
Zsolt Vesztróczy

Béla Grünwald the nationality politician

Abstract

*In the 1870s Béla Grünwald brought a kind of turn into the Hungarian nationality policy by his magisterial activities in Co. Zólyom and his book *A Felvidék (the Upland)*. He suggested hastening the Magyarization of schools and town with national aids in order to reach his aims – among them the suppression of the 'Pan Slavic' ideas – he realised that the inhabitants of Slovakian villages were impossible to change over. He could not realize his major ideals: the nationalization of the counties, the annulations of the liberal nationality law and the tightening of the freedom of the press. Driven out of the political life, he committed suicide in 1891.*

The name of Béla Grünwald is by now synonymous with the forceful Magyarization that aimed at the changing the whole life of the Slovak inhabitants of Hungary. He earned the doubtful fame through the dissolution of Matica Slovenska and three Slovak-language secondary schools as well as his book *A Felvidék* [The Upland], the latter provided intellectual ammunition against the approach of the minorities in general and Slovaks in particular. The present paper is going to introduce this controversial career from the point of view of Hungarian – Slovak relationships.

Following the 1868 nationality law the controversies between liberalism and nationalism presented increasing dilemma for the Hungarian political elite of the time that broke into two major groups. Though everybody agreed upon the principle of the indivisible state and the one political nation, the political minority led by Ferenc Deák, József Eötvös and Lajos Mocsáry tried to even out the controversy by adhering to the nationality law on local and county level. The opposing majority saw the solution in limiting of the content of the law and the self-governing rights as well as the obstruction of

the widening of the suffrage.¹ One of the most distinct but extremist representative of this group was Béla Grünwald, who got his name written in the history of Hungarian – Slovak relationship and in general of Hungarian nationality politics both as a theoretician and a politician.

Béla Grünwald was born on the 2nd of December 1839 in Szentantál as the only son of a Slovak mother and a German father. Both parents were of well to do, in Co. Zólyom influential families. Béla Grünwald went to school to Selmecebánya, Rimaszombat, Miskolc and Rozsnyó, finished his secondary school studies in 1858 and read law in Pest and Vienna. After graduation he read law and philosophy in Berlin, Heidelberg and Paris for a year. In 1865 he returned back to Besztercebánya where he became part of the county's public life. His political career started in 1868 with his being elected to notary, and in 1871 became sub-prefect of the county. From 1878 till his death in 1891 he was a member of the parliament, first in the Liberal Party, from 1880 to 1891 the Egyesült (Mérésékelt) Ellenzék [United Moderate Opposition].²

Though in the 1870s Grünwald published several pamphlets and newspaper articles on the nationality question (e.g. *Felsőmagyarországi levelek a magyar nemzetiséghez; Közigazgatásunk és a magyar nemzetiség* [Letters to the nationalities from Upper Hungary, Our administration and the Hungarian nationality], his 1978 work *A Felvidék* [The Upland] became the most influential upon the public opinion of his time and earned him fame as an ideologue in the entire country. In this work he discussed what he believed to be the satisfactory solution of the Slovak question and also the nationality question in general. If compared to his earlier writings it did not add any new ideas but was the summary of his concept.³ Though compared to the

¹ Katus László: A nemzetiségi kérdés és nemzetiségi politika a kiegyezés után. In: *Magyarország története 1848-1890.* (M. Tört. 10 kötetben, 6. köt.) Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1979. II. Szerk. Kovács E. és Katus L.pp.1354-1361. [The nationality question and nationality policy]

² Lackó Mihály: *Halál Párizsban. Grünwald Béla történész művei és betegségei.* Magvető, Budapest, 1986. (Nemzet és emlékezet 25.) pp. 32-47. p. [Death in Paris. The historian G.B. works and ailments] , Pók Attila: Utószó. In: Grünwald Béla: *A régi Magyarország 1711-1825.* Osiris Kiadó, Budapest, 2001. pp. 416-418.

³ The work of course was answered on Slovak side by Michal Mudroň in his "A Felvidék. Felelet Grünwald Béla hasonló nevű tanulmányára" [Upland. Answer to

earlier Hungarian stand point in the political and historical judgement of the Slovaks Grünwald did not express anything novel, his radical, anti-liberal suggestions for solution were all the more so. He was of the opinion that the right way was to be reached by administrative and legal measures taken by state powers i.e. the discontinuation of the election for public service, the repealing of the nationality law, the Magyarization of the entire Slovak intelligentsia, the tightening up of the press law and the various forms of expression of opinion. Surprising was also the defamatory tone he used when mentioning the Slovaks that generated disapproval even among Hungarians.

Grünwald, sharing the views of the traditional opinion of the Hungarian political elite of the reform era saw in the Slovaks – and the Germans – living in Hungary as Hungarian thinking potential allies with no separate national aspirations. For the preservation of this state of affairs Grünwald believed necessary to hinder ‘the non-Hungarian nationalities living in the Hungarian state to develop separation and solidarity to related races.’ Therefore the Slovaks ‘should be cut off from other Slav people and attach them to Hungary so strongly that they should become what the Germans of Alsace and Lorraine are now for the French.’⁴ Accordingly he did not regard the developing Slovak national movement, political, social and cultural aspirations, as a Central European people’s own national development but as the result of Pan Slavic agitation by Russians and Czechs and expected the solutions from administrative and public order.

Grünwald, as a member of his time, rejected the political existence of the Slovak nation, justifying it by two arguments.⁵ One was that the Slovaks were lacking in historical past. He declared (as the

G.B.’s essay of the same title] in 1878. He divided his book into 12 parts, following the work of B.G. and point by point discussed the statements and contradictions. Though the aim was the reaching of Okolie, Mudroň started out of the nationality law opposed by B.G. since the mentioning the question of autonomy would have meant political suicide for M. The reference to the law on the other hand parried the accusations of Pan Slavism, treason and secession, usual accusations against the Slovak linguistic, cultural and educational aspirations.

⁴ Grünwald Béla: *A Felvidék. Politikai tanulmány.* Ráth Mór, Budapest, 1878. pp. 20-21. [The Upland]

⁵ ‘Magyarországnak vannak tót nyelven beszélő lakosai, de tót nemzetiség nincsen Grünwald: *A Felvidék* p. 35. [Hungary has Slovak speaking inhabitants but there is no Slovak nationality].

anti-liberal he was, though not the present-day sense) that 'what historical monument and tradition there is it is all connected to the outstanding personalities of the Hungarian history'.⁶ On the other hand he was of the opinion that without independent state-hood the term Slovak nation means Pan Slav in reality 'that the Slovaks are little responsive to'; it made sense to want to be Hungarian or Russian but not to be Slovak: 'there is no spiritual motivation, historical past and brightness and power in the present that could awaken self-esteem and the consciousness of the right to independence'; 'the majority of the Slovaks want to be Hungarian, a small fraction Russian or Czech, but nobody wants to be Slovak.' He claimed that there was no Slovak nation because the Slovaks themselves did not 'prepare ground for their own independent existence merely prepare the easy assimilation into the great masses of Slavs.'⁷

Grünwald believed, as it was the idea of his time, that the Slovak national aspirations were part of the Pan Slav developments. The idea of Pan Slavism raised fear in the romantically minded generation of the reform era because they firmly believed in a overwhelming Russian offensive to sweep Hungary away (the Poles, though Slavs themselves, shared the same fear) and also in the undermining efforts of the Pan Slavs in Hungary willing to join.⁸ The opinion was

⁶ Ibid. p. 32.

⁷ Ibid. p. 49. Mudroň replied that he is Slovak, a member of the great Slav race. To be the member of a 80 million nation taken in the ethnographical sense, is nothing to be shamed of. But racial unity and political unity are apart as heaven and earth and to equate them is the greatest nonsense. ". Mudroň Mihály: *A Felvidék. Felelet Grünwald Béla hasonnevű politikai tanulmányára*. 2. jav. kiad. Pozsony. 1878. p. 38.

⁸ Miklós Wesselényi one of the leading figures of the liberal opposition of the reform era wrote about this topic in his book published 1843 in which described that Hungary was threatened by a Russian attack and a revolutionary war started by the Slav nations living in the area. 'whether because of the Russians, or the revolutionary war could destroy us and even a victory probably necessary for Europe would find us on the ruins of our wealth and tombs of our murdered loved ones. If the war would turn against us, and either the [Russians] or the revolution would be victorious, we would be doomed. We would become an economical and mental province of the northern colossus whose iron grip destroys the independent national existence and the constitutional freedom disappears too. If the revolution would create new empires, countries, our country would be divided among them there would be no place for the Hungarians and our national and constitutional freedom would be over and we would be blown away from among the nations. Wesselényi Miklós:

general among the Hungarian liberally minded elite whatever party they were affiliated to, even though in the circumstances of the time it had no real-political foundation as the possibility was precluded by the 1833 Münchengrätz agreement between Austria and Russia, and according to contemporary documents the Slovak – Russian relationship was cultural, literary and linguistic and not political.⁹

For the politicians of the dualistic era Pan Slavism meant only one of the counter arguments against the Slovak and in general the Slav political aspirations; the real meaning was clear to them, maybe with the exception of some fanatics. Márton Szent-Iványi Lord -Lieutenant of Co. Liptó reported in 1879 that for the Slovaks Pan Slavism was not a Russophil orientation but an aspiration to a political rearrangement of the Monarchy in Slav directions.¹⁰

In the reform era a person was called Pan Slav who was active in the propagation and cultivation of Slovak or any other Slav culture, though the term was used mainly in connection to Slovaks. The label remained in the dualistic period too, the idea itself obtained new content. Those persons were called that who were socially on the rise but claimed to be Slovaks or wanted to make use of the nationality rights offered by the dualistic system. Grünwald, too, used the term

Szózat a magyar és szláv nemzetiség ügyében. Európa Kiadó, Budapest, 1992. pp. 209-210. [Appeal in the case of the Hungarian and Slav nationalities]. This idea and the picture painted on Pan Slavism during the reform era was criticised by Lajos Mocsáry in 1861: Our Slavs nationality movement immediately joined a larger and in our country the frightening shape of Pan Slavism. This caused panic terror that was the cause of many a mistake. The Hungarians were certain of their aristocratic existence felt threatened by Pan Slavism and wanted to use the time still available before the feared waves swallow us and wanted to protect our nationhood from the alleged danger by the propagation our language as fast as possible.' Kemény G. Gábor (szerk.): *Mocsáry Lajos válogatott írásai.* Magyar Történelmi Társulat, Budapest, 1958. pp. 353-354. [Selected writings of L.M.]

⁹ Pajkossy, Gábor (ed.): *Magyarország története a 19. században.* Osiris Kiadó, Budapest, 2006. pp.122-123.[History of Hungary in the 19th c.], Arató, Endre: A nemzetiségi kérdés története Magyarországon 1790-1848. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1960. pp. 244-251. and pp. 256-275. [The history of the nationality question in Hungary, 1790-1848], Malevič, Oleg: Znalosti ruskej predrevolučnej spoločnosti o živote a činnosti Ľudovita Štúra. In: Hroziencič, Jozef (ed.): *Z dejín československo-slovanských vzťahov.* Slovenská Akadémia Vied, Bratislava, 1959. (Slovanské štúdie 2.) pp. 339-358.

¹⁰ Szarka László: *Szlovák nemzeti fejlődés - magyar nemzetiségi politika 1867-1918.* Kalligram Kiadó, Pozsony, 1995. p. 120. [Slovak national development – Hungarian nationality policy 1867 – 1918]

in this sense and regarded nationally committed Slovaks the adherents of Pan Slavism.

According to Grünwald there existed a Slovak national, i.e. Pan Slav party. The basic aim of its activity was 'to alienate the Slovaks from the Hungarian state and Hungarian nation and melt the Slovaks into the great Slav race and as its member they should hate Hungarians and wish to destroy them. He was convinced that every Pan Slav was 'an agent of the party, the priest on the pulpit, the teacher in the school, the clerk in administration, the lawyer among his clients, etc. every one of them obliged to act in favour of the party' and there was mutual solidarity among them and material interests.¹¹

Grünwald wrote that the 'Pan Slavs hate Hungarians and their open goal is to destroy them'. He believed Túrócszentmárton was the centre where many Slovak intellectuals had settled down and thanks to its various cultural organizations that were especially created to spread the ideology through choirs, drama-circles, secondary schools, Matica Slovenska, savings bank, Slovak-language newspapers, etc.; but Grünwald also added churches and seminars too. He was convinced that these people were dubious-looking, ignorant in every sense, there were 'dirty elements' among them and none of them were important outside the party. Within the party 'the honest but limited elements' are in the minority, the majority he called confirmed liars.¹²

There were frequent protestations against the accusations from the Slovak side in Hungarian and international press and in various pamphlets all through the 19th c. Grünwald's opponent, Michal Mudroň, stated that Pan Slavism was merely the claim for the rights assured by the nationality law and if 'this is Pan Slavism, than honesty and rightfulness is Pan Slavism, there is no other kind of Pan Slavism in our Upland'.¹³ Elsewhere he wrote that 'starting from the religious service whatever should happen on the field of human, intellectual and material progress in favour of the Slovak nation it had to contain Pan Slavism, treason, racism against Hungarians.'¹⁴ A letter written to Grünwald from Slovakia said 'the person who was born Slovak, dares to remain Slovak and wishes to remain so, is a Pan

¹¹ Grünwald *A Felvidék* pp. 45-47.

¹² Grünwald: *A Felvidék*. pp. 53-57.

¹³ Mudroň: *A Felvidék*. pp. 30-31.

¹⁴ Mudroň: *A Felvidék*. p. 49.

Slav in your eyes, subversive and traitor;’ and Janko Štúr: ‘they have total power, government, kindergartens and they feel threatened by the phantom of Pan Slavism.’¹⁵ On the Hungarian side Oszkár Jászi gave the critique of Pan Slavism in 1912: ‘Pan Slavism meant already then what it is today in the eyes of the county potentates: a person opposing county power and protecting the language and self-government of his people and struggles against forced Magyarization.’¹⁶

Grünwald summed up the history of the Slovak national movement and interestingly did not condemn those Slovaks of the reform era who were enthusiastic about the Slovak mutuality and described them as ‘ideally orientated, witty, honest men’; all the harder did he criticize the small group of Lutheran intellectuals who turned against the 1848 revolution and war of independence, though he remarked that ‘only persons of dubious existence joined the movement’. These Slovaks got into positions during the years of absolutism and were dismissed after the fall of Bach and Schmerling. From then on their sole aim was to get back their lost posts, and since they failed, became the staunchest opponents of the Hungarian state, they were characterized ‘by the mental and economic poverty and impotent rage against the existing situation’. Grünwald was convinced that economic reasons were the explanation of the Slovak political movements of the 1860s, among others the 1961 Memorandum too, that was, however, the complete misunderstanding of the activities of the Slovak national movement.¹⁷

The principle of Grünwald’s system of ideas was the ‘nationalisation’ of the counties based on the German state philosophy he became familiar with during his legal studies: the conservatives were more ‘modern’, more bourgeois e.g. in the nationalization of administration and one of the reasons was the nationality question. He suggested to suppress the national movements and first of all that of the Slovaks, by the liquidation of county autonomy and by a strong,

¹⁵ *Ismeretlenek Grünwald Bélához*. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kézirattár (A továbbiakban: OSZK KI) Levelestár fol. 62., Literárny archív Matice slovenskej. Martin, 58 F 32 B.G. [Unknown persons to B.G.]

¹⁶ Jászi Oszkár: *A nemzeti államok és a nemzetiségi kérdés*. Grill Károly, Budapest, 1912. (Társadalomtudományi Könyvtár 1.) p. 401. [Nation states and nationality question]

¹⁷ Grünwald: *A Felvidék*. p. 37-41.

central state administration; he adhered to this idea till the end of his life, though in this respect his opinion greatly differed from that of the contemporary political elite.¹⁸ Grünwald was certain that the state was in crisis and suggested the support of the Hungarian nationality, i.e. to-day's Hungarian nation, as a solution because 'the national aspirations of other races necessarily lead to the decomposition of the state'.¹⁹ These 'neglect the state, their interest lies outside the state and use every means to weaken the Hungarian state principle and thus cause the state to collapse;' it can be preserved only if it becomes Hungarian'²⁰ To fulfil the principle he suggests an administration that 'is able to surpass every factor, swart every attempt tha is against the main interest of the Hungarian nationality, the existence of the state.'²¹ He found that since 1860 there was a tendency to the contrary, the Hungarian element had lost much of its holding, several areas had already become mentally separated while the Hungarians kept fighting each other instead of trying to strengthen their forces.²² The problems were increased by the fact that the administration that in normal circumstances could be the tool of consolidation was 'under the influence of narrow particular circles frequently hostile to the state.'²³ He saw the solution in that 'the officials to manage the administration of the state should not be trusted to the counties but vest the right in the government of the state.' Thus the county staff of civil servants would become supporters of the state and not its enemy.²⁴

¹⁸ Lackó: *Halál*. pp. 31-33. [Death] and Szász, Z.: Magyarország története 6. köt., p. 1223 [History of Hungary]

¹⁹ Jan Čajda was of the opinion that it was not true that the Hungarians were only ones destined to consolidate the Hunarian state and the aspirations of all nationalities in Hungary were for the destruction of the state. All the nationalities together form the common state thus all of them have the aptitude and right to consolidate the state where they live and maintain therefore the Hungarian interests could not be realized on the harm of other nationalities. Bokes, František (szerk.). *Dokumenty k slovenskému národnému hnutiu*. SAV, Bratislava, 1965. II. 364-365.

²⁰ Grünwald Béla: *Közigazgatásunk és a magyar nemzetiség*. Ráth Mór, Budapest, 1876. 52-53. [Our administration and the Hungarian nationality].

²¹ Grünwald: *Közigazgatásunk*. pp. 54-55.

²² Grünwald: *Közigazgatásunk*.pp. 56-60.

²³ Grünwald: *Közigazgatásunk*.pp. 56-60. p. 78

²⁴ Grünwald: *Közigazgatásunk*. Pp. 87-92

His other suggestion was the discontinuation of the nationality law, as in his opinion ‘this unfortunate law was the expression of the unlucky politics that search for fame not in struggle to destroy the enemy, but in negotiations, compromises at the expense of the Hungarian nation. Because doing this the Hungarian nation renounces its leading role, the external signs of sovereignty, the Hungarian character of the Hungarian state’; he did not believe even the Slovaks would have wanted that, as was shown by the protest against its acceptance in the Upland counties.²⁵ Grünwald expected the state to tighten the press law and the moving of the common jury of the press away von Pozsony as he was convinced that German citizens were too lenient toward the culprits.²⁶

His notion about assimilation was usually summed up by his notorious remark from *A Felvidék* that ‘if we want to live we have to be prolific and gain strength through the assimilation of foreign elements’.²⁷ On the Slovak side it was usually interpreted as an endeavour for their total linguistic and ethnic Magyarization though this was not what Grünwald wanted.²⁸ He was fully aware of its real political impossibility on the one hand and on the other he did not want the assimilation of the total mass of Slovaks only that of the middle classes and intelligentsia, similarly to the majority of the 19th c. Hungarian political elite; this was why he so vehemently opposed every kind of Slovak cultural and educational initiatives.²⁹ Joining the Hungarian generation of Victorians he was also of the opinion that in the Europe of his time only those nations could survive that lived in homogeneous nation states. He saw its basis in a strong middle class that, however, was weakened by the local, i.e. county autonomies and nationality aspirations, thus he opposed them by every means.³⁰

²⁵ Grünwald: *A Felvidék*. pp. 78-79. There were protests against the paragraph on the language use in the counties I several counties of the Upland. Polla, Bello: *Matica slovenská a národnostná otázka*. Martin, Matica slovenská, 1997. pp. 196-211

²⁶ Grünwald: *A Felvidék*. pp. 107-109

²⁷ Grünwald: *A Felvidék*. p. 22.

²⁸ Szarka: *Szlovák*. pp. 107-109.

²⁹ Mudroň wrote that according to Grünwald the Slovaks could be tolerated in the country as uneducated masses and the moment it gets educated, the educated ones should stop being Slovaks either voluntarily or by destruction. Mudroň: *A Felvidék*. p. 49.

³⁰ Pók: *Utószó*. pp. 422-423

In a letter addressed to Gyula Szapáry he explained that in the case of the Slovaks the matter should be treated in a way ‘that they should become Hungarian through the schools and though the great masses of commoners led by the intelligentsia would remain Slovak, influenced by its Magyarized intelligentsia will get absorbed into the Hungarian element’.³¹ This idea was repeated almost verbatim in *A Felvidék* and once more expressed his train of thought ‘could there be greater task than to keep 2 million foreign language inhabitants for the country and manage in a way that with the help of schools its intelligentsia could be turned Hungarian and the lower classes remain in their fidelity to the country’, and wished for the Slovaks to reach the political situation what the Germans of Alsace and Lorraine arrived at in France.³²

He stressed his opinion during the 1879 debate of the education bill and during the debate of the secondary school law he explained in detail: ‘it is impossible to Magyarize the masses of non-Hungarian inhabitants even if the present obstacles would be cleared away. On the lines where Hungarians meet other races the language border could be pushed further a century later but the aim of the Magyarization of the common people should be given up.’³³

In the light of these remarks it did not happen by chance that he changed his party affiliation in 1880 what he announced in a bilingual pamphlet, i.e. in Hungarian and in Slovak.³⁴

In 1887 in a talk given in the Committee of Statistics and National Security of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences he said that ‘it is impossible to Magyarize the common Slovak people where they live in masses out of contact of Hungarians therefore it would be in vain to aim at it. Our task can only be not to let their political beliefs contaminated and not to drive them in the arms of nationalists.’ Results could be expected only in the towns in cultural, economic and

³¹ Letter of Béla Grünwald to Gyula Szapáry minister of home affairs 8. december 1874. In: *Grünwald Béla. A pánszláv mozgalomra és a nemzetiségi kérdésre vonatkozó iratok.* OSZK Kézirattár 1884. Fol. Hung. 1. [G.B. Writings related to the Pan Slav movement and nationality question].

³² Grünwald: *A Felvidék.* 20-21. pp. 35-36.

³³ Szathmáry Károly (szerk.): *Az 1881. évi szeptember 24-ére hirdetett országgyűlés képviselőházának naplója.* Pesti Könyvnyomda-Részvény-Társaság Rt., Budapest. 1883. XI. 27. [The minutes of the 24. September 1881 meeting of the parliament].

³⁴ Lackó: *Halál.* pp. 54-55

industrial spheres, i.e. among the middle classes, but even that would require a generation then added that ‘the spirit of the higher social classes, with some exception, is ready to Magyarize voluntarily and out of tradition.’³⁵

Grünwald’s views are reflected in his relationship to the educational associations. At first he accepted to organize the *Felvidéki Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület* [Co. Zólyom Committee of the Hungarian Upland Educational Society (HUES)]. At first he accepted the organisation of the committee later he backed out though became its elected member in the 1880s.³⁶ In 1885 he participated, together with bishop György Császka in the creation of the *Magyarországi Tót Közművelődési Egyesület* [Slovak Educational Society of Hungary (SESH)] and became a member of its committee.³⁷ The societies wanted to solve the Slovak question in different ways. While HUES represented the idea of linguistic–ethnic assimilation through the Hungarian language and culture, the SESH propagated emotional–political Magyarization through the propagation of literature with patriotic content in the Slovak language. HUES regarded SESH as a kind of preparation for further assimilation thus Lajos Mocsáry aptly formulated that they wanted to Magyarize the Slovaks in Slovak language.³⁸

Grünwald wanted to Magyarize the common people only along the language border as he thought that due to the influence of the Church and schools the Hungarians living in the area were about to become Slovaks. In contrast to his contemporaries he did not trust in non-Hungarians’ spontaneous assimilation because he thought that

³⁵ Grünwald Béla: Zólyom megye. In: Kőrösi József (szerk.): *Megyei monográfiák. Magyarország közgazdasági és közművelődési állapota a XIX. század végén*. MTA, Budapest, 1891. I. 27-31. p. [County Zólyom, In: County monographs. The economic and educational situation at the end of the 19th c.]

³⁶ *Felső-magyarországi Nemzetőr*. 1884/7. p. 56., pp. 1884/10. 75-76. Jozef Škultéty called the leaders of Association, thus Grünwald too, the ‘generals of the war against the Slovaks’ or ‘Don Quijote’-s. Škultéty, Jozef: *Slovenský národ*. (Szerk.): Grácová, Genovéva - Markuš, Jozef. Matica slovenská, Martin, 2003. p.39.

³⁷ *Felső-magyarországi Nemzetőr*. 1885/4. 30. Vesztróczy Zsolt: Činnosť Hornouhorského vzdelávacieho spolku (FEMKE) v Banskej Bystrici a vo Zvolenskej župe (1884-1919.) In: Nagy, Imrich – Graus, Igor (szerk.): *Minulosť a prítomnosť Banskej Bystrice*. Katedra histórie FHV UMB - Štátna vedecká knižnica v Banskej Bystrici. Banská Bystrica, 2005. II. 40-41.

³⁸ Szarka: *Szlovák*. pp. 113-114., Kemény (szerk.): *Mocsáry*. p.523

‘culture alone cannot bring forth this result if there are no means to propagate it’, therefore he proposed that the Hungarian state should ‘re-Magyarize these areas with help of priests and teachers.’³⁹

Grünwald considered education as a very important factor from the point of view of the education both in citizenship and in assimilation but he made a difference between the various levels of educational institutions.

He believed that spreading the Hungarian language cannot be the task of the elementary schools; did not want Hungarian-language elementary schools in regions where the majority of the inhabitants were non-Hungarians. He pointed out two areas where it could be successful: in towns and where Hungarians and non-Hungarians are in contact. As a solution he pointed out the importance that schools should have Hungarian mentality as he found the mere knowledge of the Hungarian language was no guarantee of patriotism and ignorance of Hungarian did not necessarily mean that the person was not a good patriot.⁴⁰

He was not satisfied by the 1868 elementary school law as a means of educating citizens because he found those who drafted it did nothing for the consolidation of the Hungarian state.⁴¹ He stated that of the 1631 teachers in elementary schools in the Slovak regions 993 were the followers of Pan Slavism and were the open enemies of Hungary; that the state had not enough influence upon the denominational schools, the supervisors’ power was limited due to faulty legislation as no advice can be given in teaching methods and teaching material because of the autonomy of the Church. He claimed the participation of the state was necessary. He would have the state to confirm the choice of schoolbooks because as he pointed out the history book written in the spirit of the *Matica Slovenska* falsified Hungarian history and ‘teach hate and contempt against the Hungarian nation.’ On the other hand the government should leave its passivity and clean the educational system of Pan Slav elements exercising its right in discipline even by removing teachers. Thirdly

³⁹ Grünwald: *A Felvidék*. pp. 115-117

⁴⁰ Szathmáry Károly (ed.): *Az 1878. évi október 17-ére hirdetett országgyűlés képviselő-házának naplója*. Pesti Könyvnyomda-Részvény-Társaság Rt., Budapest, 1879. V. p. 387 [The minutes of the 24. September 1881 meeting of the parliament].

⁴¹ Grünwald: *A Felvidék*. p. 121.

the choice of teachers should not depend entirely on local religious groups but jointly with the approval of the state; that is what would make possible the preservation of the state's interests while leaving the denominational schools themselves intact.⁴²

In spite of his negative experience Grünwald did not wish the nationalization of denominational schools, though as an opposition to the Hungarian-language state schools these autonomous institutions were the strongholds of the education in the mother tongue for the Slovaks and other nationalities. He was of the opinion that it was not in the interest of the state to 'abolish denominational schools but that the schools should be good and of Hungarian mentality in order to educate good citizens for the Hungarian country.'⁴³

He regarded secondary schools as the main instrument of assimilation in education. He believed that the intellectuals 'have been Magyarized under the influence of Hungarian secondary schools and with little exception are of Hungarian mentality' and 'the example of these classes will show the direction to the lower classes toward Magyarization' since for the Slovaks social rise 'is not within themselves but in being Hungarian.'⁴⁴ He described the function of secondary schools as a 'big machine where the Slovak boys are pushed in at one end and they come out as Hungarians on the other'. Thus the intelligentsia would be 'Hungarian in its character', and that would Magyarize the Slovaks on the social rise; the main obstacle in the way being the Catholic state school and three denominational schools in Besztercebánya, the centres of Pan Slavism with their aim at political fanaticism. Grünwald continues expounding his opinion on Slovaks that 'a Slovak secondary school impossible' because there were no suitable teachers Slovak literature did not exist, the Pan Slav party's wish was for 'the pupils not learn either Hungarian nor German '

⁴² Grünwald: *A Felvidék*. pp. 121-139.

⁴³ Grünwald: *A Felvidék*. p. 121. Gyula Szekfű was not right when he wrote that B.G. wanted to Magyarize the Slovaks through primary and secondary schools set up in the nationality areas and by the nationalization of other schools. Szekfű Gyula. *Három nemzedék és ami utána következik*. 3. kiadás. ÁKV-Maecenas, Budapest, 1989. pp. 298-300. [Three generations and after]. Géza Kostenszky, the secretary of HUES on the other hand blamed B.G. 15 years later that he did not urge the nationalization of the primary schools in the hand of the Church. Kostenszky, Géza: *Nemzeti politika a Felvidéken*. Singer és Wolfner, Budapest, 1893. pp. 38-39.

⁴⁴ Grünwald: *A Felvidék*. pp. 32-33.

because 'if a Slovak knows Hungarian or German does not want to remain Slovak.'⁴⁵ He was convinced that the problems were increased by the impotence of the ministry because Ágoston Trefor minister of religion and education defended these institutions whereas the aim should have been to 'quietly take away all their weapons they could harm us with'.⁴⁶ Grünwald also thought of the necessity of dealing with the Catholic and Lutheran seminars and teacher training colleges also hotbeds of the Pan Slav idea.⁴⁷

Grünwald thought the Slovakization of the Hungarians living at the linguistic border to be a tragedy because he considered 'the Hungarian race to stand higher than the Slovak; has better mental capacity, stronger moral feeling, his self esteem makes him look down at the servile Slovaks, therefore if a Slovak become Hungarian, he rises, if a Hungarian becomes Slovak, he sinks; the first is gain the other is loss and not only for the Hungarian nation but for the whole mankind too.'⁴⁸

The rather muddled defamatory opinion of the Slovaks shocked the Hungarian public though the train of thought and the aims of *A Felvidék* was mostly accepted. Győző Concha, the main ideologue of the Hungarian national idea, expressed his doubts whether Grünwald 'was not too extremist in his description of the physical-mental deficiencies of the Slovaks?'⁴⁹ The journalist of the *Budapesti Szemle* shared this opinion, he wrote that Grünwald 'is so belittling about

⁴⁵ Grünwald: *A Felvidék*. pp. 140-144. Michal Mudroň refused the statement saying that Slovak secondary schools are possible with necessary good will. Mudroň: *A Felvidék*. p. 121. The supervisor of the higher secondary school in Nagyrőce reported that the teachers learning and teaching ability was above dispute. Ruttkay László: *A felvidéki szlovák középiskolák megszüntetése 1874-ben*. Dunántúl Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvkiadó és Nyomda R.-T., Pécs, 1939. (Felvidék Tudományos Társaság Kiadványai I/7.) p. 93. [The closure of the Slovak-language secondary schools in the upland in 1874].

⁴⁶ Grünwald: *A Felvidék*. pp. 147-149.

⁴⁷ Grünwald: *A Felvidék*. pp. 154-158.

⁴⁸ Grünwald: *A Felvidék*. p. 111-112. In 1887 two Slovak students of theology complained that in the seminar in Pest the 'patriotic clericals' read *A Felvidék* as the gospel and ridiculed by saying that god had not created the Slovaks human beings, their neck is bent they looke at the earth like cattle and they were created for the yoke. Bokes, František (ed.). *Dokumenty k slovenskému národnému hnutíu*. SAV, Bratislava, 1972. III. 81.

⁴⁹ Concha Győző levele Grünwald Bélához 1878. március. 10. OSZK Kézirattár, Levelestár Fol. 8. [Letter of C.Gy. to G.B]

the whole Slovak question that we have never experienced in serious Hungarian writings’, therefore he warned that ‘the kind of contempt expressed by the author should not be given credit’ since ‘this kind of attitude is not proper, it is not political’. Grünwald answered in an open letter then the editor in chief Pál Gyulai – one of the most influential persons of the Hungarian intellectual life – defended the journalist in an open letter. Gyulai dismissed Grünwald’s extremist attitude ‘the overflowing exaggerations and passion’ and required ‘some objectivity, some more composed ideas would do him good, whether as a writer or a politician or just an agitator.’⁵⁰

Grünwald became well known in the country through his activities in Co. Zólyom, though his reputation became questionable due to the closing down of the three secondary schools and Matica Slovenska, in addition he had other initiatives too that also were offending Slovak interests far beyond county level. He was the one who initiated the replacement of Martin Čulen, the director and his staff of the Royal Catholic secondary school in Besztercebánya carried out in March 1967 on the orders of the minister of Religion and culture, József Eötvös; it resulted in the school losing its role from the Slovak point of view.⁵¹ He was the main protector of the *Svornost*, a Hungarophil Slovak paper edited by Károly Kubányi published in Besztercebánya between 1873 and 1876, that found its target in the Slovak nationality movement and its network of cultural and educational organizations.⁵² As a sub-prefect he repeatedly reported on the nationality

⁵⁰ without name: *Felvidék*. In: *Budapesti Szemle*, 1878/32. pp. 421-428. p., Grünwald Béla: Nyílt levél Gyulai Pál úrhoz, a Budapesti Szemle szerkesztőjéhez. In: *Budapesti Szemle*, 1878/ 33. pp. 193-203. [Open letter to Gy.P. the editor of B.Sz], Gyulai Pál: Válasz Grünwald Béla úr nyílt levelére. In: *Budapesti Szemle*, 1878. pp. 203-208. [Answer to Mr. Gy.B.’s open letter]

⁵¹ Štilla, Miloš: *Martin Čulen / pedagóg a národný buditeľ*. Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, Bratislava, 1983. pp. 36-37. , Pšenák, Jozef: *Kapitoly z dejín slovenského školstva a pedagogiky*. Univerzita Komenského, Bratislava, 2001. p. 134. pp., 159-160. , *Emlékkönyv Dr. Klamarik János negyven éves szolgálati jubileumára*. Budapest, 1894. 49. p. [Festschrift for Dr. K.J. for his 40 years of service].

⁵² Čulen, Konstantín: “Svornost” (K histórii grünwaldizmu z roku 1873 a 1874.). In: *Kultúra*, 1931/1. pp. 27-28. *Tisza Kálmán levelei Grünwald Bélához*. OSZK Kézirattár, Levelestár Fol. 10., Kemény G. Gábor (szerk.): *Iratok a nemzetiségi kérdés történetéhez Magyarországon a dualizmus korában 1867-1892*. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest, 1954. I. p. 428. [Letters of Kálmán Tisza to G.B. In: Documents relating to the history of the nationality question in Hungary in the dualistic era 1867-1892]

situation of the region to Minister President Kálmán Tisza, who appreciated the information.⁵³ It was this activity that earned him the Slovak characterisation that ‘Grünwald because of his concept of law and right would be fitted to be an absolutist Great Inquisitor and not a constitutional civil servant’⁵⁴

It was as the sub prefect of the county that Grünwald started his campaign against the schools in his speech of 15. April 1874; as a follow up the participants of the county meeting sent a petition to the minister, Ágoston Trefort, that he should either close or completely reform the three unpatriotic educational institutions as soon as possible in order to protect the Slovak speaking youth of the Upland from the unpatriotic influence and at the same time it also would be effective against Pan Slavism too.⁵⁵ Though the initiative was taken up by the members of other legislative organisations too, Ágoston

⁵³ In one of his letters Tisza thanked Grünwald for the interesting and detailed reports of the situation of the counties of Upland, another time for the translation of the material published in Slovak newspapers as he found it important to be informed about the directions of the Slav press by someone trustworthy *Tisza Kálmán levelei*. 1877. május 21. és 1877.- december 13. anon [the letters of T.K.]

⁵⁴ Kemény: *Iratok*. 428.

⁵⁵ Ruttkay: *A felvidéki*. 89. The initiative was not popular even among the public persons well versed in the Slovak problem. Márton Szent-Iványi, the supervisor of the Lutheran diocese east of the Danube deemed politically unfortunate that Co. Zólyom initiated the action without proper proofs in a letter he wrote Ágoston Trefort. He was of the opinion that it would unnecessary worsen the controversies between Hungarians and Slovaks, insult the autonomy of the Lutheran Church and bring the government into uncomfortable political situation whatever the outcome of the examination. Though Szent-Iványi himself found the existence of the three schools a catastrophe and agreed with the verdict of Grünwald, he was against the closing of them. He thought that Co. Zólyom was in error in believing that the unpatriotic line were spread from the schools. The Slovaks were more careful than to do so especially when they knew that they were carefully watched, except Kozsehuba’s history there were no other similar cases. The ill spirit was spread socially to which the government had no access. The only solution would be a well endowed Slovak-language secondary state school instead of the discriminate three. Op.cit. pp.109-111. Michal Mudroň put the question why the ‘great inquisitors’ were not satisfied by the removal of the teachers and textbooks, why did not appoint patriotic but Slovak teachers with patriotic but Slovak language textbooks, why destroy the existence of the Slovak educational institute? Evidently to keep the Slovaks off being educated in their own mother tongue and set the alternative either remain illiterate or become Hungarian. Mudroň Mihály: *Protestantizmus és pánszlávizmus. Felelet Felvidéky hasoncímű röpiratára*. Pozsony, 1882. p. 22. [Protestantism and Pan Slavism. Reply to Felvidéky’s pamphlet of the same title]

Trefort was ready only for an enquiry and referring to the autonomy of the Church refused the closing of the schools for the time being for Grünwald's great regret.⁵⁶

The other target of Grünwald's attack was Matica Slovenska, a cultural society active since 1863. The pretext to its dissolution was given by a speech of Martin Čulen given at the opening ceremony of the Zagreb university on the 19th October 1874; Čulen, representing the society, greeted the Croatians 'in the name of the 3 million strong Slovakian nation represented by Matica Slovenska'⁵⁷ Grünwald described his point of view on Matica Slovenska in a letter written in his position of sub prefect of Co. Zólyom to the minister of home affairs Count Gyula Szapáry on the 8th December 1874, the Matica Slovenska deals almost entirely with politics and its activity was not the publication of scholarly works but that of calendars, pamphlets, newspapers and other printed matter with political content, it influenced the mind and he deemed it especially harmful because of the distortion of Hungarian history and its general anti-Hungarian spirit. As a solution he advised the dissolution of Matica Slovenska, justifying it by the notorious Martin Čulen quotation and the 4th November committee meeting of the society approving it.⁵⁸ On the 1st of April 1875 the Cabinet decided upon the dissolution of Matica Slovenska and minister president Kálmán Tisza argued in Grünwald's spirit that Matica's political activities were contrary to its statutes.⁵⁹ In his 11. June 1875 report the commissary of the government, József Justh Jr. examining the case, also found that the society 'wanted to operate not only on literary grounds but aimed at political influence too, and several of its decisions are contrary to the statutes.' In judgement

⁵⁶ Grünwald wrote that at first Trefort had said never to close educational institutions. Several months later he was forced to do so when meeting with Grünwald he became angry said 'if you know any other bad secondary schools just tell me, I am going to close it. I am going to close all the secondary schools. Grünwald: *A Felvidék*. pp. 145-146.

⁵⁷ Štilla: *Martin*. 135. p. According to another opinion it was the result of the speech of Frantisek Sasinek but the documents unambiguously prove it incorrect. Polla: *Matica*. p. 46., Winkler, Tomáš: *Perom a mečom. Biografia J. M. Hurbana*. Matica slovenská, Martin, 1997. p. 200. Mudroň analysed the statement that it was not a political one but it was about 'a linguistically defined nation'. Mudroň: *A Felvidék*. p. 70.

⁵⁸ Grünwald: *A Pánszláv*

⁵⁹ Kemény: *Iratok*. pp.508. ff.

of the Zagreb matter he wrote that the representatives ‘followed a pattern unfitting for a scholarly institution and led political demonstrations that always earned the praise of Matica Slovenska.’. The 9. November 1875 resolution of the minister of home affairs dissolving the society repeated these statements.⁶⁰ Since the official inquiry was started on Grünwald’s initiative and the contemporary records repeated his arguments he was not only the initiator but the chief ideologue of the fight against it too.⁶¹

Since 1878 Grünwald’s career continued as member of the parliament. In the parliament he had authority and would have had possibility to carry out his ideas through his position in the governing party but he had to suffer two serious defeats at the beginning of his first cycle to be followed by further ones.

Grünwald suffered his first serious political defeat in parliament in 1879 during the debate over the bill on teaching the Hungarian language at schools when he proposed amendments among others to the one concerning the schools along the linguistic border. Since Grünwald wanted to strengthen the position of the Hungarian language especially in this region; he suggested ‘to introduce Hungarian as teaching language in the areas with mixed language inhabitants, therefore the teaching language in elementary schools should be set by the minister of religion and education. As the speaker of the government Gábor Baross rejected the suggestion declaring that ‘the teaching language of every denomination is its mother tongue’, and that ‘Grünwald believes the best way of preserving Hungarian nationality is not the cultivation of the language but in the Magyarization of the non-Hungarian elements.’ Baross was of the opinion that ‘we propagate a large-scale Magyarization without the ability to

⁶⁰ *A Matica slovenská egyesületre vonatkozó anyagok.* OSZK Kézirattár 1885. Fol Hung. 11-12. [Documents relating the society M.S.]

⁶¹ Though the action was generally approved of Imre Gáspár sounded his disagreement; he was of the opinion that the society had its task that it had fulfilled by the books it published, but its leaders were so tightly connected with unpatriotic affairs that they were no guarantee for the state. He suggested that the Upland intelligentsia should to push out those elements and direct the otherwise useful institution in the right way. Kemény: *Iratok.* pp. 507-508. Grünwald’s main objection against Matica S. was that it estranged many thousands of Hungarian citizens from the Hungarian state and turned them into its bitter enemies. Grünwald: *A Felvidék.* 59-69.

carry it out partly because of the lack of suitable teachers and partly because that would close the schools in the face of non-Hungarian speakers'; Ágoston Trefort on his side turned down the suggestion for economic reasons.⁶²

His second serious political fiasco happened in connection with the reform of the administration. Though the county authority had already been considerably diminished in 1871, in 1876 county administrative committees were created and the jurisdiction of the Lord Lieutenants, who depended on the government, was widened, but Grünwald was not satisfied. Because he could not carry out his plans in the liberal Party, in 1880 became a member of the *Egyesült (Mérésékelt) Ellenzék* [United (Moderate) Opposition] where he was generally respected for his expertise, however, was again unsuccessful in the reforms of the counties; moreover, his new party rejected his point of view and he was not the speaker of the Moderate opposition during the debates in parliament.⁶³

Grünwald did not succeed in abolishing the nationality law either, though nobody else could either, because of the resistance of the succession of governments. Nonetheless there was a movement for its abolishment during the time Dezső Bánffy was the prime minister but Bánffy's successor, Kálmán Széll stopped the action in a circular on the 24. January 1901.⁶⁴

By the end of the period István Tisza wanted to revitalize the law carrying out pact negotiations with the Romanian and Slovak leaders during his second cycle without success. In spite of his defeat Tisza hoped to continue his policy after the war, however, he was stopped by the change of the statehood.⁶⁵

⁶² Szathmáry: *Az 1878.*, pp. 388 ff.

⁶³ Kozári Mónika: *Tisza Kálmán és kormányzati rendszere*. Napvilág Kiadó, Budapest, 2003. pp. 286-298. [T.K and his system of government], Lackó: *Halál.* pp.51-61., pp. 67-72., pp. 90-95., pp. 105-107., Čulen, Konstantín: Béla Grünwald a Slováci. In: *Slovenské Pohľady*, 1930/9. 617. p, Bisztray Gyula - Rejtő István (szerk.): *Mikszáth Kálmán összes művei*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1978. LXXII. p. 143. Mocsáry Lajos: *Néhány szó a nemzetiségi kérdéstről*. Singer és Wolfner Könyvkereskedés, Budapest, 1886. pp. 15-16. [Some remarks on the nationality question].

⁶⁴ Szarka: *Szlovák.* p. 150.

⁶⁵ Vesztróczy Zsolt: *Tisza István paktumtárgyalásai az első világháború idején (1914-1917)*. In: Zeidler Miklós (szerk.): *Tanulmányok a XIX-XX. század történelemből*. ELTE BTK Történettudományok Doktori Iskola, Budapest, 2001. pp. 321-330. [The pact discussions of T.I. during WWI. 1914 – 1917].

However hard he tried, Grünwald did not achieve the tightening of the press law, neither intensifying the administrative and public order as such endeavours were constantly refused by the dualist governments – except in the time of war. One telling example was the January 1895 memorandum of HUES in which the leaders turned to prime minister Dezső Bánffy – who was always very strict to the nationalist movements – to lessen the freedom of press, speech and assembly, but the ‘pasha of Doboka’, as the prime minister was nicknamed, refused it.⁶⁶

Though Grünwald was active as Member of Parliament from 1878 till his death in 1891, in comparison with his years in Zólyom this period of his political life was a complete fiasco. He could not achieve the parliament to vote for any of his recommendations in spite of his being well known nation wide. He left the current politics in the second half of the 1880s and tried his hand as a historiographer, then to end his failed life, committed suicide in Paris in May 1891.

Even after his death Grünwald’s name was frequently mentioned. The contemporary authors interested in the questions of Slovaks and Pan Slavism (e.g. János Thébusz (Felvidéky), Gyula H. Pelsőczy. Béla R. Miticzi) were used to quote him as a positive example of nationality policy and adopted his line of thinking in their works. Oszkár Jászi on the other hand was of the opinion that ‘this excellent person had completely lost his modern Western European mind and with the resoluteness and inconsiderateness of his German race became the leader of impatient patriotism.’⁶⁷ Apponyi explained his own break with the Deák – Eötvös tradition by his personal contact to Grünwald ‘who represented the extremist chauvinistic domestic policy. As a pillar of the national party he had great influence and the majority of the members were partial to this direction anyway.’⁶⁸

Grünwald was mentioned during the Paris peace conference too when the Czech delegate presented 11 written memoranda and No.

⁶⁶ Az elnökség (szerk.): *A Felvidéki Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület évkönyve 1895-96-ról*. Nyitra, 1896. 9-14., [The yearbook of HUES], Szarka: *Szlovák*. 121-122. p.

⁶⁷ Jászi: *A nemzeti*. p. 401.

⁶⁸ *Apponyi Albert emlékiratai*. MTA, Budapest, 1934. II. p. 57. [Memoirs of A.A.]

4 had quotations from *A Felvidék* as an example of violent assimilation.⁶⁹

The Slovak historian Konštantín Čulen wrote in his 1930 essay that *A Felvidék* became the primer of the Hungarian politics but the fiasco of Grünwald's political ideas prove it differently. Čulen described him as self-seeking and money-grabber but this characterization cannot be accepted, the Hungarian politician was driven by his inner conviction and not by money as is shown by his career in the parliament. Grünwald, seeing the defeat of his administrative reform suggestions, left the Liberal Party with its career opportunities and continued his work in the less lucrative opposition till his defeats turned him away from politics altogether.⁷⁰

In 1931 in the correspondence of Jozef Škultéty and Győző Concha Grünwald's name cropped up again where Concha admitted that 'we have hurt many Slovak compatriots through many centuries when we allowed that Béla Grünwald, the unfortunate, dazzled author of *A Felvidék* inspire us. With our mistaken politics we have lost the Slovaks.' Škultéty remarked that 'Concha's opinion is politically very important. Something is changing in Hungary.'⁷¹

Béla Grünwald's appearance brought an important turn in the Hungarian political thinking. His stand point could be considered ultra radical only when compared with the – at the time still existing – norms set by Ferenc Deák and József Eötvös; that system of ideas used to be at the margin of political life but by the end of the 19th c. it moved toward its centre thanks to the gradually developed rigidity of the Hungarian liberalism. Several of his ideas were propagated through the activities of cultural organizations and the counties and became part of the nationality policy and at the turn of the century radicalism far surpassed the ideas of 'Grünwaldism'. Though thanks to his activity in Co. Zólyom and his book *A Felvidék* he became a

⁶⁹ Gulyás László: A magyar-szlovák határ kérdése a versaillesi békekonferencián. In: *Fórum Társadalomtudományi Szemle*. 2006/2. 123. [A the question of the Hungarian – Slovak border in the peace conference in Versailles].

⁷⁰ Čulen: *Béla*, p. 617.

⁷¹ Kocák, Michal (szerk.): *Listy Jozefa Škultétyho 1911-1941*. Matica slovenská, Martin, 1983. II. (Monografie – Documenta Litteraria Slovaca 19.) p 140. Concha's remark is the more interesting because after the publication of *A Felvidék* he congratulated Grünwald on his ideas and the way he described the situation.

much-quoted author and a symbol in the history of the conflict of Hungarian – Slovak relationship, in reality his life's work ended in fiasco – none of the ideas he believed to be most important, e.g. the nationalization of the counties, the repealing of the nationality law, the lessening of the freedom of press and assembly – could be realized because of the resistance of the policy of the Hungarian liberal government. His consistent adherence to his own stand point got him shoved to the periphery of politics, he was even rejected as a historian. This was what finally drove him to his suicide.