

The Representation of Transylvanian Towns in Parliament in the Period 1878–1910

JUDIT PÁL

Regarding the parliamentary representation of towns, we can speak of an uneven modernization which reveals the general weaknesses of the Hungarian electoral system.

Judit Pál

Associate professor at the Faculty of History and Philosophy, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca. Author, among others, of the vol. **Armenians in Transylvania: Their Contribution to the Urbanization and the Economic Development of the Province** (2005).

IN ONE of my previous studies, I discussed the representation of towns in the period 1848–1878.¹ Below, as a continuation of this endeavor, I will analyze the social-professional background of the deputies elected in Transylvanian urban constituencies between 1878 and 1910. Furthermore, I will try to determine to what extent, if at all, their background and local connectedness changed in comparison to the beginning of the dualist period, whether the political turmoil of the early twentieth century produced any changes, and how certain tendencies regarding the correlation between the ethnic and professional structure of towns, illiteracy rates and the local connectedness of deputies, which emerged at the beginning of the dualist period, developed later on. My initial hypothesis, based on the specialist literature and on my own research, was that, on the one hand, the

This paper was supported by CNCS-UEFISCDI through the research project PN-II-PCE-2011-3-0040.

deputies' social-professional background did not change significantly, but on the other, the percentage of those without local ties—except for the “Saxon” and “Armenian” towns²—continued to grow, and the higher proportion of outsiders is characteristic for less developed towns (the percentage of the population with non-agricultural activities is low, as opposed to the high number of illiterates).

There is one practical argument that justifies setting 1878 as the starting point of a new period, namely, that the constituencies established in 1848 were modified under Law X/1877 following the 1876 administrative reform. The electoral system of the dualist period drew much (and justified) criticism from both contemporaries and historians. Among others, one target of criticism has been the huge disparity between constituencies.³ The aforementioned electoral law was meant to rectify this glaring injustice, but in such a way that the positions of the ruling party and of the Hungarians remained mostly untouched. Transylvanian towns played a role in this as well.

The law intended to adjust constituencies to the new administrative division and to organize them so that there was one deputy in Parliament for approximately every forty thousand inhabitants. The modification affected mainly the constituencies in Transylvania, including the towns, but did not entirely eliminate disparities because, as the minister of internal affairs argued, they also paid attention to “historical evolution.”⁴ Previously, under Law II/1848, eighteen Transylvanian towns had been represented in Parliament, but only fifteen under the new law. Among them, there were a few small-sized and underdeveloped localities that were included on the list only due to their previous privileges. Those with the smallest number of voters, such as Miercurea-Ciuc (Csíkszereda), Ilieni (Illyefalva), Cojocna (Kolozs), Hunedoara (Vajdahunyad) and Hațeg (Hátszeg) lost their right to parliamentary representation, whereas the former free royal towns of Gherla (Szamosújvár), Dumbrăveni (Erzsébetváros) and Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) were to be represented by only one deputy instead of the previous two. Conversely, the two most important Transylvanian cities since the Middle Ages, Brașov (Brassó, Kronstadt) and Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt), were given the right to be represented. However, there was only a slight reduction in the number of town representatives, since the latter two cities were to be represented in Parliament by two deputies each. The two vacated seats were allocated to Budapest.

The assessment of the parliamentary debate on this piece of legislation is quite instructive, given that it greatly concerned Transylvanian towns and referred to their political role as well. Originally, the government suggested that towns such as Abrud (Abrudbánya), Miercurea-Ciuc, Hațeg, Ilieni, and Hunedoara should be deprived of their right to be represented in Parliament.⁵ Apart from the low number of voters, another likely consideration was that three-quarters of the

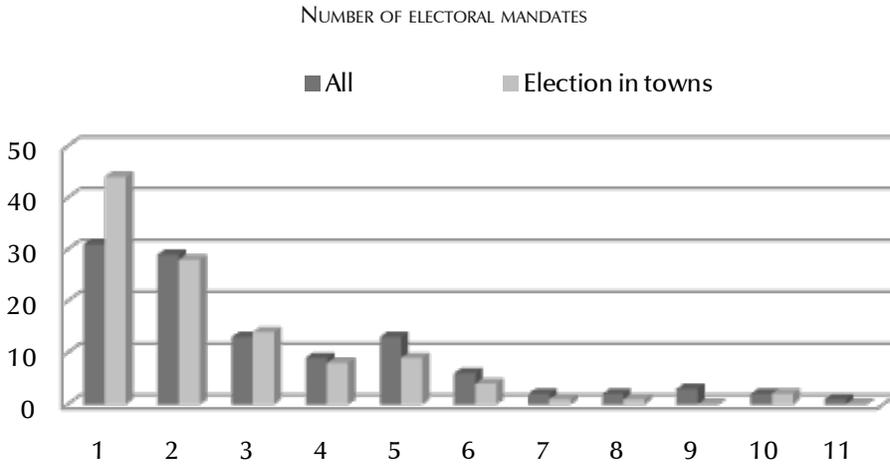
inhabitants of Hațeg and two-thirds of the inhabitants of Hunedoara and Abrud were Romanians.

The Division of Urban Mandates

BELOW, I will discuss the social-professional background, local and party ties, and the stability of deputies in the period 1878–1910, how this developed during certain parliamentary terms, and whether it reveals any differences as compared to the national trends. In the last four decades of the dualist era, between 1878 and 1910, there were nine general elections. On the one hand, I will analyze all deputies elected in Transylvanian urban constituencies in the aforementioned period, and on the other, in order to outline the main trends, the 1878–81, 1884–87, 1896–1901, 1905–1906 and 1906–1910 legislatures (including those resulting from early elections). Regarding the last legislature, however, which lasted from 1910 to 1918, I will take into account only the deputies elected in 1910.

In the collection of biographical data, I started from the biographies found in the parliamentary almanacs,⁶ which I complemented with data from various bibliographical lexicons, family histories, newspaper articles, archival sources, obituaries, etc.⁷ In spite of this, certain pieces of information are incomplete, such as that pertaining to the father's profession, while religion is not mentioned in most cases. In the case of lesser-known deputies, I was not able to find data from reliable sources. However, regarding the profession of deputies, it was precisely the abundance of information that caused difficulties given that, in most cases, the sources mention several professions. This is characteristic of the period under study, causing difficulties in categorizing the name of nineteenth-century professions as well.

During the nine general elections and numerous early elections organized in the period 1878–1910, one hundred and eleven deputies were elected to Parliament, two of them deciding in favour of other constituencies following the election,⁸ which meant that one hundred and nine people actually represented these towns for a shorter or longer period of time. The fifteen Transylvanian towns had nineteen deputies in Parliament at any given time. This was an average of 1.8 mandates for each deputy, but the deviation is substantial.⁹ The distribution of mandates is reflected in the table below:



Regarding towns, we have 2.8 mandates for a deputy in Dumbrăveni (Erzsébetváros), 2.2 in Sibiu, and only 1.2 in Sic (Szék) and 1.5 in Vlăhița (Oláhfalú). More than half (54%) of the deputies won 1–2 mandates, and two-thirds 1–3 mandates (65.7%); if we consider urban mandates exclusively, this phenomenon appears even more clearly: two-thirds (64.8%) won 1–2, while three-quarters (77.4%) 1–3 mandates. The small group of longest-serving deputies represents the other extreme: 7.2% of deputies won 8–11 mandates and 3.6% in total, if we count only urban mandates. Among the record holders, we find many prominent contemporary politicians and public personalities: most mandates (eleven) were won by Gábor Ugron from the Szekler Land, one of the most prominent opposition leaders in the dualist age; he is followed by Kálmán Tisza, who served as prime minister, and Béla Lukács, who acted as transport minister, with ten mandates each; next on the list are László Lukács, who served as finance minister and prime minister, Mór Jókai, the best-known and most respected writer of the age, and Gábor Daniel, a “career politician” from the Szekler Land, with nine mandates each; finally, the list ends with Miklós Bartha, the famous opposition journalist born in the Szekler Land, and Antal Molnár, a publicist and associate professor from Gherla, with eight mandates each.

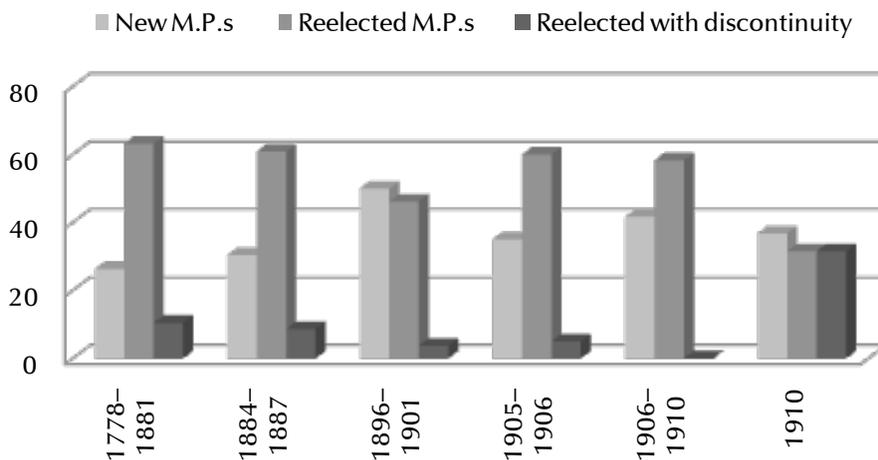
If we consider urban mandates, then Molnár is the absolute record holder given that he won all his eight mandates in the same town, Gherla. Commerce minister Sándor Hegedüs represented towns (Abrud and Cluj/Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) over seven terms, prime minister Kálmán Tisza represented three towns (once Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy, four times Debrecen and five times Oradea/Nagyvárad) over ten terms, while Béla Lukács also represented

four towns over ten terms (once Dumbrăveni and Alba Iulia and three times Gherla and Târgu-Mureș/Marosvásárhely). It is a unique case that somebody represented four different towns. If we analyze the deputies who won more than five mandates, then we note that they either had a substantial local power-base (for instance Gábor Daniel was the son of the lord lieutenant of Odorhei/Udvarhely county, all his mandates being connected either to the county, or to a town on its territory, while Antal Molnár started his career as an archivist in Gherla and later wrote the history of the town), or were nationally-prominent politicians (for instance, the two prominent government party publicists Gusztáv Beksics, who represented the town of Sfântu Gheorghe five times, and Nándor Éber, the Hungarian correspondent of the *Times*, who represented Sic five times as well) and served as ministers or state secretaries several times (for instance Kálmán Tisza, Béla Lukács, László Lukács, Sándor Hegedüs). This corresponds to Sándor Kurtán's conclusion that long-serving deputies were connected partly by the important political-government positions, and partly by other factors (professional and local political background, etc.).¹⁰

Concerning the continuity and stability of deputies—if we ignore the reorganization of constituencies—the year 1878 did not represent the start of a new era: sixteen deputies had represented towns before 1878 as well, while eleven had won other parliamentary seats. As a result, we can find a total of twenty-seven former deputies (that is, 24.3% of all deputies) after 1878.

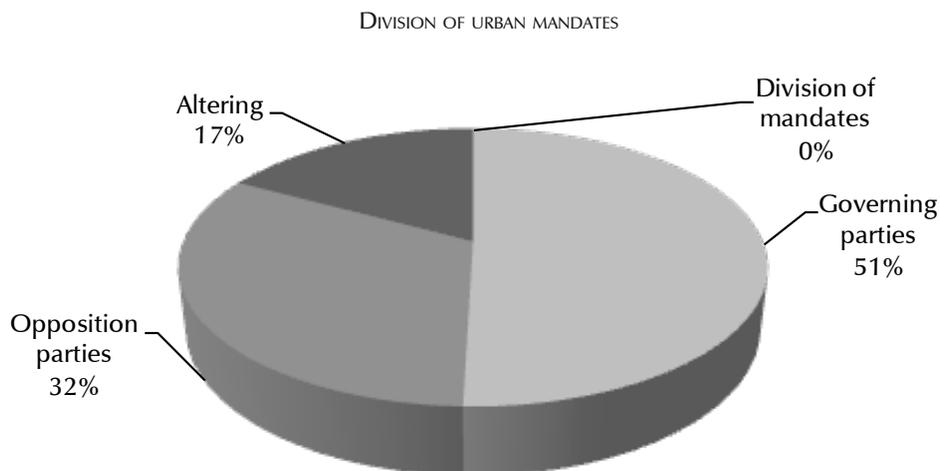
The continuity noted between certain terms is illustrated in the chart below:

PARLIAMENTARY TURNOVER



Surprisingly, as the above chart indicates, it was not the 1906–10 parliamentary term, when the opposition won the majority of seats, but the 1896–1901 term that witnessed the highest proportion of new deputies (50%), whereas the proportion of new deputies for the term 1906–10 was 47.7%. Continuity and stability indicate that on average 60% of the deputies from the previous legislature retained their seat, while the proportion of new deputies “normally” amounted to 30–35%. In Hungary, the average was 37.4% between 1884 and 1918, which corresponds to the 39.6% average in Austria, and similar values in Germany or France between 1897 and 1901. The highest average (50.1%) was recorded in 1910–18.¹¹ We can only speculate on why the 1896–1901 legislature had the highest number of new deputies. Only after processing the data from all Transylvanian constituencies will it become clear whether we are dealing with a coincidence deriving from the small sample, or with a regional phenomenon. For the time being, it appears that, due to various personal reasons (death, etc.), this legislature witnessed the highest number of early elections, seven in total, which resulted in a higher proportion of new deputies than usual. At the beginning of the legislature, there were six new deputies, which corresponds to the average proportion. The 1910 elections also represent an exceptional case—greatly reflecting the ongoing rearrangement of the political landscape—when a great proportion of the deputies of the former Liberal Party (National Labor Party after 1910), who had not won a seat in the previous elections, returned to Parliament (31.6%), their group being as large as that of the re-elected deputies (31.6%) who partly ran on the platform of the National Labor Party as well. Yet, the new deputies once again made up merely one-third of the group (36.8%).

The party affiliation of deputies is also not always easy to establish because, on the one hand, it was not mentioned in the almanacs at the beginning of the period, and on the other, although political scientists characterized the latter as a dominant-party system,¹² various factions were often created, which merged and split, thus making a deputy switch factions several times in the course of a term. However, if we consider the government party/opposition dichotomy, then we have 51% of deputies affiliated to the government party, 32% to the opposition, and 17% alternating. Regarding their attitude toward the Compromise, which was the great divide, most town representatives supported it, although the opposition’s support was also above average in Transylvania, especially in Târgu Secuiesc (Kézdivásárhely), Târgu-Mureș and Odorheiu Secuiesc (Székelyudvarhely).



The above chart shows the development of the deputies' party affiliation. While in the earlier elections the proportion of government party deputies was 60% (which is slightly above the national average), by 1896 it had risen to 84.6% (the national average was 70.2%). The reason for this, apart from government pressure (the elections held during Dezső Bánffy's time as prime minister were considered the toughest from this perspective), was that most Saxon deputies switched to the government party. The 1905 elections are a good indication of the split in the Liberal Party, which had been in government until then. Thus, the government party won for the first (and last) time fewer seats (40%) than the other parties. Besides, the result corresponds to the national average. In 1906, there was another turning point: the parties of the former opposition won all seats—even though this did not mean new people as well. 1910 witnessed the rearrangement of the political spectrum: the National Labor Party, created on the ruins of the former Liberal Party, won most seats (73.6%).¹³ As indicated above, this also meant that a number of former deputies returned to Parliament.

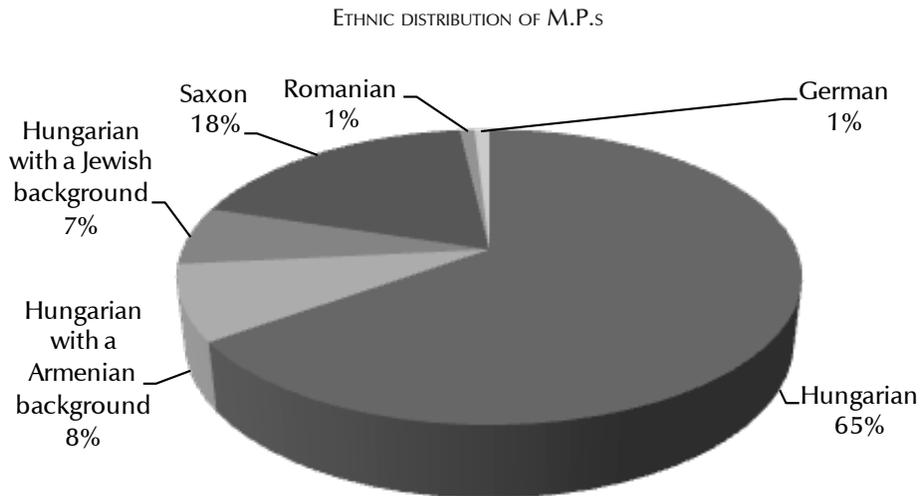
The Profile of Urban Deputies

THE AVERAGE age of deputies at the time of their first mandate was 38.5, and in the case of town mandates it was 42.4. The most frequent year of birth was around 1849. The oldest was the Armenian-origin Bogdán Jakabb, born in 1809, while the youngest was Baron Sándor Rudnyánszky, born in 1882. Jakabb, along with a few other older deputies, had run in the pre-1848 elections for the Transylvanian Diet as well. Jakabb, who had acted as a counselor to the Gubernium and member of the Reichsrat after serving as city

clerk in Gherla, was appointed ministerial adviser after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise.

The average age according to parliamentary terms was between 41.5 (1884–87)—the Hungarian average was 46.2 at the time¹⁴—and 48.4 (1905–06). The average age at the time of the first mandate was the lowest (34.9) during the 1884–87 legislature, and the highest (40) during the 1906–10 legislature. This is lower than the average age of deputies from Austria (47.6 in 1911).¹⁵

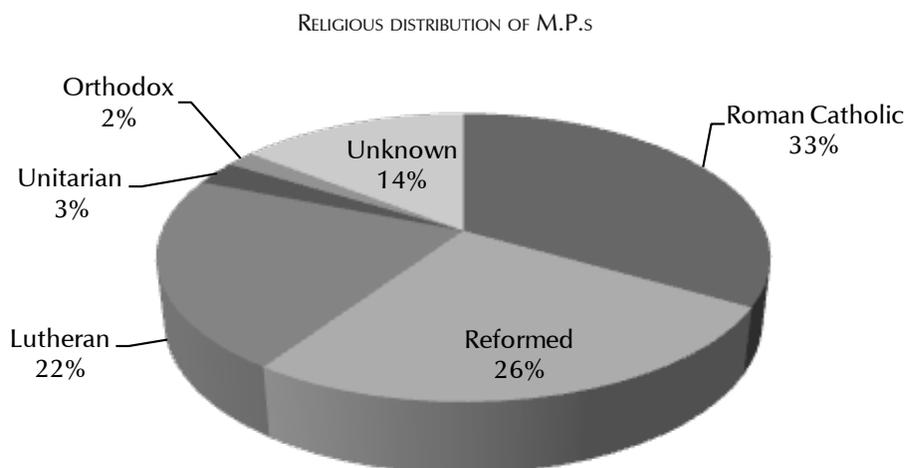
If we analyze the national composition of Transylvanian deputies, then we notice that, apart from the two cities from the Royal Land (the former autonomous Saxon territory), namely, Sibiu and Braşov, where they elected almost exclusively Saxon deputies (we can find one Romanian and one Hungarian in Braşov),¹⁶ all the other urban constituencies were represented by Hungarians (80.6%), whereas the only deputy of German origin (0.9%)¹⁷ did not really represent an exception to the rule since he also ran as a “Hungarian.” Therefore, due to the cities of Sibiu and Braşov, the proportion of Saxon deputies appears high (18.3%). On the other hand, due to the particularities of the electoral system, Romanians—except for the deputy Nicolae Strevoiu from Braşov—could not win a seat even in the mostly Romanian-inhabited constituencies of Abrud (Abrudbánya) and Ocna Sibiului (Vizakna).



If we analyze the deputies of Armenian and Jewish origin in the Hungarian group, then the former made up 8.2%, while the latter 6.4% of all deputies. The great proportion of Armenians is explained by the presence of two Armenian towns, Gherla and Dumbrăveni, and that in both of them, the candidates' Armenian origin was virtually an unwritten rule. However, the two deputies of Arme-

nian origin with a prominent political career, Béla Lukács and László Lukács, ran successfully in other constituencies as well. While the proportion of deputies of Armenian origin is stable (10–13%), deputies of Jewish origin started to enter Parliament only at the turn of the century. Thus, they made up 15% of all town deputies in 1905, 12.5% in 1906, and 10.5% in 1910. Among them, only one had local ties (Soma Fenyvesi, a lawyer from Târgu-Mureș), while the others increased the group of “foreigners” coming from Hungary, which is indicative of the Jewish community’s significant economic rise and assimilation into the Hungarian nation, and of its desire to take on a more active role in the country’s political life. Transylvanian towns offered them the possibility to win parliamentary seats more easily.

The religious affiliation of deputies provides a more diverse picture, even if the information is rather incomplete: it is unknown in fifteen cases (13.5%), uncertain in nineteen (17.1%), which means that in the case of almost one-third of deputies (30.6%) the information was either missing, or fragmentary.¹⁸ The charts below indicate the religious affiliation.

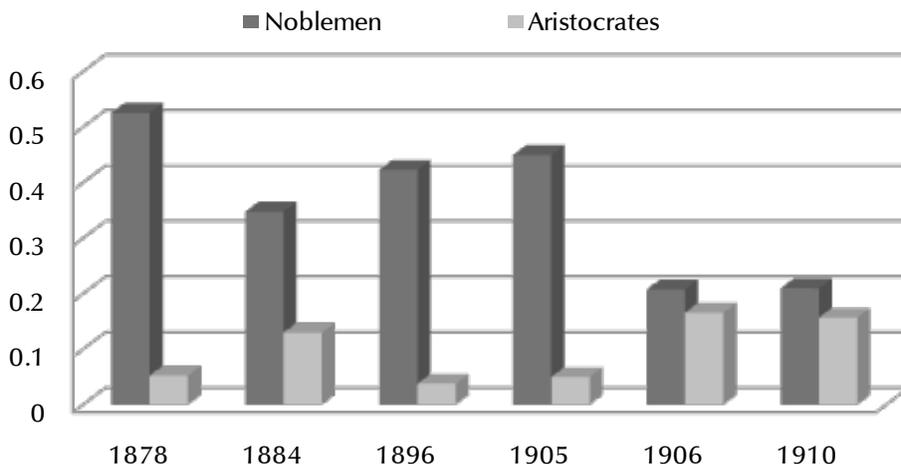


The religious affiliation of deputies does not reflect the religious composition of Transylvania, given the total absence of Romanian deputies affiliated to the Greek-Catholic Church. Additionally, of the two Orthodox deputies, only one was Romanian, the other being a Greek landowner from Hungary. Due to the Saxon deputies, Evangelicals are overrepresented. Regarding the deputies of Jewish origin, I could not establish how many (if any) of them were affiliated to Judaism. However, it is certain that three deputies were Unitarians (their ratio of 2.7% largely corresponds to the Transylvanian average). The specialist litera-

ture has indicated the over-representation of Reformed deputies, which is valid in our case as well. Although Protestants made up a slight majority among the Hungarians in Transylvania, in the towns under investigation, they represented the absolute majority only in Sfântu Gheorghe and Sic, and the relative majority in Cluj and Târgu-Mureş. Accordingly, in 1906, the Reformed made up 24.1% of all deputies in the Hungarian Parliament, whose religious affiliation was certain, and 31.1% during the entire period under investigation.¹⁹

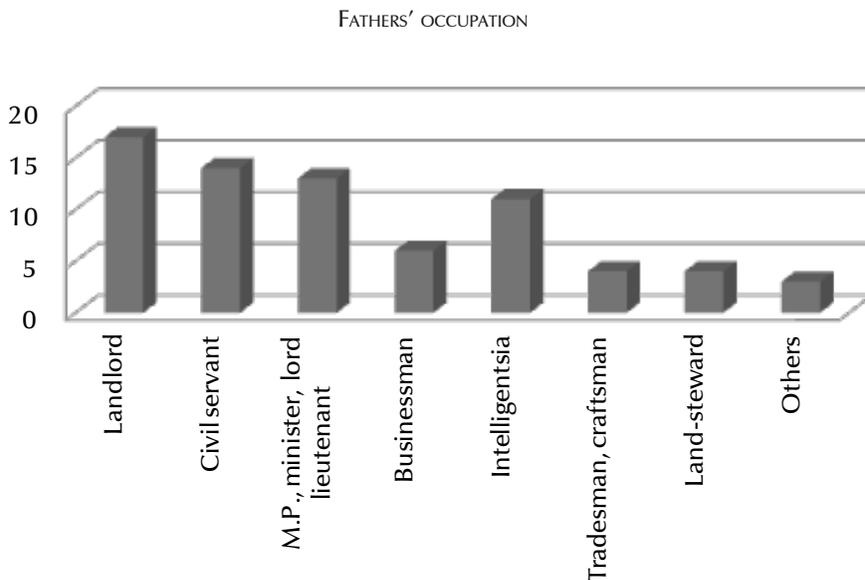
It is also interesting to analyze whether or not the percentage of noblemen and aristocrats was significantly different from the national average, that is, to what extent the urban element was able to assert itself in the parliamentary elections. As easy as it is to identify aristocrats, it is difficult in many cases to decide whether or not some of the less prominent deputies had a title. We can find fifteen aristocrats among the deputies (eight counts and seven barons, namely 13.5% of all deputies). However, three of them receive the title of count after 1848 (Lajos Horváth-Tholdy in the 1850s, while Aladár Karátsonyi and István Tisza in the dualist period). It is certain that thirty-eight deputies had a title, six of them receiving the title in the dualist period. 47.7% of town representatives were noblemen or aristocrats, which largely corresponds to the national average.²⁰ Thus, Transylvanian urban constituencies do not reveal deviations from this point of view.

PROPORTION OF NOBLE AND ARISTOCRATIC REPRESENTATIVES



The above chart indicates how the percentage of aristocrats evolved during the investigated period. It is interesting to note that while the combined proportion of aristocrats and noblemen continually decreased, that of aristocrats increased considerably at the start of the twentieth century compared to 1896, when it was 3.8%. For a more substantial explanation, however, one should also analyze county constituencies, because the small sample can distort the results. One can also note a slight increase in the proportion of aristocrats within the national average, but it is not even close to such a sizable increase.²¹

Another major indicator of family background is the father's profession, which simultaneously indicates social mobility as well. However, the incomplete data significantly distorts the overall picture, given that in the case of 41.1% of all deputies, there is no reliable source for data on the father's profession. Where it is known, we can find more than one entry, such as landowner and deputy, businessman and landowner, etc.



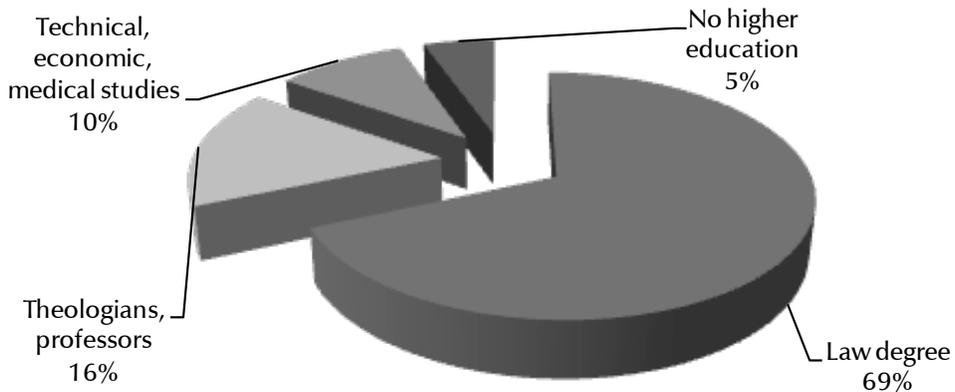
In the case of fathers, the two largest groups consist of civil servants and landowners (26.1%). The proportion of lower-ranking state, county and town civil servants is 21.5%, while that of ministers, lord lieutenants and deputies is 20%. On the other hand, there is a low proportion of intellectuals overall (16.8%)—which is higher in the case of Saxons—, but we were unable to find any members of the technical intelligentsia among the latter as well. There is an even lower

proportion of urban professionals, such as businessmen, bankers, industrialists, traders, etc. Compared to the Austrian deputies, the Hungarian Parliament appears as more closed, with narrower avenues for social mobility.

Origin and family background played a major role in the career of deputies, which I already discussed in relation to the lord lieutenants.²² A description of family ties would go beyond the framework of the present study. This is why I will illustrate them with just a few examples: the aforementioned Gábor Daniel, the son of the lord lieutenant of Odorhei county, was elected deputy for the first time in a county constituency at the age of twenty-four; István Tisza, future prime minister and the son of Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza, was elected at twenty-five, while Lóránt Hegedüs, future minister and the son of minister Sándor Hegedüs and of Jolán Jókai, the niece of the famous writer Mór Jókai, started his parliamentary career at twenty-six. On the other hand, the opposition politician Gábor Ugron, whose father was a lord lieutenant with extensive family ties, started his parliamentary career at twenty-five, while his brother Ákos won his first seat at twenty-six. Obviously, family ties were at least as important as talent at the start of their careers.

Regarding their level of education, we do not have precise data in the case of six deputies, while six others (5.4%) did not have higher education. This means that the vast majority of deputies (89.1%) had graduated from college or university. The high proportion of graduates in comparison to not only other parts of the monarchy, but also Europe, is indicative of outstanding values for Hungary as well as of the closed nature of the political elite. More than two-thirds (68.4%) of those who graduated from university or college had a degree in law—which also corresponds to the Hungarian average²³—, most of them earning it at university, while ten of the more senior deputies obtained it either at the Law Academy or after attending the legal courses offered by colleges. Having a law degree was almost a pre-requisite for a political career. Most of the others had a degree in theology (8.1%—more among the Saxons), often combining it with a teaching qualification. As to the urban deputies, it is surprising to note the low proportion of those who chose “practical” fields of study: only five had completed technical studies (4.5%), while six had studied economics, mining, forestry or medicine (5.4%). In total, eleven (9.9%) had completed technical, economic and medical studies, while eighteen (16.2%) were theologians, professors, philologists and artists. In the case of those whose place of study is known, 52% got their degree in Budapest or went to university there as well, 17.3% in Cluj, 8.1% at the Law Academy in Sibiu, 18.3% in Vienna (21.4% in Austria), while 22.4% studied at foreign (mainly German) universities (because many studied at more than one university, the total value exceeds 100%).

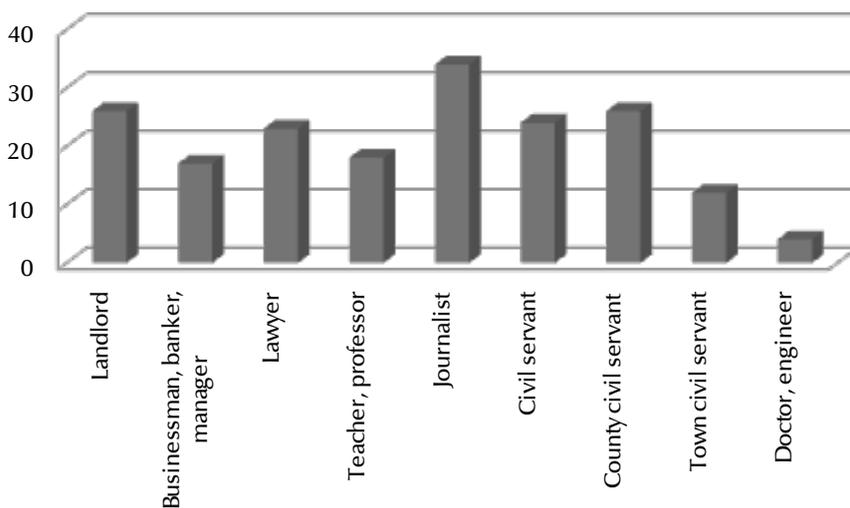
STUDIES OF M.P.S



In comparison, less than half of the Czech deputies had university or college degrees in 1907–14. Among those who had a university degree, 59% had studied law, 12% the arts, 11.5% theology, while 15% had completed technical studies or graduated from an agricultural college.²⁴

As to the professions of deputies, various sources usually indicate more than just one. Thus, it was frequent at the time that somebody was simultaneously a jurist and journalist, a professor and an expert or a landowner and journalist.²⁵

PROFESSION OF THE M.P.S

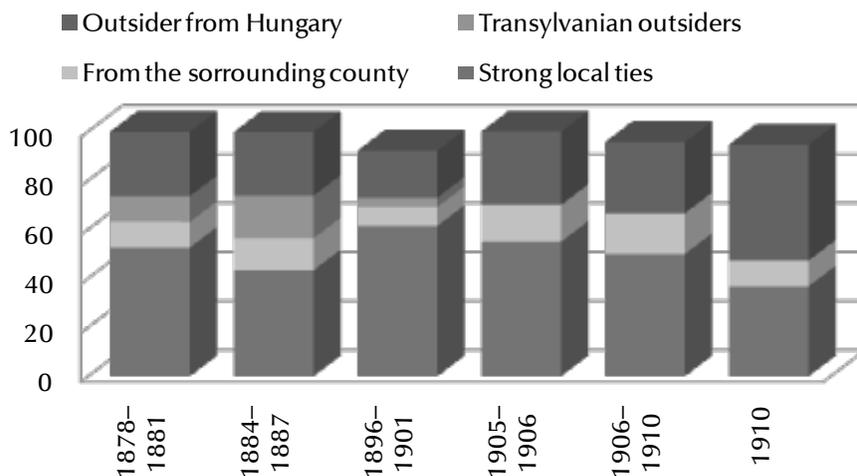


The chart above reveals the recruitment base for deputies: civil servants make up the largest group, but it is precisely the town civil servants who are the most under-represented (10.8%). Previous experience in the county administration (23.4%) as well as in ministries or other state institutions (21.6%) played a much more significant role. The two often interacted: membership in Parliament could act as a springboard to higher offices, but it was easier for a high-ranking official to be nominated to run in a good urban constituency. Evidence in this respect is the fact that, among the deputies, we can find seven lord lieutenants, six ministers, and three prime ministers. The two other larger groups were made up by landowners (23.4%), and journalists or editors (23.4%) (however, if we include writers in this group, then the ratio increases to 30.6%). While the high proportion of landowners clearly indicates the survival of the traditional elite, the latter group is indicative of the ongoing modernization. With the growing role of public opinion, the prestige of the journalistic profession was also on the rise and represented a great stepping stone to a career in politics; besides, the link between this profession and modern politics is noticeable across the European continent as well. In Austria, following the introduction of universal suffrage, the proportion of journalists grew to 20.5% in 1907 (party and state functionaries were also included here).²⁶ Considering the substantial proportion of law graduates, it is not surprising to find a significant group of lawyers among the deputies (20.7%). Additionally, we can find many teachers and school inspectors (16.2%) as well as businessmen, bankers and managers (15.3%).²⁷ On the other hand, the proportion of physicians and other professions is rather low.

If we compare the data above with the calculations of Ernő Lakatos and Adalbert Toth, we notice that, in our case, the proportion of journalists (a national proportion of 3% for the period 1884–1918) and teachers (4.1%) is significantly higher, but the proportion of the “liberal professions” (3.6%—businessmen, industrialists, bankers, physicians, engineers, etc.), lawyers (16.3%) and civil servants (10%) is also higher. This results from the different calculation method, on the one hand, and the somewhat different professional structure of urban deputies, on the other. Based on Ilonszki’s data, the proportion of local and county civil servants is mostly identical, the same as with the higher-ranking civil servants and lawyers, even if regarding the national average their proportion was much higher (between 28% and 33.6%).²⁸

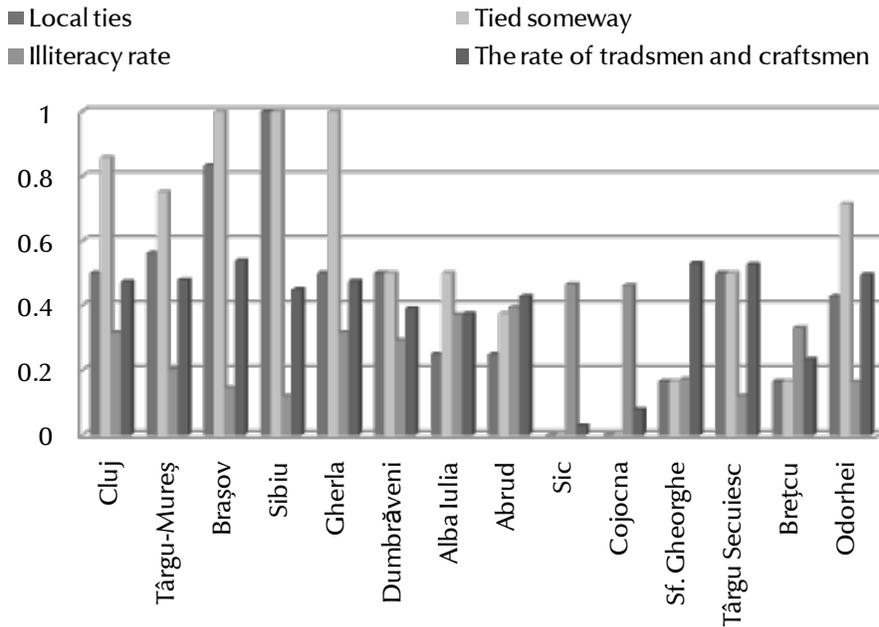
Finally, in analyzing the local ties of deputies, we note that in the period under study less than half of them (48.6%) had local ties. Among the “strangers,” deputies from Hungary (outside of Transylvania) made up the largest group (32.4%), although one-fifth of them had some sort of ties to their respective constituency (e.g. Armenian origin or previous work). Regional landowners, lawyers and teachers, as well as “Transylvanian outsiders” made up around 9% of deputies.

LOCAL TIES OF THE REPRESENTATIVES



If we follow the changes in the proportion of the various categories according to parliamentary terms, then we note that the proportion of “outsiders from Hungary” was the lowest in 1896 (19.2%) and the highest in 1910 (47.3%), their proportion shifting between one-quarter and one-third of all deputies. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, their proportion steadily rose, reaching the peak in 1910. Thus, this tendency, which started during the first parliamentary elections following the Compromise, grew stronger and Transylvanian towns became genuine “hunting grounds” for politicians from Hungary.²⁹ While the proportion of mostly local or regional aristocracy and gentry fluctuated around 10%, the category of “outsiders, but nevertheless Transylvanians” had completely disappeared by the start of the twentieth century. After the 1884–87 low-point, the proportion of deputies with local ties significantly increased in 1896–1901 at the expense of the other categories, only to decrease steadily thereafter, so that by 1910 the proportion reversed in favor of deputies from Hungary.³⁰

LOCAL TIES OF THE REPRESENTATIVES



If we break down the data according to towns, then we note the highly uneven distribution of outsiders. One extreme is represented by the Saxon towns. The percentage of deputies with local ties is 83.3% in Brașov and 100% in Sibiu. This indicates that the Saxon elite, by taking advantage of the limited suffrage favorable to them, managed to maintain their control over these so-called “Saxon” constituencies until the end of the dualist era. We can also find a high proportion—especially if we introduce the category of those “tied somewhat”³¹—in Gherla (100%), Cluj (85.7%), Târgu-Mureș (75%) and Odorhei Secuiesc (71.4%). Conversely, we are unable to find any deputies with local ties in Vlăhița, Ocna Sibiului and Sic, while their number was very low in Brețcu (Bereck) (16.6%), Sfântu Gheorghe (16.6%) and Abrud (37.5%). It is not accidental that in most places the percentage of aristocrats is rather high.

Finally, if we compare this to the professional structure of the respective towns, as well as to the illiteracy rate, then it becomes obvious that localities with a high proportion of agricultural laborers (Sic 88.1%, Vlăhița 83.5%, Cojocna 81.8%, Brețcu 66.1% and Ocna Sibiului 58.1%) and, in connection to this, a very low number of workers and merchants, were mostly represented in Parliament by “outsider” deputies. The illiteracy rate is the lowest (Sibiu 12%, Brașov 14.5%, Odorhei Secuiesc 16%, Târgu-Mureș 20.2%) where the pro-

portion of local deputies is high, even if here the connection is not so obvious, given that in Cluj and Gherla the illiteracy rate is relatively high (around 30%), whereas in Sfântu Gheorghe it is low (17.2%). Besides, Sfântu Gheorghe represents a unique case, because despite having a high percentage of industrial and trade employees (53.1%), it was continuously represented by prominent politicians from Hungary, such as Kálmán Tisza and Gusztáv Beksics, between 1878 and 1905. The explanation for this phenomenon could only be provided by a micro-analysis, so we can only indicate here that these politicians passed their seats along, obviously with help from local politicians who thus hoped to secure extra financing and benefits for their town.

Conclusions

IN 1877, in the course of the debates on the reorganization of constituencies, one of the prominent opposition politicians argued that all except two of the Transylvanian urban constituencies—the “rotten boroughs”—should be eliminated, since their only purpose was “to maintain the current government in power and secure a few very comfortable seats for the ruling majority.”³² This widely-spread opinion was clearly valid in the case of smaller towns since, as indicated above, the proportion of outsiders, with the notable exception of the 1896–1901 legislature, was constantly increasing. Moreover, in 1910, deputies from Hungary became the majority, surpassing those with local ties. Most of these outsiders were prominent government party politicians, several of them serving as ministers.

The profile of deputies does not reveal notable differences as compared to the pre-1878 situation or to the average in Hungary. However, there are differences, or rather changes, regarding two interconnected aspects: the professional structure of deputies changes in comparison with the pre-1878 one, but continues to deviate from the average of all deputies from certain points of view. Compared to the situation that followed the Compromise (the 1869–72 legislature), the proportion of urban civil servants decreased (from one quarter to 10.8%)—the proportion of civil servants remained generally high³³—, while there was an increase in that of journalists and landowners (both from 8% to 23.4%), businessmen and bankers (from 8% to 15.3%), as well as lawyers (from 15% to 20.7%). This is obviously connected to the growing proportion of outsiders given that, on the one hand, they came from the ranks of the traditional Hungarian elites (see the growth in the percentage of landowners) while, on the other, the effects of modernization and professionalization are noticeable especially in the growing number of journalists, businessmen and bankers (most of them also coming

from the category of outsiders). The role of lawyers was already emphasized not only by Max Weber, but also in comparative European studies.³⁴ Thus, the traditional model and the traditional bourgeois element faded into the background, but the change was two-sided: it involved not only the strengthening of the traditional elite, but also a greater visibility of the modern elements—and not only among the Saxons, even if the presence of a greater number of Saxon deputies clearly and positively changed the model from this perspective, similarly as the higher number of Jewish-origin deputies at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Concerning the increase in the proportion of outsiders, this tendency continued after the Compromise, the center paying less regard to the local elites. This is valid first and foremost in the case of the genuinely “rotten boroughs” and rural towns, where most inhabitants were engaged in traditional, agricultural activities and illiteracy rates were high. In these localities (for instance Vlăhița, Sic and Ocna Sibiului), outsider candidates started to be nominated shortly after the Compromise, and the decision to maintain them as separate constituencies was clearly motivated by political interests. Compared to previous periods, we are able to find significant changes only regarding Sfântu Gheorghe which, despite having a similar ethnic composition, professional structure and illiteracy rate as Târgu-Mureș and Odorheiul Secuiesc, was represented in Parliament almost exclusively by outsider deputies after 1878.

Thus, Transylvanian towns never formed a unitary group. For instance, the two Saxon towns from the former Royal Land strongly set themselves apart, given that Sibiu and even Brașov, where Saxons were already a minority at the time, elected, with two exceptions, only Saxons deputies to Parliament. In both towns, the Saxons managed to preserve their influence. Following the 1890 *Sachsentag*, they adjusted their political line to agree with the policy of the Hungarian government. The so-called “black Saxons,” who accepted the new line, joined the government party, but the younger generation acted as an internal opposition, known as the “green Saxons,” and won seats as well (for instance Lutz Korodi, the editor of the *Kronstädter Zeitung* and one of their leaders, in Brașov). As to the deputies of Armenian origin, they formed a special group, generally representing the two Armenian-founded towns of Gherla and Dumbrăveni. However, the two most prominent Armenian politicians represented other constituencies as well. On the other hand, we can find only one Romanian deputy for the entire period. Apart from the passive political resistance of Romanians, other reasons for this are firstly the exclusive enfranchisement, the very limited voting rights, and the ethnic composition of towns.

Cluj preserved its prominent place among the Transylvanian towns, even after losing its capital status. It remained the political and social center of the Transyl-

vanian Hungarian community, as well as the place where most of the provincial aristocracy retreated for winter. The high proportion of aristocrats among the deputies (one third) is a result of the town's preeminent position. Additionally, Cluj hosted Hungary's second-oldest university, established in 1872, partly in compensation for the loss of its capital status. The role of the local university is highlighted by the presence of three professors among the deputies (20%).

The three former manufacturing centers in the Szekler Land—Târgu-Mureș, Odorheiul Secuiesc and Târgu Secuiesc—formed a distinct group this time as well, given that the higher proportion of not only locally-connected, but also opposition deputies sets them apart from other towns and brings them closer to the ethnic Hungarian constituencies. The strong local patriotism and bourgeois self-awareness, which we also find in the case of Armenian towns, asserted itself in this respect as well.

Consequently, regarding the parliamentary representation of towns, we can speak of an uneven modernization which reveals the general weaknesses of the Hungarian electoral system. The high proportion of noblemen and higher education graduates among the deputies indicates the elitist character of the deputy status and the closed character of the system, while the transformation of the professional structure is indicative of modernization and professionalization. However, no reform took place and the First World War swept away the entire previous system.



(Translated by LEONARD CIOCAN)

Notes

1. Judit Pál, "Representation of the Transylvanian Towns in the Hungarian Parliament and Town Representatives After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1866–1875)," in *Elites and Politics in Central and Eastern Europe (1848–1918)*, eds. Judit Pál and Vlad Popovici (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, forthcoming).
2. Although the Saxons were the majority only in Sibiu, I will call Brașov and Sibiu "Saxon" and Gherla and Dumbrăveni "Armenian" towns, based on historical traditions.
3. In Transylvania, for instance, there was one deputy for the 106,000 inhabitants of Alba de Jos (Alsó-Fehér) county and one for the 1,247 inhabitants and 223 voters of the town of Miercurea-Ciuc, meaning one deputy for eighty times fewer inhabitants.
4. The government took care that Transylvania was represented in Parliament by seventy-three deputies, as many as the 1848 Law stipulated. Iván Nagy, ed., *Az 1875. évi augusztus 28-ára hirdetett országgyűlés képviselőházának naplója* (Budapest: Schlesinger & Worlauer, 1878) (233rd Session, 28 April 1877), 287.

5. Ibid., 288.
6. <http://www.ogyk.hu/e-konyvt/mpgy/alm/almanach.html> (last accessed 28 July 2013).
7. Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, 12 vols. (Pest: n.p., 1857–1868); Béla Kempelen, *Magyar nemes családok*, 11 vols. (Budapest: n.p., 1911–1932); *Magyar nemzetségi zsebkönyv*, vol. 1, *Főrangú családok*, ed. László Fejérvataky (Budapest: Magyar Heraldikai és Genealogiai Társaság, 1888); vol. 2, *Nemes családok*, ed. Gyula Schönherr (Budapest: Magyar Heraldikai és Genealogiai Társaság, 1905); *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon*, ed. Péter Újvári (Budapest: Makkabi, 1929); József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, 14 vols. (Budapest: n.p., 1891–1914); Adalbert Toth, *Parteien und Reichstagswahlen in Ungarn 1848–1892* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1973), and other sources.
8. The former Lord Lieutenant and State Secretary János Sándor ultimately won the election in Târgu-Mureș in 1905, but his opponents filed a complaint with the *Curia*, and Minister Ferenc Székely also won the election in Târgu-Mureș in 1910. However, I included both individuals in the calculations, since they were elected.
9. If we calculate the years spent in Parliament, one deputy spent 10.7 years on average, but the deviation is even greater in this case; additionally, there is a substantial deviation between the 1905–1906 and 1910–1918 parliamentary terms as well. Regarding the first, they called for new elections because of the political crisis, and regarding the second, there were no new general elections due to the outbreak of the First World War. The longest-serving deputies, with more than three decades of service each, were Kálmán Tisza (36 years), Gábor Daniel (35 years), Gábor Ugron and László Lukács (33 years), as well as Mór Jókai and Mihály László (31 years), while the shortest-serving deputies were Sándor Ebergényi, Árpád Embery and Zoltán Szakács, with one year of service each.
10. Sándor Kurtán, “Az elit elitje: a hosszan szolgáló parlamenti képviselők a Magyar Országgyűlésben, 1900–1918,” in *Képviselők Magyarországon*, vol. 1, ed. Gabriella Ilonszki (Budapest: Új Mandátum, 2005), 51–75.
11. Gabriella Ilonszki, *Képviselők és képviselet Magyarországon a 19. és 20. században* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2009), 109, 118. In Austria, 41% of deputies were new in 1907, but their number abruptly grew to 62% following the introduction of universal suffrage. Franz Adlgasser, “Neue Gesichter oder alte Bekannte? Das Abgeordnetenhaus im Spiegel der Wahlrechtsreformen,” in *Hundert Jahre allgemeines und gleiches Wahlrecht in Österreich: Modernes Wahlrecht unter den Bedingungen eines Vielvölkerstaates*, ed. Thomas Simon (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010), 59–61.
12. Ilonszki, *Képviselők és képviselet*, 73–80.
13. The national average was 61.9%, but if we ignore Saxon deputies (15.8%), we get a similar result.
14. Gabriela Ilonszki, “Történelem és politika határútján,” in *Képviselők Magyarországon*, 1: 12.
15. Robert Luft, *Parlamentarische Führungsgruppen und politische Strukturen in der tschechischen Gesellschaft: Tschechische Abgeordnete und Parteien des österreichischen Reichsrates 1907–1914*, vol. 1 (Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2012), 348–349.

16. Braşov elected almost exclusively Saxon deputies despite the fact that, by 1910, Saxons were already a minority: 43.4% of inhabitants were Hungarians, 28.7% Romanians and 26.4% Germans. On the other hand, Saxons still represented the majority population in Sibiu (50.2%).
17. Baron Friedrich von Born was born in Berlin and died in Dachau.
18. Ilonszki's research group faced the same problem, for instance in the case of the 1901–05 legislature, when the religious affiliation of 72% of deputies was unknown. Ilonszki, *Képviselek és képviselet*, 57.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., 60.
21. Toth, 1073. The proportion of aristocrats was 10–11% at the start of the dualist period, 14.2% in the period 1896–1901, 13.8% in 1905–06, 11.2% in 1906–10, and 16.4% in 1910–18.
22. Judit Pál, "The Transylvanian Lord-Lieutenants after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise," in *Cultural Dimensions of Elite Formation in Transylvania (1770–1950)*, eds. Victor Karády and Borbála Zsuzsanna Török (Cluj-Napoca: Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, 2008), 138–158.
23. Ilonszki, *Képviselek és képviselet*, 84.
24. Luft, 400–401.
25. I took into account mostly two professions in the case of certain deputies.
26. Adlgasser, 62.
27. This corresponds with the Austrian values which fluctuated between 11% and 16% before 1907. Ibid.
28. Toth, 81–88; Ilonszki, *Képviselek és képviselet*, 84.
29. In this respect, see Judit Pál, "mind jobban kezd divatba hozatni Erdélybe a Királyhágón túli képviselőjelölti bécsempészés?: Magyarországi képviselők Erdélyben a kiegyezés után," *Történelmi Szemle* (Budapest) 52, 4 (2010): 571–584; Iván Bertényi jr., "Képviselei import? Erdélyben, avagy az unió egyik velejárója?," in *Tradíció és modernizáció a XVIII–XIX. században*, eds. Erzsébet Bodnár and Gábor Demeter (Debrecen: DE Történelmi Doktori Program, 2008), 202–213.
30. In Austria, the number of deputies with local ties was much higher, three-quarters and then two-thirds of them living in their respective constituency at the beginning of the period. Adlgasser, 77.
31. I included in this group those who were born, lived or worked there for a while or, in the case of Armenian deputies, those whose family originated there.
32. Iván Nagy, 294.
33. Besides, this is a general European phenomenon. See Heinrich Best and Maurizio Cotta, "Between Professionalization and Democratization: A Synoptic View on the Making of the European Representative," in *Parliamentary Representatives in Europe 1848–2000: Legislative Recruitment and Careers in Eleven European Countries*, eds. Heinrich Best and Maurizio Cotta (Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 493–526, especially 505.
34. Ibid., 510–511.

Abstract**The Representation of Transylvanian Towns in Parliament in the Period 1878–1910**

The study analyzes the social-professional background of the deputies elected in Transylvanian urban constituencies between 1878 and 1910, seeking to determine to what extent their background and local connectedness changed in comparison to the beginning of the dualist period, and how certain tendencies regarding the correlation between the ethnic and professional structure of towns, illiteracy rates and the local attachment of deputies, which emerged at the beginning of the dualist period, developed later on. The study concludes that, in what concerns the parliamentary representation of towns, we can speak of an uneven modernization which reveals the general weaknesses of the Hungarian electoral system.

Keywords

deputies, Transylvania, urban constituencies, dualist period, social-professional background of deputies, local connectedness of deputies