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John Paget's Memorandum: Hungary and Transylvania in 1836

Abstract

From the renowned poet Lord Byron, who lost his life fighting for the Greeks during their War of Independence, to David Urquhart, one of the most prominent defenders of the Turks in Europe, many Englishmen volunteered for various causes throughout the 19th century. Among these individuals was John Paget, a member of an established English family. After meeting his future wife, the Hungarian Baroness Polixena Wesselényi, in Rome, Paget traveled extensively through Hungary and Transylvania before eventually settling in Transylvania, where he endeavored to contribute to the region's development. However, what keeps Paget's legacy alive in Hungary today is not his contributions to local development but rather his travelogue, *Hungary and Transylvania*, in which he documented his journeys between 1835 and 1837. The foundation of this work emerged in 1836 when Paget met Lord John Ponsonby, the British Ambassador to Istanbul; at Ponsonby's request, Paget prepared a memorandum to provide the ambassador with updated insights on the lesser-known regions of the Austrian Empire. Notably, this memorandum included matters of particular interest to Ponsonby that were not addressed in his travel book. This study aims to transcribe Paget's memorandum, which holds significance for Hungarian history, and to elucidate the historical context in which it was composed.

Keywords: John Paget, Hungary, Transylvania, Lord Ponsonby

John Paget'in Memorandumu: 1836 Yılında Macaristan ve Transilvanya

Öz

Yunan Bağımsızlık Savaşı'nda Türklere karşı mücadele ederken hayatını kaybeden ünlü şair Lord Byron'dan Türklerin Avrupa'daki en büyük savunucularından biri haline gelen David Urquhart'a kadar



çok sayıda İngiliz, 19. yüzyıl boyunca dünyanın birçok bölgesinde farklı milletler için gönüllü faaliyetlerde bulundu. Bu kişilerden biri de köklü bir İngiliz aileye mensup olan John Paget idi. Paget, ileride eşi olacak Macar soylu Polixena Wesselényi ile Roma'da tanıştıktan sonra Macaristan ve Transilvanya'yı baştan sona gezdi. Nihayetinde Transilvanya'ya yerleşti ve bu ülkenin gelişimi için yetenekleri doğrultusunda katkı sundu. Ancak Paget'in Macaristan'daki anısını günümüzde yaşatan şey, bu faaliyetlerinden daha çok 1835 ve 1837 yılları arası gerçekleştirdiği gezisini kitaplaştırdığı Hungary and Transylvania adlı seyahatnamesidir. Bu eserin taslağı, Paget 1836'da İstanbul'da Britanya'nın Büyükelçisi Lord John Ponsonby ile buluştuğunda ortaya çıktı. Ponsonby'nin isteği üzerine Paget, büyükelçiye Avusturya'nın az bilinen bölgeleri hakkında güncel bilgiler vermek üzere bir memorandum hazırladı. Ancak memorandumunda Ponsonby'nin özel olarak ilgisini çekebilecek ve seyahatnamesinde yer almayan hususlara da değindi. Bu çalışma, Paget'in Macar tarihi için kayda düşmesi gereken bu memorandumunun transkripsiyonunu sunmayı ve memorandumun hazırlandığı tarihsel bağlamı ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: John Paget, Macaristan, Transilvanya, Lord Ponsonby

Introduction

Throughout the 19th century, numerous Englishmen volunteered their efforts for the benefit of various nations. Among these individuals was John Paget, hailing from a distinguished English family. He was born on 18 April 1808 in Loughborough, England, into a well-known Whig family. John completed his medical degree at the University of Edinburgh in 1831 and published acclaimed treatises on heart disease and cholera. Despite his medical education, he never practiced medicine thanks to the inheritance he received from his father, who passed away in 1833. After furthering his medical education in Belgium and Germany, he visited Rome where he encountered Polixena Wesselényi. She sought refuge from her troubled marriage to Baron László Bánffy (Wykes, 1980, pp. 54-55; Kovács, 2008, p. 206). Polixena was a well-educated and liberal-minded member of a noble Hungarian family. She was the cousin of Baron Miklós Wesselényi, the leader of the upper house of the Hungarian Diet. The relationship between John and Polixena would culminate in their marriage in Hungary on 15 November 1836, following Polixena's divorce from László (Leicester Journal, 16 December 1836). In 1835, when Miklós Wesselényi, an opponent of Austria to which Hungary was subject, was in danger of arrest, Polixena asked John to help get her cousin out of the country. Thus began John's journey to Hungary. Accompanied by his friends, journalist William Stanford and painter George Edward Hering, he arrived in Presburg (Bratislava) in June 1835, where the Hungarian Diet met (Kovács, 2008, p. 209). Here, John encountered both Miklós Wesselényi and the eminent Hungarian reformer István Széchenyi. This period marked a time

of significant reform in Hungary. John quickly forged a close relationship with the pro-British liberals within the Hungarian opposition (Pellérdi, 2021, pp. 104-105).¹

In early 1836, John interrupted his tour of Hungary and visited Greece and the Ottoman Empire. He returned to Hungary in August 1836 and continued to travel in Hungary and Transylvania until the autumn of 1837 (Wykes, 1980, p. 59). After spending time in France and England with his wife Polixena, he returned to Kolozsvár in December 1839. He started living in his mansion in Aranyosgyeres, which he designed in the English style (Szekely, 1992, p. 104). Even though John was born in England, he chose Hungary as his home and dedicated himself to the country's development. He introduced agricultural innovations by importing machinery for his farm and initiating viticulture for wine production. Additionally, he began breeding cattle and sheep with animals imported from England. With a keen interest in horsemanship and proficiency as a rider, John became a pioneer in horse breeding, horse racing, and fox hunting in Hungary (Szekely, 1992, p. 104). After mastering the Hungarian language, John was naturalized as a Hungarian citizen in 1847. During the 1848 Hungarian War of Independence, he supported the Hungarian resistance with both his "pen and sword." He served as a cavalry officer in the Hungarian National Army and participated in the liberation of the inhabitants of Kolozsvár from the Romanian militia. Throughout the conflict, he acted as a diplomat, seeking support for the Hungarian cause by informing the British Foreign Office through the Budapest Consulate and communicating with the British press via private letters. However, when the Hungarian uprising was suppressed, he returned to England with his family (Kovács, 2008, pp. 212-216).²

With the assistance of the British government, he was able to return to his plundered estate in Aranyosgyeres in 1855. Starting from scratch, he quickly rebuilt his farm, improving it beyond its previous state. Thanks to the high-quality wines he produced, he won first prize at the 1878 Paris World's Fair, an achievement that earned him the French Legion of Honour. Additionally, he was a founding member of both the Transylvanian Cellar Association and the Transylvanian Economic Association. In recognition of his contributions, he was awarded the second class of the Order of the Iron Crown, which conferred upon him the title of "Baron." He died on April 10, 1892, and was interred in the family crypt in Kolozsvár (Bökös, 2017, p. 90; Székely, 1992, p. 104; Miklós, 2008, p. 16).

¹ For the pro-British politicians in Hungary, (see. Országh, 1979).

² For the diary kept by John Paget during the Hungarian War of Independence in 1848, (see. Madden, 1939-1940).

1. John Paget's Book and Memorandum

As can be seen, John devoted his entire life to his wife's country after the age of 27. Nevertheless, John's place in Hungarian history is best known for the book he wrote about the observations he made during his travels between 1835 and 1837. John, who had great respect and affection for Hungarians, published his travel diary under the title *Hungary and Transylvania* at the request of his wife (Paget, 1850).³ As stated in the preface of the book, which was enriched with Hering's drawings⁴, John aimed to introduce Hungary, which was little known in the West:

"I am deeply interested in the welfare of Hungary, and I have thought that one great means of promoting it would be to extend the knowledge of that country in the west of Europe, and more especially in England" (Paget, 1850, p. vii).

Influencing later analyses of Hungary (Pellérdi, 2021, p. 102) and based on a realistic narrative, this book is reliable and informative.⁵ However, the outline of it emerged when John met with Lord John Ponsonby, the British Ambassador to Istanbul, in May 1836.

When Ponsonby took office in Istanbul in May 1833, Britain was the least influential great power in the capital. Britain's influence in the Ottoman Empire became symbolic when the Whig cabinet, formed in 1830 under the premiership of Lord Grey—Ponsonby's brother-in-law—failed to provide Sultan Mahmud with the naval support he repeatedly requested in his struggle against the Egyptian governor, Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha. From the outset of his embassy, Ponsonby endeavored to address the Egyptian problem through joint action among Britain, Austria, and France. However, the Treaty of Hünkâr İskelesi was signed between the Ottomans and Russia in July 1833, a development of which Ponsonby was among the last to be informed. Despite this, Austrian Chancellor Metternich opted to support Russia's bold unilateral action. Subsequently, Ponsonby began efforts to reintegrate Austria into an alliance with Britain and France to ensure the security of Constantinople and to prevent Russian expansion to the south. Thus, a thorough understanding of Austria's internal and external politics, as well as its strengths and weaknesses, was crucial for Ponsonby. It was therefore inevitable that he would place great importance on firsthand information from John, who had traveled extensively in

³ This book is one of the earliest travelogues to provide detailed information on Hungary and Transylvania. During his travels, John Paget could only make use of Richard Bright's "Travels from Vienna Through Lower Hungary" (1818) and "John Murray's Handbook for Southern Germany" (Pellérdi, 2021, pp. 101-102). As evident from the letter he sent to Lord Ponsonby, the British Ambassador to Istanbul, on 21 May 1836, John Paget also drew upon János Csaplovics' book 'Gemälde Von Ungern' (GRE/E/317/1-21).

⁴ In 1838, George E. Hering also published a book of drawings made during his travels in Hungary and Transylvania. The preface of the book was written by John Paget (Hering, 1838).

⁵ Thanks to this work, John Paget would become a member of the Hungarian Historical Society in 1868 (Sándor, 1987, p. 339).

Hungary and Transylvania. John fulfilled the ambassador's request with a lengthy memorandum to Ponsonby. (GRE/E/317/1-21) In the letter he sent with the memorandum, he would recommend that the memorandum be expanded and published for the information of the public. (GRE/E/463/1-2).

Conclusion

The memorandum serves as a draft for John's travel book *Hungary and Transylvania*. It addresses the political, social, economic, religious, and cultural life of Hungary and Transylvania. Additionally, it includes excerpts from an unidentified article titled *Notices sur l'état de la Transylvanie*. Beyond these elements, John conveyed his insights that were not included in his book, such as Austria's weaknesses in the region and Russia's efforts to exert influence through the Greek Orthodox Church. In essence, the memorandum contains evaluations that would be of particular interest to Ponsonby. Therefore, the transcribed memorandum, while functioning as a draft for the significant work *Hungary and Transylvania* published three years later, also provides distinct information and assessments regarding the power struggles in the East during the 1830s. Finally, the spelling and punctuation in the transcription conform to the original.

Appendix

Transcription of John Paget's Memorandum on Hungary and Transylvania

From the geographical position occupied by Austria, particularly in her eastern regions of Hungary and Transylvania, no occurrence involving Russia and Turkey can take place without Austria being deeply interested. If she acts with us, it is essential to understand the extent of her support; if against us, we must ascertain what means of opposition she can provide. In either case, a knowledge of the truth is desirable. To Russia, the circumstances are fully known; every point of weakness in her favor has been carefully studied, and each day sees her working to augment them. In contrast, we remain profoundly ignorant of the strengths that Austria's internal circumstances afford us. We do not wish to enter into the whole system of Austrian government; Lombardy, Bohemia, and the Tyrol all offer sufficient subjects for animadversion, but we will confine ourselves to Hungary and Transylvania, an enquiry into whose present state as affecting a great European question, is at this moment of considerable interest and may lead us to future important considerations (p. 2).

The Kingdom of Hungary, along with its dependencies of Croatia and Slavonia (1), covers an area of nearly twenty thousand square miles and has a population of 10 million. For eight or nine centuries, despite Turkish invasions, Austrian intrigues, and internal divisions, Hungary has maintained a constitutional form of government. Imperfect though this constitution may be, it offers several advantages. Its triennial structure, the faculty of recall vested in the constituents, the power to grant and withhold supplies, and, most importantly, the internal governance that allows for the election of municipal officers by those to be governed (p. 3), along with immediate taxation and its voluntary assessment and collection, embody the principles of good government. These are aspects that even the most advanced nations may well envy in Hungary.

That its faults are numerous and glaring, we do not deny. The exclusive right to vote rests with the nobles; however, it is important to remember that every landowner is considered a noble, and they make up a significant portion of the population. The borough delegates have lost their voting rights, though they still retain the ability to sit in the chamber. However, the corrupt constitution of the corporations they represented, along with their shameless subservience to Austria, rendered them unworthy of such rights. The degraded state of the peasantry and the oppressive privileges of the nobles are just a few of the glaring defects present. Nevertheless, despite these issues, the spirit of constitutional liberty persists, and a desire for moderate reform permeates every class. With moral support from outside, a brilliant era may yet dawn for Hungary (p. 4).

One of the most distinctive features of Hungary is the diversity of its population. When the Magyars conquered the territory in 894, they drove the former inhabitants into the mountains and settled themselves on the great plains on either side of the Tisza River, between the Danube and the Carpathian Mountains, which they continue to occupy. They are estimated to number approximately three and a half million, forming the core of the nation and comprising nearly the entire nobility. Among them, about half are Protestants, most of whom have access to schools, while the other half are Catholics.

The former inhabitants of the country, the Slavs, were driven into the mountains to the northwest and south, where, along with various colonists from their Slavic neighbors, they remain today, totaling about four million people. In the north, they are known as Slovaks, while in the south, they are referred to as Croatians and Slavonians, not to mention several minor distinctions. The Slovaks are predominantly Catholics, whereas the Croatians and Slavonians belong to either the Greek Orthodox or Greek Catholic Church.

The Wallacks who occupy much of the Banat and the eastern part of Hungary are I think understated (p. 5) at a million¹ all of whom belong to the Greek church.

The influence that Russia can exert in Hungary is significant, as it appeals to the religious sentiments of the Wallachians on one hand and the sympathies stemming from shared origin and language among the Slavs on the other. This connection is further strengthened by the union of both groups with the Croatians and Slavonians, a fact that cannot be unknown to Austria. However, we doubt that the cabinet in Vienna is aware that the Czar's emissaries are constantly active among the Hungarian peasantry, reminding the Slavs that the country, originally theirs, has been usurped by the Magyars. They portray the Wallachians' plight in contrast to the fortunate state of those who enjoy the paternal protection of the head of their common church. That such activities are indeed taking place, we have ample reason to believe.

The shortsighted policy of Austrian legislators whose maxim has been "strenght in division" has rendered the Hungarian peasantry singularly open to foreign influence. Fearing that moral union which would give Hungary the power to demand her rights, they have not only placed her interests and feelings in direct (p. 6) opposition to those of other parts of her states, but have constantly excited the peasants and noble against eachother in the vain hope that both would look to them as their friends and mediators, instead of the real causes of their disunion. The consequence has only been hatred and distrust on every side. The day may come when Austria may require the strenght this fatal policy has paralysed!

¹ Quote from Csaplovics, "Gemälde Von Ungern", perhaps the best statistical work on Hungary.

Among the Magyars, particularly the nobles, there exists a strong sentiment against Russia. In addition to the inherent dislike that any free people must feel toward a powerful and despotic neighbor, the treatment of Poland has filled the cup of hatred to the brim. United with Poland by historical associations, closer commercial ties, and many similarities in position and governance, Hungary fears that Poland's fall might serve as a forewarning of its own fate. As a result, Hungary sympathized more profoundly with Poland's suffering than any other country in Europe and deeply condemned the author of its wrongs. Hungary sent money and provisions, and petitions for intervention flowed from every corner to the foot of the throne. The Diet repeatedly protested against the inactivity of Austria; although these efforts were in vain, they demonstrate the spirit with which the nation is animated and assure us that, in the event of war with Russia, Hungary would not remain an indifferent spectator (p. 7).

The last Diet which after sitting three years closed only in May last, was appointed for the consideration of the state of the peasants with a view to its amelioration. Many exceedingly liberal and just propositions repeatedly passed the lower chamber but were almost universally rejected by the Magnates², so that in the end though something has been obtained, it has fallen for short of what justice demanded or the nation had a right to expect. Many other questions of interest came under discussion; the equalization of the rights of the different religions, petitions against the abandonment of Poland, protest against the shameless prosecution of Baron Wesselényi; all these were carried repeatedly by the commoners, the last I believe fifteen times and as often rejected by the Magnates. In spite of opposition however they carried a bill for the erection of a bridge across the Danube at Pest with the obligation of the nobles to pay toll, a law to oblige the judges to record the reasons for their judgement, and an enactment for the employment of the Hungarian instead of the Latin language in all (p. 8) official and legal proceedings.

The principality of Transylvania is united to the crown of Hungary but enjoys her constitution and peculiar rights undisturbed. By the act of union, the diploma Leopoldinum, these rights are distinctly guaranteed. The parliament is annual, the counties and boroughs sending up their respective delegates and the crown on the otherhand appointing a number of members (their number not strictly limited) called Regalists who sit and vote with the delegates. These Regalists hold the situation for life and are principally, though not exclusively, chosen from among the counts and barons who have not in Transylvania any separate chamber.

² The Magnates or Peers of Hungary are little more than nominees of Austria.

The statistics of Transylvania are poorly defined; if we estimate the area at 5,000 square miles with a population of 2,000,000, I believe we will be sufficiently close to the truth. The population consists of four distinct races. In the east, inhabiting a mountainous district, are the Székely (Siculi), who are said to have been found in their current location by the Magyars during their initial conquest. Whether they are descendants of Attila, as they claim, or whatever their true origin, there is no doubt that they belong to the same ethnic family. Their language, character, and appearance all indicate that they are Magyars (p. 9). To the south and east are the Saxons, a German colony introduced as early as 1142 by Géza II, who granted them a constitution that was almost republican in nature and under which they flourish to this day. The remainder of the country is inhabited by Hungarians or Magyars. Throughout these districts, however, the majority of the peasantry consists of Wallachians, whose numbers far exceed those of the other three groups. Some of these belong to the Catholic Greek Church, but the vast majority adhere to the original Greek Church. Here, the influence of Russia is immense. The Wallachians, due to their numerical superiority, possess significant physical power; they have frequently risen up (we will not inquire into who has incited them) and avenged real or perceived wrongs with the most frightful excesses. To a certain extent, they are aware of their power. Russian agents are actively at work in this region, and its proximity to Wallachia and Moldavia provides excellent opportunities for influence. Just recently, a calendar published in Bucharest and distributed throughout Transylvania invited Wallachians to seize the country as their rightful claim and to expel the Hungarian usurpers (p. 10).

The following statement of the political state of Transylvania at the commencement of this year (1836) contains a most accurate history of the last Diet and subsequent transactions. How it fell into our hands is of no consequence, those who know the country will acknowledge with how much justice and impartiality it is drawn up.

Translation of "Notices sur l'état de la Transylvanie"

There is perhaps no country in Europe so abounding in natural resources as Hungary. The mines of gold and silver which in different parts of the country have been long known. Those of Transylvania are particularly rich. Anyone is at liberty to work them on paying a tenth to government. The metal must be coined in the country. In copper, lead, antimony and sulphur there seems scarcely a limit to quantity which might be obtained.

Coal has been worked for some years in the county of Edenburg from whence it is sent chiefly to Vienna. Since the establishment of steam navigation, it has also been found of a good quality in the neighbourhood of Mohacs and I think at another point lower down the river.

Traces of it have been discovered in many other parts of the country but the abundance of wood has hitherto prevented its (p. 11) being sought after or used.

Salt is dug to the amount of from 1.500.000 to 2.000.000 cwts yearly, though the tax on it is most oppressive. Alum, soda, potash and salpeter are found in considerable quantities.

In terms of timber, Hungary can supply large quantities, primarily of oak, along with some fir and beech. In many parts of the country, particularly in the area known as the Bakony forest, which extends for several hundred miles, the finest oaks are left to decay. The difficulty—if not the impossibility—of transporting them as timber over the dreadful local roads, combined with a lack of market demand, accounts for this situation. However, if the timber were cut into staves on-site and transported to the Sava or Drava rivers for export, these challenges would be mitigated. A small quantity of staves is already exported from Fiume to Marseilles, although most of the material is sourced from Bosnia, incurring the expense of a lengthy land carriage. Currently, wool is almost the only product that Hungary exports in any significant quantity for foreign use, and it is the only export not taxed. Benefiting from this exemption, the production of fine merino wool has increased dramatically in Hungary over the past few years, and new blocks are being introduced daily, as it remains nearly the only product for which they can find a ready market. This wool is collected by German merchants and primarily transported by land from Vienna to Hamburg and then on to England (p. 12).

Silk has been introduced and is found to answer but is not yet produced in any great quantities.

The Hungarian hemp is of a fine quality and may be produced to any extent at present the supply is greater than the demand.³ Tobacco is grown in the greater part of the country. Its finer parts are second only to the Turkish.

Of the many qualities of wines in Hungary, Tokay is the only one which has acquired an European reputation, though many others are worthy of it. Some of them have a body and flavour which would well adapt them to the English market. The white wines of Transylvania are excellent; the whole of that country seems by nature laid out for a vineyard. A quantity of a spirit called Sliwowitz procured from the plum (Zwetschen) is distilled in the south and part of it finds its way into Wallachia (p. 13).

³ With respect to all productions of the soil the same remark may be applied. After a plentiful harvest corn is scarcely saleable in some parts of the country. It must be remembered in calculating the resources of Hungary that one fourth of the surface is still uncultivated.

Flax, hides, tallow, wax, horsehair, bristles, gall, nuts and rags are all articles in the Hungarian merchant may find his account.⁴

For these immense riches nature has provided Hungary most beautifully with outlets. The Danube traverses the whole country from west to east; nearly from north to south runs the Theiss which for the purposes of commerce is in many respects one of the best rivers in Europe. To these must be added the Waag bringing wood from the Carpathians in the north, in the east the Maros by which passes the Transylvanian salt, in the southwest the Drava, the Save and the Culpa all eventually communicating with the Danube.

The manufactures of Hungary are few and insignificant, insufficient to meet the needs of the country. A handful of individuals have been tempted to establish factories, lured by the encouragement that comes from the exclusion of duties on foreign goods; however, most of these ventures have fortunately failed at the outset. I say "fortunately" because I know of no country where the establishment of manufacturing would be more detrimental than in Hungary. The population of Hungary is barely half sufficient for the proper cultivation of the soil. Manufacturing can only thrive with a surplus population. Foreign trade (p. 14) would provide a market for their products, which the duties necessary to protect or even to create manufacturing in the current state would deprive them of. The country would be impoverished by diverting labor away from agriculture, which it desperately needs, and the advancement of the lower classes would be hindered by the high prices of comforts that would otherwise be accessible. The nation would be excluded from foreign interactions; in fact, the boundless wealth and advantages with which nature has endowed Hungary would be neglected in favor of creating an artificial source of poverty. Hungarians should observe the difficulties that legislative interference with commerce has created for other countries, and study the consequences of corn laws in England and sugar duties in France. They should avoid protective tariffs for domestic production as the greatest curse. I do not mean to imply that Hungary can never manufacture. As the population increases, the advantages of position and natural resources will become more accessible, but any manufacturing that arises from such causes will not require legislative protection, which is what I seek to critique.

The trade at present existing directly between England and Hungary is little or nothing. On the one hand it is restricted to rags and on the other to a few articles of luxury introduced in spite of all impediments (p. 15) yet in England the greatest demand exists for articles of Hungarian produce, in Hungary a rage for everything of English manufacture. How two

⁴ I present in note the accompanying price current.

countries whose mutual necessities would naturally have brought them together have been thus kept asunder, let us enquire.

1) The ignorance prevailing in England and even among English merchants established in Austria of everything concerning Hungary.⁵ Some of our compatriots settled in Trieste have engaged in Hungarian ventures but have been unable to sustain them. Their main complaints have been a lack of trust from those they have dealt with, as well as the expense, difficulty, and uncertainty of communication. The majority of Hungarian trade (both internal and with Austria) is conducted by Jews and Greeks, along with a few Germans. Generally speaking, these individuals lack the capital, credit, or reputation to take the place of our general merchants. The English traders have therefore been obliged to deal directly with the occupiers of land, the nobles or their agents, and they alledge (p. 16) that their contracts have not always been faithfully executed, and that no laws exist by which they can be enforced. Without questioning this statement, it is easy to see that by residence in the country, by personal knowledge of those with whom it would be safe to deal, by an acquaintance with the laws and customs of the country these objections might be obviated.⁶

The difficulties on the point of communication, refers to carriage from the interior of the country, particularly from Banat, the most productive part, to Fiume. The goods must have passed up the Danube to the mouth of the Save, up the Save to the junction of Culpa. They have sometimes waited months for want of water before they could proceed up this stream to Carlstadt, after which they had still the expense of 80 miles land carriage before they could be stripped at Fiume.⁷ In consequence of this the corn of Banat which formerly supplied a considerable part of North Italy has been superseded from Odessa. These difficulties the improved navigation of the Danube will speedily solve. (p. 17)

2) Many of the laws of Hungary are exceedingly injurious to commerce or to the full developement of the resources of the country, and unfortunately these have been hitherto so strongly associated in the minds of a certain party with their most cherished rights, that any change has been strenuously opposed. The next Diet however, which can not legally be deferred

⁵ What Englishman that has ever visited Hungary, has not been delighted to find his national language, manners, customs, every work of repute, every parliamentary debate of importance, known and studied with intense interest? Who that has seen this has not felt ashamed of his own and his country's ignorance of such a people? You know and interest yourselves less about us than about the negroes of Africa is a constant complaint.

⁶ It is scarcely necessary to suggest how much the establishment of a consulship in Pest would tend to the facilitation of commerce.

⁷ The Ludovica road which connects Carlstadt with Fiume is one of the noblest in Europe and though a private undertaking may rival some of Napoleon's proudest works. With the Danube open, it can be of little use for commercial purposes. If the Dardanelles are closed, it may afford a passage for the allies of Austria. Troops landed at Fiume, might after an 80 miles march pass into the heart of Wallachia or Bulgaria in about 10 days by water!

beyond three years, is to consider all the laws regarding this subject with a view to their reform and there can be little doubt from the increased diffusion of political knowledge and the liberal spirit which pervades the lower chamber that if not restrained by the Austrian government great and important changes will be affected. I allude now particularly to the laws impeding the final sale of landed property⁸ to the inability of the peasant to hold land, the injurious interference of country courts in fixing the price of articles of food. The difficulty of enforcing payment of debt or fulfillment of contract against a noble and his extreme jealousy of taxation which prevents his contributing to roads, bridges etc. and their consequent bad state.

3) Worse than all these have been the duties amounting to prohibitory on exportation and importation laid on by Austria and aided in their operation by the restrictive regulations of England. (p. 18) The Hungarian Diet lays claim on behalf of the nation to their right to a free commerce and denounces as unconstitutional the imposition of any duties by the Austrian government without their consent. At the present moment⁹ a heavy export duty is imposed on almost all Hungarian produce, and the importation at least of English and French goods¹⁰ prohibited to the merchant. The noble however is allowed, not as a right but as a favour which may be withheld, to import in small quantities for his own use, on paying an advalorem duty of 60 percent and in this way the merchants through others obtain small supplies of a few articles of luxury of course at exorbitant prices. A considerable amount chiefly of valuable objects of little bulk is introduced by smuggling which is so far advanced that goods are insured from seizure for 25 percent. The coast guard about Fiume though occupying a considerable number of men at a very heavy expense to government is ill paid and open to bribery. The Austrians are so well aware of the extent of this illicit trade that they lately established custom house stations in the interior of Croatia for the (p. 19) purpose of seizure after the passage of the frontier. The Croatians however resisted it in a full meeting of the nobles, and declared that as part of Hungary, no such officers should be allowed within their territory. They seemed to consider the contraband trade as a right and were determined to afford it every facility till government should consent to a freer commercial system.

⁸ Any member of the seller's family can, at any period however remote, repurchase the land on paying the cost price.

⁹ Independantly of injurious effects of the duties themselves, the frequency with which they are arbitrarily charged, gives such an uncertainty to commercial speculation as considerably to embarrass it.

¹⁰ Yet such is the taste for English and French manufactures that the German are obliged to forge labels, very exactly imitated to pass off their wretched articles which have nothing else to recommend them. An honest way to ruin our manufacturing reputation.

The advantages¹¹ obtained by Austrians from these restrictions arise from the market she thus gains for some of her Bohemian, Italian and German manufactures and on the other hand a cheap supply of raw produce for Vienna. Besides this she monopolizes the supply of tobacco which she purchases cheap in Hungary and sells in a very deteriorated form in the provinces. It is difficult to arise at precise data on such a subject, but notwithstanding these and other advantages we feel convinced that Austria loses by her commercial system while Hungary is totally ruined by it. A five per cent duty on importation and a free exportation would I think in the opinion of many in a few years produce a far greater revenue. To prevent smuggling is impossible. Tobacco is a bulky article, and yet more smuggled tobacco is smoked in the very capital itself than many other. In fact, in this as in her police regulations and censorship Austria establishes laws of (p. 20) such impracticable strictness that there is no country in Europe in which they are so ill observed. A Hungarian is refused a passport for England or France, he goes without it. A book is prohibited, every bookseller lays in a stock, for he knows it must have merit. Hungarian tobacco is prohibited. Its odoriferous clouds are seen rising from every Meerschaum in Vienna!

In the current state of European affairs, a union of commercial interests between England and Hungary could lead to significant consequences. Hungary could supply a substantial portion of the raw materials now provided by Russia and would offer an excellent market in return. The power of Russia would be diminished in direct proportion to the increase in Austria's influence. In both cases, the moral impact would be as considerable as the material one. On one hand, the power of despotism would be weakened, fostering discontent among her impoverished dependents; on the other, the spirit of civil and religious liberty would be upheld in a part of Europe long thought to be devoid of it. This agitation, which creates direct opposition between the ruler and the ruled, rendering both weak, would be calmed through the most effective means: removing its principal causes (p. 21). Austria must be fully aware that the current system of restrictions in Hungary cannot be maintained much longer. She must therefore choose between England and Germany as her future trading partners. Aside from the differing relative values of the two markets, another consideration may influence this decision: does she wish to lose her German provinces? If not, she should keep the Prussians and their tariff system away from the Danube, for as surely as they establish a presence there, Bohemia

¹¹ I will not believe Austria guilty of so black a crime as wishing to prevent the full development of the resources of Hungary. To hold a great people in poverty and ignorance lest their rising strength might oppose itself to certain political schemes is a project too horrible to be entertained even by the worst of men. Its baseness even would be exceeded by its folly.

and the two Austrias will fall into the Customs Union that they create, and Austria's power in Germany hangs by a slender thread.

The security for a free commerce on the Danube, a point of the greatest moment to Austria, would always be strengthened by increasing its importance to other European Powers at the same time even in case of war and closure of Dardanelles, Hungary has still an opening to the Adriatic.

Steam navigation is established from Presburg to Constantinople. The banks of the Danube are teeming with natural riches and while her various populations loudly demand the comforts and luxuries of civilized life. These are facts of which England ought not to be ignorant or unmindful.

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