

1918: END AND BEGINNING

Edited by:

Máté Gál – Annamária Kónya – Gergely Péterffy



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MÁTÉ GÁL – ANNAMÁRIA KÓNYA – GERGELY PÉTERFFY

PREŠOV, 2020

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JÓZSEF PAP

THE SPATIALITY OF PARLIAMENTARISM IN THE AGE OF DUALISM*

In connection with the topic of the Regional History Conference, in this study I will deal with the regional analysis of the election results of Hungarian parliamentarism in the age of Dualism, and in this framework I will examine the region of North-East Hungary. However, if we interpret the historical framework in a broader sense, the year 1918 will mark the endpoint in this study. In the study, I focus on four questions: 1. Regional approach to elections – Where? 2. The ethnic relations of the electorates – Who? 3. Electoral activity – How? 4. What are the possible connections between regionality, ethnic structure and political activity?. In my study, I will use the results of the data collection on the history of parliamentarism.

Problems of the regional approach – Where?

The first question is to clarify whether the regional approach may be relevant in the case of parliamentarism in the age of Dualism and whether the independent examination of parliamentarianism in the north-eastern part of Hungary is scientifically grounded. Doesn't it just mean that we would like to analyse it as an area designated arbitrarily? I think that there was only one area in Hungary in the age of Dualism which was able to manifest itself as a domestic political factor, and it was Transylvania. In the case of Northern Hungary, there was an attempt made to do this, which is perhaps best seen in the movement of the Upper Hungary Magyar Educational Society (FMKE), but the representatives of the so-called Felvidék (Upper Hungary) failed to keep "the issue of Upper Hungary" permanently on the agenda in the politicization within parliament. In this connection, Gábor Egry said the following: "If we are interested in whether Transylvanian and Czechoslovak Hungarians existed as a group, and with them the Transylvanian and Upper Hungarian spirit as some kind of identity or a group feature that grounds it, then in the case of the Czechoslovak Hungarians we can talk about the fact that the group was finally established after the First World War in spite of all possible precedents. In contrast, the group of the Transylvanian Hungarians – although its border changed after 1918 – had actually existed for quite a long time."¹

* The research was supported by the project EFOP-3.6.1-16-2016-00001 "Complex improvement of research capacities and services at Eszterházy Károly University".

1 *Egry Gábor: Etnicitás, identitás, politika. Magyar kisebbségek nacionalizmus és regionalizmus között Romániában és Csehszlovákiában 1918-1944.* [Ethnicity, Identity, Politics. Hungarian Minorities between Nationalism and Regionalism in Romania and Czechoslovakia 1918-1944]. Bp. 2015. 211.

Although the quotation is related to the self-image of the Hungarian community, it also refers to the fact that regional community consciousness, – which can be interpreted not only in relation with the Hungarians, – was formulated in the period of Dualism in the case of Transylvania; we, however, cannot experience the same in Northern Hungary. While I agree with this idea, I do not think that it is a scientifically acceptable procedure if we select some counties in advance on the basis of some criteria – thereby we create a region that does not exist in the period of Dualism –, and then in this connection we make certain calculations. Instead, we should start from the national relations, and ask the question of whether there are any features manifesting themselves that make North-east Hungary or other areas of the country an area with specific characteristics in the field of parliamentarism.

Two regional approaches that can be regarded as traditional could help us in our analysis. The first is the classification used in contemporary statistics, made by Károly Keleti (Map 1). In this system, the counties and towns on the right bank of the Tisza correspond roughly to the north-eastern Hungarian region during the age of Dualism. However, this classification cannot be the basis for the investigation, since it only meant the system of the publication of statistical data in the given period.² However, László Katus made a region classification based on ethnicity (Map 2), which divided the country's territory into 7 regions based on the ethnicity statistics of the 1910 census. This regional approach was based on county data in such a way that the counties with the same majority nationality formed a group. However, there remained three areas where none of the ethnic groups reached the absolute majority, and these were called by László Katus mixed settlements.³ However, North-east Hungary does not appear in this classification – its territory is divided into three ethnic regions, – so we cannot really approach our area on this basis, either. In fact, we can say only at the very end of the investigation whether there is a feature on the basis of which the given area is classified in a region/ regions, the separate examination of which can thus be relevant from the aspect of the history of parliamentarism as well.

However, there is a factor that needs to be highlighted, namely, the scale of Katus's classification. It can be clearly seen on the map that in the north of Hungary, the area with the Hungarian majority is embedded in the Slovakian

2 *Nagy Mariann*: Nemzetiségi régiók, agrárregiók a 19/20. század fordulóján. [Ethnic Regions, Agricultural Regions at the Turn the 19th-20th centuries]. Közép-Európai Közlemények 1. (2008) 96.

3 *Katus László*: Über die wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen der Nationalitätenfrage in Ungarn vor dem ersten Weltkrieg. In: Die nationale Frage in der Österreichisch – Ungarischen Monarchie, 1900–1918. Ed. Hanák Péter. Bp. 1966. 149–216. The areas created by László Katus are as follows: Upper Hungary Slovak-majority region; Ruthenian region of north-eastern Hungary, Romanian-majority region of eastern Hungary and Transylvania, Romanian-Saxon region of southern Transylvania, region of German-Serbian-Romanian majority in south Hungary, German-Croatian majority region of western Hungary, region with Hungarian majority.

and Ruthenian regions. However, this is only due to the fact that László Katus took county aggregates into account. If we look at the lower administrative units, the northern districts of Zemplén County connect the two regions with ethnic majority. The district of Gálszécs, Homonna, Nagymihály, Sztopkó and Varannó had a Slovak majority, while the district of Mezőlaborc and Szinna had a Ruthenian one. Only the districts of southern Zemplén – those of Bodroghöz, Sárospatak, Sátoraljaújhely, Szerencs and Tokaj – as well as the towns with a settled council – Sátoraljaújhely and Sárospatak – belonged to the Hungarian speaking area. If, instead of the county-level regional structure, we draw the boundaries below the county level, the north-eastern area will be divided into two units, an ethnic region – one with a Slovak and Ruthenian majority – and the periphery of the Hungarian speaking area.

In my previous studies I referred to what effect the electoral structure had on the election results several times.⁴ I pointed out that the regions with an ethnicity were stable foundations of the government party. I also proved that although there are no constituency-level data on the ethnic composition of the electorates available based on the county aggregates, it is, however, likely that, – apart from the Transylvanian counties –, the data on the ethnic distribution of the population correlated with the ethnic data of the electorates. Thus, we can say that the basically ethnic electorates of the ethnic regions mostly supported the government party or the so-called right-wing opposition while the public opposition could appear as a serious challenge in the districts with Hungarian population. Thus, if we approach North-east Hungary as the contact area of three nationalities with different characteristics, we can get an interpretation framework, the examination of which can be relevant for us since the ethnic aspect can be tested in this region.

However, the county level is not suitable for this, and we must take the constituencies into consideration. In order to be able to give meaning to our data, we also need to examine in comparison to what we can show the possible difference, i.e. the national data. Such a region-centred analysis must therefore be embedded in a broader context.⁵

4 *Pap József*: Kísérlet a magyarországi választókerületek 20. század eleji etnikai karakterének meghatározására. [An Attempt to Determine the Ethnic Character of the Hungarian Constituencies of the Early 20th Century]. *Közép-Európai Közlemények* 3. (2010) 38–39.

5 An example for a regional approach is the study by András Cieger, in which the author found that analyzing the regional relations system of the local elite, in the case of the "Transcarpathian region", at the end of dualism, it is not possible to talk about regional concentration within the elite, either. *Cieger András*: *Érdekek és stratégiák. A helyi politikai elit érdekérvényesítési lehetőségei a kárpátaljai régió vármegyéiben a dualizmus időszakában.* [Interests and Strategies. Possibilities for Asserting the Interests of the Local Political Elite in the Counties of "the Transcarpathian Region" in the Period of Dualism]. *Korall* 13. (2003) 104.

The ethnic structure of the constituencies - Who?

For investigating this issue, our ethnic data should, however, be presented on a new horizon, at the level of constituencies, which can be presented most spectacularly with the help of a map. In this connection, however, it is advisable to touch upon mapmaking as this area is generally unknown to historians.

To create constituency maps, I had to prepare a base map of constituencies of Hungary first. I made it by using two sources, one of which is the maps of Ferenc Fodor and the other, the maps of Béla Kreith. Ferenc Fodor's election map series of 1920 are well known among historians, and are often used as an illustration.⁶ Fodor's election maps were the first major creations of Hungarian electoral geography, made by Fodor at the request of Teleki during the preparatory work for the peace treaty led by Pál Teleki. The maps illustrate the results of the elections from 1861 to 1918 one by one. From a thematic point of view, the biggest problem with the maps is that they do not actually present the results of the elections, but a certain selected state, which was, however, experienced not in the year that is given in the title. As an example, the map with the title from 1896 to 1901⁷ shows the situation at the beginning of 1901, which differs in 40 cases from the result of the 1896 election. The data of 1905⁸ deviate from the real election results in 33 cases. For example, the latter map is more about the process of disintegration of the Liberal Party than about the election results of early 1905. Fodor's maps are also difficult to use for mapmaking. The reason for this is that they practically do not comply with the definition of a map because they do not specify the reduction scales and the projection system that they were made in. In the absence of this, it is very difficult for them to create a modern base map. Even if we solve the problem of digitization and make the base map, there is one more problem: the territory system consisting of 413 districts that it illustrates was only valid after the regular elections of 1876, so the elections between 1861 and 1876 could not be represented on it. In spite of this, Fodor also prepared the election maps before the county reform of 1876, which he projected onto the post-1876 district network. Unfortunately, I do not know if there is a map that can be used to draw the district boundaries before 1878. Without this, I can use my base map only from 1878. However, not every historian is concerned with similar problems as colleagues who take less care of the geographical approach often use base maps to illustrate their lectures and publications that do not comply with the administrative system of the analysed era. For example, there are

6 *Hajdú Zoltán*: A 20. századi magyar parlamenti választások választási földrajzi kérdései.[Electoral Geography Issues of the Hungarian Parliamentary Elections in the 20th Century]. *Múltunk* 17. (2006) 1. 144–145.

7 <http://mpgy.ogyk.hu/mpgy/valasztasiterkep/eredeti/1896-1901.gif>, accessed on April 1, 2019.

8 <http://mpgy.ogyk.hu/mpgy/valasztasiterkep/eredeti/1905-06.gif>, accessed on April 1, 2019.

many studies in which the post-1876 county classification can be detected on the thematic map related to the early 19th or 18th century.

Béla Kreith's maps of constituencies are less known and used. We can read about the first such work in an advertisement of 1883.⁹ His joint work with Gustav Freytag in 1886 had greater resonance. This map depicted the 1884 Hungarian Parliamentary election and the 1885 Austrian Parliamentary election. The map itself was 53 * 69 cm and showed the entire territory of the Monarchy. The colour code used by Fodor appeared on this map, and the government side was marked in green and the opposition in red. Not only did the map show the MP's political affiliation, but also the names of the politicians were also given by the authors.¹⁰ Kreith made such a map of the 1892, 1896, 1905 and 1906 elections as well. I used the one marked with the year 1892-1897 to create the base map.¹¹ I did georeferencing i.e. assigning *real world coordinates* to the scanned map QGIS license-free map software, with the assistance of Sándor Rózsa. Since georeferencing the map has to be adapted to the projection system that is still in use, as well as the map of Hungary, we chose the WGS 84 / Pseudo-Mercator system. The base map made like this became compatible with Google maps and hence with the maps digitized by ARCANUM.¹² The base map created this way meets today's modern requirements. Based on this, it was possible to link it with the work of Gábor Demeter's research team.¹³

The base map prepared in this way can also be used to represent ethnic relations. I had already made such an ethnic map before,¹⁴ at that time I used estimation starting from district-level data. In that study, on the basis of the district-level data from the statistics of the 1910 census I linked the constituency map and the district map based on and aggregated the data of the district parts at the constituency level. The procedure used assumed that all points of the district had the same features. This, of course, did not correspond to reality, as it had no regard to, for example, inhabited and uninhabited areas, the parts of the

9 Budapesti Hírlap, January 15, 1883. 15. 6.

10 *Hanusz István*: Az ausztriai és magyarországi képviselő-választó-kerületek térképe. [A Map of the Electoral Constituencies in Austria and Hungary]. Földrajzi Közlemények 14. (1886) 537-538.

11 MNL OL S75-No. 100. Az 1896-1901-i orsz. képviselő-választókerületek térképe [Map of the 1896-1901 Parliamentary Electoral Constituencies].

12 On Georeferencing see: *Magyari-Sáska Zsolt*: A székelyföldi vármegyék az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia vármegye-térképei alapján készült georeferált online térinformatikai adatbázisa. [Georeferenced Online GIS Database of the Counties of Székely Land Based on the County Maps of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy]. Modern Geográfia 11. (2017) 3. sz. 1-17.

13 Atlasz a dualizmuskori Magyarország regionális társadalmi-gazdasági folyamatainak tanulmányozásához. [An Atlas for the Study of the Regional Socio-Economic Processes of Hungary in the Age of Dualism]. Eds. Demeter Gábor, Németh Gábor, Nagy Mariann et al. Bp. 2017.

14 *Pap J.*: Kísérlet a magyarországi i.m. [An Attempt to determine.... opt. cit.]. 41.

districts with a different character, but at that time there was no more precise option available. In recent years, however, in parallel with my parliamentary research, I have created a table structure in my database with the help of which the data of the settlements belonging to the constituencies per district can be summarised according to districts. In the settlement register of 1913 used as a starting source, there were 12,542 place names;¹⁵ the list remained certainly in county-district order, and they had to be aligned to constituencies. There were 413 constituencies in the election system operating after 1878 while in 1876 the country's administration was divided into 530 districts, towns with settled councils or towns with municipal rights, and in 1910 there were 580 similar units. Therefore, there was a significant difference between the two systems – the administrative and constituency-level classification. An exact district-level classification of settlements could be made with the help of the list prepared in accordance with section 8 of Act XV of 1899.¹⁶ This law obliged the county, among other things, to determine the maximum allowable reimbursement amount for the travel of electorates per settlement, and to submit the decision compiled in a breakdown by district to the Ministry of the Interior.¹⁷ The problem was only the fact that the name of the settlements in Hungary had changed significantly between the two intersections – due to Act XV of 1899,¹⁸ thus the settlements on the two data tables could only be identified manually.¹⁹ I have done this work, so now I can provide a series of data that did not exist in this breakdown before. As Gábor Demeter's research group recorded the settlement-level data of the settlements on the basis of the statistics of the 1910 census;²⁰ relying on that I

15 It contains the 1913 list in addition to the original volume: Magyar Szent Korona Országainak Helységnévtára [The List of Geographical Names of the Countries of the Holy Crown of Hungary], 1913. Bp. 2006.

16 Magyar törvénytár. [The Hungarian Body of Laws]. Bp. 1899–1918. (henceforth: CJH) 1899. évi törvéncikkek. 24. [Laws of 1899]. (<https://net.jogtar.hu/getpdf?docid=89900015.TV&targetdate=&printTitle=1899.+%C3%A9vi+XV.+t%C3%B6rv%C3%A9nycikkek&referer=1000ev>, accessed on April 1, 2019.)

17 The list is given by Szivák Imre: Országgyűlési képviselőválasztás és curiai bíraskodás codexe. [Parliamentary Elections and the Codex of the Jurisdiction of the Curia]. Bp. 1901. 605–1001.

18 CJH 1898. évi törvéncikkek. 23. [Laws of 1898]. (<https://net.jogtar.hu/getpdf?docid=89800004.TV&targetdate=&printTitle=&referer=1000ev>, accessed on April 1, 2019.)

19 On place names in general see: Mező András: A magyar hivatalos helynévadás. [Hungarian Official Place Naming]. Bp. 1982.; overviews the issue of changing names in its process: Bartos-Elekes Zsombor: A hatalom névrajza – a névrajz hatalma. Földrajzi Közlemények 140. (2016) 2. sz. 124–134.; I carried out the investigation on the basis of Magyar igazgatástörténeti helységnévlexikon. [Place-Name Encyclopedia of Hungarian Administration History] by Mihály Gyalay Bp. 2006; the problem was basically that the lists published by Imre Szivák include place names before and after 1898 at the same time. Namely, when the list was completed, settlement renaming had already been finished in certain counties while in other places it was not even started.

20 Demeter Gábor, Szulovszky János, Frisnyák Zsuzsa et al. A történeti Magyarország település, járás és megye szintű adatbázisa a társadalmi, gazdasági és demográfiai folyamatok tanulmányozásához 1869–1914. [Settlement, District and County database of Historical

can prepare the constituency-level statistics. However, this system does not work for towns and cities that are divided into several constituencies (28 districts of 9 settlements belong here) as the internal data of the settlements are unknown, since each town, except Budapest, is listed in one row. After this phase of my research, I was able to prepare a map that shows the ethnic characteristics of the districts. (Map 3)

However, I can make my data transparent in a tabular form as well; and I can examine the dominant ethnic groups of the constituencies of the region created by László Katus. In the table below, I use aggregated data based on the statistics of the 1910 census, the first data was calculated by taking the 50% rate into account, and the one in parentheses shows the 60% majority. I did not list cities and towns divided into several constituencies in the table.

Hungary for Studying Social, Economic and Demographic Processes 1869-1914.]. Bp. 2017. (<http://www.gistory.hu/g/hu/gistory/otka>, Térinformatikai rendszer kiépítése Magyarország és az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia történetének tanulmányozásához [Building a GIS to Study the History of Hungary and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy]).

The majority ethnic groups of the constituencies on the basis of László Katus's regional classification 1910

	Hungarian	German	Rom.	Slovak	Ruthenian	Serbian	Croatian	Slovenian	Mixed	All
North-eastern Hungary a Ruthenian region	3, (2)	0, (0)	2, (1)	1, (1)	8, (5)	0, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	2, (7)	16, (16)
Upper Hungary a region with a Slovak majority	6, (4)	1, (0)	0, (0)	42, (34)	1, (1)	0, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	3, (14)	53, (53)
Eastern Hungary and Transylvania a region with a Romanian majority	3, (3)	0, (0)	48, (41)	0, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	5, (12)	56, (56)
a region with a Hungarian majority	166, (159)	6, (5)	10, (5)	10, (8)	0, (0)	0, (0)	1, (1)	1, (1)	8, (23)	202, (202)
Eastern Hungary and Transylvania a region with Romanian majority	3, (3)	0, (0)	48, (41)	0, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	5, (12)	56, (56)
Southern Transylvania a Romanian-Saxon region	1, (0)	1, (0)	2, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	5, (9)	9, (9)
Southern Hungary a region with a German-Serbian- Romanian majority	6, (5)	4, (2)	3, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	4, (2)	0, (0)	0, (0)	22, (30)	39, (39)
Western Hungary a region with German- Croatian majority	3, (3)	5, (4)	0, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	0, (0)	1, (2)	9, (9)
All	188, (176)	17, (11)	65, (47)	53, (43)	9, (6)	4, (2)	1, (1)	1, (1)	47, (98)	385, (385)

It is clear from the table that Katus's classification is too vague for this examination. In fact, with the exception of areas considered to be mixed from the outset, there are a large number of districts in each region that do not match the characteristics of the region. Thus later, I will primarily use the district's ethnic characteristics, and not its regional location. After that, I will place the districts with similar characteristics in space, thus helping to recognize the regional features.

Electoral activity – How?

Of course, parliamentarism requires the active involvement of citizens and participation in elections. Modern political science is greatly preoccupied with the question of why voters actually participate in elections. Bernard Grofman highlights three factors affecting the level of voter activity in his overview. The first of these is the prestige of the office that election is about. This is followed by factors that hinder voting (electoral roll, date of election, accessibility of the place of election, material costs of participation), which naturally have a negative effect on turnout. Also, the nature of the electoral system has an impact, so the fundamental question is whether there is a realistic possibility for the candidate of the opposition to win a seat. A change in these factors will produce an increase or decrease in voters' willingness to participate. In addition, according to Grofman, voter turnout may also be increased by the sharpness of electoral competition, which means that individual votes can be of even greater importance.²¹ Voter behaviour can also be influenced by sociological considerations. According to the findings of Western-European and North-American research related to the earlier periods of the 20th century, men showed a greater willingness to vote, just like younger generations and those with greater mobility. However, compared with these factors, researchers found a much more positive correlation between income relations, qualifications and willingness to vote. However, the impact of these factors may be weakened by institutions and social characteristics.²² Thus, voter turnout rates are data that tell a lot about the social embeddedness of the system and its support. It is assumed, of course, that power does not create legitimacy for itself artificially by forcing voters to vote. Naturally, Hungarian political science also deals with the issue of participation in elections. From our point of view, what is particularly interesting now is the group of people who turned away from public life, which is also discussed in detail in studies written by Hungarian authors. They are called "political anonymous" in the political science literature. A tenth of the Hungarian society at the turn of the century

21 Politikatudományi enciklopédia. [Encyclopedia of Political Science]. Ed. Vernon Bogdanor. Bp. 2001. 706.

22 Bernard Grofman: Politikai gazdaságtan: a downsi perspektíva. [Political Economy: Downsian Perspectives] In: A politikatudomány új kézikönyve. Eds. Robert E. Goodin – Hans-Dieter Klingemann. Bp. 2003. 662–663.

is classified in this category. Of course, from the aspect of research on dualistic parliamentarism, it is not primarily the concrete value that matters, but the relevance of the explanations associated with it. So, what do political scientists regard as justification for the apolitical behaviour that can be demonstrated around the turn of the century? The first such factor is social stratification; the lower the status of a group is, the lower their willingness to vote. We cannot, however, say that social status would be automatically converted into political behaviour or political orientation. Hungarian research shows that negative judgement of power also reduces voter turnout. Though the citizen is dissatisfied with the operation of power, because he/she considers his/her ability to influence it as limited, he/she indicates his/her rejection of the system with his/her non-attendance. It also has a negative impact on turnout if "the skill of collective action is underdeveloped in society and civic self-organization is rudimentary; if the institutions of day-to-day statement of interests and assertion of interests are not functioning". Party attachment can also increase the willingness to participate, and the lack of it can trigger reverse processes.²³ Hungarian political scientists accounted for the low voter turnout in the period of the change of regime at international level as well, partly by the "legacy of demobilization", which they considered to be related to the narrow electoral right between 1867 and 1939 and the restriction of competition at that time.²⁴ Actually, the dominant party system did not guarantee the possibility of an alternating political regime on its merits. Although the 1848 electoral reform opened the way for a large part of the population to participate in elections, the political mobilization of society was very low. In fact, it can be attributed to the absolutization of the problem of public law that emerged as a central issue of the party system.²⁵

Of course, the above-mentioned theories cannot be mechanically used to characterize the relations in the era of Dualism, but they draw attention to the issue of electoral activity, which can be approached even from the aspect of regional peculiarities.

The electoral system of the period of Dualism has been examined in Hungarian historiography from different sides. The political literature prefers to discuss the open-election system, which is judged in a quite contradictory way. Some of the researchers consider it as what fundamentally hampered politicization and created a favourable environment for the government side; while others think that this factor had such a role, but since people of the era were basically accustomed to it, it was not what primarily led the ruling

23 *Gazsó Ferenc – Stumpf István: A választói magatartás és a pártok társadalmi beágyazottsága.* [Electoral Behaviour and Social Embeddedness of the Parties]. In: *A politikatudomány arcai.* Eds. A. Gergely András – Bayer József – Kulcsár Kálmán. Bp. 1999. 308-311.

24 *Körösényi András – Tóth Csaba – Török Gábor: A magyar politikai rendszer.* [The Hungarian Political System]. Bp. 2003. 45.

25 *Körösényi A. – Tóth Cs. – Török G.: A magyar politikai i.m.* [The Hungarian Political System op.cit.]. 17-18.

party to victory from election to election. However, less attention is given to another issue that is very closely related to voter activity, i.e. what we really mean by victory and election. Namely, perhaps the most interesting rule of the age was that, without a counter-candidate, no concrete election took place because there was no minimum participation threshold. And since the system knew only the individual mandates, votes cast for the loser did not make a difference; the winner “took it all”. Thus, if a party had no chance of conquering the district, there was not much point in running a candidate, which meant only unnecessary electioneering expenses for the candidate.

For example, in the case of a single-candidate election, the statistics of the era multiplied all the possible votes cast in the constituency – the total number of voters in the district – with the national rate of the actual votes cast for that party, and the figure thus obtained was added to the national aggregation of the single-candidate’s party, and was represented as a vote cast for the party.²⁶ It is well known that the proportion of obtaining mandates without election was very high, and the question is just how many such mandates there were, and what regional and ethnic characteristics they had.

Our Parliamentary History Research Group gathered the results of the elections of the age of dualism. However, we have relatively comprehensive and analysable data only from 1892, which are about specific election results and the counter-candidates.²⁷ Therefore, from the year 1892 to the year 1910, I compare the data of 2,065 candidates of the 5 elections with the regions designated by László Katus, and then the characteristics of the constituencies. I analyse five elections because I exclude the 1906 series of data from the investigation, because at that time, the collapse of the Liberal Party created such a special relationship that considerably distorts the end result.²⁸

Mention must be made about the characteristics of the election data that limit the possibilities of analysis.²⁹ The election results and counter-candidates can be gathered primarily from the press. However, one problem is that the candidate lists published before the elections are not the same as the list of the

26 A magyar királyi kormány 1904. évi működéséről és az ország közállapotairól szóló jelentés és statisztikai évkönyv. [Report and statistical yearbook on the operation of the Hungarian royal government in 1904 and on the state of the country]. Bp. 1905. 435.

27 An exception to this is the data repository on today’s Romanian territory, compiled for the sake of completeness, which includes the known data of the counter-candidates. *Vlad Popovici – Pál Judit – Fehér Andrea – Ovidiu Emil Iudean: Parliamentary Elections in Eastern Hungary and Transylvania (1865–1918)*. Wien. 2018.

28 On the procedure see: *Pap József: Az 1887 és 1905 közötti országgyűlési választások eredményeinek statisztikai vizsgálata. [A Statistical Analysis of the Results of the Parliamentary Elections between 1887 and 1905]*. In: *Tanulmányok a dualizmus kori magyar parlamentarizmus történetéből*. Ed. Pap József. Bp. 2014. 89–90.

29 The most important sources of data were the *Budapesti Hírlap*, the *Pesti Hírlap* and the relevant volumes of *Pester Lloyd*. Since none of the publications contained a comprehensive list, they had to be compared with each other.

specifically assessed persons, since the candidate lists include the candidates, with also those who eventually did not accept the nomination or withdrew in the meantime among them. In fact, it was possible to nominate a candidate until the beginning of the election. Another problem is that the reports often do not disclose numbers; they only say that somebody won the election by a large majority, or that only the concrete majority of the votes were designated, but the number of participants remains unknown. In these cases, we know about the election, but we cannot count proportions. So, unfortunately, I do not have a series of data that covers all the elections and districts we are accustomed to in today's elections.³⁰

In 10% of the districts we do not have detailed information about the election; in another 10% we don't know the exact number of votes cast for the winner or the proportion of participants. Thus, in the case of the 5 elections to be analysed, we have more accurate knowledge of the details of the elections in 80% of the district results. However, single-member elections represent a separate category within this, as well as the cases when one of the candidates withdrew during the election, which was followed by an interruption of the election. Overall, we know about 568 single-candidate elections. In addition, 70 elections were interrupted due to the withdrawal of the counter-candidate with no chance. These two categories formed unanimous elections, accounting for 31% of all known mandates. Thus, we have real participation figures and victory rates in around half of the mandates.

Our investigation cannot be complete, but in view of these limitations it can be carried out. It is also advisable to do so, since the characteristics of participation can be interpreted not only within the given period, but the question arises as to what kind of participation data can be experienced – looking back from the present –, in a more limited system – open voting, narrow electoral rights, dominant party system –, since the present characteristics are often deduced from the values which were considered to be very low at that time.

It is an important question, therefore, how political life can be considered to be active in an area, and I will use the results of the regular elections to present it. To carry out the analysis, I have created five categories from the raw data of the votes cast for the winner. I talk about a competitive situation when the winner achieved a score of less than 60%, a dominating victory if the result is between 61 and 90%, and a candidate with no chance if the winner's vote rate was over 90%. A separate category is represented by the election with one candidate, which can be an indicator of local political apathy, since the representative did not even have a challenger. However, we had to create a fifth, unknown group, which shows to us that there were several candidates, but we have no information on the numerical result of the election. However, besides the statistical analysis of the categories, the raw results, the participation and

30 The data are available on the website of the National Election Office. (<http://valtor.valasztas.hu/valtort/jsp/tmd1.jsp?TIP=2>)

winning percentages available can be compared with other numerical data. I will do this correlation analysis with the originally settlement-level values of the 1910 census but with its values aggregated at the constituency level. Reflecting on the theses by Bernard Grofman, I ask the question as to whether there was a correlation between these values and election turnout (and not the result!).

Now let us first look at the national data of the election results. The following table summarizes the results of the 5 election years.

Distribution of the results of the elections between 1892 and 1910 based on the categories created from the winning percentage of the winning candidate

		No election	Counter-candidate with no chance	Dominating winner	Competitive situation	Election with an unknown result	All
1892	Value	160	24	85	78	66	413
	%	38,7%	5,8%	20,6%	18,9%	16,0%	100%
1896	Value	121	42	134	113	3	413
	%	29,3%	10,2%	32,4%	27,4%	0,7%	100%
1901	Value	116	30	108	147	12	413
	%	28,1%	7,3%	26,2%	35,6%	2,9%	100%
1905	Value	82	28	133	119	51	413
	%	19,9%	6,8%	32,2%	28,8%	12,3%	100%
1910	Value	88	22	119	95	89	413
	%	21,3%	5,3%	28,8%	23,0%	21,5%	100%
All	Value	567	146	579	552	221	2065
	%	27,5%	7,1%	28,0%	26,7%	10,7%	100%

From the national election results, it can be seen that between 1892 and 1910 the intensity of the electoral campaign increased, more exactly the proportion of elections where there was no practical challenge, or the challenger did not have substantial support decreased. However, if we examine the average of the results of the elections that took place and have known data available, we get a rather static picture. After all, the average winner's vote percentage in these five elections was somewhere between 61 and 65%. (1892: 62.8%, 1896: 64.4%, 1901: 62.5%, 1905: 66.2%, 1910: 61.3%). Although unanimous elections

decreased, their known data suggest that there is no significant deviation from the winning percentage of around 62% in the case of the two politically significant elections (1896 and 1901).

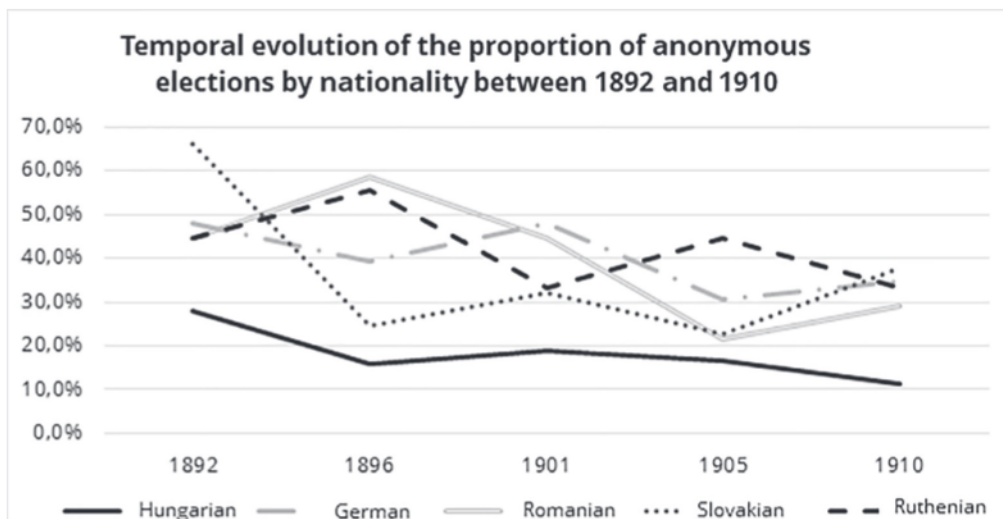
In 1910, this process seems to have reversed, or at least got stuck, which might have been due to the disillusionment with the coalition. However, the most important question for me is now whether this phenomenon had an aspect of ethnicity. It is, therefore, worth examining the ethnic distribution of the data in addition to the simple arithmetic mean. This is shown in the following table.

Distribution of election results of constituencies categorized on the basis of the ethnic composition of the population between 1892 and 1910

	No election	Counter-candidate with no chance	Dominating winner	Competitive situation	Election unknown result	100% = election (number)	Number of constituencies
Hungarian	18,20%	7,00%	31,30%	31,90%	11,50%	1050	210
German	40,00%	6,10%	24,30%	19,10%	10,40%	115	23
Romanian	39,70%	9,80%	25,80%	15,70%	8,90%	325	65
Slovakian	36,60%	4,20%	21,10%	27,90%	10,20%	265	53
Ruthenian	42,20%	6,70%	26,70%	11,10%	13,30%	45	9
Serbian	20,00%	10,00%	35,00%	25,00%	10,00%	20	4
Croatian	20,00%	20,00%	20,00%	40,00%	0,00%	5	1
Slovenian	20,00%	20,00%	20,00%	20,00%	20,00%	5	1
Mixed	33,60%	6,40%	26,00%	24,30%	9,80%	235	47
All	27,50%	7,10%	28,00%	26,70%	10,70%	2065	413

The table clearly shows that the district's ethnic makeup was of particular importance in the electoral campaign as there is a difference between the data of the Hungarian and the ethnic territories. The total rate of unanimous elections in the Hungarian territories was the lowest, and the majority of elections with a 50-50 chance can be found here. Nationalities can be divided into two groups. In the case of Germans, Romanians, Slovaks and Ruthenians, the number of single-candidate elections is uniformly high. In contrast, in the case of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, roughly the same values can be observed as in the case of Hungarians. However, the two groups carry a very different weight in

the sample; there are 150 districts in the first group whereas there are only 6 in the second. Merely the first group has such an element number that provides an opportunity for further investigation, and this is what is significant from the point of view of our region as well. Let us now look at the temporal evolution of unanimous elections one by one in the case of Hungarians and the districts of the first group.



The decrease in the number of unanimous elections seems to be a clear trend; they however, show greater swings in the case of ethnic districts. The starting values are higher than those of the Hungarians in every case, and the Slovaks' passivity is particularly salient in 1892. The same ethnic group, however, significantly activated itself in 1896, which is obviously due to the emergence of the People's Party.³¹ After the turn of the century, apart from some swings, obtaining mandates without competition shows a declining tendency in the case of each ethnic group, to such an extent that in 1905, when the Romanian National Party gave up its passive electoral policy,³² the values of the Slovaks and Romanians approached those of the Hungarians. However, in 1910, the number of ethnic districts decreased again where a challenger emerged in the election. Thus, the 1910 halt is valid for ethnic districts, while it is not for the Hungarians.³³

31 On the election strategy followed by the People's Party and its effectiveness, see: *Dániel Szabó: A Néppárt az 1896-os választásokon.* [The People's Party in the 1896 Elections]. *Századok* 112. [Századok 112]. (1978) 743–754.

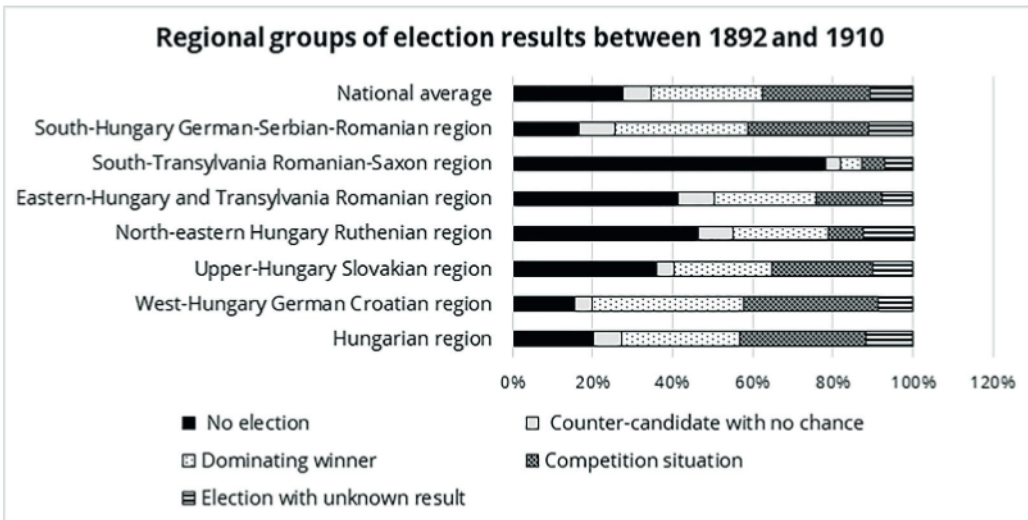
32 On the Election Activity of the Romanian National Party and the 1905 results, see *Ákos Szendrei: A Román Nemzeti Párt választási szereplése és tevékenysége, 1905–1910.* [Election Involvement and Activity of the Romanian National Party, 1905–1910]. *Múltunk* 51, (2006) 2. sz. 60–63.

33 In connection with the decline of RNP in 1910: *Szendrei Á.: A Román Nemzeti Párt i.m.* [The Romanian National Party op.cit.], 70–75.

Thus, the chart seems to support the aforementioned theorem that if a minority has the chance of electoral success, it can activate the voters as soon as a challenger that means a realistic alternative emerges, and the election turnout rises. This is particularly evident in the case of the Slovaks, where the electoral performance of the People's Party and the Slovak National Party significantly increased the number of actual elections.

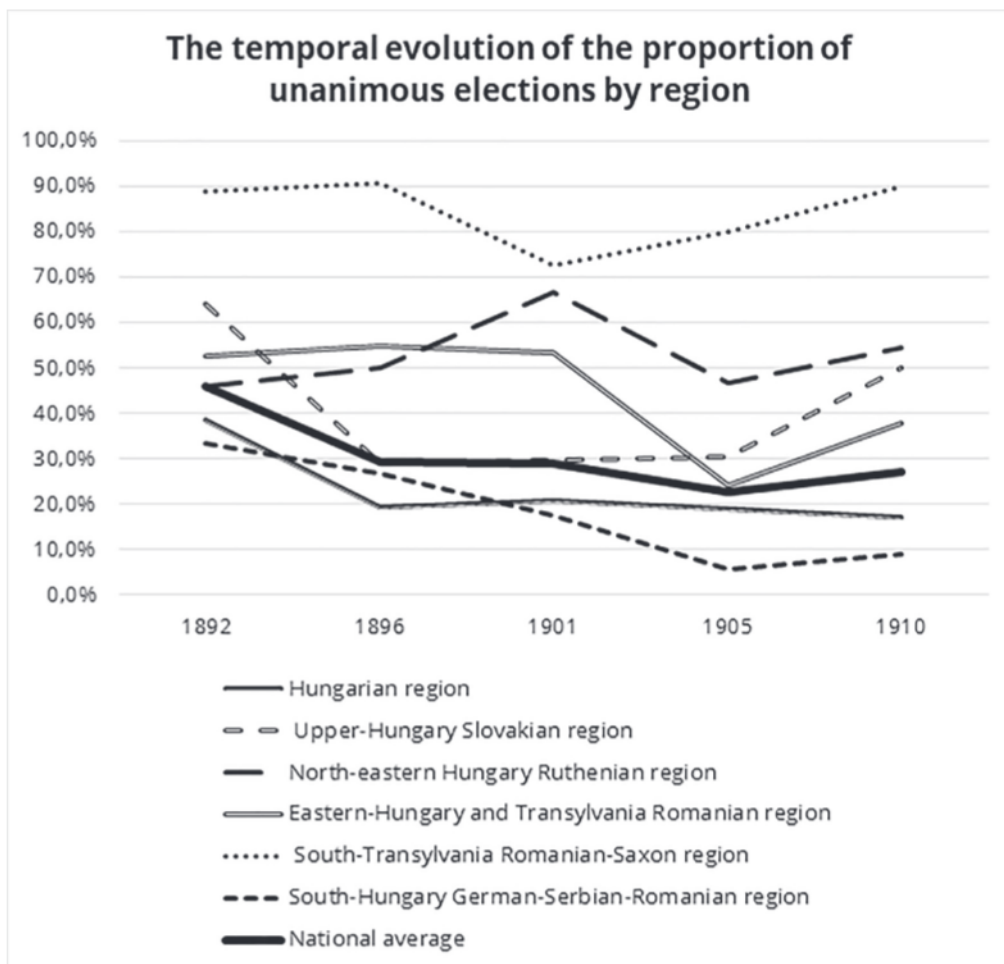
Electoral behaviour from a regional perspective – Who, How, Where?

The same categories can also be viewed from a regional point of view, for which I first make use of László Katus's ethnic-district -level classification. For the sake of clarity, I will only work with the aggregated numbers between 1892 and 1910 since separate categories per election would overcomplicate the chart.



By taking the whole period into consideration, the total proportion of voting without constituencies, as we have seen before, was 28%, but the Hungarian region had a lower value than that (20%); the electoral campaign was the most active in the territories of Western Hungary and Southern Hungary, which have a significant German and Croatian population; the winner had no challenger in merely 16-17% of the elections here. The higher proportion of the Slovakian, Romanian and especially the Ruthenian population was related to the more frequent absence of electoral campaign. However, the proportion of single-candidate elections was exceptionally high in the southern Transylvanian region, in the districts of the Saxons.

In this case, however, the date of election is also an important aspect, and the diagram below, therefore, shows the temporal evolution of the data of the unanimous elections by region.



The regional distribution of data is similar to the nationality-level approach. From 1896, a constant value of around 20% developed in the Hungarian region. In the Slovakian-majority region, the stakes of the elections were raised by the effect of 1896 and the emergence of the People’s Party. In the case of the Romanians, the activity of the Romanian National Party had the same effect in 1905. The Saxon-Romanian region of South Transylvania, – with smaller swings though –, generated salient data throughout. The Ruthenian region moved completely separately from the rest; there could be seen no significant recovery there.

However, these relationships were not so strong as to dominantly determine the characteristics of the regions or even individual districts. Thus, the political behaviour of a district or region did not follow from its nationality data. This is clear as the time-level data show how important it was for ethnic voters to have their own party as a realistic election alternative. This put an end to apathy,

increased voter turnout, increased the intensity of electoral campaign and, primarily threatened the position of the government party. It was an election alternative in an area where the politicians who politicized on the basis of public law, often intending to deal with the issue of ethnicity radically, had no chance of addressing the voters.

Before moving on, I think that there is another question that needs to be examined: whether there was a statistical correlation between the census data on voters and the voter turnout rate at known elections. In order to examine this, I can only use only the districts where we know not only that an election took place, but we also have information on the number of participants. It also restricts our possibilities that we can use only the 1910 census data. However, we are familiar with the number of voters in each constituency during each election period.

Before analysing it, first we must review the known turnout data. This is shown in the table below.

Statistical indicators of district election results with known turnout data

	National	District	Minimum	Q1	Q3	Maximum	Election with known data (number). (=100%)
	Arithmetic mean of the rate (%)		Average (%)				
1892	66	63	17	60	80	99	121
1896	71	72	9	66	83	94	260
1901	65	69	21	61	79	99	265
1905	66	68	13	60	79	96	276
1910	62	67	10	57	79	98	125

The table shows that in cases where an election took place, and the data are known, turnout was very high. At national level, it exceeded 60% every year. However, the data was significantly scattered, as the district minimum was around 10%, while the maximum was reached by the districts which were able to muster up almost all voters. The values Q1 and Q3 in the table indicate that the middle 50% of the data is scattered between the two values. In almost every case, they are around 60% to 80%, so the most frequent voter turnout was in this range. Let us now look at the ethnic and regional aspects of these values.

Once again, we can only include rural districts and cities that elected one representative, as they have accurate district census data. Of the 360 such

districts, we are familiar with the voter turnout date of only one election in the case of 58, two of 104 districts, three of 119, and four of 65; and the voter turnout data of all 5 elections are available only in 14 districts. Unfortunately, unanimous elections are missing as a matter of course; although 100% turnout was registered at that time, this did not correspond to reality.

The voter turnout rate correlates only with the proportion of the Hungarians, Ruthenians and Serbians, but the level of relationship is also very low there (with a significance threshold of 0.094, the Hungarian value is 0.094, the Ruthenian one is 0.246, and the Serbian one is 0.190).³⁴ I also examined the data on denominational composition as well as those on the occupational structure and literacy, but they had no significant impact on turnout, either. Where there was a relationship, its level was also very low (the percentage of Roman Catholics: 0.079, that of the Unitarians: 0.066, that of literacy: 0.087, that of the Greek Catholics: -0.080, that of Orthodox Christians: -0.086, and that of Israelies: -0.066). Therefore, the mere composition of the population, whether ethnic, denominational or occupational, does not result in lower or higher electoral participation. The system worked in a more complicated manner than that, as we have seen above, the peculiarities of the party structure also had a significant impact on the electoral campaign.

Thus, there were also other factors that influenced electoral participation in elections where there was a special challenge. It should, however, be emphasized that this statement is true only for the elections that were held, since whether the election took place or not depended on the ethnic nature of the district and the time when the election itself was held. Due to the features of the party structure, there was a higher chance of a single-candidate election without a stake in ethnic areas.

Now I will approach the question from the side of the 413 districts, and I will try to present the whole issue in a regional framework. I will use two possible approaches. In the first case, I illustrate on the map the districts where an anonymous election took place 4 or 5 times or it ended with winning 90% of the vote. If we look at the map made based on this (Map 4), we can see that such districts were mainly found in the ethnic regions. Of the 210 Hungarian districts, 5 (2%), of the 23 German ones 7 (30%), of the 65 Romanian ones 15 (23%), of the 9 Ruthenian ones 2 (22%), of the 53 Slovakian ones 7 (13%), and 10 (21%) of the districts with a mixed ethnic majority belonged to this group. So, nationalities were affected by this phenomenon, but it is so far from being the case that it was typical of the majority of their districts. However, if we also take the time factor into account, we can again emphasize that after 1896 the situation constantly changed as in fact, the establishment of the People's Party and the activation of the ethnic parties reduced the number of unanimous elections within the ethnic districts. However, it should also be noted that

34 The value of the Pearson's correlation coefficient varies from 1 to -1, the sign indicates the nature of the relationship and its value indicates closeness. Values below 0.2 merely indicate a weak relationship.

two areas were cumulatively affected by the phenomenon. One of them was Transylvania, where we can find 26 such districts. All the districts of Szeben, Nagy-Küküllő, Kis-Küküllő and Brassó counties, and the towns Nagyszeben and Brassó belonged here. The other area was North-eastern Hungary, where there were 18 such districts. The counties of Zemplén, Ung and Máramaros were primarily affected here. The concentration of this phenomenon is also indicated by the fact that there were only 8 districts with such characteristics in other parts of the country.

However, this point of view is still too vague; it depends on the time factor, and takes less into consideration whether the election that took place was a real chance for the challenger. In order to examine this, I used the method of calculating the average of the win rates of the winners, i.e. the average win rate by constituency. Then I broke down the averages between 50 and 100% into 5 equal-grade categories, and displayed the categories on the map (Map 5).

The map illustrates one of the important realities of politics. Of the 203 ethnic districts, 112 (55%) had a win rate higher than 81% whereas in the case of the 210 Hungarian districts we see a much lower number (53 districts 25%). Thus, it was in the Hungarian districts where there was fighting with a realistic alternative going on. However, different ethnic groups displayed great diversities. 13 (56%) districts of the Germans, 45 (70%) of the Romanians, 7 (77%) of the Ruthenians, 25 (47%) of the Slovaks and 1 (25%) of the Serbians belonged to this group. Furthermore, of the 47 districts with an ethnic majority 21 (44%) were found in Northeast Hungary (7), in Transylvania (7) and in Bánát (7). Thus, the ethnic group most affected by the high win rate was Romanian and Ruthenian, but the Germans can also be classified here as the Transylvanian mixed districts were mostly Saxons who lived together with the Romanians. The most significant regional difference can be observed in the case of the Slovaks. The 51 northern Hungarian districts in Slovakia and the 7 mixed ethnic districts also inhabited by them are divided into four major areas. In the counties of Pozsony, Nyitra, Turóc, Liptó and Szepes there appears a band-like region where the electoral campaign was noticeably more intense. However, in one part of Trencsény and Árva, in all Slovakian districts of Zólyom, Gömör and Kishont, in all Slovakian districts of Nógrád, as well as in the northern districts of Sáros and Zemplén the win rate tended to be higher, and the struggle was more without a stake.

In the case of the Slovaks, it is worth examining a bit more precisely the factor primarily influencing the election, the counter-candidate and his/her party affiliation. Unfortunately, we do not have comprehensive data on this, but the few that are available can be used for information purposes. During the 5 elections, there were 265 election assessments in the Slovakian districts. There were 28 districts in which there was an average win rate of 50-80% suggesting vigorous electoral campaigning; a total of 140 elections were held there. The number of the counter-candidates of the non-government party (30) was 79. The challenger was given 6 times by the National Party, 37 times by the People's Party, and 15 times by the Slovak National Party. The other group included

25 districts with a significant win rate, in whose 125 elections I registered 43 challengers for the non-government party besides 18 for the government party. 4 of them ran under the colours of the National Party, 22 under those of the People's Party and 2 under those of the Slovakian National Party. Thus, the difference lay basically in whether its own ethnic party could run in the district. If it could, it mobilized the voters better, if it couldn't, there was a less intensive election campaign on average. In the case of 1,028 elections, both the turnout and the win rate are known, so a correlation can be calculated between them. Based on this, we can state that the increase in the turnout rate reduced the winner's win rate to a moderate extent, thus increasing the electoral campaign. (With a significance threshold of 0.01; the Person's correlation is -0.504). However, if we analyse the election results separately with regard to the ethnic composition, we find that this relationship works only for the ethnic groups; thus, the mobilization of voters was able to significantly increase the electoral stakes here. Since these areas were predominantly the base areas of the government party, their chances of winning were practically reduced by the increasing electoral mobilization, which was in line with the activation of ethnic parties. However, there was no such close relationship between the two factors, on the basis of which an automatic decrease in the win rate could be expected. However, it is also important to draw attention to the fact that in districts where there was an ethnic candidate (that of an ethnic party, an independent ethnic party or even the People's party), the electoral campaign may have been very intense, and the win rate of the winner often fell well below the national average (68%).

The map analysed previously shows a band surrounding the Great Hungarian Plains and consisting of districts with a high win rate is largely similar to the region dominated by the government party, and also to the areas identified by recent research as the most underdeveloped regions of the country.³⁵ On the basis of this, we can draw the conclusion that one of the important foundations of the government party's stable power was the most backward outlying regions where the frequency of elections was below the national average, and during the electoral campaign period we less frequently encounter a counter-candidate running with realistic chances. Turning back to Grofman's theorem, it seems to be justifiable to suggest that the electoral willingness of the disadvantaged groups from a sociological aspect was lower in the age of Dualism. This phenomenon may have been combined with denominational aspects, the nomination strategy of the particular parties, which has not been

35 The band on the map showing the win rate can be compared with the regional structure of many modernization indicators. A similar picture is given by the spatial structure of illiteracy, the municipal tax, the wooden houses, the dead seen by a doctor, which are analyzed in studies by researchers exploring regional inequality in detail. On it see: *Területi egyenlőtlenségek nyomában a történeti Magyarországon: Módszerek és megközelítések térképei* [the maps of On the Trail of Regional Inequalities in Historical Hungary: Methods and Approaches]. Eds. Demeter Gábor – Szulovszky János. Bp., Debrecen. 2018.

explored adequately,³⁶ the role of large estates, and, of course, with local power relations, all of which resulted in the fact that competitive elections were rather limited in certain areas of the country. However, if they succeeded in running a counter-candidate exceeding the issue of public law, it had a mobilizing effect, which was accompanied by the sharpening of the electoral campaign. It was, however, the government party which was primarily a loser of it, because in the Hungarian territories overly-politicised on the basis of public law, we encounter closer results more frequently. Unfortunately, we cannot determine to what extent electoral participation was enhanced by the emergence of a political alternative that could be interpreted for voters as unanimous elections distort the data considerably. However, it can be stated that in places where an election was held, voter turnout rate was usually very high, often exceeding the turnout data after the change of regime. Of course, this high rate can be detected within a narrower social group, but it is not advisable to compare the proportions of participants to the total population, as the majority did not have the opportunity to participate. However, even today we do not count turnout data for the whole society, but only for those who have the right to vote. Based on this, I do not consider the starting point to be acceptable that draws far-reaching conclusions from low turnout in the era of Dualism to the whole of modern Hungarian parliamentarism, because the picture was more complicated as to uniformly characterize that age with low electoral participation. This statement is true in some areas, under certain circumstances, but in other areas or at different times we find the exact opposite.

From this point of view, North-east Hungary is a particularly interesting area of investigation, as in addition to Transylvania, these factors appear most prominently here. Although there is no region with independent features in the area, it can be found just at their intersection. The examination of the area provides an opportunity to detect fundamental differences even within a county, the causes of which we could try to explore by carrying out local research. Thus, getting familiar with these local features can help us to better understand elections in the age of Dualism, and we will be able to provide relevant answers to the questions asked. A comparative analysis of the districts with different characteristics will, therefore, be suitable for exploring the causes of differences more thoroughly. However, I will carry out this work in a comparative micro-analysis, which will be the main element of the research program for the coming years.

36 The inclusion of ethnic candidates in ethnic areas may be particularly important. *Szendrei Á.:* A Román Nemzeti Párt i.m. [The Romanian National Party op.cit.], 71–72.

Appendix

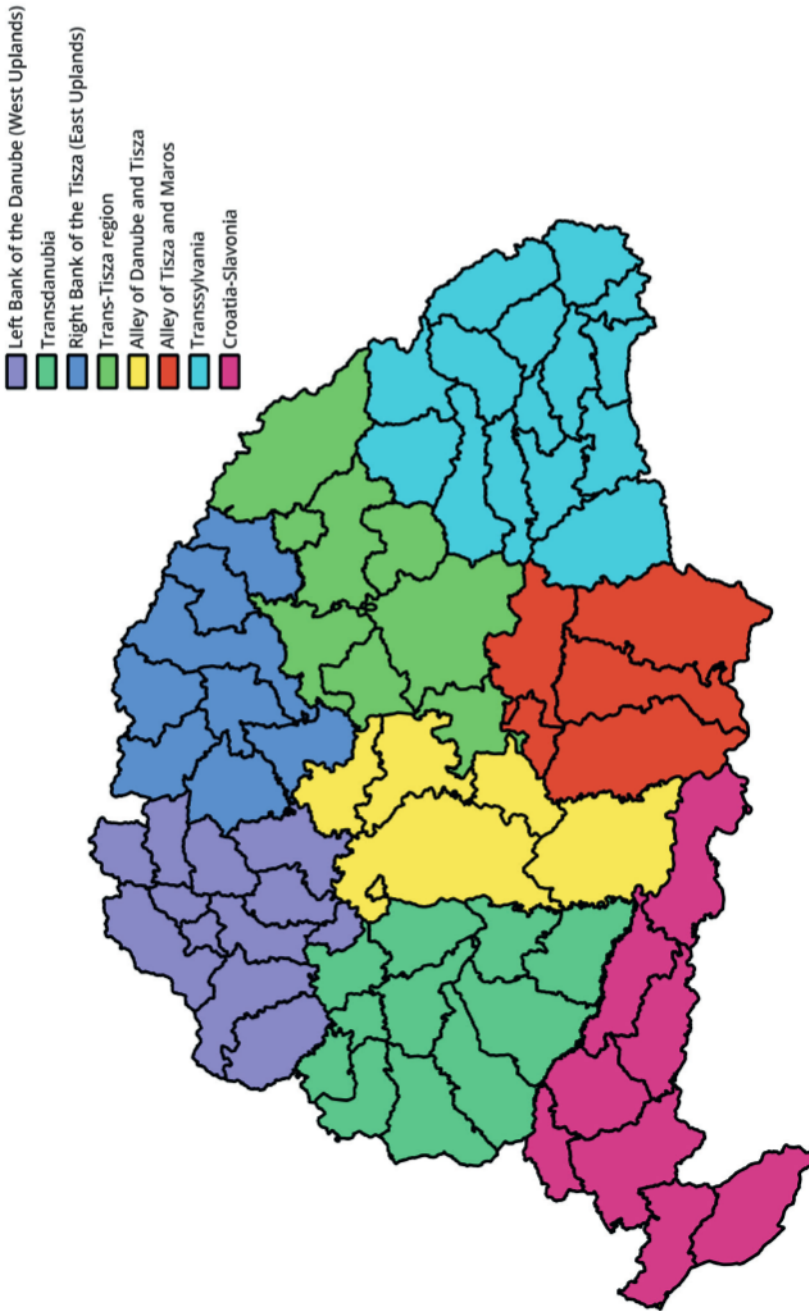


Figure 1: Regional distribution of Hungary based on Károly Keleti

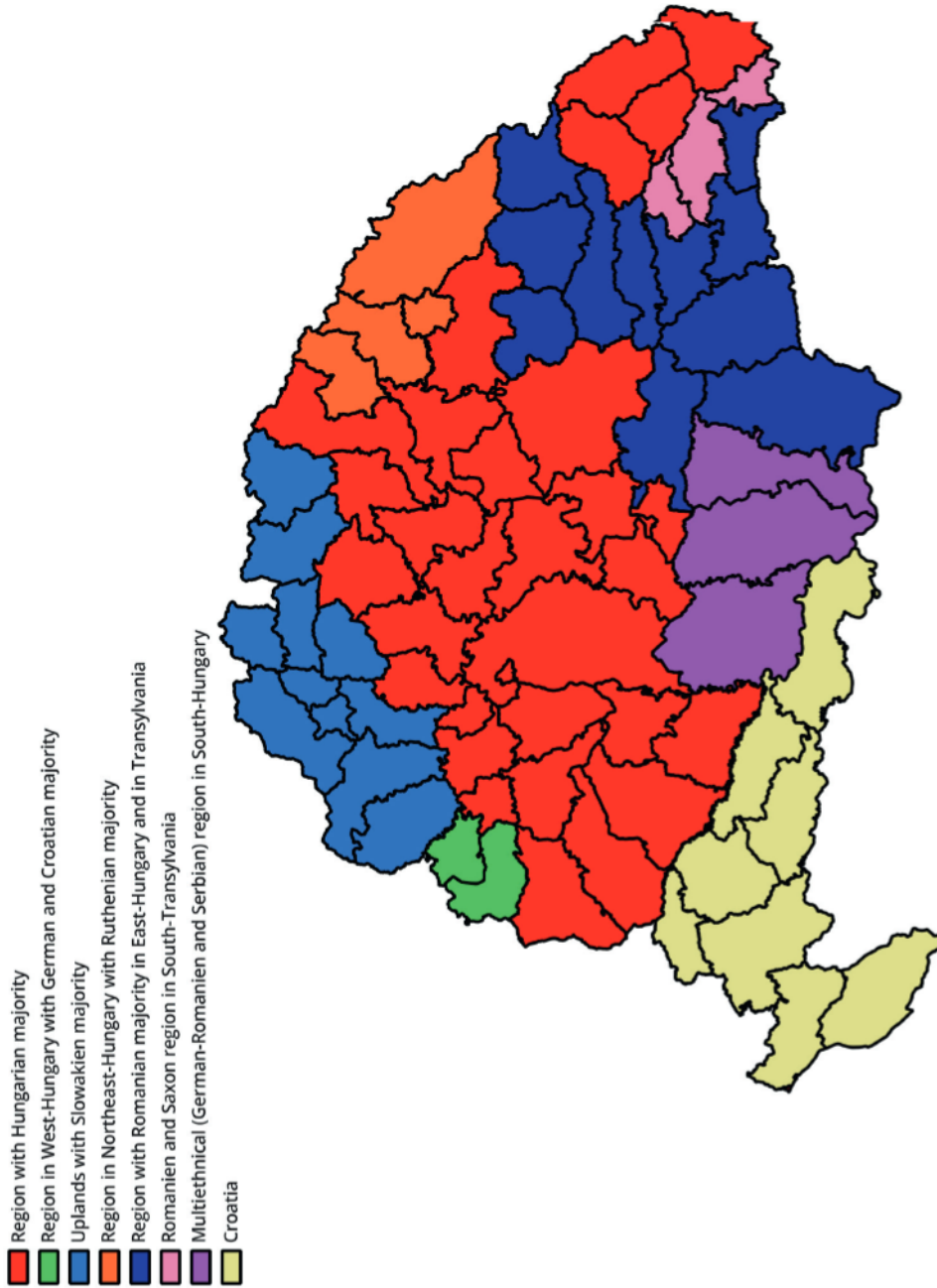


Figure 2: Regional distribution of Hungary based on László Katus

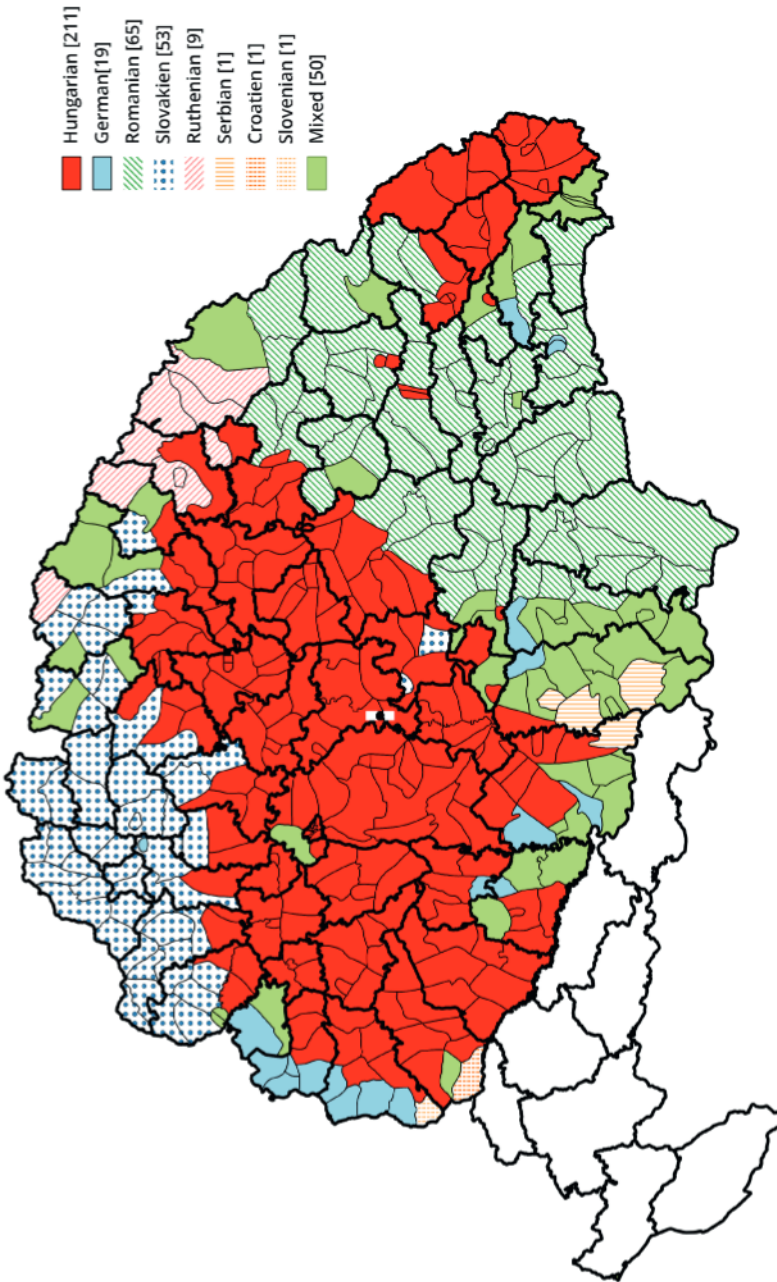


Figure 3: The ethnic characters of constituencies by taking the 50% majority into account (1910)

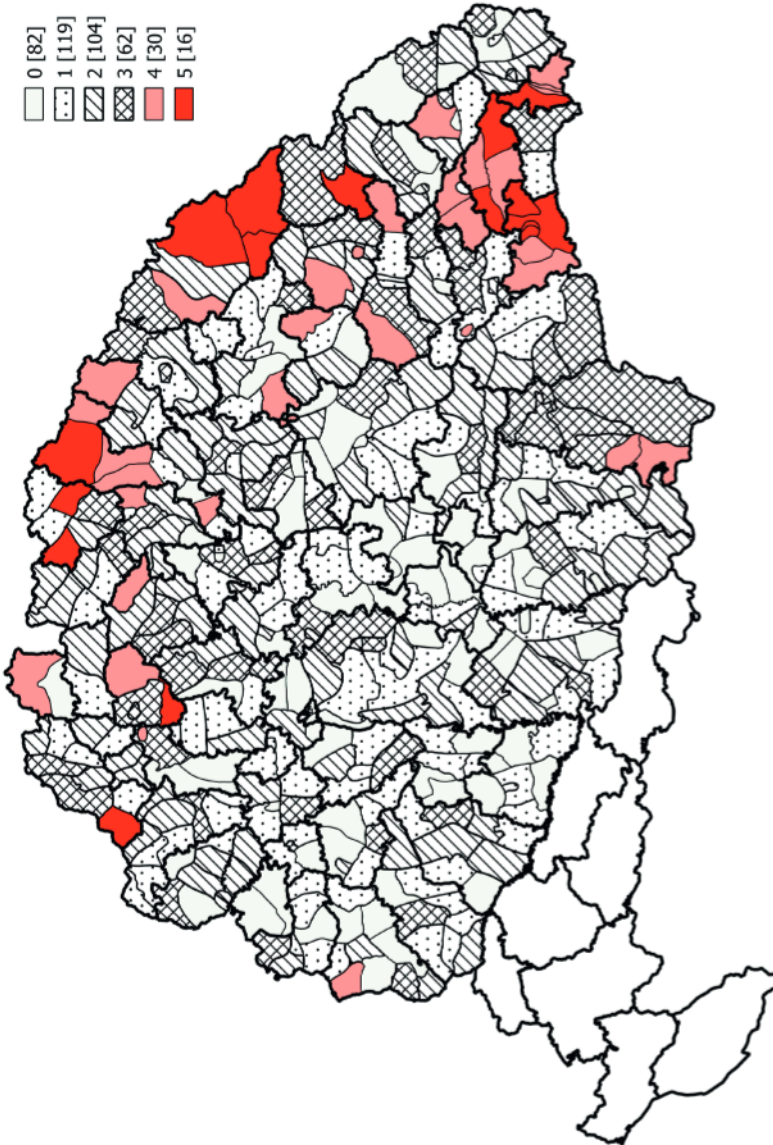


Figure 4: Number of unanimous and over a 90% win rates by constituency by taking the 1892, 1896, 1905 and 1910 regular elections into account

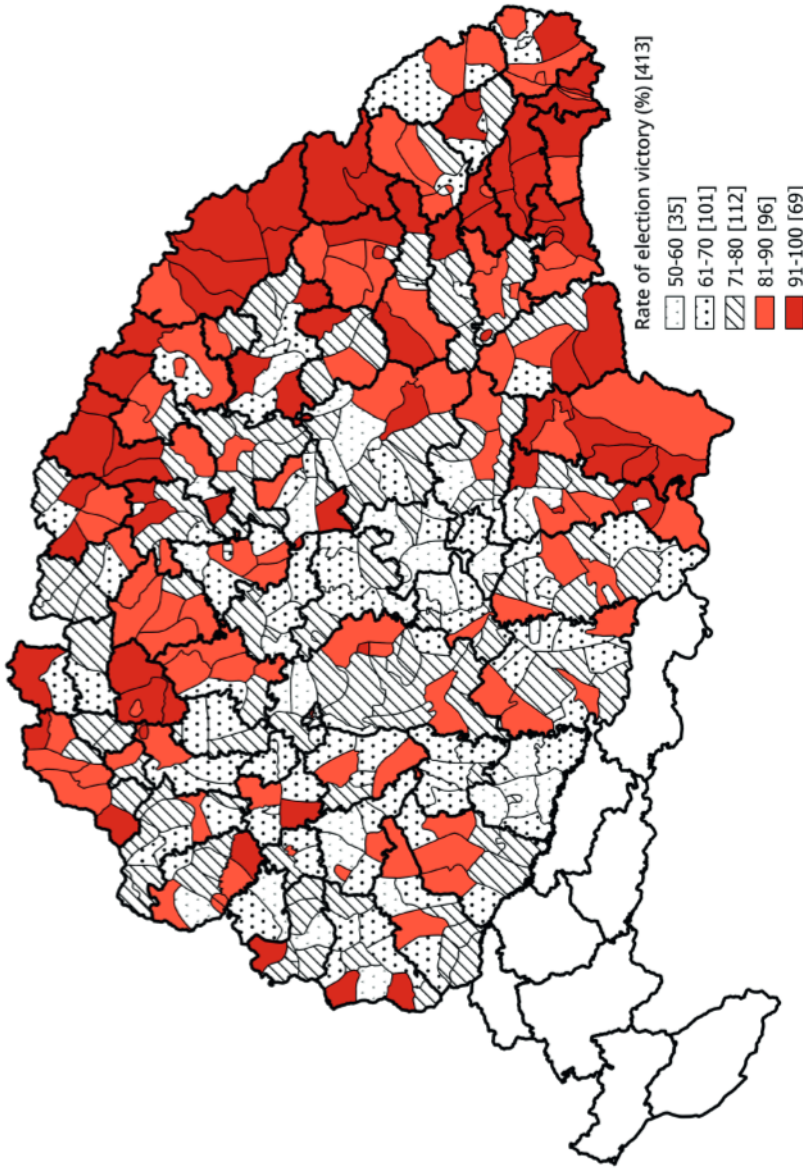


Figure 5: Evolution of the win rate by constituency by taking the 1892, 1896, 1905, and 1910 regular elections into account

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