

SZENTGÁLI-TÓTH, Boldizsár
Junior research fellow
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

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**‘The Hungary of the West’
The Interdependence of the Irish and the Hungarian Constitutional Development during
the Last Decades of the Long 19th Century**

During the 19th century, several Irish authors looked for those samples from Europe, which might be invoked during the targeted reconsideration of the Irish-British relationship. The Irish aim was to establish a dualist monarchy with Great Britain, or at least to achieve a broader autonomy within the Empire. For this purpose, Hungary was also often seen as a proper example, how a smaller nation could strengthen its position within a larger country. The Irish constitutional literature, and also the newspapers discussed the compromise between Austria and Hungary in 1867, and called for a similar agreement between Ireland and England to provide broader self-determination for Ireland. The study would outline the main arguments of these contemporary contributions, and would assess, how the real Hungarian development, and a mainly idealized image from Hungary influenced the Irish public discourse during that period. Special highlight would be given to a book published by Arthur Griffith, an important politician of that period, “The Resurrection of Hungary” which provided a detailed narrative from the Hungarian development, and used this sample as an argument in the particular Irish political context. Griffith was also one of the key figures of the negotiations in 1921, which lead finally to the agreement between Ireland and England, therefore, this Hungarian orientation had also clear practical impact. My purpose is to demonstrate this influence on the basis of the original, contemporary Irish sources.

Keywords: *constitutional development, Ireland, dualism, Resurrection of Hungary, Arthur Griffith, Irish-Hungarian parallel, great compromise, constitutional history, home rule*

1. Introduction

During the last decades of the long 19th century, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was considered as one of the most significant powers of Europe, but the Hungarian Kingdom itself was also one of the largest countries of the continent. As a consequence, the Hungarian improvements were generated remarkable resound across Europe, as it was an important country of the continent, which produced even better economic records, as Spain with its colonies. This phenomena explains itself, that during that period, Hungary played a more important role at the European press, than recently. However, in certain countries, these factors were strengthened by an alleged constitutional parallel, especially in those countries, which were forced to live together in close alliance with a stronger state against their will. Norway, which created a personal union with Sweden during the 19th century was considered in Hungary as the weaker party of an other dualist monarchy, which

could provide valuable experience for the Norwegian constitutional development as well. This parallel was also rumoured in the contemporary Hungarian public law literature and publicism. A mutual reflection has been also perceptible with the Irish authors, but the Hungarian-Norwegian connection was essentially elaborated in Hungary, while as regard to the Irish-Hungarian case, Hungary was thought in the Irish isle as a potentially followable sample. The interdependence of the Hungarian, Norwegian and Irish constitutional development might be examined at the relationship of each country: I have conceptualized in one of my studies the contemporary link between the Hungarian and the Norwegian constitutional development,¹ and the Irish-Norwegian parallel is also reported by several sources.² In this study, I will focus on, how, and in which context the Hungarian developments were conceptualized at the Irish public discussion and publicism during the last decades of the long 19th century. My analysis is primarily based on the Irish journals of the long 19th century, but I have also used those scientific works, which concentrate on that period.³

This topic raised firstly my interest in November 2015, when I took a presentation in Oslo, at the conference dedicated to the bicentenary of the Constitution of Norway (1814).⁴ On this occasion, I met *Sissel Rosland*, the professor of legal history from the University of Tromsø, who highlighted, that the Austro-Hungarian dualism was an important point of reference not only in Norway, but also in Ireland. After having analysed the available sources, and after several preparations, I travelled to Dublin in November 2017. The colleagues of the Sutherland School of Law provided me with a great help there, especially *Thomas Mabr*, *Conor Mulvagh*, *Coleman A. Dennehy* and *Colum Kenny*. At the National Library of Ireland, I could reveal several materials concerning *Arthur Griffith*, as I have been informed, *Griffith* educated himself also in those rooms more than a century earlier. I could access the database of the Irish newspapers, so I could get to know a larger part of the really rich materials of Irish journals, which dealt with Hungary. On the basis of this research, I could outline, which impact has been produced by the Hungarian development in Ireland. The Hungarian literature has dedicated several contributions to the foreign reception of the Austro-Hungarian dualism,⁵ however the Irish parallel has not been analysed in depth. By this study, I would attempt to reduce this short-coming.

2. The reason and the background of the Hungarian-Irish parallel

Ireland has faced with continuous English threats even in the medieval centuries, and its territory has been permanently invaded by the British troops in the 16th century. Initially, the independence of Ireland was formally respected, the two countries were merged only by the person of the common king. Later, similarly to the development of the Austro-Hungarian relationship, the

¹ SZENTGÁLI-TÓTH, A norvég Alkotmány hatása Magyarországon 66–71.

² REDWALDSEN, Great Britain and the Norwegian Constitution 182–202.

³ MANSERGH – MANSERGH, Nationalism and Independence; KELLY, Our Joyce. From outcast to Icon 45; KABDEBO, The Hungarian-Irish Parallel 19–46; KABDEBO – Ó SÍOCHÁIN, Hungary and the Two Roger Casements 73–79; FOSTER, Modern Ireland 1600–1972.

⁴ www.jus.uio.no/forskning/omrader/rettshistorie/arrangementer/konferanser-seminarer/2015/Fagkonferanse-november/programme-16.11.15.pdf.

⁵ SZENTE, Kormányzás a dualizmus korában 431–435.

dominant English party created a great number of formal and informal paths to influence even the ordinary life of the Irish society. At the end of the 18th century, under the lead of *Henry Grattan*, the Irish politicians achieved, that the British Parliament of Westminster recognized the whole independence of Ireland, and the whole sovereignty of the Irish Parliament. Nevertheless, in 1801, Ireland was declared as one of the constituent members of the United Kingdom, which formally lost its status as an independent country. The English dominance over Ireland was strengthened further during the 19th century, the English authorities treated Ireland mostly as a colony. The inhabitants of the emerald island have initiated more uprisings against the British dominance, but these endeavours remained unsuccessful.⁶ The potato-rot, which hit Ireland in the 1840s, produced such disastrous consequences, which have not disappeared even nowadays. This event further deepened the gap between the protestant England, and the catholic Ireland,⁷ as the English authorities failed to give effective answers to the challenges of the potato-rot.

In this situation, in Ireland, which lacked independence, the dualist monarchy was considered as an attractive construction. Many people visioned the whole independence from the British realm, but it had been experienced by the Irish society several times, that with armed instruments, it is unable to achieve this goal. On the contrary, Hungary improved quickly at the beginning of the 20th century, and its economic and political weight was increased continuously within the dualist Monarchy. It shall be noted that Hungary was not so successful in this regard, as Norway, which strengthened itself so remarkably during the union with Sweden, that it could achieve in 1905 the dissolution of the personal union with peaceful means. And other phenomena at the background of the Hungarian-Irish parallel was the growing interest towards foreign samples, which was not a merely Irish tendency. In Hungary, during the reform period, those public figures, who stood up for the modernization of the economy and the society tried to collect during their foreign journeys such experience and solutions, which might be useful in Hungary as well.⁸ In Ireland, this approach was slightly modified due to the special status within the British Realm. The Irish authors payed crucial attention to the development of other British colonies, but it was estimate that Ireland should not essentially look for parallels within this circle.⁹ According to the British interpretation, Ireland was one of the several colonies, it just laid geographically closer to England, than other depending territories. On the contrary, the self-identity of Ireland outlined an ancient European country, which shall be equal to other sovereign states of the continent. This ambiguity was also realized by some of the British politicians.¹⁰ As a consequence, the Irish legal and political literature looked for European point of references and India, Canada or other overseas examples played just secondary role. This tendency supported the spread of the concept from the Hungarian-Irish parallel.

In addition to this, the potential parallels of the English-Irish relationship were searched not only in Ireland. The Irish question, and its alleged European parallels were also highlighted in

⁶ See the History of Irish Freedom Movements: BOYCE, Nationalism in Ireland; GARVIN, Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland.

⁷ DONNELLY JR, The Construction of The Memory of the Famine in Ireland 26–61.

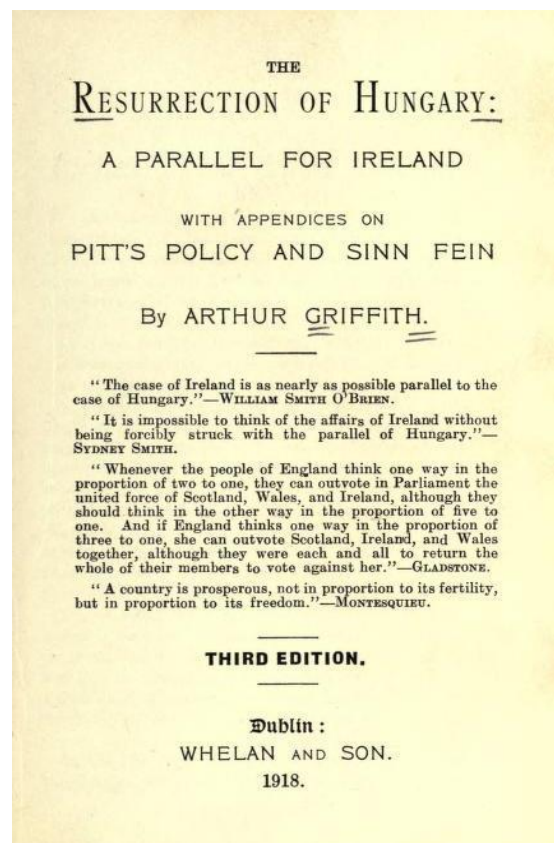
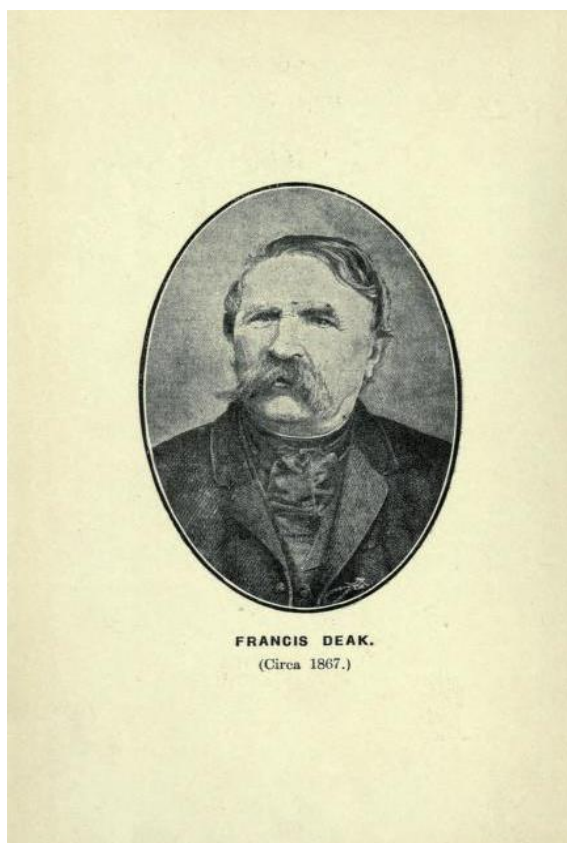
⁸ FENYŐ, A polgárosodás eszmevilága útirajzaikban 1848 előtt 127.

⁹ Kerry Evening Post 13 June 1869 4.

¹⁰ Gladstone Papers DLXXXVII, MS 44672 48–56.

London during the so-called Home Rule debates.¹¹ These rules determined the status of Ireland within the British Realm, which were adopted by the parliament of Westminster. The first larger debates took place in the middle of the 1880s, *William Gladstone*, the prime minister of Great Britain often referred to the other British colonies,¹² and he enumerated also those European examples, when two countries lived together in close alliance. Apart from the Austro-Hungarian, and the Swedish-Hungarian parallel, he mentioned the relationship of Russia and Finland for instance.¹³ *Gladstone* argued, that these alliances do not undermine the stability of the participating countries, by contrast, they inspire the predictable development of these states.¹⁴ However, he also outlined those circumstances, which raise difficulties to apply the Austro-Hungarian or other dualist frameworks as a parallel for Great Britain.¹⁵ Similarly to *Gladstone*, the possible parallels of dualist monarchies, and the English-Irish relationship was also detailed by *Lord Salisbury*.

In the background of the Irish-Hungarian parallel, we find the conscience of an allegedly similar history, which dated back to the first half of the 19th century. The Irish public discussion elaborated the idea, that similarly to Ireland, Hungary was also forced to live within the borders of a larger realm, and the key issue of its history was whether it could defend its independence against



Source: archive.org/details/resurrectionofhu00grifiala

¹¹ George Joachim Goschen in the Government of Ireland debate, 13 April 1886.

¹² SHANNON, Gladstone: God and Politics 415.

¹³ Gladstone Papers DLXXXVII, MS 44672 109–157.

¹⁴ William Ewart Gladstone in the Government of Ireland debate, 8 April 1886.

¹⁵ Gladstone Papers DLXXXVII, MS 44672 21–26.

a stronger enemy. Accordingly, the impact of the Hungarian liberation movements was significant in Ireland. The parallel was drawn between the figures of *Lajos Kossuth* and *O'Connell* during the first decades of the 19th century,¹⁶ and later, several common points were also rumoured between the role of *Griffith* and *Ferenc Deák*. In the Irish journals, after the great compromise,¹⁷ more articles were dedicated to the glory of the Hungarian liberation war of 1848–1849,¹⁸ but this is a two-folded phenomena. It is also perceptible during the first world war that the Easter uprising was considered in Hungary as the fight of an oppressed, small nation against its stronger oppressors.

The intensity of the Hungarian references varied at the contemporary Irish sources. The Austro-Hungarian compromise raised the interest of the Irish public opinion, a great number of public figures and individuals followed the news from the negotiations, and estimated that this way might be worth-contemplating also for Ireland.¹⁹ The next intensive period fell in the middle of the 1880s,²⁰ when extensive parliamentary discussion took place from the home rules at the Westminster.²¹ Several similar discourses took place during the forthcoming decades until the beginning of the first world war, however, the main arguments and approaches had been already crystallised during the 1880s. The third stage of this process is perceptible during the first years of the 20th century, when the Swedish-Norwegian Union was dissolved,²² while in Hungary, a long-term governmental crisis occurred due to the conflict of the political forces for and against dualism. *A posteriori*, we could evaluate this as the first signs of the instability in Austria-Hungary, but in Ireland, it was primarily seen as the attempt of Hungary to retain its independence, or at least to strengthen its status within the Austro-Hungarian dualism.²³ It is not incidental, that the Hungarian-Irish parallel was conceptualized more deeply during these years, by the book of *Griffith 'The Resurrection of Hungary'*, which was really a series of articles published during subsequent months. This volume will be assessed later more deeply, here I would just like to highlight, that *Griffith* gave birth to a new political party, the '*Sin Féin*', which targeted to apply the Hungarian model in Ireland, and aimed to make a compromise with Great Britain on the basis of full sovereignty of Ireland. Especially during the first world war, lots of voices urged the secession from Great Britain, and the declaration of an independent Irish republic, but Hungary remained an important point of reference, the *Resurrection of Hungary* was reprinted even in 1918. Finally, owing to *Griffith* and his colleagues, Ireland resumed its partial independence with a compromise elaborated via negotiations, but at that time, the Hungarian references disappeared from the contemporary documents, as the Austro-Hungarian dualism was ceased amongst tragic circumstances, so this sample might not have been attractive anymore. With our current knowledge, we could state, that the Irish-English treaty was grounded on a compromise, but on the long term, it opened up the perspectives of Ireland to achieve its full sovereignty.

¹⁶ GRIFFITH, *The resurrection of Hungary: a parallel for Ireland* 72.

¹⁷ For instance please see: *Nation* 25 June 1870 3; *Dundalk Democrat* 17 June 1871 4; *Nation* 29 November 1873 2.

¹⁸ For instance please see: *Irish Examiner* 6 May 1893 6.

¹⁹ For instance please see: *Nation* 11 December 1873 11.

²⁰ George Joachim Goschen in the Government of Ireland debate, 13 April 1886.

²¹ *Westmeath Examiner* 4 May 1886 5.

²² STOLLEIS, *The Dissolution of the Union between Norway and Sweden* 35–48.

²³ *Irish Independent* 3 March 1905 6.; *Irish Examiner* 22 May 1906 5.

In the following chapter, I would point out, which factors lead to an extensive dialogue between the Hungarian, Norwegian and Irish authors just a century ago.

3. Dualist monarchies in Europe during the 19th century

Dualism, the close cooperation of two more or less independent states was not an extraordinary phenomena in Europe during the 19th century, so these countries could not take into account a huge number of foreign examples. We could mention only two dualist systems, which existed during a longer period: the personal union of Sweden and Norway in Scandinavia between 1814–1905 and later, the relationship of Austria and Hungary between 1867–1918.²⁴ These two confederations differed remarkably, nevertheless, several issues were inherently similar. Due to historical, economic and social reasons, Sweden and Austria were the dominant parties of these cooperations, on the other side, Norway and Hungary was often considered as marginalized participants of these dualisms. These two groups of interest interpreted the dualism roughly differently. On the one hand, the Hungarian and the Norwegian leaders thought, that dualism means the alliance of two totally independent states, the sole link between the two countries is the person of the common king. The common affairs shall be interpreted narrowly, the king and his counsellors shall respect the independence of the member states. On the other hand, from Austrian and Swedish perspectives, the dualist states constituted a unitary and indivisible realm under a monarch, just the two halves of the realm enjoy a particular degree of autonomy. Consequently, according to the Hungarian and Norwegian interpretation, in case of any conflict between national interests and the interests of the union, the national interest should prevail, or at least the two approaches shall be balanced properly. On the contrary, the Swedish and Austrian politicians aimed primarily to maintain the union, the interests of Norway and Hungary played just a secondary role in their eyes. These tensions explain the movements in the dualist monarchies for the extension of the national autonomy, or the restitution of full sovereignty. Besides this, the dualist structure distorted remarkably the political discourse, in Norway and Hungary. In most European countries, the political life was organized on the ground of economic and social issues. By contrast, in Norway and Hungary, the constitutional status of the country mentioned the faultline between the political parties. How shall we define the relationship with the dualist partner, and with the king, who spends most of his time outside from the country?²⁵ The poem of *Henrik Ibsen 'Til Ungarn'* [To Hungary] demonstrates well, that the stronger Hungarian impact in Norway inspired certain authors as well.²⁶

This brief comparison outlines those characteristics, which were thought-provoking for Irish politicians within a little bit different context. Similarly to Hungary and Norway, Ireland had

²⁴ BEKSICS, A dualizmus története, közjogi értelme és nemzeti törekvéseink; KOZÁRI, Az osztrák magyar monarchia; SZENTE, Kormányforma és parlamentáris kormányzás.

²⁵ SULLYOK, A norvégok és Magyarország; HADOBÁSZ, Herman Ottó 1888. évi norvégiai kutatójátja 29–32; SZÁSZ, Norvég demokrácia 15–16; SZÁSZ, Államkapcsolat és parlamenti kormányrendszer; SCHWARZ, Az európai monarchiák rendszeres alaptörvényeiről, tekintettel ezek alkotmány-történelmi előzményeire 1–80; LUDMÁNY, A Svéd-norvég Királyság közjogi helyzete; SZÁSZ, A norvég és svéd államkapcsolat revisiói 292–304; VÁRNAI, A svéd-norvég unió államjoga 352–372; LOJKÓ, National Loyalties in the Peripheries of Europe; FRANK, The Austro-Hungarian compromise 193–200.

²⁶ IBSEN, Til Ungarn; for more detail see: TONNESSON, The Norwegian Constitution 175–186.

a strong self-identity as an independent European country, and it is also true, that Ireland was forced to live together in a tight alliance with a stronger country, than Hungary and Norway. The Irish political life was also divided on the basis of the form of the state and the government, and on the relationship with Great Britain, not on social and economic issues or on internal politics. Until the 1920s, until the foundation of the Irish Free State, the Irish public life was determined by the issue of public law, other challenges might be discussed only in the shadow of these tensions.

Nevertheless, the case of Ireland should not be regarded equal to the Hungarian development, and in an Irish-Hungarian context, we could not discover such reciprocity or interdependence, as in the case of Hungary and Norway. The main purpose of Hungary and Norway was to maintain and strengthen their position within the dualist framework against their stronger partners, so their ambition was to extend and complete their already existing partial independence. It is also worthy for consideration, that Hungary and Norway showed a quick development during the dualist period, and in spite of the potential internal conflicts, their weight increased dynamically within the whole realm, so they were beneficiaries of the economic prosperity. On the contrary, Ireland had not possessed any autonomy within the British Empire. *Griffith* claimed, that the primary purpose of the Irish politicians was to achieve, that the main decisions from Ireland should be taken in Ireland instead of London, as it happened in *Griffith's* concept in the context of Hungary and Vienna after 1867. From the other side, from Hungary and Norway, Ireland could generate only sympathy with its liberation movements, as the Easter uprising, but especially some decades after the potato-rot, it had not been referred as a followable sample. Nevertheless, in the Hungarian itineraries published during the 1840s, we could find a certain expression of sympathy towards Ireland.²⁷ One leader of the Irish nationalist movement, *William Smith O'Brien* said: *'The case of Ireland is as nearly as possible a parallel to the case of Hungary.'*²⁸ So the status of Ireland was similar to Hungary and Norway, as it looked for independence, or a wider degree of independence within a larger empire, but it shall be distinguished clearly from other cases, as Hungary and Norway was dualist partner countries, while Ireland just targeted to achieve this status.

In this process, Hungary could be invoked as a sample, because although the long series of unsuccessful armed uprisings, it was able to finally conclude a compromise with the Habsburg dynasty via negotiations. This flexible and compromise-based branch of the Irish political life, which insisted of full sovereignty could not satisfy all requirements of a wide range of Irish nationalists, but it was supported by considerable lawyers of the Irish society. Finally, this direction prevailed, as Ireland won back its independence firstly partially, and later totally with bilateral agreements, as the outcome of long-term negotiation processes.

Now I turn to the views and activities of *Griffith*, since he elaborated and summarized more coherently the doctrine of the Irish-Hungarian parallel.

²⁷ For instance: IRINYI, Németh-, francia és angolországi utijegyzetek.

²⁸ Cited by: GRIFFITH, The resurrection of Hungary: a parallel for Ireland 5.

4. Arthur Griffith: the resurrection of Hungary

As it has been already mentioned, *Griffith* was not the first person, who alleged the analogy of the Hungarian and the Irish constitutional development, it was well-established in the 1860s, but it had not been unknown in the Irish public discussion from the 1840s. This is a special case of the migration of a constitutional idea,²⁹ and also a political concept.³⁰ Nevertheless, without *Griffith*, this doctrine would not be so influential, and widespread during the first two decades of the 20th century, therefore, a separate chapter will be dedicated to the life, and work of *Griffith*. There were obviously other supporters of the reception of the Austro-Hungarian model, as *John Mitchel*, or *Michael Doheny*, but their impact was not so intense, as the book of *Griffith*.

Griffith was one of the key figures, who lead the Irish liberation movement during the last decades of the long 19th century, who played a crucial role during the English-Irish negotiations in 1921. He was born in a middle-class family, he educated mostly himself at the National Library of Ireland, before entering to the public arena.³¹ In the 1890s, he spent some years in South Africa, where he met with the movements of the Boers, which affected remarkably his views.³² When he arrived back to Dublin, he joined to the catholic, anti-English circles, where his weight increased rapidly. As a politician, during this period, his character was crystallized as a great supporter of the Irish independence, and as a consequent anti-socialist.³³ His opponents also accused him with anti-semitist statements.³⁴ Although the fact, that he never visited Hungary, he informed himself from various materials, so his political credo was inspired heavily by his detailed picture from the Hungarian past and present.³⁵

During 1904, in his review of *United Irish Man*, which was edited by himself, he published a long series of 27 articles about his knowledge and vision from Hungary. These articles were merged to a book, which had the title '*Resurrection of Hungary*'. Irish authors consider this volume as the most influential Irish political text of the 20th century. *Griffith* envisaged a dualist cooperation between Ireland and England on the basis of full sovereignty, which might be achieved with the instruments of parliamentary obstruction, passive resistance, and the strong subvention of the mother tongue. *Griffith* brought these two elements from the Hungarian history: dualism as a purpose,³⁶ while obstruction and the development of mother tongue and national culture as instruments.³⁷ For *Griffith*, the dualist system was identical to the constitution of *Grattan*, which at least formally acknowledged the equality of Ireland with England.³⁸

²⁹ From the migration of constitutional ideas please see: CHOUDRY (ed.), *The Migration of Constitutional Ideas* 1–35.

³⁰ From the theoretic background of this phenomena please see: DOLOWITZ – GREENWOLD – MARSH, *Policy transfer* 719–730; DOLOWITZ – MARSH, *Learning from Abroad* 5–23; JAMES – LODGE, *The Limitations of “Policy Transfer”* 179–193.

³¹ STEPHENS, *Arthur Griffith, Journalist and Statesman* 7.

³² MAYE, *Arthur Griffith* 58–60.

³³ COLUM, *Arthur Griffith* 76–77.

³⁴ YOUNGER, *Arthur Griffith* 9.

³⁵ GRIFFITH, *The resurrection of Hungary: a parallel for Ireland* 1–68.

³⁶ GRIFFITH, *The resurrection of Hungary: a parallel for Ireland* 73–75.

³⁷ GRIFFITH, *The resurrection of Hungary: a parallel for Ireland* 75–78.

³⁸ GRIFFITH, *The resurrection of Hungary: a parallel for Ireland* 76.

Griffith assessed the Hungarian history in depth, and rumoured several, mostly indirect link between the development of the two countries.³⁹ He concluded, that Hungary and Ireland lived amongst similar circumstances at the beginning of the 19th century, but Hungary concluded this period successfully and retained its independence, while Ireland remained the most vulnerable country of West-Europe even on the social, economic and political field, the perspectives of the island were not so promising.⁴⁰ *Griffith* paid distinguished attention to the process of the great compromise, and the character of *Deák*, since he wanted to extend the self-determination via peaceful negotiations.⁴¹ *Griffith* was aware of the fact, that the Irish independence could not be achieved just by armed means against the well-equipped, and well-organised British army, but he considered, that Ireland should not give up any substantial element of its sovereignty.⁴² This point is an evident example, where his views were inspired by the attitudes of *Deák*: realistic compromises might be concluded, but a state shall not renounce voluntarily from exercising its sovereign rights and from its independence. *Griffith* highlighted, that the status of Ireland should be clearly distinguished from the status of the British colonies, so different methods of governance are applicable in Ireland, than in the distant colonies. Instead of the quasi-colonial status, such home rule should be guaranteed for Ireland, which would safeguard internal autonomy, and which would allow for the Irish leaders to intervene effectively to the crucial decisions from the future of the country. Such a framework would provide greater opportunities for Ireland to benefit from the economic growth of the British Empire, which had been experienced during the subsequent waves of the industrial revolution.⁴³

The tactic of *Griffith* to realize this purpose was to accept the legality of the Windsor dynasty, but to boycott all key institutions, which represented the English dominance. He viewed the union of Ireland and England illegal and unlawful,⁴⁴ therefore, he called the Irish parliamentary members and officers to withdraw from their position to undermine the effective operation of the English administration. He relied on this behaviour, and hoped, that similarly to Hungary, in case of advantageous international circumstances, the British government would be forced to negotiate with the leaders of the Irish liberation movements to seek long-term stability.

The volume of *Griffith* was tremendously popular within the circles of the Irish opposition, in 1918, it was printed out thirdly. Approximately 5000 books were sold from the first edition during just 24 hours, and the interest towards the volume remained so intense during the following months, that it amounted probably a record in the history of the Irish publishing.⁴⁵ Although the fact, that the unionist journals in Belfast reported a huge number of critical comments concerning his views, the wide circles of the Irish opposition shared the main cornerstones of his idea, and supported his party, the *Sin Féin*.⁴⁶ The *Sin Féin* determined the Irish political life from 1904, but the first world war, and the strong external pressure on the British Empire strengthened the

³⁹ GRIFFITH, The resurrection of Hungary: a parallel for Ireland 68–89.

⁴⁰ GRIFFITH, The resurrection of Hungary: a parallel for Ireland 69.

⁴¹ GRIFFITH, The resurrection of Hungary: a parallel for Ireland 72.

⁴² GRIFFITH, The resurrection of Hungary: a parallel for Ireland 78–79.

⁴³ GRIFFITH, The resurrection of Hungary: a parallel for Ireland 81–83.

⁴⁴ GRIFFITH, The resurrection of Hungary: a parallel for Ireland 85–90.

⁴⁵ MAYE, Arthur Griffith 368.

⁴⁶ MAUME, The Ancient Constitution 113–137.

positions of the more radical forces. These more violent groups initiated with German assistance the Easter uprising against the British Empire in Dublin during the spring of 1915, but this was defeated only after some days, its leaders leaved the country, or they were imprisoned, some key figures of the movement were executed. The participants of the Easter uprising had not been satisfied with any compromise,⁴⁷ they wanted to leave the British Empire, and they visioned a republican form of government.⁴⁸ After the failure of their uprising, and after the end of the first world war, the direction of *Griffith* was again more influential. During these years, the Hungarian parallel was also invoked by *Eamon de Valera*, who was later the president of the Irish Republic.⁴⁹ Finally, the direct English-Irish negotiations were started in November 1921 the Irish delegation was led by *Griffith*.⁵⁰ The marathon negotiations in London entailed the conclusion of the Irish-English treaty in December 1921, which restructured the political map of the Irish Island. This agreement provided wide internal separateness to Ireland within the framework of the British Empire. The full independence was declared only in the 1930s. During the negotiations in 1921, the tragedy of the Austro-Hungarian dualism was already known, so the Hungarian parallel had not been invoked anymore as a followable sample. Nevertheless, the direction of *Griffith*, and the preference of the peaceful agreement prevailed and lead to the independence of Ireland, to the completion of a stage from a century-long conflict.

Similarly to the Austro-Hungarian dualism, the compromise of *Griffith* was far from perfect, this is just proved by the long-term armed conflicts in Northern Ireland, which determined the ordinary life in Belfast even at the end of the 20th century. However, it is obvious, mostly owing to *Arthur Griffith*, that the Hungarian sample was crucial from the perspective of the 1921 Irish-English agreement, as a point of reference, and as an implicit factor.

Several criticisms have been published against the theory of *Griffith*, and the concept of the Irish Hungarian parallel.⁵¹ The counterarguments might be divided into two main groups. On the one hand, *Griffith* probably exaggerated the margin of movement of *Grattan's* Parliament, the equality of the Irish and the English Parliaments were just symbolic, the main decisions were taken in London even in the 18th century. Consequently, even the slightly amended restitution of the 1782 Constitution would not have safeguarded the targeted independence of Ireland. The other concern is based on the fact, that *Griffith* obtained his information from Hungary just through articles and books, so he did not rely on direct sources. In addition to this, he took into consideration only those factors, which supported his theory. He just neglected, that apart from the social and economic factors, the Austrian-Hungarian compromise was heavily affected by the international circumstances, by the aim of *Franz Joseph I* to gain long-term stability, and the extra-ordinary abilities of the Hungarian leaders. He also played down such tensions, which occurred between Hungary and the national minorities after the great compromise, and he disregarded the regular conflicts between Hungary, Austria and the emperor, and the controversial attitude of the Hungarian society towards the great compromise. Against this criticism one may argue for instance, is that *Griffith*

⁴⁷ MCGEE, *The IRB, The Irish Republican Brotherhood from the Land League to Sinn Fein*; O'BEIRNE-RANELAGH, *The IRB from the Treaty to 1924* 26–39.

⁴⁸ LAFFAN, *The Resurrection of Ireland: The Sinn Fein Party* 26.

⁴⁹ Document no. 2. of Eamon de Valera, and the doctrine of External Association.

⁵⁰ KENDLE, *Ireland and the Federal Solution* 41.

⁵¹ MCCARTNEY, *The Political Use of History in the Work of Arthur Griffith* 3–19.

implied to his book the relationship of Hungary and the national minorities, and he commented, that the situation of Hungary was more difficult, as the Habsburg dynasty could use the issue of the country border as a weapon against the Hungarian resistance.⁵² On the ground of the above considerations, we shall not accept the theory of *Griffith* without reservations, but it is undoubted, that it met with the requirements of wide social layers in Ireland, so it started to be very popular. The development during the 1920s, and the Irish-English treaty demonstrates well, that owing to *Griffith*, several elements of this approach prevailed in practice as well. *Griffith* himself did not live a lot after the main outcome of his life, just some months after the conclusion of the treaty, he died, mostly due to the exhaustion caused by the negotiations.

5. The Irish newspapers from Hungary at the end of the long 19th century

It is a very exciting and motivating task to analyse the Hungarian references of the Irish newspapers during the last decades of the long 19th century. The number of these materials are relatively high, which is explained by the larger weight of Hungary in Europe, and by the Irish sympathy towards Hungary. These materials covered not only the political field, or the potential parallels, there were several reports from catastrophes⁵³ or from extravagant crimes.⁵⁴ The first group is represented for instance by devastating floods,⁵⁵ while the second category contained extra-ordinary murders. More pleasant topics were the Hungarian wine market,⁵⁶ and the Hungarian dance and music,⁵⁷ which produced economic and cultural impact on the Irish public opinion. We also find reports almost from the field of yellow journalism, such as the death of a Hungarian veteran from Waterloo (aged 103),⁵⁸ exhibitions from Hungary⁵⁹ or the oriental journeys of *Ármin Vámbéri*.⁶⁰ The press of the catholic Ireland also reported some meetings between Hungarian pilgrims and the pope.⁶¹

Nevertheless, most sources focus on political news, these articles determined – with diverse intensity – the whole period.⁶² After the great compromise, certain articles analysed the negotiations before the compromise,⁶³ while others appreciated the dualist framework,⁶⁴ and those Hungarian laws, which formed the legal basis of the new constitutional structure. Amongst others,

⁵² GRIFFITH, The resurrection of Hungary: a parallel for Ireland 70.

⁵³ For instance please see: Irish Examiner 7 November 1894 5; Irish Examiner 19 November 1910 2.

⁵⁴ Kerry Weekly Reporter 18 May 1901 3.

⁵⁵ Nenagh Guardian 1 March 1876 3; Kerry Evening Post 4 September 1878 4; Belfast Newsletter 13 March 1879 5; Irish Examiner 11 April 1881 3; Skibbereen 2 September 1888 2; Irish Examiner 20 June 1910 7.

⁵⁶ Amongst others for instance please see: Irish Examiner 25 March 1869 1; Kerry Evening Post 15 November 1871 1.; Freemans Journal 4 September 1873 4; Freemans Journal 9 May 1874 5; Freemans Journal 25 October 1875 5; Irish Examiner 26 May 1877 2; Freemans Journal 19 April 1879 2; Nenagh Guardian 1 September 1880 2; Belfast Newsletter 13 October 1883 4; Kerry Sentinel 12 April 1887 2.

⁵⁷ Irish Examiner 21 September 1893 4; Kerry Evening Post 31 August 1901 3.

⁵⁸ Irish Examiner 16 December 1892 3.

⁵⁹ Evening Herald 9 May 1908 2.

⁶⁰ Irish Examiner 2 October 1890 3.

⁶¹ Freemans Journal 26 May 1893 10; Anglocelt 12 May 1900 3.

⁶² For instance please see: Irish Examiner 2 February 1879 2; Leinster Express 2 October 1886 4; Irish Examiner 2 March 1888 3; Irish Examiner 29 December 1891 4; Irish Examiner 26 October 6. and 26 November 1896 7; Irish Independent 4 August 1911 3.

⁶³ Wexford People 18 May 1867 6; Nation 15 June 1867 3.

⁶⁴ Connaught Telegraph 27 March 1867 2; Nation 19 December 1868 9; Nation 31 July 1875 9.

a long article was published from the Hungarian law on freedom of religion.⁶⁵ Later, when the dualist structure was crystallized, there were news from the Hungarian parliamentary debates,⁶⁶ from questions and interpellations, and also from demonstrations.⁶⁷ The budget of Hungary was also a regular subject: the loans, which were taken out from Hungary, and the Austro-Hungarian financial compromise,⁶⁸ and its renegotiations as well.⁶⁹ These reports were mostly factual, and they have not assessed deeply the potential parallel between the Hungarian and the Irish constitutional development, but they opened up the perspectives of ordinary Irish readers to inform themselves from the development of Hungary.

The articles from the contemporary key figures of Hungary are especially worthy of careful consideration. In January 1876, several commemorations were published after the death of *Deák*,⁷⁰ while a great number of publications informed the Irish public opinion of the death and the funeral of *Kossuth*.⁷¹ But the death of *Ferenc Pulszky*,⁷² the 50-year anniversary of *Mór Jókai* as an author,⁷³ and the last years of his life.⁷⁴

Most of the relevant publications describe Hungary as a followable example,⁷⁵ the sympathy was dated back to the 1848-49 liberation war in Hungary, but *Griffith* enumerates also former signs of the bilateral relationship. It is worthy for consideration, that the book of *Griffith* was originally published as a series of articles during almost one year. The alleged parallel was rumoured firstly at the end of the 1860s, and at the beginning of the 1870s, these materials were directly affected by the great compromise. The second stage fell into the middle of the 1880s, when extensive discussions took place from the future status of Ireland at the Westminster.⁷⁶ The third wave might be experienced during the years of the dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian union, and the governmental crisis in Hungary, especially during the years after the publication of *Griffith's* book.

During this period, Hungary was not only referred to as a political sample, but also as a model of building a railway network,⁷⁷ modernizing agriculture⁷⁸ or restructuring taxation.⁷⁹ The supporters of *Griffith*, who dominated the politics of the *Sin Féin*, were often referred to as 'the Hungarian green band', while Ireland was mentioned regularly in contemporary texts, as 'the Hungary of the west'.⁸⁰ Especially during the year of 1905, several reports, summaries, and

⁶⁵ Nenagh Guardian 12 March 1870 4.

⁶⁶ For instance: Irish Examiner 30 December 1897 5; Evening Herald 22 February 1892 4; Irish Examiner 19 January 1898 5; Kerry Sentinel 12 March 1902 4; Irish Examiner 21 April 1902 7; Freemans Journal 9 October 1902 2; Evening Herald 15 May 1904 3; Irish Examiner 31 October 1907 5; Irish Examiner 7 February 1908 5.

⁶⁷ For instance please see: Irish Examiner 7 June 1912 3.

⁶⁸ Nation 7 September 1867 16.

⁶⁹ Irish Examiner 30 December 1897 5; Irish Examiner 23 November 1899 2.

⁷⁰ Nenagh Guardian 31 January 1876 5.

⁷¹ Evening Herald 21 March 1894 1; Evening Herald 28 March 2. and 31 March 1894 1.

⁷² Irish Examiner 10 September 1897 7.

⁷³ Freemans Journal 9 January 1894 4.

⁷⁴ For instance: Irish Examiner 21 January 1899 11.

⁷⁵ Nation 29 December 1877 6.

⁷⁶ Nation 30 October 1886 1.

⁷⁷ Irish Examiner 2 October 1890 3.

⁷⁸ Freemans Journal 13 June 1910 9; Drogheda Independent 18 June 1910 3.

⁷⁹ Freemans Journal 25 June 1911 7.

⁸⁰ HAGLUND – KORKUT, Going Against the Flow: Sinn Féin's Unusual Hungarian 'Roots' 41–58.

assessments commented the book of *Griffith*, which helped him to spread his views relatively quickly.⁸¹ The compromise seekers remained influential during the forthcoming years as well.⁸² The Southern Star reported this in 6 February 1909: *'Hungary, that in 1860 was a country poor, oppressed, and forgotten by Europe, in 1908 is one of the richest countries in Europe, and is independent, only has some common affairs with Austria.'*⁸³ Some other articles assessed surprisingly deeply the internal structure of the Austro-Hungarian dualism.⁸⁴ The Irish-Hungarian parallel was so popular during that period, that the unionists, who accepted the dominance of Great Britain, criticized this doctrine in their journals, mostly published in Belfast.⁸⁵ These texts highlighted the issues, which were generated by the dualist framework, as the issue of national minorities⁸⁶, right to vote⁸⁷ or the sharp debates on various internal affairs.⁸⁸

6. Concluding remarks

In the light of the above, it might be well-established, that the link between the Hungarian and the Irish constitutional development during the end of the long 19th century is not only the theory of a recent researcher, but it influenced remarkably the contemporary Irish public opinion. The deeper understanding of the Irish-Hungarian parallel may not reinterpret the history of the long 19th century, but it provides several valuable details to outline that period better. Probably the Irish constitutional development was not directly motivated by the Hungarian sample; it is more realistic, that the Irish leaders found a proper point of reference in Hungary to argue for the necessity of a peaceful transition.

The Irish politicians identified such elements of the great compromise, and the Austro-Hungarian dualism, which meant the background of the Hungarian success, but they purely neglected the disadvantageous aspects. So, the image of the Irish journals from Hungary was probably too idealist, but this approach was in conformity with the demands of the Irish society. After the long, but unsuccessful resistance against the English dominance, the Irish needed such examples, which could give them hope, that in case of favourable international circumstances, and proper strategy, the situation of the poor and vulnerable country might be improved rapidly. This was the historical background of the Irish-Hungarian parallel, and this explains, that in Hungary, we could not find similar tendencies. In Hungary, Ireland generated sympathy, just as a small nation, which fought for its independence. The diversity of the relevant Irish sources demonstrates well, that Hungary was a powerful country during that period in Europe. It is the irony of fate, that

⁸¹ For instance please see: Connaught Telegraph 20 May 1905 7; Connaught Telegraph 24 June 1905 2; Connaught Telegraph 22 July 1905 7; Connaught Telegraph 29 July 1905 7; Connaught Telegraph 19 August 1905 7; Connaught Telegraph 23 September 1905 2.

⁸² See for instance: Western People 22 November 1902 6; Irish Independent 7 October 1907 6; Freemans Journal 26 December 1907 10.

⁸³ Southern Star 6 February 1909 2.

⁸⁴ For instance see: Evening Herald 8 December 1897 2; Irish Examiner 16 December 1912 5.

⁸⁵ For example: Belfast Newsletter 2 January 1886 2.

⁸⁶ Irish Examiner 20 August 1883 3; Irish Examiner 11 May 1894 7; Irish Examiner 11 November 1897 8; Skibbereen 5 June 1899 5.

⁸⁷ Irish Examiner 26 March 1884 2.

⁸⁸ Irish Examiner 20 February 1899 5; Irish Independent 3 March 1905 6; Irish Examiner 22 May 1906 5.

Ireland could conclude its great compromise with England, when the Austro-Hungarian dualism, and the commonly referred Hungarian sample disappeared from the scene of history. But these considerations do not concern the last decades of the long 19th century, in the 1920s, the Irish-Hungarian parallel have already not existed.

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