

**THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SOUTHERN REGION'S WAR AGAINST
THE TURKS IN THE 1789 VOLUME OF THE MAGYAR KURÍR
(HUNGARIAN COURIER) OF VIENNA**

ANDRÁS DÖBÖR¹

ABSTRACT

This presentation aims to show – on the grounds of the volume of year 1789 of the Hungarian newspaper published in Vienna under the title Magyar Kurír – the interpretation of the political and social consequences of the Turkish war lead by Emperor Joseph II in alliance with Tsar Catherine II against the Ottoman Empire which started in 1787 in order to win back the Serbian and Wallachian territories lost due to the Peace Treaty of Belgrade signed in 1739, and continued mainly in the South and ended by the capture of Belgrade and Szendrő in 1789.

The contextual and statistical analysis of the articles of the Magyar Kurír – initially Josephinist later focusing more and more on Hungarian reality and national grievances and revolts rather than on spreading the Viennese enlightened ideas – edited by Sándor Szacs vay forms the basis of my research. I compare the reports and accounts of the southern Turkish war and by bringing into a broader context I place them in the subject matter of the volume of the year 1987 of the newspaper.

As a result of my studies I aim to present how the topic relates to issues of foreign policy, internal affairs and social subjects, dominating the contemporary common talk and public thinking, such as to the French revolution and other European movements of independence, to the economic and health problems of the residents of Hungary suffering from the burden of the war and to the increasingly evolving national ambitions against the reforms and reign of Joseph II.

THE SOUTHERN REGION'S WAR AGAINST THE TURKS

Austria started the Southern Region's war against the Turks, i. e. the last Habsburg–Ottoman war, in alliance with the Russians in 1787. The imperial army was led by Emperor Joseph II because he believed it to be his duty to rise to the challenges of wartime with his army. The battles went on for a year and a half with varied luck. There were great losses on both sides, the Turkish armies reached the Southern areas of Hungary, the emperor ordered recruitment and that the Hungarian counties ship grains to the forces and pay military aid. All this only furthered the estates' resistance to the preparation of a new tax system. The county councils wrote petitions to protest against the emperor's regulations saying that only the parliament had the right to vote on recruitment and new taxes. The emperor, who had contracted malaria, arrived home seriously ill after the campaign and his condition further worsened in 1789. Although he promised the estates that he would assemble the parliament, he was unable to appease them. When the allies, led by General Laudon, were finally able to capture Belgrade, Joseph II received the news on his deathbed. After his death, his successor, Emperor Leopold II signed the separate peace treaty of Sistova, in which Austria relinquished Belgrade and agreed to restore the pre-war status quo. Russia continued the Turkish war on its own. The peace agreement of 1791 put an end to the almost four and a half century long conflict between the Hungarians and the Turks.²

JOSEPHINIST SÁNDOR SZACSVAY AND THE MAGYAR KURÍR OF VIENNA

Sándor Szacsvay, who was from a Transylvanian noble family and had studied in the lyceums of Debrecen and Bratislava and then attended law school in Vienna, belonging to the Josephinist intellectual strata, returned to Bratislava in 1784 where he became the editor of the first Hungarian newspaper. Between 1784 and 1786, the *Magyar Hírmondó*, edited by Szacsvay, still sympathized with Josephinist beliefs and remained in favor of the policies of Joseph II as a proponent and supporter of his reforms. In fact, he felt it was his duty to expose those who went against the regulations of the "good ruler". Thanks to the enlightened court and the moderate censorship, he could attack the conservative Hungarian church and government leadership, which was based on social hierarchy, in a satirical Voltairian manner. He also scrutinized the pomp and wastefulness evoking the French "*ancien regime*" and the "*dames*" who symbolized its ignorance, also the fanatical and superstitious priesthood who sometimes even went against the laws of faith and religion, and the devoted, too, who were deceived by them – so Hungarian feudal circumstances on the whole – thus, already gaining many enemies for himself. One thing is for certain, however, that the Hungarian newspaper was at the height of its popularity at the time, with 449 subscribers, which it could never exceed after Szacsvay was dismissed due to financial disputes.³

In 1786, Szacs vay, who had by then committed himself completely to journalism, along with Dániel Tállyai, previously the editor of the *Pressburger Zeitung*, publisher of a Slovakian newspaper, the *Presspurské Nowiny*, were considering launching their own Hungarian newspaper. Dániel Tállyai, who in that certain era can be thought of as a businessman who saw the money-making possibilities in publishing, planned to launch two other media outlets apart from his Slovakian paper. He intended to start a Hungarian language newspaper as an alternative to the *Magyar Hírmondó*, and a German language newspaper as an alternative to the *Pressburger Zeitung*, and both to create commercial competition to the already existing papers.⁴

A call for subscriptions was issued for the *Magyar Kurír* and the *Pressburger Merkur* but local press owners Patzkó and Landerer, even though Joseph II had put an end to press monopoly, did everything in their power to prevent the newspapers from being published. The campaign – which was clearly based on financial interests – ended with the victory of the printing press owners. Eventually, one unauthorized sample issue of each newspaper was published in July of 1786, for which the city council had the press owner, Weber arrested. However, this was not the main reason why Szacs vay had to leave Bratislava. He had made just too powerful enemies – apart from the press owners –, chiefly among the priesthood and the dames he had continually criticized in the *Magyar Hírmondó*, as well as the “*the High Reverends and Dignitaries*”.⁵

From the end of the year the story continues in Vienna, where the launch of the *Magyar Kurír* could not be prevented on grounds of press privilege and the imperial capital’s enlightened atmosphere was very attractive as well. On December 2nd, 1786, the second issue was published in the capital city of the Empire and from January of 1787 to the first issue of the year 1793, when he was dismissed from the newspaper, Szacs vay edited and published the *Magyar Kurír*, the paper known in professional literature as “*the second Hungarian language newspaper*”.⁶

PLACEMENT OF THE SOUTHERN REGION’S WAR AGAINST THE TURKS IN THE THEMATIC NETWORK OF THE VOLUME OF 1789 OF THE MAGYAR KURÍR

Unequivocally, Szacs vay became the most progressive and most significant journalist and editor of the era in Vienna who reached a high quality of progressive publicism compared to the media outlets of the time. He was not immune to the internal conflicts that became characteristic of the Josephinist intellectual strata with the growth of resistance from the nobles and estates, since due to his correspondents, he remained in close contact with public life at home, gained knowledge of the people’s dissatisfaction with the ruler, which was exacerbated by the Turkish war and spread from the nobles to the farmers and to the intellectuals as well. Szacs vay’s newspaper followed this incremental change very well, which change had a characteristic impact on the general atmosphere of that era.

At the beginning he was enthusiastically Josephinist, calling Joseph II the “*wise ruler*” and “*the sweet father of our sweet homeland*”. On the page he advocated for religious tolerance, attacked the demands of the estates and most of all the church officials, supported the abolition of tax exemption for the nobles and condemned the movements of the Netherlands and France but in reaction to the political changes, he later altered his tone.

While retaining a Josephinist attitude, he no longer described the events in France as a rebellion but turned toward them with sympathy. He played an important role in spreading the news of the French revolution due to the unique style of his dispatches and commentaries. His sources were foreign newspapers but since he could only broadcast this topic based on the contents of the authorized Vienna paper, he used the popular fictitious genre of underworld dialogues used by enlightened authors of the time to complement the official dispatches. In Szacsvány’s newspaper sometimes animals (sparrows, swallows, dogs), sometimes historical figures (Machiavelli, Alexander the Great, Democritus), at other times fictional heroes (Aesop) told their interpretations of the “*French uproar*”, all this in a Josephinist disapproving tone to further deter the vigilance of the censors.

Despite the growing pressure from the censors he gave news on the other significant foreign policy issue affecting the Habsburg Empire at the time, the Turkish war,⁷ through direct battlefield dispatches apart from writings adapted from the official Viennese paper, which he marked with an asterisk⁸ so as to separate them from his own writings.

He tried to emphasize how successfully the Hungarian troops were able to cope on the battlefield, for example, in the July 22nd, 1789 issue of the newspaper, he printed a long summary on the Erdőd Hussars,⁹ composed mostly of young men from the counties of Fehér, Veszprém, Vas and Sopron stationed in the Bánság, with whose story he aimed to prove that “*Hungarians are generally good soldiers against all enemies but especially against the Turks...*”¹⁰ Even later he always found the means to detail the “*history*” of the Hussar Regiments who were glorious in the battles.¹¹

He sought to expand his own network of reporters in various ways, for example, he printed the following notice in his paper: “*Those who would send us reports from the camps of this present war... we would send these people free issues of the newspaper for three years*”.¹² He also reassured his correspondents that no-one would see their letters apart from the censor, so they could write at ease because: “*The gentleman who examines the paper crosses out from our letters what should not be there, otherwise, no-one else has the authority to find out who wrote what*”.¹³ Regarding the question of publicity, with the pretext of the newspaper stamp tax implemented by the government, which regulation had been previously published,¹⁴ the *Magyar Kurír* addressed

it vehemently in the July 4th, 1789 issue: *“Ideas are free of payment; now but if these are written on newspaper pages a half Kreutzer has to be paid... They sometimes do stick the stamp on the Kurír’s horse; tell the truth or lie already – the price is half a Kreutzer anyhow!! Tell the truth, then.”*¹⁵

In the English dispatch of the same issue he detailed the circumstances of the implementation of the Stamp Act in England and made bold statements on the subject of freedom of the press in relation to it: *“This is the straight path on which the Stamp arrived from Vienna:¹⁶ oh but what pain! What a great pity that with this Stamp the freedom of writing that comes with it could not come from England. – In England such freedoms do the journalists have who pay the Stamp that they may freely speak their minds against the King, the Parliament, the Ministries, Heaven and Earth, and it can be sold in common papers.”*¹⁷

Szacsvay told his readers of the establishment of public access to parliamentary proceedings according to which *“what happens in the Parliament is made known to the people in 14 days from the News Papers, so they gladly pay even a high price for them (...) through these, everything is brought to the knowledge of the People; here, writing and printing a Newspaper is allowed without any screening...”*¹⁸

He purposely did not replace or correct the parts of his reports that had been taken out by the censors as a way to let his readers know his opinion. He left them empty and marked them with crossed out lines and humorous messages (*“Left in after screening”, “Screen gap”, “Look for it in the screen”, “the Kurír is not even permitted to say it”, “we will not write anything more here because the Budai Újság also has only this much on the matter but this also means something”, etc.*)¹⁹

The volume of 1789 reports from the beginning on the antecedents of the last Estates-General called together by the French king (election of ambassadors, the economic situation, internal political atmosphere),²⁰ its commencement, the demands of the burghers and the topics they wished to discuss and the events of the first sessions – of course,²¹ all within the limits of censorship, but expanding those limits in the manner previously indicated.

On June 27th, 1789 the *Kurír* was published significantly abbreviated by censors and marked in Szacsvay’s usual style. It reported that the Estates-General continued to debate, *“the contentions and the smoke of internal fire have not yet ceased; but nothing notable, worthy of reading has happened, except that not long ago --”*²² Then where the dispatch had been cut short, where the censor had removed the text, he published an implicative fable about the wealthy French tailor, who attained noble status and an impoverished marquis, in which the tailor, derided for his low birth, tricks the arrogant marquis and says: *“...because even now I am not ashamed of this craft that has made me a rich and noble man”*.²³

On July 11th he reported in a careful tone on the events of the June 24th Estate-General when Louis XVI declared the previous decisions of the Estate-General to be void and attempted to dissolve the meeting but his attempts were declared unacceptable by the burgher estate and the multitude. He reviewed Necker's discussion with the king and its result, then from the previously detailed Josephinist perspective, so as to quiet the censors, he characterized the events as follows: "*The cup of Pandemonium is already full here; the burgher estate is unruly and says that they are the ones who constitute the French people; it would not wish to distinguish itself from the Noble Estate: this seems to bear bad consequences*".²⁴ He continued to report on the events of that day in the July 19th issue of the newspaper giving an account of the burghers arming themselves, attacks against rural manors and castles, the soldiers' oaths that they would not bear arms against their own people as well as on the political victory of the third estate: "(...) *the Clerical Estate joined the Burgher Estate and afterward practically forced the Noble Estate to join them*".²⁵ After reporting the news, he could not resist and reacted to the events in an excellent squib, in which he discussed the absolute power the French kings had held over their people since Louis XIV as well as their European influence and alluded to the radical changes that were a foot thanks to the current political situation: "*How powerful were the kings of France. In an assembly of crowns the French king was the greatest and when he spoke, all listened, only the great Frederic²⁶ mumbled occasionally. (...) This once mighty king has had boundaries forced upon him by his lowliest serfs, the Burgher Estate.*"²⁷

Szacsvay later revisited the French events several times briefly summarizing the news he received on the political and economic situation according to which the crisis was still not over. On July 25th, in a short commentary he reported that "*in Paris and in all of France the inner peace is not yet whole, poverty digs elbow deep into the French breadbasket*".²⁸

On July 29th, in a new piece, he allowed himself to use the following expression that since the common people of France noticed that "*the noble Estate, in fact, the greatest ruler in the world is also born naked, dies naked and is buried naked, so they do not want to believe that they do not have the lawful right to their natural lot: this is why there is always a new uproar in Paris (...), which will always end in bloodshed.*"²⁹

The August 5th, 1789 issue of the paper can be considered one of the zeniths of Szacsvay's political publicism, in which he attempted to review the events that had taken place up until then in a longer piece. However, due to censorship, he chose to do this in the genre of fictitious dialogues from the underworld, in which a French and a Hungarian sparrow meet in the hereafter and tell each other the stories of their lives and deaths, showing at once the French and Hungarian internal political situations.³⁰

The French sparrow, who was sent to the Elysian fields by starvation and was born on the same day as Voltaire,³¹ who will forever be remembered, gives a detailed account based on French newspaper reports, of the events that took place from 1788 until then: the great famine and cold, which brought destruction during the winter of 1788/1789, the political battles between the king and the burgher estate, the king and the common people arming themselves against one another and the violent acts. *“So my dear sparrow Friend, due to the famine and the uproar, France is under such dire circumstances that only in the past few days more than 800 people lay dead in their own blood in King Louis XV’s market square.”*³²

After this, when reporting on the revolution, he was forced to use the form of the Elysian dialogues, but strived to give detailed accounts of the post-July 4th happenings to his readers.³³ For example, in the August 22nd issue he published the correspondence between the king, Necker and the national assembly, regarding the matter of the replaced minister returning to Paris. Based on the accounts of the Parisian papers, he informed of the first decisions made by the National Constituent Assembly³⁴ as it worked out, based on Rousseau’s *“Social Contract”* and Montesquieu’s *“Theory of the separation of powers”* – among others –, the *“happiness of the People based on the fine measure of the Laws of nature”*.³⁵

In the August 26th issue he could only give an account of the cruelties perpetrated during the revolution, the atrocities committed against the aristocrats and the nobles in the form of Elysian publicism, as the dialogue between Count Artois’ dead dog and Cerberus suggesting³⁶ that the revolution would spread to regions beyond the river Rhine, for example, to Belgium.³⁷ This passage was heavily restricted by the censors even in this form and of course, Szacs vay could not let this pass without comment: *“It is well known, Dear Cerberus, what is the lot of us dogs! We must not bark much about Belgium, so that no-one may shear our wolf skin fur; that is why I am silent here.”*³⁸ He thought it was a veritable comedy that the Assembly had named the king the *“Restorer of freedom”*.³⁹ *“Oh Cerberus, I was once at a comedy, a comedy written by Molière, titled: The doctor acting against his own will.”*⁴⁰

Szacs vay’s next report on the events of the revolution, based on Parisian newspapers, came on October 24th, 1789. He provided accounts of the achievements of the Assembly, the famine, as well as the Women’s March⁴¹ and Louis XVI moving to Paris with his family.⁴² After informing the readers of these happenings, he stated with an apt feel for politics that the Assembly and the Parisian people were constantly gaining power over the royal family. He alluded to the decreasing popularity of the king, especially the queen, and predicted the final outcome with the words of a clairvoyant: *“...but after all the situation is such in France that it is no wonder they prey for them in Rome”*.⁴³ On November 7th, in a short article he informed the readers that the royal family was still not being allowed out of Paris, *“the King has no choice, but to gladly sign the regulations put forth by the Assembly”*.⁴⁴

Besides the events taking place in France, he also kept a close watch – via newspaper sources – on reports of the other freedom movements of Europe. Apart from providing positive commentary on these, he also sought to emphasize the theoretical relationship with the freedom movements of North America and Western Europe. For example, in a June 24th, 1789 dispatch he made an interesting comparison with the Polish Republican movement, which was on a different level as regards social development: *“The Russian Empress Catherine⁴⁵ has moved all her armies and food supplies out of Ukraine. The Patriot Poles, now holding discussions at the Parliament on how to improve their societal rights, are saying that after the death of the present Polish king there should be no more kings and instead they would make their country a Free-Community. – All nations are starting to adopt Washington’s⁴⁶ philosophy and whilst in Europe Monarchies are rising, the French People wish for English freedom.”⁴⁷*

In the July 11th, 1789 issue’s Warsaw dispatch regarding the Polish nobility voluntarily voting for military aid, he quoted with serious political implications the wealthy nobleman, Rubikovsky’s speech in which he advocated for the voluntarily tax payment of the nobility: *“Let us give the tithe to our Dear Homeland from the assets which we have taken from it (...) I would rather give a fourth of all my fortune (...) for the protection of my homeland than to have (...) a stranger ransack my house and treat me dishonorably on the land where I was born. – If fate would so have it that our Dear Homeland and Country is to be lost; then we are ready to be buried together in the coffin of our dear Homeland... and to extinguish the fire of our Homeland’s dishonor with our blood, which we Poles, up to the 1772nd year have tolerated without so much as shedding a drop of our own blood (...) but I voluntarily swear that of my assets every year I will take 40 thousand animals of which I am determined to gladly sacrifice a tenth part each year for the general use of my country.”⁴⁸* The nobility’s volunteering to pay taxes and willingness to make sacrifices for the common good were portrayed in an unequivocally positive light by Szacsvay, and he also reported on other such pledges sending a clear message to his readers, the Hungarian nobles.

On September 5th, he published a brief report on Holland about *“a secret place where Patriots surreptitiously hold meetings. It does not seem important; But it is big news to those who understand.”⁴⁹*

By 1789 local reports definitely took a very different tone from official news and painted an increasingly darker picture. One of the *Kurír’s* correspondents reported from Brasov that *“we, here on the borders, are quiet; but I do not know what our wives and children will eat in the future”⁵⁰*. A correspondent from Háromszék (Covasna) reported that a cubic fathom of wheat’s price was rising to 13 Forints while the poorer quality wheat’s price rose to 10 Forints. *“According to this proportion all things for eating and drinking are so expensive that in certain places the poor can hardly sustain themselves; in some places something to eat or drink cannot even be found for money... In Hungary they are complaining of the same everywhere.”⁵¹*

At the beginning of 1789, according to the accounts of the *Magyar Kurír*, instead of a merry Carnival season and a beautiful wife, people wished one another peace, health and protection from famine and plague.⁵² On May 2nd, he wrote in a letter to Count András Hadik, commander of the southern armies, about the farmers starving due to confiscation, calling them “*those who can hardly stand the weight that this war has put on them*”.⁵³

And Szacsvey found a way again to express his opinion in an allegorical tale on the consequences of the Turkish war, the diseases, the epidemics and the people who were in hardship due to the burden of having to put up soldiers – clearly alluding to the responsibility of the court and the establishment of “*liberating*” army. The story is about a Gardener, whose garden is pilfered by a rabbit, so he turns to his Master for help, who immediately “*grabs a hunting rifle, 36 hunting dogs and has 3 hunters join him*”⁵⁴ and they begin the hunt stamping all over the vegetable garden. In the end the rabbit escapes through a hole in the fence. “*Upon which the Master of the garden sends for the Gardener and reports to him that the rabbit has been chased away from the garden like the Great Leader from Bánát. – The Gardener makes his way all around the garden and starts to scratch the base of his ear. – So! He says: the rabbit did indeed run away; but you, My Lord, and your hunters and My Lord’s Dogs have ruined my garden more than the rabbit could have in a hundred years (...) Who is the Gardener, the Farmer and the rabbit? Those who wish to know ought to give it some thought.*”⁵⁵

In the formerly mentioned Elysian dialogue of August 5th, 1789, through the Hungarian sparrow’s account, Szacsvey clearly alludes to the internal difficulties the Habsburg Empire was facing: the Turkish war and the famines caused by the poor economic circumstances. Since the Sparrow was born during the happy times under the rule of the late Empress Maria Theresa, “*when a bushel of wheat, even the best, was only 8 Groschens, and now a cubic fathom can be sold at 6-7-8 Forints in many places (...) We Sparrows indeed have never known starvation in this happy country; but last year and this year we have suffered much strife; because one neighbor is an enemy and the other offers help here (...) many were taken, many fell prey and I am afraid that even after next Christmas my sons who are still alive will suffer unexpected need.*”⁵⁶ This work carefully notes that besides the burdens of the Turkish war the accommodated German and allied soldiers mean a serious burden to the population and that the accommodation and confiscations were also causes of the famine and the uncertain internal political situation.

Even though his attention was mainly focused on the revolutionary events and the situation caused by the war, he did come to emphasize and publish an increasing number of writings on the linguistic and cultural efforts of the patriot movement; in contrast with what we saw when he was editing the *Magyar Hírmondó*, where he seemed to be indifferent on the subject.

By the beginning of the '90s, thanks to modifying its reports in this direction based on intuiting social needs and interests, the *Magyar Kurír* experienced a great increase in readership and thus in influence and significance. By the end of 1788 Szacs vay could already boast of 800 subscribers to his newspaper, a number which no Hungarian media outlet had reached before. In 1789 the number grew to 900 and in 1790 to 1200, which showed the undiminished development of the paper and its readership. This was certainly due to Szacs vay's careful but growing sympathy towards the estates' resistance which was at the same time not free of criticism. The culmination of these sentiments could be seen in his 1790–91 parliamentary dispatches.⁵⁷

Under the protective umbrella of the Josephinist court and during Leopold II's era of temporary relief, even though he was subject to serious attacks, his political publicism remained uninfluenced. In fact, during this time, instead of spreading enlightened Viennese notions, his attention turned increasingly toward the Hungarian reality and the offenses suffered by the nation. Greatly surpassing his era, he wrote his short political squibs during this time and can be personally credited with establishing the genre in Hungary.⁵⁸

After the death of Leopold II, due to political changes, his old and new adversaries were able to have him removed from the paper in 1793.⁵⁹

It is known from literary sources that the pretext based on which the *Magyar Kurír* was banned was the report published on the French king's trial. In the paper's first issue of the year 1793 there was an article about the interrogation of the king despite the fact that the censor had removed it. Another issue was that the king addressed as "Sie" was translated to "Your Grace" in Hungarian, which was considered disrespectful to the king. It did not matter that in another Hungarian paper, the *Hadi és Más Nevezetes Történetek* (Important Stories of Military or Other Topics, supported by magnates Ferenc Széchenyi, György Festetich, Pál Teleki), the article was published without the censor's permission only to be punished with a fine that was later canceled. The chancellery announced on January 3rd, that the *Magyar Kurír* had been banned. Szacs vay turned to the sovereign with a petition which made it clear that he had already seen his position as disadvantaged compared to other papers that better align themselves with the politics of the chancellery, and in which he gave an account of the above mentioned harassments from which he always had to defend his newspaper. What is more, they had deprived him – along with his wife and child – of their living, since he had no background other than his business, the *Magyar Kurír*, which in the past six years had increased the treasury's income by 30 000 Forints and earned the printing works 14 000 Forints. He complained that the censor did not proceed according to the guidelines and deleted all sort of things in the said article that was at the same time published by other papers. The same censor had permitted another paper to publish the same article that he was actually being punished for.⁶⁰

As a result of all these things his exile proved to be final, he was never to hold a position as a journalist again neither in Hungary nor in Transylvania up until his death in 1815. Since the time he had spent in Bratislava he had been accumulating offenses against the church and the aristocracy; through his satirical articles and sharp diatribes, his journalistic qualifications but especially due to the shift in power – first the estates' opposition's attacks against the Josephinists, later the compromise between the court and the estates – to which he did not want and could not adapt, he remained permanently alone. The notions as well as the editorial methods in which he believed became completely unviable in the new political system and nearly half a century was necessary for Hungarian journalism to reach that level again where it had been between 1787 and 1793.⁶¹

NOTES

- ¹ The author is a doctoral candidate and a college senior lecturer (University of Szeged Juhász Gyula Teacher Training Faculty).
- ² László Katus: *Magyarország a Habsburg Monarchiában*. In: Romsics, Ignác (ed.): *Magyarország története*. Budapest, 2010. p. 536., p. 584.
- ³ Béla Dezsényi: *A Magyar Kurír és a cenzúra 1787–1793*. Magyar Könyvszemle. 1967. sz. p. 21.
- ⁴ Béla Dezsényi: *A Magyar Kurír és a cenzúra 1787–1793*. Magyar Könyvszemle. 1967. sz. p. 22.
- ⁵ Béla Dezsényi writes in more detail about the “*Bratislava antecedents*” in the study referred to above (pages 21–27), according to its premise, Szacs vay was “*placed in an idle position*” after 1793 due to reasons that date back to this early journalistic period.
- ⁶ György Kókay – Géza Buzinkay – Gábor Murányi: *A magyar sajtó története*. Budapest, 2001. pp. 36–40.
- ⁷ Magyar Kurír, 1789. pp. 13–14., pp. 35–36., pp. 53–57., pp. 59–62., pp. 78–80., pp. 93–98., pp. 118–120., pp. 125–127., pp. 132–138., pp. 144–146., pp. 151–154., pp. 176–178., pp. 195–199., pp. 204–208., p. 210., pp. 237–240., pp. 254–257., pp. 325–331., pp. 340–344., pp. 353–356., pp. 389–392., pp. 413–420., pp. 429–433., pp. 444–450., pp. 454–458., pp. 460–466., pp. 467–471., p. 474., pp. 479–481., pp. 484–486., pp. 495–496., pp. 500–505., pp. 509–514., pp. 531–532., p. 553., pp. 555–560., p. 581., pp. 594–596., pp. 605–608., pp. 611–614., pp. 619–624., pp. 627–640., pp. 651–656., pp. 660–666., pp. 679–682., pp. 695–697., pp. 708–710., pp. 713–714., pp. 719–722., pp. 726–728., pp. 742–747., pp. 755–767., pp. 771–776., pp. 787–796., pp. 811–814., pp. 820–828., pp. 833–834., pp. 835–849., pp. 858–861., pp. 867–870., pp. 883–890., pp. 899–914., pp. 913–920., pp. 941–949., pp. 962–968., pp. 977–986., pp. 993–999., pp. 1009–1016., pp. 1018–1023., p. 1024., pp. 1049–1055., pp. 1085–1089., pp. 1097–1140., pp. 1141–1143., pp. 1145–1176., pp. 1182–1190., pp. 1193–1208., pp. 1211–1220., pp. 1229–1239., pp. 1242–1252., pp. 1277–1287., pp. 1293–1301., pp. 1315–1319., pp. 1329–1331., pp. 1341–1346., pp. 1349–1359., pp. 1365–1374., pp. 1382–1387., pp. 1391–1396., pp. 1410–1411., pp. 1418–1421., pp. 1438–1443., pp. 1463–1465.
- ⁸ Magyar Kurír, 1789. pp. 915–916.; “A Fő-Hadit-Tanáctól közelebb ki-adott Tudósítás ez: (**)” megjelöléssel. “*This report has been issued from closer than the Headquarters:*” marked with (**)
- ⁹ Magyar Kurír, 1789. pp. 798–800.
- ¹⁰ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 797.
- ¹¹ Magyar Kurír, 1789. pp. 1057–1062.
- ¹² Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 706.

- ¹³ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 706.
- ¹⁴ Magyar Kurír, 1789. pp. 582–584.
- ¹⁵ Magyar Kurír, 1789. pp. 707–708.
- ¹⁶ News stamp.
- ¹⁷ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 717.
- ¹⁸ Magyar Kurír, 1789. pp. 717–718.
- ¹⁹ Eg.: Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 73., p. 275., p. 560., p. 592., p. 596., p. 603., p. 713., p. 714., p. 874., p. 896., p. 927., p. 952., pp. 1333–1335., p. 1441., p. 1444.
- ²⁰ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 120., pp. 130–131., pp. 358–359., p. 486., pp. 492–493., pp. 514–516.
- ²¹ Magyar Kurír, 1789. pp. 566–567., pp. 574–575., p. 609.
- ²² Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 682.
- ²³ Magyar Kurír, 1789. pp. 682–684.
- ²⁴ Magyar Kurír, 1789. pp. 751–752.
- ²⁵ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 781.
- ²⁶ Frederick the Great Prussian king.
- ²⁷ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 782.
- ²⁸ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 817.
- ²⁹ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 831.
- ³⁰ Magyar Kurír, 1789. pp. 851–858.
- ³¹ Voltaire.
- ³² Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 855–856.
- ³³ Magyar Kurír, 1789. pp. 874–880., pp. 893–897., pp. 930–939., pp. 949–955., pp. 974–975., pp. 986–990., pp. 999–1000., p. 1055., pp. 1093–1094., pp. 1140–1141., p. 1208., pp. 1220–1224., pp. 1254–1260., p. 1290., pp. 1301–1304., p. 1331., p. 1347., p. 1359., p. 1423.
- ³⁴ Which are built into the fundamental document of the French Revolution, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, adopted on August 26th of 1789.
- ³⁵ Magyar Kurír, 1789. pp. 933–934.
- ³⁶ Magyar Kurír, 1789. pp. 949–955.
- ³⁷ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 952.
- ³⁸ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 953.
- ³⁹ *Restaurateur de la liberté.*
- ⁴⁰ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 954.
- ⁴¹ October 4th, 1789.
- ⁴² October 6th, 1789.
- ⁴³ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 1224.
- ⁴⁴ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 1290.
- ⁴⁵ Catherine the Great.
- ⁴⁶ George Washington.
- ⁴⁷ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 666.

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- ⁴⁸ Magyar Kurír, 1789. pp. 749–750.
- ⁴⁹ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 1003.
- ⁵⁰ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 698.
- ⁵¹ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 718.
- ⁵² Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 3.
- ⁵³ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 352.
- ⁵⁴ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 16.
- ⁵⁵ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 17.
- ⁵⁶ Magyar Kurír, 1789. pp. 856–857.
- ⁵⁷ Magyar Kurír, 1789. p. 101., pp. 140–145.
- ⁵⁸ György Kókay: *Hírlap és folyóirat-irodalmunk a 18. században*. In: Miklós Szabolcsi – György Kókay (ed.): *A magyar sajtó története I. 1705–1848*. Budapest, 1979. p. 140.
- ⁵⁹ György Kókay – Géza Buzinkay – Gábor Murányi: *A magyar sajtó története*. Budapest, 2001. p. 40.
- ⁶⁰ György Kókay: *Hírlap és folyóirat-irodalmunk a 18. században*. In: Miklós Szabolcsi – György Kókay (ed.): *A magyar sajtó története I. 1705–1848*. Budapest, 1979. pp. 150–151.
- ⁶¹ For more details, see: András Döbör: *Egy székely hírlapszerkesztő élete a bécsi sajtópolitika hullámverésében*. In: Gábor Ferenc Kiss (ed.): *Közös múlt és közös jövő*. Szeged – Arad, 2008. pp. 37–38.