

Nagyvárad at the Beginning of Parliamentarism: The Political Weight and the Role of the Town in the Hungarian House of Representatives 1867–1918¹

ÁKOS SZENDREI

Affiliation: University of Debrecen, Hungary

Department of History

E-mail: szendrei.akos@arts.unideb.hu

Abstract:

In the final decades of the 19th century Nagyvárad became a progressive, dominant town in the Austro-Hungarian Empire's Kingdom of Hungary. The town's prosperity overlapped with the emergence of the Hungarian civil institutional system, the founding of modern parliamentarism. The question is whether the town played a role in the new Hungarian House of Representatives in proportion to its weight or not. To what extent did Nagyvárad have the opportunity to be represented in accordance with its interests?

The study reviews the role of Nagyvárad in the House of Representatives from two perspectives. The first is that the city is represented by only one person in the House of Representatives consisting of 413 (later 415) members. We examine to what extent Nagyvárad stands out from the other towns with a single mandate (Arad, Temesvár, Hódmezővásárhely, Kassa, Pécs, Győr, etc.) and to what extent it would fit with towns with several mandates (Debrecen, Kolozsvár, Miskolc, Marosvásárhely, Brassó, Nagyszeben, etc.). In the second half of the study, we examine the individual weight, party affiliation, and quality of individuals representing the town. We find an answer to the question of whether Nagyvárad belonged to the ranks of pro-government or rather opposition towns. Finally, we present a short biography of the politicians.

Keywords: history of Nagyvárad, town development, demographical development, electoral system, members of Parliament

¹ The publication is supported by the OTKA K 134378 (Parliamentarism in the era of Dualism from a regional perspective) project.

Several books and studies have dealt with the economic and social development and political history of Nagyvárád (Oradea)² in the Dualist Era; therefore, one cannot say that this would be an unresearched period in the town's history. However, the question of how the city fits into the framework of the institutional system at the beginning of modern parliamentarism has not yet come within the scope of historical interest. This article examines the way in which Nagyvárád was part of the Hungarian parliamentary politicization. In the first part of the study, I analyze the structure of the institutional system, focusing on whether the political role given to Nagyvárád is proportional compared to other cities. I then discuss the representatives in terms of individual quality and party affiliation.

Let us first review the situation of the city in the period of the development of the modern civil institutional system. The history of Nagyvárád's progress in the Dualist Era started when Várád-Újváros (Oradea–Oraşul Nou) and Várád-Olaszi (Oradea–Olosig) were merged to create one constituency, which was declared by the 5th article of the act of 1848. This act was quite modern given that, although in the eyes of the law, the two above-mentioned districts were independent, they were merged into one constituency. This was followed by the legal unification of "central towns" in January 1850. After the Turkish era, the town was divided into four districts. While from an economic and social point of view, it remained one unit, in terms of administration and ownership, it was not unified for one and a half centuries. Várád-Váralja (Oradea–Subcetate) belonged to the Hungarian Royal Chamber, Várád-Újváros was owned by the Roman Catholic chapter of Nagyvárád, while Várád-Olaszi and Velence (Oradea–Velenţa) were in the possession of the Roman Catholic Bishop. The administrative dilemma of Nagyvárád was solved two decades later in the Dualist Era, when by virtue of article 42 of the act of 1870, it was granted the status of a municipal borough, which was the second category used in the legal classification of Hungarian towns after the capital itself.³

After this the town's modern civil administration system and its specific departments experienced a rapid and large-scale development. Interwoven with several economic, cultural, and civilizational achievements, this system of institutions became one of the

2 Since Hungarian was the country's official language at that time the names of the towns are given in Hungarian; however, when they are first mentioned in this study, the current official Romanian names are also indicated in brackets.

3 Besides Nagyvárád the following towns received the status of municipal borough: Kecskemét, Nagyvárád, Versec, Zilah (Zalău), Gölnicbánya (Gelnică), Abrudbánya (Abrud), Vízakna (Ocna Sibiului), Vajdahunyad (Hunedoara), Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc), Hátszeg (Hateg), Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfântu Gheorghe), Székelyudvarhely (Odorheiu Secuiesc), Bereck (Bretcu), Csíkszereda (Miercurea Ciuc), Szék (Sic), Kolozs (Cojocna), Ilyefalva (Ilieni), Oláhfalva (Vlăhiţa), Szászrégen (Reghin) és Fogaras (Făgăraş). Most of the towns listed here lost this status when it was repealed by a subsequent act.

encouraging factors behind local urban growth, which took place within a few decades and could not be matched anywhere in the country.

In this era, the administrative status of Nagyvárád became more complex. It had already been the center of a county, the religious center of various denominations (it was an Episcopal seat for a Roman and a Greek Catholic Diocese and the seat of a Calvinist and an Orthodox deanery archdeaconate) and it was also an educational center (the town had a grammar school, a Royal Academy of Law, and a Theological Seminary). Now the number of the town's central functions increased as it became a jurisdictional, a financial, a medical, and last but not least an economic and within that mainly an industrial and commercial center. It reflects the high standards of the age: at the turn of the century Nagyvárád had 72 educational institutions at various levels, eight hospitals and medical institutions, and 41 significant factories.

The growth of the town's population kept pace with the expansion of its municipal roles. In the Dualist Era, the population of Nagyvárád doubled; its population had been under 29,000 in 1869, but in 1910 it had over 61,000 citizens. Due to this large-scale development, the appearance of the town and the social status of its inhabitants reflected the values and characteristics of the modern middle class, making Nagyvárád one of the most modern towns of its age. In his work entitled *The Unmatched Town*, János Fleisz states that in 1910 only 3% of the town's population lived on the peripheries of Nagyvárád, and only 5.2% of merchants belonged to the agricultural population, while more than 50% of them were employed in the industrial, commercial and transportation sectors. The number of intellectuals within this group stood at around 10% (Fleisz, 1996, pp. 46-47; Kormányos, 2019, pp. 508-509, 572-575). These figures are exceptionally outstanding even on the nation-wide level and are only matched by those of Budapest, the capital city. Knowing this development, we can state that Nagyvárád was one of the most modern towns in Hungary in the period of the development of the civil institutional system, at the beginning of the modern era.

Table 1.

The occupation structure of the working population of Nagyvárád between 1890 and 1910

Classes of occupation	1890		1900		1910	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
Agriculture	1,542	8.5	1,344	5.7	1,627	5.2
Industry	6,614	36.5	7,283	31.3	11,209	35.7
Commerce	2,145	11.8	2,382	10.2	3,488	11.1
Transportation	879	4.9	1,161	5.0	1,910	6.1
Civil service	1,408	7.8	2,031	8.7	2,763	8.8
Military	2,193	12.1	3,159	13.5	3,135	10.0
Day-labourer	2,008	11.1	1,335	5.7	1,490	4.7
House servant	1,011	5.6	2,962	12.7	3,546	11.3
Other	304	1.7	1,703	7.3	2,226	7.1
Altogether	18,104	100	23,360	100	31,394	100

Note: Adapted from *Nagyvárád krónikája* by J. Fleisz, 1996. p. 185.

Despite its quick advancement outlined above, Nagyvárád, which competed with Arad and Debrecen in the area, never became the center of either the Trans-Tisza region or that of the Partium. Besides, the town's role in national politics was not as prominent as its development would suggest. The town's occasional political appreciation was not due to the political institutions but rather the consequence of the connections between various public figures of the given period. This statement can be maintained even if one is aware of Nagyvárád having been the constituency and "political heartland" of Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza, who consolidated the Dualist system in the long run.

The greatest deficiency of Bihar County's seat in national politics was owing to it having been classed among those towns which could only delegate one representative. In the Dualist Era, the constituencies were set up in virtue of Articles 5 and 7 of the Act of 1848 which listed 40 towns, each having one parliamentary seat; Várád-Újváros and Várád-Olaszi elected one representative together. The following towns were the exception to the rule: Buda, Pozsony [Bratislava, Pressburg], Szabadka [Subotica], Szeged, Kecskemét,

Miskolc, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) and Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş) had two representatives, whereas Debrecen had three and Pest had five.⁴ Article 5 of the Act of 1848 primarily followed the population criterion and established one representative mandate per 15-20 thousand people in towns (Barta, 1951, pp. 688., 703, as qtd in Pap, 2020, p. 65). In the middle of the 19th century, when the town was still not united, it was reasonable that Nagyvárád was left out of the group of those towns that could elect two representatives because in terms of population the individual districts of Nagyvárád were lagging far behind the towns belonging to this group. After the Compromise of 1867, however, this explanation was getting increasingly hard to accept. After 1867 the population of Kolozsvár, Miskolc or Marosvásárhely was smaller than that of Nagyvárád, yet each of these towns could elect two representatives. On the other hand, Nagyvárád—or as it was called “Paris on the banks of the Pece”—and other towns such as Arad, Temesvár (Timișoara), Hódmezővásárhely or Kassa (Košice) were in the same category as Abrudbánya, Bereck, Oláhfalú, Szék, and Vízakna despite the latter towns having been much smaller than the former ones. (The changes in the population of those towns which had two or three representatives and about the same number of inhabitants as Nagyvárád can be seen in Table 2. Table 3 presents the changes in the population of large towns with only one representative. The changes in the population of small towns are shown in Table 4.)

Among the Transylvanian towns with one parliamentary seat, only two, Brassó (Braşov) and Nagyszeben (Sibiu), were elevated by Article 10 of the Act of 1877; consequently, these towns could elect two representatives. It is worth mentioning that neither of these two towns could match Nagyvárád in terms of population; and in this respect, they were also lagging behind Arad, Temesvár and Hódmezővásárhely. (The act of 1877 granted two additional parliamentary seats to Budapest, and with that, the capital had nine seats altogether. By virtue of the Act of 1848, Gyulafehérvár had two seats, of which one was taken away by the Act of 1877.)

4 After the amalgamation of Buda and Pest in 1873, Budapest could elect seven representatives.

Table 2.

Changes in population and number of voters in towns with two or more parliamentary seats, 1869–1910

		Brassó	Debrecen	Kecskemét	Kolozsvár	Marosvásárhely
1869	Population	27,766	46,111	41,195	26,628	13,018
1880		29,584	51,122	44,122	30,363	13,192
1890		30,739	56,940	48,493	35,855	14,575
1900		34,511	72,351	56,786	46,670	17,515
1910		38,999	90,153	65,716	58,481	23,728
1900	Voters (%)	2,424 (7.03 %)	4,854 (6.70 %)	3053 (5.4 %)	3,251 (6.96 %)	986 (5.63 %)
		Miskolc	Nagyszeben	Pozsony	Szabadka	Szeged
1869	Population	21,535	18,988	46,540	57,556	71,022
1880		24,319	19,446	48,006	62,556	73,625
1890		30,408	21,465	52,411	74,250	85,569
1900		40,833	26,077	61,537	82,935	100,270
1910		49,182	29,599	73,459	93,232	115,306
1900	Voters (%)	2,209 (5.41 %)	1,564 (6.00 %)	2,949 (4.80 %)	5462 (6.6 %)	7129 (7.1%)

Note: Adapted from *A Magyar Szent Korona Országainak 1910. évi Népszámlálása*, pp. 757–878; I. Szivák, 1901, *Országgyűlési képviselőválasztás és Curiai bíraskodás Codexe*, pp. 1003–1033.

Table 3.

Changes in population and number of voters in Nagyvárád and in other municipal boroughs with one parliamentary seat, 1869–1910

		Arad	Győr	Hódmező- vásárhely	Kassa	Nagyvárád	Pécs	Temesvár
1869	Population	32,725	26,225	49,153	21,742	28,698	23,863	36,844
1880		35,556	27,574	52,425	26,097	31,324	28,702	37,815
1890		42,052	30,021	55,475	28,884	38,557	34,067	44,849
1900		53,903	36,308	60,824	35,586	47,018	42,252	55,812
1910		60,969	42,589	62,394	40,476	61,034	47,844	68,471
1900	Voters (%)	3,494 (6.50 %)	1,915 (5.28 %)	4,289 (7.05 %)	2,029 (5.70 %)	2,695 (5.73 %)	2863 (6.8 %)	3487 (6.2 %)

Note: Adapted from *Census of 1910*, pp. 757–878; I. Szivák, 1901, pp. 1003–1033.

Table 4.

Changes in population and number of voters in small towns with one parliamentary seat, 1869–1910

		Abrudbá- nya- Veres- patak	Bereck	Erzsébet- város	Oláhfalu	Szamosúj- vár	Szék	Vízakna
1869	Population	7,032	4,469	2,550	3,512	5,188	3,505	3,904
1880		6,338	3,033	2,500	3,623	5,317	2,759	3,683
1890		6,355	2,929	2,795	3,744	5,793	3,203	3,772
1900		6,318	2,913	3,539	3,993	6,171	3,379	3,914
1910		5,501	3,267	4,111	4,161	6,670	3,709	4,041
1900	Voters (%)	306 (4.84 %)	166 (5.70 %)	227 (6.41 %)	278 (6.96 %)	350 (5.67 %)	224 (6.63 %)	322 (8.23 %)

Note: Adapted from *Census of 1910*; I. Szivák, 1901, pp. 1003–1033.

The controversy regarding the arrangement of constituencies, which characterized the whole period, was reconciled by Article 14 of the Act of 1913 and Article 15 of the Act of 1914. According to the new regulation, the number of constituencies was raised from 413 to 435 partly by creating new municipal constituencies. Consequently, Arad, Győr, Kassa, Pécs, Temesvár, and Nagyvárad could have had two parliamentary seats. Pozsony and Szeged would have been granted three seats each, while Budapest could have elected twenty-two representatives. Although these acts only modified the most striking controversies of the previous system, it would have been a great step forward for the towns that started to develop rapidly in the previous years—and Nagyvárad was certainly one of these. Unfortunately, because of World War I and the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the acts could not be applied.

It remains an open to question why the most significant problems regarding this disproportionate electoral system were solved so late. There could be a number of reasons why this reform was postponed, but perhaps first and foremost of all, the proportion of national minorities within the population of the towns comes into mind. Based on the census of 1910, more than 75% of the urban population were Hungarians, while the proportion of Hungarians within the whole population was only 54.5%. The issue of nationality cannot be the reason for having delayed the increase of the number of representatives. It must be kept in mind that in such towns as Arad and Kassa the proportion of Hungarians within the local population was the same as the country's

average, while in Pécs, Nagyvárad, and Győr the proportion of Hungarians was significantly higher than that of the national average. For the sake of completeness, it also needs to be pointed out that although Abrudbánya, Erzsébetváros (Dumbrăveni), Vízakna, or Szamosújvár (Gherla) had a significant Romanian or German (Saxon) minority, they were among those towns which were permitted to elect their own representatives. In this respect, Brassó and Nagyszeben should be emphasized again due to both towns having been given an additional parliamentary seat in 1877 even though the majority of their population belonged to national minorities, among which the Romanian minority was the most significant. At the same time, Gyulafehérvár most probably lost one of its seats not because of the growing proportion of Romanians in the town but on account of the town's shrinking importance (Pál, 2011, pp. 346-360). (For the proportions of national minorities within the towns concerned, see Table 5 and 6.) From the point of view of the nationality context of the elections, constituencies with mixed or majority nationalities had a higher proportion of supporters of government parties, while constituencies with Hungarian majority were more likely to elect opposition representatives. Thus, in Nagyvárad, where the Hungarians had a large majority, the government was not interested in doubling the mandate, as it would have increased the chances of the opposition (Gerő, 1988, p. 21).⁵

5 In the ethnic context of the elections, it is necessary to clarify that it was not the Hungarians who were in opposition and the ethnicities who were pro-government, but that voters from ethnically mixed or majority-ethnic constituencies (regardless of nationality) supported the government in greater proportions. Unconditional pro-government votes were a characteristic of the Transylvanian Saxons only.

Table 5.

Social stratification of voters in 1900

	By tradi- tion (%)	Land owners (%)	House owners (%)	Income (%)	Intellectuals (%)
Municipiums	0.2	18.7	16.4	53.1	11.3
Towns with Parliamentary Seat	3.4	50.2	10.8	26.4	9.1
Abrudbánya– Verespatak	0.3	0	6.2	76.5	17
Arad	0	9.8	18.2	60	12
Bereck	72	0	0.6	16	11.4
Brassó (2)	0.3	7.6	12.5	65.6	14
Debrecen (3)	0	20.5	26.2	41.3	12
Erzsébetváros	12.4	1.3	8.4	58.3	19.6
Győr	0.5	4.8	16	63.8	14.9
Gyulafehérvár	0	16	14.4	55.4	14.2
Hódmezővásárhely	0	79.2	4.7	9.7	6.4
Kassa	0.1	0.8	30.5	53.9	14.7
Kecskemét	-	56	12	24	8
Kolozsvár (2)	0.5	1.9	35	57.4	5.2
Nagyszeben (2)	0	5.1	24.9	59	15.7
Nagyvárad	0	1.6	32.2	56.8	9.4
Pécs	0	6.4	35.2	56	2.4
Pozsony (2)	0	6.9	10.9	72.1	10.1
Szabadka (2)	0	59	4.5	20.7	15.8
Szamosújvár	19.7	0	26.3	38	16
Szeged	0	42	6.4	31.3	20.3
Szék	81.7	7.5	0	5.2	5.6
Temesvár	0	0	29	58.5	12.5
Vízakna	6.8	21.2	2	56.2	13.8

Note: Adapted from I. Szivák, 1901, pp. 1003–1033.

Table 6.

Native language composition of the population of Nagyvárád and other towns (Hungarian. German. Romanian. Slovakian and Serbian) 1910

Towns	Hungarian	German	Romanian	Slovakian	Serbian
Abrudbánya–Verespatak	45.4 %	0.7 %	53.2%	-	-
Arad	72 %	7 %	17 %	0.4 %	2.9 %
Brassó	43 %	26 %	29 %	0.4 %	-
Erzsébetváros	59 %	11 %	21 %	-	-
Győr	94 %	3 %	-	1%	-
Gyulafehérvár	45 %	7 %	44 %	-	-
Kassa	75 %	7 %	-	15 %	-
Nagyszeben	22 %	50 %	26 %	-	-
Nagyvárád	91 %	2 %	6 %	-	-
Pécs	84 %	13 %	-	-	-
Pozsony	40 %	42 %	-	15 %	-
Szamosújvár	67 %	3 %	27 %	-	-
Vízakna	30 %	5 %	65 %	-	-
Debrecen	98 %	0.8 %	0.3 %	0.1 %	
Szeged	96 %	2.2 %	0.2 %	0.5 %	1 %
Szabadka	59 %	2 %	0.1 %	-	3.7 %
Temesvár	39 %	44 %	10.5 %	0.5 %	5 %
Kecskemét	99 %	0.6 %	-	0.1 %	-

Adapted from: Census of 1910, pp. 2–756.

In the Dualist Era, the proportion of eligible voters within the total population of Nagyvárád was between 4.7% and 7.5% (the number of voters varied between 1.488 and 4.667), which was more or less the same as the country's average, but was lagging far behind the European trends (Fleisz, 1996, p.62; Ruszoly, 1986, pp.217-249).⁶ However, in real terms,

⁶ The electoral system was based on the actual voter population when the electoral system was established by the 5th Article of Act of 1848. Ruszoly only gives the 1848 data of Váradolaszi.

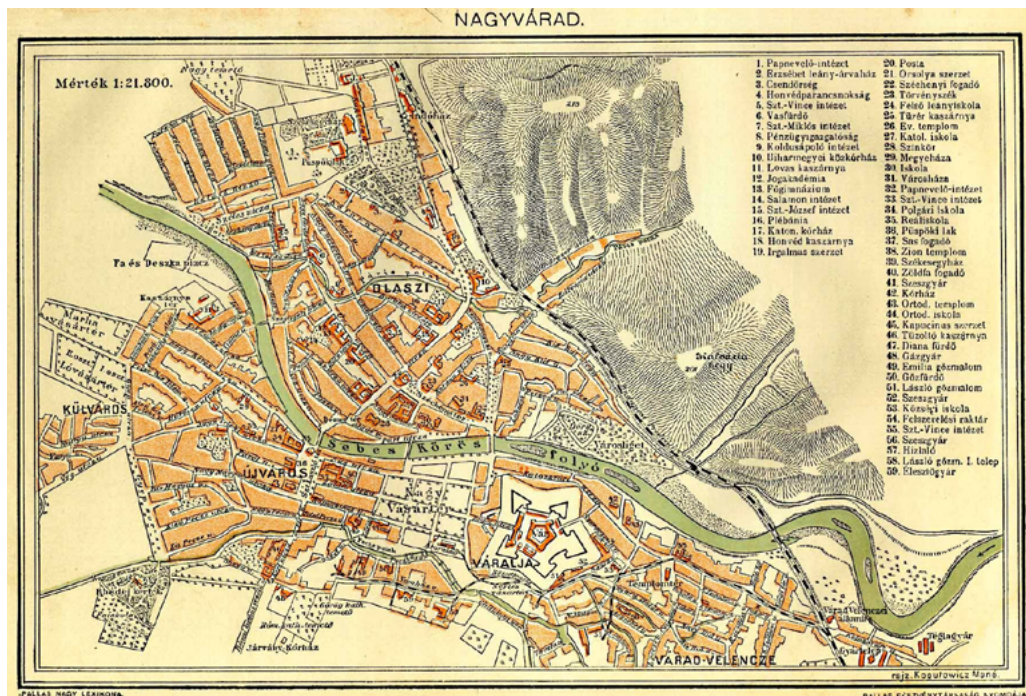
the number of voters in Nagyvárád was somewhat lower than in other municipia with similar populations or in cities with similar populations having the right to elect their own representatives(See Table 2. Table 3., and Table 4.). Elections were held openly and in the individual constituencies, the majority rule was applied; however, the list of eligible local and national candidates was not displayed. Nagyvárád formed one constituency consisting of five smaller districts, namely, Olaszi, Újváros, and Külváros, Váralja, Velence, and also Csillagváros, which was being organized in this period. By virtue of Article 14 of the Act of 1913 passed at the end of the era, Nagyvárád was divided into two constituencies and nine smaller districts. The first constituency consisted of Olaszi, the settlement of Heves, Kertváros, Váralja, and Csillagváros; while the second one covered the area of Újváros, Külváros, Velence, and the wine-growing community of Nagyvárád. To identify the constituencies and the districts, see Map 1.

On the contrary, these towns did not have an equal representation in Parliament was, most probably, due to their social stratification and their modern bourgeois and civil entity. This can only be comprehended and proved by using and analyzing several indicators simultaneously, such as the social structure of the town's population, the number of voters, the number of dwellings, the town's income from taxation, the ratio of citizens living in the center and in the peripheries, etc. Based on the development discussed in detail at the beginning of this study, it can be concluded that in the case of Nagyvárád—and in that of other towns in a similar situation such as Arad, Kassa, and Temesvár—the high proportion of the modern bourgeoisie within the total population and the typical characteristics of bourgeois towns is undeniable. Studying the social structure of Pécs and Győr, both of which also faced the issue of unequal parliamentary representation, might solve the problem. The reason is that in these towns not only the middle class strengthened significantly but so did the working class. Since Arad, Kassa, Pécs, Győr, and Nagyvárád had multi-colored societies, they were also characterized by changing party preferences: sometimes electing the candidates of the governing party, at other times those of the opposition. This unpredictability regarding the outcome of local elections did not help the towns in their attempt to find a remedy to the problem of uneven representation. In connection with this, it is also worth mentioning that the number of representatives of Brassó and Nagyszében was raised in 1877, not on account of the number of their inhabitants, but it was probably put on the agenda to redress the Saxons' grievances given that in the previous year, the government attempted to assimilate the Universitas Saxorum into the public administration.

Population: 7422, voters: 548 (7,38%).

Map 1.

Nagyvárad at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries



Note: Adapted from: *A Pallas Nagylexikona*. Vol. 12. (1897)

Finally, to summarise, let us look at the positive and negative aspects that may have influenced the two-mandate constituency status of Nagyvárad, based on the data presented. The criteria discussed above were (1) population size, (2) nationality structure, (3) proportion of voters in the total population, and (4) social composition of the electorate. In addition to this, it is also important to identify the cities that have developed a similar type (model) to Oradea in each of these aspects (Gerő, 1988, p. 19; Pál, 2011, pp. 346-347).⁷

1. Regarding its population (more than 60.000 in 1910), Nagyvárad belongs to a third group following the capital and Debrecen-Szabadka-Szeged, so the creation of two urban constituencies would have been obvious. In this respect, Arad, Hódmezővásárhely, and Temesvár were in the same situation as Nagyvárad.

⁷ In the typology of the towns, in order to give preference to settlements with a Hungarian and Saxon majority, I treat the Transylvanian towns separately from the ones in located in narrowly defined Hungary.

2. In terms of ethnic composition, it is one of the cities with a large Hungarian majority (about 90 %). The cities with a large Hungarian majority were generally not supporters of the governing party in the elections. Nagyvárád was in a mixed position in this respect, sending an opposition candidate to the House of Representatives in six of the fifteen elections of the period. The city's ethnic situation did not justify an increase in the number of seats. Győr and Pécs were in a similar situation (Ballabás et al., 2020, pp. 186–187; 123).⁸

3. Regarding the proportion of voters to the population, Nagyvárád was within the lower half of the average. This relatively low proportion and the number of voters do not justify an increase in the number of seats. The situation was similar for Győr and Kassa.

4. According to the social composition of the electorate, nearly 70% of Nagyvárád's voters were eligible to vote because of their income and intellectual status. The urbanized structure of the city's electorate (and population) was considered rather risky in terms of government support. Thus, it did not justify an increase in the number of seats. Several other cities of similar size, such as Győr Kassa, Pécs, Temesvár, and Arad also fell into this group.

Of the four aspects listed, only the size of the urban population would have justified an increase in the number of seats, while the other three (nationality composition. number and proportion of voters. social structure of the electorate) did not.

We can conclude that the embourgeoisement of Nagyvárád was much more rapid than that of the country —and although it had a very positive effect in terms of internal development, as far as national politics is concerned, the town could not really benefit from it. The significant number of modern urban industrial and commercial bourgeoisie Nagyvárád and in other towns raised the government's doubts because it tried to maintain the social and political status quo, or at best, to encourage predictable social development.⁹ For this very reason, the town, despite its spectacular growth, did not get the chance in the Dualist Era to represent its interest in the country's legislation in due proportion.

⁸ Sixteen elections were held in both Győr and Pécs during the period, with ten government representatives elected in the former city and eight in the latter.

⁹ The government was not doubtful only about raising the number of constituencies, but also about raising the number of citizens eligible to vote, which can also be traced back to social issues.

In the following, I review the Parliamentary Representatives of Nagyvárád between 1848 and 1918 and outline trends that emerged with the elections (Ballabás et al., 2020, pp. 149-150). The first general election of Nagyvárád (Várád-Újváros and Várád-Olaszi) was held in June 1848 and was won by Imre Szacsvay, who later became one of the leaders of the Radical Party.

The next election took place in 1861 and the future Resolution Party won the majority of the voters. Between 1861 and 1875 the town was undoubtedly dominated by the opposition and in all four elections held during this period, the majority of the votes was won by the Resolution Party and later by the Left Centre which evolved from the former. In 1861 and 1865 György Lukács was elected as representative of Nagyvárád. In 1868 the citizens voted for Ágoston Tokody, while in 1869 and 1872 they gave their votes to Gyula Gyórfy. Finally, in 1873 István Teleszky was chosen as representative.

Even though the person who had previously represented the town was re-elected in 1875, this was the first time when the candidate of the governing party won the local elections. This marked the beginning of an era characterized by the dominance of the governing party, which lasted until 1901. In 1875 and 1878 István Teleszky, while in the subsequent elections (1881, 1884, 1887, 1892, and finally 1896), Kálmán Tisza won the majority of votes for the Liberal Party.

After the turn of the century, neither the governing party of 1867, nor the opposition of 1848 could secure a long-term dominance. From 1901 Béla Barabás, the candidate of the Independent Party, represented the town. However, he was defeated by Endre Hlatky the candidate of the Liberal Party in 1905. A year later, when the Independent Party won with a great majority nationwide, the citizens of Nagyvárád elected Béla Barabás as their representative, however, owing to his successful election both in Arad and in the seventh constituency of Budapest, he resigned from his original position, which was taken by Tamás Szokoly. The last election of the Dualist Era was held in 1910 and was won by Géza Hoványi, the candidate of the National Party of Work.

Looking at the results of elections in Nagyvárád between 1848 and 1918, we find that the city was initially more oppositional and later became more pro-government. This category puts Nagyvárád into the same group as Békéscsaba, Esztergom, Gyula, Komárom, Pécs, Szarvas, Csongrád, Debrecen's third constituency, Kassa, Nagykikinda, Szabadka's first and second constituency (Pap, 2020, p. 83).

Imre Szacsvay (Kisürögd, 1818–Pest, 1849) representative of Nagyvárád: 1848–1849

He attended grammar school in Nagyvárád and studied law in Nagyvárád, Kassa, Pest, and Pozsony. In 1834 he engaged in the daily parliamentary work as the clerk of Ödön Beöthy, the representative of the oppositional group from Bihar County. In 1839/40 he became a Member of Parliament representing Count József Csáky. After returning to Nagyvárád in 1840, he worked as a lawyer. In March 1848, he took part in the organization of the local revolution and the town elected him as its representative on June 24. He participated in the work of the Parliament first in Pest and then in Debrecen where he was even chosen as the keeper of the minutes. In April 1849, he became one of the leaders of the Radical Party and was also one of the drafters of the Hungarian Declaration of Independence. He was executed on June 24, 1849 and was the youngest victim of retaliation for the War of Independence (Fleisz, 2010, pp. 19–35; Pálmány, 2002, pp. 807–810).

György Lukács (Nagyvárád, 1820–Budapest, 1892) representative of Nagyvárád: 1861. 1865–1868

He had already appeared in the Dieta (non-modern Parliament) Parliament of 1838 as a graduating law student and received his degree in the same year. After that, he worked together with Ödön Bóthy, who was a representative and the leader of the oppositional group in Bihar County. At the beginning of the 1840s, Lukács and Imre Csengery became the political leaders of the youth of their county. In 1848 he was the leader of the county department of the Ministry of Interior, and then he became a permanent participant of the meetings of the National Defence Committee. He followed the government when it moved to Debrecen in 1849. After the fall of the War of Independence, he retreated to Nagyvárád where, in 1861 he was elected as mayor for a short time. Owing to the assistance of the Resolution Party lead by Kálmán Tisza, he was also elected a representative of his town. In 1865 he won the elections in Nagyvárád for a second time (1865–1867) and he held the office of mayor between 1867 and 1875. In the meantime, he was also the leader of the Left Centre in Bihar County. When Kálmán Tisza took the office of the Minister of Interior in 1875, Lukács first became a counselor to Tisza, and then his undersecretary in his ministry and remained in this position until 1890 (Borovszky, 1901, p. 659).

Ágoston Tokody, representative of Nagyvárád: 1868 (by-election)–1869.

He worked as a lawyer in Nagyvárád, in 1867 he became the editor of the political daily paper of the Left Centre, called *Bihar*. Following the resignation of György Lukács, he was elected as a representative in January 1868 in a by-elections, but he sat in Parliament only for a short time as the Left Centre did not nominate him in 1869 (*Vasárnapi Újság*, 1892, p. 162).

Gyula Győrffy (Veszprém, 1835–Budapest 1885) representative of Nagyvárád: 1869–1872, 1872–1874

He attended the law academy of Nagyvárád and that of Pest and became a vice-notary of Bihar County in 1860. Two years later he started a law office in Nagyvárád and founded an opposition daily paper, *Bihar*. In 1863 he was sentenced to three months imprisonment for offense against press law. In the 1860s, he visited Bayern, the Netherlands, Great-Britain, and the United States of America, and even met Lajos Kossuth in his home in Turin. He was elected representative of Nagyvárád with the help of the Left Centre, but due to financial difficulties he unexpectedly gave up his political career at the beginning of 1874 and started to work as a lawyer in the capital (Szinyei, 1896; *Vasárnapi Újság*, 1885, p. 666).

István Teleszky (Szatmár, 1836–Koritnica, 1899) representative of Nagyvárád: 1874 (by-election)–1875, 1875–1878, 1878–1881

After studying law in Pest, he settled down in Nagyvárád. He soon became the honorary public prosecutor of both Bihar County and Nagyvárád. He was first elected the town's representative in a by-election on May 13, 1874 when he stood as the candidate of the Left Centre. Nominated by the Liberal Party, he won the elections of 1875 and 1878 in Nagyvárád. In 1887, he was elected representative of Nagyszőlős in Ugocsa County, and two years later, he was appointed under-secretary of the Minister of Justice. In 1892 he won the elections again in Ugocsa County, but this time, in the constituency of Halmi (*Magyar Zsidó Lexikon*, 1929, p. 889).

Kálmán Tisza (Geszt, 1830–Budapest, 1902), representative of Nagyvárád: 1881–1884, 1884–1887, 1887–1892, 1892–1896, 1896–1901

He started his career as an assistant draftsman in 1848 in the Ministry of Religion and Education. Then he studied law and political science at German, French, Walloon, and English universities. He made his first notable appearance in Parliament related to the "Protestant Patent" of 1859 and the "October Diploma" of 1860, condemning both in his sharp speech. In 1861 he joined the Resolution Party lead by his uncle László Teleki, and with the help of his party, he became a representative. After Teleki committed suicide, Tisza and Kálmán Ghyczy became the leaders of the Left Centre. Tisza was critical of the Compromise of 1867 and set up the program of the opposition. In March 1875, the Left Centre and the major wings of the governing Deák Party united and created the Liberal Party, which was the governing party until it was dissolved in 1905. Tisza first

became Minister of the Interior in the Wenckheim government on March 2, 1875 and then from October 20, 1875 to March 13, 1890 he held the office of Prime Minister, which makes him the longest-serving head of government in Hungary to this day.

Between 1861 and 1902, he sat in the House of Representatives in every parliamentary session: from 1861 to 1878, he represented Debrecen (elections held in 1861, 1865, 1869, 1872, and 1875). From 1878 to 1881, he was the representative of Sepsiszentgyörgy after winning the local by-elections, and finally, he represented Nagyvárad between 1881 and 1902 (elections held in 1881, 1884, 1887, 1892, and 1896). In 1901 he could only secure a parliamentary seat by winning the by-elections in Abrudbánya–Verespatak (Abrud-Roșia Montană) (Kozári, 2003).

Béla Barabás (Arad, 1855–Arad, 1934) representative of Nagyvárad: 1901–1905

He attended grammar school in Arad, Nagyszeben, and Kolozsvár and studied law in Budapest. He had already been politically active as a university student as he was one of the organizers of the demonstration in support of Turkey.

After returning to Arad at the beginning of the 1880s he became the leader of the local opposition. In 1886 he set up a law office in the town and he was a member of the local legislature until 1918. Between 1892 and 1911 he was elected representative five times. In 1892 and 1911 he entered Parliament as a representative of Gyoma. In 1901 he won the elections in Nagyvárad. In 1905 he was given the majority of votes in Arad and in 1906 he was elected representative in Nagykörös. Following his electoral defeat in his hometown in 1910, he won the by-elections in Szilágysomlyó a year later. He also took an active part in the work of the Independent Party and was its vice-president between 1901 and 1918. In 1917/1918, he was lord-lieutenant of Arad County and the town of Arad. In 1919, when an anti-revolutionary government was set up in this town, he became its Minister of Religion and Education. From the 1920s he participated in the political associations of the Hungarian minority in Romania, and he played a leading role of the National Hungarian Party – in 1926, he even became a senator of the Romanian Parliament in Bucharest. He was a notable publicist and the editor of the paper *Arad and Vidéke*, and later also that of the *Hungarian Newspaper of Arad* (Sturm, 1901, p. 211; Fabro & Ujlaki, 1905, p. 211; Barabás, 1929, pp. 86–88; Kenyeres).

Endre Hlatky (Lunka, 1851–Nagyvárad, 1916) representative of Nagyvárad: 1905–1906

After studying law in Nagyvárad and Pest, he worked as a lawyer in Nagyvárad. From the 1880s, he participated in the organization of the local members of the governing

party, and he was also a member of the town's municipal board. In 1890 he became the president of the Liberal Party and the local president of the Incorporated Law Society. He was one of Kálmán Tisza's most trusted supporters, and after Tisza's death, Hlatky succeeded him as the candidate of the governing party in Nagyvárád. In the elections of 1905, he defeated Béla Barabás, the candidate of the Independent Party, and for a short time, he became a member of the national legislature. In 1906 he decided not to stand for elections, and when the coalition of the opposition was in office, he retired from political life. Between 1910 and 1916, he served as lord-lieutenant of Nagyvárád. His son, also called Endre Hlatky, was also lord-lieutenant of Nagyvárád from 1940 to 1944, and for a short time, he became the government commissioner of MTI, a Hungarian news agency, and also that of the Hungarian Radio (Szinnyei, 1896; Fabro & Ujlaki, 1905, p. 284; Borovszky, 1901, p. 373).

Tamás Szokoly, representative of Nagyvárád: 1906–1910

After graduating from law academy, he worked as a lawyer in Nagyvárád. By the 1890s he had become one of the leaders of the Independent Party and also a member of the town's municipal board. At the turn of the century, he was the local president of the Independent Party. He often appeared in Ady's works as well. In 1901, he outmatched Kálmán Tisza by winning over Béla Barabás, the candidate of the local opposition, who had already been well-known nationwide. Szokoly accepted the candidacy of his party after Béla Barabás stepped down during the by-elections of 1906, and was elected representative of his town. When his party split in 1909, he belonged to the followers of Gyula Justh, and he stood for elections in 1910 but did not get enough votes to secure a seat in Parliament (*Képviselőház Napló*, 1906, vol. I; Barabás, 1929, pp. 80–83; p. 12).

Géza Hoványi (Nagyvárád, 1853–?. 1939) representative of Nagyvárád: 1910–1918

He attended grammar school and studied law and commerce in Nagyvárád and Budapest. In 1873, he started to work at the Savings Bank of Nagyvárád, he became its secretary-general in 1882, and its managing director in 1895. He participated in the Board of Supervisory Directors of various local and national institutions, such as the local chamber of industry and commerce, the National Savings Bank, etc. He was the vice-president and the last president of the Liberal Party in Nagyvárád, and he took part in the local legislature in several sessions. In 1910, he became the local president of the National Party of Work and by defeating Antal Glatz, the formal lord-lieutenant in the elections, he became representative of Nagyvárád (Végyváry & Zimmer, 1910, pp. 301–302; Magyar Lapok, 1939, p.7).

Table 7.

Nagyvárad Members of Parliament

1848–1918

The Year of Election	Members of Parliament	
	Address Party. Deák Party/ Liberal Party/ National Party of Work	Resolution Party. Left Centre/ Independent Party
1848	Szacsday Imre (no party)	
1861	-	György Lukács
1865	-	György Lukács
1868	-	Ágoston Tokody
1869	-	Gyula Győrffy
1872	-	Gyula Győrffy
1873	-	István Teleszky
1875	István Teleszky	-
1878	István Teleszky	-
1881	Kálmán Tisza	-
1884	Kálmán Tisza	-
1887	Kálmán Tisza	-
1892	Kálmán Tisza	-
1896	Kálmán Tisza	-
1901	-	Béla Barabás
1905	Endre Hlatky	-
1906	-	Tamás Szokoly
1910	Géza Hoványi	-

Note: Adapted from: Ballabás. et al.2020, pp. 149–150.

References

- A Magyar Szent Korona Országainak 1910. évi Népszámlálása. (1912). Budapest. (pp. 757–878). https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/NEDA_1910_01/?pg=0&layout=s
- A Pallas Nagylexikona. Vol. 12. (1897). Pallas Irodalmi és Nyomdai Rt. <https://mek.oszk.hu/00000/00060/html/>
- Ballabás, D., Pap, J., Pál, J. (Eds.). (2020). *Képviselők és főrendek a dualizmus kori Magyarországon 2. Az országgyűlés tagjainak archontológiája*. Líceum. http://publikacio.uni-eszterhazy.hu/4775/1/Az%20orsz%C3%A1g-gy%C5%B1l%C3%A9s%20tagjainak%20archontol%C3%B3gi%C3%A1ja_V%C3%89G-LEGES.pdf
- Barabás, B. (1929). *Emlékirataim 1855–1929*. Corvin Ny. <https://mek.oszk.hu/10400/10445/10445.pdf>
- Borovszky, S. (Ed.). (1901). *Bihar vármegye és Nagyvárad*. Apollo Irodalmi és Nyomdai Rt. <https://mek.oszk.hu/09500/09536/html/0005/0.html>
- Fabro, H. & Ujlaki, J. (Eds.). (1905). *Sturm-féle országgyűlési almanach 1905–1910*. A Pesti Lloyd Társulat Könyvnyomdája. https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/OGYK_Almanach_1905-1906/?pg=0&layout=s
- Fleisz, J. (2010). Szacsvay Imre (1818–1849), az elfeledett vértanú. In: Kolozsvári, I. & Török, P. (Eds.), *Bihari Diéta*, 6–7, 19–35. <http://biharkutatas.hu/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/BD6-07-Fleisz-J%C3%A1nos-az-elfeledett-v%C3%A9rt-szacsvay.pdf>
- Fleisz, J. (2011). *Nagyvárad várostörténete*. Sapientia Varadiensis Alapítvány, Europrint.
- Gerő, A. (1988). *Az elsőprő kisebbség: Népképviselő a Monarchia Magyarországn.* Gondolat.
- Kenyeres Á. (Ed.). *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon 1000–1990*. <http://mek.oszk.hu/00300/00355/html/index.html>
- Képviselőházi Napló* (1906) Vol. 1. , 3th July, 1906. https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/OGYK_KN-1906_01/?pg=0&layout=s
- Kormányos, L. (2019). *Nagyvárad krónikája*. Holnap Kulturális Egyesület.
- Kozári, M. (2003). *Tisza Kálmán és kormányzati rendszere*. Napvilág Kiadó.
- Magyar Lapok, (1939) 26 November. Meghalt Hoványi Géza. https://adt.arcanum.com/hu/view/MagyarLapok_1939_4/?pg=0&layout=s
- Magyarország, 1914. 15 April, Szokoly Tamás meghalt https://adt.arcanum.com/hu/view/Magyarország_1914_04/?pg=0&layout=s
- Magyar Zsidó Lexikon*. (1929). A Zsidó Lexikon. <https://mek.oszk.hu/04000/04093/html/>
- Pál, J. (2011). Polgárok vagy politikusok? Az erdélyi városok országgyűlési képviselő a kiegyezés után. In H. Németh, I., Szívós, E. & Tóth, Á. (Eds.), *Város és társadalma: Tanulmányok Bácskai Vera tiszteletére* (pp. 346–360). Hajnal István Kör-Társadalomtörténeti Egyesület. https://hajnalkor.hu/files/rendi_es_polgari_024.pdf
- Pálmány, B. (Ed.). (2002). *Az 1848-49. évi első népképviselői országgyűlés történeti almanachja*. Országgyűlés.
- Pap, J. (2020). A városi képviselet, városi képviselők a dualizmus időszakában. In Ballabás, D., Pap & J. (Eds.), *Képviselők és főrendek a dualizmus kori Magyarországon*

- 1: *Parlamentarizmustörténeti tanulmányok* (pp. 61-88). Líceum.
http://publikacio.uni-eszterhazy.hu/4774/1/K%C3%A9pvisel%C5%91k%20%C3%A9s%20f%C5%91rendek%20a%20dualizmus%20kori%20Magyarorsz%C3%A1gon_Online.pdf
- Ruszoly, J. (1986) A hazai választási statisztika kezdetei (1848–1869). *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominata e Acta Juridica et Politica*. Tomus XXXVI, 217-249. http://acta.bibl.u-szeged.hu/6599/1/juridpol_036_217-263.pdf
- Sturm, A. (Ed.) (1901). *Országgyűlési Almanach 1901–1906*. Budapesti Tudósító.
https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/OGYK_Almanach_1901-1905/?pg=0&layout=s
- Szinnyei, J. (1896). *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, 4. (Gyalai–Hyrtyl). <https://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/index.htm>
- Szivák, I. (1901). *Országgyűlési képviselőválasztás és Curiai bíraskodás Codexe* (pp. 1003–1033). Atheneum.
https://adt.arcanum.com/hu/view/Books_21_JogJogtortenet_1259_Orszaggyulesi_kepviselovalasztas_es_curiai_biraskodas_codexe_1171/?pg=0&layout=s
- Vasárnapi Újság, (1885) 11 October. <https://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00030/01649/pdf/01649.pdf>
- Vasárnapi Újság, (1892). 28 February. <https://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00030/01982/pdf/01982.pdf>
- Végváry, F. & Zimmer, F. (Eds.). (1910). *Sturm-féle országgyűlési almanach 1910–1915*. Pázmáneum.
https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/OGYK_Almanach_1910-1918_1/?pg=0&layout=s