

Judit Pál / Vlad Popovici (eds.)

Elites and Politics in Central and Eastern Europe (1848–1918)



PETER LANG
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Problems in the Career Analysis of Hungarian Representatives in the Age of Dualism

József Pap

This study presents results of research on the social composition of the Hungarian political elite at the beginning of the twentieth century, aiming to illustrate some aspects of the career analysis, e.g. date and place of birth or ancestry, through the example of representatives elected in 1901.

The Hungarian Parliament of 1901, also the subject of our earlier works on the topic, with its historically typical Liberal majority, showcases a political class formed by an overwhelming Liberal victory in the elections. We have used the results of this election for comparison with the Parliament of 1905. After the election of 1906, analysed in an earlier study of ours, a new political situation developed, a more radical mirror image of the former Parliament; with the abdication of the Liberals, the former opposition was itself practically unopposed in the election. This provided an opportunity of entry into Parliament for candidates who had no chance in the period of traditional political struggle. The representatives of 1906 showcase a monolithic political group that was the reverse of its predecessor. It is not possible to present the results of this comparison in this study, which deals in detail only with the data of 1901.

The most important basis of research was statistical analysis of the Parliament's almanacs. The information obtained from them was then supplemented and loaded into a database.¹ The data was integrated on the basis of a homoge-

1 MS Access database; the most important sources of the database and basis for the calculations published in this study were as follows: *Az 1887/92. évi országgyűlés képviselőháza tagjainak osztályszerinti névjegyzéke és a bizottságok névsora az ötödik ülésszakban* [List of members of the House of Representatives and the lists of committees] (Budapest: Pesti Könyvnyomda, 1891); *OKS 1892; OKS 1896; OKS 1901; OKS 1905; OKS 1906; Az 1910. évi június hó 21-ik napjára összehívott országgyűlés képviselőháza tagjainak betűsoros név-, lakás- és törvényhatóságok szerinti névjegyzéke* [Alphabetical list of Members of the House of Representatives] (Budapest: Pesti Könyvnyomda, 1910); *OA 1886; OA 1887; OA 1892; OA 1897; OA 1901; OA 1905; OA 1906; OA 1910; Az [...] évi [...] -re hirdetett Országgyűlés Képviselőházának irományai* [Documents of the House of Representatives], 1861–1918 collection; *Az [...] évi [...] -re hirdetett Országgyűlés Képviselőházának Naplója* [Minutes of the House of Representatives], 1861–1918 collection; Pálmány Béla (ed.), *Az 1848–1849. évi első népképviselői országgyűlés történeti almanachja* [Historical almanac of the first representative assembly from 1848–1849] (Budapest: Argumentum, 2002); Bona Gábor, *Hadnagyok és főhadnagyok az 1848–49. évi szabadságharcban* [Lieutenants and first lieutenants in the 1848–1849 War of Independence]. I–III (Budapest: Heraldika, 1998–1999); Idem, *Századosok az 1848–1849. évi szabadságharcban* [Captains in the 1848–1849 War of Independence]. I–II (Budapest: Heraldika,

nous code system and then analysed with data processing software.² This method opens up data and information of different types to statistical analysis.

Some comments are due on the reliability of our primary source, the almanacs. The main goal of these almanacs, edited by different authors, was to profile members of the two houses of the Parliament. The most important sources and informants of the biographies were the MPs themselves. Albert Sturm notified his readers of the attendant problems: “The editor had to settle for the material he could gather, and give up the idea of publishing detailed biographical information on men who couldn’t appreciate the importance of this matter or did not respond to our multiple requests.”³ So the published data and the extent of the biographies basically depended on the information given by the respondents. Sturm repeatedly praises his own neutrality in publishing the biographies. So his work is more akin to a special collection of biographies, problematic not only for the validity of the information (assuming the controlling role of publicity) but also for the unequal inclusion of biographical data. These biographical sketches more likely show the reader what elements a person felt were important to share about his life—perhaps trying to meet contemporary expectations. As for the almanac’s information, in some cases data could be so deficient that all we can state with certainty is the number of representatives for whom a particular detail is relevant, but not whether it applies in the case of other MPs. Given that the biographies have a certain pattern and structure, we can assume that respondents followed a routine when sharing information about themselves, so

2008–2009); Idem, *Tábornokok és törzstisztek a szabadságharcban 1848–49* [Generals in the 1848–1849 War of Independence] (Budapest: Heraldika, 2000); Gudenus János József, *A magyarországi főnemesség XX. századi genealógiája* [The C20 genealogy of the Hungarian aristocracy]. I–V (Budapest: Natura, 1990; Tellér Kft., 1993; Heraldika, 1998–2000); Idem, *Örmény eredetű magyar nemesi családok genealógiája* [The genealogy of the Hungarian-Armenian noble families] (Budapest: Erdélyi Örmény Gyökök Kulturális Egyesület, 2000); Kempelen Béla, *Magyar nemes családok* [Hungarian Noble Families]. I–XI (Budapest: s.n., 1911–1932); MNZs. I–II; Újvári Péter (ed.), *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* [Hungarian Jewish Dictionary] (Budapest: Makkabi, 1929); Nagy Iván, *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*. [Hungarian families]. I–XII (Pest: s.n., 1857–1868); Ruszoly József, *Országgyűlési képviselő-választások Magyarországon 1861–1868* [Parliamentary Elections in Hungary 1861–1868] (Budapest: Püski, 1999); MIM; Adalbert Toth, *Parteien und Reichstagwahlen in Ungarn 1848–1892* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1973).

2 SPSS data processing software; methodologically, Mariann Nagy, *A magyar mezőgazdaság regionális szerkezete a 20. század elején* [Regional structure of Hungarian agriculture at the beginning of C20] (Budapest: Gondolat, 2003) was very useful during the statistical data processing.

3 OA 1901, IV.

that if they did not mention details of great importance in most self-images, e.g. military service or foreign travel, these may have been missing from their life stories. But this can not be stated beyond doubt. We must take into account that some activities might have been left out because they went without saying, e.g. club membership, which was only mentioned casually, whereas detailed analysis of multiple representatives showed that nearly all were members of a club even though this was usually left out from the almanacs. Religion for example can only be examined piecemeal, but it is also very notable that where an MP's family held a title of nobility, this was also seen as marginal information. To sum up, the almanacs are important sources due to their general nature but this research cannot restrict itself to processing the information they contain; there have anyway been multiple attempts to do so, one being the outstanding study by Gabriella Ilonszki.⁴ The almanacs can provide a starting point, but must be supplemented by other control sources. We have already made the first important steps in this work by gathering significant further data on noble rank, family relations, religion, property ownership and economic roles, or by discovering careers in county administration, but the work is not even close to its goal. However, it seems obvious that almanacs grant the work a horizontal basis, from which we can only make vertical moves in some particular fields, because while it is possible to position one MP in the whole country's social and economical relationships, it is hard to do so for the whole group. This should be a task for a collective of researchers.

Moving on to the analysis of representatives elected in 1901, let us take a look at the results of the election in Figure 1.

The elections in 1901 did not significantly change the Hungarian political climate. The Liberal Party (*Szabadelvű Párt*) secured its dominance among the 413 MPs, though with only 277 representatives rather than the 290 of 1896. If we examine the number of votes cast for the party, we see significant growth, because while 595,000 people voted Liberal in 1896, 671,000 did so in 1901. In 1896 the National Party (*Nemzeti Párt*), running independently, won 33 seats with the support of 75,000 voters. But prior to the elections in 1901, the National Party merged with the Liberals, and they ran altogether. As a result, while in 1896 the two parties had 323 seats with 670,000 votes, in 1901 their number of seats was reduced by 45 even though the number of votes received remained nearly the same. On the contrary, the opposition was able to increase its parliamentary group by 31 seats. There was no significant redistribution between the two independentist parties. The group led by Ferenc Kossuth gained 83% of votes cast

4 Gabriella Ilonszki, *Képviselők és képviselet Magyarországon a 19. és 20. században* [Representatives and representation in Hungary in the C19 and C20] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 2009).

for independents in 1896, and 86% in 1901. The “Kossuth party” held 50 seats in 1896 and 79 in 1901, the “Ugron party” (led by Gábor Ugron) had 11 in 1896 and 13 in 1901.⁵ In parallel with this, the Catholic People’s Party (*Katolikus Néppárt*) also increased its seats from 18 to 25 and its votes from 51,000 to 76,000. The government did not lose votes but the significantly increased electorate (from 889,714 to 1,025,259) resulted in the empowerment of the opposition. Nevertheless, the Liberals could still keep their absolute majority at 67%. Representatives of the nationalities also won more votes (there were 1,550 Romanian votes in 1896, and 10,616 Slovakian and 2,720 Serbian in 1901). The vote share for non-party politicians fell by 50%, mainly because of the place-name act which made a group of Saxon politicians return to the Liberal Party which they had earlier quit, bringing their voters with them too.⁶

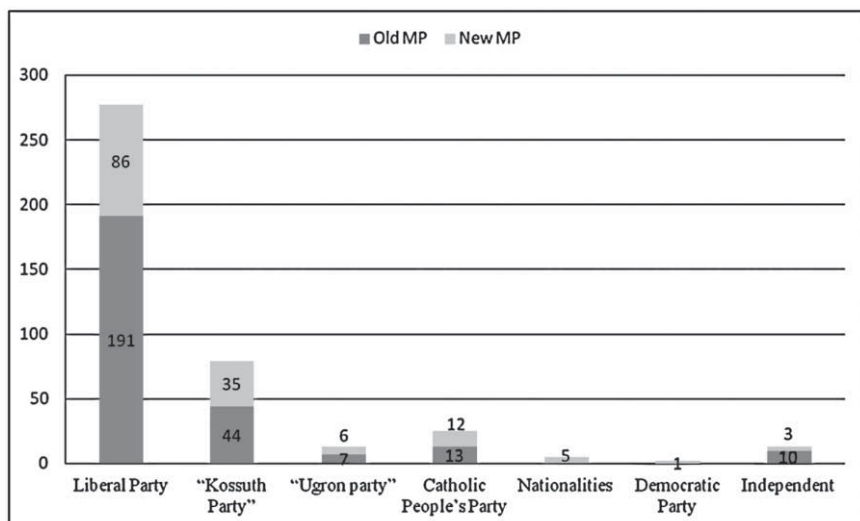


Figure 1. Results of the 1901 parliamentary elections in Hungary

5 Both independentist groups are included in the statistical analysis.

6 Basis of the statistical reports: *A magyar királyi kormány 1910. évi működéséről és az ország közállapotairól szóló jelentés és statisztikai évkönyv* [Annual report of the Hungarian government and statistical yearbook, 1910], (hereafter: *Statisztikai évkönyv*) (Budapest, 1911), 424–426.; on the elections in detail: István Dolmányos, *A magyar parlamenti ellenzék történetéből (1901–1904)* [From the history of Hungarian parliamentary opposition] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1963), 129–132.

We have indicated the proportion of new MPs in each party, which reveals a significant turnover. All five politicians from the nationalities (not counting the 11 non-party and two Liberal Saxon politicians), 54 People's Party, 45 independentist and 31% of Liberals started their political career in this very year. The Liberals had the most stable group of MPs but even in their party, one-third of seats were held by new members. This rate did not differ from electoral terms, and can be explained mostly with the ageing of the representatives.

Moving on to analysis of ancestry-related data (date and place of birth, noble rank), we would like first to deal with the time of birth, more precisely with the average age of MPs.

The date of birth is known in 411 cases. Their average age was 47.8 years but the data is widely distributed. Three members were only 26 years old when elected. The oldest was the 87-year-old József Madarász, who had been in the country's political life since 1848. Most Members of Parliament (55%) were between 40 and 60 years old, 28% were younger than 40 and 17% were older than 60, as shown in Figure 2, below.

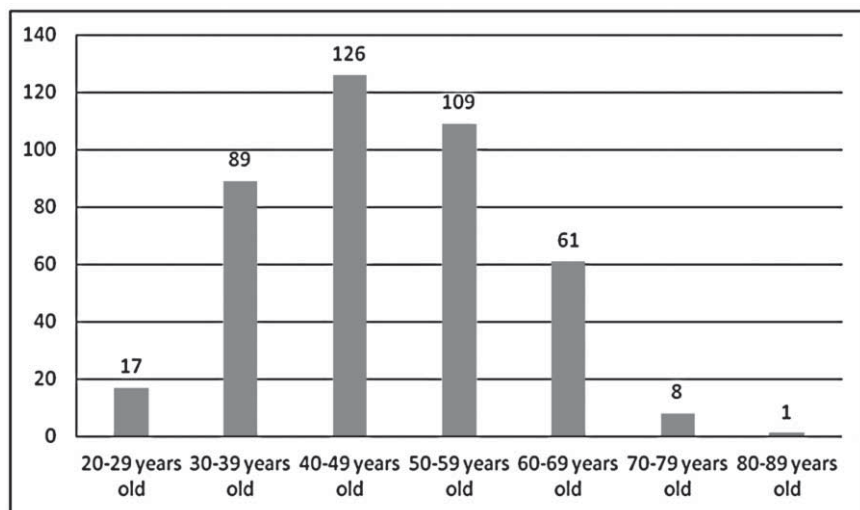


Figure 2. Age groups of the representatives elected in 1901, based on their age at the year

The age of representatives when they started their career gives a more accurate picture.

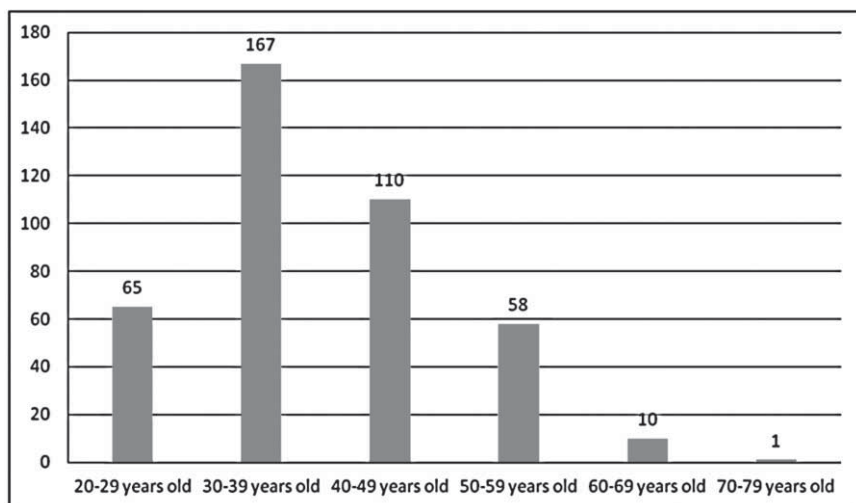


Figure 3. Age groups of the representatives elected in 1901 based on their career starting age

Gyula Andrásy was the youngest to start a political career, only turning 24 in 1884. The oldest career starter was the independentist Lajos Bernáth, 71 years old at the beginning of his first term. The average age was 39.6 years. 20% of MPs started below the age of 31 (though only 10% under 28), and 17% were over 50. So an MP most likely took his seat in his thirties or forties. There seem to have been no differences between the two big parties, the average age of their representatives being practically the same. However, the independentists had a few percent fewer members under 30 and above 50. 75% of Liberals were younger than 47 years, 75% of the independentists were below 45. We can conclude that before being elected, a representative served for between ten and twenty years in some other career and in most cases were chosen from experienced middle-aged members of their party. Young and elderly representatives can be seen as exceptions.

Having discussed age, we can move on to place of birth, as during elections the candidate's attitude towards his constituency (namely: was he known as a local person or as a stranger) could be a significant guideline for the voters. In the analysis, every representative who was not born in his constituency, but who moved and lived there or nearby during the election, or who had properties there, has been categorized as local. Every other person was counted as a stranger, but for a few, the relationship with the seat is unknown.

Our database records the place of birth in the case of 411 representatives. 78% (320 people) can be considered local, 22% (91) as strangers. There are no

significant differences among the parties in this matter, but it is worth mentioning that four of the five nationalities' representatives whose birthplace is known, and 14 of the 16 non-party MPs, were local to their respective constituencies. Among those who were born, or lived elsewhere, ten were born (or lived) in Pest or Buda, 47 were born elsewhere but lived in Budapest.

Table 1. *Relations between the representatives elected in 1901 and their constituencies*

		People		%	
Local		320		78	
Stranger	<i>born and live in Budapest</i>	91	10	22	2,5
	<i>live but not born in Budapest</i>		47		11
	<i>other</i>		34		8,5
Total		411		100	

The proportion of representatives considered strangers can also be of interest as reflected in the estimated national character of their constituencies, and considering their geographical position (Tables 2 and 3, below). 51.6% of "strangers" have Hungarian characteristics, 45% appeared in the constituencies dominated by nationalities, and 3.4% cannot be categorized. This distribution practically corresponds to the classification of constituencies on the basis of estimated national character, so the "strangers" did not appear more frequently either in Hungarian or in nationalities areas, their distribution seems consistent.

Table 2. *Relations between the representatives elected in 1901 and the ethnic character of their constituencies*

	Constituency	Representative
Hungarian character	44.8	45
Nationalities character	51.3	51.6
Cannot be categorized	3.9	3.4

Concerning the role of "stranger" representatives in 1901, Table 3 clearly shows that most of the country had similar characteristics, but that such representatives were more frequently found west of the Danube (Trans-Danube), and in the northwestern territories, and less in the counties to the right of the Tisza. Notably, Transylvania shares the country average, but Udvarhely, Háromszék, Szeben, Beszterce-Naszód and Fogaras are below the national average.

Table 3. *Distribution of the representatives considered as strangers among the statistical districts.*

Name	“Stranger” representative	All constituencies	Proportion of “strangers”
Right bank of the Danube	15	56	27%
West of the Danube (<i>Dunántúl</i>)	20	72	28%
Right bank of the Tisza	4	50	8%
Between the Danube and the Tisza	14	65	22%
East of the Tisza (<i>Tiszántúl</i>)	12	54	22%
Corner of Tisza and Maros	9	42	21%
Transsylvania	17	74	23%
Fiume	-	1	-
Total	413	91	22

Next we discuss the problem of noble lineage. Calculating the number of aristocrats seems to be the easiest, for the almanacs report the rank of barons and counts in almost every case. There were 51 peers (13%) among the MPs in the Parliament of 1901, 15 of these Hungarian barons, one imperial and 37 Hungarian counts, not counting the three Székely *primors* (Gábor Ugron, János Ugron and László Vásárhelyi). All were members of the governing party, except for four from the People’s Party, one independentist and one non-party MP. Along with recording their ranks, we must bear in mind the age of a title, since one main element in the discourse around nobility is the antiquity and historical significance of a rank. 14 of the 53 representatives had received their rank after the Compromise of Austria and Hungary, but only three of those thus promoted could not trace back their noble heritage at least to the eighteenth century. All the others had been members of the nobility for generations.⁷

Not every aristocrat mentioned above met the requirements set by the act of 1885. Under this act (no. 7, second paragraph), aristocrats over the age of 24 with perpetual rights had to possess property “on which the state land tax along with the tax of the dwelling house and outbuildings, based on the new tax register, is more than 3000 Gulden in Austrian value”. The lack of possessions on this scale did not necessarily mean that a person was not among the wealthier aristocrats, but perhaps he did not hold enough land as an official cadastral property, or had not been the beneficial owner of his entail yet. When the House

7 On the importance of this see also: Ballabás Dániel, “Főnemesi rangemelések Magyarországon a Dualizmus korában” [Increase of the Peerage in Hungary in the dualist period], *Századok*, 145 (2011), 1235–1236.

of Lords was formed, its verifying committee prepared a list of members who had been elected MPs. In 1901, the list contained 21 names, 19 of whom were members with perpetual rights based on the census, while Count Lajos Batthyány and Baron Géza Fejérváry were appointed by the monarch. These 21 people could have chosen to be part of the House of Lords instead of sitting as MPs.

The Andrassy, Bethlen and Teleki clans had the most members (4-4) in the Parliament of 1901. The Zichy clan had 3, the Apponyi, Batthyány, and Soly-mossy 2-2. The role of the Andrassys, Bethlens and Telekis in politics was strongly tied to their particular regions.

After the peers, we can turn our attention to the gentry and the lesser nobility. By using listings of noblemen, works of genealogy and obituaries, we can attempt to identify the families of particular MPs and thus divide them into three categories. Only those found in the listings by both family and first names, or who indicated noble origins in the almanacs, were labeled as noblemen. Those whose family name appeared among the noble clans but could not personally be identified beyond doubt were added to a different category. Finally, the third category consists of those whose family name indicates no noble heritage, or whose civil occupation is known. On the topic of noble descent, we should note that identifying a person or family very often seems almost impossible. The frequent uncertainty is interesting considering the importance of noble heritage in the historiography of earlier periods. But the fact that almanacs handle noble heritage, along with other personal data, marginally, is really thought-provoking.⁸

A fundamental problem arises on the subject of ancestry: who can be considered a nobleman beyond doubt? Obviously, we can categorize someone as noble if we are sure that a direct ancestor received a title under Hungarian law, and the descendants could prove it irrefutably. But what about people who were considered noble in their time without any evidence of their heritage? This could happen for example because a person's ancestry seemed so obvious that he himself was convinced of its authenticity. A perfect example of this was the well-known case of Kálmán Mikszáth.⁹ A much less famous example is Lajos Olay,

8 Most interesting is the opinion of Eszter Tarjányi. According to her: "It seems clear that the value of noble heritage had increased in the eyes of the descendants, as a certain tool for defining social class, and then turned into the only determinant criterion for the gentry class". Tarjányi claims that noble heritage "may not have been as important for the contemporaries as posterity thought." Eszter Tarjányi, "A dzsenti exhumálása" [The resurrection of gentry], *Valóság*, 51/12 (2008). <http://www.valosagonline.hu/index.php?oldal=cikk&cazon=79&lap=3> (accessed: May 2013)

9 László Kósa, "Nemzetes uraimék" [Honourable gentlemen], in Fábri Anna (ed.), *Egy korai Mikszáth-mű társadalomtörténeti háttere. Mikszáth- emlékkönyv. Tanulmányok az író születésének 150. évfordulójára. 1847–1997* (Horpács: Mikszáth, 1997), 57–58. On the

MP for the Szigetvár constituency and member of the Kossuth Party, whose biography does not contain information on his noble heritage, and who is not mentioned in any genealogical work. Nevertheless, he is named “the noble Olay Lajos” in his obituary.¹⁰ According to his obituary György Sturmán, MP for Mezőkeresztes and also a member of the Kossuth Party, died in “Pusztaszer” in 1905. In the obituary he is referred to as *őzdi* indicating that he may have been born in Ózd, but there is no information as to whether the name also indicates noble status.¹¹ György Szombathy, Liberal MP for Jászashely, is described as “a member of an old Greek Orthodox noble family (*baraci Szombathy*)” but we have found no clues about this family or title.¹² One last example to illustrate the problem: Zsigmond Eitner started his political career in 1901 as MP for Szentgót constituency in Zala County (today Zalaszentgrót), a member of the Ugron party. According to the almanacs, he was born into an old and prestigious family, and his father Sándor was also an MP. The father died in 1905, but neither his, nor any of the mourning family members’ obituaries mention the title. Nevertheless the name *eiteritzi Eitner* can be found in his son’s obituary in 1926. This family is completely unknown among the Hungarian nobility, but is known in the Czech one. The work containing this information was published in 1904, so it seems possible that the family found its perceived or real ancestors somewhere between 1905 and 1926, and started using a title of nobility that had never been verified in Hungary.¹³ These cases indicate that, in a behavioural and sociological sense, the community of nobility could be wider than the legal definition would suggest. This question can be answered by micro-historical analysis of the life of particular persons.

Another important issue is the question of lifestyle, which cannot be examined through legal categories. Noble society itself was so complex that it can

history of the family see also János Miskolczy-Simon, “A Mikszáth-család története” [The history of the Mikszáth-family], *Levéltárosok Lapja*, II (1914), 14–19.

10 HFN (<https://familysearch.org/pal:MM9.3.1/TH-267-11770-163607-71?cc=1542666&wc=12545478>, last accessed May 2013).

11 HFN (<https://familysearch.org/pal:MM9.3.1/TH-267-11902-78744-87?cc=1542666&wc=12545601>, last accessed May 2013).

12 *OA* 1905, 400.

13 *OA* 1901, 245–246; Adalbert Ritter Král von Dobrá Voda (ed.), *Der Adel von Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien. Genealogisch-heraldisches Repertorium sämtlicher Standeserhebungen, Prädicate, Beförderungen, Incolats-Ertheilungen, Wappen und Wappenverbesserungen des gesamten Adels der Böhmischen Krone, mit Quellen und Wappen-Nachweisen* (Prag: I. Tausig, 1904), 53. HFN (<https://familysearch.org/pal:MM9.3.1/TH-267-11846-50103-29?cc=1542666&wc=12545220>, last accessed May 2013; <https://familysearch.org/pal:MM9.3.1/TH-267-11846-47774-89?cc=1542666&wc=12545220>, last accessed May 2013).

hardly be used as a category of analysis. So the following issue is another, where the macrostatistical analysis can only be useful in raising questions.

Among all representatives, not counting the peers (53, 12.8%), 191 (46.2%) were of noble origin, 68 (16.5%) can be put into the second, uncertain category, while 101 (24.5%) were not noble. Of those whose past can be discovered precisely, 70.8% had noble ancestors, among whom 29.2% were aristocrats. In our research we have managed to strengthen the analytic potential of our data significantly by cutting down the uncertain category from 36% to 16.5%.

Table 4. Diversity of ancestry of MPs by party

	All representatives (%)				Known heritage (%)		
	Aristocrat	Nobleman	Commoner	Uncertain	Aristocrat	Nobleman	Commoner
Liberal Party	17.3	50	20.1	12.6	19.7	57.2	23.1
Independentist parties	1.2	43.8	25.8	29.2	1.5	62.0	36.5
Catholic People's Party	13.6	36.4	31.8	18.2	16.6	44.4	39.0
Democratic Party	-	-	100	-	-	-	100
Saxon representatives	-	7.7	76.9	15.4	-	9.0	91.0
Serb representatives	-	-	-	100	-	-	-
Slovakian representatives	-	-	100	-	-	-	100
Independents (non-party)	20	80	-	-	20	80	-
Total	12.8	46.2	24.5	16.5	15.5	55.4	29.2

If we look at the ancestry of representatives by party, we can state that there is a difference between the two biggest groups, the Liberals and the independentists. This is not relevant in the proportion of lesser nobility, but while 17.3% of Liberals were aristocrats, only 1% of independentists were. By contrast, untitled nobility played an important role among the independentists.

The nobility also went through an important inner transformation during the nineteenth century, so we must talk about the antiquity of these titles of nobility, as we did in the case of the greater aristocrats. Promotion in rank started an inner transformation not only among the peers but also among the gentry. But while

for an ancient noble family, higher rank usually meant ascending into the aristocracy, simple noble rank was always given to formerly lower-class families.¹⁴ The “ancient” and “public” nobles might have had their differences in terms of behavioural sociology, which makes ancestry less suitable as a sole criterion of analysis.

Table 5. *Age of titles among the nobility*

Era		Representatives		%	
Before 1526		49		29	
1526–1711	1526–1599	59	19	35	11
	1600–1699		35		21
	1700–1711		5		3
1712–1799		31		18	
1800–1899	1800–1866	30	13	18	8
	1867–1899		17		10
Total		169		100	

The origin of the title of nobility cannot be determined in every case, we only have precise or nearly precise data for 169 representatives. 49 people traced their families back to before 1526, 59 to the period between 1526 and 1711 (19 to the sixteenth, 35 to the seventeenth, five to the eighteenth centuries) and 31 to before 1799. 13 received their title between 1800 and 1867, and 17 after 1867. 82% of noble representatives held a title more than one hundred years old, and were thus a significant gentry group in the Parliament instead of the relatively new nobles. The question remains: did these two groups differ significantly in their characteristics? Further research may answer this question.

In earlier studies we did not publish data on the diversity of religion among representatives, because the almanacs contained this sort of information in only a very few cases. The almanacs, perhaps due to a Liberal understanding of state and politics, rarely mention a person's religion and we can only conclude this from indirect information, e.g. data regarding social or professional status, or from the religion of a well-known family.¹⁵ Multiple estimates in the literature

14 For imperial comparisons of the matter see also: Rudolf Kučera, “Állam, nemesség és civil társadalom. Nemesi címadományozások Csehországban és Sziléziában, 1806–1871” [State, nobility, and civil society. Promotion of rank / Titles of nobility in Bohemia and Silesia], *Korall*, 28–29 (September 2007), 31–58.

15 Ilonszki 2009, 57–59; Schönbaum Attila, Schwartz András, “Paradox rendszerváltás: az 1910–1922 közötti parlament képviselői” [Paradox system change: MPs between 1910 and

on the subject deal with data that is on average 60–70% incomplete, and have concluded that Protestants were dominant or that there was a low proportion of Catholics.

In 2007 we concluded that the sources processed thus far were not suitable for an accurate analysis of the problem, since the special system of the Protestant church leads automatically to the dominance of Protestant representatives, because the information on religion indicated a person's involvement in the life of his church. In this sense Protestants had more opportunities to take part as presbyters, caretakers, or other secular persona, which was of course mentioned in the almanacs. Being a representative meant such social prestige that the person elected almost immediately became an official of his church. Among the Roman Catholics, we can observe this phenomenon only in the case of the Catholic assembly of Transylvania.

Table 6. *Religious diversity of the members of the Parliamentary parties*¹⁶

	Liberal		Inde- pendentist parties		Ppl's Party		Saxons		Serbs		Slovaks		Demo- crats		Non- party		Total	
Roman Catholic	51.4	58.6	42.7	52.8	72.7	94.1	15.4	18.2	-	-	25.0	50.0	-	-	20.0	25.0	48.7	57.1 %
Greek Catholic	0.7	0.8	-	-	4.5	5.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.7	0.9 %
Lu- theran	10.1	11.5	6.7	8.3	-	-	69.2	81.8	-	-	25.0	50.0	-	-	40.0	50.0	11.1	13.1 %
Calvin- ist	17.6	20.1	23.6	29.2	-	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20.0	25.0	17.2	20.2 %
Greek Orth.	4.0	4.5	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	-	100	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.9	3.4 %
Jewish	3.2	3.7	4.5	5.6	-	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	100	-	-	3.4	4.0 %
Unitar- ian	0.7	0.8	3.4	4.2	-	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.2	1.4 %
Un- known	12.2	-	19.1		22.7		15.4		-	-	50.0	-	-	-	20.0	25.0	14.8	-

Inclusion of source data from obituaries has helped to reduce data shortage from 72.5% to 14.8% for the year 1901.¹⁷ Where we have located the obituary of

1922], in Gabriella Ilonszki (ed.), *Képviselők Magyarországon. I* (Budapest: Új Mandátum, 2005), 117.

16 The first column in each case shows data for the whole body of representatives, the second leaves out persons of unknown faith.

a representative, we have defined religion by the funeral practice, but where we could not find a particular person, we have accepted data regarding the parent of the same sex as relevant. We assume that religious views were reflected in funeral practice, but naturally they might result from a change in religious views during the person's lifetime. Thus the data indicate personal identity more than ancestry. This is the most important in the case of Jewish people, since there is a serious difference between the numbers of representatives who were Jewish by descent or by observance. Using the official viewpoint of the era, we have categorized as Jewish those whose conversion into Christianity could not be proven unambiguously.

As shown in the table 6, there were serious differences among the parties. The one and only Democrat representative was the Jew Vilmos Vázsonyi. Ljubomir Pavlović, the only Serb MP, was of course Orthodox, the Slovak Martin Kollár was Roman Catholic, Jan Ružiak was Lutheran. Of those Saxon representatives whose religion is known, 80% were Lutheran, 20% Roman Catholic. The religion is unknown for 23% of representatives of the People's Party; although they were probably Roman Catholic, we have to categorize them as unknown due to the lack of proper data. Party members of known religion were Roman Catholics, except for the Greek Catholic Mihály Artim. We can start to describe the differences between the two large parties by the discrepancy in the proportions of persons whose religion is unknown; 7% lower in the Liberal party, perhaps the result of the party's practice of recruiting MPs from families with bigger names so that we find much more information on party members, also proven by the availability of obituaries. This also seems proven by the different proportions of noblemen and aristocrats too. Looking only at MPs whose religion is certain, we can see that there are 6% more Liberals among the Roman Catholics and 3% more among the Lutherans. By contrast, there are 9% more Lutherans and 3.4% more Unitarians among independentists than in the Liberal party. This difference may be rooted in the disparity in the parties' main areas of support. Notable is that practising Jews played a more important role in the opposition.

The results of this research show that the members of the Hungarian Parliament were mostly between 40 and 60 years old. They started their political career roughly in their 30s and 40s, though there are exceptions. They were bound

17 The obituaries can be found at <https://familysearch.org/search/collection/1542666> (last accessed May 2013). The collection "Hungary Funeral Notices, 1840–1995" (*HFS*) contains the digital copies of the *Magyar gyászjelentések* microfilm collection from Széchenyi National Library on the webpage of Salt Lake City (Utah, USA) Family History Library. However, the obituaries are arranged in alphabetical order, bound into fascicles of 900–1000 images, without proper indexing which makes the research hard and slow.

to their constituencies by place of birth. Newer results show the proportion of representatives who certainly were not of noble descent growing continuously, and the decreasing importance of the traditional political elite. The educational data show that most representatives held diplomas, with most of these lawyers. Intellectuals from economics, culture and other important fields were almost entirely absent from the lawyer-dominated Hungarian political life. This raises the always current question of competence in decision-making. The schools of Budapest were extremely important in forming useful relationships and in the context of a political career. It is no surprise that two-thirds of representatives had ties with educational institutions in the capital. The almanacs show that one-third of representatives had studied or travelled abroad. The importance of this matter is shown in the detailed description given by the normally reticent editors. Most of the Hungarian political elite had experiences in Europe, and considering their studies and travels in foreign countries, we can assume that they spoke several languages too.

The similar sociological composition of legally different groups of representatives is a well-known phenomenon in the literature. The data of this study seem to prove this phenomenon. The dominance of the Hungarian aristocracy and gentry in the lower house is acknowledged and explained in the scholarship by restricted suffrage, open voting and the limitation of political discourse to state affairs. We do not argue with this, but we should take a few new elements into account. It seems obvious that the aristocrats and gentries who actively took part in the politics during the Age of Reform (1830–1848) continued their political career in the system of proportional representation. The reduced role of the House of Lords drove those aristocrats wishing an active part in politics to run for seats as representatives despite their hereditary status, since this was the only way they could continue to guide legislation. In spite of all the social successes of modernization in the nineteenth century, the nobility remained the only group that possessed the essential skills needed in politics.¹⁸ This is especially true in the case of regions just embarking upon modernization, where the intelligentsia was still bound to the land and to the church. Moreover we should consider that the political culture of the voters did not necessarily suit them for active politics,

18 See also: Gábor Benedek, “Szakszerűség és mobilitás a dualizmuskori magyar bürokráciában” [Professionalism and mobility of the Hungarian bureaucracy in the dualist period], in Sasfi Csaba (ed.), *Írástörténet – szakszerűsödés* (=Rendi társadalom – polgári társadalom. 6. Szombathely: Szigonatór, 2001), 141–148.; András Cieger, “Politikus mint hivatás a 19. századi Magyarországon?” [Politician as a profession in C19 Hungary], *Korall*, 42 (2010), 138–141; Gábor Gyáni, György Kövér, *Magyarország társadalomtörténete. A reformkortól a második világháborúig* [Social history of Hungary from the Reform Era to the Second World War] (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 123–125.

so that naturally the most suitable, or those who considered themselves suitable, took the necessary steps. Representatives were chosen by the party leaders, not by the public. The same is also true for the nationalities, but the parties' struggle to widen the suffrage also considered central selection of representatives as natural. Thus the social composition of representatives was influenced by the party leaders' selections, as well as by the nature of the electoral system. Voters could mostly merely approve the decision of a small group. The mechanism of selection often presented the voters a *fait accompli*, and they could only choose from the candidates appointed. This phenomenon was not only typical in the era of dualism and restricted constitutionalism. These restrictions alone did not define the social composition of Parliament, but they proved to be a very important element of it.

The elections were also influenced by party tactics; for example in constituencies where there seemed to be no chance of winning, they appointed an expendable politician or did not even run for the seat. In the era of dualism, in one third of constituencies no candidates stood against the governing party so that practically, voters had no choice. Obviously, open voting had a strong influence on voter behaviour: but their political orientation was not only revealed to the counting committee, due to the custom of electioneering. Thus customs and political culture, along with the legal framework, strongly influenced the composition of the political elite. In our opinion there was nothing out of ordinary in that. Naturally, there was a causal connection between the electoral system of the era and the social composition of the political elite. To evaluate its extent, we should take into account the European practice of the time. It is instructive to compare the composition of the elite in the era of dualism with electoral system of other periods. This would give a reliable answer to the question of whether the phenomena described in this study were in any way special, and how much they are related to the dualist system. Such comparison, however, would be more than this study can undertake.

List of Abbreviations

Institutions

- ANM – Archiv Národního muzea [National Museum Archive in Prague]
ANICB – Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale din București [Romanian National Archives–Central Historical Archive in Bucharest]
LA PNP – Literární archiv Památníku národního písemnictví [Museum of National Literature, Literary Archive in Prague]
MOL – Magyar Országos Levéltár [Hungarian National Archives in Budapest]
MZA – Moravský zemský archiv [Moravian Provincial Archive in Brno]
NA – Národní Prchiv [National Archives in Prague]
OSzK – Országos Széchényi Könyvtár [National Széchényi Library in Budapest]
ÖStA AVA – Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv
ÖStA HHStA – Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv.

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- HFN – *Hungary Funeral Notices, 1840–1990* (scanned images) available at: <https://familysearch.org/search/collection/1542666> (last accessed: April 2013)
- HSR/HSf – *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*
- MIM – József Szinnyi, *Magyar írók élete és munkái. I–XIV* [Life and Work of the Hungarian Writers] (Budapest: s.n., 1891–1914).
- MNZs. I – Fejérpataky László (ed.), *Magyar nemzetségi zsebkönyv. I. Főrangú családok* [Pocketbook of the Hungarian nobility. I. Aristocratic families] (Budapest: Magyar Heraldikai és Genealogiai Társaság, 1888);

- MNZs. II* – Schönherr Gyula (ed.), *Magyar nemzetségi zsebkönyv. II. Nemes családok* [Pocketbook of the Hungarian nobility. II. Noble families] (Budapest: Magyar Heraldikai és Genealogiai Társaság, 1905).
- MÖZ* – Franz Adlgasser, *Die Mitglieder der österreichischen Zentralparlamente: Konstituierender Reichstag 1848–49, Reichsrat 1861–1918. Ein biographisches Lexikon* – forthcoming.
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- OKS 1896* – Tassy Károly (ed.), *Az 1896–1901. országgyűlés képviselőinek sematizmusa* [1896–1901 *Schematismus* of the members of the House of Representatives] (Budapest: Pesti Könyvnyomda, 1900).
- OKS 1901* – Tassy Károly (ed.), *Az 1901–1906. országgyűlés képviselőinek sematizmusa* [1901–1906 *Schematismus* of the members of the House of Representatives] (Budapest: Pesti Könyvnyomda, 1904).
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- RGBI* – *Allgemeines Reichs- Gesetz- und Regierungsblatt für das Kaiserthum Oesterreich* (1848–1853); *Reichs- Gesetz- Blatt für das Kaiserthum Oesterreich* (1853–1870); *Reichsgesetzblatt für die im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder* (1870–1918).
- SPAR* – *Stenographische Protokolle des Abgeordnetenhauses des Reichsrates* (1861–1918).
- SPBL* – *Stenographische Protokolle des Bukowinaer Landtages* (1861–1918).