

and what their politics were. Moreover, the author, a great admirer of the Liberal Centralists, is a bit harsh on their enemies. It is simply not true that General Haynau's counterrevolutionary terror, ordered by the Liberal Centralists, was less brutal than Louis Kossuth's revolutionary terror (p. 9); nor does it make much sense to say that between 1849 and 1853, "chauvinism, a poison which Hungary could not overcome for a century, was adopted first by the gentry and then by almost all Magyars" (p. 79). Hungarian chauvinism predates 1849, but it was not more venomous than that of the other Central Europeans. The Hungarians were no angels, but nor was anyone else.

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DIE BAUERNABGEORDNETEN IM KONSTITUIERENDEN ÖSTERREICH-
ISCHEN REICHSTAG 1848-1849. By *Roman Rosdolsky*. Introduction by
Eduard März. Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung,
Materialien zur Arbeiterbewegung, 5. Vienna: Europaverlag, 1976. xiv, 234 pp.
Paper.

The revolution of 1848 in the Austrian empire produced the first modern parliament in the empire's history. One of the remarkable features of this body was the presence of a sizable contingent of peasant deputies. They numbered nearly 100, out of a total of 383 deputies, and, with their rough-and-ready ways, stood out in striking contrast to the polished parliamentarians who made up the bulk of the legislative body. Rosdolsky is the first historian to address himself to the overall question of the role of the peasant deputies in the Imperial Parliament during the 1848-49 era. He discusses the elections, follows the parliamentary debates concerning the abolition of serfdom, and analyzes the views of the peasant deputies. A valuable appendix lists all the deputies by province and nationality.

Rosdolsky's approach is that of a moderate Marxist. His volume is particularly strong on Polish, Ukrainian, and Austro-German peasants. He is superbly informed about the bewildering variety of manorial obligations and most illuminating about the infinite number of issues that parliament had to sort out before serfdom could be formally abolished. In a separate chapter, he offers a "close-up" of many deputies, using as a source the unique characterizing notes on individual deputies penned by Austrian officials; these notes are attached to the hitherto unpublished electoral acts. The author is less familiar with the South Slavic situation, and here some serious lapses occur. In relating the progress of the elections in Dalmatia and Istria, he appears to be unfamiliar with the ethnic structure of the two provinces: he refers to their population as consisting "mostly of Slovene peasantry"—hardly an adequate description of Dalmatia which was almost entirely Croatian-speaking (with a minority of Serbs), or of Istria which had three times as many Croats as Slovenes—and he makes no mention of Croats in either province. On the other hand, when he tackles the center of Slovene-speaking territory, the province of Carniola, he lumps it with Carinthia and Styria under the rubric of "Inner Austria," resulting in a loss of visibility for the Slovenes as a distinct ethnic group. No studies by Slovene historians have been consulted in this section, not even those written in German, such as the still indispensable *Die Slovenen und das Jahr 1848* by Apih (Vienna, 1896). In fact, for the South Slavs, Rosdolsky relies entirely on German sources.

As might be expected from the author's Marxist orientation, he has much to say on the shaping influence of class struggle in the countryside—an approach that supplies some good answers but at the same time restricts the historian's vision. He dwells

at length, and rightly so, on the highly developed national consciousness of the Czech peasantry during 1848, as compared with that of other Slavic peasants, and sees it as a function of class struggle: Czech peasants versus German landlords. An unexceptionable observation no doubt, but having made it, he considers the problem solved. Other explanations, notably the question of literacy, are not explored: because literacy among the Czechs exceeded that of other Slavic nationalities by a considerable margin, Czech leaders had an advantage in disseminating nationalist ideas amid their constituency.

It may be asking too much that such points should have been considered. These are relatively recent approaches, and the present work was completed ten years ago. Rosdolsky has not been vouchsafed the opportunity of seeing his work through to publication; he died in 1967 in the United States, a country which he adopted as an immigrant after World War II and where he pursued the life of a private scholar.

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POLITIKAI ANTISZEMITIZMUS MAGYARORSZÁGON, 1875–1890. By *Judit Kubinszky*. Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1976. 275 pp. 25 Ft.

Little scholarly work has been done on the origins and manifestations of modern anti-Semitism in Hungary. There are, of course, general histories of the Jews in Hungary and a number of articles, mainly by Western scholars, which deal with the problem. The work under review, however, is the first monographic study of anti-Semitism as a political movement.

Judit Kubinszky describes in detail many aspects of the first great wave of anti-Semitism to occur in Hungary in the late 1870s and early 1880s during the long tenure of Liberal Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza. She places her study in a European context by sketching the development of political anti-Semitism after 1848 in Germany, Russia, Rumania, Italy, and France. She links the rise of anti-Semitism in Hungary to the civil emancipation of the Jews between 1848 and 1867 and to the rapid development of capitalism, both of which facilitated the rise of Jews to prominence in economic and social life. It is not surprising, therefore, that anti-Jewish sentiments were strongest among those groups that felt Jewish competition most keenly. Kubinszky dates the beginning of an organized anti-Semitic movement from the speeches of Győző Istóczy in the Hungarian parliament in 1875. A hitherto undistinguished deputy of the Liberal Party, Istóczy attained quick notoriety by playing upon widely held suspicions that the Jews were secretly pursuing the subjugation of Christians through economic monopoly, and by demanding that the government thwart such designs by returning to preemancipation policies.

In her analysis of anti-Semitic ideology, based upon the extensive propaganda literature of the period, including Istóczy's own newspapers, *Jövőnk* (*Our Future*) and *12 Röpírat* (*Twelve Pamphlets*), Kubinszky reveals the great variety of motives behind Hungarian anti-Semitism. The notorious Tiszaeszlár trial of 1883, in which fifteen Jews stood accused of the "ritual murder" of a Christian girl, and the countrywide disturbances which followed their acquittal are treated at length and enable the author to demonstrate once again how pervasive anti-Jewish feeling had become. The trial resembles the later Dreyfus case, because the issues it raised transcended questions of individual guilt or innocence and became a general contest between liberal and conservative forces. Riding the crest of popular feeling, Istóczy founded the Anti-Semitic Party in 1884, but, as Kubinszky shows in a detailed examination of the electoral