

# Through an Anglo-Irish Lens: *The Dublin University Magazine's* (1833-1877) Perception of Hungary<sup>1</sup>

Zsuzsanna Zarka

The Irish publication market in the first three decades of the nineteenth century was dominated by political periodicals. The 1830s introduced and popularized the genre of literary and political magazines, opening up the possibility to reach and recruit a larger circle of readership (Hayley and McKay 29-33). Out of the wide spectrum of potential approaches, the Protestant *The Dublin University Magazine* (*DUM*), which was published from 1833 to 1877 under this name, seemed outstanding for several reasons. Although originally modelled on and seeking to compete with the standards of distinctive English periodicals like *Blackwood's and Fraser's Magazine* (Houghton 4: 193), *DUM* also aimed to endow their new periodical with a characteristic Irish voice from the onset. This manifested itself in the Protestant character of the political affiliations of the compilers, implying a specialized Irish point of view. The present article is intending to shed light on this particular attitude by examining the periodical through the lens of their commentaries on the Austro-Hungarian Empire, more specifically Hungary, as an entity. Although the analysis will discuss only those articles that provided readers with information on the contemporary political situation of the kingdom, it will mention examples too which introduced some features of Hungarian culture and literature. By focusing on the questions the articles raised, it is hoped to gain an insight into the magazine's perspective on and perception of a region of Europe which, one may presume, had entirely escaped the Protestant readerships' attention or interest.

## Unique Characteristics of *The Dublin University Magazine*

As a periodical with a constantly growing list of subscribers among the Protestant population of Ireland, whose expectations needed fulfilling, *DUM* interpreted contemporary politics from a viewpoint that appealed to the readership. This was present in their “unflagging determination to beat back the forces of emancipation and democracy” (Houghton 4: 194) based on their belief that these threatened the union between Ireland and England, the connection they sought to defend from all possible attacks. Though Irish-related themes enjoyed priority among the range of topics, the magazine offered articles on the literature, political and social life of several countries. This interest, namely the realization that “there was a world outside” (Hayley and McKay 33), was not unique to *DUM*, they shared this with other periodicals of the 1830s, including *The Dublin Review*, *The Irish Monthly*, *The Celt*, *The New Ireland Review*, *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* and the Catholic Nationalist weekly *The Nation*.<sup>2</sup>

The distinctive difference between the afore-mentioned Catholic periodicals and *DUM* was and remained the nature of the coverage, which *DUM* always based on the original Protestant and Unionist attitude of the periodical. As the publication scene of literary and political magazines was dominated by Catholic periodicals throughout the nineteenth century, *DUM* was in a delicate position, and needed to make sure to supply articles that captivated and delighted their readership. Given that they were not in the position to widen their general outline of coverage and attitudes, to be able to recruit potential readers from a larger audience, the editors of *DUM* always had to provide a high standard for a special, targeted spectrum of the society.

Taking a look at the list of those who edited *DUM* throughout its existence (Houghton 4: 210), it becomes understandable how the subsequent editors were able to keep the high quality standard of the magazine alive. This list featured some of the most prominent Anglo-Irish Protestant names of the nineteenth century, all of them from Trinity College, including Isaac Butt, later the originator of the Home Rule Movement; Charles Lever, the renowned author of military novels; and Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, the writer of vampire novels including the genre's cornerstone, *Carmilla*. They and people of similar intellect were the guarantors of the same high quality that readers expected and received from the beginning.

The open-mindedness of the editors of *DUM* gave way to writings which not only covered a huge span of Hungarian history, providing insight into medieval as well as contemporary events, but which they also offered a wide range in style and genre too. In the present analysis the evaluation of the publication of Hungarian topics will include the examination of the accuracy of contents, in terms of what was known at the time, together with the assessment of how the authors' exploration of Hungary as a theme could be fitted into their wider interests. While mainly concentrating on articles that were concerned with contemporary politics, I will reflect on possible reasons behind the authors' choice of focusing their articles on Hungary. By examining whether these writings were constructed along a pattern, or were published solely to convey information, it will become apparent whether a general aim or motive can be detected.

## **Hungarian Culture on the pages of *DUM***

The articles about cultural themes that appeared throughout the history of the magazine embrace a wide range of topics. The piece entitled "The black mask" represents the line of literature. Although it appeared unsigned in the May 1836 issue, Charles Lever's biographers could safely identify him behind the publication (Houghton 4: 228).<sup>3</sup> The short story is set in the mountains that surround Buda, where a baron's dinner with his daughter is interrupted by a noble traveller. The shadowy figure of the traveller, who later turns out to be the future Emperor Joseph II himself, is never named in the text, which signals that neither the historical personality, nor the deeds of the future emperor were central as regards the main aim of the writing.

Instead of an elaboration on the sensitive nature of the connection between Austrians and Hungarians, the readers were presented with a romantic story, climaxing in the predictable death of the baron's daughter. Here, Hungary as a setting merely serves as an interesting, if not exotic, geographic background to the main line of events. This is clear from the number of descriptive details Lever supplied in the text, whereas the scenario of the uneasy relations between Austria and Hungary was chosen only to underline the widely exploitable romantic theme of unfortunate choice and unfulfilled promises.

The genre of history is the governing principle of the next article, Raymond Véricour's "Hunyadi." The Professor of Modern Languages at Cork University was the first author among the those discussed in this article, who was named in *DUM* at the time of publication. In this January 1861 article Véricour followed the style of medieval epic-like descriptions in his interpretation of the fate of Hungary's medieval hero, János Hunyadi. Véricour's account is a good example for combining reliable, Hungarian-originated sources to reflect a high standard of accuracy, conveying accurate details to his readers, written in a style that was also entertaining.

Throughout Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's editorship (1861-69) almost every issue of the magazine contained travellers' accounts, folk- or other socially based tales from foreign countries, mostly European, among which Hungary was included three times. Two of these introduce folk tales and Hungarian superstitions to the Irish audience and the third one is a traveller's account that provides a picture of Hungary through a geographer's eyes. Mrs. Clifden Mooney's account of Hungarian customs relating to Easter, "Magyar superstitions and ceremonies" (705-16), is surprisingly detailed and accurate, lifting her account above the average level of the traveller's tale. The other culture-specific 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 Sclavonians [sic] and Hungarians" (Kennedy 123-49) and "The fireside stories of Hungary" (Kennedy 575-86). The author was Patrick Kennedy, an Irish scholar of antiquary (Houghton 4: 334) and a frequent publisher of folk topics related to several regions of Europe. His Hungarian articles followed the scheme of first introducing and detailing the major, general characteristics of the tales, from which he moved on to provide extensive summaries of the chosen tales. The last culture-focused article that deals with Hungary on the pages of *DUM* appeared in the March 1874 issue under the title "Hungary and the Lower Danube" (Hull 257-65), signed by Professor Hull who can be identified as Edward Hull, an Irish geologist (Houghton 4: 353). His article was constructed according to the natural course of the river, assessing each interesting stop with geological and historical explanations.

## Francis Doyne Dwyer on Hungarian Political Life in the Reform Era

By April 1842, when Charles Lever had replaced Isaac Butt as editor, a role he held up until May 1845 (Houghton 4: 210), the magazine had reached its peak time with a “more than respectable [. . .] 4000 copies a month” circulation (Houghton 4: 201). The first politically motivated, Hungary-related publication appeared in the June 1842 issue under the title “Hungary and its political relations to the East and West of Europe” (Dwyer 781-95). Similarly to most writings in the magazine, the author of this article was not originally identified either but the author can be identified with the help of *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*. Reading the relevant heading, it becomes clear that it can be attributed to Francis Doyne Dwyer, whose name can be found on the list which contains those authors who contributed to *DUM* under Lever’s editorship (Houghton 4: 252).

The author himself was an “Irish born soldier of fortune [. . .] a major of huzzars in the Austrian Service” whose profession was reflected in his writing style as well. His “strictly business-like” formulated writings centred on topics connected to his life as a soldier, for instance besides his Hungarian article he also wrote a piece on Servia (sic!), Wallachia and Moldavia from the same point of view.<sup>4</sup> His method did not include the usage of “personal remarks [. . .] anecdotes [. . .] paragraph links” (Houghton 4: 255) he mostly wrote short but informative sentences, which made his work appear very condensed. The Hungarian article is no exception to these general characteristics either, the pages are filled with information, making Dwyer’s articles hard to read: contemporary readers needed to go through his paragraphs numerous times to be able to digest all the details he provided.

However, for the greater satisfaction of the audience, Dwyer in his Hungarian article reflected not only upon his personal motives but he also devoted three paragraphs to explaining why readers of *DUM* should entertain a similar degree of interest in Hungary. “Being interested in the welfare of Hungary,” Dwyer provided his readers with the argument that this country could be viewed as “possessing as she does a constitution similar in many respects to the basis of our own” (781). The personal pronoun, “our,” 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” (Dwyer 781). This detail cannot be verified historically in Hungary, since at that time the main religion was Roman Catholic, which might lead us to the suspicion that Dwyer either tried to provide an inviting reason for the audience to read on or he himself viewed the situation in Hungary through his specific Anglo-Irish perspective. However, Dwyer tried to convince those who might have doubted the value of this argument by clearly spelling



out that the fate of Hungary should not be indifferent to his readers for political reasons. He claimed that Hungary should be helped in order to be able to function as a barrier against Russia, whose ambition to increase its territories of influence had already worried Dwyer's contemporaries. These views were in accordance with the classic theory of a balance of a power on the continent which the British were in favour of as well.

Dwyer's account of Hungary's basic administrative features is so accurate and detailed that the question of his possible sources almost immediately arises. Dwyer appears to have been very well read and informed about this topic, which is clear from his critical reviewing of two important books that had been published on Hungary just before he wrote his article. It is interesting to see how a contemporary commented on Julia Pardoe's *The City of the Magyar, or Hungary and Her Institutions in 1839-40* (3 vols, London, 1840) which is widely accepted among Hungarian scholars of the field as an excellent source on the culture, especially on the literature and music of Reform Era Hungary. Dwyer, rather than acknowledging the book's virtues in relation to cultural topics, highlighted that "we must [. . .] reject [it] as a guide in political matters, [as Pardoe's] views are derived secondhand from some of the most ignorant of the movement party there" (781). The group of politicians he mentioned 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 Dwyer. The other book he reviewed was written by an Englishman, John Paget, entitled *Hungary and Transylvania* (2 vols, London, 1839) but in the eyes of Dwyer this author was equally guilty of being "tinctured with the false liberalism of modern English reform politics" (781), which viewpoint was in accordance with that of the contemporary readers of *DUM*.

After such verdicts, it is not surprising that Dwyer did not base his article on any of these sources. He mentioned a Hungarian, József Orosz, who can be linked to two sources written in German. One of them has a more general focus, entitled *Terra Incognita. Notizen über Ungarn* [Unknown Land. Notes about Hungary] (Leipzig, 1835), while the other one entitled *Ungars gesetzgebender Körper auf dem Reichstage zu Pressburg in dem Jahr 1830* [Hungary's law-making body from the diet of Pozsony in year 1830] (Leipzig, 1831-32), provided specific information on the working of the Hungarian Diet. Since Dwyer had served as a soldier in the Austrian Imperial Army, the German language was not necessarily a barrier to his consulting a book written in German. József Orosz was the well-known co-author of *Országgyűlési Tudósítások* [*Parliamentary Gazettes*] (Marko 4: 1173) a periodical he published, for a short period, together with Lajos Kossuth, the reformist politician, about the events and enactments of the sessions of the Hungarian Diet. As Dwyer quoted from Orosz, although only giving the author's name without information on the book itself (785), which probably was the one on Hungary's law-making body titled *Ungars gesetzgebender Körper auf dem Reichstage zu Pressburg in dem Jahr 1830*, there is no suspicion left regarding how he was capable of providing such detailed information. Through Dwyer's

paragraphs the chambers of the Diet, their respective members, the heads of these chambers, the free towns' place in the system and the contemporary franchise debates are all accurately accounted for. Dwyer was certainly not satisfied by giving a mere shortened English version of his reading of Orosz's book (Leipzig 1831-32); he also provided his own remarks on the issue, which were similar to Orosz's, both of them supporting the policies of the governing bodies of their respective countries. Dwyer's text sometimes includes claims such as "the routine of business is very similar to that of the British parliament" (786), yet he also criticizes Hungarian features he identified as the remnants of the old feudal system.

Another author Dwyer refers to was Auguste-Frédéric-Louis Viesse de Marmont, Duke de Raguse (1774-1852), who became known for his betrayal of Napoleon I in 1814 (LeFebvre 672). Similarly to the above-mentioned book of Orosz, Dwyer used the Frenchman's writing, *Voyage en Hongrie*, to such an extent that he must have owned a copy himself. This, on the one hand, can be explained if Dwyer only used Orosz's book about the structure and working of the Hungarian Diet, in which case he needed a different source for the other features of his article. The other possible reason might have been Dwyer's better knowledge of French, a language which, as a soldier of an acquiring international military career, he needed to command so as to consult Marmont's book in depth. Probably it is not a mere coincidence that Dwyer found Marmont's book so appealing; and since they both shared a soldiers' background, he might have enjoyed Marmont's style of writing more than that of the journalist Orosz.

Out of the four volumes of the *Voyage* by Marmont, the first one deals with Hungary and Transylvania. Dwyer, as a soldier in the Austrian service, presumably had some basic knowledge about Hungary's characteristics but it also seems certain that he consulted the contents of those chapters of the *Voyage* which detailed the history and the legislation of Hungary (Marmont 1: 575-96). It would surely make interesting reading to compare Marmont's chapter headings of "notes on Hungary, modes of possession in Hungary, modes of possession with special attention to peasants, administration, criminal law, organization of courts of justices, privileges of nobles, the palatin or viceroy" (1: 1-3)<sup>5</sup> with the sequence of topics Dwyer discusses. Dwyer's writing touches upon the same issues, elaborating on the rules of inheriting land in Hungary, the situation of free towns in the country, the different classes of the nobility together with the distinctive general privileges they possessed, while listing their seigniorial rights separately from these.

Dwyer's discussion details the administrative system of Hungary, providing the Hungarian names for all officials and units as well as an explanation of their duties, while comparing them, where possible, with the offices his readers were familiar with. The thorough coverage also touches upon the main, national line of administration and provides information on the working of the local units and the counties. The description of the inhabitants and religions of Hungary and Transylvania (791) suggests Marmont's *Voyage* as the definitive source of the statistics the article

supplies: after describing the inhabitants and their respective religions, Dwyer takes, similarly to his French source, Hungary and Transylvania as separate entities. The tables Dwyer uses can be found in Marmont's book, in fact he copied them for his article without changing the numbers (Marmont 1: 596, 137). The subsequent paragraphs briefly introduce 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 the world for filth, idleness and cunning trickery" (Dwyer 791). The Raitzen received this description for their tight cultural links and suspected political connections with Russia. Observation of this relation lay in the interest of contemporaries in Hungary too as their concern with and apprehension of the growth of Russian influence in the region (Panslavism), was part of everyday politics.

The topic of religion provided room for analysis and comparison too, an opportunity Dwyer did not miss. After admitting that religious diversity did not result in conflicts that were known to his Irish readers, he stated that due to "the strong development of national feeling in Hungary, the Romish church has begun to mingle in political matters" (Dwyer 792). Dwyer believed that as the Roman Catholic Church has "sided with the Austrian government, the whole of the Greek and Protestant population have united together for mutual defence." This, he claimed, provides a chance for England as "such conjunction of circumstances favorable to the policy of England may never again occur" (792). The prospect Dwyer raised here never materialized, since the Protestant population of Hungary never attached the same sense of threat to the group of Hungarian Roman Catholics, who in fact outnumbered the Protestants, contrary to what Dwyer stated. Consequently, the union Dwyer suggested here never took place between Hungarian Protestants and Greek Catholics who, as a result of their Russian connections, were considered more as a threat or even danger than partners for cooperation.

Besides relying heavily on his sources, Dwyer also had numerous paragraphs in his article which, without doubt, were based on his own personal knowledge. The plan that a suspension bridge would be drawn between the two sides of the Danube became known after his two major sources had been published. This is also true of the part of the venture which stated that everybody, noble and peasant alike, would need to pay toll for crossing the bridge (Dwyer 785). Being well-informed about the extensive privileges of the nobles in Hungary, Dwyer was capable of placing the importance of this issue in the context of the struggle for equal taxation. His words on Count István Széchenyi and his role in the spreading of "Anglomania" (Dwyer 786) in Hungary, of which he listed some examples as well, also go beyond mentioning this as a mere interesting feature of contemporary Hungarian life. Dwyer acknowledged that the 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" (786).

Count Széchenyi, the moderate reformer, was a type of politician who

appealed to Dwyer's ideals and believed that Hungary owed to this person the fact that her politicians "have steered clear of the shoals of French democracy, and quicksands of American Lynch-law freedom" (Dwyer 786). Dwyer was delighted to find that the Protestant party of Hungary is "another proof [. . .] of the falsehood [. . .] that Catholicism and liberality are always found hand in hand," (786), 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" (786). Despite his claims that most inhabitants of Hungary were Protestants, Dwyer ended the train of thought here by suggesting that Hungary would soon have a place on his list beside Belgium and Ireland where he believed the Roman Catholic Church had already provided bad examples of the dangers underlying their influence.

Keeping in mind that his readers might still question why they should feel the same interest in Hungary's fate, towards the end of the article Dwyer provides an insightful analysis of the state of commerce. He lists three main barriers to its development, referring to his personal experience as a valid basis for the comparison of the quality of England's and Austria's goods. He compares the prices of a "provincial town in Hungary with those of Dublin, *similia similibus*" (788) as a basis, which calculation is followed by an extensive theoretical analysis on the healthy balance between agriculture and manufacturing, a section he ends with applying the theory to England and Hungary's case. After this, without actually assessing the validity of the comparison, Dwyer finishes the topic by repeating the obstacles, mainly caused by the anomalies of the feudal system, which kept Hungary from owning a successful, home-based manufacture.

The closing paragraphs of Dwyer's writing first divulge information on the present state and position of the army and military frontiers in Hungary, quoting from one of the recommendations the Hungarian Diet of 1839 sent to the Emperor (792). The depth of Dwyer's elaboration in this section is naturally due to his occupation. Following this part he lists those enactments which were made around the period of the writing of the article, to give up-to-date information to the readers. He duly emphasizes the act which introduced the Hungarian language in all the proceedings of lawmaking, public transactions and business (Dwyer 793). Dwyer here touches upon a topic that was a central yet at the same time a "neuralgic issue"<sup>6</sup> of the Reform Era, pointing to possible future hardships, signalled by the continuing numerous protests from Slavic groups. Dwyer, however, overemphasizes the possible effects of enabling peasants to buy the rented land from their landlord. His fears that this enactment might ultimately lead to the "total extinction of the class of landed proprietors" (793) were not well founded, eventually only a very small proportion of the peasants actually exercised their right. Therefore his subsequent suggestion that this policy was promoted by the Austrian government to achieve "the political insignificance of the nobles" could not be verified in Hungary (Dwyer 793). The idea might have reflected Dwyer's own interpretation of the possibility of such a policy in Ireland.

Dwyer further highlights his earlier argument that Hungary could occupy a



primary position in stopping the growth of Russia's spheres of influence. He believes that in order to be able to fulfil that role, Hungary and Austria must reconsider the nature of their connection, since Austria's present lack of a "straightforward manly policy" (794) 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 Empire. Dwyer considers such an event as undesirable because a weak Austria would never be able to stop Russia from entering the West of Europe. As a natural conclusion of his article he claims that it is necessary for England, when constructing her foreign policy, to "drop a quiet glance at Hungary en passant" on her way to China (Dwyer 795).

Although it is beyond doubt that in order to write the article, Dwyer consulted and applied the findings of two sources to quite a large extent, we can also recognize that he used these sources 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, had only a few misconceptions, and was capable of updating the details he took from his sources with more recent ones that he could get, knowing where to turn to, as a person who spent a considerable amount of time in the region. The main point the article tried to make for its readers was that Hungary would need attention for commercial and political reasons alike.

Dwyer looked at the topic of his whole article from the Anglo-Irish point of view, which, despite his personal sympathies, did not result in suggesting that Hungary should be helped in her struggle for progress. In his interpretation Hungary was trying to achieve such reforms through the Austrian government which would alter the relationship between the two countries, weakening the Empire's positions in the area, and not matching England's interest either. Surprisingly, after merely mentioning the fact, he did not elaborate on the reasons why he found that the prices in a Hungarian town and Dublin could be compared, avoiding the possibility of making parallels. He referred to Irish politics only in negative terms, highlighting the reprehensible and dangerous nature of the existing link between Catholicism and politics, implying that the same connection would cause problems in Hungary in the future. Dwyer thus provides an international example to justify his readers' antipathy to Catholic Emancipation in Ireland.

## **Samuel Ferguson on the 1848-49 Revolution and War of Independence in Hungary**

The 1848-49 Revolution and War of Independence in Hungary fell into the years of the editorship of John Francis Waller, which lasted from July 1845 to December 1855 (Houghton 4: 210). As a poet, Waller was inclined to include more poetry and literature in the issues of the magazine, which then became more of a literary periodical than a political one. The second example of a political piece written

on Hungary, after Dwyer's article, is an unsigned poem, with the title "Hungary," published in the September 1849 issue of the magazine. It is the only piece of writing that directly addressed the Hungarian 1848-49 War of Independence throughout the publication history of the magazine. Despite the fact that the poem was published unsigned, Dr Thomas Kabdebo could identify the poet as Samuel Ferguson (51).

Ferguson seems to have been very well-informed regarding the state of the Hungarian national movement, while the date under the poem indicates "Dublin, August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1849" (Ferguson 292), just nine days after the final surrender of General Görgey on 13 August 1849. 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 the "Lord of Battles [. . .] God of Freedom [. . .] Holy Nature" (292) but that the arrival of the Russians would change the picture and the outcome. The second part of the poem warned those who felt a large amount of sympathy for Hungary not to become "inhumane in humanity's cause [. . .] [because] the mothers of Moscow [. . .] have hearts, as the mothers of Pest," claiming that the Russian soldiers merely acted out of duty in Hungary. The author then goes on to hope that the "God of Russian and Magyar [would] turn the hearts of the kings—let the Magyar again reap the harvests of peace [. . .] and [. . .] send the poor Russians home" (Ferguson 292).

The hope for a compromising solution is crushed in the last two stanzas when it turns out that "Görgey surrendered [. . .] [that] the horrible Haynau [is] victorious" which, besides being a sorrowful event, calling out "weep, Freedom! In all thy last citadels, weep" (Ferguson 292), signalled a larger political danger. The poet understood the significance and effect of Russia's intervention in the future of European politics and warned that "England [should] [. . .] prepare on the heights of the Koosh for the hug of the bear!" (Ferguson 292). Despite the fact that the whole poem was dedicated to Hungary, the main theme turned out to be the above warning; the poet was more interested in the future outcome of Hungarian events than in the fate of the Hungarian nation itself. The topic, - that of a lost cause - provided a good excuse to call attention to the danger the growing Russian presence embodied for the region, which could have far-reaching consequences for the political aspirations of Great Britain.

## John Bickford Heard on Hungary in 1861

The next two items in *DUM* constitute a peculiar section in the magazine's publication history, mainly because they were written with the purpose of providing readers with up-to-date information regarding the political events of the European continent. These accounts appeared from the May 1860 issue until the July 1861 issue of *DUM*, under the varied names of "Month's chronicle" or "Month's calendar," the author of all of which was John Bickford Heard, a clergyman of the Church of Ireland (Houghton 4: 312). 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 devoted analytical paragraphs to providing a better understanding of the region's complex power struggles and problems ("Calendar" 503-12).

The article "Calendar," while claiming that the relationship between Austria and Hungary was still tense to the point that it could have resulted in war at any stage, also commented on the two existing political factions' views that made up a controversial conflict on the nature of the government and constitution of Hungary. Heard, after highlighting the basic political aims and standpoints of the two clashing sides, with Hungary opposing the coercive imperial rule of Vienna, and Austria who tried to force her to consent, went on to stress that a "free England is in no humour to play into the hands of despotic Austria" ("Calendar" 503). The main point that Heard tried to make was that it should not be doubted that England would rather choose to "stand by and watch the conflict" ("Calendar" 504-05) than to form an opinion by taking sides.

The second "Month's chronicle" in which Heard mentions Hungary ("Chronicle" 119-28) maintained Heard's established position in which he retained neutrality, although he showed utmost interest in the fate of power relations on the continent, with the ulterior motive to monitor and keep Britain's original place in the balance of power. He also continued his analysis of the complexity of the situation in Austria and Hungary, this time elaborating in greater detail on the constitutional issues, which may have been requested by either the editor or readers' letters. Heard, showing a good understanding of the problem, highlighted that the main source of debate was that "Francis Joseph [ . . . ] will not have the Hungarians on their terms, they will not take him on his own" ("Chronicle" 124). Agreeing to Francis Joseph's terms would have demanded that Hungary abandon the idea of reinstating the 1848 constitution and would have required consent to Francis Joseph's centralization plan. Although he did not name the steps of this as the "October Diploma" and "February Patent" (Kovacs 6: 657-60, 668-72), the terms used in Hungarian historiography, Heard's awareness of their existence was demonstrated by the article.

Knowing how to raise and keep interest alive effectively, Heard drew comparisons which were based on the innate knowledge of his readers. One of his main arguments the audience could easily relate to was that the controversial and problematic nature of the Austrian-Hungarian connection could be attributed to the fact that Austria "copies the mistakes of England [since] her centralization is a bad copy of the selfish oligarchic conduct of England to Ireland during the last century" ("Chronicle" 124). The concluding suggestion of the "Chronicle" was that Austria should rather study England's successful steps on the route to the establishment of the Union in 1801 because "since the Union [ . . . ] Ireland is more self-governed than with a Parliament sitting in College Green" ("Chronicle" 124). In this respect the Union of 1801 served as a perfect example to a concession policy Heard missed from Austria's treatment of Hungary. He believed that Austria's lack of understanding naturally and

understandably resulted in Hungary's refusal of consent.

Heard's analysis did not harbour any sympathies toward Hungary's cause, nor did it support Austria's coercive politics. The author rather wished to point out that in certain historical situations even a powerful country needs to be flexible in its policies to achieve the desired outcome. He showed the successful working of this theory through the case of the British and Irish Union, the validity of which certainly did not need any further explanation other than mentioning the name of William Pitt to the readership of *DUM*, as a support applying the same practice that Austria might be able to achieve.

The idea Heard expressed in his "Chronicle" can be, in a sense, regarded as a continuation of Dwyer's line of thought. The nineteen year gap between the publications of the two articles respectively has indeed seen a representative government created in Hungary, something which Dwyer had already warned against and interpreted as indicative of weakness in Austria's policies in 1842. Although Heard would not have interpreted the creation of a government in Hungary itself as the wrong policy to pursue, provided it was kept under tight control and not subjected to supervision by the Hungarian Diet, it was Austria's selfish attitude that he made responsible for the then existing situation. As a supporter of the Union of 1801, Heard believed in such a concession policy that served the interests of both parties. Applying this to the case of Austria and Hungary, he would rather have supported a solution whereby the ending of Austrian coercion would bring about the ending of political unrest in Hungary. This, however, did not mean that Austria should comply with Hungary's claims for constitution, or that she should lose her position as the main decision-maker within the empire.

## Conclusion

An overall assessment of *The Dublin University Magazine's* perception of Hungary would necessarily involve acknowledging that this country featured in the issues throughout the publication history of the magazine on numerous occasions but not as part of a deliberate editorial policy. The periodical originally set out to introduce other European countries, with the aim of trying to bring the continent closer to the readers, therefore Hungary was not the only country that received attention from the editors. The writings, which also included short stories and poems, were not constructed primarily to convey contemporary politics but rather centred on topics of cultural, historical or social nature. A picture of a country or a region would not be complex enough without these aspects to meet the high standards of *The Dublin University Magazine*.

If we take a look at the topics covered, we can see that the respective authors followed this structure in the case of Hungary also. Counting the number of those writings that dealt with cultural issues and the number of those about contemporary politics, we might conclude that the former outnumber the latter. This claim is true not



just in respect of the number of articles but also if we consider the depth and complexity of the topics that were portrayed in them. These cultural articles incorporated historical topics. They introduced traditions, customs, folk tales and a geographical picture of the region was also drawn. One of them loosely used Hungary as a historically based setting for a romantic short story. However, the politically based writings, Heard's "Monthly Calendars," the "Hungary" poem and Dwyer's account did not plan to and could not possibly reach up to the same level of diversity. The articles of Heard and Dwyer mentioned interesting ideas and viewpoints, e.g. Heard paralleling Austria's policies and situation with England's, which would have needed more elaboration in order to make a lasting impression on the audience.

A striking feature of the writings concerned with contemporary events is the perspective from which they view Hungary. Despite the different levels of sympathy towards Hungarians present in these articles, all of them considered Hungary and the events it was involved in primarily according to the effect they would have on Britain's position as a power in Europe. Hungary did not become a topic on her own account, rather, she was observed as subordinate to the European power relations and status quo, allowing the authors to come to the point of assessing the importance of Hungarian events from this particular angle. The absence of the Hungarian point of view also implied that some events and changes having occurred in Hungary were not given enough space. The existence of these, together with the effect they exercised, were simply acknowledged in a couple of sentences but they had not been devoted a separate article. This was most obvious in the case of the establishment of the Dual Monarchy in 1867, one of the major events in nineteenth-century Hungarian history, although its assessment as a success or rather negative result is one of the still debated topics in Hungarian historiography. The controversial nature of the Compromise was well known among contemporaries, therefore the magazine's ignoring the issue raises questions about the possible reasons or motives behind this neglect. Similarly, readers were never made aware that the aims of 1848-49 were in fact accomplished in 1867, leaving a set of never fully connected fragments of Hungarian history and politics behind after the publication of the magazine was terminated. Despite the above imperfections, *The Dublin University Magazine* presented readers with an insightful, well-detailed picture of Hungary, the quality of which was outstanding as its authors took care to consult and acknowledge sources that were considered as accurate in the studied field. Its approach reflected the traditional Protestant academic circle from which the editors of the magazine had originated.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> I would like to acknowledge the financial support of the John and Pat Hume Scholarships (NUI Maynooth) for facilitating my current research. I also wish to thank Dr Gabriella Hartvig, Professor Jacqueline Hill and Professor Mária Kurdi for their helpful comments and suggestions on earlier drafts of the text.

<sup>2</sup> All these periodicals have published articles of various lengths on Hungary

throughout their existence. I have collected the writings of my focus as part of the research I am conducting for the title of the PhD at NUI Maynooth, Ireland.

<sup>3</sup> See Edmund Downey, *Charles Lever: His Life in his Letters* (2 vols, Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1906) 1: 73-74; William John Fitzpatrick, *The Life of Charles Lever* (2 vols, London: Chapman and Hall, 1879) 2: 195-97. Both references were collected with the help of the *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900*. Each section in this five-volume reference Index was compiled in order to provide general information on the publication history of a given periodical, including names of the editors and/or high profile journalists and writers who were contributors, followed by a list of the authors of each article in all published volumes of the aforementioned periodical.

<sup>4</sup> [Anon]. "The political relations of the East and West of Europe: Servia, Wallachia and Moldavia." *The Dublin University Magazine* 21 (1843): 325-38.

<sup>5</sup> The names of chapter headings are my translations from the French original.

<sup>6</sup> See Kontler 226; also see chapter five, entitled "Enlightenment, Reform and Revolution (1711-1849)" (191-259), especially the section of "Unenlightened Absolutism and Hungary's Age of Reform" (222-46) for a critical elaboration of the topic.

## Works Cited

### PRIMARY SOURCES

*The Dublin University Magazine*

[Dwyer, Francis Doyne]. "Hungary and its political relations to the East and West of Europe." *The Dublin University Magazine* 19 (1842): 781-95.

[Ferguson, Samuel]. "Hungary." *The Dublin University Magazine* xxxiv (1849): 292.

[Heard, John Bickford]. "A Month's Calendar." *The Dublin University Magazine* 57 (1861): 503-12.

[Heard, John Bickford]. "A Month's Chronicle." *The Dublin University Magazine* 58 (1861): 119-28.

[Hull, Edward]. "Hungary and the Lower Danube." *The Dublin University Magazine* 83 (1874): 257-65.

[Kennedy, Patrick]. "Household tales of Sclavonians and Hungarians." *The Dublin University Magazine* 70 (1867): 123-49.

[Kennedy, Patrick]. "The fireside stories of Hungary." *The Dublin University Magazine* 70 (1867): 575-86.

Marmont, Auguste-Frederic-Louis Viesse de, Duc de Raguse. *Voyage en Hongrie, en Transylvanie dans la Russie Méridionale, en Crimée* 4 vols. Paris, 1837.

[Mooney, Mrs Clifden]. "Magyar superstitions and ceremonies." *The Dublin University Magazine* 59 (1862): 705-16.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

- Hayley, Barbara, and Enda McKay, eds. *Three Hundred Years of Irish Periodicals*. Mullingar: Liliput, 1987.
- Houghton, Walter E. *The Wellesley Index to Victorian periodicals 1824-1900*. 5 vols. London-Henley: Routledge, 1987.
- Kabdebo, Thomas. *Ireland and Hungary. A study in parallels with an Arthur Griffith bibliography*. Dublin: Four Courts, 2001.
- Kontler, László. *A History of Hungary: Millenium in Central Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002.
- Kovács, Endre, ed. *Magyarország története tíz kötetben* [The history of Hungary in ten volumes]. Vol 6: 1848-1890. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1979.
- LeFebvre, Georges. *Napoleon*. Budapest: Gondolat, 1975.
- Markó, László, ed. *Új Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon* [New Hungarian encyclopedia of biographies]. 6 vols. Budapest: Magyar Könyvklub, 2002.