin’. See: István Széchenyi, *Napló* [Diary] (Budapest, 1978), p. 875. For a short, general overview on the character and career of Széchenyi, see: István Deák, *The lawful revolution. Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848-1849* (2nd ed, London, 2001), pp 24-7.

¹⁵⁷ For a short summary of the contents of this book, see: Deák, *The lawful revolution*, p. 27. For Quin on the said issues, see: Quin, *A steam voyage down the Danube*, i, pp 128-130.

system of representation in the Diet of Hungary, which he as a liberal found anomalous.

The system of two representatives sent by each of the fifty counties, elected by nobles and following close orders on how to vote, combined with the fact that the representatives of chapters of cathedrals and free towns had no vote, only the chance to express opinions, seemed like a tradition that needed reconsideration in Quin's view. After pointing to this unhealthy division of balance in voting rights among different representatives, Quin carried on with discussing the centuries-old, unchanged set of privileges of nobles as a custom with potential to hinder the process of reform. However, his portrayal of Hungarian reformers as politicians who abandoned strife among themselves to work together for the development of the country, actually tells more about Quin's views on politics than about Hungary. His description of the real and projected values of these reformers provided an insight into Quin's political mindset. Although he never alluded to the political methods the Irish representatives sitting in Westminster employed, by listing the characteristics of these Hungarian reformers, one can see how Quin imagined the ideal situation, where representatives worked constructively together for a common goal. In this utopia

... [reformers] are perfectly conversant with the character of their countrymen: allow for their ignorance and their prejudices, ...listen calmly to objections, from whatever quarter they proceed, weigh them patiently,...and profit by them, if they can. ...If an obstacle cannot be conquered this year, they are contented to wait until the principle makes further progress...¹⁵⁸

As if realizing the gap between this description and the actual political climate in Hungary and in fact in Britain as well, Quin admitted that this situation was far from materializing. This implicit wishful thinking, however, probably touched his Catholic readers who equally were hopeful of more understanding of their political motives in relation to the emerging repeal movement. Keeping his larger target audience in mind, Quin compared and attributed similar functions to public meetings and public dinners held in Hungary declaring that 'speeches are made in every respect after our English fashion' and 'political topics are as openly discussed ...as they are with us.'¹⁵⁹ British customs, traditions and beliefs as a standard for comparison were used again when

¹⁵⁸ Quin, *A steam voyage down the Danube*, i, p. 132.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 147.

Quin contemplated the use and importance of steamboats in a wider continental context.

The steamboat journey, beyond its natural beauty, adventurous novelty and political interests associated with its introduction, made Quin reflect on the commercial and economic consequences it would have on the region. Realizing the complex potential advantages of steamboats, Quin pointed to further positive influences emanating from it. Gaining a ‘European position’,¹⁶⁰ the region would necessarily be exposed to different cultures and customs, contributing to the increase of that enterprising and reforming spirit Quin considered so essential. These paragraphs reflected a Western mindset at work which considered the Austrian empire, and in fact Hungary, as balancing on the borders of Western and Eastern civilization. Despite Quin’s explicit support and sympathy for Hungary, he nevertheless believed that steamboats were essential in bringing the country closer to European circles. In his mindset, steamboats not only constituted a tool to increase economic output, they also served as key triggers to important political improvements. However, it is only when he identified these future developments as a way through which ‘those countries, which have hitherto seemed scarcely to belong to Europe, will be rapidly brought within the pale of civilization’,¹⁶¹ that one can trace the explicit Western European arrogance present in the analysis. He celebrated the bridge toll, which was to be payable by nobles and non-nobles alike for crossing the Chain-bridge, as a groundbreaking example similar to the development that steamboats could exercise in modernizing. Quin believed that these forces, in the not so distant future, would all lead to claims for independence for Hungary, which he identified as fitting the ‘ancient constitution of the country.’¹⁶²

Quin authored two articles on the same topic in the aforementioned *Dublin Review* which appeared in July 1837 and in August 1840, respectively.¹⁶³ The first article reviewed his own *A steam voyage down the Danube* (London, 1835) together

¹⁶⁰Ibid, p.130. This European position, made more available through steamboats, led Quin to contemplate and rejoice about the increased feasibility of a tour around the principal cities of Europe. For more on this, see *ibid*, p. 164.

¹⁶¹ Quin, *A steam voyage down the Danube*, p. 153.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, p. 138.

¹⁶³ Quin’s authorship can be established from with the help of: Walter E Houghton, (ed.), *The Wellesley index to Victorian periodicals 1824-1900* (5 vols, London-Henley, 1987), ii, pp 25-30. The article itself can be retrieved: [Michael J. Quin], ‘The Danube and the Black Sea’ in *Dublin Review*, iii (July 1837), pp 198-236.

with the Englishman Edmund Spenser's *Travels in Circassia, Krim Tartary...including a steam voyage down the Danube, from Vienna to Constantinople and round the Black Sea, in 1836* (2 vols, London, 1837). The survey type of review, in which Quin aimed to provide a complex reading of the existing literature on the Danube, besides containing lengthy quotations from the work of Edmund Spenser, also stressed the major novelty features of the steamboat enterprise on the Danube. According to Quin, before steamboats these central, eastern and south-eastern regions of Europe were little known to the general public in western Europe, notably in Britain. He believed that this ignorance would change with the help of this enterprise and the phrase 'new world', as a British traveller Richard Bright¹⁶⁴ referred to this part of Europe, would vanish to its well-deserved oblivion. Although Quin angrily refused to classify Hungary and its neighbouring countries as strangers to Europe, he admitted that the British and Irish public indeed needed to be better informed about the region.

His second article, titled 'Hungary and Transylvania' (1840) introduced a novel argument that he had refrained from elaborating on in the book, presumably as the *Dublin Review* writings were meant for a smaller, more specific audience as opposed to his travel book. Analysing Paget's book *Hungary and Transylvania*,¹⁶⁵ Quin was prompted to draw parallels between descriptions Paget provided and the situation that existed in Ireland at the time. An explicit paralleling of Ireland and Hungary was notably absent from Quin's own *A steam voyage* which was meant for the widest British market while readers of the *Dublin Review* were treated to a more in-depth and specifically directed political interpretation of Hungary.

Quoting a passage where Paget talked about absentee landlords, greedy land-agents, dingy cottages and love of the bottle, Quin could not help but remark 'how completely is the Irish cabin described in the following picture.'¹⁶⁶ Quin took the parallel further by pointing to agrarian disturbances and risings which were notable features in the history of both peoples. As a notable difference from the situation in Ireland, Quin identified the *Urbarium* (1767) edict of Empress Maria Theresa, codifying the basic rights, duties and annual payment of peasants in Hungary, as a step taken in the direction of providing salvation for the agrarian problem. Lamenting that

¹⁶⁴ Richard Bright was known for his travelogue written around the time of the Congress of Vienna. Richard Bright, *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary* (London, 1818).

¹⁶⁵ John Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania: with remarks on their condition, social, political and economical* (2 vols, London, 1839).

¹⁶⁶ [Michael J. Quin], 'Hungary and Transylvania' in *Dublin Review*, ix (August 1840), pp 100-1.

an Irish solution was not at hand, Quin resolved to contemplate how he would envisage these actions for Ireland. Key features of this idea were the bog lands and waste lands waiting to be distributed among peasants, along with the establishment of an agrarian based loan bank system for financial aid.

Michael Joseph Quin's travel writings were epitomes of entertaining reading. His account of his travel through Hungary reads like a very detailed, thorough diary where Quin recollected everything he experienced. He not only provided information on the scenery, the people on board, their clothing, language and manners, but he also coloured his travelogue with amusing anecdotes, which served to emphasise the adventurous nature of the travel.¹⁶⁷ In order to provide a balance, based on the classic requirements of the genre, Quin included paragraphs which described the social, cultural and political impressions of the traveller. In Quin's case, besides relying on his own observations, he met valuable informants such as Count Széchenyi whom Quin considered as a one-man embodiment of the reforming developing spirit of Hungary. This personal connection furnished Quin's writing with authenticity and value that few travel writings of the time could claim. Although Paget was right to reprimand Quin when the latter drew hasty conclusions about the depth of the education of Hungarian women,¹⁶⁸ it is essentially true that Quin possessed an extraordinary insight and understanding of Hungarian affairs, by virtue of the connections he managed to make during his journey. Fascinated by steamboats and their potential to affect the commercial and, as he implied, the political landscape in a country, notably in Hungary in this case, Quin aimed to provide as many details and aspects of the venture as he could. The steamboat theme was present throughout the duration of the Hungarian section of his travel, not just as part of the given geographic surroundings but in order to provide more insights and analysis on the enterprise and its promising future.

Putting the novel way to travel aside, these reform era decades of Hungary also saw people embarking on their journey choosing more traditional methods, such as

¹⁶⁷ For a characteristic example, see the incident when Quin was woken by the loud chatter of Hungarian ladies and his reaction when realizing the situation. See: Quin, *A steam voyage down the Danube*, i, pp 3-4.

¹⁶⁸ In his *Hungary and Transylvania* Paget criticised Quin for these assumptions, to which in turn Quin reacted in his review article of Paget's book. For more on this, see: [Michael J. Quin], 'Hungary and Transylvania' in *Dublin Review*, ix (August 1840), pp 113-5. Quin provided the page numbers for Paget's comments.

travelling by coach or on foot. The following paragraphs aim to provide a comparative overview of the experiences of two Irish travellers whose travelogues will complement and colour the picture we have seen so far. As travelling by steam, largely due to its novelty, initially counted as a rather expensive way of journeying, not all travellers could afford it. The impressions of these two men, for whom a similar journey on foot was significantly longer and took place via other routes, will provide a different focus on the same region. The lack of personal contacts, guidance and the existing language barrier all contributed towards the production of less accurate and more romantic type of books, with a more personal diary flavour as opposed to a style with a view to publication. Despite this, these travelogues can still be considered as valuable sources, mainly because of their insights into the impressions of ordinary travellers, as opposed to aristocrats such as Londonderry or professional travel writers like Quin. The two travelogues are *Narrative of a journey from Constantinople to England* (Philadelphia, 1828) by the Reverend Robert Walsh, and the Rev. Nathanael Burton, *Narrative of a voyage from Liverpool to Alexandria, touching upon the island of Malta, and from thence to Beirout in Syria, with a journey to Jerusalem, voyage from Jaffa to Cyprus and Constantinople, and a pedestrian journey from Constantinople, through Turkey, Wallachia, Hungary and Prussia, to the town of Hamburgh in the years 1836-37* (Dublin, 1838).

The Reverend Robert Walsh (1772-1852), a Waterford-born clergyman, set out on his pedestrian journey from Constantinople, where he worked as a chaplain to the British embassy, to England in 1828.¹⁶⁹ Walsh self-confessedly never intended his travel diary for publication, which was clear from his colloquial style and lack of chapter headings. His account, by virtue of the fact that he approached Hungary from the opposite direction to other travellers mentioned before, was unique. This perspective provided more opportunity to describe and introduce Transylvania, a region which, naturally, did not receive in-depth attention from steamboat travellers.

¹⁶⁹ For more details on Walsh, who besides being a graduate of Trinity College, possessed a medical degree from Aberdeen, see *Dictionary of Irish biography*. Walsh co-authored a *History of Dublin from the earliest accounts to the present time* (2 vols, Dublin, 1818) with John Warburton and James Whitlaw. Walsh's membership of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery indicates him a liberal minded Protestant clergyman. See: Bridget Hourican, 'Walsh, Robert (1772-1852)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a8897&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browsearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

However, as Hungary constituted only a part of his journey and he was more familiar with Constantinople and other parts of the Turkish empire, this contributed to lowering expectations about the accuracy and detail of his work. Similar characteristics are true for the book of the Reverend Nathanael Burton who, after serving as an assistant chaplain to the garrison of Dublin and to the Royal Artillery, undertook a pedestrian journey from Constantinople through Hungary as part of his religious grand tour in 1836-1837.¹⁷⁰

Both travelogues followed essentially the same format, where they both first accounted for the major sights they had seen in each town of Transylvania, following it with more description of the inhabitants themselves. This feature can be easily understood if we consider that neither of them had native travel companions who would have been able to provide more information, hence they resorted to recording readily available, if not superficial impressions. Both books rendered settlement names phonetically, proving that both authors had difficulties with the language barrier, although they were united in observing the presence of the Romanisti or Romanian language and the widespread use of Latin in the region. While Burton contemplated similarities between Latin and Romanian or Wallachian,¹⁷¹ mentioning German as spoken in towns mostly, Walsh was more fascinated by the commonality of Latin in Transylvania.

Both of them identified Saxons as one of the peoples living in Transylvania, although it was only Walsh who devoted attention to the existence of the so-called Saxon Heptarchy of seven towns inhabited and governed by Saxons. Acknowledging this, he went on to provide a fable-like explanation of medieval origin, loosely based on history, popular among Saxons themselves as an explanation of the origins of their migration to Transylvania.¹⁷² Although Walsh could have heard the story from a local while he was visiting Hermannstadt, a town in the heartland of the heptarchy, he also

¹⁷⁰ All career details were mentioned on the front page of Burton's book, published in Dublin in 1838. Burton was a brother in law of Maurice Fitzgerald, the 18th Knight of Kerry and authored other books such as *History of the Royal Hospital Kilmalmainham, near Dublin* (London, 1843), *Oxmantown and its environs* (Dublin, 1845), *Brief remarks on the Catholic church and Protestant divisions* (Dublin, 1848).

¹⁷¹ Burton, *Narrative of a voyage*, p. 296.

¹⁷² For an overview of Saxons in Transylvania, see chapter 12 in Robert John Weston Evans, 'The Transylvanian Saxons: A German diaspora', *Austria, Hungary and the Habsburgs. Essays on Central Europe, c. 1683-1867* (Oxford, 2006), pp 209-28. The tale Walsh elaborated on, featured a minstrel, the Pied Piper, who being unrewarded for freeing a city from rats, namely from the city of Hamelin, led their children away, as far as to Transylvania. For an overview of the medieval legend of the Pied Piper of Hamelin, see: Graham Seal, *Encyclopedia of folk heroes* (Santa Barbara, 2001), pp 202-3. Walsh, *Narrative*, pp 201-3.

gave further sources such as Georgius Haner's *Historia ecclesiarum Transylvanicarum* (Frankfurt, 1694), which translates as ecclesiastical history of Transylvania.¹⁷³ Another source was Athanasius Kircher (1612-1680), the celebrated Jesuit scholar of various fields, including astronomy, Egyptology, medicine and music. Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis sive ars consoni et dissoni* (Rome, 1650), contemplating the art of music making, alluded to the incomprehensible power of music, manifest in pipes, most notably in the case of the Pied Piper of Hamelin.¹⁷⁴

Entering Hungary from Temesvár, while Burton engaged in describing his culinary experiences, notably his encounters with the wines of Hungary, 'superior to any I had yet tasted',¹⁷⁵ Walsh became more preoccupied with recording impressions about the unhealthy combination of swampy soil, humid air and climate, contributing to the frequent occurrence of intermittent fevers, better known as Morbus Hungaricus.¹⁷⁶ He complemented this picture with remarks of undisguised dismay about the Hungarian steppe, claiming that its inhabitants were prone to stealing, especially horses, and looked as if they had descended from Asian peoples of the steppe.¹⁷⁷ Arriving at Pesth, both Burton and Walsh hastened to record how pleasant they found the look of the city. Burton spent only one night in Pesth, although one of his passing remarks identified it as 'quite a European city.'¹⁷⁸ Not being able to pay for a room in an inn, he spent the night on the banks of the Danube, waking up to find his belongings, including his money, stolen. This incident prompted him to leave Pesth immediately, taking unpleasant memories of the principal Hungarian city with him.¹⁷⁹ Walsh, not affected by such experiences, took more time to observe and describe Pesth. Beyond the regular, physical characteristics of the city, he turned his attention towards religion, expressing satisfaction that the religious toleration he

¹⁷³ Walsh, *Narrative*, p. 201.

¹⁷⁴ For Kircher, see: Paula Findlen (ed), *Athanasius Kircher. The last man who knew everything* (New York, 2005). Gabriela Cruz, 'Aida's flutes' in *Cambridge Opera Journal*, vol xiv (2002), pp 177-200. The reference to Kircher can be found on p. 184.

¹⁷⁵ Burton, *Narrative of a voyage*, p. 314.

¹⁷⁶ Walsh, *Narrative of a journey*, pp 216, 230.

¹⁷⁷ In fact, the early history of Hungarian tribes can be traced back to the Ural Mountains where they lived together with Finno-Ugrian tribes until separation. As Hungarian tribes migrated long after this separation, during which they inevitably encountered and became influenced by other nomad tribes, the somewhat Asian sounding characteristics can not be disregarded, although Walsh's identification of Hungarians with Tatars can not be sustained. For more, see: András Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the early middle ages* (English edition, Budapest, 1999), pp 319-24.

¹⁷⁸ Burton, *Narrative of a voyage*, p. 318.

¹⁷⁹ Burton, *Narrative of a voyage*, pp 318-9. Burton's hardships did not end here. As he looked quite shabby and fatigued from his pedestrian journey, the Austrian police caught him entering Vienna straight away. Although they released him after long inspection, this had a lasting impression on Burton, as he commented on this incident in detail. See: pp 322-6.

observed in Transylvania was present in Hungary, and generously applied to Protestants as well.

Visiting Hermannstadt, the heart of the Saxon Heptarchy, Walsh was impressed by the religious toleration and freedom he experienced among people of various faiths, including Lutherans, Greeks and Catholics.¹⁸⁰ Transylvania with its centuries-long tradition of free practice of religion and toleration was outstanding in Europe, a cord which did not fail to strike the heart of this liberal-minded Protestant clergyman. Although Walsh was especially happy to see this religious peace existing between Catholics and Protestants in Transylvania ‘in the true spirit of the apostle’s precept,’¹⁸¹ he equally hinted at noticeable differences between these two denominations. The general impression Walsh’s reader would have gathered from his paragraphs was that Protestants, by the reformed nature of their faith, would have been more instrumental in facilitating that peaceful co-existence. Although he did not spell it out that Protestants were superior to Catholics, his descriptions of the general state of their respective villages, Protestant attentiveness to schooling and bible translations were suggestive enough for such comparisons.

His general impressions about the free and blossoming state of religion in Hungary, especially the status of Protestants, were analyzed in a review of Walsh’s work in the *Christian Examiner and Church of Ireland Magazine*, published in 1828.¹⁸² This review, besides faithfully reciting basic data about himself and long descriptions of the Turkish empire as the exotic scene of his career, was primarily engaged in underlining existing views about the industrious and virtuous character of Protestants. Transylvania, especially the territory of the Saxon Heptarchy, provided an ideal scenario for the reviewer to highlight how superior Protestants could and should be considered compared to those holding other faiths. This was visible not only in the space provided to the Saxon territories of Transylvania but also in the fact that no other part of Hungary, nor the closer region of Transylvania, was featured in the

¹⁸⁰ Walsh, *Narrative of a journey*, p. 199.

¹⁸¹ Walsh, *Narrative of a journey*, p. 209.

¹⁸² ‘Walsh’s Narrative of a journey from Constantinople to England’ in *The Christian Examiner and Church of Ireland magazine* vii(August, 1828), no. xxxviii, pp 119-30. Interestingly, the magazine, while quoting lavishly from Walsh on that section, footnoted the story of the Piper-led children. The editor referred to the seminal work of Johannes Wier (Wierius) titled *De prestigiis daemonum* (Frankfurt, 1566), which called the piper a bloody, demonic piper. See above.

review. Even though Walsh's book did not centre on such contemplations, the reviewer, nevertheless, found these points and through inflating them a more suggestive interpretation emerged. Contrary to this, the *Dublin University Magazine's* review of Burton's work had no such agenda, as it was more an advertisement where long quotations from Burton's impressions of the Holy Land were deemed of more central interest than his journey through Hungary.¹⁸³

The travel writings of Martha Wilmot, Lord and Lady Londonderry, Sir William Wilde, Michael Joseph Quin, Rev. Nathanael Burton and Rev. Robert Walsh painted a colourful imprint of Vienna and Hungary in the period. Numerous as they look when listed, their experiences and writings are equally manifold in style and detail. The different time frames of their respective visits to the region naturally offered altered settings for each travelogue, and the observations of these travellers had further distinctive characteristics, providing food for comparative thought. In the present analysis, the amount of time a person spent in the region, together with the examination of possible personal contacts developed with natives of the region are key features in evaluating each work. As Reverends Burton and Walsh had only travelled through Hungary as part of a bigger journey, a religious grand tour and a journey back to England respectively, their writings did not centre on Hungary, hence detailed attention was not on their agenda. Although Lord and Lady Londonderry and Michael Quin spent less time in Hungary, compared to Burton and Walsh, their chosen method of transport distinguished their writings. Both Londonderry and Quin had personal contacts in the region, as previous to the travel Londonderry had spent years as British ambassador in Vienna, while Quin was fortunate enough to meet Count Széchenyi during his travels.

Besides the fact that neither Burton nor Walsh had valuable connections with or in-depth knowledge of the region, it is also characteristic of their writing that they both focused their efforts on other sections of their respective books. While Burton was on a religious grand tour, Walsh's book had more insights for the Turkish empire, as he had spent years in Constantinople as chaplain to the British embassy. They were inclined to write about places, peoples or cultural habits they knew more of, or simply had an already well-established interest in, while they found no incentive to explore

¹⁸³ [Anon], 'Dr Burton's journey to Jerusalem' in *Dublin University Magazine*, xiv(1839), pp 59-68.

those sections of their work further where contemporary readers might have wished for more details.

Similar characteristics can be attributed to the Hungarian section of Martha Wilmot's travel writing. She also felt more comfortable discussing familiar places, like Vienna, where she spent a decade, whereas her Hungarian journey stayed in the realm of fresh exploration. The element of interest or excitement about the travel can not be overlooked or underestimated either. A comparison of details and style of Martha Wilmot's diary about her Italian and Hungarian visits, or the Turkish as opposed to the Hungarian parts of Walsh's trip provide ample proof of this point. Beyond the factor of bigger interest, their proportionately wider knowledge of Italy as part of the classic grand tour and Constantinople as Walsh's base equally had a role in the contrast. Furthermore, publishing notes from a diary the traveller kept during a grand tour was a personal matter. Sharing experiences with readers was like providing the adventure naturally associated with a grand tour for those left behind in the shape of 'armchair travelling.'¹⁸⁴ Similarly, while these writings broadened the horizons of writers during their production, they did the same for readers, or in the words of Martha Wilmot, they were written to 'enlighten innocent untravelled [sic] companions.'¹⁸⁵

Moreover, readers got a chance to view distant regions through a very different kind of perspective if they picked travelogues of those who actually spent a considerable time in the aforementioned region. This not only provided potential for exploring more, perhaps venturing beyond usual travel routes but it also entailed the chance to get involved in the life of a region on a more personal level. These writers had closer personal contacts with natives in the area, which contributed to gaining more insights and information than a passing traveller would ever possess. The published works of these travellers, naturally, provided a more complex and accurate picture of a region, down to statistical levels of detail as in the case of William Wilde, where the level of detail was subject only to the extent of interest and focus of the writer.

Two good examples of this trend are the writings of Michael Quin and Lord Londonderry. Both Quin and Lord Londonderry were aware of the importance of the

¹⁸⁴ Gilroy, 'Introduction', p. 7.

¹⁸⁵ Hungarian journal of Martha Wilmot Bradford, 24 Sept. 1828 in Londonderry and Hyde (eds), *More letters from Martha Wilmot*, p. 309.

introduction of steamboats in the Habsburg empire, although they wrote about the same topic with a different approach. In Quin's book Hungary was in central position throughout, where all developments were considered from the Hungarian point of view, in terms of what effect they would have on that country. He took the steamboat journey because the novelty of the enterprise promised such adventure which this travel writer with an already established name could not resist. It was a play of fate that Quin not only could share his experiences, although he did that in an entertaining anecdotal manner, but meeting Széchenyi furnished him with more insights and details than he could have hoped to provide otherwise. This perspective not only provided more information on the region than a regular steamboat travel book, it also transformed his writing into a summary of the prevailing reform spirit of the 1830s in Hungary.

Londonderry, who also knew Széchenyi, had a more imperial view in his mind as he contemplated how the steamboat enterprise would influence the position of the empire within the region and in Europe. As a person with years of experience in the region, Londonderry was well aware of the need for the new ways of transport to strengthen the empire and increase its commercial potential. Identifying patience and constant improvement as crucial together with underlining that there should be no compromise on quality, Londonderry pinpointed the importance of controlled developments. These improvements, beyond their immediate use for Austria, also would have important effects on the continental balance of power. As a former member of the British diplomatic service, Londonderry was well aware of the importance and role Britain attached to Austria in the region.

In conclusion, trying to capture the essence of these travel writings, it can be said that they all had a different impulse for writing and publishing. The primary aim of sharing was different for each writer: providing the adventure readers longed for, showing a spiritual journey through recollecting holy images, analyzing political developments and assessing changes from economic and imperial points of view. This kaleidoscope of goals was further coloured by different media through which these goals were materialized. Although walking continued to be a popular method of travelling,¹⁸⁶ steamboats, chosen by Quin and Londonderry, were the way of the

¹⁸⁶ Gilroy, 'Introduction,' p. 2.

future. The realization of this spirit of change and improvement, so apparent in the accounts of Lord and Lady Londonderry and Quin, was sometimes intertwined with an inevitable pinch of criticism. Hungarian roads in these decades (1815-1848) were reputed to be among the worst in Europe,¹⁸⁷ an aspect which did not escape the attention of Burton and Quin.¹⁸⁸ William Wilde pointed to the stalemate he experienced in the Austrian attitude towards science, which he believed would negatively influence positions of the empire in the future. A further common feature of these writings was the association of the empire and Hungary with a border region and a middle-way, where Europeanizing improvements were required and were beginning to be institutionalized. This was perhaps most evident in Londonderry's book, although Quin also referred to the civilizing effects of steamboats. Similarly, Walsh was most surprised to see a picture of Walter Scott in Hermannstadt in Transylvania, in the 'remotest confines of civilized Europe.'¹⁸⁹

For the researcher, the importance of these travel accounts lies in their varied points of focus, background interest, personal connections and impressions which together contribute to a better understanding how these Irish writers, and through them, their readership looked upon Hungary and the broader region. As viewing the customs, traditions and prevailing problems of a different society often proved helpful for purposes of self-reflection, these Irish and Anglo-Irish travel writings also revisited and renegotiated, to varying extent, topics of potential Irish interests. Addressing Hungarian topics such as the land question, rights and duties of peasants and landlords, religion and religious tolerance in these travelogues did not necessarily offer solutions to these problems in Ireland. However, they provided different viewpoints, methods of tackling similar issues, starting points to discussions, and in a broader sense, assistance for the contemporary Irish readership.

¹⁸⁷ Katus, 'Transport revolution,' pp 186-7.

¹⁸⁸ Quin, *A steam voyage down the Danube*, i, p.145 and Burton, *Narrative of a voyage*, p. 321. Burton remarked on the contrast between the road from Pesth to Vienna and other routes in the country.

¹⁸⁹ Walsh, *Narrative of a journey*, p. 198. This in-between status of Hungary was further underlined by Walsh's comments on Hungarian people's Asiatic looks.

Chapter 3: **Hungary as an inspiration during the campaigns for Catholic emancipation and repeal, 1800-47**

The present chapter investigates images of Hungary in the context of contemporary early nineteenth century Irish politics. As the primary focus necessarily implies a basic historical context, Irish views of Hungary will be placed chronologically within the history of the struggle for Roman Catholic emancipation and the movement for repeal of the union which characterized political life in Ireland during this period. As the two movements can be regarded as complementary to a certain degree, this chapter analyses them together under three sub-headings. The first movement had secured the emancipation of Catholics by 1829, while repeal was aiming at a larger scale goal, the political emancipation of Ireland. This degree of similarity influenced the type and examples of Hungarian images that appeared and were utilized in these decades which provided a further continuity.

The first three decades of the first half of the nineteenth century were dominated by one primary issue that the Act of Union (1800) had failed to address and settle for Ireland. As emancipation, understanding the notion as extension of full political rights to Catholics,¹ had been promised to follow after the Union was passed, some Catholics turned to support the measure.² The British government and Westminster's failure to tackle the issue even after some years had passed since the act took effect, resulted in important consequences which changed the shape of Irish politics. It was in these formative decades that ideas of liberal Protestantism³ took a more distinct shape, creating the chance for a constant discussion of the Roman Catholic claims in the British parliament. Along with that a mass movement for Catholics, namely the turning of the one guinea membership fee of the Catholic Association, established in 1823 by Daniel

¹ Jacqueline Hill, 'Irish identities before and after the Act of Union', in *Radharc*, ii (2001), pp 51-2.

² Brian Jenkins, *Era of emancipation. British government of Ireland, 1812-1830* (Montreal, 1988), pp 3-12. Especially pages 7-9 in this respect.

³ See for an interesting case study: Elizabeth Heggs, 'The emergence of liberal values in Waterford city, 1800-1843' (PhD thesis, NUI Maynooth, 2009)

O'Connell, to a one penny 'Catholic Rent',⁴ made the actual material support of the cause available for a larger public.

Although the issue of the emancipation of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland was an internal affair of the British empire, it was not void of French, other European and even Atlantic influences. In fact, as William Doyle has put it, '...what the French revolutionaries did to give Protestants [in France] civil and political equality was instrumental in reviving the question of Catholic equality in Ireland.'⁵ As the foreign examples evoked during the emancipation debates were extensive, this chapter will only deal with Hungary. Hungary and the range of ideas and arguments associated with this country during these decades will be assessed to analyse the role, possible power and potential effect that the example of this country furnished in Irish political debates. In terms of structure, this sub-chapter analyses how Hungary appeared in the speeches of the advocates of emancipation; following these, views of two critics of emancipation will be assessed.

I. Images of Hungary during the Catholic emancipation movement

The decades that followed the Act of Union (1800) until the emancipation of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland was realized (1829) saw numerous sessions in the British parliament where Roman Catholic claims were discussed for thousands of hours. Religion and problems surrounding religious settlements were regarded as universal, generic themes of human life, where the evoking of foreign examples seemed more applicable and fruitful than in the context of specific domestic issues. When utilized, these inspirational foreign examples relating to religious matters were mentioned with a dual intention. On the one hand, they were identified as ideas and potential solutions for the British parliament to contemplate, while they also meant to point to similarities with Ireland's circumstances. The latter approach, from the Catholic point of view, seemed defensive, albeit inspirational and reassuring at the same time. Firstly, it offered the sense that the hardships of Irish religious and political matters were perhaps part of a wider

⁴ Jenkins, *Era of emancipation*, p. 216.

⁵ William Doyle, 'The Union in European context' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, x(2000), pp 167-80, at p. 178.

European trend, which would have shifted the focal point towards the Continent when it came to offering a resolution. However, it also allowed for a more positive and hopeful reasoning that if the Irish case was not so unique, if other countries had successfully overcome their dissonance in such matters, then a continental example could serve as a guideline towards the solution, instead of merely being an interesting but rather useless argument.

Sir John Newport was firmly of the latter conviction, where a continental example could and should be integrated into the centre of one's political universe. The Waterford banker (1756-1843), life-long friend of Lord Grenville, chancellor of the Irish exchequer (1806) during the Grenville's administration,⁶ M.P. for Waterford (1803-1832),⁷ was a prime representative of liberal Protestantism. Devoted to the cause of Catholic relief, Newport addressed the House of Commons in numerous speeches expressing his support for the measure. On one of these occasions, on 14 May 1805,⁸ he elaborated on what turned out to be his Hungarian addition to the emancipation debate. As a starting point, Hungary was pictured as a country that not only had inhabitants who professed various religious creeds, but these people in turn also had been plagued by restrictions imposed upon them in the past. More importantly, however, the country was again in the state of enviable 'internal peace and tranquillity, and external strength and respect.'⁹ After painting the picture of a settled horizon the Irish situation was so in need of, Newport's speech was aimed at describing how this enviable change of the Hungarian religious scene had been implemented.

As Newport was more interested in the method, instead of an elaborative description of the then current situation of the various religions, he swiftly identified the

⁶ Bridget Hourican, 'Sir (Simon) John Newport, first baronet (1756-1843)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a6181&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browseSearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

⁷ R. G. Thorne, *The history of the Parliament. The House of Commons, 1790-1820* (5 vols, London, 1986), i, 695-6.

⁸ *Hansard I*, iv, 1025-7 (14 May 1805). I would like to thank Professor Jacqueline Hill for calling my attention to this speech.

⁹ *Ibid.*

religions to which more than half of the eight million inhabitants of Hungary belonged.¹⁰ Interestingly, he did not actually spell out that the rest of the population of Hungary was in fact Roman Catholic. This could be explained if Newport counted on the general knowledge of the members of the House of Commons, implying, at the same time, that he had a well-established reason for mentioning Hungary as fitting the discussion. Carrying on demonstrating his point, namely identifying how and why Hungary should be considered in the emancipation context, he singled out one diet in 1791 as the event that had changed the course of Hungarian history. Although he did briefly refer to previous events, listing the enactments of this diet still must have sounded out of context to a certain degree for his listeners. These included:

fullest and freest exercise of religious faith, worship and education, ... churches and chapels should be built for all sects without description, ... protestants of both confessions should depend on their own spiritual superiors alone, ... [freeing them] from swearing by the usual oaths, namely-“by the holy virgin Mary, the saints, and chosen of God.”¹¹

Impressive as these elements were, Newport’s description still did not provide a full picture of the circumstances surrounding this legislation. Although these articles had indeed featured in the enactments of the 1790-91 diet, under article XXVI of 1790,¹² some regulating measures were still kept, such as that a conversion to the protestant religion still required the convert to make a formal declaration of conversion to the authorities.¹³ Restrictive as this sounded, the conversion statement annulled the existing legislation which penalised conversion, while the 1790 article XXVI elevated the protestant creeds of Lutheran and Calvinist to the level of an accepted or received religion of the kingdom, a privilege which before that had belonged solely to the Roman Catholic

¹⁰ *Hansard 1*, iv, 1026 (14 May 1805). These were Calvinists and Lutherans of the Protestant creed, the Greek Church (Greek Catholics) and Jews. The dominant religion was Roman Catholic with about half the population professing it.

¹¹ *Hansard 1*, iv, 1026 (14 May 1805).

¹² János Pótó, ‘Egyháztörténeti adattár, 1711-1890’ [Database of church history, 1711-1890] in *História* [History] 1983/5-6, accessible online via the Farkas Kempelen Digital Library at <http://www.tankonyvtar.hu/historia-1983-056/historia-1983-056-081013-5> (22/09/09)

¹³ In the case of a mixed marriage, if the father was Roman Catholic all children were obliged to follow his creed, in the case of the mother being Roman Catholic, only the female children were obliged to follow her creed.

faith.¹⁴ Introducing the example, Newport moved on to mention the most alluring part, a probable reason why he referred to Hungary. As his former sentence about the change of the text of the oath had already set the tone, Newport went on to stress that the very goal that Irish Catholics were striving for, the admission to offices regardless of religious creed, was also granted under this act.¹⁵ However, this widening was, in fact, beneficial for only a minority, as down to 1844 the right to hold an office was a privilege that belonged to the nobility.¹⁶

As the decade that had lapsed between this Hungarian diet and 1805, the year of Newport's speech in the Commons, was still contemporary for his listeners, the setting of the background scene as the era of the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars did not require much effort and explanation. He suggested that the 'severest trial... [and] fiery ordeal' of these years had proved to be beneficial for their unifying effect. The romantic picture of 'the Hungarians, once so divided, and so disaffected to each other, [who] rose en masse, as it is termed, "in the sacred insurrection"'¹⁷ must have been an alluring image not only to Newport but perhaps to some of his listeners as well. The idea of a united Ireland and Britain, even after the Act of Union (1800), still seemed some way off, and this was best underlined by the fact that Newport felt compelled to rise and make his speech. Although the undecided and open-ended nature of the debate of who was to be considered as actively belonging to an Ireland united with the British crown, and the set of political rights that represented this connection was signalled by the very length of the debate itself, the Hungarian example that Newport evoked was not uncontroversial either.

¹⁴ The term accepted or received religion, 'religio recepta' in Latin, reflected a privileged status in Hungarian law, and initially was applied to the Roman Catholic faith only. It denoted a religion officially recognized as a state religion, providing freedom of worship, self-governance and potential state support. The Greek Catholic church was elevated to the same level by the 1790/XXVII article of the same diet. The Unitarian and Jewish faiths were elevated to this status in 1848 and 1895 respectively. See: István Diós, János Viczián (eds), *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon* [Hungarian Catholic Encyclopedia] (Budapest, 1993) An online version is available at: <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/B/bevett%20vall%C3%A1s.html> Accessed on 22/09/09

¹⁵ Hill, 'Irish identities before and after the Act of Union', pp 64-5.

¹⁶ George Bárány, 'The age of royal absolutism, 1790-1848' in Péter F Sugár, Péter Hanák and Tibor Frank (eds), *A history of Hungary* (London, New York, 1990), pp 174-209. For the issue mentioned above, see p. 202.

¹⁷ *Hansard I*, iv, 1026 (14 May 1805).

The sacred insurrection of the Hungarian nobility, which had in fact been a feudal duty and privilege since the middle ages, had lost by the late eighteenth century the patriotic and somewhat romantic sense of usefulness and glory that, no doubt, Newport associated with the notion. The extent of Newport's knowledge about the characteristics of this Hungarian historical concept is unclear. First codified in István Werbőczy's *Tripartitum* (1514),¹⁸ which served as a fundamental unwritten law for the Hungarian nobles until the middle of the nineteenth century, one of the four basic privileges of a Hungarian noble stated that nobles were free of all taxes and owed service only in arms.¹⁹ This service was manifested in the institution of the insurrection of the nobility, whereby all nobles were compelled to defend the integrity of the Sacra Corona (sacred crown), namely the territory of Hungary.²⁰ This holy crown of Hungary came to symbolize multiple layers of meanings. Beyond legitimacy, it also 'personified' the fate and distinctness of a political community and symbolized the undivided unity of the kingdom.²¹ This political community comprised the aristocrats, prelates and nobility, they became regarded as 'members' of the kingdom, where they together constituted the 'kingdom' as a whole. In an effort to keep order and cohesion in the kingdom, they voluntarily ceded their right to exercise access to the sovereign sacred crown to the legitimate, crowned king. The king in return for this service was obliged to keep them in their privileges.²² Although the *Tripartitum* was never actually enacted as law in the kingdom of Hungary, its force and importance were never questioned.

¹⁸ For a list of the four primary privileges of a Hungarian noble, as codified in the *Tripartitum*, see: Henry (Henrik) Marczali, *Hungary in the eighteenth century. With an introductory essay on the earlier history of Hungary by Harold W.V. Temperley* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 103.n.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ For an overview of the field, see:

Károly Vörös, 'The insurrectio of the Hungarian nobility in the era of the Napoleonic wars' in Király, Béla K (ed), *War and society in East Central Europe*, iv: *East and Central European society and war in the era of revolutions, 1775-1856* (New York, 1984), pp 19-32. Brooklyn College Studies on society in change, No. 13. Editor in chief: Béla K. Király.

²¹ Kees Teszelszky, 'The Hungarian roots of a Bohemian humanist: Johann Jessenius a Jessen and early modern national identity' in Balázs Trencsényi and Márton Zsuzsáczky (eds), *Whose love of which country? Composite states, national histories and patriotic discourses in early modern East Central Europe* (Leiden, 2010), pp 323-7. Part of series: *Studies in the history of political thought*, series editors Terence Ball, Jorn Leonhard and Wyger Velena.

²² For a short summary of the Sacra Corona concept and the turbulent history of the fate of the sacred crown of Saint Stephen of Hungary, see e.g.: Simontsits, L. Attila, *The last battle for Saint Stephen's crown: a chronological documentation* (Cleveland, 1983). See also: Martyn C. Rady, 'Werbőczy and the Hungarian nobility' in idem, *Nobility, land and service in medieval Hungary* (Basingstoke, 2000), pp 1-8. Part of series: *Studies in Russia and East Europe*

Nevertheless, Newport did not err when referring to the Hungarian nobles rising ‘en masse...to preserve their sovereign, their rights and liberties.’²³ The diet of 1790-91 represented a compromise between Leopold II who wished to secure his lands intact and the Hungarian nobility who were eager to see their feudal privileges reinstated by the new king. The long awaited settlement between the Habsburg court and the Hungarian nobles, as the centralizing efforts of Emperor Joseph II stirred discontent, was beneficial for both parties. Leopold II could ensure that the Hungarian hinterland was peaceful at a time of challenges in the Austrian Netherlands and the threat from the French side,²⁴ while the nobles received guarantees that the new king would not carry on with his brother’s policy. As George Bárány has pointed out, a combination of the changing demographic situation in Hungary with the official court resettlement policies, putting non-Magyars in a slight majority, on the one hand, and the population growth to over 8.5 million inhabitants by 1787, with only five percent belonging to the nobility, on the other hand, made the deal look reassuringly favourable for nobles.²⁵ Keeping these matters in mind, it becomes more understandable why Newport claimed that ‘almost alone in civilized Europe [Hungary], at least in that quarter of it, have revolutionary principles failed of making the smallest successful inroad.’²⁶ It simply would not have served the interest of nobles, now with their privileges secured, to support revolution, while the populations of royal cities or the peasantry were not powerful enough to act with potentially lasting impact.²⁷

However, as Károly Vörös has pointed out, the importance of the privilege of the noble insurrection, as its original military use and value had evaporated by the end of the eighteenth century, can be singled out as its justification for the nobility’s exemption from paying taxes.²⁸ The particular insurrection Newport was referring to can be identified as

²³ *Hansard I*, iv, H.C., 1026 (14 May 1805).

²⁴ For more on the circumstances leading to this compromise between the Habsburg court and the Hungarian nobles, see: Barany, ‘The age of royal absolutism,’ pp 174-6.

²⁵ Bárány, ‘The age of royal absolutism,’ p. 176.

²⁶ *Hansard I*, iv, H.C., 1026 (14 May 1805).

²⁷ For the history of the short-lived Martinovics conspiracy, the ‘Hungarian Jacobins’, see: George Bárány, ‘The age of royal absolutism, 1790-1848’, pp 178-9.

Miklós Molnár, *A concise history of Hungary* (Cambridge, 2001), pp 159-62. Cambridge concise histories series, originally published in French (1996)

²⁸ As the process of calling on the nobility’s insurrection to defend the borders of the kingdom, naturally, by its practice of inviting all capable nobles to rally at a given camp, was a slow operation, it is not surprising that during the Napoleonic era, the only time the insurrection was actually deployed in battle was in 1809. Vörös, ‘The insurrectio of the Hungarian nobility,’ pp 20-1.

the insurrection of 1797, which he claimed had prompted Napoleon to sign the armistice of Leoben (1797) resulting in the Treaty of Campoformio. Contrary to Newport's suggestion, Campoformio went down in history as an undisputed success for Napoleon, where Francis I of Austria not only had to abandon his territories in the southern Netherlands, but Austria also had to surrender Milan, along with, secretly, the left bank of the Rhine as far as Koblenz.²⁹ The insurrection itself 'reached combat readiness only when the war had already ended',³⁰ so the nobles could not have boasted that level of patriotic gallantry for the protection of the kingdom that Newport associated them with. Although Newport probably did not know that the Hungarian insurrection never actually reached the battle-field, it seems unlikely that actual circumstances of Leoben and Campoformio should have escaped him. The Napoleonic wars had been amply discussed in the *Annual Register*,³¹ which, as a reader of Edmund Burke, Newport must have known.³²

It is worthwhile leaving the analysis of the speech at this moment and devoting some attention to trying to identify possible sources at Newport's disposal. The *Annual Register*, established in 1758 by Robert Dodsley and Edmund Burke as publisher and editor respectively, quickly became one of the prime sources for a retrospective look at events on the Continent.³³ In fact, when taking a closer look at the contents of the *Annual Register* for 1791, chapter eight within its 'history of Europe' section contained valuable insights into the general circumstances and events around the diet of Hungary.³⁴ As the *Annual Register* did not contain details to the extent that Newport was using them for explaining the diet, it still could have served as a source of information on the basics of the insurrection of the nobility. Although it did not establish the specifics of the nobility's involvement, it can be ascertained that if Newport was using this source for the sacred

²⁹ For an overview of the campaigns preceding the armistice of Leoben and the description of the Treaty of Campoformio, see: Pierre Goubert, *The course of French history* (London, 1991), p. 207.

³⁰ Vörös, 'The insurrection of the Hungarian nobility,' p. 21.

³¹ *The annual register, or, a view of the history, politics and literature for the year 1801* (London, 1802), p. 62.

³² Newport MSS, Q.U.B. Special collections, MS 7/284. The list of books Newport took to London with him in 1834 contained items from Burke.

³³ The *Annual Register* is now available online, see: <http://annualregister.chadwyck.co.uk/info/about.htm>

For more on Edmund Burke (1730-1797), the author of *Reflections on the revolution in France*, see: Eamon O'Flaherty, 'Burke, Edmund (1730-1797)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a1155&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browse=search=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

³⁴ *The annual register for the year 1791*, pp 156-76.

insurrection, he would not have been able to deduce from the source itself that the army of nobles was not deployed in combat.³⁵

Another source that must have been known to Newport, even to the extent of owning a copy, was Robert Townson's travelogue, entitled *Travels in Hungary: with a short account of Vienna in the year 1793* (London, 1797). Its fourth chapter first described all seventy-four articles accepted during the 1790-91 diet of Hungary,³⁶ while it concentrated on religious issues and dealt with the articles that established freedom of religious worship for Calvinists and Lutherans alike. The most important part of Newport's 14 May 1805 speech is the section where he claimed that this diet of 1791 in Hungary declared that offices were to be distributed based on merit, irrespective of religion. The actual quotation can be found word by word in Townson's evaluation of the diet:

The public offices and honours, whether high or low, great or small, shall be given to natural-born Hungarians, who have deserved well of their country, and possess the other requisite qualifications, without any respect to their religion.³⁷

Townson's book seems to have provided Newport with the information he needed, as not only in this case can research identify Townson as the source but the reference to the change in the text of the oath (see footnote 14) can be traced back to this book as well.³⁸

The concluding section of Newport's 14 May 1805 speech turned to highlighting the contrast with the Irish situation. As he was far from implying that the Hungarian road to freedom of religious worship and admission to offices regardless of religious faith was

³⁵ Ibid, p. 30.

³⁶ Townson, *Travels in Hungary*, pp 156-69. According to his list of books for 1834, Newport was an avid travel book reader. Although this particular item did not feature on the list, he had several similar ones. Newport MSS, Q.U.B. Special collections, MS 7/284.

³⁷ *Hansard 1*, iv, 1026 (14 May 1805).

Townson, *Travels in Hungary*, p. 176.

³⁸ Townson, *Travels in Hungary*, p. 176. Newport held Townson's book in such high esteem that sixteen years later during another discussion of the Roman Catholic disability removal bill in the House of Commons, he quoted the figures Townson provided to demonstrate that the Hungarian diet of 1791 carried the decision to remove the religious barrier from admission to offices with a majority of 291 to 84. *Hansard 2*, iv, 1478 (27 March 1821). Townson, *Travels in Hungary*, p. 170.

an easy one,³⁹ his listeners in the Commons could safely assume that Newport believed perhaps that the same fate awaited the Irish undertaking. Hoping to prompt a reaction from his fellow M.P.s, Newport exclaimed, ‘does this case, or does it not, as I have stated, bear directly on the case of the Catholics in Ireland?’⁴⁰ In his view this Hungarian example should have given the house all the ‘decided proof of its great and happy effects,’⁴¹ so as not to fear what might happen when enacting Catholic emancipation. Admonishing the ‘protestant legislature, [if they] fear to submit your religion to a similar test’,⁴² Newport finished by declaring the Commons to be out of tune with developments on the Continent if ‘you eternally keep up the wall of proscription when they have thrown it down.’⁴³

The questions Newport posed at the end of his speech were rather intended to be rhetorical than real questions. Even if he truly believed that Hungary offered an example with an already known successful and fortunate outcome, it was no guarantee that his fellow M.P.s or the British government would have faith in the implementation of the same idea in Ireland. Instead of a direct parallel, Newport was rather looking for an example or perhaps parable through which he could demonstrate, by modelling the situation through a different country with an analogous set of problems similar to Irish circumstances, how the future would turn out should the M.P.s of the British parliament vote in favour of emancipation. This suggestion, in this respect, sounded like an argument for cautious reform from above, by consent of the M.P.s, as an alternative to a revolution.

A closer study of those other speeches of Newport where he used Hungary as an example indicates that they were very similar to his 14 May 1805 speech. They all seem to have been constructed along complementary lines, either reiterating the Hungarian example in a summary, laying more emphasis on the then current issue Newport was focusing on in the speech or establishing known facts, again from the same period of Hungarian history, although from a hitherto unseen angle. During the adjourned debate on ‘Mr Grattan’s motion for a committee on the claims of the Roman Catholics’ in the

³⁹ The law in fact had its limitations in Hungary, namely that the Jewish faith was still excluded from the established religions and 1790/XXVI was valid only for Hungary, excluding Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia.

⁴⁰ *Hansard I*, iv, 1026 (14 May 1805).

⁴¹ *Ibid*, col. 1027.

⁴² *Hansard I*, iv, 1026 (14 May 1805).

⁴³ *Ibid*.

Commons, Newport rose to speak on 1 March 1813. Although a substantial part of the speech provided a summary of the points of the 1805 one, it revisited and reemphasized the overall reason why the whole example was raised.

The aim of revisiting the ‘tranquillizing effect which the liberal conduct pursued had on the nation [Hungary] in general’⁴⁴ was to induce the British legislature to act. The core aim of the argument, namely providing a reassurance for the British parliament that Hungary was the proof that a Catholic country was capable of liberal-spirited lawmaking, had less convincing power than Newport was hoping for. By 1827, as subtle hints did not seem to work, Newport made it clear what he thought of the long dragging out of the emancipation issue. During the debate on ‘state churches in Ireland’ on 3 April in 1827, he summed up the Irish situation as an absurdity, whereby Catholics still had to contribute to building and repairing of Protestant churches,⁴⁵ while there were continental rulings available to put the British conduct out of tune with developments elsewhere. Hungary in this respect was employed to highlight that it was not fitting to talk about Britain ‘as the paragon of liberality’⁴⁶ any more. Newport believed that after he had demonstrated that ‘England, for liberality, surpassed every other country in the world’⁴⁷ was a sentiment not applicable any more, the British parliament would realize that it needed to seriously consider his proposals.

Conscious of space constraints, a certain degree of selection has to be introduced in the following analysis. Hereafter only those speeches which added further valuable content and volume to the perception of Hungary during the emancipation debates will be considered.⁴⁸ These either underlined the image that Newport had introduced, complementing the existing idea with different viewpoints or approaches, or openly challenged the applicability of a foreign example. Although Newport was not unique in raising Hungary as an example during the emancipation debates, his focus on Roman

⁴⁴ *Hansard 1*, xxiv, 885 (1 March 1813).

⁴⁵ *Hansard 2*, xvii, 208-10 (3 April 1827). Another aspect of this latter issue was present in his contribution to the debate on the ‘New churches bill’ in the Commons on 4 June 1824 when Newport stated that in Hungary, privileged by the status of an established religion, Protestant pastors, along Catholic ones, were supported by the state. See: *Hansard 2*, xi, 1094 (4 June 1824). The information for this probably came from Townson’s book again, see p. 171.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, col. 210.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, col. 211.

⁴⁸ The 25 February 1813 speech of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan is among the eliminated ones, see: *Hansard 1*, xxiv, 753 (25 February 1813).

Catholics as central for the argument, in the context of evoking Hungarian images, was unparalleled. Two other notable supporters of emancipation, Lords Donoughmore and Castlereagh, approached the general question, and drew on images of Hungary within that context from an imperial perspective. Their alternative approach predestined a different angle or image of Hungary. In their view emancipation was not just a political concession rightly demanded by Catholics but it was also a measure that the stability and safety of the British empire needed.

The first earl of Donoughmore, Richard Hely-Hutchinson (1756-1825), an advocate of the Act of Union, one of the Irish representative peers at Westminster in 1801, was a leading supporter of the emancipation cause in the House of Lords.⁴⁹ As Hely-Hutchinson was part of the political circle of William Wyndham Grenville, Baron Grenville (1759-1834),⁵⁰ prime minister 1806-1807, leader of the whig party, who in turn was a life-long friend of Sir John Newport, it probably did not surprise contemporaries to see an idea introduced by one member of the circle which in turn caught the interest and support of another. Placing the emancipation debate in a larger framework of foreign imperial contexts, Donoughmore directed his attention to events around the middle of the eighteenth century, which had shaken the Habsburg empire to its core. Frederick II of Prussia and Charles Albert of Bavaria both questioned the legitimacy of the Pragmatica Sanctio (1723), enacted by Emperor Charles VI (Charles III as king of Hungary) to enable female succession, which paved the way for his daughter, Maria Theresa to succeed not only to Austrian lands but to the Hungarian crown as well. The discontent of the two rulers materialized in the war of the Austrian Succession (1740-8), which, with France joining in as well, threatened the very existence of the empire.⁵¹

⁴⁹ For more details on Donoughmore, see: Bridget Hourican, 'Hely-Hutchinson, Richard (1756-1825)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a4181&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browse=search=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

⁵⁰ For more details, see: Patrick M. Geoghegan, 'Grenville, William Wyndham (1759-1834)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a3629&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browse=search=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

⁵¹ For a summary on the War of Austrian Succession, see: Reed Browning, *The war of Austrian Succession* (2nd ed, New York, 1995), 1st ed. 1994

This ‘hour of distress’⁵² was the pivotal point of Donoughmore’s speech, which portrayed Maria Theresa as a monarch who appealed to the nobility for their support at the Hungarian diet of 1741. Fully capitalizing on the heart-rending moment of Maria Theresa humbled by being offered the life and blood of the nobility, ‘vitam et sanguinem pro Rege nostro,’⁵³ Donoughmore turned his speech to highlighting how grateful the Empress Maria Theresa and Joseph II, her son, the future emperor, were to their Protestant subjects as well. Donoughmore, as he obviously was trying to make a point, somewhat distorted the historic reality by claiming that Maria Theresa repealed the laws that her father had enacted in relation to Protestant worship. These 1731 laws of Emperor Charles VI deprived Protestants of their full citizenship, including their rights to public offices, imposed severe punishment on anyone for apostasy and officially appointed the only places where public exercise of the Protestant faith was allowed.⁵⁴ These laws, in fact, not only were not repealed by the empress but, as an ardent Catholic, she rigidly enforced them, along with extending some of the restrictions.⁵⁵ However, Donoughmore was more correct in pointing to Joseph II who, as part of his centralizing policies, did indeed issue an Edict of Religious Tolerance (1781) which abolished most of the severe discriminatory laws in existence.⁵⁶

Nevertheless, Donoughmore was not aiming to glorify Maria Theresa and Joseph II for the sake of their toleration policies, he introduced them to counter-pose Queen Anne and her conduct towards her Catholic subjects, who had connections with her

⁵² *Hansard 1*, xxii, 576 (21 April 1812).

⁵³ Miklós Molnár, *A concise history of Hungary* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 142. The Latin phrase itself was a reference to the sacred insurrection of the nobles and their right to pay tax only in arms (‘our life and blood for our sovereign.’). Therefore the declaration simply meant that the nobles would help her in return for the security of their feudal privileges.

⁵⁴ For more on these laws called Resolutio Carolina, see:

Henry (Henrik) Marczali, *Hungary in the eighteenth century. With an introductory essay on the earlier history of Hungary by Harold W.V. Temperley* (Cambridge, 1910), pp 254-5. Translation by Arthur B. Yolland Aldásy, Antal. ‘Hungary’, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 7 (New York, 1910)

<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07547a.htm> accessed 13/10/09

⁵⁵ These included abolishing the public exercise of Calvinist faith in Pápa, one of the major centres of the faith in Hungary. See: Pótó, ‘Egyháztörténeti adattár, 1711-1890’ [Database of church history, 1711-1890] in *História* [History] 1983/5-6, accessible online via the Farkas Kempelen Digital Library at <http://www.tankonyvtar.hu/historia-1983-056/historia-1983-056-081013-5> (13/10/09)

For more on Maria Theresa’s religious policy, see: R.J.W. Evans, ‘Maria Theresa and Hungary’ in idem, *Austria, Hungary and the Habsburgs: essays on Central Europe, c. 1683-1867* (Oxford, 2006), pp 17-36.

⁵⁶ Molnár, *A concise history of Hungary*, pp 157-8.

father, James II's cause.⁵⁷ In this case, Austria, Maria Theresa and Joseph II were needed in order to give more support to the point raised by Newport before. Namely, that should a Catholic country, even a whole empire materialise, it not only would not support the fear that Catholics in power would act vindictively, it would rather serve as a perfect aid for picturing how tolerant, in fact, Catholics were in power. The attribution of a significant role to these Hungarian Protestants in saving the monarch and the empire intact was exaggerated, again, in an attempt to imply that allowing discontent to brew in an empire meant enabling potentially dangerous situations to turn for the worse. In such a case a monarch, say the British monarchs on the eve of a threatening scenario, would not be able to count on the significant number of Catholic subjects of the empire.⁵⁸ It is especially interesting to think that no contemporary pointed out the ambiguity inherent in Donoughmore's celebrating a time and monarchs before the 1791 diet that Newport pictured as a turning point in the religious concession policies of Hungary. This was all the more interesting because a deeper look, especially at Maria Theresa, would have made it possible to refute the applicability of Donoughmore's example.

Lord Castlereagh, the Anglo-Irish foreign secretary and important figure at the Congress of Vienna, supported emancipation as he was convinced of its benefit and imperative importance for the empire.⁵⁹ The untouchable status of the Protestant religion, in Castlereagh's opinion, should have served as an ample safeguard for eliminating the fear of agreeing to concessions for the Roman Catholics. Moving towards the realm of foreign affairs, Castlereagh put the hesitation of parliament into European perspective. Indicating that, if not settled soon, the unresolved state of Catholics would 'create considerable embarrassment'⁶⁰ for the British empire, Castlereagh brought various continental examples before the house in an attempt to convince parliament that 'this free

⁵⁷ *Hansard 1*, xxii, 576 (21 April 1812).

⁵⁸ Lord Grenville expressed very similar ideas during the same debate, asserting that emancipation was needed in order to strengthen the empire internally. He demonstrated through the Hungarian example that internal concessions only served a higher imperial purpose. *Hansard 1*, xxii, cols 677-8 (21 April 1812).

⁵⁹ Patrick M. Geoghegan, 'Stewart, Robert (1769-1822)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at:

<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a8311&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browse-search=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

⁶⁰ *Hansard 2*, iv, 1027 (28 February 1821).

country'⁶¹ should do everything it could to avoid that unfortunate situation. Claiming that even Hungary was not without emancipation, Castlereagh somewhat implied that Hungary was a country at the other end of the pole of liberalism where, normally, the existence of such favourable legislation would not be expected. Tying the Irish into the argument, Castlereagh voiced his confidence that 'removing the discontents arising from the present situation of the Roman Catholics'⁶² would be a beneficial step for all parties involved.

The danger of pondering on the applicability of examples from different European countries lay in its potential for manifold interpretations. The advocates of emancipation did not have to wait too long for criticism of this approach to surface. John Leslie Foster (1780/81?-1842), author of *An essay on the principle of commercial exchanges, and particularly of the exchange between Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1804), M.P. for Dublin University between 1807 and 1812, M.P. for Yarmouth, Isle of Wight between 1816 and 1818, later M.P. for Armagh and Louth, was opposed to emancipation until it became inevitable.⁶³ His 24 April 1812 speech showed him as a determined critic of the potential applicability of any foreign example that could have provided ammunition for the supporters of emancipation. He denied the idea that the Roman Catholic religion was universal religion with the same nature in all countries. In his opinion,

all history and experience demonstrate that it [Roman Catholicism] is susceptible of infinite variety, that it means not the same thing in almost any two countries at the same time, nor in the same country at different periods of its history, and, in short, that it is as much as man himself the mere creature of times and circumstances, laws and institutions.⁶⁴

Nevertheless, as Foster hastened to add, he was not talking about the theoretical, theological fundamental bases of faith, but rather of the varied degree of influence that Roman Catholicism grew to exercise in different countries around Europe. Trying to

⁶¹ Ibid, col. 1028.

⁶² Ibid, col. 1029.

⁶³ Gordon Goodwin, 'Foster, John Leslie (1780/81?-1842)', rev. Sinéad Agnew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) online edn, Jan 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9963> accessed 01/10/09

⁶⁴ *Hansard I*, xxii, 910 (24 April 1812).

dismantle the political arguments of the supporters of emancipation, Foster explained that he was not convinced that any country possessed a similar religious system, with similar influence or status to the Catholic church, as it existed in Ireland. His claim that continental examples of successful emancipation were not helping to untangle the web of the Irish situation tied into his conclusion that the supporters of emancipation thus approached the question on the wrong footing. This was only a step away from reasoning that their whole approach was questionable and at fault.

He asserted that Catholicism, historically, had a unique position in Ireland, which also implied that in no other country did the Roman Catholic church exercise similar influence to the degree it did in Ireland. Foster also laid it down that the histories of different countries could not be likened to that of Ireland, attempting to strip the supporters of emancipation of this source of hope too. In his political universe, Ireland was a country where the overwhelming influence of the Roman Catholic church was balanced by the establishment and political support of the Church of Ireland. Similarly, Foster also suggested that the British parliament, therefore, should not be criticised for not following those European parallels which, he argued, were illusory.

The unparalleled character of the Irish situation was also a basic standpoint of Sir Robert Peel's critical approach to the continental examples. Peel spent the formative years of his political career in opposition to emancipation, and his speech on 9 May 1817,⁶⁵ which scholars consider as one of his most formidable speeches in the emancipation debates, provides a valuable insight into his political thinking. Like Leslie Foster, Peel also believed that foreign examples could only work if they were carefully and thoroughly examined. Peel claimed that the 'history, the state of society, and all the political and moral relations'⁶⁶ of a country would form such a special, complex set of circumstances that a superficial similarity would not be enough for a feasible comparison. Therefore, Peel believed, if one was wishing to draw attention to the potential applicability of the religious toleration existing in Hungary, one 'must first inquire whether the situation of Hungary...corresponds with the situation of Ireland.'⁶⁷

⁶⁵ John Prest, 'Peel, Sir Robert, second baronet (1788–1850)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21764> Accessed 19/10/09

⁶⁶ *Hansard I*, xxxvi, 412 (9 May 1817).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

As a logical consequence of this, emancipation working elsewhere would not necessarily have had the same advantageous effects ‘when applied to a great kingdom wherein the vast majority are Roman Catholics, and where the religion of that majority is not, and must not be the religion of the state.’⁶⁸ The latter part of the sentence referred to the special status of Protestant religion embedded in the Act of Union, the maintenance of which formed the cornerstone of Peel’s politics. The fact that Peel was aiming to demonstrate that this was clearly a British issue can explain why he did not look for foreign examples which could have aided his points. Especially in relation to the Hungarian example, Peel would have found perfect historical examples to challenge the acclaimed image of the Habsburg tradition of toleration alluded to by Donoughmore and Newport among others. As Graeme Murdock has established,⁶⁹ there was an awareness in Britain of the Habsburg persecution of Protestants during the seventeenth century, which would have been ideal ammunition for Peel had he chosen to refute the foreign examples idea by reducing the concept to its elements. Instead of this approach, which nonetheless would have needed painstaking research into the history of these countries, Peel opted for obliterating the idea as such in general.

The context and history of the Hungarian example during the emancipation debates mirrored the complexity of the Irish situation. Controversies arose such as the very issue of whether foreign examples had any validity in the Irish context. Sir John Newport and other supporters of the measure, such as the Lords Donoughmore and Castlereagh, looked at Hungary as a country whose example was a fertile ground for discussing and introducing constructive ideas which had the potential to be tailored for Ireland. The example was also ideal for political experiments and demonstrations to paint a picture of, at that stage, an imagined future. Hungary therefore was more like a medium through which Irish issues were indirectly addressed, where potential directions could be studied and perhaps suggested. This intended approach was visible in the way in which Newport and the other supporters preferred drawing of attention to methods, basic tenets and governing theories they saw working in Hungary, instead of trying to paint a more

⁶⁸ *Hansard I*, xxxvi, 412 (9 May 1817).

⁶⁹ Graeme Murdock, ‘Responses to Habsburg persecution of Protestants in seventeenth century Hungary’ in *Austrian History Yearbook*, xl (2009), pp 37-52.

detailed image of Hungary. In this respect, the theoretical level of the comparative idea was more important than finding and cataloguing actual, fitting parallels between Ireland and Hungary.

Newport's 14 May 1805 speech, and in fact his later ones as well, underlined this way of thinking as he simply hand-picked images he saw as valuable for supporting his main argument for emancipation. The aftermath of these Hungarian examples, namely whether they really had resolved the religious issues of Hungary, was simply not his concern. His main interest in Hungary as a potential argument for the Irish lay in the particularity of admissions to offices,⁷⁰ thus he never really got entangled in the web of Hungarian politics. Newport was rather hoping to introduce a different pattern of thinking into the course of the debates, a direction he kept pressing the House of Commons towards by repeating essentially the same general ideas from the example he drew from Hungary.

Lords Donoughmore and Castlereagh shared the realisation that there was a growing political need for emancipation, although they chose different routes to argue for that. Donoughmore compared the conduct of Empress Maria Theresa and Emperor Joseph II to that of Queen Anne to establish that with clever politics it was indeed possible to bridge the gap and, with a single measure, turn the Irish Catholics into reliable supporters of the crown. The British crown could not afford to alienate Catholic subjects as they would prove too easy targets for Britain's enemies for manipulation. In turn, Lord Castlereagh highlighted the embarrassment this issue meant for Britain when dealing with foreign powers, while he also expressed his surprise at the longevity of the debate as he understood Protestants to be safeguarded by the very existence of the Act of Union.

This latter position of Castlereagh was a characteristic way of thinking for the supporters of emancipation. While they were continuing to hope that the Act of Union would reassure Protestants that their interests were secure, they were still invoking foreign examples to drive parliament and the government into rethinking their positions. Ultimately, they underestimated the fear of the supporters of Protestant Ascendancy when it came to the prospect of losing their hitherto relatively unchallenged power and influence. The basic difference lay in the contrasting reading of the issue of emancipation

⁷⁰ Hill, 'Irish identities before and after the Act of Union,' pp 51-2.

where supporters were striving for an extension of existing measures while those who were against it viewed these efforts as attacks on the very institution of the Act of Union. As religion was the weakest part of this equation, opponents of emancipation, like John Leslie Foster, voiced their concerns about the existing tight connections between Rome and the Irish Roman Catholic church. A characterisation of the Catholic church as ‘monolithic and intimidating’,⁷¹ not only betrayed their deepest anxiety about the structure of that faith but it also reflected their growing apprehension about the potential dangers of enabling, via the admission of Catholics to parliament, an unbalanced growth in the influence of Rome in British politics.

Historically speaking, the opponents of emancipation, such as Foster and Peel, were of course right when they claimed that the history, society, religion, culture and traditions of two separate countries would necessarily be distinct and that therefore a parallel could never be fully appropriate. However, the supporters deemed it sufficient to consider specific events, such as the diet of 1791, with any future implications, for the purposes of creating an alternative thread in the debates. Deeper contextualization or historical accuracy were simply not prerequisites for drawing such parallels. However, the framework of addressing religious differences, and what they manifested through Hungary’s example, only contributed to the deepening of the gap between supporters and opponents of emancipation. In this way, the very method the two sides employed in their hope to bridge the existing differences in opinion, by referring to the continental and Hungarian situation, contributed to the reinforcing and embedding of already present boundaries. The differing views about the applicability of foreign examples, as minute as this might seem, brought more fundamental differences in thinking to light. In this sense emancipation was eventually granted only as it became a necessity for the tranquillity and stability of the empire.⁷² Fears of renewing rebellions along with a sense of instability were equally important forces that contributed to the prevailing feeling about the way ‘emancipation was not granted: it was taken.’⁷³ The arguments of its supporters and the Catholic movement itself did not convince the government, let alone the Protestant

⁷¹ Hill, ‘Irish identities before and after the Act of Union,’ pp 64-5.

⁷² Jenkins, *Era of emancipation*, pp 275-7.

⁷³ W. E. Vaughan (ed), *A new history of Ireland. Ireland under the union, part I, 1801-70* (1st paperback edition, Oxford, 2010), pp 105-6.

opponents of the measure. Consequently, when full emancipation finally passed the parliament in 1829, it did not end controversies, in fact they continued over the next two decades in the shape of an equally long and stormy debate over the repeal of the Union.

II. Perceptions of Hungary during the formative years of repeal (1830s): ‘Ireland never will play the character of the moon to the sun of England. She is a star in herself, in her own light.’⁷⁴

The emancipation movement discussed above not only changed the face of politics in Ireland, in terms of mobilizing unprecedented mass support for a cause along with recruiting advocates from various members of the British parliament including many Irish M.P.s, but it ended with the admission of Catholics into parliament. The 1830s, as a decade of political learning, functioned as a metaphorical test-tube where people professing different attitudes and political views met and experimented with establishing cooperation or admitting clear-cut antagonism. As some of the viewpoints dominating this and the following decades continued to influence future generations, along with some of the leading figures who later re-emerged as highly esteemed figureheads, these decades proved to be formative for the rest of the century and in fact after that as well.⁷⁵ This and the following sub-chapter aim to provide an overview of these latter decades, spanning the period from 1830 until 1847, by examining the way in which these varied political views surrounding repeal were manifested in the type and nature of Hungarian images appearing in the discourse of politicians and public figures.

The topic of the repeal of the Union (1800) was bound to be an issue which stirred emotions not only in parliament but also outside it in shape of numerous comments, pamphlets, letters and newspaper articles. Hungary and the contemporary Irish understanding of Hungary served as an apt medium for this analysis. In a way these chosen examples of Hungarian events and figures together with their interpretation

⁷⁴ John Grey Vesey Porter, *Some agricultural and political Irish questions calmly discussed* (London, Dublin, 1843), p. 7.

⁷⁵ For an excellent survey of Unionist reaction to and treatment of repeal in the 1830s see chapters 4 and 5 in: Douglas Kanter, *The making of British Unionism, 1740-1848. Politics, government and the Anglo-Irish constitutional relationship* (Dublin, 2009).

manifested deeper seated, unbridgeable divisions over Ireland's future. The extent and significance of this division however had not yet become apparent to contemporaries.⁷⁶ Beyond this, the studied texts of this sub-chapter are also informative of the views of these various groups and individuals about Ireland's situation in a broader European context.

The expression of Irish pride and the explicit claim of Ireland deserving a role and attention in her own right portrayed in the quotation at the head of this sub-chapter were frequently heard sentiments during the 1830s and 1840s. Furthermore, the quotation is also a significant indicator of contemporary political attitudes, which might have suggested a repealer or even perhaps Daniel O'Connell himself behind the words rather than an Anglo-Irish Protestant. As this viewpoint took root, it not only obscured the existence of a former (Anglo-) Irish reading of the word patriotism, which in fact was less politically burdened and more community and society driven,⁷⁷ but it also created an atmosphere in which an Anglo-Irish Protestant, a member of the ascendancy writing the sentence above sounds almost surprising. However, the advocates of federalism, including the quoted Grey Porter, stood for an alternative approach which also deserves consideration beyond the context of their brief connections with Daniel O'Connell.

Although inspired to consider the repeal of the Union as a central element of his politics as early as 1824,⁷⁸ Daniel O'Connell, after securing emancipation in 1829, devoted much of the 1830s to a less institutionalized repeal campaign, trying to exchange his support for the Whigs for reforms beneficial to Ireland. The National Political Union, established in 1831, was O'Connell's first umbrella organization, after the success of 1829, where he set general objectives in an aim to attract both moderate and advanced reformers.⁷⁹ Despite O'Connell's efforts, the number of supporters behind this

⁷⁶ To quote Oliver MacDonagh, 'it was far from clear in 1832 that the patterns had already set.' See: Oliver MacDonagh, 'Politics, 1830-45' in W.E. Vaughan (ed), *A new history of Ireland. V: Ireland under the Union, I: 1801-70* (Oxford, 1989), p. 175.

⁷⁷ Joep Th. Leersen, 'Anglo-Irish patriotism and its European context: notes towards a reassessment' in *Eighteenth-century Ireland*, iii (1988), pp 7-24.

⁷⁸ Valentine Browne Lawless, the second baron of Cloncurry, a veteran of Irish politics urged O'Connell to action in a letter to the Catholic Association. See: *D.I.B.*

⁷⁹ B. A. Kennedy, 'Sharman Crawford's federal scheme for Ireland' in H.A. Cronne, T.W. Moody and D.B. Quinn (eds), *Essays in British and Irish history, in honour of James Eadie Todd* (London, 1949), pp 237-8.

organization was significantly lower than in the case of the Catholic Association,⁸⁰ and the 1832 reform bill of the Whigs only secured the moderate gains of increasing the Irish electorate and number of M.P.s for Ireland.⁸¹

It is central to understanding this period that, to borrow Gearoid O Tuathaigh's phrase, 'emancipation did not turn out to be the "instant remedy"'⁸² that certain groups in Irish society were hoping for. It did not satisfy peasants, nor those Catholic professionals who hoped that emancipation would provide them with a quick accession to all positions and careers hitherto closed to them. However, the appearance of the repeal movement constituted a disappointment for members of the Protestant Ascendancy, who considered emancipation as a step into their comfort zone. As most would have been satisfied to stop at that point, the repeal movement, which attacked the first line of their defence, the Act of Union (1800), brought a set of tensions to the surface.

The debate on a possible board of trade in the House of Commons on 16 August 1831 was one of the first occasions when these divergent beliefs were uttered. The debate was instigated by a petition from the Protestant lord mayor, common council and citizens of Dublin pleading 'for the establishment there of a board of trade, which might communicate with the government on the subject of Irish wants and interests.'⁸³ Thomas Wyse⁸⁴ lent his support to the idea to improve the proposed measures of the reform bill, and he also envisaged the board being instrumental in keeping the campaign for domestic legislation under control. Wyse was convinced that allowing self-government in certain areas, in the shape of such boards, would contribute to the better comprehension and solution of local problems, which he considered as essential for prosperity.

O'Connell's reply illustrated an essentially different viewpoint. Although O'Connell agreed with the establishment of the board, he saw Wyse's points as a start,

⁸⁰ J.H. Whyte, 'Daniel O'Connell and the repeal party' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xi, no. 44 (1959), p. 307.

⁸¹ Despite this increase, the number of voters still did not reach the levels of pre-emancipation electorate. See: Thomas E. Hachey, Joseph M. Hennon, Lawrence John McCaffrey, *The Irish experience: A concise history* (New York, 1996), p. 68.

⁸² Gearoid O Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the Famine, 1798-1848* (2nd ed, Dublin, 1991), p. 166.

⁸³ *Hansard* 3, vi, 84 (16 August 1831)

⁸⁴ Wyse was a Roman Catholic politician and diplomatist whose family had centuries' long ties to Co. Waterford. He served as an M.P. for Tipperary during this parliamentary session. See: C.J.Woods, 'Wyse, Thomas (1791-1862)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a9151&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browse=search=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

claiming that this board, however useful, would only be a temporary fix while the final solution could only come in some form of a local legislature. In his bid to recruit more supporters to repeal, which O'Connell considered as central to the improvement of Ireland's condition, he hastened to add that the argument for repeal, in his reading, did not equate to breaking the bond with the British empire.

When the circumstances of other countries were recollected, there was little reason to doubt that Ireland might continue a constituent portion of this great empire with a separate legislature. It was well known that Austria had for ages retained Brabant, as well as Hungary and Bohemia, constituent parts of that empire, notwithstanding they each possessed separate legislatures.⁸⁵

O'Connell's logic stipulated that if such a working relationship could exist between Austria and Hungary especially within an imperial framework which allowed for a separate Hungarian diet, than the case of Ireland within the British empire should not present further difficulties. Although the situation within two empires might have looked similar from O'Connell's perspective, there was a fundamental difference that O'Connell either did not know of or did not point out. Through the Act of Union (1801) Ireland had renounced her capacity to form policies as an independently governed kingdom, while Hungary managed to reclaim her relative independence during the 1790/91 diet convened by Leopold II. This diet, which has been mentioned above, was important in Hungarian history for other notable aspects as well.⁸⁶ Article X of this 1790/91 diet established that Hungary was a free and independent kingdom to be governed in accordance with her own laws and customs, while article XII declared that legislative power was jointly exercised by the king and the diet.⁸⁷ This not only was not similar to Ireland's situation but contained some of the very things that O'Connell had started the repeal campaign for. This board of trade debate not only exposed some of the basic features of the arguments

⁸⁵ *Hansard* 3, vi, 89 (16 August 1831).

⁸⁶ See above in this chapter for the circumstances of the diet. In addition to this, see the article of George Bány, 'The age of royal absolutism', pp 175-6.

⁸⁷ For an English summary see the aforementioned Bány article, while for a list of the enactments of the diet: *Ezer év törvényei, 1000-2003* [Laws of a thousand years], internet database available at: <http://www.1000ev.hu/index.php?a=2&k=3&f=4884> [accessed 6 December 2009]

in relation to repeal but it also showed that compared to emancipation, repeal was a far more controversial issue.

George Ensor (1769-1843), the Dublin-born author of numerous popular pamphlets on emancipation, despite the fact that he had never belonged to any political grouping, was an ardent supporter of repeal.⁸⁸ Ensor's pamphlet, titled *Anti-Union. Ireland as she ought to be* (Newry, 1831), attacked the existing parliamentary system which, in his opinion, not only needed radical reforms for Britain but was unsuitable for addressing Irish interests. This multi-focused viewpoint of the pamphlet connected Ireland's problems to a larger framework, claiming that Britain's difficulties and problems not only were responsible for the creation of Irish distress but that the existing parliamentary system was not fitted to alleviate let alone solve these problems. Britain's difficulties, in this case, did not work for Ireland's advantage.

This two-tiered approach was characteristic of the structure of the pamphlet itself, as it started with 'addressing the English nation,' while the second part shifted 'to my countrymen.'⁸⁹ Although Ensor divided his attention between the British and the Irish difficulties arising from the parliamentary system, he did not offer detailed solutions for the former. This part of the pamphlet mainly listed problem areas, such as the reluctance of M.P.s to attend parliamentary sessions regularly, and corruption issues, in an effort to establish why the British parliament alone was not suited to tackle Irish issues and needs. In Ensor's reading, repeal was synonymous with a beacon of light which would lead Ireland back to her former glory by reinstating her native parliament. Reinforcing the fears of the opponents of repeal, he believed that emancipation provided the ideal starting ground for such a campaign. Ensor was also convinced that emancipation had opened up new prospects and opportunities in Irish politics which had the potential to transform politics and society. His main message was that Irish problems should be addressed, discussed and solved by Irish people.

⁸⁸ Rosemary Richey, 'Ensor, George (1769-1843)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a2931&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browseSearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

⁸⁹ George Ensor, *Anti-Union. Ireland as she ought to be* (Newry, 1831), p. 2.

Turning to the foreign implications of the pamphlet, Ensor displayed familiarity with the foreign examples in use from the previous decades. In fact, the Hungarian aspect of Ensor's pamphlet was an idea that had already circulated in parliament during the emancipation debates and which he simply reintroduced with a twist. As Ensor himself declared that contemporary Irish politics had finally been freed from religious issues, he could not and did not follow in Newport's footsteps. Yet he returned to the very same Hungarian diet of 1790/91 although his main viewpoint and arguments were very different. In essence, Ensor advocated the policy of capitalizing on the right moment for campaigning for the repeal of the union.

In his view, at this right moment, coinciding with a European war he considered to be inevitable, Ireland would be transformed from 'the patient slave [to] become a doubtful friend ... [and in turn] become no doubtful enemy',⁹⁰ in a bid to reach her goal. In this particular case the Hungarian example did not add a new feature or argument to the picture but it served to underline Ensor's point. At first readers were shown that Hungarians, applying a similar tactic during the Austrian-Turkish hostilities around the accession of Leopold II,⁹¹ succeeded in seeing their constitution, rights and privileges restored. In a fundamental difference from the Irish case, where the parliament of 1782 was abolished with the act of union (1800), the Hungarian constitution, requiring that Hungary had to be governed following her own laws and customs, was still observed. This enabled Ensor to declare that 'Hungary now enjoys her parliament, and Ireland must follow her example.'⁹² Ensor's arguments not only aligned these two examples but in fact he suggested that the Hungarian steps, in theory, followed the Irish policy. Ensor of course did not mean to attribute a decisive influence to the Irish case or to claim that the Hungarians were copying the Irish, he simply meant to highlight how well the same policy had worked within their two respective empires. Emphasizing how this policy had worked for Ireland once already, and had produced lasting results in Hungary too, Ensor suggested that the repeal campaign should follow this logic in order to succeed. This proposal undoubtedly alarmed Ensor's anti-repeal readers as it echoed the logic of Lord

⁹⁰ Ensor, *Anti-Union*, p. 47.

⁹¹ As this diet of 1790-91 has already featured in this chapter, see above for information about the circumstances leading to the compromise between the Habsburg court and the Hungarian nobles.

⁹² Ensor, *Anti-Union*, p. 47.

Donoughmore's emancipation argument⁹³ from the nationalist angle. Advocating a similarly calculating measure, while underlining the success of previous examples, Ensor suggested employing it for repeal policies in the future.

Ensor pictured emancipation as a groundbreaking transforming force. While he hailed emancipation for elevating Catholics to the same level as Protestants, like other repealers he also viewed it as a starting point for the Irish to achieve more. He appealed to Catholics and Protestants alike, calling them the Irish who 'are now, I repeat, linked inseparably together, by your common rights and your uncommon wrongs.'⁹⁴ Ensor also hastened to clarify that the glorious moment of creating this bond between Catholics and Protestants had passed, so they must realize the need to act together in order to regain what Ensor believed had been robbed from the Irish. He believed that even such a newly born nation as the Irish, which he acknowledged to be coming alive, must have possessed a sense of pride from the earliest stages of its existence. This Irish pride, in Ensor's opinion, was seriously wounded by the distinctive lack of a parliament which would have been essential for any nation. Ensor called the attention of the Irish to the fact that there were scarcely any other nations that 'submit to this disgrace',⁹⁵ making sure to list a number of counter-examples, such as Hungary and Bohemia. In this argument Hungary and Bohemia also featured to underline Ensor's point in calling the Irish, Catholics and Protestants alike, to appeal to their communal sense of belonging, to recognize that they had been subjected to unfair treatment and to support repeal so as to end their humiliation.

This logic seemed flawless to Ensor, although there were signs that he misread and miscalculated the Protestant reaction to the pursuit and in fact the success of emancipation and to repeal. This was already clear in the case of Lord Donoughmore who, although an ardent supporter of emancipation, did not share the optimism of Ensor about future prospects.⁹⁶ There were further signs of future tensions. A good example of

⁹³ Donoughmore had argued that Britain would need to give emancipation to Catholics to counter discontent and disarm the political ammunition the issue embodied. See above.

⁹⁴ Ensor, *Anti-Union*, pp 161-2.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 161.

⁹⁶ In a letter to Lord Cloncurry, as early as 1 September 1828, Donoughmore expressed his worries that Irish liberal Protestants were getting increasingly alienated as 'the violence of O'Connell and his associates, at least in this part of Ireland [Knocklofty, Co. Tipperary], has done the Catholic cause much mischief.' The earl of Donoughmore to Lord Cloncurry, Knocklofty, 1 September 1828. [Valentine Lawless], *Personal recollections of the life and times, with extracts from the correspondence, of Valentine Lord Cloncurry* (Dublin, 1849), p. 329.

this is O'Connell's comment in which he declared that he considered anyone ready to support the repeal of the union as an example of an 'honest and sensible Irishman.'⁹⁷ Analogous to Ensor, O'Connell also seemed convinced that emancipation had created such a community of brotherhood between Protestants and Catholics that sooner or later Protestants would eventually have to revise their unionist beliefs, which O'Connell attributed to 'want of thought.'⁹⁸

The pamphleteer Edmond Nolan⁹⁹ stood for an approach which was unique among the viewpoints discussed so far. Although he acknowledged how much emancipation had changed the political landscape of Ireland, he showed no interest in supporting repeal. His *Ireland, its parties, people and prospects* (Dublin, 1839) did not once mention the word repeal, it rather laid emphasis on asserting how beneficial the policies of Lord Melbourne and the Whig government were proving to be for Ireland. In Nolan's reading, the historic examples were meant to illustrate and support his beliefs that the Whig government's principles, which had been applied to Ireland in the four years prior to the publication of the pamphlet, would result in 'the extinction of its parties [rivalries], the improvement of its national character, and prosperity to Ireland, with augmented security and strength to England.'¹⁰⁰ Although this argument sounded similar to that of George Ensor whose pamphlet also considered the Irish situation as interconnected with the wellbeing of Britain, Nolan's writing never mentioned the parliamentary claims which were central to repealers. As an Irish pamphleteer who supported the Whigs he knew he was in a sensitive position where he had to carefully consider which foreign examples to draw upon and which ones to leave out. This cautious attitude led him to approach the Hungarian example and through that the Irish situation in a manner different from that of Ensor. Ensor, as noted above, posed the example of Hungary's reaction to Leopold II's reconvening of the diet to suggest that Ireland should remember to reapply the clever policy of utilizing the right moment for action to secure benefits. Nolan, on the contrary, arrived at a somewhat different central message when he

⁹⁷ Daniel O'Connell to Lord Cloncurry, Darrynane Abbey, 24 Sept. 1828. [Lawless], *Personal recollections*, p. 328.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 328.

⁹⁹ My research has been unsuccessful in identifying biographical information about this pamphleteer.

¹⁰⁰ Nolan, *Ireland*, p. 2.

introduced his Hungarian example, and through the discussion of this, he made alternative suggestions in relation to the Irish situation.

Central to this historic theme and argument was Hungary and the story of the accession of Maria Theresa, whose actions and their results Nolan considered as instructive for his pamphlet's purposes. Going back to predecessors of Maria Theresa, somewhat manipulatively to arouse interest, Nolan likened Hungary during her first two centuries in the Habsburg empire from Ferdinand I (1526-1564) up until the rule of the empress (1740-80) to a land that 'had known nothing but religious divisions, and oppression, and constant disaffection.'¹⁰¹ This sentence, very consciously, carried a certain degree of simplification, not only because two centuries can not be characterized by merely five words, but Nolan was simply laying the groundwork for his main point by establishing the existence of previous misrule.

As the story and the historical circumstances leading to and resulting from Maria Theresa's accession to the Austrian and Hungarian crowns has been discussed previously in this chapter,¹⁰² this present section only considers Nolan's use of the example. In Nolan's view, and in accordance with the point he was trying to make, Maria Theresa emerged as a ruler with

the instinct of a young and generous heart, [which] more probably than the dictates of policy had moved her from the first moment of her reign, to redress the grievances, and to heal the wounded feelings of that unhappy country [Hungary].¹⁰³

While this picture of a young and generous empress was certainly an attractive one, it failed to acknowledge the looming Austrian war of succession (1740-8) which forced Maria Theresa to start her rule by trying to secure as much from her legacy as she could. This necessarily included acknowledging the rights and privileges of Hungarian nobles:¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Lord Donoughmore's speech (21 April 1812) was the first to pick up this aspect of Hungarian history, see above.

¹⁰³ Nolan, *Ireland*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁴ See footnotes above in this chapter. This was more a mutual agreement between the two parties, as the dynasty saved the Hungarian crown from seceding on the eve of the war, while the nobles realized another codification of their rights and privileges. C. A. MacCartney, 'The Habsburg dominions' in J.O. Lindsay (ed), *The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VII: The old regime, 1713-63* (1st ed 1957, 5th reprint, Cambridge, 1988), pp 408-10.

once she did so, the nobles offered their only duty, their service in arms in return. This realistic political bargaining, however, did not stop contemporary writers from romanticizing the image of the young empress pleading with her gallant Hungarians for help.

Quoting from Voltaire¹⁰⁵ on this agreement with the nobles which turned the former sad story of Habsburg-Hungarian connections around, Nolan offered more insights to explain why he found the example relevant for his pamphlet. Ireland and her relations to the British empire was still considered to be in the territory of discontent, which, in Nolan's view, the Melbourne government had just started to alleviate. Contextualizing this background, the Hungarian element of the pamphlet became a powerful argument for considering and accepting the validity and the potential of long-term success the Whig government could bring both to Ireland and Britain. The future potential outcome of conceding to and alleviating Ireland's interests, something which Nolan perceived and identified as a worrying prospect on the British side, was eased and made look even favourable with the help of the Hungarian case. Nolan used it to demonstrate how satisfying the needs of a constituent territory of the empire could, with clever policy, be turned to the advantage of the said empire. This piece of Hungarian history constituted ample evidence, according to Nolan, as he ended the example with establishing:

The loyalty and military ardour of this generous people were for a year the chief protection of a depressed princess, stripped of her dominions and deserted by Europe. Sheltered by the Hungarians, she at length was able to collect the scattered strength of her allies and her empire, and the war proved in its progress as successful, as it was in its commencement dangerous and dispiriting.¹⁰⁶

This was the heart of Nolan's argument, where he wished to illustrate how much the loyalty of certain territories within any given empire contributed to the cohesion and strength of connections. The case of the Habsburg imperial crown and the Hungarian

¹⁰⁵ Voltaire [Francois Marie Arouet], *Essai sur l'histoire générale et sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* [An essay on universal history of the manners and spirit of nations] (7 vols, 1756). Nolan acknowledged the source himself.

¹⁰⁶ Nolan, *Ireland*, p. 3.

kingdom emerged here as it was tried, tested and proven to astound Europe. Nolan attributed the unique Hungarian reaction of supporting Maria Theresa, instead of deserting her, to the previous real-political vision of the sovereign.

In Nolan's view the Whig government in Ireland was pursuing this exact course which inevitably, as he argued and demonstrated with the Hungarian example, in due time would reap the desired benefits for all parties. The pamphlet, once it had established that the Whig governing principles were ideal for the empire and the Irish alike, went on to describe a group of people Nolan considered as hostile to the aims and interests of Ireland. The Orange or anti-Irish party in Nolan's pamphlet were pictured as a jealous and greedy group who would rather see development bypassing Ireland than share it with their Roman Catholic brethren. Although Nolan shared the sense of this newly created inseparable nationhood with Ensor, he took a further step by excluding from this circle those he did not consider belonging there. In his view, the 'hostile, anti-social class'¹⁰⁷ of the anti-Irish Orange party did not form part of the Irish nation. This nation was built from Roman Catholics and liberal Protestants, by the virtue of their work for the advancement of Ireland. Claiming that there was 'no hope for success in a struggle against the nation',¹⁰⁸ Nolan left two options for the Orange party, namely that they either face total political rejection or accede to the interests and needs of the majority. In this respect, Nolan viewed the Orange party as the only factor in Irish life which blocked Ireland's chances for development and advancement, similar to what Scotland had experienced as a result of changing policies and government under the union.

The political difficulties around Maria Theresa's accession, with the Hungarian reaction to her plea for help, together with the benefits Hungary had managed to gain during the short rule of Leopold II, became governing motives in the Irish perception of Hungary in the 1830s. Although Lord Donoughmore had introduced this very topic in his speech in the House of Lords on 21 April 1812, the pamphleteers who re-evoked these Hungarian examples in the 1830s gave a fresh twist to the religious element in Donoughmore's argument. This piece of Hungarian history, as political circumstances in

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ Nolan, *Ireland*, p. 9.

1740 gave Maria Theresa importance in the continent's power politics, served to illustrate how a group of Catholics could act, say in Ireland, in such a situation if a much needed compromise between the British empire and her Catholic subjects was realized. Lord Grenville shared this same view in his 21 April 1812 speech, declaring that Britain needed to realize that without emancipation, the empire would not be able to count on its Catholic subjects in times of danger.

It is interesting to see how this imperial-minded idea was revived during the 1830s when it could no longer function in its original religious context. The idea was imperial-minded as it not only considered Ireland's chances for actively developing her position within the empire but the other way round, it also offered more insights for Britain to see the use of concessions to Ireland in a new light. In this respect, it is not surprising to see both repealers and self-confessed Whig-sympathizers both looking back to such a special historic situation illustrated by Hungarian examples. From the repealers' point of view, which considered the re-establishment of an Irish native parliament among their central aims, an example that reflected and in fact attributed similar importance to constitutional matters was the ideal one.

Repealers, namely Ensor and O'Connell whose ideas were discussed above, found their model in the Hungarian diet of 1790-1 where the emperor, in a bid to reconcile the diet and the magnates, fully accepted that Hungary was a separate, independently-governed kingdom with her own traditions, and vested the legislative power jointly in the king and the diet. As in their opinion Ireland was setting out on a similar journey of bargaining with the British state for a better legislative position, they used the Hungarian case to argue and to convince their readers that the road chosen was a manageable one. Ensor, in an effort to contextualize how this was to be done in Ireland, reached back to 1782 and Grattan's parliament, and the Hungarian example thus was used merely to underline that 1782 not only could but should be repeated. The repeal of the Union, in this view, was equivalent to achieving a just change of status which would enable Ireland to secure proper legislative attention for her problems.

When it came to salvaging the problematic representation of Irish issues in the British parliament, the Whig supporter Nolan believed in providing full support for Melbourne and the Whig government, whose policies he saw as Ireland's route to

development. In this argument, as Nolan was not a repealer, there was no room for campaigning for an Irish parliament, unless the idea came from the Whig government itself. Given that Nolan's stand was more considerate and more sensitive when discussing the overall larger framework of the empire and Ireland's position within it, he did not risk this by encouraging or advocating steps which could have actively challenged this connection. This cautious approach was reflected in Nolan's foreign example as well. The Hungarian case he was analysing and posing as instructive looked less politicised from his imperial viewpoint. Maria Theresa's accession, as discussed, of course was not free from political overtones, albeit, these overtones were more of external than of internal significance. The example, where both Hungary and Maria Theresa could consider their bargaining as a successful business, lacked those crucial constitution-changing aspects which made the Hungarian diet of 1790-1 an example so alluring for repealers. Nolan needed a safer case-study for his pamphlet, something that did not result in transforming the studied country or that said country's relations with the respective empire under scrutiny. As the empress and the Hungarian diet's compromise was an agreement that respected both parties' interests without injuring the empire, Nolan found the message he was setting out to communicate in this story of 1740.

Although there were issues and arguments that Ensor and Nolan did not share, for example the Hungarian status quo agreement (1740) would not have suited or satisfied Ensor; there were connecting points within these dissimilarities. The realization that Irish political life had irrevocably changed after emancipation was a characteristic feature of the 1830s which they all shared. Nolan, Ensor, O'Connell, each of them with different backgrounds, all agreed that emancipation had created new frameworks for the Irish. Some went as far as using the term 'the Irish nation,' while others preferred the notion of brotherhood. Regardless of phrasing, they all agreed that this new found cohesion was a powerful force which had to be reckoned with, although they had different ideas as to how to capitalize on this potential. The 1830s was a decade of experimenting in Irish politics with testing reactions to the new situation after emancipation, trying to visualize new ways of co-operation previously unheard of and contemplating the future where the newly found community would be invincible together. As these initial overly optimistic feelings of an unbreakable kinship created by emancipation wore off, the 1840s gave way

to a more institutionalized, more impatient and less tolerant campaigning for diverse truths and values, which began to share fewer and fewer points of mutual interest with each other.

III. Hungary as a source of inspiration during the years of active repeal campaigning (1840s)

The year 1840 not only ushered in a new decade, it also signalled a change of political wind in the British empire in more than one respect. Whigs were replaced by Tories in government which in turn prompted O'Connell to revise and alter the tactic and plan of the repeal campaign. As active agitation was practically dormant during the Whig government, in the sincere but somewhat naïve hope of exchanging political support for the Whigs in return for valuable concessions for Ireland,¹⁰⁹ with the change of government, O'Connell renewed the campaign by establishing the Loyal National Repeal Association in 1840. As O'Connell and the repealers could not support the Tories, whom they viewed as ultimately hostile to Irish interests, the former policy of using political support as a means for securing advantages was out of the question. In this set of circumstances, the institutionalized repeal campaign aimed to be the organ for coordinating and providing substantial support for the newly required political campaigning against the Tories.

The intensity and complexity of the political situation was reflected in the Irish press too as there was a different publication to cater for each diverse viewpoint around O'Connell and the question of repeal. One of the most notable and influential newspapers of this period was *The Nation*, printed first on 15 October 1842, which shortly after its establishment became an illustrious member of the Irish nationalist pantheon. The paper itself was launched by the triad of Thomas Davis, John Blake Dillon and Charles Gavan Duffy, and although it entered the market in a difficult period, with a number of papers existing on the market, to quote Joseph Langtry and Brian Fay, it quickly became

¹⁰⁹ Kevin B Nowlan, 'O'Connell and Irish nationalism' in Kevin B. Nowlan and Maurice R. O'Connell (eds), *Daniel O'Connell. Portrait of a radical* (New York, 1985), p. 13.

popular.¹¹⁰ The circulation started with 12,000 copies and peaked at an estimated readership of 250,000. The actual number of readers can not be identified as through the repeal reading rooms more people got access to and read the paper than the copies it sold.¹¹¹ Although *The Nation* shared its basic structure and layout with other publications of the time, it still possessed a characteristic voice and style which distinguished it from any other paper. Although it is true that a dominant part of each issue of the newspaper was devoted to discussing national topics, this newspaper had other, hitherto relatively unknown aspects to challenge this trend. It needs to be stated that some articles actually put continental countries or regions in focus, in order to compare their situation to that of Ireland or even more, to draw conclusions from the continental example for Ireland's benefit.

Contrary to the rather critical argument of Barbara Hayley,¹¹² who states that *The Nation* had a negative effect on Irish interest in continental events, the present study introduces *The Nation* from a somewhat different angle. It is argued here that the publication of editorials and foreign despatches about events in continental Europe was not solely and exclusively motivated by the desire to supply Ireland with additional tools in her struggle against British domination. The very first issue of *The Nation*, besides declaring that '...our friendship hath arms for all lands under Heaven,'¹¹³ celebrated the launch of the paper with the enthusiasm that '*The Nation* comes forth, to commence its career of Wit, Wisdom and Worth [sic].'¹¹⁴ This combination of embracing the continent, the world beyond the British empire as such, and the continuous presence of cultural articles, elevated *The Nation* to a unique status within the papers of the era. It is worth noting that *The Nation* kept the characteristic format of including poetry and a series of letters of literary and political interest in every number throughout its publication. While it is true that Irish themes dominated these sections, it needs to be highlighted here that there were notable exceptions to this generality. I refer to some examples such as the

¹¹⁰ Joseph Langtry and Brian Fay, 'The Nation: Ideas and politics' in Joseph Langtry (ed), *A true Celt. Thomas Davis, The Nation, rebellion and transportation* (Dublin, 1998), p. 20.

¹¹¹ Ibid. Langtry and Fay do not indicate an exact year for this readership figure.

¹¹² Barbara Hayley, 'A reading and thinking nation: periodicals as the voice of nineteenth century Ireland' in Barbara Hayley and Enda McKay (eds), *Three hundred years of Irish periodicals* (Mullingar, 1987), p. 41.

¹¹³ *The Nation*, 15 Oct. 1842.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, see the poem entitled 'our first number' written by Thomas Davis.

section entitled 'Letters from an Irishman in France' which was serialized from 15 October 1842, Goethe's Erl König or Erl King, appearing 12 November 1842 in the poet's corner, or the geographical description of the cataracts of the Danube, taken from Kohl's *Austria* in the 30 September 1843 issue.¹¹⁵ Further examples include Davis' article in the 22 October 1842 issue entitled 'Foreign literature' which lamented 'the prevailing ignorance of continental literature in Ireland' and simultaneously called for German and French literature to be better known in Ireland.

Images of Hungary published and popularized in this decade were two-fold in their main character. On the whole these images featured as supportive and underlining parts to the process of Irish nation- and tradition-building which tied into the idea of the newly created brotherhood and community provided by emancipation. However, there were certain varieties at play within this field. One such was Hungary and the Austrian empire as contexts for the Irish connections with the Continent, mostly through soldiers, while the idea of using Hungary as part of a political argument during the elaboration and debate of repeal provided a very different angle to the same picture.

Owing to the nature of and motivation for using foreign examples, these latter type of images illuminated Hungarian events and political characteristics from a certain perspective, thereby tainting a potentially clear view with political concepts. In this respect readers of *The Nation* could only gather a somewhat distorted picture of Hungary, which was limited in its scope and facts. These examples tended to focus on one particular aspect rather than portraying the overall picture. Once the situation that created the need for the extra information or the underlining arguments had been resolved, more often than not the motive for comparison disappeared as well. Precisely owing to these theoretical characteristics of parallels and comparisons, the Irish interest and coverage of Hungarian examples, throughout the whole period under examination, had its initial limitations. This was typically manifested in focusing attention on different images and eras from the paralleled country or countries from a certain point of view. The aim was to

¹¹⁵ Johann Georg Kohl, *Austria: Vienna, Prague, Hungary, Bohemia and the Danube, Galicia, Styria, Moravia, Bukovina and the Military Frontier* (London, 1844). See Eva-Maria Stöter's thesis for a database on the articles and poems *The Nation* published about Germany in the 1840s. Eva-Maria Stöter, 'Irlandbild/Deutschlandbild: The reception of German culture in Ireland in the 1840s' (PhD thesis, NUI Maynooth, 2000).

illuminate or mirror specially selected details of a subject, reflecting what the comparing country, Ireland in this case, was primarily occupied with. Ireland in the 1840s in the perception of contemporaries was a nation in the making, a community created by the emancipation of 1829, therefore articles and parallels that addressed any step or aspect of this process were of immense interest.

In terms of the coverage of Austria and Hungary, these territories appeared quite frequently in the so-called ‘latest foreign intelligence’ section of *The Nation*, which included clippings without any or only short pieces of information retrieved from foreign newspapers. The editorials of *The Nation* were even more important. Among these, the writings of Thomas Davis represented a more complex world-view, with the aim of finding and securing Ireland’s place within that world. Davis incorporated Hungary and her status within the Austrian empire into his structure of arguments. Although Davis had already established his fundamental idea of ‘self-teaching’¹¹⁶ and explained his belief that ‘patriotism is human philanthropy [sic]’¹¹⁷ as early as 1840, it was through the issues of *The Nation* that he expanded on the nature of his cultural and political beliefs.

Davis connected the example of Hungary with the repeal movement’s central aim of seeing an Irish parliament restored. The image of Hungary served as a metaphorical and alluring depiction of a country which, though subject to the Austrian empire, still exercised a certain degree of self-government. This became a recurring motif that stretched through the entire decade. One of the earliest notable examples of this was Davis’ membership card for the Repeal Association, dated 17 April 1841, which listed the movement’s arguments for the cause. The left hand side motto of the card grouped countries based on their relative size and revenue, comparing them to Ireland, listing six bigger and sixteen smaller independent states. The card’s list bitterly acknowledged that even ‘Hungary, Norway and each of the United States of America have local parliaments...but Ireland has not a parliament.’¹¹⁸ These latter three examples were especially important as they were territories with no full independence, and therefore

¹¹⁶ [Thomas Davis], *An address read before the Historical society, Dublin on the 26th June 1840 by Thomas Davis, Esq.* (Dublin, 1840), p. 5.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹¹⁸ Thomas Davis Papers, N.L.I. MS 2644/505, no. 3919 Davis’s actual membership card is preserved in this collection.

were potentially instructive examples. The right hand side of the membership card listed important statistical figures for Ireland, including revenue and inhabitants, and moved on to declaring that all these problems could be explained ‘because Ireland has not a parliament,’¹¹⁹ elevating the securing of an assembly to the ultimate goal.

Davis took this basic policy and expanded on the general ideas behind it in a series of letters entitled ‘Letters of a Protestant on repeal’ published anonymously in *The Nation* throughout 1842 and 1843. The six letters elevated self-government from the movement’s aim to a central core argument that was further elaborated on with the help of foreign examples which included Hungary. Davis provided a well-balanced discussion of the topic in these letters as he was aiming to encourage a substantial and more importantly, Protestant support for the repeal campaign. At the same time, he was also keen on avoiding suggesting that a parliament would be an instant and perfect solution. Davis’ political universe however was governed by the belief that ‘knowledge is power, the power to be free,’¹²⁰ which in his reading meant that the Irish should be allowed self-government, to make decisions, albeit sometimes bad ones, for themselves.

This was the point where foreign examples entered his letters, stressing that regardless of the actual efficiency or political output of the assemblies existing in the Austrian empire, ‘they still have the *forms of* [sic] nationality.’¹²¹ In this line of argument, even the sheer existence of these local, however limited, assemblies made Austria fare better in a comparison with the British empire. It is not hard to detect the bitter tone in Davis’ following words:

We are accustomed to talk of Austrian tyranny and British freedom, yet even Austrian Italy has a Representative Assembly [sic]. The power of that Assembly is small, its mode of election is servile, and its decrees are subject to be overruled by a despot. Even this is denied us. We are not allowed a national *voice* [sic].¹²²

Despite what the first half of the quotation would suggest, Davis here was moving around in the realms of romantic political ideas where the existence of an assembly of any kind

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Thomas Francis Meagher (ed), *Letters of a Protestant, on repeal by the late Thomas Davis* (Dublin, 1847), p.9.

¹²¹ Ibid, p. 28.

¹²² Ibid.

would equate to a certain degree of national representation. His following sentence which practically identified an assembly as a convention ‘which authoritatively speaks the People’s [sic] wishes,’¹²³ only reinforced this initial impression. Davis’ use of the capital letter further underlined the importance he attributed to the future application of such an institution for Ireland. In this respect, this suggestion of opening politics up towards a larger public was much closer to and more appealing for the repealers than to the imagined community of Protestants he claimed to have been representing and speaking for.

The next section of the paragraph carried the idea even further to the state of a projected future by listing territories within the Austrian empire which took this elementary type of assembly to a higher level. Davis’ tone here was more hopeful:

But some of the Austrian states, such as the Tyrol and Transylvania, possess large powers, and exercise them freely, while Hungary has almost emancipated herself from Austria’s yoke. The next European war will perfect her independence and her neighbours will grow like unto her.¹²⁴

Davis was satisfied to see that the projected road of a local assembly had already proved to be fruitful in these instances, although he did not specify or elaborate what large powers these states had managed to obtain through the system. In the context of the bare theoretical working order of the principle this detail, technically, was not of central importance. In this respect the claim that Hungary was the most advanced on her road to independence served merely as an illustration for what was possible within this political theory. In essence, Davis was not interested in minute information about the legal history of these states, the when and how they obtained more control of their affairs, he was more impressed by the knowledge that development was possible from the initial stages. As the repeal movement already been through a turbulent decade with small scale successes, Davis was ready to embrace an idea which had the potential to be basic and wide-ranging at the start but left room for development. The broad-based start was especially important

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Meagher (ed), *Letters of a Protestant*, p. 28. This letter appeared in the 25 February 1843 issue of *The Nation*.

considering that he was writing these letters not only as a Protestant,¹²⁵ a group which was significantly underrepresented in the Repeal Association, but as a Protestant who was a firm believer in the reconciling effect of emancipation.

Hungary, as a country with a certain degree of self-government within the Austrian empire, thus was a constant source of inspiration and reference point. The 14 December 1844 editorial of *The Nation*, during the Irish militia debate, summoned Hungary's example, among others, to illustrate how allowing an army for Ireland would serve the interests of both the Irish and the empire.

Hungary, again, a loyal province of Austria, has not only her national parliament—she has her national army...the Hungarian army is voted by the Hungarian parliament, dressed in national costume and is the finest force in the Austrian service. Let Peel give us our parliament and our militia, and we warrant that her Majesty shall have no better disciplined force, nor one readier in just war, than her loyal Irish militia.¹²⁶

In this context, the argument stipulated that the Irish people's aspirations for a larger share in the management of their own affairs did not equate to disloyalty towards the empire. In the process of using Hungarian images the historic accuracy of details were not prerequisites in order to see the reasoning at work. The editorial did not put extra emphasis on the case of Hungary among the featured examples, which could explain the somewhat inaccurate details, as the establishment of a pattern was more important. The pattern as part of the overall argument, working on a basis similar to how foreign

¹²⁵ Davis was 'an Irishman not by race but by deliberate choice.' See: Michael Tierney, 'Thomas Davis, 1814-1845' in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* xxxiv (1945), p. 302. See for the Welsh-Anglo-Norman ancestry of Davis: John Molony, 'Davis, Thomas Osborne (1814-1845)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a2433&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browse-search=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

¹²⁶ *The Nation*, 14 December 1844. The details about the Hungarian example, such as the parliament, the army being voted by the parliament and the army dressed in national costume, were partly true. Hungary indeed had a parliament, although it was subordinated to the king and its resolutions were not enacted until the king's approval had been given. The army was indeed voted on by the parliament, not for Hungary's use but for the imperial army. There was no Hungarian army standing on its own, not before 1848: these regiments, and the quota of which the diet had the right to approve, were part of the imperial-regal army. Similarly, there were only twelve hussar regiments wearing the national costume the editorial mentioned. See: Gábor Bóna, 'A szabadságharc hadseregének nemzeti jelképei' [The national insignia of the army of the war of independence] in *História* [History], ii (2003). Available online through the Farkas Kempelen Digital Library at: <http://www.tankonyvtar.hu/historia-2003-02/historia-2003-02-081013>

examples were used during the emancipation campaign, was meant to underline that Ireland's wishes and interests were not out of tune with developments on the Continent. Naturally, the main idea behind pointing to specific foreign examples was to show images favourable to the aims of the repeal campaign, which, at the same time, could be still argued to be acceptable by the British as well. Hungary's case was particularly alluring to cite in this respect as the country enjoyed the parliament repealers were eager to see for Ireland while she still remained a loyal member of the empire. On the surface level, arguably, the Hungarian example was useful for implying that a similar course of events would unfold if Ireland's claims for a parliament were considered.

The idea of the need for a national assembly connected to a further step in Davis's political belief system where this new Irish community under formation needed to consider and discuss the basis of its existence, its past and its heroes and values, and issues relating to the present and to the future. In accordance with these points, Davis wrote a number of articles that addressed matters directly associated with these ideas. These writings were the ones that in turn shaped contemporary and later appreciation of Davis and elevated him to the position of a formative political thinker in the history of the Irish nation. These articles searching and emphasizing national myth and traditions also contained elements that touched upon Irish relations with the Austrian empire. The topic of Irish soldiers in Austria was commemorated by Davis a number of times, for instance, a poem entitled 'The battle eve of the brigade,' published in 30 December 1843 issue, and an article on 7 January 1843. Although Davis was not the first to allude to the topic, he was more deliberate in his elaboration of the topic as part of an effort to lay the basis of a common layer and structure of traditions.¹²⁷

The article entitled 'Foreign travel', published on 17 August 1844, took the idea of commemorating these Irish soldiers to a different level. Davis spelt out specifically how he expected Irish people to remember them, beyond reading articles about them, by describing 'how' they would need to travel.

¹²⁷ See the speech of Henry Grattan: *Hansard* 2, ixx, 614 (12 May 1828).

We want the Irish who go abroad to bring something back besides the weary tale of the Louvre and Munich, and the cliffs of the Rhine... We want our friends to carry a purpose for Ireland in their hearts, to study other lands wisely, and to bring back all knowledge for sustenance and decoration of their dear home.¹²⁸

There was no imminent political tactic behind this message, but the next paragraph of the article expanded on the plan Davis had in mind. Davis introduced the concept of travelling with a specific goal as there were ‘plenty of places worth investigating in connection to Irish military history.’¹²⁹ Listing places he considered especially notable in this respect, namely Scotland, France, Spain and Austria, he added the belief that the libraries and offices of these countries must have numerous documents and materials relating to Irish soldiers and brigades. He went even further and suggested that copies should be made of these manuscript and printed materials, with the aim of starting a collection of these items in Ireland, for the Irish people. He trusted that once these documents were available, the existing gap in scholarly and popular biographies of notable Irish soldiers he named the Browns and the Lacys, both families in Austrian service, would be bridged. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy reflected on the extent of the influence of Davis’s words when he stated that by 1845 there were a considerable number of ‘pupils’ who had actually started gathering materials relating to the Irish military experience on the Continent.¹³⁰

As a further basis for nation-building, Davis turned to ‘Our national language’ which practically summarized his credo on the Irish language. Davis was a firm believer in the essential link between a native language and the fate of a people, where the cultivation of the native tongue was a key to identity. In Davis’s appreciation language was not only as crucial for a nation as unique personal characteristics were for the identity of an individual, but it was identified as a vulnerable feature too. For Davis, taking away or losing this language equalled losing the very essence of the nation. In this particular respect, Davis considered the guarding of this element more important than a country’s

¹²⁸ *The Nation*, 17 Aug. 1844.

¹²⁹ *The Nation*, 17 Aug. 1844.

¹³⁰ Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, *Thomas Davis. The memoirs of an Irish patriot, 1840-1846* (London, 1890), pp 320-1.

territory. Listing examples from the history of ancient empires, Davis suggested that conquering a territory could only be considered complete if the conqueror managed to impose his own language, his own medium, on the conquered. Contemplating these arguments, his verdict thundered on the readers:

To lose your native tongue, and learn that of an alien, is the worst badge of conquest- it is the chain of the soul. To have lost entirely the national language is death, the fetter has worn through....There is hope for Scotland—strong hope for Wales –sure hope for Hungary.¹³¹

Although his readers could perceive the Irish situation in his words with ease, Davis kept the sensitive analysis on semi-neutral ground by referring to examples that were different but in some ways certainly similar to the Irish case. The Hungarian situation he especially hailed as blessed with the strongest beacon of hope as ‘the speech of the alien...is nearly expelled from [Hungary].¹³² Interestingly, Davis never explicitly alluded to the lengthy nature of the process of pushing the alien language to the realms of a comforting distance. In spite of this, readers could certainly detect from the breakdown of the examples into three categories that this would not be an easy task. The Hungarian case Davis introduced to the argument was fitting as the diet of 1839-40 had enacted a law that replaced Latin with Magyar as the official language of in legislative and administrative activities.¹³³ The latter part of Davis’s article turned the scope around and declared that Ireland and the Irish language suffered from the same problem, identifying English as the alien language. Running through centuries in a couple of sentences, Davis pinpointed that the main problem of the Irish situation was not the sheer presence of the English language but the length of that co-existence. The article ended with the realization that any plan for restoring the Irish language was an issue that required more than romantic rhetoric

¹³¹ *The Nation*, 1 Apr. 1843.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ The law extended this only to Hungary, exempting Croatia-Slavonia. See: George Bárány, ‘The age of royal absolutism’, p. 198. Davis’s argument was somewhat weak as there was a third language, in fact a dead language of administration, Latin. Emperor Joseph II (1780-90) had previously made attempts to Germanize the central administration, but the reaction of the Hungarian elite only triggered a nationalist reaction which set the stage for Hungarian reform aspirations and a lengthy movement to transform Magyar from a vernacular to an official language. On his deathbed, Joseph II revoked all his enactments, including the Germanizing ones, exempting his Toleration Patent (1781) only. See: *Ibid.*, pp 174-5.

although it failed to arrive at a comforting conclusion about the ways and means of doing so.

Davis revisited the topic in another article, 'The Irish language' in the 30 December 1843 issue, providing a somewhat elitist reading of potential methods. He believed that the effective way of cherishing Irish would ideally start from the upper classes, whose contribution, such as making Irish fashionable through teaching their children the meaning of place names and their history, would make the difference. In his estimation the involvement of the upper classes would be beneficial for turning around the persistent harmful trend rife among members of middle classes of looking down on Irish speakers. Davis also imagined the upper classes playing an important role in supporting learned societies, such as the Archaeological Society, and similarly the publication of bilingual newspapers.

It was at this point where Davis turned towards foreign examples again, in a bid to highlight that the idea was viable and had existing working examples on the Continent. Davis in fact claimed that such a practice was so common on the Continent that it was almost a disgrace that the Irish did not think of starting such a paper. Listing European and indeed North and South American examples, Davis mentioned Hungary in this list, claiming that papers in Magyar, Slavonic and German were published there as well. Terminating the article with a summary of his main arguments, Davis asserted:

With the exception of Hungary, the second language is, in all cases, spoken by fewer persons than the Irish-speaking people of Ireland, and while they everywhere tolerate and use our [imperial] language as a medium of commerce, they cherish the other [native tongue] as the vehicle of history, the wings of songs, the soil of their genius, and a mark and guard of nationality.¹³⁴

Davis's list, besides Hungary, featured whole continents, empires and smaller territories within empires, which made the objective comparison a difficult if not impossible task. Davis himself was not interested in the proportions of speakers, he was more moved by the nature of relations between these languages within these territories. This was the reason why he did not dwell on any of the examples in greater detail, as the theoretical

¹³⁴ *The Nation*, 30 Dec. 1843.

level of knowing and sharing the existence of situations similar to that in Ireland was amply satisfying.

Hungary here served a specific, in a way limited purpose. The mode and place where Davis mentioned the country suggested that she was on the same road to goals similar to those of Ireland, leaving the question of details open to interpretation. The extent of Hungary's progress or the actual steps she was taking was left in the realm of shadow, which fitted Davis's needs. In this manner details could not extinguish the power of the theoretical pattern where the path Davis imagined and described was actually a road already taken. These case examples were meant to encourage further discussion of the steps Davis envisaged, they were not meant to be studied in detail for inspiration for minute policies to be implemented in Ireland. They mainly illustrated how all these suggestions made sense and had the potential to achieve long-term goals.

The nature and aim of using foreign images in turn also had a more political significance. This different level of reasoning was the idea of using foreign examples and 'history, experience, the very events passing before our eyes, to prove that the fear of Catholic ascendancy is vain.'¹³⁵ Although this kind of thinking and tactic was not new, a previous chapter showed how it was utilized during the emancipation movement, and the fact that it was reincarnated in the 1840s, gave a particular twist to the original idea. Readers were given essentially the same list of Catholic countries and empires in Europe, such as France, Belgium and the Austrian empire, although the connections were somewhat hastily drawn, more in the manner of bullet-points rather than lengthy arguments. Although the main motive of illustrating that Catholics in power did not indulge in harmful treatment of other religious communities was present here too, in the 1840s it was more a starting point to a string of arguments than a future prospect.

With the aim of opening the eyes of the Irish, *The Nation* introduced a host of examples that were considered as instructive, inspiring or simply informative about potential approaches to nationhood. The listing of examples from different angles included small independent states, countries with Catholic and Protestant majorities where religious minorities were still fully recognized, and countries with a number of

¹³⁵ *The Nation*, 12 Aug. 1843.

religious groups and languages. These all served the aim to highlight the vast range of variety which awaited exploration.

He who fancies some intrinsic objections to our nationality to lie in the co-existence of two languages, three or four great sects, and a dozen of different races in Ireland, will learn that in Hungary, Switzerland, Belgium and America, different languages, creeds, and races flourish kindly side by side, and he will seek in English intrigues the real well of the bitter woes of Ireland.¹³⁶

These foreign examples were added to the argument as they were fitting illustrations for the notions of different languages, creeds and races indeed. This basic truth, however, satisfied the editors of *The Nation*, and none of these examples were elaborated on further. Either they believed that the philosophical level of mentioning the existence of such examples would be sufficient proof for their potential effect, or they hesitated to explore further as that could have resulted in the crushing of parallels. In this sense, the fact that it seemed that there were numerous examples where superficial research showed similarities with Irish problems was comforting enough. The knowledge of Ireland not being the only one struggling with multiple-tiered relations between languages and creeds provided an optimistic flare to their arguments. Showing that the management of such situations was possible served the interest of the paper to help convince and recruit more supporters for repeal, which was the paper's mode of changing Ireland's status. In this sense, a deeper digging into these examples might have resulted in the realization that these examples in fact contained no viable parallels. This not only would have destroyed the well-built up argument of this particular article but it would have delivered a crushing blow to Irish hopes and optimism that their situation was not unique, and to the assumption that if history repeats itself it certainly would repeat the favourable result too.

Foreign examples not only were constant sources for instructive insights and lessons to build on but they also embodied the hope that foreign sympathy was a road with dual directions. Not only could Ireland learn from these instances but the potential for recruiting supporters and sympathizers with Ireland's cause was alluring as well. Moreover, and perhaps most importantly, Irish people 'will learn toleration towards each

¹³⁶ *The Nation*, 22 Apr. 1843.

other's creed, distrust in our common enemy, and confidence in liberty and nationality.¹³⁷ The first part of the sentence appealed to the widest audience imaginable, although the latter parts probably raised questions in a number of them. Not so much the phrasing but more the content behind and understanding of these notions certainly carried divisive force within them. The very Protestants whom repealers were trying to win over would not have shared their identification of Britain as an enemy of Ireland. Even though, in theory, the need for more information and insights could not be debated, the reasoning behind it was not carefully phrased enough to leave room for the desired large support base. As long as *The Nation* believed and preached that Britain was 'the despot and defamer of Ireland for near seven centuries,'¹³⁸ its call for mutual respect within the new nation remained an empty gesture.

The topic of differing creeds was a recurring theme among the issues addressed in *The Nation*, and in fact in the writings of Davis too. In spite of the conscious and frequent utterances of the irrelevance of religion as a problem area in the life of the newly born nation, Ireland in the 1840s was a land still very much divided by the issue. The editors and writers of *The Nation* were aware of the sensitive nature of the question, which explained their returning to the topic regardless of their exclamations that it did not hamper Ireland's future any longer. The recurring pattern of a short sentence about apparently relevant continental examples could perhaps be viewed as an attempt from *The Nation's* side to address where the differences of the Irish situation lay when compared with other European countries. The repetitive nature of this particular angle within foreign examples was an intriguing feature of the Irish perceptions of Hungary in the 1840s. The presence of the topic of multiple creeds existing in harmony was an interest that connected naturally to the emancipation movement. The fact that this very topic was still stressed during the 1840s signalled problems with the prevailing concept of the new brotherhood. One of the main governing ideas behind this new community theory was the conviction that emancipation had paved the way to a different reality in Irish life. The persistence of religious-based issues signified how optimistic these theories were and the

¹³⁷ *The Nation*, 22 Apr. 1843.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

constant resurfacing of foreign examples seemed only to show how outdated these problems looked in the nineteenth century.

The picture was of course not that simple, as a further research into the history of these examples would show how complicated and far from being finite and settled those situations in fact were, such as in the Hungarian case. What is more important here is the way in which these territories were perceived in Ireland. These half empty Hungarian images, as they were never really elaborated on in detail, were indicative of a politically skewed viewpoint taking hold among nationalists. Part of the problem was that religion became a matter of constant referral for *The Nation*, which prevented the addressing of deeper set issues such as the real reason for the division in the question of repeal. This frequent returning to what was perceived as fundamental indicated the extent of these writers' misunderstanding and misreading of the situation. What they believed to be a notable although dormant and invisible Protestant support base was in fact more an imagined than a real thing. Until they had seen this group mobilized and their seemingly minor fears and discomfort settled, *The Nation* kept returning to what the editors believed explained the reluctance of these Protestants to join their ranks. The need to revisit the issue of the possibility of different creeds co-existing was thus, in a way, symptomatic of the continuing lack of high profile support repeal received. On the other hand, it also signalled how little *The Nation* understood the real driving force and reasons behind Unionist beliefs, which proved to be stronger than the new ideal of the fresh dawn for the Irish nation.

The year 1843 was important for many reasons, including the series of articles that Davis produced for *The Nation*, the editorials of the paper that shaped public opinion among repealers and for the repeal monster meetings organized by O'Connell throughout the country. The personality and character of O'Connell, as previous scholarship has established, was a pivotal factor in the history of repeal. A brief study of this aspect is required to facilitate a more complex understanding of the presence of continental and specifically Hungarian elements in the range of repeal arguments. O'Connell's connections with the Continent began in the early stages of his life as part of the family's tradition to send their sons 'to be educated in the Catholic colleges of Europe of the

ancien regime.’¹³⁹ During the formative years of the emancipation movement, O’Connell became one of the emblematic and most known figures on the Continent, inspiring the French and German Catholic movements from the 1830s onwards.¹⁴⁰ The Austrian empire and within that Hungary were no exceptions to the European trend of knowing about O’Connell and the challenge he posed for the British government. O’Connell himself mentioned this during a meeting of the Repeal Association, where he proudly announced that ‘Ireland’s conditions are now known all over Europe...it [Ireland’s condition] has been talked of in the mountains of Hungary.’¹⁴¹ His political methods and aims inspired widespread support and discussion on the Continent, and O’Connell was pleased to say that his ‘humble name has penetrated and become familiar along the Carpathian mountains.’¹⁴²

The year 1843 also witnessed the reactivation of the federalist idea which, this time, demanded more attention and consideration from repealers. Compared with the federalism in the 1830s introduced and represented by the Reverend Thaddeus O’Malley,¹⁴³ political theorists of the 1840s represented a more substantial group not only in their numbers but also in their political weight. As repeal was mostly silent during the 1830s, federalism did not stir too much concern among the representatives and supporters of repeal in that decade. The changes in the following decade, in terms of the repeal

¹³⁹ Gearoid Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the Famine, 1798-1848* (2nd ed, Dublin, 1991), p. 52.

¹⁴⁰ Geraldine Grogan, ‘Daniel O’Connell and European Catholic thought’ in *Studies: An Irish quarterly review*, lxxx (1991), pp 56-64.

¹⁴¹ *The Nation*, 25 March 1843. The editorial of this issue listed Hungary among the slave nations of the world, calling for ‘sympathy’ for all struggling nations.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* Possible sources for O’Connell’s information are manifold. Count Aurél Dessewffy, a contemporary of Count Széchenyi, known for his formative role in Hungarian conservatism, visited Britain and Ireland on an official trip to study prisons in these countries and on 24 August 1840 he had lunch with O’Connell and the lord lieutenant, Viscount Ebrington. For Dessewffy, see George Bárány, pp 200-1, see also András Csorba, *Magyar-Ír kapcsolatok 1867-ig* [Hungarian-Irish relations until 1867] (Debrecen, 1944), part of the series *Debreceni Angol Dolgozatok* [English essays from Debrecen]. See especially chapter three which discusses connections in the nineteenth century. Equally possible sources were two travellers, Lőrinc Tóth and István Gorove who also met O’Connell during their respective travels. See: Lőrinc Tóth, *Úti tárca* [Travel notes] (5 vols, Pest, 1844) and István Gorove, *Nyugat* [West] (2 vols, Pest, 1844) respectively. See also: T. Desmond Williams, ‘O’Connell’s impact on Europe’ in Kevin B. Nowlan and Maurice O’Connell (eds), *Daniel O’Connell. Portrait of a radical* (New York, 1985), pp 100-6.

¹⁴³ [O.M.T.B., Thaddeus O’Malley], *The federalist, or, a series of papers showing how to repeal the Union, so as to avoid a violent crisis, and, at the same time, secure and reconcile all interests* (Dublin, 1831).

campaign, also inspired repealers to aim for extending their circle of supporters. This latter policy materialized in active campaigning but also in experimenting with an expansion of ideas and programmes. Federalism was an ideal candidate for such ventures as it presupposed a certain degree of liberal thinking from its advocates and constituted a step away from the traditionally embedded way of thinking about the union. Similarly federalism also allowed for an intellectual adventure in attempting to identify common shared points with repeal or highlighting its deeper flaws.

John Grey Vesey Porter (1818-1903) was a landowner in Fermanagh; during his career he held the office of the high sheriff, deputy lieutenant and justice of peace in his native county.¹⁴⁴ Porter owned 1,288 acres in Belleisle, Lisbellaw, County Fermanagh worth £373, which put him into a respectable position when considered together with his offices.¹⁴⁵ The telling title of his pamphlet, *Some agricultural and political Irish questions calmly discussed*, caught the attention of repealers. The pamphlet's considerable length, with its eight chapters, commanded attention and analysis in itself, although its title with its promise of a calm discussion of ideas had the potential for building a closer working relation too. This initial inviting tone was reflected in Porter's choice of a Latin cover motto which read: 'horas non numero nisi serenas.'¹⁴⁶ The phrase, which Porter acknowledged seeing inscribed on a sun-dial, can be translated as 'I number none but shining hours.'¹⁴⁷ The meaningful choice of motto radiated optimism and trust in a successful cooperation and in the untangling of the web of Irish relations and grievances.

The conciliatory approach and novel position of the pamphlet was duly supported by the preface which declared and defined Porter's standpoint thus:

I write for Ireland, not against England, and sincerely hope, that every day will more firmly unite Ireland with Great Britain, and believe that both countries in this way can be

¹⁴⁴ Hugh Montgomery-Massingberd (ed), *Burke's Irish family records* (London, 1976), p. 52.

¹⁴⁵ [J. Ball Greene ?], *Land owners in Ireland in 1876. Return of owners of land of one acre and upwards, in the several counties, counties of cities, and counties of towns in Ireland...* (reprint ed, Baltimore, 1988), p. 285.

¹⁴⁶ John Grey Vesey Porter, *Some agricultural and political Irish questions calmly discussed* (London, Dublin, 1843). This quotation appears on a sundial in a fountain in Powerscourt gardens in Enniskerry, Co. Wicklow.

¹⁴⁷ Jon R. Stone, *The Routledge dictionary of Latin quotations: the illiterati's guide to Latin maxims, mottos, proverbs and sayings* (New York, 2005), p.167.

more happy, more powerful, and can better carry out the views of Providence, than alone by themselves.¹⁴⁸

The conscious placing of Ireland in this equation accompanied Porter's firm opinion that the key to salvaging the Irish situation lay in the strength of the connection between Ireland and Britain. More importantly, Porter believed that the British could reap benefits from ensuring the Irish interest in maintaining a strong union. Not being an idealist dreamer, Porter found the presence of divergent opinion elemental and instructive at the same time.¹⁴⁹ This part of the preface clarified the pivotal, firm and flexible elements of Porter's position. In this particular respect, on the one hand, Porter was not willing to discuss the validity of the union between Britain and Ireland. However, on the other hand, he allowed room for reconsidering the nature and practical applications of the same connection. Porter realized the need and supported ways of taking country-specific, or local, issues into account. He also knew that these questions had to be measured against the needs for the maintenance of the union. Although he was confident that the union's positive effects outweighed its negative ones, Porter still could not dismiss pessimism as the two countries were 'so different in age of civilization and in circumstances.'¹⁵⁰ Acknowledging how Ireland had developed in the decades prior to the pamphlet, Porter's innermost fear remained his suspicion that 'each party [the two countries] will still find too fruitful sources of discord in difference of blood and religion.'¹⁵¹

These words portrayed one of Porter's reasons for writing the pamphlet, as he was aiming to provide counterexamples to the alarming trend of pointing to what separated the two countries. Porter, in a more constructive manner, was rather concentrating on finding a way to carve out a working relationship. He displayed an in-depth understanding of the dual perspectives present in the relation of the two countries, where Ireland's ambition for a more locally-minded government was the source of great concern in Britain. In Porter's reading the cry for repeal was a symptomatic reaction to a genuine problem although he was not supportive of its theories and practical means. By

¹⁴⁸ Porter, *Some agricultural*, p. v.

¹⁴⁹ 'But when two friends choose to live together, must they not make some allowance for difference of opinions on many private questions? Must they not also refuse to gratify their own particular interest at one another's expense?' Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, p. vi.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

positioning himself as standing ‘by the land of my birth,’¹⁵² Porter differentiated himself from the dichotomy of the Catholic-Protestant distinction. He took this argument further by asserting that neither Protestants nor Catholics could claim to be a ‘veritatis index’¹⁵³ reference point. This resonated well with the 1830s theory of new brotherhood which he interpreted in his own ways.

Although Porter understood that the repeal movement was not aiming for separation, he still provided insightful and perhaps prophetic arguments for staying within the empire.

In my humble opinion, Ireland is better as she is, for our shameful internal divisions that prevent us from enjoying the blessings of union, would still torment us, perhaps more fiercely, in a state of independence.¹⁵⁴

Porter’s understanding of the depth of internal divisions in Ireland was closely connected with his wishes that the Irish should be allowed a chance to address and tackle these issues among themselves. Porter realized the need for a forum where these various groups and ideas could freely meet, and this culminated in the writing of his pamphlet. Porter was aiming to provide arguments for a suggestion that could be supported and accepted by a wider political palette, a scheme that operated on a level above the more immediate views of each individual group. The envisaged medium could either have taken the shape of a string of provincial assemblies attending to Irish domestic issues, or the meeting of the imperial parliament in Dublin in every third year.¹⁵⁵ In accordance with the spirit of discussion he advocated, Porter did not wish to publish a definite declaration on the subject either. Instead of that he was content with lining up his opinion, as a start of a conversation. He simply declared the need for some sort of domestic legislation, where the modes and ways of that were subject to dialogue. This rhymed well with repeal’s claims and interest in locality and nationality, which equally considered a domestic assembly important.

¹⁵² Porter, *Some agricultural*, viii.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, vii.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, ix.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, vi.

Positioning the country in a larger European framework, Porter identified Ireland as

...an ever fruitful nursery of soldiers for the British armies, of cheap labourers for her great works, what Sicily was to Rome, what Hungary is to Austria.¹⁵⁶

Without further elaboration on these examples, Porter portrayed Ireland as an unequal partner subjected and seconded to British interests. Porter was keen to stress that he was not satisfied with this image and saw a more localized, domestic government as a means to improve the situation. Porter was convinced that Ireland's secondary status was a temporary situation which was a result of a hole in the fabric of the union which could be mended by delegating a degree of self-government to the country. It is crucial to understanding Porter's position and suggestions that he never doubted the usefulness and higher purpose of the union between Britain and Ireland. His suggestions and theory only envisaged a small adjustment in the structure of the union, not a repeal of it.

The temporary character he attributed to Ireland's situation fitted Porter's general conviction that the country was 'a star in herself, in her own right.'¹⁵⁷ Porter was so convinced that Ireland was destined for much more than being a satellite orb to Britain that he dismissed and reprimanded those who entertained pessimistic thoughts about the abilities of the Irish to manage their own internal affairs. The perspective of 'let our faults be our own'¹⁵⁸ found correlations with the political thought of Thomas Davis, similarly echoing ideas of *The Nation's* editorial 'ourselves alone' discussed above. In Porter's optimistic conclusion, if the causes of Ireland's problems lay within, naturally, the solution equally would come from within, and this struck chords familiar to Davis as well.

A major difference was Porter's refusal to consider, even at a theoretical level, a rethinking of the theory of the connection between Britain and Ireland, let alone the separation of the two countries.¹⁵⁹ Porter extended his arguments for this connection with

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 6. Similar ideas were elaborated on by the federalists of the 1870s, see chapter 5.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 7.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 10.

¹⁵⁹ Porter, *Some agricultural*, pp 80-1.

economic points when he identified the British empire as ‘the most flourishing richest commercial company of the world,’¹⁶⁰ from which Ireland could not afford to be left out.

Rethinking local government as a means to alleviate the absentee landlord situation, Porter posed Hungary as a counter-example. When talking about the issue of fee-simple tenure of land in chapter three, Porter reviewed customs present in other European countries such as Norway and France with their large portion of small tenures, which he found commendable. Hungary, on the other hand, seemed to be the odd one out on Porter’s list.

Hungary...the richest and worst-tilled country in Europe, where the landstates [sic] are immense, in the hands of noblemen much in debt, and living at Vienna, still more than Irish landlords in London, is an example of the opposite case.¹⁶¹

Porter’s depiction of contemporary Hungarian noblemen in the grip of their debt was very accurate. Salvaging the situation became one of the central issues of the reform diets of the 1830s and 1840s, with Count István Széchenyi campaigning for the abolition of the feudal institution of *aviticitas* which prevented the establishment of a modern economy. This practice and law had been introduced in 1351 by King Louis I of Anjou (1342-82) in a bid to perpetuate the nobility’s ownership of land.¹⁶² As this law practically assigned the ownership of the land to the whole family, on whose extinction the land was repossessed by the king, it rendered selling the land virtually impossible. This on the other hand also hindered the introduction of credit-based economic practices, which was the reason for Count Széchenyi’s vehement attack in his influential *Hitel* [On credit] in 1830.¹⁶³ The Irish parallel of absenteeism with the Hungarian aristocrats’ preference for the centre of the empire, Vienna, served as an illustration as well. It underlined that although Irish problems were serious, and were shared with Hungary, Hungary’s prospects for potential changes to turn her from the harmful track she was on were poorer.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 80.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, p. 56.

¹⁶² Paul Lendvai, *The Hungarians: a thousand years of victory in defeat* (trans, London, 2003), p. 69, first published in Munich, 1999 in German. For more on the background to and contents of *On credit*, see George Bárány, ‘The age of royal absolutism’, pp 191-3.

¹⁶³ Lendvai, *The Hungarians*, p. 198.

Porter's chapter six on Maynooth devised a plan for turning priests of the Catholic church towards conservatism in line with European models. The point has been made that Irish Catholics, contrary to European trends, were the driving force behind liberalism, while Irish Protestants, against the European tide, were representatives of conservatism.¹⁶⁴ Interestingly, Porter was arguing for reversing this trend, suggesting that by providing a small fixed income for Irish Catholic priests, they would develop a more cooperative relationship with the state. That should not present a problem, according to Porter, as 'what church [would] more easily work with a monarchical government than the Roman Catholic?'¹⁶⁵ Porter's main objection to the Catholic church was that its members cultivated connections to and support for the repeal movement and its political tactics. Porter perceived these tendencies as working counter to the interests of the state and the government. To illustrate how he envisaged the cooperation of church and government, Porter turned to another foreign example.

The wise Austrian government, instead of thwarting this Church [Catholic], put itself at its head, and not only has never had any trouble from the ambition of its priests, but uses their influence in its own political interests.¹⁶⁶

Inviting and impressive as this example seemed, Porter failed to stress that the dimensions under discussion were not exactly similar. The Austrian empire, the over-arching state entity, was one of the bastions of the Catholic faith in Europe, and Hungary within that was predominantly Catholic as well. The religious situation in the British empire contradicted this with the conflicting relationship between the Protestant religion of the ruling and governing elite and the Catholicism of the political minority. Viewing it from this particular perspective, Porter's suggestion for the government to introduce official payment for Catholic priests had an especially sensitive and debatable angle.

Porter approached the Repeal Association with an open mind, eager to develop a working relationship. He felt more comfortable approaching the Protestant members of the association. For instance, he held William Smith O'Brien in great respect, as their

¹⁶⁴ Jacqueline Hill, 'Irish identities before and after the Act of Union', in *Radharc*, ii (2001), p. 65.

¹⁶⁵ Porter, *Some agricultural*, p. 100.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

correspondence firmly underlines. Although both Davis and O'Brien knew about Porter and his writings well before Davis mentioned him at the repeal meeting of 10 September 1844, this relationship was confined to correspondence around that time.¹⁶⁷ Within the ranks of repealers, O'Connell weighed the federalist idea by its potential use for repeal as opposed to considering it in its own right. Initially he was convinced that the longer the essential discussion of the theory itself was kept open, the better it served the movement. O'Connell realized that a dialogue on the basis of the principle kept details and potential specific points of objections reasonably at bay.¹⁶⁸ This fitted the general aims of the association, as it could still advertise the discussion with Protestants without providing crucial details on the nature of the discussions.

Two days before the Darrynane manifesto of 14 October 1844 which openly declared in favour of federalism, O'Connell confided to his close friend Patrick Fitzpatrick his real reasons for supporting it. O'Connell considered federalism as accumulating in nature, although for him it was not central as an idea in itself, he was more interested in its advocates and supporters, who were not repealers. The openly declared connection of repealers to federalists firstly implied that repeal, similarly to emancipation, had started to reach out and broaden its supporter base. Thomas Davis, contrary to O'Connell's utilitarian and fluctuating approach to federalism, held a firm opinion. Although he was convinced that federalism was not the answer for the Irish situation, he nevertheless believed that '...it deserves a fair trial and perfect toleration.'¹⁶⁹ More importantly, however, this came from his conviction that Irish nationalism was destined for success, with or without federalism.

The personality of O'Connell and his later withdrawal from federalism, despite Charles Gavan Duffy's later implication that it had contributed to the breaking down of relations with the Young Irelanders,¹⁷⁰ was more a symptom of already existing dissonances than the real cause of disagreement. Porter's open approach met with temporary lukewarm support from repealers' side. Although the federalist idea was

¹⁶⁷ See the correspondence of William Smith O'Brien, for e.g.: Thomas Davis to William Smith O'Brien, undated 1843 (N.L.I. MS 432/880, 882, 887) and idem, 28 Aug. 1843 (MS 432/881).

¹⁶⁸ Daniel O'Connell to Patrick Vincent Fitzpatrick, 8 October 1844. W.J. Fitzpatrick (ed), *Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell, the liberator* (2 vols, London, 1888), ii, 331.

¹⁶⁹ William Smith O'Brien papers, Thomas Davis to William Smith O'Brien, 18 October 1844 N.L.I. MS 434/1295

¹⁷⁰ Duffy, *Young Ireland*, ii, 111, 120.

inviting, inspiring and had potential for bringing different sections from the Irish political palette together, it still proved to be too far a stretch for repealers. Firstly, O'Connell lost his former grip on the forming of ideologies within the repeal movement, which was clearly manifested in the varying reactions to his sudden support and later withdrawal from federalism. More importantly, however, federalism, even with its moving away from former centralizing governmental principles towards localization, was already too little too late for nationalists.

Once O'Connell realized that the Repeal Association was not fully and completely supportive of federalism, and the federalists did not publish a substantial manifesto of cooperation, the effort was doomed. O'Connell not only backed out from the federalist experiment but he also made it clear that there was no turning back. Despite these events, during the rest of 1844 and 1845, repealers still paid attention to Porter's writings. After a short lived membership of the Repeal Association,¹⁷¹ which brought more controversy than clarification to surface, Porter realized the impossibility of long-term cooperation. Seeing the insurmountable difficulties and difference in point of views, Porter thus cried out in desperation in the preface of his next pamphlet:

It will require some severe lessons to develop the instinct of government over two such dissimilar islands in so great a crowd. Oh, the comfortable smoothness of Austrian despotism!¹⁷²

This pamphlet put Porter in a mediating position, where he stepped away from the traditional Protestant political positioning towards a policy he hoped could resonate favourably with repealers' wishes. As he could not entirely depart from his original views, let alone support repeal, Porter embodied the futility of the experiment.

The fact that repealers and the Young Irelanders group did not share this compromising point of view proved to be the source of problems not just for Porter but for generations to come. The seeds of distrust had been sown.¹⁷³ The dilemma that D.

¹⁷¹ Duffy, *Young Ireland*, ii, 139-40.

¹⁷² John V.G. Porter, *Some calm observations upon Irish affairs. Letter B.* (Dublin, London, 1845), x.

¹⁷³ See for example: Duffy, *Young Ireland*, ii, 139-40. William Smith O'Brien to Thomas Davis, 6 August 1845 N.L.I. MS 2644/357-65 Thomas Davis to William Smith O'Brien, 30 November 1844 N.L.I. MS 434/1282

George Boyce described as William Sharman Crawford's,¹⁷⁴ was in fact very true for Porter as well. Porter also found it difficult to reconcile his efforts, as an Irish Protestant, to improve Ireland's situation in the face of British indifference, with the dominating political programme of Irish nationalism. The restrictive 'deal or no deal' attitude of Irish nationalism, which did not allow for alternatives beyond the already existing binary forms, practically denied federalism its breathing space.

In conclusion, in comparison with the 1830s, the decade of the 1840s saw more diversity in terms of the issues touched upon, which culminated in the moving towards addressing specific elements of the new brotherhood idea. Whereas pamphleteers of the former decade speculated on the sheer possibility of a new community, *The Nation* in 1840s, through the active involvement of Thomas Davis, dug deep into the details of 'how' to establish that said brotherhood. Davis's articles in *The Nation* spelt out steps on the way to enjoying this nationhood, the phrasing of which concept was new to the decade. As it was a rather novel concept and ideology, the sourcing of inspiration and parallel examples from the Continent seemed a logical move. This interest manifested itself in finding positions similar to that of Ireland in order to see how the complications could and perhaps should be addressed and to study various approaches and their results. This aimed not so much at avoiding the complexity of the Irish problem, although few realized that so clearly as Davis, as to encourage readers of *The Nation* to get more actively involved in what was perceived as an overall interest of the nation. The examples cited were more general guidelines than actual minute directions to be followed. Davis and *The Nation* were very instructive in finding, inserting and actively referring to examples on the Continent, among which Hungary featured numerous times.

In contrast to the emancipation period, Irish parliamentary speeches in the 1840s did not include Hungary to the extent of identifying particular policies of relevance to Ireland. This can be explained by the contrast between the two movements, where repeal was in a constant struggle to widen its support base within and outside of Ireland.

¹⁷⁴ D. George Boyce, 'Federalism and the Irish question', in Andrea Bosco (ed), *The federal idea. The history of federalism from Enlightenment to 1945* (2 vols, London, New York, 1991), i, 121.

Whereas emancipation saw high-profile campaigners, repeal never gained such levels of support. The emancipation period saw a lot of debate about the theoretical acceptance and outcomes of the policy, which created the chance for Hungarian images and examples to be introduced, such as the ideas of Sir John Newport. Compared to this, repeal never reached such levels of acceptance as to require discussion of the modes and ways of enacting it: it was dismissed completely in Westminster. This did not support the creation of an enduring ideology around repeal, as M.P.s had to struggle to keep the topic alive, not leaving the chance for constructive discussion of its potential contents.

These backdrop patterns explain the increasing presence of repeal ideologies in pamphlets and newspapers published in Ireland in the period, as the country was the home-base of the movement, a scene of constant recruiting. As opposed to the emancipation movement, repeal was much more dependent on such methods just to validate its existence, let alone establish a firm supporting community in Ireland. There was a pronounced difference in the political appeal enjoyed by the two movements which the constant publication of pamphlets did not seem to alleviate. Hungary, in this context, appeared as a country advancing on the same route as Ireland. *The Nation* and Davis's articles pictured Hungary as a country which possessed some of the very institutions that repealers were striving to secure for Ireland. As a parliament for Ireland was central to the ideology of repeal, the Hungarian diet, its sheer existence, was a constant source of reference and interest.

Articles which addressed the Irish situation, its ways of resolving the lack of local input to politics and government of the island, all found inspiration in the case of Hungary. In this context the fact that the Hungarian diet was in fact subordinate to the Austrian government and the king, who was the Austrian emperor, just made the example seemingly more fitting. Hungary became a sort of guarantee that adhering to the wish of repealing the union, which was seen as the ultimate cure, would not result in opening the floodgates for Irish disloyalty towards the empire.

Interestingly, for *The Nation*, the Hungarian diet was more a looming image than a real entity as the diet's actual debates and enactments were not central to the paper's interest. The image of the Hungarian diet, as a source of local power, together with its shortcomings, was more appealing at a distance. As repeal was not interested in the

domestic politics of another country, there was no need to go into great depth about Hungarian politics. The image of the Hungarian diet in the Irish context functioned as an example of local legislation within an imperial entity; its sheer existence was the very thing repeal was campaigning for. As Ireland did not have its parliament back, the rhetoric, naturally, was not focused on the theme of internal imperial power struggles of such legislations. In this sense, *The Nation* did not fail to engage with reality, but it has rather created its own version of it where the establishment and continued existence of a local parliament was already portrayed as an undisputed success. Once the notion of the Hungarian diet legislating for Hungary within the Austrian empire has been established, as it could not go further, all the paper was left with was repeating this image like a mantra.

Furthermore, there was no interest in comparing Ireland closely with another country, in fact on the contrary there was a pronounced interest in establishing the uniqueness of Ireland. Digging deep into another country's internal working and situation would have gone contrary to these aims. This did not mean that repeal was not open to and not in need of foreign comparisons. However, it did mean that there was a well-established and identifiable limit to that interest. As emancipation had introduced the idea of posing continental countries as instructive and influential arguments in a debate, for the purposes of supporting and underlining central claims, the repeal decades simply had to return to the idea and reintroduce it.

The absence of in-depth details, however, did not necessarily go together with limitations in a broader sweep of topics addressed. The Repeal Association, beyond Davis's already diverse articles, commissioned a sub-committee to prepare commercial reports on various countries in order to establish what approach or policy would prove beneficial for Ireland. One of these reports dealt with the Austrian empire and established the existence of the internal customs tariffs within the empire and its adverse effects for the Hungarian economy.¹⁷⁵ The Irish attention to Hungary was not left unreciprocated. Hungarian writers and some periodicals also addressed the Irish situation, with the Famine emerging as one topic of notable interest, along with the figure of Daniel

¹⁷⁵ [John O'Connell], *First report of the sub-committee of the loyal national repeal association on the papers in course of presentation to parliament, entitled 'Commercial tariffs and regulations of the several states of Europe and America'* (Dublin, n.d.[1844?]), pp 16-7.

O'Connell.¹⁷⁶ However, members of the Hungarian elite were turning more towards the British empire, and more notably towards the British parliament and the British industrialization as a source of admiration.¹⁷⁷ The works and entire career of Count Széchenyi could not be interpreted or understood without the context of the British influence on his thinking.

In a sharp contrast to repeal, a movement interested in all aspects of nationhood ranging from nationalist taste to foreign policy, federalism moved on rather limited grounds when it came to applying foreign examples. As federalism was more concerned with the nature of state-connections between Ireland and the British empire, it did not address specific issues of Irish politics to the same degree. A study of such a connection made it natural to mention the Austrian empire, given its diverse territories united under one crown, as a fitting example to suggest that federalism indeed worked. In fact this idea proved to be enduring enough to keep reappearing well after O'Connell had denounced the applicability of the theory.¹⁷⁸ This federalist idea interpreted the nature of connections within the Austrian empire quite liberally, disregarding the real cohesion of domination represented by the crown. In this respect federalists used foreign examples in a similar way to repealers as they tended to focus on the sheer existence of the connection. This on the other hand meant that their neglect of details resulted in a misshaped image of Austria and Hungary's place within the empire.

What connected these usages of foreign images was the somewhat distorted perspective they adopted. The idea of finding examples similar to Ireland, albeit superficial and relevant only in theory, served the motive of broadening the range of political arguments without getting lost in inapplicable and perhaps conflicting details. Once this basic interest was satisfied, neither parties went deeper, which impaired their understanding of Hungary and her situation within the Austrian empire. Although the broader sweep was justified by the Irish interest for instructive patterns and arguments, it also resulted in a lack of insightful interpretation. As these images of Hungary were used

¹⁷⁶ András Csorba, *Magyar-Ír kapcsolatok 1867-ig* [Hungarian-Irish relations until 1867] (Debrecen, 1944). Part of series 'Debreceni Angol Dolgozatok' [English essays from Debrecen] See especially chapter three on connections in the nineteenth century and chapter four for the perception of Daniel O'Connell.

¹⁷⁷ John Kósa, 'The early period of Anglo-Hungarian contact', in *American Slavic and East European Review*, xiii (no 3, Oct. 1954), p. 424.

¹⁷⁸ See e.g.: Michael McKenna, *Federalism illustrated and the integrity of the British empire demonstrated...* (Dublin, 1847).

for specific argumentative and illustrative purposes, they did little more for the causes they were applied to than providing colourful yet underdeveloped background.

Chapter 4: **Irish responses to the Hungarian revolution and war of independence, 1848-49**

In European history the year 1848 came to symbolize the growing challenge that nationalist movements posed for dynastic order. The results of this power test were varied at the end, with France establishing the second French republic while the Italian, German and Hungarian movements, along with the Irish revolution, remained, ultimately, unsuccessful by the end of 1849. Although these unsuccessful movements all had peculiar national and regional characteristics of their own, they were all similar in the significance they came to embody in the history of their respective peoples and in the influence they exercised on the thinking and actions of later generations. Although they failed to reach their planned goals in 1848, these movements nevertheless opened up and set certain potential political forces in motion which came to bear fruit in the more distant future. Besides these outcomes which followed the actual events of these revolutions, the year 1848 was also special in the way these various movements felt a certain degree of ‘togetherness’ and shared brotherhood in their respective objectives.

This was particularly true for the Irish movement which was keen on looking at France, Italy¹ and Hungary² for inspiration and in fact for justification that the time for action had indeed come. This chapter is going to examine the Irish perceptions, images and analyses of the Hungarian revolution and war of independence (1848-49) through a variety of sources. Primary emphasis is going to be laid on images and opinion conveyed by influential contemporary newspapers where the views expressed in editorials will be compared and contrasted. These newspapers, namely *The Nation*, *Freeman’s Journal*, *Dublin Evening Post* and *Dublin Evening Mail*, have been

¹ D.N.Petler, ‘Ireland and France in 1848’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxiv, no. 96 (Nov. 1985), pp 493-505.

Giovanni Costigan, ‘Romantic nationalism: Ireland and Europe’ in *Irish University Review*, iii, no. 2 (Autumn, 1973), pp 141-52.

Gary K. Peatling, ‘“Continental crossings”: European influences on British public opinion and Irish politics, 1848-2002’ in *History of European Ideas*, xxvii, no. 4 (2001), pp 371-87.

² Thomas Kabdebo, ‘The Irish and the Hungarian 1848’ in idem, *Ireland and Hungary. A study in parallels with an Arthur Griffith bibliography* (Dublin, 2001), pp 47-52.

William O’Reilly and Andrea Penz, ‘Rebellion und Revolution—Das Jahr 1848 in Irland und Ungarn’ in idem, *Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit als imperative Postulate. Nationale Bewegungen in Irland und Ungarn im Vergleich, 1780-1870* (Graz, 2006), pp 68-77.

selected for their wide circulation and their difference in political outlook and target readership, nationalist, liberal and unionist alike, in an aim to provide a more complex Irish view.

Newspapers in the period were not entirely free as they were regulated by a variety of measures ensuring governmental presence and control. The high taxation rates, which included a set stamp duty of 2d. after each copy and a 1d. advertisement duty on every printed ad,³ were aimed at opposition, liberal and nationalist, papers, which, due to their higher circulation numbers, had more advertisements in them. These taxes not only forced opposition papers to raise their prices above those of the governmental ones, but the additional expense also made it hard for them to survive without governmental assistance.⁴ Although the governmental subsidy system, introduced by Robert Peel during his term as chief secretary of Ireland, had collapsed by the end of the 1820s, the indirect filtering process of taxes and the direct attacks of prosecutions in court ensured that not the information itself was limited, but the newspapers' freedom to interpret them. Despite these limitations the Irish newspaper industry's heavy reliance on London papers for foreign and British information steadily declined. The introduction of reporting staff, after the London model, ensured a growing degree of first-hand sourced news, making the papers less dependent on the weekly shipment of British newspapers.⁵ Although there are no accurate figures available, the estimated circulation figures for the period were low, which meant that only the wealthy or middle-class readers could afford to buy these papers.⁶

Beyond the newspapers' coverage, to cast a wider net, views of individual authors will be introduced through manuscript correspondence. As a study of the Irish newspapers' and individuals' impressions of the Hungarian revolution would be a voluminous undertaking, this chapter is going to concentrate on a selection of topics, covered in three subsections. The first two sections analyse newspaper views and interpretations of events in 1848 and in 1849, while the third offers an insight into individual views of the Hungarian revolution and its aftermath.

³ Brian Inglis, *The freedom of the press in Ireland 1784-1841* (London, 1954), p. 124. This advertisement duty was raised to 2d. in 1810.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 128-9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp 232-4.

Although there is no need to provide a detailed description of the events of the Hungarian war of independence here,⁷ a short summary of important events, which in turn are going to feature in the perceptions of the Irish papers, will be beneficial. The two decades preceding the revolution, coined as the ‘reform era’ in Hungarian historiography, were instrumental in the formation of a complex political and social reform programme which, after the success of the revolution, came to provide the base for the activities of the first independent, responsible government of Hungary. The reforming spirit of these two decades and the last feudal diet (1847) was spearheaded by such reformers as the moderate Count István Széchenyi and the progressive Lajos Kossuth (1802-1894). Under their influence and leadership a collection of enactments and laws, the so-called ‘April laws,’ as sanctioned by Ferdinand V on 11 April 1848, were passed, which formed the basis of the new Hungarian state. As the first government resigned in September 1848, a National Defence Council was formed which acted as a governing body under the leadership of Kossuth. Although the April laws were socially and politically progressive, they did not adequately address let alone satisfy the needs and desires of ethnic minorities in Hungary such as Croats, Serbs, Slovaks and Romanians. The Croats, with the knowledge and support of the imperial government, attacked Hungary under the leadership of Joseph Jellachich, their ‘ban’ or viceroy. After the success of the Hungarian forces a further revolution took place in Vienna, and the Hungarian forces were defeated by the joint imperial and Croatian forces.

In December Ferdinand V resigned his throne to his nephew, Francis Joseph, who was not accepted by Hungarians as king as he did not uphold the Hungarian constitution or the April laws. The first part of the year 1849 signalled significant military victories for the Hungarians, and on 14 April the House of Habsburg was dethroned and Kossuth was elected as governor-president of Hungary. These events prompted the Austrian government to ask for help from the Russian tsar, Nicholas I, in June 1849, whose intervening army largely contributed to the swift ending of the Hungarian war of independence in about two months. General Görgey, the commander-in-chief with full powers, surrendered to the Russian troops in August 1849. This action prompted Kossuth to brand Görgey as a traitor, although Kossuth’s granting of full power to Görgey is seen by Hungarian historians as a sign of

⁷ Domokos Kosáry, *Hungary and international politics in 1848-49* (Boulder, 2003).
István Deák, *The lawful revolution. Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848-49* (London, 2001).

Kossuth's realization that further resistance to the numerically superior Russian forces was futile. Kossuth's move was motivated by an aim to avoid his name being associated with surrender, although this did not stop him from denouncing Görgey for exactly that. After the Hungarian defeat, retaliation and executions were carried out by General Julius von Haynau, the severity of which initiated a series of public outcries around Europe. Of the ethnic minorities which took part on the Austrian side to promote their desires for separate nationhood the Slovaks and Romanians were bitterly disappointed, as the Viennese promises did not materialize in 1849.⁸

As the Hungarian revolution of March 1848 was part of a wave of similar upheavals around the Continent, the analysis of the coverage of the selected Irish newspapers needs to address the Irish assessment of the wider European context before considering the perception of events specific to Hungary. In the months immediately preceding the Hungarian revolution all four newspapers primarily focused on events in France and Italy, although Hungary received occasional mention in some of the brief reports on the Continent. The overwhelming attention to France arose on the one hand from the fact that since the 1789 French revolution, any stirring in France had a potential for disrupting the status quo on the Continent. This explains the concerned attention of the conservative, unionist *Dublin Evening Mail*, and as France posed more of a threat in this context, the paper did not single Hungary out for specific coverage before her revolution. On the other hand, Irish nationalists were also hoping for active cooperation and help from the new French government, which also accounted for the heightened concern with the turn of events.⁹

The liberal *Dublin Evening Post*, somewhat similar to its conservative counterpart, paid more attention to the overall growing disturbance in the continental status quo and did not feature Hungary specifically before March 1848. The nationalist *Freeman's Journal*, on the other hand, with joint proprietor and editor Sir John Gray, in an article on the editorial page of 7 January 1848 used such words as 'hatred...menacing attitude...agitation... [and] thirst for revenge' to describe the then present tensions reeling within the Austrian empire. The article's pointed irony was

⁸ The Croats were allowed to retain their separate territorial standing, while the Serbs on the military borderlands were given territorial autonomy.

Emil Niederhauser, 'The national question in Hungary,' in Mikulas Teich and Roy Porter (eds), *The national question in Europe in historical context* (Cambridge, 1996), pp 248-70. See especially, p. 256.

⁹ Petler, 'Ireland and France', pp 493-505.

directed against the chancellor, Prince Metternich, who was criticized for getting absorbed in dealing with minor issues when ‘all these symptoms of an impending storm,’ including in Hungary, were already present.¹⁰

The Nation took a more active and reflective interest in continental events, which was amply illustrated by the title ‘lessons of the age.’¹¹ The article drew on continental examples, citing the way France, Belgium, Hungary and Greece challenged the settlements of the congress of Vienna which it rechristened as a ‘grand congress of conspirators against the local liberties of Europe.’¹² In this context the title of the article was a call to ‘Irishmen [to] hear how Europe has learned to escape that salvation and saved herself,’¹³ where these lessons from the Continent were contrasted and intertwined with references to then recent Irish events. The article pictured Hungary as a country enviable for her situation, putting her in the position of an almost independent country, claiming that she acknowledged the emperor only as he was king of Hungary. The ‘minor’ disputes *The Nation* indicated Hungary had with Austria, such as the question of reintegration of the kingdom’s ancient territories, the placing of the Hungarian coats of arms on coins and the demand for Hungarian to be the official language, all suggested an advanced Hungarian position within the empire. In fact, to spell it out plainly to the readers, ‘nowhere else is more substantial freedom and abundance enjoyed.’¹⁴ This idea explains why *The Nation* did not consider Hungary as one of the oppressed nations of Europe, a position Young Irelander John Dillon shared when he listed Italy, Ireland and Poland under that heading.¹⁵

Beyond this, international politics was introduced as a decisive agent in the fate of freedom where the less than cordial relations between the great powers were potential chances these oppressed nations were waiting for to act. The coming times, *The Nation* prophesized, not only numbered the days of the Holy Alliance but also heralded that all empires would be shaken from within. Ireland’s time for action came, as ‘England feels and fears the change,’¹⁶ although the paper also had to acknowledge the reality of how much more difficulty stood in the way of a united Irish uprising. These sentiments about the arrival of the proverbial moment were echoed in John

¹⁰ *Freeman’s Journal*, 7 Jan. 1848.

¹¹ *The Nation*, 26 Feb. 1848.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *The Nation*, 26 Feb. 1848.

¹⁵ Petler, ‘Ireland and France’, p. 496. Cf. Charles Gavan Duffy, *Four years of Irish history, 1845-1849* (London, 1883), p. 545. Cf *United Irishman*, 11 March 1848.

¹⁶ *The Nation*, 26 Feb. 1848.

O’Connell’s letter to the secretary of the Repeal Association, T.M. Ray, which was quoted in the regular reports of the meetings of the Association. The letter, dated 19 February 1848, discussed an upcoming crisis in Europe as a foregone event and concentrated on the chances this might bear for Ireland instead.¹⁷

Let us instantly bestir ourselves, that we may not hereafter have to mourn, bitterly and vainly mourn, our own insane folly in letting slip perhaps the greatest occasion that ever could be given to us.¹⁸

Contrary to the spirit of uprising, alluded to by *The Nation* as the means of action, O’Connell referred to legitimate, lawful advantages. *The Freeman’s Journal*, in accordance with O’Connell’s views, echoed the same idea where ‘in the present condition of Europe, no just and constitutional demand made by a unanimous Ireland could or dare be refused.’¹⁹ Although it remained largely unexplained by the paper, readers could feel that achieving that unanimity would prove to be a huge hurdle for even a just demand.

William Smith O’Brien, one of the leaders of the 1848 Irish rebellion, shared this interpretation of the times and continental events as signs for an Irish chance for action. His views, however, were closer to those of *The Nation*, as he identified the European context of revolutions as a signal and justification for an Irish counterpart. Understanding the unfolding European events as a shock which had awakened the oppressed nations, Smith O’Brien asserted that it was natural that Irish people felt stirred and keenly interested in the opportunity presented to them. In his memoir written during his trial for his part in the Irish 1848 rising, O’Brien was conscious that Ireland was beset by problems, claiming that ‘we are only weak because we are divided—let us then unite.’²⁰ Despite these realist elements in the text, the European revolutions and through them the opportunity they represented for Ireland appeared highly romanticized, without any in-depth context. This lack of background detail could be explained by O’Brien’s original intention of writing the text as a speech for his trial, which he decided against later. In this particular context where the emphasis was on Ireland, it becomes more understandable why these continental events took the

¹⁷ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 23 Feb. 1848.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 1 March 1848. Cf. Petler, ‘Ireland and France,’ p. 494.

²⁰ William Smith O’Brien, ‘Explanation of reasons for taking part in the 1848 rebellion.’ N.L.I. MS 464, p. 31.

shape of a rough sketch as opposed to being better detailed. In this memoir, the revolutions of the Continent appeared as a network of brotherly movements striving for similar aims where their sympathy and example would in turn be instructive for Ireland.

I. Irish newspapers on 1848 in Hungary

The Hungarian revolution offered a rich and instructive topic for the Irish papers to explore and follow, serving as a model for what was happening on the Continent. The revolution was an ideal study-ground through its action-reaction connection with the counterpart in Vienna, together with being an embodiment of a powerful force coming to life in the Austrian empire while connecting to the various similar events around the Continent. The initial reactions of the four newspapers to the news of the revolution were peculiarly indicative of their main stance when it came to the idea of revolutions as such, pointing beyond the immediate Hungarian context. The *Freeman's Journal* highlighted the existence of an overarching connection between these European revolutions, identifying France as the torch alighting further fires. The romantic imagery of the spreading fire of the revolution came to a height when describing the potential effect a Hungarian reaction could produce. On 16 March, not yet aware of the revolution that had actually taken place the day before in Hungary, the editorial page of the paper quoted the address of the Hungarian diet to the king, heralding it as a sensation. The text of the letter, which was quoted in translation, was in fact the summary of the reform programme of the diet which later came to form the base of the April laws.

Intertwined with these events, the news of the Viennese revolution filled the *Freeman's* with a peculiar delight, rejoicing that the city of the 1814-15 congress where once 'crowned robbers held their orgies and partitioned nations at their pleasure, is now the occupation of the people.'²¹ Greeting the emperor's concessions to Hungary, namely the creation of the separate Hungarian government, the newspaper summed up its feelings claiming 'if we...reckon time not by hours, but by

²¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 22 March 1848. The extent of the excitement and interest such continental news held can be seen in the *Freeman's* attempt to report every piece of news, even those resourced from unaccounted for and unreliable newspapers. A good example of that is the 20 March issue which quoted a German journal, appearing as an extract in a British one, claiming that Hungary had declared its independence and had become a republic. Two days later, the 22 March issue hastened to clarify that this news was premature, quoting a letter from Vienna declaring that the magnates sitting in the diet were then discussing the future fate of Hungary.

events it has brought forth, we feel as if centuries had rolled by.²² The fully supportive paper, reporting events in Hungary from an approving perspective, gave its interpretation a twist by comparing Austria with Britain. The 24 April article, entitled ‘England and Austria—a contrast,’ offered a unique insight, which maintained that Britain was the empire that lagged behind the times, and applauded Austria for offering concessions. In this comparison Austria ‘the despised tyrant of Europe’ was faring better as she ‘was made wise by experience, seeking in her hour of danger shelter under the wings of popular liberty.’²³ This was a reference to the Austrian plans for a constitution,²⁴ which came in stark contrast to the images conveyed about Britain. Britain, according to the *Freeman’s*, had become ‘intoxicated with excess power, trampling on the people and their most sacred privileges,’²⁵ listing the felony act and its punishments, especially the transportation for life, as examples. Suggesting that ‘Austria has [already] learned wisdom, -England, too, may grow wise,’²⁶ the *Freeman’s* expressed an inherent belief that by the repeal of such measures, teamed up with a government more in tune with Irish needs, the British empire could close the proverbial gap.

Although the whole article served the point of contrasting the policies of the two empires, certain points of the constitution plan, echoing problems the *Freeman’s* felt were present in Ireland too, triggered a specific, strong reaction from the paper.

‘Entire liberty of conscience and religion’ is the creed of civilization, of common sense, of the 19th century—of Austria, the reputed bigot of the Catholic Christian world, and will, of course, be the first law of regenerated Ireland’s new constitution.²⁷

Picturing Catholic Austria as an example of a constructive Catholic ascendancy was not a new rhetorical feature in Ireland: it had been actively used during the Catholic emancipation debates. Although emancipation was enacted in 1829, the fact that this imagery was still present in the Irish discourse was suggestive of still existing, deep seated problems such as the underrepresentation of Catholics in key official positions. The remaining Protestant fears, which were given a new impetus and direction by the

²² *Freeman’s Journal*, 23 March 1848.

²³ *Freeman’s Journal*, 24 Apr. 1848.

²⁴ R.A.Kann, *The multi-national empire: nationalism and national reform in the Habsburg monarchy, 1848-1918* (2 vols, New York, 1977), ii, 53, 323.

²⁵ *Freeman’s Journal*, 24 Apr. 1848.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

repeal campaign, and the widening divisions within Irish society, were well illustrated by the exclamations of *Freeman's*, along with its ultimate lack of understanding of the depths of these problems. The paper believed that an Irish constitution would alleviate these fears which, according to the paper, could in any case be classified as artificially created –there was talk of ‘airy phantom ... [and] cry of wolf.’²⁸ The news of the Austrian constitutional plans provided a new set of arguments, allowing the chance to call for a British step in this direction.

The Nation was also fully supportive of the Hungarian revolution, following the same line of coverage in reporting on the resolutions of the Hungarian diet formulated in the address to the king, referring to it as ‘the noblest state paper issued in Europe since Lamartine’s manifesto.’²⁹ The idea of Ireland’s misery stemming from legislation coming from a foreign parliament was a frequently revisited argument on the pages of *The Nation* and was given renewed force during the revolutions of 1848. The reaction of the paper was characteristically mixed, celebrating the appearance of these legislative successes while bitterly lamenting that while these movements either had succeeded or were in the process of obtaining their demands, the Irish ‘were behind the world.’³⁰ The ideas of the establishment of a council of three hundred,³¹ acting as a national council, together with a national guard, although they mirrored activities and events on the Continent, connected to Irish examples as well, through evoking the Volunteers and the parliament of 1782. Readers of the newspaper would not have had to wait too long before this romantic nationalist rhetoric took a sharp turn from constitutional wishes to the discourse of justifying an active, physical forceful resistance and revolution. Initially, however, the paper believed that since these revolutionary movements were somewhat closely related in their aims, their eventual successes would have a domino-effect in Ireland, heralding an Irish success.

Believing that self-government movements were universally destined for success ‘by the simple spell of their justice,’³² *The Nation* took success for granted, notwithstanding the specific regional, political or ethnic varieties of such movements.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *The Nation*, 18 March 1848.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ In O’Connell’s plans this council would have acted and worked like an Irish parliament called together for the purpose of enacting the repeal of the union. By September 1843, O’Connell was forced to realize that the British government would prevent this by all means. See: James F. Lydon, *The making of Ireland: from ancient times to the present* (London, 1998), p. 295.

³² *The Nation*, 18 March 1848.

The bloodless Hungarian revolution, as the embodiment of such a success, won the sympathies and full support of the journalists of *The Nation*. The paper labelled the revolution ‘a nobler cause than that of Maria Theresa,’³³ in reference to 1741 when the support of the Hungarian nobles proved instrumental for the empress during the Austrian War of Succession (1740-48).³⁴ As that occasion had served rather to keep the empire intact, *The Nation* claimed that ‘if she draws the sword this time, it will be to repeal the degrading union that her makes her the appanage [sic] of an alien government.’³⁵ The language and choice of words was not incidental; the newspaper very consciously aligned the two national movements. This was not only to make the continental movement’s aims more understandable but also to create a sense of shared fate and brotherhood, and to justify and embed Ireland’s claims into this contemporary continental setting. The article ‘The rising of the nations,’ on 18 March, while commenting on this Hungarian address as the speech of free men, provoked and dared ‘ye Irish patriots, so full of loyalty and fear’³⁶ to speak in similar terms of Ireland’s demands.

The knowledge that Hungary had dared to make the step that *The Nation* hoped Ireland would also make resulted in a change of attitude. Using images of Austria bowing to the call of the times, *The Nation* contemplated that Ireland was equally ready to give a chance to Queen Victoria but would not wait forever. Thus Austria, formerly a synonym for absolute power in the pages of *The Nation*, became a source of envy as ‘the clusters of captives that knelt and wept around the throne-steps of the Habsburgs are free.’³⁷ In turn, *The Nation* expressed its hope that the queen would ‘be wise even in her terror, and set her hand to Ireland’s liberation,’³⁸ although, cautioned *The Nation*, ‘this nation does not object to so fair a feather on the cap of its own sovereignty, provided she bends with the will of the wearer.’³⁹ The idea of first hoping for an insightful sovereign but ultimately taking a nation’s fate out of the said sovereign’s neglecting hands was soon to settle into a powerful argument in Irish rhetoric.

³³ *The Nation*, 25 March 1848.

³⁴ Miklós Molnár, *A concise history of Hungary* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 142. Frequently recurring image of Hungary in Irish politics, see previous chapter on emancipation and repeal.

³⁵ *The Nation*, 25 March 1848.

³⁶ *The Nation*, 18 March 1848.

³⁷ *The Nation*, 25 March 1848.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

It was precisely with this backdrop in mind that *The Nation* revisited the topic of the legal footing of Austro-Hungarian relations in a compilation published on 8 April, entitled ‘Who are the Irish government? A chapter from a new national catechism.’ Discussing Ireland’s existing governing system and legal infrastructure, the article explicitly spelt out that its use of the terms ‘queen of Ireland’ and ‘Irish crown’ were legal notions modelled on the relationship of the kingdom of Hungary to the Austrian empire. In order to avoid confusion, the article explained that the queen would only have authority over Ireland as being the sovereign of Ireland, not through her title as queen of the empire. The ultimate conclusion was that the government of Ireland should take a more national shape, on the basis that the question of self-government was the most vital, basic issue of existence: ‘our allegiance is conditional...our determination to reconstruct our nationality is unalterable.’⁴⁰ Drawing power from the success of similar constitutional movements on the Continent, including Hungary, the article terminated with asserting that Ireland rested her initial hopes on such arrangements. However, once this constitutional route within the imperial framework had proved impassable, drawing from France’s example, *The Nation* could see Ireland turning towards republicanism.

Sentiments like this earned the label ‘Jacobin press’ for *The Nation* and the *Freeman’s* alike, from the more liberal but not so nationalist *Dublin Evening Post*. Although that newspaper also had a foreign mail section, and readers could find information on the formation of the first responsible government of Hungary, the *Evening Post* laid heavier emphasis elsewhere. In contrast to the two nationalist papers, which were both enthusiastic in their support and sympathy for these continental movements, the *Evening Post* did not detail its editorials and reports to such a degree. While the two nationalist papers readily made a direct connection between events on the Continent and their hopes for action and fate of Ireland, the *Evening Post* followed a broader type of interest regarding the Continent, and shied away from explicitly linking it to Ireland. Instead, it produced a series of editorials corresponding to events on the Continent, entitled ‘The European revolution,’ which revealed directions of focus instantly. The paper favoured an overarching interpretation as opposed to separate articles focusing on the different countries

⁴⁰ *The Nation*, 8 Apr. 1848. Similar ideas were present in the 18 March 1848 issue where *The Nation* claimed that Irish fidelity to the union would be ‘more heartfelt’ if the nation’s wishes were adhered to within that imperial framework.

involved. Furthermore, these editorials also served as an indication that the newspaper considered these movements so similar in their aims and course of events that it simply regarded them as branches of the same tree and treated them under the same overarching heading.

Being a liberal paper, it welcomed the French revolution, likening its effect, similarly to the despised and criticized *Freeman's*, to a flame effectively spreading like wildfire. Although the paper found the extension and compass of the European revolution itself extraordinary, especially the different peoples, tongues and religions involved, it expressed the conviction that in the whole of Europe only Queen Victoria's throne was safe as she 'is the beloved sovereign of the freest people in the world.'⁴¹ This idea of Queen Victoria's lands as subject to envy proved to be a recurring theme in the paper's coverage, which in turn explained why the paper paid a different, more detached attention to events on the Continent. Identifying the British governing system as a progressive landmark for the rest of Europe, the paper considered it needless to indulge in canvassing the European revolutions for instrumental lessons.

This however did not mean that the newspaper was not interested in the overall development of these movements, as these events had significant impacts on the European status quo and power relations. It was only in this context that the paper followed the case of Hungary with a somewhat neutral interest. Acknowledging that the movements within the Austrian empire had already done considerable damage to the reputation of the said empire, rendering her unable to focus beyond her immediate territories, the *Evening Post* believed that the strength and the very permanence of the Austrian empire was being tested.⁴²

Connecting closely to this, the paper also speculated that the independence of Hungary, which the paper believed was a sure outcome, was not likely to 'be accomplished without a violent internal struggle.'⁴³ Informing readers that Magyar had become used as a language for state purposes, the paper expressed regret that 'they [Hungarians] preferred their barbarous Magyar to Latin, the ordinary language of their assemblies, and which educated classes speak quite as fluently as their mother

⁴¹ *Dublin Evening Post*, 21 March 1848.

⁴² *Dublin Evening Post*, 11 Apr. 1848.

⁴³ *Dublin Evening Post*, 13 Apr. 1848.

tongue.⁴⁴ Arguing that these Magyars alone constituted the nobility, namely the governing party, the paper noted the existence of a significant Slavic population, which set the scene for the potential violent future conflict mentioned above. Asserting that ‘there has never been a complete fusion of the populations,’⁴⁵ the *Evening Post* claimed that this Slavic population would soon demand an independent government of its own. Interestingly, although the paper noted this division within the Hungarian kingdom, it did not go into details about the divisions and various peoples within the Slavic peoples of Hungary as such. The paper, in fact, went on to simplify the equation by stating that this Slavic population lived in one particular part of the country, rendering this separate government a relatively easy accomplishment. Not wishing to go into more details or complicate matters, the Austrian empire, as the framework within which these peoples lived, was not mentioned in this context at all.

The conservative *Dublin Evening Mail* stood alone in comparison to the newspapers of this analysis with its lack of specific European interest. The paper, as opposed to the others, did not have a real foreign focus, foreign news editorials or even a broad, overall interest in the Continent. Although it covered the French connections of the Irish nationalists extensively and paid attention to Austria’s war in Italy, these nevertheless still constituted a somewhat scanty and patchy scale of interest. The movements and events within the other parts of the Austrian empire were treated as smaller-scale, domestic affairs, especially as the emperor seemed to be yielding to their claims. Characteristically, this imperial viewpoint was also visible in its estimation of events concerning the seat of the empire, as Vienna was always covered, while the paper rarely looked at territories beyond that.

As long as the legal footing of the Hungarian movement was intact, the paper did not pay particular attention to the kingdom, as it was still considered as being controlled by the emperor. The paper also mentioned the reform programme address of the Hungarian diet to the king, something which all four papers covered. However, the *Evening Mail* was satisfied with simply referring to it as ‘unusual’ in character.⁴⁶ Equally, the creation of the first responsible Hungarian government commanded its attention only to remark that in consequence of that ‘...the Council of Ministers has

⁴⁴ *Dublin Evening Post*, 8 Apr. 1848.

⁴⁵ *Dublin Evening Post*, 13 Apr. 1848.

⁴⁶ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 15 March 1848.

recognized the necessity of placing part of the public debt in charge of Hungary.’⁴⁷ The statement that this Hungarian government would be in charge of the financial affairs of the kingdom came in the most neutral tone. The widely reported rumour of Hungary declaring herself independent in April 1848, however, took the paper by surprise, calling it a ‘most startling intelligence.’⁴⁸

The Croatian attack, possessing the support of the emperor and turning the bloodless revolution into a war of self-defence, proved to be a compelling topic for various reasons. Firstly it provided a chance to discuss the changing imperial policies, which after regaining control in Italy turned more attention towards the Hungarian situation, aiming to withdraw previous concessions made. Furthermore, through the involvement of the Croatian forces, it also supplied the perfect opportunity to comment and elaborate on the intricate internal web of relationships between Hungarians and the other peoples of the kingdom. Interestingly, although the Croats were not the only people to turn against the Hungarian kingdom (Serbs and Romanians did so too) only the Croatian direct attack had the power of arresting interest. The extensive coverage might be explained by the fact that their viceroy, Jellachich, after the defeat suffered from the Hungarian forces, led the remainder of the Croatian army towards Vienna in an effort to relieve the city from the October revolution, thus linking the Croats more directly to imperial circles. These circumstances meant that the Croatian attack and forceful resistance to the Hungarian government became closely related to the central spheres of action within the empire, which always received more detailed attention from these papers. Thus even if the various different spheres of conflict within Hungary, such as the Transylvanian events with Romanians, or the Serbian involvement in the resistance of the military borderlands, actually received attention in the foreign mails, they did not become major topics in the editorials. The Croatian attack came to embody the resistance of the various peoples of the state against the Hungarian kingdom.

The *Freeman's Journal*, initially being preoccupied with the events around the Irish revolution and the following state trials, treated the ‘Hungro-Croatian question’⁴⁹

⁴⁷ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 24 Apr. 1848.

⁴⁸ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 12 Apr. 1848.

⁴⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 1 Aug. 1848.

as a conflict that was heating up and was slowly but surely reaching boiling point. Although the paper followed the unfolding events with increasing interest, dedicating a separate recurring section to it under the title ‘Hungary and Croatia’ on its pages, the news of the Hungarian victory, which compelled Jellachich to retreat towards Vienna, was merely acknowledged. While these military actions themselves were duly reported in the paper, commanding importance and attention through their indirect effect on the situation in Italy, they did not prompt further speculations or contemplations from the paper.

The Paris private correspondent of the *Freeman’s*, however, served as a medium not only for providing news from the Continent but also as an angle of opinion which the paper itself would not have been predisposed to profess openly. The editorial page of the 13 October issue featured communications from this correspondent, which not only reinforced the idea of the potential effects of the Hungarian war theatre on Italy’s situation but also provided a glimpse at the difficulties of procuring information from the seat of war. The problems, as hinted by the *Freeman’s*, not only concerned the accuracy of sources but also caused considerable dismay that they were overwhelmingly resourced from official imperial manifestos, declarations and Austrian newspapers which, naturally, tended to provide only one side of the story. Complaints such as ‘however the Austrian journals may endeavour to conceal the matter...’⁵⁰ became increasingly frequent, displaying the paper’s clear frustration.

Once events surrounding Hungary, Croatia and Austria seemed to have been clarified, the Paris correspondent denounced the double game of the Austrian emperor, issuing a warning regarding the morals of the story.

Look at the miserable end of the Austrian emperor and the utter destruction of the empire which he has produced by playing off one party against another—Jellachich against Kossuth, Croatia against Hungary. The lesson should never be forgotten.⁵¹

Interestingly, although these sentences would have lent a prime opportunity to discuss the situation and general politics of internal conflicts, the writer did not pursue or utilize this chance, which indicated a different direction of interest. Reiterating the previous idea of the Hungarian war scene and its potential effects on

⁵⁰ *Freeman’s Journal*, 14 Oct. 1848.

⁵¹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 16 Oct. 1848.

Italy, 'the battle of liberty was being fought on the banks of the Danube,'⁵² the theory now evolved into considering these events as parts of a bigger interrelated puzzle, where its connections to the larger framework of events were of more interest than its internal details. Although it was followed and commented on to a certain extent, this Hungarian theatre and the maintenance of hostilities became of primary significance as it aided the Italian peninsula's struggles where the Irish newspapers registered a more direct involvement and interest.

As *The Nation* was suppressed and did not appear between 29 July 1848 and 25 August 1849, its retrospective coverage had the benefit of knowing what happened in the aftermath. With this in mind, a detailed perception of the Hungarian-Croatian conflict was actually missing from *The Nation*; however, the nature of the clash did not go unnoticed. The 1 September issue covered the by then defeated Hungarian war of independence, where Croatia and Hungary's relationship was discussed with an Irish framework in mind.

There was but one fraction apart from Hungarian unity. Croatia was the Ulster or Hungary. The Croats were her Catholic Orangemen. Hungary at all times protected religious liberty...But the representatives of Croatia were intolerant dissentients, Austria interfered with English dexterity...⁵³

The technique *The Nation* employed here signalled the paper's political views and explained events in the contemporary history of a geographically distant territory through a more nationally minded looking-glass. The use of familiar terms, on the one hand, can be linked to an aim to aid the readership's understanding of the peculiarities of this polity. The discussion, however, also served as a medium for perpetuating divisions within Irish society by mirroring the country's internal conflicts in a different continental setting. The emphasis that not only Ireland had an Ulster of her own but that the situation could be mapped in various other countries reinforced the category of division and elevated it to a level of a characteristic feature already present in continental politics. This, in *The Nation*'s view, blurred the need to consider certain Irish specific elements of the equation, namely the actual reasons for

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ *The Nation*, 1 Sept. 1849. Previous paragraphs of the article painted a picture of a country united in support of constitutional reforms, municipal privileges and tenants' rights. As these were burning issues in Ireland, the idea of a minority resisting these developments found an easily understandable simile in the paralleling of the opposing Croats and Orangemen.

the conflict within Ireland. This approach helped to shift responsibility for the existing situation into the realms of a natural course in human history, thus eliminating further in-depth investigations. The characterization in turn also meant that the actual applicability of the parallel, as it merely represented a topical feature, was not important for the purposes of the paper.

The *Dublin Evening Post* paid considerable attention to the Hungarian-Croatian duel within the empire, and its ‘European revolution’ editorials frequently commented on and analysed the evolving situation. The intricacies of the unfolding ‘war between races’⁵⁴ convinced the newspaper of the need to provide more in-depth background explanations. The *Evening Post* pictured Hungary as a country which had resolved ‘long ago, to insist upon her distinctness and nationality.’⁵⁵ Hungary in this equation appeared as a state in admirable condition and situation as she had a parliament, which the paper saw as having a considerable degree of freedom. Reiterating its former belief, the *Evening Post*, however, criticized the Hungarian move of shifting the language of debates from Latin to Magyar as a ‘retrograde move.’⁵⁶ Declaring that ‘this is their business,’⁵⁷ the paper moved back to the comfortable realm of merely reporting. This, consciously, also served as a closure, as there was no wish to digress from the central topic of Hungary’s potential for separating herself from the interests of the empire.

Sidelining the foreign mails’ reports about the progress of the clash between Hungarians and Croats, the *Evening Post* offered insights into the nature of the conflict. Establishing the basics, namely that Hungarian territories constituted the dominant portion of the kingdom and that the Croats were Slavic subjects of the crown, the paper asserted that the roots of the conflict lay in the already mentioned language issue. Declaring that the substitution of Latin for Magyar was a result of the Hungarian ‘zeal for nationality,’ resulting in the exclusion of the ‘mutually intelligible...common medium,’⁵⁸ the *Evening Post* believed that the ‘Croats would not act if the people of Hungary had been just.’⁵⁹ Adding the fact that the Magyar language was spoken by only four out of the twelve million inhabitants, the paper felt that Hungarians had obtained an unfair advantage for themselves.

⁵⁴ *Dublin Evening Post*, 13 May 1848.

⁵⁵ *Dublin Evening Post*, 3 June 1848.

⁵⁶ *Dublin Evening Post*, 17 June 1848.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Dublin Evening Post*, 10 Oct. 1848.

⁵⁹ *Dublin Evening Post*, 10 Oct. 1848.

Believing that the exclusion of a dead language had come to cause a civil war was a curious regional speciality, the paper still found the emperor equally responsible for the military conflict that unfolded.

Reiterating the emperor's 'divide et impera' policy, the paper asserted that Hungarians 'have manifestly been betrayed by the Austrian government,'⁶⁰ referring to the Austrian secret, later open, support for Jellachich. Although this justified Hungarian actions in the paper's eyes, this still did not amount to openly sympathizing with or supporting the war. Interestingly, although the paper commended Hungary as the party acting in the right, it found still more justification in a further fact. The knowledge that Prince Paul Anton Eszterházy, well-known in London as a former Austrian ambassador, supported the revolution and in fact became a minister in the first Hungarian government,⁶¹ fully convinced the *Evening Post* of the correctness of its analysis. Eszterházy's role, the increasing Austrian involvement in the Croatian attack, the Croatian defeat, the implications of all these for the Italian movement, and the emperor's disputed decisions became frequently recurring motifs of the paper's analyses.⁶² These editorials contained a certain level of detail about the internal Austrian wars, in fact they not only established who the various contending parties were but also provided information about the existing variety of motives for action. Even with this in mind, the editorials still regarded these events with an eye on the importance they possessed firstly for the Italian movement and secondly for the changing politics of the European Continent.

The Austrian empire in this construct became a polity riddled with complications and problems, prompting the newspaper to paint a gloomy picture as early as June 1848.

It has not been given to every one...to build up a great empire, and to see it falling, like a castle of cards, before his eyes. The palace of Aladdin has disappeared! Alas! It was built on the sands. A magician made it, and not nature. That it will be reconstructed, we imagine that even Metternich can hardly hope.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Dublin Evening Post*, 12 Oct. 1848.

⁶¹ A post he resigned from in September 1848.

⁶² See editorials of *Dublin Evening Post*, 3, 10, 12, 14, 17 Oct. 1848.

⁶³ *Dublin Evening Post*, 3 June 1848.

The vulnerability of Austria as a consequence of its artificial composition proved to be a topic of enduring interest, which the *Evening Post* keenly revisited as the passage of time seemed only to have contributed to the further disintegration of the empire. This idea was reinforced by the paper's suggestion that the Austrian empire as an entity was more a 'term' or 'concept' than a real composition. In its view the latter would imply a natural connection between the elements, whereas Austria was 'such a melee of languages, nations and peoples.'⁶⁴ In this perspective, the *Evening Post's* comment that 'the wonder is not that they have not fallen to pieces, but that they subsisted so long'⁶⁵ came as mere irony.

The editorial of 4 November, although it mainly dealt with the forthcoming siege of Vienna and contemplated whether the German Confederation would lend aid, returned to the idea of Austria's fate being safeguarded by its own system. Believing that the Slavic peoples of the empire would be victorious, which in turn meant that 'the empire of Austria will have perished by its own hands,'⁶⁶ the *Evening Post* reckoned that the empire in fact deserved its fate. Although the paper considered these Slavic peoples as 'semi-barbarous',⁶⁷ it nevertheless rejoiced to see the 'detestable...House of Habsburg'⁶⁸ under trial. As the imperial order was restored in the capital, depicting it as 'always a despotism of the most sanguinary and most obdurate character,'⁶⁹ an opinion shared with the *Freeman's*, the editorials turned their coverage to a broader interest. Contrary to the *Freeman's* however, the *Evening Post* did not engage in reporting, let alone commenting extensively on the following battle and defeat of the Hungarian forces at the Austrian border. In its estimation, and for the general continental political focus of the paper, the larger-scale implications of the Hungarian-Croatian-Austrian war, in terms of the continental and Italian situation, were more pertinent. This in turn meant the absence of a strong Hungarian perspective, although the paper reasoned and concluded that, being deceived by imperial policies, the Hungarians were in the right. This realization, however, went together with the assertion that the Croats also had equally well-established and reasonable underlying motives for their actions. This conflict commanded the attention of the paper as it took place within the imperial construct of the Austrian

⁶⁴ *Dublin Evening Post*, 24 Oct. 1848.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Dublin Evening Post*, 4 Nov. 1848.

⁶⁷ *Dublin Evening Post*, 11 Nov. 1848.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Dublin Evening Post*, 30 Nov. 1848.

empire, and as such, its course and outcomes had potential broader, European repercussions and effects.

The *Dublin Evening Mail*, adhering faithfully to its conservative outlook, continued to follow the unfolding events in Austria from an imperial, British perspective. In a sharp contrast to the other newspapers of the analysis, the *Evening Mail* was perhaps the most selective when it came to reporting new developments. Using *The Times* as a chief source of information, the newspaper carefully separated itself from a wider circle of sources which, seeing the range of materials presented in the other papers, would have been available as well. Beyond this self-imposed restriction, when it came to the Austrian empire, the paper also devoted its whole attention almost exclusively to affairs in Vienna, the imperial capital. In a conscious decision the paper did not look further into the various territories within the empire and their respective movements in detail, regardless of the availability of the information. The internal affairs of the empire, such as the unfolding military conflict within Hungary, were not covered in sufficient detail to give readers even an outline of conflicting interests. The development of events in territories where Austria was affected as an external power, however, such as the Italian war scenes and the ongoing Russian occupation of the Danubian principalities, did command the attention of the *Evening Mail*. The geopolitical and high-power implications of such events, due to their potential to influence the status quo, held major importance for the British empire's positions as well. This was an interest the *Evening Mail* was keen on monitoring, keeping in high regard and watching for any threatening developments.

Despite this, readers of the newspaper could still manage to put a general sequence of events together from the foreign mails, albeit the final picture was rather limited. The interrelating connection between the Italian war scene and the internal events of the Austrian empire was established, although the best part of the coverage fell to the Italian section. The march of the Croatian army towards the Hungarian capital was registered, although its motives remained unexplored. The usual technique the *Evening Mail* followed meant lifting articles from *The Times* without offering any further comments of its own.⁷⁰ The paper did not comment on the Croatian defeat which prompted the ban to turn towards Vienna, while, at the same

⁷⁰ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 16, 18, 20 Oct. 1848.

time, the 25 October issue printed a short biography of Jellachich ‘who has acquired so sudden a celebrity.’⁷¹ This turn of events put Vienna back in focus, where the Viennese revolutionary leaders were to be besieged by the imperial Austrian troops, with the Hungarian army, tailing the retreating Croatians, waiting to be called on to cross the border for help. These developments, which centralized around the imperial capital, contributed to an increase in coverage, allowing readers to see where the lines of importance lay where the Austrian empire was concerned.

The defeat of the Hungarians, the imperial reclaiming of Vienna and the abdication of Ferdinand in favour of Francis Joseph were news the paper also conveyed through the regularly quoted conservative British newspaper, *The Times*. In terms of covering Austrian events, the *Evening Mail* bid the year 1848 farewell with anticipating the swift victory of the imperial troops in Hungary. This last piece of news and its overtones were characteristic examples of the type of coverage the *Evening Mail* provided for its readers. The news of the war relocating to Hungary was only briefly commented on, expressing the paper’s assertion that the imperial order within the empire would be speedily restored. Uniquely among the four newspapers of the analysis, the *Evening Mail* had no distinct and attentive coverage of continental events. The paper was a lot more concerned about Irish domestic events, namely the Young Ireland movement and their French connections, the Irish revolution in July 1848 and the subsequent trials. In this set of circumstances, even when events in Europe earned coverage space in the paper, the *Evening Mail* was happy to resort to reprinting corresponding articles from *The Times*. This not only meant that the paper used one particular source instead of collating a more complex reading of the same event through various accounts, but it also resulted in the lack of a distinctive *Evening Mail* interpretation.

The year 1848, to provide a short, interim summary of the coverage of the four papers, proved to be a period rich in controversial Irish and continental events, gaining ample attention. In this complexity the domestic Irish revolution together with its aftermath, naturally, commanded a great deal of this interest. However, the continental revolutions, through their multi-tiered levels of interconnections and their direct links in some cases, were also on the agenda of reporting and commenting in

⁷¹ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 25 Oct. 1848.

these papers. Among these, the Hungarian revolution and war of independence and its varied Irish perceptions constituted an equally intricate net of examples.

The two nationalist newspapers, the *Freeman's* and *The Nation*, dug deeper in terms of coverage and analysis of the various events in Hungary. The presence of more details culminated in linking certain patterns and elements of Hungarian politics and statehood directly to domestic political settings and aims, identifying the Hungarian kingdom as a model for Ireland. The creation of the first Hungarian responsible government and the emperor's compromising attitude fitted well with the aims and hopes of Irish nationalists. This contributed to a common thread of thinking present in the two papers, where a comparison of the British and the Austrian empires resulted in finding the latter more innovative in its reactions to events. Consequently, both papers expressed their hope that Queen Victoria would prove an equally insightful sovereign, which in turn would mean self-government for Ireland as well. This angle of interpretation, however, was restrictive in a sense that it put the course of analysis on a certain track. This meant that details that could have hampered the validity of the parallel, such as an in-depth analysis of the nature of the Hungarian-Croatian duel, remained unexamined or became defined along a generic Irish nationalist reading. A good example of this was the coining of the idea of Croatia as the Ulster of Hungary.

The liberal yet not nationalist *Evening Post* and the conservative *Evening Mail* stood apart from these nationalist papers as they did not make explicit direct links and parallels between the studied country and Ireland. The *Evening Post* preferred a broader, overarching scope about events on the Continent, even coining a recurring editorial heading titled 'The European revolution.' The use of a singular noun was a conscious move, which not only signalled an extensive interest but also suggested an interpretation which considered all movements under the same umbrella term to be somehow related. In an interesting contrast to the thinking of the two nationalist papers, the *Evening Post*, when drawing a parallel between the British empire and the Continent, found Queen Victoria to be an instructive example for European sovereigns. Unlike the nationalist papers, the *Evening Post* did not shy away from the controversial topic of the 'war of races,' denouncing Hungarian nationalist passions as being restrictive at the expense of other peoples of the kingdom. The *Evening Mail* on the other hand kept a considerable distance in its commentaries, in fact, uniquely among the newspapers studied, it did not have a specific European interest and

coverage. As long as Hungary remained on a legal footing with the emperor, the conflict did not constitute more than a passing interest for the paper. In the paper's eyes the importance of any action or event was mainly measured by the effect it might or would potentially produce on the power relations and status quo of the Continent.

II. Irish views of the Russian intervention and defeat of the Hungarian war of independence (1849)

The Russian intervention in June 1849, which followed the successful Hungarian spring campaign of 1849 that freed most of Hungary from the Austrian forces, through its international implications, was a topic of major interest for the newspapers. Although the building up of events to that point, including the aforementioned military campaign, were also covered in the papers, with the *Freeman's* excelling as the provider of most comprehensive details, the papers offered little room for interpretations. The wide net of connotations, including the intervention of such a powerful foreign force; the question as to whether the only still active 1848 revolutionary movement would prevail; the geopolitical factors of the territories subject to military interference; the strong political associations of the topic, offered an angle of interest to all four newspapers. These latter aspects of the war came to constitute matters of more importance, as opposed to the individual fate of Hungary within the Austrian empire, a trend amply demonstrated by the sudden increased interest in the Hungarian war in the parliamentary debates.

In contrast to 1848 when the Hungarian revolution and war enjoyed only sporadic comment in both houses, mentioned by British and Scottish M.P.s in the context of another topic, the year 1849 witnessed individual debates dedicated to the developing situation in Hungary. It is important to note here, however, that even these debates had a well-pronounced continental power-relations focus, where they were more concerned with the movement of Russian troops in the region than with the result of the Hungarian-Austrian clash. These debates, such as 'Russian intervention in Hungary,'⁷² 'Russian invasion of Hungary,'⁷³ 'Russia and Austria,'⁷⁴

⁷² *Hansard 3*, H.C., cv, c 326 (11 May 1849).

⁷³ *Hansard 3*, H.C., cvii, cc 786-817 (21 July 1849).

⁷⁴ *Hansard 3*, H.L., cv, cc 472-4 (15 May 1849).

featuring in both the House of Lords and Commons, however, did not see active participation from Irish M.P.s. The only indication of where their sympathies might have sided was John O'Connell's highly critical description of the Russian czar, Nicholas I. Reacting to the rather moderate description provided by Disraeli, O'Connell hit a very sharp tone by denouncing every effort made to defend or support 'that monster...the scourger [sic] of women and the destroyer of men.'⁷⁵

The *Freeman's Journal* initially aimed to approach the topic of the impending Russian intervention from a position of realpolitik, despite the presence of strong feelings suggested by calling the intervention 'that most iniquitous Cossack invasion.'⁷⁶ Russian assistance, according to the paper, served the interests of both imperial parties, namely that the Russians not only helped Austria out but through their action planned to prevent the spreading of the revolution to Poland.⁷⁷ Although this served as a hint of realism seeping into the analysis, the paper nevertheless continued its adamant support for the Hungarian movement. This was not only present in the generous amount of details lifted from continental papers regarding the course of events, but the creation and continuous use of certain household phrases, such as the identification of the word 'imperialists' as a synonym for Austrians. Furthermore, the publication of anecdotes, beyond establishing that the young emperor already 'profits by the instructions of his fellow emperor,'⁷⁸ were aimed at contesting the image of Austria as an honourable 'civilized' nation.

The *Freeman's* editorial of 24 July entitled 'Hungary—Lord Palmerston' not only congratulated the foreign secretary on his speech in the Commons, supportive of the cause of Hungary,⁷⁹ but also stood as the paper's strongest, most characteristic identification of the goals of Hungary with those of Ireland. Identifying Hungary as Ireland's 'sister in sore distress,' Ireland, suggested the paper, 'with all her heart and all her soul, wishes her a safe and speedy deliverance.'⁸⁰ The mirroring of the two nations' fate was elevated to a higher level in the penultimate sentence of the editorial

⁷⁵ *Hansard 3*, H.C.,ciii, c. 1158 (22 March 1849).

⁷⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 30 July 1849.

⁷⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 3 May 1849.

⁷⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 21 July 1849. On 25 July the paper printed the protesting letter of an anonymous retired diplomatic employee who claimed that a visit of the 'young emperor,' contrary to the suggestion of the *Freeman's*, would not only be greeted by the British aristocracy, but in fact they would be 'at his feet.'

⁷⁹ *Hansard 3*, H.C., cvii, cc 807-815 (21 July 1849).

⁸⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 24 July 1849.

where the Hungarian war was pictured as a direct one-on-one replica of Ireland's struggles.

The Hungarian cause is her [Ireland's] cause—the cause of an ancient constitution and of an ancient national integrity violated and broken up by means which the Hungarians oppose with the coolness of wisdom and the energy of despair. May He in whose hands is the fate of nations, carry the Magyars and their liberties safe through the struggle.⁸¹

Paraphrasing a section of Palmerston's speech that the paper felt to be of key importance, namely when Palmerston acknowledged Hungary's separate nationality, kingdom and constitution,⁸² the *Freeman's* criticized the foreign secretary for failing to realize a parallel case closer to home, that of Ireland.

The editorial of 22 August carried this idea a step further, urging 'God [to] prosper the cause of Hungary and liberty,'⁸³ with Hungary and her war symbolizing 'a pitched battle between European oppression and European liberty.'⁸⁴ The romantic discourse of the paper elevated Hungary's war out of its immediate context into the realms of mythical, metaphoric heights, where 'this young David of freedom' was clashing with 'the two great Goliaths of despotism.'⁸⁵ In the paper's estimation Hungary became the embodiment of the hopes of the lost European movements of 1848, a metaphoric continuation of their fight. Although this generalizing lifted the Hungarian war to levels of European and even universal struggle, at the same time it stripped it of its peculiar context and set of circumstances, leaving it only as a blueprint for 'right against...might.'⁸⁶

As *The Nation* did not start republishing before the Hungarian war ended, its retrospective articles will only be considered during the analysis of the Irish perceptions of the immediate aftermath and final assessments of events. The *Dublin Evening Post's* original attitude of denouncing the Austrian tactic of turning the dissent amongst the nationalities against each other foreshowed its attitude towards the topic of Russian intervention. The critique of the 'young emperor,' who, in the paper's opinion, was waging an 'exterminating war...against his kingdom of

⁸¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 24 July 1849.

⁸² *Hansard* 3, H.C., cvii, c. 811 (21 July 1849).

⁸³ *Freeman's Journal*, 22 Aug. 1849.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 22 Aug. 1849.

Hungary,⁸⁷ blended seamlessly with the equally reproachful assessment of Russians where the *Evening Post* declared that it had yet to find ‘traces, any, the faintest, of Muscovite moderation and good faith.’⁸⁸ The paper denounced Francis Joseph not only for inviting the Russians to settle the Hungarian war but also because this act threatened the peace and balance of Europe.

Although the paper found great delight in being able to report defeats endured by the Austrian troops, in its estimation, the active involvement of Russians foretold worsening prospects for Hungarian success. Accepting the arrival of the Russian troops as inevitable, the paper believed, however, that the Austrian emperor had a significant loss of prestige to deal with as ‘he will owe the Royal Crown of Hungary to Nicholas I.’⁸⁹ Carrying this thought further, in a pointed remark, the Hungarian military successes were said to show to Europe that ‘the Austrians are no matches for them,’⁹⁰ something the paper considered that Austrians themselves had admitted when they called for Russia’s assistance. The fact that Austria had never before had to resort to inviting a foreign power to help settle an internal affair was an invariable sign of weakness, in the paper’s interpretation. Furthermore, the *Evening Post* also expressed indignation that the ‘movement of the North-Eastern hordes into the centre of civilized Europe,’⁹¹ as a violation of the non-intervention principle, did not cause a major stir in the public and political opinion.⁹² In a pointed contrast, the paper heaped praise on Hungarian military valour, expressing hope that ‘this heroic nation is not destined to bend the knee at the footstool of the Muscovite.’⁹³

In a manner somewhat similar to the *Freeman’s*, the *Evening Post* also did much to elevate the struggle into the realms of a mythical battle. Terming it a war between absolutism and liberty, the paper offered a heroic interpretation of Hungarians, ‘the champions, as well as the bulwark, in former times, of Christianity against the Turks,’⁹⁴ hoping to see them repeating not only the struggle but the success of those former times. This latter idea became a recurring element in the

⁸⁷ *Dublin Evening Post*, 23 Jan. 1849.

⁸⁸ *Dublin Evening Post*, 20 March 1849.

⁸⁹ *Dublin Evening Post*, 10 Apr. 1849.

⁹⁰ *Dublin Evening Post*, 26 May 1849.

⁹¹ *Dublin Evening Post*, 31 May 1849. The 5 June issue’s ‘The war in Hungary’ reiterated the same idea.

⁹² *Dublin Evening Post*, 12 July 1849. The paper believed that the treaty of Vienna was already unravelling.

⁹³ *Dublin Evening Post*, 7 June 1849.

⁹⁴ *Dublin Evening Post*, 19 June 1849.

editorials of the paper, while the ironic name-calling of the opponents, such as ‘Yellowcheek [sic]’ for Jellachich and ‘Boy Emperor’ for Francis Joseph, also became common usage.⁹⁵ As the war was still continuing even after the arrival of the intervening Russian army, the rhetoric of the paper became more and more admiring:

It was said long ago that the age of chivalry was gone...If it still exists anywhere—it may be seen on the plains of Hungary, on the Theiss, the Raab, the Danube, or in the defiles of Transylvania. The Magyars are the belted Knights, or the “well-booted” Greeks of Modern Europe.⁹⁶

The *Dublin Evening Post*, following its previous coverage, continued to support the Hungarian movement, albeit taking care to position it in a continental context and without the heightened emotional nationalist attitude of the *Freeman’s*. The topic of Russian intervention was destined to trigger characteristic responses from the paper, owing to its manifold political implications. The use of foreign force by the Austrian emperor to settle the question incurred the wrath of the *Evening Post*, firstly as in its reading it was a textbook case of invasion into the domestic matters of an empire or country. Furthermore, the fact that the intervening army was Russian also contributed to the disapproval as Russian appearance in the region had security and geopolitical connotations. The involvement of these factors which affected powers such as France and Britain elevated the issue from a smaller scale, domestic conflict into the realms of the European power balance. In this respect the fact that the two empires involved in this intervention were members bound by the Holy Alliance fitted easily with the harshly critical attitude the paper demonstrated towards them. In this combination the Hungarians became metaphors in an epic struggle. All this, however, only further underlined the main current of interest, namely that of the European balance, where the fact that Hungarians were involved in this war was a coincidence.

The *Dublin Evening Mail*, faithful to its conservative leanings, followed *The Times*, not only using it as a source for information and news but also leaning on its interpretations and outlook for guidelines in foreign affairs. Characteristically, the paper’s coverage featured more clippings from foreign papers and from *The Times* as opposed to providing its own reading in editorials. This attitude went somewhat

⁹⁵ *Dublin Evening Post*, 24 July 1849.

⁹⁶ *Dublin Evening Post*, 26 July 1849.

against the outright pro-Austrian views of *The Times*.⁹⁷ In fact, the *Evening Mail* maintained this position of mainly reporting without commenting even at the planning stages of the intervention⁹⁸ and as it was set in motion.⁹⁹ A consideration of the potential benefits the czar would gain from the intervention, namely countering the destabilizing potential of the Hungarian conflict to spread over to his own dominions and territories of influence, still did not shift the paper from its initial observer status.¹⁰⁰ This type of unemotional and disinterested reporting and mere cataloguing of events in Hungary was also reflected in the paper's main focus in foreign affairs, namely the arresting interest in the fate of Rome and the Venetian republics.¹⁰¹ As the papal involvement in these affairs excited attention and emotional upheavals in Ireland, along with the strategic importance of Italy in European politics, the *Evening Mail* decided to concentrate its editorials on that part of the Continent.

With the approaching termination of the contest in Italy, and a significant lessening of the harshly anti-Hungarian direction of the coverage of *The Times*, the *Evening Mail*, in turn, also developed a more lenient and somewhat understanding attitude towards Hungary. This was visible firstly in its comment on the regular complaint of newspapers that news was filtered through the Austrian press, namely the '...cooking of intelligence...always in fashion unfavourable to the cause of humanity and freedom.'¹⁰² Furthermore, it was also present in the overall treatment of the subject where 'the Hungarian rebellion' of the 11 April issue had turned into 'a noble struggle' by the 2 July issue. The 'reserved onlooker' demeanour of the paper was completely abandoned by the 23 July issue, where 'the brave Hungarians... [fighting against] the Austrians and their allied Russian barbarians'¹⁰³ were celebrated as cheering news. The fact that Britain did not look with a kind eye at the potential growth in influence the intervention held for Russia, along with the

⁹⁷ Domokos Kosáry, *Hungary and international politics in 1848-1849* (Colorado, 2003), p. 525.

Atlantic studies on society in change series and East European monographs. Hungarian original translated by Tim Wilkinson.

⁹⁸ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 23 Feb., 28 Feb., 11 Apr., 20 Apr., 4 May 1849.

⁹⁹ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 7 May, 9 May, 11 May, 23 May 1849.

¹⁰⁰ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 30 May, 1 June, 13 June, 22 June, 29 June 1849.

¹⁰¹ Denis Mack Smith, 'The revolutions of 1848-1849 in Italy' in R.J.W. Evans and Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann (eds), *The revolutions in Europe, 1848-1849: From revolution to reaction* (Oxford, 2002), pp 55-83.

¹⁰² *Dublin Evening Mail*, 2 July 1849.

¹⁰³ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 23 July 1849.

supporting speech of Palmerston in the Commons,¹⁰⁴ was enough for the paper to execute this somewhat sudden change in opinion.

As the Hungarian army could still achieve victories even after the initial arrival of the Russians, hopes were high in the editorials of the paper. As the war was still going on by the end of July, the *Evening Mail* celebrated the Hungarian combatants, declaring that

...whatever may be the result of this war, enough has been done to transmit to their latest posterity the names of Kossuth, Görgey and Bem, and their followers and associates, enrolled among the worthiest defenders of constitutional and rational freedom.¹⁰⁵

The quotation is interesting as formerly the paper had consciously decided not to provide information on individuals in this conflict. This was in keeping with its sparing coverage, but it was also informative of its reasons for support. In the eyes of the *Evening Mail* the Hungarians were worthy of support because the revolution was initiated on constitutional and lawful grounds. This belief proved to be so strong that the conservative paper stood by it even against the opinion of the Whig prime minister, Lord John Russell, referring to the Hungarians as ‘patriots...whom Lord John Russell and the czar denominate as insurgents.’¹⁰⁶

The Russian intervention not only elevated the internal war within the Austrian empire into the realms of an international power conflict but it also transformed the Hungarian war into a mythical epic struggle. As the geopolitical implications and potential future effects of Russian intervention triggered lengthy discussions in both houses of parliament, the four newspapers under analysis also hastened to add their views on the topic. Although arguments from realpolitik such as the potential benefits the intervention had for the Russians also featured in their interpretations, the emotional approach of terming the cooperation of the two powers as ‘evil’ slowly began to dominate the discourse. These sentiments were further aided and heightened by the speech of Lord Palmerston in the Commons on 21 July supporting the cause of Hungary. The *Dublin Evening Mail*, uniquely among the four papers, reconsidered its former attitude towards the Hungarian revolution and war

¹⁰⁴ *Hansard* 3, H.C., cvii, cc 807-815(21 July 1849).

¹⁰⁵ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 23 July 1849.

¹⁰⁶ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 20 Aug. 1849.

and declared its outright support. The *Freeman's* took its sympathy to a higher level when its editorials identified the struggles of Ireland and Hungary as both peoples fighting for an ancient constitution.

For the *Freeman's*, the defeat, surrender and aftermath of the Hungarian revolution and war of independence in 1849 as a rounding up of events offered the chance to mourn lost chances and hopes. Once the news of the termination of the war had been confirmed, the paper, reiterating how news of smaller victories gained by Hungarians had featured in their earlier issues, now announced that hopes to see Hungary victorious 'have suddenly sunk forever.'¹⁰⁷ Even though the paper did not overanalyze the surrender in editorials, the immediate issues provided long descriptions quoted from various sources with ample detail. Such topics included the revenge of Austria in the shape of executions, on which the paper faithfully reported, listing the names of the thirteen executed generals, identifying the executed Prime Minister Batthyany, along with other major characters from the revolution and war.¹⁰⁸ The issue of whether Turkey would be forced to extradite the Hungarian exiles led by Kossuth, as demanded by Russia and Austria,¹⁰⁹ excited heated response from the paper.

Remembering how the Turkish sultan's donation for Famine relief in Ireland was not welcomed any more by the British,¹¹⁰ the *Freeman's* bitterly concluded that the Turkish ruler again seemed to be in trouble as a result of his kindness. The paper claimed that the generosity of the sultan meant that he was threatened with 'the danger of having his dominions overrun by the beastly and brutal vandals of Austria and Russia.'¹¹¹ Urging the British cabinet to help sustain the position of Turkey against the two empires, the *Freeman's* reasoned that not even the 1774 treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji would apply against Turkey as the exiles, whom the two powers wished to see extradited, had not risen against Russia but Austria.¹¹² Even though the

¹⁰⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 24 Aug. 1849.

¹⁰⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 15 Oct, 22 Oct, 26 Oct. 1849.

¹⁰⁹ István Deák, *The lawful revolution*, pp 338-42. The *Freeman's Journal* covered the issue in great detail: 31 Oct, 16, 20, 26 Nov., 5, 8 Dec. 1849. These exiles, including politicians, generals and the former governor Lajos Kossuth, were participants in the defeated Hungarian revolution and war of independence who escaped Hungary after August 1849.

¹¹⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 5 July, 3 Oct. 1849. After the initial one, further donations were discouraged.

¹¹¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 3 Oct. 1849.

¹¹² *Ibid.* The Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji (1774) between Russia and Turkey marked the beginning of decline of Ottoman power and saw Russia stepping up as a protector of Christian subjects of the

Hungarian exiles seemed to be in the centre of the renewed conflict, prompting reasons for the clash of interests, the *Freeman's* recognized and interpreted their fate from the perspective that they had merely got caught up in a larger political battle.

On 1 September 1849 the reopening number of *The Nation* devoted a long analytical retrospective article entitled 'Hungarian struggle' to the conflict. After declaring that the battle between sympathy and cool consideration had been won by the latter, namely that the actual result of the war was not a surprise, *The Nation* nevertheless appreciated it as 'the saddest event in the entire revolutionary contest over Europe.'¹¹³ Likening Hungary to Poland as 'they are both glorious piles of old nationality, even in ruins,'¹¹⁴ the paper believed that the country's struggle was still pregnant with lessons for the future. Asserting that Irish sympathy so far was mainly due to Hungary's long term resistance, as opposed to a deeper knowledge of motives behind it, the paper wished to rectify the situation.

Identifying the country's constitution and social construction as factors, the paper briefly summarized how the feudal diets of the previous decades had contributed to improvements in the peasantry's position. Depicting Hungarian landlords as owners who 'did not continue to oppose the tenant's rights,'¹¹⁵ *The Nation* suggested that in Hungary unity and cooperation existed between peasants and landlords. Declaring this as essential in the creation of national strength, the paper also believed that this lengthy process had contributed to the appearance of thoughtful and well-prepared leadership, in the person of Lajos Kossuth. Paralleling these issues with the then recent history of Ireland, the paper pointed out that this individual interest of the peasants to keep up the constitution that gave them their freedom was the very element that Ireland lacked. As the extension of the peasantry's rights went together with advantages for commercial sections of the society, *The Nation* underlined that these strands interwoven together created the necessary 'cohesion, solidity...national mass'¹¹⁶ essential for Hungary's extended resistance against the two powers.

In an even more direct implication for Ireland, the paper considered it important to highlight that Hungarians were not divided by religious animosities. In

Ottoman empire. See: Alan G. Jamieson, *Faith and sword: a short history of Christian-Muslim conflict* (London, 2006), pp 128-9.

¹¹³ *The Nation*, 1 Sept. 1849.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *The Nation*, 1 Sept. 1849.

the estimation of the paper the only group that digressed from this created image of national unity was Croatia, the ‘Ulster of Hungary.’¹¹⁷ The invoking of a specific Irish circumstance here served the purpose of illustrating the paper’s general belief that existing divisions were in fact the minority group’s fault, in Hungary’s case essentially playing to Austria’s advantage by picking sides unwisely. Following the line of directly paralleling the two countries’ history, the fact that Hungary had resorted to military action where Ireland remained on constitutional grounds was reflected in the phrase: ‘the ’82 of Ireland was but the other day of Hungary.’¹¹⁸ As for Hungary’s ability to deliver that lengthy military resistance, *The Nation* recalled the national unity noted at the beginning of the article, saying that ‘Hungary was not Ireland. The leaders were not alone ready for the occasion, but supported by the people.’¹¹⁹

As these Hungarian events and aspects of Hungary’s fate pointed to problematic domestic questions, *The Nation* kept following the aftermath of Hungary’s war, using it as a blueprint to deliver opinion about Ireland’s situation as well. The article entitled ‘The new nation’¹²⁰ suggested that Ireland needed to transform its future aims and means of obtaining these to fit larger political conditions and circumstances. This idea came as a lesson learnt from the course that recent Irish and continental events had taken, arriving at the conclusion of rejecting armed resistance in favour of achieving goals through other means. In this particular context, the Hungarian war symbolized the realization that Ireland, troubled with circumstances such as ‘division, and famine, and pestilence, and emigration, and defeat, and the loss of prestige,’¹²¹ was a lot less prepared to fight.

The fact that Hungary’s example was mainly used in a way that fitted the paper’s purposes could be best illustrated by a biography of Lajos Kossuth *The Nation* took from *The Times* of 25 September 1849. Acknowledging the source, *The Nation*, however, announced to its readers that the original article had been abridged, leaving ‘the writer’s scurrilous reflections’ out and allowing ‘the facts...to speak for

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ *The Nation*, 8 Sept. 1849. The author was Charles Gavan Duffy, the editor of *The Nation* who revisited themes of this article in a further one published in the 10 Nov. 1849 issue, entitled ‘Today and tomorrow.’

¹²¹ *The Nation*, 29 Sept. 1849.

themselves.¹²² A comparison of the original *The Times* article¹²³ and that of *The Nation* reveals what the Irish paper singled out for elimination. Following Kossuth's career from the diet through his ministerial days, *The Nation* simply left those parts out where Kossuth's unbending attitude towards the nationalities, namely the Croats and Serbs, would have tainted its image of the man 'pure as untouched snow.'¹²⁴ Therefore, although *The Nation's* biography mentioned the war against the Croats and the imperial army, it cut those parts where Kossuth practically forced his opinion through to get the desired outcome. *The Nation* kept its Kossuth image intact by leaving these parts out and altering the ending, which, in the original *The Times* article, effectively laid the blame on Kossuth. These arguments formed the backbone of *The Times* article, which claimed that Kossuth's conduct was essential in the downfall of the country. Leaving these out was an important step for *The Nation*, as earlier numbers had identified Kossuth as the ideal strong and thoughtful leader, one who could rally the whole people's support for a national cause, someone they wished Ireland had. It was in this spirit that *The Nation* published a further biography of Kossuth, taken from the *Daily News*, a paper friendly to the Hungarian cause, claiming it to be a corrected version of *The Times* article.¹²⁵ The article, although it provided more information on Kossuth's days as a journalist and on his motives and actions during the war, also failed to mention the Croatian situation.

Such was *The Nation's* belief that Kossuth and the Hungarians had followed the right track of policies that even Kossuth's appeal to Palmerston for protection and against the extradition of the exiles was applauded by the paper.¹²⁶ Eulogizing the end of the Hungarian war as 'a gallant and religious nation undermined by treachery, and beset by overwhelming brute force,'¹²⁷ the paper, however, did not put too much hope into the success of Kossuth's appeal. Claiming that 'England, if she hate liberty at home, has sometimes been its auxiliary abroad,'¹²⁸ offered faint hope, the paper

¹²² *The Nation*, 6 Oct. 1849. *The Nation's* coverage leant heavily towards the fate of Kossuth and the exiles, see issues such as 8, 29 Sept, 6, 13, 20, 27 Oct, 3, 17 Nov, 8, 29 Dec. 1849.

¹²³ *The Times*, 25 Sept. 1849.

¹²⁴ *The Nation*, 6 Oct. 1849.

¹²⁵ *The Nation*, 20 Oct. 1849. Seamas Ó Siocháin and Thomas Kabdebo, 'Hungary and the two Roger Casements' in idem, *Ireland and Hungary. A study in parallels with an Arthur Griffith bibliography* (Dublin, 2001), pp 74-5. The *Daily News* turned out to be a more fitting source for *The Nation*, see for e.g. *The Nation*, 6 Oct. 1849. 'The last days of Hungary.'

¹²⁶ *The Nation*, 13 Oct. 1849. The paper quoted the text of Kossuth's letter and provided an analysis of the situation in the same issue.

¹²⁷ *The Nation*, 13 Oct. 1849.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

nevertheless believed that even if the exiles were to die, they would be hallowed as true martyrs. It was in this context that the paper wrote of the execution of Count Lajos Batthyany, the first prime minister of Hungary.¹²⁹ Paralleling the ending of the struggles of the two peoples while contemplating future policies and actions for Ireland, *The Nation* believed that inaction was no cure or way out.¹³⁰ Inspired by the example of Kossuth aiming to settle the situation of the exiles, the paper believed that the defeat of 1848 and 1849 was no reason to lose hope in actively resolving problems in the future.

The *Dublin Evening Post* did not draw direct parallels between the fate of Ireland and Hungary, although, having been adamant in supporting the Hungarian war, its defeat was considered to a certain extent as its own defeat too.

They [the Viennese conservative journalists] should rest satisfied with the great victory of Despotism. They have had their wicked will of the Hungarians, and, we needs must admit it, of ourselves; and they should be satisfied, in all conscience. *We are beaten.* ...The *Globe*, *News*, *Sun*, *Examiner*, and THE DUBLIN EVENING POST have been flooded; these gentle Arcadians, the *Times* and *Chronicle*, *Morning Post* and *Standard* have won the day.¹³¹

Beyond the contest of the Hungarian war, which the paper had earlier elevated into a battle of liberty against despotism, this passage illustrates that the paper believed it was also waging a metaphoric war, a war of words, alongside the other liberal minded British papers against the conservative ones. Interestingly, the *Evening Post* did not pull any Irish papers into this conflict, as if declaring that it stood out from the crowd.

Being faithful to the main focus of placing the Hungarian struggle in its continental framework, the paper, once Hungary was defeated,¹³² moved away from addressing the direct aftermath towards an analysis of the European context. This shift in interest was clearly visible as the number of editorials dealing with Hungary noticeably decreased, taken over by articles contemplating the future of the European Continent. Suggesting that a congress, similar to that of 1815 in Vienna, would help

¹²⁹ *The Nation*, 20 Oct. 1849.

¹³⁰ *The Nation*, 17 Nov. 1849.

¹³¹ *The Dublin Evening Post*, 4 Sept. 1849. Emphasis and italics in original.

¹³² In the words of the paper: 'Hungary is dead, after a noble struggle.' *Dublin Evening Post*, 15 Sept. 1849.

settle outstanding issues, the paper highlighted that the current power relations of the Continent would, however, inevitably see the Russian czar as the biggest beneficiary of any settlement or redistribution of territories. Beyond that, to deepen its readers' perspective on the unfolding events, the paper also established that Prussia, Austria and France were in financial trouble after the revolutions, and arrived at the conclusion that Britain would be the only country available and willing for lending.¹³³ Britain therefore would play an important part in the upcoming future events of the Continent and the paper urged guarding interests closely.

Although the executions in Hungary were not directly covered in the paper in detail, the deepening conflict between Russia, Austria and Turkey, and through them the fate of the exiles, became of central importance in the analysis of foreign affairs. The paper, outlining the renewing conflict between Russia and Turkey, could not help but congratulate itself for noticing and warning about it well in advance.

We said all along, that if the Cossacks succeeded in Hungary, their next achievement would be an attempt upon the integrity of the Ottoman empire. Now, we don't care about the Turks, *as Turks*, but we know ... if the Turkish empire is dissolved, and that the Emperor of Russia supplies the solvent, there will be an end to the independence of the Continent.¹³⁴

In terms of continental politics, the paper's point of view put the bigger picture in focus, thus the balance and safety of the Continent was always more important than interest in a foreign country. In this particular case, Turkey was interesting as long as it provided a bulwark against Russian ambitions, serving as a balancing tool in the European power equation, which fitted the general direction of British foreign policy.

Beyond the immediate critique of the imperial policies pursued by the two emperors, the paper's attitude owed much to the belief that the ally, Austria, seemed to have switched sides and pursued interests in the Dardanelles, going directly against those of Britain. The question of the exiles and their extradition demanded by the two imperial powers foreshadowed future conflicts in which the paper believed Austria, inevitably, would have to side with Russia after being indebted for Russian help in Hungary. This latter issue and its future implications for the fate of the Continent occupied the paper's interests, characteristically describing it as an evil contract.

¹³³ *Dublin Evening Post*, 25 Sept. 1849.

¹³⁴ *Dublin Evening Post*, 4 Oct. 1849. Italics in original.

He [Francis Joseph] must subscribe to the policy of his imperial ally. The man who has entered into a compact with the devil, and sealed it with blood, must abide by the result.¹³⁵

This image of Francis Joseph entering a course he would be forced to take in the future was carried to a further level in the paper, where the emperor was pictured as a sovereign who had made a costly mistake. The *Evening Post* firmly believed that the crushing of Hungary had delivered a blow to the prestige and strength of the empire, referring to Hungary as the right arm of Austria.¹³⁶ This the paper analyzed as an immediate consequence of the actions of the emperor, which in turn would weaken the cohesion of the empire in the long run. Not without some prophetic insight, the paper asserted that

...the red emperor...let Europe take what form she may, is doomed. He may not perish in his own blood, but he will die a political death with the dissolution of his blood-stained empire.¹³⁷

Although, word for word, the prophecy did not come true, as Francis Joseph died in 1916, two years before the end of world war one and the dissolution of the empire, the paper's prediction proved to be remarkably accurate.

Turning to the *Evening Mail*, the defeat of the Hungarians did not take the paper entirely by surprise, although it waited two days to announce officially that the Hungarians had surrendered.¹³⁸ Initially, the paper was similarly saddened by the 'latest and bloodiest triumph of the enemies of mankind,'¹³⁹ and offered sympathy for the 'Hungarian patriots...a gallant people in defence of their ancient constitution.'¹⁴⁰ These sentiments, however, were already mingled with contemplation of future consequences of the event, declaring, like the *Evening Post*, that Austria had managed to achieve only a pyrrhic victory. Realizing that the czar would gain from the positions he obtained in Hungary, which would open his way into Turkey, cutting

¹³⁵ *Dublin Evening Post*, 20 Oct. 1849.

¹³⁶ *Dublin Evening Post*, 29 Nov, 1 Dec. 1849.

¹³⁷ *Dublin Evening Post*, 1 Dec. 1849.

¹³⁸ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 22 Aug, 24 Aug. 1849.

¹³⁹ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 24 Aug. 1849.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

deep into the interests of the British, the paper warned that the issue was pregnant with further complications for the future.

The editorial ‘The results of the revolutions’ on 7 September bitterly summarized the conclusions the paper thought Europe had to draw from the latest events. Using phrases such as ‘short-lived triumph of the peoples...brutal Russian...noble Hungarian leaders...effete despot of Austria,’¹⁴¹ the paper not only reiterated where its sympathies lay but also repeated points of its underlying analysis. Central to the views of the paper was the conviction that through its incessant desire for revenge Austria was draining itself, and that Russia’s further movements would have to be closely monitored in Britain. Like the *Evening Post*,¹⁴² the *Evening Mail* asserted that internal factors, such as capital, would form a crucial role in a potential British reply to these challenges.¹⁴³ But the *Evening Mail* also added that the whig government’s failure to demonstrate British sympathy towards Hungary was a lost chance for preventing the escalation of this conflict.¹⁴⁴

The challenge came in the shape of fate of the Hungarian exiles in the Turkish empire, whose extradition was continuously demanded by Russia and Austria. Registering it as a ‘shame of Christendom’¹⁴⁵ that it was the Turks who had first stood up against the combined forceful demands of the two emperors, the paper voiced strong criticism against *The Times* and its influential readers, claiming

It was the base desertion, by British capitalists and their organ [*The Times*], of the British cause of Hungarian liberty—for British it was, by virtue of its necessary consequences—that has now brought the world to the verge of a general and bloody conflict...¹⁴⁶

This passage, beyond reflecting on the intricate nature of foreign affairs and interests where the strategic and geopolitical location of certain conflicts would trigger greater attention than others, revealed the reasons behind the paper’s change of attitude towards Hungary’s war. Readers could realize that the paper’s reasons for supporting Hungary’s struggle against the forces of Austria and Russia actually had more to do

¹⁴¹ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 7 Sept. 1849.

¹⁴² *Dublin Evening Post*, 18 Oct. 1849. The paper blamed the governing concern with saving capital and property for the lukewarm interest in affairs of the Continent.

¹⁴³ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 29 Aug, 7 Sept. 1849.

¹⁴⁴ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 24 Oct. 1849.

¹⁴⁵ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 3 Oct. 1849.

¹⁴⁶ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 5 Oct. 1849.

with contemplating the future of the balance of power on the Continent than it had with the fate of Hungary as such.

This, however, did not mean that the paper's foreign mail did not follow events in, for example the executions of generals,¹⁴⁷ and about Hungary, such as Kossuth's letter to Palmerston. Although the paper sympathized with the cause, it had no illusion about the futility of Kossuth's plea for active British assistance in the fate of the exiles. Like the other papers in the analysis, the *Evening Mail* also mentioned the names of further illustrious executed Hungarians, along with Kossuth's farewell letter and updated information on the fate of the exiles.¹⁴⁸ The figure of Haynau, the emperor's executioner, became synonymous with horrifying and evil deeds. The 3 December editorial, after formulating strong criticism towards Ireland's 'democratic press',¹⁴⁹ for defending whatever the pope did, thundered in conclusion that these organs would accept even Haynau if he assisted the pope.

Whatever is done in the name of the Pope must be right. Such is their servile doctrine. If his Holiness should borrow Haynau from the Emperor of Austria, and signalize his return to the Vatican by hanging up the soldiers of Garibaldi, thirteen in a row, in honour of the Apostles, his justice would, doubtless, be made a theme of popular praise and admiration.¹⁵⁰

However, the mention of Julius Haynau, the avenging general of the Austrian emperor, in the criticism of the Catholic newspapers of the time was a conscious choice. This served not only as a subtle denial of the popular theme of sisterly fate between Ireland and Hungary present in these papers but also as a critical assertion that these representative Catholic organs had only one agenda which they pursued with all means. This quotation is characteristic of the coverage and underlining attitude of the *Dublin Evening Mail*. This conservative paper, although it did start to sympathize with Hungary once the war there seemed to threaten the European balance of power, never went as far as to consider that country's fate synonymous with or similar to that of Ireland.

¹⁴⁷ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 15, 17 Oct. 1849. The same letter appeared in *The Nation* in its 13 Oct. 1849 issue. See above.

¹⁴⁸ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 16, 26 Nov. 1849.

¹⁴⁹ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 3 Dec. 1849.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

Considering the coverage of continental, including Hungarian, events with that of Irish politics and the famine in all four papers, generally, it can be said that they all concentrated more on Ireland. The degree of this shared attention varied though from paper to paper. *The Nation*, the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Dublin Evening Mail* had a more overwhelming focus on Irish news, which was not surprising given that the years 1848 and 1849 saw a rising in Ireland, along with the activities of the Irish Confederation and the subsequent trials, the visit of Queen Victoria and the ongoing Famine. The *Dublin Evening Post* also amply covered these Irish events although this paper featured continental events as headlines more often than the other papers. This latter fact was underlined by a separate editorial header, 'the European revolution,' which demonstrated keen interest. Similarly, the Hungarian revolution and war had to compete for attention with events in France, where direct Irish links were constantly followed in the papers along with the evolution of affairs in Italy. There the involvement of the papacy exponentially increased the coverage in all four papers, signalling the importance of the religious implications in Irish politics. There was one thing, however, that all four newspapers agreed on when it came to the topic of Ireland and Hungary in 1848-49. This was the identification of Richard Guyon, an active participant of the war as a general in the Hungarian army and an exile in Turkey, as an Irishman.¹⁵¹ The increased level of interest, beyond highly political factors, could be explained by a further particular feature of the war in Hungary. It was a frequent and ongoing complaint of the papers that the seat of the Hungarian war was covered in a proverbial mist when it came to news from the Hungarian side. All four papers were very conscious that in most cases, they could obtain only the version of events filtered by Austria. This not only made the confirmation of the validity of certain news pieces a challenging task but it also contributed to a boom in contemplations, rumours, gossip and guessing. This resulted in a willingness to publish news from all kinds of foreign sources, which often had to be clarified or refuted days later.

The newspapers', most notably *The Nation* and the *Freeman's*, special treatment of Hungary as a theme was carried into 1849 from the previous year.

¹⁵¹ *The Freeman's Journal*, 1 Aug. 1849, *The Dublin Evening Post*, 2 Aug. 1849, *Dublin Evening Mail*, 1 Aug. 1849, *The Nation*, 10 Nov. 1849. Out of the four papers, *The Nation* was the most vehement in its claims and defence of Guyon as an Irish officer. For more information on Guyon, see: J.L. Garland, 'Reply to query on Irish officers in the Turkish Service, relating to Gen. Richard Guyon of Cratloe, Co. Clare' in *Irish Sword: the journal of the Military History Society of Ireland*, iii, no. 11 (1957), p. 132.

Although both the *Dublin Evening Post* and the *Dublin Evening Mail* were engaged in following the unfolding geopolitical and security situation in Europe, they did not consider these continental events as blueprints for discussing any potential Irish implications. The two former papers, however, continued their insistence on closely aligning, if not identifying, Hungary's goals with those of Ireland. Thus, in a contrast to the *Evening Post* and the *Evening Mail*, their editorials were frequently coloured by references to issues beyond the concern of European status quo, or even the fate of Hungary. Picturing the country as Ireland's sister in sore distress or as a young David of freedom all underscored an image of Hungary that functioned as a symbolic representation of the timeliness and validity of subject peoples', including Ireland's, movements.

III. Individual Irish views of the Hungarian revolution and its aftermath (1849)

The topic of Russian intervention in Hungary and its implications, along with the independence claims fuelled by the Hungarian declaration aimed at dethroning the Habsburgs, besides exciting major attention in parliamentary debates and coverage in the newspapers, were frequently discussed in public meetings in Britain. These events were mostly attended by a stable circle of liberal M.P.s such as Lord Dudley Stuart, Monkton Milnes and Ralph Bernal Osborne who would have been equally active in discussing the issue of Hungary's war with Russia and Austria in the parliamentary debates. Among the Irish newspapers, the *Freeman's Journal* always reported these meetings, sometimes quoting speeches in full.¹⁵² As these meetings grew in number and spread across Britain, an anonymous reader of the *Freeman's* wrote a letter to the paper suggesting that after the queen's departure from Ireland, the lord mayor should convene a meeting similar in Dublin 'for the purpose of expressing their [the citizens of Dublin] sympathy with the Hungarians in their noble efforts to obtain freedom.'¹⁵³ The writer, who signed his letter as 'a repealer,' besides acknowledging the appropriateness of such a declaration, hastened to add a further

¹⁵² See for e.g. *Freeman's Journal*, 25 July, 1, 10, 11, 13,16,18,23 Aug. 1849. These meetings took place in various parts of Britain, including London, Edinburgh, Birmingham and Manchester. The paper listed John O'Connell as present at the 1 Aug. meeting in London.

¹⁵³ *The Freeman's Journal*, 14 Aug. 1849.

motive for such a meeting: so that ‘it may not be said that Ireland was incapable of appreciating such a noble effort.’¹⁵⁴ Seeing the long succession of sympathetic meetings being organized in Britain, the letter of the ‘repealer’ urged that Ireland not only should not be left behind in honouring this question, but especially not behind Britain. The suggested meeting never materialized, as Hungary’s war came to an end shortly after the publication of the letter.

Although the public meeting envisaged by the ‘repealer’ did not take place, at a meeting of the corporation of Dublin, John Reynolds, repeal M.P. for Dublin city between 1847 and 1852,¹⁵⁵ formed a similar opinion, declaring that the corporation should forward a congratulatory letter to Kossuth and the Hungarians. According to Reynolds, the address should compliment the Hungarians ‘upon their successful and patriotic resistance to the combined efforts of the military despotism of Austria and Russia.’¹⁵⁶ At the next meeting, however, Reynolds withdrew his motion, as ‘the independence of Hungary was struck down...and there was not an honest man in the community who did not regret the fate of Hungary.’¹⁵⁷ John O’Connell, however, who was M.P. for Limerick city at the time,¹⁵⁸ used the fate of Hungary to communicate a different message. He outlined his views in a letter ‘to the people of Ireland,’ claiming that the defeated revolutions of Hungary, Sicily and Italy, ‘smothered in their own blood,’¹⁵⁹ were the perfect examples for the Irish to see that instead of violence and bloodshed, moral force and action were the answer. Resuming the meetings of the Repeal Association in October 1849, O’Connell revisited the topic of repeal, reaffirming his belief in its prime importance for Ireland. Although the unsuccessful Irish rebellion of 1848 furnished him with plenty of ammunition against domestic opponents, O’Connell nevertheless reiterated and further underlined the power of moral force, using the example of Hungary for demonstrative purposes. In his estimation Kossuth embodied that exact demonic power O’Connell was critical of, theorizing that through his dictatorship, Kossuth had induced the Hungarians to refuse the emperor’s concessions. In order to make his point, O’Connell interpreted the events leading to the war liberally, not mentioning the emperor’s attempts to revoke his previously countersigned concessions and his

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Brian Walker, *Parliamentary election results in Ireland, 1800-1922* (Dublin, 1978), p. 271.

¹⁵⁶ *The Freeman’s Journal*, 15 Aug. 1849.

¹⁵⁷ *The Freeman’s Journal*, 11 Sept. 1849.

¹⁵⁸ Walker, *Parliamentary results*, p. 292.

¹⁵⁹ *The Freeman’s Journal*, 29 Sept. 1849.

double-play of Croatia against Hungary. Without this context, Kossuth became the single reason why Hungary ended up waging a war against Austria, ‘all of which would have been avoided had reason held her empire and a few wild spirits not interfered to prevent a peaceful settlement.’¹⁶⁰ Listeners to and readers of this speech would have found it hard not to hear the hidden Irish message and O’Connell’s critique of the Irish 1848 rebellion implied through the Hungarian context. In O’Connell’s mindset, Kossuth and the representatives of Young Ireland embodied the same destructive energy and influence.

Even after the defeat and end of the war, Hungary’s fate still remained a topic of discussion, not only for its geopolitical implications but also as an example for further examination. This materialized in the shape of studying the revolution and the war for patterns and for a generic model that could be used in a variety of contexts present in Ireland. This general approach allowed Hungary to be depicted as admirable, picturing an idealized national unity forged during the war, or alternatively as a model to be avoided. At the aggregate meeting that set up the Irish Alliance, Maurice Leyne provided an example of using Hungarian images in a specific Irish context.¹⁶¹ Leyne, who was involved in the rebellion of 1848 himself, defended the legacy of the uprising and its participants and dared anyone to try to defame the efforts to improve Ireland’s status. He was relieved to find that no one challenged his interpretation and was proud to assert that ‘if Irishmen had not a Kossuth in their camp, at least they had not a Görgey in the field with them.’¹⁶² In this particular context Kossuth was the ultimate hero and theoretician whereas General Görgey, in accordance with Kossuth’s opinion, became branded as traitor for surrendering to the Russian forces. Leyne here, through this example and its Irish cross-reference, wished to communicate his firm belief in the new Alliance, which was aimed at uniting all Irish nationalists. Despite these efforts, the establishment of this body in fact led further and further away from the desired unity, as John O’Connell, the leader of the Repeal Association, was a frequent target of scorn and criticism.

¹⁶⁰ *The Dublin Evening Mail*, 10 Oct. 1849.

¹⁶¹ *The Nation*, 24 Nov. 1849, *The Dublin Evening Mail*, 21 Nov. 1849. For more on the Alliance, see *The Nation*, 22 Dec. 1849.

¹⁶² *The Dublin Evening Mail*, 21 Nov. 1849. General Görgey was the commander-in-chief of the Hungarian army who was given full powers by Kossuth. Görgey surrendered to the Russian forces in August 1849 after which Kossuth branded him as traitor.

At the next meeting of the Alliance George Fuller, an associate of *The Nation* and a member of the council of the Alliance, continued the O'Connell-Kossuth debate.¹⁶³ Praising the aims and objectives of the Alliance, Fuller went on to launch an attack on O'Connell for his words denouncing Lamartine and Kossuth. O'Connell's 'Letter to the people of Ireland,' published in the *Freeman's Journal* of 29 September 1849, and his speech at a meeting of the Repeal Association, published in the *Dublin Evening Mail* on 10 October 1849, were designed to draw attention to peaceful methods in an attempt to overturn the eulogistic image of Kossuth in Ireland. In Fuller's eyes such an attempt defamed not only Kossuth and Lamartine, although Fuller defended Kossuth more vehemently, but also those who found their examples inspiring. Calling them 'the two most illustrious patriots of modern times,'¹⁶⁴ Fuller firmly challenged O'Connell's criticism of these two politicians and asserted that O'Connell's letter did not reflect majority views.

Fuller not only aimed to destroy O'Connell's claims and to turn around the defaming of Kossuth but he also wished to launch an attack against O'Connell personally. He asserted that, if given permission by the Alliance, he would proceed to write to an unnamed Hungarian patriot friend of his to say that 'there does exist in this island a minnow basking in a Triton's reputation, creeping in the shadow of a great name who had the audacity to put forward these stale slanders.'¹⁶⁵ These words mirrored not only Fuller's opinion of the son of the Liberator but echoed the attitudes of those contemporaries who did not believe that John had the same qualities as his father to be successful in politics.¹⁶⁶ In Fuller's estimation this vindication of the name of Kossuth was needed not only because Kossuth deserved the veneration but also as 'our Hungary of the West has too much community of misfortune with the Hungary of the East to suffer the heroic ex-governor of the latter to be maligned.'¹⁶⁷ In a figurative sense, therefore, Fuller was denouncing O'Connell for forming and sustaining an opinion deviating from what he perceived to be the majority Irish

¹⁶³ Richard Pigott, *Personal recollections of an Irish national journalist* (Dublin, 1882), pp 26, 30-1. *The Nation*, 22 Dec. 1849.

The address book of the Irish Alliance, R.I.A. MS 23 H 40. Lists Fuller as a member of the council of the Alliance and his name featured on the subscription lists too.

¹⁶⁴ *The Nation*, 22 Dec. 1849.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ '...between the czar and the Kaiser, the Pope and the sultan and Johnny O'Connell who is all of them at once....' Richard D'Alton Williams to 'Eva' [wife of Kevin Izod O'Doherty], 8 Oct. 1849 N.L.I. Hickey Collection papers, MS 3226/44-45

¹⁶⁷ *The Nation*, 22 Dec. 1849.

opinion. The latter parts of the speech moulded nicely to the aims of the Alliance, which set out to recruit the moderate nationalists fronted by Gavan Duffy,¹⁶⁸ hoping to rebuild Ireland along more constructive lines instead of uprising and lamenting.

This critical opinion of John O'Connell was challenged not only by nationalists outside the Repeal Association but from the inside ranks as well. At a regular meeting of the Association, C.J Lawless, M.P. for Clonmel between 1846 and 1853,¹⁶⁹ named Kossuth as 'the greatest man that has lived for centuries,'¹⁷⁰ along with George Washington and Daniel O'Connell. Alluding to O'Connell's earlier critical speech about Kossuth, Lawless highlighted that Kossuth was a victim of treachery, betrayed by Görgey, Haynau and the emperor. This latter claim, putting the Hungarian general in one group with the main executioner and the Austrian emperor, signalled how much more grand gestures and strong leadership were valued in Irish politics, compared to the real-politic of needing to surrender in front of a huge numerical superiority to avoid further bloodshed. John O'Connell reacted strongly, attacking not only the idealized image of Kossuth but also that of Hungary, highlighting that the Magyars were not only just one of the nations in Hungary, they did not have a numerical majority either. To contextualize this for his fellow Irish listeners, O'Connell claimed that this was

as if the Orangemen here had suddenly raised the standard of independence, and having thrown off the yoke of England, wanted to get exclusive privileges for themselves.¹⁷¹

The idea that Kossuth and the Magyars were the reasons behind the bloodshed of the war that could have been avoided did not appeal to the audience. Even though O'Connell's criticism had elements of truth in it, as Magyar nationalism did not offer the same privileges to the other nationalities of the kingdom, the image of Hungary fighting for her rights was too attractive for Irish nationalists to let go. As the existing picture of Hungary showed similarities to Ireland, where in the comparison Hungary looked stronger and more established in terms of relative legislative independence

¹⁶⁸ Pigott, *Personal recollections*, pp 31-2.

¹⁶⁹ Walker, *Parliamentary results*, p. 262.

¹⁷⁰ *The Nation*, 22 Dec. 1849.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

and military strength, as the ongoing war had amply demonstrated, it was no wonder that nationalists held on to it. The portrait of Hungary as a country fighting a war against similar evils, especially as she seemed more advanced on the route, looked demonstratively appealing for comparison and parallels. In this particular respect, nationalists persisted in picturing Hungary and the Magyars as closest to Ireland as an instructive example, despite the weaknesses of the idea as pointed out by O'Connell, because they needed an inspiring model.

Hungary was fitting for this purpose, for reasons alluded to above, and the working of the slightly propagandistic generic image of this entity overruled any more realistic portraits, which necessarily would have contained less flattering aspects, such as the treatment of nationalities. As Irish nationalists were aspiring to similar strength and power in the affairs of their country, along with the need to manage the issue of existing minorities, the Hungarian nationalist reading of events fitted seamlessly. The notable exception to the Hungarian case, namely that the existing minority in Ireland was more influential, only made the Irish efforts to pursue that example more firm. Hungary, especially in 1848-49, was seen as perfectly capable of demonstrating her power and interests, something that Irish nationalists were looking to procure. It was for these particular hidden and implied reasons that O'Connell had no chance to succeed in contesting the enduring image of Kossuth and Hungary.

The precursor to Fuller's speech against O'Connell's views of Kossuth and Hungary, entitled 'A vindication of Hungary' was serialized in three letters in *The Nation* over the latter half of 1849.¹⁷² The depth and style of Fuller's long and elaborative letters indicated that he not only had extensive knowledge of Hungary, as he alluded to a personal connection as the source of information in his speech, but was equally well-versed in Latin and in the classics. The first letter started with a contextualization of Hungary's fate in the light of Turkish-Russian relations and Russia's growing influence in the region, portraying Hungary as part of the regional geopolitical and security politics of the powers. Believing Russia's extending powers to be a security threat for Europe, the growth of which he followed from Peter the Great, Fuller claimed that the current clash over the Turkish sultan's refusal to extradite the exiles to Russia and Austria was only the latest stage of this extension.

¹⁷² *The Nation*, 27 Oct, 3, 10 Nov. 1849.

As the question was still unresolved at the time of writing, although Fuller alluded to France and Britain as affected powers, he cried out in powerless sympathy that ‘Ireland, alas...can only sigh...in the name of God, though, is there no avenging angel at hand?’¹⁷³

Mourning the fate of Hungary, ‘the healthy liberties of an historic land...trampled away...by fiendish agency of leagued despots,’¹⁷⁴ he asserted that beyond his sense of painful sympathy he felt obliged to pen this letter to vindicate the country. Fuller vehemently attacked *The Times* and *The Chronicle* as papers responsible for orchestrating and spreading lies about Hungary, as he knew that most Irish newspapers would use these conservative papers for information regarding the Continent. Vowing to ‘keep the vultures away from her [Hungary’s] corpse,’¹⁷⁵ for he believed Hungary was dead after that defeat, Fuller claimed that his witnesses, whom he never named, would deliver the truth and enlighten the public about the real course of events in Hungary.

Quoting extensively, however, from two documents drawn up and presented by the Catholic prelates of Hungary to Emperor Ferdinand, it can be assumed that Fuller’s source of information came from that circle. The fact that Fuller not only named the Catholic sees of Hungary along with the prelates who filled them but also had information on those who missed the synod that drew up the documents, seems to strengthen this view. The documents themselves only reinforced Fuller in his beliefs that the seriousness of the Croatian question was exaggerated and was in fact lied about. Claiming that the Hungarian diet seemed to show leniency and allowed time in requiring the Croatian representatives to replace Latin with Hungarian at the diet, together with the fact that the Croatian diet in fact accepted the law of 1844 about Magyar being the official language of the diet, Fuller conveniently by-passed the controversies about the issue.¹⁷⁶ Minimizing Hungary’s role and concealing the lack of leniency present in the language question, which the document written by the Hungarian prelates naturally did not overexpose either, Fuller rather directed attention at the Croats.

¹⁷³ *The Nation*, 27 Oct. 1849.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ The question of language at the diet was a source of bitter debates and ongoing aggravating confrontation between Magyars and Croats from the 1840s. See: Jonathan Sperber, *The European revolutions, 1848-1851* (2nd ed, Cambridge, 2005), pp 103-5. New approaches to European history series.

Fuller's second letter, published 3 November 1849, relied extensively on the same document of the prelates, in fact he quoted large sections from it, allowing for a further reinforcement of his nationalist interpretations. In his mindset the fact that his information for the vindication of Hungary came from Catholic prelates only heightened the value of his sources, instead of seeing it as just one side of the story. Beyond placing the Croats as villains of his letters, Fuller also elevated Kossuth to a high moral standing, claiming that on reading Kossuth's appeal to Palmerston he 'cried like a woman [and] paced the room with my blood on fire and Davis's burning words ringing in my ears.'¹⁷⁷ Similarly to Davis, whom associates of *The Nation* held in equally high esteem, Kossuth was then pictured as a one-man reforming and inspiring spirit.

Fuller ended his vindication of Hungary in the third letter, 10 November 1849, with a reading of the then recent events of the war which had led to the revenge of Austria, recollecting the incidents and executions readers were already familiar with from the newspapers. Fuller offered a more romanticized and epic picture of the executions of the generals and that of Count Batthyány, using recollections and quotations from the executed men, again, probably heavily utilizing his unnamed Hungarian source. Referring to contemporary newspapers for underlining the truth of his letter, in Fuller's interpretation Hungary had been subjected to destruction of historic proportions. As the state of despair and hope for improvement was a situation Irish nationalists were all too familiar with in 1848-49, Fuller closed his letter with a quotation from Count István Széchenyi's *Credit* (1830) which he believed especially merited Irish attention. Fuller quoted the last paragraph of the work, which served as a manifesto of the count's views, highlighting the futility of looking backwards on the past and instead preaching the need to look forward into the future. This quotation rhymed well with the aims and objectives of the Irish Alliance, which also stood for moderation and active formation of the future in envisaged unity. The very last line of *Credit*, 'many contend that Hungary has been, I love to think she yet will be,'¹⁷⁸ had become an adage in its own right in Hungary. It is of significance that Fuller chose Széchenyi, who counted as a moderate reformer in comparison to Kossuth, to quote from, although he manifestly and vehemently protected Kossuth throughout his letters. Claiming that Széchenyi's words could hardly be applied to Hungary in 1849,

¹⁷⁷ *The Nation*, 27 Oct. 1849.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* Cf. Széchenyi István, *Hitel* [Credit] (Pest, 1830).

he expressed his belief that ‘a little Hungary of the West’¹⁷⁹ however could and should look upon these words of the count as a pillar of fire to follow.

Beyond nationalists in Ireland, the exiles of the 1848 rising were also keen on receiving news about the Continent and Hungary’s war and its aftermath. John Mitchel, member of Young Ireland and radical journalist of *The Nation* and later of the *United Irishman*, recorded all the information he received about Hungary during 1849 in his diary. The *Jail Journal*, which was published later and in several editions, reflected Mitchel’s radical political philosophies and went on to inspire and influence generations of Irish nationalists. As he was transported in October 1849 and news reached him after a long lapse of time, Mitchel was still celebrating the Hungarian war when in fact it was long over.¹⁸⁰ After the news of Hungary’s defeat, surrender and the Austrian revenge reached him, Mitchel theorized that the war, despite its unsuccessful end, had in fact had positive outcomes. Believing that ‘the blood of men fighting for freedom is *never* [sic] shed in vain,’¹⁸¹ Mitchel asserted that this baptism of fire made Hungary a greater, more heroic nation than before. In contrast to his referring to the bloodless winning of Irish legislative independence, ‘in ’82 ...a disastrous war even, had been better than a triumphant parade,’¹⁸² Hungary became a grand nation, as this war had furnished her with a pantheon of martyrs, forever imprinting the legacy of the revolution on the public mind.

John Martin, another Young Irelander and transported associate of the 1848 rising,¹⁸³ also received letters with updated information about the Continent from Richard D’Alton Williams.¹⁸⁴ As in February 1849 the war in Hungary and Italy was still ongoing, Williams celebrated this, claiming that ‘every nation is heaving like

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ John Mitchel, *Jail Journal* (4th impression, Dublin, 1921), pp 131, 148, 201.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, p. 205. William Smith O’Brien also received a letter from the students of the Irish College in Paris with similar sentiments. Although the letter is undated, it must have been sent after the battle at Ballinacorney as it was addressed to O’Brien and fellow martyrs. See:

Students of the Irish College in Paris to William Smith O’Brien, undated 1848 (?), N.L.I. MS 443/2529.

¹⁸² Mitchel, *Jail Journal*, p. 205.

¹⁸³ P.A. Sillard, *The life and letters of John Martin. With sketches of Thomas Devin Reilly, Father John Kenyon and other Young Irelanders* (2nd ed, Dublin, 1901), pp 38-9, 106-7, 150, 158.

¹⁸⁴ Williams, besides being a medical doctor and a fellow Young Irelander, was writing poetry for *The Nation* under the pseudonym ‘Shamrock.’ See: Carmel Doyle, ‘Williams, Richard D’Alton (1822-1862)’ in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a9052&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browsearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

Vesuvius before eruption.’¹⁸⁵ Although Williams was happy to be able to report on these events, his interest in doing so decidedly lay elsewhere. In his mind the fact that these ongoing European eruptions had future potential for Ireland was clearly more important. Claiming that he was telling Martin about these events to see whether they indicated ‘an approaching fulfilment of our former vaticination [sic],’¹⁸⁶ namely whether these events could be read as prophetic signs for Irish hopes, seemed to underline this as well. His next letter supplied a further proof of his more contextual and generic interest in the continental revolutions where he provided Martin with his interpretation of the then current situation. In this overall reading Hungary appeared only as a country keeping Austria occupied in another part of the empire, which in turn fuelled hopes for the Italian peninsula. Beyond that, the letter already contemplated the potential for the renewal of hostile relations between Turkey and Russia, along with the sensitive equilibrium of security interests and interrelations between powers in the region, which included Britain as well. Although the letter was seemingly discussing these high political issues, there was an unmistakable Irish aspect present in Williams’ analysis.

...In the interim Russia asks a passage through the Dardanelles, the Sultan smokes over it, and asks the English ambassador...the latter curls his moustache and says *decidedly not*. The Porte refuses and then the Russian ambassador, having drunk a gallon of train oil to soothe his indignation, declares in diplomatic phrase that the Emperor will have it...England is pale with hate...but she has a war in India and an ‘armed peace’ in Ireland. ...all this looks cheerful for the disaffected Irish and assistant surgeons in general.¹⁸⁷

Although Williams did not suggest outright that a future potential conflict would offer a chance for action for Ireland, he did rejoice at the sheer prospect of such political circumstances as he described. Ireland appeared as a sensitive zone of the British empire in the analysis, as a country of strategic importance that would compel the British to weigh their strength and consider the extent to which they could get involved in a larger geopolitical conflict with Ireland at their back.

¹⁸⁵ Richard D’Alton Williams to John Martin, 14 February 1849. N.L.I. MS 3226/28-9.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ Richard D’Alton Williams to John Martin, 24 March 1849, N.L.I. MS 3226/33-4. Italics in original.

Thomas Francis Meagher, like Martin and Williams, was also a Young Irishman, a participant in the 1848 rising who was transported to Van Diemen's Land.¹⁸⁸ Similarly to Martin and others transported, Meagher also received belated news which accounted for his enthusiasm for the Hungarian war in November 1849, declaring 'I wish to Heavens I had my liberty, I'd be off to join the Magyars by the first ship.'¹⁸⁹ As the news of the defeat and surrender reached him, Meagher lamented that 'I see nothing but its [the world's] villains succeeding, and all that is bright and generous...beneficent and noble failing to reach upon this destination to which they...aspired.'¹⁹⁰ Transgressing this somewhat apocalyptic view, Meagher asserted in an approach very similar to that of Mitchel that this Hungarian defeat had already been elevated into a Hungarian pantheon of national heroism, which was underscored by the imagery of 'their defeat...at the foot of the arch of triumph.'¹⁹¹

This interpretation was popular among the Young Irishmen, as after the similar but more resoundingly unsuccessful Irish rising of 1848, the nationalist philosophy needed a way to analyse, process and incorporate the defeat into its thinking. As the only way to present defeat as success was through the claim of moral victory, and the Hungarian instance in the mindset of the Irish nationalist thinkers was transformed into this virtuous and pure aesthetic, furnishing a supporting example to the parallel Irish event. It was through this process that the 'Jeremiad'¹⁹² of Hungary became celebrated and in fact envied for its glory. John Martin put this sentiment to words thus:

...all the disgrace is with the victors at Rome and in Hungary, all the glory with the conquered...and I'd rather be the meanest Roman or the poorest Magyar peasant, whose butcher had served for a minute to abstend [sic] the progress of the enemy than Pope Pius the ninth [sic] or the Austrian Emperor.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ E.P.Cunningham, 'Meagher, Thomas Francis (1823-1867)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a5776&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browsesearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

¹⁸⁹ Thomas Francis Meagher to William Smith O'Brien, 29 Nov. 1849 N.L.I. MS 443/2584.

¹⁹⁰ Meagher to Smith O'Brien, 16 December 1849 N.L.I. MS 443/2591a

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² John Martin to W. Smith O'Brien, 23 December 1849. N.L.I. MS 443/2600.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

In this philosophical universe power and strength were relative values where any demonstration of force in the service of an imperial or higher power was interpreted as immoral and corrupt. On the contrary, revolutions and their military mappings were considered as the highest manifestation of the principle of the unbreakable spirit of the people's will.

The topic of Hungary's resistance against the two imperial powers moved not only the nationalists of Ireland but led a group of peers and M.P.s to sign a memorial addressed to Lord John Russell and Viscount Palmerston to elicit their support for Hungary's cause, which they deemed a just demand of the country's ancient rights. However, as with the letter of 'Repealer' and John Reynolds's motion, this memorial came too late in order to make a difference to the final outcome. The main drafter of this document was Charles William Wentworth Fitzwilliam (1786-1857) who, besides being a British peer, was the 5th earl of Fitzwilliam in the Irish peerage.¹⁹⁴ In order to convince the two statesmen, the document listed geopolitical arguments, alluded to similarities between the British and the Hungarian constitution, such as the structure of the parliament, and expressed firm belief in the just and lawful footing of Hungary's demands. Furthermore, it also asserted that the very nature of Russia's military intervention would threaten these free institutions, along with Britain's interests in the region.¹⁹⁵

The same peer penned a further memorial in December 1849 to Russell and Palmerston, which was already being circulated for signature by October among the peers and M.P.s.¹⁹⁶ The memorial itself, which was published in the *Dublin Evening Mail* on 7 December and by the *Evening Post* on 8 December, drew heavily on the previous document in its style and arguments but it asked for the mediation of Russell and Palmerston in attaining a halt in the ongoing executions in Hungary. Asserting a firm belief that justice for Hungary would yield positively to European security, the signatories of the memorial suggested the mediation of Great Britain to communicate a message to the Austrian government. The carefully phrased document subtly but

¹⁹⁴ G. B. Smith, 'Fitzwilliam, Charles William Wentworth, third Earl Fitzwilliam in the peerage of Great Britain and fifth Earl Fitzwilliam in the peerage of Ireland (1786–1857)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9653> accessed 11 Oct 2010

¹⁹⁵ *The Dublin Evening Mail*, 31 Aug. 1849. Other signatories included Lord Beaumont, Lord Nugent and Lord Northampton.

¹⁹⁶ *The Dublin Evening Mail*, 26 Oct. 1849 reported the circulation of the memorial for signature.

effectively listed arguments for the ending of the current executions, concluding on the note that as the republic of France had abolished capital punishment, 'it will not be wise [of Austria] to allow a contrast to be drawn unfavourable to the clemency of monarchical governments.'¹⁹⁷ The extent of the executions caused wide-spread public uproar around Europe, which in turn eventually forced the Austrian government to yield. Great Britain also voiced concerns regarding the question, although it would be hard to assess how far this was influenced by the Irish memorial. Signatories of the memorial included numerous Irish politicians of the time, such as Francis Conyngham, the second marquess of Conyngham, John Reynolds, Michael Sullivan M.P. for Kilkenny city, John O'Brien M.P. for Limerick city, William Trant Fagan M.P. for Cork, William T. McCullagh M.P. for Dundalk, James Patrick Mahon (The O'Gorman Mahon) M.P. for Ennis, William Sharman Crawford and R. M. Fox M.P. for County Longford.¹⁹⁸ Among the overwhelming presence of repealer Irish M.P.s, Sharman Crawford who was known for his federalist attempt in the first half of the 1840s and the marquess of Conyngham represented the variety.

In conclusion, the European revolutions of 1848-49 did not pose a threat to the British empire to the extent of inducing actual involvement. Recent historiography has established that this was not only because the British were more preoccupied with their consolidation efforts elsewhere in the empire but also because the main goal of these revolutions, namely that of acquiring a parliament or achieving liberty, simply did not concern the British public.¹⁹⁹ Contrary to that, Irish attention to these events and their own uprising amply demonstrated that the Irish were very much touched by the spirit of the age. Irish newspapers reported and analyzed these examples of the continental revolutions from their earliest stages in great detail. Initially this manifested itself in declarations of full sympathy, but these sentiments swiftly turned into contemplations of how best to exploit the situation for Ireland. Interpreting these revolutions as signs that a more generic political development was

¹⁹⁷ *The Dublin Evening Mail*, 7 Dec. 1849.

¹⁹⁸ Walker, *Parliamentary results*, pp 287, 292, 264, 275, 278, 298.

¹⁹⁹ Miles Taylor, 'The 1848 revolutions and the British empire' in *Past&Present*, clxi (Febr 2000), pp 146-80.

Leslie Mitchell, 'Britain's reaction to the revolutions' in R.J.W. Evans and Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann (eds), *The revolutions in Europe 1848-1849. From reform to reaction* (Oxford, 2000), pp 83-99.

being formulated on the Continent, the idea that Ireland could perhaps turn this to her own benefit soon materialized.

John Martin captured this prevailing mood in a speech at the April 1848 meeting of the Irish Confederation, noting that these revolutions were proof that ‘all institutions of state exist by the people’s will and for the people’s uses.’²⁰⁰ This claim that these revolutions were directed against abolishing tyrannies, and demonstrating and institutionalizing the people’s will, painted a fitting portrait of the nature and direction of Irish nationalist interpretations. The sense of these continental events giving impetus and hope for Ireland soon nurtured ideas of Ireland being left out and sidelined in this revolutionary era. Some years later, John Mitchel, in a memorial lecture about Thomas Devin Reilly, remembered the turning of Young Ireland’s emotions from ecstatic to impatient as ‘every week ...[we] had to flash into the faces of the Dublin people the glory, the agony and the triumphant daring of some other people.’²⁰¹

The ongoing events in Europe and Hungary also gave plenty of opportunity for the newspapers and their individual journalists to compare and convey opinion about Ireland. Of the newspapers under discussion, this more detailed more insightful and reflective coverage was characteristic of the nationalist minded papers, namely *The Nation* and *Freeman’s Journal*. A good example of this was the 24 April 1848 issue of the *Freeman’s* where the news of the concessions and constitutional plans of the Austrian emperor earned his empire a progressive characterisation in contrast to that of Britain. The topic of the bloodless Hungarian constitutional revolution in this respect served as a model or blueprint for the discussion and demand of similar Irish measures. The liberal *Dublin Evening Post*, however, indulged in a broader type of reporting about the Continent and argued that the British system and Queen Victoria should serve as models for the Continent rather than the other way round. The conservative *Dublin Evening Mail* had no such initial in-depth foreign focus and as long as Hungary was perceived to be on a legal footing with the emperor, the subject was treated as a domestic issue within the empire.

The Croatian attack, however, came to serve as a micro-model for the problems surrounding the Hungarian revolution as it turned it into a war of

²⁰⁰ *The Nation*, 8 Apr. 1848.

²⁰¹ John Mitchel, *Memoir of Thomas Devin Reilly: a lecture delivered by John Mitchel in the Tabernacle, New York on Dec. 26th 1856* (New York, 1857), p. 25.

independence, contesting the authority of the new Hungarian government. Of all four newspapers, the *Dublin Evening Post* was the most interested in this Croatian antagonism and its symbolic representation of the challenges the new Hungarian authority faced. Identifying this attack as a mirror of deeper seated problems within the empire, the *Evening Post* believed that the root of the problem was the Hungarian insistence on replacing Latin with Magyar, a language the paper saw as barbarous. Beyond this comparative aspect, this change of the official language was viewed as an intolerant step which, according to the paper, naturally led to the war of races unfolding in the current attack. As this conflict was allowed to brew within the framework of the Austrian empire, the paper concluded that Austria as a power was very vulnerable, and expressed amazement that despite being an artificial construct, it was impressive that it had held and was still holding together. Continuing along this line the paper also heavily criticized Emperor Francis Joseph, culminating in a prophetic declaration that both he and the empire would die a political death.²⁰²

In sharp contrast to this interpretation, *The Nation* aligned its analysis along a Hungarian angle, which necessarily went together with the belittling, denying the validity or twisting the motives behind the claims of other nationalities in the region. As the ‘Ulster of Hungary’ image of Croatia became established, the Serbian claims and aims were not given a sympathetic account in the paper. Although Hungary’s denial of territorial autonomy within the kingdom was known to *The Nation*,²⁰³ this non-compromising attitude was nevertheless viewed with sympathy by Irish nationalists. To a certain extent, Irish nationalists also viewed themselves to be in a similar position to Hungarians, assailed by a smaller number of Unionists with whom they equally did not wish to share power. As the existence and continuing presence of this group was incontestable, namely they could not be ignored, nationalists were looking for ways to counter their influence. In their opinion, the then contemporary Hungarian solution represented a model where nationalities were allowed certain concessions but their wishes for territorial autonomy, which would have threatened the dominance of the Hungarian section of the population, were denied. Irish nationalists could relate to and take inspiration from Hungarian goals as their own views on repeal of the union would have meant removing similarly destructive restrictions on Irish self-government. Identifying Croatia as the Ulster of Hungary not

²⁰² *Dublin Evening Post*, 14 Apr. 1849. ‘...the empire will be dismembered by the emperor.’

²⁰³ See 1 Dec. 1849. for example.

only made it clear where their sympathies were but it also signalled that Hungary was viewed not only as a sister nation struggling with similar problems but also as an inspiration for her ability to achieve her goals. The fact that the situation was not strictly similar did not matter as the example was used only as a generic supportive model, not as something to be studied in detail and then applied to Irish circumstances. This interpretation on the other hand also explained why it was on the pages of *The Nation* that most of these direct comparisons between Ireland and Hungary could be found.

Language as a vehicle of nationalism was an important issue for all so-minded newspapers, although *The Nation's* voluminous list of articles analysed in chapter three are especially illustrative examples of the strong connection between language and nationalism. Language, in the context of nineteenth century nationalism, functioned as a representative cultural indicator and a medium for expressing uniqueness. Although the notion of constituting a special cultural, and later political, body was part of all nationalist credos across the Continent, in Ireland the issue was burdened by specific circumstances. The complexity of the situation, such as the resulting issues from the lengthy co-existence of Gaelic Irish, Anglo-Irish and British groups in Ireland, was in turn mapped in the peculiar position language acquired in Irish nationalism. In the Irish case, English not only represented the language of the conqueror, but it also became the medium of an ever growing portion of the Irish population, including the Anglo-Irish. As language was an easily identifiable sign of uniqueness, which in turn fed any campaigns for political self-determination, the nineteenth century campaign for re-establishing Irish as a common medium of the island was an organic continuation of this thought. The Irish language as a topic represented something for all political groups in Ireland. In the nationalist reading it constituted a tool and a powerful argument aiding the campaign for national self-determination, underlining the validity of their political claims by its sheer existence. The notion that language was more a political weapon than a cultural reality in the nationalist repertoire was further underlined by the fact that even *The Nation* was published in English. For others, such as liberal newspapers and Anglo-Irish Protestants, Irish became part of the island's cultural and historical heritage, but that did not include supporting its popularization for political purposes.

When considering language in the context of the Croatian war, *The Nation* was out of its comfort zone. As the topic of Croatia versus Hungary did not lend to depicting language as a forwarding force, but it rather became a dividing issue, the previously so vocal newspaper was not surprisingly silent on that aspect of the war. As language was already a divisive issue in the context of Irish nationalism, nationalist papers remained silent on any topic, especially if it was foreign, that could have shed even further light on its problematic situation in Ireland. As the *Dublin Evening Post* was not limited to nationalist considerations, and was not operating within the theme of aligning Ireland's cause to that of Hungary or of any other country, they could discuss the language conflict aspect of the topic. The paper's heightened attention to the sensitive nature of the issue was not a coincidence. The paper's critical comments towards the forcing of Hungarian, which it perceived to be a minority language impractical to represent all segments of the kingdom, had an equally warning ring in the Irish context. As a liberal paper, the *Evening Post* found the nationalist push for Irish to be an equally dangerous ideal that ignored the reality that Irish was actually used only by a minority of the island's population. This criticism was, however, not directed against the language as such, but rather against the motive that intended to use Irish as a political tool.

The topic of Russian intervention lifted the Hungarian war from the Austrian internal context into the realms of European geopolitical and security relations. This at the same time guaranteed a heightening of interest in the war, which was reflected in the exponential increase of discussions of Austria, Hungary and Russia in the parliamentary debates. Although no considerable Irish participation could be identified in those sessions, coverage in the newspapers compensated readers for that. Beyond the obvious nationalist interest and sympathy, such as the *Freeman's* calling Hungary Ireland's sister in sore distress, both evening papers declared similar sentiments. The *Evening Post* went as far as to claim Hungary as a historic, mythic champion against barbarism.

...they are now opposing their frontier to the incursion of the Northern Barbarians as their ancestors did the Barbarians of the East in former times. Hungary is, in fact, the bulwark of civilization and Christianity now, as it was then.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ *Dublin Evening Post*, 24 July 1849.

In an interesting shift of perception, the land of the barbaric Magyar tongue was suddenly remembered to be the country of historic champion knights of Europe now protecting the Continent from people perceived as even more barbarous. Although the *Evening Post* heavily criticized the push for Magyar as the official language, the place of Hungary in the European Christian civilization was not questioned, in fact its justification received further reinforcement. The topic of Russian intervention registered the most characteristic change of opinion, with the conservative *Evening Mail* denouncing Russia's involvement and turning to support Hungary afterwards. This position, as noted above, however, was only explicable in that it was influenced by British foreign policy which, looking beyond the immediate war, was concerned about the growing Russian influence in the region. This underlining issue was considered so important by the paper that it did not hesitate to criticize the Whig prime minister, Lord John Russell, for voicing any kind of opinion, in this case labelling Hungarians as insurgents,²⁰⁵ which went against this main line of thinking.

On an individual level, the varying assessment of Kossuth's beliefs and deeds also represented a good scale or measurement of the differences within the repeal, Young Ireland and Irish Confederation movements. John O'Connell, as a one-man front, opposed the glorification and praise of Kossuth in an approach somewhat similar to the evaluation of the *Evening Post*. That newspaper saw beyond the prevailing image of Hungary fighting against oppression represented in nationalist newspapers, and was able to criticize the intolerant language measures. O'Connell, equally, saw through the figure of Kossuth as the innocent and admirable hero, painted by Young Irelanders and *The Nation*, and pointed to the uncompromising attitude of the Magyar politician. Despite his efforts, the radical measures and strong leadership of Kossuth were interpreted as inspiring in Irish nationalist discourse. Despite its defeat, the Hungarian revolution and war of independence was idealized as a perfect example of moral triumph, and the executions created the martyrs who in turn became staple elements of romantic nationalism. O'Connell, who by calling for a real-political evaluation was aiming to contest and defeat this romanticizing nationalist philosophy, had to concede defeat, not only in the question of interpreting

²⁰⁵ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 20 Aug. 1849. See also 24 Oct. 1849 as well.

the Hungarian war but also in terms of keeping Irish public opinion enlisted behind the repeal movement and ultimately behind his leadership.

Chapter 5: **From shared brotherhood to inspirational model: Images of Hungary in Ireland, 1850-1875**¹

Irish perceptions of Hungary during the twenty-five years' span of this chapter (1850-1875) were characteristically dual in nature. In the first half of the period, until the successful Compromise of 1867 which created the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy, Irish attention to Hungary across the political spectrum largely followed the aftermath and reverberations of the defeated 1848-49 revolution and war of independence. For nationalists, the lost revolutions of 1848 helped create sentiments of brotherhood, and the apparently shared fate of the two nations suggested a continued attention to the unfolding course of events in Hungary. Similar developments all across Europe, not just in Ireland and Hungary, coupled with the basic similarity in political status of these two countries, helped create in Irish nationalists this sense of a shared fate. This in turn fed into the idea of contrasting Hungary with Ireland on a more regular basis, becoming a staple element of the nationalist rhetoric. This chapter, beyond analysing this aspect, is also going to examine Protestant and Unionist reactions to and interpretations of Hungarian events and nationalist and federalist portrayal of these examples. The Compromise of 1867 challenged and changed the focus of the attention and shifted it towards a model where the presence of images had a more pronounced argumentative angle, as opposed to merely acknowledging and following events.

Interest in the aftermath of 1848-49, however, was not solely motivated by the kindred spirit the nationalist Irish felt they shared with Hungary. The multiple issues of the executions, martial law and the problematic fate of the Hungarian refugees who had fled to Turkey, including Lajos Kossuth and other prominent figures of the revolution, turned this subject into a matter of international continental power politics. Beyond the sympathy that was present, nationalists could relate to the issue of refugees as Irish trials and transportations were still very recent in the public mind.

¹ Zarka, Zsuzsanna, 'Irish nationalist images of Lajos Kossuth and Hungary in the aftermath of the 1848-49 revolution' in Brian Heffernan, Marta Ramon, Pierre Ranger and Zsuzsanna Zarka (eds), *Life on the fringe? Ireland and Europe between 1800 and 1922* (forthcoming, Dublin, 2012)

Changing relations between the great powers of the Continent, as this could potentially affect Ireland, naturally fed into this process. However, owing to the complexity of the international affairs of the period, such as the Italian and German questions and the Crimean war, and ongoing internal domestic issues, such as the Famine, emigration and the Fenian movement, Irish public attention in these decades was bound to diversify. This in turn explains why the coverage of the actual process leading to the Compromise was not that detailed in Ireland. Although certain specifics did feature, they were perceived as part of an ongoing power struggle between Hungary and Austria, and generic interpretation of these events was detectable instead of more specific in-depth analysis. This chapter, analysing these two decades, is going to follow the same structure by first surveying Irish reactions and coverage of events until 1867, then continuing with a study of how images of the Hungarian Compromise were fitted into the context of the home government movement in Ireland. The present study ends with the year 1875, as the election to parliament of Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-91), the future leader of the home rule movement,² heralded a new era and changed the dynamics of the home rule movement.

The sources used for this chapter were manifold as the aim was to encompass and reflect the wide range of Irish perceptions of Hungary in the period (1850-75). The more public sources were newspapers, representing nationalist, liberal and Unionist opinion. The editorials of these papers were of particular importance, conveying contemporary and immediate views of Hungarian events. The speeches of Irish M.P.s during the parliamentary debates were in a way similarly illustrative of a wider scale opinion, such as Tory, Liberal, 'home government' or repeal, as these M.P.s formed their speeches to fit a bigger agenda, although strict party policies and rules were not yet characteristic features in the period. Contemporary pamphlets, books, diaries, correspondence and speeches made at meetings, which were dutifully reported in newspapers, were consulted to canvass Irish public figures' views on the same issues on a more individual level. These two strands of sources were then interwoven to illustrate how Irish public opinion and public figures and politicians,

² For more information on Parnell, see: Frank Callanan, 'Parnell, Charles Stewart (1846-1891)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a7199&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browsesearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

who in fact contributed to the shaping of the public mind, created and sustained Irish contemporary views and interpretations of Hungary.

Turning first to the nationalists, the concepts of ‘home government’ and ‘home rule,’ of which the former will be discussed in section two in detail, came to dominate the quest for Irish self-government in late nineteenth century Ireland. The unfolding contemporary debate surrounding the Home Government Association and its theories, was indicative of this reigning confusion and diversity of opinion. As Alan O’Day has established, home rule, as a policy, was ‘a constitutional formula that would grant Ireland autonomy in most local matters, while maintaining the overarching supremacy of the Westminster parliament.’³ Complications were bound to arise as ‘an umbrella affording refuge to a range of particular interests,’⁴ as O’Day characterized home rule, could not possibly have fulfilled the role of satisfying all, sometimes very divergent schemes united under it. Home government, to provide a preliminary definition, was considered by contemporaries as a ‘federal Home Rule’⁵ within this complexity. However, home government’s aim of keeping the authority of the envisaged Irish parliament close to ‘that of the old Irish parliament under Grattan’ while surrendering ‘some powers of taxation for specified imperial needs’⁶ would, as events proved, be too little for home ruler and nationalist circles.

I. Irish perceptions of Hungary, 1850-67

After the defeat of the 1848-49 Hungarian war of independence the Habsburg dynasty and government’s main aim was to regain full control over Hungary. As a result of this power struggle, all previous concessions, such as the April laws of 1848, were declared null and void, and the government returned to the path of absolutism. The new regime was inaugurated by the imperial New Year’s Eve patent of Francis Joseph issued on 31 December 1851, which set out a rule retaining maximum control

³ Alan O’Day, *Irish Home Rule, 1867-1921* (Manchester, 1998), p. 2.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ O’Day, *Irish Home Rule*, p. 9. Cf. *Freeman’s Journal*, 12 March 1874.

⁶ Ibid, p. 9.

by the emperor himself, as he did not appoint a prime minister.⁷ As the Debrecen dethronement of the Habsburg dynasty in 1849⁸ was subsequently considered as forfeiting all rights for distinct treatment, Hungary was subjected to decentralization and reorganization. The kingdom's adjunct territories were separated and declared to be crown lands, and the territory of Hungary was divided into five administrative units.⁹ Hungary replied to these measures with passive resistance, which encompassed all segments of society and life. Owing to various internal, external and international circumstances, the absolutist regime came to an end in 1859. The October Diploma of 1860, even though it was still very limited in its concessions, nevertheless annulled absolutism and planned the reinstatement of limited parliamentarism, the re-establishment of pre-1848 structures of executive and judicial branches of central government, and a limited existence for the county self-government structure.

The Diploma failed on Hungary's resistance, and in 1861 the February Patent of the emperor, resting on centralist principles, which aimed to reduce Hungary to the state of a mere province of Austria, ended with the same fate.¹⁰ The emperor summoned the Hungarian diet for April 1861. As it had been dormant for over a decade after the widely publicized revolution, this received eager attention and reports abroad, including in Ireland. As neither parties of the Austrian-Hungarian power-struggle were ready to give in, the diet was dissolved and the government returned to repressive measures. Although the Hungarian diet and its dissolution received huge sympathy in presses abroad, it was not re-summoned until 1865. Although Hungarian passive resistance was partly responsible, external circumstances, notably Austria's defeat and eventual ousting from Germany, greatly contributed to the fact that 1867 bore the fruit of the Compromise.

⁷ László Csorba, 'The revolution and the Habsburg response, 1848-1859' in Béla K. Király and Mária Ormos (eds), *Hungary: Government and politics, 1848-2000* (New York, 2001), p. 23. Atlantic studies on society in change, no. 109. Series editor: Béla K. Király.

⁸ The dethronement of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine in April 1849 was a Hungarian reaction to the arbitrarily issued 'Olmütz constitution' of the dynasty, which, in March 1849 came after an Austrian victory that the dynasty, prematurely, believed to be decisive. This constitution revoked the April laws of 1848 and declared the assimilation of Hungary into the Austrian empire. István Deák, *The lawful revolution. Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848-1849* (paperback ed., London, 2001), pp 249-51.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁰ Béla K. Király, 'From the fiasco of neo-absolutism to the dual monarchy, 1859-1875' in Béla K. Király and Mária Ormos (eds), *Hungary: Government and politics, 1848-2000* (New York, 2001), pp 40-5.

As this sub-section encompasses more than a decade (1850-1867), with a considerable amount of material to be considered, a process of selection had to be introduced. Given that there is no space for a lengthy elaboration of each strand among the diverse Irish views of Hungary in this period, this section mainly highlights and assesses the main themes of Irish perceptions. Four different streams of ideas in relation to Irish perceptions of Hungary in the period can be identified, which, beyond their various main foci, also signal alternative ways of political thinking. Thus the politics of choosing and focusing on one particular theme about Hungary mirrored a deeper political agenda. Keeping this in mind, the theme of Kossuth as a post-war heroic figure was naturally interesting to the exiled leaders of the 1848 Irish rebellion, such as John Mitchel and Thomas Devin Reilly, in the context of rebuilding their support-base. Secondly, the Hungarian policy of passive resistance, characteristically embodied by the diet of 1861 that refused the emperor's offers which fell short of the constitution of 1848, was applauded and fully supported by William Smith O'Brien. Although he too had participated in the 1848 rebellion, Smith O'Brien represented a very different approach in Irish politics, refusing to 'wait for a chance' and advocating a pro-active self-reliance. The third theme, support for reconciliation and settlement, was a common thread favoured by the newspapers of the period, represented here by the *Irish Times*, *Freeman's Journal* and *The Nation*. Interestingly, the passive resistance of the same diet was commonly viewed within this strand as obstinacy and uncooperativeness. The fourth theme of this section grew out of the third, where criticism of Hungary led *The Nation* and William Bernard MacCabe to identify Magyars as a close parallel to the oppressing dominant minority of Anglo-Irish Protestants.

To begin with, perceptions of the role and image of Lajos Kossuth, key figure of the 1848 revolution and war in Hungary, will be considered briefly. The first years of the 1850s, until the beginning of the Crimean war in 1853, were characterized by the situation of the Hungarian exiles in Turkey, and more importantly by the subsequent political tour of Kossuth in Britain and in the United States. As Kossuth was a gifted public speaker with good English,¹¹ and an emblematic figure of the

¹¹ Tibor Frank, 'Marketing Hungary: Kossuth and the politics of propaganda' in László Péter, Martyn Rady and Peter Sherwood (eds), *Lajos Kossuth sent the word...papers delivered on the occasion of the bicentenary of Kossuth's birth* (London, 2003), pp 221-51.

latest continental struggles for self-determination, his speeches attracted large crowds and continuous reporting in British newspapers. However, although there was no shortage of sympathy, as the *Irish Times* aptly put it, ‘in fact, if sympathy alone could save Hungary, it would already be safe,’¹² the strength of such feelings were soon tested and found weak.¹³

Kossuth’s personality and his activities proved to be of lasting importance to Irish public figures, although some of them had to experience the bitter disappointment of seeing their heroic emblematic image of Kossuth crumbling under the weight of reality. One such figure was John Mitchel, who first enthusiastically greeted and reported on Kossuth’s activities in exile, portraying him as a demigod, and arguing that ‘the world once more hung enraptured on the fire-tipped tongue of a true orator, discoursing of Justice and Public Law and Freedom and Honour.’¹⁴ However, hearing that Kossuth had sailed back to Europe under the pseudonym ‘John Smith’ shocked Mitchel, as in his opinion, living as a felon and exile while retaining name and beliefs intact, as Mitchel did, was inherently better than playing by the rules of higher powers. Mitchel’s romantic idealism could not appreciate Kossuth’s realist politics, and although he did not denounce Kossuth, Mitchel did not consider him as a heroic figure any longer.

The political reality of Kossuth looking for support from the British Liberals prompted Thomas Devin Reilly, another Irish politician in exile who met Kossuth in the United States in 1852, to write to Mitchel about their meeting in a similarly disillusioned tone. Kossuth’s policy of aiming to establish and utilize connections with a circle of British Liberals met with vivid disapproval from the republican nationalist Reilly

...enter the Kalmuck...Kossuth has played the devil with himself –allied himself with the English liberals ...was led around by Lord Dudley Stuart and that rascal crew—then came to this country [U.S.A.]...put on a devil a lot of airs, made

¹² *Irish Times*, 5 July 1859. Established in 1859, the *Irish Times* was originally a moderate Protestant nationalist newspaper up until 1873. After being sold to Sir John Arnott, the paper’s tone took a distinct turn towards Unionism. See Mark O’Brien, *The Irish Times: a history* (Dublin, 2008).

¹³ As the Irish involvement in the Chartist movement and their Hungarian connections are well-known, this chapter will not consider that aspect. See for e.g. Dénes A. Jánossy, *Great Britain and Kossuth* (Budapest, 1937), especially chapters 14 and 15. Also, Gregory Claeys’ article ‘Mazzini, Kossuth and British radicalism’ and also Tibor Frank.

¹⁴ John Mitchel, *Jail Journal* (4th impression, Dublin, 1921), p. 280.

magnificent and telling speeches in the good cause, but beslavered [sic] the English their constitutions, advised the Irish to unite with them, and help the great English people from Palmerston down to the voter...¹⁵

Reilly's dramatic description of Kossuth was part of the romantic image-building where Kossuth featured as a topical emblem of the revolutionary pantheon. Reilly's criticism of Kossuth's different approach to building support for his cause was built on Reilly's sense that turning to the British was a way of betraying the Irish, a sister nation struggling for similar causes. In this particular respect Reilly must have felt some sense of satisfaction when he could tell Kossuth that he should not be expecting much material support from these Liberals.

Reilly's inflexible republican theory naturally found Kossuth's more open and pragmatic views too opportunist and overly compromising. These contrasting views, however, did not stop Mitchel from wishing he could have been there with 'both the Celt and Calmuck...trying...to bring about an agreement between themselves as to how this globe was to be rescued from the kings and the devils.'¹⁶ Charles Gavan Duffy, however, was more accommodating and accepting of Kossuth's realist approach. Duffy's *Four years of Irish history*, when theorizing about the applicability and potential practicality of a republic in Ireland, quoted a section of Kossuth's memoirs to underline the point that national satisfaction and a realistic policy, even if in a monarchical form, was of more importance than forcing a theory.¹⁷

Although the fate of Hungarian refugees and the expulsion of British subjects from Hungary were mentioned in numerous debates in the House of Commons, Irish involvement in these questions was very limited. Thomas Anstey, an English lawyer and M.P. for Youghal, was one of the most active Irish members who in fact initiated some of these discussion threads.¹⁸ These two topics, although they involved

¹⁵ Reilly quoted in Mitchel, pp 288. For the whole letter see, pp 288-92.

¹⁶ Mitchel, p. 290. The popularity of this romantic style rhetoric and imagery was amply underlined by the boom in periodical literature and the multitude of poems published in them. *The Nation* heralded this development, and several publications followed the trend, including *The Celt*, a Dublin-based one penny periodical. Although Hungarian themes did not feature regularly, the execution of the first prime minister of Hungary on 6 August 1849 fitted well with the topic of martyrdom for a nation. See: [Ethne], 'Elgin a haza' [My country for ever] in *The Celt* i (1857), no. 15, p. 239.

¹⁷ Charles Gavan Duffy, *Four years of Irish history, 1845-49. A sequel to Young Ireland* (London, 1883), pp 554-5.

¹⁸ *Hansard* 3, H.C., 'Polish, Hungarian and Italian refugees' 7 Febr 1850, vol 108, cc 480-518. *Hansard* 3, H.C., 'Expulsion of British subjects from Hungary' 10 Febr 1852, vol 119, c. 333.

Hungarians or were triggered by events in Hungary, were nevertheless issues of wider international importance, and were not mentioned or discussed merely for illustrative or paralleling purposes. Henry Grattan, M.P. for County Meath, added his critical opinion of Austria and Russia by noting that ‘they began by bribing Görgey, they went on to murdering Batthyani [sic], and he should not be surprised if they ended by poisoning Kossuth.’¹⁹

The second theme of Irish perceptions of Hungary in the period, namely contemporary reactions to the Hungarian policy of passive resistance, will be considered through the travel diary of William Smith O’Brien. Smith O’Brien visited Hungary during his continental trip in 1861, although as he noted in his diary, he was no stranger to the lands of Austria and Hungary, as he had visited both in 1843 shortly after joining the Repeal Association.²⁰ The beginning of the diary spoke frankly about his motives for undertaking the journey, namely, repose from domestic troubles and relief from feelings of anxiety and depression that plagued his mind about the fate of Ireland. Meeting John Mitchel during his short stay in Paris, Smith O’Brien was prompted to reiterate his preference for Irish self-reliance over hopes of a foreign intervention to their aid.²¹ He was conscious that this was not in keeping with majority opinion, and O’Brien felt the hopeless anguish that persuaded him to leave Ireland, as he considered the endless ‘waiting for a chance’ approach prevailing in nationalist circles to be fatal.²² Although Smith O’Brien must have been aware of numerous travellers’ accounts of Hungary, he nevertheless announced his safe arrival in Pesth

Hansard 3, H.C., ‘British subjects in Austria’ 13 Febr 1852, vol 119, cc 496-7.

Hansard 3, H.C., ‘Expulsion of English missionaries from Hungary’ 15 June 1852, vol 122, cc 790-7.

Hansard 3, H.C., ‘Foreign refugees’ 1 April 1852, vol 120, cc 477-526.

¹⁹ *Hansard 3*, H.C., ‘Polish, Hungarian and Italian refugees’ 7 Febr 1850, vol 108, c 518.

²⁰ William Smith O’Brien, ‘Journal of an excursion made during the months of August and September 1861’ N.L.I. MS 32, 707. As the diary was not paginated, the entries will be referenced by date and place. Note on 1843 trip. under ‘Vienna, 13 August 1861.’

²¹ Camp of Chalons, 1 Aug. 1861. N.L.I. MS 32, 707

²² The airless position Smith O’Brien felt himself in was seemingly supported by the Irish newspapers’ reaction to his plea to gather Irish sympathy and support for a petition for an imperial pardon for a Hungarian nationalist, a close acquaintance of his. Although Smith O’Brien’s letter came late, Count László Teleki received an imperial pardon from Austria. Smith O’Brien’s involvement, however, gave opportunity for the newspapers to criticize Smith O’Brien’s approach to Irish politics. See: *Freeman’s Journal*, 3 Jan. 1861, *Irish Times*, 27 Dec. 1860, *The Nation*, 12 Jan. 1861.

somewhat triumphantly and with a certain degree of relief.²³ Beyond the regular features of travelogues, such as descriptions of scenery and of inhabitants, along with the recording of the ways and means of travel, Smith O'Brien's diary had specific additions that elevated his work beyond a standard travelogue.²⁴

Smith O'Brien's lengthy descriptions of Hungary's policy of passive resistance and the diet of 1861 was given a peculiar flavour as he himself was also involved in national politics and revolutionary activities. His natural interest in Hungarian events, given that both the Irish and Hungarian revolutions of 1848 had ended without the desired results, was further fuelled by the fact that the Hungarian policy of passive resistance bore some resemblance to his idea of self-reliance. It was with this backdrop in mind that the Irish politician devoted long passages to the key figures, domestic consequences and working out of the Hungarian idea:

I am happy to find that both Mr Deak and Podmaniczky concur with me in thinking that in case the answer of the emperor be a refusal of demands of Hungary it would be very unwise at present to have recourse to arms. Passive resistance is the policy which is best suited to the circumstances of the times, and I have no doubt that if it be continued with firmness success will attend the efforts of the Hungarian patriots.²⁵

At the time of Smith O'Brien's arrival the Hungarian parliament had refused the emperor's invitation to send deputies to the Reichsrath and was waiting for the sovereign's reply, which in turn announced the dissolution of the diet (Pesth, 23 August 1861). Smith O'Brien's level of interest in the diet as a platform of the resistance could be recognized from his detailed identification of the chief figures he met, his description of the basic structure of the diet and listing of the number of

²³ Pesth, 15 Aug. 1861. N.L.I. MS 32, 707 O'Brien's diary has been considered in recent historiography, for example by Róisín Healy, 'An example to follow for Ireland. William Smith O'Brien, Irish nationalist politician on Hungarians' [in Hungarian] in Árpád Hornyák and Zsolt Vitéri (eds), *Idegen szemmel. Magyarságkép 19-20. századi útleírásokban* [Through foreign eyes. Images of Hungary in 19-20. century travel writings] (Pécs, 2010), pp 15-31. See also Kabdebo, *Ireland and Hungary* (Dublin, 2001).

²⁴ A good example of the more romanticized image of Hungary was supplied by the anonymous reviewer of Charles Loring Brace's *Hungary in 1851: with an experience of the Austrian police* (London, 1852) in the *Irish Quarterly Review*. The advertising tone of the review, inviting readers to pick up Brace's book, described Hungary thus: '...that wild, strange land, Hungary, with its half Western, half Oriental people, with their brave brief struggle to beat the enslaver ... with all the degradation of the people now, and all the horrors inflicted upon them by the Austrian...' See: [Anon], 'Italy in 1848 - Hungary in 1851' in *Irish Quarterly Review* (1852), ii, no. vii, p. 581.

²⁵ Pesth, 16 Aug. 1861. N.L.I. MS 32, 707 Baron Podmaniczky was the vice-president of the House of Deputies of the Hungarian Parliament.

members in each house, along with naming the titled members of the House of Magnates.²⁶

Although the diet was dissolved in 1861 without achieving the desired restoration of the Hungarian constitution, Smith O'Brien nevertheless did not consider it a failure. Expressing his admiration for the 1848 constitution, which he believed to have been corrected of its previous oligarchic defects, the Irish politician applauded the Hungarian spirit of passive resistance against Austria. Although passive resistance did not yield results in 1861, Smith O'Brien had no doubts about its eventual success, as in his view not only were the people animated by its spirit but the involvement and support of the nobility and aristocracy also demonstrated the strength and correctness of such policies.²⁷ As he was not blinded by these feelings, Smith O'Brien also realistically saw that the Austrian empire would not be able to resist these Hungarian claims for long. In his estimation Austria, whose strength and sheer survival depended upon

the harmonious combination of many separate nationalities, [would see] circumstances... arise in the progress of events which will render the Hungarians arbiters not only of their own fate but also of the fate of the Austrian empire.²⁸

Although Smith O'Brien died in 1864 before this forecast materialized, his prophetic words indeed came true. His grasp of the politics of the empire and of the internal dynamics of the composite elements of Austria demonstrated the complexity and foresight of Smith O'Brien the politician.

The fact that Smith O'Brien happened to have been there when the diet was dissolved gave his diary a more directed focus and a greater immediacy which elevated it beyond and above a regular piece of travel writing. Beyond this obvious

²⁶ Hotkocz, 3 Sept. 1861. N.L.I. MS 32, 707 Smith O'Brien's level of interest in this particular diet was mirrored in the number of articles *Freeman's Journal* and *The Nation* devoted to its discussion in Ireland, see below, while a verbatim English translation of the addresses presented at that diet was also published later. For the translation, see: J. Horne Payne, *The addresses of the Hungarian diet of 1861, to H.I.M. the Emperor of Austria, with the imperial rescript and other documents, translated for presentation to members of both Houses of the British Parliament* (London, 1862). For more information on the translation itself, along with the peculiar history of its publication and dissemination in the British House of Commons, see: Tibor Frank, *Picturing Austria-Hungary. The British perception of the Habsburg monarchy* (New York, 2005), pp 90-2.

²⁷ Pesth, 23 Aug. 1861. N.L.I. MS 32, 707

²⁸ Pesth, 23 Aug. 1861. N.L.I. MS 32, 707

political aspect, Smith O'Brien's diary also provided an interesting reading of how a foreigner viewed Hungarian society in those years. The Irish politician was fortunate to have met entertaining and influential contacts throughout his travels, such as Count Béla Széchenyi, the son of István, a Hungarian patriot well-known from Michael Quin's travelogue.²⁹ He also met Ferenc Deák, the leading theoretician and mastermind of the Hungarian passive resistance movement, and become acquainted with Count Theodor Csáky and Count Stephen Eszterházy, two influential aristocrats. Beyond these members of high society, the Irishman was also happy to converse with people from all walks of life, such as soldiers, priests and families he met during his travels. These meetings gave him a more in-depth view and experience of Hungarian society, which was further aided by the fact that his visit was not confined to Pesth. He reached beyond and also went to the county estate of Count Csáky, Lócse and Kassa, towns in modern Slovakia, Debrecen, a largely Protestant-inhabited town east of Pesth, and Balatonfüred, a popular holiday resort.

Realizing that the settling of the Hungarian question of the Austrian empire would have reverberations and effects not only for the future of Hungary and the empire but also would shape the whole of Europe came as a next logical step of his contextualizing analysis:

Hungary is at present a stifled volcano, the eruption of which may hereafter produce a conflagration amongst all the nationalities of Europe. The more I see of Hungary the more I feel convinced that it is impossible permanently to subjugate this nation...Poland may hope to throw off the yoke of Prussia and to reorganize the elements of which its ancient nationality was composed. Patience is for the present the mot d'ordre the word of command.³⁰

The image of likening nations to stifled volcanoes fitted O'Brien's policy of self-reliance, which he considered as a powerful and active force that, eventually, would yield the desired results. Going against the popular binary yet passive doctrine of 'Britain's difficulty-Ireland's opportunity,' the image of the volcano expressed the force of a nation, which, even though it may lie dormant at times, perhaps even unconscious of its own power, would eventually achieve its goals and be an

²⁹ See chapter two for more on Quin. Michael Joseph Quin, *A steam voyage down the Danube...* 2 vols, (2nd ed, London, 1835).

³⁰ Hotkocz, 3 Sept. 1861. N.L.I. Ms 32, 707

unstoppable force. The image of the nation as a volcano expressed O'Brien's belief that not only was the force of national self-determination destined for success, but it was also a natural progress in history. Hungary and Poland, in his interpretation, were examples of nations more advanced on this route and thus, interesting for Ireland.

Besides Hungary, Smith O'Brien entertained a lasting interest in Poland too, in fact he visited the country during his trip in 1863 and gave a lecture on Poland in Dublin.³¹ His treatment and consideration of the two countries along similar axes in terms of their political status and struggles was not by chance. These two countries featured frequently in the panoptic of Irish nationalists as countries bounded by the brotherhood of shared hardships. Smith O'Brien differed from his fellow nationalists not only in terms of his thinking about Ireland's choices and chances, which as he himself recognized put him in a minority position, but he had also travelled extensively in both countries. The use of imagery from these two countries was widespread among Irish public figures and politicians, suggesting a generic kind of interest and basic patterns of interpretation, as compared with those who visited these countries for the sake of acquiring first-hand information.

The basic, physical descriptions of O'Brien's diary portrayed Hungarians as a 'fine manly race' with 'gentlemanlike' features whose 'countenance does not differ as much as expected from that of the inhabitants of Western Europe.'³² This on one hand meant that Smith O'Brien was aware of the existing discourse of a geography-based distinctive civilization boundary between Western and Eastern Europe. It also highlighted how Hungary and Hungarians were expected to fall within the Eastern 'barbaric-looking' category, an identification which, as *The Nation* demonstrated, was not unknown in Ireland at the time. However, beyond all these, this section of Smith O'Brien's diary also revealed how he challenged this categorization of Hungarians. It did not mean that he denied the validity of drawing such distinctions for other parts of Europe, it simply offered an alternative reading of Hungary's place within that

³¹ William Smith O'Brien, *Lecture on Poland* (Dublin, 1863). For a detailed treatment of Smith O'Brien's Polish trip and connections, see the works of Róisín Healy, for example:

'Inventing Eastern Europe in Ireland, 1848-1918' in *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetari socio-umane Gheorghe Sincai* (Marosvásárhely, Turgu Mures, 2009), pp 103-19. Or (being prepared for publication) a paper at the conference *Writing Central Eastern Europe* in Krakow (11-12 June 2010), entitled 'An Irish nationalist in Hungary and Poland. William Smith O'Brien's travel diary, 1861.'

³² Balatonfüred, 19 Aug. 1861. N.L.I. MS 32, 707

dichotomy. He was convinced that Hungary did not merit being classified as a barbaric Eastern country, and his descriptions of towns and their inhabitants he visited amply demonstrated this belief:

Buda is one of the most beautiful towns that I have seen...[In the house of a Protestant preacher in Debrecen] the children were able to read with fluency and appeared to possess as much education as is obtained by children of their age in other parts of Europe. ... [Kassa] would in any part of the world be considered a very favourable specimen of a provincial town. ... I was not prepared to find amongst the ladies so much cultivation of mind as I have discovered during my short stay in this country...[I found]in the family circle of Count Augustus [Csáky] at least as much of intellectual culture as I should witness amongst persons enjoying the greatest advantages in other parts of Europe.³³

These details are very informative as they revealed that even though Smith O'Brien had visited Hungary before and knew considerably more about the country than the majority of his countrymen, he was still surprised to find his intellectual and cultural interests matched in Hungary. The fact that he hastened to underline that the towns and inhabitants of Hungary were not at all how they were imagined by Western Europeans was evidence of his political mind at work. He was trying to lay the groundwork for his observations about the Hungarian policy of passive resistance, which despite its name came across as a more active policy for Smith O'Brien than a 'waiting for the moment' approach. This further underlined and justified his continued interest in the working and philosophy of Hungarian policies.

This angle of interest predisposed Smith O'Brien to voice resounding criticism of the part Austria was playing in the Hungarian situation and he went as far as to call himself 'a friend of the Hungarian cause,'³⁴ identifying Austrian policies as a 'system of continual irritation,' worthy of universal contempt. As he did not wish to be accused of being one-sided and biased, he decided to delegate space in the diary to delicate issues regarding Hungary too. Acknowledging the existing impression in Western Europe that the Hungarian cause in fact supported only the interests of the Magyars, he hastened to supply information that not only countered but downright denied that view. He claimed that he was informed that the county of Nyitra despite its

³³ Hotkocz, 3 Sept. 1861. N.L.I. MS 32, 707

³⁴ Pesth, 18 Aug. 1861. N.L.I. Ms 32, 707

overwhelmingly Slovak population was deemed one of the most patriotic counties in Hungary. He claimed that he was informed that in an electoral division of the county of Szepes Count Csáky was elected by a German, Romanian and Slovak electoral base.³⁵ Here his objectivity was hindered by the fact that his sources of information were chiefly Magyar magnates. Firstly, the inhabitants of a county and the electoral base were not necessarily matching in their composition, and it was possible to elect Magyar patriots for an overwhelmingly non-Magyar inhabited county. Also the terms and conditions of being elected were strict, which precluded some minority representatives, and bribery as a political weapon was not unknown. The nobility, despite their ethnic background, belonged to the Hungarian political nation, which meant extensive privileges for them, helping the process of assimilation and support. In the case of Count Theodor Csáky, Smith O'Brien's informant, as he was not the head of the family, he had to sit in the House of Representatives as a hereditary lord lieutenant of the county which made it look as if he was elected by the electorate of the county.

Smith O'Brien also provided a different angle on the Hungarian question through the eyes of Csáky's Slovak chaplain, Duchon. Although the Irish politician faithfully adhered to his promise and provided space for these views, his unchanged support for Hungary and its resistance policy was clear. Duchon's main grievance, that Hungarian was the official judicial language, was the only thing that Smith O'Brien felt real sympathy and understanding towards.

...it is much regretted that the Latin language has not been preserved as a medium of communication, common to all in regard of official proceedings. As long as the Latin language was so employed there could exist no jealousy between the different races on the ground of language, and every intelligent man was glad to place himself in relation not only with the rest of Europe but also with the classical writers of antiquity by acquiring the Latin language but no such advantages result from the studies of the Hungarian (Magyar) language. It is completely isolated.³⁶

The argument that Latin was a better suited vehicle for a multi-ethnic and multi-language kingdom featured frequently in the Irish newspapers of the period. Rather than seeing the change of official language as a tool of oppression, Smith O'Brien

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Gratz, 11 Sept. 1861. N.L.I. MS 32, 707

expressed regret for this rather unfortunate and inconvenient move. His personal experiences, in which Latin proved to be a lifebuoy in conversations where the Hungarian counterpart did not speak French or English, as he frequently mentioned in the diary, amply underlined this. Although Latin indeed was an ideal medium and common denominator, it was not sufficient for the nationalist language fervour of the nineteenth century. As nationalism, national identity, development and aims for self-government were all applauded by wide circles of nationalists around the Continent, including Smith O'Brien's own support for Hungary, the separation of its tools and expressions, such as national languages, from this equation was impossible. Smith O'Brien, however, realized the paradox and resorted to suggesting Latin as a way of resolving the no-win situation of multiple, competing languages.

Latin, as a mediating neutral language of communication for an empire was an idea that O'Brien would have happily entertained for the Irish-British case. The complex relation of Irish and English languages in Ireland was a known feature of the period, making O'Brien's musings on language especially interesting. Irish as a language was spoken by a minority of the country and English was not only the language of the conqueror but also of a growing section of the population. In this sense, although O'Brien still sympathized with Hungarian nationalism, he could not go further and support the introduction of Hungarian as an official judicial language at the expense of minority languages. This, in his views, would have been akin to supporting English as the only official language of Ireland, which was a position that as a nationalist, he could not see himself taking. His interpretation of Hungarian as a language being a source of jealousy between the different races of the kingdom is central to understanding his logic. It was easier for him to feel sympathy towards Duchon's point about the minority languages, as nationalists perceived Irish being cast in that position. Although O'Brien's logic was more complex with the realization that the only way out of such paradoxical situations, as he believed the Hungarian situation reflected of the domestic Irish scenario, was really to suggest a neutral overarching language. Even though O'Brien did not draw any direct parallels, it is clear he was missing the existence of a similarly neutral mediating language, as a potential solution, from the Irish-British relations.

His interest, however, was not limited to a one-sided discussion of Hungary and its situation. On the occasion of witnessing exchanges of friendly affection among the members of the Hungarian diet, Smith O'Brien paralleled certain features of the Irish and Hungarian character as similarly 'kindly and genial [in] nature....[they] remind me of the Irish character as seen in its unsophisticated form.'³⁷ Although images like these were more entertaining in their aim, Smith O'Brien went deeper and compared political and societal elements as well. Returning to an initial observation about the lack of visible poverty in Austria, Smith O'Brien ironically remarked that 'within twenty miles of my own residence in Ireland I should find more evidence of poverty...and I am convinced that there is more squalid misery in the city of Limerick than is to be found in all the towns which I have visited in the Austrian dominions.'³⁸ Keeping the complicated nature of Irish politics and its religious background in the back of his mind as well, Smith O'Brien was particularly bitter in remarking that 'there is very little bigotry—in regard of political affairs, religion does not appear to prevent combined action between the Catholics and the Protestants.'³⁹ The fact that he could list examples to illustrate that they 'are all equally patriotic'⁴⁰ was a remark that spoke volumes about Smith O'Brien's feelings about Ireland.

As he was surprised to find that many Hungarians spoke English, along with having an interest and admiration for Britain, according to him solely motivated by a reverence for its constitution,⁴¹ he did not lose time in correcting the direction of this sympathy:

I never lose a moment in announcing that I am an Irishman and that Ireland stands in the same position with reference to England as Hungary occupies in relation to Austria. A vague idea prevails among the Hungarians that Ireland has been badly treated by England but as they read only the English newspapers...they are little acquainted with the details of the connection that exists between England and Ireland.⁴²

³⁷ Hotkocz, 3 Sept. 1861. N.L.I. MS 32, 707

³⁸ Ibid, Innsbruck, 22 Sept. 1861.

³⁹ Ibid, Balatonfüred, 19 Aug. 1861. See a similar remark under the entry Hotkocz, 3 Sept. 1861.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Pesth, 17 Aug. 1861. N.L.I. MS 32, 707

⁴² Balatonfüred 19 Aug. 1861. N.L.I. MS 32, 707

In this instance his national pride in being Irish coincided with his growing feeling that he would need to emphasize a more pronounced and fitting similarity between Ireland and Hungary. As the feeling of shared brotherhood was known and cultivated in Irish politics, Smith O'Brien felt that he should point it out to the Hungarians so as to create a more recognized mutuality. He did not appeal solely to this sympathy but he also pointed out that the British should not be counted on, as their interests were best served by a strong Austrian empire as part of the European status quo.

Interestingly, although the diary has never been published, it can be ascertained with a degree of confidence that Smith O'Brien was planning to publish the material at some stage. The structure of the diary and its characteristic feature of repeating certain type of details and information, such as full names of important characters and their titles seem to underline this. The existence of different manuscript versions of the text, including drafts along with a clean one, together with constant references to the potential readers of the journal, distinctly point to that aim. As for the reasons why Smith O'Brien might have wished to add a further diary to the already existing travel writing materials on Hungary, the phrase he employed to characterize Count Béla Széchenyi, the 'desire to be useful to his country'⁴³ would be a fitting guess. As his continuous expression of his idea of self-reliance did not seem to have the desired effect on the Irish public and political opinion, Smith O'Brien could have decided to get the message across in a roundabout way, through the example of Hungary. Having learnt the lesson that 'individual courage avails little unless it be sustained by the force of the nation,'⁴⁴ Smith O'Brien, with this diary entry, was probably planning to take his own advice.

The third theme of reconciliation and settlement will be illustrated through newspapers' perception of Hungary (1850-67), which was influenced by various factors. These included international events and also the domestic political atmosphere that predisposed these papers to analyse Hungarian developments from a certain viewpoint. Internationally, the Crimean war and the events surrounding the unification

⁴³ Pesth, 16 Aug. 1861. N.L.I. MS 32, 707

⁴⁴ Hotkocz, 3 Sept. 1861. N.L.I. MS 32, 707 Smith O'Brien was referring to public opinion and not to violence.

of Italy demanded more attention to the Continent throughout the latter half of the decade, which resulted in a more sporadic perception of Hungary in Ireland. As Jennifer O'Brien's article demonstrates, of these two, the unification of Italy, through its connection to the papacy, had a rather special importance and produced reverberations in domestic politics in Ireland.⁴⁵ In terms of the domestic political situation, the Famine, the unsuccessful 1848 rebellion and the ensuing transportations created an atmosphere that favoured reconciliation and compromising policies over active resistance. It was against this backdrop that the *Irish Times*, the *Freeman's Journal* and *The Nation* followed and analysed Hungary's fate after the defeat of her revolution. It was characteristic of this period that all three newspapers shared a preference for the more realistic and timely policy of striving for settlement instead of antagonism.

The 1850s heralded a number of important changes for the Irish newspaper industry. The tax reforms of the decade abolished two long existing taxes on advertisements in 1853 and on stamp duty in 1855,⁴⁶ which resulted in a huge drop of print cost for the newspapers. This, coinciding with the introduction of steam-powered printing, enabling faster printing, facilitated a previously unprecedented expansion of the newspaper industry in Ireland.⁴⁷ These combined allowed newspapers to drop their prices, which in turn made them available to a wider readership. This readership, as a result of the steadily growing literacy,⁴⁸ meant not only a larger, but a more differentiated readership at the same time. A further invention of the period, the telegraph helped Irish papers compete with British titles as, instead of having to wait for their arrival, they could receive foreign news at the same time as their British counterparts.⁴⁹ Among the appearing new titles, *The Irish Times*, established in 1859, stood out for more than one reason. Its first proprietor, Lawrence E. Knox, envisaged the paper as a Protestant and Conservative paper, which, even though it entered a growing and competitive market, quickly rose to surpass the *Freeman's Journal* in

⁴⁵ Jennifer O'Brien, 'Irish public opinion and the Risorgimento, 1859-60' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxiv (2005), pp 289-306.

⁴⁶ Dermot James, *From the margins to the centre. A history of the Irish Times* (Dublin, 2008), p. 2. Mark O'Brien, *The Irish Times. A history* (Dublin, 2008), p. 16.

⁴⁷ James, *From the margins*, p. 4. The sales rose about 600 percent between 1856 and 1882.

⁴⁸ Marie-Louise Legg, *Newspapers and nationalism. The Irish provincial press, 1850-1892* (Dublin, 1999), p. 11.

⁴⁹ James, *From the margins*, p. 4.

circulation. The paper not only became a market leader just a year after its establishment, but it also pioneered the market by being the first Irish newspaper to use the telegraph.⁵⁰

The Protestant *Irish Times* in the year of its establishment in 1859 devoted two editorials to the question of the relations between Austria and the papacy, voicing concern about the perceived tightening of the connection.⁵¹ Staying firmly on the grounds of international politics, the editorial claimed that Austria had recognized in time how ‘misfortune is well said to be the teacher of wisdom’,⁵² and that the papacy, through its troubles in Italy, would not be a strong partner in sustaining previous absolutist policies. This crucial recognition resulted in imperial concessions to Protestants, which the paper was very satisfied to see, and concluded that Austria had finally become wise. In the estimation of the paper these accommodating policies benefited both the Protestant community of Austria and the stability of the empire at large.

The *Freeman’s Journal* pointed to a similar general impression claiming that the Austrian empire in transition would best find renewed strength through reconciliation. In contrast to the *Irish Times*, however, the *Freeman’s* took a step further and laid more emphasis on contemplating how these offerings to each particular element would have to come in balance at the end. In the estimation of the *Freeman’s* the October Diploma of 1860 as a concessionary offer to Hungary could be seen as favouritism, which would inculcate jealousy in others. Thus, leaving other territories unappeased, at the expense of settling one, left only a potential problem waiting to unfold.⁵³ In a further difference from the *Irish Times*, the *Freeman’s* departed from the strictly international point of view and offered hints and implications to an Irish domestic readership.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 11.

⁵¹ The paper talked of the return of ‘the evil genius of ultramontaniam’ to Austria, where then the ‘despotism of the sword ... [united] with the tyranny of the church.’ *The Irish Times*, 16 Sept. 1859. The second editorial was published on 21 Dec. 1859.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ *Freeman’s Journal*, 12 Jan. 1861, 28 Jan. 1861.

The paper heavily criticized the ‘extreme’ Hungarians, a group it identified within Hungary as characterized by an uncompromising attitude which did not accept less than the originally guaranteed constitution of 1848. This unbending position was associated with a faction of Hungarian public figures, and the *Freeman’s* highly ironic tone suggested that Hungary and her extremists should grin and bear the situation like other realists. The extreme party which wished for a republic ‘or something else equally romantic...’ was accused of falling into a delusion and ‘ignor[ing] the limitations of the Emperor.’⁵⁴ The message of working within the framework of political reality, namely the taking of the offered hand, as opposed to following theoretical and abstract notions, was the voice of reason the *Freeman’s* wished to see realized and practised in Ireland too. It was against this backdrop that the editorial of 13 February 1861 applauded wise men who were characterised by the realization that improving the country’s position within an acceptable framework was more worthy of pursuit than chasing the dream of a distant future through revolution. In the Hungarian context Baron József Eötvös and Ferenc Deák, the two leading figures of the liberals of Hungary, were identified as wise politicians and patriots. The paper called for a compromise which would consider the interests of both Austria and Hungary, resulting not just in Hungary regaining her previous position without losing the respect and sympathy she had earned but also in finding the ultimate way to re-strengthen the Austrian empire as an important element of the status quo.

The Nation took a different approach and, uniquely among the papers in this analysis, drew direct parallels with Ireland and posed Austria’s relations with Hungary as a historical lesson. Initially Hungary was posed as an instructive example not so much for its actual or specific characteristics but as a representative, generic model for the eternity of national spirit and identity survival in times of trial. This macro-analytic overview was represented by the article of 23 February 1861, which leaned towards underlining how a country’s, in fact any country’s, national spirit and identity was immortal and indestructible. It might be perceived as dormant during trial but would always bounce back. In a significant change, however, the paper distanced itself from its 1849 attitude which fully supported the resisting Hungarians, and *The Nation* of 1861 voiced substantial criticism of Hungary.

⁵⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 28 Jan. 1861.

The idea of shifting the Magyars from heroes of 1848-49 to an oppressing dominant minority by 1861, the fourth discussed theme of Irish perceptions in the period, neatly tied into the Irish nationalist discourse of heavily criticizing Anglo-Irish Protestant landlords and middle-classes. Such thinking had an ideological forerunner in the Dublin-born journalist, historian and author William Bernard MacCabe (1801-1891).⁵⁵ For MacCabe, writing in 1851, the 1848-49 events within the Austrian empire represented constructive parts of the same historical process, fitting his overarching conspiracy-theory style reading of world history. This interpretation, however, was greatly influenced by his Roman Catholic faith and his writings betray this bias through his vehement defence of Catholics, denouncing irreligious tendencies and any action against the faith.⁵⁶ Against the backdrop of the increasing activities of the Hungarian exiles, including Kossuth's widely reported tour of Britain in 1851,⁵⁷ MacCabe's introduction to an unnamed American democrat's *A true account of the Hungarian revolution* (London, 1851) intended to challenge and dismantle the heroic image of Hungary. Aiming to unveil the 'elaborative machinery of falsehood'⁵⁸ which had deceived the Roman Catholics of Britain and Ireland into sympathizing with the cause of Hungary, MacCabe intended to prove Hungary and Kossuth's unworthiness for support.

MacCabe examined the Hungarian revolution together with its aims, leaders and its contemporary reverberations in Britain and Ireland by proposing that his personal experiences as a foreign correspondent in Vienna in 1848 gave special validation to his points. Being in Vienna at the time when a Croatian delegation had addressed the emperor regarding the Croats' situation within Hungary,⁵⁹ MacCabe could not help but draw parallels between the general problems and status of Croatia

⁵⁵ James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish biography from the earliest times to the year 2002* (Cambridge, 2009), vol v, p. 752.

⁵⁶ His article in the London-based Catholic periodical, the *Dublin Review*, in September 1848 about the Viennese revolution was a good example of this where the intended review of eight contemporary sources about the latest events offered MacCabe a platform to express his political views. [W.B. MacCabe], 'The Austrian revolution and its results' in *Dublin Review* xxv (1848), no. xlix, pp 40-71.

⁵⁷ Gregory Claeys, 'Mazzini, Kossuth and British radicalism, 1848-54' in *Journal of British Studies*, xxviii (1989), no. 3, pp 225-61. The phrase 'Kossuth emigration' refers to a group Hungarian public figures and politicians who went into exile after the defeat of the Hungarian revolution and war of independence of 1848-49.

⁵⁸ William Bernard MacCabe, 'Preliminary observations' in *A true account of the Hungarian revolution by an American democrat* (London, 1851), p. 2.

⁵⁹ 30 March 1848. MacCabe, *Preliminary observations*, p. 73. MacCabe worked as a foreign correspondent for the London-based *Morning Chronicle* and the *Morning Herald* (see *D.I.B.*).

within the empire and that of Ireland. The image of the Magyars as oppressors of Croatia (in fact he called them the Orangemen of Croatia) was illustrated by the language grievance of 1844, when the former mediator Latin was replaced with Magyar as the official language of the kingdom. Sympathizing with the Croatians, MacCabe drew comparisons with

the complaints of his own unfortunate country [Ireland] [similarly]so long misruled, its people so long misgoverned, its peasantry so long degraded, and its resources so long perverted...⁶⁰

In this scenario, where Magyars were likened to Anglo-Irish Protestants, MacCabe's analysis naturally leaned heavily towards favouring the Croatians. His identification of the existence of powerful influential and dominant groups within Austria, all named as middle classes or nobility, always went together with declaring that they were working against the government, orchestrating rebellions. Through the Irish echoes of this social structure, although in Ireland the 'Orange faction' did not work or rise against the government, MacCabe seemed to suggest that the middle class or the nobility, with their factious tendencies, should not be trusted.

Following his somewhat one-sided analysis, MacCabe decided to give the contending parties of the Hungarian revolution a fair trial by judging them along his self-invented measure, their treatment of the poor. Before establishing that prior to 1848 Hungary was dominated and governed by nobles, MacCabe felt it important to highlight that the Magyars were in fact a minority group in the whole of Hungary and that the emperor, as king of Hungary, had limited powers. Although these facts were true in the sense that Magyars were in fact a minority in numbers and that the emperor as king in theory was bound by the constitution of Hungary, they were used by MacCabe to underline his previous point rather than to analyse them and draw conclusions based on the evidence. His depiction of the Austrian government as ready

⁶⁰ MacCabe, *Preliminary observations*, p. 74. Croatia, a self-governing kingdom within the kingdom of Hungary, constituted a single administrative unit with Hungary although its separate nationality, territory, legislative and administration were recognized by Hungary. Under terms of the Compromise it was also established that each Hungarian ministry had a Croatian department and in fact the Hungarian diet in general, hoisting the flag of Croatia beside that of Hungary, allowed the Croatian delegates the use of their mother tongue. See: Béla K. Király, 'From the fiasco of neoabsolutism to the dual monarchy, 1859-1875' in Béla K. Király and Mária Ormos (eds), *Hungary: government and politics, 1848-2000* (New York, 2001), pp 63-5. See also: Robert A. Kann, *A history of the Habsburg empire, 1526-1918* (paperback ed, London, 1980), pp 351-2, 353-4, 363-4.

and willing for concessions while the Hungarian nobility were adamant on retaining their positions provided an interpretation which neglected to take the series of reform diets of the previous decades into account. In such a case the minimal offers of the Austrian government, which fell short of the Hungarian reform programme, seemed more generous and better fitting for MacCabe's argument, which pictured the Magyars as ungrateful and uncooperative. Similarly, his choice of selecting and describing events and regulations without offering more thorough explanations or background history to their creation gave his writing a haphazard and thrown together look.

Using the same two sources throughout his arguments as supporting material, MacCabe's analysis was in fact one-sided and formulated more along the lines of using sources to fit his preconceptions than finding and interpreting sources for their face-value. His obvious bias was even more transparent in his treatment of the poor in Hungary in 1848-49. Denouncing the diet's delay in salvaging and improving their situation, MacCabe's words harshly echoed the situation in Ireland where in 1851 the Famine of the 1840s was still very much in the public mind. The delay and inaction of the government, where legislation from the diet was in fact slowing the process down, prompted MacCabe to remark icily that 'assuredly, the men who have thus acted are worthy of the admiration of English liberals ...and of Irish poor law guardians.'⁶¹

MacCabe's interpretation of history delineated a force enduring through time and space which conspired to undermine the Roman Catholic church and its wealth in order to supplement one group's powers and to ruin the poor. Calling this group 'liberal,' MacCabe used images from the histories of various peoples from varying time periods to justify his contempt for them. As the main theme of his writing was government's treatment of the poor whom he seemed to have identified with Catholics, the Catholic power Austria got a very favourable review. In this respect, each movement or political grouping which sought to undermine the central power of Austria was declared to be dangerous. Being conscious of the growing popularity of Kossuth and the émigrés in Britain and in Irish Catholic circles, MacCabe offered an alternative reading of the then recent history of Hungary. As MacCabe's analysis

⁶¹ MacCabe, *Preliminary observations*, p. 87.

involved lifting certain events out of context and stringing them to fit his preconceived theory, his readers received a very biased and questionable storyline.

The same general interpretation of the relations of Croatia, Hungary and Austria returned a decade later on the pages of *The Nation*, albeit in a more elaborate form and part of a more in-depth argument. Instead of the more self-serving theorizing of MacCabe, *The Nation*'s usage of this imagery rather served as a support and a justification for its approving opinion of conciliatory Austrian offers. The paper's underlining agenda needed an interpretation where the emperor could be pictured as a positive figure, which in turn supported the prevailing attitude of hoping for similar British conciliatory offers, through the demonstration of the working of this principle. Thus *The Nation*'s previous opinion of Croatia as the Ulster of Hungary, namely a body considered alien in mind and political affiliations, turned into feelings of sympathy towards Croatia as a similarly conquered and wronged country. The former support for Hungary against Austria in 1848 changed into denouncing the actions of the 'Magyar Hungarian government'⁶² which in its conduct was likened to the British government in Ireland. Thus the alternative reading of events of 1849 served the purpose of realigning *The Nation*'s general attitude towards Hungary, which heralded a radically different tone favouring all conciliatory efforts, regardless of their source. The main driving force behind this seemingly strange position was the wishful thinking that a demonstration of the formerly absolutist Austria turning towards reconciliation might trigger a similar response in Britain. It was in this context that the image of Francis Joseph as a model emperor aiming to resolve the conundrum of keeping the empire together while balancing and satisfying the wishes of Hungary was born. As *The Nation* considered that it has established the similarity of the situation of Hungary and Ireland, it applauded Francis Joseph for making the crucial difference of realizing and addressing the need to settle the Hungarian question.⁶³

This in turn also explained why the paper repeatedly pointed to the similarity between Ireland and Hungary, as it was hoping that a British realization of the parallel

⁶² *The Nation*, 23 Feb. 1861.

⁶³ *The Nation*, 9 Dec. 1865.

might go together with a more lenient and compromising attitude.⁶⁴ The pointedly entitled ‘The Hungarian lesson,’ 30 December 1865, offered a summary of these ideas where the case of Hungary and Austria was used as a base to illustrate how similar troubles were besetting British-Irish relations, in order to assert that British fears that self-government would lead to the dissolution of the empire were unfounded and in fact contraindicated. In this respect the example afforded by Austria was not only fitting, but thanks to the multiple nationalities existing in the empire, particularly appropriate.

The idea of Hungary being in similar shoes, yet with so much more room or space to move, tended to inspire resentment and envy at the same time. This was demonstrated by a succession of articles which alternated between looking at Hungary as a source of inspiration and an object of fierce criticism. The article of 3 March 1866 took the latter view and listed all major recurring themes of the Hungarian question, such as the attack on Hungarian obstinacy for rejecting the offered starting point, represented by the October patent of 1860, and the bitter feeling that Hungary was refusing an offer which Ireland had never even had the luxury to consider. The rhetorical question of when would any British subject territory dare refuse such an offer, something which ‘would certainly ensure a conviction for treason-felony in Dublin,’⁶⁵ did not need an elaborate answer.

The news of the eventual Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867 forced a degree of self-reflection on *The Nation* which could only leave a bitter aftertaste.

Such success coming to crown such patience, such fidelity and such perseverance may well call up delight and admiration among the calmest and the least enthusiastic. Unhappily, the good fortune of Hungary comes home to us all the more forcibly for the contrast which it bears to our own lot. However sincere may be our satisfaction that another people has recovered its national existence and independence, we cannot but feel saddened at the very different position which we are obliged to occupy.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ A recurring method was to call attention to and denounce the two-faced attitude of *The Times* for considering Hungary wise for holding out for her constitution of 1848, while it criticised Ireland for doing the same. See e.g. *The Nation*, 14 Oct. 1865.

⁶⁵ *The Nation*, 3 March 1866.

⁶⁶ *The Nation*, 9 March 1867.

On a brighter note, the compromise, as the paper realized, could be viewed not only as Hungary's success but, from the Irish perspective, more importantly as the pointed proof that Austria's choice, reconciliation, was ultimately the wise way. *The Nation* was even more confident that Britain, now seeing the Austrian settlement, would be forced to reconsider its position regarding Ireland, as Austria's case might set further examples in motion. *The Nation* was satisfied and pleased to see Hungary's success, not just for the sake of a triumph of a brotherly nationalism but also as it would set a precedent for other nations.

...another Austria may find her power and prestige destroyed, and another nationality, long trampled and oppressed, spring with one glorious bound into the dignity of freedom, and stand, as Hungary does to-day, the centre of congratulation from the free nations of the earth. This is our hope—this is the consummation we labour and pray for.⁶⁷

It is in this particular respect that *The Nation* viewed Hungary as a source of hope and inspiration, where self-government seemed to have started to work its magic. In this euphoric moment the formerly highly critical commentaries were toned down and the article asserted that 'everything that can be done to satisfy the desires of the different nationalities is in progress.'⁶⁸ The Austrian shift towards Hungary was analysed as a move necessitated by circumstances, such as the military defeat, and as a compromise that worked well for both parties. However, as the article pointed out, there were more nationalities within the kingdom where 'the natural tendency of the entire Slave [sic] population towards unification',⁶⁹ together with the presence of Russia in the region, seemed to indicate that Austria, despite appearances, was not saved from all difficulties.

Drawing a conclusion to this sub-chapter, it can be said that the immediate aftermath of the revolution and war of independence was characterised by an attention tailored to follow the unfolding of events from 1849. This approach did not seek to analyse all the different news that came from Hungary and the empire, it rather worked around and laid more emphasis on certain events or developments at the expense of others. Coincidentally, these years were also formative and busy in terms

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ *The Nation*, 6 July 1867.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

of continental history, which also demanded attention and coverage. Issues such as the Crimean War and especially the Italian question with its reverberations in Ireland, the American Civil War, the formation of secret societies such as the Fenian movement, all captured and divided reports and editorials in Irish newspapers. Even against this backdrop, there were Hungarian topics, such as the figure of Kossuth, which after their introduction, proved to be enduring in their imagery for years to come.

One such milestone example was the Hungarian diet of 1861, convoked after a hiatus of more than a decade, where the verbal battle of the government, the emperor and the Hungarian insistence on the reinstatement of the constitution of 1848 was watched with eager attention all over Europe. Although the diet was dissolved without a major step towards a solution, it nevertheless triggered contrasting interpretations in Ireland. The initial reaction of admiring the adamant standing of Hungary against Austria, as displayed by *The Nation* for example, was soon replaced by criticism that favoured reconciliation and settlement as opposed to resistance. From this viewpoint the Austrian emperor's efforts were acclaimed, although with hindsight both *Freeman's Journal* and *The Nation* were hoping to demonstrate how a similar British offer would find support and approval in Ireland. It was with this hidden agenda corresponding to the domestic Irish situation that these papers rejected resistance, whether active or passive, and became vocal about reconciliation, which in turn required cooperation.

William Smith O'Brien's diary of his travels in Hungary in 1861 provides an insight into a different kind of nationalist thinking. His preference for self-reliance indicated a drift away from the mainstream Irish nationalist thinking where the 'England's difficulty-Ireland's opportunity' dichotomy still ruled. It was precisely this way of thinking that predisposed Smith O'Brien to support the Hungarian policy of passive resistance, which seemed to rest on the basic notion of a nation securing advantages from her own power as opposed to waiting around for external circumstances to intervene. Smith O'Brien's support for Hungary and passive resistance went in the diametrically opposite direction to mainstream nationalist newspapers' thinking, which sought to establish a parallel between Magyars and Anglo-Irish Protestants as similarly oppressing minority groups in their respective countries. This latter critical strand grew out of a reconciliation-supporting thinking,

which in the Austrian context served as a further way to underline how right the papers thought the emperor was. However, in the Irish context, the undermining of Anglo-Irish Protestants was hardly pointing in that same conciliatory direction.

The generic drive of Irish nationalism to see Ireland's positions improved within the British empire thus transformed into a variety of different permutations by the 1850s. The presence of divergent strands of thinking within the nationalist movement in Ireland became characteristic in the aftermath of the Famine and the unsuccessful rising of 1848. After such events Irish nationalists spent the subsequent decade rethinking the future of Irish nationalism and the search for paths and possibilities brought many contradictory elements to light. These movements and ideologies were divided in opinion in the degree of cooperation, compromise and concessions they were hoping for and planning to elicit from the British government. Although it was yet unclear, but these opposing opinions were not destined for reconciliation. The island was divided along ideological lines of determining what constituted 'Irish' and what degree of imperial and governmental presence would be satisfactory. As there was no unity within these existing theories, or very little, there was no strong central core to the nationalist thinking of the period either. The mushrooming strands of thinking, in a way, was illustrative of the confusion of the period as to what approach would benefit Ireland most.

II. Images of the Hungarian Compromise of 1867 in Ireland, 1867-75

The Hungarian Compromise of 1867, a 'complex covenant' in the words of Béla K. Király, created the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary.⁷⁰ The new state structure introduced two independent parliaments exercising legislative powers in domestic issues, namely the Hungarian diet reinstating Hungary's constitutional independence, and the continuing Reichsrat for the rest of the empire. However, it stipulated three areas to remain in the realm of common affairs. These were the joint ministries of defence, foreign affairs and their funding. These were kept in check by

⁷⁰ Béla K. Király, 'From the fiasco of neoabsolutism to the dual monarchy, 1859-1875' in Béla K. Király and Mária Ormos (eds), *Hungary: Government and politics, 1848-2000* (New York, 2001), pp 58-60. See also: Robert A. Kann, *A history of the Habsburg empire*, pp 332-42.

delegations appointed by the monarch and the two legislatures. The Crown Council, presided over by the Emperor-King, was a further deliberative body in which both the Hungarian and the Austrian prime ministers participated. This system was not only complex and complicated in its checks and balances, it had further shortcomings, which did not go unnoticed.

One of the loudest and harshest critics of the newly outlined state structure was Lajos Kossuth, the best known and most iconic Hungarian figure of the period. Asserting that the Compromise sacrificed the Hungarian control of defence and its finances, Kossuth wrote an open letter to Deák which in Hungarian historiography became known as the Cassandra-letter. Kossuth likened himself to Cassandra, the Trojan princess prophetess from Greek mythology who was cursed to foresee a series of tragedies which no one believed in and which she was powerless to prevent. Kossuth warned Deák that the Compromise eliminated Hungary's right to control her own destiny in the future, which, in his belief, not only would lead Hungary to wars she did not wish to participate in but, eventually, would lead to the disruption of the state and the empire.⁷¹ A year later the Hungarian Compromise was followed by a Compromise between Hungary and Croatia (XXX/1868), settling long ongoing dissonances, and by a law on the equality of the nationalities (XLIV/1868) which granted the official use of various mother tongues in official and court proceedings.⁷² Although Kossuth indeed proved to be a prophet with his analysis, Deák was equally justified by the unprecedented peace and prosperity that the period of dual monarchy brought for Hungary.

The year 1867 in Irish history became signally known for the unsuccessful rising of the Fenians, which encouraged an even more perceptive attention to a Hungarian success achieved without a rising or use of physical force. The futile Fenian rising, damaging the reputation of the honesty and sincerity of constitutional nationalists, together with the successful arrangements arrived at in the Canadian dominion, all contributed towards a new impetus in Irish politics. A new pattern of thinking arose where alternatives were needed to the still weakly supported goal of repeal, and to the more extremist, less accommodating and impatient physical force nationalism. This rethinking of ways to improve Ireland's position within the empire

⁷¹ Király, *From the fiasco of neo-absolutism*, pp 59-62.

⁷² Király, *From the fiasco of neo-absolutism*, pp 62-3.

was further helped in 1869 when the church disestablishment act was passed, undoing the privileged status of the Church of Ireland.⁷³ This idea fitted very well with the wish to see alterations to the act of union without dismantling it, and in this sense, the 1869 act did much to fuel the strengthening of the home government rhetoric.⁷⁴ The news in the same year of the Compromise which settled the long power struggle between Austria and Hungary became an almost instant source of inspiration and a reference point for comparisons in Ireland.

The reality of the lack of a black-or-white, good-or-bad choice contributed to the emergence of various shades of political opinion in Irish politics. These alternative modes of arriving at equally varied destinations as final stops represented the envisaged ultimate salvation and cure of Ireland's ills. The Hungarian Compromise in this context represented a medium through which these alternative shades of political views could be discussed and contested. It was significant how they all found something instructive and useful in utilizing Hungary's example. This varied from direct comparisons, through romantic nationalist imagery to downright denial of its applicability. The immediate reactions to the news of the Compromise were followed by more complex attempts to consider the use of the example within an Irish political framework. As the Compromise itself was a complex historical-political development, its interpretations and usages were equally manifold.

The long-term aim of looking for a workable settlement regarding the fate of Ireland within the British empire may explain why the Austro-Hungarian Compromise became such an enduring image in Irish politics. Although a basic similarity between the political status and positions of the two respective countries was established long before the Compromise, the fact that the question marks around the Irish situation only multiplied with the passing of time might explain the growth in attention towards a seemingly successful solution. The initial reactions of the newspapers reflected upon the Compromise through the same framework of thinking that characterized their views of the Austrian empire previously. The *Freeman's Journal*, although it did not name Ireland as one of the other countries where 'this experiment [the Compromise]

⁷³ O'Day, *Irish Home Rule*, pp 25-7.

⁷⁴ D. George Boyce and Alan O'Day (eds), *Defenders of the Union. A survey of British and Irish unionism since 1801* (London, New York, 2001). See especially the introduction.

may be profitably tried,'⁷⁵ devoted an analytical article to the advantages and disadvantages of the settlement. Alluding to the fact that Austria's many discordant elements and its weak constitution, normally, would be voted as a recipe for disaster, the newspaper highlighted that the newest policy seemed to have ignited a new spark of life into the empire. The analysis, cautious in its tone, stressed that the Compromise was still in its experimental stage and that further future hardships might test the durability of the Austrian-Hungarian arrangement.

The *Irish Times*, being a moderate Protestant newspaper at the time, greeted the news of the Compromise, although it also pointed to the 'natural and pardonable envy'⁷⁶ that other territories of the Austrian empire would view this settlement with. As the first owner of the paper, Lawrence E. Knox, was sympathizing with self-government, the editorials keenly echoed his views. Voicing confusion as to why none of the British papers and periodicals reflected upon the Irish parallel, the *Irish Times* made sure to repeatedly underline how the question of self-government was not exclusive to the Hungarian context.⁷⁷ Identifying a similarity with the Irish wish for self-government, the paper hastened to emphasize how a similar result, a British-Irish compromise, would bear similar positive fruits for the stability and strength of the British empire at large. Naturally, the critical angle present in the analysis of the Hungarian Compromise, such as its potential for future conflicts, was underplayed in these editorials.

As recognition that the Austrian empire was a composite state built up from various nationalities and territories became a journalistic commonplace in Ireland, *The Nation's* analysis of the Compromise could not ignore this factor either. *The Nation* also alluded to the looming problem of how the various other peoples of the empire would react to the news of the dual state, as that settlement left them as mere secondary building blocks of the empire. In this particular respect, *The Nation* realized

⁷⁵ *The Freeman's Journal*, 3 Febr. 1868.

⁷⁶ *The Irish Times*, 12 Jan. 1870. See also 21 Febr. 1870 issue, which, with a realistic assessment, saw the Compromise as a source of new conflicts: 'The struggle of races, however, which divided the empire shifted its ground rather than came to an end.'

⁷⁷ See issues: 12 Jan. 1870, 2 March 1870, 25 July 1871, 8 Sept. 1871, 5 June 1873. The editorials of these issues all repeated, though to varying degrees, the idea of paralleling Ireland's case with that of Hungary. A further common feature was the assertion that a fulfilment of Ireland's wish for self-government would result in similar sentiments of loyalty and contentment as characterized Hungary since the Compromise. See Mark O'Brien's study for the political views of *Irish Times* in the period: Mark O'Brien, *The Irish Times: A history* (Dublin, 2008).

that the Compromise indeed might have settled Austro-Hungarian relations but it also created fresh potential conflict points. Acknowledging this situation, however, did not result in a more resounding criticism from *The Nation*: the article which introduced the working of the new state was descriptive in style rather than analytical.⁷⁸ The Compromise did not constitute a model meant for in-depth study for *The Nation*, the newspaper rather considered it as an arrangement which in its basics resembled that of Britain and Ireland. The identification of this similarity, however, did not coincide with a wish for close scrutiny, as, fundamentally, *The Nation* considered Ireland's situation to be too unique in its circumstances.

In this sense, the Hungarian Compromise was rather seen as a crutch and glimmer of hope for the future where the parallel of Hungary and Ireland would again be advantageous for Ireland's side. The idea of Ireland sharing brotherhood with other struggling nations, such as Poland, also served the purpose of lending hope for Ireland's specific situation as opposed to models for close study. The Hungarian example turned out to be a more fitting similarity where the turn of fate in fact mirrored Ireland's hopes, thus elevating the Hungarian Compromise into grounds for hope of achieving similar results in Ireland. As the circumstances, such as the nationalities problem, were considered to be Hungary specific, *The Nation* did not get too entangled in the analysis but decided to focus more on the basic generic pattern.

The article entitled 'A happy scene' in the 19 December 1868 issue of *The Nation* was a good example of this way of thinking. Assuming that readers were aware of the basics of the nature and working principles of the Compromise, the article rather concentrated on offering interpretations and insights into how the Hungarian example, or 'lesson' as the article called it, would and should impact British thinking about Ireland. Utilizing images of the Compromise as arguments underlining the long-term imperial benefits of self-government, such as its contribution to the inner strength and cohesion of the empire, *The Nation* consciously employed familiar terms and context to provide an Irish reading of the Austrian-Hungarian event. It was in this particular respect that the implication of the British

⁷⁸ *The Nation*, 11 Jan. 1868. *The Nation* drew bitter comparison with Britain though, declaring how the Austrian method of discussion lacked 'arrests...state prosecutions...penal servitude...deaths in silent cells of political jails...'

empire not suffering any setbacks if allowing self-government for Ireland was supported by the assertion that ‘Repeal of the Union between Austria and Hungary has been productive of immense benefit to both countries.’⁷⁹

Although the Compromise indeed contributed to the reconfiguration of the Austrian empire, the British empire’s position was secure in the period, unlike that of Austria, thus the argument that a similar compromise with Ireland would improve the British position did not have the same force or effect. It did have a mesmerizing effect on the Irish nationalist thinking, however, where Hungary was elevated into the status of a living proof that native parliament and self-government were indeed achievable goals and not images belonging to the realms of fantasy. In this reasoning, images of Hungary were not exclusively employed for illustrative purposes, they also mediated an imagined future in terms of how the world of Irish self-government might look. Without this reality check, these Irish wishes remained castles in the sky.⁸⁰

In terms of theoretical implications, the fundamental difference between a model and an image lies in the aim of presentation. In the case of employing the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 as a model, the underlining motive would be to introduce its contents in detail in order to adopt and adapt policies from it. This was not the case with the frequent mentioning of the Compromise in the Irish political setting. They are classified as images in this thesis, as their primary function was to introduce a direction in thinking. This latter approach was used to convey underlining arguments that did not imply close studying of details as they were not aimed at becoming central policies. The notion of an image rather aspired to justify existing political theories, which nevertheless still needed support.

These images of Ireland and Hungary showed how the Irish were in fact turning towards the Continent for inspiration and supplementary arguments to justify their own political aims, in fact trying to break away from a more insular, inward looking thinking. It was ironic that this went together with the failure to realize how much more the internal dynamics of the British empire influenced any Irish hopes and

⁷⁹ *The Nation*, 19 Dec. 1868.

⁸⁰ The theme of Britain’s need to learn from the Hungarian lesson was reiterated in numerous articles, with different intensity but always with the same conclusions. E.g. *The Nation*, 2 Sept. 1871, and 4 May 1872. Later on, the idealization of home government in Hungary became an equally popular theme, see e.g. *The Nation*, 31 May 1873, 13 Dec. 1873.

dreams. The point that Britain's position did not resemble that of Austria also explained why the British government seemed oblivious of the need to learn from these continental lessons.

The fact that this way of thinking was deeply embedded in the Irish nationalist psyche was shown by the number of times the idea resurfaced in newspaper editorials and in letters to editors.⁸¹ The two options of Ireland either getting her chance to receive concessions from Britain and/or be helped by external circumstances was the main theme that seemed to have been concluded from these continental examples. As the specifics characterizing the Austro-Hungarian settlement would have rendered a closer comparison challenging if not impossible, it was natural that the Irish use of images of the Compromise followed a more generic interpretation. In terms of that, the conclusion that a chance of imperial difficulty working towards the benefit of the subjected nation not only looked like part of a universal pattern but rhymed really well with the already existing Fenian idea of 'England's difficulty—Ireland's opportunity.' In this respect, it could be said that these nationalists drew that parallel and conclusion because they were looking for a justification and a proof that their existing political argument was indeed a workable one. Looking at the Hungarian Compromise following Austria's defeat in fact seemed to be a perfect demonstration of this argument; however, ultimately it was a dead end as the sizeable difference between Austria and Britain's positions as powers annihilated any other similarities in question.

As the policy of alluding to others' success in the hope that the British government would realize the benefit of similar self-government measures for Ireland required a great deal of patience, it was not surprising as the years passed to see *The Nation* reverting to an earlier, highly critical tone. Revisiting its own argument from 1861 that Magyars were in fact similar in their conduct and position to Anglo-Irish Protestants, *The Nation* was effectively digging at the particular section of Irish society it held responsible for the unresolved situation. As the paper was still holding out for self-government, it refrained from directly criticizing the British government. Thus the attention was shifted on to the closest available, the Anglo-Irish minority of Ireland and its perceived counterpart in Hungary, the Magyars.

⁸¹ Beyond the ones already mentioned, see e.g. *The Nation*, 26 Nov. 1870. for a letter to the editor titled 'Our opportunity,' utilizing the same argument in a different context.

The 28 August 1875 issue drew such a comparison:

They [readers] can easily imagine an ascendant and intolerant class resenting foreign rule over themselves and their country, but at the same time desirous of being a ruling caste in their own land, and denying to certain classes of their fellow-countrymen the political rights which they insist on for themselves. ...It is with deep regret that we write these lines.⁸²

The slight socialist flavour of heavily criticizing the extensive privileges of the nobility soon gave way to views where the Magyar feudal lords as a group were deemed responsible for all evils besetting the kingdom of Hungary in recent decades. This aligning of Magyars with the Irish Protestant landowning class sent a message to the Irish Protestant minority that unity, real unity was the strength of any empire. The possibility that, if ‘united in a real and not in a fictitious sense [Hungary] would have defied the intrigues of Vienna and the brutalities of St. Petersburg’⁸³ was a particularly arresting way of demonstrating this message. The reliability of such claims was not important from the perspective of the article as the context of implying something to Irish Protestants was the governing motive, which overruled such details. The real conclusion was the warning that dissent from national unity was faulty and in fact would have thundering consequences. The Magyars in the Hungarian context were met by menace in the Slavic population, who, if they were excluded from their rightful place in the kingdom would ‘surely find a resource and a future in the rising force of the Pan-Slavist [sic] agitation.’⁸⁴ The implication that in holding on to its power the minority was excluding a politically oppressed majority and was ‘preparing not the extinction of Slav nationalism but the disruption of Hungarian unity’⁸⁵ worked on different levels. In terms of the Hungarian scenario, it turned out to be a prophetic insight, whereas for the Irish context it was self-reflexive at the same time.

The nationalist undertone of *The Nation* here suggested that Catholics and the readership of the newspaper found it easy to identify with the Slavic population of Hungary. The article did not need to identify more precisely who the players were in the Irish context, neither was it necessary to allude to how the respective minority

⁸² *The Nation*, 28 Aug. 1875.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *The Nation*, 28 Aug. 1875.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

would enforce its rights. The fact that the article was just as much about Ireland as about Hungary was amply underlined by the last sentence which warned ‘let the intolerant five millions be wise in time.’⁸⁶ Although this referred to the Magyars of Hungary, the rhetoric was identical to the phrase describing the Irish hopes for Britain learning her lesson. In this context Britain was not mentioned or implied, here the intended group that had to see trouble brewing was the Irish Protestant landowner class whose interests did not match those of mainstream nationalists on the island. Despite the harsh criticism of the Magyars, this did not mean that *The Nation* in fact stopped considering Hungary as an inspiration for home government. If anything, it meant a more realistic image of Hungary, beset by problems in fact explicitly aligned with those in Ireland.

Although the Unionist *Dublin Evening Mail*'s foreign news sections regularly reported the latest developments leading to the Compromise all through the first months of 1867, the newspaper did not devote any editorials to expanding on the topic. Even these foreign news pieces⁸⁷ were carefully arranged to provide an imperial perspective, underlining the emperor's role in the reconciliation process with Hungary. The notable absence of editorials on the Compromise, identified as ‘silence’⁸⁸ by John M. MacKenzie, however, was equally as telling as the large volume of interpretative articles found in nationalist and liberal papers. The Unionist's wish to distance themselves from such a rhetoric, which now included images paralleling the aspiration for self-government with the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, was manifested in that silence. The picture, however, was more complex, as the *Evening Mail* not only did not mirror the increasing nationalist interest in Hungary's Compromise, it equally did not editorialize on the Compromise or the coronation of Francis Joseph, as contemporary political events.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ See e.g.: *Dublin Evening Mail*, 3, 4, 12 Jan., 19, 21 Febr., 1, 15, 18, 25, 27, 29 March 1867. A further topic of major interest was the coronation of Emperor Francis Joseph as king of Hungary on 8 June 1867. The *Evening Mail* published numerous accounts of the event, although there were no editorials. See e.g. *Dublin Evening Mail*, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15 June 1867.

⁸⁸ ‘...we have to be as aware of silences as we are of noise. Silence is difficult to identify, but there can be little doubt that it exists and that it exists for a reason.’ John M. MacKenzie, ‘The press and the dominant ideology of empire’ in Simon J. Potter (ed.), *Newspapers and empire in Ireland and Britain. Reporting the British empire, c. 1857-1921* (Dublin, 2004), pp 23-39 at p. 34.

Moving on to the individual level of perceptions of Hungary in the period, Cardinal John Newman's letter to William O'Neill Daunt, the ardent repealer and close friend of the late Daniel O'Connell, is particularly insightful. Although the cardinal claimed that he could not take an informed position in political matters, he posed a serious and complex question to O'Neill Daunt, which remained significant for Irish politics for years to come. The cardinal raised an interesting point while referring to the 'Declaration of the Roman Catholic clergy of Limerick.' Signed by Richard O'Brien, the dean of Limerick amongst others, the declaration was campaigning for domestic legislation:

I thought Dean O'Brien's address [the declaration] a very powerful one. I suppose you would not think it enough to have an Irish parliament for strictly self-legislation, that is, legislation *for* [sic] itself as well as *by* [sic] itself—that is, for Irish, not for imperial affairs. Are they not acting on this principle now in Austria as regards Hungary?⁸⁹

The question posed by the cardinal went to the heart of the Irish political self-identification by pointing to conflicting ideas. Self-government in this theoretical framework meant a subordinate position, where local affairs were allowed to be managed by the grace and magnanimity of the British government. Terming it repeal, which proved to be an enduring political idea despite its slim chance of success, would have meant a more direct control of Irish destiny, where Ireland's separate status would have been finally granted. A further aspect of this question was the physical force approach which tended to disregard the politics of concession and was looking for a more dramatic solution. Although Newman did not spell it out, he was indeed aware of the challenges of making such decisions. In a sense this was similar to the Hungarian position where Hungary also had to make a decision whether to accept a lesser offer or hold out for achieving the ultimate goal. As the Hungarian Compromise reinforced the potential future success of the policy of holding out, the idea of repeal lived on in Irish politics. However, this core problem survived as well, as amply demonstrated through the incessant criticism of Hungary for throwing the

⁸⁹ W. J. O'Neill Daunt Journals, Appendix of letters, Cardinal John H. Newman to William J. O'Neill Daunt, Birmingham, 28 March 1868. N.L.I. MS 3042/1358-9. For the declaration mentioning Hungary as an example to self-government, see: *Freeman's Journal*, 3 Jan. 1868. Although John Martin criticized the declaration, terming it 'a movement of repeal,' there were sympathetic replies too. See James Hughes' letter in *The Nation*, 18 Jan. 1868, calling Ireland 'this unfortunate Hungary.' For Martin, see: Copy letter of John Martin to John Edward Pigot in India. Dublin, 17 Feb. 1868. N.L.I. MS 27,609/22.

October patent of 1860 to the wind, indicating that a section of Irish society indeed favoured the support of a lesser yet more achievable goal.⁹⁰

First referring to the ‘Limerick priests’ declaration as the ‘poor ghost of repeal,’⁹¹ the 3 January 1868 editorial of the *Dublin Evening Mail*, however, took a step further by questioning the priests’ motivation for publishing such a manifesto. The paper was convinced that instead of liberal convictions, ‘a sectarian purpose’ and ‘ecclesiastical ends’⁹² were the true motivators of the Roman Catholic clergy’s declaration. Pointedly remarking how Protestant supporters of repeal ‘would fit in a sentry box,’⁹³ the *Evening Mail* considered the document as simple agitation. As paralleling Ireland’s wish for self-government with Hungary’s recent Compromise was a staple element of the nationalist and home government rhetoric, the *Evening Mail* hastened to criticize the logic of such claims. In the paper’s reading the nationalist ideology of posing self-government as no threat to the integrity the British empire equated to saying that ‘a man’s leg is not to be cut off, but he is to be deprived of all power to use the limb.’⁹⁴

If that was not convincing enough for nationalists, the *Evening Mail*’s 15 January 1868 issue put it even more bluntly:

To seek in Ireland a parallel for Hungary would be a perversion not less unwarrantable than to find in her a parallel for Poland. We have already in Ireland the constitution of which the Poles are deprived, and which the Hungarians only obtained when the battle of Sadowa slew the priest-power in Austria.⁹⁵

This short quotation demonstrated two important elements of the Unionist rhetoric. Firstly, it not only did not shy away from referring to the foreign parallels so popular in the nationalist and home government publications, but it provided a specific reading that denied the validity of such claims. The claim that Ireland already possessed what these parallels highlighted for nationalists and home government advocates as

⁹⁰ See, e.g. *The Nation*, 23 Febr. 1861, 9 Dec., 30 Dec. 1865, 3 March 1866, 13 Dec. 1873 and 31 July 1875. See also the *Freeman’s Journal* 28 Jan. and 13 Febr. 1861.

⁹¹ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 3 Jan. 1868.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 7 Jan. 1868.

⁹⁴ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 15 Jan. 1868.

⁹⁵ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 15 Jan. 1868. See chapter 6 for a similar logic present in the Unionist *Dublin University Magazine*’s political columns in 1861.

desirable for Ireland was a particularly effective argument. Secondly, it also showed how Unionist denial of the need for self-government in Ireland still circulated around the identification of the Catholic hierarchy's political influence as a detrimental force. As a final blow, the *Dublin Evening Mail* completely turned the nationalist and home government application of the Hungarian example around:

Dr O'Brien leaves us in no doubt as to the nature of the enfranchisement [self-government] which he designs for Ireland, and we need hardly say that it is not Hungarianism...If it were of that character, sound and strong argument could be conceived in its favour but that it is directly the contrary he surely shows when he determines to keep the movement under the control of the 'clergy.'⁹⁶

In the eyes of the *Evening Mail* clerical control equalled barbarism and a step away from the liberties the act of union was already providing for the country. In this sense the Hungarian settlement was considered 'sound' only as it seemingly lacked that Catholic hierarchical influence the paper found abhorrent in Ireland.

The political tactic behind the advocacy of home government, as opposed to repeal of the union, lay in the reassurance that the former model did not seek to annul the act of union. It looked upon home government as a solution that aimed to satisfy not only Irish needs but also wished to see those materialize within the imperial framework to provide for British interests. Despite its appearance, however, the 1869 dismantling of the previous privileged positions of the Church of Ireland worked against this logic, as it removed religion from the equation, leaving the defence of the union based solely on grounds of politics and principle.⁹⁷ This eased the task of keeping imperial positions from being undermined, as the annulling of the privileges of the Church of Ireland removed an important argument from Irish nationalists' collection of rhetorical tools. This step, on the other hand, left certain Protestants wondering about the strength of the union in keeping their interests safe, and contributed to their experimenting with notions of home government.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Boyce-O'Day (eds), *Defenders of the Union.*, p. 6.

The basic question of how to achieve these two planned goals of satisfying both British and Irish interests was destined to keep imperial politicians occupied for a long time. The formation of the Home Government Association (H.G.A.) in 1870 under Isaac Butt, who was a well-known figure in Irish public life, through his Tory days of editing the *Dublin University Magazine* and his defence of William Smith O'Brien in 1848,⁹⁸ revived the idea of a federalist plan. After Daniel O'Connell's brief flirtation with the idea in the 1840s, federalism had remained dormant for decades. Its renewed appeal had a lot to do with the proposition that it was a fitting scheme for achieving the establishment of an improved status for Ireland while keeping the empire intact. This latter element was especially important, as even though not all Irish Protestants welcomed the changes in the church structures, this did not translate into hostility to the British connection but rather meant an opening towards alternative reforms. The peculiar and intricate situation of British-Irish relations facilitated the appearance of the federalist debate on these islands, as observed by D. George Boyce:

British federalism is an Irish invention. This is hardly surprising, since one of the main objectives of federalism is to create a system of government which can encompass different and even conflicting political traditions, and to devise a separation of powers between a central government and a series of regions or ethnic groups whose self-interest and identity alike preclude them from finding satisfaction under a centralized system. Without the Irish case, it is safe to say that federalism would hardly have merited serious political discussion in the British Isles...⁹⁹

For Isaac Butt British and Irish aims had to materialize: he would not have supported measures providing halfway solutions. In his political universe, home government would have functioned as a safety-net, saving 'Ireland from the excesses

⁹⁸ Joseph Spence, 'Isaac Butt, Irish nationality and the conditional defence of the Union, 1833-70' in Boyce-O'Day (eds), *Defenders of the union*, pp 65-90. See also: John Kendle, *Ireland and the federal solution. The debate over the United Kingdom constitution, 1870-1921* (Kingston, 1989), pp 11-2. See also: Phillip Bull, 'Butt, Isaac (1813-1879)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a1311&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browsesearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

⁹⁹ D. George Boyce, 'Federalism and the Irish question' in Andrea Bosco (ed), *The federal idea. The history of federalism from Enlightenment to 1945* (2 vols, London, New York, 1991), i, 119.

of democracy, the terrors of radicalism and the impieties of secularism.’¹⁰⁰ This safety feature, according to Butt’s theory, would have worked both ways, contributing to the elimination of Irish grievances, taking the wind out of the sails of physical force nationalism, which in turn would work to the advantage of the British empire. Butt advocated home government as, contrary to repeal, it had the potential for success from an imperial perspective, and he underlined his support for such arrangements by pinpointing the existing Austrian-Hungarian example. Initially, Butt’s idea that Austria came to realize the need for the compromise only after a defeat echoed the nationalist interpretation, especially when he talked about how ‘English statesmen would do well to profit by the lesson before a war overtakes them, with Ireland still the weakness of the British state.’¹⁰¹ In a significant difference, though the idea of England’s difficulty being Ireland’s opportunity had long been part of the nationalist rhetoric, Butt did not call attention to this fact to suggest utilizing an opportunity against the empire. He rather wished to draw attention to this as a weakness which needed significant planning in order to overcome. More crucially, it also helped to place the question into a continental perspective as an imperial security question, mirrored by similar existing problems and their settlements in Austria-Hungary, as opposed to a mere domestic Irish grievance.¹⁰²

Butt believed that the most important key to finding a workable and long-term solution to the Irish problem would have to come from an understanding of the intricate web of historic connections existing between Ireland and England. Contrasting this connection with that of England and Scotland, which Butt believed to be similar to that of Austria and Hungary, Butt found a difference in which the latter two were examples of a ‘union of two independent crowns devolving by the accident of descent upon the same individual.’¹⁰³ The connection between England and Ireland,

¹⁰⁰ Lawrence J. McCaffrey, *Irish federalism in the 1870s: A study in conservative nationalism* (Philadelphia, 1962), p. 4. For a shorter analysis of Butt’s pamphlet see Kendle, *Ireland and the federal solution*, pp 11-5. The Unionist *Dublin Evening Mail* was not convinced of Butt’s scheme and referred to it as ‘the old cry for repeal feebly disguised.’ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 19 Sept. 1871.

¹⁰¹ Isaac Butt, *Irish federalism! Its meaning, its objects and hopes* (3rd ed, Dublin, 1871), p. 22. John George MacCarthy suggested ideas very similar to those of Butt, echoing him in the most important questions. See: John George MacCarthy, *A plea for the home government of Ireland* (2nd ed, Dublin, 1872).

¹⁰² Spence, ‘Isaac Butt...’ in Boyce and O’Day, p. 83.

¹⁰³ Butt, *Irish federalism*, p. 28. Robert MacDonnell (1828-1889), surgeon, president of the Royal College of Surgeons of Ireland, also highlighted in a pamphlet he published anonymously how different Ireland and England were. He found federalism instructive for bridging this gap, most notably through

however, was characterized by the fact that ‘Ireland was always admitted to be one of the dominions of the British crown...whatever rights “the land” or “the realm” of Ireland possessed it was inseparably united to the imperial crown.’¹⁰⁴ In this particular sense, Butt had no alternative but to support the home government scheme as the affordable maximum to improve Ireland’s situation, without significantly altering the nature of the connection. Thus the initial claim that Britain had a lesson to learn aimed to convey the message that contrary to other strands of Irish political movements, home government acknowledged the country’s special status and uniquely wished for an alteration of the union instead of its abolition. Federalism fitted into this way of thinking as an ideal tool for carrying out such measures, ensuring that Britain still retained control in high politics. Butt’s theory, however, missed the crucial point that federalism in fact was destined to work between states of equal or closely equal and distinct standing, something he himself admitted as lacking in the case of Britain and Ireland.

Jonathan Pim, Liberal M.P. for Dublin from 1865 to 1874,¹⁰⁵ shared Butt’s initial view of the need for any settlement to be imperial and Irish at the same time, although he put the Irish perspective before the empire in the equation.¹⁰⁶ After a careful consideration of various existing examples for a federalist arrangement, such as Canada, United States, Austria-Hungary and British colonies, Pim rejected all as inappropriate on different grounds. The first two were rejected as their individual states had no control over customs or excise, while the latter two were claimed to have looser connecting ties than those that seemed to exist between Britain and Ireland, and was indicated by the Home Government Association.¹⁰⁷ As a further proof of this point, Pim listed various elements of the dual arrangement between Austria and Hungary, such as the existence of separate ministries responsible to separate parliaments and overarching ministries dealing with common affairs, to demonstrate

the example of Austria. See: Robert MacDonnell, *Irish nationality in 1870. By a Protestant Celt. Second edition with a commentary on the Home Rule movement* (2nd ed, Dublin, 1870), pp 79-80.

¹⁰⁴ Butt, *Irish federalism*, p. 28. A similar idea that England and Ireland were not equal partners was expressed by John Stuart Mill in *England and Ireland* (London, 1868), p. 24.

¹⁰⁵ Brian Walker, *Parliamentary election results in Ireland, 1801-1922* (Dublin, 1978), pp 271-2.

¹⁰⁶ Jonathan Pim, *Ireland and the imperial parliament* (Dublin, 1871), p. 5. A. M. Sullivan, editor of the *Nation*, reviewed Pim’s pamphlet at a meeting of the Home Government Association, see *Freeman’s Journal*, 15 Nov. 1871. Similarly, the *Freeman’s Journal* dealt with Pim’s pamphlet in the 11 Nov. 1871 and 28 March 1872 issues, congratulating him for raising the matter.

¹⁰⁷ Pim, *Ireland and the imperial parliament*, p. 11.

how individual these states remained. In the case of the British colonies, owing to the geographic distance, control was usually exercised through a governor-general. A further problem seemed to be the definition of the exact goals of the association, as Pim was acutely aware that extreme nationalists only considered federalism and home government as a step towards separation. However, retaining this separatist group's support while a proper definition of the limits and duties of an Irish parliament was achieved seemed an impossible task.

Digesting these details and counterarguments, Pim came up with a specific federalist suggestion, something that could be termed a minimalist federalist scheme. He rejected the plan of establishing a separate Irish parliament, which 'would be too powerful in some respects, and yet not powerful enough in others.'¹⁰⁸ Pim was very aware of the real political limitations of a full federalist plan, such as the British resistance to losing total control of Irish affairs, and the respective geographic positions of the two countries, which made complete separation almost impossible. Thus, 'instead of dragging at the chain which binds us,'¹⁰⁹ Pim believed that Ireland and Britain should aim to make the most of this situation.

As an alternative to a separate parliament, Pim suggested establishing a grand committee consisting of the 105 Irish members of the British parliament, equipped with the right of having to consent to any measures concerning Ireland alone. In Pim's line of thought this suggestion not only by-passed the problem of a separate parliament but also offered exactly what both sides were looking for. The Irish would have more control of the legislation affecting the country, while the British parliament would still retain overall control as the committee was envisaged to work within the limits of Westminster. As further features, Pim also considered the establishment of a strong executive power, directly responsible to parliament, together with the creation of the position of a Secretary for Ireland in the cabinet as supplementary tools working towards the same goal. Although Pim's suggestions were probably the closest to the actual political reality of the British empire, they nevertheless were still based on the presumption that the British government at the height of its power would willingly let go significant parts of its control over Ireland.

¹⁰⁸ Pim, *Ireland and the imperial parliament*, p.15.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

Pim's placing of Ireland before the empire foreshadowed potential polarizing within the home government and federalist movements, which only became more evident with the passing of time. These alternative strands yielded different approaches in finding Hungary's example instructive, ranging from criticism of federalism in certain points to questioning the applicability and practicality of federalism as such for Ireland. Representing the other pole of home government thinking was John Martin, another veteran of Irish politics, former Young Irelander, friend of John Mitchel, editor of the *Irish Felon*, Home Government Association member, and M.P. for County Meath.¹¹⁰ In his thinking, the main reason why the policy of home government needed and deserved support was its potential to eliminate discord in Ireland. He considered the case of Hungary instructive for the display of adamant persistence in achieving goals, while he also found that it would be 'better for England to imitate the policy of Austria towards Hungary than of Austria towards Venice.'¹¹¹

Beyond posing Austria-Hungary as a lesson for Britain, Martin also believed that the concessions represented by the example were the only ways to achieve 'Ireland for the Irish—for all the Irish of every race and creed and class.'¹¹² Martin identified direct British rule as the main source of discord, division and weakness of Ireland. In this political universe, home government served as the ultimate way to overcome those problems. Cleverly arguing first that foreign rule over a territory as a source of wrong was a universal feature of politics, Martin asserted through examples such as Belgium, Austria, Hungary and the self-governing British colonies that solutions were also at hand. In this respect home government was the ideal method to bring 'all races and sects...on the same level of freedom, civil and religious,'¹¹³ exchanging the divisive central rule of a foreign power for a domestically controlled one.

¹¹⁰ Desmond McCabe and James Quinn, 'Martin, John (1812-1875)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a5483&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browsearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

¹¹¹ John Martin, *The quarrel between Ireland and England, a lecture delivered in Dundalk, on 3rd of October 1871* (Dublin, 1872), p. 15.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid, p.4.

The idea of using foreign examples, or more precisely the type of examples that were so frequently used in these home government arguments was not supported by all. John Grey Vesey Porter, known to be one of the early advocates of federalism in the 1840s, did not see the logic of quoting examples of foreign settlements and legislative arrangements unless they were well-founded. On a more theoretical note, Porter first claimed that there were problems with *The Nation's* understanding of federalism, pointing out that 'you can not ride two horses at the same time.'¹¹⁴ Porter here meant that the paper could not both praise federalism and reject subordinate parliamentary arrangements as unfitting and unacceptable for Ireland at the same time. Porter highlighted that contrary to the claims of the paper, these subordinate arrangements were in fact organic features of federalism as a political theory. With an interesting difference from previous applications of the Compromise, Porter identified it as 'a warning to be avoided, and not an example to be followed, as it is the weakness and ruin of that ancient empire.'¹¹⁵ According to Porter, the Compromise of Austria-Hungary not only acknowledged but also institutionalized an internal division within that empire. Division being something also applicable to the British-Irish situation, Porter hastened to dismiss any support for a settlement that would similarly further entrench existing dividing lines instead of healing them.

Porter was not alone in voicing his concerns about how the practicalities of the home government idea would affect the already strained Catholic and Protestant relations in Ireland. Patrick Dorrian, the Catholic bishop of Down,¹¹⁶ expressed similar worries to Butt, calling his attention to the need to 'make the movement by far more *protestant* [sic] especially in the North.'¹¹⁷ In Dorrian's opinion, home government as a political idea only had a chance for success if through it, 'Protestants and Catholics would cease these broils and live at peace.'¹¹⁸ Such cooperation was not only a prerequisite to ensure a larger supporter base but also was and would remain the holy grail of Irish politics for decades to come. As peace between the different

¹¹⁴ *The Nation*, 18 Jan. 1873.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Ambrose Macaulay, 'Dorrian, Patrick (1814-1885)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a2719&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browsesearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

¹¹⁷ Patrick Dorrian to Isaac Butt, Belfast, 8th Oct. 1873. Isaac Butt papers, N.L.I. MS 8695/31.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

denominations was the ultimate goal and the means of achieving a satisfactory solution to the Irish problem at the same time, this made cooperation and compromising attitudes vital from the earliest stages. Dorrian alluded to this in his letter, claiming that ‘Catholics sometimes would do well to forbear even when in the right and [I think] that they ought to be taught to do so.’¹¹⁹

Despite that fact that the home government movement frequently referred to the Hungarian Compromise as a model, admiring how understanding and settlement had come about, it seemed that the required compromising spirit was something even the inner circles of the association had trouble finding. The idea of leaving the definition and in fact the working system of home government purposefully vague in order to accommodate a wider range of views and supporter base was the very thing that worked against the movement. Not only extremists but even repealer members found the association’s interpretation of home government too loose, which in turn fed their doubts about the extent of the benefits Ireland would enjoy from such a scheme as opposed to a repeal of the union.¹²⁰ Arguments against federalism and in favour of repeal ranged from those based on political convictions, questioning the respective practicalities and extent of support, to taking a half-hearted middling position of supporting one while still pining for the other.¹²¹ The fact that repeal was less dominant than in the 1840s also gave a further impetus and similarly, people started to see the Home Government Association more as an umbrella movement, precisely because of its vagueness, as opposed to a tighter political goal. The wish to see Ireland’s position improved did not alienate supporters, indeed all groups and walks of political convictions had this same aim, however, the less than detailed future plans of the association did not contribute to transforming the half-hearted membership into a band of true believers.

The proceedings of a four day home rule conference of 1873 in Dublin mirrored this deepening cleavage within the movement, and brought differences out

¹¹⁹ Patrick Dorrian to Isaac Butt, Belfast, 8th Oct. 1873. Isaac Butt papers N.L.I. MS 8695/31.

¹²⁰ See Richard Grattan’s pamphlet which illustrated how the vague definition of home government drove the author back to repeal. Richard Grattan, *The Grattan constitution for Ireland. Home rule, Ireland regenerated* (Dublin, 1873). See also, Alan O’Day, *Irish Home Rule*, pp 34-5.

¹²¹ William J. O’Neill Daunt found it equally hard to choose although he decided to favour federalism as a pragmatic choice as he believed that Britain would not consent to repeal, whereas federalism at least had potential. See: William J. O’Neill Daunt to Isaac Butt, Ballyneen, Co. Cork. 29 Nov. 1873. Isaac Butt papers, N.L.I. MS 8695/35.

into the light. On 19 November 1873, the second day of the conference, the Rev. Joseph Galbraith (1818-1890) talked about how federalism as a political theory offered a chance of overcoming Irish disaffection, a threat to the safety and stability of the empire.¹²² Galbraith, an ordained member of the Church of Ireland, member of the Royal Irish Academy and on the staff of Trinity College,¹²³ supported this classic federalist rhetoric with a long quotation from Charles Lever.¹²⁴ Interestingly, back in 1868 Lever had a very negative opinion of the reform of the Austrian empire, seeing it as a task too big for Austria to manage:

Things are going precious badly here. Beust has gone too fast, and the privileges accorded to the Hungarians here stimulated the other nationalities to a like importunity. I think Austria will fall to pieces. It is like the Chinese plum-pudding where they forgot to tie the bag.¹²⁵

He had changed his views by 1871 and offered a favourable reading of the Compromise, while embedding it in a British-Irish context. Galbraith claimed that Lever had given him a copy of his paper on home rule, which as part of the serialized book *Cornelius O'Dowd upon men and women and other things in general* (London, 1864), was suppressed by *Blackwood's Magazine* while in fact the rest of the book was published there in instalments.¹²⁶ The correspondence of John Blackwood and

¹²² [N.a.], *Proceedings of the Home Rule conference held at the Rotunda, Dublin, on the 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st Nov. 1873* (Dublin, 1873), pp 70-6.

¹²³ The papers of the Rev. Joseph Allen Galbraith. Trinity College Manuscripts, MS 3856/1/1-43. For a contemporary view on Galbraith, see the book of *The Nation's* editor. Alexander M. Sullivan, *New Ireland* (2 vols, 3rd ed, London, 1877), ii, 326-7.

¹²⁴ Charles Lever (1806-72) was a well-known contemporary Irish novelist, short-story writer and former editor of the conservative *Dublin University Magazine*, who spent years employed in the British diplomatic service stationed in various parts of Europe, including Trieste in the Austrian empire, from the year 1867. For more information, see: Jason King, 'Lever, Charles (1806-1872)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a4815&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browsersearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

¹²⁵ Downey, *Charles Lever*, ii, 233. Charles Lever to John Blackwood, Trieste, 19 Oct. 1868. Lever attributed a disrupting force to the activities of specialized interest groups within an empire, Slavic peoples and Fenians equally. 'Now I know [sic] that if Austria were to move tomorrow, her Slavic population, quite entirely in the hands and some in the pay of Russia, would rise and dismember the empire. Imagine Fenianism not only in Meath and Kerry but in Norfolk, Yorkshire and Kent, and then you can have some idea of the danger of provoking such a rebellious element as the Austrian Greek.' Downey, *Charles Lever*, ii, 301. Charles Lever to John Blackwood, Trieste, 20 Nov. 1870. The immediate context to the letter was the contemplation of Austria's move in case of a French-Russian war.

¹²⁶ Charles Lever, *Cornelius O'Dowd upon men and women and other things in general* (London-Edinburgh, 1864). *Proceedings of the Home Rule conference*, p. 73. Galbraith claimed his copy was labelled 'home rule—author's proof.'

Lever indeed proved that Lever wrote a piece on home rule which was rejected by *Blackwood's*, although Lever made no mention of presenting Galbraith with a copy.¹²⁷ Interestingly, Butt also found the same piece inspiring as he had a word-for-word handwritten copy of Galbraith's talk at the conference, including the Lever section on Hungary, among his papers.¹²⁸ The fact that Lever's opinion on home rule and Hungary's example expressed in it stayed in circulation in Irish political life was proven by a letter of Henry Galbraith, the son of Joseph, to Frank MacDonagh in 1914. The letter, besides claiming Henry's father to be the author of the phrase Home Rule, a notion supported by Butt, also mentioned how Henry's search for the original manuscript containing the Hungarian example omitted from Lever's published *O'Dowd* book was at the time unsuccessful.¹²⁹

Claiming that Lever's opinion was worth hearing owing to his 'varied experience of life...on the whole continent of Europe'¹³⁰ and also for his support of the idea of home rule, Galbraith quoted extensively from the text at the conference. He first quoted Lever to establish the incapacity of the British parliament to deal with Irish affairs, owing to the presence and dominance of party politics. In Lever's view, this resulted in Irish problems getting less attention and being subjected to political interests and party struggles in Westminster.¹³¹ Following this extrapolation, the Hungarian example was first featured to highlight how the situation in that country was in fact very similar to the Irish one given that, before the Compromise, Hungary did not have her parliament's independence in domestic matters restored, but was legislated for through the Austrian imperial parliament. Elaborating on this conscious aligning of the two situations further, Galbraith went on with Lever's quotation to echo Butt's arguments on the advantages of a local parliament.

The quotation, introducing the architect of the Hungarian Compromise, Francis Deak, as an authority, was aimed at establishing that the Hungarian position was similar to the Irish home rule idea in the wish to maintain the imperial framework

¹²⁷ Downey, *Charles Lever*, ii, 326. Charles Lever to John Blackwood, Trieste, Nov 1, 1871.

¹²⁸ 'From Lever O'Dowd papers.' Isaac Butt papers, N.L.I. MS 8710/2. The note was not marked or dated in any way.

¹²⁹ Letters from leaders of the Home Rule movement. N.L.I. MS 830/33. Henry Galbraith to Frank MacDonagh, 3 Sackville House, Bexhill, 5 May, 1914.

¹³⁰ *Proceedings of the Home Rule conference*, p. 73.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

and also by highlighting the importance of local knowledge for local legislation. Believing that such a policy was not only not daring but in fact had turned out to be beneficial for Austria, the argument turned towards the predictable Irish conclusion that the method would work just as well in a British-Irish context.

...we have a people whose sympathies, and even prejudices we shall consult in legislating for them in a mode that all your superior knowledge and imperial intelligence would never arrive at. Will you not see, then, that we know where the shoe pinches—the remedy we ask is not to try how we can walk in an old pair of yours! What we want is to suit our own feet, and not to march in a step that does not become us!¹³²

Considering the parallel strictly in terms of its generic outlines, it was indeed possible to see similarities between the two situations. Equally, although it was insightful that home rulers did not wish to dissect the Hungarian example and model its specific details to distil instructive steps for Ireland, the pitfall of the whole exercise lay in fact in this very tactic. The generic modelling of these situations only worked to a certain extent, precisely up to the point where special circumstances came into play. In the British-Irish case, home rulers had to have been conscious of the difference of the British empire's situation from that of Austria, yet this did not stop them from referring to the Hungarian case.

The reasoning behind this lay in the fact that even though Hungary's struggle for the reinstatement of her constitution and her native parliament was embedded in different circumstances, it nevertheless provided the Irish with a living example of success.¹³³ The particularities of the two cases, were not considered as important from the home rule perspective, as Hungary was never regarded as a one-on-one model but rather as a signal and ray of hope. The use of the Hungarian case in the core argument and rhetoric of home government and federalism went beyond the framework of a simple demonstrative example; its very allure lay in its benefit of providing a glimpse into a potential future. It was this potential that transformed the Hungarian struggle from a similar story to an enduring imagery.

¹³² *Proceedings of the Home Rule conference*, p. 74.

¹³³ *The Freeman's Journal*, 19 Sept. 1873. The editorial celebrated Deák as the epitome of a wise politician, and saw Hungary as an inspiration, hope and encouragement for other lands through her patience and perseverance.

The third day of the conference, 20 November 1873, also provided its participants with further evidence from Hungarian examples. The aim in these cases remained the same: to arrive at the same conclusion, that a settlement similar to Hungary's would bear equally good fruit in Ireland and the British empire. Although Sir Joseph Neale McKenna, banker and member of the Home Government Association, called the constitution of the Hungarian parliament 'the best illustration' of a workable home rule, he was equally aware that 'no case can be a complete model.'¹³⁴ Despite this, McKenna went on to provide arguments for a close aligning of the previous fates of the two countries. In his interpretation the settlements of 1782 in Ireland and that of 1790 in Hungary, which guaranteed native parliaments in the two respective countries, were such indicatives.¹³⁵ Carrying the parallel further, both these parliaments were 'robbed or defrauded'¹³⁶ subsequently, and Austria's defeat in 1866 was read as a sign of divine retribution for the defeat of the 1848-49 Hungarian revolution and the disbanding of her native parliament. The ironic remark that Austria's policies in fact weakened the empire by alienating the Hungarians had a bitter ring to Irish ears.¹³⁷ After such contextualizing, which served to make the point that Austria's policies caused her own defeat, McKenna found his predictable conclusion that the Compromise of 1867 was as an 'act of justice...glory of his reign [Francis Joseph] and the salvation of his empire.'¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Sir Joseph McKenna to Isaac Butt, London, Sept. 1873. Isaac Butt papers, N.L.I., MS 8695/30. McKenna was a home ruler M.P. for Youghal from 1874 to 1885. See Walker, *Parliamentary election results in Ireland*, p. 324. He wrote the letter to Butt shortly after arriving back from Vienna. This personal experience only reaffirmed his belief about the validity of the parallel: 'He could assure them [the British press]...from that place [Vienna] that the parallel between the relations of Austria to Hungary and those of Great Britain to Ireland was nearly exact. So much alike were they that no intelligent, educated, unprejudiced mind in Europe or America that he ever came in contact with was able to discern or to point to a material discrepancy.' *Proceedings of the Home Rule conference*, p. 108.

¹³⁵ The 1790 settlement of Hungary, however, in a significant difference, guaranteed the separate kingdom status of Hungary, where the emperor of Austria ruled Hungary in his own right as the king of Hungary.

¹³⁶ *Proceedings of the Home Rule conference*, p. 108.

¹³⁷ *Proceedings of the Home Rule conference*, p. 110. In McKenna's opinion, Francis Joseph would have needed generals like Kiss, Aulich and NagySándor in order to avert the defeat at Sadowa in 1866 'but alas they had perished on the gallows of Arad in 1849.' The generals were executed by Austria on 6 October 1849 for their participation in the Hungarian war of independence.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* 'To use our familiar language, he granted her that home rule which his ancestor, Leopold in 1790, had almost, if he had not actually, sworn to maintain...oh what a glorious day for Francis Joseph and for Austria, the day on which he abrogated and put away for ever the hideous policy of...the gibbet, the rope and prison—to win back the love of a nation.' In 1874 at a home rule meeting in Youghal, McKenna repeated this idea, highlighting that Croatia was also part of that settlement, implying that such a framework should soothe the anxiety of 'our friends in the North of Ireland.' *The Nation*, 24 Oct. 1874.

The power of McKenna's imagery prompted Sir Patrick O'Brien, M.P. for the King's County¹³⁹ to recite the basic generic image of the Maria Theresa episode of Hungary's history, albeit without mentioning the date or the name of the monarch. This idea as an Irish political argument already had its own contemporary history, and similarly to its previous applications, it also served a more generic need. In this particular Irish political context it implied that similar peaceful cooperation and understanding between all parties in an empire would prompt an affectionate Irish reaction which would also contribute to the healing of existing divisions in society.

The conference, however, was not only an occasion for collecting, inventorying and reiterating arguments in favour of federalism. It also brought dormant controversies to light, and owing to the extensive newspaper attention to the event,¹⁴⁰ it also gave a higher profiled chance to discuss conflicting views. Talk of the merits of federalism, naturally, did not fully convince those who had pledged their support for repeal. As the historic position of repeal had a long tradition with well-defined aims and was backed by equally heavyweight historic names, such as Daniel O'Connell and Thomas Davis, it was a somewhat easier and more appealing position to argue from. Davis in fact authored a paper on federalism, likely to have been prompted by the 1840s federalist initiative of O'Connell, Porter and William Sharman Crawford, discussed in chapter three, when it was denounced as an unworkable idea.¹⁴¹

The fact that these controversies were already present before the conference took place was shown by a letter of J. P. McAlister, a senior member of the Home Government Association, to Butt. McAlister voiced his concerns in a very open manner about the quarrel that was about to break out between Rev. Thaddeus

¹³⁹ *Proceedings of the Home Rule conference*, p. 115. Walker, *Parliamentary election results*, pp 288-9.

¹⁴⁰ Even the Unionist *Dublin Evening Mail* had published daily reports of the proceedings, together with a supplement to its 17 Nov. 1873 issue listing attendees in favour of home government. Although sceptical about the movement's aim to provide a policy satisfying both nationalists and Unionists, the paper nevertheless greeted the conference as a step away from the 'ecclesiastically perpetuated torpor.' *Dublin Evening Mail*, 18 Nov. 1873.

¹⁴¹ 'Paper on federation by Thomas Davis.' Charles Gavan Duffy Papers, R.I.A., SR 12/P 16/ II.16 The note has no punctuation. In Davis' view federalism was a chain fettered by empires to hold their conquered territories together, and thus he did not support any settlement that strove to correct or implement that system. He advocated the realigning of state and political lines instead, which he believed only repeal supplied. Even back in 1844, federalism was seen as an effort worth consideration in a hope of securing more Protestant support for repeal, not as a strategy in its own right.

O'Malley, the author of the *Federalist*¹⁴² and one of the earliest advocates of the theory in Ireland, and Patrick James Smyth, an ardent repealer and M.P. for County Westmeath.¹⁴³ McAlister was afraid of the consequences of O'Malley's plan to force Smyth to state his reasons for preferring repeal over federalism, as it would severely hamper the conference and in fact the whole movement's chances for success, and would threaten a rift in its supporters' base. Thus O'Malley, the initiator of the clarification plea, became an 'infernal, self-sufficient, egotistical, empty-headed old idiot'¹⁴⁴ in the eyes of McAlister, notwithstanding O'Malley's claim that Smyth became voluntarily involved in the matter.

Although the conference itself passed without the dangerous discussion being aired between the two, O'Malley nevertheless managed to excite participants with his views that differed from the mainstream resolutions advocated and accepted by the conference. To defend and explain himself, O'Malley wrote an open letter to the editor of the *Freeman's* in which he asserted that the conference was a success in terms of advocating federalism. He equated the theory itself to a 'revolution that has rescued from ruin the old Austrian empire... [a] calm development of a sound public opinion.'¹⁴⁵ Echoing Porter, O'Malley debated the point accepted by the conference that federalism would not change the constitution of the British empire. Such a claim to him meant negating the very essence of federalism. Equally, O'Malley also questioned the use of those Irish federalist claims which maintained that it should only

¹⁴² The Rev. Thaddeus O'Malley, *Home rule on the basis of federalism* (3rd ed, Dublin, 1874), p. 4. *The Federalist* was a two-part pamphlet O'Malley published under the pseudonym 'T.B.O.M.' in 1831, in which he argued for federalism as a political theory capable of bridging the gap between Unionism and repeal. See: *The federalist, or, a series of papers showing how to repeal the Union, so as to avoid a violent crisis, and, at the same time, secure and reconcile all interests* (Dublin, 1831). For more on O'Malley, see the articles of Fergus D'Arcy, although both of them are weak on the priest's federalist principles and his involvement in the home government movement. Fergus D'Arcy, 'Religion, radicalism and rebellion in nineteenth-century Ireland: The case of Thaddeus O'Malley,' in Judith Devlin and Ronan Fanning (eds), *Religion and rebellion. Historical Studies XX. Papers read before the 22nd Irish Conference of Historians, held at University College Dublin, 18-22 May 1995* (Dublin, 1997), pp 97-106. Idem, 'Federalist, social radical and anti-sectarian: Thaddeus O'Malley (1797-1877),' in Gerard Moran (ed), *Radical Irish priests, 1660-1970* (Dublin, 1998), pp 91-111.

¹⁴³ For P.J. Smyth, see Walker, *Parliamentary election results*, p. 320. See also: David Murphy and Owen McGee, 'Smyth, Patrick James (1823-1885)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at:

<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a8176&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browsesearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

¹⁴⁴ J. P. McAlister to Isaac Butt Dublin, 21 Oct. 1873. Isaac Butt papers, N.L.I., MS 8695/32.

¹⁴⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 27 Dec. 1873.

be considered for Ireland, leaving England and Scotland out of the framework. To O'Malley, this was similarly unacceptable on theoretical grounds.

Similarly, in an open letter addressed to the editor of *Freeman's*, W. Carroll, a clerk, criticized Butt and the movement for illustrating the principle of federalism through examples that did not apply. Citing Hungary as one of these unfitting cases, Carroll maintained that 'the constitution granted to Hungary in 1867 by Beust and Andrassy was, and is, simple dualism.'¹⁴⁶ If that was not enough of a blow for the advocates of Hungarian images in the context of federalism, Carroll went on to declare that 'Hungary is now in every respect as independent of Austria as Austria is independent of Hungary.'¹⁴⁷ Although this mainly aimed to highlight how different the Hungarian unfolding of events actually was from a simple federalist case, where one of the parties necessarily was subjected to the other, which it did indeed demonstrate, the claim itself was not valid. Although the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was indeed an example of a dual state, as opposed to real federalism, Carroll's analysis could be faulted on one account. He disregarded the existence of the common ministries which bound the two countries together, and also conveniently forgot to mention how Austria and the Habsburg sovereign family nevertheless dominated this dual monarchy.

Patrick James Smyth expanded on the arguments he believed connected the position and situation of Hungary and Ireland at a home rule meeting in Moate, in Westmeath in 1874.¹⁴⁸ Even though the aligning of the recent history and fate of the two nations was by no means a new topic in the home rule movement, let alone in Irish politics, Smyth managed to introduce a new angle. In his opinion the 1866 defeat of Austria, which was eagerly read by Irish nationalists as a prime example of the difficulty-opportunity binary rhetoric, was in fact a follow-up to an existing Irish example. In his opinion the year 1782 and the British settlement of Irish legislative independence was a forerunner of Austria's policy following 1866. Besides the obvious aim of underlining and supporting a resemblance between the two cases, Smyth's main goal here was to illustrate how this policy of compromise was not alien from British practices. The point that '[the] constitution [restored to Hungary]

¹⁴⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Jan. 1874.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 7 Jan. 1874, *Irish Times*, 7 Jan. 1874. For more on P.J. Smyth, see above.

resembles as closely as possible the Irish constitution of 1782,¹⁴⁹ without any further elaboration, however, was introduced and utilized as a mere supporting, secondary image. Its presence merely highlighted and gave more weight to the governing argument. Its actual content, whether those two constitutions could indeed be considered as similar, did not matter.

For Smyth, Hungary embodied a full spectrum demonstration of the logic of domestic legislative independence within an empire, where the consequences of such a settlement could be claimed to have been signally positive and advantageous for both parties involved. Although this argument was equally present in the general home rule arguments, namely that the claim that home rule or its equivalent transformed a previously troublesome territory into the ultimate strength of an empire, Smyth gave it special significance. He believed that political and theoretical logic equally supported the need for legislative independence. However, as a repealer he refrained from using the phrase ‘home rule.’ In his view a political union of Britain and Ireland was a ‘moral and physical necessity,’ although the irrepressible national aspirations of the weaker party, admittedly Ireland, could only be fulfilled by concessions from the stronger party.¹⁵⁰ A successful and acceptable fulfilling of these aspirations were naturally understood to be the aforementioned legislative, administrative and judiciary independence, where the Hungarian example served as a calming effect to quell Britain’s anxiety about considering the project for Ireland. In Smyth’s political universe home rule did not and could not fulfil these aspirations, as it lacked a crucial feature. As only repeal of the union would give Ireland her historic dignity as an ancient, distinct kingdom back, Smyth considered home rule as inadequate for the country’s long term needs.

Smyth’s repeal plan, complete legislative independence, made some think about the potential problems of such arrangements. John Magee voiced his concerns regarding the extent of representation and influence that Ireland would have in imperial matters if the crown remained the only link.

Norway, Sweden, Hungary and Austria have, I imagine some federal mode of settling these imperial questions [such as succession, war, army, navy], and it seems

¹⁴⁹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 7 Jan. 1874.

¹⁵⁰ *Freeman’s Journal*, 7 Jan. 1874.

to me (without having what is called an imperial parliament) we, Ireland, should have a potent voice in such questions...¹⁵¹

In Magee's opinion an ideal case would see the proposed Irish parliament and Westminster discussing these imperial matters simultaneously, or should this be unattainable, Magee saw two possibilities. Firstly, Ireland would either have to give up her right to have a voice in such matters, something he did not support given that Ireland was paying into the imperial exchequer. The second option being equally unrealistic, namely that Ireland would decide in these questions, Magee reverted to arguing that simple repeal was not advantageous for the country without securing the right to have a voice in imperial matters and their taxation.¹⁵²

Another friend, Joseph Coyne, wrote a letter of warning to Smyth, asserting how 'inopportune and injudicious'¹⁵³ the whole federalism versus repeal debate was seen within the ranks of the movement. Coyne was cautious enough to claim to be speaking on behalf of a larger circle of friends and supporters of home rule, conveying the message of how anxious they were about the message that such a commotion within the ranks of Irish politics would send to Britain. In this sense Coyne was afraid that the actions and beliefs of Smyth might send larger ripples within the movement, reflecting the elemental internal trouble that could tear the Home Government Association apart before its proper imperial trial. Secondly, he was also conscious that Smyth's extrapolation also endangered the process of the people's choice of which theory to support, and warned Smyth to 'allow the home rule theory fight its own fight, and not bring upon yourself ...the responsibility of having injured a programme adopted by the country.'¹⁵⁴

Coyne's warning, however, came too late, and the correspondence of Smyth and the Dowager Marchioness Caroline Queensberry triggered a long and bitter correspondence published in *The Nation*.¹⁵⁵ Smyth, replying to Queensberry's

¹⁵¹ John Magee to P.J. Smyth, Stradbally, Queens Co., 16 Jan. 1874. A collection of letters to P.J. Smyth, rep for Westmeath (1871-80) arranged in alphabetical order of correspondents, 1853-84, but mostly after 1870. N.L.I., MS 8215/18.

¹⁵² John Magee to P.J. Smyth Stradbally, Queens Co. 16 Jan. 1874, N.L.I. MS 8215/18.

¹⁵³ Joseph Coyne to P.J. Smyth, Mullingar, 28 Apr. 1874., N.L.I. MS 8215/6.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ *The Nation*, 25 Apr. 1874. Caroline Queensberry was the widow of Sir Archibald William Douglas, the eighth Marquess of Queensberry (1818-1858). Their son, the ninth marquess played a role in the downfall of Oscar Wilde. John Davis, 'Douglas, John Sholto, ninth marquess of Queensberry (1844-

questions, signalled his deep convictions that federalism was impracticable for Ireland's needs, as Ireland was not a colony but a distinct ancient kingdom. Following this logic, Smyth openly declared and repeated his preference for repeal, which equally meant that he denied Austria and Hungary's settlement as an applicable example for federalism. Reading this open letter, O'Malley hastened to dismiss these claims in a preface to the third edition of his pamphlet, claiming that

Mr Smyth favours the notion of the regime called dualism, such as connects Hungary and Austria, as the best form of union between the sister countries. But Ireland never had, and has no pretensions to claim, such a dualism with England. Hungary is, in fact, the nucleus of the Austrian empire, taken with its annexes, it is more than double the weight of both the Austrias, the Upper and Lower provinces...it is plainly not so with Ireland as compared to Great Britain.¹⁵⁶

Beyond the sober criticism of the difference between the status of Hungary and Ireland in their respective empires, O'Malley did not actually deny that Hungary's settlement was dual in nature. Instead, he concentrated his efforts on undermining Smyth's point by claiming that the dual settlement, and the repeal that Smyth was pining for, was in fact questioned by Kossuth, 'the ablest Hungarian of them all.'¹⁵⁷ As Kossuth the exiled politician was considered as an authority figure in national struggles and an iconic representative of revolutionary thinking, O'Malley knew the manipulative power of such claims. Although it was indeed true that Kossuth had become a bitter opponent of the Compromise, this particular image did not get into the mainstream rhetoric of those opposing home rule in contemporary debates.¹⁵⁸

Smyth's repetitive celebration of the parliament and status quo of 1782 became another easily debatable point which O'Malley did not miss. Dismissing any attachment to the 'glamour of the rhapsodical [sic] 82,'¹⁵⁹ he denounced that parliament as unrepresentative of the Irish nation as it did not feature any Catholic members. This same particular detail struck John Martin as well, and in his reaction to

1900)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004)
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7909> accessed 10 Jan 2011

¹⁵⁶ O'Malley, *Home rule on the basis of federalism*, pp x-xi.

¹⁵⁷ O'Malley, p. xi.

¹⁵⁸ In the early rhetoric of the Home Government Association, Kossuth and his domestic political supporters opposing the Compromise in fact became likened to a bitter and disruptive force, similar to physical force nationalists. See: Sullivan, *New Ireland*, p. 415. On Kossuth's reasons for rejecting the Compromise, see e.g. Freifeld, *Nationalism and the crowd in liberal Hungary*, pp 221-2.

¹⁵⁹ O'Malley, p. viii.

Smyth's letter, he highlighted the conference resolutions as demonstrations that home rule was equally beneficial if not a step ahead in comparison to the status quo ante 1800.¹⁶⁰ As to the form and working relation of a restored Irish parliament with Westminster, Martin believed that Ireland 'would be willing to accept either such relation as that of Norway to Sweden or as that of Hungary to Austria.'¹⁶¹ Interestingly, he drew this parallel without elaborating on how and why he considered the Hungarian example applicable to the federalist views, when in fact Smyth was citing Hungary as equally illustrative of repeal. This particular detail demonstrated how Hungary in fact was used as a 'tabula rasa' kind of mould that could be fitted into shapes corresponding to the actual need of the policy or theory, whether federalism or repeal. In this respect, the image of Hungary seemed to be all things to all men.

Martin's letter did not leave Smyth untouched and prompted him to reply, debating among other points, the very connection Martin implied with the Hungarian example. Smyth first dismissed federalism as an experimental innovation without any previous historic application in the British Isles or Ireland,¹⁶² and he rejected it.

...if Ireland gets all for which the programme begs, where is the *after* settlement to come from—where is the power that will convert her into a Hungary, a Norway, or a Canada? An Irish parliament restored through simple repeal could do anything...but the settlement beforehand would be a British settlement, made by and for Britain...¹⁶³

Smyth's argument here indicated where the real controversy about federalism versus repeal lay. It was not about the relative merits of these political theories, it rather signalled a growing camp of thinkers and politicians who questioned whether Ireland's needs and interests could actually be satisfied in an imperial framework. The ideas Smyth raised and sustained despite criticism were increasingly pointing towards a way of thinking where a resolute 'no' would be the answer to the question. The real controversy came from the fact that his partners in the debate were still thinking in imperial framework terms. A good example of this was Alexander Sullivan's open letter, in which he asserted that Hungary's example, among other things, also

¹⁶⁰ *The Nation*, 25 Apr. 1874.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² *The Nation*, 2 May 1874. This idea was in fact similar to Disraeli's reaction to the Irish insistence on Austria-Hungary being a good model for the settlement of British-Irish relations. *Hansard* 3, H.C., 2 July 1874, 960-1. The lord mayor of Dublin, Peter Paul MacSwiney, also expressed reservations about federalism and suggested returning to repeal. *The Nation*, 16 Oct. 1875.

¹⁶³ *The Nation*, 2 May 1874. Emphasis in original.

demonstrated how ‘a nation does not cease to be a nation when it enters as an equal into an international co-partnership.’¹⁶⁴ Although the basis for such claims for an equal partnership was questionable, it nevertheless showed the direction of thinking that Smyth seemed to be diverting from. The fact that separatism at the time was viewed as an extreme political view, from which the movement wished to distance itself, also contributed to this resounding criticism of Smyth’s views. The average Irish newspaper reader and supporter of the Home Government Association, however, could not follow the depth of these debates, as Laurence Ginnell’s¹⁶⁵ letter to Smyth demonstrated. The confusion about Smyth’s position, whether he was a simple repealer, or someone who could support home government if it would yield advantages for Ireland, or was in fact a convinced federalist, was illustrative of the confusion.¹⁶⁶

Looking at the picture of the Irish M.P.s discussing these issues in parliament during the period gave the reader a similarly mixed picture. The ‘parliamentary relations (Great Britain and Ireland)--home rule’ committee discussion on 30 June 1874 featured a wealth of ideas that were already in circulation as a result of newspaper articles and Home Government Association meetings. These ideas notably ranged from questioning the applicability of the federalist theory, through reiterating the well-known federalist rhetoric about Hungary providing a lesson for Britain, down to the actual denial of the Hungarian example. Professor Richard Smyth, Liberal M.P. for County Londonderry, argued that Hungary was illustrative of a specific kind of federalism, where ‘the contracting states... enter into it on a perfect equality—able to arrange the terms as equals,’¹⁶⁷ whereas in his interpretation the Irish idea of

¹⁶⁴ *The Nation*, 29 Aug. 1874.

¹⁶⁵ Laurence Ginnell (1852-1923) was a land agitator and politician from Co. Westmeath. See: Pauric J. Dempsey and Shaun Boylan, ‘Ginnell, Laurence (185201923)’ in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a3488&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browsesearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

¹⁶⁶ Laurence Ginnell to P.J. Smyth, Delvin, Westmeath, 29 March 1875. N.L.I. MS 8215/10

¹⁶⁷ For Richard Smyth, see: Linde Lunney, ‘Smyth, Richard (1826-1878)’ in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a8177&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browsesearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

Dictionary of Irish biography, vol. 8, pp 1058-9. See also Walker, *Parliamentary election results in Ireland*, p. 297. *Hansard* 3, H.C., ‘Committee’ 30 June 1874, vol 220, c. 739.

federalism represented by the association seemed to come short of that. He maintained that federalism on the association's terms would only mean that 'Ireland is to have a delegated authority to do certain things in her own way,'¹⁶⁸ and echoing P.J. Smyth, he also criticized the measure for resembling a 'lease of power' that could be easily withdrawn by the British parliament.

This theoretical objection to federalism was followed by a speech of Keyes O'Clery, Home Rule M.P. for County Wexford,¹⁶⁹ whose almost pedantic repetition of the classic federalist reading of the recent events of Austrian-Hungarian settlement embedded in romantic language did little to convince those in doubt. A distinctive feature of his speech was his genuine effort to highlight how the settlement would fit into the structures of the British empire as the existence of internal examples such as Canada demonstrated. Conscious of the reverberations and anxieties that recent events such as the Fenian rising of 1867 would cause for this process, O'Clery took extra care to establish Ireland as a conservative nation with conservative values and traditions. On the continuation of the debate on 2 July, the chief secretary for Ireland, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach denied the popular belief that Austria-Hungary would be in any way similar to the case of Britain and Ireland. He juxtaposed his claim that 'Hungary had a constitution dating from a very early period...possessed rights and liberties ... [which were] taken from her' and subjected to a despotic government with the assertion that this was not the case with Ireland.¹⁷⁰ Continuing along this line of thought, he went on to establish the measurable difference in the geography, population and size of the two countries, which further contributed to the increasing difficulty of comparison. As a resounding denial for any need for an Irish settlement, Hicks-Beach believed that Ireland in the last seventy years had moved towards a 'perfect constitutional freedom,'¹⁷¹ thanks to the government, something he believed both Austria and Hungary were lacking.

The parliamentary debates provided an imprint of the wide-scale opinions in circulation about the image of Hungary's Compromise, and more importantly, about

¹⁶⁸ *Hansard 3*, H.C., 'Parliamentary relations (Great Britain and Ireland), Home Rule. Committee.' 30 June 1874, vol 220, c. 739.

¹⁶⁹ Walker, *Parliamentary election results*, p. 322. *Hansard 3*, H.C., 'Committee' 30 June 1874, vol 220, cc. 764-6.

¹⁷⁰ Motion for a Committee. Adjourned debate' 2 July 1874, *Hansard 3*, H.C., vol. 220, cc. 893-4.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

its role in an Irish context. Similarly to newspapers and individuals' use of the Hungarian example, the parliamentary debates equally conveyed the picture of an ideology in the making. Through this medium Irish self-government looked like a theory that lacked an exact meaning, content and boundaries, which in turn opened up a wealth of often conflicting interpretations. The Home Government Association under Butt's leadership was not strong enough to dominate the discussion, let alone to eliminate dissonant opinion within the movement. This was also reflected in the liberal use of images of the Compromise, namely that the Hungarian example was considered fluid enough to contain all shades of interpretation. It was a characteristic demonstration of the position the association filled in Irish politics that it could not defend its interpretation of the Hungarian Compromise. Members had to endure seeing alternative opinions springing-up ultimately challenging the strength and validity of the association's leadership.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the Hungarian Compromise of 1867 as a political image came into Irish politics and media at a very fitting time. The same year saw a resounding defeat of physical force nationalism, namely the case of the Manchester martyrs and the unsuccessful Fenian rising, which opened the Irish public and political community to alternative solutions. The coincidence of these events aided the elevation of this single event into the realms of an enduring political image, which stayed in Irish politics for decades to come. The growing interest in constitutional means and potential solutions, as part of this period of searching for methods that actually showed or promised success, paved the way to the increasing implementation of foreign images into the political rhetoric of the era. In this particular context it can be said that Hungary as a political image appeared in the Irish public sphere when there was a need for it. The Compromise, most notably among the images, was perhaps the best illustration of this interest as it not only embodied hope but it also modelled a potential future through its success.

Hungary's significance as a precedent for other aspiring nations and as a model of far-sighted generosity for dominant nations cemented the Compromise as a constant reference point. In the Irish context, it provided a flexible image for the newly formed Home Government Association which found in federalism an ideal political tool for an alteration of the terms of the Act of Union. In the estimation of

Isaac Butt, the leader of the movement, home government, as illustrated through the example of Hungary, would work as a safety-net for both Ireland and the empire. Although he kept Ireland's interests in mind during the formation of the principles of Irish federalism, he has been described by Joseph Spence as a 'national unionist,'¹⁷² and home government was the maximum he and the movement could imagine. Even this proved to be a step too far in the eyes of the Unionist *Dublin Evening Mail*, which was unwilling to consider the principle of home government to be more than the old ghost of repeal dressed in different attire. The nationalist and federalist paralleling of Hungary's Compromise with the home government scheme for Ireland sounded illogical to the paper. Claiming that through the act of union Ireland already possessed what the Compromise provided for Hungary, the editorials of the *Evening Mail* identified the Roman Catholic hierarchy's involvement in politics as the main evil besetting Irish politics.

Owing to the purposefully vague definition of what home government meant, and how the federalist idea would work out, dissonances in opinion and interpretations were bound to arise within the ranks of the movement. The 'minimalist federalist' scheme of Jonathan Pim, without the reestablishment of an Irish parliament, appealed to very few, and John Grey Vesey Porter's warning against Hungary for its institutionalizing of existing internal divisions had an uncomfortable ring too. Between these extremes, there was a convenient middle-way for views such as John George MacCarthy's suggestion that given time Irish federalism would become acceptable just as emancipation and the disestablishment of the Church had done. A similarly popular interpretation was the notion that the Austrian defeat of 1866, instrumental in the creation of the Compromise, was in fact a representation of a universal pattern that would and should be considered as a wake-up call for the British.

The rejection of working and shaping the Irish destiny within an imperial framework where everything was considered to be happening through the grace of the British government, and which could be revoked at any time, turned out to be more arresting than thought by the leaders of the Home Government Association. The 1873 conference and its subsequent debate in the press, most notably between Thaddeus

¹⁷² Joseph Spence, 'Isaac Butt, Irish nationality and the conditional defence of the Union, 1833-70' in Boyce-O'Day (eds), *Defenders of the union*, pp 65-90.

O'Malley, John Martin and Patrick James Smyth, highlighted the unrealistic hope of being able to satisfy all strands of nationalism with a vaguely defined theory. As the denial of the use and applicability of federalism when compared to repeal had a long tradition in Irish politics dating back to O'Connell's failed reconciliation attempt in 1844, repealers such as Smyth had no difficulty in arguing against the positions of the association. The high profile debate of federalism versus repeal, including the confrontation over whether the Austro-Hungarian Compromise was actually a dual or a federalist solution, signified a much deeper rift than the actual differences over the merits of these political theories. The real issue in this debate was the diametric opposition of whether to imagine and work out Ireland's destiny within an imperial framework or to strive for a larger degree of independence. This was such a large and widening gulf that not even the vaguest nationalist ideology could bridge it.

The Irish attention to Hungary in these two decades was not static, it tended to fluctuate between images, though some tended to be more arresting and recurring than others. Alternating views surfaced even within political positions, such as with *The Nation*, which although it consistently stood for considering Hungary's case as instructive, nevertheless voiced heavy criticism regarding the Magyar ascendancy present in Hungary. Although this view was presented and in fact kept in circulation for Irish reasons, namely the identification of the Magyars with the Irish Protestant Ascendancy, it contributed to a more nuanced, less generic and nationalistically-biased image of Hungary. The Home Government Association, although it could not boast wide and popular support during Butt's leadership, was still instrumental in laying down the groundwork of the home rule. It worked out the basics of the ideas, arguments and ideology of the movement, and provided a framework of thinking for constitutional nationalism within the imperial context for decades to come. These initial years proved to be formative for the Home Rule League and Parnell, establishing a start not only in terms of domestic politics but also in the array of supportive foreign images, such as Hungary, at their disposal.

Chapter 6: *The Dublin University Magazine (1833-1877) and Hungary*¹

This last case study chapter of the thesis examines one Unionist conservative periodical and its articles and perceptions of Hungary. Although in essence it offers a contrasting set of perceptions to those of nationalists and federalists, justifying its place among the chapters, this periodical turned out to be so versatile and rich in material as to merit a separate treatment solely on that basis. However, the large variety of topics covered in the periodical also in turn offered a good opportunity for this thesis to further underline how thinking and writing about Hungary was not the sole property of the nationalist camp. This is especially important given that the secondary literature of the topic of Ireland and Hungary has always been dominated by the image of nationalists using Hungary for political purposes. This conservative periodical's perceptions will challenge that one-track treatment of Hungary and offer an alternative approach to considering Hungary in Ireland. Beyond these elements, the publication time frame of this periodical also spanned almost the entire scope of this thesis. In the nature of periodicals, the range and depth of topics covered by this periodical will provide a more detailed view than the editorials of newspapers could. This diversity is represented by various kinds of approaches, such as travel writing, poetry, short story, geography, folk tales and contemporary news interpretations.

In the 1830s, the Irish publishing scene saw the rise of the genre of literary and political magazines.² Out of the wide spectrum of such publications, the *Dublin University Magazine (D.U.M.)*, which was published from 1833 to 1877 under this name, was outstanding for several reasons. Although originally modelled on and seeking to compete with the standards of distinctive English periodicals such as *Blackwood's* and

¹ Zsuzsanna, Zarka, 'Through Anglo-Irish lens: The Dublin University Magazine's (1833-1877) perception of Hungary' in Hartvig, Gabriella (ed), *FOCUS. Papers in English Literary and Cultural Studies. Anglophone and Hungarian Literary and Cultural Encounters*. Department of English Literatures and Cultures (Pécs, 2008), pp 22-37.

² Barbara Hayley and Enda McKay, (eds), *Three hundred years of Irish periodicals* (Mullingar, 1987), pp 29-33.

Fraser's Magazine,³ it was also an aim from the outset to endow the new publication with a characteristic Irish voice. Given the nature of the political affiliations of the compilers, this feature of the paper meant a more specialized, restricted Irish point of view.

The *D.U.M.* interpreted politics of the era from a viewpoint that appealed to the Protestant Tory readership in their shared 'unflagging determination to beat back the forces of emancipation and democracy.'⁴ From this position, the increasing growth of a Catholic-dominated nationalism, as a political force underlined by the then recent success of Catholic Emancipation in 1829 and the Reform Act of 1832 which decreased aristocratic influence,⁵ seemed an ever growing threat. The yearning for stability, characteristic of conservatism, took shape in a defensive attitude, when the validity or utility of sustaining the Act of Union (1800) was beginning to be questioned by the slowly emerging repeal ideology in the 1830s. Although repeal did not become an institutionalized movement until the 1840s, its ideology already seemed repellent to Irish Tories. They firmly believed in the value of the Act of Union, although, as *D.U.M.* articles indicated, this did not mean agreeing with all aspects of it.⁶ In an effort to offer alternative definitions of Irish nationality, the *D.U.M.* created a special blend of Protestant, Tory, patriotic and Irish themes on its pages. The dual aim was the result of a conscious effort to demonstrate that Tory principles did not exclude a reverence for Irish traditions and also to alleviate British prejudice against Ireland.⁷

Though these Irish related themes enjoyed priority among the range of topics, the magazine, like nationalist publications such as *The Nation*, offered articles on several countries' political, social life and literature as well. However, the coverage was always based on the periodical's original attitude. Taking a look at the list of those who edited the periodical throughout its existence,⁸ it becomes understandable how the subsequent editors were able to maintain these values of the magazine. The list features some of the

³ Walter E Houghton, (ed.), *The Wellesley index to Victorian periodicals 1824-1900* (5 vols, London-Henley, 1987), iv, 193.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 194.

⁵ D. George Boyce, 'Trembling solicitude. Irish conservatism, nationality and public opinion, 1833-86' in D. George Boyce, Robert Eccleshall and Vincent Geoghegan (eds), *Political thought in Ireland since the seventeenth century* (London, New York, 1993), pp 124-46.

⁶ Boyce, 'Trembling solicitude,' pp 126-7.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 126.

⁸ Houghton, *The Wellesley index*, iv, 210.

most prominent Anglo-Irish Protestant names of the nineteenth century, all of them from Trinity College, including Isaac Butt, Charles Lever and Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu. They were the guarantee that readers would receive the same quality with every issue.

Though the open-mindedness of the *D.U.M.* editors would allow a series of different possible interpretations of the magazine's contents, this chapter will focus on the coverage of Hungary, namely on those articles that provided readers with information on that country's history, society and culture. The writings not only cover a huge span of Hungarian history, giving insights into medieval as well as contemporary events, but they also offered a wide range of styles and genres. The evaluation of these Hungarian topics will include the examination of the accuracy of contents, in terms of what was known at the time, together with an assessment of the authors themselves to see how Hungary as a theme fitted into their wider interests. This elaboration, besides following the chronological order in which these writings originally appeared, will reflect on the significance of Hungarian references, revealing whether the publications reflected a pattern, and whether, based on the nature of information conveyed, a general aim or motive can be detected.

This periodical has been chosen as the focal point of this case study chapter for its high quality journalism and the central position it fulfilled in Anglo-Irish conservative political and cultural life. Its list of associates and editors featured some of the most influential nineteenth century Anglo-Irish Protestant names, such as Isaac Butt, Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu and Charles Lever, which warranted leadership in its field. Beyond this, given its Unionist conservative focus, it is usually left out from traditional reviews of nineteenth century political literature, although it was equally influential and important for its respective political camp as *The Nation* was for nationalists. The way *The Nation* served as a pool for nationalist thinkers and writers, so did the *Dublin University Magazine* function for Anglo-Irish conservatives, providing them with a platform for publications. The primary reason behind introducing this periodical was the aim to demonstrate that introducing and interpreting foreign images was not the sole property of the nationalist camp. Due to its leading position, in terms of both quality and readership, the theoretical approaches and ideologies expressed and/or defended on the pages of the

Dublin University Magazine were indicative of a conservative Unionist approach towards foreign countries and their images in Ireland. In terms of representing a standard and a strand of thinking that other papers and periodicals either emulated or vehemently denied, the *Dublin University Magazine* became a point of reference within the conservative Unionist political camp, similarly to what *The Nation* came to embody for nationalists.

The first piece of writing that dealt with Hungary in the *D.U.M.* was ‘The black mask’⁹ which appeared in the May 1836 issue under the editorship of Isaac Butt.¹⁰ Although the magazine originally did not identify the short story’s author, Charles Lever’s biographers could safely identify him behind the publication.¹¹ Lever, a graduate of Trinity College who went on to become an editor of the magazine himself, was at the beginning of his literary career when he started his contributions to the *D.U.M.*¹² He relocated many times during his eventful life, and lived in Florence and Trieste while he also visited Vienna during one of his continental trips in 1828.¹³ As a very prolific author, he later became renowned for such publications as *Arthur O’Leary: his wanderings and ponderings in many lands*,¹⁴ which saw numerous editions, and *Charles O’Malley, the Irish dragoon*.¹⁵ Although ‘The black mask’ appeared in the *D.U.M.* in 1836, Lever had already written the story by 1833 when his entrusted London acquaintance, after not getting a reply from the publisher Lever was hoping to win over, sent it on to a different company. Lacking feedback, Lever concluded that the story was lost, but unbeknownst to him, the *Story-Teller* published the story. His authorship of the two stories was

⁹ [Anon], ‘The black mask’ in *Dublin University Magazine*, vii (1836), pp 508-518.

¹⁰ Houghton, *The Wellesley index*, iv, 210. Butt was editor from August 1834 to November 1838. For more on Isaac Butt, see chapter five.

¹¹ Edmund Downey, *Charles Lever: his life in his letters* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1906), i, 73-74.

William John Fitzpatrick, *The life of Charles Lever* (2 vols, London, 1879), ii, 195-97.

Both references were gathered with the help of the *Wellesley index to Victorian periodicals 1824-1900* Houghton, *The Wellesley index*, iv, 228.

¹² Phillip Bull, ‘Butt, Isaac (1813-1879)’ in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a1311&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browse-search=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012) See also chapter five of this thesis.

¹³ Downey, *Charles Lever*, i, p. 51.

¹⁴ Charles Lever, *Arthur O’Leary: his wanderings and ponderings in many lands* (2nd ed., London, 1845). All editions featured illustrations by George Cruikshank, the well-known Victorian caricaturist. The National Library of Ireland possesses a copy of each edition.

¹⁵ Charles Lever, *Charles O’Malley, the Irish dragoon* (London, 1901).

established only when he was charged with plagiarism because that 1833 story had appeared in the British periodical.¹⁶

‘The black mask’ can be regarded as an early example that already carried some of the characteristics of Lever’s military novels, enticing the *D.U.M* to experiment, in search of a style that appealed to readers. The short story is set in the mountains that surround Buda, a popular hunting resort among the nobles of the time, as is explained in the introductory section of the short story, with Vienna appearing only at the climax of the story. The year ‘174-’,¹⁷ which decade saw the rule of Empress Maria Theresa in Hungary, served as a time frame for Lever. This piece of information was treated with artistic freedom in the text: ‘the son of Maria Theresa...the Emperor’¹⁸ who was referred to, occupied the throne of the Holy Roman Empire only in 1765, as Joseph II, and he continued to rule the Habsburg territories after his mother’s death from 1780 to 1790. The shadowy figure of the traveller, who later turned out to be the emperor himself, was never named in the text, which signals that neither the historical personality nor the deeds of the future emperor were central to the main aim of the writing.

Although the larger setting, the Buda hills, is still a geographical feature that shapes the surroundings of Hungary’s capital, the baron who gave shelter on his estate to the traveller is a fictional figure. Based on Lever’s governing idea of setting a scene loosely based on a Hungarian location, together with the equally loosely identified time frame for the story, it can be argued that similarly, the baron’s figure was also loosely based on a specific Hungarian noble. As Lever had travelled in the region prior to writing this short story, Göttingen and Vienna being places where he could have met Hungarians, this was not an unlikely prospect.

Despite the short story’s vaguely drawn location and time context, it contained valuable insights into some of the Hungarian customs, traditions and beliefs of the period. The main theme of blending the issues of hunting, hospitality and family commitments served as an experimental ground for Lever to examine the issue of the ‘mutual differences of the rival nations of Austria and Hungary...and...that jealous rivalry with

¹⁶ Downey, *Charles Lever*, i, pp 73-4. The reappearance of the acquaintance helped settle the case when it turned out that he had submitted the story to the *Story-Teller* in 1833.

¹⁷ [Anon], ‘The black mask’ in *Dublin University Magazine*, vii (1836), p. 508.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 510.

which, though existing under one impartial government, they had not ceased to regard each other'¹⁹ from a different and twisted angle. Lever's story took a different route after introducing this aspect of opposition to Austria, which had framed Hungary's history for centuries, as he continued without taking a decisive stand.

Instead of an elaboration on the sensitive nature of this connection, readers were presented with a more romantic story where the governing thread of the writing turned out to be the connection between the traveller and the baron's daughter Adela. The rather simple storyline of initial mutual interest and Adela's later disappointment, owing to forgotten promises, was given depth through Lever's colourful details. These included descriptions of the setting, characterized by the presence of the Danube, the baronial castle and its inhabitants and their hospitality which 'has not attained the rank of a virtue; it is merely a trait of the nation.'²⁰ The fact that giving shelter and food to strangers was not a unique event in Hungary was highlighted by Lever, but he also informed his reader that the interruption of the baron's dinner was tolerated only because the baron recognized the traveller's high rank from his clothing.

Lever gave a primary significance to hospitality in creating that atmosphere which eventually started the connection between Adela and the traveller. This allowed that the manners, originally 'cold and distant...became more free and unrestrained,'²¹ where the traveller 'delighted the baron by hunting adventures, and tales of mistakes and awkward feats of the Austrian nobles in the chase—a most grateful theme to a Hungarian ear.'²² The difference between the Austrian court, where the traveller originated, and the baronial castle is made evident through Adela's 'frank and candid tone...the intimacy with which, from artless innocence, she treated him.'²³ The tone becomes bitter after it turns out that the traveller did not keep his promise of writing to his new friends, which led the baron to find that 'the gay and titled Count of Austria, if he ever recollect the circumstance, will only think he did the poor Hungarian but too much honor in accepting his hospitality.'²⁴

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 508.

²⁰ 'The black mask,' p. 510.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid, p. 511.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 513.

This feeling of inferiority was given further emphasis in the concluding scenes where we see the baron and his daughter in Vienna viewing the procession of the imperial troops. The realisation that the traveller, their guest, was the emperor himself, led to the predictable and rather romantic death of Adela. The masquerade of the court, the final scene, reveals the reason for the choice of title, showing a female figure wearing a black robe and black mask, confronting the emperor with the consequences of his forgetfulness. This final scene, which featured a Hungarian dance, triggering sentiments in the emperor, contained a surprising historical inaccuracy. The ‘mazurka’²⁵ is in fact a Polish dance which became a ballroom favourite around the Continent from the 1800s onwards and was closely associated with Polish nationalism.²⁶

Lever’s short story, despite the fact that it possessed a historically justifiable basis, could be described as writing that aimed at entertaining rather than conveying educative and informative values. Considering that he did not strive to place the story in an exact year or exact location, we can conclude that Lever did not wish to overemphasize the fact that the story was set in Hungary. The setting rather served as an interesting, if not exotic, background to the main line of events; this can be seen in the number of descriptive details he supplied in the text, but the scenario of the uneasy relations of Austria and Hungary was chosen only to underline the widely exploitable romantic theme of unfortunate choice and unfulfilled promises.²⁷

The next Hungary-related publication appeared in the June 1842 issue under the title ‘Hungary and its political relations to the East and West of Europe.’²⁸ By this period the former editor Isaac Butt had been replaced by Charles Lever, who edited the magazine from April 1842 to May 1845.²⁹ This span of time can safely be regarded as the peak period of the magazine’s life, with the circulation of the ‘more than

²⁵ Ibid., p. 517.

²⁶ Robin Rinaldi, *European dances. Ireland, Poland and Spain* (New York, 2004), pp 55-7.

²⁷ Lever himself claimed in a letter to John Blackwood in 1869 that ‘those unvisited lands on the Hungarian frontier’ still had a lot of potential for further short stories. Charles Lever to John Blackwood, Trieste, 16 July 1869. Downey, *Charles Lever*, ii, p. 256.

²⁸ [Anon], ‘Hungary and its political relations to the East and West of Europe’ in *Dublin University Magazine*, xix (1842), pp 781-95.

²⁹ Houghton, *The Wellesley index*, iv, 210.

respectable ...4000 copies a month.³⁰ Similarly to the ‘The black mask,’ this article was not signed originally but the author can again be identified with the help of *The Wellesley index to Victorian periodicals*. Reading the relevant heading,³¹ it becomes clear that it can be attributed to Francis D. Dwyer whose name can be found on the list referred to as the ‘Lever records’³² which contains those authors who contributed to the *D.U.M.* under his editorship.

Dwyer was a fellow student of Lever’s from Trinity College, who also participated in the Dublin Burschenschaft, a student fraternity that Lever introduced to Ireland after his student years in Germany.³³ As Dwyer was not only a friend but an ‘Irish born soldier of fortune...a major of huzzars in the Austrian Service’,³⁴ Lever asked him to contribute to the magazine. Turning down Lever’s original request for writing military stories, Dwyer ended up writing more complex, more political pieces which did not reflect the desired heroic, sensational battle-descriptions that Lever was in fact hoping for.³⁵

The ‘strictly business-like’³⁶ writings, reflecting Dwyer’s profession, centred on topics connected with his life as a soldier. Besides his Hungarian article he also wrote a piece on Servia [Serbia], Wallachia and Moldavia from the same point of view.³⁷ His method did not include the usage of ‘personal remarks...anecdotes...paragraph links’³⁸ but he mostly wrote short but informative sentences, which made his writings appear very condensed. The Hungarian article was no exception, the pages were filled with lot of information, making his articles hard reading.

However, for the greater satisfaction of the audience, the article was reflective not only of his personal interests but contained three paragraphs to explain why readers of *D.U.M* should entertain a similar degree of interest in Hungary. ‘Being interested in the

³⁰ Ibid., p. 201.

³¹ Ibid., p. 252.

³² Ibid., p. 210. The ‘Lever records’ are attached to the ‘Lever notebook’ which can be found in the Piedmont Morgan library in New York.

³³ Downey, *Charles Lever*, i, pp 60-1.

³⁴ Houghton, *The Wellesley index*, iv, p. 255.

³⁵ Downey, *Charles Lever*, i, pp 165-6.

³⁶ Houghton, *The Wellesley index*, iv, p. 255.

³⁷ [Anon], ‘The political relations of the East and West of Europe: Servia, Wallachia and Moldavia’ in *Dublin University Magazine*, xxi (1843), pp 325-38.

³⁸ Houghton, *The Wellesley index*, iv, 255.

welfare of Hungary’,³⁹ Dwyer argued, made sense because Hungary could be viewed as ‘possessing...a constitution similar in many respects to the basis of our own.’⁴⁰ This personal pronoun referred to the Anglo-Irish readers of the magazine, with whom he shared a background, a connection made clear by his second argument. He claimed that ‘a large proportion of the inhabitants of Hungary are Protestants, struggling for political and religious freedom, with the overweening despotism of the Romish church, ever the most ready tool of tyranny in all despotic governments and the most dangerous engine of sedition in all free ones.’⁴¹ This comparison was somewhat misleading, since the main religion in Hungary was Roman Catholic, which might lead us to the suspicion that he either tried to provide an inviting reason for reading on or he himself viewed the situation in Hungary through his Anglo-Irish looking-glass. However his third paragraph was constructed in order to convince those who might have doubted the validity of his last argument, namely that Hungary should be helped in order to be able to function as a barrier against Russia.

Dwyer’s account of Hungary’s basic administrative features is so accurate and detailed that the question of possible sources almost immediately arises. Dwyer appears to have been very well read and informed in his topic, which is clear from his critical review of two important books that were published about Hungary just before he wrote his article. The English woman Julia Pardoe’s *City of Magyar*⁴² has always been renowned for being an excellent source on the culture, especially literature and music, of Hungary but Dwyer, rather than acknowledging these, highlighted about the book that ‘we must...reject [it] as a guide in political matters, of which her views are derived secondhand from some of the most ignorant of the movement party there.’⁴³ This group of politicians were the Liberals of Hungary, whose programme and aims of reforming Hungary, at the expense of the tight control that Austria exercised, naturally did not delight the Irish Tory Dwyer. The other book was written by an Englishman, John

³⁹ [Anon], ‘Hungary and its political relations,’ p. 781.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 781. This concept became an enduring image in the Nationalist discourse as well. Unlike to the images evoked for example by *The Nation*, highlighted as ‘active’ parallels, Dwyer here simply wished to utilize this image to arise interest in readers to carry on with his paragraphs.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 781.

⁴² Julia Pardoe, *City of the Magyar, or Hungary and her institutions in 1839–40* (3 vols, London, 1840).

⁴³ ‘Hungary and its political relations,’ p. 781.

Paget,⁴⁴ but in Dwyer's eyes Paget was equally guilty of being 'tinctured with the false liberalism of modern English reform politics,'⁴⁵ a viewpoint which was in accordance with that of his readers. This resounding criticism of liberalism in Hungary and in the sources he mentioned was reflective of Dwyer's political stand and opinion in Ireland. These overtures firmly grounded him in the Unionist, Tory Protestantism promoted by the magazine, as opposed to liberal Protestantism with its part in the Catholic Emancipation movement.

After such verdicts, it is not surprising that Dwyer did not base his article on any of these sources. He mentioned two authors, one Hungarian, and a French person whose works must have been at his disposal, since he quoted from both of them. The Hungarian author József Orosz can be related to two sources, which were written in German,⁴⁶ but for a soldier in Austrian service the language need not have been a barrier. It seems certain that Orosz's book about the sessions of the Hungarian diet must have been of primary importance to Dwyer when he wrote about the principal working rules, orders and members of the diet. The fact that Dwyer was really concerned about his subject is reflected in his choice of this source as well.

József Orosz was the well-known co-author of the *Országgyűlési Tudósítások* (*Parliamentary Gazettes*),⁴⁷ a periodical he published together with Lajos Kossuth, the reform politician, about the events and enactments of the sessions of the Hungarian diet. Given that Dwyer quoted from Orosz although without giving information on the book itself,⁴⁸ it is clear that Dwyer was capable of providing such accurate and detailed information. He provided details on the chambers of the diet, their respective members,

⁴⁴ John Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania* (2 vols, London, 1839).

⁴⁵ 'Hungary and its political relations,' p. 781.

⁴⁶ Orosz József, *Terra incognita. Notizen über Ungarn*. (Leipzig, 1835). (Unknown land. Notes about Hungary)

Orosz József, *Ungars gesetzgebender Körper auf dem Reichstage zu Pressburg im Jahre 1830* (Leipzig, 1831). (Hungary's law-making body from the diet of Pozsony in the year 1830)

⁴⁷ Pap József, 'Kossuth Lajos korai publicisztikája, az *Országgyűlési Tudósítások*' (The early journalism of Lajos Kossuth, the *Parliamentary Gazettes*) in Gebei Sándor (ed), *Tanulmányok a történettudomány köréből. 200 éves született Kossuth Lajos* [Essays from the discipline of history. The bicentenary of the birth of Lajos Kossuth] (Eger, 2002), pp 87-106. Acta Academiae Paedagogicae Agriensis Nova Series Tom xxvii. Sectio Historiae. Available online, accessed on 06/05/2007 http://tortenelem.ektf.hu/efolyoirat/01/pap_jozsef.htm

⁴⁸ 'Hungary and its political relations,' p. 785.

the heads of these chambers, the free towns' place in the system and the franchise debates, together with the political background, that had been going on around the time of the birth of the article. Certainly Dwyer was not satisfied by giving a mere shortened English version of his reading of Orosz's book, he also provided his own remarks on the issue. Besides claiming that 'the routine of business is very similar to that of the British parliament,'⁴⁹ he criticised those features he identified as the remnants of the old feudal system.

The French author Dwyer referred to was Auguste-Frédéric-Louis Viesse de Marmont, duke de Raguse (1774-1852) who became known for his betrayal of Napoleon I in 1814.⁵⁰ Dwyer used his *Voyage en Hongrie*⁵¹ to such an extent that he must have owned a copy himself, as most of the topics that he touched upon have an equivalent in Marmont's book. It is possible that he only used Orosz's book in dealing with the structure and working of the Hungarian diet, in which case he needed a different source on the other features of his article. However, as a soldier acquiring international military career, he might have had a better knowledge of French, which he needed to possess to consult Marmont's book in depth. Probably it is not a mere coincidence that Dwyer found Marmont's book so appealing, both of them being soldiers, he presumably enjoyed Marmont's style of writing more than that of the journalist Orosz.

Of the four volumes of the *Voyage*, the first one dealt with Hungary and Transylvania. It seems certain that Dwyer applied the contents of those chapters, which talked about the history and the legislation of Hungary,⁵² but other chapters of the book show a coincidence with the structure of the article as well. It would surely make an interesting reading to compare Marmont's chapter headings of 'notes on Hungary, ownership in Hungary, ownership with special attention to peasants, administration, criminal law, organization of courts of justices, privileges of nobles, the palatin or viceroy'⁵³ with the sequence of topics Dwyer talked about. Dwyer's writing touched

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 786.

⁵⁰ Carl Cavanagh Hodge (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the age of imperialism, 1800-1914* (2 vols, Westport, 2008), ii, 459.

⁵¹ Auguste-Frédéric-Louis Viesse de Marmont, duc de Raguse, *Voyage en Hongrie, en Transylvanie dans la Russie Méridionale, en Crimée...* (4 vols, Paris, 1837).

⁵² Marmont, *Voyage en Hongrie, en Transylvanie*, i, pp 575-96.

⁵³ Marmont, *Voyage en Hongrie, en Transylvanie*, i, pp 1-3. The name of chapter headings are my translations from the French original.

upon the same issues, elaborating on the rules of inheriting land in Hungary, free towns in the country, the different classes of nobility together with the distinctive general privileges they possessed, while listing their seigniorial rights separately.

Dwyer's discussion of the peasants' situation and their duties could be classified as a well-informed, well-detailed section of the whole writing. Special attention was given to Maria Theresa's Urbarium (1735), an enactment listing the duties of peasants, which he termed 'the *magna charta* [sic] of the Hungarian peasant.'⁵⁴ The article then went on to cover Hungary's administrative system, providing the Hungarian names for all officials and administrative units, comparing them, where possible, to the offices his readers were familiar with, and giving explanations for their duties at the same time. The thorough coverage touched upon the national administration and provided details on the working of the local units, the counties, as well. Dwyer's summary of the judicial system, its administration, working principles of the county and two higher courts could also have been taken from Marmont; however the paragraph on the conditions and anomalies of the prisons were partly based on Miss Pardoe's and Paget's travel writings. While acknowledging them, Dwyer also claimed to have been able to draw personal conclusions on the topic.⁵⁵

The next section where Marmont could be identified as a source is that descriptive part where Dwyer provided paragraphs on the inhabitants and religions of Hungary and Transylvania.⁵⁶ Here Marmont was the source of the statistics Dwyer provided, after having described the inhabitants and their respective religions, taking, similarly to the French source, Hungary and Transylvania as separate entities. The tables Dwyer used can be identified in Marmont's book, in fact he took them faithfully without changing the numbers.⁵⁷ The subsequent paragraphs briefly introduced the peoples who inhabited Hungary and Transylvania in the given period, with critical remarks like the one on the Greek Catholic Slavic 'Raitzen' who 'cannot be surpassed by any nation in

⁵⁴ 'Hungary and its political relations,' p. 783.

⁵⁵ 'Hungary and its political relations,' p. 787.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 791.

⁵⁷ Marmont, *Voyage en Hongrie*, i, p. 596., p. 137.

the world for filth, idleness and cunning trickery.’⁵⁸ They received this description for their tight cultural and suspected political connections with Russia.

The topic of religion gave room for analysis and comparison, an opportunity that Dwyer did not miss. After admitting that the religious diversity did not result in conflicts and divisions such as were known in the Irish context, he suggested that owing to

the strong development of national feeling in Hungary, the Romish church has begun to mingle in political matters...having sided with the Austrian government, the whole of the Greek and Protestant population have united together for mutual defence...such conjunction of circumstances favorable to the policy of England may never again occur.⁵⁹

The reference to the Catholic church getting involved in politics, with the accusing and critical undertone, was a very conscious parallel. Since the emancipation of Irish Catholics in 1829 but especially after the formation of an institutionalized movement for the repeal of the Union in 1840, the terms nationalist and Catholic became increasingly closely associated in Ireland. In the context of Dwyer’s world, this was a fearful development that he hastened to denounce. He was not satisfied with drawing this preliminary parallel, although his subsequent point never materialized in the Hungarian context. The Protestant population of Hungary did not attach the same sense of crippling threat to the group of Hungarian Roman Catholics, especially not since 1791 when all Protestant creeds were elevated to be legally accepted religions of Hungary just as Roman Catholicism was. Consequently, the union Dwyer suggested here never took place between Hungarian Protestants and those Greek Catholics who in fact were more feared because of their Russian connections. In that sense, the suggestion of the similarity was used as an underlining justification for the formation of an analogy involving the Irish Roman Catholic church and its political connections.

Besides relying on these sources, Dwyer also had numerous paragraphs in his article which, without a doubt, were based on his own personal knowledge. The plan that a suspension bridge would be built across the Danube became known after his two major

⁵⁸ ‘Hungary and its political relations,’ p. 791. The name Raitzen was a contemporary term for Greek Orthodox Serbs living within the borders of the Hungarian kingdom. István Deák, *The lawful revolution. Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848-1849* (paperback ed., London, 2001), p. 128. First published in 1979.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 792.

sources were published. This is also true of that part of the venture which stated that everybody, noble and peasant alike, would need to pay toll for crossing the bridge.⁶⁰ Being well-informed about the extensive privileges of a noble in Hungary, Dwyer was capable of placing the importance of this issue in the struggle for equal taxation. His words on Count Széchenyi and his role in the spreading of ‘Anglomania’⁶¹ in Hungary, of which he listed some examples, also went beyond mentioning this as an interesting feature of contemporary Hungarian life. Dwyer acknowledged that these clubs of the nobles, which were formed under English influence, served the higher purpose of ‘withdrawing the Hungarian nobles from Vienna...to feel an interest in their common country.’⁶²

Széchenyi, the moderate reformer, was a type of politician who appealed to Dwyer’s ideals and he believed that Hungary owed to him that her politicians ‘have steered clear of the shoals of French democracy, and quicksands of American Lynch-law freedom.’⁶³ Dwyer was delighted to be able to find that the Protestant party of Hungary is ‘another proof...of the falsehood...that Catholicism and liberality are always found hand in hand’,⁶⁴ while ‘the Romish church is always the readiest tool of despotism in an absolute government: Belgium...Ireland, prove equally how factious and rebellious her hierarchy are in all free ones.’⁶⁵ Despite the fact that he claimed that a large proportion of the inhabitants of Hungary were Protestants, Dwyer here ended by reverting to a main underlining idea of the article, by saying that Hungary would soon be added to the list of countries that proved how dangerous Catholicism was when it became involved with politics. Being aware that his readers might question why they should feel the same interest in Hungary’s fate, he provided additional information. Thus an insightful analysis on the state of commerce, armed with his personal experience as a valid basis for the comparison of the quality of England’s and Austria’s goods, followed.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 785.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 786.

⁶² ‘Hungary and its political relations,’ p. 786. This idea in fact rhymed very well with the original aims of the *D.U.M.*, namely the offering of an alternative version of Irishness, contesting Catholic nationalism. This image of the Hungarian aristocrats withdrawing from Vienna to actively participate in shaping the nation’s development and life was very similar to the picture the magazine aimed to convey about Irish Protestants.

⁶³ Ibid. p. 786.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

The final section of Dwyer's article first provided information on the existing state and positions of the army and military frontiers in Hungary, the depth of which interest arose probably from his occupation. He gave due emphasis to the act that introduced Magyar as the official language in all the proceedings of the lawmaking, public transactions and business,⁶⁶ while he overemphasized the possible effects of the issue of enabling the peasant to redeem or buy the rented land from his landlord. His fears that this enactment would ultimately lead to the 'total extinction of the class of landed proprietors'⁶⁷ were not well founded in the sense that only a very small proportion of the peasants could eventually exercise this right.⁶⁸ In this sense, Dwyer's subsequent claim that this policy was in fact promoted by the Austrian government to achieve 'the political insignificance of the nobles,'⁶⁹ was more speculation than a sustainable argument.

Dwyer's further emphasis that Hungary could play a primary role in stopping the growth of Russia's spheres of influence resonated more with Irish politics than it would seem at first sight. He believed that in order to be able to fulfill that stalling role, Hungary and Austria must reconsider the nature of their connection. In Dwyer's view, Austria's lack of a 'straightforward manly policy'⁷⁰ could lead to a claim for a representative government in Hungary, triggering the same effect in all Habsburg countries, which would eventually lead to the weakening of the state. Beyond the obvious significance of these lines for the continental status quo and balance of power, the Irish Protestant readership of the *D.U.M.* could easily see Dwyer hinting at the relevance of such issues for Ireland. The idea of responsible government as anathema to a conservative imperial way of thinking was a conscious allusion to the growing and strengthening repeal movement in Ireland. Moreover, Dwyer also wished to underline that the emancipation act of 1829 and the reform act of 1832 should be considered as final concessions, since any further steps in similar directions would serve to undermine British politics and the empire.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 793.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Stanislav J. Kirschbaum, *A history of Slovakia: the struggle for survival* (New York, 1995), p. 112.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 793.

⁷⁰ 'Hungary and its political relations,' p. 794.

Although it is beyond doubt that in order to write the article, Dwyer consulted and applied these two sources' findings to a large extent, we can not miss the point that he used them only to provide general information regarding Hungary's administrative, judicial and social features. It is visible from the structuring of his writing that he possessed a good sense of understanding of the country's main characteristics, with only few misconceptions, and he was capable of updating the data he took from his sources with more recent details that only he as a person who had spent a considerable amount of time in the region could acquire. The main point the article tried to make was that Hungary would need attention for both commercial and political reasons, especially concerning the political danger that Russia seemed to embody for the contemporaries.

Dwyer looked at the topic, and in fact the whole article, from an Anglo-Irish point of view. But despite his personal sympathies, this did not result in the suggestion that Hungary should be helped in her struggle to achieve such reforms from the Austrian government. These would have altered the two countries' connection, weakening the empire's positions in the area, which did not match Britain's interest in keeping the continental status quo. Dwyer referred to Irish politics only in negative terms, highlighting the reprehensible and dangerous nature of the existing link between Catholicism and politics, implying that it would cause problems in Hungary in the future, and providing a foreign example to justify his readers' opinion about Catholic emancipation in Ireland.

In writing about the reception of Hungarian history, the researcher expects to find some contemporary coverage of the events, politicians or ideologies of the 1848-49 revolution and later war of independence. In the case of the *D.U.M.*, thorough research could identify only one item, a poem that dealt directly with this subject. The poem, unsigned, was published in the September 1849 issue of the magazine,⁷¹ under the editorship of John Francis Waller, which lasted from July 1845 to December 1855.⁷² As a poet, Waller was inclined to include more poetry, literature in general, in the issues of the magazine, which became more of a literary periodical rather than a political one.⁷³

⁷¹ [Anon], 'Hungary' in *Dublin University Magazine*, xxxiv (1849), p. 292.

⁷² Houghton, *The Wellesley index*, iv, 210.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p 202.

The author of the poem entitled 'Hungary' was Sir Samuel Ferguson, the poet who was a frequent contributor to the magazine and was also active in the short-lived Protestant Repeal Association.⁷⁴ Ferguson was in fact very well-informed on the state of the Hungarian war against Austria, presumably from the reports and editorials of contemporary newspapers. The date under the poem indicated 'Dublin, August 22nd, 1849',⁷⁵ which was just nine days after the final surrender of General Görgey⁷⁶ to Russian troops. This in turn also meant that Ferguson's decision to write about this event was not 'inscrutable,' as, contrary to Peter Denman's claims, the poet was not aiming to 'resurrect it [the topic] fifteen years after the events which, so to speak, inspired it.'⁷⁷

Ferguson showed sympathy towards the Hungarian cause, claiming that the 'mighty Magyar' could hope for attention and help from a number of supernatural forces, including 'Lord of Battles...God of Freedom...Holy Nature,'⁷⁸ but the arrival of the Russians changed the picture and the outcome. The second part of the poem warned those who had a large amount of sympathy for Hungary not to become 'inhumane in humanity's cause... [since] the mothers of Moscow...have hearts, as the mothers of Pest',⁷⁹ signalling that the Russian soldiers in Hungary were merely acting out of duty. This was not only a humanist turn of interpretation but it also delegated the issue to the realm of continental politics, removing it from the immediate context of Russian and Hungarian soldiers fighting. Thus the hope of seeing the 'God of Russian and Magyar...turn the hearts of the kings,'⁸⁰ was actually a plea to see these higher powers end the bloodshed soon.

⁷⁴ Peter Denman, 'Ferguson, Sir Samuel (1810-1886)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a3058&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browseSearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

His authorship of the poem is based on his biography: Lady Mary Catherine Ferguson, *Sir Samuel Ferguson in the Ireland of his day* (2 vols, London, 1896). For more information, see Peter Denman, *Samuel Ferguson. The literary achievement* (Gerrards Cross, 1990).

⁷⁵ 'Hungary,' p. 292.

⁷⁶ Robert A Kann, *A history of the Habsburg empire, 1526-1918* (1st paperback ed., Berkeley, 1980), p. 315.

⁷⁷ Denman, *Samuel Ferguson*, p. 99.

⁷⁸ 'Hungary,' p. 292.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

This hope was crushed in the last two stanzas of the poem when it turned out that ‘Görgey surrendered... [and] the horrible Haynau [is] victorious,’⁸¹ which, besides being a sorrowful event ‘weep, Freedom! In all thy last citadels, weep’⁸² signaled a larger political danger. Ferguson clearly did not support the idea of Russia’s growing potential to change the continental status quo with her substantial aiding of Austria. This was in accordance with views expressed by contemporary Irish newspapers, and even the conservative British *The Times* took a turn of opinion and expressed sympathy for Hungary. These views, however, were not solely denoting a sudden support for Hungary in all political circles, they were rather signifiers of an increasing contextualization of Hungary’s war of independence and its reverberations for continental spheres of influence.

Ferguson understood the significance of Russia’s intervention for the future of European politics, and thus warned that ‘England [should]...prepare on the heights of the Koosh for the hug of the bear!’⁸³ Despite the fact that the whole poem was dedicated to Hungary, the main theme turned out to be a warning that the fate of the Hungarian nation itself was superseded in importance by the event’s high political implications. The topic, the lost war of independence, provided a good example to call attention to the danger of growing Russian presence in the region, which could have far-reaching consequences for British political aspirations.

In this sense, Peter Denman’s analysis correctly observes that it indeed would be a complex and difficult exercise to try and read direct references about the British-Irish interconnection into the context of the poem.⁸⁴ The continental and thus British imperial political contextualizing of the topic was however obvious. Nevertheless, Ferguson’s characterization of Britain as ‘seducer, deserter’⁸⁵ indicated an underlining tension where Britain’s treatment of the Irish Famine, still raging at the time of the publication of the

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid. A review in *The Freeman’s Journal* captured this rather romanticized view of the poem, celebrating it as a ‘spirited and exquisitely versified hymn on a glorious but melancholy subject—the noble struggle and sad reverse of Hungary.’ 10 Sept. 1849. The *Dublin Evening Mail*, reprinting the poem, was satisfied with characterizing it as ‘spirited lines.’ 5 Sept. 1849.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Denman, *Samuel Ferguson*, pp 99-100.

⁸⁵ ‘Hungary,’ p. 292.

poem, induced heightened reactions.⁸⁶ The implications of Irish Protestant disappointment over Britain's treatment of Ireland, and ultimately, their own place within that context, materialized in a subtle but for readers, a very understandable last two lines.⁸⁷

The next article appeared after a long time, in the January 1861 issue of the *D.U.M.*, being the first whose author was identified in the magazine itself. Raymond de Véricour was a professor of modern languages at Queen's College in Cork and author of numerous publications in the magazine, which took inspiration from medieval history and literature.⁸⁸ His Hungary-related article, about a medieval military hero, János Hunyadi,⁸⁹ followed the style of medieval epic-like descriptions of historical or literary figures, such as William Tell, Jacques van Artevelde or Marino Faliero.

As a scholar, before beginning his article with a short summary of Hungarian history up to the period he set out to talk about, de Véricour also mentioned two authors whose work was helpful in compiling the article. One of them was the writer Pál Szabó, who wrote under the pseudonym Boldényi, a controversial figure of the reform age in Hungary (1825-48) whose business ventures had gone bankrupt in Fiume (Rijeka) which eventually led him to flee to Paris.⁹⁰ Véricour did not specify which of Szabó's works he was consulting but one particular book could have been of use for his article.⁹¹ The second source could be termed a more appropriate and well-established choice, since the author, Count József Teleki, was a renowned historian of the nineteenth century who went on to become the first president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and

⁸⁶ D. George Boyce, 'Trembling solicitude,' pp 133-5. The British response to the Irish Famine turned Ferguson towards repeal, hence his criticism of Britain in the poem.

⁸⁷ 'And England, seducer, deserter! Prepare on the heights of the Koosh for the hug of the bear!' 'Hungary,' p. 292.

⁸⁸ Houghton, *The Wellesley index*, iv, 308. See also:

John A. Murphy, 'Queen's College Cork. The beginnings' in *The Irish Review* (Winter 1995), p. 12.

⁸⁹ Raymond de Véricour, 'Hunyadi' in *Dublin University Magazine*, lvii (1861), pp 39-60.

⁹⁰ Szinnyei József, 'Boldényi, M.J.(ifj. Szabó Pál)' *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [Life and works of Hungarian writers] (Budapest, 2000). Electronic edition of the original, 1891-1914 series published in fourteen volumes. Available online (Hungarian Electronic Library), accessed on 08/05/2007.

<http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/b/b02166.htm>

⁹¹ Boldényi M.J., *La Hongrie ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1853).

established its library by donating his 25,000 books to it.⁹² The count started an enormous venture to write about all the historical, social and cultural aspects of the Hunyadi era in Hungary: out of the planned twelve volumes only five were published in his lifetime and the work still has not been completed.⁹³ Véricour must have used this source since he admitted having based his introductory paragraphs about the political features of Hunyadi's Hungary on Teleki's book.⁹⁴ It still needs further clarification how Véricour could consult this source: to date my research has not succeeded in finding a foreign language edition of this influential work. However as a professor of modern languages, Véricour might have known Hungarian.

Véricour's writing is a good example of combining reliable, Hungarian-originated sources reflecting a high standard of accuracy, and conveying reliable details to his readers, with a style that also entertained. The first part, the historically based facts, are listed in due order, together with appropriate emphasis on the political power relations of the period, inside and outside of Hungary, in order to be able to show why Hunyadi was a central figure in discussing the history of the territory throughout the fifteenth century's fights against the Turks. Véricour placed Hunyadi, after highlighting some basic information about him, in the power plays of the Austrian and Hungarian court of the time, carefully identifying him as a person who had high moral, Christian reasons to get involved in these fights for the crown, namely to be able to summon an army that could resist the infidel Turks.

The entertainment factor can be detected in the anecdotes that Véricour told about Hunyadi, his personality, his victories, especially the glorious one at Belgrade in 1456, his miraculous escapes and his Christian spirit that seemed to have shone through all of his actions. This virtuous ethic could have been the personal trait that persuaded Véricour to write such a lengthy article about Hunyadi. After each description of his military campaigns, Véricour always ended with showing Hunyadi either as being thankful for the victory or as a leader who could encourage his soldiers to keep on fighting to save Christianity. This did not necessarily lead to one-sided view of this Hungarian figure,

⁹² Szinnyei, 'Teleki József, gróf' *Magyar Írók élete és munkái*[Life and works of Hungarian writers]. Accessed on 08/05/2007. <http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/b/b02166.htm>

⁹³ Teleki József, *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon* vol i, (Pest, 1852). (*The Age of Hunyadis in Hungary*)

⁹⁴ Véricour, 'Hunyadi,' p. 41.

however it gave the writing the sense of a medieval chronicle which naturally resulted in highlighting a certain aspect out of the possible viewpoints.

The faces of Hunyadi as a historical person, as a family man, as a military hero, a virtuous Christian, and as a politician, are all described in Véricour's article, therefore his readers must have felt that Véricour treated the subject with due attention. This is especially true for the ending of the article, which discusses Hunyadi's death. Véricour painted a romantic picture, putting such words into the mouths of the people present as the 'light of the Christian world is extinguished...farewell, Star of Heaven'.⁹⁵ The last paragraphs reflected on the heroic figure that was created after Hunyadi's death, claiming that this 'holy legend' became victim to 'too hostile chroniclers',⁹⁶ leaving readers with the thought that Véricour was trying to do justice to Hunyadi by correcting this picture.

The next two items which dealt with Hungary constitute a peculiar section in the magazine's publication history. Somewhat differently from existing traditions of the magazine, they were written with the purpose of providing the readers with up-to-date information, in journalistic style, regarding the political events of the European Continent. These accounts appeared from the May 1860 issue until the July 1861 issue of the *D.U.M.*, under the varied names of 'Month's chronicle' or 'Month's calendar', all written by John Bickford Heard.⁹⁷ Hungary and her sensitive relation to Austria was first acknowledged in the April 1861 issue, where, besides the main topic of Italy's situation and Garibaldi's actions, Heard aimed to present a better understanding of the region's complex power struggles and problems.⁹⁸

The article, while claiming that the Austro-Hungarian relationship was still so tense that it could have resulted in war at any stage, commented on the controversy about the nature of Hungary's government and constitution. Heard highlighted the basic political aims of Hungarian nationalists, demanding the reinstatement of the constitution,

⁹⁵ Véricour, 'Hunyadi,' p.58.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 59.

⁹⁷ Houghton, *The Wellesley index*, iv, 312. Born in Dublin in 1828, Heard was a Church of England clergyman, and author of works such as *The history of the extinction of paganism in the Roman empire* (Cambridge, 1852) and *National Christianity; or, Caesarism and clericalism* (London, 1877). See: Samuel Macaulay Jackson, Charles Colebrook Sherman and George William Gilmore (eds), *The new Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia of religious knowledge* (12 vols, New York, London, 1909), v, 177. Updated early 20th century edition of the original publication by Johann Jakob Herzog and Phillip Schaff.

⁹⁸ [Anon], 'A Month's calendar' in *Dublin University Magazine*, lvii (1861), pp 503-12.

and opposing the imperial proceedings the Austrian government, which was trying to force Hungary to consent through imperial decrees. Although they were not named in the text, Heard was talking about the imperial decrees of October Diploma of 1860 and the February Patent of 1861, which both offered a severely curtailed legislation and constitution for Hungary.⁹⁹ The idea that ‘free England [was] in no humour to play into the hands of despotic Austria’¹⁰⁰ was meant to illustrate that, taking no sides, Britain would rather choose to ‘stand by and watch the conflict... than to carry out the Dred Scott decisions.’¹⁰¹

The tone of this article-- remaining neutral while showing the utmost interest in the fate of power relations on the Continent, based on the ulterior motive of monitoring the latter in Britain’s interests--was carried on to the second ‘Month’s chronicle’ in which Heard mentioned Hungary.¹⁰² Elaborating in greater detail on the constitutional issues, and showing a good understanding of the problem, Heard could highlight that the main source of debate was that ‘Francis Joseph... will not have the Hungarians on their terms, [and] they will not take him on his own.’¹⁰³ The latter would have required Hungary to abandon the idea of reinstating the 1848 constitution and assenting to Francis Joseph’s centralization plan.

Relying on his readers’ innate knowledge, Heard also drew parallels between British-Irish relations and the controversial and problematic nature of the Austro-Hungarian connection. In his opinion the latter was in that state because Austria ‘copies the mistakes of England... [since] her centralization is a bad copy of the selfish oligarchal conduct of England to Ireland during the last century.’¹⁰⁴ He went on to argue that Austria should rather study England’s successful steps on the route to the establishment of the union in 1801: ‘since the union... Ireland is more self-governed than with a

⁹⁹ See chapter five in greater detail for that. Kann, *A history of the Habsburg empire*, pp 327-30.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 503.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 504-05. The case referred to a U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1857 which declared that people of African origin and held as slaves in the U.S. were not protected by the constitution and were not U.S. citizens. See: Charles Grove Haines, *The conflict over judicial powers in the United States to 1870* (New Jersey, 2001), pp 145-9. The case and the decision had a major influence for the immediate years to follow. In this Irish context, Heard implied that Britain would not get involved in a conflict where any step away from neutral grounds would cause more problems in the future instead of settling them.

¹⁰² [Anon], ‘A Month’s chronicle’ in *Dublin University Magazine*, lviii (1861), pp 119-128.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 124.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

parliament sitting in College Green.’¹⁰⁵ This imperial unionist rhetoric in a Tory periodical in the Ireland of the 1860s was not only a resounding criticism of nationalist policies but also of liberal Protestant tendencies, which Heard identified as yearning for a pre-union Irish status quo. He missed the policy of concessions, as he interpreted the union, in Austria’s treatment of Hungary, which naturally and understandably resulted in Hungary’s refusal to consent to imperial requests.

Heard’s analysis did not display any sympathies towards Hungary’s cause nor did he support Austria’s coercive politics, he rather wished to point out that in certain historical situations even a powerful country needed to be flexible in its politics to achieve the desired outcome. Paradoxically, he did not consider the union as a centralizing political settlement, on the contrary he claimed Ireland’s needs were better attended to in a stronger imperial framework. Britain and Ireland’s example illustrated the successful working of this theory, of which the readers of *D.U.M.* did not need any convincing, namely that Austria might be able to achieve the same success by applying it to Hungary.

The new editor, Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, a journalist and writer of ghost stories, took over the management of the magazine from the July 1861 issue.¹⁰⁶ This issue contained the publication of the second Heard account of Hungary, which terminated the series. As a literary figure, Le Fanu preferred literary and cultural topics to political analyses, creating a natural base for the publication of his writings. Throughout his editorship almost every issue of the magazine contained either travellers’ accounts, folk or other socially based tales of foreign, mostly European, countries, among which Hungary was included three times. Two of these introduced folk tales and superstitions and the third was a traveller’s account, which provided a rather geographical point of view to colour the picture.

The first article appeared in the June 1862 issue under the title ‘Magyar superstitions and ceremonies.’ Its author was left unacknowledged, following the magazine’s traditions.¹⁰⁷ According to the *Wellesley index*, it can be attributed to Mrs

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Houghton, *The Wellesley index*, iv, p. 210.

¹⁰⁷ [Anon], ‘Magyar superstitions and ceremonies’ in *Dublin University Magazine*, lix (1862), pp 705-16.

Clifden Mooney, a well-known travel-writer of the period, who published articles on several of her journeys, including Madeira and Poland.¹⁰⁸ Her Hungarian account was written in a first person narrative, suggesting higher reliability and intimate closeness, enhancing the validity of the conveyed information. Her article could be regarded as special since her visit took place during the Easter holidays in 1847, allowing for the discussion of Hungarian folk traditions that were practised in connection with that feast period.

Mooney's anecdotal style of writing touched upon the scenes she encountered on the streets of Pest during her visit, mentioning details such as that the English word 'coach' came from the Hungarian place name 'Kotch' where the coach was invented.¹⁰⁹ The article provided details on each Easter day's customs, in part derived from own experiences but also alluding to other travellers' writings, the existence of which she merely acknowledged without referring to any particular one. It is beyond doubt that she must have read them because she was aware of a shortcoming of these accounts, namely that they had hardly ever 'led us into the homes of the Magyar',¹¹⁰ while her own writing explicitly possessed that merit.

Her description of Hungarian superstitions featured accurate and detailed accounts besides offering a comparative reading of them. The custom of personifying all the woes of the winter season and Lent with a rag doll, which was then thrown into a stream or was burnt to signal the burial of problems and the welcoming of spring and new life, must have appealed to her, considering the amount of details she gave: however she also noticed the custom's pagan origin. She hastened to emphasize that not only both Britain and Ireland had kept similar traditions alive but 'Protestants of...Pesth...join the crowds which attend the morena...the custom being simply regarded as a national, and not a sectarian one.'¹¹¹ Her account of the differences she experienced from the traditions her readers would have known was always careful to point to these customs as interesting

¹⁰⁸ Houghton, *The Wellesley index*, iv, p. 678.

¹⁰⁹ 'Magyar superstitions and ceremonies,' p. 705.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 706.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 707. The morena was the name of the rag doll itself which personified winter, fasts and vigils and was ritually burned to signal the coming of new life. It was originally the name of a Slavic goddess of winter and death. Patricia Monaghan, *Encyclopedia of goddesses and heroines* (2 vols, Santa Barbara, 2010), ii, 579.

alternatives of the celebration of the same period of the year, without ever commenting on their value compared to British or Irish customs.

Although Mooney's visit itself took place in 1847, the article was published in 1862 which gave her sufficient time to reconsider some of her points, and plant some hints which were justified by time. She suggested that already in 1847 the Croatian Ban (viceroy), Baron Jellachich, could have been seen as a probable spy or agent of the House of Habsburg. His close involvement with the dynasty became a known fact only during the Hungarian war of independence (1848-49) when he attacked Hungary. Although this information became widely known in Ireland through the newspaper reports of the events of the war, and she could have claimed it in 1862 with the benefit of hindsight, this does not degrade the quality of her work. Her writing always focused on providing an entertaining account of her journey, whereas the British and Anglo-Irish comparisons served to create a sense of comfort in her readers, perhaps even as encouragement to undertake a similar adventure.

The other cultural article was published in two parts in the August 1867 and November 1867 issues of the magazine, under the respective titles of 'Household tales of Slavonians and Hungarians' and 'The fireside stories of Hungary.'¹¹² The author was Patrick Kennedy, an Irish scholar and antiquary, who published eight articles on the pages of the *D.U.M.* on various European countries' folklore, included Poland, Russia and Italy.¹¹³ His Hungarian articles followed the same scheme of first introducing and detailing the major, general characteristics of the tales, from which he moved on to provide extensive summaries of those tales.

The explanatory paragraphs began with identifying, correctly, the Hungarian tongue as related to that of Finland, and carried on with listing elements from those tales that could be regarded as recurring motifs. Kennedy analysed these as details that

¹¹²[Anon] 'Household tales of Slavonians and Hungarians' in *Dublin University Magazine*, lxx (1867), pp 123-49. The article included short summaries of Russian, Polish, Croatian, Hungarian and Danish folk stories, although there was no complex analysis of them.

[Anon] 'The fireside stories of Hungary' in *Dublin University Magazine*, lxx (1867), pp 575-86.

¹¹³ Houghton, *The Wellesley index*, iv, p. 334.

reflected ‘the original...adventurous and warlike character’¹¹⁴ of the Hungarians and went on to add examples that underlined this point. Most folktales go back to a distant period of the given nation’s history for inspiration to emphasize those virtuous character traits which they can be proud of, and as Hungarian tales are no exceptions of this rule, they helped to validate Kennedy’s basic claim. Before getting down to the actual tales, as a scholar, he also identified the source he was using for the construction of this article. In the subtitle of his study he referred to Johann Grafen Maylath as one of the collectors of these tales, mentioning the book *Magyar sagas and stories*.¹¹⁵ The author of this book was a Hungarian noble, a fact that might have escaped Kennedy’s attention, as he used a German edition of the work. Visible signs of these are the numerous German overtones, mostly characters’ names, that the readers could find in Kennedy’s summary of the tales.

While in the choice of the first article’s three stories Kennedy tried to highlight the underlying motive of the eternal collision of good and evil, mentioning the existence of the parallel motive in Celtic mythologies,¹¹⁶ the second article centred on the topic of supernatural forces, magic numbers, occult objects and sorcerers. Kennedy closed the article, after a summary of the stories themselves, by commenting on this general theme. Acknowledging that these served as fireside entertainment, explaining the length of these tales, he still wondered how could a ‘series of impossibilities...entertain a company of people of ordinary intellect.’¹¹⁷ His main conclusion, besides admitting the excitement factor of these stories, also highlighted how the power and appeal of oral storytelling was certainly diminished in print. His view that the tales were remnants of ‘ante-historic times... [and] we know nothing of the corrupt theology of these dark ages’,¹¹⁸ suggested an irreparable loss of a layer of meaning which Kennedy, as a member of the Christian reading public, did not seem overall to lament.

The last article that dealt with Hungary on the pages of the *D.U.M.* in the period of this study appeared in the March 1874 issue under the title ‘Hungary and the Lower

¹¹⁴‘Household tales of Sclavonians and Hungarians,’ p. 140. This came as part of the association of Hungarians with a Central Asian origin.

¹¹⁵ Johann Grafen Maylath, *Magyar sagas and stories* (Stuttgart, 1837).

¹¹⁶‘Household tales of Sclavonians and Hungarians,’ p. 149.

¹¹⁷ ‘The fireside stories of Hungary,’ p. 585.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 586.

Danube',¹¹⁹ signed by a Professor Hull who can be identified as Edward Hull, an Irish geologist.¹²⁰ His article was constructed to follow the natural line that was provided by the river, assessing each interesting stop with geological and historical explanations. He began with acknowledging the Danube's origin, listing the countries the river crossed throughout her journey, sadly claiming that these countries are 'not always on terms of mutual amity...viewing each other with anything but friendly eyes.'¹²¹ However this politically tinged voice was not characteristic of his article, Hull's description rather centred on the cultural, geographical and geological aspects of the river's course.

The stops were given interest and coverage according to their importance on one hand from the scholar's point of view, whether historian or geologist, but the sheer beauty the journey offered received attention as well. Hull emphasized that the whole adventure could be undertaken by any reader, given that the comfort level of the steamboats of the Danube Steam Navigation Company would satisfy all passengers. He devoted longer paragraphs to the historical cities of Pressburg, Gran (Esztergom) and Budapest, which city appealed to him probably the best throughout his journey. He described it as having 'an interest surpassing that of Vienna itself',¹²² though he did not forget to mention the special Austro-Hungarian link, the emperor of Austria and the king of Hungary being the same person.

Leaving the Hungarian part of the Danube, acknowledging the change of scenery, Hull provided a short overview of the new characteristics the traveller could experience, including the visible change in the style of the costumes and the geological sights. Hull also acknowledged two authors' contribution to the fields he touched upon, the first was Carl Baedeker, the famous travel-writer, and the other one was Charles Daubeny, whose name probably was known only to those readers who shared the same scientific interest with Hull.¹²³ The latter part of the article, while keeping the first part's structure of

¹¹⁹ [Anon] 'Hungary and the Lower Danube' in *Dublin University Magazine*, lxxxiii (1874), pp 257-65.

¹²⁰ Houghton, *The Wellesley index*, iv, p. 353. See Patrick N. Wyse Jackson, 'Hull, Edward (1829-1917)' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the earliest times to the year 2000* (Cambridge, 2009), online edition available at: <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a4150&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browseSearch=yes> (accessed 24 April 2012)

¹²¹ 'Hungary and the Lower Danube,' p.257.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 260.

¹²³ Carl Baedeker, *Southern Germany and the Austrian Empire* (Coblenz, 1868).
Charles Daubeny, *A description of active and extinct volcanoes* (London, 1848).

describing any historically important feature of the region, provided a short summary of Hungary's history from the particular viewpoint of conquests and decisive battles the river had witnessed. Readers of this account still could remember Hull's portrait of Hungary and the Lower Danube for the writer's skills of blending the academic-like geological descriptions with interesting narrative details that captured the uniqueness of the region.

An overall assessment of the *Dublin University Magazine's* perception of Hungary necessarily involves acknowledging that this country featured throughout the publication of the magazine numerous times, but this does not mean that the researcher could interpret this as a conscious motive from the editors' point of view. The periodical originally set out to introduce various other European countries as well, with the aim of trying to bring the Continent closer to the readership of the magazine, therefore Hungary was not the only country that received attention. The writings, which also included short stories and poems among the genres, were not constructed primarily to convey contemporary politics but rather centred on topics of cultural, historical or social interest, as a picture of a country or a region would not be deemed complex enough to meet the high standards of the *D.U.M.* without these dimensions.

The absence of a particularly Hungarian point of view also meant that some events and changes that occurred in Hungary were not allocated due space; in fact their existence, together with the effect they exercised, were simply acknowledged in a couple of sentences. This was most obvious in the case of the Compromise of 1867, which was one of the major events in nineteenth-century Hungarian history, creating the Austro-Hungarian monarchy as a state that lasted until 1918. The controversial nature of this Compromise was well known among contemporaries, equally so in the Irish context as reflected in the debates of the Home Government Association covered by the previous chapter.

A possible reason for this might have been the effort to conceal any topics that could have sounded unfavourable to the target audience of the magazine. The fact that the magazine was supporting the unchanging maintenance of the union, though it was questioned by repeal, federalism and the home government movement, which all used

images of Hungary and latterly, the Hungarian Compromise, extensively, could explain their failure to consider the topic. Despite this, the *Dublin University Magazine* presented readers with an insightful, well-detailed picture of Hungary, which was outstanding in its authors' care to consult and acknowledge sources that were considered as accurate in the studied field, reflecting the traditional academic background of the editors of the magazine.

Taking a look at the topics covered in relation to Hungary, by counting the number of items dealing with cultural issues and those with contemporary politics, it can be concluded that the first outnumbered the latter. This was true not just in respect of the number of articles but also the depth and complexity of the topics that were portrayed in them. They covered historical topics (one using Hungary as a historically loosely based setting for a romantic short story) and they also introduced traditions, customs, folk tales and geographical perspectives of the region. However, the politically based writings, the monthly calendars, the poem and Dwyer's account did not plan to and could not reach the same level of variety and complexity.

The striking feature of the items more concerned with contemporary events is the perspective which from they viewed Hungary. Despite the different levels of sympathy towards Hungarians that could be detected from these articles, all of them considered Hungary and the wider related events primarily according to the effect they would have on Britain's position as a power in Europe. Hungary did not become a topic for her own sake, she was rather considered as part of the European power relations and status quo.

Another side of this coin was the presence of an Irish Protestant perspective in these politically motivated articles. In a very different approach to how nationalists treated images of Hungary, Dwyer and Heard were inspired rather to utilize these opportunities to justify existing policies and beliefs in the Irish Protestant context. Heard even went as far as to suggest Austria should copy Britain's policies with the act of union. In this sense, Hungarian images were chosen not for inspiration for future policies or conscious modelling but rather to underline existing ideologies and reaffirm readers in previously formed beliefs. Examples of these ideas were the view of the union as a source of strength, and the mixing of the Catholic church and politics as undesirable. Recent events in Hungary were drawn on to lend support to these views. Thus, like

nationalists, unionists made use of Hungarian events for their own domestic purposes. The motives and means to do so differed for each political persuasion.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to analyse and contextualize the nature and extent of images and perceptions of Hungary and Austria-Hungary in Ireland between 1815 and 1875. The complexity of this undertaking came, on the one hand, from the wide scope of primary materials that were consulted during the research, including newspapers, correspondence, diaries, pamphlets, periodicals, parliamentary debates and travel writing. A second aim was to provide a balanced picture, which entailed the investigation and assessment of Irish views of Hungary across the whole political palette, challenging the predominantly nationalist-dominated focus of the existing literature. Inevitably, the coverage had to be selective. This was combined with an assessment of underlining forces and motives that determined how, and more importantly, why, certain images and ideas about Hungary proved to be especially enduring, often despite their questionable reliability or accuracy.

The thesis also sought to answer the question whether Hungary in the period was considered as a distant entity where strange, exotic things happened, which would have consigned the country to the ‘fashion and news’ gossip columns of newspapers, or whether it provided a prelude to the complex political interpretation of Arthur Griffith’s *Resurrection of Hungary* (1904) which drew such important parallels between Hungary and Ireland. An important step on this way was paying attention to how the coverage worked in the domestic context, namely a close scrutiny of how this process worked, together with pinpointing the situations or circumstances that triggered these images. Mapping the motives behind this attention to images of Hungary, charting individual and public opinion alike, the thesis also devoted special consideration to identifying which political circles found Hungary’s example instructive. This process also involved studying whether these groups, during the period in question, held similar political views, or whether this interest in Hungary fluctuated and shifted between groups/circles with different political persuasions during these six decades.

The complexity of these issues also affected the structuring of the chapters, as the original chronological governing thread became combined with topical

considerations. Thus even though there are chapters which analyse perceptions through travel writings, and newspaper editorials reacting to first hand experiences, or immediate events, others introduce the contemporary Irish political scene and its treatment of Hungarian imagery through an Irish domestic time-frame and focus. This varied approach facilitated the illustration of characteristic differences between opinions based on first-hand encounters that described what was seen and then drew reflective conclusions and those that began with theorizing, and merely selected images that seemed to support the theory.

Time and space constraints affected the final shape of the thesis, as the application of certain fruitful methodologies, such as a comparative analysis of various newspapers' editorials, had to be limited to chapters with short time-frames. Similar to the sheer volume of newspapers published during the six decades covered by the thesis, manuscript sources at the researcher's disposal were equally vast. Extensive research in these sources, however, revealed that prior to 1848 they were very limited in their attention to Hungary. The year that saw a Hungarian and an Irish upheaval, however, acted as an opening in terms of generating growing interest in and interpretation of Hungary in these sources. As this gradual increase of material was characteristic for the entire thesis, the original time frame of ending the thesis with 1918 became unsustainable. After careful consideration and evaluation, the thesis ends at 1875. The choice of date was further underlined by the fact that by 1875 the Home Rule League, with Charles Stewart Parnell replacing Isaac Butt as leader, took a significant turn in political methods and degree of popularity that distinguished it from Butt's Home Government Association.

The investigation of various different types of primary sources within the time-frame of the thesis revealed and underlined the initial hypothesis that attention to Hungary went beyond the basic framework of reporting on and reacting to immediate events. The secondary literature on the topic previously identified such in-depth treatment as a feature characteristic mainly of the Home Rule period and the works of Arthur Griffith. This thesis challenges that view by showing that such interest could be found from at least as early as 1815. The aim of widening the circle of political groups and beliefs featuring in the analysis, namely going beyond the established nationalist interest in Hungary, also proved to be a fruitful undertaking. The case

study chapter of the Irish Tory *Dublin University Magazine* and its articles about Hungary undermines prevailing ideas of the exclusivity of nationalist interest in Hungary. Moreover, a closer study of the early history of the federalist Home Government Association under the Tory Isaac Butt also reveals a distinct political interest in and interpretation of the Hungarian Compromise of 1867.

The process that elevated interest in Hungary from a basic level of reporting into a dynamic and alluring imagery for nationalists, federalists and Unionists was a complex one. As a general rule, it can be said that the changing domestic political background moulded these images into shapes that were capable of conveying the required emphasis set by the time period. In other words, the characteristic features of the periods studied in the thesis all determined the type and generic images created about Hungary. The personal beliefs and political stance of the individual evoking these images of Hungary were equally determinative of the interpretation these examples were given. In this sense, the context the image was summoned to help visualize was crucial, as opposed to letting the face value of the image speak for itself.

These images were all about shaping the example to fit the domestic Irish context. The image of Hungary thus was not a fixed one. For nationalists and federalists, the main context for these images was the central idea that these Hungarian cases, beyond providing background information, constituted a powerful argument for underlining how developments similar to those in Ireland were ongoing on the Continent, and that episodes in Hungarian history were also of relevance. The generous time frame in these cases was a further advantage, as much earlier or contemporary events were drawn upon to signify how timely the Irish goal, whether emancipation or repeal or federalism, could and should be considered. Hungary thus was not a mirror-model that was meant for copying actual steps, which in turn explained the lack of great detail in these examples, but rather worked as a generic image of hope and inspiration. The message these Irish invocations and interpretations were aiming to convey was that Hungary, within the Austrian empire, could be considered a positive continental analogy to Ireland's positions. The establishment of this connection was meant to alleviate and with time dispel British fears about Irish political aspirations.

The fluidity of these images can be illustrated through two examples that, as a thread, kept returning and reappearing time and again in different contexts. One of the surprising results of the research was the recurring image of the Hungarian reaction to Maria Theresa's plea in 1740 for support during her war to protect her right to the Habsburg throne. The female line of inheritance put forward by Emperor Charles VI in the Pragmatic Sanction (codified in 1713 in the hereditary lands, 1723 in Hungary) was questioned by the traditional enemies of the Habsburgs, namely Prussia and France, culminating in the Austrian war of succession (1740-48). With the integrity of the empire at stake, Maria Theresa turned to Hungary in an attempt to secure the hinterland during this time of trial. As this bargaining involved appealing to the nobility, she promised to keep their traditional centuries' long feudal privileges intact. The nobles, realizing that supporting the Habsburgs and accepting a guarantee to have their rights recognized was a better strategy than waiting to see how the war would turn out, offered their support in the traditional way. The offer of their life and blood to the sovereign was not a token of their enthusiasm for the empire but rather an indication that their military service was conditional on the retention of their privileges in respect of taxpaying only through that means.

The popularity of this particular image in the Irish political context was owing to its flexibility, as it contained both imperial and nobility elements which could be interpreted and widened later to involve the concept of the people in general. Thus it was possible to use this image to illustrate sentiments of warning, solidarity, loyalty and conditionality of support, depending on the point the evoker of the picture wished to convey. Naturally, in this framework the immediate context of the Austrian war of succession was of less importance than the message it could contain. Stripping the image to a level of simplicity, namely to that of the imperial plea and the subject people's bargaining position in offering support, the Hungarian reaction became an ideal resource for various insights. This paradigm was filled with different content from time to time, based on the political affiliation and sympathies of the person evoking the image.

A further variant of this pattern was the time period and domestic political context that affected the invocation of the image, providing a different approach and interpretation tailored to the period in each case. Thus the period of the Catholic

emancipation campaign applied a religious background onto the basic structure of the image, illustrated by Lord Donoughmore's parliamentary speech in 1812 discussed in chapter three. After 1829, once emancipation could be seen as having eradicated the religious sub-context of Irish politics, this direction in the application of the example disappeared. Instead, the prevailing political sentiment sought ways and means of peaceful co-existence and cooperation. Thus by the 1830s the same image of Maria Theresa and the nobles had become a symbol of the power of loyalty contributing to the cohesion of any empire.

The Whig sympathizer and pamphleteer Edmond Nolan used this image to convey his appreciation for the Whig government for being as wise and insightful in its treatment of Ireland as Maria Theresa had been to Hungary. Finding the repeal of the union ideology to be far from his political convictions, Nolan was looking for an example that was illustrative yet safe at the same time. The events of the 1740s embodied this for him as they were void of any suggestion of a shift in constitutional structures, which was crucial in the arguments for repeal. This in turn also explained why repealers did not evoke this image in their speeches, as it simply did not provide the sub-context and implications they were looking for. After a hiatus of decades, the Maria Theresa and Hungary idea enjoyed a renaissance during the home government campaign of the 1870s. It was reincarnated to underline the image of imperial understanding and cooperation, which it was hoped would prompt an affectionate Irish reaction, similar to that of the Hungarian nobles. Although it was not specifically emphasized, the element of conditionality was a very important sub-text.

The federalists of the Home Government Association had two-fold aims, with a special focus on improving Ireland's connection to the British crown, yet wishing to retain the act of union, albeit in a reformed format. This latter goal of procuring changes in the structure of Ireland's connection to the crown, namely the act of union, was an objective these federalists shared with repealers. Crucially, however, the similarity ended there, as federalists were not supportive of ending the act of union as such. As there was no agreement as to the degree of modification that both sides would have accepted as satisfactory, these cooperative efforts were doomed to fail. Their fundamentally different direction in thinking was amply demonstrated by the

repealers' choice of Hungarian images, which, as mentioned, notably excluded that of Maria Theresa and the Hungarian reaction.

Instead, as the second recurring image mentioned above, repealers preferred images of the Hungarian diet of 1790-91, first introduced during the Catholic emancipation campaign by Sir John Newport in 1805. The immediate background to that Hungarian diet was the looming Austro-Turkish hostilities, which, together with the developing French revolution, was enough for Emperor Leopold II (1790-92) to introduce the safety measure of restoring those rights and privileges which his predecessor Emperor Joseph II (1780-90) had revoked. This, most notably, also went together with an official declaration of Hungary's separate and independent status as a kingdom, to be governed by its own set of traditions and laws. As this was precisely what repealers were aiming for, this Hungarian diet fitted seamlessly into their rhetoric. George Ensor, another pamphleteer from the 1830s, in accordance with the ideas of Daniel O'Connell, introduced this image in his writings to illustrate how vital it was to choose the right moment to campaign for repeal. In his mindset, 1782 in Ireland and 1790-91 in Hungary were similar as they both embodied results achieved from concessionary imperial politics which were prompted by external political hardships.

By the 1870s this precedent was claimed to hold even greater warning for Britain. Pictures of Austria's defeat by Prussia in 1866 and the subsequent Compromise of 1867, which in this context was interpreted as being more a Hungarian achievement than a power agreement beneficial to both sides, seemed relevant to the advantage of Irish nationalists. In this sense these events of 1866 and 1867 were used as improved illustrations of the same idea, as the initial evoking of historical examples of both Austrian and British concessionary politics had not apparently yielded the desired result. This novel context of imperial defeat and subsequent concessions was considered suitable to invoke, as it suggested that with wise concessions, Britain could avoid its own 1866.

Even though those who invoked these arguments were all members of the Home Government Association, they used these images to suggest a way of thinking that was subtly different from the main ideology of the association. Instead of

appealing to political common sense, by alluding to how Britain should avoid dangerous situations, the repealer interpretation rather signalled that when time and opportunity came, Ireland would and should seize that moment for bargaining and forcing such compromises. The Home Government Association conference of 1873 and the subsequent 'war of words' regarding the interpretations and contents of home government in the *Freeman's Journal*, mainly between the Rev. Thaddeus O'Malley and Patrick James Smyth, signalled a widening gulf in opinions. Among these, Smyth stood for a distinct repealer position as he was convinced that only the repeal of the union would give Ireland's full dignity back. Smyth found a perfect illustrative tool for this through paralleling the Hungarian diet of 1790-91 with that of the Irish parliament in 1782.

Drawing similarities between the basic status or various characteristics of Hungary and Ireland was not exclusive to nationalists. In fact, the Irish Tory periodical, the *Dublin University Magazine*, provided examples of such instances, although these cases worked significantly differently from those evoked by nationalists. Francis Dwyer's claim in 1842 that the Hungarian and Irish cases were similar to a certain degree implied no in-depth political connotations. He merely hoped to arouse interest in his readers for his article, which, despite focusing on Hungary, told a lot about Dwyer's sentiments relating to Irish politics. His claims, however, that the Catholic church functioned as an engine of sedition and tyranny, along with the suggestion that Hungarian Protestants and the Greek church were formulating a united front against Catholics, were reflective of his opinion of Irish politics rather than facts about Hungarian contemporary events. Dwyer consciously mirrored his uneasiness about the increasing involvement of Roman Catholics in Irish politics in this image. The success of the emancipation campaign in 1829, along with the institutional launching of the Repeal Association in 1840, contributed to Dwyer's wish to insert an image into his Hungarian article that underlined his and his fellow readers' worries about this tendency. Thus, in a way somewhat similar to nationalists, Dwyer used Hungarian imagery to highlight and provide justification for previously existing political views.

A further analogous parallel, though it did not actually compare two events from each country's history, was John Heard's suggestion in the *D.U.M.* in 1861 of

the example of the act of union as an imperial strengthening tool for Austria. In the context of the growing Irish campaign for self-government, which considered Hungary as an illustrative example working towards the same goal, Heard's article suggested that the union had already provided Ireland with this result. His comments sought to criticise and contest the validity of Hungary's self-government aims, suggesting that Austria, instead of trying to bargain with Hungary, should look at the Anglo-Irish union as a model of strength.

Although these negative comparisons had similar aims to their positively angled nationalist counterparts, it has to be highlighted here that the former always started from the assumption that the then current Irish situation was inherently better than that of Hungary. As the underlining political aim was to contest and disarm the nationalist drive to change the political status quo, these parallels were naturally called upon to support this by providing a negative comparison. In this sense, these examples sought to illustrate how much better Ireland was faring in her current establishment within the union. The other side of the argument, and this again worked in ways similar to the nationalist paralleling in its general approach, was directed to mirror certain tendencies identified existing in the domestic political context. Contrary to the aim of nationalist comparisons, which strove to point to instructive developments in Hungary and in the Austrian empire to support the validity of their own goals, these Irish Tory ideas emphasized how those elements of Irish political life they considered as dangerous were mirrored in similarly destructive activities there.

Thus, the negative comparison of declaring that Ireland was already in a better position within the British empire functioned as a deterrent. Significantly, however, the aim of undermining the validity of images recurring in the nationalist and federalist discourse did not mean a denial of the theory of a parallel. Acknowledging that there were generic similarities in imperial and subject territorial relations across the continent, this approach rather focussed energy on denying the specific Irish reading and its direction. This angle appears to be specific to the conservative, Unionist context. These negative images not only worked to deny Hungary being an instructive example for Ireland, turning nationalist rhetoric around, but they equally listed images to highlight destructive developments identified as mirrored in both countries. Thus it can be said that the conservative approach of introducing foreign

images was more complex as it went beyond refuting the nationalist and federalist interpretation incorporating a further dimension. There was a special conservative reading at work as the status quo challenging elements of both countries' politics were highlighted as detrimental to the fabric of politics in both empires. It would be worth taking a look whether such rhetoric existed in other conservative circles around the continent.

Another interesting feature of Irish perceptions was the lack of detailed attention to the distinctions among the Slavic peoples of the empire and the Hungarian kingdom. The Irish sources did not go beyond identifying that these peoples existed and offered a good counter position against Hungarian nationalism. This is all the more striking given that the existence of various peoples within the Austrian empire became a journalistic commonplace in Ireland, along with terming the empire a composite state. Despite what the plural form suggested, apart from the distinct identification of Croats as a nationality of the empire during the 1848 war of independence, there was no detailed information communicated about the Slavic peoples. This meant that it was not explained that not all of them were Orthodox Christians, and their different levels of political developments were equally left untold. This omission cannot be simply explained by missing knowledge or information, given the vast amount of foreign mail information, editorials and travel writings that were available to contemporaries. Discounting disinterest or scarcity of information, what is left is a more conscious rhetoric at work.

Unconsciously resonating with the Slavic-Pan-Slavic ideology of the nineteenth century, the Irish motive underlying this lack of detail can be set in the context of the characteristically generic interpretation that Hungary and the empire received and generated in Ireland. As a single set of dividing lines within the Hungarian kingdom worked better in terms of suggesting parallels between Hungary and Ireland, a further detailed break-down of the motley of various peoples would have necessarily changed the dynamic of the model. The multiplication of interrelations would have complicated the structure of operating these paralleling and comparative images. Thus the universal and generic example of a political or ethnic minority challenging the status quo, or, in the Irish case, blocking access to a challenging of that status quo, was the feature that mattered. These Irish images of

Hungary did not serve as one-on-one examples to follow for future policies, but rather as justification for currently pursued goals and developments. In this sense, the actual details, such as the identification of the counter-posing group in each case, were not pertinent for the working of the image on an ideological level.

Summarizing the nature, application and selection process of the Irish images of Hungary, it can be said that those topics which had a universal aspect, characteristic of all countries and states, were the ones that usually triggered the use of Hungarian examples. These issues included co-existing religions and their complexities along with problems of political status and potential for improving current situations. However, characteristically domestic peculiarities limited the relevance of such comparisons. It is also important to note that interest in Hungary was regularly adapted to occasions. This notably also included both political pamphlets and the travel writings of Lord Londonderry and Michael Quin, whose travels were motivated by the novelty of steamboats on the Danube.

In terms of domestic politics this meant that images illustrating certain Hungarian features similar to those in Ireland always appeared cushioned in an appropriate Irish context. Thus political use of images corresponding to the religious situation in Hungary, for example, was largely concentrated around the period of the Catholic emancipation movement in Ireland. In this sense, images that contributed to underlining, illustrating and reflecting on one aspect or another of a domestic political issue, logically, were called upon when they could best fulfil that function. Hungary and images of Hungary therefore were working in similar ways to what Joachim Fischer has termed a 'point of reference,' underlining the important role and function images of other countries played in the Irish self-identification process.¹ However, as with Germany in Fischer's article, Hungary in this theoretical concept did not feature as an 'other,' juxtaposing and aiding Irish self-definition against the existence of that country. The image of Hungary rather embodied a certain degree of self-justification, reaching various levels of use and interest for different political groups. The basic dynamic behind this reasoning was the conviction that Hungary, and the Austrian empire as the wider context, could supply examples and support to whatever aspect of

¹ Joachim Fischer, "Kultur-and our need of it: The image of Germany and Irish national identity, 1890-1920' in *The Irish Review*, xxiv (Aug. 1999), pp 66-79, at p. 66.

Irish domestic politics the evoker of the image wished to see highlighted and supported.

Casting the explanatory and contextualizing net wider, these results provide various complementary discourse materials for the bigger frameworks at play. These include Irish domestic politics of the nineteenth century, Irish relations to Britain and the empire, and the Irish in Europe, while also relating to Irish images and perceptions of other countries on the Continent. These latter countries, such as France, Italy and Poland, in turn offered different perspectives from those directed towards Hungary and the Austrian empire. France embodied a net of closer connections, such as the direct links between the country and the Irish movements of 1798 and 1848, while Italy was considered important through the involvement of the papacy and Catholics. Poland, on the other hand, constituted a continental image of a sister-nation, perceived as fully Catholic, though struggling against equally strong higher powers. In this sense, each country that was brought up in these larger contexts had different additional layers of interpretations and reasons why they were considered fitting for application in Ireland. In this equation, Hungary presented a different dynamic and alternative viewpoint from the imperial and domestic debates about Ireland's position and situation.

These images of Hungary illuminated situations the Irish felt or perceived to be similar to domestic ones, or, as in the case of the Compromise, they provided images of a distant and hopeful future. The motivating force behind using these examples was the need to justify and demonstrate that Irish domestic political developments were not unique. This was needed despite the fact that it went against the powerful nationalist ideology which preached the one and irreproducible character of nations. The Irish interest in such paralleling imagery lay in the need to provide convincing examples for Britain in order to bargain for a better status for Ireland. As the British empire was so powerful during the nineteenth century, the use of force for obtaining such results was regarded by many as futile. It was against this backdrop that the attraction arose of using images of foreign countries that seemed to parallel Irish ambitions, or in certain cases, could be seen as deterrents.

As these images were introduced to support and underline more overarching arguments, for this very reason they never entirely dominated the political discussion. The aim of these images was to highlight potential routes and alternative approaches, and at the same time, to provide a continental context and framework. This latter aspect was needed in order to demonstrate that Irish developments and political wishes were really in tune with the spirit of the times, providing an additional rhetorical bonus to the basic arsenal of arguments. Beyond this, there were other powerful additional impetuses. One of these was the aim to convey how certain dangerous elements of Irish politics were mirrored on the Continent, along with communicating feelings of hope that in view of continental examples, Ireland's position was not beyond repair.

This latter hopeful aspect demonstratively strengthened with the news of the Hungarian Compromise in 1867, triggering an even greater volume of attention and analysis. Those circumstances of the Compromise, such as the fact that it was an imperial settlement, which made it perceived as even more relevant to the imagined Irish hoped-for future, only contributed to the frequency of such comparisons. It is important to note, however, that in the 1870s this attention to and interpretation of the Compromise functioned only as an argument for a successful application of the self-government principle. It did not amount to suggestions that Ireland should follow specific Hungarian actions. In other words, Arthur Griffith's pamphlet of 1904 broke new ground in proposing the abstention from Westminster, taking the Hungarian passive resistance as a direct model.

Besides identifying the particular significance of these Hungarian images in the domestic Irish context, this thesis offers a different angle to Irish and European historiography. It helps to widen the known circles of perspectives, essentially the Irish attention to France, Italy, and Irish colleges around Europe, to other countries. Growing literacy, the boom in the newspaper business, plus the birth and spread of mass tourism, along with shifting patterns in domestic and imperial politics, all contributed to the complex matrix of perceptions the thesis aimed to analyse. The years encompassed by the thesis, 1815 to 1875, were formative decades that laid down the basic patterns of Irish perceptions and interpretations of foreign images. These basic features were later heavily used during the home rule campaign of the latter

decades of the century, extending well into the twentieth century. The active years of the Home Rule League and home rule debates in the parliament saw an expansion of the same set of arguments into other images incorporating settlements enacted for Canada and India.²

Suggestions for broadening the topic of the thesis into a future project, constituting an organic continuation at the same time, include analysing the image of the Hungarian Compromise in the context of these later home rule campaign decades. Beyond providing a history of a full century of Irish perceptions of Hungary until the best known contribution in the field, Arthur Griffith's important *The Resurrection of Hungary* (Dublin, 1904, 1918), this study would offer the opportunity to analyse whether these norms and patterns laid down in the six decades of the thesis continued into later home rule campaign decades. Or, alternatively, whether the different leadership style of that campaign coupled with the change in the dynamics of the domestic political scene, resulted in major rethinking and restructuring in the use of Hungarian examples. As this thesis has provided an in-depth study of the use of images of Hungary in the Irish political and cultural context, a further project would be in a better position to contrast these results with those representing Irish perceptions of other countries. This angle of study would provide a better and more complex reading into how the use of foreign images worked in the context of Irish politics. Thinking even further ahead and beyond the Irish context, it would also be intriguing to extend this research to various other countries and contexts, aiming to provide an even more generic reading of what role perceptions and interpretations of other countries fulfilled in history. This would take the project into the realms of comparative history.

To provide an overarching summary, it can be said that generally, Irish attention to Hungary worked in a country-specific manner, namely that it differed from that given to Italy or France for example. In comparison with such countries, images of Hungary were mainly introduced as similes for Ireland's basic position within the British empire, but mirroring and reflecting on Irish domestic parallels at the same time. As this starting point was shared by all invokers of these images,

² Conor Neville, 'Imperial precedents in the Home Rule debates, 1867-1914' (MLitt thesis, NUI Maynooth, 2011)

namely that there were certain similarities at play, Hungary became a popular image in Irish politics, however unlikely the geographic distance might have rendered such parallels. Beyond the nationalist implications of brotherhood of nations, which helps explain the volume of imagery about Hungary, Irish perceptions and interpretations of the country provided more complexities for federalists. Thus Hungary as an image of hope and inspiration, suggesting that Irish domestic political wishes were not out of tune with ongoing developments in similar political entities on the Continent, co-existed with that of the deterrent example, more prevalent among Tories and Unionists.

The fact that Hungary's case fitted like the two sides of a coin for various Irish political contexts, made the potential to draw examples even more extensive. In this sense, Hungary became a ready image to supply examples both to suggest that hopes for political reform were not destructive for empires, and also to highlight how certain domestic political developments some perceived as destructive were in fact universal and generic patterns in operation elsewhere. The perceived relevance of Hungary across the Irish political spectrum ensured that the country continued to appear in newspaper editorial commentary and in travel writing and in domestic political debates. It was precisely this seamlessly adaptable characteristic that made these images of Hungary so alluring that they kept reappearing with predictable regularity.

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Glossary of terms

Compromise of 1867

The Hungarian Compromise of 1867 created the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary that lasted until the dissolution of the empire in 1918. The new state structure introduced two independent parliaments exercising legislative powers in domestic issues, namely the Hungarian diet reinstating the Hungarian kingdom's constitutional independence and the continuing Reichsrat for the rest of the empire. However, as this was domestic independence only, it stipulated three areas to remain in the realm of common affairs. Excluded from the authority of the Hungarian government were the joint ministries of defence, foreign affairs and the financing of these which were kept in check by delegations appointed by the monarch and the two legislatures. The crown council, presided over by the emperor-king, was a further deliberative body in which both Hungarian and Austrian prime ministers participated. This system was not only complicated in its checks and balances, it had further shortcomings which did not go unnoticed. The Hungarian Compromise a year later was implemented by a Compromise between Hungary and Croatia (XXX/1868), which settled long ongoing dissonances between these two entities. Furthermore, a law on the equality of the nationalities (XLIV/1868) was also passed which granted the official use of various mother tongues in court proceedings and certain other contexts.

Diet of 1790-91

The diet of 1790-91, held during the rule of Emperor Leopold II (1790-92), proved to be of lasting importance in Hungarian history for a number of reasons. Of the religious enactments of this diet, article XXVI, elevated the Protestant creeds of Lutheran and Calvinist to the level of established religions of the kingdom. This privilege, which denoted a religion officially recognized as a state religion, providing freedom of worship, self-governance and potential state support, had belonged solely to the Roman Catholic faith before this diet. The Greek Catholic Church was elevated to the same level by the 1790/XXVII article of the same diet. Admission to offices regardless of religious creed was also granted, although this affected nobles only, as

before 1844 they alone could hold offices. Impressive as these elements were, under article XXVI of 1790, some regulating measures were still kept. Conversion to the protestant religion still required the convert to make a formal declaration of conversion to the authorities. Moreover, the most important political change was article X of 1790 which established that Hungary was a free and independent kingdom to be governed in accordance with her own laws and customs, while article XII declared that legislative power was jointly exercised by the king and the diet.

Diet of 1844

The diet of 1844 enacted the right of Christian non-nobles to hold any office, although they were still excluded from voting in elections. However, the most controversial decision of the diet, which had complex and long-term consequences, was the elevation of Hungarian as official language of the kingdom. Croatian objections were only temporarily silenced by the concession of being allowed to use Croatian or Latin in their provincial diet (sabor).

The four cardinal rights of Hungarian nobles

First codified in István Werbőczy's *Tripartitum* (1514), a publication which served as a fundamental unwritten law for the Hungarian nobles until the middle of the nineteenth century, a Hungarian noble was endowed with four cardinal privileges. The first stated that nobles paid no taxes and they owed service only in arms. As they did not pay taxes to the state, nor did they owe feudal military service, they were called to arms only if the country was under attack and the king called a general levy. This service was called the insurrection of nobles (see below). The second cardinal privilege was the nobility's free ownership of their domains, which meant that they basically owned their lands as freeholders. The third privilege stipulated that they were subject to nobody except the legally crowned king. The fourth privilege was their right to offering legal resistance even to the king should he attack the privileges warranted by the Aurea Bulla of Andreas II (1222). This 'ius resistendi' was abrogated during the diet of 1687 (the same diet that accepted the hereditary right of the Habsburg dynasty to the Hungarian throne without election).

Insurrection of nobles

The ‘sacred insurrection of the Hungarian nobility,’ which in fact had been a feudal duty and privilege since the middle ages, was first codified in István Werbőczy’s *Tripartitum* (1514). In this book, which served as a fundamental unwritten law for the Hungarian nobles until the middle of the nineteenth century, one of the four basic privileges of a Hungarian noble stated that nobles were free of all taxes and owed service only in arms. This service was reflected in the institution of the insurrection of the nobility, whereby all nobles were compelled to defend the integrity of the territory of the kingdom. As historians have pointed out, the importance of the privilege of the noble insurrection, as its original military use and value had evaporated by the end of the eighteenth century, can be singled out as the justification of the nobility’s exemption from paying taxes.

Kingdom of Hungary

Comprising today’s Hungary, Slovakia, Croatia, and parts of Romania, Serbia, Slovenia, Ukraine and Austria, the kingdom of Hungary constituted a sizeable part of the Austrian, and from 1867, the Austro-Hungarian empire. Among the various territories attached to the crown of Hungary, Croatia and Slavonia constituted separate kingdoms, while Transylvania was a principality. The distinct status of these territories was marked by the existence of their provincial diets. The Hungarian kingdom was over 300 000 km² in size (during the dual monarchy) and incorporated over 12 million inhabitants (18 million by 1910) of various ethnic backgrounds and mother tongues. The basic administrative units of the kingdom were the counties (comitatus), which originally, from the thirteenth century until the latter half of the nineteenth century, were the strongholds of the lesser nobility. This privileges-based system was modernized during the dual monarchy.

Natio Hungarica

According to the phrase ‘natio Hungarica’ or Hungarian nation, every noble, irrespective of ethnic and confessional background or mother tongue (the lingua franca was Latin until 1844), if they were born on Hungarian soil, was considered as a

member of the Hungarian political nation. This estate-based nationality concept meant that every noble, within the borders of the kingdom, belonged to a privileged group. In this respect, this was not an ethnic but a centuries-old tradition-based political and juridical concept. The term did not become overtly filled with ‘Magyarizing’ tendencies until the language debates of the diets during the nineteenth century.

Pragmatic sanction (1713-23)

The Pragmatic sanction (enacted in 1723 in Hungary) of Emperor Charles VI settled the long standing problem of inheritance in the Habsburg empire. As the emperor had no direct male descendant, he had to ensure the female line of inheritance was accepted in his lands for his legacy and dynasty to continue. By 1723 all lands of the crown accepted the future succession of Maria Theresa, Charles’s daughter, to the throne. Hungary enacted the female line of succession, although, by Hungarian law, this order of succession was confined to male and female descendants of Leopold II. If this line died out, Hungary would recover her right of free election, while the law also stipulated that only Catholic descendants of archducal rank qualified. In return, Hungary was regarded as ‘indivisible and inseparable’, where the king was required to acknowledge the country’s own laws and traditions together with maintaining her territorial integrity. Charles VI (Charles III as king of Hungary) also had to reaffirm the nobles in their centuries-long privileges, and promised to convoke the Hungarian diet regularly. Frederick II of Prussia and Charles Albert of Bavaria both questioned the legitimacy of the Pragmatic sanction (1723), and upon the death of Charles VI the discontent of the two rulers materialized in the war of Austrian Succession (1740-8), which ended with Maria Theresa securing her throne at the expense of losing Silesia.

Sacra corona (de sacra corona regni Hungariae)

The sacred crown of the Hungarian kingdom came to symbolize multiple layers of meaning throughout the centuries, and became an important part of Hungarian national identity. Beyond providing legitimacy, the crown also ‘personified’ the fate and distinctness of a political community and symbolized the undivided unity of the kingdom. This political community comprised the aristocrats, prelates and nobility,

they became regarded as ‘members’ of the kingdom, where they together constituted the ‘kingdom’ as a whole. Thus ‘*sacra corona*’ as a concept embodied state sovereignty, which was independent of any particular individual monarch or dynasty. In an effort to keep order and cohesion in the kingdom, this political collective voluntarily conferred its right to exercise access to the sovereign sacred crown to the legitimate, crowned king. The king in turn for this offer was obliged to keep the orders in their privileges, accepting the distinctness of the kingdom of Hungary.

‘*Vitam et sanguinem pro rege nostro*’ (1740)

The war of Austrian succession (1740-8) forced Maria Theresa (see under ‘Pragmatic sanction’) to start her rule by trying to secure as much from her inheritance as she could. This, in order to ensure support, necessarily included acknowledging the rights and privileges of Hungarian nobles. Once she did so, the nobles offered their only duty, their service in arms in return. The Latin phrase itself was a reference to the sacred insurrection of nobles and their right to pay tax only in arms (‘our life and blood for our sovereign’), a representation of one of their cardinal rights. Therefore the declaration simply meant that the nobles would help the ruler in return for the security of their feudal privileges. This realistic political bargaining, however, did not stop contemporary and nineteenth century writers from romanticizing the image of the young empress pleading with her gallant Hungarians for help.

Figures

Count István Széchenyi (1791-1860)

Besides being one of the towering figures of nineteenth century Hungarian politics, István Széchenyi was also influential as a political writer, publishing *Credit* (1830), amongst other works. Discussing the need for credit in the Hungarian economy, Széchenyi’s book touched upon sensitive issues and generated lengthy debates among his contemporaries. As an important initiator of reforms in the cultural life and transport of the country, he can be connected to a number of projects, including the

Chain-bridge, the introduction of steamboats on the Danube and casinos (club-houses for nobles). He also initiated the idea of and provided the first major donation to the establishment of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. His reforming activity, however, did not extend to Hungary's connection to the Austrian empire or the dynasty. This cautious positioning resulted in a bitter debate and decades-long controversy with Lajos Kossuth, whose more radical views Széchenyi could never accept. The failure of the revolution of 1848-49 caused a mental breakdown in Széchenyi and he committed suicide in 1860.

Lajos Kossuth (1802-1894)

Making his name originally as a political journalist and a liberal politician during the reform diets of the decades leading to the Hungarian revolution of 1848, Lajos Kossuth became a leading figure of the revolution and the first government of Hungary afterwards. He also became the president of the Committee of National Defence (revolutionary governing body) and Hungary's governor-president from 14 April 1849, the date of the dethronement of the Habsburg dynasty until the final defeat of 11 August 1849. Leaving the country after the defeat, he became the leader and spokesperson of the Hungarian exiles in Turkey. Being allowed to leave Turkey in September 1851, Kossuth toured Britain and the United States trying to gather support for Hungary's cause. As a gifted public speaker who spoke English, Kossuth became immensely popular and began to be seen as a great international hero of the latest national struggles. It soon became clear, however, that popular sentiments would not translate into actual political support for Hungary or Kossuth. His autocratic style also earned him bitter criticism from his fellow Hungarian nationalists, while his later policies, such as the plan for a Danubian Federation, did not yield substantial support. He was a life-long opponent of the Compromise of 1867 which, with prophetic insight, he believed to be a knot tying Hungary to a dying empire that would go down in a future Europe-wide war.

Maps

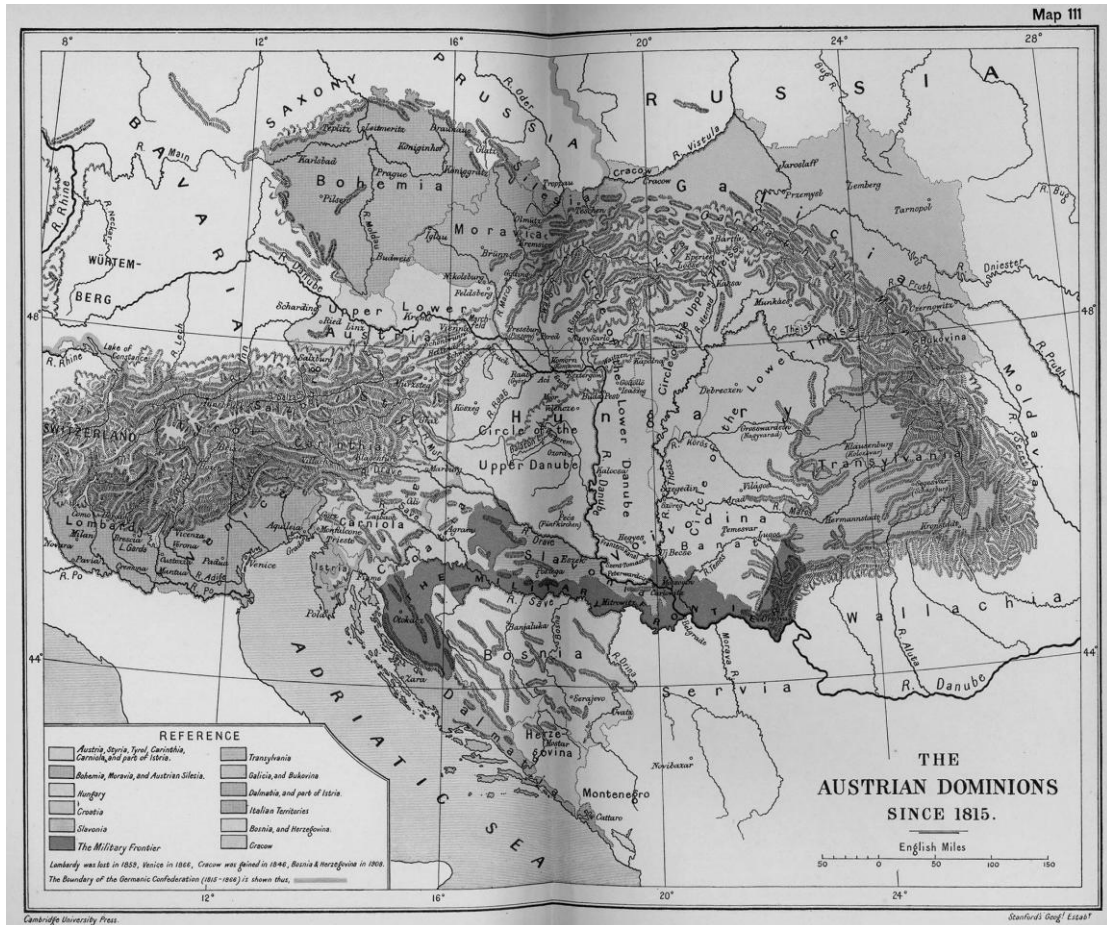
Map 1. Europe after the Congress of Vienna.



A. W. Ward, G. W. Prothero, Stanley Leathes (eds), *The Cambridge modern history atlas* (Cambridge, 1912), 'map 102.' Available online through the Perry-Castaneda library map collection at University of Texas at Austin:

http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/ward_1912/europe_vienna_congress_1815.jpg (Accessed on 12 October 2011)

Map 2. The Austrian dominions since 1815.



A. W. Ward, G. W. Prothero, Stanley Leathes (eds), *The Cambridge modern history atlas* (Cambridge, 1912), 'map 111.' Available online through the Perry-Castaneda library map collection at University of Texas at Austin:

http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/ward_1912/austrian_dominions_1815.jpg
(Accessed on 12 October 2011)

Map 3. Austria-Hungary, political organization



Robert A. Kann, *A history of the Habsburg empire, 1526-1918* (1st paperback ed., Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1980), pp 618-9.

Map 4. Nationalities of the Habsburg monarchy in 1848



Robin Okey, *The Habsburg monarchy, c. 1765-1918. From Enlightenment to eclipse* (Basingstoke, London, 2001), xii.