

NOTE.

On the 19th May 1891, a letter was addressed by the Chairman of the Commission to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, requesting that instructions might be given to Her Majesty's Representatives in the principal European countries and in the United States to forward for the use of the Commission any publications which might have been recently issued in those countries bearing upon certain specified questions connected with the inquiry of the Commission, together with Reports containing such information as Her Majesty's Representatives might be able to supply.

In accordance with this request the Foreign Office obtained and forwarded to the Commission a large number of books, documents, and reports drawn up by Diplomatic or Consular Officers.

Some of the Reports last mentioned have been published as part of the Foreign Office series, but in order to arrange upon a systematic plan the information obtained from the Foreign Office and that derived from other sources, the Secretary of the Commission was directed to prepare Reports compiled from all these materials. These Reports are published in connexion with the proceedings of the Commission, but the Commission is in no way responsible for the statements of fact or opinion which they contain. Nor are Her Majesty's Diplomatic and Consular Officers responsible for any statements contained in them except in so far as their own Reports are quoted.

95

ROYAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR.

FOREIGN REPORTS.

Aug

Volume XI.

**AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND THE
BALKAN STATES.**

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
June 1893.



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ROYAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR.

44, Parliament Street, London, S.W.,
March 6th, 1894.

MY LORD DUKE,

I have the honour to submit to you the Report I have been directed to draw up on the Labour Question in Austria-Hungary and the Balkan States.

A glance at the ethnographical and geographical map which I have compiled, and which is appended to this letter, will show at once some of the difficulties involved and some of the considerations which made it necessary to treat these countries in one Report. It is in fact impossible to separate them so far as the Labour Question is concerned.

The material at my disposal with regard to Austria, is, perhaps, as nearly complete as possible, and I believe that no similar collection will be found anywhere at the present time. In connexion with this I may be allowed here to express my warmest thanks to Dr. Baernreither, Member of the Austrian Imperial Parliament, for his untiring exertions in obtaining literature and documents, official and unofficial, and for placing his most valuable library and collection at my disposal. Without his assistance I should have been obliged to revisit Vienna and make a lengthened journey in Austria; even then I doubt whether I could have obtained all that he has sent me. I have also to express my indebtedness to Dr. Hofrath Exner, who has been good enough, at Dr. Baernreither's request, to furnish me with a valuable essay on the subject of Technical Education, and to the various officers of the Government departments at Vienna, who have afforded me information which would have been otherwise inaccessible. I have also to thank Count Palffy, of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy, Professor Herkner, and Dr. Viktor Adler for pamphlets and statistics supplied to me.

The material with regard to Hungary, though considerable, was less complete, and the material for the Balkan States comparatively meagre, and I have been obliged to adopt a different plan in making use of both.

With regard to Hungary, I am specially indebted to Dr. Mandello, of the University of Budapest, who has been kind enough to compile a special report for me from his own library. This report is frequently quoted in the following pages. My thanks are also due to Count Palffy for kindly translating many interesting documents which would otherwise have been inaccessible to me, as I do not know the Magyar language.

I should further like to thank Professor Földes, Professor Körösi, of the Statistical Department in Budapest, and Dr. Hegedüs, and I should like to call special attention to the ethnographical and political map of Hungary, which has been compiled with great trouble in the office.

In this, the concluding volume of this series,* which is the first attempt made in any country to deal with the whole of the literature of foreign countries, official and unofficial, on the subject of the Labour Question, I may, perhaps, be allowed to call your attention to the fact that, with the exception of a few obvious misprints, and in spite of close criticism in the countries of which I have treated, practically none of my facts, figures, or conclusions have been disputed.

* Vol. I., United States. Vol. II., The Colonies. Vol. III., Holland. Vol. IV., Belgium. Vol. V., Germany. Vol. VI., France. Vol. VII., Switzerland. Vol. VIII., Italy. Vol. IX., Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Spain and Portugal. Vol. X., Russia. Vol. XI., Austria-Hungary and the Balkan States.

When this is borne in mind and when it is further considered how great have been the difficulties which I have had to overcome, and how short the space of time within which these Reports had of necessity to be completed, I trust that the Commission will not be dissatisfied with the results.

I am,

Your Grace's obedient servant,

GEOFFREY DRAGE,

Secretary.

To

His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G.,

Chairman of the Royal Commission on Labour.

REPORT ON THE LABOUR QUESTION IN AUSTRIA.

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TABLE OF MONEY, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES USED IN THIS REPORT.

Money	-	100 kreuzer	=	1 florin.
		1 florin	=	About 1 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>
Weights	-	1 kilogramme	=	2·204 lbs. avoirdupois.
		1 quintal	=	220·462 " "
		1 centner	=	110·50 " "
Measures of capacity.	of	1 hectolitre	=	176·077 pints.
Measures of area.	of	1 sq. metre	=	1·196 sq. yds.
		1 are	=	0·024 acres.
		1 hectare	=	2·47 " "
		1 joch	=	1·42 " "

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		1 joch	=	1·42 „

APPENDIX A.

LITERATURE consulted in the preparation of the REPORT on the LABOUR QUESTION in AUSTRIA.

I.—(a.) *Laws.*

1. Regelung der Verhältnisse der nach dem allgemeinen Berggesetze errichteten oder noch zu errichtenden Bruderladen (Regierungsvorlage).
Id. (Dritte Lesung).
Id. (Einige Aenderungen).
Id. (Abgeändert und ergänzt).

(Beilagen zu den stenographischen Protokollen des Abgeordnetenhauses. (X. Session 1889, Nos. 300, 754, 891, XI. Session 1891, No. 193.) (Government Bill with Amendments concerning Benefit Societies for Miners.)

2. Aufstellung von Betriebsleitern beim Bergbaue (Regierungsvorlage). (XI. Session 1891, No. 76.) (Government Bill on appointment of Mine Overseers.)

3. Errichtung von Genossenschaften beim Bergbaue (Regierungsvorlage). (No. 190.) (Government Bill on Guilds for Miners.)

4. Begünstigungen für Neubauten mit Arbeiterwohnungen. (Bill on Workmen's Dwellings.) (XI. Session 1891, No. 22.)

5. Bestimmungen gegen gemeingefährliche socialistische Bestrebungen (Regierungsvorlage). (Government Bill against the generally dangerous efforts of Social Democracy.) (XI. Session 1891, No. 152.)

6. Einrichtungen zur Förderung des Einvernehmens zwischen den Gewerbeunternehmern und ihren Arbeitern. (Bill for promoting friendly relations between employers and employed.) (XI. Session 1891, Nos. 22, 152, 191.)

7. Unfallversicherung der Arbeiter (Regierungsvorlage). (Government Bill on Accident Insurance for Workmen.)

8. Krankenversicherung der Arbeiter (Regierungsvorlage). (Government Bill on Sick Insurance for Workmen.)

9. Unfallversicherung der Arbeiter (Beschluss des Abgeordnetenhauses).

Id. (Beschluss des Herrenhauses).

Id. Krankenversicherung der Arbeiter (Dritte Lesung).

Id. (Beschluss des Herrenhauses).

(Bills on Accident and Sick Insurance.) (X. Session 1889, Nos. 75, 84, 218, 328, 359, 390.)

10. Abänderungen des Gesetzes vom 9 März 1889, über Gebührenerleichterungen bei Convertirung von Geldschuldforderungen (Regierungsvorlage). (Government Bill on Conversion of Debts.) (XI. Session 1893, No. 758.)

11. Gesetz womit die Reichsraths-Wahlordnung ergänzt, beziehungsweise abgeändert wird. (XI. Session 1893, No. 724.) (Government Bill for the Extension of the Franchise.)

(b.) *Motions (Anträge.)*

12. Abänderungen an dem Gesetzentwurfe über die Unfallversicherung der Arbeiter. (Accident Insurance.)

13. Krankenersicherung. (Sick Insurance.)

14. Einführung von Einigungsämtern. (Boards of Conciliation.) (X. Session 1889, Nos. 381, 732, 1020.)

15. Hilfskassen (Benefit Societies). (XI. Session 1891, No. 97.)

16. Errichtung einer Reichsgenossenschaftsbank. (Foundation of a Co-operative Imperial Bank.) (No. 29.)

17. Abänderung einiger Bestimmungen der Gewerbeordnung.

Id.

Id.

Id.

(Proposed alterations in the Industrial Code.) (Nos. 30, 89, 82, 165.)

18. Revision des Gewerbegesetzes vom 15 März 1883. (Revision of the Industrial Code of March 15th, 1883.) (No. 85.)

19. Alters und Invalidenversicherung der Arbeiter. (Old Age and Invalidity Insurance.)

20. Trennung der Handels Kammern. (Proposed division of the Chambers of Commerce.)

21. Arbeiterkammern. (Labour Chambers.) (X. Session 1891, Nos. 32, 60, 138.)

22. Bruderladen. (Friendly Societies.)

23. Bestellung von Berginspectoren. (XI. Session 1892, No. 492.) (Appointment of Mine Inspectors.)

24. Ergänzung der Reichsvertretung durch 20 neue Abgeordnete der Wählerklasse der Arbeiter. (Proposal for adding 20 workmen's representatives to the House of Deputies.) (XI. Session 1893, No. 730.) Reichsvertretung. (Proposal to reform the representative system.) (XI. Session 1893, No. 738.)

25. Brüderladen. (Dr. Baernreither and Graf Deym.) (Friendly Societies.)

(c.) *Reports (Berichte) of the Industrial Committees.*

26. Unfallversicherung der Arbeiter. (Accident Insurance.)

27. Krankenversicherung der Arbeiter (Sick Insurance.)

28. Abänderungen betreffend die Unfallversicherung der Arbeiter. (Accident Insurance.)

29. Abänderungen. Krankenversicherung. (Sick Insurance.)

30. Regelung der Verhältnisse der nach dem allgemeinen Berggesetze errichteten oder noch zu errichtenden Bruderladen. (Miners' Friendly Societies.)

31. Petition. Krankenversicherung. (Sick Insurance.)

32. Aenderungen des Bruderladengesetzes. (Alterations in the Law on Friendly Societies.) (X. Session 1889, Nos. 148, 185, 381, 431, 729, 753, 906.)

33. Hilfskassen. (Benefit Societies.) (XI. Session 1891, No. 129.)

34. Statut der Bruderladen, 1890.

35. Anhang zum Statut der Bruderladen, 1890. (Statutes of Friendly Societies.)

(d.) *General.*

36. Manz'sche Gesetz-Ausgabe. No. 2 Gewerbeordnung vom 20 December 1859, 1867. (Text of the Industrial Code.)

37. Id. No. 44, Musterstatut für Bezirkskrankencassen, Vienna, 1888. (Model Statutes for District Sick Funds.)

38. Id. No. 44 e. Das Statut der Bezirkskrankencasse in Wien, Vienna, 1889. (Statutes for the Vienna District Sick Fund.)

39. Id. Das Gesetz vom 28 December 1887 und das Gesetz vom, 30 März 1888. (Laws of December 28th, 1887, and March 30th, 1888.)

40. Bela von Weigelsperg. Compendium über Gewerbewesen, Vienna, 1892. (Text of the Labour Laws.)

41. Handausgabe der österreichischen Gesetze und Verordnungen, Heft, 88, Gesetze und Verordnungen betreffend die Unfall- und die Krankenversicherung der Arbeiter, Vienna, 1890. (Collection of Laws relating to Accident and Sick Insurance.)

II.—*Official Publications.*

42. Berichte der k. k. Gewerbe-Inspectoren, 1885-1892, Vienna, 1886-1893. (Factory Inspectors' Reports.)

43. Statistischer Bericht der Handels- und Gewerkekammer in Reichenberg. Reichenberg, 1887.

- (Statistical Report of the Reichenberg Chamber of Commerce.)
44. Nordböhmische Arbeiter-Statistik. Tabellarische Darstellung der Ergebnisse der von der Reichenberger Handels- und Gewerbekammer am 1 December 1888 durchgeführten Erkobung. Reichenberg, 1891. (Statistical Returns relating to the Workmen in Northern Bohemia.)
45. Stenographisches Protokoll der im Arbeiterausschusse abgehaltenen Enquête betreffend die Errichtung von Arbeiterkammern (1 bis 4 Sitzung). Vienna, 1889. (Labour Chambers. Inquiry made by the Special Commission.)
46. Id. über die Beschäftigung von jugendlichen Arbeitern, &c. (Special Inquiry on employment of Young Workers.)
47. Id. betreffend die Erfassung eines Gesetzes zur Hintanhaltung der Trunkenheit. Vienna, 1889. (Special Inquiry as to a Law for repressing Drunkenness.)
48. Enquête über die Arbeitergesetzgebung (Gewerbeausschuss). Vienna, 1883. (Special Inquiry in the Industrial Committee as to Labour Legislation.)
49. Stenographisches Protokoll. Expertise über Bruderladen (Gewerbeausschuss). I.-V. Sitzung, 1888. (Inquiry in the Industrial Committee as to Benefit Societies.)
50. Id. über die Frage der Berechnung und Ueberweisung der Reserveanteile bei den Krankenkassen der Arbeiter. Vienna, 1889. (Reserves of the Sick Funds, Inquiry in the Industrial Committee.)
51. Expertise über die Art der Erbringung eines Befähigungsnachweises behufs des Antrittes eines handwerksmässig betriebenen Gewerbes. (Im Subcomité des Gewerbeausschusses.) 1881. (Inquiry in the Industrial Sub-committee as to Certificates of Competency in Handicrafts.)
52. Expertise über die Lage des Schumachergewerbes. (Im Gewerbeausschusse.) Vienna, 1892. (Inquiry in the Industrial Committee as to the condition of the Shoemaking Trade.)
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MAP OF HUNGARY, Giving (1) roughly, the distribution of the chief races, (2) the divisions of the Kingdom into Counties, & (3) some of the important towns.

Magyars. Slovaks. Ruthenians. Roumanians. German.

KEY TO THE COLOURS

Population according to Races.

N.B. The colours only indicate the important Settlements. The Germans and Magyars are scattered all over the Kingdom and there are few Communes where either are not found.

Magyars	7,426,730
Slovaks	2,000,000
Croato Serbs	2,421,719
Ruthenians	400,000
Germans	2,000,000
Roumanians	2,500,000



Kingdom into Counties, & (3) some of the important towns.

Magyars. Croato-Serbs. Italians.



CROATIA-SLAVONIA.

POP.	SQ. KILOM.
I. Lika-Krbava	191,088 6217-13
II. Modrus-Fiume	220,629 4874-84
III. Zagrab	484,252 7215-23
IV. Varazsd	258,066 2521-80
V. Belovar-Körös	266,210 5048-13
VI. Pozsega	202,836 4938-20
VII. Veröcze	216,417 4852-23
VIII. Szerem	347,022 6848-85
	2,186,520 42,516-01
HUNGARY	15,163,287 282,215-47
TOTAL	17,349,807 324,731-48

REPORT ON THE LABOUR QUESTION IN HUNGARY.

INTRODUCTION.

1. ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN HUNGARY.

The extent and political and economic importance of Hungary as a separate independent State are seldom clearly thought of, and it is especially necessary in the case of this country, which lies, with a unique historic past, almost as distinct as an island in the midst of the other European States, to draw attention to certain natural and political features before proceeding to indicate the peculiar interest and significance of its scarcely developed labour question, complicated as it is by the varied racial and religious factors which affect the whole structure of Hungarian society.

The Statistical Year Book for Hungary, 1891, shows that the total extent of the countries united under the Hungarian Crown is 323,304.50 square kilometres (i.e., larger than Great Britain and Ireland), the separate provinces of Fiume and Croatia-Slavonia being 42,535.25 square kilometres in extent. The total population was given as 17,421,205, of which 2,158,923 belonged to the separate provinces named. Including Budapest, which numbers 513,000, there are six cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants each, and 34 cities with more than 20,000 each. This country, which has almost boundless agricultural and mineral natural wealth, and is first and foremost an agricultural country, is divided into 71 self-governing counties, and has a National Parliament, Ministry, and Administration; the link with Austria being the common sovereign, who is "Emperor" of Austria and "Apostolic King" of Hungary, a link which is "neither a purely personal one nor a completely real union." Croatia-Slavonia has autonomy for home affairs, law and public instruction, but in all other matters the country is one, the Croatian Diet sending 40 members to the Hungarian Parliament, which consists of 453 members elected for five years. The Croatian members of Parliament are not entitled to vote on matters connected with Hungarian home affairs, laws, or public instruction, and the head of the Croatian Government, the *Ban*, is nominated by the Crown with the consent of the Hungarian Prime Minister, although he is responsible to the Croatian Diet; on the other hand, the Hungarian Ministry contains a Croatian member. Hungary has taken a definite share in the national debt of Austria since 1867, and also participates, by agreements renewed every ten years, in the expenses of "common affairs;" the basis of the amount lies in calculations as to numbers of population, soldiers, wealth of the country, &c. At present Hungary's share in common affairs amounts to 31.4 per cent., or about 2,526,108l. annually.⁽¹⁾

The important institutions of "Delegations," a species of Special Commissions, to which the Common Ministers⁽²⁾ of War, Finance, and Foreign Affairs are responsible, links the two countries by the functions: (a) of settling the Budgets of common administration without further reference to the Parliament of either nation; (b) of determining the mode of floating, applying, and paying back loans, after both countries have decided that a loan must be raised for joint purposes; (c) of a certain right of control in respect of common administration. Each Delegation consists of 60 members, one-third being chosen by the first or Upper Chamber, two-thirds by the lower; in addition to the members 30 deputies (*Ersatzmänner*) are also chosen. Both in Austria and Hungary the autonomous provinces are represented on the Delegation. The Delegations are renewed every year, and are summoned in alternate years by the Monarch to hold their sittings in Vienna and Budapest. The Delegations may only deal with affairs declared to be common to both countries; they deliberate separately and only communicate in writing, each Delegation in its own language (i.e., Austria in German, Hungary in Magyar),

with an official translation. If the written communications do not result in agreement the Delegations may meet to vote, but not for discussion.

The decisions of the Delegations are subsequently presented by the Government of each country to its Parliament. "It is by means of this system that Hungary, while preserving her full independence, divides with Austria the position of power held by the joint monarchy in Europe."⁽¹⁾

The economic link between the two countries is close in spite of the independence of their political organisations. Dr. Mandello says: "In many matters Hungary is related to Austria as those states are which, while politically distinct, yet make agreements on an international basis; especially in the matters of trade and commerce, a formal understanding has been arrived at by the Governments of the two States. The most important instance of the economic union is the customs and commerce treaty settled for ten years which established principles of absolutely unfettered intercourse. . . . Roughly speaking Austria is the industrial and Hungary the agricultural country."⁽²⁾ The joint system of protection against other countries of Europe draws the bond between the countries still closer. Since Hungary began, however, to aspire to the development of her own industries a divergence of economic interests has become sometimes apparent, and to the earlier struggles, constitutional, national and political, an economic struggle with Austria is perhaps succeeding.

The origin of the modern political history of Hungary is to be found in the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, when the Head of the House of Habsburg became hereditary Sovereign in Hungary in recognition of the services of that House in the freeing of the country from the Turks. Until that time the kings of Hungary had been elective, although it is true that for some time past they had been chosen from the House of Habsburg. The new constitution was confirmed by the so-called Pragmatic Sanction of 1723, which extended the succession to the female line, beginning with Maria-Theresa. For the next hundred years there was a constant struggle on the part of the Hungarian nation to resist the Germanising tendencies of its rulers, accompanied by an extensive national development. The year 1848, which was the turning point of modern Hungarian history, was the political culmination of the great economic and social renaissance of the country which began with the century. That year marks the final close of the mediæval system, the enfranchisement of the peasantry, and the renewal or establishment of national and political institutions of a very liberal character. In this year also followed the war with Austria in which Hungary was at first successful but subsequently defeated by the intervention of Russia. From 1849 Hungary was ruled absolutely until the agreement or reconciliation was brought about with Austria in 1867, and on this agreement subsequent developments of the constitution are avowedly based. "Full acceptance and insistence upon this agreement" is according to Dr. Mandello, "the party programme of the large majority in the House of Deputies, the so-called Liberal Party. . . . non-recognition of the 1867 agreement and a wish to return to the legislation of 1848 for the further development of all that is to be done in the country is, in outline, the programme of the Independent Party, which, after the Liberal Party, is the most numerous and especially supported by the purely Hungarian regions of the country."

References to the political changes in Hungary can be here no more than passing and are only made, first, because through them the national independence was won, and secondly, because of their bearing on the latest developments of race distinction within the limits of the Hungarian monarchy. The revolution which re-established the national self-governing institutions

(1) Statistisches Jahrbuch für Ungarn, 1892. Vols. I.-III. Stateman's Year Book, 1894. MS. Report supplied to the Secretary by Dr. Mandello.

(2) "The Common Ministers are also responsible to both Parliaments, the Austrian as well as the Hungarian, through the responsibility of the Prime Minister." Dr. Mandello's Report.

(1) Handbuch des Oeffentlichen Rechts Oesterreich-Ungarische Monarchie, Vol. IV., Part. I., pp. 25-8. La Hongrie Economique, G. Vautier, pp. 53-4. The Magyars, their Land and Institutions, A. G. Patterson, pp. 313 and ff.

(2) Dr. Mandello's Article on the Hungarian Labour Question written for the Revue Internationale de Sociologie, and lent in MS. before publication to the Secretary of the Royal Commission on Labour.

was led by the dominant Magyar race, and in its outcome the victory of the Magyars was complete. "On the whole," says Mr. Fyffe, in reference to the settlement, "the non-Magyar peoples in Hungary were handed over to the discretion of the ruling race. . . . Unit- ing the characteristic faults with the great qualities of a race marked out by nature and ancient habit for domination over more numerous but less aggressive neighbours, the Magyars have steadily sought to obliterate the distinctions which make Hungary in reality not one but several nations."⁽¹⁾ It was doubtless this predominant strength as compared with the far broader dividing lines within Austria proper which enabled Hungary to hold the important part that she has held within the last ten years in the Dual Empire. Indeed, in many parts of Hungary signs have not been wanting of a tendency for the Slavic, German, and even the Roumanian races to represent themselves as belonging to the dominant race. Whilst it is true that this report is concerned primarily with the question, not of race divisions, but of social and economic divisions, there are certain special reasons which make it important to indicate the distribution of the various nationalities in the country. There Magyars, Germans, Croato-Serbs, Slovaks, Roumanians or Wallachs and Ruthenians, live under one order, and whilst the Magyars are in an absolute minority, numbering rather less than eight millions out of a total of between 17 and 18 millions, they yet hold a territorial strength and lead the country in a manner that distances all the other race elements. The broad, rough distribution of the races may be seen by a glance at the map facing p. 153. The census of 1890 showed that there were 7,426,730 persons who recognised the Magyar tongue as their own. The Germans numbered about two millions, of whom 400,000 lived in towns; the Slovaks numbered nearly two millions, the Ruthenians nearly 400,000; the Roumanians rather over 2½ millions; and the Croato-Serbs about 2½ millions. Other races are found in comparatively small numbers. The Jews, who fill a most important part in the commerce of the country, and who were admitted by a special law passed in 1868 to full civil and political rights, number nearly 850,000, of whom over 100,000 inhabit Budapest.⁽²⁾ Such facts emphasise the importance of the words of Count Andrássy before Parliament on January 29, 1891:— "Other united nations may be in a position to begin a battle for social interests and to fight out economic antagonisms; their national existence will not be imperilled. With us it is a matter of life or death that society should be at one, and that a belief should spread among all classes that every true interest can be reconciled within the framework of the State."⁽³⁾ It is clear that any identification of economic and social divisions with the distinctions of race would be fraught in a peculiar sense with danger for the Hungarian State, in which the Magyar language and Magyar traditions serve to maintain its existence as a whole, whilst the other "nationality" movements tend towards decentralisation and particularism. That this danger has still to be met is, however, shown by the latest accounts of these various movements given by the "Times" correspondent. On February 3 in the Croatian Diet at Agram (Hungarian *Zagrab*) "a curious exhibition of particularism and anti-Magyar feeling was given." A number of Hungarian members of Parliament were paying a visit to that capital, and the opportunity was considered by an ultra-national representative in the Diet to be eminently suited for "expressing a sense of kinship with the great Slave empire," by sending, in the name of the Croatian people a congratulation to the Tsar of Russia on his recovery. In reply to the proposition the President declared that it was no part of his duty to felicitate European sovereigns on such occasions.⁽⁴⁾ In the same week a petition on the subject of political suffrage for the peasantry was debated at length in the Croatian Diet; these claims have assumed new strength since a change has been effected in the organisation of the national and social movement among the un- enfranchised and working classes. "The agitation seems to spring from the masses themselves; the people seem to move spontaneously and to depend little on any individual leader," and thus the move- ment can hardly be checked as formerly by the action of the authorities. Whilst the old race opposition of the Croats to the Hungarians does thus appear to a certain extent in political life, it is said, that "strictly

" speaking there is no Croatian nationality question, " since the Croations, who inhabit compactly a separate " part of the country, have constitutional rights which " ensure for them a wide self-government."⁽¹⁾ The only really prominent nationality movement affecting the labour question in Hungary is that of the Rouma- nians or Wallachians, which is kept alive by the proxi- mity of the autonomous kingdom of Roumania. The Roumanians in Hungary desire to be under the rule of Roumania, and claim that even those parts of Hungary which are only partially inhabited by Roumanians should be incorporated in the Roumanian State. In support of these aspirations they complain that they are subject to great oppression by their Magyar rulers, but it is stated on the other hand that the only hardship to which the Roumanians and other non-Magyar races in Hungary have to submit is the necessity of learning the Magyar language, which is compulsory in every public and private school. The Slovaks in the north of Hungary, show, next to the Germans, the greatest capacity for assimilation with the Magyars, and do not appear to have any national ideal, although Pan-slavism is zealously preached amongst them by the apostles of the Pan-slavist Association. In the case of the Ruthe- nians, on the other hand, a link with the Russian race is afforded by their adhesion to the Greek Orthodox Church. The Germans, who are scattered throughout the country, are, except in a few well-defined settle- ments in the Saxon district of Transylvania, favourable to the Magyarisation of the country. In the opinion of Dr. Mandello, too great importance must not be attached to any of the nationality movements. No great danger he considers is to be apprehended even from the Roumanian question, "so long as the adminis- tration is an enlightened one." According to him:— "The strongest proof of the strength of the Hungarian " race in the organisation of the country is the fact " that no 'nationality' representatives are to be found " in the House of Deputies except one or two Transyl- " vanian Saxons and Roumanians, and, further, that " the great majority of the Liberal Party are returned " from non-Hungarian districts, while the Hungarian " constituencies mainly send representatives to the " Independent party."

Although there is not a labour question in Hungary in the sense that there is one in more highly developed industrial or manufacturing communities, a movement towards the improvement of the moral, political, and social conditions of the working people is certainly gaining ground. This movement is now finding strik- ing expression, as it did a few years since in the counties of Békés and Csanád, in local outbreaks of violent agrarian socialism. Apart from these events, official reports relating to industrial centres would lead to the conclusion that such socialism as there is does not turn in the direction of communism, but is rather the expression of a national and political impulse. As Mr. Patterson affirmed more than 20 years ago, "What " in fact is generally not understood in England with " respect to the feeling of nationality is its connection " with democracy." The character of Hungarian socialism is partly illustrated by the fact that a national labour party was formed in 1891 in Buda- pest in connection with the celebration of May Day, "which took up a determined attitude against all " attempts to introduce foreign socialist doctrines and " methods among the Hungarian working classes."⁽²⁾

The diversity of religions in Hungary is the other chief source of possible serious divisions in the State, a danger which, as a prominent member of the Inde- pendent party in the Parliament pointed out in con- nection with the controversy on the civil marriage question, can only be overcome by the bond of genuine patriotism. The approximate numbers of the members of various churches are as follows:—

Roman Catholics	-	8,823,105
Protestants (Augsburg)	-	1,206,038
" (Helvetic)	-	2,221,858
Orthodox Greek	-	2,633,491
Eastern Catholics	-	1,670,233
Unitarians	-	61,665
Jews	-	724,588
Unclassed	-	8,669

These figures do not include the standing army of 113,776 men.⁽³⁾

(1) Dr. Mandello's MS. Report.

(2) Bericht der Handels und Gewerbe Kammer in Budapest, 1892, p. 10. The Magyars, their Country and Institutions, Vol. II., p. 88. MS. supplied by Count Pallfy. "Times," April 24th to 29th.

(3) Statistisches Jahrbuch für Ungarn, 1891, Vol. IX., p. 34. Hand- wörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften Lexis, Article on Religions Statistik. The Magyars, their Country and Institutions, Vol. VI., pp. 71-103, especially pp. 80-3, and 102-4.

(1) Fyffe, History of Modern Europe, Vol. III., p. 293.

(2) Cf. La Hongrie Economique G. Yantier, 1893, pp. 32-4.

(3) Archiv für Soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik, Vol. IV., pp. 518-20.

(4) "Times," Feb. 6th, 1894.

(f) Reli- gions differences

GROWTH OF THE POPULATION OF THE CAPITAL BUDA-PEST DURING THE CENTURY (1780 TO 1881) INDICATING THE SEPARATE GROWTH OF RELIGIONS.

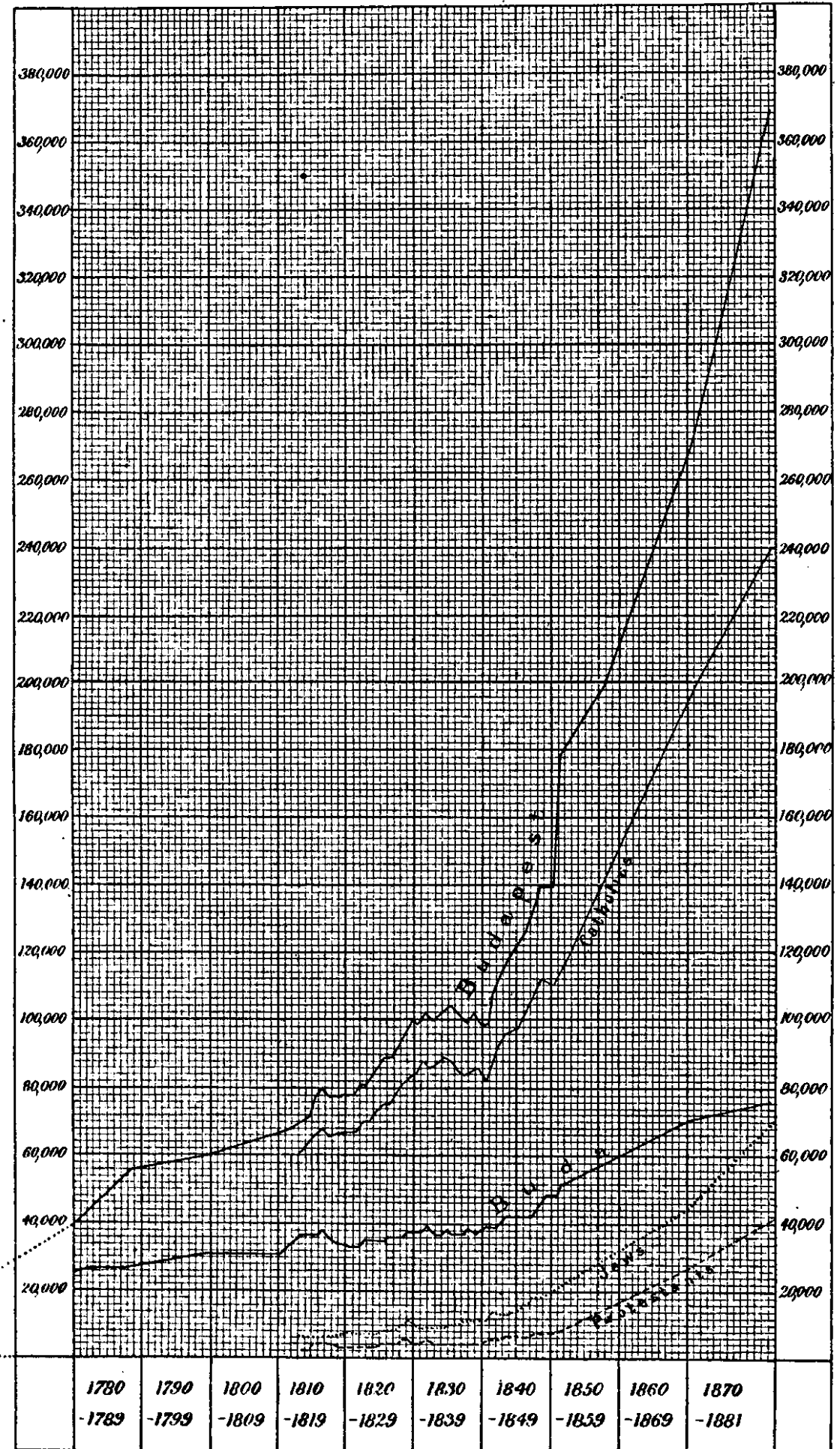
(From "Die Hauptstadt Buda-pest im Jahre 1881, von Joseph Körös.")

The upper red line represents the population of the whole town Buda-pest.

The lower " " " " Buda alone.

" " " " Catholics.

" " " " Protestants.



Anno 1720

Although there is complete religious toleration in Hungary, the Roman Catholic Church is the established religion of the State, the King being crowned by the Roman Catholic Primate, and holding his throne originally by the permission of the Pope, whence he bears the title "Apostolic." The property of the Roman Catholic Church is also administered by the State. In provincial and municipal local government, however, the Protestants, according to the "Times" correspondent, fill a place out of all proportion to their comparative numerical strength,⁽¹⁾ a fact which is attributed to the greater interest and activity in the affairs of their churches shown by the Protestant laity, owing to their autonomous constitution. A project is said to be now on foot in Hungary for introducing an autonomous administration into the Roman Catholic Church, of the same character as that of the Protestant churches. Amongst the Hungarian nobility there are but few Protestants, but the reverse is the case in Transylvania, where almost all the nobility have joined the Protestant faiths.⁽²⁾ The diagram facing page 154 will illustrate the growth of the Catholic population in the chief town Budapest. It is not possible to enter here into the interesting question of the relation between race divisions and religious differences, and it is as a rule impossible to fix local boundaries in Hungary indicating the prevalence of the various faiths. It is, however, important to draw attention to the following facts:—(1) The kingdom has not yet lost its double religious character, which was illustrated for a brief period even in 1848-9 by the coins of the Protestant "National Government" which bore on the obverse the effigy of the Virgin as Queen of Heaven, and as the special patron of Hungary; (2) the Magyars are not mainly Protestant, though a strong minority are; and (3) the two Oriental Churches are more favourable to the preservation of nationality distinctions than the Roman Catholic, though perhaps less so than the Protestant. Whatever the religious distinctions in Hungary may be, however, they appear to have but little direct influence upon the labour question. Sir Arthur Nicholson was informed in 1892 that religion was almost unknown among the working classes in the capital, and that little was done by the clergy or any class of society to instruct them. Dr. Mandello also states that "the question of the relation of the church to the labour question in Hungary is indicated easily and in a word; hitherto the Church has done nothing for the working classes." As an illustration of the neglect of religious teaching amongst the working classes Sir Arthur Nicholson asserts that "What are called *Wildo Ehen* (*Unions libres*) is the more common form of marriage. This may in part explain the fact that the number of marriages annually in Hungary is steadily decreasing." But both these statements are disputed by Dr. Mandello.⁽⁴⁾

(p.) Local government.
(i.) The counties.

Hungarian local government begins first with the divisions of the countries under the Crown into districts, corresponding in a sense to the English counties (*comitatus*, German, *Konitat*). Certain towns, as, for example, Budapest, are considered as counties; the counties and royal free towns are magistracies, i.e., an administrative unity endowed with self-government. At the head of each county there is an Assembly, half composed of the most highly-taxed residents (i.e., the large proprietors), and half elected by the same electors as for parliamentary representation. At the head of this Assembly is the official who may be called the Prefect or Lord Lieutenant called *Főispán* (or in Transylvania, the *Főbíró*), nominated by the King on the proposal of the Minister of the Interior. The *Főispán* is rather a political agent of the Government than an administrator; although paid, he is "rather a dignitary than a functionary." He presides over the Representative Assembly or "congregation," controls its decisions, and may suspend execution of them. The Assembly includes 1 member in 500 inhabitants in the counties, and 1 in 250 in the free towns. The total number of members is at least 120 and not more than 600 in the counties, from 48 to 400 in the towns. The tumultuous meetings which sometimes take place may possibly be in part attributed to these large numbers. Functionaries are nominated or elected by the Assembly; the *alispán* who might be compared to a sub-prefect is chief of them and is the head of the executive in the county,

and the burgomaster (*polgarmester*) in the towns, when the *Főispán* is not present. For administrative purposes the county was divided into several circuits (or *arrondissement*s) over which a justice of the peace or *szolgabíró* presided. The functions of this elective county official are in theory fully as extensive as those of the English justice of the peace. The general laws are applied and communal control exercised by the executive of the Assembly. The approval of the Government must be obtained for district budgets, taxes, acquisition, or alienation of real property, and for loans. Appeal may also be made to the Minister of the Interior, within 15 days, against any decision of the Assembly, by those who are concerned. Reforms connected with the administrative side of this institution have been discussed for some time.⁽¹⁾

The organisation of the communal local government in Hungary was effected by the Law XVIII. of 1871. Every citizen must be not less than 20, and have paid direct taxes for two years before he can become an elector in the municipal elections; public institutions and societies possessing land on which taxes are paid have electoral rights. Every citizen may enter any commune, and if the latter possesses sufficient property to meet all expenses by revenues, it may impose a slight tax on the incomer for the right of entry. The municipal council is half composed of members elected for six years, who are renewed every three years. The other half is composed of the most highly taxed in the commune. The council is presided over by the mayor, called burgomaster or judge. Towns, large communes, and small communes must be distinguished: towns have an executive committee of which the burgomaster is president; large communes have in addition to the burgomaster an assistant or deputy, four councillors at least, a treasurer, secretary, guardian of orphans, and doctor; small communes have a mayor or judge, with a deputy or secretary. Communes unable to support the expense of these officials are united with a neighbouring commune. In the larger and smaller communes the mayor is elected like the council for three years. In towns the mayor and members of the bench are elected by the council for six years. In the 71 counties of Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia there are 46 towns with municipalities, 114 towns (Royal free towns), with magistrate appointed by the Crown (*geordneter Magistrat*), 1,954 large communes, 15,329 small communes. The commune administers its own affairs, the council deliberates, and the mayor executes. The powers extend to administration of communal property, education, and poor relief rates and administration, police, and sanitation. Maintenance of the public ways is at the charge of the communes. The decisions of the commune are regulated by the *Alispán* in a manner similar to that in which the decisions of the County Assembly are regulated by the Minister of the Interior. Appeal may be made from a mayor's decisions in the first instance to the head of the county, and in the second instance to the Minister.⁽²⁾

(ii.) The commune.

As has already been indicated, Hungary has only recently entered into the field of manufacturing industry in the large sense. "The efforts of Government and financial institutions to foster the growth of native industry have been determined and strenuous. The progress made has been extremely rapid; factories are being built in considerable numbers; enterprises, commercial, mining, and manufacturing are being promoted on every side. Railway communication has been extended and improved; and in short, Hungary has set to work with the vigour and exuberant hopefulness of a young colony to further her material prosperity."⁽³⁾ In spite of all this it is true, and must be borne in mind, on the one hand that in the strictly industrial sphere Hungary is still chiefly a country of small industries or handicrafts while development of new and large industries is frequently hampered by a lack of skilled labour, and on the other hand that the economic strength as well as the chief labour problems of Hungary turn upon the natural agricultural and mineral resources of the country. The former point will have to be dealt with at length in the historical sketch of labour legislation; the latter may be immediately illustrated. Hungary is one of the richest countries in the world in mineral products, possessing gold, silver, copper, lead, quicksilver, iron, coal, sulphur, salt and other minerals, which are far from being

(h.) Industry.

(j.) Mineral products.

(1) According to Dr. Mandello "this is not true at all; only under the government of the late Prime Minister Tisza, the Protestants gained many positions and offices."

(2) MS. material supplied by Count Palfy.

(3) "Times," Feb. 26th, 1894. The Magyars, their Country and Institutions. F. O. Report, cited, p. 34, Dr. Mandello's MSS.

(1) Dictionnaire de l'Administration Française, M. Block, p. 878. La Hongrie Economique, pp. 50-52. The Magyars, their Country and Institutions, pp. 286 and ff. especially pp. 297-317.

(2) M. Block.

(3) F. O. Report, Misc. Ser., 1890, No. 233, p. 2.

worked to the extent that they might be with larger labour forces. The Statistical Year Book for 1891 showed, e.g., that the total produce of gold for the previous year was 2,215.2·153 kilog. (of which less than one-third came from State mines) or expressed in florins 2,977,253·40 florins. More than half the silver mines are worked by the State, and the total value of silver produced in the same year was 1,532,594·97 florins.

The produce of iron was as follows:—

—	State.	Private.	Money Value.
	Meter-zentner.		Florins.
Iron ore - -	452,927	1,806,477	7,747,541·89
Pig iron - -	10,556	118,049	1,016,215·00

The produce of coal was as follows:—

—	State.	Private.	Money Value.
	Meter-zentner.		Florins.
Black coal - -	-	9,374,520	4,467,454·97
Brown coal - -	1,608,877	17,943,382	5,814,056·02

The total value of mineral products rose from 17,565,575 gulden in 1879 to 25,735,068 gulden in 1889. The value of salt production rose in the same period from 12,026,553 gulden to 14,432,718 gulden. The total number of miners and blast furnacemen employed in 1889 was 48,173 as against 41,803 in 1879. The number of saltworkers rose from 1,977 to 2,264 in the same period.⁽¹⁾

(k.) Agri-
culture.

Turning to the agriculture of the country, Hungary may be considered in four main sections, of which the most important is the "Alföld" in the centre of the land extending from the eastern bank of the Danube across the Tisza (Theiss) valley, perhaps the most fertile plain in Europe. The second section is the northern part of Hungary lying between the Danube and the Tisza which is mountainous and wooded and where agriculture is carried on with difficulty and small results. It is from this portion of the country, inhabited by an enduring and patient but not very intelligent or apt race of workers (cf. map facing p. 153), that large gangs of agricultural labourers are recruited to carry on the cultivation of the sparsely-peopled districts of central and southern Hungary. The third section is that lying to the west of the Danube, a fertile region bounded on the west by the thickly-peopled and industrial provinces of Austria, and on the south, by the River Drave and Croatia. In its centre lie the Balaton Lake and the Bakony Erdö. It is inhabited by the most industrious population of Hungary after that in the Alföld, and in the neighbourhood of Debreczen the population is fairly numerous; wages are high and cultivation in a satisfactory condition. Transylvania forms the main part of the south-east section and its conditions are similar to those in the country of the Slovak race, or north-western Hungary. "The cultivation of the land is conducted on ancient methods, and the condition of the labourer is far less favourable than that of his fellow in the Alföld. The population is numerous, chiefly Roumanian (Wallachs), who are content with a minimum of the means of living, and if they can satisfy their daily wants are with difficulty induced to undertake any further work. The Saxons chiefly inhabit the south-east portion of Transylvania, are few in number, but industrious and prudent." They are more inclined to industrial and town life than agricultural life, while the Székelys, a pure Magyar race, living in the extreme east, are almost wholly agricultural and of an intelligent and enterprising character.⁽²⁾ The characteristics of all the races, with perhaps the exception of the Roumanian, are industry and endurance; the Magyars and the Germans possess the additional qualifications of general sobriety, but it is in the Magyar that the higher qualification of genius for independent self-government alone

appears in a striking degree. The conditions of life will be more fully treated in another section, but it is important to indicate here the agricultural resources of the country. As Dr. Mandello shows it is difficult to give a complete and well-grounded account of the subject because of certain gaps in the available statistics. According to the census of 1890, the total agricultural population is 4,447,088, or 62·86 per cent. of the total population, of whom 1,036,082 are women; 42·52 per cent. are landowners, and 13·05 per cent. are servants, while 7·53 are said to be day labourers or cotters, and 36·41 per cent. are non-workers or members of families supported by agriculture. The average degree of comfort can only be guessed by consulting taxation returns; the fact, according to a correspondent of the Sozial Politisches Central Blatt, that 9,500,000 persons in the country are wholly untouched by direct taxation although every known source of income is assessed except daily wages, would seem to prove that nearly 54 per cent. of the population live from hand to mouth without certain habitation or income.⁽¹⁾

The total produce of cereals in 1890, was 72,452,987 hectolitres, as against 48,004,698 in 1889, and 65,554,720 in 1888. The hectares under cultivation in cereals in 1890 was 4,221,394 in 1889 4,168,322, and in 1888 was 4,055,120. So that the year 1888 was comparatively a prosperous year. Maize was not included under these figures, and the produce for that was 31,684,565 hectolitres in 1890, and 36,082,982 hectolitres in 1889. Meadow grasses of all kinds rose from 70,905,181 hectolitres in 1889, to 84,736,455 in 1891. The total value of the wine harvest (grapes and wine sold) was 46,978,995 gulden in 1890, as against 47,376,414 gulden in 1889. The number of hectolitres of wine was 3,443,727, and of kilogrammes of grapes sold was 6,508,161 in 1890.

The following figures show broadly that application of improved methods of cultivation is producing good results in extension of agriculture.⁽²⁾

Date.	Arable Land.		Fallow Land.	Per Cent.
	Hectares.	Hectares.		
1888 - -	11,741,575	2,020,436		17·21
1889 - -	11,760,939	1,940,344		16·50
1890 - -	11,811,472	1,935,102		16·38
1891 - -	11,845,919	1,821,784		15·39

The import and export tables show a satisfactory progress of Hungarian Commerce, the total trade of each of the last three years having exceeded 1,000 million florins or 83 million pounds sterling.⁽³⁾ The total value of the imports and exports exclusive of precious metals ran over 84 million pounds in 1890, over 87 million in 1891, and over 85 million in 1892.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION.⁽⁴⁾

Earlier industrial legislation for the protection of workers in Hungary as distinct from mining and agricultural legislation, was concerned, as indeed in most other countries, far more with the requirements of handicraftsmen, the assistants of small employers than with workers in large factories or workshops; but while the labour legislation of these other industrial countries has grown with the growth of the great industries, in Hungary the industrial law has retained many of the features of a law calculated to foster smaller industries. In a later part of this report it will be considered how far existing legislation has made special definitions and provisions for various categories of workers, e.g., factory workers, handicraftsmen (or artizans) day labourers, agricultural labourers, &c.; the present task is to trace the steps by which regulation of the position of industrial workers has been brought to its present position. In the beginning of the century the position of the

(l.) Imports
and exports.

(m.) Early
protective
legislation
for labour.

(n.) Guild
law.

⁽¹⁾ Statistisches Jahrbuch für Ungarn 1891, Vol. IV. pp. 4-5; cf. La Hongrie Economique, p. 331 and II.

The gold and silver mines of Solmezs and Kormacs and those in Transylvania were without rivals in the middle ages.

⁽²⁾ F. O. Report, Misc. Ser., 1892, No. 233, pp. 36-7.

⁽³⁾ Cf. Dr. Mandello's Report, 1894. F. O. Report cited, p. 39. French Report on Austria-Hungary of 1890, p. 71. Sozial-politisches-Central-Blatt, 1893, Vol. III., p. 136. La Hongrie Economique, pp. 210-11.

⁽⁴⁾ Statistisches Jahrbuch 1891, Vol. III., pp. 43, 74. La Hongrie Economique, p. 220.

⁽⁵⁾ Wirksamkeit des Kön. Ung. Handelsministers im Jahre 1890. Redigirt von Dr. Karl Mandello, 1892, pp. 94 and ff. F. O. Report Annual Series, 1893, No. 1,273, pp. 2-3.

⁽⁶⁾ Except where another authority is expressly cited this account is drawn from Dr. Mandello's MS. Report of 1894.

workers was defined by the Guild law (*cséhsabályzat*) which was systematised in 1813 and which also provided in a detailed manner for the relations of the separate trades. It was not until more than 30 years later that the right of free migration was legally recognised and that some relief was afforded from the hard and fast principles of guild law. It was the stormy impulse towards freedom in Hungary which led in fact to the freeing of the peasantry throughout the dual empire, and which first changed Hungary from a semi-medieval to a modern state.⁽¹⁾ When the political, social, and economic position of Hungary was entirely remoulded in 1848 it was intended that industry should be entirely reorganised. "But the conditions which assumed an abnormal aspect through the war with Austria permitted of no further peaceful development in this direction. The Ministry, indeed, issued an order in 1848 which retained the old Guilds while it afforded some important relief for industrial development. But it never arrived at a draft of the proposed industrial law, for the war proved unfavourable to Hungary, and after 1849 the country was despotically ruled by Austria."⁽²⁾ A provisional Government was established in the following year which ruled for 17 years, a period with which Hungarians now only concern themselves as an interregnum of "lawlessness and of force." It was in 1850 that Austria extended its own industrial law to Hungary, but after the settlement in 1867 a movement began for the establishment of a national industrial law which eventually attained its object in the law of 1872. From this has been developed all later legislation in the interests of the working classes, although it must not be forgotten that Hungary had shown an earlier activity in social legislation by the provisions of its Law XVII. of the year 1840, which dealt with the legal status of factories. It had small practical application, because there was hardly any factory industry in that country, but the aim of the economic legislation of that time was to foster the development of manufactures and commerce of the country, and while this law aimed at defining beforehand the legal position of manufactures, it seems specially worthy of mention, because of its important and interesting provisions for child labour "at a time when outside England, child labour had hardly entered into the consideration of legislators". The law contained four points affecting the legal status of workers. First, it provided that the relations between manufacturers and their workmen should be placed on the same footing as between merchants and their employes whose relations had been dealt with in a general way by an earlier law of the same year. These provisions are not very practical, being rather of a moralising character; moreover, they only applied when no written contract had been drawn up between the merchant and his employes. Secondly, the law of 1840 provided that, when no other express stipulation had been made, a contract of work might only be broken off on either side after eight days' notice. Thirdly, the dates of payment of the ordinary worker were determined and in general this was to be weekly. Fourthly, children under twelve years of age might only be employed in factory work not injurious to their health or physical development. A manufacturer might not employ children between 12 and 16 years of age for more than nine hours, at work which reaches the limit of their strength while even these nine hours might not be continuous but must be broken by a rest of one hour.

The industrial law of 1872 was the first law which quite ended the old guild system. It was "a complete victory for the extreme individualistic tendency which worked out its influence several years later in Hungary as in the rest of Europe." The draft Bill laid before Parliament contained a number of compulsory provisions of a socialist character which were successfully combated and repelled by the liberal individualist party only,—as events proved—to be partially embodied in the law of 1884 later on. Among these were the provisions for a normal 12 hours day, registers of work, proof of competency and authorisation for industrial employers before opening their establishments. With the same liberal motives every sort of dependence on the guild system was abolished, and a proposal in parliamentary debate "for a civil and criminal liability of the employer towards his workmen" in the matter of accidents was laid aside.

The details of the law, in spite of its liberal provisions, illustrated the fact that as yet handicrafts held the foremost place and manufactures only a second place in the national economy. Only one of the general provisions refers to workmen, viz.: that which enjoins the industrial authorities to specially direct inquiry, before permitting the opening of any industrial establishment, to discover whether all provision for protection of life and health of the workers had been made. As these "industrial authorities" play so large a part in the application of the industrial law of Hungary it may be well to explain at once that here, as under Article 166 of the law of 1884, they act both as inspectors and as judges, and that they are of first, second, and third instance. The authorities of first instance are:—

- (a.) In the communes: the judge (*szolgabiro*).
- (b.) In towns with a municipal bench: the municipal magistrates.
- (c.) In towns having right of jurisdiction: the chief of police (*rendőrkapitány*).
- (d.) In Budapest: the district authority.

The authorities of second instance are:—

- (a.) In the counties: the (*Alispán*).
- (b.) In the towns: the municipal magistrates.

The authority of third instance is the Minister of Commerce. To each authority of first instance are attached 20 trustees or *adjoints* under the law of 1884 selected by the employers of the district who have paid a certain amount of the tax on industrial profits. "These adjoints or commissaries acting under the control of their superiors have a general supervision over the mode in which the industrial law and regulations are observed. If the adjoints do not fulfil their duties the authorities of second instance may condemn them to fines up to 10L."⁽¹⁾

The law of 1872 deals thoroughly with the question of industrial apprentices (sections 39–50), but these are artisans or handicraftsmen's apprentices and not the young factory workers who are treated of in the later law of 1884. Apprentices may be employed in any industry, but, among these, children of under 12 years may not be included. The industrial authorities may permit an exception, but the apprentice must be sent to the national school for apprentices until his fifteenth year. The relation between the employer and the apprentice must be regulated by a written statement, and the apprentice has to pay a premium at the outset. The apprentice must be instructed in his trade, be permitted to attend divine service on fast days, and if he is uneducated in reading, writing, and arithmetic must be sent to an industrial school. Those who have not completed their fourteenth year may work 10 hours including school time, those over 14 may be employed 12 hours; in both cases a half-hour rest in the morning and in the afternoon, and a midday rest of one hour must be observed. Apprentices under 16 may not be employed in night work, i.e., between the hours of 9 p.m. and 5 a.m. In the case of certain branches of industry where night work is absolutely necessary the authorities may give permission, with special regard to their physical ability, for employment of apprentices between 14 and 16 in night work for six hours. When the apprentice is provided with board and lodging in the house of his master he is subject to the discipline of the latter.

The law contains provisions in the second place with regard to assistants (sections 56–65) or industrial workers in handicrafts. The law lays down freedom of contract as the basis of the legal relation between employer and employed. The former is bound on expiry of an engagement to give his assistants a certificate of its discontinuance. No employer may engage an assistant who cannot show that he has freed himself from his legal engagements to earlier workers. An employer who knowingly takes on an assistant who is an industrial deserter makes himself responsible jointly with the latter, for any damages caused to the earlier employer. The provisions of the law relating to factory workers (sections 66–75) consist in an extension of the provisions applying to industrial assistants. Farther, the law makes the following special enactments. The manufacturer has to keep a list of his workers; the regulations as to work must be posted up in the factories and workshops especially in connection with employment of women and children; the

(1) The law of 1840.

(2) The industrial law of 1872.

(i.) The industrial authorities.

(ii.) Apprentices.

(iii.) Assistants.

(1) "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften. Article, Bauernbetriebe, p. 202.
(2) Dr. Mandello.

(1) Les Lois d'Assurance ouvrière à l'Etranger. M. Ballou, p. 271. F. O. Report, Misc. Ser. 1892, No. 238, pp. 9–10.

regulation as to work has to include provisions more-over on hours of labour on the manner of paying wages, on the treatment of workers in sickness and accidents, on fines and on notice of leaving. The employer has also to maintain at his own cost many arrangements for the fullest security and health of his workpeople. With reference to the law on national education, children under 10 may not be employed in industry, and children between 10 and 12 only with permission of the industrial authorities. Children between 12 and 14 may not be employed daily for more than eight hours at the outside. Young persons between 14 and 16 may only be employed during 10 hours. The provisions for night work and rest of apprentices are the same as for factory workers. Where work continues day and night provision must be made for suitable alternation of the workers. Daily work may not begin before 5 a.m. and may not extend beyond 9 p.m. The factory owner must pay wages in ready money and generally weekly. Workers may not be credited with goods and alcoholic drinks, but the cost of lodging, fuel, maintenance, and medical aid may be deducted from the payment. Contract between factory owners and workers whereby the latter must purchase the goods they require from specified shops are void. Moreover the industrial authorities are bound to survey the factories from time to time in order to assure themselves that due regard is paid to the law. Finally, the penalties under the law have to be considered. Infringements of the prescriptions of the law with regard to engagement, employment, and treatment of assistants, apprentices, and factory workers or of the provisions relating to instruction in schools or of provisions against truck are punishable with a fine of 20-200 gulden. Any assistant or factory worker who unlawfully breaks his contract may be brought back to work by an order of the industrial courts and also be sentenced to an imprisonment of eight days. In case of serious infringement of the law by employers and manufacturers their right to have apprentices and young workers may be suspended at the discretion of the industrial authorities. The law further touches upon some enactments which have been interpreted since the beginning of the century, as a prohibition of coalition. Stipulations which aim at compelling labour to work under harder conditions by means of a lock-out or dismissal of workers, or which effect a general reduction of wages have no validity, nor have associated agreements for the support of such attempts any legality. On the other hand, agreements among workers and assistants which aim at compelling the employer to give higher or better conditions of work by means of a strike are not legally enforceable. Threat and violence in so far as they do not constitute a criminal offence are punishable with a fine of 300 gulden or two months' imprisonment.

Legal disputes between employers and employed can be tried by Industrial Committees composed of an equal number of representatives of manufacturers and workmen. Decisions of the industrial committees are legally binding and are executed; but proceedings may also be taken under the civil law.

The law above, briefly described, does not apply to workers in the production of raw materials (agriculture, forestry, horsebreeding, vineyards, gardens, and allied industries); nor to miners and blast furnacemen; nor to workers in the State monopolies; nor to transport industries and shipping; nor to the ordinary unskilled labourer.

"The provisions of the law of 1872 were attacked from all sides from the moment they saw light. It must be borne in mind that handicrafts (or small industries) play an all-important part in Hungary, and that the liberal provisions of the law threatened their existence. The agitation of the small employers lasted 10 years. At last the Ministry, at the instance of Parliament in 1880, took up the matter and laid a Bill for the amendment of the law before the House. This was modified in essential points under pressure from the Provincial Assemblies and the law of 1884 was passed, which broke with the traditions of the law of 1872, abrogated industrial freedom and introduced a fundamental distinction between handicraft and factory industry requiring a special proof of competence for the former."⁽¹⁾ Whilst the law of 1872 was a complete abrogation of the guild system the law of 1884 apparently involved a certain re-action. It rests on the

basis of a separation between handicraft and factory industry, and requires proof of competence only for the former. Further industrial guilds were instituted with a certain authoritative character, and these associated small employers in the branches of industry which required authorisation (*cf. infra*, p. 161).

As will be seen in other parts of this Report, the distinction between broad classes of industry, namely, those which require a proof of competence or authorisation and those which do not, has led to difficulties and hindrances of various kinds owing to the somewhat arbitrary line of division, *e.g.*, in the building industry, the branches of which are so closely interdependent, and which yet are officially separated by this distinction.⁽¹⁾ The artisan or handicraftsman employer, as distinct from the "factory" employer, must lay his certificate of apprenticeship before the industrial authorities as well as give proof that he has worked at least two years at a craft in a workshop or factory. The list of crafts to which the rule applies, and institutions for technical training, which are competent to give certificates, are determined by an administrative order issued by the Minister of Commerce and Industry. All those industrial employers who are not bound to go through this form receive an industrial certificate from the authorities. As will be seen in connexion with the action of the millers (*infra* p. 187) in 1890, the importance of the form to be gone through lies in the fact that the workers for the small employer are brought under special provisions of the law for their protection. The proof of competency and authorisation must be distinguished from the special license, which is required for pawnbrokers, chimney-sweepers, publicans, manufacture of explosives or preparation of materials dangerous to the health of those in the neighbourhood, and for other special branches of trade. The fees for the proof of competence have to be paid into the municipal or communal funds. "In Budapest these are 16s. 8d., "in towns and communes with over 10,000 inhabitants, 8s. 4d., in other places 1s. 8d. On application "for licenses these fees are doubled."⁽²⁾ For a list of those trades which are subject to proof of competence *See* Appendix IV. (p. 203).

The change in the industrial law of Hungary introduced by the law of 1884, it is stated by Dr. Mandello, "only affected the labour question in a secondary degree. It did not affect it in the first degree because in the matters which directly relate to the workers only, small alterations were made and with the exception of the introduction of register of work these have not any great importance. But the indirect influence of the law was important, for it certainly strengthened the position of the employer of handicraftsmen, by the institution of industrial guilds and consequently increased the dependence of the worker in this sphere."⁽³⁾ The law also introduced a kind of arbitration in connection with the Committees of Conciliation of these guilds, which applied only to the handicraft forms of industry. The detailed treatment of the particular provisions of this belongs to a later part of the report (*infra* p. 168), but, as Dr. Mandello says, it is desirable to look backwards and consider what influence, if any, the law of 1872 had upon the situation of the worker through its minor provisions for him. "It must be affirmed that not only was the law extraordinarily wanting in clearness of conception and unsatisfactory in its particular provisions but also no room remains for doubt that these latter were hardly brought into application at all." He adds that: "Appropriate machinery for carrying the provisions of the law into effect was simply wanting and the actual authorities themselves were quite inadequate through the generally unsatisfactory quality of the Hungarian administrative organs, which are not nominated but elected by the small autonomous groups within the State."⁽⁴⁾ Without further explanation it would appear an unduly severe comment upon the principle of the Hungarian system of local government.

Three other important labour laws have been passed since 1884, *viz.*, the Sick Insurance Law and the Law of Sunday Rest, both passed in 1891, and the Law XXVIII. of 1893, regulating the Protection of Workers in Factories and the development of Factory Inspection. The first is more conveniently treated in connection

(1) Bericht der Handels und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pesth, 1891, pp. 12, 61, 115.

(2) F. O. Report cited, p. 5.

(3) Cf. Heltag, Die Revision des Gewerbegesetzes vom Jahre, 1883, p. 128.

(4) Dr. Mandello's Report.

(ii.) The proof of competence,

(iv.) Industrial committees.

(c.) The Industrial Law of 1884.

(i.) Changes affected.

(d.) Other important labour laws.

with mutual aid and societies voluntary insurance (*infra* p. 193), the new factory law belongs to the section on Factories (*infra* Division II., p. 181), while the Law of Sunday Rest may best be examined here.

The Law of Sunday Rest in Hungary has been in operation since July 15, 1891, and was passed, Dr. Heinrich Braun says, (1) in response to an organised demand of many years' standing among workmen, a demand based on moral, family and religious grounds. Seven years before a draft Bill on the subject was first laid before Parliament (in 1890), a resolution in favour of the principle was taken by the Chamber of Deputies. This law is the first independent piece of legislation for protection of labour in Hungary. Hitherto, in the matter of Sunday rest, only ecclesiastical considerations had effect. (2) Section 19 of the Law of 1868, regulating the relations of the Christian churches, forbids unnecessary and public Sunday labour which disturbed the sacred character of the day. Labour was permitted in factories and workshops with the vague qualification contained in section 89 of the Industrial Law of 1884, that the employer must "allow time for his assistants to attend divine service on holy days (*Feiertagen*) according to their own faith."

The new law treated the subject apart from all special religious considerations, purely as a question of a social order.

All industrial work must cease between 6 a.m. on Sunday and 6 a.m. on Monday, also on St. Stephen's day, the national holiday, exception being made for such work as is necessary for maintaining the workshops and dependencies in a state of cleanliness and order.

The Minister of Commerce may, however, specify certain industries which shall form partial exceptions to the law and he is empowered to do this; (1) in the case of those industries which by their nature do not admit of interruption; or (2) in those industries which supply necessities of consumers; or (3) in necessary transport industries and where strategical and public interests are involved; the Minister of Commerce may also permit regulated use of the Sunday rest to small tradesmen who work without assistants or apprentices (sections 1, 2, 3). The Minister of Finance is similarly empowered to make exceptions in the case of mines and blast furnaces in the State mints and State monopolies (section 5). The exceptions in all cases have to be laid before Parliament (section 3). Where the exceptions are admitted the employer is bound to make such arrangements that each workman may have a whole Sunday (free once a month or half a Sunday once a fortnight section 4). Contraventions of the law are punishable by a fine of 1 to 300 gulden and are under the jurisdiction of the administrative authorities (sections 6, 7). The law has been described by those who are dissatisfied with its results as "nothing more than a framework to which the ministers first give a consent." (3) The list of exceptions contained in the administrative orders are certainly very long. The first order of the Minister of Commerce allowed most shops to keep open until 10 a.m. on Sunday; after some months' trial and on application of many small industries a fresh order was issued sanctioning further exceptions which took effect in March 1892.

Among the list of factories nearly every branch of industry is represented the number enumerated being 26; the textile industry which might seem an important exception is not mentioned, "but this industry in Hungary is insignificant." (4) The other great industries, e.g., iron and steel, chemicals, ceramics, glass, sugar works, &c., and the raw silk industry all appear in the list. In the factories the work is restricted in most cases to what is absolutely necessary, and some factories have to close by mid-day, or even by 10 a.m. Under the second head, practically all shops and commercial offices may be open until noon; journals may be sold and distributed, pressing work in printing offices, e.g., State and official documents may be executed, sale and delivery of all kinds of provisions, and carrying on of fairs and markets are permitted; throughout Sunday, work may be carried on in confectionery shops, barbers and coiffeurs may be open till 2 p.m.

Under the head of transport the activity in all directions, except perhaps in goods traffic is as great on Sunday as week days. Theatres and museums are in-

variably open, and are most frequented on Sundays. "It was customary," says Sir A. Nicholson, "to close shops at noon on Sundays before the passing of the law, and it is difficult to see what material alterations the law has made in this respect beyond making compulsory what was formerly a voluntary custom . . . The law has doubtless given a certain amount of relief, but the recent extension of exceptions considerably lessens its value." (5)

An important list of exceptions was given by the Finance Minister in the Order of July 1, 1893, for State undertakings and monopolies, e.g., in mines, furnaces, salt works, tobacco factories, on the same grounds as in the private undertakings. (6)

It must be observed that the law of Sunday rest has not been applied to agriculture, and when it is considered that by far the greater portion of the working population is engaged in agriculture, it will be recognised that the law has not a very extensive application, and is rather the expression of a social principle than anything else.

Dr. Heinrich Braun states that the Minister of Commerce has hitherto exclusively relied on the opinions concerning the operation of this law which have been expressed by employers' associations, such as the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, and that no recourse has been taken as yet to the opinions of the workmen themselves. (7) In the opinion of the same writer the inadequacy of provision for factory inspection and the small penalty usually applied for contraventions of the law add their influence in weakening the value of the measure. (8)

DIVISION I.—GENERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED.

I. ORGANISATIONS.

Any general statements as to the nature of the relations between employers and employed in a country which in an economic sense is so "new" as Hungary, i.e., which has only recently entered on industrial activity on modern lines, and which has so many problems peculiar to itself arising out of its heterogeneous race, language and religious elements, are practically impossible. Certain features of the changing situation can be indicated, and the drift of the movement will appear less obscure after these features have been reviewed in the light of the available information. (a) on the agricultural question; (b) on the relation of handicraft or small industries to the growing factory industries (*infra*, pp 173-88).

(a.) Preliminary considerations.

Two important considerations must be held in view, in addition to those indicated in the first section. Only a few years ago the common opinion was that there was no "social question" in Hungary, in the sense that particularly concerns this report, and although the beginning of a labour party can be traced even 20 years ago, the characteristics of the great mass of the working classes were such that the change which is now in its earlier stages, can hardly be accounted for simply by the growth of factory industry, nor by the entering in of foreign influence; it must be linked rather to an agrarian democratic movement which springs from or is allied to the political instincts of the various nationalities; "people only became conscious of a social movement since there were the last agrarian revolts in the counties Békés and Csanád." The other consideration is, that while the social ideas of the great mass of the people tend to preserve existing barriers, and to maintain the habit of subservience to authority, the foremost and pressing economic need of the country is a sense of security for capital. "Hungary is at present in a period of organic change, in which, without question, the most important part must be played by capital. In a country with fruitful soil, and rich in other treasures which only require capital to attain full economic development, the establishment of a great industrial order resting on a free capitalistic basis is not only probable but most desirable. . . . Perhaps if this were steadily kept in view, Hungary might be spared many bitter experiences which other countries

Need of a sense of security for capital.

(1) Archiv für Soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik, Vol. IV.

(2) *Ib.*, p. 513.

(3) *Ib.*, p. 515.

(4) F. O. Report, 1892, Misc. Ser. No. 236, p. 12.

(5) *Ib.*, p. 19.

(6) See Verordnung cited in the Archiv. f. Soz. Gesetzg., &c., Vol. IV., p. 325.

(7) Archiv. für Soz. Gesetzg. u. Stat., Vol. IV., p. 516.

(8) *Ib.*, pp. 517-18.

" in a similar stage of development have had to pass through."⁽¹⁾

(i.) The State as employer.

With regard to the general views of the employing classes towards labour, it must be first pointed out that the largest employer in Hungary is the State, which has not only directly extended its influence "through every vein and fibre of the industrial body," but has also undertaken an intimate indirect link with the industrial world by its encouragement to enterprise by means of grants and loans to certain undertakings and establishments (*cf. infra* p. 184). An official publication of the Minister of Commerce, points with satisfaction to the claim of the State to be socialist, capitalist, and promoter of agrarian interests. "All is held together in this great mechanism, commerce, industry, railways, navigation, ports, telegraphs, telephones, statistics, postal savings banks, &c., all obey a common mainspring set in motion by a minister who aims at commercial development." The impression received by Sir Arthur Nicholson, was that the large intervention of the State in this way, was not generally regarded with favour, that its character as an employer was not one of beneficence and impartiality, and that it tended on the whole, to develop the prejudices and faults of the monopolist class. Whether this is a wholly just appreciation, or is likely to remain true, or not, it is clear that the hands of the employing classes must be considerably strengthened in meeting the labouring classes if a ramified conservative force of this nature leads the way. It is certainly true, that very considerable interference with the freedom of workmen as understood further west in Europe is practised, both by the State and private employers, and it would be misleading to gauge the relations of an employer and his workmen mainly by the spirit of the provisions of the industrial laws. Dr. Mandello says "the State establishments should lead the way by giving an example to private establishments as in America and England in the matters of wages and hours of labour. In Hungary, however, the State undertakings are the source of revenue, and no better conditions rule in them for the workers than in private undertakings."⁽²⁾

(ii.) Characteristics of the working classes.

The natural tendency of employers in general through social habit, and perhaps also racial tendencies, to exercise autocratic power is supported on the one hand by the vagueness of the provisions of the industrial law, which may safely be described as tending too generally to remain a "paper law,"⁽³⁾ and on the other hand even more strongly, by the characteristics of the labour forces of the country. The lack of a large body of really skilled labour would, of course, be one reason why organisation must necessarily proceed slowly; in the few more highly skilled trades and branches of trade already developed, the labour power is supplied by the superior working classes of the country drawn from Magyars and native Germans, or from abroad, and the position of these workmen is sufficiently favourable to obviate the need of general association among them. Dr. Mandello says the workmen who find themselves in a favourable economic position hold aloof from trade unionism. In the large branches of industry where ordinary or not highly skilled labour is required the races employed are not distinguished for intelligence or aptitude for acquisition of new ideas; they are mainly Slovaks or Roumanians, who are content to work on small wages, and who have as yet no aspirations of rising out of existing conditions. "The Slovak is a patient sturdy worker, strong and enduring," and it will probably be some time before he will be aroused to agitation for a better lot than that to which he now submits as being in the natural order of things. In some factories the rough manual labour is performed by a considerable contingent of Poles from Galicia who live economically, save easily, and return to settle on the land in their own country. Sir Arthur Nicholson holds that the German and immigrating Czech workers are probably the most efficient and perhaps the least satisfied with their condition, while the Magyars are intelligent and eager workmen, easy to manage and direct, though of an independent character; their only fault seems to be a distaste for continued steady application, especially when confined within a factory. The relations between the native races and immigrating or imported foreign labour is generally friendly. But the majority of employers are

only inclined to encourage foreign labour in so far as it assists the native workers to acquire new skill, as they dread the introduction of foreign socialist ideas and aspirations.⁽⁴⁾

Early in 1892 the associated employers of Nagyvarad (Grosswardein) sent a memorandum to the other guilds in Hungary, describing the dangers of socialism for industry; they declared the most effectual weapons against it were thorough organisation of employers and State aid through the chambers of commerce and industry, while in the meantime the employers should unite in refusing to employ adherents and propagators of socialism, and draw up circular lists of such persons; such a list was drawn up and circulated in Nagyvarad.⁽⁵⁾ In a country where combinations among workmen are carefully watched and registered, and often hindered in formation, this proceeding would hardly seem so undesirable as in a more "modern" community. The workman, generally, has very little opportunity for transgressing the limits assigned to him. On the political side, he is only represented, if at all, by the votes of the most prosperous, among the higher artisans, who are generally small employers; on the industrial side he is used to registration, regulations and formalities from his earliest years. An employer can practically dismiss or fine a workman with complete immunity from inquiry, in spite of the industrial law (*cf. infra* p. 179); generally there is no difficulty in replacing him, and appeals to the authorities or to law are either too lengthy or too costly a proceeding, and usually end in failure if resorted to. In spite of such facts, however, Sir Arthur Nicholson shows that it cannot be said that the majority of the employers are otherwise than fairly considerate in their actual business relations with their men. The relations are generally peaceful, though there is little or no evidence of a philanthropic desire among the employing classes to improve the social and moral surroundings of the working classes. "Class distinctions and barriers are more strictly defined and observed here than elsewhere. It is true that the workman strive to improve their own lot by forming societies for study and instruction," or even by forming associations of the ordinary trade character, but the statutes of such societies have to be approved by Government, and their formation is often hindered.⁽⁶⁾

(iii.) Action of the employers.

Before proceeding to a separate examination of the various kinds of association which have arisen on the side of employers and of employed, it is necessary to draw attention to the existence of the administrative order, issued by the Minister of the Interior on May 2, 1875, for the regulation of unions.

(iv.) Administrative order of 1875 regulating formation of unions.

This ordains in section 1 that before any species of Union can be established, the draft statutes must be submitted to the administrative authorities, and that if no objection is made within 40 days, the activity of the society may begin provisionally; but that it is only to be regarded as fully constituted when the statutes have received the official stamp. The second section provides that the unions may not have composite aims, and that the statutes must have their own political or philanthropic or economic or other special character. "National Unions may only be literary or scientific." According to section 3, only Hungarian citizens may be members of political or labour unions. Names of foreign members of the other species of unions must be submitted to the authorities. Among other provisions are the following: labour unions are only permitted which are among workers under the industrial law; the use of national arms (*Wappen*) is not permitted to the unions; the use of foreign arms, colours, and emblems is not permitted to unions of soldiers who have served their time. It may be seen that the application of these provisions, thus generally indicated, in the hands of the local authorities, leaves a very restricted freedom of association among the working classes.⁽⁷⁾ The special assistance given by law to the recognised employers associations, viz., the chambers of commerce and industry and the industrial guilds further affects the situation, and these organisations may now be examined.

The chambers of commerce and industry, whose position was defined and established by a law of 1868, play an important part in the organisation of labour and industry in Hungary. They stand in a close relationship with the Ministry of Commerce and

(v.) Chambers of commerce and industry.

(1) Dr. Mandello's article on the Hungarian Labour Question, written for the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, and sent in MS. before publication, to the Secretary of the Royal Commission on Labour.

(2) Dr. Mandello's article cited, *supra*.

(3) *Id.*

(4) F. O. Report, Misc. Ser., No. 233, 1892, pp. 5-8. Dr. Mandello's MS. Report.

(5) *Sozial Politisches Central Blatt*, Vol. I., 1892, p. 488.

(6) F. O. Report cited, p. 83.

(7) *Allgemeine Arbeiter Kalender*, 1893, pp. 21-2.

Industry, and their number, centre, and district of operation are determined by the minister of that department of the State, who relies to a large extent upon their opinions and information in all practical matters relating to his department. Under the laws XIII. and XIV. of 1890 20 of these chambers were instituted, which exercise a direct control over manufacturing and commercial interests in the following districts:—Arad, Bestereczbanya, Brasso (Kronstadt), Budapest, Debreczen, Eszek, Fiume, Győr, Kassa (Kaschau), Kolosvar (Klausenberg), Marosvasarhely, Miskolcz, Nagyvarad (Grosswardein), Pecs (Fünfkirchen), Pozsony (Pressbourg), Sopron (Edenburg), Temesvar, Szeged, Zagrab (Agram), Zengg. The yearly reports published by these bodies, especially those of the Budapest Chamber, form one of the most important official sources of information on the industrial and labour situation. Their organisation and competence resemble those of the Austrian Chambers. A difference may be seen in the admission of associates as well as members to the Hungarian Chambers. A further difference lies in the fact that the Hungarian Chambers do not form political electoral bodies. The total expenses of the Hungarian Chambers in 1890 were 190,224.10 fl., of which 30,921 fl. went in aid of industrial aims; the total property in the same year was 519,054 fl., of which 36,857.46 was in the form of real property land and houses, and 34,822.82 fl. was invested in libraries. Every five years the chambers of commerce have to address a statistical report on the economic condition of their district to the minister, and in general they are consulted by him when draft bills are prepared on subjects touching the interests of industry and manufacturers.⁽¹⁾ During the year 1891 the Budapest Chamber gave advice in its official capacity on a large number of important questions, among which the following may be mentioned:—Whether the millers' industry should be included among the small trades which require special proof of competence; on the question of the customs relations with Roumania, Italy, Switzerland, Servia, Spain; on the question of the petition of the Builders' Guild respecting the limitation of the number of building operations which are not subject to special permission; on the question of the regulation of the sick insurance district fund; on the question of the model statutes for factory sick insurance funds; on the question of a stricter definition of the sphere of operation of Consumers' Unions with a view to protection of small shopkeepers; on the question of the exception in the application of the Sunday rest law in the case of soap factories.⁽²⁾

It has already been seen (*supra* p. 158) that the law of 1884 involved a certain reaction in favour of the old guild system by its provision for the institution of industrial guilds with a certain authoritative character. This step was taken a year later than in Austria and the provisions imitate those in the Austrian law on some points; the aims of the guilds are similar, but they apply to a smaller class, viz., to small employers of handicrafts, men who must be provided with a certificate or proof of competency.⁽³⁾

Dr. Mandello is of opinion that this change strengthened the position of the smaller employer, as was no doubt intended by the legislator, but that it increased at the same time the dependence of the worker in this sphere.

In any locality, whether a town possessing a municipality, or magistracy or a country district, where the number of employers and artisans working in small industries is not less than 100 an industrial guild may be established if two-thirds of the employers demand it and after the approval of the competent chamber of commerce and consent of the municipality have been obtained. In districts where the number of employers of artisans or handicraftsmen is less than 100 a guild may be formed with the sanction of the Minister of Commerce after a memorial has been presented by the chamber of Commerce with the consent of the municipality. In the capital the guilds are formed by the several branches and groups of small industries and designated by the same, whereas in the country towns or communes, all the branches are united in one associa-

tion. When the guild is formed all industrial employers are *ipso facto* members of the guild and are bound to pay the fees which usually amount, as Sir Arthur Nicholson states, to about 1*l.* in the year. The formation of the guilds has not always been carried without opposition, and in some cases protests have been raised against the opportunities given for interference of industrial authorities and for intensifying the compulsory character of the associations.⁽⁴⁾

The law explains that the aim of the institutions should be to foster and promote industrial interests, to maintain harmonious relations among employers in small industries and to aid the industrial authorities in the application of the law. The guilds are:—(1) to maintain ordinary relations between masters and men; (2) to provide conciliation in case of friction and disputes between masters and their assistants and apprentices; (3) to assist in the application and maintenance of the provisions of the law for apprentices; (4) to establish relief and aid funds; these funds are not to be diverted to the support of labour movements or strikes. The sittings of the guilds are to be held twice a year at least, when a representative of the industrial authorities must be present. No alteration may be made in the statutes of the guilds without the consent of the Minister of Commerce, and the representative of the industrial authorities is empowered to protest against any resolution passed by the guild and to delay its execution until the matter has been submitted to the Minister of Commerce.⁽⁵⁾

The formation of Arbitration Committees is part of the work prescribed for the guilds. These, as will be seen in a later section (*infra* p.), are of a representative character, and are not infrequently called on to arrange small differences and disputes.⁽⁶⁾

Alongside of these guilds instituted by law are to be found a spontaneous form of association which works with at least equal vigour in the sphere of the small industries. "In many places the institution of industrial guilds meets with many-sided difficulties, since on the one hand there is a shrinking on the part of the small employers from the burdens prescribed by the law, and on the other hand, the industrial associations of older standing are not inclined to give up their independence and free control over their property gathered together at an earlier date." The fear implied in the last sentence is not well grounded, but the fact remains that in the districts the most numerous and oldest established classes of small industry are to be found, e.g., in Brasso (Kronstadt), Pozsony (Presburg), Sopron (Edenburg), Debreczen and others, the formation of the guilds does not increase while the position of the older associations remains strong. The law left the rights of these associations intact in all that relates to free entry and organisation of the industrial classes, but it transferred a good deal of their work, as, for instance, the work of industrial conciliation to the guilds. Nevertheless, in spite of the increase of the guilds, on the whole, a decided preference is shown in several directions for the better known institutions, and in the course of 1892 as many as 12 new associations were formed. It must be recollected that these may arise in districts where, through the smallness of the industrial population, the guilds can only be instituted after observance of a somewhat deterrent amount of official formality.⁽⁷⁾

Although the reports of the chambers of commerce and industry express regrets from time to time that the sphere of operation and growth of the guilds is not so great as might be desired, they state, nevertheless, that the progress is not altogether unsatisfactory. In the year 1889 there were altogether 84 guilds in the district of the Budapest Chamber, which extended at that time to eight counties, in addition to the capital, which is considered as a separate county. This number was nearly 40 per cent. of the total number of guilds in the kingdom, which were thus about 200 in all. In 1890, 27 new guilds were formed, bringing the total up to 227, of which 87 were in the Budapest district. In that year a re-arrangement of the districts took place, and in 1891 the report of Budapest Chamber extended to only 46 guilds. Some details as to their membership, working and financial situation, are given in the following table.⁽⁸⁾

(1) Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften. *Handelskammern*, article by R. Marwisch. Report of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1892, revised by Dr. Mandello, pp. 58-9. La Hongrie Économique, p. 309.

(2) Bericht der Handels und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pest, 1892, pp. 110-111.

(3) Dr. Mandello's Report, Diet. d'Econ. Pol. Leon Say article *Corporations*. F. O. Report, Min. Ser. No. 233, p. 8.

(4) F. O. Report cited, pp. 8-9.

(5) *Ib.*

(6) Wirksamkeit des Kon. Ung. Handelsministers, 1892, p. 36.

(7) *Ib.*, pp. 36-7.

(8) *Ib.*, p. 36. Berichte der Handels und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pest, 1890-2.

(ii.) Aims of the guilds.

(iii.) The industrial associations.

(iv.) Progress and working of the guilds.

Indus-
-guilds
General
-oz.

TABLE I.—SHOWING CONDITION OF GUILDS IN BUDAPEST DISTRICT.

Name of the Guild.	No. of Members.	Registered Workers.		No. of Disputes Settled.				Entrance Fees.	Yearly Subscriptions.	Property at the end of 1890.
		Assistants.	Apprentices.	Conciliation.	By Arbitration.	In Law Courts.	Total.			
I.—In BUDAPEST.										
1. Gold and silver workers and jewelers.	215	—	188	8	12	—	20	25	10	5,860·48
2. Cabinet-makers	600	8,127	800	86	68	13	167	25	4	16,839·78
3. Tin-workers, copper smiths, &c.	255	—	—	6	13	—	19	20	4	3,779·02
4. Barbers and hairdressers	360	2,050	132	26	68	—	94	25	4	6,514·72
5. "Csizmenmacher"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6. Shoemakers	1,410	10,123	821	11	95	7	113	20	2	57,269·96
7. Builders, masons, &c.	349	—	898	90	139	2	231	20	10	18,328·98
8. Clothiers	1,318	3,940	951	44	103	33	185	20	3	87,671·21
9. Ropemakers	420	1,570	661	5	16	—	21	10	4	20,574·22
10. Binders, tanners, &c.	235	2,252	212	6	9	—	15	20	4	1,630·98
11. Paperhangers and upholsterers	268	621	254	3	5	—	8	20	8	6,787·15
12. Chimney sweepers	185	345	85	19	17	10	46	25	12	1,217·31
13. Blacksmiths	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14. Bookbinders and glove makers	285	1,342	828	7	8	3	18	10	6	3,607·88
15. Locksmiths and gunsmiths	320	4,511	2,509	32	59	6	97	20	4	11,562·73
16. Butchers	362	—	614	22	25	3	50	20	10	111,531·66
17. Watchmakers	182	129	64	2	1	—	3	12	8	4,805·83
18. Bakers and confectioners	309	282	134	46	47	5	98	15	7	3,783·64
19. House painters, &c.	—	3,150	—	24	257	—	281	10	8	—
20. Wheelwrights, &c.	85	289	27	2	1	—	3	8	4	311·49
21. Skinners, &c.	326	989	133	43	12	1	55	15	4	4,108·49
II.—In the SZEKES FEHÉRVAR COUNTY										
29. Bicske Guild	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
23. Moór Guild	175	182	127	10	8	—	18	5	1	3,070·18
24. Sz, fehér, Guild	803	1,516	671	74	46	—	120	10	1	2,225·07
III.—In the PEST-PILIS-SOLT KISKUN COUNTY.										
25. Abony Guild	186	46	39	—	—	—	—	1	2	1,590·28
26. Albertfalva Guild	52	36	73	—	—	—	—	2	2	47·37
27. Aszód Guild	126	93	184	8	2	—	10	1	2	563
28. Promontor Guild	140	383	106	—	—	—	—	—	—	86·35
29. Czegled Guild	641	263	212	—	13	—	13	5	1	2,037·17
30. Dunavecse Guild	168	107	41	7	2	—	9	5	75	46·13
31. Halas Guild	275	134	75	—	—	—	—	2	1·50	395·72
32. Kalocsa Guild	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
33. Kecskemet Guild	925	1,150	329	60	37	3	100	5	1	3,430·54
34. Kis-Körös Guild	192	56	69	—	—	4	—	5	1	540·81
35. Kispeszt Guild	119	89	43	19	2	—	25	3	5·20	22·38
36. Kun Főlegyháza Guild	506	221	178	—	—	—	—	—	80	—
37. Kun-Szt-Miklós	166	30	31	—	—	—	—	5	1	1,851·47
38. Laczhaza Guild	146	74	42	6	—	1	7	1	1	1,648·72
39. Monor Guild	157	99	25	6	4	2	12	6	1	2,914·87
40. Nagykáta Guild	73	20	15	4	2	1	7	6	1	486·01
41. Nagy-körö Guild	538	256	178	4	1	1	6	6	1	4,008·42
42. Solt Guild	105	64	69	2	—	—	2	—	—	400
43. Tápio Szele Guild	103	67	26	2	4	—	6	—	—	202·52
44. Ujpest Guild	606	1,342	570	27	60	6	93	5	2	8,398·30
45. Vacs Guild	442	300	285	6	5	—	11	10	2	2,221·62
46. Zsámbék Guild	98	54	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	13·67

These figures show that many of the provincial guilds are of very small dimensions and that even in the capital only a few trade guilds such as the clothiers, shoemakers, and butchers, attain to any important development. In the cases where no figures are given the guilds had sent in no report to the chamber of commerce.⁽¹⁾ In the report of the chamber for 1891 a regret was expressed that, while progress in the extent of the guilds was being made, the "internal activity" of the institutions left much to be desired. A few of the guilds in the capital concern themselves in a serious way with the question of the relations between the employers and their workmen, the Butchers' Guild and a few others have drafted a scheme of rules for the treatment of assistants and apprentices while the shoemakers' guild has recognised a model set of rules for the workshops as the best method for preventing occasions of disputes. "Experience teaches that claims for damages on the part of workers arise more often through the withholding of certificates of

"work than from any other cause, an act of which the result is that the workmen is unable to obtain other employment. The guilds have therefore specially advised their members to avoid the step of withholding the certificates as far as possible."⁽¹⁾

The chamber of commerce was of opinion that the work of the guilds would be greatly forwarded if the law were altered to admit of the association of several sparsely peopled neighbourhoods in one guild. Many difficulties arise through questions as to the dividing line between factory employers and small industrial employers. "In all such cases the Chamber strove to bring the traditional historical claims of the handicrafts into harmony with the needs of the modern system of production."

In September 1890 an important congress of guilds, chambers, and unions or associations took place at Arad. In all there were 344 delegates, representing as follows:—

157 guilds.
11 chambers.
16 unions or associations.

(v.) The congress of guilds at Arad in 1890.

(1) Bericht der Handels- und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pesth, 1892, p. 47.

(1) Report cited 1891, p. 61.

The reports given before this congress gave a clear picture of the ever-growing intensity of competition in the small industries of the country. A general opinion was expressed that improvement in the situation which was rapidly becoming unendurable could not be attained by formation of new guild rules within the limits of the existing law and that an extension and improvement of the law itself was required. The claims at this congress, and elsewhere among artisans, seem likely to lead to some alterations of the law in the matters of State interference and of factory inspection. "The Chamber of Commerce (in Budapest) recognised the weighty nature of the claims made by the small employers and..... that they were of a wholly different nature from the aspirations to be found in connexion with the labour movements in other countries. The proceedings of the Congress at Arad were marked by a dignity and earnestness which were worthy of the Hungarian handicraftsmen and bore traces of the consciousness that their decisions would meet with ready respect and goodwill both with the administration and with the legislature."⁽¹⁾

In the course of 1891 several noteworthy attempts were made of a co-operative character by the guilds in the district of the Budapest Chamber. The Guild of Clothiers in the capital founded a mutual aid and widows' fund, and undertook the institution of a raw material and stores association. The Budapest Guild of House-painters founded a funeral fund as well as an invalid fund, which amounted to 517 florins at the end of 1891. The receipts of the provident fund amounted to 13,370 florins, while its expenditure was 7,030 florins. The shoemakers' guild offered a prize for an essay on the denomination of implements required in their trade in the Hungarian language, and the results were very satisfactory. The cabinet makers and locksmiths organised a Christmas exhibition of work which showed a "brilliant progress in taste and technical power in the trade." The guild of butchers established a tanning-yard for their members with great success; they also passed a rule for regulation of the treatment of assistants and apprentices on the basis of the special provisions of the law of 1884 (section 140, see below, p. 180.) "A remarkable step was also taken in this year (1891), according to the report of the Budapest Chamber of Commerce, " which aimed at attracting suitable apprentices and protecting them from social harm. "The Society for the Protection of Children instituted a special section for charge of apprentices and an establishment for receiving those who came up from the province. The guilds recognising the value of this attempt gave it their full support."⁽²⁾

The organisation of the working classes from a trade point of view exists, but it is very imperfect. It may be said to have been almost non-existent before 1889. Scanty pecuniary resources and incomplete representation of trade branches are the chief characteristics of these unions. Many, as may be seen from their titles, are improvement or mutual aid societies and combine very various aims. The miners' societies have to be considered apart, and any generalisations here made about trade groups should not be held to apply to them. They are treated subsequently as friendly societies (*infra*, p. 198.) Their superior position may be seen in the fact that their pecuniary resources reached the total of nine million florins in 1887. The chief ordinary weapon of trade unions, namely strikes, is almost denied to the Hungarian worker. "The administrative authorities can hardly be said to show an absolute impartiality in conflicts of labour and capital, but the main reason for want of success in such strikes as are attempted appears in the fact that many important branches of industry are practically under one administration, so that workers locked out for striking cannot find work elsewhere."⁽³⁾ On the whole, however, the working classes cannot be said to be behind other classes in society in the matter of organisation. Dr. Mandello states, for example, that the philanthropic work undertaken by the churches is unorganised in character. An exception should be stated for the largest industrial undertakings where the employers have sometimes founded institutions (known in France as *Ouvres Patronales*) for their workpeople.

The largest number of workmen's unions of various aims and character are centred in Budapest. The Workman's Almanack for 1893 shows that there were

in that year twenty-five, including every variety, namely: one working man's club, one reading union, one educational union with four branches, one general workmen's singing union, and eighteen trade unions. These trade unions are (1) the Hungarian Stonemasons' Union; (2) the Trade Association of cabinet-makers in Hungary; (3) the Trade Association of tailors in Hungary; (4) the Trade Union of bookbinders, coopers, saddle and bridle-workers and workwomen; (5) the Mutual Aid Society of the Budapest file-cutters; (6) the Hatmakers' Union; (7) Sculptors' sick fund and mutual improvement society; (8) Trade Union of gold and silver workers and allied fellow workers; (9) Trade Association of potters of Hungary; (10) Trade Association of iron foundry workers of Hungary; (11) Trade Union of tinworkers and gasworkers of Hungary; (12) Trade Union of turners; (13) the Budapest enginemen and boilerworkers' agency and sick relief union; (14) the union of Hungarian mechanics and allied workers; (15) the Trade Union of fringe and lace workers; (16) the Iron and Metal workers Mutual Improvement Society with two branches affiliated; (17) the Iron and Metal-workers' Trade Union; (18) the Shoemakers' Assistants' Mutual Improvement Union with one affiliated branch.

Pozsony (Presburg) has three trade unions among tailors, potters' and shoemakers' assistants and one workmen's mutual improvement society. It is recorded of the Potters' Union by Dr. Mandello, that it obtained a rise of from 8 to 12 per cent. in wages without a strike at the time of the foundation. Arad has a working man's club. Temesvar has also a working men's club and two trades unions, one among shoemakers, the other amongst tailors. Ujpest, Sopron (Edeburg), Ujvidek, Brassó (Kronstadt) have each one club or improvement society.⁽⁴⁾

Particulars as to the number of adherents and methods of working of these various organisations are hardly to be obtained. One of the best established and oldest of them is the Mutual Aid Society of the File Cutters' Assistants in Budapest, which issued its eighth report in 1890. This has a committee of five members, and supports members' travelling expenses. The number of its members was 72 in 1887, 74 in 1888, 80 in 1889, and 102 in 1890. In this latter year the income was 278 florins, and expenditure 201 florins. It subscribed eight florins to the *Metallarbeiter Zeitung* and *Arbeiter Presse* the latter being issued in German and Hungarian; travelling money amounted to 112 gulden; the secretary and treasurer were paid respectively 20 florins and 12 florins.⁽⁵⁾ In the same year, 1890, the first Austro-Hungarian Congress of file cutters and allied workers in Vienna was attended by two delegates from Budapest. The total number of workers in that industry in the joint monarchies was 1,500, and the delegates present represented 1,100 of them. One of the Hungarian delegates informed the members of the Congress that there was great difficulty in his country in drawing up complete statistics or forming strong organisations because of the differences in languages. He believed that there were from 150 to 160 file-workers, of which 90 belonged to Budapest; of these last 20 were apprentices. The hours were 10 in Budapest, and from 12 to 13 in the provinces, while the general wage was seven florins a week. In the delegates' opinion, "modern workmen's organisation" is what is required in Hungary. "The necessity for formation of funds of resistance, for awakening class consciousness, the extension of knowledge and enlightenment, and for united effort among workers with a view to more thorough application of laws protecting them was insisted upon by the meeting. The following resolution with regard to right of combination was adopted: "In consideration of the fact that struggles in the movement for improvement of wages have generally ended unfavourably for our fellowworkers experience teaches that strikes should only be entered on after most careful deliberation. . . . In view of the miserable conditions which prevail in most branches of industry as well in the matter of wages as in other conditions of labour, the working classes are not only justified in striving by means of combination and every available method to improve the same, but are even bound to so strive in the interests of the present and of future generations as well as in the interests of civilisation." The Congress also discussed and adopted resolutions on piece-work, women's labour, factory rules, Sunday rest, and

organisations.
Budapest.

Pozsony and other towns.

The Mutual Aid Society of File Cutters Assistants.

(iii.) File Cutters Congress of 1890.

) Labour unions.
) General characteristics.

i.) Number and extent of

(1) Report cited, p. 36.
(2) Bericht der Handels und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pesth, 1892, p. 46.
(3) Dr. Mandello, Article cited *supra* footnote, p.

(4) Arbeiter Kalender, 1893, pp. 33-4.
(5) Jahres Berichte des Unterstützungsvereines der Feilenhauer Gehilfen in Buda Pesth, 1887-90.

other questions. Women's labour could only be regulated, they declared, when women were fully organised, certain occupations should be closed to women as injurious for them, and night work should be forbidden.⁽¹⁾ A similar Congress of metal workers was held in 1892, and again Hungary was represented by two delegates. The most important discussion was also on the necessity of opposing a strong labour organisation to the growing organisation of employers. The constant difficulties set in the way of labour organisation by the local authorities were discussed, and a resolution was adopted with full concurrence of the Hungarians, as to the importance of forming a union of all metal workers throughout the country, which should eventually be divided into sections or branches corresponding to the special branches of workers. The Hungarian delegates decided "without reserve" for a joint organisation with Austria.⁽²⁾

Dr. Mandello gives the following particulars as to trade unions:—

The report of the Budapest Blacksmiths' Association for 1892 shows that its membership was 271, its funds 3,409 gulden, and its expenditure in sick benefits 490 gulden. On March 15th they celebrated the birthday of Kossuth, and later the jubilee of the coronation of the King. This association is by no means of an independent character; on its list of members the employers names appear as "Right Honourable," and the foremen's names as "Honourable," and then the list of workmen follows. Certain honorary members are addressed as "Mr." a title which is denied to the workers. The property of the Union of Hungarian Printers and Type Setters is 122,801 gulden. This union formerly had a wages tariff committee for prevention of disputes with employers. On December 31st 1892, the number of members was 2,375.⁽³⁾

Several new efforts at organisation of trades are recorded during 1893. The Potters' Union in Budapest was particularly active in holding meetings and opening up new branches of activity. At a meeting on January 21st it declared its intention to support the paper called the *Munkás*, which is published in Hungarian as well as German, instead of the *Arbeitspresse* and *Nepszava*, the Social Democratic organs. On April 4th a general meeting of potters was held, when an attempt was made to organise some means of arbitration in industrial disputes; a national meeting of the potters was held on May 22nd, and the formation of a central board in Vienna was determined on with national committee at Budapest and local committees in other Hungarian towns. On November 19th the union held a general meeting to protest against the employment of masons in certain branches of their trade. The Union of Book Printers and Type Founders also was active during 1893; a general meeting was held on January 1st at which it was decided that contributions should be given to the district sick fund (for the institution of these funds cf. *infra*, p. 194). On March 26th the general meeting of the Book Printers and Type Founders was held, when the number of members was declared to be 2,375, the receipts of the year 77,862 gulden, expenditure 73,322 gulden, total property, 12,280 gulden. On April 14th this Union was dissolved by the Minister of the Interior on the petition of the master printers, on the ground that a considerable loan had illegally been made to a strike committee. On November 26th, however, the book printers resolved to take part in the social democratic movement. On February 20th a meeting was held by brush and paintbrush factory workers with a view to formation of a union. On September 25th a congress of Austro-Hungarian Brush and Paintbrush workers was opened at Budapest, and various resolutions were taken relating to the short hours movement and increase in wages, particularly weekly payments were desired in place of piece-work, it was decided that the trade should be organised in district trade groups through the institution of the industrial trustees as the authorities had opposed the formation of a simple district union. Some activity was also apparent in the direction of trade organisation among shoemakers. On May 20th the Croatia-Slavonia shoemakers held a national meeting at which they accepted in general the decisions of a similar meeting at Budapest, and also decided on the publication of a leaflet in the Croatian language and the election of delegates to the International Shoemakers' Congress. A national association of shoemakers was organised towards the end of May in Budapest.

At a meeting in November a general congress was convened for Whitsuntide, 1894. On May 22nd the stove builders and tile setters agreed to a joint organisation for settlement of common difficulties; the argument of a delegate for the stove builders was interesting, which stated that the tile setters might encroach upon the more difficult work of those he represented, if they were not included. At this meeting the payment of members' travelling money was fixed at so much per kilometre, and preparations were set on foot for international organisation, which should embrace all pottery and allied trade unions in Austria Hungary.

During the same year many combinations among workmen were made or attempted for special temporary purposes, e.g., strikes (cf. *infra* pp. 167-8), presentation of petitions relating to conditions of work and promotion of suffrage reform and complete religious freedom. May was throughout a particularly active month, beginning with labour day celebrations, and this activity extended into June. On the 18th June important workmen's meetings were held in the capital in favour of universal suffrage and entire religious freedom and equality; on the 27th workmen's meetings were held at Szegedin, Agram, and Hod Mezö Vasarhely, at which many agricultural labourers were present.⁽⁴⁾ In Temesvar the South Hungarian workmen's union held important meetings. An agitation took place among the workers in the State Salt Mines at Maros Ujvar, and complaints were made to the minister in a memorandum in which it was alleged that an inspection by the minister's secretary had taken place without any hearing given to the men. In July the Union of Iron and Metal Turners undertook the office of mediation in case of industrial disputes. Early in September the *Passementerie* makers in several workshops petitioned for a 10 hours' day; on the 17th the iron workers in the State machinery workshops petitioned the director against the use of a blacklist. On October 26th a meeting of hatmakers' assistants in Budapest was organised at which grave complaints were made of overtime work due to faulty organisation; at the same time reference was made to an alleged consequence of overtime work, namely a fall in prices, and it was alleged that this practice alone was the cause of the depressed condition of the trade. On November 4th, the bakers of the capital, in accordance with a resolution at an earlier meeting addressed a memorandum to the Industrial Guild in which they demanded fulfilment of certain promises made by the masters in 1890, i.e., abolition of provision of board and substitution of a fixed money payment of six florins weekly, a 10 hours' working day instead of the prevailing 16 to 18 hours day, careful inspection of the condition of the workrooms; in case of non-acceptance a general strike was threatened; a generally favourable reply was however received towards the end of December. On November 12 the Industrial Union petitioned the Minister of Finance against the proceedings of the Tax Gatherer in the matter of the collection of the earnings tax of the first class which the employers are directed to deduct from the wages of their employés.⁽⁵⁾

Attention should be drawn here in passing to the fact that while no trade organisation in the modern sense began in Hungary earlier than 1889, the organisation which is directed towards the institution of provident and other benefit funds existed long before. The various friendly societies which provide for relief in case of sickness, accident, or death amongst workmen are more properly treated in connexion with the subject of insurance (pp. 193-4), but the following manifesto issued by the Hungarian Workmen's Invalid and Pension Union, published in 1893 in the German and Magyar languages, may be best connected with the general labour movement of 1893: "Fellow workmen. A long cherished wish of labour has been realised through the establishment of the Hungarian Workmen's Invalid and Pension Union. The State has so far cared for the health of workers that compulsory insurance in sick funds has been established. "We trust that laws for the protection of labour will be extended. Nevertheless, we workers must not wait for legislation alone to improve our position and expect everything from the State; we must work hand in hand for the promotion of our interests. "Next to the sick insurance law, the first and chief question is to protect workers, overstrained by hard work from the condition of beggary in old age or

(vi.) Friendly society organisation.

Congress of metal workers 1892.

(iv.) Budapest Blacksmiths' Association.

(v.) Efforts at organisation in 1893.

(1) Protokoll des ersten Oesterr. Ung. Congresses der Feilenhauer und deren Mitarbeiter, 1891, pp. 3-13.

(2) Sozial Politisches Central Blatt, Vol. II., p. 192.

(3) Dr. Mandello's Report.

(4) The growth of this organisation among agricultural labourers is well illustrated by current events. "The local society is understood to have 6,000 members, and is affiliated with the International Social Democratic party at Budapest. The object is said to be a redistribution of the land amongst the people." Cf. *Times*, 25th April 1894.

(5) Dr. Mandello's Report.

"incapacity to work. Opportunity must be afforded to the labourer to provide for himself, so that others may not be liable for his needs. The young can hopefully devote themselves to work with zeal and industry when they know their old age is secure from want. The older workers can face invalidity with confidence if they have used their opportunities to insure their lot. This is the aim that the newly founded invalid and pension union of Hungarian workers has set before it in obtaining sanction for its statutes. It only depends on the thoughtfulness and earnestness of the workers for this union to fulfil its high duty, and to assure its members of the redemption of its pledges. Fellow workmen, lay aside all small dissensions and rally round our union. Workmen can only be strong in attempting to improve their lot step by step, taking forethought for every eventuality while not losing themselves in unpractical ideals; let us be masters in practice rather than in theory. Fellow workmen, make our invalid and pension fund great and strong in order that our union may give you strength." Signed, in the name of the Committee, by Zoltan Szikora, Secretary, Alois v. Kölber, Honorary President, and Anton Katits, President. The official language of the Union is Magyar, and its central office is in Budapest. Every kind of worker, man or woman, of whatever age, may be admitted on subscribing to the statutes. The benefits are sick relief and pensions for members, and support of widows and orphans of members. The entrance fee is 1 fl. 50 kr., and the weekly subscription 10 kr., 12 kr., or 15 kr. according to the class of benefits desired. The benefits of the first class amount to 6 fl. weekly, of the second to 7 fl., and of the third to 8.50 fl. If the Union finds itself not in a position to pay these benefits the general Assembly may decide to lower the benefits or increase the subscriptions.⁽¹⁾

(1) Rise of the Socialist Movement in Hungary.

The beginning of a Socialist movement in Hungary can be traced back as far as 1867-8. After the agreement with Austria, which established a free administration in the country, it became possible for the working classes to develop and organise themselves, and an agrarian movement, mainly in the heart of the country and the Pest county, took place at about the same time. A division soon arose within the incipient labour party, between the followers of Schulze-Delitzsch, who aimed at the promotion of independent self-help, and those of Lassalle, who advocated State intervention. In 1870 a general Workmen's Union was founded at the same time that the followers of Lassalle established their general sick insurance and invalid fund. The party organ was edited by Sigismund Politzer, and amongst the chief leaders were Farkas Ibrlinger and Külföldi. This movement received a check in 1872, when the leaders were brought to trial on a charge of complicity with foreign international communists, and of having attempted to establish a commune in Hungary. The defendants were acquitted with one exception, but meanwhile they had suffered imprisonment for several months. The result of the trial was to produce a certain disorganisation of the labour party, which was increased by the great depression of trade in the year 1873. A revival of the labour movement took place in 1876-7, when Leo Frankel, who is known in connexion with the Paris Commune, returned to Hungary after spending some years in London, and started a new party organ; and the further progress of the organisation of the working classes was thenceforward closely connected with the development of the Sick Insurance and Invalid Fund. In 1880 Frankel became involved in a trial, and after 18 months' imprisonment left Hungary, when the leadership of the party passed into the hands of Ibrlinger. Two congresses of working men were held about this time, the second of which aimed at establishing an immediately realisable programme, but in the meantime personal dissensions and party divisions of various kinds arose. One of these turned on the choice of a name for a congress; some members wishing it to be called the "Congress of the Hungarian Labour Party," and others the "Congress of the Disfranchised Classes." The Schulze-Delitzsch party meanwhile had constantly lost ground, and their trade organisations could obtain no footing. Ibrlinger died in the end of 1880, and was succeeded in the editorship of the party organ by S. Stern. On the death of the latter, in 1889, Engelmann assumed the leadership of the party, into which he imparted new life, and through him a large number of trade associations were founded. The International Workmen's Congress of 1889, in Paris, also gave a fresh impetus to

the social democratic movement in Hungary. A manifesto of the party, issued in 1892 and signed by Alexander Inasz, George Szabadics, and Ferdinand Foittin, declares that the true life of the movement began with the active entrance into it of "Genosse Simon Stern. With this the labour movement entered on a new stage, and daily acquired clearness and breadth. The congress of the party at Budapest, in December 1890, lighted up the task. . . . The trade association movement was pressed forward with special zeal, and afterwards gained ground, in spite of all the difficulties put in its way by the authorities." An agitation was set on foot in the provinces, and a regular system of correspondence was begun.⁽¹⁾

Another name which must be mentioned in connection with the social democratic movement is that of the poet, Dr. Friedrich Krasser, who was perhaps the first to spread socialist ideas broadcast in Hungary. He was born in 1818 in Mühlbach, a small town in the "Saxon" district of Siebenbürgen (Transylvania). His medical studies took him in due course of time to Vienna and thence to Paris, where he came in contact with the ideas of the revolutionary leaders of 1830 and 1848. In 1848 he went to Roumania and two years later settled down in Hermannstadt (*Nagyszeben*). The "fine enthusiasm for all ideal human effort shown from his youth upwards" by Krasser and daily realised until the present time, he owes first to his parents and secondly to his studies in the German, French, English, and Italian classics. The racial distinctions within Siebenbürgen, which familiarised him as a child with the Magyar, the German, and the Roumanian peoples, further the early acquaintance with other nations by his travels in Western Europe which taught him the subordinate importance of national and linguistic differences had made him cosmopolitan." Up till his 50th year, however, like so many socialists of his class, he had hardly done more than give himself up to the teachings first of the French Utopian Socialists, secondly of Marx. But when a branch of the General Workmen's Sick Fund was established in Hermannstadt in 1869 and he was appointed as doctor to the fund he came in direct touch with the working classes, and from that time began his personal influence on the socialist labour movement in Kronstadt, Broos, Hermannstadt and other towns of south-eastern Hungary. His songs "Marsillaise des Christenthums," "Erwacht," and many others have been scattered in millions of leaflets through the country in the Magyar as well as the German language.⁽²⁾

Fresh divisions have in recent years caused the social democratic party to split into two main factions, representing the old and the new policy. The former is closely allied with the organisation of the General Sick and Invalid Insurance Fund, whilst the latter opposes this institution. All attempts at reconciliation between these two parties have failed hitherto, and the official reports, by the strength of the epithets and general language used, leave no room for doubt that violent personal animosities are involved. The principal leaders of the older party are Franz Reisch, Kürschmann, Stückler, and Prockle, and its special organs are the *Népszava* and *Die Arbeiterpresse*. The younger party is headed by Engelmann, Gion, and Kittel, and its newspapers are the *Munkás* and the *Arbeiter*.⁽³⁾

(2) Present position of the Social Democratic Party.

The importance of these general social democratic organs has decreased since the development of trades unionism has led to the foundation of special trade papers, such as the *Typographia*, the organ of the printing trade, edited by Zachar; *A Cipész*, the organ of the tailors, edited by Inasz; *A Fém munkás*, the iron workers' organ, edited by Vanczák, and many others. The majority of these papers have sided with one of the two social democratic parties, but some have remained neutral. The most important of the provincial labour papers are *A Munka őrs* in Arad, which leans towards the younger party, and the *Volkswille* in Temesvar, which inclines to the older one. The general teaching and policy of these papers is the same. Their columns contain the theories and principles of social democracy laid down on German lines, and it is only when dealing with agricultural questions that their distinctly Hungarian character appears.

(3) The Labour Press.

Side by side with the two social democratic parties, a National Democratic Party has been founded by the Minister Szopary with the support of the Government. It is unimportant in the number of its members, but exercises a certain amount of influence in consequence

(A.) The National Democratic Party.

(1) Leaflet of the Ungarischer Arbeiter Invaliden und Pensions Verein (Magyarorsági munkások sokaságos nyugdíjgyűlöte).

(2) Dr. Mandello's MSS.

(3) Allgemeiner Arbeiter-Kalender, 1893, pp. 1-3.

(4) Dr. Mandello's MSS. Reports to the Zurich Congress in the "Arbeiter," August 12th, and "Arbeiter Zeitung," August 11th, 1892.

of the official favour which it enjoys. It has an organ, *A misabálvok*, which is opposed to the eight hours' day and the celebration of May day, and in case of strikes usually espouses the cause of the employers. Two supporters of this party are on the Industrial Council, and its meetings are attended by middle class adherents. It has, however, met with no success in its attempt to win over the trades unions. The leaders of the National Democratic Party have taken a prominent part in the formation of the Invalid and Old Age Pension fund for workpeople, referred to above (p. 164), which has hardly yet, however, come into operation. They have also given official support to the district sick insurance funds.⁽¹⁾

(j.) General position of Socialism in Hungary.

Socialism according to the programme of the Social Democratic party is declared to be on the increase by the Protestant clergyman Josef Veres of Prozhaza. General meetings are indeed forbidden but nevertheless are held. It is affirmed that the prohibition of many newspapers has only resulted in a great increase of subscribers to the *Nepszava*. Still, generally, while the social democrats who were practically unknown a few years since in Hungary have already begun to hold a fairly prominent place, there is no such important part for them to play as in Austria, Germany, or in France. As far as public discussion is concerned the prominence that seemed likely to await the labour question in all its forms in consequence of the drift of events in 1893 has been affected by the new and urgent character of ecclesiastico-political debates. When these affairs are settled, according to Dr. Mandello's view, the next and equally urgent problem will be the re-organisation of local administration.

Two general modes of regarding socialism are typical in Hungary and appear in connection with various circumstances both in Parliament and in the Press. A short time since the only mode of considering it was as a movement which did not and could not concern Hungary. Now this is given up, and on the one hand it is regarded as a movement brought in by foreign influences and nurtured by foreign agitators; it is described sometimes as an agrarian movement which threatens the well-being of the country and against which appropriate measures must be concerted; e.g., Count Ladislaus Szopary's speech in Parliament on March 8, 1893, suggested that the means of protection against socialism and communism lies in the maintenance of the power and influence of the Church. The other general mode of regarding the movement is as an evil indeed but not a serious danger, since Hungary is rich in natural wealth and so thinly populated that socialism can hardly strike deep root. On February 28, 1893, it was contended in Parliament by Ernst Daniel that an Agrarian Socialism was impossible because of the system of land tenure which is a conservative anti-socialist element. Dr. Mandello says "an error is to be seen in this contention, for the movement is to be found not amongst the propertied but among the propertyless classes." It is sufficient here to draw attention to the support given to Dr. Mandello's view by the current outbreak of agrarian socialism in the county of Csongrad.⁽²⁾

In spite of its internal divisions, the strength of the Social Democratic Party seems to have remained considerable, for at the Congress in Budapest of January 6th to 8th, 1893, 60 delegates were present who belonged to the capital, and 33 were from the provinces, of whom two came from Croatia. At this congress the tactics and programme of the Austrian Congress at Hainfeld were adopted. A resolution was adopted for the celebration of May Day, and the political and economic independence of the worker were asserted as a principle; a discussion of the grievances of the agricultural labourer followed.⁽³⁾ May Day was subsequently celebrated with considerable vigour; especially in the chief towns of Croatia, large meetings were held.⁽⁴⁾ The official report to the Zurich Congress of 1893 states that since the January Congress a new life had entered into the movement which was being actively manifested in strikes for higher wages and the foundation of new press organs.

On June 11 a conference of the South Hungarian Social Democratic Union was held in Temesvar. The chief business was the voting of funds for the support of a party league. One of the latest allusions in Parliament to the Socialist movement was in a speech of

Count Theodor Bathhyany, who declared himself opposed to it on the ground that it had so far dealt only in vague generalities.

The attitude of the majority of workers who belong to the social democratic party towards a national sentiment is stated by Dr. Mandello to be very decided. They are opposed to patriotic feeling, for they see in it only a force which may be employed by the *bourgeoisie* for their own ends and recognise the fact that the national idea and movement is mainly supported by the ruling and propertied classes. In Croatia-Slavonia the social democrats have declared (according to their official report to the Zurich Congress) that they are opposed to any form of Croatian chauvinism and that they are linked with the Hungarian movement. As long, however, as existing dissensions among the Hungarian social-democrats continue their opposition to the national idea will be weak.⁽⁵⁾

2. STRIKES.

Strikes up till 1893 have been rare in Hungary. The report on the working of the industrial law by Dr. von Schnierer affirms that there were not more than 15 during the 10 years from 1878 to 1888. This statement is, however, disputed by Dr. Mandello. In the district of Budapest, according to Dr. von Schnierer, five were caused by a demand for reduction of the hours of labour, and four by a demand for increase in wages. In the district of Pozsony (Pressburg) one strike, in that of Sopron two, and in that of Temesvar two strikes took place in consequence of a threatened reduction of wages. One strike took place in Debreczen on account of a demand for an increase in wages.⁽⁶⁾

(a.) Strikes during 1878-1888.

Hungarian workmen apparently began to take a part in the international labour movement in 1889, when they sent delegates to the International Congress at Paris, and adopted a propaganda in favour of a labour day for May 1. The report of the Budapest Chamber of Commerce and Industry referring to this fact expressed a hope "that the well-known sobriety (*Nüchternheit*)" of the Hungarian workman would lead him "to restrain the movement for a material and moral improvement in the condition of the working classes within the bounds set by the law and by the binding nature of contracts."⁽⁷⁾ The opinions gathered on the subject by Sir A. Nicholson led to the conclusion that this peaceable tendency referred to in the words just quoted, has been largely owing to the patience of the employed, to their ignorance of higher possibilities, and to their narrow views. The close regulation of the workmen's lives by means of State enactments have hindered development of organisation, and strikes on a large scale would be impossible through lack of funds.⁽⁸⁾

(b.) Labour movement in 1889.

The celebration of Labour Day in 1890 was of a rather more extended character than in the previous year. "Thanks to the generally quiet spirit of Hungarian labour no noteworthy disturbances arose. But the workmen attempted to make practical application of some of the resolutions passed at the May Day meetings, and certain strikes took place with demands for reduction of hours and increase of pay." These ended generally in a satisfactory manner according to the report of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Budapest. "Cabinet workers' assistants, mechanics, bakers' assistants, carpenters, horse painters, shoemakers, tailors, coopers, and engineering employes obtained a rise in wages which made a substantial increase in the cost of production."⁽⁹⁾ The strike which attracted most attention was among bakers' assistants, who came out to the number of about 1,500, and encamped on an island in the Danube for eight days. Their strike ended in a compromise. The strike among tailors' assistants ended after two days in the concessions being made by the employers. The agitation which took place among engineering employes was promptly repressed through the energetic attitude of the Minister of Commerce. The movement apparently did not extend into the provinces, and no disturbance of the public peace arose.⁽¹⁰⁾

(c.) Labour movement in 1890.

In 1891 any general celebration of labour day was forbidden in the State workshops, and most of the prominent employers in the capital adopted the same course. This aroused a spirit of opposition in a con-

(d.) May Day demonstrations in 1891.

(1) Dr. Mandello's MSS.
 (2) Dr. Mandello's MSS. (see "Times," April 25th, 26th, 1894).
 (3) Sozial Politisches Central Blatt cited, Vol. II., p. 384. "Die Arbeiter Presse" August 11th. "Die Arbeiter Zeitung," August 11th. Dr. Mandello.
 (4) Sozial Politisches Central Blatt, Vol. II., p. 227.

(1) Dr. Mandello's Report.
 (2) French Report on Austria-Hungary of 1890, p. 100.
 (3) Bericht der Handels und Gewerbe-Kammer, Buda Pesth, 1890, p. 18.
 (4) F. O. Report 1893, Misc. Ser., No. 238, pp. 6-7.
 (5) Bericht der Handels u. Gewerkekammer, Buda Pesth, 1891, p. 14.
 (6) F. O. Report cited, p. 8. French Report cited, p. 100.

siderable section of the working population and some efforts were made by a body of 3,000 men to interfere with the movements of non-protesting workers on May 1. On this occasion the streets were held by the police in some force, assisted by the military, and order was promptly restored. "The employers carried out their decision to dismiss all workmen who took part in the celebration of May Day, and so gave an important impulse to the maintenance of discipline. This celebration of May Day, which was a proof of the strength of international social democracy, was also materially hindered by the formation of a national labour party which took up a determined attitude against all attempts to introduce foreign socialist doctrines and methods amongst the Hungarian working classes"⁽¹⁾

During 1892 only five strikes were reported by the industrial authorities under the law of 1884. All were in Budapest. Four were caused by a reduction in wages, and one took place with a demand for reduction of hours from 10 to 8. In the first four cases the employers gave up their order for a reduction of wages after a fortnight, in the fifth case the workmen gave in but received nevertheless a rise of 25 per cent. in wages.⁽²⁾ The Social-Politisches Central Blatt reported on May 30th, 1892, that great excitement had just arisen among Budapest workmen, which threatened to lead to serious strikes; the cause was an attempt on the part of the employers "to compel their men to give up control of their mutual aid funds which had been established for nearly a quarter of a century, and to enter into factory funds which they had established or projected."⁽³⁾

The great scarcity of agricultural labour in certain districts of Hungary has led rather frequently to strikes for increased wages. "Although the provisions of the agricultural law afford employers opportunity for keeping the labourers at work by force through the support of the authorities, nevertheless one hears often of strikes among harvest workers and day labourers. The course generally adopted by the landowners is to punish the labourers in their neighbourhood by not employing them in the succeeding year, and by importing labour from a distance, especially from the north. For example, in 1892 800 labourers were imported into Kaposvar, and a still larger number into Török-Becse, in consequence of strikes in the previous year."⁽⁴⁾

The following table of strikes in 1893 is given by Dr. Mandello, in his article for the "Revue Internationale de Sociologie"⁽⁵⁾ :—

TABLE II.—STRIKES IN 1893.

Name of the Establishment.	No. of Strikes.	Cause of Strike.	Result.
Weapon Manufactory, Buda-Pest.	1,500	Decrease in wages	Unsuccessful.
Builders, Buda Pest.	?	Demand for 8-hour shifts and for cessation of piece-work.	Successful.
Army clothing factory at Zagrab (Agraru).	120	Demand for 20 per cent. increase in wages.	Unknown.
Cabinet factory, Buda Pest.	24	Demand for rise in wages from 80 kr. to 1-20 fl. with a 10-hours' day.	Unsuccessful.
Cotton Spinners, Neu-Pest.	300	Against a reduction in wages of 20 per cent. and an increase in hours of 11 to 14.	Unsuccessful.
Collieries at Pecs (Fünfkirchen).	2,700	Demand for increase in wages and regulations of the conditions of labour.	Unsuccessful.
Masons in Nagy-Bocskerek.	?	Increased wages; reduction of hours to 10½ a day.	Successful.
Mines, Tokod	?	?	Unknown.
Masons in Zagrab.	?	?	Unknown.
Tinsmiths in Szegedin.	35	Demand for a 10 hours' day and cessation of payment in kind.	Successful.

(1) Bericht der Handels u. Gewerbekammer, Buda Pesth, 1892 p. 10.
 (2) Report on the Hungarian Labour Question, by Dr. Mandello, in MS. 1894.
 (3) Social Politisches Central Blatt, Vol. I., p. 283.
 (4) Dr. Mandello's Report.
 (5) Lent to the Secretary in MS. before publication.

TABLE II.—(continued).

Name of the Establishment.	No. of Strikes.	Cause of Strike.	Result.
Stonemasons in Buda.	?	Demand for increase in wages.	Unknown.
State machinery works in Buda-Pest.	53	Dismissal of a worker	Unsuccessful.
Tinsmiths in Sopron.	?	Demand for a 10 hours' day instead of a 12 hours' day.	Successful.

The strikes (1) in the Weapon Manufactory at Buda-Pest January to February (2) among coal miners at Pecs (Fünfkirchen) in June, are two of the most important that have yet taken place in Hungary. The Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* gives the number of strikers in the Budapest factory as 1,600, whereas Dr. Mandello gives 1,500, as above. The greater number of skilled workers were foreigners, and, according to the correspondent of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the strike was preceded by an agitation started by these workers against the methods of government of the factory and treatment of the workers by the "General Director" "whose brutal treatment of the workers, which defies all description, had called forth the greatest bitterness. He punished the workmen in unheard-of ways, would dismiss several any day without ground and paid no attention to factory regulations. He had, however, greatly deceived himself if he thought that labour in Hungary might be so treated with impunity." On Sunday, January 29, a large meeting was called and the demands of the men were drawn up unanimously in the form of a resolution to be laid before the Directors. A committee of three was then chosen who were to present this resolution on the following day. Early on Monday morning the document was presented to the "General Director" who exclaimed as soon as he read the first demand, which related to factory rules, "those who are not pleased with the factory rules can go." The workmen then came out on strike to a man. This account makes no mention of an attempt on the part of the directors to reduce wages, which is the cause assigned for the strike by Dr. Mandello in the above table. He says elsewhere that the length of hours, prevalence of overtime work without extra pay and heavy fines and deductions from wages were further determining causes of the strike; he also adds that the payment of wages was unpunctual and that the director and officials treated the men harshly. The demands of the strikers are given by Dr. Mandello as follows: a ten hours' working day; overtime to be paid double; observance of Sunday rest; fines only to be inflicted for unpunctuality exceeding five minutes and then not to exceed 25 kreuzer for one fault and not to exceed one gulden in a week; product of fines to be applied to the sick fund; tools to be supplied gratis to the workmen; payment of wages to take place weekly and not later than 6 p.m.; workmen who had taken part in this movement should not be dismissed for that reason.

A few days after the strike was announced notices appeared in the press to the effect that many of the strikers had gone back to work. This statement was contradicted by the correspondent of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, who declared that up till February 6th the strikers remained out to a man and that on that day only 60 workmen, mostly smiths and unskilled day labourers with a few mechanics, returned to the factory, while a large number of the men were leaving Budapest to seek work elsewhere. On February 9, according to Dr. Mandello, 1,170 men returned to work and 350 were dismissed. "The cause of the failure of the strike lay in the absolute want of organisation of the workmen and the pressure brought to bear by the Government authorities. It is reported that the *gendarmerie* were sent forward with the greatest carelessness although the workmen had caused no disturbance of the peace. The instigators of the movement in as far as they were foreigners were dismissed."⁽¹⁾

The strike of cotton spinners at Ujpest began in the end of March and 300 workmen and workwomen came out against a proposed lengthening of the working day from 11 to 14 hours and reduction of wages by 20 per cent. The occasion of the proposed change was the purchase of the factory by a Budapest firm from the foreign firm in whose hands the undertaking had previously been. As shown in the table of strikes this was unsuccessful.

(1) Dr. Mandello's Report, Die "Arbeiter-Zeitung," February 3rd, 1904.

An incident arose on April 4th in a screw manufactory, which is not included in the table of strikes but which should be referred to in passing. Twenty-four workwomen employed for the outting machine demanded a rise of wages; they were in receipt of 80 kr. a day and asked for 1 fl. 20 kr. They were dismissed and new hands were taken on.

One of the strikes, namely—that amongst the bricklayers at Nagy Beeskerek—seems to have been connected with or stimulated by the May-day demonstrations, which generally throughout the country passed off quietly. The following were the conditions against which the 300 bricklayers struck work: 11 hours working day, 70 kr. to 1.70 fl. daily wage. Their demands were for a ten hours working day and a wage of from 1.20 fl. to 2 fl. a day. On May 9, they returned to work, having obtained a 10½ hours working day and a daily wage of from 1 fl. to 2 fl.

On June 6th the strike of miners in the collieries belonging to the Danube Steam Ship Company at Pecs (*Fünfkirchen*) began. Only 100 remained at work, while 2,700 came out. Dr. Mandello's account of the position of the miners shows that they suffered under serious hardships. 'A nominal 12 hours' day prevailed, while wages were from 60 to 80 kreuzer; deductions and fines were excessive, while an "infamous truck system" prevailed. The wage lists prove that monthly cash payments to the workers were from 1.50 florins to 2 florins. The "Arbeiter-Zeitung" gives the following: (1) "In Fünfkirchen 3,000 coal-miners are on strike; their exploiter (*ausbeuter*) is the Danube Steam Ship Company, which stands high in the estimation of the Austrian associates (*genossen*.) It goes without saying that the Company is acting with the greatest brutality, the blessing of the general committee (*wohlfahrts einrichtung*) for workmen's dwellings has made itself felt once more. All the strikers were at once turned into the streets. But the Hungarian local authorities are also worthy of the money bags they protect." The workers who were turned out of their houses partly encamped in the open air, partly found shelter in the neighbouring village of Szabolcs. On June 12th knots of these latter strikers in the woods near the village were dispersed by the soldiery after a resistance, which resulted in several sabre wounds to the former. The *alispan* issued an order that the workmen should leave the village by two in the afternoon, and about 100 workers returned to work, while the rest remained hidden in the cellars and attics. After four in the afternoon, when a fresh order had been issued by the district judge (*stuhlrichter*) and a threatening attitude was adopted in reply by the strikers, 80 hussars, 60 gendarmes and six companies of infantry were sent to drive the strikers out of the village. After a struggle and some bloodshed, this was effected, while the leaders were captured, and the workmen returned in small groups to the town.

The demand of the strikers were that an exact statement as to the amounts and character of fines and deductions should be drawn up; that the miners should manage their friendly society funds themselves; that the lowest wages should be from 90 kreuzer to 2 florins.

On June 17th, 1,500 workmen returned to the collieries, being forced to yield. Some small concessions were granted to them. On the 27th, when all the workers had yielded they again urged their claims to increased wages, and affirmed that they would be satisfied with a minimum wage of one florin a day. (2)

Several partial and unsuccessful strikes took place between July 22nd and 25th, e.g. (1) among stonecutters at the royal palace in Buda, when a demand was made for 4 florins as a minimum day's wage, whereas 1 florin 50 was given them, (2) among bricklayers in Agram, (3) among miners in Tokod near Estzergom. In the last two cases mentioned no details are given.

On August 28th, 58 workmen in the machinery workshops of the Hungarian State railways left work "on account of the unjust dismissal of a fellow-worker." The Director then issued a circular list (black list), which was sent to other employers with a view to preventing the strikers from obtaining employment. On September 20th a meeting was held by these men to protest against the use of the black list. On September 30th the list was withdrawn by the Director.

The successful strike of the tinsmiths in Sopron was short. The demand for the reduction of hours from

12 to 10 was presented on October 18th, and the point was carried on the 21st. (1)

The serious labour disturbances which began in various districts of the Alföld, but particularly in the neighbourhood of Hod Mezö Varsarhely, about April 22nd (1894), tend to show that Hungary in spite of its comparative immunity from labour struggles in the past has now to face an agrarian socialism of a somewhat violent character. The affiliation of the local agricultural organisation, of considerable numbers, with the International Social Democratic party at Budapest shows the spread of foreign socialist influences. The disturbances have occurred it is said only in the districts of the large entailed estates. The current events may be studied in the light of the information as to land tenure gathered together in the section on agricultural (*infra* pp. 173-9). (2)

3. PREVENTION OR SETTLEMENT OF STRIKES.

The sections on Industrial legislation, organisations and strikes will already have made clear the fact that the main preventatives of strikes in Hungary until quite recently have been on the one hand the ready co-operation of administrative authorities with employers in the repression of all combinations (as defined by the industrial law) likely to lead to collision and resistance among workmen, on the other hand the natural obstacles to spontaneous organisation on the part of the workmen. These obstacles arise partly out of moral and social conditions, partly out of the racial and linguistic divisions which have already been indicated.

In respect of settlement of strikes, as distinct from authoritative repression of them, the situation is expressed in few words. Apart from small industries there is practically no provision for any institution with such an end in view, for the need has hardly yet been felt. Isolated attempts have been observed among workmen's unions in the course of 1893, to provide means of arbitration or conciliation in case of industrial disputes. But in the existing state of public opinion these are not likely to meet with any immediate recognition.

The Committees of Conciliation established in connection with guilds have been referred to. It should now be remarked that these are not primarily concerned with collective disputes, but like the councils of experts (*prud'hommes*) in France, were established for the settlement of individual disputes between employers and employed in small industries. Under the industrial law the guilds are bound to establish these committees which are to adjudicate in case of disputes, and which are composed of an equal number of masters and men. The masters on the general committee of the guild are *ex-officio* members of the conciliation committee while delegates from the men are selected at a general meeting over which the industrial authority presides. The committee in case of a dispute is first called upon to settle it in a conciliatory manner. "Should this not succeed, the question is put to the vote, and in case of equality of votes the president (the industrial authority) gives the casting one. The party who is not satisfied with the decision may appeal within eight days by the ordinary legal procedure." The statutes governing the committee of conciliation are drawn up by the delegates at a special meeting convoked and presided over by a representative of the industrial authorities, and are submitted to the Minister of Commerce for approval. The right to depose the directorate of the guild, and to cause the re-election of a new one as well as to dissolve the guild, is reserved to the industrial authorities under the Minister of Commerce.

The committees can summon witnesses, undertake investigations on the spot, and so on. They have no jurisdiction in cases of minor criminal offences, their sphere being of a purely civil character.

From the provisions of the law it is evident that the committees of conciliation are capable of application to collective disputes, but in this sense, according to Dr. Mandello, they are seldom appealed to. Still their operation has given satisfaction on the whole, and at present 250 such committees have been established in industrial guilds. Their work in the district of the Budapest Chamber of Commerce during 1891 to 1892, may be seen by reference to the table given above (p. 162). No guild in that district is without a con-

(a.) Obstacles to organisation of strikes.

(b.) Guild committees for settlement of individual differences.

Colliers' strike at Pecs in June.

(1) "Arbeiter-Zeitung." Organ der Oesterr. Sozial Demokratie, June 16th, 1893.

(2) Dr. Mandello's Report. "Arbeiter-Zeitung" cited.

(1) Dr. Mandello's Report. Cf. "Die Arbeiter-Presse." Bericht an den Internationalen Sozialistischen Congress, 1893, in Zürich, August 11th, 18th, 1893.

(2) Times, Standard and Daily Chronicle, April 30th.

ciliation committee. The following table for the same district is supplied by Dr. Mandello :—

TABLE III, SHOWING DIFFERENCES SETTLED BY BUDAPEST GUILDS.

	By Con- ciliation.	By Arbi- tration.	In Law Courts.	Total.
Gold Workers - - -	7	13	—	20
Cabinet Makers - - -	104	99	13	286
Shoemakers - - -	25	54	—	79
Builders - - -	69	181	—	250
Tailors - - -	63	181	—	247
Ropemakers - - -	5	5	—	10
Turners - - -	—	4	—	4
Carpet Makers - - -	12	14	2	28
Chimney Sweepers - - -	10	10	3	40
Looksmiths - - -	4	01	3	68
Butchers - - -	24	30	—	63
Watchmakers - - -	8	4	—	10
Bakers - - -	40	0	38	85
Wheelwrights - - -	3	3	—	6
Furriers - - -	39	6	—	45
The Moor Guild - - -	9	6	—	15
The Székesfehérvár Guild - - -	66	22	—	88
The County of Pest Guilds - - -	36	148	11	195

According to the Report of the Minister of Commerce, published in 1893, the latter intends to create boards of conciliation before long in connection with factory industries. No criticism of the scheme is possible until a bill is introduced.⁽¹⁾

DIVISION II.—CONDITIONS OF LABOUR IN THE CHIEF GROUPS OF INDUSTRIES.

A.—MINING AND ALLIED INDUSTRIES.

Legis-
pon.

The legal position of miners is not affected by the Industrial Law of 1884 nor, generally speaking, by the laws relating to day labourers, servants, and agricultural labour. The general mining law of Austria, which was codified in 1854, and which still applies in Hungary with certain subsequent modifications, not only gave a special position to miners' mutual aid societies, but also laid down certain special provisions for the security of miners (section 171). Among the necessary safety regulations are (a) the careful fencing in of surface pits (*Tagebau*) to prevent people and animals from

falling in; (b) the setting in a condition of safety of insecure walls of underground works (*Grubenbau*); (c) building of proper woodwork supports for transport over 13 metres deep, and attention to the ways, cages, ladders, steps; (d) daily inspection and testing of gear and driving machines; (e) prohibition of use of all tools dangerous to the safety of the workmen; (f) special attention to parts of the mines subject to fire, and ready use of safety appliances and fire engines; (g) precautions against firedamp by means of proper ventilation, and employment of safety lamps.

The relation of the mineowners to the miners is regulated by paragraph 200. This provides that the management, superintendence, and working staff shall be regulated in each mine by special service regulations (*Dienstordnung*) which shall be posted up in each place of work.

The regulations must provide for the employment of (*Dienstverrichtung*) of the different classes of workers and foremen, the employment of women and children with special consideration of their physical strength, and the education required by law for the latter; the relations between workmen and foremen; the hours of labour; conduct during and after work; the customary arrangements as to notice of termination of work; and in case of illness or accident; fines and penalties for infringement of rules; finally, the cases under which the contract may be immediately broken off.

The mining law also provides for a certificate for each miner leaving a mine, without which he cannot be engaged in another. In consequence of the general right of supervision exercised by the mining authorities (*Bergwerksbehörden*) the rules for workers in the mines are also controlled by them. It is also the duty of the mining authorities to inspect the mines from time to time in the interests of the health and safety of the miners, and with special reference to the provisions of the law, finally to issue all police regulations which assist in the prevention of bad conditions.

The settlement of the legal relation between the mineowner and the workman is arrived at by private agreement, but the mining authorities exercise a control in the matter through their duty of examining the written agreement, the validity of which has to be certified by them for use in case of litigation.⁽¹⁾

A general indication has already been given of the proportionate value and volume of production of mineral wealth in Hungary (*supra*, p. 155). There are six great mining districts in Hungary and one in Croatia-Slavonia. The total number of private owners of mines is 1,220, and their workings extend in all (including every kind of mineral produced, and surface, as well as deep workings), to 405,809,338 metres, while the various state workings amount to 85,566,806 metres. As the underground workings are the most important the following figures (for 1889) showing the great districts for the different species of mines are of interest.⁽²⁾

(ii.) Extent
of mining.

(1) F. O. Report Misc. Ser., No. 238, 1892, pp. 8, 9. Dr. Mandello's Report. Bericht der Handels und Gewerbe kammer in Buda Pest. 1892, p. 46.

(1) Dr. Mandello's Report. Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, pp. 200-2.

(2) Statistisches Jahrbuch für Ungarn, Vol. IV., 1890, pp. 2-4.

TABLE IV.—REVIEW OF DEEP MINING CONCESSIONS in the end of 1889 [in Metres].

District.	Gold, Silver and Copper.		Ironstone.		Coal.		Other Minerals.		Together.	
	State.	Private.	State.	Private.	State.	Private.	State.	Private.	State.	Private.
HUNGARY.										
1. Borszarcsébánya - - -	33,961,839	17,069,068	1,004,127	1,454,713	1,764,007	23,953,226	1,360,368	1,379,981	33,016,921	40,356,968
2. Budapest - - -	—	1,365,639	3,265,153	2,169,633	9,334,811	62,204,198	—	1,082,793	12,649,363	69,822,262
3. Nagybánya - - -	8,824,015	12,144,278	205,920	4,939,608	—	46,110	—	6,742,179	9,030,535	23,891,172
4. Orovcza - - -	—	5,371,927	—	17,372,470	766,979	56,871,351	—	9,605,334	766,979	89,121,032
5. Szepes-Iglo - - -	720,470	8,489,140	1,972,905	52,136,718	—	721,862	—	4,084,117	2,693,381	65,371,846
6. Zalatna - - -	1,641,378	18,931,689	1,036,013	4,369,560	16,644,205	81,241,469	631,029	869,620	20,552,834	104,562,277
Total - - -	45,048,298	62,311,749	8,083,716	82,462,649	23,500,002	233,037,212	2,017,987	24,254,017	82,710,003	402,065,627
CROATIA-SLAVONIA.										
1. Zagrab (Agram) - - -	—	—	—	11,165,048	—	104,732,082	—	3,925,128	—	119,722,258
Together - - -	45,048,298	62,311,749	8,083,716	93,627,697	23,500,002	337,769,294	2,017,987	28,179,145	83,710,003	621,787,879
In 1888 - - -	45,048,298	60,401,296	8,083,716	93,030,520	23,500,002	340,546,103	2,017,987	27,998,691	83,710,003	622,570,530
„ 1887 - - -	45,997,832	55,847,331	7,816,336	89,812,008	23,500,002	345,740,465	2,017,987	27,882,523	84,332,227	619,283,373

(iii.) Numbers employed.

The total numbers of men, women and children employed during 1889 in these main districts may be seen in the following table⁽¹⁾ :—

TABLE V.—NUMBERS EMPLOYED IN STATE AND PRIVATE MINES.

	State Mines.	Private Mines.	Total.
HUNGARY.			
1. Beszterezbanya -	3,656	4,591	8,247
2. Budapest -	384	7,091	7,475
3. Nagybanya -	1,960	3,650	5,610
4. Oravicza -	-	8,748	8,748
5. Szepes-Iglo -	917	4,585	5,502
6. Zalatna -	2,499	9,569	12,068
Total -	9,416	38,234	47,650
CROATIA-SLAVONIA.			
1. Zagrab (Agram) -	-	523	523
In 1888 -	9,416	38,757	48,173
" 1887 -	9,884	35,273	44,607
" 1887 -	10,753	33,293	44,046

(1) Statistisches Jahrbuch cited, pp. 12-13.

The numbers of men, women and children employed in 1889 were respectively 41,301; 1,249; 5,623.

These figures should be compared with those supplied by Dr. Mandello in 1894. His table, which is drawn from the Factory Inspector's Report, 1887, gives the details for the different classes of mines without respect to ownership, and also supplies particulars as to the ages of children employed and as to the length of the contract. It is probably safest not to compare the totals with those given above, but only to consider the table from the point of view of percentages and relative numbers of the different classes of workers. More than three-quarters of the workmen are permanently employed. Of the total Dr. Mandello says that 79 per cent. are employed in private mines and 21 per cent. in State mines.

TABLE VI.—DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED IN MINES.

	Permanent Workers.						Temporary Workers.					
	Men.	Children.			Women.	Total.	Men.	Children.			Women.	Total.
		14 to 16.	12 to 14.	Under 12.				14 to 16.	12 to 14.	Under 12.		
Metallic mines -	10,403	845	164	2	171	11,589	1,953	742	281	3	114	3,098
Iron mines -	3,969	435	49	4	104	4,558	903	156	24	-	79	1,192
Coal mines -	10,545	1,031	59	-	167	11,802	2,055	973	117	-	154	3,299
Metal smelting works -	912	66	11	-	15	1,004	176	74	9	-	9	268
Iron smelting works -	1,440	195	83	-	10	1,678	1,524	158	36	-	174	1,886
Total -	27,271	2,571	316	6	467	30,631	6,611	2,127	467	3	530	9,738
Together -							33,882	4,698	783	9	997	40,369
Per-centage							84.5%	11.5%	1.7%	.02%	2.28%	-

(iv.) General state of labour market.

Before proceeding to give detailed tables as to wages, hours, and other conditions of the workers it will be well to consider the view of the labour problem in the mining industry as presented by the reports of the Budapest Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

In many cases the undertakings cannot be worked to anything like their full extent through the scarcity of suitable workers. The only true remedy for this is to attract the untrained labour forces of the country, and by a wise "outlay of capital and patience" to build up a trained staff of miners. Many serious attempts have been made in this direction; recruits have been brought from various poor districts whose inhabitants are reputed as sober and industrious, in some cases with successful results. "These labourers who sometimes have hardly sufficient dry bread as their chief food in their own country are brought to the undertaking, where they are maintained free of board and lodging, given their training, and guaranteed a minimum wage of 1 fl. to 1 fl. 20 per shift." The proportion of successful results was not very great. "In spite of the most attentive and careful treatment of the officials, even before beginning work, nearly 50 per cent. of the recruits were frightened by the sight of the 'black hole,' and their disappearance was followed by that of another 30 per cent. after from eight to ten days' experience of the work. Only about 20 per cent. remained steadily at work."⁽¹⁾ The difficulty of

obtaining a full working staff for the mines is the more striking, since there is hardly any industry in the country where the wages remain at so high a level, and where provident and other funds in favour of the workmen are so fully organised and recognised.

At the same time a stream of emigration of labour to America and other parts of the world is going on, and the belief is expressed in the report cited that the migrating workers could find conditions of labour in the home mines, at least as good as anything they find in America. The statement is supported by the fact that "the miners from the Lipto and Zolyom counties, who spend between eight and ten months of the year in the collieries of the Nograd county, return home with larger savings to their families than those sent or brought back by workers who have emigrated to America." The tendency to emigrate is partly traced to the "lying representations" of emigration agents, partly to a spirit of adventure. It is expected that the operation of new provisions in the mining law for the establishment of "free coal" and compulsory insurance will improve the situation. Possibly this abnormal condition of the labour market is answerable to a great extent for the fact that strikes among the miners are practically unknown. The mining companies are in no position to admit of allowing any difference with their workmen to develop into a strike. "In all the larger collieries on the least sign of discontent, any proposal of the miners, even if only partly reasonable, is met with consideration. Thus, in the course of 1890, important improvements in the matters of dwellings, allotments, supply of provi-

(v.) Emigration.

(1) Bericht der Handels und Gewerbe-Kammer in Buda Pesth, 801, pp. 74-5.

" sions, and in the state of the relief and pension funds " led to a real rise in wages of labour." (1)

Wages. Wages in general are lower in metallic mines than in coal mines, and this may be explained by the fact that the metallic mines are undertakings which have been carried on for centuries, and accordingly lie near populous districts where cheap, trained labour is more easily found, while the coal industry has only lately and suddenly arisen in uninhabited districts, and demands a large skilled staff which is employed mainly by contract.

The following Tables VII. A.—F. (2) show the daily rates of wages.

A.—In the district of the office of the Director of Mines, Besztereczbanya :—

County.	Men.	Children.	Women.
Hont	70 kr.—80 kr.	Kr. 30—40	Kr. 40
Liptó	50 kr.—1 fl.	20	35
Bors	35 kr.—70 kr.	20—25	30
Eolyom	60 kr.—80 kr.	30	50
Pozsony	60 kr.—1 fl. 10 kr.	—	40—60
Nograd	80 kr.—1 fl. 50 kr.	40—80	45—50
Nyitra	90 kr.	—	—

B.—In the district Budapest :—

County.	Men.	Children.	Women.
Borsod	60 kr.—1 fl. 80 kr.	Kr. 50	Kr. 40—50
Post	1 fl. 20 kr.	40	—
Besztergom	80 kr.—1 fl. 40 kr.	45	35—50
Komárom	—65 kr.	—	—
Heves	70 kr.—1 fl. 30 kr.	30	—
Veszprem	70 kr.—1 fl.	40—50	—50
Vas	80 kr.—1 fl. 10 kr.	50	—20
Zala	80 kr.	—	—
Sopron	1 fl. 20 kr.—1 fl. 30 kr.	50	—45
Barnanya	20 kr.—1 fl. 30 kr.	50	—45
Tolna	60 kr.—80 kr.	60	—

C.—In the district Nagybanya :—

County.	Men.	Children.	Women.
Szatmar	50 kr.—60 kr.	Kr. 25—40	Kr. 20—30
Szilagy	1 fl.—20 kr.	—	—
Marmaros	60 kr.—1 fl.	—	50
Bereg	40 kr.—80 kr.	—	30
Bihar	40 kr.—60 kr.	—	30
Arad	50 kr.—60 kr.	35	15—30

D.—In the district of Szepes-Iglo :—

County.	Men.	Children.	Women.
Szepes	50 kr.—1 fl. 20 kr.	Kr. 30—50	Kr. 20—40
Abauj-Torna	60 kr.—1 fl.	30—40	20—40
Zemplen	30 kr.	—	—
Gömör	80 kr.—1 fl. 20 kr.	30—40	20—30

E.—In the district Zalatna :—

County.	Men.	Children.	Women.
Also-feher	40 kr.—1 fl.	Kr. 35—45	Kr. 32—40
Hunyad	40 kr.—1 fl. 50 kr.	30—40	30—50
Torda	60 kr.—80 kr.	30	—
Koloss	50 kr.—1 fl.	—	—
Besterecze, Naszod	54 kr.—62 kr.	—	25—30
Szolnok-Doboka	95 kr.—1 fl. 20 kr.	—	35—40
Csik	—1 fl.	—	—
Udvarhely	60 kr.—80 kr.	40	25—40
Haromszek	60 kr.—80 kr.	40	25
Brasso	1 fl.—20 kr.	—	40

F.—In the district Zagrab :—

County.	Men.	Children.	Women.
Zagrab	60 kr.—1 fl.	Kr. 10	Kr. 50
Modrus-fiume	55 kr.—1 fl. 30 kr.	—	—
Varasd	80 kr.—1 fl. 20 kr.	40—45	—
Belovar	70 kr.—1 fl. 15 kr.	60	—
Pozsega	80 kr.	—	—
Szerem	1 fl.—1 fl. 20 kr.	45	—

The average rates of wages given (for 1889) in the Statistical Year Book are as follows :—

TABLE VIII.

	Men.		Women.		Children.	
	High-est.	Low-est.	High-est.	Low-est.	High-est.	Low-est.
Hungary	fl. kr. 1'60	kr. 34	kr. 75	kr. 24	kr. 65	kr. 10
Croatia-Slavonia	1'50	40	60	40	50	50
Average for 1888	1'80	25	80	20	90	10
Average for 1887	1'83	20	60	18	55	10

In relation to the hours of labour the following are the details supplied by Dr. Mandello :— (vii.) Hours.

In metallic mines, and particularly the State mines, and private mines in the neighbourhood of State mines, work is done in eight-hour shifts. In large mines there are three shifts, the first beginning at 4 a.m. and ending 12 noon, the second from 12 till 8 p.m., and the third from 8 p.m. until 4 a.m. In small mines night-work disappears, and in the smallest the afternoon work is dropped. Above ground in these mines the day's labour is from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., with a two hours' rest. The hours are the same in the ore works, with the difference that in the large works there is a night shift from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. In the mining district of Felso Banya the day's work is 8 to 10 o'clock in private undertakings. In the districts of Szepes-Iglo it is the custom to work a 48-hour week, i.e., workers come from surrounding villages and work from mid-day on Monday until Friday morning, changing shifts every six hours. There are, of course, exceptions. (a.) Metallic mines.

In coal mines the day's labour usually lasts both underground and at the surface from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., and from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. In the Pecs Mine belonging to the Danube Steamship Company the hours are from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m., from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m., and from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. At the surface where there is no night work the hours are 6 a.m. to 4 p.m. In the Brennberg mines the shifts are 6 a.m. to 4 p.m. and 6 p.m. to 4 a.m. In the mines belonging to the Austro-Hungarian State Railway Company the hours are eight underground and twelve at the surface. In the iron (b.) Coal mines.

(1) Bericht der Handels und Gewerkekammer in Buda Pesth, 1891, pp. 74-5.

(2) Supplied by Dr. Mandello.

ore works and iron mines the hours are 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. and 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. Wages are paid either fortnightly or monthly, the latter being preferred in the big undertakings. Special terms are to be found in some mines, e.g., the wage may be reckoned monthly and paid on 12 fixed days in the year, or the payment may be on the third Sunday after completion of the contract. In many cases, as for instance at the Rima-Murany and Salgo-Tarjan iron and coal mines, the payment is made from 15 to 20 days, according to agreement.

The following table shows the number of accidents reported from the mining industry in Hungary proper in 1889:—

TABLE IX.

ACCIDENTS IN MINING INDUSTRY IN 1889.—HUNGARY.(¹)

District.	Slight.		Serious.		Fatal.		Totals.		
	State Mines.	Private Mines.	State Mines.	Private Mines.	State Mines.	Private Mines.	State Mines.	Private Mines.	Total.
Besterczebanya .	11	167	9	40	1	20	21	236	257
Budapest . . .	1	4	1	14	2	6	4	24	28
Nagybanya . . .	4	2	2	6	1	2	14	10	24
Oravicza . . .	—	126	—	42	—	16	—	184	184
Szepes Iglo . . .	9	1	4	1	—	—	13	2	15
Zalatna . . .	—	1	2	6	1	7	3	14	17
Totals . . .	25	301	25	118	5	51	55	470	525
Total numbers employed . . .							9,416	38,234	47,650

The actual numbers of accidents in state and private mines respectively in separate districts, must be compared with the numbers employed, given in the preceding tables. The figures for Croatia-Slavonia are so small that the statistics are probably incomplete; only six were reported for 1889. The total number of accidents for the whole kingdom in 1888 were 361, and in 1887 596. The following details are supplied by Dr. Mandello:—

The workmen are provided with medicine and medical aid through the friendly societies, but where these do not exist, according to section 219 of the mining law, sick or injured workmen receive at least so much help from the mine owner as is afforded by the general law of 1876, which regulates the relations of employer to workmen. In Article 3 of this law it is determined that the employer must provide one month's complete treatment for any servant who has fallen ill without his own fault; if the illness has occurred through the fault of the employer the obligation extends until the workman has been completely restored to health and at the same time the full wage must be paid.

In small mines the workmen are provided with tools and materials gratis, in the larger mines the tools are provided but the workmen pay a small hire for them. Lamps are provided for the workmen at their own cost and the amount is deducted from their wages. The object of this arrangement is to secure economy in materials and instruments.

In the matter of dwellings a distinction must be made between the older copper mines and the coal mines of later date. As has already been mentioned the copper mines are generally in the neighbourhood of peopled districts, accordingly communities have long since arisen in the centre of copper mine workings, whence workmen are drawn for the industry who thus have their houses there so that the employers do not have to consider the question of dwellings for them. In the larger mines and also in the great copper mines of latest date the case is rather different, and because they have developed generally in sparsely peopled districts and practised workmen must be drawn from a distance, it becomes a necessity for the employers to provide them with dwellings. The Northern Hungarian Collieries Company charges one florin per month per family, for house room. The Andreas Messa mine in Nagy-Kurtos charges 10-12 florins a year for the same. The Danube Steamship Company in Pecs has a colony of 1,206 houses for which,

according to size, 1½ to 5 florins are paid monthly. The Colliery and Brick-kiln Joint Stock Company in Doreg provide free dwellings for their workmen; deduction is only made for bedding in the bed rooms. In the Brennberg mines the workmen pay from 50 kr. to 2 florins monthly for dwellings. The Victoria Joint Stock Company in Varalya charges 2·50 florins, while at the mines in Agka the same company provides free dwellings. At the copper works and blast furnaces of the Austro-Hungarian State Railway Company the workers pay 1 to 3 florins monthly, under the Nadrag Iron Industry Company 8 to 16 florins yearly, at the Brasso Mines and Furnace Union 1 florin monthly. In the State mines in Arany-Itka the workmen have their own houses. At the mines of the Count Emanuel Andrássy 20 families have free dwellings, and the miners are treated similarly in the mines of the Archduke Albert in the county Szeged in the mines of the Porais-Kotterbach Szeutelek Mining Company, in the iron factory of the Duke of Coburg, &c. In addition to monthly wages the workers in the Vitkovitzer Iron Works receive free dwellings. In the Twelve Apostles mines at Ruda, dwellings are 2 gulden monthly, in the Petroszen mines of the Brasso society the charges are 1·20 fl. for two rooms and a kitchen, or 1 fl. for a room above ground, and 50 kreuzer for a ground floor room. In the State iron mines in Gyalar the workmen are in barracks and pay one florin monthly per family. At Tilk the blast furnacemen pay 3 florins a month for a kitchen and bedroom. The workmen do not receive board gratis anywhere, but an exception might be mentioned at the Tagovar and O'Radna State Copper Mines, where bacon is given gratis as an antidote to arsenical poisoning during work.(²)

The workers obtain their provisions at the market or have consumers' unions of their own, or are helped to procure their provisions at cost price in stores started by the employers. There are also cases where the workmen can obtain credit for provisions with private shopkeepers through their employers by submitting to a certain deduction from their wages. Provision stores and consumers' unions are found in connexion with most of the State mines, e.g., in the neighbourhood of Selmezz, where the workmen can procure meal, and in Körmöczbana where they can procure wheat and maize at wholesale prices. In Nagybanya they have a consumers' union where corn, salt, bacon, lard, sugar, coffee, rice, and the like are procurable, similarly at Nagyag and O'Radna. In Brezova, Diös-Györ, Tiszoloz, Bogalida and Gyalar, and also in connexion with most State iron works and blast furnaces there are general consumers unions.

The North Hungarian United Collieries, the Rima-Murany and Salgo-Tarjan Collieries, the Collieries and Brick-kiln Joint Stock Company, both in Baranya and the county Esztergom, the Austro-Hungarian State Railway Company in Krasso-Szoreny, the Brasso Mining and Blast Furnace Company in Rusics and Petroszen, the State Mining Company in Arany-Itka, and others all supply provisions at cost price.

In the administration of these corn and provision stores the workmen have a certain influence, for though they are controlled by an employer they are managed by a committee elected by the workmen. The system of giving credit is customary in Pecs (*Fünflircher*) under the Colliery and Engineering Joint Stock Company as well as at certain other mines. (cf. infra p. 189.)

Fuel is only given in a few coal mines and very seldom gratis, generally at a reduced rate. A large number of the employers supply wood at a very cheap rate to the workmen. In many establishments the fuel is counted in with the cost of the dwelling, or is paid for separately by a small deduction from wages.

Most of the mining undertakings provide their workmen with the use of plots of land at a rather low rate. This is only the case with the coal mines, and the reason is to be sought in the fact that in Hungary the coal is the property of the proprietor of the land, and that usually the working of the mine goes hand in hand with the working of the surface. Sir Arthur Nicholson states that the rent of gardening plots varies from 3s. 4d. to 10s. a joch (1½ acre.)(³)

The instruction of the children of the miners is generally carried out in schools which are maintained by the employers. Where these do not exist, the children must go to the nearest state, communal, or

(viii.) Accidents.

Relief in case of sickness and injury.

Supply of tools.

(ix.) Dwellings.

(x.) Consumers' unions and employers provision stores.

(xi.) Fuel, allotments, education of children, &c.

(¹) Statistisches Jahrbuch, Heft IV., 1889, pp. 13 and 15.

(²) Cf. also F. O. Report, Misc. Ser., No. 238, 1892, p. 35.

(³) F. O. Report cited, p. 33.

sectarian school. The following all support their own schools: the Rima Murany, Troupuines, and the Salgo-Tarjan coal mines, the North Hungarian United Mines, the Etleser mines, the Danube Steamship Company's mines, the Dios-Győr, the Dorg, the Brennberg Agka, Rudabanya, the Nagybanja mines, the mines of the Austro-Hungarian State Railway Company in Anina and several other mines. Where there are national schools there are also nearly always Sunday classes. There are very few infant schools as yet, such as those at Nagybanja and Besicza.⁽¹⁾ At Sehnerbanya, Felsőbanya, Nagyag, the chief centres of the State mines there are schools for the higher education of the miners. Nearly all the mines have rooms where the workmen can warm themselves and leave their tools.

(i.) Deductions.

Deductions from wages are usually as follows: 4 to 6 per cent. for the subscriptions to the friendly societies, sums for tools and materials according to varying tariffs, for provisions and clothing from the Consumer's Unions or provision stores, for dwellings and hire of land. Further, deductions are made for advances from the mutual aid societies for disciplinary fines, for state and communal taxes, for various duties for uniform and contributions to musical funds.⁽²⁾

Sir Arthur Nicholson says that the stoppages for tools amount in the State mines to 1½ kreuzer a day (5 kreuzer = 1d.). In one enterprise they amount to 2 per cent. of the wages. One mine deducts 4d. to 6d. a month for tools and blasting material, and the State mines deduct a penny a day for light and safety lamps.⁽³⁾

B. AGRICULTURE.

(i.) Preliminary remarks.

The agricultural question in Hungary is most interesting in many aspects, and not only because of the prominent economic position held by agriculture as the largest among the industries of the country. It presents striking problems which arise partly from the state of land tenure in general, partly from the changing methods of cultivation which show in parts a tendency to pass from "extensive" to "intensive" culture, partly from the depressed condition of the peasant proprietor, who in many districts is one with the general body of the agricultural proletariat, partly from the condition of the agricultural labourer who is broadly divided into two classes of permanent and casual labourers in a way hardly paralleled elsewhere.⁽⁴⁾ In relation to the existing condition of peasant proprietorship, Dr. Hirsch says, "The different views lead to but one conclusion, that it is as bad as possible, that the peasant holdings are loaded with debt and are growing into an ever closer dependence on capitalists. The sinking of the peasant proprietors into the position of an agricultural proletariat, and the growing emigration as a necessary consequence of this situation grows clearer day by day." The statistics as to transfer of properties in consequence of legal proceedings illustrate this point, the number of judgments executed grows, says Dr. Hirsch, every year. This, according to M. Vautier's estimate, would be an overstatement (*see infra* p. 174).

(ii.) Legislation.

The causes of this condition of things will be analysed presently, it is here important to point out that as yet there is no "organic law on agriculture" for Hungary, and that in the opinion of Dr. Hirsch, the unfavourable conditions of land tenure can only be improved by sound legislation. "So long as the sub-division of peasant properties and the increase of large properties (*latifundien*) and of untransferable properties, especially of entailed properties, is allowed to increase, and so long as middle-sized properties do not increase in number, so long will development be at a standstill."⁽⁵⁾

An Agricultural Bill has been in preparation for some time and is about to be considered by the Chamber of Deputies, but no progress has as yet been made. This bill aims at regulating the use of common pasture, at organising stock breeding by districts, at establishing a method of delimitation for properties, at arranging for the institution of communal nurseries (*pepinières*), at instituting (1) a council of agriculture in each county composed of members elected by those concerned, at the rate of two for each district; (2) a

national council presided over by the Minister of Agriculture; at establishing a regular service of rural police and fixing fines and indemnities in case of contravention.⁽⁶⁾ The question of "colonisation" of the country in connexion with the condition of the peasantry has recently been considered by legislators, and a draft Bill was presented to Parliament on April 25, 1893, whereby it is hoped by the promoters that emigration may be checked, and growth of population may be established without increasing the agricultural proletariat. The full bearing of the provisions can only be grasped after the full consequences of the scanty supply of field labourers, and sparse distribution of population and settlements in wide districts are understood, and a translation of the important provisions is given below (p. 178-9.) A brief survey of the origin of the existing situation is first necessary.

(iii.) Historical origin of peasant proprietorship.

It is partly, says Dr. Hirsch, the conservative tendency of the large landowners, partly the dread of reform shown by the peasantry which has hitherto prevented progress in agricultural matters in Hungary. The history of Hungary affords only a single instance of an uprising of discontented peasantry against the nobles; this was in 1514 and the consequences were a strong repression and imposition of heavier burdens. Free migration was prohibited and the peasants became and, according to Dr. Hirsch, remained serfs (*leibeigene*) until 1848 when the right of life and death (*jus gladii*) of the nobles over them was finally abolished; this account should be taken together with that of Mr. Patterson who shows, as will be seen presently, that whatever the theoretical claims of the nobles may have been, the peasantry had acquired certain rights over the land through various causes, but particularly through the Government claims on the land and jealousy towards the nobles. The great changes of 1848 which were perhaps most striking in political life, were certainly also remarkable and extended in the agricultural sphere, but the final abolition of privilege in acquisition and free disposition of landed property must not be considered as wholly sudden or violent. The very privilege of the nobles in exemption from taxation gave the Government a special interest in the condition of the tax-paying classes or peasants settled on "non-noble" land. Noble land was not necessarily occupied by nobles; they often let it out in allotments to peasant tenants called *contractualists* or *curialists* to distinguish them from older tenants called *jobbagnones* or, after the survey of Maria Theresa in 1767-73 (*Urbarium*) *urbarialists*. Both classes of tenants had certain rights and it would be a mistake to consider the dues paid by the latter to the noble landlord as simply feudal dues. The forced labour (*robot*) and payments in money and kind were determined by "immemorial custom," and although, while the contractualist paid only a capitation tax the urbarialist had to pay both a capitation and a land-tax, yet the latter gained through the anxiety of the Government to keep up the numbers of tax payers and the area of taxable land. The government regarded with extreme suspicion the conduct of the lord towards his peasantry. He was not allowed to evict them except for certain definite reasons set down in the law. These copyholds were hereditary and should the copyholding family die out or be evicted, the lord was not allowed to occupy the holding but was obliged to give it to another non-noble tenant. These holdings or *sessions* were fixed as to extent in given districts although they were larger in some districts than in others. The *sessio*, as it was called, varied, according to Mr. Patterson, from 16 to 40 *joch* (one *joch*=1½ acre) of arable land and from six to 22 *tagewerke* of meadow, or, according to Dr. Hirsch, is 58 Hungarian *joch*. A peasant might, under certain conditions carefully regulated, hold from a quarter up to four sessions. If a landlord could not find a tenant for a vacant quarter of a session he sometimes obtained permission from the authorities to break it up into smaller allotments assigned to cottagers (*szellerelek*) of which there are many at the present time in Hungary.

In 1848 these "copyhold" farms were transformed by the Hungarian liberals into freehold estates, but even before this date many landlords had enabled their tenants "to buy their freedom at a moderate price," thus preparing the public mind for general measures of emancipation. The position of the *contractualists* was different from that of the *urbarialists*, and it was mainly due to the troubled times that followed the Reform Bill of 1848, that a confusion arose between the two forms of tenure, a confusion which tended to

(1) This statement is probably only meant to apply to the mines. The Statistical Year Book for 1891 shows that in the kingdom there were in all 729 infant schools of which 380 were municipal or State, and the rest voluntary.

(2) Dr. Mandello's Report.

(3) F. O. Report cited, p. 35.

(4) Ungarn's Grundbesitzverhältnisse. Dr. A. Hirsch, 1883, pp. 46 and ff. La Hongrie Économique, pp. 202-19. Dr. Mandello's Report.

(5) Ungarn's Grundbesitzverhältnisse cited, p. 81.

(6) La Hongrie Économique, p. 182.

operate to the advantage of the peasant holder and disadvantage of the landlord. Mr. Patterson affirmed in 1869 that while there could be no doubt as to the permanent advantage to the country at large of the emancipation of the peasant lands, there could be "as little doubt that the class of noble landlords suffered severely, as the great majority of them were perfectly unprepared for the change. In the slovenly system of agriculture which was fostered in both lord and peasant by the institution of *robot* or forced labour, which formed the greater portion of the rent of these copyhold farms, the lord had not only no experience of what paying regular wages meant, but he had not even draught cattle or agricultural implements." The Government bonds bearing interest, which were given him in compensation for his losses, were thrown in large masses on the money market and sold considerably below their value. The pecuniary losses which followed through the war of Independence, subsequent defeat and enforced military service still further crippled the Hungarian landlords.⁽¹⁾

(iv.) Consequence of the "emancipation" of the peasantry.

Out of these circumstances thus briefly sketched, arose a serious agricultural crisis during which the chief difficulties to be fought were those which met the large and middle-sized properties whilst the peasants suffered comparatively little owing to their increased control of their holdings which they worked with the assistance of their families. On the other hand the large proprietors (*Latifundienbesitzer*) were able to command the credit which enabled them to tide over the period. This was not so with the smaller or middle class proprietors; suddenly bereft of the sole means known to them of cultivating their lands and unable to resort to local credit, a system of which was practically unknown in Hungary, and which indeed is even now far from being satisfactorily developed; destitute of technical knowledge, and hitherto more occupied with local politics than rural economy; engaged in a struggle with the absolutism of the Austrian Government, a large number of them soon found themselves face to face with ruin. Exact statistics are lacking during the first part of this period for the relative position of the various properties, but there is no doubt that from this time a process of transfer set in, which is not yet concluded, whereby the largest and the smallest holdings have increased at the expense of the middle class holdings. Cadastral surveys were undertaken in 1867 and 1885, and the latter showed the following percentages in extent of private properties:—

(v.) Cadastral surveys.

TABLE XA.

	Per Cent.
Small peasant holding up to 35 joch	33·21
Small middle-class holdings from 35 to 200 joch	15·11
Middle-class holdings from 200 to 1,000 joch	12·51
Estates from 1,000 to 10,000 joch	30·17
Large properties (<i>Latifundien</i>) over 10,000 joch	9·00

The earlier survey showed:—

TABLE XB.

	Per Cent.
Small peasant holdings up to 30 joch	32·25
Small middle-class holdings from 30 to 200 joch	14·46
Middle-class holdings from 300 to 1,000 joch	14·29
Estates from 1,000 to 10,000 joch	30·56
Large properties over 10,000 joch	8·44

M. Vautier shows that the total number of properties in Hungary, which are 2,500,000 are owned in the following proportions:—

TABLE XC.

	Per Cent.
Properties below 5 joch	58·12
" from 5 to 15 joch	25·87
" " 15 to 30 joch	10·48
" " 30 to 50 joch	3·13
" " 50 to 100 joch	1·21
" " 100 to 200 joch	·45
" " 200 to 500 joch	·37
" " 500 to 1,000 joch	·18
" " 1,000 to 3,000 joch	·13
" " 3,000 to 5,000 joch	·03
" " 5,000 to 10,000 joch	·02
" of over 10,000 joch	·01

Thus 98·81 per cent. of the proprietors have holdings of under 100 joch. Broadly there are 2,470,000 peasant proprietors, 25,000 middle class proprietors, and 5,000 large proprietors. The lands which form the large properties are mostly indivisible and the peasant holdings in general increase at the expense of the middle class properties.⁽¹⁾

Another important factor in the agricultural situation is the extent of land which is held in such a manner as to place it absolutely out of any market, namely by the State, communes, church, institutions, or in the form of trusts (*Fidei-Kommissen*). The percentage of these lands is highest in Transylvania and lowest in the plains stretching between the Danube and Theiss rivers. Dr. Hirsch gives the following table which was drawn up in 1870:—

TABLE XD.

	Joch.	Per Cent.
State property	2,720,915	5·89
Property of institutions	385,937	·83
Town and communal property	6,327,682	13·58
Ecclesiastical property	1,288,312	2·76
Trusts	563,352	1·21
Total	11,286,198	24·22
Private	35,811,691	75·78
Total	46,597,889	100·00

In spite of the amount still inalienable the transferability of land increases year by year and registers show an increase of transfers by 42 per cent. between 1876 and 1888. Voluntary alienation by contract is the principal mode of transfer and the one which increases most. Nevertheless the changes due to decease of the proprietor are also increasing and as the mortality of the population has decreased, this fact shows that property tends to increase in subdivision. The increase in value of these properties has not been so great relatively as the increase in number, and is not more than 28 per cent. for the same period. The transfers by contract as distinct from those by decease or execution have increased only 24 per cent. in value. Real property sold by execution of judgment has diminished in value while the number of transfers has remained stationary. These facts go to prove that land is more readily divided and more easily realised. In general, landed property in Hungary is less dear than in countries further west and when properly cultivated yields a readier return; ordinarily, the

(1) The Magyars, their Country and Institutions, Vol. I. pp. 318-20. Ungarn's Grundbesitzverhältnisse, pp. 46-7. La Hongrie Économique, p. 201. Handwörterbuch der Staats-Wissenschaften, article *Bauernbesitzung*.

(1) La Hongrie Économique, pp. 201-4. Ungarn's Grundbesitzverhältnisse, pp. 1-8.

greater the extent of the property the more favourable the conditions for the buyer.⁽¹⁾

The modes of cultivation may with advantage be compared in this connexion and the following are the figures for the years 1867 and 1885 in Hungary without Croatia Slavonia.

TABLE XIa.

Mode of Cultivation.	1867.		1885.	
	Joch.	Per Cent.	Joch.	Per Cent.
Arable land - - -	16,793,195	87.38	20,270,700	48.87
Gardens - - -	?	?	602,883	1.80
Meadows - - -	6,436,409	14.33	5,167,525	11.11
Pasture - - -	7,146,882	15.91	6,447,875	13.95
Marshes - - -	208,028	.60	154,046	.33
Vineyards - - -	532,400	1.31	507,558	1.29
Forests - - -	13,685,036	30.47	12,102,318	28.35
Cultivated land - -	44,918,640	92.71	46,422,705	94.70
Uncultivated land -	3,533,107	7.29	2,597,451	5.30
Total - - -	48,451,747	100.00	49,020,166	100.00

Uncultivated land must not be here understood in quite the ordinary sense as, according to Article VII. of the law of 1875, all surfaces are included which are free from the land tax, e.g., roads, schools of forestry, public gardens.⁽²⁾

M. Vautier gives the following table for the important divisions of the country; the figures are given by him in millions of hectares (the hectare = 1.736 joch).⁽³⁾

TABLE XIb.

	Arable Land.	Prairies.	Pasturage.	Vineyards.	Forests.	Gardens.	Various.	Total.
North-West - -	1,369	240	378	69	1,007	35	135	3,233
North-East - -	1,103	266	373	17	1,355	46	190	3,748
Transylvania - -	1,550	781	778	28	2,328	86	239	5,790
Left Bank of Tisza	1,737	403	602	44	773	27	321	3,987
Banat - - -	1,681	222	525	20	641	74	130	3,302
Centre - - -	2,113	270	573	34	231	30	212	3,479
Cisdanubian Section.	2,273	357	481	130	737	55	384	4,418
Croatia Slavonia -	1,330	480	605	47	1,532	53	227	4,253
Total - - -	12,176	3,059	4,314	358	9,184	401	1,738	22,230

(1) Num-
engaged
agricult.

According to the last census 29.02 per cent. of the total population are solely concerned with agriculture, but when the figures are examined in detail it becomes clear that this estimate is not complete. Many proprietors are classed under the heads of other occupations which fill part of their time, and the census of day labourers takes no account of the enormous number of migrating labourers who work in the fields during certain periods of the year, and especially during harvest. In 1869 their number was given as 1,370,000, and it is probable that amongst the 1,245,347 persons registered in 1890 as "day labourers without precise indication" nearly 900,000 were employed in agricultural labour during the special periods which will be considered presently. Dr. Hirsch compares the following figures:⁽⁴⁾—

TABLE XII.

	Census of 1880.	Census of 1890.	
		Men.	Women.
Owners - - -	1,451,707	1,468,403	140,161
Farmers - - -	23,393	8,555	248
Officials - - -	11,925	11,700	—
Engineers - - -	—	149	—
Enginemem - - -	—	1,908	—
Permanent servants -	554,458	523,444	14,632
Permanent day labourers -	771,846	196,698	94,349
Temporary day labourers -	698,420	654,896	441,775
	4,520,671	3,551,408	

The following figures given by Dr. Mandello show the per-centage of the whole population which is engaged in production of raw material⁽¹⁾:—

TABLE XIII.

	Per cent.
Left Bank of the Danube - - -	24.75
Right " " " " - - -	25.01
Danube-Tisza District - - -	16.98
Right Bank of the Tisza - - -	22.49
Left " " " " - - -	23.32
Tisza, Maros District - - -	25.13
Transylvania - - -	27.38

It may be here stated that the vast majority of the rural population is employed in the strictly agricultural occupations, only a small number, about 22,700 individuals, being employed in forestry and about 5,000 to 6,000 in other branches such as fish culture and silk-worm culture, &c.; the so-called agricultural manufactures such as tobacco, beetroot sugar, the flour trade will be considered apart (*cf. infra*, p. 187).⁽²⁾

The methods of cultivation vary greatly according to the importance of the properties. The largest are generally administered by highly instructed agents or superintendents and capital is freely applied with a knowledge of the latest technical and scientific discoveries in a way that is not surpassed even in the most highly developed countries. "In this way the national agriculture is enriched by useful experiments." The cultivation of the middle class properties on the other hand leaves much to be desired in most districts, excepting in the western and north-western districts which are contiguous to the thickly populated districts of Austria, and where an abundant supply of labour compensates for a certain scarcity of capital and of knowledge which is often to be found in this class of proprietor. Although the case of the peasant proprietors is relatively better, it is not surprising that the progress of cultivation amongst them is slow owing to lack of capital and knowledge. The German peasants are said by M. Vautier to be the most advanced and prosperous and the Magyars follow close upon them, especially where they have the advantage of good examples of cultivation before them amongst the larger proprietors. The Serbs also cultivate the excellent holdings they generally have, with considerable intelligence and success. The Croats, Slovaks, Ruthenians, and Roumanians (Wallachs) are generally far behind the other races mentioned. The three-fields method of cultivation is dominant. A quarter of the *sessions* are cultivated in common as pasture; wheat, rye, barley, maize, and some oats are grown. Indebtedness to local usurers cripples far too many of the peasantry, and perhaps the greatest need of the country is a well-organised system of credit which would grant loans on easy terms. The conservative spirit of the peasantry will probably be for some time a hindrance to progress in this direction. "In the last five or six years something has been done here and there, e.g., in the county Pest, a loan society has been established on the

(vi.) Methods of cultivation.

(1) La Hongrie Economique, pp. 206-8.
 (2) Ungarn's Grundbesitzverhältnisse, p. 4.
 (3) La Hongrie Economique, p. 209.
 (4) Ungarn's Grundbesitzverhältnisse, p. 6.

(1) Dr. Mandello's Report and official statistics.
 (2) La Hongrie Economique, pp. 211-2.

"system of Schulze-Delitzsch, but there has been no widespread attempt at reform. . . . It is hard to induce the peasant to insure himself against loss by hail. When an unfortunate year occurs in which the harvest is partly or entirely destroyed by hail the peasant is thrown into debt for years."⁽¹⁾ It should be observed that sub-division of the land when carried to an extreme degree is more disadvantageous in a purely agricultural country than in an industrial country where cultivation of the land may be a fruitful subsidiary occupation for the proletariat. That sub-division is carried on in Hungary to a disadvantageous degree in many districts is generally understood; the following figures for the County Somogy illustrate this tendency: (one session = according to Dr. Hirsch, 58 Hungarian joch).

TABLE XIV.

	Owners of				
	1 Session.	2 Session.	3 Session.	4 Session.	Less than 4 Session.
1880	830	849	7,153	9,982	5,930
1885	797	963	4,504	11,806	11,777
Difference	-33	+114	-2,609	+1,829	+5,838

(viii.) Farmers.

It has already been seen that the last census showed a total of 8,803 farmers in Hungary. The numbers are small and showed a decrease since the previous census, but the total should be compared with those of (a) middle class proprietors, viz., about 25,000, and (b) large proprietors, viz., about 500. Statistics are wholly wanting to show the extent of land which is cultivated on this system. It is hoped that with the aid of enlightened legislation it may be so extended and established as to compensate the loss of the middle class proprietors. Hitherto leases have been short, varying from one to six years; the government is occupied with schemes for rendering lots of from 300 to 1,000 joch, accessible to farmers for leases of 25 years. *Métayage* is common in cultivation of tobacco (a state monopoly), maize and potatoes; the owner provides the seed and ploughs the land once or twice, while the *métayer* does the rest of the work; the returns are divided according to local custom.⁽²⁾

(ix.) Mode of settlement in villages, towns, &c.

The mode of settlement in the country is an important consideration as it differs considerably from that of more western countries. The so called villages are often of enormous extent according to western notions and yet contain only a comparatively small population, owing to the scattered way in which the houses are built. In the plains, a commune containing 6,000 inhabitants will often cover several hundred square kilometres. In several of the large towns the purely agricultural population forms a very considerable part as may be seen by the following figures⁽³⁾ :-

TABLE XV.

	Square kilom.	Agricultural Per-centage of Population.
Hodmezö Vasarhely	761	31.75
Kecskemet	878	23.26
Szabadka	956	23.67
Zombor	308	19.18
Verscez	197	16.66
Szeged	816	15.24
Debreczen	957	14.35
Ujvidek	159	13.27

The neighbourhood of such towns as these is surrounded by minute settlements called *tanyas*, where the cultivators of the soil take up their residence

during certain periods of the year, when their presence is constantly needed.

Hungarian law divides the various groups of human habitations into three classes: (1) villages (*faluk*), (2) market-places (*mezővárosok*) e.g., Hodmezö Vasarhely,

(3) Royal free cities (of towns marked thus R on the map facing p. 153), such as Szeged, Debreczen. The first two are only distinguished by the right of the second to hold fairs, and both are in general under tutelage of the county authorities; the boundary of a market town may be five or six hours' journey from the market-place itself. The Royal free cities are privileged burghs with territories and elected magistrates of their own. In many parts of the Alföld a traveller in a light waggon might pass through successive zones of pasture and arable land throughout a whole day between two groups of human habitation.⁽⁴⁾ On the large properties farms will be found scattered about the domain. Covered-in ricks and granaries are almost exclusively the property of the large proprietors; corn belonging to small and peasant proprietors is generally kept in covered-in pits. Agricultural machinery is only found as the property of the large proprietors, and in the richer districts among small proprietors; in the poorer communes of Transylvania and the north the wooden ploughshare is still in use. The use of steam-threshing machines is rapidly gaining ground as the middle-class proprietors find that they can hire them out to their poorer neighbours; a few cases occur where the peasants in a commune have combined to acquire certain machinery.⁽⁵⁾

It is stated by Dr. Mandello that the chief characteristic of the question of agricultural labour is seen in the fact that the work is absolutely unorganised. It is clear, however, that on the one hand a really minimum wage is paid, on the other hand, wages go up to a height at harvest-time, and that even then labourers can hardly be found at the highest wage. The settlement of the country, especially in the plains which stretch out between the two great rivers, is not of such a kind that the scattered agricultural population can form a working staff for neighbouring groups of estates. And since at the same time a great part of the agricultural population owns the land, i.e., belongs to the class of peasant proprietors at the very time when the whole country stands in pressing need of labourers these people are not at the disposal of the larger employers, for they then most need to expend their labour on their own holdings. Out of this state of affairs has arisen the custom among middle and large proprietors of bringing in the necessary labour from other neighbourhoods. On the western boundaries of the country it is the fairly thickly populated provinces of Austria which afford the necessary supply of migrating labour. Elsewhere it is especially the northern population of Hungary, the Slovaks, which migrates in summer as far as the southern borders, offering their labour. The proprietors often send their stewards weeks and months beforehand, to neighbouring counties, or further, seeking to engage labourers. Whole gangs of labourers, men, women, and children, engage themselves by a form of contract to do a piece of work at a certain date, and are guided to it and directed by a leader. "These leaders belong almost without exception to the people whom they direct, and although they sometimes receive a larger wage than the rest, have remained in a striking degree a part of their class, and have not developed that system of contract which would offer a comparison with the well-known sweating in England and America.⁽⁶⁾ The contracts are in writing, drawn up before an authority and concluded with the leader of the gang.⁽⁷⁾ A translation of the law regulating these contracts will be found in Appendix II., p. 201).

Above all, however, it must be recollected that a great part of agricultural labour is carried on by permanent servants engaged by the year, while the other part is performed by day labourers or by agreement. The proportion varies with the seasons, and while in winter only one or two day labourers will be employed over and above the permanent servants, in the busy seasons as in summer, a very large access of labour forces is possible.

"The importance of this fact for the working population is apparent in that their occupation in this way

(1) Ungarn's Grundbesitzverhältnisse, pp. 80 and ff.

(2) La Hongrie Economique, pp. 212-3. Cf. F. O. Report MS., No. 288, pp. 36-8. Ungarn's Grundbesitzverhältnisse, pp. 77-80.

(3) La Hongrie Economique, pp. 213-4.

(4) The Magyars, their Country and Institutions, pp. 108 and ff. La Hongrie Economique, pp. 214-5.

(5) La Hongrie Economique, pp. 216-7.

(6) Dr. Mandello's Report.

(7) F. O. Report, Misc. Ser., No. 288, p. 38.

(x.) Agricultural labour.

(xi.) Agricultural gangs.

(xii.) Permanent servants and day labourers.

" can only last for a small part of the year. It is clear also that, owing to special conditions of climate and soil, the most important part of Hungarian agricultural labour has to be performed simultaneously during a short period throughout the whole country. This explains the concentration of working forces at harvest time, the enormous rise of wages at the same time and the ever increasing complaint of lack of labour."⁽¹⁾ In connexion with this last mentioned lack of agricultural labour, complaints are continually to be heard in landowning circles, and the ministerial report on agriculture for 1892 mentions a rise in wages of 10 to 15 per cent., which is explained as arising partly out of the lack of labour, connected with migration and partly out of the increased cost of living for labour.⁽²⁾ "The organ of the Hungarian proprietors in a treatment of the matter, misunderstanding the statistical figures affirms that a decline is taking place in the agricultural population. The general economic situation, the ever growing taxes, the usury and profit-driving distributive trade, it is said, have driven the villagers, cotters and day labourers away from the country and into the towns while consequently wages have risen from 30 to 50 per cent., and the proprietor class has been thrown into distress by the want of labour."⁽³⁾

The alleged increase in wages will be considered presently. As regards the alleged decline in agricultural population reference must be made to the fact that in spite of the stream of emigration which is dealt with elsewhere (*infra* p. 197), the total population of Hungary has increased, and in general the stream of migration from the country to the towns does not exist in Hungary in the same degree as in the great manufacturing countries. Dr. Mandello points out that the statistical treatments of agriculture are very incomplete. The statistical year book and reports of the Minister of Agriculture give detailed particulars as to (1) wages in different years for both sexes, showing when they include board and when they do not; (2) the different forms of contract which are to be found in agriculture, and which often rest upon a mixed system of remuneration, since board and lodging are given in connexion with contract work, while much of that work is paid by shares in the product, others again by money equivalent of shares in the product. The important question, however, in what proportions Hungarian agriculture is carried on by day labourers, by contract or by a mixed system cannot be seen in the statistics. With the various gaps in statistics indicated, it is clear that no sound conclusions as to the alleged decline in number of agricultural labourers can be drawn. Dr. Mandello's own view is that the lack of labour in certain districts is not an absolute one, and that it arises out of the unorganised condition of the workers which is felt

especially acutely at certain periods of the year, e.g., at harvest time.⁽¹⁾

An inquiry was set on foot throughout the country which showed that in the month of May when generally a great scarcity of agricultural labour prevails, wages were for men 60 krenzer, women 40 krenzer, children 30 krenzera. As Dr. Mandello, citing the agricultural paper, the *Köztelek*, says, these can hardly be called high wages, and in a third part of the country still smaller wages are found, in some places men only earn 40 krenzera a day. "The continually rising proposals for relief show that the work especially as regards harvest work is not organised. Sometimes workers will be taken on for a whole summer and kept in barracks, sometimes isolated experiments have been made to steady the summer, of which the following are examples."⁽¹⁾

On a large estate the demand of labour in summer will be supplied by contracts for the whole season with the northern Slovak workers. The employer pays transport to and fro, provides barracks and a cook. Men and women receive daily the following breadstuffs. '26 kilos of wheat, '60 kilos barley, '12 kilos beans, '60 kilos potatoes, '02 salt, '3 litres spirits, '4 meat (during threshing time, double rations of meat). This board is always given whether the work is done by contract or by daily wages. Contract work, such as hay making (cutting, gathering and stacking on the employers' carts) is paid *per katastraljoch* 1.60 to 2.20 gulden. For threshing 2.50 per cent. of the harvest is given, grape picking 16 gulden, harvesting of oats 22 gulden, harvesting of maize 3 gulden *per joch*. Other work is paid by the day ever and above the board mentioned. Between May and the beginning of harvest men receive 40, women 35, children 30 krenzer. During harvest, men receive 40, women 30, children 25 krenzer. "A combination of contract and day wage admits of the best use of working forces. The former is used where the quantity of work can be increased by engaging the interest of the worker, the latter where the quality of the work is all important. The total of a man's earnings in a day may be estimated at 75 krenzer. According to general estimation the day's wage of a permanent servant may be set down at 60 krenzer, and when it is considered that the former sum is earned only during a part of the year, no great difference can be discerned between the two."⁽²⁾

As has already been pointed out (*supra* p. 167) it is not surprising that the great local scarcity of labour in summer and autumn frequently leads to attempts on the part of the labourers to secure higher wages by means of strikes.

Dr. Mandello compares harvest wages in Hungary, which are constantly rising, with those in the United States, which, during the period 1866-92 have fallen he states by 41 per cent.

(1) Dr. Mandello's Report.
(2) Bericht über die Thätigkeit des Ackerbauministeriums im Jahre 1892.
(3) Dr. Mandello citing the "Köztelek," 1893, p. 89.

(1) Dr. Mandello's Report, Statistisches Jahrbuch für Ungarn 1891, Heft III., pp. 50 and ff, 80 and ff. *Köztelek*, April 1893, p. 688.
(2) Dr. Mandello's Report.

The following are the figures for wages in 1892 in the four seasons, and chief divisions of the country for men, women and children, with and without board:—

TABLE XVI.—AGRICULTURAL WAGES.

County.	Men.								Women.								Children.							
	Spring.		Summer.		Autumn.		Winter.		Spring.		Summer.		Autumn.		Winter.		Spring.		Summer.		Autumn.		Winter.	
	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.
I. Left of the Danube	50	34	74	40	55	37	30	25	32	31	45	31	36	24	36	17	23	14	40	20	25	16	18	12
II. Right of the Danube	57	30	81	59	69	42	43	31	39	30	54	41	43	32	32	24	26	19	36	20	28	20	23	16
III. Between Danube and Tisza	59	48	106	91	71	61	48	38	44	33	64	47	51	43	42	24	30	22	46	29	34	26	25	19
IV. Right of the Tisza	57	40	82	64	60	40	45	34	36	25	49	36	30	29	22	21	23	17	31	23	25	19	20	15
V. Left of the Tisza	58	37	96	73	68	46	41	29	37	26	62	46	43	31	31	21	26	17	39	28	30	20	21	13
VI. Tisza-Maros District	57	41	117	90	78	50	48	23	45	32	73	38	50	41	39	27	30	21	47	35	33	29	25	16
VII. Transylvania County	54	35	77	53	60	40	44	29	36	26	56	36	46	30	25	22	28	17	37	25	30	19	23	14
Average	54	38	89	66	69	46	44	31	39	27	57	41	45	32	33	23	26	18	37	27	30	21	23	15

* The figures refer to Krenzer = 1/12 part of a Gulden or florin. They are taken from the Report of the Ministry of Agriculture, 1893.

(xii.) Proposals to create home industries.

In districts where poverty and want of employment go together, as, for instance, in the northern Slovak districts, proposals have often been brought forward to create home industries. In the county Békés, after the agrarian disturbances which took place a few years since, weaving schools and cottage industries were introduced. It is hoped by the proprietor and employing classes that the workers may be thereby accustomed to habits of thrift and industry, and may thus be guarded from the influence of socialist aspirations and tendencies.⁽¹⁾ (See *infra*, p. 184-5.)

(xiii.) The tobacco labourer.

The peculiar position of the tobacco labourer has already been referred to. Sir Arthur Nicholson's impression in 1892 was that their material condition was very favourable. The statistics given by the correspondent of the Social Politisches Central Blatt would lead to a different conclusion. According to him the workers in the tobacco plantations take over the fields from the large farmers in return for a half share in the product with board, lodging, and pasture for a cow per family. In a house with three rooms and a byre two to four families will live. The work begins in the middle of March, and lasts until the beginning of December. The average number in a family is five to six, and each family hires on its own account from seven to eight assistant workers. A family of five produces about 58 to 60 *meterzentner* (2 cwt.) for which about 500 to 600 gulden is paid, of which 300 to 310 gulden form the share of the family; deducting the assistants' wages, the average daily earnings per family is 14½ kreuzer.⁽²⁾ A considerable increase in the cultivation of tobacco has taken place in recent years, and about 95,000 acres are devoted to the crop. "No one can grow it without a special licence from the Government, who have a special monopoly in the sale of tobacco. Growers have to undertake to deliver all to the national *Régie* at prices fixed by it. In 1892 the area above named yielded only 116,600,000 lbs., or not quite 1,230 lb. per acre, which is below the average, the produce of the preceding crop having been 143,000,000 lbs. By increasing the price paid for superior tobacco and reducing that of coarse kinds, the *Régie* is gradually raising the quality of Hungarian produce.⁽³⁾ This plant is cultivated almost exclusively on the left bank of the Tisza, in the Banat, and in the Alföld or central plain."⁽⁴⁾

(xiv.) The rent landed properties.

Dr. Hirsch traces the relatively enormous stream of emigration out of thinly-populated Hungary (where there is only a population of 53·8 persons to 1 square kilometre) in large measure to the fact that the greater part of the peasantry are unable to obtain land owing to its great and increasing concentration in a few hands. The statistics show clearly, he affirms, "that Hungary is a land of unparalleled extent of properties, and this naturally must be unfavourable to the economic, social and political interests of the country." In the following tables he illustrates his contention:—

TABLE XVIIA.—EXTENT OF LANDED PROPERTIES.

District.	Total Surface in Cadast joch.	From 1,000 to 5,000 joch.		Over 5,000 Cadast joch.		Inalienable Property.
		No. of Properties.	Surface.	No. of Properties.	Surface.	
Left of the Danube	5,703,224	228	300,780	9	82,405	1,027,752
Right " "	7,735,023	400	292,041	20	166,033	2,501,497
Between Danube and Tisza.	6,263,536	336	763,243	27	212,711	1,766,140
Right of the Tisza.	5,530,912	333	603,410	11	90,333	1,033,780
Left " "	7,512,525	341	647,004	44	347,112	2,424,615
Between Tisza and Maros.	6,312,345	292	593,365	43	322,304	2,467,032
Transylvania - -	9,960,901	240	427,568	24	212,541	3,833,640
	49,020,166	2,070	4,217,670	178	1,432,579	16,930,474

(1) "Közlelet," July 5th, 1893, p. 18.
 (2) F. C. Report, Misc. Ser., No. 238, 1892, p. 38. Sozial Politisches Central Blatt, Vol. I., p. 21.
 (3) "Standard," January 20th, 1894.
 (4) Le Hongrie Economique, p. 243.

TABLE XVII B.

District.	From 1,000 to 5,000 Cad. joch in per cent.	Over 5,000 Cad. joch in per cent.	Inalienable Property in per cent.
Left of the Danube	7·00	1·46	33·80
Right " "	10·23	2·04	33·50
Between Danube and Tisza.	12·02	3·41	23·17
Right of the Tisza	10·91	1·80	35·13
Left " "	8·63	4·63	32·27
Between Tisza and Maros.	9·30	5·12	33·42
Transylvania - -	4·28	2·24	38·46
	8·61	2·95	34·56

The view of Dr. Mandello as to the existing depression among agricultural labourers and smallest peasant proprietors, can be indicated broadly as follows:—On the one hand it can be traced back to the natural consequences of the emancipation of the peasants which affected every class in agricultural life down to the lowest. "According to my view the movement among the cotters (*Häuslerbewegung*) must first have become important about the middle of this century, and various statistics show that the proprietors as employers obtained much cheaper cotten labour than permanent servant's or day labour. Herein we may discern forces which led to a widespread subdivision of cotten land (*Zersplitterung des Häuslerthums*), and which brought about their complete degradation." The devastation of the vineyards through the phylloxera and consequent scattering of labour employed in them, further increased the number of day labourers. Employment of agricultural machinery and insufficient development of industries which might have absorbed some of the labour thus set free, accounts also for much in the situation; such industries as existed were gradually affected by the introduction into them of new machinery.⁽¹⁾

(xv.) Dr. Mandello's estimate of the causes of depression in agriculture.

The following are the main provisions of the Bill of April 25th, 1893, relating to colonisation, which was referred to above (p. 173):—

Part I. relates to colonisation generally, and includes ten paragraphs:—

§ 1. The State and also private individuals and communes who own prairies (*Pustak*) or other large tracts of land are empowered by the provisions of this law to establish colonies, either by the foundation of new communes, or by the enlargement of those already in existence.

§ 2. Every newly formed colony must own a tract of land sufficiently large to enable at least 150 agricultural colonists to settle upon it.

§ 3. The person or body founding the colony is required to set apart five per cent. of the land to be colonised for the public use, without claiming any purchase money for it. This area is to be divided on the one side between the lawyer, clergyman, schoolmaster, and superintendent of the crèche, and on the other side between the school, the crèche and the commune generally. The commune must appropriate out of the land which falls to its share a certain portion for the purpose of a churchyard. The founder of the colony is also required to appropriate sufficient land both within and without the village for the erection of public buildings together with necessary plots of ground for each, without payment of earnest money.

§ 4. Every colonist must receive a plot of ground within the village (Intravillan) of not less than 400 square klast (4301 square yards).

The separate allotments need not necessarily be of the same size, but the area allotted to one colonist must not be less than from 10 to 20 joch, or more than from 50 to 80 joch, inclusive of the plot of ground within the village, and taking account of the nature of the ground. The average extent of a single communal estate must not exceed from 20 to 40 joch, allowing that from seven to nine per cent. of the colonist families in each commune, who consist of artisans or operatives, will receive estates of four or five joch.

(xvi.) Draft Bill on Colonisation of the Land.

(1) Dr. Mandello's Report.

§ 5. A proportionate part of the land outside the village (*Extravillan*) must be kept as public pasturage for the commune, and be considered the common and indivisible property of the colonists. The section of this land assigned to each colonist must be taken into account in reckoning the whole extent of his allotment as in § 4.

§ 6. The amount of the purchase money is to be decided by free agreement, including the expenses of measuring and dividing out the land. On the remainder of the price interest may be charged at a rate not above five per cent.; the completion of the purchase (*Amortisation*) must not be delayed for a longer period than from 20 to 25 years. The annual amount of the interest and purchase money must be only high enough to allow the colonists to retain so much of their probable average gross profits each year as is equal to the value of the agricultural labour expended upon the cultivation of the estate.

§ 7. The founder of the colony is required to provide each colonist with wood for building purposes, sufficient for the erection of a dwelling-house, but not exceeding the value of 400 florins in ready money. Payment for this is to take place according to the provisions of § 6.

§ 8. The provisions of §§ four, five, six and seven also apply generally to new settlements in a commune already in existence. In place of the requirements of § three, a detailed plan must be drawn up and presented together with the petition for permission to form a colony. The incidence of local taxation upon colonists of this class is to be regulated according to Section seven of § 130 of the law XXII., 1886.

§ 9. Permission to form colonies is to be granted by the Administrative Committee of the local authorities within whose jurisdiction the colony is to be planted. The Administrative Committee decides in the first instance whether the permission shall be granted, in accordance with the report of a commission sent to investigate the matter on the spot. Their decision, after an interval of a fortnight during which appeals may be made against it, is communicated to the persons concerned, and also, even in cases in which no appeals have been made, is laid before the Minister of Agriculture. The Minister of Agriculture must decide in each case whether the permission is to be granted, or a fresh judgment given after the further investigation of certain points.

§ 10. When the colony has been fully arranged and the various localities of the settlements decided, the plan must be sanctioned by the Administrative Committee and submitted to the Ministers of the Interior and of Agriculture.

Part II. provides special regulations with regard to colonies established by the State:—

§ 11. The Minister of Agriculture must appropriate three million florins out of the State funds to the purpose of establishing colonies by the State. This sum may only be so applied to purposes of colonisation (the purchase of land, the erection of houses for colonists, and the improvement of the soil), that the amount of landed property bought at any time shall be such that the earnest money can be paid out of the portion of the fund then available; and further that there shall always be security for the capital, and that after a fixed time it shall be paid back into the fund. Since the capital to be applied to the foundation of colonies (*Foundationalkapital*) may not be diminished, interest must be paid upon the advances made to the colonists and the expenses of colonisation at a rate not higher than four per cent. according to the amount of capital.

§ 12. The cost of improving the soil is to be added to the earnest money paid by the colonists, so far as it cannot be paid off by the instalments of interest (*Interkalarinsen*).

§ 13. The Minister of Agriculture is authorised to discount the purchase money either wholly or in part at the rate of four per cent., but in such a manner that the treasury which is responsible for the fund may not be burdened by any guarantee.

§ 14. Loans up to the amount of 400 florins may be made for the purpose of erecting houses, on the condition that for the first two years only interest is to be paid, and that the repayment shall begin in the third year.

§ 15. An annual report must be made to Parliament with regard to the employment of the colonisation fund.

§ 16. Colonists established by the State may not sell or otherwise alienate their allotments within a period

of 20 years without the consent of the treasury. The treasury in these cases reserves the rights of pre-emption and redemption.

§ 17. Any colonist who is in arrears with the payment of his interest or of two instalments of the purchase money may be evicted from his estate by a legal process. Such processes are to be considered exceptional in nature, and appeals against the decision of the first court can be made to the higher court only under special circumstances.

§ 18. The Minister of the Interior must be informed by the Minister of Agriculture of all colonies that are established.⁽¹⁾

C.—FACTORIES AND SMALL INDUSTRIES.

The general character of the law of 1884 which regulates labour in industries, large and small, in Hungary with the important exceptions of mining, transport and agriculture, has already been indicated in the historical sketch of industrial legislation. It is here important to treat some of its provisions in a more detailed manner.

The law deals exhaustively with apprentices, to whom it affords a special protection, and at the same time it shows a chief anxiety for the fullest protection and development of small industries. The provisions with regard to the industrial assistants (as distinct from unskilled day labourers) are very much the same as in the law of 1872, the chief innovation being the introduction of registers or certificates of work. No distinction is made between factories and workshops, though certain provisions and definitions relate specially to the former, others to the latter. Factory workers include those who execute a branch of any work or who work by the aid of machinery. The ordinary unskilled workers at subsidiary processes are called day labourers. The "young workers" whose parents or guardians sign an indenture with the manufacturer, or even when this is not done and the employer only undertakes to give technical training, are called apprentices. In three main provisions the law of 1884 departs from the law of 1872. One relates to young workers under 16, who may not be employed at all or only under certain conditions in factories in which unhealthy or dangerous trades are carried on. It was provided by the law of 1884 that the condition of such unhealthy or dangerous branches of industry should be determined by the Minister, but no attempt has ever yet been made to carry out the provision. The second provision above referred to relates to women's labour, and orders that women shall be exempted from work, without prejudice to their contract, for four weeks after their confinement. The closing paragraph of the law empowers the Minister to provide special organs over and above the industrial authorities for the completer supervision of factories in important towns and industrial centres. Out of this provision arose in 1887 the system of factory inspection which will be treated presently.⁽²⁾

Under the law the relations of the employer with all classes of his men are based on a voluntary contract, which, however, has only binding force on either side after a week's trial, unless the persons concerned have expressly stipulated the contrary. The contract after that time is terminable at a fortnight's notice unless otherwise agreed; similarly contracts with trade assistants are terminable at six week's notice while for book-keepers the contract is terminable at three months notice. Workmen who are paid by the piece may only leave their employment when their task is finished even if the time of legal notice has expired. If they have received an advance on their wages this advance must be either worked off or repaid.

A workman can be dismissed without notice (a) for an offence committed for purposes of gain; (b) for acts of violence or insult towards his employer or his family or representative; (c) for obstinate disobedience or unpemitted absence from work; (d) for endangering the safety of the house or business by imprudence committed in spite of warnings; (e) for imprisonment extending beyond three days; (f) for incompetence or disease; in these cases he has a legal claim to compensation; (g) for violation of confidence leading to injury of the interests of the business; (h) for engaging in another business without permission of his employer.

1. The Industrial Law (1884).

(1.) Contracts.

(2.) Dismissal.

(1) Ungarn's Grundbesitzverhältnisse.
(2) Dr. Mandello's Report.

(iii.) Leaving work without notice.

The workman on the other hand may leave his employment without notice:—(a) if the employer or his representative or any member of his family strike the workman or insult either his honour or that of any member of his family; (b) if the employer fails to fill his obligations under the contract; (c) if the workman works by the piece and his employer is unable to supply him with continuous work; (d) if his continuance at work would endanger his health or life; (e) if the employer or his representatives urge him to commit illegal or immoral acts.

Soldiers or sailors in industrial employment must leave work when called upon to do so without claim to compensation arising on either side.

The employer who dismisses a workman without legal cause must pay him the full wages due for the whole time of notice. In this case, if the workman received board in addition to wages, double wages must be paid.⁽¹⁾

(iv.) Registers of work.

The report on the law explains the reason for the introduction of registers of work. It "is desirable because of the general complaint of disorder and absence of discipline in conditions of work. Whether the factory workers or journeymen are the cause of this unfortunate state of affairs in our industry or whether the employers and manufacturers are those who do not follow the directions of the previous law need not here be inquired into." The introduction of the registers applied both to journeymen and factory workers. The books or forms are granted (a) to those who were in employment when the law came into force; (b) to those who can show that they have terminated their apprenticeship; (c) to those who have completed their fifteenth year and have passed through a practical industrial school or can show that they are engaged as an assistant; (e) to those who can show that they have been or will be employed as a factory worker. Each one must have his own register and on commencement of an engagement the employer takes charge of it and sends it with notification of the engagement to the Industrial authorities (of first instance) within 14 days. No remarks on moral conduct or matters appertaining thereto may be inscribed in the register, which contains only a detailed personal description of the workmen, age, birthplace, condition, &c., and particulars as to wages and the hours of coming and going from work. When the workman leaves his situation, the employer is bound to fill in these particulars in a conscientious manner, and if the workman wishes it to give him a detailed testimonial. The formalities in connexion with obtaining or replacing a book if lost are as simple and inexpensive as possible.⁽²⁾

(v.) Lists of workmen.

The employer moreover has to keep a list of all his workmen giving particulars similar to those just referred to and the authorities have the right to inspect this at any time.

(vi.) Factory regulations.

A table of labour regulations must be hung up in a conspicuous place by the employer in every factory. This table must give (a) the distribution and occupations of the workers with particular reference to the capacity of the women and children for the work to which they are appointed and with consideration of the compulsory school attendance of the latter, (b) the length of working hours, (c) the arrangement as to periods of payment of wages, (d) the rights of the foremen, (e) the treatment of workmen in case of sickness or accident, (f) the fines for infringement of the rules, (g) the time allowed for giving notice and the causes of termination of the contract. The regulations must be submitted for the approval of the authorities.

(vii.) Pauses in work.

The law provides a rest of half an hour in the morning as well as in the afternoon and a full hour's rest at midday.

(viii.) Sanitation and security.

The employer is bound to make at his own expense every provision for the preservation of the health and safety of his workers. If he supplies them with lodging he must see that the rooms are wholesome and habitable. Complaints of the workmen on hygienic matters must be inquired into on the spot by the authorities and the doctor.⁽³⁾

(ix.) Apprentices.

An industrial apprentice, whether engaged in a handicraft or in a factory according to the law is properly only a "young worker" who "receives his technical training either in a handicraft or a branch of one and executes technical work." The reports on inspection show that some manufacturers prefer to engage their young workers as young workers, but to declare them as apprentices.

In the matter of the age of the apprentice, the law maintained the provisions in the law of 1872, according to which no child under 12 years may be engaged as an apprentice without special permission of the industrial court. The engagement of an apprentice is effected by a written indenture under the industrial court, on which indenture the length of apprenticeship is stated and arrangement with the parents or guardian for the maintenance of the apprentice. The length of apprenticeship lasts at least until the 15th year of the apprentice. The employer is bound to teach the apprentice his trade and to train him in good habits of order and industry, to allow him time to frequent divine service on the festivals of his own religion, to send him regularly to school, if he is a member of his own household to see that he is cared for in case of sickness and to give notice of his sickness or any other important matter to the parent or guardian and schoolmaster. The employer may only employ the apprentice at the essential work of his trade and not in work of personal service and must see that he suffers no ill from the hands of any member of his household. Apprentices under 14 may only work ten hours a day at the outside including school hours, those over 14 may not be employed more than 12 hours at the outside. A rest of half-an-hour in the morning and in the afternoon and of an hour at midday must be allowed. Above all the apprentices may only be employed at such work as is not beyond their physical strength. Apprentices under sixteen must not be employed in night work, that is from 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. In the case of trades which would suffer from a cessation of work at night, the industrial courts may permit night work suitable to the physical capacity of the apprentice between 14 and 16 but not for more than six hours. The apprentice owes obedience to his employer and if boarded and lodged at his cost is subject to the discipline of his household. At the end of his apprenticeship he receives a certificate from the industrial authority; this states the progress he has made in his trade and gives the name, domicile and business of his master. If an apprentice himself breaks off his indentures or passes into another trade the premium for the years completed, together with a half year's premium as damages, belongs to the employer. The industrial authority must keep a register of all apprentices within the district from which a list must be compiled for the use of the school inspector, of all those who are due at school. In communes where there are at least 50 apprentices for whom no special school exists, the community is bound to maintain a special course of instruction for them.⁽⁴⁾ The Minister of Education in conjunction with the Minister of Commerce will arrange the curriculum of the apprentices. Steady attendance at school must take place during ten months of the year. On two working days at least during the week four hours are to be devoted to general instruction and three hours on Sunday for drawing lessons. One hour on Sunday may also be occupied with religious instruction. The authorities will decide whether the instruction is to be given during the day or in the evening.

Children under 10 years of age cannot, in any circumstances, be employed, and those between 10 and 12 only with the permission of the authorities. This consent is only given when the employment is combined with regular attendance at the national school or at a school provided by the employer. Children over 12, but under 14 years of age, are only to be employed in factories for a maximum of eight hours daily, and between the ages of 14 and 16 for a maximum of ten hours. The regulations regarding night work for boys under 16 are the same as those for apprentices. In unhealthy or dangerous branches of industry, boys under 16 may not be employed, or only under conditions imposed by the industrial authorities. It was intended that the Minister of Commerce should draw up lists of such branches of industry.

The law thus only recognises a limit to the hours of work or imposes a normal working day in the interests of certain protected persons viz. apprentices and youthful workers.⁽⁵⁾

Certain fines may be imposed under the law in case of infringements of its provisions. Sir Arthur Nicholson gives the following cases:—Fines up to 5*l.* are imposed on those who carry on a business without giving the necessary notification to the authorities (cf. supra p. 153) and obtaining the necessary authorisation, fines from 2*l.* to 20*l.* are imposed on those who engage, dispose of, or treat apprentices, assistants or workmen

(x.) Child workers.

(xi.) Penalties.

(1) F. O. Report, Mts. Ser. No. 338, 1898, pp. 2-4.

(2) Dr. Mandello's Report, F. O. Report just cited, pp. 3-4.

(3) F. O. Report cited, pp. 4, 13. Dr. Mandello's Report.

(4) Dr. Mandello's Report, F. O. Report cited, pp. 10-11, 13-14.

(5) F. O. Report cited, pp. 13-14.

in a manner contrary to the provisions of the law; who do not fulfil their obligations in respect of the school attendance of apprentices; who adopt the truck system; or who engage a workman without a proper certificate. Fines from 10*l.* to 30*l.* are imposed on those who engage in a licensed business without having obtained the necessary license; who start a factory without having first obtained the necessary official permission or who do not fulfil the conditions required by the law; on those manufacturers who do not take the necessary steps for ensuring the health and safety of the hands engaged in their factories; on those who effect sales without the proper certificates, or who neglect to keep books, or who keep them negligently; on those who in certain trades (butchers, bakers, and chimney sweepers) leave off their business without notice or before the period of the legal notice has expired. The maximum period of notice of retiring from business is, for bakers, four weeks; for butchers and chimney sweepers, three months.

Workmen who desert their employment without proper notice, may be brought back by the authorities and fined up to 2*l.* Those who intimidate others, in connexion with lock-outs or strikes may, if the penal code does not prescribe severer punishment, be sentenced to a fine up to 30*l.*, and to imprisonment up to 30 days. The fines can be collected through administrative channels in the same manner as the public taxes. They are to be paid into the funds of the commune where the contraventions occurred, and are, in the first place, to be devoted to industrial and commercial educational purposes.⁽¹⁾ (For further commentary on penalties cf. Appendix II.)

Inspection-

It is generally admitted by the writers on the application of the law of 1884 that the system of inspection has hitherto left much to be desired. Dr. Heinrich Braun shows, as Dr. Mandello does, that factory inspection is not a definitely constituted part of the administration; the law only gives the Minister of Commerce power to institute special organs for this purpose where manufactures are carried on to any important extent. The number of inspectors called into activity in this way has been quite insufficient. In addition to a central industrial inspector there are six inspectors and even these, Dr. Braun states, are hampered by the form of ministerial instructions. Control of their work is lessened by the lack of an official register of factories while it is never explicitly stated who is to be regarded as the owner of a factory. The inspectors have been obliged to make their own classification of the factories which they intend to inspect.⁽²⁾

The inspectors have extended their activity to the factories which work by steam, gas or hot-air power with exception of the establishments where these forces serve for illumination, as for example in coffee houses, or where they serve as adjunct to manual labour, as in steam saw-works, or where (e.g., in soda-water works) manufactured articles are produced. "From the point of view of the protection of workmen, these exceptions and distinctions are quite untenable and incomprehensible. Later, the factories which do not employ motor power but which are in a similar position through the dangerousness of their materials were brought under inspection, e.g., glass and chemical works and match factories, as well as undertakings where the great numbers of the workers and the size of the business seem to call for supervision. The industrial law has also a provision according to which industrial trustees are appointed in connexion with the industrial authorities of first instance and this same law has amongst other matters entrusted factory inspection in general as well as inspection of workshops to the trustees. Out of the practice of official factory inspection the principle has been evolved that the inspection by trustees arises out of the right of survey by the inspectors. The absurdity of this species of factory inspection is best illustrated by the fact that these industrial trustees are chosen from among the manufacturers and small employers and are only eligible when they pay a fairly high tax, i.e., belong themselves to the manufacturing class. The first inspectors' report affirms that the inspectors were received everywhere by the manufacturers with friendliness; that on the other hand the greatest mistrust was shown by the workmen who hardly ever brought them a complaint."⁽³⁾

The new law for protection of industrial and factory workers, and for the re-organisation of inspection, will come into operation three months after its promulgation, i.e., on March 11th of this year. Dr. Mandello's view of it is that the amalgamation of the two distinct subjects contained in it is a misfortune and that one at least of them, the provision for security, in the factories, has suffered; "either a general provision or definition should have been given by the law, while the details remained for treatment by the minister, or, better still, the details should have been fully treated in the law itself"; the legislator has attempted an intermediate method, which is hardly likely to prove efficacious.⁽⁴⁾ The first chapter of the law deals in seven sections with protection of life and health. After re-stating the general responsibility of the employer laid upon him by the industrial law of 1884, the first article deals in nine clauses with particular requirements for factories and workshops in which machinery is at work, or in which dangerous openings or trapdoors exist. The character of these provisions may be gathered from the three following clauses: The employer is especially bound "to arrange for the oiling of the machinery, and for the setting up and unloosing of the driving bands with the greatest care; to place the gas and mineral oil lamps in such a position that danger of fire may not arise; to provide proper ventilation and light, to remove gaseous vapours, dust, and accumulation of other unsuitable matter in the work rooms." A particular clause mentions the duty of providing respirators where poisonous materials are used.

3. The Law of December 11, 1883, on Factory Inspection.

When an industrial authority discovers any neglect, or absence of these and other precautions, he is bound to institute proceedings at once or to request the employer to provide the proper remedy, if it is his affair, at once or within a given period. The district inspector is to be informed of this matter. Every employer is bound to inform the factory inspector within 48 hours of any accident occurring in his establishment which has resulted in the injury of one or more workers.

Chapter II. treats in sections 8 to 36 of the system and scope of factory inspection. For the first time, an attempt is made to classify the varieties of industrial establishments which shall be subject to inspection, while the twofold official character of the inspectors is indicated. This twofold character is seen in the provisions which add to duties of simple inspection, the further duties of aiding in the development of factory industries, e.g., by reporting on the improvements in factories within the inspection district, issuing statistics on wages and general conditions of labour, control of technical schools and schools of apprentices, reporting on the progress of State-aided industrial establishments, and on the development of home industries.

The Inspectors must visit, at least once a year, the following establishments:—

1. Every factory or workshop in which there is machinery worked by elementary power (steam, gas, water, wind, electricity) or in which more than 20 employés are regularly at work.
2. All subsidiary, agricultural and forestry establishments, e.g., in dairies or silk producing workshops where machinery as above described, or steam boilers are used.
3. Without regard to the number of workers or use of machinery, a certain number of establishments of which the following may be mentioned: (1) in which explosives are used or prepared, (2) in which preparation of gas and electricity is carried on, (3) in earthenware factories, (4) in mineral oil refineries, (5) in match factories, (6) in chemical and fireworks factories. These branches of industry especially mentioned number in all fifteen.

The inspectors have to guard the application of the provisions of the industrial law of 1884, and the further provisions for health and security of workers contained in this new law. Further, they have to keep complete records of accidents and their results; to note whether the workers are insured against accidents, to study the effect on the workers of the general arrangements of industrial establishments with a view to discovering any injury done by them.

The control of the department of inspection, is given to the Minister of Commerce and Industry, while the inspectors are his subordinate officials, and have to see to the application in detail of adminis-

(1) F. O. Report cited, p. 17.

(2) Archiv für Soziale Gesetzgebung, Vol. IV., p. 518, cf. La Hongrie Economique, p. 310.

(3) Dr. Mandello's Report.

(4) Dr. Mandello's article on the Hungarian labour question for the "Revue Internationale de Sociologie," lent in manuscript to the Secretary of the Royal Commission on Labour before its publication.

trative orders as well as the law. No inspector may directly or indirectly be concerned pecuniarily in the progress of any industrial establishment. The necessary technical qualifications for an inspector are provided by section 10, while section 11 gives the decisions as to number and organisation of inspectors to the care of the Minister of Commerce, whose yearly budget shall determine the number for each year in advance. Chapter III. deals with the sanctions attached to the law.⁽¹⁾

4. Result of inspection. (a.) In 1887-8.

The number of establishments inspected during 1887-8 was 938, of which 796 had motive power and only 15.1 per cent. were without. The motive power consisted of 1,182 steam engines, with 53,611 horse power, and 445 water power engines with 9,585 horse power.

The factory rules, which according to the law should have been posted up in all factories, were found only in 437 out of 938 factories. The number of workers in the factories visited was 98,958, of which 72,311 were factory workers, 15,001 day labourers, and 2,646 apprentices. The branches of industry represented in the factories had the following percentage of workers: iron 18.2 per cent., tobacco 16 per cent., alimentary 12.4 per cent., wood 8.3 per cent. In the factories visited 74.4 per cent. were men, 25.6 per cent. were women. The greatest number of men were in the iron trade, the greatest number of women in the tobacco trade. Of children under 10 years, 73 were found and nearly all in glass factories. No proofs were given of the age of the children; they nearly all said themselves that they are over 12 years. Baptismal or birth certificates cannot be demanded on account of the difficulties and outlay connected with the same. The law as has been seen recognises three classes of child workers: under 12, between 12 and 14, and from 14 to 16. Altogether there were 8,766 of these classes, or 9.7 per cent. of the workers. The lists of workmen demanded by the law were found only in 428 out of 938 factories, i.e., in 25 per cent. Registers of work also exacted by the law were only in proper form in 52.2 per cent., were wholly wanting in 21.9 per cent., and were unsatisfactory or incorrect in 25.9 per cent. In 22 of the factories and in 1,385 cases (i.e., 52 per cent.), the indentures of apprenticeship prescribed by the law were wanting. The following figures were given with respect to hours of labour:—

8 hour shifts in	4 factories.
9	25
10	157
10½	117
11	157
11½	66
12	231
12½	7
13	30
13½	8

The hours were not given in eight factories. In mills, spirit and paper factories, also in furnaces, smelting works and potteries, the work is arranged in 12 hour shifts. Work is not continuous during these 12 hours, and the workers have time enough for rest although they may not leave the premises. The relieving of the shifts, which gives an opportunity to the night workers of one week to take day work in the next week, occurs in most factories after 18 hours, but in some after 24 hours continuous work. In small provincial mills where the work is very irregular an 18 hours' day is not rare. In malt works and breweries the hours of labour are not defined beforehand. The workers live on the premises and are employed when it is necessary. The longest hours of continuous work occur in the glass factories where material poured into one furnace must be continually worked up during from 12 to 15 hours. Where there is only one furnace a workman can rest between one operation and another from 14 to 18 hours, but where several furnaces are used the workers can only pause for two to three hours in passing from one to another operation. One shift usually accomplishes four of these operations weekly, and then rests for 28 to 36 hours. The total number of hours worked in the week seldom passes 70. In the agricultural spirit factories which are not under the law, there are no fixed hours of labour but there are generally three shifts, and the workers sleep in the factory beside the stores, between the shifts. In silk spinneries, the hours are 12 to 13½ daily. It should be borne in mind that these figures are all absolute, i.e., that pauses for rest are deducted.

The provision of the law relating to the hours of child labour cannot be efficiently controlled since the young workers allege that they only work during eight hours, and that in the time beyond that they are only employed in personal services, messages and so on. The inspectors gave no credence to these statements, the less so because the addition of figures for the various classes of workers had shown as follows:—Of children under 12 years, 22 work in factories where the hours are 12 daily, 27 in factories where the hours are 12½ to 13½ daily, 122 in factories where the hours are undefined.

Of children between 12 and 14:—

99 were in factories where the hours were		8 daily.
81	"	9
396	"	10
200	"	11
69	"	11½
246	"	12
958	"	12½ to 13
266	"	Undefined.

Of children from 14 to 16 years:—

145 worked in factories where the hours were		8 daily.
415	"	9
1,394	"	10
824	"	10½
876	"	11
139	"	11½
1,341	"	12
1,147	"	12½ to 13½
255	"	Undefined.

"In this connexion the worst are the glass factories and spinneries. In the latter case the infringement of the law is attributed to the competition of the Austrian factories which have a permission from the Austrian Minister to work 13 hours, and if the Hungarian factories observed the law they would not be able to bear the competition."⁽¹⁾

The law demands a rest of half-an-hour in the morning and afternoon, and an hour at midday. The midday rest in some factories extends to one and a half to two hours, and in many either the morning or the afternoon rest or both are disregarded.

In 553 factories a 1 hour midday rest was found.

"	32	"	1½	"	"
"	19	"	2	"	"
"	334	"	½	morning	"
"	15	"	¼	"	"
"	171	"	½	"	"
"	15	"	¼	"	"

Night work was only found in certain branches of industry, especially in the chief towns and steam mills working for export trade such as sugar, spirits, malt and beer factories; to a certain extent in glass and paper factories; in some iron works; chemical factories and printing works, finally in blast furnaces and in porcelain factories. Night work.

Night work was found in 37 per cent. of the factories, i.e., in 353 establishments; for as many as half of the workers in 22 per cent., or 200 establishments, and for a certain fraction of the workers in 16 per cent., or 196 factories. Night work is exceptional amongst child workers, who are only permitted by the law to work at night between the years of 14 and 16, and then only with the consent of the authorities, and also only during the half of the permitted 10 hours. "In glass factories it was impossible to prevent this infringement of the law. There, where the relays occupy the child-workers through a whole night, it is again only Austrian competition which is to blame, because the Austrian minister had ordered an exception and permitted night work for the workers between 14 and 16 years of age."

Sunday and holiday labour was found only in 237, i.e., in 25 per cent. of the factories. Thirteen per cent. of the workers, i.e., in all 12,037, were employed on Sundays and holidays, and then were free every second Sunday or for half the day every Sunday.⁽²⁾

Mr. Schriener said in his report on factories issued in 1889, that it could not be said that the day's work is of longer duration in Hungary than "in those countries, Austria for example, where the 11 hours rule prevails, and which has been extended in certain branches of industry to 12 and even to 13 hours. In reckoning the number of hours worked during the day in Hungary, I have made allowance for the two

(1) Gesetz Sammlung für das Jahr, 1893, pp. 650-675.

(2) Dr. Mandello, Statistische Monatschrift.
(3) Dr. Mandello's Report.

"hours' rest, so that if the work begins at 6 a.m. and ends at 6 p.m. I have considered this as a 10 hours' day. According to this calculation, the shortest day's work is in the tobacco factories, where eight to 10 hours are the rule. In the next category are those establishments where the work is for 10, 10½ and 11 hours. In mills, spirit and paper factories, as well as at blast furnaces, foundries, brick and porcelain manufactories, the work lasts for 12 hours with shifts. During these 12 hours the workman does not work uninterruptedly; he has sufficient time for rest, but he cannot leave the place of business. The change of shifts, which enables a man working at night one week to pass over to day work, is effected in several instances by continuous work for 18 hours, but in most cases for 24 hours. This method is, however, desired by the workman himself, who thereby obtains a free Sunday every second week. In breweries and malt houses the hours of work cannot be definitely fixed. The workmen generally live in the establishment itself, and are called upon whenever it is necessary." (1)

Dr. Mandello shows that for the year 1892 the following results were recorded through factory inspection.

The total number of factories visited was 1,096. The number of machines in activity was 1,635; of these 1,102 were worked by steam with 77,919 horse power; 453 were worked by water with 9,211 horse power; 110 were worked by gas with 618 horse power. Work was done without power in 170 factories. The number of workmen employed in the factories was 92,559, of which 74,095 were factory workers, 15,101 day labourers, 3,363 apprentices. The number of men was 77,449, of women 15,110. Of the young workers, 3,326 were between 16 and 18, 3,452 were between 14 and 16, and 623 were between 12 and 14.

The greater number of factories inspected were in the alimentary industries, numbering 232, which were mostly recruited from the steam mills, whilst the greatest number of workers, 20,589 were employed in the iron and metal industry. A table showing the work of the inspectors will be found in Appendix V. (p. 204.)

Proceedings on account of infringements were as follows:—

TABLE XVIII.

Factories.	Infringements.
238	Absence of regulations as to workers.
32	Irregularity " " "
323	Absence of schedule of workers.
30	Incompleteness " "
113	Total absence of registers of work.
149	Partial " " "
45	Absence of indentures of apprentices.
38	Unlawful employment of children.
50	Unlawful deductions from wages.
15	Unhealthiness of dwellings.
19	Irregularity of steam boilers.
118	Dangerous openings and descents.
337	Absence of protection for driving and cogged wheels.
97	Irregularity of circular saws.
52	" " cranes.
28	Dangerous position of lamps.
28	Bad ventilation.
33	Bad ladders.
20	Bad entry and exit.
51	Absence of fire extinguishing apparatus.
74	Insanitary conditions.
269	Absence of bandages and medicaments.

"It may be seen from the above that the conditions had improved to a certain extent. The average proceedings in the earlier years were 3.34 per factory, whereas in this year the average was 2. In the latter year no case was found of employment of a child under 12 years amongst the 7,691. Against this statement must be set down the consideration mentioned by the inspectors that baptismal and birth certificates were often wanting on account of the difficulty and cost of obtaining them."

"In the matter of hours of labour the Hungarian workers are decidedly in advance of those in other countries, since the average is 10 hours, while 11 hours are only worked in summer in a few factories and an eight hours day is often found." (2)

(1) Cf. F. O. Report cited, p. 14.
(2) Dr. Mandello's Report. Wirksamkeit des Kön. Ungar. Handelsministers 1892, pp. 39-42.

The inspectors' reports deal with the questions of health and safety, and the report of the Minister of Commerce states, with satisfaction, that the increasing activity of the inspectors is to be seen in the fact that the number of proceedings taken on this account increase yearly. (1) Dr. Emanuel Somogyi complains, however, that the reports of the inspectors are too general. It cannot be discovered from them "how far the Hungarian factories approach to the reasonable demands of hygiene in matters of space and ventilation. There is no question of such a measurement of the degrees of moisture and of carbonic acid gas in the factories as is undertaken by the Swiss system of inspection. Our inspectors trust entirely to their sense of smell and measurement by the eye. In many tobacco factories as many as 300 or more workwomen are found in rooms that are hardly capable of ventilation." The same authority finds fault with the methods for artificial lighting of the factories, and puts forward adoption of electric lighting as the ideal for employers in this matter. In the majority of provincial establishments only oil lamps are used. In the matter of drinking water care is generally taken. Two firms in the capital, provide iced water for their employes in summer. Rooms where meals can be taken are very seldom provided; in 1891 they were found in 3.5 per cent. of the establishments, in all other cases the workers take their meals in the courtyards in summer and in the workrooms in winter as few of them are near enough to their homes to go there for their meals. This practice has a bad effect upon ventilation. It is suggested that much might be done by employers in the provision of (1) eating rooms, (2) wardrobes in factories where poisonous materials are used, (3) washing apparatus. Dr. Somogyi holds that far too little special attention is given by the inspectors to women's labour, and that inquiry should be made into their condition both from the social and the hygienic point of view.

The provisions for safety in the industrial law are like many of the other provisions of a very general character. In the opinion of Dr. Somogyi the inspector's hands would be much strengthened by particular directions as to arrangement of buildings and machinery. The statistics as to accidents are very incomplete (cf. *infra* p.). In the 10 years ending 1891 the inspectors received notice only of 262 accidents, of which 74 were fatal and 188 resulted in serious injury. In certain establishments where careful records are kept, e.g., in the iron foundry and waggon factory at Ganz, there was one accident for every 11 workmen in a staff of 2,813 workers. "Although it must be confessed that the worker himself is not seldom to blame, in most cases the manufacturer has the real responsibility. Many employers omit for economy's sake the provision of the precautions required. Many place the machinery far too close together in order to save space and many allow the machinery to be oiled and cleaned when in activity in order to save time. Many also employ children and unskilled labour where only skilled labour should be employed. Stricter provision for the protection of the life and health of the worker, a more vigorous system of inspection and compulsory insurance are pressingly required." This last point has been partly met by the insurance law described elsewhere (*infra* p. 193). (2)

Among the 1,096 factories inspected in 1892, 894 accidents occurred; of these 34 had fatal results. 94 serious, 766 slight. The cause in 874 cases was the negligence of the worker and in 20 cases resulted from faulty arrangement of the factory.

Among the same total of factories inspected there were 41,517 workers who were insured against accident. The number of proceedings in the interest of health or life of workers was 1,175.

A short sketch of the relative position of large and small industries is essential to an understanding of the general bearing of the modern industrial law of Hungary and of the position and prospects of labour in the future of the country.

Dr. Mandello affirms that the working classes heartily welcome the growth of factory industry which is accompanied by a decline in small and home industries, because they find better conditions of work in the larger industrial establishments. This view which has been recently expressed by the workmen in their own press organ (3) was suggested especially in

(1) Wirksamkeit des Kön. Ung. Handelsministers 1892, p. 45.
(2) Die Lage der Arbeiter in Ungarn vom Hygienischen Standpunkte. E. Somogyi, 1891, pp. 17-25.
(3) "Munkas," 1898, No. 43.

(c.) Health and safety.

(d.) Accidents.

5. Relative positions of factory and small industries.

(1.) Attitude of working classes and of Government to the question.

connexion with women's labour in Hungary many years since by a leading French economist.⁽¹⁾ Small industries, however, play as yet by far the most important part in the strictly industrial life of the country, which is (compared with mining and agriculture) relatively small, as will be illustrated presently by statistics. The sketch of the industrial law now in operation (*supra* p. 157.) shows that an artificial support is given by legislation to small industries. The state further interferes in industrial enterprises (independently of its own direct work as a large employer of labour) by subsidising certain undertakings; it also assists young industries at the outset by certain arrangements for exemption from taxation during a term of 15 years. The laws XLIV. of 1881 and XIII. and XIV. of 1890 authorised the government first to make such exemptions, secondly to assist in the formation of banks which should promote creation or development of industrial enterprises favoured by the State. A special fund was established and placed at the disposal of Government in 1891 which was intended for the purpose of advances to employers varying from 150 to 5,000 florins to enable them to buy machinery and tools. There is now a law in preparation which will extend these exemptions and favours to small industries, and even to home industries. The various orders of the public departments for goods required are especially distributed with a view to assisting the small industries, *e.g.*, one-third of the leather goods required in the army is ordered through small employers.

"From the point of view of the worker the aid given to small industries is of moment, for the position of the handicraftsmen, or worker in small trades, is distinctly less good than in the large factories. In the provinces inconveniences arise from the prevalent custom that the worker lives and boards with his master and the complaints concerning board and lodging are ceaseless."⁽²⁾

(ii.) Statistical tables.

The following tables prepared from the census of 1891 by Dr. Mandello give a general view of the proportion of workers employed in the great industries.

TABLE XIX.—Showing large INDUSTRIAL UNDERTAKINGS (Factories, Yards, &c.).

Staffs of Workers.	Establishments.	Total Number of Workers.
From 21 to 30 - - -	419	10,376
" 31 to 50 - - -	355	13,630
" 51 to 100 - - -	239	16,219
" 101 to 200 - - -	114	16,025
" 201 to 300 - - -	49	12,441
" 301 to 500 - - -	33	15,192
" 501 to 700 - - -	9	5,171
" 701 to 1,000 - - -	9	7,161
Over 1,000 - - -	11	16,131
Total - - -	1,244	112,345

TABLE XX.—Showing INDUSTRIAL UNDERTAKINGS (WORKSHOPS and FACTORIES) according to the Size of Staff.

Description of Establishment.	Establishments.		Workers.	
	Number.	Per-centage.	Number.	Per-centage.
Without assistants - - -	199,055	61.96	-	-
Employer with 1 assistant -	67,900	21.15	67,000	18.73
" 2 assistants -	26,783	8.34	53,566	14.76
" 3-5 " -	19,859	6.18	71,248	19.64
" 6-10 " -	4,727	1.47	34,529	9.53
" 11-20 " -	1,630	0.51	23,208	6.40
" more than 20 assistants.	1,244	0.39	112,345	30.95
Totals - - -	321,253	100.00	362,850	100.00

(1) M. Leroy-Beaulieu *Le Travail des Femmes au XIXe. Siècle.*
 (2) *La Hongrie Economique*, p. 309. *Wirksamkeit des Kon. Ung. Handelsministers*, 1893, pp. 59 and ff. Article by Dr. Mandello for the "Revue Internationale de Sociologie."

TABLE XXI.—Showing Relative and Absolute Numbers of INDEPENDENT EMPLOYERS and their ASSISTANTS.

	Independent Employers.		Assistants.	
	Number.	Per-centage.	Number.	Per-centage.
Manufacturing and handicraft industry.	309,834	43.09	409,109	50.91
Provision making industries	79,216	12.90	70,528	47.10
Commerce - - -	73,313	47.50	81,044	52.50
Total - - -	462,362	45.19	560,741	54.81
Transport - - -	1,001	1.5	65,796	98.5
Banking - - -	294	4.0	7,046	96
Mining and allied industries	968	2.0	47,444	98

The number of women directly employed in the chief groups of industries may be seen in the following figures:—

TABLE XXII.—Relative Numbers of MEN and WOMEN EMPLOYED.

	Men.	Women.	Per-centage.
Industry - - -	778,147	134,808	17.4
Mining - - -	47,512	900	1.9
Commerce - - -	137,237	37,638	27.5
Banking - - -	7,296	41	.6
Transport - - -	63,808	2,979	4.7
	1,034,002	176,471	17.1
Of agriculture - - -	3,411,006	1,036,082	-

The following per-centages and positive figures are drawn from statistics supplied by Dr. Mandello which are based on the Census of 1891.

TABLE XXIII.—Showing the Relative Numbers of the POPULATION supported by INDUSTRIAL as compared with NON-INDUSTRIAL OCCUPATIONS.

	No. of Actual Workers, Employers, and Employed.	Per-centage of Total Population.	No. of Non-workers dependent on Workers.	Per-centage of Workers and Non-workers to Total Population.
Industry - - -	913,010	5.26	1,749,716	17.06
Mining - - -	48,412	0.28		
Commerce - - -	174,925	1.01		
Banking (credit) - - -	7,339	0.04		
Transport - - -	66,787	.39		
		Percentage of Income-earning Population.		
Agriculture - - -	4,447,083	61.50	6,430,701	62.86
Intellectual occupations -	123,603	1.77	291,476	2.43
Servants of those employed in intellectual occupations.	38,426	0.50	70,506	0.63
Rent receivers - - -	129,502	1.73	114,334	1.40
Day labourers - - -	1,242,284	17.07	1,106,156	14.06

A brief examination of the above statistical tables will show, what the present section is intended to emphasise and illustrate, that Hungary is as yet only in the earliest stages of an industrial career and that the smallest industries hold a more important place by a long way than the larger manufacturing industries. The most important centres of the larger industries are (1) Budapest, with 346 factories and an industrial population of over 150,000; there are 52 chemical

works, 47 metallurgic or engineering works, 42 textile, clothing, and other factories, 35 provision making factories, &c.; (2) Pozsony (Presburg), with 45 factories; (3) Szeged, with 37 factories; (4) Arad, with 31 factories; (5) Kolozsvár, with 30 factories.

The 11 largest industrial undertakings in the country (from the point of view of numbers of workmen employed) are:—

- (1.) The waggon factory of Ganz and Company (Ironfoundry and Engineering and Joint Stock Company) with 2,025 employes.
- (2.) The Royal Hungarian Tobacco Factory in Fiume with 1,842 employes.
- (3.) The shipbuilding yards of the Danube Steamship Company with 1,814 employes.
- (4.) The engineering works of the state railways in Budapest with 1,585 employes.
- (5.) The Royal Hungarian Iron Works at Zolyombrezo with 1,425 employes.
- (6.) The Royal Hungarian Tobacco Factory at Temesvár with 1,411 employes.
- (7.) The Royal Hungarian iron factory at Diosgyör with 1,354 employes.
- (8.) The Royal Hungarian tobacco factory at Kassa with 1,260 employes.
- (9.) The iron works of the Austro-Hungarian State Railway Company in Kesicza with 1,231 employes.
- (10.) The chief workshops of the Royal Hungarian State Railways in Budapest with 1,103 employes.
- (11.) The iron factories of the Rimamurány-Salgótarján Joint Stock Company at Salgó-Tarján with 1,080 employes.

These figures show that some of the largest industrial undertakings in the country are mainly in the hands of the State; but the number of important private undertakings is also considerable and the State and communes actually conduct not more than 3·86 per cent. of the whole number and employ not more than 17·75 per cent. of the workers in large industries; large joint stock companies conduct 13·91 per cent. of the whole number of large undertakings and employ 29·37 of the workers; while the rest are in the hands of smaller firms, i.e., 82·23 per cent. of the establishments and 52·88 per cent. of the workers. These figures should be considered in connexion with Table XLX. and Table XX. It must be understood that the State mines and blast furnaces are here left out of consideration. Apart from those undertakings the State in Hungary conducts 12 tobacco factories with a total staff of 9,931 workers; six iron works and foundries, with a total staff of 3,928 workers; 11 railway workshops, with 3,066 workers; one engineering factory, with 1,585 workers; three printing works, with 459 workers; two silk spinning factories, with 104 workers; one mint, with 87 workers; i.e., in all 36 undertakings with 19,160 workers.

It has already been seen that, according to impartial observers, the State as an employer of labour does not offer superior conditions to those found in private undertakings. Dr. Mandello affirms that the labour question in Hungary from the point of view of labour is in no degree made easier but is rather rendered more difficult by the extent of the industrial enterprises of the State. "The State should be a pattern to the private employer, but instead of that we find various ill conditions in the State establishments with only certain exceptions for undertakings which are brought directly under the operation of the industrial law. In face of such powerful organisation how can any stand be made against capital?"

With certain exceptions for particular branches of industry the annual reports of the Minister of Commerce and Industry show a growth and increasing prosperity in recent years of the factory industries, while the accounts of the small industries show a growing depression. These general reviews are borne out by the details given in the official reports of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry.⁽¹⁾ During 1891 the reports of the 20 Chambers showed that 168 new factories, belonging to 14 different branches of industry, had been established, a considerable number with special State support. Some of the groups of large industries which actually employ the greatest number of workers are the iron trade (circ. 18,854), the wood trades (circ. 10,000), the tobacco manufacture trade (circ. 11,425), spirit distilleries (5,22), chemical trades (circ. 4,620).

Dr. Mandello gives the following figures for trades which are largely in the hands of small employers.—

Shoemakers	-	-	-	63,353
Smiths	-	-	-	53,474
Men's Tailors	-	-	-	48,290
Millers	-	-	-	45,359
Cabinet Makers	-	-	-	39,758
Carpenters	-	-	-	24,439
Potters	-	-	-	7,592
Hatters	-	-	-	5,261

All estimates of this kind are rough, and, owing to a considerable migratory movement, uncertain. The Minister of Commerce and Industry traces the depressed condition of small industries in a large measure to (1) the lack of a plentiful supply of skilled labour and properly organised technical instruction, (2) to the lack of capital and organised credit among artisans and handicraftsmen. The highly developed industries of Austria, with which country there is free trade, offer so strong a competition that Hungarian handicraftsmen can hardly hope to do more than retain their present markets unless with the aid of very exceptional measures.⁽¹⁾ The need for special organisation in commerce with a view to bringing markets within reach of the small industrial workers has been fully recognised by the Government. For some time subventions of from 3,000 to 5,000 fl. have been made to certain middlemen in the north of Hungary and in Transylvania with a special view to protecting home industries. So far this attempt has not produced any great results, but committees are being founded in many counties for the promotion and organisation of home industries, with a view to occupation of the agricultural class in winter time. Officially, "home industries" include those industries which provide for the workers' own necessities, as well as manufacture of articles for a market. The question of technical education and schools for apprentices is treated separately (*infra* p. 196); the proportion of apprentices employed in industry as compared with journeymen or assistants may be here indicated.

TABLE XXIV. Showing PROPORTION of APPRENTICES to ASSISTANTS.

	Industry Proper.	Provision Dealing Industries.	Commerce.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
In Budapest	29·37	10·86	33·71
In 24 other towns with municipality.	54·37	25·16	53·65
In the provinces	63·55	30·91	53·32
In all Hungary	58·20	27·77	52·42

These figures apply to small industries as distinct from factory industry. M. Vautier gives the total number of "young workers" employed in large industries during 1891 as 83,502. The distinction between apprentices and young workers has already been treated in connexion with the industrial law.⁽²⁾

The home industries, which are really subsidiary occupations and in the main encouraged for the unemployed agricultural and day-labourer population, may be enumerated; they belong chiefly to the textile group of industries which is otherwise one of the least extensive in Hungary. The most important are the woven carpets of South Hungary, especially in Torontal, and of the northern highlands, the various kinds of fine woven linen amongst the Serbs, the embroidered linen of the Slovacks, the embroideries of the communes contiguous to Kolozsvár, the Roumanian aprons embroidered in silver and gold, the laces of the valley of Garam and the counterpanes of Transylvania and the valley of Nyitra. From two to three and a half million florins are annually realised by these industries. Basket work is also scattered all over the country and hat-making is fairly flourishing in Transylvania and about 200,000 florins worth of such articles annually find their way out of the country.⁽³⁾

(v.) Home industries.

(1) Materials supplied by Dr. Mandello.

(2) Wirksamkeit des Kön. Ung. Handelsministers, 1892, pp. 50-6. Bericht der Handels und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pest, 1891-2.

(1) Wirksamkeit des Kön. Ung. Handelsministers, 1892, pp. 50-6. La Hongrie Économique, pp. 305-6, 312, and ff. Dr. Mandello.

(2) La Hongrie Économique, p. 316. Dr. Mandello.

(3) Wirksamkeit des Kön. Ung. Handelsministers, 1892, p. 55. La Hongrie Économique, pp. 316 and ff.

6. Wages.

The question of wages in Hungary has to be considered on the one hand for the large industries and the chief manufacturing centres, on the other hand for the small industries which still hold an important place in the chief manufacturing centres but which are best studied in their strongholds in the provinces and provincial towns.

It should be noted, according to Dr. Mandello, that all wages statistics in Hungary are to be considered as unsatisfactory, as the information is only obtained informally from the employers.

In general the inspectors' reports show a rise in wages for the large industries, a rise which in 1891 amounted in some districts to eight per cent. in others to as much as ten per cent. An exception must be made for the spirit distilleries and mills where wages for more than ten years have been stationary. The general improvement is the more remarkable in certain cases where no special movement among labourers has preceded the rise. In many cases it was stated that employers showed a disposition to anticipate the wishes of their workers⁽¹⁾. No general averages can be given for wages in large industries but details will presently be given in separate references to certain groups.

Dr. Mandello gives the following averages for daily wages in the capital during 1892 without distinguishing large and small industries:

Men 1 fl. 10 kr. up to 3 or even 4 fl.
 Women 75 kr. up to 1 fl. 55 kr.
 Day-labourers 75 kr. up to 1 fl. 55 kr.
 Children 30 kr. up to 80 kr.

For the provinces he gives the following table of averages:—

TABLE XXV.

District.	Men.		Women.		Children.	
	from.	to.	from.	to.	from.	to.
Arad	kr. 50	fl. 2	kr. 30	kr. 70	kr. 10	kr. 60
Brasso	80	1 30	30	80	35	65
Debreczen	40	1 50	30	80	10	60
Kolozsvár	85	2	20	50	20	50
Marosvásárhely	80	1 50	—	50	40	50
Nagyvárad	40	1 50	40	70	20	60
Temesvár	50	2 20	30	80	20	70

The French report for 1890 gave the daily wages in Arad as 80 kr. to 1 20 fl. for men, an average of 50 kr. for women, and of 25 kr. for children; in Debreczen as 40 kr. to 2 fl. for men; women, 25 kr. to 90 kr.; children 10 kr. to 55 kr.; Temesvár as 80 kr. to 2 30 fl. for men; for women 40 kr. to 50 kr.; children 20 kr. to 60 kr. In all these estimates no account is given of the method by which the averages are calculated.

The annexed table is compiled from extensive official statistics showing wages in the majority of small trades. Only some of the more important branches are here given for certain representative towns; the maximum and minimum wage with and without board is cited.

TABLE XXVI. SHOWING WAGES IN SMALL INDUSTRIES IN FIVE NORTHERN TOWNS OF HUNGARY.

Name of the Trade.	Kassa.		Lőcse.		Igló.		Tokaj.		Ungvár.	
	Monthly Wage of Assistants.		Monthly Wage of Assistants.		Monthly Wage of Assistants.		Monthly Wage of Assistants.		Monthly Wage of Assistants.	
	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.
1. Carpenters	Florins. from 20 to 24	Florins. from —	Florins. from 18 to 36	Florins. from —	Florins. from 28 to 42	Florins. from —	Florins. from 36 to 48	Florins. from —	Florins. from 20 to 31	Florins. from —
2. Cabinet-makers	18 „ 40	0 to 16	12 „ 30	4 to 12	18 „ 24	4 to 12	—	6 to 16	22 „ 32	6 to 8
3. Shoemakers	16 „ 25	2 „ 12	20 „ 30	8 „ 12	18 „ 24	4 „ 12	15 to 28	—	15 „ 20	5 „ 12
4. Masons	30 „ 60	—	—	—	25 „ 42	—	36 „ 48	—	26 „ 32	—
5. Smiths	—	4 to 16	36 to 45	—	16 „ 27	4 to 12	—	6 to 12	—	5 to 10
6. Potters	—	4 „ 24	20 „ 30	6 to 10	20 „ 24	6 „ 12	—	—	30 to 40	—
7. Glove-makers	32 to 60	20 „ 40	20 „ 30	6 „ 10	—	—	—	—	—	—
8. Bookbinders	25 „ 40	8 „ 12	—	—	20 to 24	6 to 12	—	—	—	8 to 12
9. Printers	30 „ 50	—	24 to 30	6 to 10	40 „ 52	24 „ 36	—	—	32 to 40	—
10. Saddlers	20 „ 24	6 to 12	24 „ 40	6 „ 10	—	—	—	—	—	8 to 12
11. Watchmakers	24 „ 30	—	—	—	18 to 20	4 to 6	—	—	24 to 30	8 „ 12
12. Bakers	30 „ 40	5 to 20	24 to 35	6 to 12	18 „ 20	4 „ 8	—	6 to 8	16 „ 24	6 „ 8
13. Tailors	20 „ 40	4 „ 8	15 „ 30	6 „ 10	20 „ 30	4 „ 16	15 to 40	—	16 „ 20	6 „ 8
14. Carpet makers	30 „ 40	—	20 „ 30	6 „ 12	24 „ 28	10 „ 16	—	—	—	8 „ 12

According to Sir Arthur Nicholson "in some establishments such as iron and machine factories and tobacco factories the workmen are paid by the piece. Sliding scales so far as he could gather were unknown. Overtime is usually paid a third wage extra for each hour—sometimes this runs to half a wage extra each hour, but it is . . . very exceptional. Usually, with the exception of mines, the wages are paid weekly either on Saturday afternoon or Sunday morning. Some establishments have however adopted the plan of paying the wages on another day of the week to avoid the temptation to workmen of spending all their money on Sundays." The daily wages paid in the repairing workshops of the State Railways were said to be highest in Budapest and are calculated by Sir A. Nicholson as about equal to 2s. 11½d. while at Kolozsvár where they are lowest they are about 2s. 5½d. daily. As it is impossible to form an adequate idea of the economic condition of the labouring classes in Hungary from a statement of nominal wages some attempt will presently be made to supply a few particulars as to workmen's budgets and dwellings (*infra* p. 191).⁽²⁾

(1) Wirksamkeit des Kon. Ung. Handelsministers, 1892, p. 42-3.
 (2) Recueil des Rapports Autricho-Hongrois, 1890, p. . . F. O. Report, Mis. Ser. No. 238, 1892, p. . . Dr. Mandello's Report.

Development of agricultural methods and of the railway system have made possible the existence of an engineering and machine making trade in Hungary, but this industry has not existed for more than 20 years. In 1881 only 4,700 individuals, of whom 2,677 were employers, were occupied in the trade. In 1888 the inspectors' reports shewed that there were not less than 96 establishments occupying 6,609 persons and using machinery with 1,616 horse power. The centre of the industry is Budapest. Dr. Mandello estimates that at the present time, while 10,955 persons are occupied with iron and metal works and foundries, 7,894 are occupied in machine making factories. The reports of the Budapest Chamber of Commerce affirm that the conditions of labour are satisfactory in those trades. Especially in the carriage factories wages show a tendency to rise; weekly wages are from nine to 20 florins. Wherever it is possible in the bigger factories manual labour is being replaced by machinery. The iron industry in general is declared to be in a very favourable condition as regards the relations of employers and employed. "The good understanding between the two parties arises from the humane treatment by the employers of the workers which is generally extending, and leaves no ground for discontent among the latter."

7. Development of certain industries (i.) Iron, engineering, machine-making and allied industries.

The small iron industries are not in a very prosperous condition, and it is the opinion of the Chamber of Commerce in Budapest that State aid is required for the establishment of model schools, prizes, and so on. In some branches of the small machine making trade skilled labourers are still drawn from Bohemia and the German provinces of Austria, but the Hungarian workers are increasing in number. In the telegraphic wire and cable factories where 80 per cent. of the workers are women, the men earn from seven to ten, and the women from four to six florins weekly. Piece-work is not customary. The whole staff of workers were insured in a sick fund before the passing of the Sick Insurance Law.

In the silver-ware factories piece-work prevails, and according to industry and skill the workers can earn from 12 to 28 florins a week. Most of the workers belong to a Union of Gold and Silver Workers.⁽¹⁾

Amongst the so-called agricultural industries, and even among the industries in general, the flour mills hold a foremost place. This position is, originally, possibly due mainly to the superior quality of the grain raised in the great plains of Hungary. Superior machinery was, however, introduced at an early date, and since the great exhibitions of London and Paris, 1862, 1867, 1878, this national industry has been steadily developed. Dr. Mandello estimates that the number of workmen employed in it is about 45,359. M. Vautier gives the following figures for 1885:—

TABLE XXVII.

	No.	Horse Power.	Workers.
Great mills of Budapest - -	13	11,414	3,333
Great mills of the provinces - -	109	8,078	3,975
Steam mills - - - -	788	10,180	4,753
Great water mills - - - -	81		952
Small water mills - - - -	12,439		31,105
Mechanical mills - - - -	3,197		
Windmills - - - -	650		
	17,277	29,672	44,118

The number of steam mills increases year by year while the others decrease. The position of the export trade is comparatively less brilliant than it was a few years ago owing to a general fall in prices and increase in customs. The profits of the large firms have decreased, and agreements have been made amongst them to stop work during 48 hours in the week. The conclusion of certain new treaties of Commerce and cessation of the war of tariffs with Roumania have been held as of good augury for the future.⁽²⁾ In the matter of wages paid in the trade a special form of payment of wages should here be taken note of as existing in the small mills. It is a form of truck and has given rise latterly to friction with employers. These millers do not work independently for the ordinary markets, but for third persons under the so-called "toll" (*Mauth*) and receive a certain proportion of the corn ground. Since they themselves receive their payment in kind they do not pay their workmen regularly, but give them also a certain share of the flour. "The consequence of this system is that the workmen, about 2,500 to 3,000 in number, who are employed in this way make very uncertain earnings, and frequently disputes arise between them and their employers."⁽³⁾

Another noteworthy fact in connexion with the smaller branches of the flour mill trade is a movement which took place amongst the workers as distinct from the employers to obtain a decision from the industrial authorities which should place this trade on the list of those from which a certificate of competence is required (see Appendix IV.) "The aim of this request, which was to bring the conditions of labour under regulation of the authorities, gives an undoubted proof of the fact that the workers, taking their stand on the law, wish to improve their position by lawful measures, a fact which deserves full recognition and

"support." The request was based, however, on a misinterpretation of the intention of the particular provision in question, and this fact was fully laid before the workers by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, in Budapest, where the movement arose.⁽⁴⁾

Another important agricultural industry is the State monopoly of tobacco factories (as distinct from plantations cf. *supra* p.). The numbers employed in these factories are officially stated as 9,931. The correspondent of the *Sozial Politisches Centralblatt*, who gives the number as 16,000, declared also (1) that the average annual produce was 150,000 meterzentner of cigars, cigarettes and various kinds of prepared tobacco, (2) that the State profit for 1890 was 28½ million florins. M. Vautier gives the following figures⁽⁵⁾ :—

1885 - - -	149,778	meterzentner.
1886 - - -	141,564	"
1887 - - -	157,596	"
1888 - - -	156,966	"
1889 - - -	165,150	"

(iii.) Tobacco.

The ceramic and pottery industries occupy about 10,000 individuals in Hungary. Dr. Mandello points out that there is an Austro-Hungarian Ceramic Workers Union, but that out of the 58,000 workers in this old-established industry of the empire, only 7,000 workers are organised by the Union. Generally the industry in Hungary is behind Austria in technique and methods of working, and is consequently at a disadvantage in competition; but in fine faience the products of certain factories in Budapest and Pecs, have a wide reputation for originality of form and fineness of design. There are 9 large establishments for fine crystal and glass, producing about 2 million florins worth in the year, which nearly covers the requirements of Hungary. Plate glass factories are prosperous and exist to the number of 8; altogether the glass industry comprises not less than 2,500 workers. Rough pottery is produced in considerable quantities in Pecs, Pozsony, Budapest, and Kolozsvar, besides about 20 villages in the valley of Sajó. In Budapest, there are 32 establishments (of which 23 are small) with 155 assistants, 91 of these assistants are organised. The oven setters work by piece, and earn, on an average, 12 fl. a week. The Pozsony workers are all organised, their weekly wages are 4.87 fl. with board and lodging, or 8.71 fl. without; piece-work has been abolished. In the provinces the wages are generally 4 florins with board and lodging. In Kolozsvar average wages in large workshops are 7 to 8 fl., without board, and in small workshops 2 florins, with board and lodging; the highest wages may rise to from 15 to 20 fl. Hours are: in Pecs, 12, in Buda Pest, 9½, in the provinces, 15.

The report of the Budapest Chamber of Commerce in 1891 affirmed that the conditions of labour tended to be maintained at a high level owing to the strong demand for highly skilled labour.⁽⁶⁾

The textile industry as a large industry is as yet very little developed. Altogether not more than about 1,500 workers are employed in 12 large factories, while the total number of weavers and textile workers of every kind in the country is officially declared as 31,349. "In a country where wool is abundantly produced . . . and where the demand, already considerable, seems susceptible of a great development, it has been necessary to resort to all sorts of artifices to maintain the few establishments which vegetate upon State orders and hardly work at all for commerce." The indigenous industry which is protected to the fullest extent, against foreign countries is unable to hold its own, or make its way against the highly developed old textile industries of Austria, whose products pour into the country. The importation of raw cotton is quite insignificant. What is of greater consequence, is that the old established industry of woven linen in the North of Hungary is declining. "This branch of the textile industry is injured through the defective organisation which obliges the employers to travel about themselves in order to dispose of their products." The silk weaving industry is quite in its infancy. The State founded two spinneries, one at Pancsova in 1882, the other at Ujvidek in 1885. In Ujvidek, 500 workers are employed, many nine-year old children among them; the hours of these children are

(iv.) Ceramics pottery, glass.

(v.) Textiles.

(1) *La Hongrie Économique*, pp. 343 and ff. Dr. Mandello's Report, Bericht der Handels und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pest, 1891, pp. 70-87.

(2) *La Hongrie Économique*, pp. 350-1. Berichte der Handels und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pest, 1890-3.

(3) *Wirkbank. des Kon. Ung. Ministers*, 1892, p. 43.

(4) Bericht des Handels und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pest, 1891, p. 113.

(5) *Sozial Politisches Central Blatt*, Vol. I., p. 21. *La Hongrie Économique*, p. 329.

(6) *La Hongrie Économique*, p. 359. Dr. Mandello's Report, Bericht, cited, pp. 87 and ff.

daily from 5 to 8, wages 25 to 65 kr.; system of fines; Sunday rest, but the workwomen are obliged to give 5 to 6 hours *robot*. In Pancsova the silk spinneries are largely worked by children under 14 years. Twelve-year-olds work from 6 to 8 hours in bad air; public opinion and the labour press have been occupied with the alleged fact that the morals of the young girl workers of from 12 to 14 are seriously affected by the conditions of life in these factories.

The total production of the two factories increased from 12,300 kilogrammes in 1885, to 17,980 in 1889. In 1890 the produce fell to 14,940 kilogrammes.⁽¹⁾

(vi.) Cloth-
ing indus-
tries.

Inclusive of all such industries as tailoring, every branch of the shoemaking trade, hat making, and exclusive of furriers and tanners, there are at least 185,148 persons employed in the clothing industries which are chiefly in the hands of small employers in Hungary. The lack of skilled labourers which is regretted in many trades is particularly recorded for the clothing and trimming trades in the reports of the Budapest Chamber of Commerce. A rise in wages in the trimming trade was reported for 1891 in the neighbourhood of the capital. The greater number of tailors work only for special orders, consequently the importation of ready made garments is considerable. As far as rural districts are concerned the various national costumes still prevail, and there the industry is largely a household or home industry. About 10,104 workers are employed in making women's clothing as compared with 48,290 employed in men's tailoring.⁽²⁾

Shoe-
making.

The shoemaking industry is reported by various observers to be in an almost declining condition. The provincial shoemakers working with small capital have to spend a great deal of their time in bringing their wares to market. At the same time their lack of capital prevents them from using the best tools and machinery, so that they are unable to meet the demands of the higher class of customers. The more highly organised shoemaking trade of Austria is pressing the small traders out of the market, and while the Hungarian shoemaking trade is still a small industry as opposed to a factory industry, yet factories are springing up in the trade and in certain parts their competition is further acting unfavourably for the condition of the small handicraftsmen. The general fall in wages, which is by some said to be as great as 50 per cent. in the last decade, is traced sometimes to the system of outwork. One of the representatives of Budapest, at the Vienna Congress of Shoemakers' Assistants in 1890, declared that "the social question began with the small master rather than the assistants. The small master cannot hold out against the whirl of modern competition. Those masters might be counted on the fingers of the hand, who 15 years since were working securely for the aristocracy and now were reduced to a beggar's staff." This same witness declared that the framers of the industrial law of 1884 thought it was possible to re-establish the industrial conditions of the middle ages in the nineteenth century, "but all who understand modern industry know that this is impossible." Skilled labour has suffered most severely from the reduction. Outworkers are paid from 25 to 35 kreuzer a pair for women's slippers, and from 50 to 70 kreuzer a pair of nailed boots in the neighbourhood of Budapest. The large employers pay from 60 to 80 kreuzer for nailed boots. Dr. Mandello gives the total number of assistants and women stitchers in the Budapest boot trade as 4,400; in Ujpest there are 2,000 outworkers and 600 assistants. On January 1892 the number of unemployed was 900. The highest attainable wage for a skilled worker is given as from 10 to 14 florins in a week in a factory, but eight to nine florins is a more ordinary wage. The highest wage for women stitchers is from 7 to 7½ florins, an average wage is from 4 to 6 florins. The latter class of workers has only been employed since the introduction of stitching machines about 1860. They are paid by the piece and the average day's work is 11 hours.⁽³⁾

Hatmaking.

Outside four factories engaged in the manufacture of cheap hats the Hungarian hat trade is still a small industry, and the higher class articles sold by a few manufacturers in Budapest can hardly compete in price with the importations from Austria. The number of masters and assistant hatters are about equal; in

1885 there were in the straw hat trade 1,971 employers as compared with 1,871 workmen. In the capital a large part of the hat trade is carried on by outworkers who buy half-finished goods and work them up at home. The small masters in the provincial hat trade are generally in very bad conditions; the conditions are at their best in Transylvania where there is an export trade with the neighbouring countries. There is no really large establishment in the country and wages in general are reported as sinking.⁽⁴⁾

Wages in the basket plaiting trade show a tendency to fall owing to the competition of prison and penitentiary work, and the brushmaking trade suffered from a similar competition. In the latter trade workers are mostly paid by the piece, but partly also by the day, at a rate of from 1.40 to 2.50 florins.

Basket
plaiting, &c.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry in his report of 1892 noted the fact that he had received complaints with regard to the competition of prison and penitentiary work from various industrial quarters. "Some of them were worthy of consideration. I will not further enlarge on the fact that the question must be admitted to be a weighty one, and that its solution is rendered more difficult by the contrary nature of the interests involved, but I will affirm that I have looked into every case brought before me and have arranged in consultation with the Minister of Justice that the prison industries shall as far as possible be those which are either not generally established in the country or only in a minor degree, with a special view to offering no competition that may injure the small industries."⁽⁵⁾

(vii.) Com-
plaints of
prison pro-
ducts.

The various industries concerned with manufacture of wood occupy over 100,000 persons, of which not less than 39,758 were in the cabinet making trade and 24,439 in the carpentering trades, according to the census of 1891. The factory inspectors' reports of 1888 showed that at that time there were not less than 123 large industrial establishments in the wood industries employing machinery of 4,200 horse power and employing 7,536 workers. In the building trades the wages of assistants have been maintained in spite of a reduction in hours in the district of the Budapest Chamber of Commerce. Complaints have been recorded amongst employers in that district, of the new burden of compulsory sick insurance; they say they would be better able to bear the burden if the trade were in a more prosperous condition.⁽⁶⁾

(viii.) The
wood indus-
tries.

The printing and lithographical trades are fairly developed in Hungary. The total number occupied in the book-printing trade in the country is 8,996 according to official statistics. In 1885 there were said to be 319 establishments for all branches of the printing trade, of which 47 were at Budapest where the best machinery is used. The report of the Budapest Chamber of Commerce for 1891 affirmed that wages showed a marked tendency to rise and this was attributed to a threat of a strike which was held out during the whole year. The movement among the workmen was accompanied by a fall in prices; the position of the employers was so serious that a strong organisation was formed amongst them.⁽⁷⁾ The wages of printers in certain of the northern towns have already been indicated in Table XXVI. on page 186.

(ix.) Print-
ing trades.

In the bakers' industry the strike of 14 days in 1891 had some effect upon the state of labour and of the trade. Wages, which rose from 15 to 20 per cent., were regulated by an agreement between masters and men. The hawking of bread from house to house is complained of as affecting the market in this industry very seriously. The system flourishes through the convenience it affords to the consumers. In some of the most populous streets the pedlars are said to have a regular monopoly and the profits arising through any improvements in the trade, as for example through a fall in the price of flour is absorbed by them and the middleman. The bakers have waged a regular war against this system with the support of the magistrates and police authorities "but they effected nothing of importance, for the hawkers know how to escape every conviction." During the months from May to September six to seven loaves of bread could be bought for 10 kreuzer and during the rest of the year from

(x.) Bakers.

(1) *La Hongrie Économique*, pp. 349-53. Dr. Mandello's Report.
(2) Dr. Mandello's Report. *La Hongrie Économique*, pp. 354-4. Bericht der Handels und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pest, 1891, p. 1.
(3) Dr. Mandello's Report. Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Oesterr. Schuhmacher Tages, 1890, pp. 14-15. *La Hongrie Économique*, p. 356. Bericht der Handels und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pest, 1891 p. 101.

(4) Dr. Mandello's Report. *La Hongrie Économique*, p. 355.
(5) *Wirksamkeit des Kön. Ung. Handelsministers*, 1892, p. 53. Bericht der Handels und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pest, 1891.
(6) *La Hongrie Économique*, p. 357. Statistics supplied by Dr. Mandello. Bericht der Handels und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pest, 1892, p. 94.
(7) *La Hongrie Économique*, p. 381. Dr. Mandello's statistics. Bericht der Handels und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pest, 1891.

seven to nine loaves of poorer quality but larger size. This improvement profited no one but the middlemen, for the baker lowered the quality and lessened the weight of the loaves of bread as he increased the number. The consumers were injured and the bakers were put to greater cost through the necessity of employing more labour or working longer hours.⁽¹⁾

In many places, especially where the industries are at a distance from towns as in glass factories, foundries, saw-mills, and other undertakings in which many hands are employed, the firms establish provision stores or even clothing stores under their own charge without giving the workmen a share in the profits. Although the workers are not obliged to make their purchases at these stores, they generally do so from the nature of their situation. Sometimes credit is allowed which leads to subsequent deductions from wages. Neither these institutions nor the case of the millers, just mentioned, have been brought within the meaning of the provision against truck contained in paragraph 118 of the industrial law. The attention of the industrial authorities has been, however, specially directed by the Minister to the prevention of abuses in the institutions. They are not to be confounded with the co-operative stores which the employers have in some cases instituted jointly with their employes and for which the former only provide the capital without making direct profits. These institutions are of importance and value to the workers from a social as well as an economic point of view, and the Minister has informed the employers concerned of his desire that the employers' provision stores should, wherever possible, be remodelled in the co-operative form.⁽²⁾ Sir Arthur Nicholson estimated in 1892 that about 20 co-operative stores had been established in Hungary in connexion with factories, including about 10,000 workmen. A certain disinclination to belong to them is discoverable and strong opposition is offered to them by the retail dealers.⁽³⁾

The condition of shipbuilding labourers has been made the subject of a special inquiry by Dr. Somogyi who, wishing to study the sanitary, economic, mental and moral conditions of workers in the more important Hungarian industries, found the reports of inspectors inadequate for his purpose.

The shipbuilding industry is one of the oldest and most extensive in Hungary; the factory or yard in O-Buda (O=old, and the factory lies in a special part of Budapest) was founded in 1883 and has a great number of departments, iron, wood, &c., and a large number of employes, and is therefore a particularly convenient one to study from a statistical point of view.

On November 1st, 1887, there were 1,217⁽⁴⁾ workmen employed in this yard alone and were as follows:—

1. Enginemen	-	-	166
2. Stokers	-	-	23
3. Gas fitters	-	-	3
4. Pattern makers	-	-	7
5. Joiners	-	-	54
6. Ship's carpenters	-	-	208
7. Cylinder department	-	-	20
8. Blacksmiths	-	-	24
9. Engineers	-	-	25
10. Boilermakers	-	-	80
11. Shipwrights	-	-	210
12. Filers	-	-	4
13. Coppersmiths	-	-	10
14. Tin platers	-	-	13
15. Locksmiths	-	-	42
16. Upholsterers	-	-	13
17. Steam sawyers	-	-	56
18. Ropemakers	-	-	58
19. Dockers, &c.	-	-	48
20. Watchmen	-	-	5
21. Carters	-	-	3
22. Sailmakers	-	-	46
23. Painters	-	-	47
24. Copper smelters	-	-	22
25. Builders	-	-	30
			<u>1,217</u>

Out of these labourers only five are women. There have been considerable fluctuations in the numbers employed between the years 1870 and 1887, and this fact is attributed to the tariff war with Roumania, to increased duties in Germany, troubles in Bulgaria, competition between State Railways, the shallowness of water from time to time in the Danube. The largest number of workmen are generally employed in the months of January and February, the highest figures being 2,538 and 2,571 respectively, for these months in 1870 as compared with 1,405 and 1,437 respectively in 1887. Judging by numbers employed, 1887 was a less prosperous year than any during the period mentioned, except 1876, which fell to a lower level; the years from 1870-4 and 1881-4, are the most prosperous in the series. Every nationality is to be found among the foreign workers, but the Austrian predominates, the foreign or non-Hungarian element is about 21 per cent.

Austria is represented by 210 men or 85 per cent. of the foreigners.

Germany is represented by 16 men or 6.1 of the foreigners.

Italy is represented by 18 men or 6.9 of the foreigners.

Switzerland is represented by 2 men or 0.8 of the foreigners.

Roumania is represented by 2 men or 0.8 of the foreigners.

Holland is represented by 1 man or 0.4 of the foreigners.

Dr. Somogyi stated that the Hungarians are the best woodworkers and pattern makers.

There is no written contract nor is there a stipulated notice. The order of the day's work is posted up and is signed by a State official. The discipline is very strict; first offences are dealt with by the foreman, whose sentence can be appealed against to the management. Penalties for a slight offence are from 20 kreuzer to 1 florin; more serious cases are punished by suspension from work of from one day to a week, or by dismissal.

The usual working day is about 10 hours, in summer from 6 a.m. to 5.30 p.m., with an interval from 12 to 1.30, and in winter from 7 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. Sunday and night work occur only in exceptional cases. Dr. Somogyi points out that in calculating average wages various methods may be adopted. The whole sum given in wages may be divided among the total number of workmen, and this is the method adopted by himself. The men are paid both by time and by piece. Carpenters, coppersmiths and joiners, earn the highest wages. The following tables were drawn up by Dr. Somogyi.

TABLE XXVIII.—AVERAGE WAGES of different Classes of WORKMEN from 1835-7 in Florins and Kreuzer.

	1835.	1836.	1837.
1. Machinists	1.40	1.52	1.55
2. Blacksmiths	1.51	1.51	1.46
3. Coppersmiths	1.64	1.71	1.66
4. Modelmakers	1.49	1.53	1.59
5. Stokers	1.46	1.47	1.46
6. Boilermakers	1.41	1.42	1.49
7. Builders' workmen	1.26	1.17	1.22
8. Shipwrights	1.16	1.23	1.33
9. Carpenters	1.61	1.65	1.68
10. Joiners	1.60	1.61	1.68
11. Locksmiths	1.36	1.36	1.56
12. Tinplaters	1.43	1.51	1.71
13. Upholsterers	1.46	1.52	1.62
14. Sailmakers	1.52	1.55	1.59
15. Painters	1.22	1.22	1.29
16. Smelters	1.30	1.27	1.47
17. Ropemakers	0.87	0.89	1.09
18. Steam sawyers	1.24	1.31	0.21
19. Workmen outside the yard	1.01	1.02	1.02

(a.) Sm-
-era
-vision

(b.) Foreign
workers.

(c.) Ship-
building
labourers

(d.) Num-
bers em-
ployed.

(b.) Foreign
workers.

(c.) Dis-
cipline
contracts,
&c.

(d.) Econo-
mic condi-
tions.
Hours,
wages, &c.

(1) Bericht der Handels und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pesth, 1891, p. 102.

(2) Wirksamkeit des Kön. Ung. Handelsministers, 1892, p. 44.

(3) F. O. Report, MS. No. 233, p. 34.

(4) In 1891 these numbers rose to 1,314, according to Dr. Mandelko.

TABLE XXIX. showing AVERAGE WAGES of SKILLED WORKMEN.

Class of Workers.	Number of Skilled Workmen.	Average Wage.
		Fl. Kr.
1. Enginemen - - -	106	1.74
2. Gasfitters - - -	3	1.70
3. ? (<i>Hengermű</i>) - - -	3	1.66
4. Blacksmiths - - -	15	1.64
5. Coppersmiths - - -	6	2.09
6. Machinesmiths - - -	18	1.65
7. Boilersmiths - - -	58	1.61
8. Filers - - -	4	1.70
9. Smelters - - -	11	1.91
10. Shipwrights - - -	84	1.65
11. Carpenters - - -	194	1.75
12. Steam sawyers - - -	14	1.64
13. Pattern makers - - -	5	1.84
14. Joiners - - -	50	1.78
15. Locksmiths - - -	27	1.88
16. Painters - - -	17	1.56
17. Tin platers - - -	11	1.81
18. Upholsterers - - -	10	1.72
19. Stonecutters - - -	18	1.68
20. Sailmakers - - -	27	1.58
21. Ropemakers - - -	13	1.63
Total - - -	700	1.72

There were, however, several workers earning wages as high as from 2 florins 50 kreuzer to 3 florins 50 kreuzer, and taking every class of workers, skilled and unskilled, Dr. Somogyi found that out of the total 1,217 workers in 1887, 38 of them were earning between 48 kreuzer and 1 florin; 395 earning between 1 florin and 1 florin 36; 214 earning between 1 florin 36 and 1 florin 50; 505 earning between 1 florin 50 and 2 florins; 99 earning between 2 florins and 2 florins 50; 16 earning between 2 florins 50 and 3.40 a day. Higher wages can be earned by many classes of workers under the piece-work system, the increase amounting to as much as 52 per cent. by joiners and filers, over 80 per cent. by upholsterers and ropemakers; the lowest increase is 7 per cent. for dockers, while the average is 43 per cent. It is customary to give bonuses or presents to the older and better workmen. The gross amount of wages paid during 1886 was 700, 838 florins, giving an average of 446 florins per man. The time during which work was done was 448, 184 days, averaging 285 days per workman.

The majority of the workmen were members of the general labourers' sick fund, but this was in no way compulsory before the passing of the Sick Insurance law. In 1888 a movement was made for the formation of a pension fund which arose among the workmen themselves. The purchasing power of the men's wages, their dwellings and family budgets will be considered presently.

Dr. Somogyi gives details as to the ages of workers; 38 are between 14 and 15, and 98 between 16 and 20 years of age, 165 are over 60 years of age.

The sanitary conditions of the factories and yards are stated to be fairly good by Dr. Somogyi, as regards light, ventilation, temperature, water. During 1886 the total number of cases of illness of every kind among the workers, whether by accident or otherwise, was 562, of which 30 resulted in death; the total number of days of work lost was 9,793, and the average days of illness per invalid was 17.4. The following table illustrates the cases of accident which were treated by the factory surgeon in 1886:—

TABLE XXX.

Illness.	No. of Patients.	Days of Illness.
Open wounds - - -	100	1,533
Contusions - - -	66	510
Dislocations - - -	1	33
Fractures - - -	4	214
Burns - - -	10	101
Ruptures - - -	19	35
Skin injuries - - -	9	14
Injuries to the eye - - -	26	677
	298	3,117

The next table is interesting as illustrating the average number of accidents occurring on different days of the week:

Monday - - - -	11
Tuesday - - - -	12
Wednesday - - - -	11
Thursday - - - -	13
Friday - - - -	18
Saturday - - - -	17

The average degree of intelligence of Hungarian as compared with foreign workers is at least partly illustrated by the fact that 74 per cent. of the former can read and write, while only 68 per cent. of the latter can do so. Fifty-five per cent. are married and most of them have large families. They are generally sober, fond of reading newspapers, and are greatly interested in the question of universal suffrage. Socialist propaganda have been attempted amongst them with but little success. A school for the children of the workmen was erected by the managers, and in 1886 167 children attended regularly.⁽¹⁾

D.—THE STANDARD OF COMFORT, DWELLINGS, FOOD, &c.

The real wages of the working classes may now be indicated by an inquiry into their private conditions of life, i.e., their food and dwellings. The lack of really adequate statistics makes it impossible to give a complete account of the subject, but certain monographs and statistics exist for portions of it and may be here made use of. Dr. Somogyi has given considerable attention to this direction of economic inquiry and it is on his pamphlets that conclusions must mainly rest, but Sir Arthur Nicholson's report of 1892 makes corrections and additions.

It should be remembered generally that direct as well as indirect taxation holds an important part in working class expenditure for all except "day labourers." The small part played in the provision of workmen's food and household stores by co-operative organisation has already been seen (pp.). Co-operative stores are rather widely regarded, with suspicion by the working classes and a similar want of confidence is shown towards any attempt to inquire into workmen's expenses with a view to better their condition, e.g., Dr. Somogyi records that forms were sent to the ship building labourers of Old Buda to be filled in by themselves a few years since with a view to discovering their expenses, but only a few of them would consent to give particulars. The food, Dr. Somogyi affirms, among these labourers, is fairly plentiful and good; everyone of them eats meat every day and drinks wine, consuming about 20 dekagramms of meat per head per day; a family of several grown-up people uses about 12 kilogr. of flour per week; the average price of wine is 14 kreuzer, and half a litre and 3 kreuzer of tobacco is about what a workman consumes a day. An average family requires about 10 kilogrammes of potatoes and half to one kilogramme of sugar a week. The shipbuilding labourers are unusually well off in having a co-operative store and it was through the store that the information here given was acquired. The market prices of the ordinary commodities in 1887 were as follows:—

4 bundles of firewood - - -	13 fl. 50 kr.
100 kilog. of flour - - -	11 to 12 fl.
1 kilog. of beef - - -	50 kr.
1 kilog. of pork - - -	56 kr.
1 kilog. of lard - - -	60 kr.
1 kilog. of potatoes - - -	4 kr.
1 kilog. of sugar - - -	42 kr.
1 kilog. of coffee - - -	2 fl. 40 kr.
1 litre beans - - -	10 kr.
1 litre peas - - -	18 kr.
1 litre rice - - -	32 kr.
1 kilog. salt - - -	13 kr.
1 kilog. soap - - -	32 kr.
1 kilog. petroleum - - -	18 kr.

A budget of five ship labourers' families was given by Dr. Somogyi as follows:—⁽²⁾

(1) Pamphlet on the shipbuilding labourers of Buda Pest (O-Budai Hajogvar Munkasainak Helyzete), by Dr. Ezeauel Somogyi.
 (2) O-Budai Hajogvar Munkasainak Helyzete. Dr. Immanuel Somogyi, pp. 16-17. Die Lage der Arbeiter in Ungarn vom Hygienischen Standpunkte, p. 24.

(a.) Sanitary conditions.

(a.) The incompleteness of statistics.

(i.) Food and budget.

TABLE XXXI.

Head of the Family.			Description of the Family.	Income.			Expenditure.									
Occupation.	Age.			Earning of the head of the Family.	Earning of the other members.	Total.	House rent.	Taxes.	Life Insurance and Subscriptions.	Food.	Spirits.	Tobacco.	Fire and Light.	Clothing.	Total.	Surplus.
A.	Blacksmith -	50	Wife, 18 years' boy (earns 6 florins a week, gives 4 florins for household expenses, second boy of 15, parents have to look after.	Fl. 540	Fl. 308	Fl. 748	Fl. 70	Fl. 10	Fl. 30	Fl. 304	Fl. 60	Fl. 25	Fl. 30	Fl. 100	Fl. 639	Fl. 59
B.	Carpenter -	55	Wife, and three grown up girls earn by sewing.	540	370	810	72	10	30	380	36	24	24	130	696	114
C.	Upholsterer -	35	Wife, and child of some months.	624	—	624	100	10	32	250	36	26	25	80	536	68
D.	" -	30	Mother, who keeps the house	468	—	468	80	10	18	240	38	25	20	50	460	7'95
E.	Docker -	28	No family - - -	360	—	360	46	—	1'80	182	36	24	—	30	321	39

Sir Arthur Nicholson's report affirms that Dr. Somogyi's figures have to be qualified by the consideration that prices generally have risen about 20 per cent. in the last few years, whereas wages have only risen by about 5 per cent. to 8 per cent. This may be especially taken into consideration in connexion with the estimated proportion of wages spent on clothes; Dr. Somogyi gives it as 10 per cent. for an unmarried workman and it would be nearly double that for a workman with a family. Clothes for children are mostly made at home. Sir Arthur Nicholson gives the following prices for food in Budapest in 1892— " Good beef is 1s. 2d. a pound, the best pieces of fillet " without bone being as high as 2s. 6d. a pound, " common pieces of beef 5½d. a pound. Mutton is very " rarely eaten and is exceedingly bad, sheep being kept " simply for wool. Pork is 4½d. a pound; veal, 4d. a

" pound; bread, ¾d. a pound, milk, 3d. a litre; coffee, " 9d. a pound; bacon, 4½d. a pound; salt, 1d. a pound; " petroleum, 6½d. a litre; sugar, 4½d. a pound; common " coal about 20s. a ton. Vegetables are cheap."(1) The following tables may be compared. Dr. Somogyi's table represents the average condition several years ago while the second table was given by Sir Arthur Nicholson in 1892 as a good average one, after personal inquiry of the family in question, corrected by information from elsewhere. The discrepancy as to balance is remarkable. Dr. von Schnierer asserts that the workmen rarely puts by any savings, especially in the capital and other large towns and that only the workmen in the provincial factories are able to make some economies as there they frequently find cheap board and lodging.(2)

TABLE XXXIIA.—MR. SOMOGYI'S Budget.

Occupation.	Family.	Total Receipts of Family.	Expenditure.								
			Rent.	Taxes.	Insurance.	Living.	Drinks.	Tobacco.	Firing and Lights.	Clothes.	Total.
Smith -	Wife, 18 years' old son earning 10s. a week, 15 years' old son. (Eldes son gives 1s. 3d. a week to father.)	£ s. d. 62 6 8	£ s. d. 5 15 8	£ s. d. 0 15 8	£ s. d. 2 10 0	£ s. d. 30 6 8	£ s. d. 5 0 0	£ s. d. 2 1 8	£ s. d. 2 10 0	£ s. d. 8 6 8	£ s. d. 67 8 4
Upholsterer -	Wife and 6 months' infant.	53 0 0	8 6 8	0 16 8	2 3 4	20 16 8	3 0 0	2 3 4	2 1 8	6 13 4	46 11 0
Day workman	None -	30 0 0	4 0 0	—	0 3 0	15 13 4	3 0 0	2 0 0	—	2 10 0	26 16 4

TABLE XXXIIB.—SIR A. NICHOLSON'S Budget.

Occupation.	Family.	Total Receipts of Family.	Expenditure.								
			Rent.	Taxes.	Insurance.	Living.	Drinks.	Tobacco.	Firing and Lights.	Clothes.	Total.
Millhand	Wife and infant; wife earns by sackmaking -	£ s. d. 46 10 8	£ s. d. 12 6 8	£ s. d. 0 16 8	£ s. d. 0 8 0	£ s. d. 24 0 0	£ s. d. ?	£ s. d. ?	£ s. d. 2 10 0	£ s. d. 6 10 0	£ s. d. 46 11 10

1.) Dwell-
gs.

The question of lodgings and dwellings varies widely in the chief towns and provinces. There is a growing opinion in the country amongst Hungarians themselves that the question is a pressing one generally but perhaps especially in the capital where the enormously rapid growth in the population has led to an overcrowding in certain quarters an account of which " could not be read without a shudder." A special inquiry into overcrowded dwellings and night lodgings was undertaken by order of the Minister of the Interior in March 1893. A number of houses indicated by the local authorities for each of the ten divisions of Buda Pest were personally inspected by a commission comprising a doctor, an engineer, and a secretary; their

attention was directed to the number and ages of the inhabitants, light, dampness and dimensions of the rooms, the rent of the dwellings and the price to be paid for a lodging. The general results of the inquiry were as follows:—

There were 2,749 overcrowded dwellings, i.e., in which the cubic dimensions were less than 10 metres, and in which 20,485 individuals were found. Further 1,238 persons were found lodged in 79 night lodging houses. Two-thirds of the lodgings visited, i.e., 1,897 in which 13,548 persons were found, were on the

(1) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1892, No. 238.
(2) F. O. Report cited, p. 30-1.

ground-floor (*rez-de-chaussée*) 516 with 4,139 inhabitants were underground, 284 with 2,362 inhabitants were on the first floor, 41 with 365 inhabitants were on the second floor, 3 with 29 inhabitants on third floor, one with six inhabitants were on the fourth floor, and 7 lodgings with 36 inhabitants were in the garrets. The number of lodgings with a kitchen were 1,766 with 14,667 inhabitants, without a kitchen, 902 with 5,449 inhabitants. The most important results of the inquiry are those relating to dimensions; the lodgings where the cubic content was below 20 metres were 189 (562 inhabitants), in these lodgings beyond the beds there were scarcely two to three metres. The rooms containing more than 100 cubic metres were 106 with 1,404 inhabitants. In the matter of light the commissioners found 530 rooms fairly well lighted while 454 were absolutely dark. In the matter of dampness only one-fifth of the lodgings were passable, a fourth were in a bad condition and a tenth very damp. Very few of the dwellers in these lodgings have a separate bed, the greater part sleep two in a bed while in many cases three share one bed. Often the lodgers sleep on the bare floor. Comparison of rents showed the surprising result that in many cases the underground lodgings were dearer than the ground floor. The annual rents of the most frequented lodgings, i.e., one room with a kitchen were as follows:—36 at 50 fl., 139 at 50 fl. to 75 fl., 135 at 75 to 100 fl., 185 at 100 to 125 fl., 253 at 125 to 150 fl., and 256 at over 150 fl.

Owing to the activity of the local authorities great improvement was reported during the last few years in the matter of overcrowding of the night lodgings which are under direct official supervision. Sometimes these night lodgings are paid for at so much per night sometimes at such much per week. The lowest rents are 20 to 25 krenzer a week, but rents sometimes rise to as much as 20 kr. a night.⁽¹⁾

The provision of dwellings for miners by mining companies in certain cases has already been dealt with and the account of the industrial law, as well as the sketch of the system of small industries has fully shown that provision of board and lodging for his men still forms a large part of the remuneration given by the small employer. A certain number of the manufacturers also provide dwellings for their factory hands both in the provinces and in the chief towns. In 1891 there were 31 large industrial employers who had built dwellings capable of accommodating 7,074 workmen who paid a moderate weekly rent; while 130 factory owners gave free lodging to 6,065 workmen, i.e., a lodging whose price is really deducted from the wages. In these "free lodgings," says Dr. Somogyi, the worst conditions are often found. In the dwellings for the tile factory workers in Budapest there are 120 rooms and in each room from three to four families may be found often without regard to the numbers in each family; unmarried workmen sleep in sheds throughout the summer. In the spirit distilleries, sleeping sheds are erected in which straw is scattered for the workers to sleep on and no trace is found of provision for washing or for bedding. The sanitation and ventilation of such places leaves much to be desired and Dr. von Schnierer in his report of 1887 declared that the workers led a life unworthy of human beings in them. Similar conditions prevail in the ironworks in the district of the Kassa Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The same inspector also found pitiful conditions in the factories of the Sopron district, the case is particularly bad when the workers sleep in the factories where they have worked all day, for then no ventilation is possible. Peculiar conditions are found in the ironworks of Zolyom-Brezno. There half the workers (810) are lodged in military fashion in barracks; 520 of the men who come from other parts of the country are married and only visit their wives and children three times a year. The same conditions are found at Kis-Garam. Very few of the large employers have provided cheap and good lodging for their workers. The Austro-Hungarian State Railways Company has erected buildings for 3,577 workers in Resicza and Anina, where a dwelling with two rooms, a kitchen and cupboard, including use of a garden can be had for an annual rent of 36 fl. and a smaller dwelling for 24 fl. A certain number of the men have bought their dwellings with the assistance of the Company.⁽²⁾

Workmen's building societies have not yet been instituted in Hungary. Sir Arthur Nicholson personally

inspected some of the workmen's quarters in Budapest and in some cases found very bad conditions, overcrowding in decaying buildings which had practically no sanitary arrangements. Sub-letting existed here and the places were said to be hotbeds of diseases.

"I went into one lodging consisting of a kitchen and a small room. The rent paid was 17l. 13s. 4d. a year. In the room and kitchen were 14 beds, which were let out at 10d. to 1s. a week. The woman who rented the apartments told me that she was not always able to fill the beds, and was consequently frequently pinched to pay the rent. She apparently made no difficulty as to the sex or age of the occupants of the beds. In another room, with a cooking stove in the centre, there were 10 so-called beds—straw mattresses laid mostly on empty cases. The rent paid for this room was 18l. a year, the beds being let out as in the former case. Next door a room was inhabited by a cobbler, working for a shop, and earning, he told me, on an average 8s. 4d. a week. He lived with a wife and two children, the wife ill in bed. The rent was 15l. 16s. 8d. a year, and, as the cobbler remarked, it was exceedingly difficult to get through the year. Other rents for single rooms inhabited by families ran from 14l. to 17l. a year. These lodgings are not inhabited by waifs and strays, but chiefly by honest hard-working people, and the rents seem to be very high.

"I next visited some dwellings specially erected for workmen. The houses were well built and fairly clean, though the odours showed that the sanitary arrangements might be improved. The rent for a small room, with a kitchen, was 14l. 3s. 4d. a year. The rooms which I saw were cleanly kept by the occupants. In one apartment was a postman ill in bed. He earned 2l. 10s. a month, but his wife took in washing, and was able to add to the family income in a small measure. Another single room was inhabited by a mill hand with his wife; rent 12l. 6s. 8d. The man earned, in good years, 37l. 10s., and his wife gained a small sum by sack-making. These dwellings were quite habitable, but it will be seen that the rent eats largely into the income. I was struck by the friendly way in which all received a stranger, and the readiness and frankness with which they answered questions. I also visited a workman's colony built by a large mill. The colony consisted of several well-built houses, containing in all 128 apartments. Married quarters consisted of a room and a kitchen, and single men took a room in common. The rent for a married quarter was 11l. 13s. 4d., and for a single room 8l. 3s. 4d. Beds with linen were let out at 1s. 8d. a week. All these houses were well kept and in good sanitary order, under the supervision of a resident inspector; and in each house was a table of regulations as to the maintenance of cleanliness and decency. This colony had for many months remained uninhabited, as the workmen had disliked the idea of moving into it, and being subjected to some discipline and order. They now appear to appreciate the change. I was told workmen were gradually being pushed further and further into the outskirts of the capital, where rents were perhaps lower, but the accommodation not better, I am told, than what I described in the place first visited. In short, with the exception of highly-skilled workmen and foremen, and the comparatively few who are able to be housed in 'colonies' or in dwellings specially built, the workman in Budapest finds too large a portion of his modest wage disbursed in renting a very poor and unsatisfactory abode. It is impossible that he can do more than live in straitened circumstances, poorly fed, and without those relaxations and interests which vary and cheer the life of his fellows in many places elsewhere."⁽³⁾

The introduction of the zone tariff system on Hungarian railways has already made a perceptible difference in the state of the labour market, and it appears likely that the tendencies already manifested will develop further as time goes on.

The cheap fares which now prevail enable working men, if travelling in parties of ten, to reach the capital from the extreme limit of the country for about 3s. 4d. The railway returns for 1892 show that the working classes have not been slow in availing themselves of the facilities thus afforded. The difference between the number of third class tickets for slow trains issued in 1888 (the year preceding the introduction of the zone system) and 1892 amounted to 16,048,000.

Express trains may here be left out of account as the number of third class passengers conveyed by them amounted in 1892 to only 1·7 per cent of the whole number.

(5.) Effect of the zone system on labour.

(1) Monthly Bulletin of the Statistical Bureau of the town of Budapest (Statistikai Haviújság), edited by Joseph Körösi, 1893.

(2) Die Lage der Arbeiter in Ungarn vom Hygienischen Standpunkte, pp. 25-9.

(3) F. O. Report, Misc. Series, No. 238, 1892, pp. 32-5.

These figures show that the zone system has for the first time made travelling a possibility to the working classes, and as travelling is indisputably an important means of education, the new system will probably result in a general rise of the standard of cultivation among the working classes. A higher standard means, however, increased wants, and these in their turn react on wages and tend to bring them up to a sum which will enable the new wants to be satisfied.

This, however, is only one side of the question; the other side seems to promise less favourable results, especially in an agricultural state such as Hungary. The disturbance of agricultural conditions caused by the legal emancipation of the peasants is still active, and its results may be seen in the sinking of whole classes of farmers and small proprietors into the class of day-labourers.

If the free circulation of labour is carried much further it is feared that this state of things may be aggravated. Yearly engagements will give place to short contracts; men who frequently change their abode will soon change their work; irregular habits will lead to instability of character, and finally the migration of rural labourers to towns will be greatly accelerated. In some neighbourhoods the difficulty of obtaining labourers is already increasing, and the expenses of landlords have advanced in proportion. (cf. *supra* p. 176-7).

Even for town labourers a freer circulation of labour cannot be regarded as an unmixed benefit; because it will undoubtedly bring new competitors into the field, and the opportunity it will give to employers of obtaining free labour in case of strikes may prove a great disadvantage to labour organisations.⁽¹⁾

DIVISION III.—CERTAIN SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

1. FRIENDLY SOCIETIES AND INSURANCE FUNDS.

The oldest relief funds or friendly societies in Hungary as in Germany and Austria are those amongst miners which have existed for centuries, and which hold now a special position amongst the relief funds recognised by the new insurance law, to be presently treated. These societies were also recognised by the general mining law of Austria which was codified May 23, 1854, and still applies in Hungary. This law provided that fund each mine must have its own society, or be affiliated to a common to various workings, and established with the approval of the mining authority; variations in amounts of contributions and of relief afforded were admitted for different mines. After 1875, where these funds did not exist, sick or injured workmen were declared to be entitled to the same relief from the mine owner as is afforded by the law of 1875, which regulated the relations of employers to workmen. In all the oldest societies aid was given not only in case of illness but also of accidents, and pensions were given to the aged, widows and orphans; the societies often granted loans up to 5*l.* or even 10*l.* at a rate of interest of six per cent. The organisations vary very much in detail, but generally it may be said that the miners contribute from four to six per cent. of their wages, "the owners also assisting." Statistics given in the Statistical Year Book of 1891 show that in all the State mines a contribution is given equal to that of the miners, whereas in the private mines the owners' contribution rarely rises to one third, and sometimes is absent altogether. The benefits are generally free medical treatment and medicines, maintenance allowance of one half to one third of the wage, provision for widows and orphans, and in most cases old age pensions. Mr. von Schnierer held, at the time of the passing of the insurance law, that it was very doubtful whether the societies were in a proper position to meet the old age claims, and that it was important that these pensions should be granted on a system of life insurance and not drawn out of the insurance fund. For a long time these friendly societies were confined to the miners, but gradually the workmen in the cognate industries, attached to the mines entered into them or founded similar societies. Outside the friendly societies no attempt has been made to establish pensions for old age or for widows and orphans of workmen. On the whole it may be said that the position of the societies has been improving in the last seven years. In 1883 the State

and private funds together amounted to 7,759,944 florins, and in 1889 they amounted to 8,893,965 florins. In the end of 1889 the funds in the State mines of Hungary were 2,835,522, and in the private mines 5,992,749 florins. The contributions of the miners in the State mines for that year were 186,916 florins, of the owners 228,942, and from other sources 551,366 florins. In the private mines the contributions of the miners were 842,702 florins, of the owners 150,719 gulden, and from other sources 36,214. Thus it will be seen that the share taken by the miners is immensely greater in the private mines than in the State mines. The total disbursements by the funds in the State mines for 1889 were 2,148,077 florins, and in the private mines 1,694,761 florins. The costs of administration in the former were reckoned at 8,155 florins, and in the latter at 32,858 florins.⁽¹⁾ The need of establishment of relief funds was recognised by the industrial law of 1872 (§§ 66-75), but nothing definite was enunciated until provisions were made for industrial guilds by the law of 1884, which pointed to this question of relief funds as one of the suitable objects of the guilds. It was intended that the guilds should assist in development of the voluntary institutions for the relief of incapacitated workmen which already existed in several branches of industry, and also that they should form new funds. Official reports on the subject in the last few years have formulated special regrets that the guilds have not taken up this task more energetically, and it was pointed out in the notes to the German translation of the insurance law of 1891 that only 87 out of 200 industrial corporations had established relief funds. It was stated in the report of the Budapest Chamber of Commerce and Industry in 1892, that the passing of the law had an immediate effect on the guild funds; "a large number of the industrial guilds, in response to the provisions of this law, have taken up the solution of this problem, freshly laid before them, with renewed zeal."⁽²⁾

An important fund has existed since 1870 called the "Budapest General Fund for Aid to Invalid and Incapacitated Workmen," which has been managed entirely by workmen. Its statutes have been remodelled in accordance with the new law. In 1891 it was financially prosperous and had over 50,000 members; of whom 13,000 were women. It was in relation with over 120 industrial establishments, whose workpeople were all inscribed on its books. It had developed branches in all the large towns and had succeeded in securing the adhesion of many workpeople in the small industries who had formerly no system of relief. Between 1870 and 1891, it had spent about 250,000*l.* in medical and hospital aid.

In spite of all individual attempts, however, before 1891 there were still 60 per cent. of the industrial working classes who were left to their own resources in case of illness.⁽³⁾

The Hungarian Sick Insurance Law of April 14th, 1891, is in many points similar to the Austrian law of 1888, but occupies in some respects an intermediate position between the Austrian and the German law, and in certain respects is unique.

It provides that every person, without distinction of sex, age, or nationality, employed on Hungarian territory at a wage which does not exceed four florins a day (or 1,200 florins yearly), whether (a) in one of the trades subject to the industrial law of 1884, (b) in mines or mineral works, (c) in works of construction, (d) in railway, post, telegraph or telephonic service, (e) in the navy and naval construction, (f) in transport of merchandise or in warehouses, shall belong to a sick fund. As under the German law, however, persons who have expressly contracted for work to occupy them less than six days are exempted from the obligation, although even these may voluntarily join in the fund. The Hungarian law, like the Austrian, expressly excludes persons employed in the merchant service and fishermen; it differs from the Austrian law in its reference to the persons earning more than the above-mentioned four florins daily. These are authorised to join the sick fund at their own expense, whereas the Austrian law instituted for them a special system of compulsory insurance, the only thing which distinguishes them from other persons compelled to insure lies in this, that they are not aided by their employers. State employés

(b.) Sick Insurance Law of April 14th, 1891.

(f.) Persons to whom applicable.

(1) Le Tarif par Zones et ses Résultats I. Supplément, p. 14. Information supplied by Dr. Mandello and Mr. Milbanke, H.M. Consul-General at Buda Pest.

(1) Dr. Mandello's MS. Report, 1894. Fourth Report of the Mining Royalties Commission, 1893, pp. 290-1. F. O. Report, Misc. Series, 1892, No. 238, p. 22. Statistisches Jahrbuch für Ungarn, 1891, pp. 16-17.

(2) Bericht der Handels und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pesth, 1892 p. 16. Cf. also reports of previous years. F. O. Report, Misc. Ser. 1892, No. 238, p. 19.

(3) F. O. Report, cited pp. 19 and 22.

in Austria, whether district, communal, provincial, or otherwise, are expressly excluded from the law of 1888, whereas Article 5 of the Hungarian law of 1891, while freeing them from the obligation to contribute to a special fund, promises them the continuation of their wages for 20 weeks from the day on which an illness began. Voluntary affiliation to the sick fund is permitted to the members of the family of the workman who is under obligation to insure, on payment of half the contribution of the breadwinner.⁽¹⁾

(ii.) Basis and amount of contributions.

The regular contributions of compulsory members are based on the mean customary wage or real wage; where board forms part of the contract this is taken into account; the calculations are made by the industrial authorities in concert with the Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The regular contribution to the reserve fund is 2 per cent. of the wage so calculated, but it may, with the approbation of the Minister of Commerce, be raised to 5 per cent. in exceptional cases. Two-thirds of this per-centage is deducted from the wages of the workmen and one third is paid in by the employer. The latter is responsible for the regular payment of the contributions and arrears can be collected in the same way as public taxes. The employer is held liable for the whole contribution in the case of apprentices and youthful workers receiving wages below the "normal amount." The Minister of Commerce acting in concert with the Minister of Finances may order that the payment of contributions shall take place through the Postal Savings Bank.

(iii.) Aid afforded by the funds.

The pecuniary relief afforded by the compulsory funds is 10 per cent. less than in Austria and is 50 per cent. of the wage received at the time the illness commenced; in addition to this maintenance allowance which shall be continued for 20 weeks the invalid receives free medical attendance and necessary medicaments and therapeutical treatment for the same length of time. Women lying-in receive pecuniary relief on the same scale as the maintenance allowance from the first day for at least four weeks. In case of death funeral expenses are paid equal to 20 times the amount of the daily wage. Funds which possess superior resources may give higher rates of relief, but in no case is the aid to last longer than a year nor to exceed 75 per cent. of the average daily wage, nor may funeral indemnities exceed 40 times the daily wage. The members of an insured workman's family living in his house may receive free medical attendance and medicines. The above provisions for relief (which are contained in Articles 7 and 8 of this law) are extended, in the absence of a special law for accident insurance to those workmen who are injured or have died in consequence of accidents.

Any fund which does not supply medical and pharmaceutical aid to its members must increase the amount of its maintenance allowance by one-half.

Instead of punishing malingers, as in the Austrian law, by enforcing a supplementary contribution a fine is levied in Hungary amounting to 50 florins. These fines are the property of the district fund belonging to the district in which the authority has pronounced sentence.⁽²⁾

(iv.) Organisation of the funds.

The organisation of the various funds recognised by the law are treated in a long series of articles (28-75) under categories analogous to those treated in Article 11 of the Austrian law. There are six varieties of fund recognised, viz.: (1) district funds, (2) factory and workshop, (3) funds for temporary constructive works, (4) guild funds, (5) miners' friendly society funds, (6) private insurance funds.

(v.) District funds.

The district funds are not, as in the Austrian law, based on a judicial district, but the duty of regulating the extent and fixing the centre of the district to which a fund shall apply is given to the Minister of Commerce acting in consultation with the Minister of the Interior. These district funds may be established where the other species of funds mentioned are insufficient or do not exist, and can be dissolved if the number of members fall below 100, or if the general assembly of members decides on dissolution, or if the funds fail to meet the demands made on them. Such dissolution takes place by order of the industrial authorities. The statutes of any association must be revised by the same authorities with final reference to the authority of third instance, namely, the Minister of Commerce. The

association is formed and the statutes drawn up by representatives of the employers and workmen. The general assembly is composed of all the members insured except apprentices and voluntary members and the employers or their representatives. The various district funds may be federated in associations and a list of the funds enrolled must be sent to the Minister of Commerce for publication; among the objects of such associations are the formation of a special reserve fund, the control of the financial affairs of the district funds and the preparation of statistics. The general assembly of this association is composed of delegates of all the separate funds belonging to the association, and it is by them that the governing committee and the board of arbitration are elected. The latter is concerned with settlement of disputes between separate funds or between one of the funds and the associations; disputes must be brought up for settlement within a year of their occurrence. Each separate fund has its own arbitration committee provided for in its statutes.⁽¹⁾

(vi.) Separate factory funds.

Separate factory or workshop funds may be established where an industrial employer has an important undertaking or several neighbouring undertakings and the formation of such a fund can only be prohibited by the minister if it is likely to injure the district fund. A private employer may establish a fund even where the number of his workers is less than one hundred, if he can give the necessary guarantees for its efficient working to the industrial authorities. If an undertaking is peculiarly dangerous to health or safety of the workers the industrial authority may order the formation of a fund, even if the number of members be less than 100; if the employer fails to comply with such an order within a prescribed time, he may be ordered to pay in five per cent. on the wages of his workmen without effecting any stoppages from the wages. Any person working by contract for an industrial establishment which possesses a sick insurance fund has the right to affiliate himself, if he wishes, to it. Such funds as have been in operation since before the passing of the law may be continued under condition of submitting their statutes within three months through the industrial authorities to the Minister of Commerce for approval. When the Minister has given his sanction to them a general meeting may be held and the committee of control organised.⁽²⁾

(vii.) Funds for temporary works of construction.

Wherever considerable numbers of workers are employed in works of construction on roads, bridges, railways, fortifications, &c., which are in their nature temporary, the industrial authority in the district may compel the contractor to institute an insurance fund; if he delays in carrying the order out the penalty is the same as in the case of dangerous industries. Every person employed on such works of construction must be affiliated to the fund unless he can prove that he already belongs to the district fund or some other accredited fund. These temporary funds have no obligation to form a reserve fund; on termination of the works the balance reverts to the local district fund.⁽³⁾

(viii.) Guild insurance funds.

Every industrial guild formed under the law of 1884 whose members employ not less than 200 workmen (assistants and apprentices) may institute an insurance fund and every workman employed by the members of these guilds must insure himself in the fund unless he already belongs to a district or other accredited fund. The statutes must be prepared by the arbitration committee of the guild. Apprentices have no claims in connexion with the institution except the claim to aid.⁽⁴⁾

(ix.) Miners' friendly societies.

Members of miners' friendly societies which are regulated by the mining law and which satisfy the conditions of the insurance law are free from any obligation to join another insurance fund. If a miners' fund gives aid to persons other than miners it must conform, in respect of the maximum relief given, to the provisions of the present law. As is shown elsewhere these miners' funds give far more extensive benefits than was contemplated by the law of 1891 and the contributions of the miners are higher than those laid down as the maximum by that law.⁽⁵⁾

(x.) Private insurance funds.

The Minister of Commerce, after consultation with the Chamber of Commerce, and Industry and with the approval of the minister of the interior, may recognise

(1) Les lois d'Assurance ouvrière à l'Étranger, M. Bellom, Paris, 1892, pp. 290-2 and 524-5. F. O. Report Misc. Ser. 1892, No. 238, pp. 20-21. Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften. Arbeiterversicherung.

(2) Les lois d'Assurance ouvrière à l'Étranger, pp. 292-3, 528-34.

(1) Les lois d'Assurance ouvrière à l'Étranger, pp. 263-5, 530-40. F. O. Report cited, p. 21.

(2) Les lois d'Assurance ouvrière à l'Étranger, pp. 265, 540-2, 551. F. O. Report cited, p. 21.

(3) Les lois d'Assurance, &c., cited, pp. 265-6, 543-4.

(4) Les lois d'Assurance, &c., pp. 266-7, 544-5.

(5) Ibid, pp. 267, 546-6.

the funds of private societies enrolling not less than 200 members as sick insurance funds in the sense of the law of 1891, on the condition that they conform to the law in respect of the maximum subscriptions and minimum relief. Workmen who are members of these societies are free from any obligation to enter any of the other funds mentioned, but members of those other funds may not pass from them to the private societies.⁽¹⁾

Sick funds established in connexion with State undertakings, with the exception of those in the mines, must modify their statutes conformably to the law within six months. The competent Minister takes the place of the ordinary industrial authority in all that concerns existing or projected State insurance funds.

The Hungarian law fixes (Art. 14) the minimum of the reserve fund at a value equal to the mean annual expenses calculated on the five preceding years, and it may not be increased to a sum greater than twice this amount except with the consent of the Minister of Commerce. The duty of regulating the investment and working of the reserve fund rests with the Minister of Commerce acting in concert with the Minister of Finances (or in Croatia-Slavonia to the *Ban*).

The system for contributions is similar to the Austrian, but when the fund cannot afford the minimum relief prescribed by the law it may be authorised to raise the contributions to a maximum at the expense of the employer, but this must be voted by the general assembly of employers and workmen insured. As has been indicated already the Ministers of Commerce and Finance may authorise the payment of contributions through the post office. Contributions of employers must be paid into the fund, out of which expenses of management incurred by the Associations, e.g., in the publication of accounts, are liquidated.

The industrial authorities referred to in the law are of first, second and third instance, and are those defined in Article 106 of the Industrial Law of 1884. The execution of the law in so far as Croatia-Slavonia is concerned is under the charge of the *Ban* of Croatia-Slavonia.⁽²⁾

Sir A. Nicholson states that the law was received with disfavour by some of the important sick insurance societies, and that it was not received with general satisfaction by employers or employed. An owner of a factory in Budapest told Sir A. Nicholson "that the burdens thrown on him would be considerable," through his responsibility for punctual payment of the contributions, and for deficits in the funds of his establishment; moreover, he considered it a "mistake to extend the favour of free medical aid, &c. to members of the workman's family as it might open the door to abuses . . . notwithstanding these criticisms there can be little doubt that the law will, in general, be of benefit to the workman."⁽³⁾

2.—EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY AND ACCIDENT INSURANCE.

As has already been seen, the official data on the subject of industrial accidents in Hungary are quite incomplete, and not trustworthy as a basis for general conclusions on the questions which arise out of them, viz., employers' liability and insurance against accidents. It is desirable to bring out more clearly the fact and to illustrate the existing state of the law of employers' liability and the degree of development of the practice of private insurance.

Very contradictory accounts of the state of the law regulating the workmen's claim for compensation as against the employers are given by the authorities. According to Mr. von Schnierer's report, cited by Sir A. Nicholson, the tribunals "interpret the responsibility of the employers very strictly and in numerous cases condemn the employers for the smallest neglect or defective arrangement to considerable damages . . . it is much to be desired that more employers should insure their workmen against accidents, not only in the interests of the latter, but also in their own."⁽⁴⁾ Dr. Mandello, on the other hand, declares that the legal claims of an injured workman for compensation from his employer are most unfavourable. The explanation of the discrepancy between these statements is probably to be found in a close examination (1) of the law as it stands, both in common law and in the industrial law, (2) of the machinery for carrying it into effect; both are undeveloped, and in parts contradictory, and consequently the operation of the law is probably ex-

tremely uncertain. On the one hand, as Mr. von Schnierer admits, many workmen are afraid of the costs of legal proceedings, and prefer to forego claims rather than to enter on the prolonged suits entailed by the Hungarian legal procedure, in which evidence is written, and not oral, and under which the practice of appeals is carried to an extreme degree. On the other hand, as Dr. Mandello shows, the theory of the liability is so undeveloped in Hungarian civil law that the common decisions of the courts are contradictory and antiquated. "The claim of a worker in a factory to compensation for injury is generally only at civil law, and the manufacturer or his representative are only responsible for their own fault or negligence, or, according to Roman law, for the fault of a foreman if it can be shown that there was negligence in choosing him (*culpa in eligendo*)."⁽⁵⁾ Owing to the naturally dependent position of the workman who will hardly ever bring an action against his employer the liability of the latter is reduced to a minimum. The cases before the courts are rare, and even when they are brought the workman only obtains compensation if the fault of the employer is clearly gross. A typical case may be seen in a decision according to which an injured workman was awarded a month's maintenance at the rate of the wages he was receiving when injured.⁽⁶⁾

The industrial law of 1884 makes a certain provision for injured workmen. According to paragraph 114, a penalty of from 100 to 300 florins is imposed on an employer in case of an accident in his factory if he has not taken precautions for safeguarding the life and health of his workers. But it should be remarked that nowhere in Hungarian legislation can any exact definition be found whereby such precautions of employers can be measured or tested and thus, apart from the question of sufficiency of factory inspection which has been illustrated elsewhere, it is extremely difficult for inspectors, however conscientious, to act energetically in the matter.⁽⁷⁾

The most favourable provisions for compensation to workers are found in connexion with the railway service. In this case the employer is liable for any accident on the workmen's account which is not shown to have arisen through *vis major*. The liability covers the necessary treatment until recovery and all losses sustained by the workmen through his injury. In case the accident is fatal funeral expenses must be defrayed and all claims on the victim made good. The amount of the liability decreed by the judge is proportioned to the degree of responsibility of the employer or his representative.⁽⁸⁾

Schemes for an alteration of the law have been pending for years and in 1891 a bill was prepared by the late Minister of Commerce and Industry and handed to the Chamber of Commerce and Industry for their consideration. The bill recognised the pressing need for an improvement in the system of factory inspection and greater precision in the provisions for security and health of workers. It was called a Bill for the Protection of Workmen against Accidents and it did not touch on the question of compensating or granting relief to those injured by accidents, but confined itself to laying down strict regulations as to the precautions to be taken in the factories for the security of the workmen and also enters into details in regard to the duties of factory inspectors.⁽⁹⁾

In the course of the past year this bill has been dropped and consequently it is unnecessary to enter into it in detail; it contained many heterogeneous provisions but it is probably owing to the death of the minister in whose name it was presented that it was allowed to be replaced by another bill which also deals with the security of workers in factories and with inspection and which has recently become law and is treated in detail in connexion with factory inspection (*supra* p. 181). Like the earlier bill this contains no definite or precise provision for insurance and consequently does not affect the existing situation in this respect.⁽¹⁰⁾ The general silence of the authorities with respect to article ten of the sick insurance law, which provides that the relief given shall extend to cases of sickness and death arising from accidents, would lead to the supposition that this provision has practically little application.

(1) Dr. Mandello's Report. F. O. Report cited, p. 23.

(2) *Ibid.*, Cf. also Die Lage der Arbeiter in Ungarn vom Hygienischen Standpunkte, pp. 33-4.

(3) Dr. Mandello's Report, Lexis Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften Artikel Arbeiter Versicherung.

(4) F. O. Report, Misc. Ser. 1892, No. 238, p. 23.

(5) Dr. Mandello's Report.

(iii.) Industrial law.

(iv.) The railway service.

(v.) Bills for prevention of accidents.

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(1) Les lois d'Assurance, &c., pp. 267, 248.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 268-74, 530-2.

(3) F. O. Report cited, p. 21.

(4) F. O. Report, Misc. Ser., No. 238, p. 23.

(vi.) The statistics on accidents.

The generally unsatisfactory condition of the statistics for accidents has already appeared in connexion with the conditions of labour in the main groups of industries. In agriculture "there is absolutely no information that can be relied on; in industrial establishments information is only obtainable through the voluntary action of the manufacturers and in fact no compulsory official register of accidents has been established." The inspectors reports affirm that the figures (supplied voluntarily by the manufacturers) show only a fraction of the real number of accidents as the majority are concealed. "The insufficiency of Hungarian factory inspection," says Dr. Mandello, "is shown in this matter as in others, for it is impossible that the existing staff of inspectors⁽¹⁾ can supervise the whole country besides fulfilling a number of other heterogeneous tasks and duties. The great number of accidents may be recognised from the fact that the number of proceedings which the inspectors were obliged to institute in the interests and health of the workers numbered 1,425 in 1890."⁽²⁾

The industry for which accident statistics are most carefully prepared is that of mines and in that industry voluntary and state-aided provision for the victims has been most highly developed (*supra p.*).

(vii.) Private insurance by employers.

Nevertheless it must be affirmed that in other directions insurance against accidents by means of private enterprise has attained considerable development. In 1892, 41,517 workmen out of 100,000 were insured in this way. In 1890, out of 972 factories the workmen were insured in 106 factories and this was generally effected by the masters.⁽³⁾

The most general mode of insurance appears to be what is termed the "simple collective insurance." Insurance can be effected for death or complete incapacity, or for both these cases together with temporary incapacity; insurances are not made for temporary incapacity alone. An insurance company distinguishes three classes of incapacity, viz., (a) that which entails life-long incapacity for work, (b) that which reduces the capacity for work during life by at least one half, (c) that arising from severe bodily injury which considerably diminishes capacity for work. In the first case the whole sum insured is paid, in the second case half is paid and in the third from 10 to 25 per cent., according to degree of gravity of the injury. In the collective insurance all workpeople in an establishment are considered as if exposed to the same average risk and the premium is calculated with reference (1) to the annual wage actually paid, (2) to the number of workpeople. "The insurance is generally made for an amount which is a multiple of a day's wage, 500, 600, 700, or even 1,000 times as much as a day's wage." The different branches of industry are classified in 14 groups according to the degree of danger attaching to the employment in it, e.g., a cloth-making factory is in the second group and the annual premium is fixed at 3 fl. 55 kr. per 1,000 fl. The premium is generally reconsidered at the end of every year according to the amount disbursed in wages. A steam flour mill is classed in the eighth group among the industries and the premiums are 6 fl. 95 per 1,000 florins.

If, during the insurance year, the wages paid exceed the estimate, the employer must add a proportionate amount to the premium, if they are less the insurance company will in similar manner refund. The weekly wage is taken as six times, and the annual wage as 300 times the daily wage. Board and lodgings are calculated at fixed amounts where given by the employer.

The benefits are, (a) in case of immediate death or death within a year, from the results of the accident, the sum insured is paid to the relatives (within prescribed degrees) of the victim, (b) in case of total incapacity the same amount is paid as for death, i.e., the whole sum insured, (c) in case of partial incapacity a part of the whole sum proportioned to the loss of wage earning power.⁽⁴⁾

The owners of nineteen steam flour mills at Budapest, employing 3,872 men, and paying 155,372l. in wages, have formed a special insurance fund for accidents to employés. "Each mill owner has subscribed a small sum, as a kind of reserve fund, and each workman is insured for 350 times his daily wage, receiving in case of accident, the full amount of that

sum or half, according to the nature of his injury. No premiums are paid, but at the end of each year the mill owners pay, in proportion to the number of their workmen and the number injured in the several factories, their respective shares of the sums disbursed to the injured workmen. Beyond this mutual insurance the mill owners insure their workmen in an insurance company for 450 times their daily wage, so that, practically, each workman is insured against accidents to the amount of 800 times his daily wage."⁽¹⁾

In 1891, there were nine accidents as follows:—

TABLE XXXIII.

Accidents.	Amounts Paid.		
	£	s.	d.
Three fatal - - - -	62	10	0
	100	0	0
	16	14	4
Six non-fatal - - - -	7	11	7
	10	13	4
	3	10	0
	3	15	0
	40	0	0
	23	6	8
Total - - - -	268	0	11

The total disbursements were 325l., or a premium of 2·01 on wages.

3. TECHNICAL EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS OF APPRENTICES.

Technical education, which is one of the chief preoccupations of Hungarian social reformers, is beset with peculiar difficulties in a country where in any given industrial school the apprentices and pupils are found speaking two or three different languages; the difficulties are intensified, when, as is frequently the case, any given pupil speaks several languages imperfectly and no one language perfectly.⁽²⁾

"The progress in industrial training and the intellectual elevation of the industrial classes can naturally only be very slow in so far as it depends on existing schools. . . . Much, as a development and improvement in the training of apprentices and in the primary school education, undoubtedly is to be desired, it is almost equally important to develop a progressive practical training among artisans by encouragement of visits to foreign industrial centres, and by attraction of experienced assistants from foreign countries. . . . The systematic arrangement for sending active young workers abroad with a security for their return which we indicated in an earlier report remains still a pious wish."⁽³⁾

The following figures, which were prepared in 1891, will give a general idea of the present provision for various forms of national education.

For a population of 15,262,282, with 12,765 communes, there were 16,737 national schools. The total number of children who should legally have attended the schools, were 2,470,923, or 16·19 per cent. of the inhabitants, as against 15·99 in the previous year, the total number of children who attended the school were 2,013,539, or 81·49 per cent. of the children who were due at school, as against a percentage of 80·94 the previous year. Out of these, 216,502 had learnt to read and write well.⁽⁴⁾ By nationality 1,037,399 were Magyar, 308,538 were German, 270,396 Slovaks, 242,255 Roumanians; Serbs, Croats, Ruthenians and other races were in much smaller numbers. Natives numbered 2,011,389, and foreigners 2,150. According to religion, 1,059,610 were Roman Catholics, 158,941 Greek Catholics, 213,042 Greek Oriental, 181,262 of the Augsburg Confession, 292,906 Reformed Evangelical and 100,099 Jewish.⁽⁵⁾ The statistics relating to the technical schools of various sorts, which are established in Hungary, are not quite complete, but the proportion of ordinary industrial schools to special and higher technical schools, is clear. In all, there were in 1889, 265 industrial schools, of which 41 were workshops,

(1) Five according to Dr. Mandello, seven according to M. Vautier.

(2) Dr. Mandello.

(3) *Wirksamkeit des Kön. Ung. Handelsministers, 1892.*

(4) F. O. Report cited, pp. 23-5.

(1) F. O. Report cited, p. 26.

(2) *Bericht der Handels- und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pesth, 1891, pp. 13, 70.*

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 13.

(4) *Statistisches Jahrbuch für Ungarn, 1891, Heft IX., p. 208.*

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 208.

and 9 higher industrial schools, the total number of pupils being 41,072, and the cost of maintenance, 25,346 florins. Agricultural instruction was given in 39 schools to 1,996 pupils of which the large majority, 1,375, were Hungarians; the cost of maintenance was 68,853 florins. There were three schools of mines, and seven higher technical schools. In the latter, there were 1,042 pupils in 1889, and the cost of maintenance was 30,330 florins. A considerable number of commercial schools and art schools also existed.⁽¹⁾

The increase in industrial schools of the lowest class in 1890 was highly satisfactory; these numbered 284, and in addition to these 17 apprentices schools were instituted in the Budapest district. "The technical education of the rising generation will receive an important impulse through the order of the Minister of Education, according to which special technical classes will be instituted for apprentices leaving school. These classes will provide teaching for both apprentices and 'youthful workers' leaving the elementary schools . . . in such subjects as (1) the building industries, (2) cabinet making, (3) locksmiths' work, (4) tinsmiths' work, (5) gold and silver work, (6) upholstery." Experience has shown that the provisions of the industrial law for organisation of industrial schools which served generally to make a good beginning now requires many additions and modifications. The diligence of the employers in sending their young workers to school is stated to be wanting in many directions. Weighty resolutions on the whole question were brought before the Minister of Commerce by the Congress of Guilds held at Arad in 1891. Reports of factory inspectors show that the attendance of apprentices at school is far too frequently in the evening at the end of a long day and abuses are not infrequent in respect of the length of hours of labour imposed. The hours sometimes stretch to 15 or 16 a day with the night-school work. In many of the schools a lack of money and teaching power hinders their usefulness.

A special central court for hearing evidence on the subject of industrial education and dealing with the cases where matters have hindered the attendance of their young workers at school was established by a special order of the Minister of Commerce in 1891, from which certain reforms are expected.⁽²⁾

4. EMIGRATION.

In a country whose industries are mainly hindered in development through lack of a sufficient supply of labour the existence of a growing stream of emigration suggests various interesting questions. The difficulties experienced in one of the greatest industries of the country, viz., mining, have already been treated (*supra* p. 170) and need not again be dealt with here.

While the latest census in Hungary and the general birth-rate statistics gave good reason for satisfaction, the economists of the country saw reason to regret the emigration which in some countries, especially in the Northern and Transylvanian Highlands, and generally on the further side of the Danube, was "so strong that the natural increase was for the greater part paralysed. While the census showed an excess of 200,000 births over deaths, this number sank to 170,000 per year according to the latest figures. There can be no doubt that at least 30,000 souls are lost through emigration every year. In face of this the conclusion cannot be escaped that a continuance of this outward stream of the population will sooner or later work its evil effects on the heart of the country and that the discovery of some counter attraction is a national task of the highest importance."⁽³⁾

Available statistics on emigration are so closely bound up with the Austrian that it is not easy to separate them with any certainty. Until within the last 10 years, according to official statistics Austria-Hungary, the second of the great European states in extent of territory, and third in population, had the smallest emigration movement. But it has been pointed out by Herr Mischler that it is important to realise that attention should not only be directed to the registered emigration across the seas. The emigration through the Balkans eastwards was never properly reckoned

with, and the consideration of that stream would have materially altered the position assigned to the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the European scale; nevertheless, the situation has greatly changed in the last 100 years. In the beginning of the century, a stream of emigration was passing from the thickly populated provinces of Austria into Hungary, as well as into Galicia and Bukovina. This ceased during the stormy political times of the second quarter of the century. From 1867 onwards, emigration abroad began in Hungary, and, as has been said, this was not only trans-oceanic, but took place in the direction of the Balkan peninsula. The subsequent development of a political and an economic self-dependence in the Balkan provinces has wrought another change in the situation. One of the chief markets for Austro-Hungarian produce was seriously diminished by a Customs war, and the falling off in the exports to these countries continued steadily until an improvement again began two or three years since. During this period Roumania, Bulgaria, &c., gradually ceased to draw in migrating labour from Hungary and Austria, until at length they themselves began to assume the position of emigration centres, while the migrating Slovak and Magyar stream in Hungary was diverted in the direction of the great emigration ports of Bremen and Hamburg. The records kept there and in the French ports give the only trustworthy data on the subject.⁽⁴⁾

Growth of emigrating stream.

The records of Bremen and Hamburg.

The following are the figures for 1871 onwards:—

1871	-	-	294	1881	-	-	11,257
1872	-	-	595	1882	-	-	17,520
1873	-	-	962	1883	-	-	14,839
1874	-	-	927	1884	-	-	13,195
1875	-	-	1,065	1885	-	-	12,348
1876	-	-	625	1886	-	-	25,149
1877	-	-	652	1887	-	-	18,270
1878	-	-	803	1888	-	-	17,630
1879	-	-	1,759	1889	-	-	22,050
1880	-	-	8,766				

The writer above cited traces the emigrating impulse among the Hungarian peasantry to (1) an increasing poverty which is closely attended by an extreme practice of usury among local financial agents, (2) to the lack of an organic connexion between country and town life, which is, perhaps, partly attributable to the predominance in the official world of the Magyar element, (3) to the slow development of intensive culture of the land, and inaptitude of the peasantry for handicrafts.⁽⁵⁾

It is worthy of remark that while the number of Austrian emigrants are about equal from the ports of Bremen and Hamburg, the number of Hungarian emigrants from Bremen are about four times the number of those sailing from Hamburg. Other important places of embarkation, though in a less degree, are Antwerp, Genoa, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Havre, Marseilles, and Bordeaux. The following table gives the figures for 1889 and 1890.⁽⁶⁾

TABLE XXXIV.

	Hamburg.	Bremen.	Antwerp.	Amsterdam.	Rotterdam.	Genoa.	Marseilles.	Havre.	Bordeaux.	Stettin and Geevandtünde.
1889	4,873	17,341	1,197	166	358	2,275	3	335	7	14
1890	5,418	21,986	4,951	374	1,140	1,022	68	430	11	15

The reports of the town of Bremen divide the Hungarian emigrants according to sex. In 1892, 70 per cent. of the emigrants who left Bremen were male. 30 per cent. female. In 1891, the number of females was greater, 63 per cent. were male, and 37 per cent. were female; but in 1890 again 70 per cent. were male. In 1889, of the Hungarians who sailed from Hamburg and Bremen, 74 per cent. were male, and 26 per cent. female. Thus the number of female emigrants from Hungary is comparatively fewer than the number of female emigrants from Austria.

Division by sex and age.

(1) Statistisches Jahrbuch für Ungarn, 1891, Heft IX., pp. 140-76.

(2) Bericht der Handels und Gewerbekammer in Budapest, 1892, pp. 48-50.

(3) Ibid, 1891, p. 3.

(4) Bericht des Handels und Gewerbekammer in Buda Pest, p. 11. Sozial Politisches Central Blatt, August 1st, 1892, pp. 381-4. Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, Art: "Auswanderung."

(5) Sozial Politisches Central Blatt, cited, p. 383.

(6) Statistische Monatschrift, 1892, "Die Ueberseeische Oesterreichische Auswanderung," von Dr. F. Phobst, p. 8.

Effect on industry of insufficient supply of labour.

Insufficiency of statistics.

TABLE XXXV.⁽¹⁾

—	Male.	Female.	Total.
1887 - - - -	13,401	4,869	18,270
1888 - - - -	12,469	5,161	17,630
1889 ⁽²⁾ - - - -	16,338	5,712	22,050
1890 - - - -	15,405	6,355	21,850
1891 - - - -	11,880	5,250	17,130
1892 ⁽³⁾ - - - -	12,334	5,193	17,527

Division according to occupation.

The emigrants who left Bremen in 1890 and 1891 were divided according to their occupation as follows:—

TABLE XXXVI.

—	1890.	1891.
Agriculture and forestry - - - -	240	350
Trade and industry - - - -	82	121
Commerce - - - -	118	97
“ Workmen ” - - - -	16,969	13,236
Other callings - - - -	32	7
Without occupation - - - -	4,889	3,139
Total - - - -	21,850	17,130

Division according to destination.

A very large proportion of the Hungarian emigrants go to the United States. Of the emigrants who left Hamburg and Bremen in 1891, 96 per cent. went to the United States, and in 1890 99 per cent. Only a very small number go to British America, La Plata, and Brazil. In 1889, 22,050 emigrants left the ports of Hamburg and Bremen, of whom only 38 went to British America, 19 to the Argentine Republic, and 12 to Brazil. Of the other 9 emigrants, 4 went to other states of America, 2 to Australia, and 3 to Africa.

The statistics of the United States differ considerably from those of Hamburg and Bremen, with regard to the number of Hungarian emigrants to the United States. The following table shows the differences⁽⁴⁾:—

TABLE XXXVII.

—	Arrived at the United States according to the Statistics of Hamburg and Bremen.	Arrived at the United States according to the Statistics of the United States.
1881 - - - -	11,247	21,437
1882 - - - -	17,472	18,315
1883 - - - -	14,801	17,928
1884 - - - -	13,131	20,688
1885 - - - -	12,310	16,456
1886 - - - -	25,088	22,006
1887 - - - -	18,240	24,786
1888 - - - -	15,575	28,809
1889 - - - -	21,972	26,424
1890 - - - -	27,230	38,125
1891 - - - -	20,621	43,163

Supplementary note on emigration from Zemplin and the Székler district.

The Minister of Commerce, in his report for 1890, mentions an emigration movement towards America from the county of Zemplin, and also dwells at some length upon the migration into Roumania of the Hungarian population of the Székler district. The ravages caused by the phylloxera in Zemplin had entailed much suffering on the inhabitants, and, in order to better their condition, the Minister of Commerce, in conjunction with the Ministers of Finance and Agriculture organised permanent economic committees in the Zemplin district, charged with the task of inquiring into the best way of relieving the prevailing distress. With regard to the migration from the Székler district, which the Minister of Commerce regarded as of great national and economic

⁽¹⁾ Annunti di Statistica Comparata dell'Emigrazione dall'Europa e dell'Immigrazione in America e in Australia, 1888, Jahrbuch für Bremische Statistik, 1890, Vol. I., p. 271; 1891, Vol. I., p. 273; 1892, Vol. I., p. 273.

⁽²⁾ Numbers for 1887-1889 apply to Hungarian emigrants from Bremen and Hamburg.

⁽³⁾ Numbers for 1890-1892 apply to Hungarian emigrants from Bremen only.

⁽⁴⁾ Annunti di Statistica Comparata dell'Emigrazione dall'Europa e dell'Immigrazione in America e in Australia, for 1892.

importance, since it tended to drain the country of a portion of its pure Magyar population, it appears that though it is in part a traditional custom for these peasants to cross the border in the spring, in search of work, returning home again in the autumn, yet that many do not so return, but settle in Roumania, and forget their own religion and language. This is especially the case with those emigrants who leave their homes, usually without a passport, while they are still young. In 1890, no fewer than 21,082 Hungarian subjects provided with passports migrated from the Székler district into Roumania. Of these, 3,443 went from Bodna, 3,549 from Csik-Gyimes, 4,524 from Soósmező, 4,536 from Tölgyes, and the remaining 5,030 from other districts. In the same year, 2,478 returned from Bodna, 3,494 from Csik-Gyimes, 7,352 from Soósmező, and 3,658 from Tölgyes, or 16,982 Hungarian subjects in all, so that more than 4,000 of the total number of emigrants became permanent settlers in Roumania. This number will be, moreover, considerably augmented if the emigrants who start from Osáncz in the Brasso county be included in it, with those who go from the border station of Predeal, which is situated on a line of railway, and if the fugitives who leave the country without prospects be further taken into account.⁽¹⁾

5. THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL.

In 1890 an Industrial Council was appointed to advise the Minister of Commerce in matters concerning trade, and to bring forward proposals relating to industrial questions. The functions of the council may be summarised as follows:—

- (a.) It is empowered to draw up proposals relating to the development of industry in connexion with the questions submitted to it by the Minister of Commerce.
- (b.) In case of an opposition of interests among the national factory-owners, manufacturers, tradesmen, or employers of labour the Council may pronounce a decision from the point of view of the interests of national industry and production, having regard to the speediest possible reconciliation of the conflicting interests on the basis of mutual concession and fair-dealing.
- (c.) The Council may also pronounce decisions on all government and other contracts containing industrial clauses, on the establishment of conditions of competition, on forms of contract and tenders, and generally on all written provisions which are submitted to it by the Minister of Commerce.
- (d.) With regard to the privileges to be granted to national industrial undertakings, as, for instance, shareholding associations, according to the law of XII. and XIV. 1890, the Council may pronounce a decision, or bring forward proposals in all questions submitted to it by the Minister of Commerce.
- (e.) The Council may bring forward proposals with regard to the establishment within the bounds of the jurisdiction of the Minister of Commerce, of workshops for technical instruction and practical industrial schools, and with regard also to the direction, development, and support of existing establishments of this nature, and the regulation of practical instruction in workshops and technical schools. In connexion with this function the members of the Industrial Council are further empowered to act as Departmental Commissioners at the examinations held in commercial academies and secondary schools.
- (f.) The Council may bring forward proposals with regard to those branches of trade which are capable of being carried on as home industries, and which might be introduced or further developed among the peasantry of particular districts.
- (g.) The Council may bring forward proposals relating to the organisation of the system of supervision over trade and home industries, and the treatment of the inspectors' reports, especially with a view to ensuring unity of action.
- (h.) The Council may advise and propose the arrangement of industrial exhibitions, and may share in the preparations for these exhibitions.
- (i.) The Council may express an opinion in all cases when serious differences of opinion appear in the reports and decisions of the National Chambers of

⁽¹⁾ Wirksamkeit des Kön. Ung. Handelsministers im Jahre, 1890, pp. 66-67, Berlin, 1892.

Trade and Commerce with regard to industrial questions.

(j.) The Council may express an opinion or bring forward a motion with regard to labour questions.

(k.) Finally, the Council may express an opinion or bring forward a motion on all other questions which the Minister of Commerce thinks necessary to submit to it.

The Industrial Council is formed of eight members nominated by the Minister of Commerce from the ranks of industrial and commercial specialists, of eight members elected by the Budapest Chamber of Trade and Commerce, and the Provincial Industrial Union, and finally, of the members of the Industrial Committee of the Ministry of Commerce, appointed for the control of the railway supplies. This last committee forms the standing sub-committee of the Industrial Council.

The members of the Industrial Council hold honorary positions, for which they receive no salary.

The President of the Industrial Council is the Minister of Commerce, the Vice-President is the Secretary of State of the Ministry of Commerce. If these officials are prevented from attending, they may be represented by the head of the industrial department of the Ministry of Commerce, while the Minister of Commerce may appoint one or more clerks to draw up the minutes of the Council and to manage its other written business.

The Industrial Council, organised in this manner, began its work by holding its first session on September 3rd, 1890. Since that date, one or two sessions, in which the members have shown a keen interest, have been held almost every month.

Experience, according to the report of the Minister of Commerce for 1890, would seem to justify the hope that the Industrial Council will fulfil the expectations entertained of it, and that it will be instrumental in promoting the development of Hungarian commerce and industry.⁽¹⁾

SAVINGS AND LOAN BANKS.

Post Office Savings Banks were first introduced into Hungary in 1885, but they have made but slight progress, and for the first five years of their existence the annual balance sheets showed a deficit. In 1885 '91 per cent. of the population were depositors in the Post Office Savings Banks and in 1890 this proportion had only risen to '96. Of these depositors 24.9 per cent. were under 10 years of age, and 31.8 per cent. between the ages of 10 and 20, so that only 43.3 per cent. were of an age to be economically independent. According to the official returns for 1890 the classification of the depositors according to occupation was as follows:—

Post Office Savings Banks.

Students	-	-	-	22.4	per cent.
Artizans	-	-	-	15.3	"
Children	-	-	-	13.2	"
Officials and soldiers	-	-	-	8.7	"
Commercial men	-	-	-	5.3	"
Professional persons	-	-	-	4.6	"
Other persons	-	-	-	35.8	"

It is unfortunate that the proportions of working men day labourers, shop assistants, and similar classes are not given separately in these returns, and especially since it is said that the greatest increase has taken place amongst such persons. It must, however, be inferred that their number is comparatively small, and that in Hungary, as in Austria, the Post Office Savings Banks do not form an important feature in the economic conditions of the working classes.⁽¹⁾

Private Savings Banks, on the other hand, are numerous and very active in Hungary, where it is said that every district possesses at least one, and many towns of not more than 10,000 inhabitants contain two. They enjoy great popularity, and the confidence which is placed in them has been fully merited by the majority of these banks, very few cases of failure or misappropriation of funds having ever occurred.⁽²⁾ The following table shows their financial position in the years 1878-89 and 1891:—

Private Savings Banks.

TABLE XXXVIII.—FINANCIAL POSITION OF PRIVATE SAVINGS BANKS IN HUNGARY, 1878-89 and 1891.

Year.	Paid-up Joint Stock.	Reserve Fund.	Savings Deposits and Accumulated Interest.	Profits.	Bills of Exchange.	Loans.	Mortgage Loans.	Debit Accounts Current.	Exchange Value of Securities.	Cash in Hand.
1878	Florins. 10,170,690	Florins. 5,172,157	Florins. 315,680,148	Florins. 4,662,652	Florins. 83,354,063	Florins. 7,766,093	Florins. 90,563,158	Florins. 6,057,566	Florins. 35,843,060	Florins. 6,689,544
1879	19,029,350	7,040,767	342,538,115	5,320,284	91,780,519	7,232,207	94,583,415	5,617,281	46,273,693	7,766,435
1880	19,900,663	10,337,968	360,022,068	5,392,283	95,641,823	7,506,506	98,305,789	5,455,429	60,817,070	7,860,032
1881	30,390,389	13,072,129	383,004,713	5,806,384	103,357,781	7,590,900	101,393,576	9,124,895	70,777,433	8,969,390
1882	22,223,678	14,297,140	303,809,574	5,714,400	109,063,374	9,777,117	109,060,919	5,872,572	75,992,827	8,349,620
1883	23,050,935	15,540,933	314,053,186	5,967,789	116,676,684	7,774,024	113,749,515	11,248,301	71,974,625	10,258,817
1884	23,996,856	17,901,167	324,914,494	6,714,062	126,197,273	8,146,661	126,321,526	11,380,273	64,895,462	7,990,220
1885	25,210,090	20,069,609	335,503,833	6,915,064	132,154,746	8,058,714	132,408,703	11,254,048	57,995,556	8,240,926
1886	25,913,843	21,323,411	355,658,729	7,170,515	139,660,240	10,803,545	139,716,639	10,668,708	64,060,023	9,190,441
1887	36,684,321	21,076,337	363,018,664	6,632,126	139,308,526	10,333,168	150,909,299	11,877,276	57,282,077	8,276,399
1888	27,385,746	23,479,030	386,121,554	7,460,682	155,293,541	12,443,514	160,176,776	13,277,734	57,114,733	9,608,099
1889	28,640,894	25,626,306	406,314,956	7,862,245	161,907,573	12,880,733	170,101,128	15,225,633	66,743,516	10,299,347
1891	34,749,500	17,791,700	454,520,000	8,857,900	200,375,300	18,366,000	167,617,900	?	75,764,600	10,728,300

NOTE.—In the above table the figures for the year 1880, which are taken from the "Statistisches Jahrbuch für Ungarn," XIX. Jahrgang, 1889 (VI. Heft), refer to 434 Savings Banks; the figures for 1891, which are taken from the "Compass. Finanzielles Jahrbuch für Oesterreich-Ungarn," XXVI. Jahrgang, 1893, refer to 468 Savings Banks. The latter figures appear to be given in round numbers only.

All of these Savings Banks act also to some extent as Loan Banks, and lend money on security of mortgaged property. There are also a considerable number of loan or credit societies, either independent or in connection with other banks, whose chief object is to provide landed proprietors with loans on easy terms. The principal of these is the Land Credit Institution (*Boden Credit Institut*), which was founded in 1863 as a patriotic undertaking, and has carried on extensive operations. It is believed that the facilities afforded by these institutions for the acquirement of capital

have led to considerable expenditure upon and consequent improvement of the land, but since the minimum amount of a loan granted by the Land Credit Institution is fixed at 1,000 florins, it is probably rather the larger proprietors than the peasants who have made use of them. "In 1889 a law was passed authorising the Land Credit Institution and eventually other establishments and banks, to open credits for improvement of land (*Bodenmeliorations Credit*). By this law the Institution may grant loans extinguisable in 50 years, with 4 per cent. interest on capital, and ½ per

(1) *Wirksamkeit des Kön. Ung. Handelsministers im Jahre 1890*, pp. 46-48, Berlin, 1892.

(2) "Sozial Politisches Central Blatt," Vol. I., pp. 177-8.
(2) *Journal des Economistes*, 2^e Série, Tome X., pp. 300-310.

"cent. for amortization. The Institution is enabled to grant this comparatively low rate of interest by certain privileges being accorded by Government, as in the case of mortgage loans, in the way of freedom from tax on coupons, and bonds, and from stamp fees."⁽¹⁾

7. NOTE ON FIUME.

The geographical position of Fiume is a peculiar one, situated in the autonomous province of Croatia-Slavonia and at a considerable distance from the centre of the kingdom, it yet forms the only seaport of the Hungarian monarchy, Zengg and Carlipago, the only other towns on the Adriatic coast are mere fishing villages with a population of some three thousand or less.

The peculiar position of Fiume has caused a separation between it and the rest of the province in which it is situated. The town is not reckoned as a part of Croatia-Slavonia but forms an independent jurisdiction of some 19 square kilometres in extent and comprising a population of over 29,000 souls. Fiume was first annexed by Hungary in 1102, but it was in 1776 that it was declared by Maria Theresa to be for ever "a separate body linked with the Holy Crown of Hungary and unconnected with the surrounding district belonging to Croatia."

Like its Austrian rival Trieste, Fiume has no natural harbour; harbour works have, however, been already constructed and are at the present time being largely extended. The report of Mr. Faber, H.M. Consul at Fiume, for 1892, states that the new lumber harbour also the lengthening of the outer breakwater will be completed in the course of the present year. At the present time Fiume is connected with Budapest by a single line of rails only, but the question of laying a double line is now becoming a matter of considerable importance. "Trade at Fiume," says Mr. Faber, "always comes by fits and starts. The consequence is that whenever there is a pressure of business and uninterrupted traffic is most essential, the single line of rail proves inadequate for the task laid upon it. A block ensues and the railway suspends the further receipt of goods until the block is overcome. Such blocks have been known to last three or four weeks. In the meantime steamers on the berth and under charter are kept on demurrage, and the current of trade is diverted to other and more profitable channels."

Commerce.

The principal articles exported from Fiume are grain and flour, beans, sugar, timber and wood products, including oak extract and cellulose. The principal countries with which trade is carried on are Great Britain, Italy, and France. A smaller amount of trade is also done with the United States, Russia, and Turkey. The value of the flour exported from Fiume to Great Britain in 1892 amounted to 700,000*l.* both oak extract and sugar reached a value of 55,000*l.* The carrying trade is now done largely by Hungarian steamers, both the Hungarian-Croatian Steamship Company and the Adria Steam Navigation Company are extending their operations; the latter now possesses a fleet of 24 vessels. In 1892 fruit was for the first time imported direct from Sicily by the Adria boats and sent on to Budapest. Up to that time the whole trade had been monopolised by Trieste.

Manufactures.

A variety of manufactures are carried on at Fiume but most of them are only established on a small scale. The torpedo factory of Whitehead and Company, and the Rice and Shelling Mill and Starch Factory and the Government Tobacco Factory are the chief exceptions to this rule. Messrs. Whitehead and Company employ 317 skilled and 94 unskilled workmen and 27 boys, making a total of 438 persons. The working day in this factory lasts 10 hours, overtime is rare and is paid for at the rate of time and a quarter. Skilled workmen earn from 1*fl.* 50 to 3*fl.* a day.

The total number of persons engaged in factory labour in the town was 4,842 in 1892, of these 1,977 were adult men, 2,300 adult women, 182 male and 353 female apprentices. The wages earned by men vary from a minimum of 9*s.* to a maximum 30*s.* a week. The latter sum is only paid to skilled artisans. Women, who are employed chiefly in the Government tobacco factory make from 5*s.* to 7*s.* and children from 4*s.* to 5*s.* a week. Wages on the whole are low, and the conditions on labour are generally unfavourable. No workmen's associations exist and employers are able to enforce what terms they please. Most factories have

their sick fund supported by small deductions from the wages of the employed. The only establishment which has a pension fund is the Government tobacco factory. There the workpeople are entitled to a pension of 2*s.* 7*d.* a week after 10 years' service, and from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 8*s.* a week after 35 years' service. A deduction of 2½*d.* a week is made for the pension fund and 5*d.* for the hospital fund. Foreign labour and especially Italian masons and navvies is occasionally imported and meets with no opposition from the native population.

The general condition of the working population is bad, many trades suffer from periods of severe depression, and the workers are often obliged to emigrate. The people are nevertheless industrious, patient, and even contented, strikes and lockouts are unknown and socialist agitators have not succeeded in gaining any hold upon the people.⁽¹⁾

APPENDIX I.

CATALOGUE OF WORKS CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THE REPORT ON HUNGARY.

A.—Official or Semi Official (Statistics, Reports, Laws, &c.)

- Report on conditions of labour in Hungary drawn up by Dr. Karl Mandello, and sent in MS. together with a large amount of statistical material.
- Statistisches Jahrbuch für Ungarn:—
 - 1890, vol. III., Landwirthschaft.
 - 1891, vol. I., Politische Eintheilung, &c.
 - " vol. III., Landwirthschaft.
 - " vol. IV., Bergbau und Hüttenwesen.
 - " vol. V., Handelsverkehr.
 - " vol. VI., Die Creditinstitute.
 - " vol. IX., Kirchen Angelegenheiten und Unterrichtswesen.
 - " vol. X., Staatsanshalt.
 - 1892, vol. IV., Bergbau.
- Wirksamkeit des kön. Ung. Handelsministers in Jahre, 1890. Redigirt von Dr. Karl Mandello. Berlin, 1892.
- Bericht der Handels und Gewerbekammer in Budapest:—
 - 1890.
 - 1891.
 - 1892.
- Die Ungarische Verfassungs Gesetze. Herausgegeben von Dr. Gustav Steinbach. Wien, 1891.
- Landes Gesetzsammlung für das Jahr 1876. Herausgegeben vom kön. Ung. Ministerium des Inneren.
 - Erstes Heft (I.—VII.)
 - Zweites Heft (VIII.—XXIX.)
 - Drittes Heft (XXX.—XXXVII.)
- Gesetzsammlung für das Jahr 1893. Drittes Heft (XXVI.—XLI.)
- Gesetzartikel vom Jahre 1891 "über die Sonntagsruhe der Gewerblichen Arbeiter. Mit erläuterungen, &c., von Peter Fritz, Buda Pest, 1892.
- Gesetzartikel vom Jahre 1876, über die Regelung des Verhältnisses zwischen den Dienstboten und Dienstgebern sowie über die landwirthschaftlichen Arbeiter und Tagelöhner. Buda Pest, 1876.
- Die Hauptstadt Buda Pest im Jahre 1881. Von Josef Körösi. Erstes Heft, 1881.
- Untersuchungen über die Einkommensteuer der Stadt Pest für das Jahr 1870, von Josef Körösi. Pest, 1873.
- Untersuchungen über die Einkommen und Hauszinssteuer der Stadt Pest, 1871 und 1872. Von Josef Körösi. Berlin, 1875.
- Fővárosi Statistikai Hivatalok Kiadja Buda Pest fő-es Szekvaros Statiskai Hivatala. (Bulletin Mensuel du Bureau de Statistique de la ville de Buda Pest). Edited by Joseph Körösi, Director of the Bureau, 1893.
- The same for the year 1884.
- Gutachten der Pressburger Handels- und Gewerbekammer, über de Unfallversicherung der Arbeiter, erstattet an Se. Excellenz den k. u. Herrn Handelsminister, 1892.
- A Magyar sz. Korona országainak közigazgatási és közlekedési térképe, 1893. (Statistical map of Hungary.)
- Le Tarif par Zones et ses Résultats. Publié par la Direction des Chemins de Fer de l'Etat Hongrois, 1892, 1893. Buda Pest.

⁽¹⁾ Commercial Series, No. 9 (1891). "Reports from Her Majesty's representatives abroad on Institutions for making Advances on Real Property."

⁽¹⁾ Kirchhoff Länderkunde von Europa. Erster Theil, Zweite Hälfte, pp. 310, 316. Foreign Office Reports Miscellaneous Series, 1892 No. 235, pp. 30-44. Annual Series, 1893, No. 1249.

18. Publications of the Ministry for Agriculture:

- (a.) Akorlátolt Forgalmú Birtokok Kimutása, &c. Buda Pest, 1893.
 (b.) Eredménye es az 1892—ik Évi Munka Berck. Buda Pest, 1893.

B.—Private Works (books, periodicals, pamphlets, &c.).

19. Rückblicke auf die Entwicklung der ungar. Volkswirtschaft im Jahre 1888. Reprint from the Pester Lloyd, by Dr. Karl Mandello.
 20. The same for the year 1891.
 21. Chronik der Ungar. Volkswirtschaft in Jahre 1889. Dr. Karl Mandello.
 22. Archiv für Soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik. Herausgegeben von Dr. Heinrich Braun. Vols. I to IV.
 (a) Das Gesetz betr. die Sonntagsruhe. H. Braun.
 (b) Die Ungarische Fabriksinspektion im Jahre 1887. Dr. E. B. J. Krejcsi.
 23. Jahrbuch für Bremische Statistik.
 24. Statistische Monatschrift, 1887, 1891-3. Die überseeische Oesterr. Auswanderung. Von Dr. Friedrich Probst.
 25. Appunti di Statistica Comparata dell' Emigrazione dall' Europa e dell' Immigrazione in America e in Australia, 1888-92.
 26. Sozial Politisches Central Blatt. Vols. I. to III., 1892-4.
 27. Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften.
 28. Der Zonen Tarif in Ungarn, 1890.
 29. Die Internationaler Fabrikgesetzgebung. Dr. Adolf Braun, Wien, 1890.
 30. Die Reformarbeiten im Ungarischen Ackerbau Ministerium. Dr. K. Mandello. (Reprint from the Oesterr. Ungar. Revue.)
 31. Dr. Wekerles Reformprojecte betreffend die directen Steuern. Dr. K. Mandello. (Reprint from the Oesterr. Ungar. Revue.)
 32. Über Ungarn's Einkommen Steuer. Studie von Dr. K. Mandello. Buda Pest, 1887.
 33. Staatliches Schankgefälle in Ungarn. (Reprint from the "Finanz Archiv") by Julius Mandello.
 34. Les Résultats de la réaction économique inaugurée en Allemagne en 1878, et les conséquences des nouveaux traités de commerce au point de vue de la Hongrie. Paper read before the Antwerp International Congress of August 1892, by Dr. K. Mandello.
 35. German version of the same.
 36. Ungarn's Finanzwesen im Jahre 1889. Dr. K. Mandello.
 37. Ungarn's Grundbesitz-verhältnisse. Dr. Alfred Hirsch. Halle, 1893.
 38. Die Lage der Arbeiter in Ungarn vom Hygienischen Standpunkte. Dr. Somogyi, Buda Pest, 1891.
 39. La Hongrie Économique. G. Vautier-Berger-Levrault, 1893.
 40. Länder Kunde von Europa. A. Kirchoff, Wien u. Prag, 1889.
 41. Die Staaten Europas. Dr. H. F. Brachelli, Brünn, 1884.
 42. Les Lois d'Assurance Ouvrière à L'Étranger. M. Bellom, Paris, 1892.
 43. Journal des Économistes. 5^e Série, Tome V.
 44. The Magyars, their Country and Institutions. A. J. Patterson. 2 vols. Smith Elder, 1869.
 45. Hungary and its People. Louis Felbermann.
 46. Allgemeiner Arbeiter-Kalender für das Jahr 1893. Buda Pest.
 47. Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des IV. österr. Schuhmacher Tages der Gehilfen. Wien, 1890.
 48. Protokoll des Ersten österr. Ungar. Congresses der Feilenhauer zu Wien, 1891.
 49. Dr. Friedrich Krasser. Eine skizze seines Lebens. Buda Pest, 1892.
 50. Az O-Budai Hajogyár Munkasainak Helyzete (Ship building labourers in Buda Pest.) Dr. Emmanuel Somogyi. Buda Pest, 1888.
 51. Jahres Bericht des Unterstützungs-Vereines der Feilenhauer Gehilfen in Buda Pest, 1887-90.
 52. Manifesto of December 1892 to the Members of the Social-democratic party of Hungary. (In German and Hungarian.)
 53. Manifesto of the Hungarian Workman's Invalid and Pension Union. (German and Hungarian), 1893.
 54. Die Arbeiter Presse. August 11th and 18th, 1893.
 55. Arbeiter Zeitung. 1893-4.
 56. Pester Lloyd. March 5, 1894.

C.—British Foreign Office Reports.

- Report on the Condition of Labour in Hungary, by Sir Arthur Nicholson. (Miscellaneous Series, No. 238, 1892.)
 Report on Institutions for making Advances on Real Property, by Sir Arthur Nicholson. (Commercial, No. 9, 1891.)
 Report on the Trade of Hungary. (Annual Series, No. 1,273, 1893.)
 Report on the Trade of Fiume. (Annual Series, No. 1,249, 1893.)

APPENDIX II.

EXTRACT FROM THE LAW XIII. OF 1876 WHICH REGULATES THE RELATIONS OF EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED (MASTERS AND SERVANTS).

Section V.—Concerning Fieldworkers and especially Day Labourers.

84.

Reapers, trowsers, threshers, and generally all those labourers who wish to undertake field-work as a matter of contract, but not in the character of domestic servants, must, when they do not reside in the place in which they are about to work, be provided with a license or with a certificate from the commune; their engagement without such a guarantee is forbidden.

85.

Contracts which determine mutual rights and obligations must always be drawn up in writing and verified by the judge of the commune in which the contract has been concluded, or by his representative.

86.

In the case of a dispute arising, from any cause whatever, labourers are not entitled to refuse to begin work, to strike work on their own authority, or to absent themselves from the place of work, but they are bound to wait for the intervention of the duly qualified authorities, which must follow within three days from the receipt of the complaint, and till then they must not refuse to begin or continue their work.

87.

In places in which there is no duly qualified authority of first instance, according to the provisions of the present law, the communal authorities, at the request of the employers, must prevent, if necessary by compulsory means, the labourers from leaving the commune or the place of work, and must bring the case without delay before the duly qualified authorities, if this has not already been done by the parties concerned.

88.

If the labourers cannot be prevented from withdrawing from work, the duly qualified authorities according to the provisions of the present law, must, at the request of the employer, effect the return of these labourers, if necessary, by compulsory means.

All authorities are bound to accede to such a request without delay, nor is any authority empowered to decide whether the applicant in the particular question in dispute has acted regularly and legally, since the applicant is responsible for his own actions.

89.

The labourers in addition, to being brought back to work, or independently of a return to work, if this has not been stipulated for, are to be condemned to pay the employer for the days wasted, double, and in case of a repetition of the offence, four times the equivalent daily wages usual in the locality.

90.

An employer whose labourers have been sent back by the authorities to a former employer whom they had illegally left, may claim similar compensation, unless he has engaged the said labourers without a license (See Section 84); in the latter case, he not only receives no compensation, but is liable to a fine of from 20 to 100 florins.

91.

Persons who are engaged for a common piece of work are regarded as mutually responsible for the payment of legal compensation for damages, fines, or costs of proceedings or of reimbursements, unless the contract expressly provides to the contrary.

92.

If, after the conclusion of the contract, the harvest destined for reaping, treading or threshing be so injured by the action of natural forces that less than half the average annual harvest is gathered in, and if the parties concerned in concluding the contract have not provided for such a contingency by arranging a fixed money-wage for the labour expended, or if they cannot otherwise agree together, the duly qualified authority of first instance according to the provisions of the present law, must decide, within the term laid down in Section 86, as to whether the specified case has actually occurred, and if so, what new conditions are to be accepted.

In such a case, the labourers are bound to begin the work which they have undertaken even before the decision has been given, and so continue it uninterruptedly. The employer, on the other hand, is not entitled to engage other labourers for the same work before the decision has been given.

If the employer, notwithstanding that the labourers have begun and uninterruptedly continued the work undertaken by them, engage other labourers for the same work, he is bound to compensate the original labourers; if, on the other hand contrary to the provisions of this Section, the labourers do not begin their work, or do not continue it uninterruptedly, the employer has a right to engage other labourers, and the original labourers are, moreover, punishable according to the provisions of Section 89.

93.

If the employer breaks the contract by non-payment of wages or failure to provide the stipulated board, or by giving over the work either wholly or in part to other labourers, he must be compelled to maintain the contract by the duly qualified authority according to the provisions of the present law. The damages due from the employer to his labourers are to be calculated and made good in the interests of the employed, according to the provisions of Section 89.

94.

Whoever, on any pretext, induces field labourers who have already been engaged by another employer, to break their contract, is liable to a fine of from 20 to 100 florins, and has also to make compensation for the damage done, and for any expenses resulting therefrom, and to send back the labourers to their rightful employers.

95.

The execution of the decision cannot be hindered by any appeal made either against the employer or the labourer.

96.

The day-labourer who has entered into a contract is bound to carry out the work which he has engaged to perform exactly according to the provisions of the written or verbal agreement, and the directions of the employer.

97.

The day-labourer is responsible for all damage done by him to the employer in consequence of not executing his work according to the directions received by him.

98.

The day-labourer can only provide a substitute to take his place, with the consent of the employer.

99.

In cases where the day-labourer is quite unavoidably prevented from fulfilling his engagement, he is not, unless express provision to the contrary has been made in the contract, obliged to find a substitute; he is, however, bound to let the employer know of his detention from work as soon as possible.

100.

Unless other arrangement with regard to hours of labour have been expressly included in the contract, one day's work is always to be understood. Either party, therefore, may withdraw from the contract at the close of each day.

101.

If the work is interrupted by an accidental circumstance, such as stormy weather (*see* section 92), and if the employer is not able to employ the day labourers in another way, one, two, or three-quarters of the stipulated wages must be paid, according to the actual hours of work which have elapsed, and in cases where board also enters into the contract, dinner, where work has been done in the morning, or supper, where the labour done has occupied the afternoon, must be provided.

102.

If the day-labourer has been engaged for at least a month, the employer is entitled, in cases where circumstances prevent the stipulated work from being carried out—unless some other arrangement has been expressly made—to employ the day-labourer in some other equivalent work, and the day-labourer is bound to perform this work; if, however, the hindering circumstances continue uninterruptedly for at least a week, both parties may withdraw from the contract.

103.

The hours of work of the day labourer are reckoned, unless special conditions with regard to this point have been stipulated for, from sunrise to sunset; during this time, the day labourer is to have half an hour's rest in the morning, an hour's rest at noon, and, in the summer, an additional half hour's rest in the afternoon.

104.

If a dispute arises between the parties, with regard to the payment of the day labourers, and if the exact terms of the contract cannot be precisely ascertained, that rate of wages is to be taken as a basis which is generally paid for an equivalent amount of work, at the same time and in the same place or its immediate neighbourhood.

105.

The day labourer may not leave his work at will, and if he does this, he may, at the request of his employer, be forced to resume work by the judge of the commune, or his representative, or, where there is no such official, by the duly qualified police authority. In a case of this kind, a sum equivalent to the value of the time wasted may be deducted from the day labourer's wages.

106.

A day labourer who, of his own will, repeatedly leaves the work he has undertaken, and on whom constant warnings have no effect, is to be regarded as an idle vagabond, and to be treated as such, by the duly qualified police authority.

APPENDIX III.

PENAL PROVISIONS which affect SERVANTS, DAY LABOURERS, and AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS. (Commentary supplied by Dr. Mandello.)

Every manufacturer is guilty of a minor offence,⁽¹⁾ who fails to comply with the obligations which the law places upon him with regard to the health and safety of his workmen. Section 114 of the industrial law, states in this connexion, that every manufacturer is bound to introduce into his factory all possible safety appliances and may be every arrangement to secure the health and safety of the workers. If an explosion or other accident takes place, causing the death or severe bodily injury of a workman, and the accident was due to the negligence of the employer, the employer is punishable according to the provisions of section 290 and 310 of the Penal Code.

⁽¹⁾ Criminal offences in Austria-Hungary are divided into three classes, *Verbrechen*, *Vergehen*, and *Uebertretungen*, which may be paraphrased by the English legal terms felonies, misdemeanours, and minor offences.

A. Law of 1884.
1. Health and safety.

If the consequences cannot be brought under the sanctions of this code, the neglect to enforce precautionary measures must come under article 159.

The condition upon which the penalties specified in this paragraph are applied, is that the assistant or factory hand is occupied contrary to the law in work which does not properly belong to him.

The law lays down the following conditions with regard to the termination of engagements:—

- (1.) That the usual period of notice for both employer and employed is to be fifteen days. For shop assistants this period is extended to six weeks, and for book-keepers and cashiers, and other commercial and industrial employes, to whom important matters are entrusted to three months.
- (2.) Persons paid by the piece, and those who receive advances from their wages, cannot leave work until the job on which they are engaged is finished, or until they have worked out or repaid the value of the advances received.
- (3.) A journeyman may leave without notice if any physical or moral injury is inflicted upon him, if his employer does not provide him with work, or fails to fulfil any other obligations to which he has agreed, or if the employer or any member of his family, urges the journeyman to immoral or illegal practices.

With these exceptions, all leaving of work without notice, is contrary to the law. The measures of coercion specified under section 159, are applicable in such cases.

Firstly, the workman must be induced to offer compensation to his employer, for the loss of which he has been the occasion.

Secondly, a definite penalty may even be attached to such offences, because by leaving work, without notice, the workman has broken the law or the contract with his employer.

In places where there are no industrial guilds proceedings must be taken by the industrial authorities, but where such guilds exist questions of private liability are decided through a mediation committee which intervenes in similar case of dispute between employers and employed. But even in these cases the penalty can only be fixed by the industrial authorities (164).

The reference of this paragraph is section 162 which declares as legally invalid:—

- (1.) Agreements as to the commencement or termination of work by which employers try to force down wages or induce their workmen to accept less favourable conditions of labour.
- (2.) Agreements between the workmen themselves by which they endeavour to obtain higher wages or better conditions of labour by a simultaneous cessation of work.
- (3.) Agreements which aim at supporting those persons who remain faithful to their agreements, or at injuring persons who depart from their agreements. Neither these agreements or the persons who participate in them are punishable under section 164.

If such contracts or agreements are entered into voluntarily they are invalid. It may, however, happen that there are several persons both among employers and employed who do not wish to take any part in these agreements but are nevertheless obliged to do so by the force which the majority brings to bear upon them. If this force seeks to hinder or does actually hinder any one in the exercise of his, personal freedom and in so far as threats are used or actual injury committed, the provisions of this paragraph are to be applied. This offence can be committed by one person or by several, against one person or several. The word "threat" as here used is to be understood in its widest sense as applicable to the property, rights and relations or connexion with the person threatened as well as to himself personally. It may also be understood as including dangers still in the distance as well as those which are actually imminent. "Actual injury" denotes any personal wound which causes pain or is otherwise harmful.

This paragraph is, however, only to be applied when there is no question of a breach of section 177 of the penal code committed by a person who, with the view of raising or reducing wages, uses force against an employer or workman, or injures the same by word deed or threats of violence.

The difference between this offence and the preceding one is that whilst the latter consists in forcing an

employer or workman to take part against his will in a combination for raising or reducing wages the former offence (section 177) consists in bringing violence or threats of violence to bear upon a person with the direct object of raising or reducing wages.

A servant is any person who contracts to perform certain domestic or personal services of a continuous nature, for a period of at least one month and in return for wages.

The term agricultural labourer includes reapers, threshers, and in general all those who perform any agricultural work and who are not included in the category of domestic servants (§§ 59, 64.)

(§ 84.) By day labourer is in general to be understood such hired labourers as do not come under the head of domestic servants or agricultural labourers. § 96. A landlord or master is the person who according to the contract of service is bound to pay the wages of the servant. An employer, on the other hand, is the person who pays the wages of the agricultural labourer or day labourer.

Any agricultural labourer who, by reason of a dispute arising from any cause whatever, refuses to begin his work, or having begun, refuses to continue, or runs away from the place, may be compelled by the authorities to finish his work. He must also pay to his employer, as compensation for loss of time, double, or in case of a repeated offence, four times the amount of the daily wages generally paid in that locality for each of the days that he was away from his work. (§§ 86-89) (e.)

Any day labourer who leaves his work in an arbitrary manner can be compelled to resume it by the judge of the commune or by the police authorities. (§ 105.)

APPENDIX IV.

LIST OF TRADES SUBJECT TO AUTHORISATION AND PROOF OF COMPETENCE FROM INDUSTRIAL AUTHORITIES.

According to the decree of the Minister of Commerce the following list is not absolutely exhaustive. In all other trades of similar character, which are usually included with any of these, or closely connected with them, employers are also required to furnish evidence of proficiency.

1. Gold and silver-smiths and jewellers.
2. Gilders and metal stampers.
3. Cabinet-makers.
4. Tinsmiths.
5. Cartwrights and wheelwrights.
6. Barbers and hairdressers.
7. Tilers and slaters.
8. Boot and shoe-makers.
9. Confectioners.
10. Turners.
11. Comb makers.
12. Buttonmakers and fringemakers.
13. Instrument makers.
14. Bell founders.
15. Butchers.
16. Coopers.
17. Hatmakers.
18. Stovemakers.
19. Upholsterers.
20. Brushmakers.
21. Ropemakers.
22. Dyers.
23. Glovemakers.
24. Cutlers.
25. Carriage builders.
26. Basketmakers.
27. Smiths.
28. Bookbinders.
29. Ribbon weavers.
30. Well sinkers.
31. Locksmiths.
32. Painters and varnishers.
33. Slaughter-house workers.
34. Gingerbread bakers.
35. Wax chandlers.
36. Saddlers and harness-makers.
37. Copper and brass workers.
38. Clockmakers.
39. Bakers.
40. Tailors.
41. Soap boilers and tallow chandlers.
42. House painters.
43. Furriers.
44. Meerschaum and pipe makers.
45. Tanners.

B. Law relating to masters and servants, 1876.

APPENDIX V.

SUMMARY of RESULTS of INSPECTION in HUNGARY during 1892. (From the Report of the Minister of Commerce and Industry, 1893.)

Branch of Industry.	Districts of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry.	No. of Establishments inspected.	Number and Horse-power of Motors used in the Establishments.						Establishments with out power.	No. of Workers in Establishments.												
			Steam.		Water.		Gas.			Classes of Workers.				Sex.		Ages of Workers.				Total.		
			No.	Horse-power.	No.	Horse-power.	No.	Horse-power.		Officials.	Factory workers.	Apprentices.	Day Labourers.	Male.	Female.	Adults.	Young Workers.					
																	116-18 years.	14-16 years.	18-14 years.		Under 12 years.	
Animal products		1	1	50	—	—	—	—	—	5	119	—	5	71	53	124	—	—	—	—	—	124
Chemical		112	168	25,735	6	80	4	16	32	341	5,063	7	643	4,546	1,197	5,394	304	44	2	—	—	5,743
Provision-making industries		235	311	24,325	135	1,998	8	43	6	603	6,601	37	663	6,071	635	6,977	274	105	—	—	—	7,356
Mineral water industries		15	23	210	—	—	4	10	1	115	5,811	26	279	645	5,471	5,747	196	157	10	—	—	6,116
Spirits and beer	Arad	115	120	36,263	1	18	—	—	21	313	2,650	5	1,620	4,199	82	4,253	23	5	1	—	—	4,281
Earthenware and glass industry	Besztercebánya.	75	29	678	19	162	2	29	40	133	3,168	145	803	3,380	741	3,744	109	90	109	—	—	4,121
Iron and metal industries	Brassó	102	227	19,023	200	3,001	10	42	11	640	16,548	998	—	20,297	289	18,972	469	1,954	94	—	—	20,589
Wood	Budapest	148	131	5,794	41	717	4	40	6	393	5,436	—	3,750	8,620	451	8,992	118	147	14	—	—	9,271
Leather	Debreczen	7	10	228	—	—	1	0.5	7	23	608	24	87	659	60	795	13	7	4	—	—	719
Paper	Győr	33	30	1,380	30	2,186	6	28	5	74	1,900	10	265	1,327	848	1,843	102	153	20	—	—	2,175
Spinning and weaving	Kassa	56	32	3,027	14	334	3	20	16	107	3,589	90	475	1,546	2,608	3,217	307	518	114	—	—	4,154
Clothing	Kolozsvár	8	8	39	—	—	2	10	4	15	272	8	6	217	69	278	3	5	—	—	—	286
Furniture and decoration	Maros-Vásárhely.	3	1	8	—	—	—	—	2	3	82	11	4	86	11	70	9	10	2	—	—	97
Silver jewellers	Miskolcz	6	1	140	1	2	2	5	2	16	753	25	24	328	479	681	98	28	—	—	—	807
Printing	Nagyvárad	43	12	166	—	—	53	324	6	83	2,541	586	109	2,544	782	2,634	323	338	31	—	—	3,326
Musical instruments	Pécs	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	5	54	4	2	60	—	60	—	—	—	—	—	60
Scientific	Pozsony	2	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	3	23	12	1	38	—	26	4	8	—	—	—	38
Building	Sopron	17	24	1,706	—	—	1	1	4	77	2,324	8	776	2,623	890	3,236	125	137	40	—	—	3,608
Engineering	Temesvár	9	21	1,367	—	—	1	4	—	221	3,563	142	1,213	4,921	2	4,780	50	64	23	—	—	4,923
Carriage building works		76	105	2,963	3	26	6	232	3	333	11,020	1,053	63	13,018	24	1,174	503	535	70	—	—	13,642
Electricity		7	15	2,590	1	30	2	19	—	73	403	25	114	483	114	563	31	8	—	—	—	602
Miscellaneous		14	14	533	2	57	—	—	1	30	958	13	150	960	161	994	70	34	23	—	—	121
Totals		1,096	1,192	77,019	483	9,211	170	618	170	3,603	74,095	3,363	15,101	77,440	15,110	85,153	3,326	3,462	623	—	—	92,539

REPORT ON THE LABOUR QUESTION IN THE BALKAN STATES.

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REPORT ON THE LABOUR QUESTION IN THE BALKAN STATES.

I. BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

A.—SKETCH OF POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

1. General introduction.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, the fertile districts which lie between Servia and the Dinaric Alps, are included in the Danubian river system by means of the Save and its tributaries, while they also belong to the same geological formation as that adjoining Dalmatian Coast, with which they have so long been politically connected. Such a connexion, indeed, would seem to be essential for the prosperity of either district, for while the Save and the Danube bring the coast towns into communication with the interior, the coast-towns, again, stimulate the productive activity of the inland territories by giving them an immediate outlet for their commodities. The Romans recognised the importance of thus binding together the Continent and the shore when they formed their provinces of *Dalmatia Maritima* between the sea and the mountains, and *Dalmatia Interna* stretching from the mountains to the Danube; and the present line of sea-ports on the Dalmatian Coast, with the corresponding line of inland towns east of the mountains, only reproduce the military and commercial settlements of Roman days. Until quite recent times, however, Bosnia and Herzegovina have seemed to belong rather to the eastern than to the western world. Occupied in the 7th century by a Slav race which at the same time overran Dalmatia, Servia, and Montenegro, they have remained Slavonic in nationality and language, while assimilating the religion and manners of the Turkish conquerors who subdued them finally in the 16th century (1527). Before this period they had experienced many vicissitudes of fortune. Included at first in the Byzantine Empire, Bosnia and Herzegovina subsequently formed part of one or other of the small Slavonic States which sprang up in the Balkan Peninsula under the suzerainty of the Eastern Emperor, until, about the middle of the 12th century, they appear to have submitted to the over-lordship of Hungary, and were henceforth governed as dependencies of the Hungarian kingdom by viceroys or *bans*, who assumed the title of king in the 14th century. This connexion with the west might, perhaps, have subsisted had not religious differences intervened. The Kings of Hungary, whose title was derived from a Papal donation, were the peculiar champions of the Holy See. A form of the famous "Paterine" heresy, which plays so large a part in the mediæval history of Northern Italy, was early introduced into Bosnia, where its followers received the name of "Bogomiles," or "Lovers of God," and the persecutions which followed in the 12th and 13th centuries on the part of the Hungarian rulers seem to have to a great extent alienated the affections of their Slav subjects, and to have rendered them less unwilling to accept the supremacy of the Turks during the long struggle which began in the 15th century. Bosnia, with which Herzegovina had been definitely connected since the 12th century, was completely subdued, and when, by the treaties of Carlowitz in 1689 and of Passarowitz in 1718, the Turkish power was pushed back to the line of the Danube and the Save, Bosnia and Herzegovina still remained tributary to the Sultan. In the meantime, a considerable portion of the population, including the greater number of the large landed proprietors, adopted the Mohamedan religion, to which they still adhere. Without entering into the complicated history of the last two centuries it may suffice here to mention in conclusion that when the struggle between Russia and Turkey was ended by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878,

Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had taken an active part in the revolt against the Turkish rule, were handed over to Austria, to be "occupied and administered."⁽¹⁾

According to the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina still constitutionally form part of the Ottoman Empire, but the Austro-Hungarian Government exercises legal, judicial, and administrative authority over them, and has the supreme direction of the police system, and of all military and financial affairs. "The direction of the administration of the two occupied provinces is exercised by the Bosnian Bureau, entrusted to the Imperial Finance Minister in Vienna in the name of the Emperor King. The Sanjak of Novibazar is occupied by an Austrian force, though administered civilly by Turkey."⁽²⁾

The Austro-Hungarian "Delegations" ratify the grants for such current costs of administration in these provinces as cannot be met by their own resources. The grants for permanent expenses, as for example, for railways and public buildings, are ratified separately by the Austrian *Reichsrath* and the Hungarian *Reichstag* respectively, and the same arrangement is observed in such matters as for instance the inclusion of the provinces in the Customs Union, by which the internal administration of Austria-Hungary is affected. In general, the occupied provinces are regarded as standing in the relation of foreign countries (*Ausland*) to the Austrian Empire, and are regulated by International Law (*Völkerrecht*). Their inclusion in the common Customs Union gives them, however, an economic connection with the dual monarchy, and since the occupation, all Austro-Hungarian subjects who live in Bosnia or Herzegovina come within the cognizance of the ordinary judicial authorities, and are no longer placed under a special consular jurisdiction, while all Bosnians and Herzegovinians who settle in Austria-Hungary are, with some exceptions, treated as subjects of the Emperor.⁽³⁾

The immediate administration of the provinces is entrusted to the provincial government (*Landesregierung*) which is divided into three departments, for internal affairs, finance, and justice. The whole Government is presided over by a supreme civil official and by a military commander (*Landeschef und kommandirende General*), while each department is under a special director. For administrative purposes the country is further divided into six circuits (*Kreise*) and 48 districts (*Bezirke*). "The provincial government is provided with an advising body, composed of the ecclesiastical dignitaries of Serajevo, and 12 representatives of the populace." Similar councils are also provided for the local administrative divisions. There is a high court of justice in Serajevo, and six circuit courts in the local divisions, while the district authorities also act as courts of first instance.

The Austro-Hungarian troops of occupation have at present a strength of 28,648 men. The native troops comprise 12 infantry battalions (each of nine companies),

2. Present relations between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. (a.) Central government.

(b.) Local government.

(1) Fyffe; History of Modern Europe, Vol. III., pp. 238, 519; 1889. Laveleye; La Péninsule des Balkans, Vol. I., pp. 150-8; Brussels 1888. Kirchhoff; Länderkunde von Europa, Teil I., Zweite Hälfte, Oesterreich-Ungarn; Prof. Dr. A. Supan, pp. 286, 306-8; Vienna and Prague, 1889. Asboth. An Official Tour through Bosnia and Herzegovina, pp. 18, 25-28, 30 et seq., 340. Authorised English Edition. London, 1890.

(2) The Statesman's Year-book, 1894, p. 371.

(3) Handbuch des Oesterreichischen Rechts, IV. Band; I. Halbband; 1. Abtheilung; I. Oesterreichisches Staatsrecht; Albrich, pp. 251-2; Freiburg in Breisgau 1892.

with a total of 5,040 men. Military service is compulsory on all men who are over 20 years of age.⁽¹⁾

The total area of Bosnia and Herzegovina is estimated at 23,262 square miles. In 1885 the civil population numbered 1,336,091 persons, including 705,025 males and 631,066 females. The military population was 23,909, making the grand total 1,360,000. Of these 1,360,000 inhabitants 571,250 were members of the Greek Church, 492,710 were Mohamedans, 265,788 were Roman Catholics, 5,805 were Jews, and the remaining 538 belonged to other religious persuasions. On January 1st, 1888, the total population was estimated at 1,404,000 persons, of whom about 200,000 were Herzegovinians. The large proportion borne by the Mohamedan element of the population to the whole number is worth noting in connexion with the labour question, since it shows how great a power must have been exercised by the Mohamedan landowners under the Turkish rule, when the Christian *rayas* or peasants were practically at their mercy, and suggests also the difficulties which the Austrian Government has to overcome in dealing with the agrarian question, and with the various questions connected with administration.

The majority of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina is, as has been already indicated, of Slavonic race, intermixed with some Turks, and in the Southern districts with a few gypsies and Arnauts. The most populous towns are the capital, Serajevo, with 26,286 inhabitants in 1885, Mostar, and Banialuka, which had 12,665 and 11,357 inhabitants respectively at the same date.

There are 384 miles of railway in the two provinces, and 1,765 miles of telegraph lines. In the budget of 1892 the revenue was estimated at 10,299,350 florins, and the expenditure at 9,944,655 florins. In 1892, also, the imports amounted in value to 1,450,000*l.* including 700,000*l.* worth of alimentary substances and 260,000*l.* worth of metals and machinery, while the value of the exports amounted to 1,179,700*l.* comprising 497,900*l.* worth of animals and animal produce, 232,000*l.* worth of dried plums and 140,000*l.* worth of staves; figures which show the comparative importance of the wood and fruit industries, and the part which cattle-breeding and cattle-grazing play in the national economy. In 1879 it was estimated that there were in the two provinces 158,034 horses, 3,134 asses and mules, 761,302 head of cattle, 775 buffaloes, 839,988 sheep, 522,123 goats, and 430,354 swine, while in 1892-93 there were 850,000 oxen in the country, 1,720,000 sheep, 670,000 pigs, 740,000 goats, and 180,000 horses, asses and mules.

The chief articles of import, according to a recent report, appear to be gold wire and trimmings, hardware, mercury, perfumery, paperware and engravings, materials for railways and mechanical works, leather, prepared skins, furs, and ready-made clothing, all of which are brought from Germany; dried fruits, figs, nuts, almonds, rice, oil, oranges and lemons, hemp and silk from Italy; cotton goods from England; and cloth, silk, satin, brandy, champagne, cigarette papers and clothing from France.

With the exception of Austria-Hungary, Germany appears to have the most active commercial intercourse with Bosnia and Herzegovina of all the European countries. The value of the goods annually imported into the German Empire from these provinces, consisting chiefly of staves, prunes, tobacco, skins, undressed furs and tortoiseshell, is considerably in excess of the annual value of the commodities exported from Germany into Bosnia. Italy imports chiefly prunes, wood, and horses, England, eggs and mineral ores, and France, large quantities of prunes, hides, eggs and wool. Mineral waters, which are found in great abundance in Bosnia, also form an article of exportation.

The country is rich in minerals of various kinds, and, in addition to the salt-pits at Dolnja Tuzla, mining is now carried on for iron and copper, manganese, chromium, and antimony.⁽²⁾

The Austrian Government is now taking up the question of education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. An excellent law was enacted by the Porte in 1869, which has unfortunately remained a dead letter, owing both to want of funds to carry it out, and to want of energy on the part of the local governors. By this law each village and each division of a town was to have its own primary school, and in more important places, middle-class schools were to be founded and endowed with a suitable provision for the master's salary. Absolutely nothing was done to put this law in force, and before the Austrian occupation there were no schools except those belonging exclusively to the various religious communities. The Mohamedan schools were purely religious, and taught nothing but the Koran. The Franciscan friars to whom Bosnia and Herzegovina had been entrusted by the Holy See, had schools in which Roman Catholics could be educated, but these were not numerous, the members of the Orthodox church could find no teaching in the convents, as the monks were entirely ignorant, but thanks to private liberality some 56 Orthodox schools were in existence at the time of the occupation.

Previous to the occupation, the number of Mohamedan schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina was 517. The Orthodox, as already mentioned, supported 56, and the Catholics 54 primary schools, and the Orthodox had also started upper boys' and girls' schools in Serajevo and Mostar, and had established a *gymnasium* in Serajevo. The Franciscans gave those of their pupils who were destined for the priesthood instruction in the *gymnasias*. At the present time there appear to be 943 schools in the two provinces, in addition to three *gymnasias*, four commercial schools, two seminaries for priests (one Orthodox and one Catholic), and a training college for teachers.

The Austrian administration maintains the Turkish law of 1869, and endeavours to carry it out. Education is free, and will be made compulsory as soon as there is a sufficient number of schools. The variety of religions and nationalities has proved a considerable obstacle to the progress of education. The Servian or Croat language is spoken by everybody, but the Catholics write it with the Latin alphabet and the Orthodox with Eastern characters. The Government ordered that in undenominational schools only the Latin alphabet should be used. "The Orthodox objected; for them, the Eastern characters were a part of their faith; whoever would replace them by the Western characters struck a blow at their religion. The Government was obliged to give way that it might not provoke a formidable protest."

Allusion has been made above to the Franciscans. The first friars of this order appeared in the Balkan provinces about the year 1230, and ever since they have continued to play a most important part, both in religion and politics. It is indeed to their influence that the Latin Church owes its continued existence in a country where the majority of the inhabitants have always been either Mohamedan or Orthodox, or have belonged to the Bogomiles, the sect of Christian heretics mentioned above.⁽³⁾

B.—CONDITION OF CHIEF INDUSTRIES.

Bosnia and Herzegovina are essentially agricultural, and primarily forest districts. In 1869 it was calculated that hardly 4½ per cent. of the productive population were engaged in commerce, trade, or industry, and while only 16 per cent. of the total area was unproductive or grass land, and 34 per cent. was arable land, 50 per cent., or half the total area, was covered by woods and forests, the homes of numerous wild beasts, deer, hoars, wolves, bears, foxes, and lynxes, which are killed by the inhabitants for the sake of their fur, in which they carry on a considerable trade with the Continent, especially with the town of Leipzig. These forest regions furnished the Romans with much of the timber used in building their Adriatic fleet, and the houses in Bosnia are still commonly built of wood. The wood industry, however, is only slightly developed, though the trade in staves (*Fassdauben*) which has its headquarters at Banialuka, is in a flourishing condition. The French *Moniteur Officiel du Commerce* for September 1st, 1892, publishes a communication from

4. Education.

1. Agriculture and forestry. (a.) Woods and forests, and the wood industry.

(1) The Statesman's Year-book, 1894, pp. 371-2. Handbuch des Oeffentlichen Rechts, IV. Band: 1. Halbband: 1. Abtheilung; 1. Oesterreichisches Staatsrecht: Albrich, pp. 251-2. Freiburg in Breisgau, 1892.

(2) The Statesman's Year-book, 1894, pp. 371-2. The Board of Trade Journal, Vol. XIII., No. 77, December 1892, pp. 713-4; Vol. XIV., No. 78, January 1893, p. 34.

(3) Laveleye: La Péninsule des Balkans, Vol. I., pp. 79, 81, 147, 174. Astéoth. An Official Tour through Bosnia and Herzegovina, pp. 156-157. Authorized English Edition. London, 1890. The Statesman's Year-book, 1894, p. 372.

a correspondent at Serajevo, with reference to the Bosnian timber trade, in which it is stated that the felling of timber of all kinds is increasing daily in the vast oak forests of Bosnia, and that the working of hoopwood, chiefly small staves, is considerably on the increase. The annual production of hoop woods and staves varied between 16 and 17 millions of staves, exported, for the greater part, to France, and the competition of Bosnia in this branch of industry had exercised an unfavourable influence on the timber trade in other parts of Slavonia, while the increased working was also rapidly exhausting the raw material. One of the causes of this augmented production was the increasing facilities for transport which the neighbourhood of Serajevo offered. The timber could be carted, for instance, into Serajevo from the surrounding forest districts at a very cheap rate, and thence it could be sent by the newly-opened railway to Wietkowie, and then by Lloyd steam-boats to the port of shipment. For the Northern districts, the timber was transported by railway from Brod to Fiume, and thence to its final destination. An Italian journal (*Italia*) further stated in 1891, that in view of the abolition of the free ports of Trieste and Fiume and the opening of the Konjike-Serajevo Railway, which will put Bosnia into direct communication with the Adriatic, a company has just been formed at Milan to purchase wood directly in the Bosnian markets, and it was thought that by reason of the proximity of the places of production and the facility of transport, Italy might take the place of Marseilles, Cette, and Bordeaux, which import wood from Bosnia to send in different directions.⁽¹⁾

(5.) Statistics of agricultural production.

Writing in 1889, Professor Supan, though deploring the present unfavourable conditions with which agriculture in Bosnia and Herzegovina had to struggle, stated his belief that a great future was in store for it, since the land was so fertile that the seed sown bore fruit fourteen and even twenty-fold. The annual production, however, did not at that time greatly exceed the yearly consumption, and only about 10 per cent. of the grain grown was exported. The chief agricultural products of Bosnia are maize, wheat, barley, oats, millet, rye, buckwheat, potatoes, flax, hemp, tobacco, wines, and fruit. In 1889, the annual production of the principal cereals was estimated as follows:

	Hectolitres.	Hectolitre
Maize	1,400,000	= 1.21 per head.
Wheat	650,000	= 0.56 "
Barley	500,000	= 0.43 "
Oats	530,000	= 0.45 "
Millet	130,000	= 0.11 "

Tobacco is grown in both provinces, especially in the district of Dolnja-Tuzla, and tobacco culture is said to be making rapid progress. In Herzegovina, where successful experiments have been made with rice, olives, and orange-trees, where the pomegranate flourishes in the open air, and where in certain districts excellent red wine is grown, tobacco is said to play the same important agricultural part that the plum plays in Bosnia. About 3,000 kilogrammes, worth 2,000 florins, are produced per hectare, and since the introduction of the tobacco monopoly the extension and improvement of production appears to have made rapid progress, and "new sources of industry have been thrown open by the factories." Cattle farming is in some parts of the country the only means of livelihood of the inhabitants, but the cattle are generally small and weak, in consequence of insufficient nourishment, and the cows do not give much milk. Horse-breeding, on the contrary, is pursued with some success. Sheep are kept chiefly for food, and a considerable number of goats are reared, particularly in Herzegovina, while swine are fattened for exportation in the oak forests of Northern Bosnia. According to a recent report drawn up by the Belgian Consul-General in Hungary, out of an area of 51,000 square kilometres, 10,302 square kilometres are arable land, 3,312 square kilometres are meadow land, 9,315 square kilometres are pasture land, and 26,793 square kilometres are forest land. The annual production of cereals amounted in 1892-93 to 3,500,000 metric quintals, of which 500,000 were wheat 700,000 barley, 450,000 oats, and 1,300,000

maize. The annual hay harvest amounted to 4,500,000 metric quintals, and the yearly produce of vegetables, prunes, and tobacco amounted to 1,125,000 quintals, 1,200,000 quintals, and 24,000 quintals respectively. There were more than 100,000 beehives, of a very rude kind, in the two provinces. Sericulture was only in the experimental stage, but plantations of mulberry trees had been established at Mostar and on the banks of the Narenta. Tobacco, the sale of which was a Government monopoly, was cultivated successfully near Trebinje and Ljubuski. As much as 3,000 kilogrammes per hectare were raised, and the annual production for Herzegovina amounted to three or four million kilogrammes. Some experiments in the growing of sugar beets had been made in Northern Bosnia, and works had been erected.⁽²⁾

Vines are cultivated in Herzegovina, and, according to the report of the German Consul at Serajevo, as quoted in the *Handel's Museum* for September 29th, 1892, considerable progress is being made in this branch of industry. The Board of Trade Journal for October 1892, summarising the above-mentioned article in the *Handel's Museum*, gives the following account of viticulture in Bosnia and Herzegovina:—

(c.) Viticulture.

"The production of wine was very insignificant under Turkish rule, and was not really started until 1882. There are two schools for promoting the culture of wine and fruit, one at Mostar, and the other at Derwent. They are supported at the public expense, and are designed for popular instruction in the methods of cultivating both native vines and such foreign kinds as have been selected, with due regard to the nature of the climate and soil, cuttings being distributed gratis among agricultural societies, communes, and private growers. The school at Mostar is provided with vaults for the preparation and storage of wine according to approved methods, with facilities for witnessing the processes. The hillslopes of the river Narenta and its tributaries in Herzegovina are peculiarly favourable as regards position, climate, and soil, for the cultivation of the vine. It is grown chiefly in the districts of Mostar, Ljubuski, Ljubinj, Konjica, Stolac, and Trebinje. In addition to the native sorts, *Blatnika* (red) and *Zelenka* (green) vines from the Hungarian schools of viticulture, as well as from France, Italy, and Asia Minor, are cultivated. Burgundy and Muscat Lüneil vines are said to promise well. A considerable quantity of fresh grapes is consumed in the country as table-fruit.

"Indigenous wines are still manufactured in a somewhat primitive manner, and have hitherto been retained for home consumption. The most appreciated class of these wines is known as *Bama* wine, and though of inferior quality is light and pleasant. Between 1885 and 1889 the production of wine is said to have risen from 650,000 kilogrammes to 1,416,000 kilogrammes, and to have increased in a similar ratio since the latter year.

"The area of the vineyards was about 17,300 acres in 1891, producing 157,249 cwt. of grapes, valued at about 116,700*l.*

"Owing to the energetic measures taken by the Government, Bosnia has up to the present enjoyed complete immunity from the phylloxera, but the vine leaves were attacked by 'peronospera,' the course of which disease was, however, speedily arrested through recourse to the French specific *Bouillie bordelaise améliorée*, a solution of copper-vitriol and lime. This specific, as well as the necessary apparatus for sprinkling it, was distributed among native growers, either at cost price or gratis, according to the circumstances of the recipients."⁽³⁾

Both Bosnia and Herzegovina are great fruit-growing districts. Plums, especially, are cultivated in large quantities, and a considerable trade in dried plums or prunes is carried on with foreign countries. The French Consul at Serajevo, in a report printed in the *Moniteur Officiel du Commerce* for July 2nd, 1891, gives the following account of this important industry: "The total production of plums in Bosnia is estimated, in average years, at 1,200,000 metric quintals. The fruit, when eaten fresh, forms a wholesome and sub-

(d.) The cultivation of fruit. The plum trade.

(1) Board of Trade Journal, Vol. XI., No. 41, August 1891, p. 192 Vol. XIII., No. 75, October 1892, p. 442. Kirchhoff: Landeskunde von Europa, Teil I., Zweite Hälfte, Oesterreich-Ungarn. Prof. Dr. A. Supan, pp. 318-9, Vienna and Prague, 1890.

(2) Asbóth. An Official Tour through Bosnia and Herzegovina, p. 169. Authorised English Edition, London, 1890.
(3) The Board of Trade Journal, Vol. XIII., No. 75, October 1892, pp. 442-3. The Statesman's Year-book, 1894, p. 372.

"stantial food. Pressed and fermented, it produces *slivovitz*, a drink which possesses a fine perfume, and is greatly appreciated by the Slavonic peoples. Cooked and prepared without sugar the plums are transformed into a sort of *compote*, which is indifferently called *bestilj* or *lekvar*, and is valued by the native housekeeper; finally, dried in the oven, it becomes the prune, the exportation of which is one of the principal resources of Bosnia, and, in good seasons, amounts to from 400,000 to 450,000 metric quintals.

"The extent of the plum orchards and the superior quality of their produce, the facility of communication, and a whole series of trade customs which go back to an early period, have tended to centralise this industry in the plain of the Posavina and the northern districts of the country, notably at Breka, a little town of 10,000 inhabitants, situate on the banks of the Save, opposite Gunja, and close to the railway from that point to Vinkovca, connected, accordingly, with the main system of Hungarian railways. Places which are also, although to a less degree, engaged in the plum trade, are Brod, Doboj, Dervat, Tuzla, Samac, Bjebia, and Raca. It may be assumed that three-fourths of the exportation proceeds from the warehouses at Breka, the other centres producing the remaining one-fourth." The plums, which are dried in ovens or *panisacas*, are divided into six qualities, according to the quantity of fruit required to make up a weight of 500 grammes.

The 1st quality includes a	} 75 plums to the $\frac{1}{2}$ kilo.	
maximum of		
" 2nd " " "		80 " "
" 3rd " " "		85 " "
" 4th " " "		90 " "
" 5th " " "		100 " "
" 6th " " "	110 or more.	

The export varies from year to year. In 1890 it amounted to 160,600 metric quintals. In 1891, the fruit was attacked by caterpillars, and much of it was lost, but a favourable season brought what remained to great perfection, and though the crop was small it fetched high prices in the market. Towards the end of September these prices were reduced by the abundance of fruit in France, the absence of a demand in Germany, and the passing of the McKinley Bill in America. In 1893, according to a report presented to the Foreign Office by Her Majesty's Consul-General at Serajevo, the plum crop appears to have been very inferior both in quality and quantity. "In quantity it hardly exceeded half an average crop, and the quality was affected by blight and by the inordinate heat of the weather in the months of July and August. The average size of the plums was good, and about half the crop was consequently classed under the first two qualities, that is to say 70 to 85 plums to the half kilo, but in spite of their size they appear to have been deficient in flesh, and also would not keep." The total amount of dried plums available for exportation was estimated at 130,000 quintals. The demand was limited, prices were low, and up to the end of October not more than 40,000 quintals seem to have been exported. The Foreign Office Report further states that "the cultivation of the plum, fostered as it is by the local Government, increases in Bosnia from year to year, whereas in the neighbouring province of Slavonia, which was formerly a formidable rival in this article of commerce, the cultivation of the plum tree seems to be rapidly on the decline."

"The preparation of the fruit," to quote the French Consul's report again, "has led to the formation of a local industry which has never ceased to attract the attention of the Bosnian Government." In 1891, special ovens for drying the fruit were introduced from France, since the native Bosnian ovens removed from the fruit too large a proportion of its juice, and, in consequence, made it lose too much of its weight. "This innovation," according to the French Consul, "is considered, in the territory interested, to be one of great importance, and it is now hoped that the Bosnian growers will be able to compete with French plums of the very highest quality." Until 1886, all the exporting trade in this branch of the industry was monopolised by "certain Bosnian or Austro-Hungarian merchants, who found their main foreign market in the United States of America." In 1886, "the first German houses made their appearance; these in-

"creased in number, little by little, until they diverted to their own country the greater part of the traffic. In 1890, a good half of the export trade was done with Germany, the other half being distributed over Austria-Hungary, the United States, France, England, and Italy."⁽¹⁾

The methods of cultivation which prevail in Bosnia and Herzegovina are still very primitive. It is said that four-fifths of the naturally fertile soil are sometimes allowed to lie fallow, and the ploughs commonly used, which are made of wood with a very small iron share, are so heavy and rough that four oxen can hardly turn a furrow. Each farm has its plum orchard of about an acre in extent, which, with the produce of the poultry-yard, brings in the ready money which pays the taxes. An interesting form of primitive ownership is still preserved in the *zadruga*⁽²⁾ or family community of the Southern Slavs. Numbers of such communities are to be found in Bosnia and Servia, particularly in the neighbourhood of Pirot (Servia), where the local authorities encourage the formation of new *zadrugas*, and the preservation of those already established. Protective measures are certainly needed, as these communities are now fast tending to disappear before the modern system of agriculture, and the restless habits which contact with the West has inspired even among the more slowly changing races of the East.

The land belonging to any one family is, under the *zadruga* system, cultivated in common by all the members of the family. Three or four generations live unitedly in one dwelling, and father, sons, and grandsons eat at one common table. The farm work is apportioned between the different men of the family, whilst the domestic work and the weaving and making of clothes and household utensils is done by the women. The economic results obtained by this method of cultivation are highly satisfactory. Even a small property suffices for the maintenance of a large family, and poverty, i.e., pauperism, is unknown.

M. Laveleye gives an account of a *zadruga* near Pirot, visited by him in 1886, which consisted of 20 *plougvas*, a measure rather less than a hectare of land, and maintained twenty-four persons. This *zadruga* was considered very poor, and yet the family possessed 60 sheep and goats, 8 oxen, 2 horses, and 3 pigs, and was able to pay an annual tax of 10*l.* to the State. Their ordinary food consisted of rye bread, cheese, and milk, with occasional wine and meat. The house contained only three rooms, and the floor, as is usual throughout the country, was made simply of beaten earth. One of the most important *zadrugas* in Bosnia is that of Kopljar, near Djakovo. In 1886 the family consisted of 34 persons, and possessed 150 *joch* of land (a *joch* is nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres), of which 113 *joch* were under cultivation. The live stock consisted of 40 head of cattle, 18 horses, 300 sheep, and 120 pigs. In 1884 this community paid 357*fl.* in State taxes, besides what it paid in communal taxes. The gradual disappearance of the *zadruga* system has had a most baneful effect upon the condition of the population. In the district of Schabatz, in Servia, where the number of *zadrugas* is still large, a population of 18,000 souls furnished 520 recruits to the army, whereas the district of Ujitz, with a population of 23,000 persons, but where the *zadrugas* have almost died out, could only supply 400 recruits.⁽³⁾

The present conditions by which real property in Bosnia and Herzegovina is regulated, have grown up out of a combination of the native Slavonic *zadruga*, the mediæval relations between lord and vassal, which developed under Italian and Hungarian influence; the form of feudal tenure peculiar to Turkey and the Mohammedan law founded on the Koran. The feudal land system of the *timar*, which was introduced into Bosnia by the Turks at the time of their conquest, and formed the basis of their national system of defence, was abolished in 1839. In 1858, a new land law, based upon the legal principles derived from the Koran, was promulgated by the Porte, and is still in force. According to the provisions of this law, the country is

(1) Methods of cultivation. The "Zadruga."

(2) The agrarian question.

(1) The Board of Trade Journal, Vol. XI, No. 61, August 1891, pp. 190-2. Vol. XIV, No. 79, February 1893, pp. 196-8. P. O. Reports, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 271.

(2) The word *zadruga*, which means "for the sake of companionship," is derived from two Slav words, *za* = "for," and *drug* = "a companion," (vide La Réforme Sociale, February 1894.)

(3) Laveleye: La Péninsule des Balkans, Vol. I, pp. 15-17; Vol. II, p. 118, and Appendix 2; Brussels, 1886.

divided into *Mulk*, or freehold, exempted from tithes; *Miriah*, or land subject to tithes; *Ueshorich* lands, which have been granted to the conquerors, or to Mohamedan converts as *Mulk* charged with tithes; *Haratshieh* lands, which have been granted to the Christian owners found upon them by the conquerors in exchange for a tax for exemption from military service, called the *Haratsch*; *Mevat*, or uncultivated soil; *Metruke* land, in which one or more villages have an exclusive right of usufruct; and the *Vakuf*, or estates of Mohamedan religious endowments, mosques, schools, hospitals, baths, and wells. The *Vakuf* may be either *Mulk* or *Miriah*. It is also possible for the land itself to be *Miriah*, whilst the trees and houses standing upon it fall under the category of *Mulk*, and in that case, the *Miriah* land and the *Mulk* trees may be owned by different proprietors. Finally, the founder of a *Vakuf* estate may bestow *Mulk* land on private persons with free testatory rights and power of sale, but in exchange for a fixed undertaking to pay rent to the *Vakuf*. Property of this kind is called *Mukata*. Most of the land in closed towns and villages is *Mulk*, or freehold, while the cultivated soil is very generally *Miriah*, or subject to tithes. The land law calls it State property, but as a rule the caliph only reserves to himself the tithes, the arrangement of the succession, and the supervision of the cultivation of the estate. "The *Miriah* estates can be granted or transferred only by means of duty-charged *tapias*, and sold only with the consent of the State; can not be subject to any testamentary disposal, and are hereditary only in direct descent, or to the second degree in the collateral line; after this they become *Makbul*, that is, they revert to the State. The State, however, never appropriates them to its own exclusive use, but in the event of their reversion or lapse, re-allots them with the *tapia* and liability to tithes. State property in land, in the European sense," is said to have first arisen out of the forest laws of 1850, "by which the Porte declared all forests to be by principle the immediate property of the State, and only acknowledged as local rights the privileges of wood-cutting and pasturage."

The relations between the landlord and vassal seem to have survived from pre-Turkish times. Found in existence by the conquerors, they were, according to M. de Asbóth, "preserved through the influence of the nobility, who had gone over in a body to Islam, and they were only re-organised by the law of the year 1859, in order to deal with the abuses which had crept in."

"The house, courtyard and garden of the *kmet* (vassal)," to quote the same authority, "stand, as a rule, upon the land belonging to the landlord, and have to be kept in repair by him. After the tithes have been first deducted, a certain proportion of the products are due to the landlord. This proportion varies between one-fifth and one-half, according to the different products and districts. The harsh lord of the manor screwed it up, the good-natured, or intimidated, reduced his share; and as neither written laws nor written contracts existed, but everything rested only upon ancient usage and actual facts, alteration in the once established *modus operandi* was difficult to bring about. Generally, however, a third was due to the landlord."

"The custom, too, differs as to who has to provide the seed and to collect the landlord's share. The actual cultivation always falls upon the *kmet*. He can at any time sever the relations; but he can only be evicted by a legal decree if he fails to cultivate the soil, or does not hand over his share to the landlord. If the master sells the land, the *kmet* can claim the right of pre-emption. The new landlord, upon taking possession of the estate, steps into all the privileges of his predecessor in relation to the *kmet*. The right of the *kmet* may be hereditary, but can neither be sold nor transferred. The *kmet* land (*tahiftluk*) which has become tenantless may be either re-allotted by the owner or retained for immediate cultivation. Such a *begluk*, retained by the owner for his own use, is found upon all the larger estates. The extension of the *kmet* land finds its natural limitation in the fact that the *kmet* loses the land which he continues to neglect. Individual *kmet*s are, however, in a position to continuously cultivate considerable tracts of land, if they hold the position of head of several

"families living in household communities, a custom having its origin in the old Slavonic *Zadruga*. . . . Every tract of land, as soon as it becomes free of any claim on the part of a *kmet*, is also leaseable, and beyond the cultivation of the soil, and the debt of labour due to the State, no other service can be imposed upon the tenant." The *kmet* lands generally include about 20 hectares. Some of the more powerful *bey*s (large landowners) hold as much as 20,000 hectares. Among the smaller *agas* (petty landowners), on the other hand, three proprietors sometimes jointly own a single individual tract of *kmet* land.

The Christian peasants (*rayas* or *rajahs*) seem to have suffered considerable oppression under this system in the days of the Turkish rule, but M. de Asbóth believes that the cause of their misery is to be sought not so much in the laws by which their position was regulated, as in the manner in which these laws were carried out, and in "the abuses and outrages which had arisen." The abolition of these abuses, and "the impartial and practical protection of the law" was "the first and most important reform introduced by the Austrian occupation." Now, with a just administration, "the lot of the peasant is more happy than in many more advanced European States. . . . The possibility is offered him of raising himself by labour and thrift to the position of a freeholder; and, as a matter of fact, the number of these *kmet*s who either release their tracts of land or acquire freehold land by purchase is daily on the increase."⁽¹⁾

Since the Austrian occupation, then, the position of the peasants has become more endurable, but the system of taxation cannot be completely reformed until the *cadaster*, the official statement of the extent and value of every property, is ready. The tax on Christians for exemption from military service has, however, been abolished since conscription has become compulsory on all classes alike. The order and equity with which the taxes are now collected have also produced great relief. The State tithe is no longer a fixed amount, but varies in proportion to the yield of the harvests; its great defect is that it is levied on the cultivator, who bears all the expenses of production, and receives only a part of the returns. M. Laveleye is of opinion that further agrarian reforms must still be undertaken by Austria. The first step towards improvement must be to determine exactly the obligations of each tenant to his landlord. "The Administration wishes them to be stated in a written document, drawn up by the local authorities in the presence of both *aga* (landlord) and *raya* (peasant). The *aga* shuns this, doubtless because he counts on resuming his arbitrary powers when the Austrians are expelled, and the *raya* will not bind himself because he always hopes for further reductions. Thousands of settlements of this kind have, however, been already recorded."

According to the French *Monde Economique* of July 1st, 1893, as summarised in the Board of Trade Journal, "a considerable progress in the agricultural prosperity of Bosnia and Herzegovina has lately been reported to the Austrian Minister of Finance by the Austro-Hungarian Delegations." The account, which represents the latest information on this subject, is worth reproducing in full. "In those countries where the great owners of land now cultivate the soil themselves, and where, moreover, the peasant does not have the advantage of an example set him by farmers belonging to the educated classes, the Government is obliged to come to the assistance of agriculture. It has accordingly established depôts where agricultural machinery is sold, and no instances are recorded in which the peasants have not regularly paid the stipulated instalments. Improved apparatus for drying plums has been introduced, and the result is that this important product has a higher value than it ever had before. In the north the cattle of the Hungarian plains, a race proceeding from the mountains of the Southern Tyrol, are being successfully acclimatised. The Bosnian population has welcomed these improvements with much enthusiasm. Money advances are also being made by the Government. Private capital from Vienna helps the towns to carry out considerable works of improvement, and several

(1) Asbóth. An Official Tour through Bosnia and Herzegovina, pp. 158-167. Authorized English Edition. London, 1890.

"flourishing industrial establishments have been started."⁽¹⁾

besides credit

The most pressing want of the Bosnian peasant at the present time is the difficulty of obtaining ready money. In former times, if the harvest produced an average yield, it sufficed for the next year's seed, for the food of the family, and for the taxes which were paid in kind. Only when the harvest failed and no seed was forthcoming for the ensuing year was the peasant obliged to borrow money. Now, however, since the introduction of money taxes, coin is more and more required for all kinds of transactions, and it is consequently very important that the peasantry should be able to obtain money on easy terms. In a country where money is so scarce the rate of interest is naturally high. Under the old administration the rate for purely commercial transactions was 18 per cent., well-to-do private individuals had to pay 24 per cent. on loans, whilst the peasant who was forced to borrow paid little less than cent. per cent. Under the new administration extortion was no longer permitted, but interest was still enormously high, when the entire failure of the harvest in 1886 led to the establishment of agricultural credit banks. The State granted a sum of 5,000 florins to every district which desired to establish a bank, and promised a yearly subsidy of 1,000 florins for five years provided that an equal sum was raised by the district itself. The districts were not slow to avail themselves of this offer, and thirty-one out of the forty-eight districts of the province have established credit banks. A large accumulation of capital has not been necessary, for as yet money forms a small part of economic intercourse in Bosnia, and from 15 to 20 florins is often sufficient to bring a small farmer safely through an agricultural crisis. The aim of the funds is, firstly, to relieve distressed peasants, and, secondly, to promote agricultural enterprise. Under the relief of distress the banks include the payment of arrears of interest, the purchase of seed-corn or fodder, and loans which will enable the peasant to procure such implements or cattle as are absolutely indispensable for his work. The promotion of agricultural enterprise includes loans for the purchase of improved implements, for irrigation and for the improvement of the breed of horses and cattle.

The banks have been most successful in nearly all districts, and the only complaint made against them is that their funds are insufficient to meet all the demands which are made upon them.⁽²⁾

Mining.

Bosnia and Herzegovina are rich in minerals, and there seem to be great possibilities of development for the mining industry in these provinces.

Coal.

Coal is found in many districts, notably near Banialuka, Travnik, Mostar, and Tuzla. The mines of Tuzla daily produce 200 tons of lignite, and a vein of 18 metres in thickness is worked on the surface. The coal-bed which runs from Zenica along the Travnik Valley supplies both Travnik and Serajevo with fuel. According to a report which was read in a recent meeting of the Engineers and Architects' Association, coal-mining was practically unknown in Bosnia before the Austrian occupation, and the demand for fuel was almost entirely supplied by the forests in which the country abounds. When, however, after 1878, railways were constructed, and industrial schemes were set on foot, these conditions were completely altered. In 1880, the Coal Industry Union opened the first mine at Zenica, with a view to supplying the Bosnia railway line with fuel. In 1885, a second shaft was sunk at Kreka, which supplied the salt-works at Doljina-Tuzla with fuel, and, after the opening of the Doboj-Simintam line, exported a considerable quantity of coal. In 1886, the Government took over the management of all the mines in the country. The increasing prosperity of the coal-mining industry is shown by the amount of its annual production, which rose from about 4,996 quintals, worth about 2,631 florins in 1880, to 772,660 quintals, with a value of 165,427 florins at the end of 1891. The number of workmen employed also increased from 16 to 320 in the period between 1880 and 1891. The miners are chiefly natives of the Bosnian provinces, and are said to be strong, industrious, and skilful. After a short period of apprenticeship (*Lehrzeit*) they

receive the same wages as Austrian workmen employed in Bosnia, amounting for hewers to 1 florin 60 kreuzer for an eleven hours' shift. In case of sickness, every workman is entitled to adequate assistance from the sick fund, which is a branch of a provincial friendly society (*Landesbruderverein*). All permanently employed workmen must contribute one florin monthly to this provincial friendly society. The Government interests itself in the provision of healthy and cheap dwellings for the workmen. A workmen's colony of 18 houses has already been established at Kreka, and a store (*Consumgebäude*) is now about to be started. Every house is inhabited by two families, and has a courtyard, a garden, and a stable. They cost 2,000 florins each to build, and each family pays a monthly rent of 2.50 florins. A similar settlement has been founded at Zenica.⁽³⁾

Iron mines are found in the neighbourhood of Vares, Fojnica, Kresovo, and Visoko. In the Vares mines the ore is said to exist in "almost inexhaustible quantities." The proportion of oxide of iron varies from 71 to 85 per cent., with 2 to 6 per cent. of oxide of manganese, and 0.12 to 0.16 per cent. of phosphorus. The Vares blast furnace produces 50,000 tons of iron per annum.

Iron.

Copper ores are found at Siniakovo (Jaice) and manganese ores near Banialuka and Serajevo. Chromium mines are worked near Vares and Visoko, ores of antimony and mercury are found near Fojnica, and argentiferous lead ore has been struck at Srebrenica. Thirty-two mineral and gaseous springs have been discovered in various parts of the country, and while the exportation of mineral waters is growing in importance, the thermal stations which have been established in Bosnia, especially the station of Ilijé, near Serajevo, attract an increasing number of visitors. The mineral wealth of these districts appears to have been known to the Romans and in the Middle Ages, but to have been neglected in the days of Turkish rule, to be revived under the Austrian dominion.⁽⁴⁾

Copper.

Industry on a large scale is practically unknown in Bosnia and Herzegovina, though a certain number of factories have been started of late years. The small industries of these provinces, however, and those branches of manufacture which are carried on by the peasants in their own homes, are not unimportant, and are distinguished for the sense of proportion and beauty in form and colouring shown by the artificers, who have inherited Oriental traditions, and have also to some extent preserved the memory of the artistic influence which the Italian Renaissance exercised upon their ancestors in the days of their frequent intercourse with Venice and Ragusa.

3. Manufactures.
(a.) Factories and small industries.

The chief factories of the country are connected either with the textile industry or with agricultural industries. Thus, there is an alcohol factory at Tuzla, which daily produces 50 hectolitres of alcohol and 1,500 kilogrammes of dried malt; a beet drying factory at Doboj; a prune-preparing factory at Breka; tobacco factories at Serajevo, Mostar, and Banialuka; textile factories at Serajevo, Livno, and Foca; and salt and metal works in various parts of the country.⁽⁵⁾

Factories.

The old methods of trade, however, survive to a very great extent. All the important towns of Bosnia have their *Tsharshija* or merchant quarter, which is inhabited entirely by Mohamedans. Each trade represented in the quarter has its guild, and each guild draws up its own rules. No sign of decay has as yet appeared in this system, indeed, the rules of the guilds have been recently confirmed, and the whole state of society still closely resembles that of Western Europe in the Middle Ages. The feudal system prevails in the country, the guild system in the towns. The principal trades exercised in Serajevo are those of the furrier and metal worker. The furriers have a great deal of custom, as the winters are long and severe, and the inhabitants very generally wear fur-lined coats. From 50,000 to 60,000 animals are killed every winter for the sake of their fur in the forests of

Small industries.

(1) Laveleye: La Péninsule des Balkans, Vol. I., p. 178, et seq.; Brussels 1880. The Board of Trade Journal, Vol. XV., No. 85, August 1893, p. 217.

(2) Socialpolitiches Centralblatt, Vol. II., 1892-3, pp. 3-5. Laveleye: La Péninsule des Balkans, Vol. II., pp. 98-117; Brussels 1880.

(3) Das Handels-Museum, January 26th, 1893. Kirchhoff: Länderkunde von Europa, Teil I., Zweite Hälfte, pp. 320-1. Oesterreich-Ungarn: Prof. Dr. A. Supan, Vienna and Prague, 1899. The Board of Trade Journal, Vol. XIV., No. 78, January 1893, p. 25.

(4) The Board of Trade Journal, Vol. XIV., No. 78, January 1893, p. 25. Kirchhoff: Länderkunde von Europa, Teil I., Zweite Hälfte, Oesterreich-Ungarn: Prof. Dr. A. Supan, pp. 320-1. Vienna and Prague, 1899.

(5) The Board of Trade Journal, Vol. XIV., No. 78, January 1893, p. 25.

Bosnia. The metal workers include jewellers, blacksmiths, and locksmiths. The articles produced by them are not remarkable for good workmanship, but display considerable taste in decoration. The potters make only the coarsest ware, but here again artistic forms and decorations are often found. (1)

(b.) Home industries.

The Austro-Hungarian occupation brought Bosnia and Herzegovina into commercial connexion with the Austrian Empire, and the cheap modern goods with which the Bosnian market was now flooded, threatened to some extent to displace the old articles of home production, which were already declining, as the increasing poverty of the producers forced them to use inferior materials or inadequate tools and methods. The Bosnian local authorities (*Landesverwaltung*) intervened to save the national industries from decay and to encourage home manufacturers. They aimed specially at restoring the ancient purity of form to the articles produced, and by promoting the use of satisfactory raw materials, to extend these manufactures, and to lead the Bosnian artificers to apply their artistic skill to the production of articles answering to the

needs of European civilisation. With this object they established technical schools in various parts of the country, which have already produced beneficial results. These schools specially seek to develop inlaying work, which has been brought to great perfection in Bosnia, where steel weapons inlaid with gold or silver are made which can hardly be equalled even in India. They also encourage incrustation of wood with gold or silver, engraving on metal, and wrought metal work, in gold, silver, or copper, with the gilding of metals, and they do all they can to promote the textile trade, which is one of the most important home industries of the two provinces. The peasants have long been accustomed to manufacture linen, sacking, and the various woollen materials used for clothing. The women also make carpets, and dye them with colours which they have themselves extracted from the plants of the country. These carpets are durable in substance and are remarkable for the beauty of their colouring, and it is recorded as a great advance in the industry that in the technical school at Serajevo they can now be woven of the breadth of 6 metres. (2)

II.—SERVIA.

A.—SKETCH OF POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

1. Statistics of area and population.

Servia, proclaimed a kingdom by the law of February 22 (March 6), 1882, is divided for administrative purposes into 15 provinces or counties from which the cities of Belgrade and Nisch are distinct, each with its area of 4 square miles. The area, population, and density of the latter may be seen in the following:—

Province or County (Okrug).	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Density per Square Mile.
Belgrade - - -	4	56,375	14,093·7
Vnljevo - - -	1,121	116,785	104·2
Vranja - - -	1,620	154,142	95·3
Kragonjévatz - - -	927	144,612	156·0
Kraina - - -	1,257	92,512	73·0
Kronchevatz - - -	1,256	155,416	123·8
Pirót - - -	1,214	122,909	101·2
Podrinjé - - -	1,300	180,584	138·8
Pozarévatz - - -	1,404	210,345	150·0
Roudnik - - -	2,056	157,116	76·4
Toplitza - - -	1,400	126,707	90·5
Ushitzé - - -	1,676	143,071	85·4
Izrnareka - - -	555	70,839	127·6
Morava - - -	1,200	166,527	138·8
Podunavljé - - -	1,246	214,165	171·8
Tiniok - - -	810	94,991	117·3
Nisch - - -	4	21,396	5,349·0
Total - - -	19,050	2,226,741	116·9

The people are mostly of the Serb race, which according to language, is Slavonic, but there is a considerable admixture of other races resident in the country. The figures according to the census published in January, 1893, are:—

Serbs - - -	1,955,944
Roumanians - - -	143,684
Gipsies - - -	37,581
Geymans - - -	6,878
Albanians and Turks - - -	2,929
Jews - - -	4,510
Bulgarians - - -	1,395
Other foreigners - - -	9,676

Nearly 94 per cent. of the people belong to the Orthodox Greek Church, which is the State Church.

The census for 1883 may be compared with that for 1893 as follows:—

—	1883.	1893.
Greek Orthodox - - -	1,675,800	2,127,744
Catholics - - -	5,000	11,596
Protestants - - -	500	1,149
Jews - - -	4,000	4,652
Mohamedans - - -	15,000	16,764

The Turks and almost all the gipsies belong to the Mohamedan faith.

Servia heads the list of European independent States in comparison of rate of increase in population, although an exception might be made for Saxony considered apart from Germany. Between 1834 and 1883 Servia's increase was 2·27 per cent. as compared with Roumania 1·93 per cent., Greece 1·63, Germany 1·20 (Saxony 2·32), Great Britain and Ireland 1·09 per cent. (England and Wales 1·92), Austria-Hungary 0·66 per cent. The actual figures for Servia are:—

1834 - - -	684,000
1859 - - -	1,100,159
1880 - - -	1,398,864
1893 - - -	2,226,741

Migration statistics for Servia are not trustworthy; the number of emigrants in 1892 is stated to have been 3,982. (3)

As to occupations of the population, the following figures will give a general indication:—

Dependent on agriculture—

(a.) In the country - - -	97·20	} 61·75
(b.) In the towns - - -	26·30	
Engaged in trade - - -	16·81	
Engaged in provision dealing occupations - - -	10·32	
Clothing industries - - -	16·22	
Iron and metal trades - - -	14·20	
Clergy and teachers - - -	4·31	
Officials* - - -	8·16	

These indications are not mutually exclusive. The numbers engaged in mining are increasing.

Although Servia has considerable mineral resources, they are as yet very little developed, while manufacturing industry is in its infancy. The internal trade of Servia is much hampered by the ruinous and neglected state of the roads, which are so bad in places that the

(1) Laveleye: La Péninsule des Balkans, Vol. I., pp. 90-4; Brussels, 1886.

(2) Exner: Die Hausindustrie Oesterreichs, pp. 167-74; Vienna 1890.
(3) Die Staaten Europas: Bruchelli, 1884, pp. 3, 38, 44, 62. The Statesman's Year-book, 1894, pp. 926-7.

conveyance of goods from one part of the country to another is at times nearly impossible. Of highways there are, however, 3,495 miles; navigable rivers, the Danube 198 miles, the Save 90 miles, and Drina 106 miles; the navigation of the Danube and Save is in the hands of several foreign steamship companies. There is at present (i.e. 1892) one principal railway line, Belgrade Nische Vranja, 230 miles in length, with several secondary branches, total 336 miles.

Not to go back to earlier constitutions granted by the Turkish Government since 1829, the most important bases of the State of Servia, are (1) the Berlin Treaty, 1878; (2) the Constitution of January 2nd, 1889, voted by the Great National Assembly, and signed by the king on the next day. The executive power was thereby vested in the king, assisted by a council of eight ministers, and the legislative authority is exercised by the king in conjunction with the National Assembly (*Narodna Skupschtina*.)

A Senate or State Council, consisting of 16 members, eight chosen by the king and eight by the National Assembly, is always sitting, and it examines and elaborates drafts of laws, and authorises extraordinary loans for the municipalities. The National Assembly in its ordinary form is composed of deputies elected by the people for three years, each county being represented by, (1) two deputies holding university degrees, called qualified deputies; (2) by one deputy to every 4,500 tax-paying male citizens. There is also a great National Assembly which is at least double the size of the ordinary Assembly, and meets only on specially important occasions, such as the choice of a king or an alteration in the constitution; it is directly elected by the people and the provision for qualified members does not apply. Counties, districts and municipalities have their own administrative assemblies, the chief official of the first having a control over the executive power of the second, and the district official similarly over the burgomaster of the municipality.⁽¹⁾ Personal liberty, freedom of conscience and of the press are guaranteed by the constitution.

The church is governed by a synod of bishops under the presidency of the metropolitan, who is chosen and controlled by the Prime Minister, the President of the Council, the Minister of Public Worship, three members of the Court of Cassation, and five deputies from the *Skupschtina*.⁽²⁾

In addition to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, War and Marine, there are Ministries of Finance, Public Works, Commerce, and Agriculture, and Instruction.

A permanent council has been recently appointed in connection with the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture to deliberate and advise upon all questions connected with the elaboration and application of economic laws in Servia, or in relation to institutions interested in the advancement of Servian industry or commerce, as well as upon all information or proposals of an economic nature which may be submitted to the Ministry of Commerce by companies, trade unions or individuals. The Minister of Commerce presides at the sittings of this committee or council, which is composed of 15 honorary members appointed by Royal Warrant for three years on the nomination of the minister. The council may itself put forward any proposal which it may consider conducive to the economic interest of the country.⁽³⁾

The State plays a considerable part in the national industries. It works many of the most important mines, and for a long time has held monopolies in the tobacco and salt industries. The tendency of successive Governments, it is stated by Mr. Ranald Macdonald, has been to encourage monopolies and the new articles chosen by the existing Government are petroleum, matches, cigarette paper, and alcohol.⁽⁴⁾

Elementary education is compulsory, and all education is free in the schools under the Ministry of Education and in the University. In 1891-2 there were 803 elementary schools, with 75,278 pupils and 1,478

teachers; there were also two technical schools, but the numbers of pupils in these were not registered separately from those in the middle-class schools. On an average there is one elementary school for every 2,827 inhabitants and one pupil for every 31 inhabitants. The cost of the elementary schools is defrayed partly by the State and partly by the municipalities. In 1874 only 4 per cent. of the population could read and write, in 1884 their number had risen to 10 per cent. Nevertheless, according to a writer in the "*Sozial politisches Centralblatt*" education in Servia is more advanced than in any other of the Balkan provinces, and great progress has been made of late years. A Bill laid before the *Skupschtina* about 1885 made elementary education for six years compulsory, with two years of secondary education in addition. Each district was to provide school buildings, books, and other educational materials, and to provide for the annual inspection and examination of the school. There is in Belgrade a school of agriculture and forestry.⁽⁵⁾

The history of Servian socialism goes back to the year 1870, when a young Servian, Stephan Dragnica, published his work on "*Communisme individualiste*," at Geneva. 4. Socialism.

The chief principles advocated in this book were the nationalisation of land, the abolition of inheritance, and the development of public education. This work had no effect on Servia, though it attracted some attention in Western Europe, and it was reserved for Russia to send the message of Socialism to the Balkan peninsula. At first the new ideas brought from the University of St. Petersburg were entirely confined to groups of students and others belonging to the educated classes. The leadership of the party was assumed by Svetosar Markovitch, whose works on social subjects published at Zurich had already attracted the attention of the Servian Government and had caused it to withdraw the the scholarship which enabled him to study at the polytechnicum. The first Servian Socialist newspaper, the *Radnik* (workman), was founded by him, and under his influence the existing clubs for the study of social science doubled their numbers. The *Radnik* was, however, soon condemned by the Government and its editor sentenced to four years' imprisonment. Markovitch succeeded, however, in making his escape and spent the period of his exile in spreading the propaganda of his party in Bulgaria, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro.

On his return to Servia he started another newspaper the *Javnost* (Publicity) and formulated a political and social programme. The political programme opened with the declaration that the existing central Government was to be abolished by a decision of the National Assembly and to be replaced by a committee of delegates from the departments. The existing judicial system was also to be replaced by a board of arbitration. The social side of the programme included the abolition of debts on landed property, and forbade any person to possess land unless he cultivated it himself. The aim to which these reforms tended was the appropriation of all land by the communes.

This programme was well suited to the circumstances of the people, and the party gained adherents among all classes. Two new papers were started, and in the elections of 1874 four socialist representatives were returned to Parliament, besides 15 democrats who had accepted the practical part of the socialist programme. The death of Markovitch, which followed these successes, did not in any wise diminish the ardour of the party and fresh successes followed in the elections of 1876. The Government had hitherto made many apparent concessions, but now it roused itself to vigour, and a socialist insurrection, which took place on the dissolution of Parliament in 1883, was suppressed by force of arms. The rebels were shot, their leaders imprisoned, and the whole party still suffers from the effects of the blow it experienced.⁽⁶⁾

B.—CONDITION OF CHIEF INDUSTRIES.

Servia is an essentially agricultural country; more than half of the total area is occupied by corn land and 1 Agriculture.

(1) Die Staaten Europa's, pp. 305, 418. The Statesman's Year-book, pp. 225 &.

(2) Die Staaten Europa's, p. 311.

(3) F. O. Report, Annual Series, 1893, No. 1,296. Statesman's Year-book, p. 282. Die Staaten Europa's, p. 401.

(4) F. O. Report, Annual Series, 1893, No. 1,296, p. 26.

(5) Statesman's Year-book, pp. 227-8. Die Staaten Europa's, pp. 270, 293-301.

(6) Lexis. Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften. Vol. V, p. 782. La Revue Socialiste, December 1882, pp. 532-95.

vineyards. The production of cereals in 1891 is shown in the following table:—

(a.) Kinds produce.

Description.	Area (Acres).	Quantity (Tons).	Value.
			£
Wheat - - -	687,260	296,700	1,780,200
Barley - - -	214,890	107,880	345,216
Oats - - -	180,810	70,810	226,592
Rye - - -	185,250	81,000	388,800
Maize - - -	968,800	580,400	1,272,960
Total - - -	2,181,010	1,086,790	4,013,768

Large numbers of cattle, sheep, and pigs are reared and exported. In 1891 there were in Serbia 163,391 horses, 1,588 asses and mules, 819,251 head of cattle, 8,494 buffaloes, 2,963,904 sheep, 908,603 pigs, and 509,738 goats. Establishments for breeding and feeding pigs have been erected at various places in connexion with the line of railway. The entire amount of live stock and farm produce exported in 1891 was valued at 770,209l., which gives an increase in the figures for the preceding year of more than 50,000l.

(b.) Viticulture.

Wine-culture is important, and might be largely extended. At present the vines are not well managed, and a dry season or an attack of phylloxera may spoil the entire harvest. The annual produce is about 6,000,000 gallons, about one-third of which is exported. The area of the vineyards in 1892 was:—

Healthy vines - - - -	27,810 acres.
Attacked by phylloxera - -	54,550 "
Destroyed - - - -	24,599 "
Total - - - -	106,959 "

The Government is now arranging for the plantation of a considerable tract of ground near Nisch with healthy American vines.

The area of orchard land amounts to about 185,000 acres. Various kinds of fruit are grown, but none so largely as plums, which when dried, form one of the chief exports of the country. In 1888 25,000 tons of plums were produced, and 16,942 tons exported. In 1891 the total value of the plum crop reached the sum of 291,960l.

(c.) Forests.

Woods and forests cover 1,456,132 acres, but the art of forestry is neglected, and the woods are, therefore, being rapidly destroyed. The national and commercial forests are supervised by the administrative authorities. Cask staves, which are an important article of Servian industry, are exported in great quantities to Austria and Germany. In 1891 the total value of staves exported was estimated at 40,887l.

(d.) Condition of the peasantry.

Servia is eminently a country of peasant proprietors. No large estates exist, but every peasant cultivates his own freehold, which varies in size from 10 to 30 acres. The Turkish *bey*s, or large landowners, were all killed or driven out during the long wars of independence, and now the peasants are the absolute owners of the soil which they occupy. The methods of cultivation in vogue are primitive in the extreme, but the peasants manage to obtain from the soil a degree of comfort which satisfies their requirements. The landless class, which is now increasing in the other Danubian principalities, is still almost unknown in Servia. This may be attributed to the long survival of the *sadrugas*, or family communities which subsist upon an inalienable fund, to inheritance in mortmain, and to a law which forbids creditors to seize a peasant's house or the indispensable cattle and implements. The number of day labourers even at the present time is very small. When a cultivator is not able, with the help of his family, to cut his crops he asks the help of his neighbours, who expect the same assistance from him should the occasion for it arise. Maize is the principal crop; it is succeeded by wheat or rye, and then the land is allowed to lie fallow for several years. The total yield of cereals is, of course, far below what it ought to be, but owing to the thinness of the population the export trade, especially in wheat, is considerable. Polenta, made of maize, forms the

principal food of the peasants, but as large flocks of sheep find free pasturage on the mountains, and as the number of domestic cattle in proportion to the population is more satisfactory in Servia than in Western Europe, the consumption of animal food by the peasantry is unusually large. Servians generally eat meat once a day, except on fast days, of which there are about 150 in the year, when they are satisfied with maize and beans. (*)

Pauperism is practically non-existent in Servia, as the poorest have some sort of freehold property; in the country the old and infirm are maintained by their children or neighbours, in towns they are cared for by the commune or fellow workers. Even in Belgrade, where the numbers of poor are greater than elsewhere, there is no special institution on their behalf, except the free town hospital.

The State in Servia has reserved to itself the working of a number of the mines, which are considered the largest and richest in the country. It has however been debarred by financial circumstances from applying the capital and labour necessary for their development. They promise to be amply remunerative and, according to Mr. Macdonald, the country is growing keenly alive to its interests in this department, and "is anxious, if it cannot at once devote means of its own to the task of development, to insure that foreign capitalists, to whom mining concessions may be granted, shall undertake *bona fide* work, and not use their privileges as an opportunity for speculation pure and simple. The history of several of the best known mines is a long record of loss, for which incapacity or a reckless spirit of gambling is mainly responsible." (†) It is stated that in the ten years from 1847 to 1858, 240,000l. were expended on a single mine (at Maidanpek), in addition to the forced labour estimated at 120,000l., with absolutely no results. A vote was obtained from the Skupschtina in 1891 by the Government for the establishment of a mineral and chemical laboratory, which commenced operations towards the end of the year. There are at present six large groups of mines under State management: (a) The ancient copper mines at Maidanpek, which it is hoped have begun a new and prosperous era under a lately appointed manager; (b) a coal mine at Senié discovered in 1853, and capable of supplying excellent and abundant coal. This mine has been hampered by impediments, on the one hand, from local ill-will from the peasantry, and on the other, by difficulties of communication, but these have now been overcome; (c) the ancient lead and silver mines at Kosmaj, which are now being explored with the aid of a grant of 3,200l. from the Skupschtina; (d) the Alexar Coal Mine, the prospects of which are said to be favourable; (e) the Podrina mines of antimony, lead and zinc, which require, it is stated, an expenditure of 22,000l. for their proper development; (f) the Misach Coal Mine, now under exploration.

(a.) State Mines.

The total area of private coal mines was 96,400,000 square metres in 1891. There were 964 mining fields, in which 876 workmen were employed. In other mines than coal 600 miners were employed by private concessionaires, or in all 1,476 miners. The best known of the coal mines worked by private companies are the Vrska, Chuka mines which are in the hands of the Servian Industrial Company of Brussels, and which cover 262 mining fields and 26,200,000 square metres. The coal extracted is chiefly sold in the form of *briquettes* on the Lower Danube, but some difficulty is experienced in competing with English coal. Some of the mines, e.g., the Podvis Mine, of which the proprietor is Mr. Michael Dgeordgevitch, are rich in unworked oil shale. The Kootolatz Lignite Mine, belonging to two Servian proprietors resident in Belgrade, covers an area of 4,100,000 square metres, and lies close to the Danube, where a quay has been constructed for the shipping of the mineral direct from the mining waggons. "The buildings attached to this mine are of solid construction and shelter a working colony of 44 men and 34 women, besides 58 children, for whom a school has been erected."

(b.) Private mines.

The amount of coal extracted from the various Government and private mines in 1891, was as follows:—

(c.) Output of coal in 1891.

(*) Statesman's Year-book for 1894, p. 230. F. O. Reports, Annual Series, 1893, No. 1266, pp. 13-7. Lavelaye: La Péninsule des Balkans, Vol. I., p. 313.

(†) F. O. Report, Annual Series, 1893, No. 1266, p. 19.

Name of Mine.	Quantity.	
	Tons.	cwts.
Tchelijé	790	0
Senié	58,769	18
Sisevatz Vrebitch	780	0
Kraljevatz	3,900	0
Jelashnitza	167	10
Podvis	100	3
Dobra Sretcha	214	17
Vrska Chuka	20,484	0
Dobranski Rudnik	10,000	0
Kostolatz	1,852	3
Alexander	3,000	0
Jeklov Rudnik	54	16
Kamenatz	250	0
Total	100,263	7

The total sum expended in 1891, on State and private mines, was 7,320L.

Apart from industry and commerce, there is little native demand for coal. The peasants have, as a rule, no stoves adapted to the consumption of coal, and the iron stoves in vogue in the towns are ill-fitted for the purpose. The coal or lignite has hitherto been chiefly taken from the surface of the mines, and, when not quite worthless, often emits an unpleasant odour during combustion. The high price of firewood and its increasing scarceness in Servia must, however, press forward the inevitable adoption of the cheaper fuel.⁽¹⁾

In Servia the organisation of industry still rests on the system of guilds and State concessions. There were two Chambers of Commerce and Industry in 1884.⁽²⁾

Home industry still flourishes. Almost everything that is required by country people (who form nine-tenths of the population), clothes, utensils, and agricultural implements, are manufactured on the spot by home industries. The principal fabrics made are the strong woollen stuffs and coarse linen, which is made into the embroidered tunics worn by the peasants. The different handicrafts are formed into guilds, in which both workmen and employers are included, and each guild has its bank, from which loans and advances are obtainable. In 1881, Belgrade counted 30 craft guilds, with a joint capital of nearly 7,000L. All the conditions of life are unfavourable to the growth of large industries. "In a country where every man is a landowner there can be no proletariat to provide workmanship made cheap by competition." On the other hand, the class of consumers is also wanting. "As the soil is in the hands of those who till it, there are no rented farms, and therefore no rent-receiving class."

There is no aristocracy, and the town population is very small. The Government is, nevertheless, most anxious to promote the growth of manufacturing industry with the idea that the country which lacks such industry is backward and barbarous. For this purpose a law was passed in 1873 to permit the Government to grant an exclusive monopoly for 15 years to all industrial enterprises established in Servia, together with free sites, wood, exemption from duties on imported machinery, and other favours. Some concessions were applied for, but the only enterprise which has been at all successful is a large cloth factory established by a Moravian firm at Parachira. The State is, however, compelled to buy all the cloth required for army clothing from this firm at a price 10 per cent. higher than that for which it could be bought in the open market. The wages of the workers are not proportionately high, men earn from 1½ to 2frs. a day, and women only 40c. to 1fr. Wages in the building trade are high, a mason at Belgrade earns from 5 to 6frs. a day, and masons' labourers, who are often women, make 1½fr. a day.

A concession has been granted to M. Erasmus Maria, an Italian subject, for the establishment of a silk factory in Servia. The duration of the concession is fixed at 15 years, and the chief conditions are that none but Servian workmen shall be employed, and that the concessionaire shall, within two years, erect, at least one efficient silk factory, where silkworms shall be reared, and the art of practical silk-making taught. The concessionaire is also bound to distribute, gratuitously, to the peasants, a sufficient number of silkworms' eggs per annum, and to purchase his materials at reduced prices in the country, these prices to be settled by a Government commission of three members. The chief factory is to be built as soon as the yearly production of cocoons shall have reached the amount of 60,000 kilos. A tax of 3 cents per kilo. is to be levied by the State on the cocoons.

A new concession for the manufacture of paper was given to Messrs. Kosta Mihailovitch and Kosta Jovanovitch and Company, of Kragujevatz, but the enterprise fell through from want of the necessary capital. Efforts were made to raise the required funds in Russia, failing which equally fruitless attempts were made to persuade a "non-Slav" syndicate to adopt the scheme.⁽³⁾

The engagement of domestics is effected in Belgrade by means of agencies which are of recent origin. The agents are in no way organised.

The engagement of industrial workers is often effected by means of advertisement in tabular forms, in public places such as *cafés* and wine shops, of offers and demands of work with indication of wages.

No law or administrative regulation affects the question, and neither public opinion nor politicians are in any way concerned with the matter.⁽⁴⁾

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III.—ROUMANIA.

A.—SKETCH OF POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

The kingdom of Roumania lies in the form of an irregular crescent between the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube. The general configuration of the surface may be described as an inclined plain sloping down from the summits of the Carpathians to the banks of the Danube and the Pruth. The great plain which lies between the mountains and the river is traversed by numerous watercourses which render the country well adapted for wheat growing, cattle rearing, and all kinds of agricultural industries.

The approximate area of Roumania is 49,250 square miles, or about 2,000 miles less than the area of England and Wales. 68·3 per cent. of the total area is productive and 31·7 per cent. unproductive.

The estimated population in 1893 was 5,800,000, or about 45 persons per square mile. Large towns are not common; in 1878 there were only twenty-four towns with a population of over 10,000, and only one with a population of over 100,000. The population is

composed of a large number of different races. The majority are pure Roumanians, but there are also some 50,000 Bulgarians, 30,000 Magyars, 300,000 gipsies, 15,000 Armenians and 300,000 Jews.⁽⁵⁾

The origin of the modern Roumanian people is a question which has been much disputed. The most probable account seems to be that they are the descendants of the Roman colonists who settled in Dacia under Trojan, and of the original inhabitants of the district, and their language is still essentially Latin in character.

The withdrawal of the Roman arms opened the way for successive waves of barbarian invasions: Goths, Huns, Gepidae, and Avars each in turn conquered and laid waste the land. The effect of these migrations seems to have been very transitory, but the next great invasion, that of the Slavs, exercised a deep and abiding influence. So completely did they impress their own characteristics upon the people, that some

⁽¹⁾ Laveleye: *La Péninsule des Balkans*, Vol. I., pp. 316-7. Foreign Office Reports, Annual Series, 1893, No. 1295.

⁽²⁾ *Le Placement des Employés ouvriers et Domestiques: Berger Levraut* 1893, p. 713.

⁽³⁾ *Die Staaten Europas*, Samuelson: *Roumania Past and Present*, pp. 1-4.

⁽¹⁾ F. O. Report, Annual Series, 1893, No. 1296, pp. 10-23.
⁽²⁾ *Die Staaten Europas*, pp. 145, 147.

two-fifths of the words in the modern vocabulary of Roumania are of Slavonic origin.

The present backward condition of Roumania, both in agriculture and manufacture, may be traced to its geographical position. Situated on the confines of western Europe, and on the northern bank of the Danube, it had first to bear the devastations of every tribe of barbarians who entered Europe by the highway of the great river, and afterwards it became the outpost of Christendom in the wars with the Ottoman Power. The land was laid waste in the struggle for independence which the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia maintained from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century; later on the rapacity of the Phanariote governors completely exhausted the country and made it incapable of any effort to develop its resources.

The series of Russo-Turkish wars which began in 1768, succeeded in curtailing first one and then another of the sovereign rights of Turkey, until in 1856 the practical independence of the principalities was acknowledged by the Treaty of Paris. A movement had in the meantime been actively proceeding in both principalities, the object of which was to effect their union under one governing head. The powers insisted upon the retention of a separate prince or hospodar in each province, but the provinces circumvented them by each choosing the same ruler, Colonel John Couza, who in 1858 was declared Prince of Roumania, under the title of Alexander John I. During the seven years of his reign a constitutional Government on the Belgian model was introduced, monastic property was secularised, civil, criminal, and commercial codes were drawn up, and a general education law promulgated. The enormous difficulties which these reforms presented combined, with his own personal failings, to make the prince unpopular, and in 1866 he was compelled to abdicate. The people then determined to offer their throne to a stranger, and their choice fell upon Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, who was proclaimed Prince of Roumania on 30 April 1866. The reorganisation of the army, which was immediately undertaken by the new ruler, enabled Roumania during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, to throw off the last traces of her vassalage to Turkey. The details of the campaign need not be repeated here, but it will be remembered that the only recompense awarded to Roumania by the Powers in the Treaty of Berlin was the recognition of her complete independence, and the cession of the Dobrogea, in return for Bessarabia, which was to be given to Russia.

The Roumanians, however, were not long satisfied with their position as an independent principality. They therefore determined to raise their country to the rank of a kingdom, and on 22nd May 1881 they invested their Prince with the royal dignity, placing on his head an iron crown made from a cannon captured at Plevna.⁽¹⁾

Roumania possesses two assemblies, the Senate and Chamber of Deputies. The Senate consists of 76 members, and includes a number of high officials who are not elective, such as the archbishop and bishops. Senators are elected for eight years, but one-half of their number retire every four years. The Chamber of Deputies consists of 183 members, who are elected for four years. The three chief political parties are the White Party, the Red Party, and the Junea Dreapta. The first mentioned consists of the larger landowners, who are conservative and national in their principles, and are therefore strongly opposed to the reigning house. A foreign king, whatever his merits may be, is unacceptable to them. They would prefer to solicit the help of Russia in raising a native prince to the throne under whom they would enjoy the former privileges of their order. They hold themselves aloof from current politics, and take no part in the elections.

The Red Party leads the progressive movement. It is chiefly composed of middle-class liberals, and counts the leading ministers among its members. The third party is distinguished by its devotion to the royal family; it includes the most intelligent portion of the community, but has hitherto exercised little influence on practical politics.

The financial condition of Roumania is steadily improving; the deficit, which in 1866-70 amounted to 29½ million fr. was reduced in 1886 to 10 million. In

1861 the revenue was only 34 million fr., in 1886 it amounted to 130 million. This large increase is due in part to the monopolies of salt, tobacco, and alcohol, which are now in the hands of the Government. Since the introduction of the monopoly, the revenue from tobacco has increased from 1½ to 16 million fr., and that from alcohol from 1½ to 7 million.

Up to the year 1885 the Greek Church in Roumania was dependent on the patriarch of Constantinople, but the achievement of national independence brought ecclesiastical freedom in its train, and thereby reduced one formidable stronghold of Russian influence. But though her influence is weakened, Russia has still a firm hold upon the Roumanian clergy, who are trained in her schools and universities. The village popes set their affections upon the East, and assume the title of "Holy Russians." They have great weight with the people, and their influence in elections is always a factor to be reckoned with. This reactionary tendency of the clergy is the more remarkable in a country which has shown itself more inclined to assimilate Western civilisation than any other land professing the Orthodox faith. The rules of the Church with regard to fasting have an important effect upon the labour question. During 165 days in the year the people abstain from all food except wheat and maize, and their physical strength is so reduced in consequence that Herr Bergner is of opinion that nothing but the complete abolition of fasting will restore them to a proper condition of health.⁽²⁾

Article 23 of the Constitution of 1866 declares that elementary education is compulsory and gratuitous, and that primary schools shall, by degrees, be established in every commune. Practically, however, this law has never been fully carried out, and popular education is still far from being general.

In 1891 there were 3,566 primary schools with 220,683 pupils, or 3·97 per cent of the whole population.

In March 1893 the question of elementary education was brought before the Parliament by the Minister of Education, who stated that the attendance at elementary schools fell far below the standard. The Bill which he laid before the House contained provisions whereby schoolmasters might be examined and made to give proof of fitness for their position, and which would also enable the Government to dismiss those who were found guilty of disorderly conduct. According to Herr Bergner, schoolmasters are accustomed to unite some other occupation with that of schoolkeeping, and formerly the calling chosen was frequently that of innkeeper.⁽³⁾

Socialism was first introduced into Roumania in the year 1875, by Subko Kodreanu, a student who then returned to Jassy from St. Petersburg, where he had imbibed the principles of the chief Russian Socialists. A small body of young men, trained chiefly in the school of French Socialism, gathered round him. A Socialist society was immediately formed at Jassy whose first act was a commemoration of the Paris Commune. Shortly after the foundation of the society Kodreanu died, but the untimely death of their leader was powerless to discourage his followers. Public Socialist meetings were held and a newspaper founded, which however was quickly suppressed by the Russian Government. New papers followed and were again suppressed, until in 1884 the *Socialist Review*, a monthly journal, which dealt with the works of Socialist writers in Western Europe, succeeded in maintaining a permanent existence. Three years later the party was firmly enough established to formulate a definite political programme, which is well adapted to attract the sympathies of a nation which owes so much of its present poverty to an unfortunate system of land tenure. This programme is divided into two parts, political and economic. The political part includes the demand for the suffrage, universal and direct, the right of appeal to the electorate (*plébiscite*), communal self-government, absolute liberty of conscience, right of assembly, freedom of the press, abolition of taxes for the support of public worship (*budget des cultes*), free and compulsory education, both primary and secondary, the provision of food, clothes, and school books by the commune, the repudiation of public debts, the election of magistrates, freedom of justice, and

3. The Church and education.

4. Socialism.

Parliamentary system.

Finances.

(1) Roessler. Rumänische Studien, pp. 1-70. Bergner. Rumänien. Eine Darstellung des Landes und der Leute, pp. 285-291. Plc. Ueber die Abstammung der Rumänen. Samuelson. Roumania Past and Present, pp. 115-257.

(2) Bergner. Rumänien. Eine Darstellung des Landes und der Leute, pp. 332-48.

(3) Samuelson. Roumania Past and Present, p. 83. Bergner. Rumänien, pp. 348-52. Statesman's Year-book, p. 317.

the civil, political, and economic emancipation of women.

The economic part of the programme demands the nationalisation of the land, and that the means of production shall be exercised by the communes. Private property is to be redeemed gradually by the State, the cost of purchase being covered by the rents which will accrue to the State. Indirect taxation is to be abolished, and to be replaced by a progressive income tax on all incomes of more than 1,500 francs. Private fortunes up to 100,000 francs are to be subjected to a tax of 25 per cent., and all fortunes which surpass this limit are to pay over the difference or surplus to the State. The right of collateral inheritance is to revert to the communes. Employment on public works is to be given directly to organisations of labourers. Credit is to be allowed to all workmen's associations which undertake agricultural or industrial enterprises. The communes are to undertake to provide their inhabitants with the necessities of existence.

In addition to this Utopian programme, the Socialists also devote themselves to the attainment of objects of more immediate utility. The aim of the present leaders of the party is rather "to group and harmonise the different elements of the social revolution of the future," than to accomplish this revolution themselves. In accordance with these principles they have not disdained parliamentary action, and at the last election the result of their propaganda amongst the discontented peasantry was manifested in the return of three Socialist representatives.

The patriotic spirit which has been alluded to as characteristic of the whole Socialist movement in the Balkan provinces, is especially visible in Roumania. Constantin Millet, writing in the *Revue Socialiste* says:—"The geographical situation of our country imposes on us the most serious responsibilities and the greatest reserve. . . . No movement is open to us which might in 24 hours bring an Austrian army against us, or crush us under the foot of Alexander III."

The report of the Roumanian Socialists made to the International Socialist Congress held at Zurich in 1893, states that the party is now chiefly occupied with agrarian reform, with the organisation of trade unions (*Gewerkschaftsorganisation*), and in organising the Jewish proletariat of Moldavia. The first national Socialist Congress took place at Bucharest on the 13th April 1893, at which a general council of five members was chosen, who were to be elected each year by the Congress, and were to be entrusted with the leadership of party matters. A new programme for the social democratic labour party was also drawn up and approved. This programme treats of universal suffrage, protective legislation for the working classes and the agrarian question. The chief agrarian reform demanded is the gradual repurchase by the State of all large private properties which are to form an inalienable domain to be cultivated by the peasantry under a form of communal co-operation.⁽¹⁾

B.—CONDITION OF CHIEF INDUSTRIES.

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ion.

The soil of Roumania is one of the most fertile in Europe, and the annual export of wheat, rye, maize, barley, rape-seed, pease, and wine, is both large and increasing. The following table shows the chief cereals grown in 1882:—

Cereal.	Hectares of cultivated Land.	Output in Tons.	Value in Mill. Francs.	Export in 1882, in Tons.	Value in Mill. Francs.
Wheat	559,530	805,257	221.7	400,035	72.0
Rye	110,773	110,162	18.1	78,111	9.3
Barley	220,264	360,850	40.8	413,665	37.2
Oats	120,030	282,994	0.8	19,178	1.5
Maize	1,034,756	1,355,029	149.2	636,831	63.6

Railways and roads are, it is true, neither good nor numerous, but the Danube and the Black Sea afford cheap water transport both to East and West. In spite, however, of these advantages the population of the country is thin, emigration is relatively large, and every year a large proportion of the harvest is lost

⁽¹⁾ Lexis, Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, Vol. V., part IV., p. 732. La Revue Socialiste, July 1889, pp. 76-81. Schweizerische Blätter für Wirtschaft- und Sozialpolitik, Its Jahrgang, p. 141.

because there are no hands to gather it in. The peasantry of Roumania, though few in number, and living in the midst of the greatest natural abundance, are, according to Dr. R. Grünberg, too poor to procure for themselves even the necessities of life. They are frequently frozen to death in winter for want of fire, many are carried off by disease and starvation, and few survive the age of 50. The great evil which is responsible for so much misery is the fact that, in a country where agriculture forms the support of the great bulk of the population, a very large number of the inhabitants are either entirely excluded from the possession of land, or have less land than can suffice for the maintenance of a family.

Agrarian reform has, therefore, of late years occupied the attention of all political parties. Radicals and socialists both believe that the only effectual remedy is to be found in the nationalisation of the land, but they differ as to the means of carrying out their reforms. The Socialists demand that the land shall be immediately restored to the village communes to be cultivated by them in common, whereas the Radicals would be content to increase the smaller holdings, and give land to those peasants who now have none. The Bills on the alienation of crown lands and the regulation of the contract system brought in by a Conservative Ministry in 1888, also aimed at palliative measures, such as those urged by the Radical party.

Before, however, proceeding to examine these proposals it will be necessary to take a brief review of the position of the Roumanian peasantry up to the present time. The inhabitants of the two principalities on the northern bank of the Danube, which now form the kingdom of Roumania, were formerly divided into large landowners (*Bojaren*), small freeholders, and landless peasants. The last class, which is the only one which need be considered here, was again divided into freeborn peasants and serfs. The class of serfs was recruited either from the prisoners of war, or from persons whose poverty compelled them to sell themselves and their families to the principal landowner of the neighbourhood in order to obtain his protection against bands of marauders and spoilers. Such persons became the absolute property of their masters, and could be bought and sold with the estate. Freeborn peasants, on the other hand, were not attached to the estate, but as they were legally incapable of holding or inheriting real property they became practically as dependent on the landowners as if they had been actually forbidden to leave the estate. About the middle of the seventeenth century this virtual dependence became complete and actual. Constant wars were depopulating the country, the value of land without labour to cultivate it was small, and therefore in order prevent the total migration of the labouring class even freeborn peasants were forbidden to leave the soil; henceforth all distinction between serfs and freeborn men was at an end. A hundred years later, about the middle of the eighteenth century, the serfs were emancipated and became free labourers. The gain they derived from this measure was, however, merely nominal, because their legal freedom gave them no means of securing economic independence. They were still shut out from the enjoyment of land, where land formed the only means of subsistence, and their new freedom only produced deeper poverty by severing the connexion between them and their masters. While the peasants were the absolute property of the landowners, the latter were responsible for their lives, and were obliged to maintain them in times of distress. The peasants had also the right of free pasturage, and of gathering firewood in the forests. The Act of Emancipation freed the landowners from these obligations, and the consequent isolation of the peasants soon compelled the law to come to their aid. The agrarian position of both Moldavia and Wallachia was entirely altered by the Organic Law (*Organisches Statut*), 1832. By this law all landowners were obliged to make over to the peasants on their estate a certain proportion of their land. This proportion, which might not exceed two-thirds of the whole estate, was to be divided among the peasants, every family receiving in the first place the same quantity of land, whilst those families who had cattle afterwards received extra portions varying in size, according to the number of cattle possessed. In return for this land the peasants were obliged to render so many days' service in the year. This number was fixed by law at 23, but as the amount of work to be done in a day was also fixed, and fixed at an impossibly high figure, the actual number of days which the peasant was required to serve was at least double the

(a.) History of land tenure

Freeborn peasants and serfs.

Emancipation of the serfs.

Organic law of 1832.

number laid down by the law, and has even been estimated at as many as 73 days in the year. In addition to this, each peasant was obliged to deliver to his lord one-tenth of the annual produce of his holding, and every 25 families were bound to place one man at the disposal of the lord for his own personal service. The amount of land which was thus given to each peasant family varied in the two provinces; in Moldavia the smallest holdings included about 339 and the largest 758 *are*,⁽¹⁾ while in Wallachia the smallest holdings consisted of as little as 217 *are* and the largest did not exceed some 440 *are*.

Socage
abolished
1864.

The many exactions with which landowners were able to harass their villeins under this law did not conduce to the prosperity of the labouring class, and in 1864 new and more liberal concessions were made to them. The agrarian law of 1864 compelled the large landowners to give up a certain part of their land to be the free property of the peasants, and the system of socage was abolished throughout Roumania. The landlords whose property was alienated received compensation from the State. As before the amount of land distributed to each family was calculated according to whether the family possessed cattle or not, and the total amount distributed was as follows:—

	hectares.
71,655 families with 5 head of cattle received	403,300
195,012 " " 3 " " "	857,500
132,751 " " 1 " or none -	370,000

Together, 402,500 families received altogether about 1,631,000 hectares.

This law was undoubtedly an immense advance on past legislation, in so far as it called into existence a large class of independent peasant proprietors; its weak points were (1) that these proprietors frequently had not enough land to secure them from want, (2) that some 80,000 peasant families, or 12·3 per cent. of the whole population were entirely separated from the land, and formed a class of proletarians dependent on their labour for a livelihood.

(b.) Present
condition
of the
peasantry.

The existence of an agrarian question in Roumania at the present day rests chiefly on these two facts; the existence of a class of landless labourers, and of another class of peasant proprietors, whose holdings are insufficient to maintain their families. The Moldavian peasant, for instance, who possesses two oxen and some 214 *are* of land, finds that a family of four cannot be maintained on the produce of his land. The average production of grain is only seven hectolitres per acre. A very much larger output could, no doubt, be obtained even from these small plots of ground if intensive methods of cultivation were pursued. In fact the output per acre on large estates in Roumania is about double that which is obtained from the peasant farms. The Roumanian peasant, however, has neither the means nor the knowledge which would enable him to make use of manures, and not only are artificial means of enriching the soil unknown to him, but he even exhausts its natural capacities by the constant growth of maize. When the harvest is gathered, the land is left for pasture, until spontaneous vegetation replaces manure. The average annual yield of maize on a farm of this kind is not more than 2,150 kilogrammes, whereas the amount of maize which a family of four would consume in the year cannot be estimated at less than 2,600 kilogrammes. The deficit thus amounts to some 500 kilogrammes, or, in other words, the family must starve for two months of the year. Next to maize the chief article of food is cheese, of which a peasant family should consume about 260 kilogrammes in the year. This amount may be considerably reduced if the numerous fast days, on which cheese is not allowed, are taken into consideration, but even then it is impossible for the farm to produce anything like the quantity which would satisfy the needs of the family. When expenditure for fire, clothes, education, and taxes are added, it becomes evident that the position of the Roumanian peasantry is one of indescribable poverty and privation. Attempts have lately been made to put improved methods of cultivation within the reach of those impoverished proprietors by the establishment of agricultural loan banks. Loans are, however, only granted by these banks for a period of nine months, and as interest at the rate of 14 per cent. is payable every three months, the help afforded is rather illusory than real.

(c.) Recent
legislation.
Law on
wages con-
tracts 1882.

The one way out of his difficulties which lies open to the peasant is to leave his farm to be cultivated by his

wife and children, and try to obtain the capital needed for next year's operations by hiring himself out for wages. This custom is now firmly established, and wages contracts are regulated by the law of 1882 "on the contracts of agricultural labourers," which was itself an amendment of the earlier and less liberal law of 1872.

The law of 1882 is based on the principle of freedom of contract, but the Roumanian peasant is not free economically or intellectually, and the conditions upon which he will agree to work are often such as he cannot fulfil, except at the cost of ruin to himself and his family. The great landowners who grow cheap corn for exportation, and are naturally anxious to procure cheap labour, take advantage of the miserable condition of the peasants to offer wages which have resulted in the gradual depopulation of the country. Only in very exceptional cases do the wages of agricultural labourers exceed 60 centimes a day and food, i.e. polenta and cheese. But even those provisions of the law of 1882 which were intended to protect the interests of the peasants were carried out in such a way that they became ineffectual. No contract under this law was legally binding, unless drawn up in the presence of the communal authorities, and no peasant was allowed to make an agreement outside the commune where he lived. This restriction was felt to be a restraint on the free circulation of labour, even when the large discretion entrusted to the communal authorities was not further abused. The law provided that every peasant who contracted to work for wages should have two days in the week free, in order that the cultivation of his own plot of ground might not be entirely neglected. This provision was, however, seldom observed. Regulations as to payment were also minutely specified, but as complaints of non-payment or delayed wages were heard by the communal authorities, who generally acted in the interests of the landowners, the result was seldom of any avail to the peasant.

The Bill of 1888, which was intended to prevent the abuses of wages contracts, was thrown out, but in 1892 the subject was again taken up, and in an appeal to the electors, signed by the Ministry, the principles of the proposed agrarian reforms were laid down. These were stated to be the reconciliation of the interests of large and small landowners, and the claims of both on the impartial consideration of the legislature, the restriction of the power hitherto exercised by the communal authorities, and legal protection for all classes alike.

If these reforms are successfully carried through, the position of the smaller peasant proprietors will be materially improved.

The Bill on the alienation of State domains, which became law in 1889, was a step in the right direction, but it has unfortunately never been thoroughly enforced, owing to the opposition of those whose interests were attacked by it. This law empowered the Government to parcel out the State domains into lots of 5, 10, and 25 hectares respectively, to be sold to native agricultural labourers resident in the country. Preference was to be given to those applicants who were heads of families and entirely destitute of land, whilst the next chance was to be given to peasants whose present holdings comprised less than five hectares, and land was to be sold to them in such portions as would suffice to bring up their plot to the minimum standard of five hectares. The sale of the small lots was to be announced in writing to all intending purchasers; if more than one purchaser applied for the same land, the conflicting claims were to be settled by casting lots. The price of such land was legally fixed at 10 times the value of its average annual produce, provided this was not less than 10 francs per hectare. The lots of 10 and 25 hectares were to be sold publicly at 20 times the last rent, but not for less than 10 francs per hectare. If after two sales the one quarter of the domain which was reserved for larger plots remained unsold, it might be divided into plots of five hectares. The purchasers of small lots were obliged to settle upon them within three years after the period of purchase, and in order that their farms might be adequately stocked, the Agrarian Credit Institute was authorised to make loans not exceeding 600 francs. This law, which up to 1892 had remained a dead letter, was enforced by the constitutional Ministry which came into power in that year.

Law on
alienation of
State do-
mains, 1889.

(1) 1 are = the tenth part of a hectare; 1 hectare = 2·47 acres.

In spite, however, of projected reforms, the Austrian consul at Galatz reported that in 1892, 15 per cent. of the harvest was lost for want of hands to gather it, and this in spite of a large influx of labourers from Bulgaria, Bukovina, and other adjacent countries. The consul states that the backward condition of agriculture is still largely due to the dependence of the peasants on the large proprietors. A custom prevails generally that the peasant shall bind himself to perform certain specified work for a landowner, in return for which he receives his year's wages in advance. The result, however, is that the peasant is unable to attend to his own land, until the season is over and his harvest is spoilt. The improvement of the soil, even in the hands of large proprietors, is retarded by the exorbitant rates of interest. By Roumanian law no foreigner may hold land, and hence the Jews, who form 20 per cent. of the entire population, are compelled to live solely by trade and finance. Money lending has become a monopoly in their hands, and 14 per cent. is the lowest rate of interest upon which a loan can be obtained. (1)

diag.
v. d.
diag.

The mineral wealth of Roumania, though very considerable, is almost entirely undeveloped. Gold was worked in the Carpathians by the Dacians, and modern authorities assert that copper, lead, cobalt, sulphur, and arsenic are also present in different districts. Anthracite and iron are known to exist, but they are not worked, and the deposits of ozokerite are left to the peasants, who make a rude kind of candle from it. The only minerals now worked are lignite, petroleum, and salt. Salt is the monopoly of the State.

The following table shows the annual output of the principal mines from 1881-85 in kilogrammes:—

Date.	Doftana.	Slanica.	Targu- Ocna.	Salinde- Mare.	Total.
1881-2	35,304,599	23,548,914	10,197,832	10,078,315	79,029,560
1882-3	41,026,591	17,302,068	3,880,832	16,504,904	78,714,395
1883-4	39,409,877	21,161,561	8,033,989	18,039,301	86,644,728
1884-5	29,953,076	21,330,598	9,072,175	10,027,269	70,403,118
Total	145,599,043	83,363,041	31,164,853	54,709,639	314,836,531

Two out of the five mines are worked by convict labour.

The quantity of salt exported is very large; the chief markets are Russia, Serbia, and Bulgaria. Some three years ago the salt monopoly purchased three tug boats and thirty-two lighters for the transport of goods. They now contemplate raising the number of lighters by about thirty, and purchasing passenger steamers for service on the Danube, as well as two ocean-going steamers.

The following regulations with regard to the working of petroleum in State lands have recently been issued by the Ministry of Agriculture. Concessions will be granted for a term of ten years, giving the right to seek for or work petroleum, either by soundings or by wells, on State lands where such work is not being carried on at present; where an estate is being partially worked in this manner, a new concession can not comprise ground within 50 metres of that taken up by a former one. The surface comprised in a single concession cannot be less than three or more than ten hectares. The concession refers only to petroleum; any other minerals which may be found are the property of the Government, and cannot form the subject of a claim.

The forests of Roumania cover 16.9 per cent. of the whole area of the country. The mountain region abounds in pines and firs, the lower hills are covered with beech, birch, maple, and service trees (*Vogelbaerbaum*), and in the plains the cork tree, sycamore, hornbeam, elm, ash, lime, chestnut, and hazel are found. A scheme of forest administration is now being considered by the Government, but in the meantime there is no systematic management of the forests. The woods in the neighbourhood of the principal rivers and highways are wastefully denuded, while even necessary clearing is neglected in the untouched forests of the Upper Carpathians. Shepherds are allowed to pasture their

flocks among the young trees, and the trunks of fallen trees are left to rot unheeded. With all this wealth at its disposal Roumania prefers to import wood to the value of 15 million fr.

Private enterprise has, however, gone further than the activity of the Government, and a considerable trade in timber is carried on by private dealers. Chief among these is the Wood-cutting and Saw-mill Company, formerly Goetz & Co., which has large saw-mills and a factory of a very superior order at Galatz. Six million cubic feet of sawn wood are turned out annually in these mills, and deals are exported to France, Italy, and the Panama Canal works. The usual wages for wood-cutters vary from 2 to 4 francs, and for floaters (*Höasser*) from 3 to 5 francs a day. A good forester earns a monthly wage of from 200 to 300 francs, besides having a free house, wood, and grazing land. Hedgers are paid from 40 to 70 francs a month.

The neglect which characterizes the administration of the forests extends also to the game. Game-laws are non-existent, and even close time is unknown. As the forests abound in fur-bearing animals and edible birds, it is evident that a great source of national wealth is here neglected. The fisheries of the Danube might also be made more productive than at present. The caviare obtained from the sturgeon of the Danube is especially prized in Western markets. (2)

Manufacturing industry holds a very small place in the economic conditions of Roumania.

3. Manu-
factures.

The only kind of industrial employment in which the native population is engaged is the manufacture of the simplest and most indispensable articles of clothing and of household utensils. These are made by the peasants in their own homes, and are entirely destined for home consumption. The only product of Roumanian domestic industry which finds a sale in foreign markets is the so-called Turkish carpet.

(a.) Home
industries.

The native Roumanian, whether rich or poor, prefers the cultivation of the soil to any industrial employment, and while the State can still endow the peasantry with land, agriculture must continue to form the chief employment of the people, and the principal source of the national wealth. Industry, even as carried on in small workshops, is therefore entirely in the hands of foreigners. The largest number of foreign labourers come from Austria, indeed it may almost be said that Roumania is indebted to Austria-Hungary for its whole supply of artisan labour. The number of Austrian workmen in Roumania has largely increased since the recent adoption of heavy protective duties. Formerly Austrian manufactures were largely imported, but now the manufacturers find it cheaper to settle in the country and produce their wares on the spot. The quality of the articles thus produced is, as a rule, very inferior, as, naturally, the best workmen remain at home, and leave foreign trade to the less skilled workers.

(b.) Small
industries.

Factory industry is chiefly confined to working up the raw materials produced in the country. Flour-mills, saw-mills, and distilleries rank foremost in the list of Roumanian factories. Their produce is generally good in quality, and finds a sale in foreign markets. The manufacture of half-finished products is also of some importance, but the production of well-finished goods can scarcely be expected. Such manufactures would imply large industrial centres and the existence of a working-class population, neither of which Roumania possesses. The native population is entirely devoted to agriculture, and factory hands have, therefore, to be recruited from among the foreign inhabitants of the larger towns. These men are seldom good workmen, but they know their value to their employers, and are able to insist on high wages in return for very inferior work. The few finished articles produced in Roumanian factories are of poor quality, and are unable to command any export sale; they include candles, soap, paper, and furniture.

(c.) Large
industries.

The saw mills of Galatz are among the most important of the larger industries.

The Government has done its utmost to encourage home manufactures by concessions of free sites, exemption from taxes, and other privileges.

In October 1892, the men employed in one of the steam saw-mills demanded an advance of wages and reduction of hours. The hours up to that time had been 12 a day with an interval of one hour, and

Wages.

(1) Braun, Archiv für Socialo Gesetzgebung und Statistik 3te Jahrgang, pp. 74-106. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, 1te Jahrgang, pp. 60, 129. Das Handels-Museum, 1893, No. 13, p. 173. Lavelaye, La Péninsule des Balkans, Vol. II., ch. VII.

(2) Bergerer, Roumanien, pp. 381-5. Samuelson, Roumanian Past and Present, pp. 12, 70, 106. Foreign Office Reports, Annual Series, 1893, No. 1170.

12 hours' uninterrupted work for the night shift. Instead of this the men demanded an 11½ hours' day with intervals of 1½ hours, and the limitation of night-work to 10½ hours, with an hour and a half for rest. The advance of wages claimed was 25 centimes an hour, which brought the daily wage up to 3 francs on an average. Work in these mills is not, however, continuous throughout the year, and the men cannot reckon on more than 250 working days; the average wage for the whole year would thus be reduced to some 2 francs a day.

Cost of living.

Out of this wage it is estimated that a single workman pays from 10 to 15 francs a month for rent, and for this sum he is only able to procure one room in a mud-built cottage. Maize flour costs him 50 centimes a kilogramme; meat, 1 franc a kilogramme, bread, 35 centimes a loaf; milk, 50 centimes a litre in summer, and 80 centimes in winter. A suit of blue drill working clothes costs from 5 to 15 francs, boots, 40 francs, and shoes from 14 to 20 francs. In addition to this he must pay 3 francs a month in taxes.

(d.) Proposed factory legislation.

A bill for the protection of factory workers was drawn up by the constitutional (Carp) Ministry in 1888, but there seems little prospect of its being passed for some time to come. The existence of a Factory Act would be a great advantage to the workers, but an Act on the lines of the Bill of 1888 would leave room for many abuses. The length of the working day is one of the most prominent faults of the Bill. The maximum day's work is fixed at 15 hours, inclusive of intervals for meals, but the Bill gives no hint as to how long these intervals are to last. No restrictions of any kind are placed on the labour of women, and no provision is made for the separation of the sexes during working hours. Night and Sunday work are not prohibited, but merely left to the "free" arrangement of both parties. Section 73 obliges employers to provide safety appliances, but as it is silent with regard to employers' liability, injured

workmen would be obliged to fall back upon the provisions of the common law, and hence they would have to prove that the blame rested with the employer. Sections 96-100 treat of wages, and, while they prohibit the truck system, they allow employers to make deductions for rent, fuel, food, medicine and medical assistance, according to agreement. That such agreements would practically be compulsory appears from section 71, which excludes workmen from taking any part in drawing up the factory rules. The period of notice necessary for the termination of an engagement is fixed at 14 days, and employers must give their workmen certificates stating the nature and duration of their employment. Disputes between employers and employed with regard to the fulfilment of contracts are to be referred to the decision of the communal authorities with final appeal to the ordinary courts of law.

The most satisfactory provisions of the Bill are those which relate to child labour. Section 91 prohibits the employment of children under 12 years of age in industrial establishments; children between the ages of 12 and 14 may only work six hours a day, they are to have half an hour for breakfast, an hour for dinner, and three hours at school. Factory owners who employ children or young persons are to keep a register showing the name, age, and residence of the persons employed, together with the names and residence of their parents or guardians. The registers must also state the duration of the engagement, and the dates of its beginning and termination.

The communal authorities are empowered to see that young persons are not employed in any occupation hurtful to their health or morality.

Section 95 provides for the appointment of factory inspectors, but no Bill on this subject has yet been drawn up.⁽¹⁾

IV.—BULGARIA.

A.—SKETCH OF POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

1. General statistics.

The area of the united Principality of North and South Bulgaria (formerly known as Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia) is about 37,860 square miles, of which 24,360 square miles are included in the Northern and 13,500 square miles in the Southern province. The two provinces are divided by the Balkan chain of mountains, whilst the Rhodope chain in the south forms part of the boundary between Bulgaria and Turkey, and the Danube on the north separates Bulgaria from Roumania. Within these boundaries, the natural features of the country are very varied, mountain ranges sinking rapidly down in some districts to a level and extensive plain, whilst in other localities the country is undulating and picturesque. A census was taken in January 1893, by which the population of the whole Principality was found to be 3,305,458 persons, of whom 2,313,072 were inhabitants of North and 992,386 of South Bulgaria. The following table shows the distribution of the population in the various districts:—

District.	Population.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.
Bulgaria—			
Varna - - -	112,472	102,741	215,213
Widdin - - -	62,704	59,397	122,101
Vratza - - -	77,530	73,381	150,911
Kustendje - - -	85,498	81,677	167,175
Lorchu - - -	62,725	68,192	125,917
Lom - - -	59,395	55,953	115,348
Plevna - - -	51,202	48,674	99,876
Razgrad - - -	65,987	63,544	129,531
Roustebouk - - -	84,420	78,169	162,589
Sistov - - -	47,858	42,261	94,119
Sevlievo - - -	46,693	46,582	93,275
Silistria - - -	57,358	54,210	111,568
Sofia - - -	128,642	116,182	244,824
Trin - - -	41,000	38,262	79,262
Trnovo - - -	110,952	113,211	224,163
Shoumen - - -	90,560	86,640	177,200

District.	Population.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.
Eastern Roumelia—			
Bourgas - - -	60,609	55,637	116,246
Philippopolis - - -	117,269	115,238	232,507
Sliven - - -	84,013	81,668	165,681
Stara-Zagora - - -	107,808	106,685	214,493
Tatar-Bazardjik - - -	70,101	68,589	138,690
Haskeni - - -	63,892	60,877	124,769
Total - - -	1,688,688	1,616,770	3,305,458

A previous census taken in 1888 had ascertained the population to be 3,154,975, who were distributed according to nationality and religion in the following manner:—

1. Nationality—

Bulgars - - - - -	2,326,250
Turks - - - - -	607,319
Greeks - - - - -	58,338
Gipsies - - - - -	50,291
Jews - - - - -	23,546
Servians and other Slavs - - - - -	4,699
Germans - - - - -	2,245
Russians - - - - -	1,069

2. Religion—

Bulgarian Orthodox Church - - - - -	2,432,154
Mohamedan - - - - -	668,173
Jewish - - - - -	24,352
Catholic - - - - -	18,539

According to the official report of Mr. Dering in 1893:—"Statistics on all subjects in this country are still in their infancy; but an eminent Bulgarian has reckoned the average annual income of the country for the last four years, derived from agriculture and industry, to amount to 825,000,000 francs (\$3,000,000,000). Of this amount agriculture is credited with 550,000,000 francs (22,000,000,000), which includes

(1) Das Handels-Museum. Commercialle Berichte, April 1893, p. 173. Bergner, Rumänien, pp. 385-8. Lexia. Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, Vol. I, Art. Arbeiterschutzgesetzgebung in Rumänien. C. Grünberg.

" grain of all kinds, tobacco, cattle, wine, products of forest and pasture lands, &c., and industries are valued at 275,000,000 francs (11,000,000*l.*).

" Taking the amount of population at 3,300,000, this man would give an annual income per head for man, woman, and child of some 250 francs (10*l.*). When the low cost of living in Bulgaria is taken into con-

sideration, together with the simple food and habits of nineteen-twentieths of the population, this would account for the fact that real poverty may be said to be absolutely non-existent."

The following table of exports shows which are the principal commercial products of Bulgaria, and their relative importance:—

RETURN of Principal Articles of Export for Five Years ended 1892.

Articles.	1888.		1889.		1890.		1891.		1892. *	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
Grain - - -	Tons. 418,363	£ 1,861,721	Tons. 504,800	£ 2,511,923	Tons. 606,890	£ 2,173,943	Tons. 479,072	£ 2,137,217	Tons. 518,063	£ 2,317,727
Cattle and live-stock (head).	964,340	233,523	860,659	237,260	1,091,425	213,189	885,091	244,759	719,269	270,256
Textile goods - -	897	123,705	1,039	141,648	845	125,963	1,023	165,318	768	125,486
Hides, skins, &c. -	1,450	65,064	1,591	71,082	1,557	69,744	1,944	83,385	1,710	73,176
Animal produce -	2,810	91,410	3,043	87,295	3,057	90,256	2,635	80,527	2,698	83,437
Fruits and vegetables.	2,300	13,512	1,247	14,310	1,074	11,132	4,081	41,526	4,527	39,153
Timber - - -	10,103	25,601	11,133	27,345	9,882	26,761	8,334	32,776	8,955	31,583
Attar of roses, &c. -	77	75,395	67	62,776	83	72,071	79	13,935	53	10,960
Various - - -	12,025	88,011	16,540	69,004	14,353	58,291	9,018	42,663	7,923	33,850
Total tons -	448,180	2,567,945	530,459	3,223,243	530,730	2,642,044	507,286	2,642,606	545,307	2,365,614
head -	964,340		860,659		1,091,425		835,091		719,269	

The value of the chief imports in the same years was as follows:—

	£
1888 - - - - -	2,586,042
1889 - - - - -	2,914,770
1890 - - - - -	3,381,219
1891 - - - - -	3,253,926
1892 - - - - -	3,092,120

The most important of these are textile goods, colonial produce, metal wares, and machinery.⁽¹⁾

The country now known as Bulgaria has, in an even greater degree than the other Balkan States, been inhabited by a succession of different invading races, who have left more or less distinct traces in the language and customs of the present population, and upon the surface of the country. It is unnecessary to make more than a passing mention of the conquest of this part of the Peninsula by Philip and Alexander of Macedon, or of its later formation into a Roman province in the first century. For several hundred years the province of Dacia Aureliani, the boundaries of which coincided very closely with those of North Bulgaria at the present time, was subject to Roman and Greek rule alternately, but in the fourth century the successive tribes of barbarians of whom some account has been given in the section on Roumania, began to overrun the country. By the seventh century the Slavs were firmly established over all the plains lying on each bank of the Danube, and although frequently conquered by other races, their influence is still predominant in the language and nationality of the inhabitants of modern Bulgaria. The country and the people derive their name, however, from the next invading race, that of the Bulgari, who conquered the Slavs and occupied the whole of the present province of North Bulgaria about 680. The origin of this tribe is much disputed. Gibbon ascribes to them a Slavonic origin, but later writers believe them to be more nearly allied to the Huns and Finns, and their kinship to the Magyar race would seem to be demonstrated by the political talent which they have often shown. They were a warlike people, and founded the first Bulgarian Empire, which extended over the greater portion of the Balkan Peninsula during the reign of their most famous Czar, Simeon, who reigned from about 893 to 927. A struggle with the Byzantine Empire followed, which ended in the conquest and annexation of Bulgaria by the Emperor Basilus II. in 1018. After more than a hundred years the Bulgarians once more threw off the Greek yoke and asserted their independence, and the second Bulgarian

Empire, or the Wallocho-Bulgarian Empire, as it is sometimes called, was founded. In the fourteenth century Bulgaria, like the greater part of the Peninsula, became subject to Servia for a short time, but was attacked by the Turkish invaders about the middle of the century, and brought completely under Ottoman rule in 1389. From that date until the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, which was primarily undertaken for the deliverance of Bulgaria, the country had no independent history, and was subject to the impoverishing and oppressive influences of Turkish dominion, the results of which are still to be seen in the backward condition of industry.

The Treaty of Berlin required that Bulgaria (now North Bulgaria) should be "constituted an autonomous and tributary principality under the suzerainty of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan. It will have a Christian Government and a national militia. . . ." "The Prince of Bulgaria shall be freely elected by the population and confirmed by the Sublime Porte, with the consent of the Powers." By the same Treaty, Eastern Roumelia was constituted a distinct province, to remain under the direct political and military authorities of the Sultan, under conditions of administrative autonomy; "the Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia shall be named by the Sublime Porte, with the assent of the Powers, for a term of five years." In 1885, however, this Government was overthrown by a revolution, and Eastern Roumelia united to Bulgaria under the title of South Bulgaria. By the Constitution of 1879, amended in 1893, "the legislative authority was vested in a single chamber, called the National Assembly of Bulgaria. The members of it are elected by universal manhood suffrage at the rate of one member to every 20,000 of the population. Those residing in the city where the National Assembly sits receive 15 francs a day during the session; others 20 francs a day with travelling expenses. The duration of the Assembly is five years, but it may be dissolved at any time by the Prince, when new elections must take place within four months. The Assembly in 1880 assented to a proposal for the creation of a second chamber."⁽²⁾

It is not possible here to enter into the political history of recent years, but it is desirable to recall the political consolidation of the nation under the first Prince Alexander of Battenberg (elected 1879, abdicated 1886), the revival of the military glory of the nation by the battle of Slivitza, and the display by native Bulgarians of the greatest talent for diplomacy and self-government in the difficult period between the abdication of Prince Alexander and the election of his successor, Prince Ferdinand of Coburg.

(1) Foreign Office Reports, Annual Series, Bulgaria, 1883, No. 1300. The Statesman's Year-book, 1894, pp. 1032-4; Samuelson, Bulgaria Past and Present, London, 1888, pp. 111-2.

(2) Samuelson, Bulgaria, Past and Present, pp. 3-64. The Statesman's Year-book, 1894, pp. 1032-3.

It is, I say, desirable to recall these episodes in considering the claim put forward on behalf of the Bulgarians of kinship with the Magyar race.

3. The Church and education.

The State religion of Bulgaria is the Orthodox Church, to which, as already seen, the large majority of the inhabitants belong. The Bulgarians are, however, regarded by the Greeks as schismatics, since a prolonged struggle for national religious independence in the middle of the present century was closed by the issue of a firman in 1870, by which they were allowed to have an Exarch or Metropolitan of their own choosing, subject to ratification by the Sultan. Under the Turkish rule the priests or "popes" appear to have been an ignorant, idle, and often immoral class of men, and though an improvement in this respect has taken place in recent years, the Bulgarian priesthood is still said to possess very little political or other influence over the nation. This is partly attributed to their pecuniary dependence upon their congregations, since although ordained by the bishops, and appointed by the communes, they are paid by the voluntary gifts of the individuals to whom they minister.⁽¹⁾ In any case the national church has been a powerful element in preserving the national spirit and in affording to the Bulgarians when under Turkish rule the only outlet for the national talent for self-government. It is not improbable that the power of the church will wane now that the more attractive political field is open.

Primary education in Bulgaria is free and compulsory for a period of four years between the ages of seven and fourteen. The obligation, however, appears to be frequently avoided, as it is stated that in 1890, out of a total of 275,756 boys and 261,968 girls of school age in the country, only 129,777 boys and 42,206 girls were in attendance at the elementary schools, and about 81 per cent. of the population can neither read nor write. The number of elementary schools in 1890 was 3,844. Mr. Minchin, writing in 1886, stated that there was not a village in either North or South Bulgaria without its school, and gave the following statistics with regard to the State elementary schools in the Southern province to show how carefully the religious scruples of the inhabitants are regarded.

Religion.	Number of Schools.	Number of Pupils.	Number of Teachers.
Bulgarian Orthodox	852	50,184	1,300
Bulgarian Catholic	10	780	27
Bulgarian Protestant	4	124	4
Turkish	763	27,113	788
Greek Church	48	3,471	83
Armenian	5	201	8
Jewish	14	918	32

The Orthodox catechism is taught in the schools attended by the Orthodox, but not in those attended by children of other sects. Provision for secondary and higher education is made by a university at Sophia and *gymnasia* in the principal towns, including four for girls, in addition to several lower middle-class schools. The institutions for technical education are of still more importance in connexion with the conditions of labour in Bulgaria. The chief of these are the Technical School at Kniajevo, near Sophia, and the State Agricultural Schools at Sadovo, near Philippopolis, and at Rustchuk. The former of these gives instruction to about 70 pupils, 40 of whom work in iron and 30 in wood. The cost of this institution, which is undertaken by the State, is about 3,280*l.* per annum, or about 47*l.* per head for each student, and the instruction given and work performed in it are said to be of excellent quality. At the Agricultural Schools of Sadovo and Rustchuk there are 48 pupils and eight teachers, and 50 pupils and five teachers respectively.⁽²⁾

4. Socialism.

The Socialist movement in Bulgaria, introduced by students from foreign universities, found ready acceptance amongst the industrial population. In 1891 a regular Social Democratic party was constituted, and a national congress was held at Tirmovo in April of the same year. At a second congress, held later on in the year, the programme of the party was adopted, and

rules for its organisation approved. In 1892, a third congress, held at Philippopolis, decided to start a newspaper, the *Rabotnik* (Workman), which, in 1893, had a circulation of about 1,200 copies. The translation of the works of Russian, French, and German Socialists forms an important part of the propaganda of the party. Sixteen such books have been published since 1891. May-day celebrations have also been started in several towns, and, in the opinion of these Socialist leaders, these demonstrations form a valuable means of advertising the existence of the party.⁽³⁾

B.—CONDITION OF CHIEF INDUSTRIES.

The principal industry of Bulgaria is agriculture, for which the fertile soil, favourable climate, and sparse population render the country peculiarly suitable, although the methods of cultivation in use are still very primitive. It is estimated that the number of persons engaged in agriculture is over 2,211,500, or about 66 per cent. of the entire population, in addition to nearly 70,000 persons who are occupied in rearing cattle. In 1886, only about one-sixth of the soil was under cultivation, and it is said that the whole area, if cultivated, would easily support 10 or 12 million inhabitants.

The following table shows the distribution of the land in 1892:—

Description.	Area.	
	Acres.	Acres.
Land under cultivation:—		
Arable land	5,359,900	
Vineyards	237,120	
Market gardens, &c.	111,920	
Meadows	770,640	
Woods and forests	3,291,104	
Total		9,770,684
Uncultivated area fit for cultivation		13,651,341
Area unfit for cultivation		1,099,150
Total area		24,521,175

The staple production of the country is grain, the importance of which may be understood from the fact that in 1891 more than a third of the State revenue was realised from the sale of the grain tithe, and that the value of the grain exported in that year was three-quarters of the total value of all the exports from Bulgaria.

The most important crops are those of wheat, barley, maize, and rye; oats, millet, meslin, and spelt are also cultivated. The cultivation of vines, tobacco, and roses for the manufacture of attar of roses, and the rearing of silkworms, are important branches of industry, and cotton is grown in small quantities by the peasants for their own domestic use.

The exports of grain, consisting chiefly of wheat, in 1892 amounted to 57,943,176 *levs*, whilst the value of the live stock exported in the same year was 6,756,391 *levs*. Although a considerable extent of country is devoted to vine growing, for which the soil and climate seem very favourable, the wine made at present is of inferior quality, and is chiefly used for home consumption. The absence of proper wine cellars in which to store the must, and the want of sufficient care in collecting and sorting the grapes, appear to be the principal defects in this respect. The cultivation of roses is carried on chiefly in South Bulgaria (formerly Eastern Roumelia), where in 1890 the rose trees covered an area of 2,698 hectares (1 hectare = 2.47 acres). The Italian Consul-General at Sophia, writing in November 1892, stated that "although the cultivation of the rose may realise very large profits for those who are engaged in it, its existence seems to be compromised by the fall which the prices of the essence are yearly experiencing. The majority of the growers are so much discouraged with it that certain of them, being able no longer to meet the very large expenditure, intend to retire from the

⁽¹⁾ Samuelson. *Bulgaria Past and Present*: pp. 60-63. Remmer. *Die bulgarische Situation*: Berlin, 1886.

⁽²⁾ Samuelson. *Bulgaria Past and Present*: pp. 122-3, 163-4. Minchin. *Growth of Freedom in the Balkan Peninsula 1886*. The Statesman's Year-book; 1894, p. 1034.

⁽³⁾ Lexis. *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, Vol. V., Part IV., p. 733. Bericht der bulgarischen socialdemokratischen Partei an den internationalen socialistischen Arbeiterkongress Zurich, 1893, pp. 6-8. Schweizerische Blätter für Wirtschafts- und Socialpolitik, 1te Jahrgang, p. 145.

" industry altogether. The essence of roses produced by Bulgaria is almost all sold abroad. The small cultivators, not being able to place themselves in direct relations with the export markets, are obliged to sell their crop to the export houses of Kazanlik, who virtually have a monopoly of the purchase, and fix the prices to suit themselves."⁽¹⁾

In considering the agricultural conditions of Bulgaria it is important to take account of the systems of land tenure in force. Up to 1854 when Bulgaria was completely under Turkish dominion the land was the property of the Sultan, and was allotted by him in large grants to his pashas and other local officials. The peasants who cultivated the land received enough of its produce to keep them alive, the rest was absorbed by their masters. When, however, at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish war of 1854, the Sultan found himself in need of money, he issued an order that all persons who then enjoyed the usufruct of land, and wished to secure it as a heritable possession, might do so on the payment of the price required, and by taking out the necessary deeds of purchase. This decree, which gave the soil of Bulgaria into the hands of native proprietors, formed the first step towards the development of modern institutions in the country. Private property in land was immediately followed by a host of other innovations, both political and social. When the complete independence of Bulgaria was finally achieved, the movement thus begun was rapidly continued, but the results were not entirely favourable to the position of the peasant proprietors. Under the repressive policy pursued by the Turkish Government the population was sufficiently small for every family to live on the produce of its own land, reckoning a holding of from 15 to 25 hectares of arable land as enough for the wants of a family. Even after the population had begun to increase, no pressure was felt for a considerable period, because the lands which had been held by the Turkish pashas and governors were distributed by the Government among the peasantry. Gradually, however, the equal distribution of the land gave place to a system of large holdings, a movement which was accelerated by the steady emigration of the Mohamedan peasants. The lands thus left vacant accumulated in the hands of a few proprietors, until in 1868 the Minister of Finance reported the existence of 174 large estates, each one of sufficient extent to support 50 peasant families. This accumulation of land implies of course the creation of a class of agricultural labourers who, having no land of their own, are obliged to take service with those who have expropriated them.

It is stated that the condition of these labourers is often extremely miserable; that the wages earned by them are very low, from 200 to 300 francs being considered a good wage for a year's work; and that the absence of any protective legislation places them entirely at the mercy of their employers. On the other hand, the cost of living in the country is very low, so that a working man can easily live on 1 franc a day, and it is said that the wages of agricultural labour would be higher if it were not for the competition of the large number of women who take part in it. The peasants who still own land appear to be as a rule well-to-do. "Each of them has at least one pair of oxen and 40 or 50 sheep; very many have two pairs of oxen and 200 or 300 sheep, besides goats, pigs, geese, and fowls, all of which are allowed to pasture on the 'Mera,' or common land." According to Mr. Samuelson, "There are now really only two kinds of property in land, private property and Mera, or common land, which is held in the proportions of one-tenth private and nine-tenths Mera, or rural property. . . . In the plains this Mera is pasture, in the mountains woodland; but wherever it is situated, the community to which it belongs has the usufruct, including the right to cut wood. The Government is endeavouring to limit the latter right, for the reason . . . that forests have already been denuded, or are fast disappearing. There is no limit to a man's right of pasture; he may send 10 or 10,000 sheep (his own property, of course) on to the Mera. In towns the owners of houses have their gardens, sometimes of considerable extent. If a man wishes to sell his land, he is bound to give his immediate neighbour the first offer of it. No peasant belonging to one community is allowed to send his

" cattle on to a neighbouring Mera, but he may buy a hut in the community to which it belongs, and with it he acquires the right of pasture. Titles must be registered, and ten years' occupancy gives an indefeasible title."⁽²⁾

That the Government is now beginning to recognise the importance of promoting better modes of cultivation is evident from the efforts it made to support the agricultural and industrial exhibition which was inaugurated by Prince Ferdinand at Philippopolis in August 1892. To this exhibition, which was the first ever opened in Bulgaria, 50,000 persons were admitted gratis. They were for the most part deputations of peasants, who were organised by the various provincial authorities, and brought to Philippopolis at the public expense. An Agricultural and Industrial Congress was held in connection with the exhibition, consisting of representatives of the various departments and of the Ministry of Finance. The result of its deliberations is embodied in a series of recommendations, of which the following is a summary. "The system of model farms and agricultural schools should be extended, and students who have passed the course should afterwards be employed by the State as teachers throughout the country. The tithe system should be reorganised. A law for the extermination of locusts and other noxious insects should be passed. For the encouragement of viticulture Government cellars should be established, foreigners should be invited to engage in wine-making, native wines should be exempted from octroi duties, improved implements should be used, and American vines imported to combat the phylloxera. The Government ought to encourage sericulture by bounties, and at the same time teach improved methods and furnish healthy seed. Market and fruit gardens ought to be exempted from taxes for a period of twenty years and receive bounties on exportation."⁽³⁾

(c.) State promotion of agriculture.

The forests and mineral resources of Bulgaria are very rich, although at present but little has been done to utilise either. As already stated the Government is now endeavouring to check the destruction of the forests by the peasants, but with the exception of a small exportation of walnut wood into Austria, the commercial value of the timber is almost entirely neglected, and it is a noticeable fact that the imports of timber and its products in 1891 at the various ports of Bulgaria far exceeded the exports.

2. Mining forestry, and transport.

The principal mineral products are iron and coal, but there are also said to be considerable quantities of copper, zinc, lead, silver, and gold in the country. The only mine, however, which is worked with any success is the coal mine of Pernik, which yields annually about 17,000 tons of inferior coal. Some iron is extracted in the neighbourhood of Samakov, but the expenses of working are so great that imported iron can be bought cheaper, and the workings are gradually being abandoned. It is hoped, however, that improved methods of working now promise a larger output. The National Assembly in 1892 passed an order by which the mine owners were obliged to introduce blast furnaces and other new plant, the results of which seem likely to be most favourable. The owners expect to be able to deliver iron at Sofia, at a cost of from 90 to 100 francs a ton, which is to be equal in quality to the iron imported from Sweden at from 350 to 450 francs a ton. Many fine specimens of marble and other stones are to be found in Bulgaria, but the quarries are seldom worked at a profit.

The chief drawback to all these industries appears to be the inadequacy of the means of transport. The roads are usually very defective, and the "arabas," or native carts in common use by the peasantry, are of very primitive and clumsy construction. Great efforts are, however, being made by the Government to improve and extend the railway system in the country. In 1893 there were said to be 520 miles of railways in North and South Bulgaria, of which 312 miles are in Bulgaria proper. Sofia is now connected by railway with Constantinople on the one hand, and with Belgrade and the general European system on the other.⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ Samuelson, Bulgaria Past and Present; London, 1888, pp. 168-9. Munich, Growth of Freedom in the Balkan Peninsula; London, 1890. Bericht der Bulgarischen sozialdemokratischen Partei an dem Internationalen Sozialistischen Arbeiterkongress, Zürich, 1893.

⁽²⁾ Foreign Office Reports, Annual Series, 1893, No. 1300, pp. 13, 20.

⁽³⁾ F. O. Annual Series, Bulgaria, 1893, No. 1300. Samuelson, Bulgaria Past and Present; London, 1888. The Statesman's Year-book, 1894, p. 1036.

⁽⁴⁾ The Board of Trade Journal, Vol. XI., No. 63, Vol. XIII., No. 78, Vol. XIV., No. 83. Remmer, Die Bulgarische Situation; Berlin, 1886. F. O. Annual Series, Bulgaria, 1893, No. 1300.

3. Manu-
factures.
(a.) Kinds
of produce.

Under the Turkish rule industrial enterprises of every description were much neglected in Bulgaria, but since the establishment of independence, and especially since the annexation of Eastern Roumelia, a great development has taken place in this direction. Whilst in 1888 there were only 13 factories in the whole of the country, in 1891 this number had increased to 27, and there was a considerable production of textile fabrics, porcelain and carriages. The number of workpeople employed in factories, workshops, warehouses, and harbour labour in 1892 was computed at not less than 857,000.

The textile industries are of comparatively long standing. During the period of Turkish dominion woollen and silk fabrics and embroideries were produced in the homes of the peasant women; factories even were not unknown, for the Turkish Government had established a woollen mill at Sliwno for the supply of its own requirements. At first the introduction of machinery was strongly opposed by the workers, who saw the machines, as they believed, taking the bread out of their mouths, but their resistance was in vain, and the system of factory industry is now protected and encouraged by the Government. During the last three years the number of weaving mills in Gabrowo has increased from three to six, in Sliwno from twelve to sixteen, at Kassanlik two new mills have been built, and at Triavna three new factories, including both spinning and weaving departments, are at work. The principal article of manufacture is a native cloth known as *shayah*, which is largely used by the peasants of Bulgaria, and is even exported to Turkey, but it finds no sale among the town populations, who prefer the ready-made clothes imported from Austria.

During recent years the cultivation of the silkworm has made considerable progress under the encouragement of the Ministry of Finance and Agriculture. The chief centres of this industry are at Vratza and Stanimaka, where, under careful management, excellent results have been obtained. A silk-spinning factory recently erected at the latter place showed some fine samples of its work at the exhibition at Philippopolis in 1892, but the homespun silk exhibited from other parts of the country was of very inferior quality.

The tobacco consumed in Bulgaria is all of native growth and manufacture. In 1892 the tobacco crop yielded a total quantity of 2,116,885 kilogrammes, of which 1,531,226 were worked in 101 native factories, giving employment to 1,650 workmen. Of this quantity 123,820 kilogrammes, valued at about 12,000*l.*, were exported. Other native industries represented at the Philippopolis exhibition were soap-making, furniture-making, brewing and spirit distilling. The last appears to have a future before it, but is at present chiefly in the hands of foreign capitalists.

(b.) Condi-
tions of
labour.

Although some branches of industry are thus rapidly increasing in importance, the conditions of factory labour are the subject of bitter complaint amongst the more advanced of the working population. The usual working hours are from twelve to sixteen a day, and cases of even twenty hours a day have been known to occur. The wages of men vary from 1 to 2 francs a day, women earn from 50 to 60 centimes, and children from 20 to 50 centimes. No factory legislation exists, and the sanitary conditions are stated to be the worst possible. It is also said that employers behave towards their hands in a harsh and arbitrary manner, and that in cases of accidents no one is responsible for the injuries incurred. The dissatisfaction which this

neglect has produced is now being fanned by Socialist agitation and threatens to assume serious proportions. In view of the dangers which may result from the increase of Socialist propaganda a resolution in favour of State regulation of the conditions of labour was passed by a congress of employers, which assembled at Philippopolis in 1892.

The smaller handicrafts, those of the coppersmith, tinker, tanner, shoemaker, &c., are all languishing under the influence of foreign competition, and as private enterprise seems inadequate to resuscitate them, Government interference is now deemed necessary. The Industrial Congress, to which allusion has already been made, recommended the formation of self-governing guilds for the promotion of handicrafts, and the establishment of Government workshops for the training of skilled men, where machines and tools should be provided. With regard to the larger manufacturing industries, the Congress advised agriculturists to sell as cheaply as possible to manufacturers; it also recommended the passing of a law similar to the one now in force in Roumania, by which all factories in which a minimum capital of 1,000*l.* is engaged, enjoy certain privileges, e.g. free sites, fifteen years' exemption from State and municipal taxes, and from custom-house duties on imported machinery and raw material. The Congress considered that, in the interests of both agriculture and industry, a new ministry for agriculture, industry, and commerce should be created, and a special newspaper founded. The facilities afforded by agricultural banks should be extended, roads and railways developed, commercial museums opened, and the present exorbitant rates on the Oriental railways lowered. The *Handels-Museum* for November 1893 reports that a Bill "for the support and encouragement of the working population of Bulgaria," drawn up in accordance with the above suggestions, has just passed its first reading and has been referred to a committee. The object of the Bill is to form a body (*Heer*) of skilled and educated workmen, to attach the agricultural population to the land, to limit the increase of an intellectual proletariat, and to improve the quality of the goods produced by the domestic workshops of the country. To this end every district council (*Kreisrath*) at the beginning of the educational year of 1894 is to establish a model farm (*Musterwirthschaft*) and a workshop for the practical training of young peasants and artisans. Candidates must have completed their ordinary elementary education, but must not be above a certain fixed age. They are to remain under training for three or four years, receiving a monthly wage of not more than 20 francs a month, and when they leave they are to receive a certificate of competency from the minister of the department concerned. The expenses of these establishments are to be defrayed by the districts, which are authorised to levy special taxes for the purpose. A sum of 800,000 francs was credited to the budget of 1894 for the expenses connected with the establishment of the scheme.

(c.) Recent
legislation.

A law for the encouragement of industry by the protection of trade marks, which was passed in January 1893, has already come into force.⁽¹⁾

(1) Foreign Office Reports, Annual Series, 1893, No. 1300, pp. 1-24. Bericht der bulgarischen socialdemokratischen Partei an den internationalen socialistischen Arbeiterkongress, Zurich, 1893, pp. 3-4. Das Handels-Museum, Vol. 8, pp. 101, 617.

APPENDIX A.

LIST OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS REPORT.

1. Länderkunde von Europa. Erste Theil, Zweite Hälfte, A. Kirchhoff. (Nations of Europe.)
2. Die Staaten Europas. Dr. H. Brachelli. 1884. (The States of Europe.)
3. An Official Tour through Bosnia and Herzegovina. J. de Asböth, 1890.
4. Handbuch des Oeffentlichen Rechts. Oesterreichisches Staatsrecht. Dr. J. Albrich. Freiburg-in-Breisgau, 1882. (The Law of the Austrian Empire.)
5. Die Hausindustrie Oesterreichs. Dr. Exner. Vienna, 1890. (Home Industries in Austria.)
6. La Péninsule des Balkans. E. de Laveleye. Brussels, 1886. (The Balkan Peninsula.)
7. Growth of Freedom in the Balkan Peninsula. J. G. C. Minchin. London, 1886.
8. New Bulgaria. J. L. Farley. London, 1880.
9. Die Bulgarische Situation. H. Remmer. Berlin, 1886. (The Situation in Bulgaria.)
10. Bulgaria Past and Present. J. Samuelson. London, 1888.
11. Rumänien. Eine Darstellung des Landes und der Leute. R. Bergner. Breslau, 1887. (An Account of the Country and People of Roumania.)
12. Ueber die Abstammung der Rumänen. Pic. Leipzig, 1880. (The Origin of the Roumanians.)
13. Rumänische Studien, R. Roesler. Leipzig, 1871.
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