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## RELIGION AND POLITICS IN THE ERA OF DUALISM: DENOMINATIONS AND POPULAR REPRESENTATION IN THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY.<sup>1</sup>

The Catholic-Protestant opposition and rivalry has basically appeared in the early modern age in the Hungarian historical discourse. The national assemblies of the 18<sup>th</sup> century have already been characterised by denominational tensions and the decline of confessionalism. While estate-based opposition and Protestantism were closely related, a section of the Catholic political elite disputed the ideas of the Royal Court. Consequently, oppositional and royalist political aspirations of the estates did not fully reflect the fluctuations of Catholic-Protestant relations.<sup>2</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century reflecting the ideology of the rising middle class, it became an established practice that Catholic politicians advocated the rights of Protestants and a tolerant regulation of mixed marriages. During the Hungarian Reform Era, the religious or denominational demarcation lines became blurred and the Liberal-Conservative opposition during the clerical policy disputes of the 1840s did not reflect the differing priorities of Catholics and Protestants. Opposition to and support of the reforms were based on political attitudes instead of religious conviction.<sup>3</sup> Thus, at the time of the Dual Monarchy, political opposition justified by religious commitment was not applicable, as nation building prioritised multi-confessionalism over the concept of the denominational nation.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, I consider it important to explore whether the composition of the contemporary political elite and the general voting behaviour reflected denominational concerns. In other words, I am interested in whether a special denomination based political

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2 *Szijártó M. István*: A diéta. A magyar rendek és az országgyűlés 1708–1792. (The National Diet. The Hungarian Estates and the National Assembly). Budapest 2005. 268., 277–228.; *Szijártó M. István*: A 18. századi Magyarország rendi országgyűlése. (The estate-based National Assembly in Hungary in the 18th century) Budapest 2016. 103–105.

3 *Sarnyai Csaba Máté*: Polgári állam és katolikus egyház (1848. március-december). A katolikus autonómiatörekvések megjelenése. (The modern state and the Catholic church, March-December 1848) Budapest 2002, 18–19.

4 *Kövér György*: Magyarország társadalomtörténete a reformkortól az első világháborúig (The social history of Hungary from the Age of Reform until World War First). In: *Gyáni Gábor – Kövér György*: Magyarország társadalomtörténete a reformkortól a második világháborúig. (The social history of Hungary from the Age of Reform until World War Two) Budapest 2004. 149.

platform or organizational pattern characteristic of the previous era of religious struggle could have survived beneath the surface of the official non-denominational policy urging national unity.

In my earlier works I have not published specific data on the denominational distribution of parliamentary representatives of the age of the Dual Monarchy since I could only identify the fraction of the representatives' faith based upon the Parliamentary Almanacs as my primary source.<sup>5</sup> Contemporary almanacs likely to reflect the liberal governmental perspective rarely contained data concerning the religion of a given person. Such conclusions could only be made from indirect sources, data related to social status or occupation along with the religion followed by a better-known established dynasty. While several researchers have published such findings, the respective conclusions are based upon insufficient and inaccurate information amounting to 60 to 70% data deficiency. Furthermore, the given research results underestimate the number of Roman Catholics while alluding to a higher than actual number of Protestants.<sup>6</sup>

Therefore, in 2017 I concluded that the heretofore identified sources are not sufficient for performing a scholarly inquiry. The special organizational structure of the Protestant church results in the automatic overrepresentation or dominance of Protestant representatives as the given individual's role in the clerical organization functions as a clear indicator of religious faith. The almanacs reveal that laymen could contribute to the management of the Protestant church mostly as presbyters or trustees. Since being a member of Parliament was such a prestigious position, the given individual almost immediately was elected to become one of the lay elders of the respective church organization. As far as Roman Catholics are concerned, only the almanac of the Catholic State Convention of Transylvania provides regular indication concerning secular contribution to church affairs. Such numerical "advantage" of Protestants is partly compensated by data concerning members of Parliament coming from the ranks of the nobility, a social class well-known for following the Roman Catholic faith. The nobility, however, did not play such a major role in the House of Representatives, that it would significantly alter denomination-related data

5 *Pap József*: „Két választás Magyarországon”. Az országgyűlési képviselők társadalmi összetétele a 20. század első éveiben. (Two elections in Hungary. The social composition of representatives in the first years of the the 20th century). AETAS 22. (2007) 1. 9. similarly to: *Kurtán Sándor*: Az elit elitje: a hosszan szolgáló parlamenti képviselők a Monarchia időszakában. (The elite of the elite. Long serving parliamentary representatives) In: *Képviselők Magyarországon I.* (Parliamentary representatives in Hungary I.). Ed.: Ilonszki Gabriella Budapest 2005. 56.

6 *Ilonszki Gabriella*: Képviselők és képviselőlet Magyarországon a 19. és 20. században. (Representatives and popular representation in Hungary in the 19th and 20th centuries). Budapest 2009. 57-59.; *Schönbaum Attila - Schwarcz András*: Paradox rendszerváltás: az 1910–1922 közötti parlamentek képviselői. (Paradoxical regime change: parliamentary representatives in the period of 1910–1922). In: *Képviselők Magyarországon I.* (Parliamentary representatives in Hungary). Ed.: Ilonszki Gabriella Budapest 2005. 117.

in the lower chamber based upon popular representation.<sup>7</sup> Regardless of the lack of sufficient data, certain conclusions can be drawn. Namely, Hungarian society was divided by religion as the average people and the elite followed different faiths. "Before World War I, Catholics mostly voted for candidates of the Independence Party, while Protestants tended to be liberal" (Pölöskei, 2001; Romsics, 2001). Such a dividing line "has a geographic dimension as the analysis of the respective election results reveal Protestant dominance in the governing parties including the Liberal Party and the National Labour Party"<sup>8</sup> We aim to explore this issue further.

### The religious relations of the members of Parliament between 1848-1918

In the past years we have been able to expand our research with the inclusion of a special mass of sources, obituaries and thus remedy the lack of research data this way. Later I discuss the extent of the data deficiency reduction. Today the national obituary collection of the National Széchenyi Library is available in two locations. While the earlier version offered limited research options,<sup>9</sup> recently the respective materials became available in a searchable on-line format on the website of the National Széchenyi Library.<sup>10</sup> We attempted to locate the obituaries of each representative in this data base. The basis for determin-

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7 The exact data related to the participation of the high nobility in Parliament apart from bare proportional figures is not known. Our research group intends to publish relevant data later. The members of the research group have explored the issue from the point of view of the Upper House reform (*Tóth-Barbalics Veronika: A „korona védpajzsa” vagy „észarisztokrácia”?* (The "protecting shield of the crown" or the "brain aristocracy"). *Századok* 155. (2011) 3. 735–737.; *Ballabás Dániel: Főnemesi rangemelések Magyarországon a dualizmus korában.* (Rank-based mobility among the nobility in Hungary in the Dualist Period). *Századok* 145. (2011) 5. 1232–1235. In 1901 the rate of the nobility in the House of Representatives was 13% (*Pap József: „Két választás Magyarországon”. Az országgyűlési képviselők társadalmi összetétele a 20. század első éveiben.* (Two elections in Hungary. The social composition of representatives in the first years of the the 20th century). *Tanulmányok a dualizmus kori magyar parlamentarizmus történetéből.* (Essays from the history of Hungarian parliamentarism in the age of dualism) Ed: Pap József, Budapest 2014. 27., *Pap, József: Parliamentary representatives and parliamentary representation in Hungary (1848–1819).* Frankfurt am Main 2017. 45.). Between 1861 and 1918 the maximum participation was 15,7% (1910), and the minimum was at 8,6% (1872). (*Gerő András: Az elsöprő kisebbség. Népképviselet a Monarchia Magyarorszáján.* (The overwhelming minority. Popular representation in Hungary during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy). Budapest 2017. 218.) These values have to be compared to internal subgroups of the high nobility according to family background, religion, and economic status and to the given social group itself.

8 *Ilonszki G.: Representatives and popular representation* 55., it must be noted that identifications without page numbers could not be found in these two works.

9 [http://www.rakovszky.net/E1\\_LSG\\_ObitsIndex/GYJ-NevIndex.shtml](http://www.rakovszky.net/E1_LSG_ObitsIndex/GYJ-NevIndex.shtml)

10 <https://dspace.oszk.hu/handle/123456789/663648>

ing the religious faith of the given representative was the type of funeral rite. If we could not locate the given individual in the collection, we considered data pertaining to the father relevant.

Having processed the obituaries, we can hypothesize that a funeral rite reflects the religious preference of the deceased, which naturally could imply a change of religion throughout one's life. I believe that this data, at least before the second half of the twentieth century, rather referred to individual identity, than religious conviction or denominational type. Such a distinction is especially important in the case of the Jewish community as significant differences can be discerned between those with Jewish ancestors and the number of the members of Parliament professing this faith. Reflecting the contemporary official position, we considered those to belong to the Jewish faith whose data related to conversion to Christianity was not available.<sup>11</sup>

My current analysis is based on the sample of 3,278 persons. I included those representatives in the inquiry on whom information was available regarding their activities between 1848 and 1918. The research focused on representatives who were either elected at a regular election or received their mandate in a by-election.<sup>12</sup> The basic multitude does not include those (68 persons) whose mandate was not proven or substantiated. The table below shows the denominational data of the representatives included in the inquiry.

	Number (persons)	Proportion (%)	The distribution of known data	Data from 1901 (Ilonszki 2009: 57.)
Roman Catholic	1304	40,6	58,7%	43,0%
Greek Catholic	36	1,1	1,6%	2,6%
Armenian Catholic	8	0,2	0,4%	n.a.
Orthodox	80	2,5	3,6%	5,3%
Evangelical	252	7,9	11,3%	18,4%
Reformed (Calvinist)	484	15,1	21,8%	28,1%
Unitarian	20	0,6	0,9%	n.a.
Unknown Protestant	3	0,1	0,1%	n.a.
Israelite	35	1,1	1,6%	2,6%
Unknown	953	29,7		
Total	3210	100		

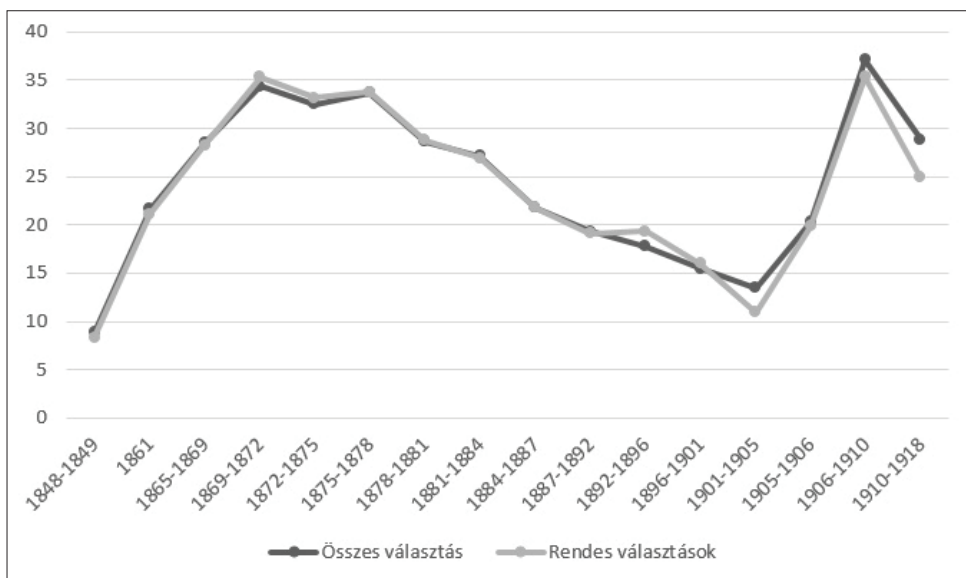
Denominational data related to Members of Parliament in the 1848-1918 period

11 The respective data was surveyed with the help of László Fazakas, a research assistant, whose contribution was crucial.

12 Only 29 representatives (0,2%) of the sample are unknown. The most probable reason for this is that the mandate was not completed between 1848 and 1918.

The table underlines that the inclusion of obituaries helped in reducing the lack of data hindering the research process. In light of earlier research results, the previous critical observation related to almanacs as historical sources is substantiated. Accordingly, the representation of the Roman Catholic group is strongly skewed, and the two Protestant groups appear to be overrepresented, primarily due to the unique features of the given historical source. The table suggests that we should seriously reconsider the value of the heretofore available data and our knowledge as well.

The dynamics of the lack of data can be informative as well. Accordingly, I prepared a graph displaying the distribution of the Members of Parliament within the respective legislative cycles whose religion is unknown. Each person was listed according to the number of the terms he served or mandate he fulfilled. Thus 3,278 persons fulfilled 7,520 mandates. Unsubstantiated or unproven mandates were excluded from the inquiry. Also, cases when a mandate was not accepted because a given representative won in more than one constituency or voting district, were not considered either. This meant 111 instances. Furthermore, if a Representative had to resign due to conflict of interest, (118 cases) mostly because of being appointed to a position in the government but won again in his voting district at the next election, I considered that a single mandate as well. Since relatively limited data is available concerning the religious denomination of representatives gaining their mandate in by-elections, I analysed the full data pertaining to the 6,503 regular elections. In order to illustrate the potential differences, the two series of data are shown in one graph.



The fluctuation of the rate of representatives whose religious denomination is unknown. 1848–1918 Aggregate number of elections, regular elections (Összes választás: All elections in the term; Rendes választás: Normal elections)

The graph reveals that there is no major difference between the two values as except for 4 legislative cycles the difference is between  $\pm 1\%$ . The greatest difference can be discerned in the last cycle with a 3,9% rate. Such high-level sameness or equality of data can be observed in case of each denomination as the difference never exceeds  $\pm 0,5\%$ . Consequently, I will not make separate calculations in the forthcoming sections and if it is not indicated otherwise, I will concentrate on data pertaining to regular elections.

The 30% mark of the graph indicates the average rate of those whose religious denomination is unknown. The curves reveal that, thanks to the modern almanac, we have excellent data concerning the members of the first Parliament, while by the beginning of the 1870s the lack of data shows a 2,5 times increase. Then the curves start a steep downturn and reach a 10,9% nadir in 1901 before displaying increasing values. The highest rate is reached in 1906 (35,4%) and during the last session, the rate of representatives whose religious denomination is unknown, decreased to less than 30%.

The reasons for such phenomena are the unique aspects of the processed sources. Regarding the pre-1886 period, with the exception of the 1848 cycle, we do not have almanacs and the main source of information is the obituaries. Yet, the number of obituaries included in the collection of the National Széchenyi Library is much lower. Thus, the rate of the number of representatives whose religious denomination is unknown is much higher in the beginning Parliamentary cycles. The increase registered in the 1905/1906 period can be justified by the collapse of the Liberal Party and the fact that such people became legislators who had not belonged to the Parliamentary elite until then. Nevertheless, these representatives mostly played a limited or episodic role as they were able to secure a mandate in the erstwhile liberal constituencies or voting districts of the peripheral areas. Such representatives usually came from the local and mostly unknown elite and they died after the Trianon peace treaty resulting in the partition of Hungary. Consequently, their obituaries are not included in the Hungarian collections. This phenomenon applied to the 1910 legislative session and to the one during World War I, as there was a one third turnover of legislative seats throughout that extended period.<sup>13</sup>

As I mentioned earlier, researchers, regardless of the availability of the legislative almanacs, had to cope with a 70% less than sufficient data pertaining to the period after 1886. The exploration of obituaries led to a significant improvement in this area as the respective values facilitate the drawing of scientifically sound conclusions for the legislative representation of the whole era.

In order to ascertain the reliability of the given data, another question should be explored, namely the correlation between the rate of representatives whose religious denomination is unknown and the data related to the given denom-

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13 The digital search option of the press-related documents of Hungarian minorities living beyond the borders of the mother country has become available recently. This will lead to a more accurate evaluation of the respective data.

inations. Consequently, the following question emerges: can a significant discrepancy be discerned between the respective denominations along with the fluctuation of the data concerning the representatives with unknown religious denomination? If such a discrepancy or anomaly can be identified, then the missing values can significantly impact the validity of our conclusions. Hence, even such an extreme situation can develop when the missing 30% refer to one denomination. Thus, we can rephrase the question, namely does the distribution of the unknown religion-related data significantly differ from that of the known ones? In order to perform this exploration, I relied on the Pearson correlation coefficient. I reduced the number of groups that come into consideration as I conjectured that Protestants are characterised by identical attributes as their roles are better listed or expressed in the almanacs. The same detailed information was available about Catholics, primarily representing the nobility. Furthermore, rates related to Reformed-Evangelical-Unitarian-other Protestant denominations and to the Roman and Greek Catholics showed highly significant and reverse correlation with the rate of representatives whose religious denomination was unknown.<sup>14</sup> The same tendency was not applicable to those following the Orthodox or Israelite faith. Thus, with the decline in the rate of representatives with unknown religious denomination, the importance of the Protestants and Roman Catholics increases simultaneously. Further exploration of the correlation related to unknown religious denominations might indicate an increasing importance of Catholics and Protestants, but only in the case of Catholicism, can a more substantial increase or growth be predicted. Such a discrepancy is so small that it is not expected to significantly alter the currently identified proportions. The skewing impact of data gained from the exploration of almanacs is significantly limited by the data obtained from obituaries. Thus I believe, that the omission of data related to representatives with an unknown religious denomination does not significantly impact the inquiry as the respective potential distribution does not show an anomaly or discrepancy that would

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		Unknown	Protestant	Catholic
Unknown	Pearson Correlation	1	-0,85**	-0,93**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		1,99E-05	1,11E-07
	N	16	16	16
Protestant	Pearson Correlation	-0,85**	1	0,64**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	1,99E-05		0,00
	N	16	16	16
Catholic	Pearson Correlation	-0,93**	0,64**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	1,11E-07	0,00	
	N	16	16	16
**	Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).			

The Pearson correlation coefficient values fluctuate between 0 and 1, and its sign indicates the direction of the correlation.

cause a significant problem regarding our present conclusions based on the extent of and the sign marking the significant correlations. It is important to note that such correlation is applicable to 94% of the sample of representatives whose religious denomination is known.

The omission of data or rates referring to the representatives whose religious denomination is unknown can help in estimating the role of the given denominations played within the respective religious elite and we can compare such data with the census figures of the given community. As the next table shows, I grouped the assembly-related data according to cycles in order to perform the appropriate calculations. The first group represents the beginning years followed by the Kálmán Tisza period and the last section of the Dual Monarchy. I based my calculations on the census data from the 1881 and the 1910 period.

	Σ	Parliamentary cycles			Census		The extent of being represented in the given sample (%)	
		1848–1875	1875–1892	1892–1910	1880	1910	(1880–(1875–1892))/1880	(1910–(1892–1910))/1910
Roman Catholic	57,6	56,1	57,6	58,6	47,2	49,3	21,9	18,9
Greek Catholic	1,4	2,3	0,7	1,2	10,8	11,6	-93,3	-89,4
Roman and Greek Catholic	59,0	58,5	58,3	59,8	58,1	60,9	0,4	-1,7
Armenian Catholic	0,7	0,6	0,9	0,6				
Greek Orthodox (Eastern Orthodox)	3,2	4,4	2,6	2,8	14,1	12,8	-81,4	-78,0
Evangelical	12,5	12,5	13,5	11,8	8,1	7,1	67,3	66,4
Reformed	21,5	23,0	21,3	20,5	14,7	14,3	44,5	43,1
Unitarian	0,9	0,6	0,7	1,3	0,4	0,4	61,3	219,7
“Protestant”	0,2	0,1	0,3	0,1				
Israelite	2,0	0,3	2,4	3,1	4,6	5,0	-48,2	-38,6

Denominational relations of Members of Parliament according to cycle groupings

The table reveals the trendlike changes of data or its actual lack. Accordingly, the denominational composition of the National Assembly proved to be rather stable during the time of the Dual Monarchy. The smaller discrepancies or anomalies did not substantially impact the denominational distribution. Compared to its own presence the role of the Orthodox Church showed the greatest level of change as its not too high value decreased almost by half. While in the case of the Israelites the fluctuation was significant, we must keep in mind that before 1867 people of the Jewish faith could not become members of Parliament. Such a legalized restriction has a skewing impact on the data pertaining to the first period.

The representation-related data pertaining to the given groups was calculated as a percentage of their population share reported by the census. Thus,



the given values indicate the change of the membership of the respective denomination, either resulting in a higher or lower figure compared to the specific census. The aggregate data of Greek and Roman Catholics were virtually fully identical with that of the census figures showing a more preferred position for Roman Catholics than Greek Catholics respectively. All Protestant denominations were overrepresented, but such data prevalence arose at the cost of the Israelites and especially the Orthodox representatives instead of the Catholics. One potential reason is the ethnic relations of the Parliament as most representatives came from a Hungarian stock. Consequently, the respective denominational distribution should be compared to the denominational composition of Hungary, representing the highest share of Parliamentary membership. This question will be explored via a case study of the representatives receiving mandates in the Parliamentary election of 1901 as shown by the table below.

Religious faith	Representatives (1901)	Population (1900)	Rate of Hungarians (1910)	A1-A2	A1-A3
	A1	A2	A3		
Roman Catholic	57,80%	48,70%	58,70%	9,10%	-0,90%
Greek Catholic	0,80%	14,40%	3,10%	-13,60%	-2,30%
Evangelical	12,80%	7,50%	4,20%	5,30%	8,60%
Reformed	20,40%	14,40%	25,80%	6,00%	-5,40%
Eastern Orthodox	3,30%	13,10%	0,40%	-9,80%	2,90%
Israelite	4,30%	4,90%	7%	-0,60%	-2,70%
Unitarian	1,10%	0,40%	0,70%	0,70%	0,40%

The denominational relations of the members of the 1901 Parliament

Since in the 1901 Parliamentary cycle the religious denomination of 90% of the representatives was known, my exploration focuses on this issue. In comparison to the whole population of the country, the examination yields similar results showing overrepresentation of Roman Catholic, Evangelical, Reformed and Unitarian representatives. Conversely the numbers and role of Greek Catholic and Eastern Orthodox parliamentarians were far below the values obtained nationwide. This was due to the presumable ethnic background of such representatives because representatives with a Romanian, Ruthenian, and Serbian background followed the latter two faiths and their rate was considered low.<sup>15</sup> Based upon the religious denomination of representatives

15 According to researchers, only those representatives belong to this category, who were elected with an ethnic nationality or minority program. (Further information: *Schönbaum Attila: Pária elit? Nemzetiségi képviselők a Magyar Országgyűlésben (1900–1918). (Pariah elite? Representatives with an ethnic nationality background in the Hungarian National Assembly 1900–1918).* In: *Képviselők Magyarországon. I. Budapest In: Képviselők Magyarországon I. (Parliamentary representatives in Hungary).* Ed.: Ilonszki Gabriella, Budapest 2005. 82–85.) I would dispute the validity of this approach since representatives with an ethnic-nationality background were found in the governing party as well. We must note, however, that we do not have exact data related to this issue.

considering themselves Hungarians and presuming that the majority of representatives belonged to this category, the rate of Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics in Parliament can reflect the general census data closer. At the same time Reformed representatives and those following the Jewish faith are significantly underrepresented, while Evangelicals, Eastern Orthodox, and Unitarian representatives are significantly overrepresented. The respective data can only be skewed by the 273 members of the Liberal Party fraction. Consequently, additional inquiry as shown below must be performed in case of the representatives of the Independence Party and the Liberals.

Religious faith	Liberal Party (1901)	Independence Parties (1901)	Rate of Hungarians (1910)	A1-A3	A2-A3
	A1	A2	A3		
Roman Catholic	59,10%	51,90%	58,70%	0,40%	-6,80%
Greek Catholic	0,80%	0%	3,10%	-2,30%	-3,10%
Evangelical	11,30%	8,60%	4,20%	7,10%	4,40%
Reformed	19,40%	32,10%	25,80%	-6,40%	6,30%
Eastern Orthodox	4,50%	0%	0,40%	4,10%	-0,40%
Jewish	3,20%	4,90%	7%	-3,80%	-2,10%
Unitarian	0,80%	2,50%	0,70%	0,10%	1,80%

The denominational composition of the 1901 Parliament

The comparison of these two groups reveals visible differences. The rate of Roman Catholics among Liberal representatives appropriately reflects its share among Hungarians as a whole. Conversely, the given value is 6% lower in case of the representatives of the Independence Party. The rate of Evangelicals exceeded the general census figures in both fractions but compared to Liberals their rate was 3% higher. At the same time Reformed representatives show opposite results as they were overrepresented in the opposition and underrepresented in the governing party. Those following the Eastern Orthodox faith were only found among Liberal representatives. The rate of Jews was below the overall rate in Hungary in case of both Parliamentary fractions, but the difference was smaller in case of the opposition parties. Unitarianism was also mostly characteristic of the opposition. Thus, in the ranks of the representatives of the Independent opposition Protestantism, mainly Reformed faith and Unitarianism were dominant. The proportion of Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics was below the general figures in Hungary. As far as the Liberals are concerned, the trend seems to be the opposite.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> It is important to point out that this data fully differs from previous research results. *Ilonszki G.: Representatives and popular representation* 58.

Accordingly, at the turn of the century the opposition was primarily dominated by Reformed representatives. While the hypothesis presented in the introduction cannot be considered acceptable, we cannot regard our inquiry complete as further dimensions of the question should be explored. The connection between the opposition and the Reformation is a special feature of the early modern era discernible after the decline of the religious identity or confession of the representatives of the various parliamentary estates. Such a phenomenon naturally could have a local dimension leading to the question whether a connection could be recognized in the religious character of constituencies or voting districts and the respective party preferences. The question can be answered in several steps. Starting with the introduction of the religious attributes followed by the trend-type features of the respective election results and completed by identifying connections among the given features and attributes.

### **Religious and ethnic composition of voting districts or constituencies**

The answer to the first question, the analysis of the religious composition of constituencies was a multi-phase task requiring substantial preparation. In the past years, I created a data base facilitating the collection of information or data related to the settlements of a given voting district. The starting point was the Gazetteer of 1913 containing 12, 542 names of communities followed by the recording of this list into a starting data base developed at Eszterházy Károly University. The respective data was coupled with the community or settlement specific data of the 1910 census followed by the integration of the electronically available community-specific data of the 1880 census. Consequently, I came up with two independent cross-sections whose correlations or connections I had to identify. A significant problem was the difference between the two data sections due to Legislative Article VÍ/1898 specifying the change of the name of several settlements and communities. Thus, the items of the two lists could only be identified manually which took a months long effort. I relied on Mihály Gyalay's place name register.<sup>17</sup> The next step was the allocation of the county or district municipalities into voting districts. The election system developed after 1878 included 413 voting districts, but the public administration structure of Hungary entailed 530 districts with council led municipalities without and with legislative authority and the 1910 census revealed 580 such municipalities. The two systems revealed significant differences from the point of view of public administration and voting districts. I attempted to solve this dilemma previously by comparing the system of the county districts and voting districts with the estimated results gained from public administration and constituency

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17 *Gyalay Mihály*: Magyar igazgatástörténeti helységnévlexikon. (Hungarian place name register). Budapest 2006.

maps.<sup>18</sup> Since this procedure proved rather inaccurate I launched the data base construction program described in the study. Currently there is a list covering the whole country at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century facilitating the grouping of 12,000 municipalities. Section 8 of Act XV/1899 regulating parliamentary elections ordered counties to determine the highest amount a voter could be reimbursed for their travel costs according to each municipality and the resulting district-based resolution or document be presented to the Ministry of the Internal Affairs. Since the respective documents became available in printed form<sup>19</sup> it was only a matter of time to complete the allocation effort. The data tables compiled by the summer of 2017 facilitated the introduction of new information related to the cross-sections of 1880 and 1910 data. I matched the given data tables with the digitalized constituency maps and prepared new ones with the QGIS program.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, no comprehensive maps of the voting districts or gazetteers pertaining to the whole country are available from the pre-1878 period. Consequently, we should use the data related to the 1878 parliamentary election as the basis for area-based comparative inquiries. Conversely, in case of counties unaffected by the public administration and voting district changes of the mid 1870s, the comparison can be performed as of 1848.

As a first step of the analysis, I established the religious or denominational character of the voting districts by identifying the dominant religious group of the given constituency, in other words, which had a higher than 50% representation. Thereupon, I could establish 8 categories (Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Roman and Greek Catholic, Orthodox, Evangelical, Reformed, Protestant, Mixed). While a more refined taxonomy including the minority denominations of the given voting districts could be applied, it would lead to complications in preparing the cross tables and the the respective maps.

The data of the two temporal sections could be organized into a cross table displaying not only the number of voting districts allocated in the given cate-

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18 Similar inquiry: *Pap József: Kísérlet a magyarországi választókerületek huszadik század eleji etnikai karakterének meghatározására.* . (An attempt to establish the ethnic character of Hungarian voting districts at the beginning of the 20th century). In: *Tanulmányok a dualizmus kori magyar parlamentarizmus történetéből.* (Essays from the history of Hungarian parliamentarism in the age of dualism) Ed: Pap József, Budapest 2014. 147–161.

19 *Szivák Imre: Országgyűlési képviselőválasztás és curiai biráskodás codexe.* (The codex of parliamentary elections and the respective curial legal system). Budapest 1901. 605–1001.

20 I am indebted to Sándor Rózsa for his help in digital cartography, Regarding his works consult: *Rózsa Sándor: A Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok megyei levéltár 18–19. századi kéziratos térképeinek elemzése Kunhegyes környékének tájtalakulása szempontjából.* (An analysis of 18-19th century manuscript maps of the Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County Archives reflecting the landscape formation of the surroundings of Kunhegyes). *Historia Nostra* 2. (2017) 1. 107–121.

gory in 1880 and 1910, but the respective changes as well. The following table provides such an illustration.

Columns:1910 Rows: 1880	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Roman and Greek Catholic	Orthodox	Evangelical	Reformed	Protestant	Mixed	Total
Roman Catholic	204		3					1	208
Greek Catholic		27	3					1	31
Roman and Greek Catholic	5	3	19					4	31
Orthodox			1	37				2	40
Evangelical	1				7		5	1	14
Reformed	3	1				30	3	4	41
Protestant					1	1	4	3	9
Mixed	7		2	5		3		22	39
Total	220	31	28	42	8	34	12	38	413

The denominational composition of voting districts (1880–1910)

The above table not only shows the data of the two temporal sections but illustrates the stability of the given character structure. The values pertaining to 1910 are included in the columns and the rows show the 1880 situation concerning the given character groups. The diagonals of the table include 350 districts (84,5%) whose character was unchanged. Consequently, the denominational or religious composition can be considered relatively stable, but in case of some groups the extent of the change differs. While in 1880 270 Catholic 40 Orthodox, 64 Protestant, and 39 mixed districts could be identified, in 1910 the number of Catholic constituencies increased by nine, there were two more Orthodox districts, and the number of the Protestant and mixed districts decreased by ten and one respectively. Consequently, the Protestant majority was lost in 16% of the voting districts and the erstwhile Reformed majority in 41 districts in 1880 was decreased to 34 by 1910 (-17%) and the number of districts dominated by Evangelicals dropped from 14 to 8 (-43%). Thus, as a result of the respective changes the Catholic domination increased in the given voting districts. The trends of change can be well distinguished in Protestant constituencies as the previous Protestant majority was transformed into a Protestant community majority prior to the formation of a mixed district. Conversely mixed districts rarely preserved their varied profile as in 30 years they turned into either Catholic or Orthodox dominated.<sup>21</sup>

I performed the same inquiry in the case of ethnic composition as well. I wanted to ascertain which identity components of the given voting districts can be considered more stable. The following table helps to find the answer to this question.

21 The denominational or religious character of the voting districts is illustrated by section-specific maps (Maps 2 and 3).

Columns:1910 Rows: 1880	Hungarian	German	Slovak	Romanian	Ruthenian	Southern Slavic	Italian	Mixed	Total
Hungarian	194								194
German		19						8	27
Slovak	2		53					3	58
Romanian				63				1	64
Ruthenian					9				9
Southern Slavic						6		1	7
Italian							1		1
Mixed	15			2				36	53
Total	211	19	53	65	9	6	1	49	413

The ethnic nationality composition of voting districts (1880–1910)

Those districts which show no modification in between the two processed periods are listed in the identical rubric of the table. Such cells include 381 districts (92%) and we can conclude that the denominational character of the districts experienced more significant change than that of the ethnic character. It is rather noteworthy, since one could expect the opposite due to the assimilation processes.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to assimilation, the other reason is the differing migration-related attributes of the given districts. 282 districts show a population increase less than the national average, while 14 constituencies experienced an outright population decrease. The highest increase was shown in the urban districts of Marosvásárhely, Kecskemét, Szabadka, and Budapest along with the rural district of Gödöllő. Unfortunately, at the present stage of research, I am unable to identify the exact correlation between the given phenomena including migration, assimilation, and ethnic and denominational character change.

The table indicates that the number of the Hungarian districts significantly increased, while that of the Germans and Slovaks showed a decrease. Furthermore, the number of constituencies dominated by Romanian, Ruthenian, and Southern Slavic voters remained stable. This result fully reflects the macro-level assimilation trend of various ethnic nationalities. The trend of the change is similar to that of the ones experienced in the area of religion. Accordingly, at first the districts became mixed and the increase of Hungarian and Romanian dominated districts took place at the expense of the constituencies considered mixed in 1880.<sup>23</sup>

The change of denomination was related to a well-defined ethnic circle, and the decline of Protestants and the growth of the Catholic, primarily the Roman Catholic character was mostly applicable in the districts dominated by Hungarians and Slovaks. In case of the latter, the number of Catholic districts

22 *Kövér Gy.*: The social history of Hungary 149.

23 The ethnic character or composition of the voting districts is shown in two sections, similarly to that of religious denomination, in maps (Maps 4 and 5).

did not show a significant increase. Two Evangelical (8 districts out of 53 in 1880) constituencies were transferred to the category of mixed denomination and one to the Catholics. A truly significant change could be observed with the Hungarian voting districts as out of 17 religiously mixed districts 8 became Catholic and two turned Reformed. The Reformed districts also experienced losses as out of the 41 districts with a Reformed majority in 1880, 10 constituencies changed character (3 became Catholic, 3 turned Protestant Mixed, and 4 became Mixed). In the meantime, they were able to acquire three districts from the Mixed and Protestant Mixed category thus their overall decrease was limited to 20%. Moreover, the main denominational features of German, Ruthenian, Southern Slavic, and Romanian districts showed substantial stability.

Thus, the changes in ethnic and denominational character indicated the prevalence of the Hungarian population and the Catholic faith in the given voting districts.

Finally, let's take a glance at the cross-table of the ethnic and religious features of voting districts. I will use the data pertaining to 1910 in the interpretation of the election results. We can conclude that taking the static nature of the data into consideration does not substantially affect or impact the results as certain changes can be discerned, but the respective extent of the change is so small that it cannot significantly impact the inquiry.

	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Roman and Greek Catholic	Orthodox	Evangelical	Reformed	Protestant	Mixed	Total
Hungarian	125	2	15		1	33	9	14	211
German	14						1	2	19
Slovak	33	1	5		5		1	1	53
Romanian		18	5	33		1		8	65
South Slavic	2			4					6
Ruthenian		8						1	9
Italian	1								1
Mixed	19	2	3	5	2		1	12	49
Total	194	31	28	42	8	34	12	38	413

The denominational and ethnic composition of voting districts (1910)

The cross-table displays the voting districts according to denominational composition of ethnic nationality groups. Next, I will discuss the other important issue, the analysis of the election results in the given voting districts.<sup>24</sup>

24 Cf. similar map and analysis: *Gerő A.*: The overwhelming minority 388.; Toth, Adalbert: *Parteien und Reichstagswahlen in Ungarn, 1848-1892*. München 1973. 91-131, 173-195.

## Party preferences of voting districts (1878–1918) and the respective denominational composition

In one of my previous works I performed an analysis of the voting districts and the elections taking place between 1887 and 1901 which helped me to prepare a map showing party preferences.<sup>25</sup> The data obtained in the past years facilitated the extension of the inquiry to a period starting with 1878. The beginning year is when the 413 voting district system was implemented and the end point is the 1910 general election. During this period 10 general elections were held in 413 districts. Thus, in the matrix of the inquiry the 10\*413 value is included. In order to identify the districts displaying identical features I used the following method. The parties were allocated into four groups including the governmental parties of 1867, the opposition parties of 1867, parties supporting independence, and parties of ethnic nationalities. I omitted anti-semitic mandates, numbering 26, primarily for the sake of a more accurate analysis. I calculated the partial proportion of these categories compared to the number of maximum available mandates in a given district (10). Such unique percentage values, in other words, the statistical weight of party groupings within a voting district were taken into consideration during the ranking of the constituencies. Consequently, the voting districts can be grouped into six categories. *Constituencies supporting the governing party*: in 181 districts the governing parties achieved 60-90% election result, with a maximum value of 90% as the 1867 governmental party did not participate in the 1906 election. *Opposition districts* in which the 1867 opposition parties obtained 60-80% of the mandates. This category included 10 constituencies. *Districts showing the domination of both the governmental party and the opposition* in which the abovementioned two groups achieved the same results, this meant 117 districts. In 75 *independent districts* the parties supporting independence earned 60-100 % of the mandates. A unique feature was the participation of *ethnic nationality parties* in the elections. Districts in which the representation rate reached 50-60 % were allocated into a separate category. This involved 2 districts. Additionally, there were 28 so-called *straddling districts* where none of the parties gained a clear majority. The respective results are shown on a separate map (Map 1). The next step is the exploration of the correlation between party preference groups and the denominational composition of the voting districts in 1910. The following cross-table illustrates the respective results.

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25 Pap József 2014c: Az 1887 és 1905 közötti országgyűlési választások eredményeinek statisztikai vizsgálata. (Statistical examination of the results of parliamentary elections between 1887 and 1905). In: Tanulmányok a dualizmus kori magyar parlamentarizmus történetéből. (Essays from the history of Hungarian parliamentarism in the age of dualism) Ed: Pap József, Budapest 2014. 73–96.; English version of the analysis: Pap, J.: Parliamentary representatives 85–108.



	Governing party (60-90%)		Governing party and the 67 opposition		67-opposition (60-80%)		Straddlers		Ethnic nationality (50-60%)		Independence party (60-100%)		Σ
Roman Catholics	74	41%	82	70%	6	60%	19	68%		0%	39	52%	220
Greek Catholics	23	13%	3	3%	1	10%	1	4%		0%	3	4%	31
Roman and Greek Catholics	13	7%	9	8%		0%	2	7%		0%	4	5%	28
Orthodox	34	19%	6	5%	1	10%		0%	1	50%		0%	42
Evangelical	4	2%	3	3%		0%		0%		0%	1	1%	8
Reformed	4	2%	4	3%	1	10%	5	18%		0%	20	27%	34
Evangelical-Reformed	5	3%	3	3%	1	10%		0%		0%	3	4%	12
Mixed	24	13%	7	6%		0%	1	4%	1	50%	5	7%	38
Σ	181	100%	117	100%	10	100%	28	100%	2	100%	75	100%	413

The correlation between party groups and the denominational composition of voting districts (1910)

The somewhat complex table shows that the Protestants, and especially Reformed districts are higher in case of the opposition and there are no Orthodox districts on this side of the political spectrum. Thus, the situation is somewhat similar to what we saw in the case of the denominational composition of the representatives of the 1901 Parliamentary session.

The examination categories can be further simplified since the basic question is whether the given political party or party group accepted the Compromise of 1867 or not. As it is well-known, the Hungarian political arena was divided by this question and the only exception was the coalition era. The question basically implied the acceptance or questioning of the system of the Dual Monarchy. Following the unification of data related to this issue we get a much more transparent and comprehensible table.

	Supports the Compromise (60-%)		Straddlers		Rejects the Compromise (60%-)		Σ
Roman Catholic	162	52%	19	68%	39	52%	220
Greek Catholic	27	9%	1	4%	3	4%	31
Roman and Greek Catholic	22	7%	2	7%	4	5%	28
Orthodox	42	14%		0%		0%	42
Evangelical	7	2%		0%	1	1%	8
Reformed	9	3%	5	18%	20	27%	34
Evangelical-Reformed	9	3%		0%	3	4%	12
Mixed	32	10%	1	4%	5	7%	38
Σ	310		28		75		413

The correlation of party groups reflecting their position towards the Compromise and the denominational composition of voting districts in 1910.

This table shows the respective results more clearly, as the supporters of the Compromise achieved better election results in voting districts in which Greek Catholics and Orthodox voters were prevalent while 60% of districts considered dominated by the Reformed voters in 1910 supported the opposition. In 1880, 5 mixed opposition districts showed Reformed dominance and two such districts were found in the case of the Catholics as well. Thus, the oppositional attitudes and the rejection of the Compromise can be easily seen in the case of the Reformed districts. Although the opposition could show some success among the Catholics as well, this category reflected political division on the national level as the opposition controlled 18% of the districts while the Roman and Greek Catholics were dominant in 16,5% of the constituencies. The dominance of the Reformed voters and the underrepresentation of the Orthodox and Greek Catholic faith suggests that in addition to religious denomination, ethnic roots had a substantial impact on voting behaviour. The exploration of the same issue in Hungarian dominated voting districts leads to the following table.

	Supports the Compromise (60-%)		Straddlers		Rejects the Compromise (60-%)		Σ
Roman Catholic	82	71%	16	67%	39	54%	137
Greek Catholic	2	2%		0%		0%	2
Roman and Greek Catholic	9	8%	2	8%	4	6%	15
Evangelical		0%		0%	1	1%	1
Reformed	8	7%	5	21%	20	28%	33
Evangelical-Reformed	6	5%		0%	3	4%	9
Mixed	8	7%	1	4%	5	7%	14
Σ	115		24		72		211

The connection between party groups relating to public policy issues and the denominational composition of voting districts in which the Hungarian population is prevalent (1910)

Only three districts are not included among those rejecting the Compromise, namely the voting districts of Diósad, Torda, and Zilah with a Romanian majority. Furthermore, less than half, (37%) of Compromise supporters are listed in the table. The table appropriately illustrates that unlike the much criticized earlier concept, in the case of the Hungarian voters, Catholicism implied the support of the Compromise and those who followed the Reformed church tended to vote for independence.

After further simplification the connection can be explored via a statistical cross-table analysis facilitating the identification of a correlation between changing denominational commitment (denominational variable) and political conduct via descriptive statistical methods. This inquiry, however, can only be performed if the given case numbers are limited as the lowest possible number of items in a specific cell is 5. Consequently, we can reach this goal by combining the Catholics and Protestants separately, while the mixed denominations and straddling voting districts (altogether 37) are removed from the inquiry.

governing pro-independences			Party preference		Σ
Denomination	Roman and Greek Catholic	piece	93	43	136
		% (Denomination)	68,4%	31,6%	100%
	Protestants	piece	14	24	38
		% (Denomination)	36,8%	63,2%	100%
Σ		piece	107	67	174
% (Denomination)			61,5%	38,5%	100%

Denomination-party preference cross- table

Correlation between the party preference and the denominational composition of specific voting districts. Denomination, Catholic, Protestant, Total, No. (denomination) Party preference, Party of 67, Independence Party, Total

The statistical exploration reveals a significant correlation between the two factors. (According to Pearson  $\chi^2$  probe,  $\chi^2 = 12,478$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p=0,000$ ), but this is weaker than medium (Phi: 0,268, Cramer's V: 0,268, contingency coefficient: 0,259, in all three cases the significance level is 0,000). It can be concluded that the denominational composition of Hungarian voting districts clearly impacted the performance of political parties, but it is not possible to determine it fully. Although the governing parties included Protestants, and Catholics voted for the opposition, in the case of the Hungarian districts, the Reformed Church was more dominant in the Opposition, and Catholicism was prevalent in the governing party. Since the opposition proved to be unsuccessful in the ethnic districts, this inquiry is not relevant in that case.<sup>26</sup>

The last step of the analysis is aimed at the connection between raw data, especially whether the abovementioned correlation can be discerned among the uncategorized data series. Accordingly, I took into consideration all denominational data from all voting districts and compared those with the exact values of the political performance of the given parties.

	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	R-G Catholic	Orthodox	Reformed	Evangelical	Unitarian	Protestant	Israelite	Proportion of Hungarians
Governing parties of 67	-0,22	0,25		0,36	-0,40			-0,31	0,13	-0,62
Opposition of 67	0,16		0,17	-0,11	-0,14					
All parties supporting the Compromise		0,19	0,13	0,24	-0,54			-0,43		-0,62
Independence parties		-0,16		-0,34	0,58	-0,19		0,41		0,68
Ethnic nationality parties	-0,25		-0,35	0,44	-0,18	0,26			-0,15	-0,32

Correlation between population-based breakdown of denominations and the performance of parties in voting districts

<sup>26</sup> I prepared two separate maps displaying the election results in Hungarian voting districts dominated by Protestantism and Catholicism (Maps 6. and 7.)

The table only displays the significant correlation established by the Pearson type probe. The inquiry based on the specific values reinforces the tendencies illustrated by the help of categories. The decreasing share of Hungarian voters accompanied by changing denominational commitment, positively impacted the performance of the governing party. Conversely, parties rejecting the Compromise could expect greater success due to the increasing number of Hungarian voters and the rising importance of the Reformed faith. Oppositional politics had ethnic and denominational dimensions demonstrated by statistical means.

The last question was whether there was a connection between the denominational character of the given district and the religion of the elected representative?

The next table includes data on the correlation between the denominational share of the given voting district and the religion of the respective representative.

	Religion of the representative				
	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Orthodox	Reformed	Evangelical
Roman Catholic	,580(**)	-,231(**)	-,129(**)	-,421(**)	
Greek Catholic	-,178(**)	,386(**)		,299(**)	-,149(**)
Orthodox	-,273(**)	,115(*)	,508(**)	-,124(*)	
Reformed	-,313(**)	-,118(*)	-,184(**)	,609(**)	-,126(*)
Evangelical	-,156(**)			-,199(**)	,594(**)

Correlation between the religion of the elected representative and the denominational character of the given voting district

The values indicate a medium level correlation among the denominational composition of a district, the share of the given denomination in the population and the religion of the individual representative. Therefore, this factor continued to be important during the first era of the Hungarian parliamentary movement. A clearly identifiable correlation existed between the denominational character of the voting district, the representative, and the respective political preference best illustrated by the connection between following the Reformed faith and supporting the opposition. While I can conclude that the traces of the political traditions developed in the early modern age continued to be seen during the era of the Dual Monarchy, their determinative role cannot be proven.

The results of the inquiry significantly modify our knowledge related to this question. I believe that the thesis proposed at the beginning of this study should be discarded as it cannot be substantiated either by determining the denominational composition of the Parliament or by claiming the Catholic aspect of oppositional political behaviour. Moreover, contrary to the abovementioned a correlation between the opposition and those following the Reformed faith

can be discerned in the dualist era. The anti-Habsburg sentiments of the early modern age continued to be manifested in the rejection of the Compromise. While it can hardly be disputed that denominational character was not sufficient to determine oppositional preferences in the 18th century, this historic political tradition continued in the period of the Dual Monarchy. Although the denominational correlation system is a significant yet not determinative factor of Hungarian politics in the dualist era, it cannot be fully ignored.