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THE ELECTIVE REPRESENTATION OF THE ROMANIANS IN THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT

Vlad Popovici*, Ovidiu Iudean**

Abstract

The paper analyses the presence of Romanian representatives in the lower chamber of the Hungarian Parliament between 1869 and 1892. It starts with the prosopographical description of the Romanian MPs and their political affiliation, presented for each elective cycle of the given period. Next, following Adalbert Toth's method, the authors grouped the represented parties in three tendencies (slightly different from Toth's original ones): government parties, Hungarian opposition parties and Romanian national parties. The results show that most of the Romanian MPs (73%) were elected on the lists of the Hungarian government parties, and many of them migrated from the Parliament to bureaucracy during the 1870s. Under such circumstances - given the elective passivity that spread among the Romanians after 1875 and the lack of cohesion inside the national movement - the number of Romanian MPs regressed constantly, from 31 (1869-1872) to 9 (1887-1892). A projection of the geographical distribution of their mandates also shows how the area in which the Romanian MPs were elected grew smaller, from the entire Banat, Western Parts and Maramureş in 1869 to a few scattered colleges in 1892. This regressive process was mainly a result of the violent tactics used by the Tisza government during the elections and of the Romanian elite's withdrawal inside county administration. But it can also be regarded as a sign (among many others) of the Romanian elites' lack of trust in the Hungarian political system, announcing the radical movement of the 1892 Memorandum.

Keywords: Politics, Elective Representation, Parliament, Hungary, MPs, Electoral Geography

Romanian historiography dwelled at length on the significance of year 1869 in the history of Romanians in Hungary and the creation of the first modern national parties in Transylvania and Banat¹. The participation (and also lack of participation) in the political life of Dualist Monarchy on the part of representatives of these parties was also discussed extensively; the topic generated thousands of works but their approach was rather rhetorical than thorough. The numerous collections

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¹ Valeriu Moldovan, *Conferințele Naționale ale românilor de dincoace de Carpați*, Sibiu, Editura "Asociațiunii", 1937, pp. 6-10; Bujor Surdu, *Conferința națională de la Mercurea (1869)*, in "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj", VIII (1965), pp. 173-211; Miodrag Milin, *De la autonomism la memorandum. Din problematica vieții politice la românii bănățeni. 1860-1895*, Timișoara, Tipografia Universității din Timișoara, 1986, pp. 16-21.

of documents and correspondence and the large quantity of biographical studies could not compensate for the lack of primary tools for the creation of a prosopographic register of Romanian political elite members (MPs, members of the Chamber of Magnates, leaders of national parties). Teodor V. Păcățian's study remains the only reference work in the field; it is a useful synthesis research, which nevertheless includes inaccuracies and lacunas inherent to the historical period when it was written².

No ethnically circumscribed list of Romanian MPs in the Hungarian Parliament is available to the present state of research. T. V. Păcățian gives relatively complete data on each elective cycle, but he does not always add details on the platform the future MPs candidate and won with, not to mention biographical elements that are so necessary in understanding the motifs behind decision-making processes.

A. Toth's prosopographic effort³ gave Romanian researchers a priceless tool: the list of all MPs in the Hungarian Diet between 1848 and 1892, brief biographic data and an exhaustive analysis of local elective dynamics and behaviour down to the level of colleges. This ample work, though bibliographically outdated, remains an essential tool for those researching political life in Austria-Hungary. Yet A. Toth's analysis does not touch upon the ethnic element, with the exception of general-context references to nationalities' parties; Romanian MPs on the lists of Hungarian political formations are (correctly) associated to the platform they represented. Their nationality can be identified in the prosopographic table, where most of them feature with both Romanian and Hungarian onomastic forms.

Gabriella Ilonszky⁴ extended A. Toth's analyses for the period between 1848 and 1892, focusing on the interval after 1884. In her latest book, Ilonszky offers an exhaustive database including all MPs in the Hungarian Parliament from 1884 until nowadays; she also gives complex data on elective statistics and dynamics. Though focusing on the post-dualist period, this work makes available for researchers the amplest tool for the analysis of the Romanian political elite in Hungary between 1884 and 1918, surpassing through size and methodology all similar initiatives from Romania in the field of political elite collective biography.

Despite their qualities, the above-mentioned works do not guarantee infallible information. For example, A. Toth mentioned Ilie Măcelariu's election and the fact that he did not confirm his mandate in the college of Hațeg, but the author only mentioned this happening in

² Teodor V. Păcățian, *Cartea de aur sau luptele politice-naționale ale românilor de sub coroana ungară*, vol. I, 2nd edition, Sibiu, Tipografia Iosif Marschall, 1904; vol. II, Sibiu, Tipografia Iosif Marschall, 1904; vol. III, Sibiu, Tipografia Iosif Marschall, 1905; Vol. IV, Sibiu, Tipografia Arhidiecezană, 1906; vol. V, Sibiu, Tipografia Arhidiecezană, 1909; vol. VI, Sibiu, Tipografia Arhidiecezană, 1910; vol. VII, Sibiu, Tipografia Arhidiecezană, 1911.

³ Adalbert Toth, *Parteien und Reichstagswahlen in Ungarn 1848-1892*, München, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1973.

⁴ Ilonszki Gabriella, *Képviselek és képviselőlet Magyarországon a 19. és 20. Században*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 2009.

1872, not in 1869 as well⁵. Dumitru Suciu, Ilie Măcelariu's main biographer, completed the information⁶. In his turn, D. Suciu⁷ mentioned the intense campaign led by the passivists in Năsăud in 1869, writing that "the boycott of the elections was successful" though this "success" still meant that Sigismund Victor Popp, a Romanian activist and deákist MP was elected with 2 votes (and the Diet confirmed it despite the fact that the law required a minimum of 10 votes for the election of each MP)⁸!

Among the contemporary contributions to the topic from Romania, one could also mention one of Eugen Glück's studies on Romanian MPs in the Hungarian Diet between 1848 and 1849⁹ and an article signed by Stelian Mândruț on elective dynamics in post-Memorandum Transylvania - meant to complete A. Toth's research with data on the inner Carpathian area¹⁰.

Starting from these pre-requisites, our research aims at recreating from a prosopographical perspective a less researched elite group, i.e. the Romanian MPs in the Parliament of Budapest, and at analyzing it statistically. Historians focused so far on representatives of the national parties in Transylvania and Banat, usually presenting them in a favourable light, while most of their co-nationals entering the Diet on the lists of Hungarian parties were undeservingly forgotten. When their strong and influential personalities did bring them to the attention of biographers, the nature of the platform they candidated with was neglected or minimized. There are no studies in Romanian historiography focusing on this topic, only tangential mentions and brief biographic references.

We will thus start with a scholastic and rigid but most necessary presentation of each electoral cycle, continuing with an overview analysis of the period between 1869 and 1892 that will allow us to formulate primary conclusions on this elite group and its presence in the political life of Hungary. A number of supplementary details can be found in the Annexes (table 1 and 2). Such details are not discussed in the main text in order to prevent it from becoming overloaded. We believe that we managed to recreate the full picture of Romanian MPs in Budapest between 1869 and 1892, and even if other such MPs will be identified by future studies, their small number cannot modify the general conclusions of the present research.

⁵ Adalbert Toth, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

⁶ Dumitru Suciu, *Mișcarea antidualistă a românilor din Ungaria și Ilie Măcelariu (1867-1891)*, București, Editura Albatros, 2002, pp. 261-262.

⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 257-258.

⁸ *Albina*, IV (1869), no. 54, June 15th-27th, p. 1.

⁹ Eugen Glück, "Deputați români în Parlamentul Ungariei în 1848-49", in Maria Berényi (ed.) *Simpozion. Comunicările celui de al VIII-lea simpozion al cercetătorilor români din Ungaria*, Giula, Editura "NOI", 1999, pp. 46-63.

¹⁰ Stelian Mândruț, *Dinamica electoral-politică în Transilvania între anii 1892-1910*, in "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie « George Barițiu » din Cluj-Napoca", XLII (2003), pp. 313-323.

Remaining in the methodological section, we must also explain the relevance of the selected time span. Despite the fact that Romanian MPs had been present in Budapest before¹¹, the 1869-1872 electoral cycle was the first in the history of dualist Hungary to include representatives of Romanian national parties. These national parties were organized during the conferences held in Timișoara and Miercurea. The 1887-1892 electoral cycle had a double meaning: it marked the end of the Tisza Kálmán government and the introduction of new forces on the Hungarian political scene¹², but also the entry of the Romanian National Party from Transylvania and Hungary (RNP) in a stage of complete passivity for the following decade¹³. In fact, the entire period between 1869 and 1892 was special for the political life of Romanians in Hungary, starting with the foundation of national parties and ending with a major crisis that disintegrated the organizing structures of the national movement and left the parliamentarians elected on the lists of Hungarian parties as the only representatives of the nation. It is for these reasons that we selected this period as focus of the present analysis, since the elective dynamics of the Romanian national MPs held a key role in the understanding of the general trends of parliamentary representation of Romanians in Hungary.

a. The dynamics of elective representation according to parliamentary cycles

31 Romanian MPs were elected in the Parliament of Budapest for the 1869-1872 elective cycle, among whom 17 held full mandates, 12 partial mandates, while 2 failed to appear for their confirmation¹⁴. The 17 MPs with full mandates were Vincentiu Babeș, Vicențiu Bogdan, Sigismund Borlea, Iosif Hodoș, Dimitrie Ionescu, Lazăr Ionescu, George Ioanovici, Vasile Jurca, Aurel Maniu, Petru Mihály, Alexandru Mocsonyi, Anton Mocsonyi, Eugeniu Mocsonyi, George Mocsonyi, Sigismund Victor Papp, Iosif Pop and Alexandru Roman. The 12 partial mandates went to Vasile Buteanu, Ioan Eugen Cucu (deceased), Lazăr Gruescu (deceased), Iosif Hoszu, George Ivacicovici, Sigismund Popovici (replaced by Dimitrie Bonciu), Miron Romanul (replaced by Mircea B. Stănescu), Mihail Pavel, and Aloisiu Vlad de Săliște (replaced by Iuliu Petricu). Ilie Măcelariu and Ioan Antonelli, the Vicar of Făgăraș, did not confirm their mandates, complying with the general passivity imposed by the conference in Miercurea¹⁵.

¹¹ Dumitru Suci, *Antecedentele dualismului austro-ungar și lupta națională a Românilor din Transilvania (1848-1867)*, București, Editura Albatros, 2000, pp. 254-255.

¹² István Barta, Iván T. Berend, Péter Hanák, Miklós Lackó, László Makkai, Zsuzsa L. Nagy, György Ránki, *Histoire de la Hongrie des origines à nos jours*, Budapest, Éditions Corvina, 1974, pp. 370-372.

¹³ Teodor Pavel, *Partidul Național Român și acțiunea memorandistă*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Daco-Press, 1994, pp. 26-52.

¹⁴ Teodor V. Păcățian, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 132; A. Toth, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-343, passim (see the entries dedicated to these MPs).

¹⁵ Dumitru Suci, *Mișcarea antidualistă...*, pp. 261-262.

28 colleges from 13 administrative units were represented (see annexes). Among them, only 4 were in Transylvania (Mociu-Clujul de Jos, Rodna, Hațeg and Făgărașul de Jos), the other 24 covering the entire area of the western-Carpathian territories with Romanian majority: Banat, Partium, Zarand, Chioar, Bihor and Maramureș. Most mandates came from the counties of Caraș (6), Arad (4), Maramureș and Torontal (3 each).

The Romanian MPs were elected on the lists of 4 political formations: the Deákist governmental Party (DP - 16 MPs), The Center-Left Party (the main Hungarian opposition force, CLP - 2 MPs), the Romanian National Party from Banat (RNPB - 11 MPs) and the Romanian National Party from Transylvania (RNPT - 2 MPs who failed to appear). The situation differed in those colleges where elections were held in order to fill in vacant positions: MPs representing the same party were selected in two cases (DP and RNPB), while in a third case DP lost its mandate in favour of CLP.

Over the 1872-1875 elective cycle, a number of 25 Romanian MPs were elected in the Parliament of Budapest, among whom 17 held full mandates, 7 had partial mandates and 1 failed to appear¹⁶. The 17 MPs with full mandates were Mihai Bejan, Vicențiu Bogdan, Dimitrie Bonciu, Sigismund Borlea, Partenie Cosma, Ioan Gozman, Iosif Hodoș, George Ioanovici, Vasile Jurca, Petru Mihály, Anton Mocsonyi, Petru Nemeș, Iuliu Petricu, Gheorghe Pop de Băsești, Alexa Popescu, Alexandru Roman, and Mircea B. Stănescu. The 7 partial mandates went to Vincențiu Babeș, Alexandru Buda (deceased), Alexandru Mocsonyi (replaced by Ioan Popovici-Desseanu), Vasile Buteanu, Traian Doda, Ioachim Mureșan (he initially failed to appear, but then reconsidered). Ilie Măcelariu failed to appear and confirm his mandate.

24 colleges from 12 administrative units were represented. 2 of these colleges were located in Transylvania (Mociu-Clujul de Jos and Rodna), while the other 10 lay in the western parts. The counties of Arad, Caraș and Bihor were the administrative units with the most numerous mandates (5, 5 and 3 respectively).

The Romanian MPs were initially elected on the lists of 5 parties: DP - 11, CLP - 2, The 1848 Party (48P - 2), RNPB - 8 and RNPT - 2 among whom one MP failed to appear. A new party was created towards the end of this elective cycle, as consequence of the regrouping of political forces in Hungary: The Liberal Party (LP), formed through DP merging with CLP on March 1st 1875. The new party, led by Tisza Kálmán, formed a parliamentary majority and it was obvious it was going to win the summer elections and form the new cabinet¹⁷. In such conditions, most Romanian MPs who had candidated on the lists of DP and CLP rallied to the new party, with two exceptions: Alexa Popescu from Sasca college who returned to the national platform of the RNPB and Vicențiu Bogdan from Sânnicolau Mare college who remained a member of the Right Wing

¹⁶ Teodor V. Păcățian, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, p. 5, pp. 102-103; Adalbert Toth, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-343, passim (see the entries dedicated to these MPs).

¹⁷ István Barta *et alii*, *op. cit.*, pp. 357-359.

Opposition (RWO) - a political formation created from the remaining members of the DP and CLP who did not accept the merging¹⁸. The 1848 Party also went through reorganizing phases and name changes, but the two Romanian MPs who candidated on its lists (Mircea B. Stănescu and Gheorghe Pop de Băsești) maintained their orientation by joining, successively, the United Constitutional Opposition (UCO) and the Independence Party (IP)¹⁹. Romanians took part in the filling of vacant positions in a single elective college, managing to preserve the RNPB mandate in Radna.

21 Romanian MPs were elected during the 1875-1878 elective cycle in the Parliament of Budapest, among whom 16 had full mandates, 6 had partial mandates and 3 failed to appear²⁰. The 12 MPs with full mandates were Ștefan Antonescu, Sigismund Borlea, Sigismund Ciplea, Partenie Cosma, Traian Doda, Constantin Gurban, Petru Mihály, Ioan Misici, Iosif Nistor, Alexandru Papp, Gheorghe Pop de Băsești and Alexandru Roman. The 6 partial mandates belonged to Ioan Balomiri, Iosif Hodoș (resigned), Vasile Hoszu, George Ioanovici, Iuliu Petricu (replaced by George Szerb). Laurean Berceanu, Ioan Axente Sever and Avram Tincu, all from Orăștie college failed to appear in Diet meetings, refusing to confirm their mandates. The latter was replaced by Ioan Balomiri, who took part for ca. 6 months in the proceedings of the Parliament.

17 colleges, from 10 administrative units, were represented. The county of Caraș provided the largest number of Romanian mandates (5). A special situation occurred in the college of Orăștie where 3 Romanian candidates renounced their mandates successively, thus cumulating 4 mandates during this elective cycle²¹. Hungary went through an administrative reform in 1876, with the result that some old units disappeared while others were reorganized or given new names²². Romanian historiography lacks studies on the effects of this reorganization of the elective geography in the areas inhabited by the Romanians. Despite the fact that the basic units - the colleges - remained largely the same²³, a detailed study on the redistribution of people with the right to vote in Transylvania and the Western Parts as a result of the administrative reform of 1876 is still needed.

The Romanian MPs were elected on the lists of 4 parties: LP - 12, IP - 1, RNPB - 4 and RNPT - 4. Considering the special situation in Orăștie, RNPT actually had a single candidate thus the large majority rested with the government party. One can note, inside this party, Iosif Nistor's

¹⁸ Adalbert Toth, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-143.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 301, 315.

²⁰ Teodor V. Păcățian, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, p. 519; Adalbert Toth, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-343, *passim* (see the entries dedicated to these MPs).

²¹ Valentin Orga, *Grupul neoactivist de la Orăștie. Premise. Constituire. Activitate (1885-1914)*, PhD dissertation, "Babeș-Bolyai" University, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, pp. 198-199.

²² Anton Dörner, *Administrația Transilvaniei în perioada anilor 1867-1876*, in "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie « George Barițiu » din Cluj-Napoca", XL (2001), pp. 116-121.

²³ Adalbert Toth, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-154.

desertion. He enrolled the Independent Liberal Party (ILP) and then the United Opposition (OU). We must also mention the situation in Zorlențu Mare college, where two governmental Romanian MPs succeeded each other, i.e. Iuliu Petricu and George Szerb.

14 Romanian MPs were elected in the Parliament from Budapest during the 1878-1881 elective cycle. 11 of them had full mandates²⁴: George Constantini, Partenie Cosma, Traian Doda, Vasile Jurca, Petru Mihály, Ioan Misici, Alexandru Papp, Gheorghe Pop de Băsești, Alexandru Roman, George Szerb and Nicolae Străvoiu. George Ivacicovici died shortly after the elections, Atanasiu Racz did not finish his mandate and George Ioanovici only started his in the autumn of 1878. 14 elective colleges were represented, from 8 counties, the largest number of mandates coming from Caraș-Severin (4). Romanian MPs candidated on the lists of 4 political formations: LP - 10, OU - 2, IP - 1 and RNPB - 1. We must note Nicolae Străvoiu's desertion (in the college of Brașov II). He returned to the platform of RNPT after entering the Parliament on the lists of the governmental party²⁵.

11 Romanian MPs were elected in the Parliament of Budapest during the 1881-1884 elective cycle. 7 of them had full mandates: George Constantini, Traian Doda, Iosif Gall, Vasile Jurca, Alexandru Roman, George Szerb and Végshö Gellért. Ioan Misici died during his mandate. Ștefan Antonescu resigned and entered the administration, being replaced by Leontin Simonescu. Atanasiu Racz was elected, for a few months, towards the end of the cycle²⁶. 11 colleges from 5 counties were represented. The largest number of mandates came from the counties of Caraș-Severin (4) and Timiș (3). With the exception of Traian Doda, elected in Caransebeș on the lists of the RNP, all 10 other Romanian MPs candidated for the Liberal Party.

12 Romanian MPs were elected in the Parliament of Budapest during the elective cycle 1884-1887, all of them with full mandates: Vincențiu Babeș, Ioan Beleş, Sigismund Ciplea, Traian Doda, Iosif Gall, Constantin Gurban, Petru Mihály, Atanasiu Racz, Alexandru Roman, George Szerb, Petru Truț(i)a and Végshö Gellért²⁷. 12 colleges from 5 counties were represented: Caraș-Severin (3 mandates), Arad, Bihor, Maramureș, Timiș (2 mandates) and Hunedoara (1 mandate). Among these, the Liberal Party held 8 mandates, RNP 3 mandates and the Moderate Opposition (MO) one mandate.

9 Romanian MPs were elected in the Parliament of Budapest during the elective cycle 1887-1892. Among them, 6 had full mandates: Ioan Beleş, George Constantini, Petru Mihály, Silviu Rezei, George Szerb and

²⁴ Teodor V. Păcățian, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, pp. 667-669; Adalbert Toth, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-343, *passim* (see the entries dedicated to these MPs).

²⁵ Adalbert Toth, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

²⁶ Teodor V. Păcățian, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, pp. 49-50; Adalbert Toth, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-343, *passim* (see the entries dedicated to these MPs).

²⁷ Teodor V. Păcățian, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, p. 207; Adalbert Toth, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-343, *passim* (see the entries dedicated to these MPs); G. Ilonszki, *op. cit.*, CD-Rom (Történeti_Képviseelő_Adatbázis_1884_1947.xls).

Véghsö Gellért. Atanasiu Racz died in 1891, while Traian Doda and Mihail Popovici failed to appear in order to confirm their election. 8 colleges from 5 counties were represented: Caransebeş (3 mandates), Arad, Bihor (2 mandates), Timiș, Maramureș (1 mandate). 6 Romanians candidate on the lists of the Liberal Party, RNP obtained two unconfirmed mandates in the same college, and a Romanian MP decided to candidate on the platform of the Moderate Opposition, continuing the same platform direction as member of count Appanyi's National Party (NP)²⁸.

We have presented the overall attendance of Romanian MPs in the Parliament from Budapest, according to elective cycles, between 1869 and 1892. Even from this simple and dry presentation, one can observe some of the major trends of that period, such as the dominance of the governmental parties and the constant regress of MPs elected on the basis of their national program until their complete disappearance after 1892. Over the following paragraphs, we will attempt to analyze this period in its entirety, detailing and refining the previous general observations.

b. General development during the period between 1869 and 1892

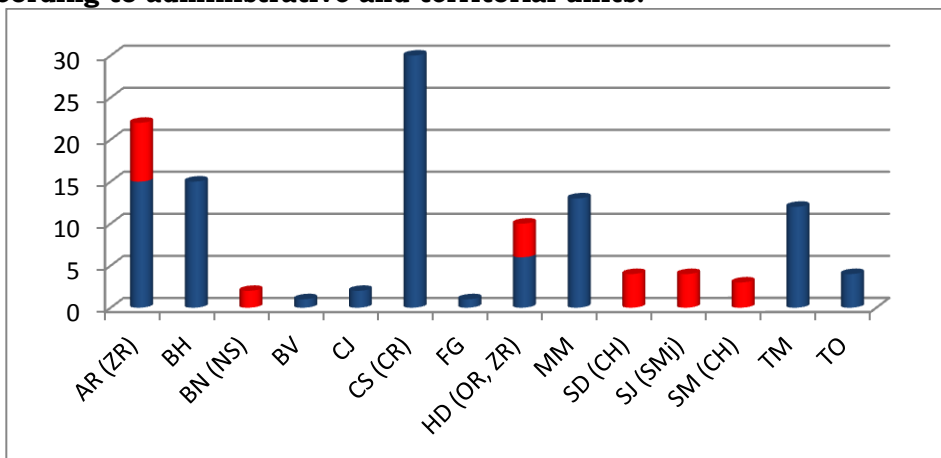
62 Romanian MPs were present in the Hungarian Parliament between 1869 and 1892, sharing a number of 123 mandates. Among these, 82 were full mandates, while the other 41 were interrupted or taken by others. Among the latter, in 8 cases the candidates failed to appear and in 6 cases death prevented the respective MPs to finish their mandates.

It is difficult to analyze the geographic-elective representation due to the changes triggered by the administrative reform of 1876. Graph no. 1 shows the distribution of Romanian MPs' mandates according to their distribution on counties, including also the administrative units dissolved in 1876 (marked in red). Mandates from the colleges included in such units were given to the counties to which they were annexed after the reform. Since the former Caraș County overlaps almost entirely the 1876 Caraș-Severin, one can state that in this case our elective presentation is not distorted by the administrative reform; for this reason, we did not mark this case with different colour. Most of the seats in the Diet were won in the colleges of Caraș-Severin (30), Arad (22), Bihor (15), Maramureș (13) and Timiș (12). The county of Zarand is special due to the fact that 3 of the 22 mandates from Arad came from there. 10 mandates came from the county of Hunedoara, but 4 of them were due to the special situation in the district of Orăștie (1875-1878), other 4 were obtained in the former Zarand, while the last 2 were not confirmed. Taking into consideration also the mandates obtained between 1878 and 1892 in the college of Iosășel (Hălmagiul Mare), the total number of Romanian mandates in Zarand (before and after 1876) raises to 11, placing it in the upper half of the hierarchy grouping areas where Romanian MPs were elected.

²⁸ Teodor V. Păcățian, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, p. 357; A. Toth, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-343, passim (see the entries dedicated to these MPs); G. Ilonszki, *op. cit.*, CD-Rom (Történeti Képvisező Adatbázis 1884-1947.xls).

Much lower figures correspond to the counties of Solnoc-Dăbâca (4), Sălaj (4), Satu Mare (3) and Torontal (4). All 7 mandates from the counties of Solnoc-Dăbâca and Satu Mare came from the former district of Chioar, while the mandates in Sălaj were all obtained in the colleges of the former Solnocul de Mijloc County. Historical Transylvania totals 12 mandates (9.5%) from Hunedoara (6), Năsăud (2), Cluj (2), Braşov (1) and Făgăraş (1) - 5 of them were not confirmed and one was confirmed later.

Graph no. 1. Distribution of mandates held by Romanian MPs according to administrative and territorial units.



Overall, Romanian MPs represented 38 elective colleges distributed in 14 administrative units (during the period between 1869 and 1876) and 8 such units respectively (during the 1876-1892 period). The elective geography can be explained, at first glance, by the tactics adopted by the Romanian parties: activism in Banat and passivism in Transylvania. The significant difference between the governmental Romanian MPs elected in the Western Parts and those in historical Transylvania is yet to be interpreted. One could think of several explanations: the imposed passivity on one hand and the difference in elective legislation (more restrictive in Transylvania) on the other hand; and from one moment onward the construction of an activist “tradition” in the western counties. Since not all data is available at this point, we tend to explain this difference also through an increased conservatism of Romanians in Transylvania, through a certain “local patriotism” that prevented them from entering a Parliament they did not consider as their own. Another possible explanation, even a plausible one, is the emergence in Transylvania of financially powerful Hungarian parliamentary elite that few of the Romanian candidates for the Diet could rival.

Romanian MPs represented 15 political formations and groups between 1869 and 1892. One could group them according to three tendencies: government parties (I), Hungarian opposition parties (II) and Romanian national parties (III). This taxonomy differs from the classical one created by A. Toth who placed some Hungarian opposition groups

(48P, UCO, IP) in the same radical tendency, labeled “C”, as the parties of the nationalities²⁹. This does not mean we reject his analytical model; on the contrary, we acknowledge its merits and believe it fits his approach on the scale of entire Hungary perfectly. But the much more focused topic of our study and the present state of research (almost nothing is known on the actual doctrinal position of several Romanian MPs) determine us to use, for the time being, a less detailed delimitation among parliamentary parties in Hungary, even with the risk of assuming ethnocentric tendencies. In the future, if the topic will grow and the state of research will allow it, we are certain researchers will also pay attention to the needed differentiations among Romanian MPs in the ranks of the Hungarian opposition.

Tendency I includes the two government parties, DP and LP, grouping 73 mandates, i.e. 59.35% of the total. Tendency II includes no less than 10 opposition formations (MO, RWO, UO1, UO2, UCO, 48P, CLP, IP, ILP, NP), totaling 12 mandates (9.75%). Tendency III includes the three national parties (RNPB, RNPT, RNP), with 38 mandates (30.90%). Graph no. 2 shows the development of these tendencies.

Tendency I slightly decreased in 1872 and then remained stable until 1884, when the number of Romanian governmental MPs started to decrease again, significantly. The causes of this regress relates to a complex of both natural and ideological factors. We would be tempted to say that governmental parties felt less and less attracted, over a couple of decades, by the idea of promoting Romanian MPs as the internal situation stabilized after the *Ausgleich* and the Magyarization policy gained momentum. The fact is possible, but no documents support this explicitly.

There are nevertheless documents attesting the fact that some of the Romanian MPs were attracted into bureaucratic structures, occupying more secure positions that were sometimes also financially more profitable. The following were in such a situation between 1869 and 1872: M. Romanul (appointed school inspector, he went on to become bishop and metropolitan)³⁰, A. Vlad de Săliște (appointed judex of the *Tabula Regia Judiciaria* in Budapest)³¹, S. Popovici (appointed court chairman)³² and G. Ivacicovici. Between 1872 and 1875 V. Butean was appointed royal judge in Șomcuța Mare³³ and between 1875 and 1878 I. Petricu and V. Hoszu were appointed college judges³⁴. The case of G. Ivacicovici was special: in 1869 he was elected Deákist MP, gave up his mandate in 1871 in order to enter the administration and became *comes* of Caraș. After the

²⁹ Adalbert Toth, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

³⁰ Antonie Plămădeală, *Lupta împotriva deznaționalizării românilor din Transilvania în timpul dualismului austro-ungar în vremea lui Miron Romanul 1874-1898, după acte, documente și corespondență*, Sibiu, Tiparul Tipografiei Eparhiale Sibiu, 1986, p. 27.

³¹ Vasile Iuga de Săliște, *Aloisiu Vlad de Săliște. Viața și activitatea*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Societății Culturale Pro Maramureș Dragoș Vodă, 2003, pp. 41-47.

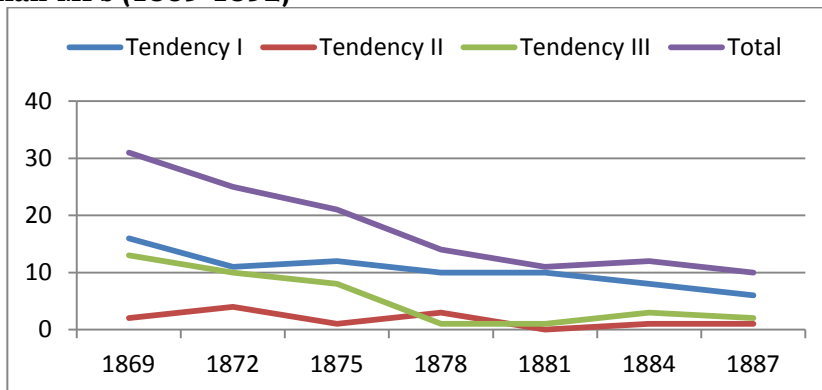
³² Teodor V. Păcățian, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 132.

³³ *Ibidem*, vol. VI, p. 103.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, vol. VI, p. 519.

1876 administrative reform and the reorganizing of the county of Caraș he returned to parliamentary life but died shortly after the elections³⁵.

Graph no. 2. Development of political tendencies among the Romanian MPs (1869-1892)



MPs movements from administration to Parliament continued during the 80s, probably according to the local strategies of the government and the desire for self-accomplishment of those involved. During the 1881-1884 cycle, MP Șt. Antonescu was elected president of the Orphans' Court in the county of Lugoj; he then resigned and his seat was taken by L. Simonescu, former *vice-comes* in Lugoj. Another Romanian, A. Racz, former *vice-comes* in Timiș, exchanged places with the Hungarian MP Ormós Zsigmond, took his mandate, and the latter became *vice-comes* instead of Racz³⁶. By the time he was elected member of the Parliament in 1884, C-tin Gurban was arch-priest of Buteni and temporary director of the Theological and Pedagogical Institute in Ara³⁷, thus clerk in the autonomous administration of the Orthodox Church. I. Gall³⁸ and Vêghsö G.³⁹ also came from the administration and both temporarily gave up their pensions in favour of the MP allowance. In the same manner, in 1892, P. Vuia promoted from college proprietor to MP⁴⁰.

As one can note, there were several cases of Romanian MPs migrating to-and-from Parliament and bureaucracy (either of the state or the church) between 1869 and 1892. It is possible that this also triggered a decrease in the total number of Romanian governmental candidates who preferred safer and less turbulent positions. The fact that in at least one

³⁵ *Ibidem*, vol. VI, p. 669.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, vol. VII, p. 50.

³⁷ "Luminătorul", IV (1884), no. 49, June 16th-28th, p. 1.

³⁸ Teodor V. Păcățian [?], *Iosif Gall*, f. 40-41. Anonymous manuscript, probably written by T.V. Păcățian, preserved in Ovidiu Emil Iudean's personal archive.

³⁹ "Telegraful Român", XXIX (1881), no. 69, June 16th, p. 1.

⁴⁰ Ovidiu Emil Iudean, *The involvement of Romanian candidates in the parliamentary elections in Hungary during the last decade of the 19th century, as reflected in the Romanian press in Transylvania*, in "Transylvanian Review", XX (2011), Supplement no. 1/2011. Edited by Oana Mihaela Tămaș, Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca (under print).

case a Romanian took over a Hungarian mandate and that some of the people who left were also replaced by Romanians indicate that the government rather chose its people according to political than nationalistic considerations. As possible explanation for this phenomenon, we note that administration work was much easier and on the long run more profitable; since major investments were no longer needed during election periods, pensions were ensured and any high clerk was able to directly support the promotion of a number of people who were close to him or were members of his family in the lower ranks of administration. Not least, the boom of Hungarian bureaucracy after 1867⁴¹ certainly created an attractive context for the Romanian elite, diminishing the political leaning of those who wished to enjoy certain prosperity without major financial efforts. The fact that migration took place in both directions reflects the complex motivation that determined such behaviour and the need to study it at an individual level in order to reach fully acceptable explanations.

Turning to the causes of the decrease in the number of governmental Romanian MPs, one must mention that throughout the period under analysis, out of the 6 who died during their mandate, 5 were governmental and 3 died after 1881, thus naturally reducing the number of Romanians in the Parliament. Paradoxically, political migration rather had a negative impact on the government parties, as we will subsequently show. Not least, the legislative actions of the Tisza government against the nationalities⁴² seem to have undermined the support of a pro-government inclination among the Romanians. The failed attempts of 1881 and 1884-1885⁴³ indicate the impossibility of maintaining a moderate Romanian party. The unification of Romanian national parties⁴⁴ and the relative solidarity that characterized the period between 1881 and 1892 contributed to their rejection of collaborating with the government.

Taking into consideration this complex system of factors and the descending trend between 1869 and 1875, T.V. Păcățian's assertion that the elective legislation of 1875 had a major influence on the decrease in numbers of Romanian MPs can be detailed; we believe that the modification of elective norms was only a reason among many in the support of a development that was descendent from the beginning⁴⁵.

⁴¹ Alan John Percival Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1809-1918. A History of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary*, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1948, pp. 185-186; István Barta *et alii*, *op. cit.*, pp. 350-359, 365-372.

⁴² Paul Lucian Brusanowski, *Învățământul confesional ortodox din Transilvania între anii 1848-1918: între exigențele statului centralizat și principiile autonomiei bisericești*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2005, pp. 272-285.

⁴³ Vlad Popovici, *Publicații activiste progubernamentale românești din Ungaria dualistă. Discursul politic al ziarelor «Patria» și «Viitorul»*, in "Revista Bistriței", XX (2006), pp. 296-297.

⁴⁴ Bujor Surdu, *Conferința de constituire a Partidului Național Român din Ungaria (1881)*, in "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj", XI (1968), pp. 307-325; Liviu Maior, *Constituirea Partidului Național Român. Conferința din 12-14 mai 1881*, in "Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Seria Historia", XV (1970), fasciculus 1, pp. 91-107.

⁴⁵ Teodor V. Păcățian, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, p. 501.

If there is one reason to contribute significantly to the lowering number of Romanian nationalist MPs, it is not connected to legislation but to the elective procedures of that time. Ever since 1869, Romanian correspondents noted the violent clashes during the elections, especially in Hungary and less in Transylvania⁴⁶. During the Tisza period, elective violence and pressure extended at the level of the entire country, as a means of controlling elections aimed against the entire opposition, not only the nationalist one: “Supporters of the government, who voted for its candidates, enjoyed all favour and were forgiven all sins, while supporters of the opposition, both Hungarian and nationalist, were terrorized and persecuted until they despaired. It is thus no wonder that even the few Romanians who had the courage to enter elective struggle in such conditions came out disillusioned and, with few exceptions, defeated by our own Romanian people”⁴⁷. Even if this fragment, belonging to T.V. Păcățian, was written several decades after the events, this is how a member of the Romanian political elite presented the situation in 1881, in an internal correspondence of the RNP: “Romanian leaders lack from all colleges, the priests are either not interested or afraid to take interest in such matters, the few college people do not dare intervene, and most Romanian electors vote for the mandate of the praetor who takes them by carriage to the election place, pays for their travelling expenses and feeds them for free - in Aiud for example they show up with feathers in the colours of the Hungarian flag at their hats and are unwilling to know of any national action, nor do they ask for any advice; in such conditions, all national action is completely paralyzed”⁴⁸.

We cannot end the analysis on TI without discussing political migration. In the beginning of 1875, with the dissolution of the DP and the coalition of the LP, out of the 11 Romanian Deákists only 9 joined the new formation. V. Bogdan chose to join the RWO, while A. Popescu supported the RNPB during the few remaining months of his mandate. Over the 1875-1878 elective cycle, MP I. Nistor went from the LP to the ILP and then the OU. In 1878, P. Mihály did not candidate on the lists of the LP but those of the OU, maintaining this orientation (OU, MO, NP) over his subsequent mandates as well. The same is true for G. Ioanovici. During the same year, N. Străvoiu was elected MP in Transylvania, in the college of Braşov II, on the lists of the LP, later abandoning this formation and assuming a national platform (RNPT). A total of 6 Romanian MPs left the governmental camp between 1869 and 1892. Only 3 of them were attracted by the LP, none during the elective cycles but on the occasion of elections: D. Bonciu gave up the lists of the RNPB for those of the CLP in 1872, joining the LP in 1875; C-tin. Gurban returned to the Parliament on

⁴⁶ Alexandru Onojescu, Vlad Popovici (ed.), *Correspondențe politice peste Carpați. Visarion Roman - colaborator la ziarul «Românul» (1868-1870)*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010, pp. 130-132.

⁴⁷ Teodor V. Păcățian, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, p. 502.

⁴⁸ Central National Historical Archives Bucharest, Romanian National Party Font (National Committee Sibiu), file 2, f. 5-6.

the lists of the LP in 1884-1887, after a RNPB mandate in 1875-1878; A. Roman represented the LP between 1875 and 1887, after several national mandates, including 2 for the RNPB (1869-1875).

The report on political migration is thus negative for TI: twice the number of Romanian MPs left the governmental camp than the number of those whom it attracted from other formations. The motivation behind such migrations was probably a mix between personal and doctrine-related elements, difficult to grasp since the biographies of the large majority of Romanian governmental members of the Parliament have not been written. We can suspect that N. Străvoiu's Tisza platform was only a pretense, in order to ensure the support of the government and of part of the Saxons, since the lawyer from Braşov was well known for his pro-activism⁴⁹. Such data is available in the case of Al. Roman who joined the governmental camp in the context of certain incompatibilities between his status as university professor and as MP; the Tisza government agreed to accept such incompatibilities in this particular case on the condition Al. Roman rallied to its platform, though the Romanian MP maintained, in some cases, his explicitly nationalist orientation and even stood up against the founding of the Romanian Moderate Party in 1884⁵⁰.

Tendency II (TII) went through a fluctuating development over the period under discussion, reaching peaks of popularity during the intervals of 1872-1875 and 1878-1881. The first interval represents the years when DP disintegrated in the conditions created by corruption and the ascension of the CLP⁵¹, while the second marks the coalition of opposition forces against the Tisza government whose power preservation tactics grew increasingly stronger⁵². Analyzing graph 3, one can note that TII is not represented in historical Transylvania, except for the border regions (Cehu Silvaniei college). There are nevertheless two areas where the Romanians strongly supported TII: Arad (Ineu-Buteni, Chişineu-Criş and Radna colleges) and Maramureş (Vişeu and Şugatag colleges). Isolated mandates were obtained in Beiuş (BH) and Bocşa (CS). One must not forget that among the 12 Hungarian opposition mandates, 2 were won on the lists of the CLP and transferred to the LP in 1875, thus changing tendency. Among the Romanian MPs of explicitly opposition orientation one can mention M.B. Stănescu (CLP 1870-1872; 48P, UCO, IP 1872-1875) and Gh. Pop de Băseşti (48P, UCO, IP 1872-1881), besides the above mentioned P. Mihályi. M.B. Stănescu and Gh. Pop de Băseşti getting closer to the 1848 Party can also be related to the negotiations between RNPB-48P during 1870-1871⁵³. Though such negotiations failed at top level, the persistence of personal ties, and the need for allies against the ascension

⁴⁹ Teodor V. Păcăţian, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, pp. 668-669.

⁵⁰ Gelu Neamţu, *Alexandru Roman, marele fiu al Bihorului 1826-1897*, Oradea, Fundaţia Culturală "Cele Trei Crişuri", 1995, pp. 125-127.

⁵¹ István Barta *et alii*, *op. cit.*, pp. 358-359.

⁵² *Ibidem*, pp. 369-371.

⁵³ Ioan Chiorean, *Mişcarea Naţională Română din Austro-Ungaria (1867-1918)*, Tîrgu Mureş, Editura Universităţii "Petru Maior", 2000, pp. 21-23.

of those in support of the government, triggered collaborations at the level of the elective colleges. TII dropped suddenly after 1875 since it “melted” into TI; during subsequent parliamentary cycles TII remained at the value of 1-2 units. Better-known Romanian MPs who chose to candidate on the lists of Hungarian opposition parties were, or seem to have been, nationalists and probably preferred this solution for elective tactical reasons (financial support, ensuring the majority etc.). The hypothesis is also supported by the lack of political migration between TII and TIII among Romanians.

Tendency III (TIII) constantly lost favour. It seemed to go through a slow regress in the beginning, between 1869 and 1875, but taking into consideration the 4 mandates in Orăștie that disturb the statistical picture, one can state that in 1875 the number of Romanian national MPs was half of what it was in 1872, reaching just 1 in 1878. A slight revival can be noted after 1884, but the failure in the 1887 elections pushed RNP to complete passivity and lead to the two successive mandates in Caransebeș be left unconfirmed⁵⁴. T.V. Păcățian explains the decrease of 1872 through the first attempts of the government party to use governmental Romanian candidates in colleges with Romanian majority, where representatives of the RNPB also candidated⁵⁵. The next descending phase, in 1875, can be explained by the lack of unity that characterized the RNPB, in the context of previous failures but also as a side effect of the coalition of the LP. Not even a single central elective conference was held in 1875 and members were allowed to proceed at will, most local branches choosing the path of passivism⁵⁶. It was the elective tactics of the Tisza government and not the elective legislation that lay at the core of the total regress marking the post-Memorandum decade; the decrease in number of the Romanian nationalist MPs corresponds to the general regress of the entire opposition in Hungary. One must not forget the hybrid platform of the RNP that maintained the duality of the elective tactics for Banat and Transylvania, thus preventing unity of action (either in the direction of activism or passivism) and implicitly diminishing the force of its candidates.

c. Conclusions

The fourth indicator in graph 2 (the general development of the number of Romanian MPs - marked in violet) needs no deeper analysis in context of the increasingly lower representation of Romanians in all three political tendencies. One can nevertheless note the steep descending development of this indicator, only interrupted by the slight increase in 1884 mentioned above. Analyzing graph 3, the fact that the strongest all-nationalist college (that of Caransebeș) is still less significant than the strongest all-governmental college (that of Zorlențu Mare) seems symptomatic. It is also not by chance that the disappearance of MPs

⁵⁴ *Tribuna*, XII (1895), no. 151, July 6th-18th, p. 601.

⁵⁵ Teodor V. Păcățian, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, pp. 102-103.

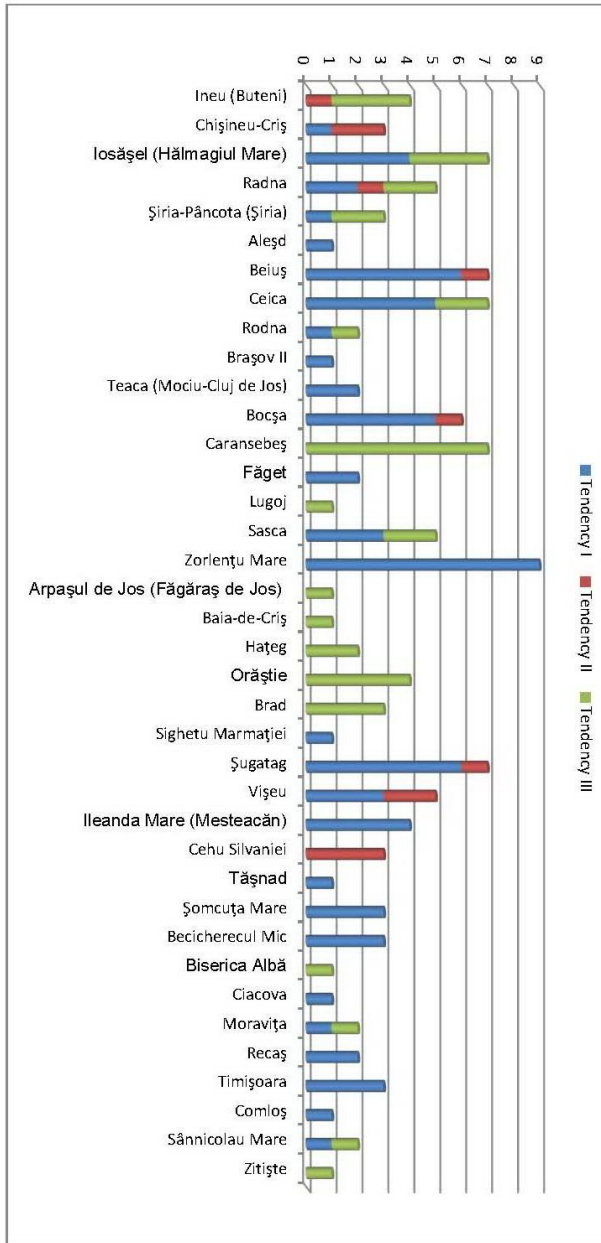
⁵⁶ M. Milin, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

belonging to TIII in the Hungarian Parliament coincides with the Memorandum: the lack of parliamentary representation was meant to generate new forms of political expressions - more radical and with an increased impact on public opinion in Hungary and especially outside its borders.

Over two decades, under the balanced influence of political, ideological and natural factors, the number of Romanian MPs in the Hungarian Parliament decreased constantly, independent of the elective platform they candidated with. Many of those willing to collaborate with the government stepped down during the 1870s to enter bureaucracy and occupy more stable and less demanding positions. The other activists, supporters of the national program or of the opposition, faced the elective tactics meant to ensure for the government majority in the Chamber. In Transylvania, the debate between activists and passivists paralyzed all significant elective initiatives. The election of Romanian candidates was usually followed by their not confirming of these mandates.

The administrative units conferring the largest number of Romanian mandates were located, as expected, in the territory west of the Carpathians. 6 counties [AR(+ZR), BH, CS (CR), MM, TM] together granted 97 of all 123 Romanian mandates during the period under analysis (79.35%). Among these, 59 belonged to governmental parties, 30 to national parties and 8 to Hungarian opposition parties. Nationalist MPs were obviously never as numerous as governmental ones. The fact that many of the latter seemed to stand on rather national and governmental positions in the Diet is equally true. But studies on the parliamentary activity of Romanians in Budapest during this period are either related to biographical reconsiderations or significant moments in the national struggle, almost completely ignoring what we might call the history of parliamentary life. The latter issue thus remains as many others, undecided. In such conditions, beyond the general character of the conclusions in this study, we are left to signal the need for future deeper analyses of aspects related to the elective implication of Romanians in Hungary and the parliamentary activity of Romanian MPs in Budapest, as a needed segment of the history of the national movement and that of Romanian political elites.

Graph no. 3. Distribution of mandates on elective colleges according to the three political tendencies



ANNEXES

Table 1. List of Romanian MPs in the Parliament in Budapest (1869-1892)

| Elective Cycle | Name | Adm. unit | Elective college | Party |
|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|
| 1869-1872 | Antonelli, Ioan | FG | Arpaşul de Jos (Făgăraş de Jos) | RNPT |
| | Babeş, Vincentiu | CS (CR) | Sasca | RNPB |
| | Bogdan, Vicențiu | TO | Comloş | DP |
| | Bonciu, Dimitrie | AR | Ineu (Buteni) | RNPB |
| | Borlea, Sigismund | AR (ZR) | Iosăşel (Hălmagiul Mare) | RNPB |
| | Buteanu, Vasile | SD (CH) | Îleanda Mare (Mesteacăn) | DP |
| | Cucu, Ioan Eugen | SJ (SMj) | Tăşnad | DP |
| | Gruescu, Lazăr | TO | Zitişte | RNPB |
| | Hodoş, Iosif | HD (ZR) | Brad | RNPB |
| | Hoszu, Iosif | CJ | Teaca (Mociu-Cluj de Jos) | DP |
| | Ionescu, Dimitrie | BH | Beiuş | DP |
| | Ionescu, Lazăr | AR | Radna | CLP |
| | Ivacicovici, George | TM | Ciacova | DP |
| | Ioanovici, George | CS (CR) | Bocşa | DP |
| | Jurca, Vasile | MM | Şugatag | DP |
| | Maniu, Aurel | CS (CR) | Făget | DP |
| | Măcelariu, Ilie | HD | Haţeg | RNPT |
| | Mihályi, Petru | MM | Vişeu | DP |
| | Mocsonyi, Alexandru | CS (CR) | Lugoj | RNPB |
| | Mocsonyi, Anton | AR | Şiria-Pâncota (Şiria) | RNPB |
| | Mocsonyi, Eugeniu | TO | Sănnicolau Mare | RNPB |
| | Mocsonyi, George | TM | Moraviţa | RNPB |
| | Pavel, Mihail | MM | Sighetu Marmăţiei | DP |
| | Petricu, Iuliu | CS (CR) | Zorlenţu Mare | DP |
| | Papp, Sigismund Victor | BN (NS) | Rodna | DP |
| | Popovici, Sigismund | AR | Ineu (Buteni) | RNPB |
| | Pop, Iosif | SM (CH) | Şomcuţa Mare | DP |
| | Roman, Alexandru | BH | Ceica | RNPB |
| Romanul, Miron | AR | Chişineu-Criş | DP | |
| Stănescu, Mircea B. | AR | Chişineu-Criş | CLP | |

| Elective Cycle | Name | Adm. unit | Elective college | Party |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| | Wlad de Săliște, Aloisiu | CS (CR) | Zorlențu Mare | DP |
| 1872-1875 | Babeș, Vincentiu | TM | Biserica Albă | RNPB |
| | Bejan, Mihai | CS (CR) | Făget | DP, LP |
| | Bogdan, Vicențiu | TO | Sănnicolau Mare | DP, RWO |
| | Bonciu, Dimitrie | AR | Ineu (Buteni) | CLP; LP |
| | Borlea, Sigismund | AR (ZR) | Iosășel (Hălmagiul Mare) | RNPB |
| | Buda, Alexandru | SM (CH) | Șomcuța Mare | DP |
| | Buteanu, Vasile | SD (CH) | Ileanda Mare (Mesteacăn) | DP |
| | Cosma, Partenie | BH | Beiuș | CLP; LP |
| | Doda, Traian | CS (CR) | Caransebeș | RNPB |
| | Gozman, Ioan | BH | Aleșd | DP, LP |
| | Hodoș, Iosif | HD (ZR) | Brad | RNPB |
| | Ioanovici, George | CS (CR) | Bocșa | DP, LP |
| | Jurca, Vasile | MM | Șugatag | DP, LP |
| | Măcelariu, Ilie | HD | Hățeg | RNPT |
| | Mihályi, Petru | MM | Vișeu | DP, LP |
| | Mocsonyi, Alexandru | AR | Radna | RNPB |
| | Mocsonyi, Anton | AR | Șiria-Pâncota (Șiria) | RNPB |
| | Mureșan, Ioachim | BN (NS) | Rodna | RNPT |
| | Nemeș, Petru | CJ | Teaca (Mociu-Cluj de Jos) | DP, LP |
| | Petricu, Iuliu | CS (CR) | Zorlențu Mare | DP, LP |
| Pop de Băsești, Gheorghe | SJ (SMj) | Cehu Silvaniei | 48P, UCO, IP | |
| Popescu, Alexa | CS (CR) | Sasca | DP, RNPB | |
| Popovici-Desseanu, Ioan | AR | Radna | RNPB | |
| Roman, Alexandru | BH | Ceica | RNPB | |
| Stănescu, Mircea B. | AR | Chișineu-Criș | 48P, UCO, IP | |
| 1875-1878 | Antonescu, Ștefan | CS (CR) | Sasca | LP |
| | Axente Sever, Ioan | HD (OR) | Orăștie | RNPT |
| | Balomiri, Ioan | HD (OR) | Orăștie | RNPT |
| | Berceanu, Laurean | HD (OR) | Orăștie | RNPT |
| | Borlea, Sigismund | AR (ZR) | Iosășel (Hălmagiul Mare) | RNPB |
| | Ciplea, Sigismund | MM | Șugatag | LP |

| Elective Cycle | Name | Adm. unit | Elective college | Party |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| | Cosma, Partenie | BH | Beiuș | LP |
| | Doda, Traian | CS (CR) | Caransebeș | RNPB |
| | Gurban, Constantin | AR | Ineu (Buteni) | RNPB |
| | Hodoș, Iosif | HD (ZR) | Brad | RNPB |
| | Hoszu, Vasile | SD (CH) | Ileanda Mare (Mesteacăn) | LP |
| | Ioanovici, George | CS (CR) | Bocșa | LP |
| | Mihály, Petru | MM | Vișeu | LP |
| | Misici, Ioan | TM | Timișoara | LP |
| | Nistor, Iosif | AR | Șiria-Pâncota (Șiria) | LP, ILP, OU |
| | Papp, Alexandru | SM (CH) | Șomcuța Mare | LP |
| | Petricu, Iuliu | CS (CR) | Zorlențu Mare | LP |
| | Pop de Băsești, Gheorghe | SJ (SMj) | Cehu Silvaniei | IP |
| | Roman, Alexandru | BH | Ceica | LP |
| | Szerb, George | CS (CR) | Zorlențu Mare | LP |
| | Tincu, Avram | HD (OR) | Orăștie | RNPT |
| 1878-1881 | Constantini, George | AR | Iosășel | LP |
| | Cosma, Partenie | BH | Beiuș | LP |
| | Doda, Traian | CS | Caransebeș | RNPB |
| | Ivacicovici, George | CS | Sasca | LP |
| | Ioanovici, George | CS | Bocșa | OU |
| | Jurca, Vasile | MM | Șugatag | LP |
| | Mihályi, Petru | MM | Vișeu | OU, MO |
| | Misici, Ioan | TM | Timișoara | LP |
| | Papp, Alexandru | SD | Ileanda Mare | LP |
| | Pop de Băsești, Gheorghe | SJ | Cehu Silvaniei | IP |
| | Racz, Atanasiu | TM | Moravița | LP |
| | Roman, Alexandru | BH | Ceica | LP |
| | Szerb, George | CS | Zorlențu Mare | LP |
| | Străvoiu, Nicolae | BV | Brașov II | LP, RNPT |
| 1881-1884 | Antonescu, Ștefan | CS | Bocșa | LP |
| | Constantini, George | AR | Iosășel | LP |
| | Doda, Traian | CS | Caransebeș | RNP |
| | Gall, Iosif | TM | Recaș | LP |
| | Jurca, Vasile | MM | Șugatag | LP |
| | Misici, Ioan | TM | Timișoara | LP |
| | Racz, Atanasiu | TM | Becicherecul Mic | LP |

| Elective Cycle | Name | Adm. unit | Elective college | Party |
|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| | Roman, Alexandru | BH | Ceica | LP |
| | Simonescu, Leontin | CS | Bocşa | LP |
| | Szerb, George | CS | Zorlenţu Mare | LP |
| | Véghsö, Gellért | BH | Beiuş | LP |
| 1884-1887 | Babeş, Vincentiu | CS | Sasca | RNP |
| | Beleş, Ioan | AR | Radna | LP |
| | Ciplea, Sigismund | MM | Şugatag | LP |
| | Doda, Traian | CS | Caransebeş | RNP |
| | Gall, Iosif | TM | Recaş | LP |
| | Gurban, Constantin | AR | Iosăşel | LP |
| | Mihályi, Petru | MM | Vişeu | MO |
| | Racz, Atanasiu | TM | Becicherecul Mic | LP |
| | Roman, Alexandru | BH | Ceica | LP |
| | Szerb, George | CS | Zorlenţu Mare | LP |
| | Truţ(î)ja, Petru | HD | Baia-de-Criş | RNP |
| | Véghsö, Gellért | BH | Beiuş | LP |
| | 1887-1892 | Beleş, Ioan | AR | Radna |
| Constantini, George | | AR | Iosăşel | LP |
| Doda, Traian | | CS | Caransebeş | RNP |
| Mihályi, Petru | | MM | Şugatag | MO, NP |
| Popovici, Mihail | | CS | Caransebeş | RNP |
| Rezei, Silviu | | BH | Ceica | LP |
| Racz, Atanasiu | | TM | Becicherecul Mic | LP |
| Szerb, George | | CS | Zorlenţu Mare | LP |
| Véghsö, Gellért | BH | Beiuş | LP | |

Table 2. Distribution of mandates and parties according to elective colleges

| | Ad m. uni t | Elective college | 186 9- 187 2 | 1872 - 1875 | 187 5- 187 8 | 187 8- 188 1 | 188 1- 188 4 | 188 4- 188 7 | 188 7- 189 2 | T o t a l |
|--------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | AR | Ineu (Buteni) | 2 RNP B | 1 CLP, LP | 1 RNP B | | | | | 4 |
| 2 | AR | Chişineu- Criş | 2 DP, CLP | 1 48P, UCO, IP | | | | | | 3 |
| 3 | AR (ZR) | Iosăşel (Hălmaşgiul Mare) | 1 RNP B | 1 RNPB | 1 RNP B | 1 LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | 7 |
| 4 | AR | Radna | 1 CLP | 2 RNPB | | | | 1 LP | 1 LP | 5 |
| 5 | AR | Şiria- Pâncota (Şiria) | 1 RNP B | 1 RNPB | 1 LP, ILP, OU | | | | | 3 |
| 6 | BH | Aleşd | | 1 DP, LP | | | | | | 1 |
| 7 | BH | Beiuş | 1 DP | 1 CLP, LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | 7 |
| 8 | BH | Ceica | 1 RNP B | 1 RNPB | 1 LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | 7 |
| 9 | BN (NS) | Rodna | 1 DP | 1 RNPT | | | | | | 2 |
| 1 0 | BV | Braşov II | | | | 1 LP, RNP T | | | | 1 |
| 1 1 | CJ | Teaca (Mociu-Cluj de Jos) | 1 DP | 1 DP, LP | | | | | | 2 |
| 1 2 | CS (CR) | Bocşa | 1 DP | 1 DP, LP | 1 LP | 1 OU | 2 LP | | | 6 |
| 1 3 | CS (CR) | Caransebeş | | 1 RNPB | 1 RNP B | 1 RNP B | 1 RNP | 1 RNP | 2 RNP | 7 |
| 1 4 | CS (CR) | Făget | 1 DP | 1 DP, LP | | | | | | 2 |

The Elective Representation of the Romanians in the Hungarian Parliament

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------------|--|---------------|-------------------------|---------------|----------------|------|----------|----------------|---|
| |) | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 | CS (CR) | Lugoj | 1 RNP B | | | | | | | 1 |
| 16 | CS (CR) | Sasca | 1 RNP B | 1 DP, RNPB | 1 LP | 1 LP | | 1 RNP | | 5 |
| 17 | CS (CR) | Zorlențu Mare | 2 DP | 1 DP, LP | 2 LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | 9 |
| 18 | FG | Arpașul de Jos (Făgăraș de Jos) | 1 RNP T | | | | | | | 1 |
| 19 | HD | Baia-de-Criș | | | | | | 1 RNP | | 1 |
| 20 | HD | Hățeg | 1 RNP T | 1 RNPT | | | | | | 2 |
| 21 | HD (OR) | Orăștie | | | 4 RNP T | | | | | 4 |
| 22 | HD (ZR) | Brad | 1 RNP B | 1 RNPB | 1 RNP B | | | | | 3 |
| 23 | MM | Sighetu Marmației | 1 DP | | | | | | | 1 |
| 24 | MM | Șugatag | 1 DP | 1 DP, LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | 1 MO, NP | 7 |
| 25 | MM | Vișeu | 1 DP | 1 DP, LP | 1 LP | 1 OU, MO | | 1 MO | | 5 |
| 26 | SD (CH) | Ileanda Mare (Mesteacăn) | 1 DP | 1 DP | 1 LP | 1 LP | | | | 4 |
| 27 | SJ (SM j) | Cehu Silvaniei | | 1 48P, UCO, IP | 1 IP | 1 IP | | | | 3 |
| 28 | SJ (SM j) | Tășnad | 1 DP | | | | | | | 1 |
| 29 | SM (CH) | Șomcuța Mare | 1 DP | 1 DP | 1 LP | | | | | 3 |
| 30 | TM | Becicherecu | | | | | 1 LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | 3 |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|----|---------------------------|---------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------------------|
| 0 | | 1 Mic | | | | | | | | |
| 3 1 | TM | Biserica Albă | | 1 RNPB | | | | | 1 | |
| 3 2 | TM | Ciacova | 1 DP | | | | | | 1 | |
| 3 3 | TM | Moravița | 1 RNP B | | | 1 LP | | | 2 | |
| 3 4 | TM | Recaș | | | | | 1 LP | 1 LP | 2 | |
| 3 5 | TM | Timișoara | | | 1 LP | 1 LP | 1 LP | | 3 | |
| 3 6 | TO | Comloș | 1 DP | | | | | | 1 | |
| 3 7 | TO | Sănnicolau Mare | 1 RNP B | 1 DP, RWO | | | | | 2 | |
| 3 8 | TO | Zitiște | 1 RNP B | | | | | | 1 | |
| | | Total mandates | 31 | 25 | 21 | 14 | 11 | 12 | 9 | 1 2 3 |
| | | Total colleges | 27 | 24 | 17 | 14 | 10 | 12 | 8 | 1 1 2 |

List of abbreviations

1. Abbreviations of administrative units¹

| | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|
| AR | Arad |
| BH | Bihor |
| BN | Bistrița-Năsăud |
| BV | Brașov |
| CH | <i>Chioar (Cetatea de Piatră)</i> |
| CJ | Cluj |
| CR | <i>Caraș</i> |
| CS | Caraș-Severin |
| FG | Făgăraș |
| HD | Hunedoara |
| MM | Maramureș |
| NS | <i>Năsăud</i> |
| OR | <i>Orăștie</i> |
| SD | Solnoc-Dăbâca |
| SJ | Sălaj |
| SM | Satu Mare |
| SMj | <i>Solnocul de Mijloc</i> |
| TM | Timiș |
| TO | Torontal |
| ZR | <i>Zarand</i> |

2. Abbreviations of political formations²

| | |
|------|---|
| 48P | The 1848 Party (January 1869 - 24 March 1874) |
| CLP | The Center-Left Party (January 1866 - 1 March 1875) |
| DP | The Deákist Party (January 1866 - 1 March 1875) |
| ILP | The Independent Liberal Party (19 May 1876 - 11 April 1878) |
| IP | The Independence Party (17 May 1874 - September 1884) |
| LP | The Liberal Party (1 March 1875 - 1906) |
| MO | The Moderate Opposition (March 1881 - December 1891) |
| NP | The National Party (7 January 1892 - 1899, 1904-1905) |
| RNP | The Romanian National Party Transylvania and Hungary (12-14 May 1881 - 1896) |
| RNPB | The Romanian National Party from Banat (26 January/7 February 1869 - 3/15 May 1881) |
| RNPT | The Romanian National Party from Transylvania (7 March 1869 - 3/15 May 1881) |

¹ Administrative units in italics disappeared or were reorganized through the 1876 reform.

² Cf. A. Toth, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-145.

| | |
|-----|--|
| RWO | The Right Wing Opposition (7 March 1875 - 11 April 1878) |
| UCO | The United Constitutional Opposition (24 March 1874 - 17 May 1874) |
| UO1 | The United Opposition (12 April 1878 - 20 November 1880) |
| UO2 | The Club of Constitutional Opposition Detached Persons (20 November 1880 - March 1881) |

3. Other abbreviations

- TI Tendency I - Hungarian governmental parties: DP, LP
TII Tendency II - Hungarian opposition parties: RWO, MO, UO1-2, UCO, 48P, CLP, DP, IP, LP, ILP, NP
TIII Tendency III - Romanian national parties: RNPB, RNPT, RNP