

# Economic and Social Changes: Historical Facts, Analyses and Interpretations

Edited by Zoltán Kaposi, Virág Rab



Studies on Economic and Social History from Southern Transdanubia I.

Studies on Economic and Social History from Southern Transdanubia  
I.

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Working Group of Economic and Social History  
Regional Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Pécs

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Dear Reader,

Summarizing the academic research in South Transdanubia, initiating a dialogue among academics, and disseminating their academic achievements in a circle as broad as possible are considered essential tasks by the Working Group of Economic and Social History of the Regional Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Pécs. We pay special attention to research issues relevant for the region and also to the education of the new generation of researchers and lecturers, among other things, by the publication of the academic achievements of our doctoral students.

The objectives specified above were the motivation for the organization of a conference on 26 November 2020 – online, adjusting to the changed conditions – and the publication of the papers made from the presentations after several proofreading rounds. The organisation of the conference was also supported by the Southern Transdanubia Committee of the Hungarian Historical Society. To make the research activity of the working group visible in the international arena, the studies are published in English and German language.

The book is a collection of papers by colleagues of seven different institutions. Regarding their institutional affiliations, most of them are university lecturers, but some of the authors work in archives. The eight doctoral students do their studies and research in the Doctoral School of Regional Policy and Economics and the Interdisciplinary Doctoral School of the University of Pécs.

The topics analyzed cover different Hungarian and European economic and social history fields in the 18th-20th centuries, indicating the broad range of research carried out in the region. Three papers analyze the economic modernization processes of cities and towns in South Transdanubia (Pécs, Nagykanizsa, and Barcs), four were written on economic transitions at the national level (plantations, land policy, cafés, and economic policy). In recent years, a popular research area is the history of tourism, on which three papers of the book were written (tourism in Pécs, narrow-gauge railways, and the medical spa of Sikonda). An old and important research topic on South Transdanubia is manors' history, represented by two papers written on Keszthely (in the book). Two studies deal with the operation of the traditional Baranya world (viticulture and mills), one with the transformation of the financial institutions, and a paper with social history focus introduces the composition of university students in Pécs in the 1920s. The territorial horizon of the papers is broad: an essay on Pomerania and another one on Fiume (now Rijeka) is a demonstration of research in this field.

Pécs, 31 December 2020

Prof. Kaposi, Zoltán DSc.  
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Economic and Social History

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Márta Fata

## Die deutsche Einwanderung in Ungarn unter Joseph II. Ursachen, Folgen und gesamtmonarchische Zusammenhänge

### Abstract

Historical research has not yet adequately answered why there was a large-scale, state-organized settlement of German colonists under Joseph II between 1784 and 1787. Previous studies recognize the only reason for this in the low population density generally characterizing the eastern half of the Habsburg Monarchy. In the present study, the causes and consequences of immigration are placed in overall monarchical contexts and examined. This study concludes that state sponsored immigration of German settlers was no priority of the monarch under the reign of Joseph II. The emperor wanted to reform the contemporary agricultural relations in Hungary too but the strong resistance of the Hungarian nobility resulted that he could not introduce the Raab system in contrast to Czechland and Moravia. The subdivision of state lands directed a part of the German migration to Galicia. The German migration helped him to reach two goals. First, it increased the number of peasant workers; second, a portion of state lands became peasant-owned. The subdivision was only an episode on the way to a new agricultural system. It did not reach the significance of other edicts for instance the abolition of serfdom in 1785. However, its beneficial social and economic effects became clear in the long run.

**Keywords:** Populationismus, Einwanderung, Joseph II., Habsburgermonarchie, Kolonisten

Die historische Forschung hat bislang nicht ausreichend beantwortet, warum es nach der vom Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts bis in die 1770er-Jahre kontinuierlich erfolgten Einwanderung von Deutschen ab 1784 nochmals zu einer großangelegten, staatlich organisierten Ansiedlung deutscher Kolonisten kam. Die bisherigen Untersuchungen erkennen die einzige Ursache dafür in der die östliche Hälfte der Habsburgermonarchie allgemein charakterisierenden niedrigen Bevölkerungsdichte. Dies ist wenig überraschend, hat doch Joseph II. selbst dieses Argument vorgeführt. Doch die Einwanderung deutscher Kolonisten zwischen 1784 und 1787 muss in einen größeren Zusammenhang gestellt werden, der auch die zeitgenössischen Vorstellungen über den Populationismus und die gesamtmonarchischen Reformbestrebungen des Monarchen in Betracht zieht.<sup>1</sup>

Bekanntlich löste Joseph II. am 12. Januar 1782 nach den deutschen Erblanden auch in den Ländern der ungarischen Krone die kontemplativen Orden auf. Der Besitz der von ihm aufgelösten Orden und des bereits unter Maria Theresia 1777 abgeschafften Jesuitenordens ergab zusammen mit den 504 Kameral- und Krongütern (ohne das Banat) 15 Prozent der urbarialen Grundfläche des ungarischen Königreichs.<sup>2</sup> Der in staatlicher Hand so angesammelte Grundbesitz warf das Problem seiner effizienten Nutzung auf. Es stellte sich die Frage, ob die Güter verkauft und somit in privatherrschaftliches Eigentum gelangen oder ob sie an die meistbietenden Privatpersonen verpachtet oder eher als bäuerliche Kleinbetriebe parzelliert

<sup>1</sup> Die folgenden skizzenhaften Ausführungen beruhen auf folgenden Untersuchungen: *Fata, Márta*: Migration im kameralistischen Staat Josephs II. Theorie und Praxis der Ansiedlungspolitik in Ungarn, Siebenbürgen, Galizien. Münster 2014; *Dies.*: Migration als Modernisierungsfaktor? Ursachen der deutschen Einwanderung in Ungarn zur Regierungszeit Josephs II. In: Die Ansiedlung der Deutschen in Ungarn. Beiträge zum Neuaufbau des Königreiches nach der Türkenzeit. Hg. v. Seewann, Gerhard – Krauss, Karl-Peter – Spannberger, Norbert. München 2010, 61–79.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. dazu u. a. *Fónagy, Zoltán*: Nemesi birtokviszonyok az úrbérrendezés korában. In: *Századok* 133 (1999), 1167.



werden sollen. Gegen den Verkauf der Staatsgüter an Privatpersonen sprach die Erfahrung mit der Privatisierung der Banater Staatsdomäne. Nicht nur ging der Verkauf eher verschleppend voran, aber bei der Reinkorporierung des Temeswarer Banats in das Königreich Ungarn im Jahre 1778 wurde dort die von den ungarischen Rechtsverhältnissen abweichende Stellung der bäuerlichen Untertanen als Eigentümer ihrer Höfe garantiert.<sup>3</sup> Sie hatten das Recht, sich von den Frondienstleistungen gegen Entgelt zu befreien. Dennoch erreichte die Zentralorgane eine Flut von Beschwerden gegen die neuen Grundbesitzer vor allem wegen der abverlangten Robotleistungen.<sup>4</sup>

Auch aufgrund dieser Erfahrungen entschied sich Joseph II., der seit seiner Jugend für die Einschränkung der adeligen Vorrechte war, gegen den Verkauf der Staatsgüter. Eine Lösung für die Reformierung der Agrarverfassung erkannte er in der sogenannten Raabisierung. In Böhmen und Mähren begann man zur Regierungszeit Maria Theresias Staatsgüter zu parzellieren und unter den Bauern zu verteilen, die somit nach ihrer Rechtsstellung zu Besitzern ihrer Höfe wurden. Dieses durch den Direktor der böhmischen Kameralgüter, Franz Anton Raab, 1774 entwickelte System<sup>5</sup> brachte in kurzer Zeit bedeutsame Ergebnisse: Auf den böhmischen und mährischen Kameralgütern, wo zwischen 1767 und 1776 im Jahresdurchschnitt noch 184.000 Gulden in die Staatskasse geflossen waren, stiegen die Einnahmen nach der Parzellierung im Jahre 1778 auf 300.000 und 1781 sogar auf 431.000 Gulden an.<sup>6</sup> Ein weiterer Erfolg des neuen Systems war die Entladung sozialer Spannungen in den Dörfern. Denn bereits in den ersten zwei Jahren meldeten sich etwa 5.800 Personen, darunter zahlreiche Kleinhäusler und vom väterlichen Erbe ausgeschlossene Bauernsöhne an, um einen Hof zu erhalten. In Böhmen wurden 128 neue Dörfer mit 7.820 Bauernhöfen und in Mähren 117 neue Gemeinden mit 3.628 Höfen errichtet.<sup>7</sup> Das System bewirkte ein Wachstum, das in der Erweiterung der kultivierten Ackerflächen und in der Zunahme der Agrarproduktion zum Vorschein kam.

Angesichts dieser Erfolge gab Joseph seine noch als Mitregent geäußerte Meinung auf, wonach allein die Großbetriebe einen nennenswerten Gewinn für den Staat abgeben würden. Gleichzeitig hegte er die nicht unbegründete Hoffnung, dass die Einführung des Raab'schen Systems eine allgemeine Reformierung der bestehenden Verhältnisse auf dem Land anstoßen würde. Sein am 1. November 1781 erlassenes Patent für Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien, das die Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft verfügte, sollte die Rechtsgrundlage für die Reformierung der Agrarverfassung sichern. Das 1783 länderspezifisch erlassene Patent über die Robotabolition ordnete wiederum die Ablösung der Frondienstleistungen durch Geld- und Naturalzahlungen an.<sup>8</sup> Die Raabisierung und die Patente zielten auf die Etablierung einer von allen grundherrschaftlichen Lasten entbundene freie Bauernschaft mit eigenen Höfen ab. Allerdings konnten die Patente zunächst nur in den österreichischen-böhmischen Ländern durchgeführt werden.

Die Pläne des Monarchen, mit der Raabisierung und der Robotabolition auch in Ungarn die Grundlagen einer neuen Agrarverfassung zu legen und die Staatsdomänen in bäuerliches

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<sup>3</sup> Die Bauern im Banat galten – anders als die in im Königreich Ungarn – nicht als Leibeigene. In den Jahren zwischen 1768 und 1779 wurden ihre Höfe und Ackerfelder ausgemessen und diese ihnen übertragen. Somit hatten sie das Recht, ihre Höfe frei weiterzuerben und sogar zu veräußern. Zu den Unterschieden vgl. u. a. *Mailáth, Johann*: Das ungrische Urbarsystem oder des Grundherrn und des Bauers Wechselverhältnis in Ungern. Pest–Leipzig 1838, 74f.

<sup>4</sup> *Hegedüs, Antal*: Bánáti új földesurak és jobbágyaik 1782-ben. In: *Létünk* 2 (1978), 108–123.

<sup>5</sup> *Raab, Franz Anton*: Unterricht über die Verwandlung der kais. königl. böhmischen Domainen in Bauerngüter. Wien 1777, 46–48.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. zu den Angaben *Barta, János*: A felvilágosult abszolútizmus agrárpolitikája a Habsburg- és a Hohenzollern-Monarchiában. Budapest 1982, 134.

<sup>7</sup> *Handbuch der Geschichte der böhmischen Länder*. Hg. v. *Bosl, Karl*. Stuttgart 1974, Bd. 2, 491.

<sup>8</sup> *Lütge, Friedrich*: Die Robot-Abolition unter Kaiser Joseph II. In: *Wege und Forschungen der Agrargeschichte*. Festschrift für Günther Franz. Hg. v. Heinz Haushofer – Willi A. Boelcke. Frankfurt a. M. 1967, 153–170.

Eigentum zu überführen, stießen dort auf starken Widerstand nicht nur der Grundbesitzer, sondern auch der Landesverwaltung. Es begann ein langes Tauziehen zwischen dem Monarchen und der Ungarisch-Siebenbürgischen Hofkanzlei als Vertreterin der ungarischen Interessen in Wien. Das Ergebnis war, dass die Parzellierung von Kameral- und Krongütern im Königreich Ungarn mithilfe der deutschen Siedlungsmigration begann und zum Großteil auch erfolgte, die von Joseph II. ursprünglich jedoch nicht vorgesehen war. Die Siedlungsmigration gehörte zwar in Ungarn schon seit Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts zu einem der wichtigsten Vehikel der ökonomischen Entwicklung im Land, die bis Ende der maria-theresianischen Zeit sowohl vom Staat als auch von den Grundbesitzern gleichermaßen praktiziert wurde, aber die Einwanderung aus dem Ausland benötigte am Anfang der 1780er-Jahre weder staatlich noch grundherrschaftlich organisierte Rahmen mehr.

Anders gestaltete sich die Lage in dem von der Habsburgermonarchie erst 1772 okkupierten Galizien. Das südwestliche Gebiet Polen-Litauens galt in Wien ökonomisch als besonders unterentwickelt, weshalb sich Maria Theresia eine Anwerbung von Gewerbebetreibenden und Handwerkern gestattete. Das Ziel war jedoch weder eine zahlenmäßig größere Einwanderung noch die Ansiedlung bäuerlicher Kolonisten aus dem Ausland.<sup>9</sup> Auch Joseph II. bezweckte nach seiner Thronbesteigung 1780 nicht die Erweiterung der Bevölkerungszahl durch Ansiedlung von fremden Einwanderern, sondern die Verbesserung der Lebensverhältnisse der galizischen Bauern. Joseph Brigido, Gouverneur Galiziens, schlug jedoch in der Sitzung des Staatsrates am 18. März 1781 vor, nicht nur für die Einwanderung von nach wie vor fehlenden Handwerkern Anreize zu schaffen, sondern auch deutsche Musterbauern in den zahlreich vorhandenen Kameralherrschaften und Krongütern anzusiedeln.<sup>10</sup> Brigido, der nach der Leitung der Landesadministration im Banat zwischen 1774 und 1778 den Posten des Vize-Gouverneurs, dann ab 1780 des Gouverneurs in Galizien bekleidete, hoffte aufgrund seiner im Banat gesammelten Erfahrungen, dass die deutschen Kolonisten zum Vorbild für die galizischen Bauern in der Bewirtschaftung ihrer Höfe werden könnten. Das daraufhin am 17. September 1781 erlassene Einwanderungspatent Josephs II. für Galizien bezweckte somit nicht eine Masseneinwanderung.<sup>11</sup> Die wenigen deutschen Einwanderer sollten auch nicht im römisch-deutschen Reich, sondern in dem von Preußen okkupierten polnischen Gebiet angeworben werden, um so zugleich den preußischen Rivalen zu schwächen. Die in kleinem Umfang begonnene Ansiedlung nahm jedoch bald eine immer größere Dimension an, nachdem 1782 ein übereifriger Kameraldirektor anscheinend auf eigener Faust die Idee hatte, mit dem kaiserlichen Patent um bäuerliche Ansiedler im Rheingebiet zu werben.

Die Werbung löste im römisch-deutschen Reich einen so lebhaften und zugleich anhaltenden Widerhall aus, sodass der Monarch angesichts der rasch wachsenden Einwandererzahl die Provinzverwaltung mahnen musste: Er erinnerte daran, dass das Hauptziel der Reformen auf dem Land und somit der Zweck der Einwanderung, die Förderung der eigenen Untertanen seien. Die eigenen fleißigen und gut wirtschaftenden Untertanen und ihre Söhne sollen an der Parzellierung der Staatsgüter teilnehmen und dadurch in den Stand versetzt werden, eigene Höfe einzurichten. Sie dürfen auch nicht zugunsten der deutschen Einwanderer benachteiligt werden und sollten die gleichen Mittel und Hilfe bekommen, wie die deutschen Siedler.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> *Rosdolsky, Roman*: Untertan und Staat in Galizien. Die Reformen unter Maria Theresia und Joseph II. Mainz 1992.

<sup>10</sup> Österreichisches Staatsarchiv [ÖStA] Haus-Hof- und Staatsarchiv [HHStA], Kabinettsarchiv [KA], Staatsratprotokolle 1781: 2055. Vgl. auch *Rumpel, Hubert*: Die Reisen Kaiser Josephs II. nach Galizien. Diss. Erlangen 1946, 143.

<sup>11</sup> ÖStA Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv [FHKA], Neue Hofkammerarchiv [NHK] Galizische Domänen [Dom Gal], rote Nr. 67, fol. 200r–207v.

<sup>12</sup> ÖStA HHStA, KA, Staatsratprotokolle 1782: 2027. Vgl. auch *Rumpel*, Die Reisen, 161, Fußnote 7.

Das bescheidene Ergebnis des 1783 in zwei Kameralherrschaften probeweise eingeführten Systems verfestigte allerdings sowohl im galizischen Gubernium als auch in der Böhmischo-Österreichischen Hofkanzlei als Oberbehörde der Provinz in Wien, die Ansicht, dass die Raabisierung und die Robotabolition nur im Fall einer kontinuierlichen Marktproduktion möglich sei.<sup>13</sup> Nach einstimmiger Meinung fehlten jedoch die Bedingungen dafür in Galizien, und dem galizischen Bauer mangelte es an Kenntnissen und Mut, um seine traditionelle Produktionsweise zu verändern und sich auf die Marktproduktion umzustellen. Vorgeschlagen wurde deshalb die Ansiedlung von Reichsdeutschen in allen galizischen Kreisen, die den Einheimischen mit gutem Beispiel vorangehen sollten.<sup>14</sup> Joseph II. genehmigte zwar die Fortsetzung der deutschen Einwanderung, bestand jedoch weiterhin auch auf die Parzellierung von Grundstücken unter den einheimischen Bauern. Dieses Ziel rückte allerdings wegen der schnell zunehmenden Zahl an Einwanderern immer mehr in den Hintergrund. Bis 1787, als die deutsche Siedlungsmigration ganz eingestellt wurde, wurden 13.000 deutsche Einwanderer und lediglich einige hundert galizische Bauern angesiedelt.<sup>15</sup>

Die ungarischen Behörden mussten sich gezwungenermaßen mit den galizischen Angelegenheiten auseinandersetzen, als sich Joseph II. 1784 entschloss, die Siedlungsmigration wegen des auf Galizien lastenden Drucks der Einwandererzahlen nach Ungarn umzulenken. Er musste bis dahin mit der ungarischen Landesverwaltung, die die Einführung eines neuen Systems im Königreich Ungarn ablehnte und in ihren Denkschriften an den Herrscher ganz ähnlich wie der Staatsrat und die galizischen Verwaltungsorgane argumentierte, zäh verhandeln.<sup>16</sup> Die Ungarisch-Siebenbürgische Hofkanzlei bemühte sich, den Monarchen von der Unausführbarkeit seines Vorhabens auch schon deshalb zu überzeugen, weil sie durch die stufenweise Modifizierung der Agrarverfassung letztendlich die Abschaffung der adeligen Privilegien befürchtete. Grund für diese Annahme lieferte etwa die von Joseph am 31. März 1783 erteilte Antwort, dass ihn keineswegs nur fiskalische Gesichtspunkte wie etwa die Erhöhung des Staatseinkommens leite, sondern überhaupt die Einführung eines neuen Wirtschaftssystems, das u. a. die Abschaffung des Rechts, wonach nur Adelige Grund und Boden besitzen dürfen, ins Visier nehme. Joseph II., der entschlossen war, seine Pläne auch in Ungarn durchzuführen, erkannte in der deutschen Siedlungsmigration eine willkommene Gelegenheit, wenigstens die Sache der Parzellierung in Gang zu bringen.<sup>17</sup>

Im Gegensatz zu Galizien wies Joseph II. im Fall Ungarns an erster Stelle nicht auf gravierende gesellschaftliche und soziale Probleme hin, sondern auf die Tatsache, dass sich das Land nicht in dem Maße entwickle, was seine ansonsten guten natürlichen Voraussetzungen durchaus ermöglichen könnten.<sup>18</sup> Eine der Hauptursachen erkannte er in der niedrigen Bevölkerungszahl. Die Agrarreformen in Ungarn setzten seiner Ansicht nach mehr als anderswo in der Monarchie ein Bevölkerungswachstum voraus. Mit dieser Ansicht war er keineswegs allein. Unter den Wirtschaftsautoren der Zeit hob auch Sámuel Tessedik in seinem 1784 erschienenen Werk „Der Landmann in Ungarn, was er ist und was er sein könnte“ die Tatsache hervor, dass der ungarische Bauer mit dem Ackerboden immer noch verschwenderisch umgeht und die längst veraltete Zweifeldwirtschaft verwendet. Die Ursachen dafür erkannte Tessedik nicht zuletzt

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<sup>13</sup> ÖStA FHKA, NHK, Dom Gal, rote Nr. 67, fol. 297r.

<sup>14</sup> Ebd., rote Nr. 71, fol. 1163v–1164r.; *Kaindl, Raimund Friedrich: Geschichte der Deutschen in den Karpathenländern*. Bd. 3. Gotha 1911, 30.

<sup>15</sup> Ebd., rote Nr. 74, fol. 560r–563v.

<sup>16</sup> Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár [MNL] Országos Levéltár [OL] A 39: Generalia 1784/335.

<sup>17</sup> ÖStA HHStA KA, Staatsratprotokolle 1783/1209; MNL OL A 39: Generalia, 1783/3185, Pos. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. dazu *Szántay, Antal: Regionalpolitik im alten Europa. Die Verwaltungsreformen Josephs II. in Ungarn, in der Lombardei und in den österreichischen Niederlanden 1785–1790*. Budapest 2005, 62.

in der stellenweise niedrigen Bevölkerungszahl, in deren Folge noch große Gebiete in den Dorfgemarkungen und zwischen den Dörfern der Ungarischen Tiefebene ganz brachliegen.<sup>19</sup>

Als im Jahre 1783 die Zahl der deutschen Einwanderer in Galizien sprunghaft zunahm, sodass ihre Ansiedlung stockte, mussten sie für lange Monate auf Staatskosten in provisorischen Unterkünften untergebracht und versorgt werden. Die Beamten der Böhmisches-Österreichischen Hofkanzlei befürworteten nichtsdestotrotz die Fortführung der Einwanderung. Denn sie waren nicht nur von den populationistischen Ideen des Kameralismus geleitet, sondern auch von der Befürchtung, dass die Einstellung der Siedlungsmigration die Einwanderer nach Preußen oder Russland führen könnte, die ebenfalls um Einwanderer warben. Die Bevölkerungsvermehrung war in der östlichen Hälfte Europas im letzten Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts nach wie vor eine wichtige Staatsaufgabe,<sup>20</sup> basierte doch die wirtschaftliche und militärische Kraft der Monarchie auf der Zahl der steuerzahlenden und Soldaten stellenden Untertanen. Die Böhmisches-Österreichische Hofkanzlei schlug deshalb vor, die Auswanderungswilligen aus dem Reich nicht zurückzuweisen, sondern sie als Kolonisten in das Königreich Ungarn umzuleiten. Joseph II., selbst ein Befürworter der optimistischen Variante des Populationismus, genehmigte diese Lösung und hielt die Ungarische Hofkammer an, die in Galizien angewandten Methoden, insbesondere die die Kolonisten äußerst begünstigenden Beihilfen und Privilegien zu übernehmen.<sup>21</sup> Die Übernahme dieser Ansiedlungsbedingungen war schon deshalb unerlässlich, weil die deutschen Einwanderer ihr Umleiten nach Ungarn anfangs ablehnten. Unter den Auswanderern im römisch-deutschen Reich verbreitete sich seit der letzten großen Ansiedlungswelle im Banat unter Maria Theresia der Ruf Ungarns als „Friedhof der Deutschen“. Schuld daran trug die hohe Sterblichkeitsrate unter den Ansiedlern.<sup>22</sup>

Nach der Vorstellung des Monarchen wären die Ansiedlung deutscher Einwanderer und die Raabisierung unter den einheimischen Untertanen parallel und keineswegs zu Lasten der anderen Gruppe durchzuführen gewesen. Allerdings stießen die Pläne nicht nur bei den Landesbehörden, sondern auch in den meisten Kameralherrschaften auf Skepsis und Ablehnung. Nur in der Batschka wurden die Pläne bereits im Mai 1784 in die Planung aufgenommen.<sup>23</sup> Danach sollten in der Zomborer Kameraladministration deutsche Einwanderer auf öden und bis dahin nicht bebauten Terrains angesiedelt werden, während einheimische Untertanen durch Tod oder Flucht vakant gewordene Bauernstellen und sogenannte Überlandfelder, d. h. von den Gemeinden bis dahin nicht verteilte Felder erhalten sollten. Die Kameraladministration argumentierte sogar für die Ansiedlung einheimischer Kleinhäusler und Bauernsöhne damit, dass diese nicht nur wesentlich weniger Kosten verursachen würde als die der deutschen Einwanderer, weil die Einheimischen weder Reisegelder noch besondere Ausgaben benötigten. Und weil sie auch nur drei steuerfreie Jahre erhalten, könnten sie mit der Kontributionszahlung früher beginnen als die Einwanderer. Der freiwillige Loskauf von der Leibeigenschaft und die Robotabolition wurden nicht in die Pläne eingebaut, aber in den Kameralherrschaften der Batschka praktizierte man schon vor 1784 gelegentlich die Ablösung der Frondienste.

Auch in immer mehr Kameraladministrationen erkannten Beamte –, die gegenüber der Ungarisch-Siebenbürgischen Hofkanzlei sich mit den örtlichen Verhältnissen tagtäglich

<sup>19</sup> *Teschedik, Samuel*: Der Landmann in Ungarn, was er ist und was er sein könnte; nebst einem Plane von einem regulirten Dorfe. Pest 1784.

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. u. a. *Fuhrmann, Martin*: Volksvermehrung als Staatsaufgabe? Bevölkerungs- und Ehepolitik in der deutschen politischen und ökonomischen Theorie des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts. Paderborn et al. 2002.

<sup>21</sup> *Fata, Márta* Migration im kameralistischen Staat, 240–246.

<sup>22</sup> ÖStA FHKA, NHK, Dom Gal, rote Nr. 68, fol. 361v.; *Fata, Márta*: „Kirchhof“ versus „Paradies“. Die Auswanderung in Selbstzeugnissen der Kolonisten zur Regierungszeit Josephs II. In: Migration im Gedächtnis. Auswanderung und Ansiedlung im 18. Jahrhundert in der Identitätsbildung der Donauschwaben. Hg. v. Ders. Stuttgart 2013, 39–51.

<sup>23</sup> MNL OL A 39, 1784/5983.

auseinandersetzen mussten – in der Parzellierung eine Möglichkeit, der stellenweise zuspitzenden sozialen Lage auf dem Land Abhilfe leisten zu können.<sup>24</sup> Insbesondere in den dichtbevölkerten oberungarischen Komitaten wurden deshalb die örtlichen Bewohner bevorzugt. Im Komitat Nyitra beispielsweise wurden auf das Prädium Kolos im Mai 1784 nicht die dorthin verwiesenen 31 deutschen Einwanderer, sondern slowakische Bewerber aus der Umgebung angesiedelt. Wegen der sich zunehmende Proteste der Bauern gegen die deutschen Ansiedler erhob auch die sich erst formierende ungarische Öffentlichkeit gegen die deutschen Ansiedler ihr Wort. Die sonst mit dem Wiener Regierung sympathisierende „Preßburger Zeitung“ machte zum Beispiel in ihrem Artikel vom 6. August 1785 darauf aufmerksam, dass aus dem Komitat Árva jährlich etwa 1.500 Personen gruppenweise in andere Komitate arbeiten gehen, um das tägliche Brot zu verdienen, und dass ca. 2.000 Familien in die weniger dicht besiedelten Komitate im Süden des Landes auswandern würden, um dort eine neue Existenz als Bauern aufzubauen.<sup>25</sup> Auch der Josephinist Graf Antal Jankovics, dem aufgrund seiner zwischen 1783 und 1785 durchgeführten Untersuchung des Räuberunwesens im Banat die dortigen Verhältnisse wohl bekannt waren, schlug dem Herrscher vor, Kleinhäusler, Tagelöhner und Bauernsöhne aus Oberungarn im Banat anzusiedeln. Doch nach Ansicht des Monarchen sollten Komitatsgrenzen überschreitenden Umsiedlungen nur für den Fall vorgesehen sein, dass Reichskolonisten nicht in ausreichender Zahl vorhanden wären.<sup>26</sup> Die Komitatsgrenzen überschreitende Binnenmigration wurde auch von den Komitaten abgelehnt. Im Fall der Abnahme der steuerzahlenden Bauern hätte man nämlich bei gleichbleibender Bemessung der Kontribution den auf die einzelnen Bauern errechneten Betrag erhöhen müssen. So kam lediglich eine größere grenzüberschreitende Binnenmigration 1785 zustande, als mit Genehmigung Josephs II. 211 Familien aus Kunhegyes in die Batschka umsiedeln und ihnen weitere kleinere Gruppen ebenfalls aus dem freien Distrikt der Jazygen und Kumanen folgen durften.<sup>27</sup>

Der Herrscher, der die Ansiedlung von Deutschen und von Inwohnern zunächst parallel anlaufen ließ, ordnete die Ansiedlung von Binnenmigranten am 10. Oktober 1785 unter dem Druck aus den Kameraladministrationen sogar an,<sup>28</sup> stellte sie jedoch schon mit der Anordnung vom 10. April 1786 wieder ein.<sup>29</sup> Seinen Standpunkt begründete er mit der dringend erforderlichen Unterbringung der in Ungarn auf Staatskosten eingetroffenen deutschen Siedler. Hier zeigten sich wieder einmal die Ambivalenzen der josephinischen Reformpolitik.

Bis 1787 wurden in den ungarischen Kameralgütern und in einigen südungarischen Städten über 10.000 deutsche Familien mit mehr als 45.000 Personen angesiedelt.<sup>30</sup> Im Gegensatz dazu betrug die Zahl der Binnensiedler zwischen 1.500 und 2.000 Familien, wobei ihre genaue Zahl bisher nicht ermittelt werden konnte. Deutsche Einwanderer wurden hauptsächlich in der Batschka (etwa 3.300 Familien) und im Banat (um 3.000 Familien) angesiedelt. In der Batschka wurden für sie 7, im Banat 14 neue Dörfer gebaut, zudem wurden in beiden Kameralgebieten 23 bereits bestehende Dörfer mit einem neuen Dorfteil für sie erweitert. In den anderen

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<sup>24</sup> Vgl. dazu *Fata, Márta*: „Nachdem die Vermehrung der Population [...] der Haupt-Endzweck ist“. Deutsche Einwanderung zur Zeit Josephs II. am Beispiel des Lechnitzer Religionsfonds in der Zips. In: *Deutsche Sprache und Kultur in der Zips*. Hg. v. Wynfried Kriegleder – Andrea Seidler – Jozef Tancer. Bremen 2007, 123–136.

<sup>25</sup> *Preßburger Zeitung* vom 6. August 1785

<sup>26</sup> ÖStA FHKA NHK, Hofresolutionsbücher, *Hungarische Resolutionsbücher* Bd. 17, fol. 210

<sup>27</sup> *Szabó, Lajos*: Kunhegyesi „földtelen emberek Feketitsre“ költözése 1785-ben. In: *Jubileumi tudományos ülés a jászkunságiak bácskai kitelepülésének 200. évfordulóján*. Hg. v. Gyöngyi Kaposvári – Gábor Bagi. Szolnok 1989, 37–65.

<sup>28</sup> ÖStA FHKA NHK, Hofresolutionsbücher, *Hungarische Resolutionsbücher* Bd. 16, fol. 334.

<sup>29</sup> Ebd., Bd. 17, fol. 277, 301.

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. u. a. *Kollega Tarsoly, István*: II. József német telepesei 1784–1787. Budapest 2011. [https://btk.ppke.hu/uploads/articles/56720/file/disszertaciok/kollega\\_tarsoly\\_2012\\_d\\_k.pdf](https://btk.ppke.hu/uploads/articles/56720/file/disszertaciok/kollega_tarsoly_2012_d_k.pdf) (31.12.2020).

Kameralbezirken wurden insgesamt mehr als 4.200 neue Höfe für Ansiedler eingerichtet.<sup>31</sup> Wo es zwischen den deutschen Einwanderern und den einheimischen Untertanen eine Konkurrenz um die Felder gab, kam es gelegentlich auch zu handgreiflichen Zusammenstößen. Doch insgesamt verlief die deutsche Siedlungsmigration reibungslos und wirkte zusammen mit der Binnenmigration positiv auf die Agrarwirtschaft aus: Wurden nämlich 1780 etwa 4 Millionen Joch Acker im Land bebaut, so erhöhte sich die Zahl bis 1786 um 700.000 Joch.<sup>32</sup>

Der neue Untertan war allerdings nicht immer der vom Herrscher und der Kameraladministration erwartete Musterbauer. Laut der Einwandererlisten waren nur 50 Prozent der deutschen Einwanderer tatsächlich Ackerbauer, 30 Prozent machten die Handwerker aus, und 20 Prozent unter ihnen lebten zu Hause gleichzeitig von der Landwirtschaft und einem Handwerk.<sup>33</sup> Die Einwanderer mit mangelhaften Kenntnissen im Ackerbau bereiteten daher zusätzliche Probleme für die Kammerinspektoren. Im Zomborer Amt notierte Mihály Ürményi, dass die Deutschen in Cservenka, Torzsa und Új-Verbász den Ackerbau nicht beherrschen. Sie können auch ihre Pferde nicht einspannen, und die Schweine halten sie sogar im Haus und den Dünger schaufeln sie einfach durch das Fenster neben die Hauswand, sodass die aus Lehm gebauten Hauswände durchfeuchtet werden. Ürményi ließ deshalb – ähnlich wie die anderen Inspektoren – einheimische Bauern beschäftigen, die die Einwanderer mit den örtlichen Verhältnissen und den erforderlichen Wirtschaftsmethoden vertraut machten. Trotz der Schwierigkeiten wollten die meisten Einwanderer nicht als Gewerbebetreibende oder Tagelöhner tätig werden, sondern als Vollbauern eine Existenz in Ungarn aufbauen. Der Grund dafür ist nicht zuletzt in den für Bauern vorgesehenen zahlreichen Begünstigungen zu suchen, die vom Schriftsteller Mór Jókai aus der Distanz von etwa hundert Jahren etwas ironisch, aber der Wahrheit entsprechend beschrieben wurde: Die Einwanderer haben auf Staatskosten nicht nur fertige und eingerichtete Häuser sowie Zugvieh und Arbeitsgeräte erhalten, sondern sogar die in den Stuben vor dem Ofen schnurrenden Katzen.<sup>34</sup>

Nach Ablauf der den Deutschen eingeräumten zehn steuerfreien Jahre konnten sich die Ansiedler als Bauern auf eigene Füße stellen, wie Johann Eimann, ein 1785 aus Baden-Durlach in die Batschka eingewanderte Mennonit in seinem Werk beschrieb.<sup>35</sup> Den Fleiß, den Eimann als Willen der Kolonisten interpretierte, beschrieben auch andere Beobachter, darunter der Grundbesitzer und Dichter Dániel Berzsenyi. Er notierte auch einen der Gründe für den Erfolg der Kolonisten, nämlich die Arbeitsorganisation, die – anders als bei den anderen in Ungarn lebenden Völkern – nicht nach Geschlechtern erfolgte. So haben bei den Deutschen auch Frauen und Töchter schwere Feldarbeit verrichtet und Männer sich im Winter am Webstuhl beschäftigt, während der ungarische Bauer vor seinem Haus saß und seine Pfeife rauchte.<sup>36</sup>

Die Nachfolger der anfangs noch mit allerlei Schwierigkeiten kämpfenden Siedler etwa in der Batschka bauten in den 1830er-Jahren Weizen in großer Menge an, und mehrere von ihnen bereicherten sich durch den Getreidehandel. In der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts begann deshalb dort ein Verbürgerlichungsprozess, der sich nach der Bauernbefreiung im Jahre 1848 in der Gründung von Schulen, Zeitungen, Vereinen und Sparkassen zeigte. Die Abkömmlinge der deutschen Einwanderer strebten sich danach, möglichst viele Ackerfelder zu

<sup>31</sup> Angaben bei *Czoernig, Karl Freiherr*. *Ethnographie der oesterreichischen Monarchie*. Bd. 3. Wien 1858, 66–72.

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. die Angaben bei *Benda, Gyula*: *Statisztikai adatok a magyar mezőgazdaság történetéhez 1767–1867*. Budapest 1973, 153, 157.

<sup>33</sup> *Kollega Tarsoly*, II. József, 51–58.

<sup>34</sup> Es sei angemerkt, dass Katzen in den Kolonistendörfern in der Tat ausgeteilt wurden, um die rasche Vermehrung der Weizen und Kleider gleichermaßen beschädigenden Nagetiere zu verhindern.

<sup>35</sup> *Eimann, Johann*: *Der Deutsche Kolonist, oder die deutsche Ansiedlung unter Kaiser Joseph dem Zweyten in den Jahren 1783–1787 absonderlich im Königreich Ungarn in dem Bácsér Comitat*. Pesth 1822.

<sup>36</sup> *Berzsenyi, Dániel*: *A magyarországi mezei szorgalom némely akadályairól*, 1833. In: *Berzsenyi Dániel összes művei*. Hg. v. Oszkár Merényi. Budapest 1968, 329–357.

erwerben, was schon vor 1848 zu einer zunehmenden Binnenmigration unter ihnen führte. Mit ihrer ökonomischen Expansion ging auch eine religiöse einher, was sich bei den Protestanten besonders anschaulich zum Ausdruck kam. Infolge des josephinischen Toleranzpatentes von 1781 durften auch protestantische Siedler einwandern und ihre Konfession ausüben. In der Batschka entstanden sieben evangelisch-lutherische und evangelisch-reformierte Gemeinden, die infolge der verstärkten Binnenmigration bald eine Reihe von Sekundär- und Tertiärsiedlungen und Kirchengemeinden mit Filialen gründeten. Die Dörfer standen nicht nur zueinander in engen familiären und geschäftlichen Beziehungen, sondern sie knüpften auch zu anderen protestantischen Gemeinden in Ungarn rege Kontakte.<sup>37</sup>

Zum Schluss soll festgehalten werden, dass die unter Joseph II. auf Staatskosten erfolgte Einwanderung deutscher Ansiedler ursprünglich nicht zur Hauptzielsetzung des Herrschers gehörte. Joseph, der die bestehenden Verhältnisse zwar auch in Ungarn reformieren wollte, konnte die Raabisation und die Robotabolition – anders als etwa in Böhmen oder Mähren – wegen des starken Widerstandes des ungarischen Adels nicht durchsetzen. Um dennoch die als notwendig erachtete Parzellierung von Staatsgütern in Angriff zu nehmen, nutzte er die sich durch die deutsche Einwanderung nach Galizien darbietende Gelegenheit. Mithilfe der deutschen Siedlungsmigration konnte er zwei Ziele erreichen: die Vermehrung der Zahl der bäuerlichen Arbeitskräfte und die Überführung von Staatsdomänen in bäuerliches Eigentum. Auf dem Weg zu einer neuen Agrarverfassung war die Parzellierung freilich nur eine Episode und konnte die Bedeutung anderer Verordnungen wie die der Abschaffung der Leibeigenschaft im Jahre 1785 nicht erlangen. Aus der Langzeitperspektive zeigten sich dennoch ihre positiven sozialen und ökonomischen Auswirkungen.

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<sup>37</sup> *Fata, Márta*: Wo das Evangelium nicht gehet, da ist keine Kirche. Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen der Binnenwanderung deutsch-lutherischer Siedler in der Batschka und in Syrmien im 19. Jahrhundert. In: *Luther und die Evangelisch-Lutherischen in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Augsburgisches Bekenntnis, Bildung, Sprache und Nation vom 16. Jahrhundert bis 1918*. Hg. v. Dies. – Anton Schindling. Münster 2017, 141–189.

Virág Rab

## An Old-and-new Aspect for Interpreting the Course of Life of Loránt Hegedüs as an Economist

### Abstract

Loránt Hegedüs' oeuvre touches on a surprisingly wide spectrum of economics. Of his writings on economic policy, his drafting of consolidation in 1920 was the best-known, but he also wrote a number of works dealing with theoretical issues, and he also left his mark on the contemporary Hungarian economy as a leader or member of the management of economic and financial institutions. Hegedüs' multifaceted activities may be behind this diverse economic work, as he was an economist, politician, scientist, belletrist and publicist in one person. The study, therefore, starts from the premise that his economic activity is worth examining in a broader perspective, in connection with his other activities. Its aim is to point out the connection points between economics and his other activities. The study first examines the external conditions of Hegedüs' economic operation, namely the political and economic environment that greatly influenced the development of his career. It then presents the circumstances of Hegedüs' career choice, the individuals (family members and professors) who influenced him; in the meantime, it also points to the origins of some of his important economic ideas in connection with his studies. The study analyzes the consequences of Hegedüs' versatility on his economic work by analyzing specific examples (the issue of emigration, his economic reconstruction plan). Among other things, it concludes that not only Hegedüs' diverse activities played a decisive role in the development of his oeuvre in economics, but also that he had experience in both theory and practice, and that the latter was decisive.

**Keywords:** biography, economic policy, economics, interwar Hungary, migration

### The aim of the study

Loránt Hegedüs' work, which spans nearly half a century, touches on such a wide spectrum of economics that each of its pieces falls in the scope of a different area of science or, which is more common, is shared by several disciplines at the same time. His treatises on theoretical monetary and tax issues are analyzed by historians of the theory of economics<sup>1</sup>. His economic policy ideas (the best known of which is his 1920 reconstruction plan<sup>2</sup>) are studied mainly by economic historians<sup>3</sup> in addition to the former category of scholars. Meanwhile, sociologists of economics examine how Hegedüs, as a member of the management of various banks and large corporations, influenced the development of the economy between the two wars with his decisions.<sup>4</sup>

The question arises as to what may be there behind this extremely wide-ranging oeuvre. It can play a role in the above fact that Hegedüs was not only an economist, but also a politician,

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<sup>1</sup> *Hetényi, István*: Hegedüs Lóránt (1872–1943). In: A magyar közgazdasági gondolkodás (a közgazdasági irodalom kezdeteitől a II. világháborúig). Edited: Bekker, Zsuzsa, Budapest, 2002. 724–725.

<sup>2</sup> Hegedüs Loránt pénzügyi expozéja. Nemzetgyűlési Napló 1920–1922. VII. kötet, 139. ülés, 12.20.1920. 260–275.

<sup>3</sup> *Pogány, Ágnes*: Az állami pénzpoltika Magyarországon, 1918–1924. In: Háborúból békébe: A magyar társadalom 1918 után. Konfliktusok, kihívások, változások a háború és az összeomlás nyomán. Edited: Bódy, Zsombor, Budapest, 2018. 106–117.

<sup>4</sup> *Lengyel, György*: Vállalkozók, bankárok, kereskedők: A magyar gazdasági elit a 19. században és a 20. század első felében. Budapest, 1989. 73–74. and Id: A multipozicionális gazdasági elit a két világháború között: fejezetek egy történet-szociológiai kutatásból. Budapest, 1993. 43.; 115–116.



including a Member of Parliament, a minister, later a member of the upper house, a scholarly economist and sociologist, a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences<sup>5</sup>, a belletrist, a publicist and a lay theologian, and beyond that, he was a great organizer.<sup>6</sup> The study starts from the premise that it is worth examining Hegedüs' economic activity in a broader perspective, in the context of his activities in other directions, as they are presumably connected with many threads. It intends to reveal some of these points of connection.

### Historical context

The economic and political environment, which was the background condition for Hegedüs' operation, underwent several profound changes during his 71 years of life. The period before the First World War, in which he socialized, was characterized by prosperity, growth, and founding fever, which in itself may have aroused Hegedüs' interest in economics. Ambition and entrepreneurship also manifested on a social scale and intellectual life kept flourishing. After the World War, however, crises were already characteristic of the period on which the focus of his work also fell. The Great War was the greatest upheaval of his life when the whole world he had lived in before fell apart. He was also shaken by the bourgeois-democratic, so-called Aster Revolution, but the worst came during the Hungarian Soviet Republic when he was twice hostage to the Communists.<sup>7</sup> As a member of the Trianon peace delegation, he also had a difficult task: he provided news for the Hungarian public.<sup>8</sup> Despite all this, Hegedüs accepted the appointment of Minister of Finance, barely six months after the signing of the Treaty of Trianon. The successful fulfillment of this task would have required cooperation with the people of the country. However, after the war, the revolutions, and the Treaty of Trianon, social activity was very low. People said no to almost anything that would have required some other abandonment, another sacrifice. The question arises, what could be the explanation for Hegedüs' decision?

Hegedüs had been preparing for this task all his life. At the age of 26 (in 1898) he was the youngest Member of Parliament<sup>9</sup>, at the age of 32 he became a habilitated private university professor of finance at the Royal Hungarian Pázmány Péter University in Budapest (in 1916 he received an extraordinary lecturer title there). He was the executive director and later vice-president of the Hungarian National Association of Industrialists. From 1900 to 1910, he co-edited the Economic Review together with Gyula Mandelló. Between 1912 and 1917, he was the managing director of the Hungarian Commercial Bank of Pest. As soon as he had been released from the captivity of the Communists, he established the Association of Savings Banks

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<sup>5</sup> He became a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1920, an honorary member in 1934 and a directorate member in 1935.

<sup>6</sup> Many of his contemporaries also perceived that the essence of Hegedüs' could be understood directly or indirectly through his multifaceted interest and diverse activities: *Fabinyi, Tihamér*: Praefatio. In: Hegedüs Loránt emlékezete. A sub auspiciis regis et gubernatoris doktorok baráti körének megemlékezése volt elnökéről. Közgazdasági jog, 1944. 3–4., *Szladits, Károly*: Elnöki megnyitó Ibid. 5–7., *Judik, József*: Hegedüs Loránt, a kögazda Ibid. 8–19., *Kornis, Gyula*: Hegedüs Loránt. In: Koszorú. Petőfi Társaság Közlönye. (1943) 65–67., *Fabinyi, Tihamér*: Hegedüs Loránt. Közgazdasági Szemle 67. (1943) Nr. 1–2. 1–5.

<sup>7</sup> *Ifj. Zsindely, Sándor*: Hegedüs Loránt élete és munkássága. Születésének 135. évfordulójára. Budapest 2007. (Manuscript). In: *Ifj. Zsindely, Sándor*: Családi Krónika 2. 23–25. Budapest 2007. *Bödök, Gergely*: Kegyelmes urak a Gyűjtőfogházban. A vörös terror fővárosi túsza. Múltunk (2014) Nr. 4. 151–181.

<sup>8</sup> A series of articles published in the Budapesti Hírlap, which were later published in a separate volume with the title Will there be peace? *Hegedüs, Loránt*: Lesz-e béke? A nemzeti gazdálkodás kis könyvtára 1. Budapest, 1920.

<sup>9</sup> From 1898, he represented Pápa with a liberal program. In the elections of 1905, he was defeated as a follower of Tisza. From 1910 to 1918, supported by the National Party of Work, he represented Sepsiszentgyörgy. He made good use of his knowledge in this position too; he was the general rapporteur of the Financial Committee and the military rapporteur of the delegation.

and Banks (TÉBE 1919), of which he became executive director.<sup>10</sup> In fact, he had learned the craft of economics intending to be there when the country needed him.

In addition, the defining moments of his life also encouraged him to accept the challenge. Such was his sub auspiciis regis (i.e. with a royal ring of honor) doctoral graduation in 1895, which took place in the ceremonial hall of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Hegedüs was only 23 years old when he received this high-ranking award in the field of law and political sciences, which he received for his outstanding academic achievement and outstanding scientific activity together with two other candidates. His public scholarly lecture, based on his doctoral dissertation entitled “The Doctrine of the Direct Tax,” was attended by nearly 900 guests, as was the vow in which Hegedüs stated on behalf of the candidates that “they will serve the king, science, and their homeland with all their might.”<sup>11</sup> With this send-off, he completed his studies and got a job at the Ministry of Finance as a draftsman.

Based on this, it is understandable why Hegedüs took the collapse of his consolidation plan and together with it his appointment as a financial minister so badly. Over the course of a few months, he fell from the peak into the deepest pots of hell. Two suicide attempts were followed by five years of voluntary exile. He was treated in a sanatorium in Berlin for his gloom, today we would say depression.<sup>12</sup> After that, however, his path of life went up steadily again. He did not assume a political role, in addition to economics (he was elected President of the TÉBE in 1925 and held this position until his death), he dealt with fiction and became an employee of the Pesti Hírlap. He shed large-scale prose works, dramas, and historical works. He commemorated great Hungarians such as Széchenyi, Kossuth, Ady, and István Tisza, who was close to him in his life. He also published several writings belonging to the genre of self-analytical prose, until he finally regained his poise of mind.<sup>13</sup> The following quote describes the curve of Hegedüs’ life very aptly, although it was said much earlier,<sup>14</sup> “Watch out for Lóránt, he is the most outstanding in the family, but he is very much of Jókai-blood: if he falls, he is very much fallen, but if he gets onto his feet, he is very much on his feet.”<sup>15</sup> The quote comes from Mór Jókai, who was the godfather of Loránt Hegedüs.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, the system of external conditions, i.e. the change of the economic and political situation and environment, had a great influence on the development of Hegedüs’ career. However, his career choice and multifaceted interest were more influenced by his background, family, and great professors.

### Personal influences

The role of the fatherly pattern was decisive in several respects. On the one hand, the great activity, extraordinary working capability, and work ethic of Sándor Hegedüs made a great

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<sup>10</sup> Müller, János – Kovács, Tamás – Kovács, Levente: A Magyar Bankszövetség története, <http://www.bankszovetseg.hu/Content/Publikaciok/A-Magyar-Banksz%C3%B6vets%C3%A9g-t%C3%B6rt%C3%A9nete.pdf> (Downloaded: 11. 12. 2020.)

<sup>11</sup> Pesti Napló 10.12.1895. 2–3.

<sup>12</sup> Virág Rab – Zsuzsanna Agora: Who is Mentally Ill? Psychiatry and Individual in Interwar Germany. In: Psychology and Politics. Intersections of Science and Ideology in the History of Psy-Sciences. Edited: Anna Borgos – Ferenc Erős – Júlia Gyimesi, Budapest – New York 2019. 255–270.

<sup>13</sup> Hegedüs, Loránt: A könnyek könyve. Budapest, 1926.

<sup>14</sup> It is not known when exactly but when Mór Jókai (1825-1904) died, Hegedüs was 32 years old and it must have happened before that. When Hegedüs failed as a Minister of Finance, his godfather had already been dead for 17 years.

<sup>15</sup> This story, together with several others was published in the Magyar Hírlap on July 11, 1926. In: Magyar Hírlap 11. 07. 1926. 9.

<sup>16</sup> Its background was that Jókai, the celebrated Hungarian novelist, was fond of his niece, his foster-daughter – Jolán Jókai – and her family, her husband Sándor Hegedüs and their children. Jókai had an extremely high opinion of the elder son, Lóránt, whom he called Lórici and he told the above to the younger one, Sándor, whom he called Sándri-bahdri. In: Magyar Hírlap 11. 07. 1926. 9.

impression on the young Loránt. Due to the aforementioned qualities, Sándor Hegedüs was extremely successful. Kálmán Mikszáth, the famous contemporary writer, described him as a hundred-handed politician, as the economist was at the same time a politician, a representative, a minister, a member of the Upper House of Parliament, a public writer, an academician, and the general superintendent of the Danube region diocese of the Reformed Church.<sup>17</sup> Psychologist Tamás Vekerdy described, how a child wants to grow up is greatly influenced by whether he sees an inspiring example in front of him.<sup>18</sup> As early as in his third grade of elementary school, Hegedüs wrote an editorial and created a crossword puzzle in his own newspaper, and he often dreamed of being a confectioner and a representative during the day and an astronomer at night when he grew up.<sup>19</sup> He did not become an astronomer, but when the Communists locked him up in solitary confinement for four weeks, he read roughly 30,000 pages, partly of astronomical books and, more obviously, of Marx's works.<sup>20</sup>

Loránt Hegedüs was also influenced by his mother. However, she increased his susceptibility to literature. Jolán Jókay was a memoir writer blessed with a poetic worldview, the daughter of Károly Jókay, Mór Jókai, the great writer's brother, and she grew up in the house of the writer from the age of 9.

Hegedüs' ideas about economics were greatly influenced by his university year in Berlin. This happened after his studies at the College of the Reformed Church in Budapest (his father also attended that school) when he was already a student at the Royal Hungarian Pázmány Péter University. He spent the second academic year of the university at the institution established by Wilhelm von Humboldt, which combined education and research in an exemplary manner. Here he was greatly influenced by two of his teachers. Both belonged to the second generation of the German Historical School, one of them Gustav Schmoller (1838–1917) and the other Adolph Wagner (1835–1917).<sup>21</sup> Following the spirit of the German Historical School, Hegedüs also liked to use the historical and statistical approach in addition to the deductive method. He did not believe in the eternal laws of economics, stressing the importance of the principle of relativity. In his study of 1893, *The Principle of Tax*, he wrote, “these theories on tax are mistaken in that they assume their principles and conclusions stem from the concept of tax, whilst these principles and conclusions exclusively stem from their own worldview, perception of fairness, and judgment on the economic system, which they introduce into the concept of tax. The proof of all this is that all these tax theories grow out from relativistic views and thus cannot create absolute truth concerning the definition of tax or anything else.”<sup>22</sup> The effect of the Berlin years can also be attributed to the fact that he considered it possible to solve the problems affecting the Hungarian economy or society solely on the basis of Hungarian conditions. He thought that different ages and countries demand different systems, so it is not possible to simply copy e.g. a customs policy proven to work well elsewhere.<sup>23</sup> Although Hegedüs was a proponent of liberal

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<sup>17</sup> Hegedüs Sándor, *a százkezü politikus Tanulmányok, dokumentumok*. Edited: Katona, Tamás – Szász, Zoltán, Budapest, 2014. The book reviews the diverse activities of Sándor Hegedüs in separate chapters. József Kolozsvári presents the youth of the politician, his student years in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), Gábor Ujváry analyzes his activities as a publicist, Ákos Kárbin analyzes his economic activities, László Nyikos describes his role in the budget committee, László Tókéczki deals with the role he played in the Reformed Church; Máté Millisits reviews the commemorations after Hegedüs' death.

<sup>18</sup> *Vekerdy, Tamás: Kamaszkor körül*. Budapest, 2020.

<sup>19</sup> *Ifj. Zsindely, Sándor: Hegedüs Loránt ...8*.

<sup>20</sup> *Bödök, Gergely: Kegyelmes urak...175*.

<sup>21</sup> *Madarász, Aladár: Kamerateizmus, történelmi iskola, osztrák gazdaságtan. Három vázlat a német és osztrák közgazdasági diskurzus történetéből. Közgazdasági Szemle, 49. (2002) 838–857*.

<sup>22</sup> *Hegedüs, Loránt: Az adó alapelve. Közgazdasági és közigazgatási szemle. 189. Cited by Hegedüs, Loránt: Az adótan társadalmi elmélete. Budapest, 1935. 7–8*.

<sup>23</sup> *Hegedüs, Loránt: A Magyarország jövője a háború után. Politikai tanulmány. Budapest, 1916*.

economic policy, he never became doctrinaire. If the interest of the national economy so wished, he decided to intervene.

A year later he was already studying in London from Herbert Spencer, who was a philosopher, biologist, anthropologist, and sociologist in one person. Spencer had a great influence on Hegedüs, their professional relationship lasted until Spencer's death (1903). Reflecting on the ideas of the English scholar, Hegedüs wrote his work "The Fundamental Proposition of Sociology", which provided a theoretical guide for his later economic policy ideas. In this work, Hegedüs examined whether society could have self-awareness in the sense that the individual has. He answered yes to the question. He based his answer on the *psychological* teachings of the French psychologist and philosopher Ribot Théodule and the *physiological* teachings of the German psychologist and physiologist Wilhelm Wundt. Hegedüs considered the application of this approach, that is, the organic theory of sociology, to be essential for the effective understanding of social phenomena.

As a result of his studies abroad, Hegedüs' horizons broadened and he gained insight into all that was happening in his narrower and wider environment.<sup>24</sup> At the age of 24, after working as a draftsman in the Ministry of Finance for two and a half years, he began investigating the issue of emigration to the United States.

### Connection points

In connection with the multifaceted problems of emigration in Hungary, the connection points that existed between his economic and other activities can be well demonstrated. Hegedüs was born when emigration assumed considerable proportions (the 1870s), he was a high school student when masses left Hungary (from the 1880s), and when the issue of emigration was discussed in parliament on a daily basis, he was a representative who had already been to America. Although almost all politicians and experts tried to formulate their position on the issue of emigration since the turn of the century, besides Gusztáv Thirring (statistician, geographer) Hegedüs was the other who founded the literature on the issue<sup>25</sup> with his own research-based writings.<sup>26</sup> By the time emigration reached its peak (1906-1907), he had already had a plan to resolve the issue. His suggestions were practical and trustworthy because he approached the issue from various angles: he knew first-hand its economic, social, and political implications, and as a scholar (by the time he had become a habilitated private university professor of finance), he sought to find out the real cause of the problem. He was familiar with the various opinions expressed on the subject and formed his own position in the light of them. In 1904, for example, he summarized the results of the emigration congresses of agrarians<sup>27</sup> in an analytical way, and then, as a final conclusion, he was the first to state that emigration could only be eliminated by quenching the hunger for land of emigrants (90% peasants).<sup>28</sup> He saw the solution in the termination of entailed property (fee tail). From 1905, as the managing director of the National Association of Hungarian Industrialists (GYOSZ), he also named the abolition of entailed property (and indirectly emigration) as a guarantee of economic independence and industrial development.

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<sup>24</sup> This was also due to the fact that he maintained contact with many people with socially, linguistically or culturally different backgrounds.

<sup>25</sup> *Rácz, István: A kivándorlás és a magyar uralkodó osztály (1849–1914)* A Debreceni Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Történelmi Intézetének Evkönyve 1. 1962. 90.

<sup>26</sup> *Hegedüs, Loránt: A magyarok kivándorlása Amerikába.* Reprint from the Budapesti Szemle, Budapest, 1899. *A székelyek kivándorlása Romániába.* Budapest, 1902. *A dunántúli kivándorlás és a szlavóniai magyarság.* Reprint from the Budapesti Szemle, Budapest, 1905.

<sup>27</sup> The first agrarian congress took place in 1895, and then in 1900 the OMGE set up a so-called Emigration Committee, further, in 1902 it examined in turn emigration from Upper Northern Hungary, Transdanubia, Vojvodina and Szeklerland at congresses held separately in these different regions.

<sup>28</sup> *Hegedüs, Loránt: A kivándorlási kongresszusok eredménye.* Budapesti Szemle 1904. Nr. 327. 386–387.

His activities greatly contributed to the fact that the GYOSZ instituted an inquiry in 1907, as a result of which the issue of emigration and the proposal aimed at resolving it came before the House of Representatives.<sup>29</sup>

Hegedüs' clairvoyance and original ideas were undoubtedly aided by the fact that he grew up together with the issue of emigration. His multifaceted interest, financial and sociological studies provided a good basis for understanding the complex problem of emigration. His suggestions for solutions were driven by a desire to solve many aspects. In addition to avoiding the economic consequences of the decline in labor reserves, he wanted to solve social and ethnic problems, and his ultimate goal was to strengthen the Hungarian economy within the Monarchy and also the Hungarian middle class. For the latter, he found it dangerous that the lower classes, emigrating and then possibly returning, would be saturated with more advanced ideas and worldviews than the middle class. The diversity of his works on the subject of emigration also suggests that Hegedüs' scientific, economic, and political activities are inseparable.

The other topic that Hegedüs dealt with since he was a university student (1893)<sup>30</sup> was tax matters. This issue accompanied his entire career because of its topicality. His study entitled "The Taxation of the Stock Exchange",<sup>31</sup> written in 1895 (at the age of 23) with Frigyes Fellner, was honored by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as well as his article entitled "The Development and Future of the Budapest Tax System"<sup>32</sup> (at the age of 67), published in 1939. In addition to the tax issue, finances and currency was another issue that was in the focus of his interest. He began to deal with it more thoroughly during World War II when the financial turmoil became more manifest. His writings following the effects of the global economic crisis are also important for the history of theory.<sup>33</sup> His studies responded to specific economic and financial problems in both subjects.

In 1920, when Hegedüs took over the post of finance minister, he had a complete plan to balance the budget, settle the land issue, and stabilize the currency. Integrating these issues into one draft is one of the best examples of Hegedüs' holistic thinking. Although it is not possible to discuss the development of his ideas on individual issues now, it is worth noting that by 1920 he had been dealing with these topics directly or indirectly for almost 25 years. His term as Minister of Finance was the apex of his professional life and political career. It was a challenge he used all his knowledge and experience to cope with. Due to this, his economic reconstruction plan was complex. In addition to restoring the balance of public finances, raising the value of the korona (from 1 Swiss centime to 5 centimes) and implementing the land reform, Hegedüs planned to create a Hungarian currency based on gold in the long run. He wanted to prepare the ground for the creation of the new currency by restoring the balance of public finances. The aim was to eliminate the general government deficit by reducing the amount of money in circulation. He wanted to increase revenues by introducing new taxes (e.g. sales tax), which, together with the reduction of public expenditures, served to balance public finances. He wanted to increase the value of money by eliminating the budget deficit, reducing the amount of money in circulation and a one-off property tax.<sup>34</sup> He linked the settlement of the land issue

<sup>29</sup> A kivándorlás. Ankéttárgyalások. Magyar Gyáriparosok Országos Szövetsége. Közlemények. (1907) Nr. 37., A kivándorlás és visszavándorlás-ügye. Magyar Gyáriparosok Országos Szövetsége. Közlemények. (1908) Nr. 38.

<sup>30</sup> For example, with his work entitled „The History, Present Status and Reform of the Hungarian Direct Taxes” he won a prize at the time of his university years (1893). *Hegedüs, Loránt: A magyar egyenesadók reformja*. Budapesti Szemle, 1896.

<sup>31</sup> *Hegedüs, Loránt – Fellner, Frigyes: A tőzsde megadóztatása*. Budapest, 1895.

<sup>32</sup> Budapest adórendszerének kifejlődése és jövője. Statisztikai Közlemények 89. (1939) Budapest.

<sup>33</sup> *Hegedüs, Loránt: A valuta világválsága és jövője*. Budapest, 1933. Id: Az újabb pénzüleméletek hatása a valutapolitikára. Budapest, 1938.

<sup>34</sup> The one-off property tax applied to land, securities and deposits affecting the increase in wealth during the five war years.

to the other two purposes, as he wanted to destroy the banknotes from the capital levy imposed on lands. The draft also sought to take into account and adapt to international economic and foreign policy opportunities.<sup>35</sup>

We do not touch upon the evolution and effectiveness of the draft now,<sup>36</sup> we only refer to what several of his contemporaries pointed out, namely that Hegedüs, because of his spiritual constitution (he had great imagination) and because of being a fanatic of duty, attempted an action in which there was only hope of success.<sup>37</sup>

However, the role of his imagination was manifest not only in the fact that at times he was much more enthusiastic than average but also in the course of his economic policy activities, as well as in the style and message of his writings on economics. As for the former, Hegedüs, as the head of various institutions, also made big dreams come true. GYOSZ, which brought together the whole manufacturing industry and TÉBE, which brought together all the financial institutions, became the determining bodies of the national economic policy thanks to Hegedüs.

Turning to the characteristics of his writings on economics, he mostly defined the subject of his writing or explained connections with the help of an example he knew well and which was understandable to everyone, but which was based on some bold connection of thoughts. He once likened the way money was tracked to writing out symphonies in score. At some other time, he illustrated the movement of money itself with a natural phenomenon when merluzzi fish (hake) “lost their way” in the Adriatic in the summer of 1913.<sup>38</sup> He often used analogies from other disciplines. With the former, the aim was to involve the recipient as much as possible in the thinking and to give them an insight into the flash-like view of the connections. Thus, he was extremely persuasive.

## Conclusions

We started from the premise that Hegedüs' economic work is worth examining from a broader perspective, from the point of view of his versatility (multifaceted activity). Based on the above examples, this finding can be further differentiated. In the case of Hegedüs, what is more important than thematic diversity is that he was at home in both theory and practice. It followed that theoretical knowledge had made him confident, and so he often formulated his ideas against the prevailing conception. The other important thing was that the practical side was more important to him. His susceptibility to sociology stemmed precisely from his desire to respond effectively to practical problems (social and ethnic issues) that also arose at the political level. For him, sociology was a theoretical compass which, by helping to reveal the social aspects of economic issues, showed him the right direction. He wanted to realize his economic ideas in all cases, and to this end - with his writings suitable for the purpose (in the form of newspaper articles) - he also constantly addressed the general public.<sup>39</sup> Finally, due to his historical approach, he was able to think in great perspectives not only thematically but also in time.

If the consequences of Hegedüs' versatility on his economic activity were to be formulated in a single sentence, we could say that this was the basis of his original thinking.

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<sup>35</sup> Ránki, György: *Gazdaság és külpolitika*. Budapest, 1981. 24–31.

<sup>36</sup> He also did it in 1937. See *Hegedüs, Loránt: Beszámoló az 1921. évi magyar valutakísérletről*. A Magyar Közgazdasági Társaság 1937. október 7-i ülésén tartott előadás. *Magyar Közgazdasági Szemle* 61. (1937). 729–432. Ágnes Pogány analyzes Hegedüs' draft in detail, embedding it in the context of the development of public monetary policy. *Pogány, Ágnes: Az állami pénzügy...106–117*.

<sup>37</sup> *Judik, József: Hegedüs...17*.

<sup>38</sup> *Hegedüs, Loránt: A pénz filozófiája a háborúban*. Hegedüs Loránt előadása a Hadsegélyző Országos Bizottság 1915. január 19-iki háborús délutánján. *Magyar Figyelő* 5. (1915) 14–15.

<sup>39</sup> *Judik, József: Hegedüs...11*.

Zoltán Kaposi

## Large Scale Manufacturing Businesses in Nagykanizsa at the Turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

### Abstract

This study deals with the industrialisation of the largest market centre of the Southwest Transdanubian Region of Hungary. Nagykanizsa was an agrarian town for a long time; however, a quick increase in trade began from the 1830s. The industry showed small plant traits. The industrialisation started in the 1880s in this region too. Newness was the mass-producing mechanised manufacturing. The manufacturing came into existence in three ways. The first case was when the already existing small plants were developed into factories due to the good trading opportunities. In the second case traders and craftsmen established businesses based on local innovations; therefore, new industries were acclimatised. And the third case was the creation of corporations which presumed large amount of capital. The capital of the large-scale industrial businesses mostly came from previous merchant activity and most of the business founders were merchants before. The evolution of the manufacturing industry was perceptible on every level of contemporary economic and social life. More and more labour migrated from agriculture to industries. Financing the local businesses gave a stable future for the local banks. The increasing number of factories aided local construction industry. Due to the development, industry became the most important sector in the structure of the economy of the town before World War I.

**Keywords:** industry, manufactory, business, innovation, corporation

### Introduction

From the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century a quick industrialisation began in Western Europe. The innovation was the manufacturing industry in contrast to the previous small and medium scale workshops which resulted in the increase of industrial workers and improved public services. Factories mostly spread in those industries (textile industry, metallurgical industries, machinery industry, etc...) where a possibility existed for the application of technological innovations.<sup>1</sup> Compared to the Western European industrialisation the development of the manufacturing industry was quite late in Hungary. The first industrial sites came alive only in the 1850–60s in Pest and a decade or two later in larger cities. Many factors caused the setbacks of the development of the Hungarian manufacturing industry. The competition with the Austrian and Czech industries hampered the increase of industrial output; in the meantime, there was only a modest demand for the average or poor-quality products of the domestic companies. The technological underdevelopment and the lack of machines and professionals were problems too. Since the 1880s the state's business supporting laws helped both domestic and foreign capitalists setting up their new businesses. Due to this, entrepreneurs could establish or expand more and more manufacturing companies countrywide.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For western innovations see: *Landes, David*: The Unbound Prometheus. Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, 1969.; *Cameron, Rondo*: A Concise Economic History of the World From Paleolithic Times to the Present. Oxford, 1989.; *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Wissenschaft und wirtschaftliche Innovation in den 18-19. Jahrhunderten in Europa. In: Mogersdorf Internationales Kulturhistorisches Symposium 45. Edited: Kaposi, Zoltán – Haffner, Tamás. Pécs, 2018. 4-16.

<sup>2</sup> Lásd: *Varga, László*: Állami ipartámogatás a dualizmus korában (1880–1900). Történelmi Szemle, 1980. 2. 196–226.; *Katus, László*: A tőkés gazdaság fejlődése a kiegyezés után. In: Magyarország története 1848–1890. Edited: Kovács Endre. Budapest, 1979. 2. 913–1038.; *Kövér, György*: Iparosodás agrárországban. Budapest, 1982.; *Komlos*,

## Nagykanizsa: Agriculture, Commerce and Industry

Nagykanizsa was a city dealing with agriculture and commerce till the 1890s. Since the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the headquarters of the manor of Batthyány-Strattmann family (5,755 hectares) was located in the city.<sup>3</sup> The Manor of Nagykanizsa, other manors around the city, the local peasants and the urban population produced significant amount of agricultural product. Most of them were traded in the local markets. Nagykanizsa was the seventh largest marketplace of the country based on the ranking of the year 1828.<sup>4</sup>

The city managed to strengthen this position in the first half of the Dual Monarchy. This was helped by the large Jewish community of the city.<sup>5</sup> The city happened to be in the intersection of five important roadways which aided trade. In addition, two railways were built (1861 and 1865) relatively early which made domestic and foreign markets (Vienna, Pest, Trieste and later Rijeka) easily accessible.<sup>6</sup> However, the fact that wheat export – the most important part of wholesale industry – decreased significantly in the end of the 1880s caused huge changes.<sup>7</sup> Although local livestock traders managed to achieve a unique position in the country, merchant capital was looking for other investment opportunities.<sup>8</sup> This meant two ways. First, many of the merchants of Nagykanizsa purchased land since new, special ways of land use (rental, subdivisions, etc...) became available.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, there was the possibility of setting up new industrial businesses to reflect to the increase in demand.

Industry meant the traditional artisan and merchant–manufacturer model in Nagykanizsa for a long time. Although there were some factory-like initiations even in the Hungarian Reform Era, the industrial development was slow. The chamber's statement of 1876 showed that there was no large employer in the city. The two most important branches of manufacturing industry were the textile industry and leather and skin industry.<sup>10</sup> The slow start of the manufacturing industry is confirmed by the data of assessments ordered by the minister later on. The ministry summed up all the industrial plants that used mechanical power (steam, water, electricity, etc...) or they employed more than twenty souls while using traditional technologies in 1893. The results concerning Nagykanizsa were more than inglorious. Among the six companies, four used the power of steam (two steam mills, one forge and one cognac factory); altogether their peak power output was forty horsepower. The four factories employed only eighty-seven people. Apart

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*John*: The Habsburg Monarchy as a Customs Union. Princeton University Press. Princeton, 1983.; *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Ungarn 1700–2000. Studia Hungarica. Passau, 2007. Schenk Verlag

<sup>3</sup> Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (National Archives of Hungary, hereinafter the MNL OL) P 1313. Fasc. 136. No. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Bácskai, Vera*: Városok és városi társadalom Magyarországon a 19. század első felében. Budapest, 1988. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Based on contemporary lists and census the Jewish community's proportion was 15–20% of the overall population of Nagykanizsa between 1848 and 1900.

<sup>6</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Kanizsa gazdasági struktúrájának változásai 1743–1848. Nagykanizsa, 2009. 273. Czupi Kiadó

<sup>7</sup> *Sándor, Pál*: Die Agrarkrise am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts und der Grossgrundbesitz in Ungarn. In: Studien zur Geschichte der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie. Edited: Sándor, Vilmos – Hanák, Peter. Budapest, 1961. Akadémiai Kiadó. 167–194.; *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Agrarkrise in Ungarn, besonders auf dem Gebiet von Süd-Transdanubien, 1873–1914. In: Internationales Kulturhistorisches Symposium Mogersdorf 44. Edited: Tilcsik, György. Szombathely, 2019. 157–178.

<sup>8</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Nagykanizsa gazdasági fejlődése 1850–1945. In: Nagykanizsa. Városi Monográfia III. (1850–1945). Edited: Kaposi, Zoltán. Nagykanizsa, 2014. 199.

<sup>9</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Nagykanizsai vállalkozók birtokszerzései a város körüli területeken a dualizmus korában. In: Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Évkönyv 3. Edited: Kövér, György. Budapest, 2019. 223–241.

<sup>10</sup> *A Soproni Kereskedelmi és Iparkamarának a nagym. M. K. Földművelési, Ipar és Kereskedelmi Minisztériumhoz intézett 1876. –ik évi statistikai jelentése*. Sopron, 1878. 538–543.



from these there were two brick factories employing seventy people.<sup>11</sup> All in all, we could register a one hundred and fifty-five soul industrial workforce in Nagykanizsa in 1893. The already mentioned year 1893 was only the dawn of the development of the manufacturing industry in the city since registering new businesses only began that time. The next two decades brought quick changes to the city's industry. As a result, just before WWI sixteen factories operated in Nagykanizsa, employing more than a thousand people. In 1910, instead of the previous factories employing a few dozens of people it became typical that companies' workforce was between eighty to one hundred and fifty souls.<sup>12</sup> This was outstanding in the Southwestern Hungarian region where no significant manufacturing industry came alive apart from Nagykanizsa.<sup>13</sup>

### **The Birth of Large-Scale Manufacturing Businesses in Nagykanizsa**

Manufacturing industry of Nagykanizsa came alive in three ways. The first way was that many already existing family businesses were developed into factories thereby increasing production capacity and improving quality while remaining as private or family-owned businesses. Secondly, many new companies were established which introduced new industries in the city. Thirdly, corporations were founded which carried the potential of making capital intensive investments. We are going to introduce the archetypal cases of the above-mentioned scenarios.

#### **Developing Small Works into Factories**

One of the largest factories of the city was the brick and tile company founded in 1863; owned by Mór Stern. At first, his company traded crop and timber. Mór Stern J. leased the brick factory from the Southern Railways and he subsequently bought it in 1883. The plant was located on the southern side of the city facing the railway station. The founder involved his son in the management of the company. This plant was developed into a factory taking advantage of the increase in demand for construction materials. The Stern Factory not only produced for the city but its products were sold in the region of Balaton and in Croatia too. The production particularly ran up under the reign of Sándor Stern, son of the founder. Sándor Stern was a capable businessman acquainting wide array of economic knowledge and a philanthropist.<sup>14</sup> The products of the company became famous, its employment increased and in the beginning of the twentieth century the number of employees reached one hundred and fifty and right before WWI it was close to two hundred. He had many flats built for his workers, some of them still exist. The concentration in the industry is shown by the fact that Stern purchased the 1893 founded Haba brick factory in 1910. The Stern family was an honoured member of the city's community, their shopping centre was on one end of the Rozgonyi Street facing the main square.<sup>15</sup>

Similar changes took place in the hard liquor distillery founded by Mór Blau in 1835. The substantial developments were carried out by the grandsons of the founder, Lajos and Béla. Their factory – located at the northern side of the main square – was the first place in Hungary where the French style cognac distillation was utilised. Their cognac won first prizes at many industrial exhibitions in Hungarian cities. They won the honorary certificate at the millennial

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<sup>11</sup> National Archives of Hungary, Zala County Archives (hereinafter: MNL ZML). Nagykanizsa City Archives (hereinafter NVL). Városi tanácsi iratok. Közigazgatási iratok. 1893/4212.

<sup>12</sup> *Thirring, Gusztáv*: A magyar városok statisztikai évkönyve. Budapest, 1912. 2. 309.

<sup>13</sup> See: *T. Mérey, Klára*: Dél-Dunántúl iparának története a kapitalizmus idején. Budapest, 1985.

<sup>14</sup> *Benedek, Rezső*: Zala aranykönyve. A mi értékeink. Nagykanizsa, 1938. 88.

<sup>15</sup> *Tarnóczy, Attila*: Hol. Mi? Kanizsai házak és lakói. Nagykanizsa, 2010. 712. in: [www.nagykar.hu](http://www.nagykar.hu)

exhibition and they were awarded with golden medals in Bordeaux, Brussels, London and Chicago.<sup>16</sup> In 1897 they were given the imperial and royal warrant of appointment. Apart from cognac, rum and brandy they were also producing rubbing alcohol. Their steam powered liquor factory produced 4,000 hectolitres of wine, 3,000-4,000 hectolitres of pomace spirit and 1,000 hectolitres of wine lees. Their number of their employees was between 25 and 30. In 1896 they established the first domestic metal bottle cap factory where they produced 50,000 caps for bottles per day. Aside from the few machinists they also employed roughly twenty workers.<sup>17</sup>

They maintained offices in Budapest and Vienna and they had agencies in many large cities. Two of their agents toured the cities of the Monarchy and their products were known in Serbia, Bulgaria, India and in America too. Pál Blau was also known for building the first bathroom in the city. In the beginning of the 1860s he had a small, distinct bath built at the far end of his plot which contained 3-4 bathtubs and a shower; he welcomed the guests of the family there.<sup>18</sup> Apart from his industrial businesses he owned a vineyard with a two-storey wine press house at the nearby Szentgyörgyvár hills and thirty-seven and a half hectares of land.<sup>19</sup>

The Weiser Machine Factory – which was one of the most successful companies of Nagykanizsa – was originally an ironmongery. The company was founded in 1842 and developed quickly under the worldwide economic boom of the 1850-60s. The next evolution happened at the turn of the century. The company was created by János Weiser and was developed by his son József. József was born in Nagykanizsa where he attended to school; in addition, he was also educated in Vienna after which he travelled around Europe to study in order to utilise his experiences for his father's ironmongery. He travelled to Austria, Germany, France and Italy and spent a long time in England. After 1904 the grandson of the founder János Weiser, a certified mechanical engineer, led the company.<sup>20</sup> In the beginning they produced fireboxes (iron stoves) and parts for forges and steam engines. The continuously increasing business outgrew its site at Kazinczy Street. They moved their entire operations to a newly purchased site under 16 Sugár Street, including the iron and copper works, the forgery and boil maker works, the turner, the engine fitter, the carpentry, the wainwright, the machinery and painter works.

Picture 1: M. Blau and Sons cognac and caps factory (1898)



Source: Thúry György Múzeum (hereinafter: TGyM). Pb. 1898. Szgy.

<sup>16</sup> *Nagykanizsa Rt. város lak- és cím-jegyzéke*. Edited: Füredi János. Nagykanizsa, 1906. 328. It is implied that based on the list of taxpayers of 1882 Mór Stern J. was the fourteenth largest taxpayer of the city. See under: ZML NVL City Council Files. Administrative files. 342/1883.

<sup>17</sup> *Zalai Közlöny*, 15. 01. 1898.

<sup>18</sup> *Kunics, Zsuzsa: Gabona piac – Főtér – Erzsébet királyné tér. A nagykanizsai Erzsébet tér kiépülése, története a dualizmus időszakában*. In: *Zalai Múzeum* 18. Zalaegerszeg, 2009. 273.

<sup>19</sup> MNL ZML NVL Registry of landowners. 1871.

<sup>20</sup> *Weiser, János: Nagykanizsa gyáripára*. In: *Nagykanizsa*. Edited: Barbarits Lajos. Budapest, 1929. 309–310.

The owners of the Weiser company realised that the greatest opportunity in domestic economic development was the mechanisation of agricultural production. It is widely known that many Hungarian companies of the machinery industry (Ganz, Kühne, etc...) became dominant factories in Central Europe.<sup>21</sup> Since it was possible to mechanise every work phase of wheat production which indeed was the most important sector of agriculture, it is not surprising that much efforts were made in that industry. The Weiser company continuously increased its product portfolio. The emperor awarded the company the golden cross for their forty-one products shown at the millennial exhibition. Their seed drill machine won the silver medal at the Paris exhibition.<sup>22</sup> Around the turn of the century the company was one of the most important players on the market of domestically produced farm tools. Apart from them the Kühne Factory of Mosony and the Schramm Factory in Krassó-Szörény County were the other key players. They produced one and two furrow ploughs, planters, vehicles, spare parts for these, harrows, loaders, different castings, manholes, machines for the mill and wine industries and firehoses. The lead engineer in the Weiser factory was Mihály Havas who designed many genuine seed drills; and he created the Weiser type Prefekta seed drill machine which gained substantial market share.<sup>23</sup> In case of the company, it is clear that the success was brought forth by technological innovations.

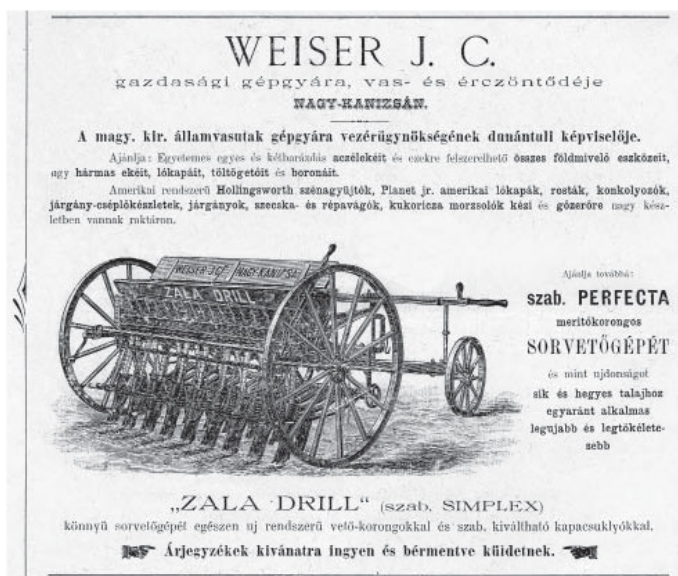
The brush factory was one of the most dynamically developing companies of Nagykanizsa in the beginning of the century. The precursor of the factory was founded by Sándor Kardos in 1902.<sup>24</sup> The workshop was located on Kazinczy Street. The entrepreneur continuously increased production volumes and employed more and more people; therefore, he restructured the company a few years later. This resulted in the birth of Sándor Kardos and Partner company which dealt with the production of brushes, paintbrushes and sorghum brooms. The company was a so-called limited partnership in which Kardos was a general partner and merchant Emil

Picture 2: **Workers of the Weiser Factory (1909)**



Source: TGyM. 90.2.

Picture 3: **Zala Drill the famous seed drill of Weiser Factory (1895)**



Source: TGyM. 82.1110.2.

<sup>21</sup> Estók, János: A mezőgazdasági gépgyártás története Magyarországon a kezdetektől 1944-ig. Budapest, 1996.

<sup>22</sup> Tarnóczy, Attila: Hol. Mi?... 770.

<sup>23</sup> Estók, János: A mezőgazdasági gépgyártás... 95.

<sup>24</sup> MNL ZML VII. 1d. Registry Court files. Files of the Royal Nagykanizsa Court. II. 234. No. 131.

Böhm from Nagykanizsa along with Zala County Savings Bank were limited partners.<sup>25</sup> In 1907 the company moved to a more spacious plot on Szemere Street. The new buildings were built accordingly with the labour protection regulation (safety, hygienics, etc...); in addition, there was the possibility of continuous expansion. The raise in capital brought the possibility of mechanising the production process. Different trimmer, sawyer and brush making machines were operated in the factory. Their products represented high quality. They started to produce painter's brushes in 1911 which became commercially successful. According to the contemporary press the products of Nagykanizsa could have been compared to the products of the famous factories of Nuremberg. The employment quickly rose and in 1910 one hundred and forty people were working for the factory.<sup>26</sup> Raw materials were bought from Hungary; however, it is clear that sorghum was scarce at that time. The retail store on the Main street was for local sales. The brush factory exported its products to Croatia, Austria and to other European countries, but they were also traded in Egypt, East-India and in China too.

### Introduction of New Industries Through New Businesses

The production of coffee substitutes became more significant in Hungary at the end of the nineteenth century. The first coffee substitutes factories were owned by foreign entrepreneurs; however, the first domestic coffee substitute factory was founded in Nagykanizsa in 1905. This was the Patria Coffee Substitute Factory which was founded by the local Schwartz and Tauber company.<sup>27</sup> The Schwartz and Tauber was a wholesale company, a distributor of imported colonial goods. It was founded in 1856 and funded many industrial investments and had extended merchant relationships from Nagykanizsa to Sztatina (Slatina in Croatia today).<sup>28</sup> The coffee substitute factory had to face with enormous pressure from the competition since the multinational Franck Concern was expanding aggressively in Europe. The coffee substitute factory of Kanizsa was built on Csengery Road in 1905-06. The factory was connected to the railway via private sliding. The sorghum root was imported at first but in 1910 local farmers from Zala and Somogy counties were supplying the factory. It was profitable for them too because 4.6-5.7 tonnes were produced per hectare which meant 230 Kronas per hectare net profit for the vendors.<sup>29</sup> Eighty people worked in the factory before WWI. As a food industry factory, it had to adhere to strict hygienic regulations. Highly comfortable diner and service areas were developed for the workers. It was necessary to bring in capital.<sup>30</sup> The idea presented itself that the Pest Hungarian Merchant Bank would acquire Pátia but the negotiations were unsuccessful. After a few years of operation, the factory was purchased by Franck

Picture 4: Advertisement of Patria coffee substitute (1907)



Source: Nagykanizsa Rt. város lak- és cím-jegyzéke... 1907

<sup>25</sup> *Zalai Közlöny*, 24. 12. 1911.

<sup>26</sup> *Thirring, Gusztáv*: A magyar városok... 309.

<sup>27</sup> MNL ZML VII. 1. d. Registry Court files. Files of the Royal Nagykanizsa Court. II. 227. No. 200.

<sup>28</sup> *Tarnóczy, Attila*: Hol. Mi?... 336.

<sup>29</sup> *T. Mérey, Klára*: Nagykanizsa a kapitalizmus korában, különös tekintettel Trianonra. In: *Pannon Tükör*, 1997. 11-12. 54. This was beneficial because the average profit per hectare did not reach 115 Kronas in this region.

<sup>30</sup> MNL OL Z 40. Fasc. 53. No. 976-977.

Henrik and Sons in 1909 which became famous for Pátia's and his own coffee substitute. Their products were mostly exported. In 1911 the factory was extended by a new building.<sup>31</sup>

A new profession was introduced by Bettelheim W. S and Sons company (founded in 1895). It was a reed tissue and straw bottle carrier factory. The Bettelheims founded their merchant business in the town in 1809. They took advantage of the agricultural opportunities of the region and dealt with reed production in the 1870s. The company was rather unique. At the end of the nineteenth century, it was the only factory in Hungary that dealt with reed and straw bottle carrier manufacturing. During the first decade of the twentieth century the Straw bottle carrier company owned by Győző and Ede Bettelheim employed eighty people.<sup>32</sup> The factory mostly flourished under the reign of the sons of the founder and one of them, Aladár Bettelheim did his studies abroad.<sup>33</sup> The development is indicated by the fact that in 1914 one hundred workers produced straw bottle carriers and reed ceiling boards. The factory was producing for export from the very beginning. Their products were sold in Trieste and other large cities of the Monarchy and they exported reed to Germany and Switzerland, crops to Vienna, Trieste and other alpine countries. Since 1912 they also produced straw lids.

Picture 5: **Győző Bettelheim factory owner and merchant (1880)**



Source: TGyM. 87.36.

The scientific discipline of chemistry went through a major developmental period in the nineteenth century which promoted the growth of more and more businesses by utilising the accumulated knowledge of the chemical industry. It is especially important in the case of Nagykanizsa that the biggest chemical factory managed to achieve significant innovations. We cannot forget that on such a saturated market holding market positions or growing were only possible by inventions or innovations. Károly Mayer, an indigo dye worker who settled in Nagykanizsa, founded his dry-cleaning establishment in 1892.<sup>34</sup> In order to expand his business, he was given significant state support. It was primarily a dry-cleaning establishment and also housed the tucker and the steam powered dyeing machines. Mayer also constructed a rotating brushing machine. It was written about his invention at the end of 1910 that this machine could be used for “any shape and quality clothes, plush, fur, curtain, etc... could be brushed dust free”.<sup>35</sup> He showed his machine in the industrial exhibition hall at Budapest and it was met with professional acclaim. Mayer patented the machine in Hungary, Austria, Germany and in the United States. The invention became a commercial success since the machine could be used well in hotels, cleaners, hospitals, carpet and fur factories and in baize factories. It made the entrepreneur flood in orders. The business changed its name and it became the “First Transdanubia Dyer and Polytechnic Dry Cleaner Institute”.

<sup>31</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán*: A Patria pótkávégyár küzdelme a fennmaradásért a multinacionális nagyvállalat ellen. In: *Kanizsai Antológia* 14 (2013). 176–201.

<sup>32</sup> *Thirring, Gusztáv*: A magyar városok... 309.

<sup>33</sup> *Zalai Közlöny*, 25. 12. 1910.

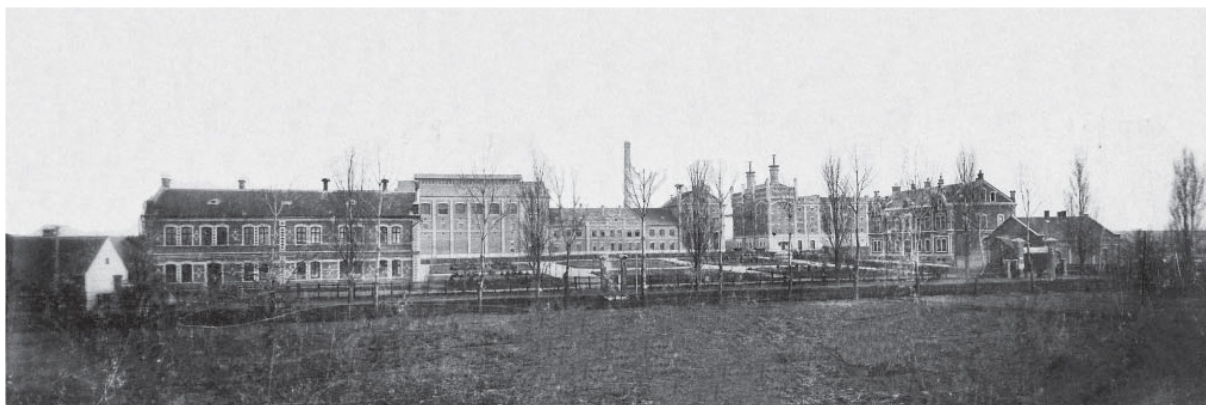
<sup>34</sup> *Tarnóczky, Attila*: Hol. Mi?... 146.

<sup>35</sup> *Zalai Közlöny*, 25. 12. 1910.

## Increase in the Need for Capital: Birth of Corporations

Many economic factors aided the Hungarian brewing industry in the second half of the nineteenth century. The customs union of the Monarchy resulted in the inflow of professionals which strengthened the so called “Germanic” consumption traits. We cannot forget the traditions of the urban population either since in wake of capitalism many restaurants were established.<sup>36</sup> The development of brewery was additionally aided by the phylloxera pandemic of mid-1870s which resulted in a decrease in wine production. And we also cannot forget the aspects of the state and the local government since the alcohol industry is a generally well chargeable sector and its investment costs were not very high at that time. These processes put the brewing industry into an especially favourable situation.<sup>37</sup> In 1892 some local wholesalers and industrial investors made the decision on founding a brewery with a malt factory on the advice of Vilmos Gutmann. The deed of foundation was signed by fourteen businessmen on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June 1892. The intention of the founders was to create a “brewing factory corporation that complies with all the modern age and technology”.<sup>38</sup> The name of the company became Kanizsa Brewery Corporation, and its shareholders’ equity was five hundred thousand Forints. The brewery was founded at a time when corporations were an unknown form of economic entities; therefore, the businessmen had to thrive on a pathless way. The infrastructural investment took two and a half years to complete where four hundred workers were employed. The two local brick factories produced about three million bricks for the construction. The founders were eager to purchase the most advanced technology of their time: the facilities were acquired from the Ringhofer Company which guaranteed the world class equipment.<sup>39</sup> A restaurant was built right next to the buildings of the factory. The factory was designed to produce 20,000 hectolitres of beer but this capacity could be doubled. The workforce had to be recruited too. At first mostly Czech and Moravian skilled workers but later on mostly Hungarians were employed. The malt factory started to operate in the autumn of 1894 while the brewery started on the 5<sup>th</sup> February 1895. Till the end of 1896 its production volume was increasing. Its quality is shown by the fact that the factory was awarded for its products at the great millennial exhibition.<sup>40</sup> Along with the production the sales were organised: the products of the brewery of Nagykanizsa were sold at Budapest and other large cities of Hungary.<sup>41</sup>

Picture 6: Nagykanizsa Brewery in the beginning of the 20th century



Source: TGyM. 78.522.10.

<sup>36</sup> MNL OL P 1313. Fasc. 139. No. 102-138.

<sup>37</sup> *Rózsás, János – Háncs, Lajos: A serfőzdetől a sörgyárig. A kanizsai sörgyár centenáriumi évkönyve 1892–1992.* Nagykanizsa, 1992. 5.

<sup>38</sup> *Zalai Közlöny*, 09. 07. 1892.

<sup>39</sup> *Rózsás, János – Háncs, Lajos: A serfőzdetől a sörgyárig...* 6.

<sup>40</sup> Nagykanizsa város cím- és lakjegyzéke... 82.

<sup>41</sup> *Rózsás, János – Háncs, Lajos: A serfőzdetől a sörgyárig...* 9.

On the other hand, the chase of high quality meant significant costs which consumed up all the capital of the founders; therefore, the first decade was characterised by chronic financial problems. Even in the year 1896 it was written about the brewery that it cannot overcome its deficits.<sup>42</sup> At the turn of the century there was a decline in the demand for beer compared to the previous years. The problems of the brewery were shown by the fact that instead of the initial one hundred people only fifty-seven were employed at the turn of the century. Shares were devaluated: at first 160, later 50 Kronas were their prices. It was also a problem that despite the patriotic industry support speeches many local pubs were serving imported beers despite the fact that their quality never exceeded the local ones.<sup>43</sup> The problems were solved in 1907 with the capital-raise when fifteen thousand 50 Kronas shares were issued. It happened thanks to personal relationships: Baron Gutmann, the president of the brewery and member of the board of directors of Pest Hungarian Merchant Bank played a significant role in having the largest Hungarian bank invest into the company. The increased equity of one million Kronas stabilised the position of the corporation and it managed to set up a two hundred thousand Forints of savings fund in a few years.<sup>44</sup> The recovery was quick: in 1908 33,000 hectolitres of beer and 2,500 tonnes of malt were produced and they managed to occupy a new market niche: joining to the Schutverband Graz they could supply beer to the Austrian market.<sup>45</sup> After 1911 the factory operated under the name of Royal Brewery Corporation.

The 1859 founded steam mill – although only part time operated – was located next to the road connecting Nagykanizsa to Kiskanizsa. It was converted into an electric mill thanks to the effort of lawyer Samu Rotschild – not to mention his success in finding an investor. His client was Lajos Franz, owner of mills in Marburg and Leibnitz. Franz bought up the steam mill while Rotschild kept the agenda of electric power service on the table of the city's council. The concession to develop electric power service was given to Lajos Franz. In 1892 the contract was made about the construction of lighting.<sup>46</sup> The construction took one and a half years and lighting became operational on the 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1894. The company enjoyed a ten-year tax free period.<sup>47</sup> In 1910 the company was converted into a corporation with a registered capital of 4 million Kronas (Lajos Franz and Sons Corporation). Before WWI the mill was operating with a 1,500 horsepower machinery and employed one hundred workers.<sup>48</sup> It was the largest company of Nagykanizsa in the ages of the Dual Monarchy considering the registered capital. It owned private slides, real

Picture 7: **Steam mill and power plant of the Franz family (1900)**



Source: TGyM. Pb. 1903. Szgy.

<sup>42</sup> *Zalai Közlöny*, 15. 01. 1898.

<sup>43</sup> *Zalai Közlöny*, 09. 12. 1905.

<sup>44</sup> *Zalai Közlöny*, 25. 12. 1910.

<sup>45</sup> *Söptei, Imre*: Koncentrációk a nyugat-dunántúli „sörfronton”. In: *Egy emberöltő Kőszeg szabad királyi város levéltárában*. Edited: Mayer, László – Tilcsik, György. Szombathely, 2003. 491.

<sup>46</sup> MNL ZML NVL City Council Files. Administrative files. 2827/1893. Although farmers of the Kiskanizsa part of the city vehemently protested against the introduction of electric lighting the project was completed. Ed: ZML NVL City Council Files. Administrative files. 11384/1893.

<sup>47</sup> MNL ZML NVL City Council Files. Administrative files. 9586/1892.

<sup>48</sup> *T. Mérey, Klára*: Nagykanizsa a kapitalizmus... 54.

estate, heavy machinery and other industrial equipment. In the business year of 1911-12 the company realised 322,000 Kronas of profit. Out of this 5 percent was taken into savings while 12,617 Kronas were spent on labour costs. After the costs of the executive directors and the supervisory board and deductions and charitable taxes 240,000 Kronas were spent on dividends which was an increase (6%) compared to the previous year (5.5%).<sup>49</sup> According to the balance sheet of the second year the company had no liabilities. In case of the Franz Corporation a transnational company can be observed which was managed according to the same standards which owned companies at Nagykanizsa and in other Austrian cities. It is interesting though that all the other factories presented previously were founded by Jewish people while the Franz Corporation was unique since it was founded by a Christian entrepreneur.

In order to have the industries better utilise the products of agriculture the Transdanubia Economic Alcohol Factory Owners Liquor Distillery Corporation was established on the 16<sup>th</sup> June 1903. The company was a sign of the times: more and more liquor distilleries were established in Southern Transdanubia.<sup>50</sup> According to public information the company dealt with buying up the alcohol products of local providers; in addition, it distilled liquor and distributed rectified spirit.<sup>51</sup> The company attracted more and more liquor works of the region meaning that more and more businesses joined it. The site of the factory was on Vár Road (which connected the two parts of the city) where a new industrial site started to grow (steam mill, electric power station, lumber works, alcohol distilleries, etc...). The corporation was created by large landowners of Somogy and Zala Counties. The corporation's equity was 120,000 Kronas. The capacity of the factory tripled between 1903 and 1910. According to the bylaws the dividends rate was 5% but the real motivation was the easier sales on a market where conditions became harsher. They produced rectified spirit, methylated spirit, medical purpose rectified spirit and once distilled spirit. Their products were sold on domestic markets and in other countries of the Monarchy too.<sup>52</sup>

### Summary

As it was shown previously, the Southern west Transdanubia region lacked industrial raw materials; therefore, the local agriculture and trade played a key role in the development of the manufacturing industry. Agriculture fuelled the growth of the local industries with raw materials and labour. The capital of the large-scale industrial businesses mostly came from previous merchant activity and most of the business founders were merchants before. The evolution of the manufacturing industry was perceptible on every level of contemporary economic and social life. More and more labour migrated from agriculture to industries. Financing the local businesses gave a stable future for the local banks. The increasing number of factories aided the local construction industry. Reflecting to the changes, a journalist of a local newspaper wrote in 1911: "in the last decade the manufacturing industry of Nagykanizsa gained such momentum that an entire social class of workers came alive whose consumption capacities fructified the increased volume of our small-scale industry and trade".<sup>53</sup> Through the evolution of the manufacturing industry Nagykanizsa strengthened its economic positions in the region.

The results of the manufacturing industry were clearly demonstrated by the events that took place on 12<sup>nd</sup> March 1911. On this day the merchant elite of Zala County assembled in the ceremonial hall of the townhouse of Nagykanizsa in order to found the Confederation

<sup>49</sup> *Zalai Közlöny*, 08. 08. 1912.

<sup>50</sup> An example for the rapid growth of the industry: *Rayman, János*: Baranyai és Pécsi Gazdák Szeszfőző Szövetkezete. In: Rayman, János: Elfeledett pécsi iparosok. Ipartörténeti dolgozatok. Pécs, 2010. 120–139.

<sup>51</sup> MNL ZML. VII. 1. d. Registry Court files. Files of the Royal Nagykanizsa Court. II. 241. No. 145.

<sup>52</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Nagykanizsa gazdasági fejlődése... 176.

<sup>53</sup> *Zalai Közlöny*, 24. 12. 1911.



of Hungarian Employers and Industrialists' local office. Along Mayor Zsigmond Vécsey the director of the CHEI, Lóránt Hegedüs was present. Baron Vilmos Guttmann was elected as president and Sándor Stern was elected as vice president of the local office. Many of the owners and managers of the previously mentioned companies were voted to be members of the board including Vilmos Dürr and Henrik Pongor factory directors and János Weiser machinery owner, etc...<sup>54</sup> The creation of the lobby group clearly showed the changes of the previous few decades: right before WWI industry became the dominant sector of the city's economy which registered a 33% of overall employment.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> *Magyar Gyáripar*, 16. 03. 1911.

<sup>55</sup> *A magyar szent korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása 2.* Budapest, 1913. 190.

Tibor Gonda

## The First Golden Age of the Tourism of Pécs

### Abstract

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Pécs was one of the most dynamically developing cities of Hungary. This process persisted until World War I. The losses of the world war and the following 3 years of Serbian occupation caused huge damages in the economy and society of the city. The paper, bringing forward the antecedents of the economic history and the economic environment, reviews the first golden age of the tourism of Pécs. The tourism of Pécs experienced an extraordinary development in the 1930s. The cities of the country, getting over the trauma of World War I and the Great Economic Crisis, realised the economic opportunities of tourism and their majority started a conscious development of this branch of economy. Its importance was also realised by the management of Pécs and among the first in the country, on the 28<sup>th</sup> March, 1933 the municipality committee adjudicated to establish the tourism committee and the tourism bureau. An enthusiastic welcome “propaganda” has been launched and a conscious product development work has been realised primarily concentrating on – in today’s terms – cultural and ecotourism. The tourism supply was based on the heritage values of the city and on the natural beauties of the Mecsek Mountains. The hosting conditions, such as the accommodations and guest catering places, were established with the adequate quality. Such transport connections were realised – which can make us envious even today – as the direct flight connections with Budapest and Kaposvár or the train connections with Vienna. Budapest could be accessed within 3 hours by train and due to the cheap railways domestic tourism became multitudinous and its greatest beneficiary was Pécs. The city development decisions payed regard to the needs of tourism and there was also an intention to utilise the local products in tourism which is even fashionable today. Presently the market of local products has its renaissance. The results of the 1930s have their impacts on the tourism of the present day Pécs as well.

**Keywords:** economy, the city of Pécs, tourism, cheap railways, accommodations, guest catering, Mecsek

### Introduction

In the years after World War I the country’s tourism fell significantly, as a result of the Treaty of Trianon popular holiday resorts were transferred to neighbouring countries. In 1920, for example, only 15,000 foreigners visited the capital as opposed to the 55,000 visitors in 1913. Barely 20-25,000 guests (of whom barely a thousand foreigners) visited Lake Balaton annually during this period as opposed to the 100,000 people before the war.<sup>1</sup> Getting over the trauma of World War I, from the second half of the 1920s the economic opportunities of tourism were recognized and a conscious development of the sector began in Hungary<sup>2</sup>. Along with the development of transport, accommodation and service conditions the development of the central structure of tourism management started: the National Tourist Board was established and the Balaton Management Committee started its operation. Measures were taken to facilitate the inbound travel of foreigners, and strong organizing and propaganda activities began.<sup>3</sup> From the

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<sup>1</sup> *Kudar, Lajos:* Turizmusunk története dióhéjban. Budapest, 2003. 70.

<sup>2</sup> *Bangha, Géza:* Az Országos Idegenforgalmi Hivatal szervezete. In: Az idegenforgalom. Az 1941. évi idegenforgalmi közigazgatási szaktanfolyam előadásai. Edited: Markos, Béla. Budapest, 1941. 61-66.

<sup>3</sup> *Rubovszky, András - Szigeti, Andor - Walkó, Miklós:* A magyar vendéglátás és turizmus újkori története. Budapest, 2009. 360.

second half of the 1930s the revival of domestic tourism (for example Lake Balaton holidays, rural tourism) also received increasing attention.<sup>4</sup>

Hungarian tourism culminated in 1937 between the two world wars. In addition to the capital, the tourist traffic of Lake Balaton, the Mátra, the Bükk, the Danube Bend as well as some rural towns and villages rich in folk art values was already significant.<sup>5</sup> In this year the number of foreigners arriving in the country was 380,000 (mostly Germans and Austrians), while the number of Hungarians traveling abroad exceeded 220,000, and approximately 1 million Hungarian citizens took part in domestic tourism. The economic significance of all this was also felt. Revenues from international tourism reached 7% of the value of exports.<sup>6</sup> The economic weight of the sector is also indicated by the fact that its importance was presented with scientific rigour<sup>7</sup> and significant attention was also paid to it in domestic statistical data collection and analysis.<sup>8</sup> High quality scientific papers on tourism, useful in both education and professional work, were created<sup>9</sup>. The national processes of tourism received due attention in the contemporary trade press as well as in science, further education and training.<sup>10</sup> However, analyzes of a specific reception area (in today's parlance: destination), with the exceptions of the capital and Lake Balaton, weren't made. This is why we think that through the example of the city of Pécs it is worth presenting the enthusiastic and dedicated work that probably characterized several of our larger cities as well in the 1930s.

### **The development of the national and the Pécs tourism administration**

Reorganizing the city's economy and society was not an easy process. The move of Erzsébet University to Pécs was a consolidation for the citizens of the city<sup>11</sup>, but the rapid economic recovery was hampered by the general recession caused by the global economic crisis, which also significantly affected the economic performance of the whole country.<sup>12</sup>

However, by the beginning of the third decade the citizens of Pécs began to find themselves. With the expansion of the middle class and the increasing leisure time of certain social strata, a new economic sector began to develop throughout the country, tourism. The significance of this was also recognized by the leaders of Pécs and among the first in the country, on the 28th March, 1933 the legislative committee passed a resolution on the establishment of the tourism committee.<sup>13</sup>

If we take into account the situation of the national tourism administration at that time, we can especially appreciate this decision of the city's governing body. In the early 1930s even tourism management was in its infancy. Although the National Hungarian Tourism Council had been operating since 1928, it did not have an operational impact on the development of

<sup>4</sup> A magyar idegenforgalom évkönyve. Budapest, 1936.

<sup>5</sup> *Schneider, Árpád*: Magyarország Trianontól napjainkig. Vendégforgalom. Magyar Statisztikai Szemle 16. (1938) 4. 543-547.

<sup>6</sup> *Czénner, Jenő*: Idegenforgalmi gazdaságpolitika. Budapest, 1933. 151.

<sup>7</sup> Az idegenforgalom jelentősége az egyes államok fizetési mérlegében. Magyar Statisztikai Szemle 16. (1938) 2. 153-154.

<sup>8</sup> *Gundel, Endre*: Az idegenforgalom elmélete és gyakorlata. Budapest, 1937. 151.

<sup>9</sup> *Máday, Béla*: A szabadidőmozgalmak és az idegenforgalom. Budapest, 1941. 11.

<sup>10</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Pécs gazdasági fejlődése 1867-2000. Pécs, 2006. 326.

<sup>11</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Pécs gazdasági és társadalmi helyzete az Erzsébet Tudományegyetem Pécsre költözésének évtizedében. Per Aspera Ad Astra. Edited by Schmelczner-Pohánka Éva. 2014. 1. 26-49.

<sup>12</sup> The majority of the dissertation is based on archival research. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Baranya Megyei Levéltára [National Archives of Hungary, Baranya County Archives (hereinafter: MNL BaML)]. IV. 1421. Pécs Város Idegenforgalmi Irodájának iratai. 9236/1939.

<sup>13</sup> *Csizmadia, László*: A magyar idegenforgalmi igazgatás kezdetei. In: Állam és Igazgatás. Edited by Budapest, 1979. 12.

the sector as an advisory body to the Minister of Trade in charge of tourism.<sup>14</sup> Nor did it have official authority. It merely made proposals to the relevant minister. Due to its large staff its operation was cumbersome, so in 1931 changes were made to its organizational structure<sup>15</sup>, and a 9-member management committee was set up with the representatives of the agencies and authorities where significant tourism budget funding was available. In 1935 the tourism administration was re-regulated by a government decree and the National Hungarian Tourism Office (NHTO) was established under the auspices of the Ministry of Trade.

The NHTO dealt with both external and internal tourism (or as it was then already called: tourist traffic). The government decree in the first part, in points 1-8, specified the tasks of the Office in coordinating internal tourism. In particular, the Office was responsible for:

- coordinating the work of tourism authorities, institutions, organizations and companies and monitoring the tourism development plans and budgets of government-supervised institutions;
- partly coordinating and supervising the tourism activities of counties, cities and municipalities, such as organization of local cultural exhibitions, sporting and tourism events, congresses, cultural celebrations, promotion of local handicrafts and crafts, control of the quality of local catering units from the point of view of tourism.

In the second part of the decree, in points 9-11, the following issues of the external tourism administration are referred to the Office:

- elaboration, coordination and development of Hungarian tourism propaganda abroad;
- setting up new program offices abroad and reorganizing old ones;
- cooperation with tourism organizations abroad.

The third part of the decree, points 12-17 are about internal organizational work, Within this field the most important tasks of the Office were:

- drawing up an annual work plan and cost estimate for the development of tourism;
- expert opinion on the timetable of transport companies and measures affecting tourism;
- monitoring the operation of travel agencies and tourist program offices in the country;
- organizing the qualification and further training of tour guides and monitoring their operation;
- collection and processing of data for tourism purposes;
- development of tourism-related vocational education and literature.<sup>16</sup>

The Office performed domestic official tasks but also placed great emphasis on foreign propaganda work. These two roles, as we shall see, were also characteristic of the operation of city tourism offices. The NHTO established an organization to promote tourism in almost every capital in Europe.

From 1936 the decree setting up the NHTO ensured that the Office had the necessary financial resources to carry out its tasks. The material assets were:

- a loan provided for in the budget of the Ministry of Trade and Transport;
- contribution regulated by the 1934. Article XXVI and made available from the emigration fund, which derived its income from, inter alia, passport duties;
- the amount provided for in the Hungarian State Railway (HSR) budget for tourism purposes from the 2 fillér installments collected after each sold ticket valid for journeys longer than 30 km;
- IBUSZ contribution and other contributions.

Budapest, obviously, was the most active of all Hungarian settlements, but in the 1930s the larger cities, one after the other, established their tourist offices too. The National Association

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<sup>14</sup> See: 6720/1931.sz. ME edict.

<sup>15</sup> *Csizmadia, László: A magyar idegenforgalmi... 18.*

<sup>16</sup> *Gonda, Tibor: Pécs idegenforgalmának hőskora I. Pécsi Szemle 8. (2005) 1. 70-82.*

of Hungarian Cities (the organization for the protection of the interests of cities) regularly put the issue of the development of tourism on the agenda and lobbied for the benefit of the cities.

The National Hungarian Weekend Association, founded in 1932, also played an important role. Although it was a civil society organization, it also performed various administrative tasks. With the transformation of the organization, the National Hungarian Hospitality Alliance (NHHA) was established in 1935.

The main goal of the Alliance was to boost domestic holidays and to organize weekend holidays nationwide. It took significant steps to develop tourism in the countryside. For example, with its coordination the creation of appropriate conditions for receiving guests in hospitable villages was organized, ensuring that even low-income people could enjoy cheap holiday options. In each county, the local branch of NHHA was established under the chairmanship of the viscount.

It was of great importance that the Alliance organized the private accommodation service offered voluntarily by farmers, and from 1936 these accommodations were marked with a sign „Private host”. The organization’s membership reached almost 4,000 in 1-2 years. The first complex domestic travel manual was also published under the auspices of the organization.

### **Efforts to boost tourism after the crisis**

The economy of Pécs started recovering again after 1933.<sup>17</sup> Budgeting and financial management of the local government stabilized, and even if within a tight budget but the local government was able to provide funds for smaller-larger developments. According to the findings of the archival research, the needs of tourism were already taken into account among the aspects in many development decisions. During the period under review local tourism development was characterized by enthusiasm and goodwill, but less professionalism. Nonetheless, respectable initiatives were launched and remarkable results were achieved that can be paralleled with the tourism development efforts of a city today and its professional soundness.<sup>18</sup> Although the local stakeholders in charge of tourism were not trained in this field, they focused on the development of attractions and infrastructure, the development of hosting conditions and the introduction of modern marketing tools, keeping in mind the current priorities of tourism product development.<sup>19</sup>

The development of the city’s tourism – using two sources - can be well traced. The high quality daily newspaper of the 1930s, *Dunántúl* (Transdanubia), reported continuously and with pleasure on all initiatives related to tourism.

Among the archival documents it was possible to find information from the documents of the tourist office. However, the office was not established until 1933. Thus, in examining the period between 1930 and 1933 we can mainly rely on the daily paper *Dunántúl* (Transdanubia).

From 1932 the data on the penny trains and from 1936 the documents of the Organizing Committee of the Pécs Festive Games serve as a very useful research source.

The tourist office was set up with a wide range of tasks:<sup>20</sup>

1. Ensuring, managing and controlling the effective cooperation of the factors serving tourism (mainly the passenger catering industry), remedying any complaints that may arise;
2. Presentation of the tourist values of the city and its surroundings using modern means of communication (brochures and information publications, city introductory lectures,

<sup>17</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Pécs gazdasági fejlődése... 170-171.

<sup>18</sup> *Lengyel, Márton*: A turizmus általános elmélete. Budapest, 1992.

<sup>19</sup> MNL BaML IV. 1421. Pécs Város Idegenforgalmi Irodájának iratai. 809/1939.

<sup>20</sup> *Dunántúl*, 05. 06. 1930.

- press releases, exhibitions, souvenirs), control of the tourism activity carried out within the framework of private enterprise;
3. Measures to increase passenger traffic, improvement of railway and road transport conditions (preferred timetable, direct and special trains, flights, connections, convenient road transport – both locally and in long-distance traffic, road network satisfying the needs of the passengers etc.), preparation, promotion and encouragement of reduced tariffs, travel discounts etc.;
  4. Presentation of the sights of the city and organizing guided tours;
  5. Fostering the development of the city and its surroundings into a holiday resort, by utilizing suitable factors (for example fruit and dairy cures);
  6. Promotion and support of events (festive games, exhibitions, concerts, sporting events etc.) suitable for the achievement of tourism objectives;
  7. Preparation and organization of study, social and other trips to Pécs and national or regional meetings (congresses, assemblies).
  8. In general support for any initiative that is suitable to serve the tourism interests of the city.

The office dealt mainly with two geographical areas of the city's tourism: the Mecsek and the city's sights themselves (monuments, factories etc.). The attractions of the city also included the promotion of products typical of the city (peach, Mecsek Drink, Littke Champagne, Pécs Beer, Zsolnay Ceramics, Mecsek Pork Skewers). Tourism around the city was mainly directed to the two Baranya spas, Harkány and Sikonda. The operation of the office was characterized by official (also bureaucratic) meticulousness, which covered almost everything. Thus, great care was taken, for example, of the material culture of tourism. Such as: brochures, leaflets, stationery, postcards, information boards, road signs, artistic memorabilia (stick badges, suitcase labels, city keys and city key cases, cigar cases, wooden pipes, etc.).

In the following, we present some of the defining elements of the city's tourism activities at that time, adapted to current technical terminologies. The basic goal of the tourist office of the city of Pécs was to develop domestic and foreign incoming tourism. Unfortunately the official documents of the tourist office remained in their fullness only from the second half of the decade, so we got a comprehensive picture mainly of that period. However, the great achievements of the „heroic age” can be well traced from the *Dunántúl* (Transdanbia) reports.

### **Tourism attraction development**

Contributors to tourism development and city leaders were aware that guests visiting the city expected an orderly cityscape and appealing attractions. Accordingly, it was decided in 1930 to rebuild Széchenyi tér and to install decorative lighting.<sup>21</sup> In May of the same year the Zsolnay ornamental fountain was erected which has since become one of the symbols of Pécs.<sup>22</sup> In 1931 an ice rink for 500 skaters was built, taking advantage of the free winter capacity of the public slaughterhouse's ice factory.<sup>23</sup> In 1933 a decision was made to establish a modern bath in Balokány Liget which could serve 600 people at the same time. Along with the development the lake and the park were also renewed.<sup>24</sup> The citizens of Pécs also followed the tourism developments and in many cases tried to help it with enthusiastic initiatives. Police Captain Dr. József Derner also „put forward a viable plan to build a footpath along the Havi-hegy... Havi-hegy offers a beautiful view of the city, and this magnificent panorama must be integrated into the tourism of Pécs... We have been informed that the Circle of Friends of Havi-hegy will soon be formed,

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<sup>21</sup> *Dunántúl*, 15. 05. 1930.

<sup>22</sup> *Dunántúl*, 30. 06. 1931.

<sup>23</sup> *Dunántúl*, 03. 03. 1933.

<sup>24</sup> *Dunántúl*, 05. 04. 1933.

with the aim of exploring and utilising Havi-hegy and its surroundings for tourism.”<sup>25</sup> The open-air stage inaugurated in 1934 also served to improve the infrastructural endowments of cultural tourism. The facility was also able to provide a venue for some of the events of the Pécs Festive Week.<sup>26</sup> The opening of the modern Hullámfürdő (swimming pool and bath) in June 1935 was another investment that partly served tourism purposes, too.<sup>27</sup> The tourism organizers of the age also realized that in addition to investments, the organization of events could significantly increase the interest in the city. Therefore, in addition to the already mentioned festive week, an autumn viticulture and agricultural exhibition and several other programs were organized. Outstanding among these was the large-scale outdoor performance of the 1936 Missa Solemnis (Festive Mass), which attracted significant crowds even by today’s standards. Attention was also extended to tasks called visitor management today. This is evidenced by the following paragraph: „Penny trains facilitate domestic traffic but do not perpetuate it. It would therefore be important to further develop and diversify existing tourism. It is inevitable to place out telephone booths, to install illuminated advertising columns now indispensable in the big cities, and to build, preferably underground toilets in Széchenyi tér and Sétatér.”<sup>28</sup>

### **Development of the transportation infrastructure**

Some of the city’s then existing transport links are still enviable today. Such was air travel. The decision to build an airport was made in February 1930 and on April 15 air traffic between Budapest and Pécs started. The capital could be reached in 1 hour 10 minutes, and thanks to the good connection it took not more than 3 hours to get to Vienna by the 8-seat or 16-seat Fokker aircrafts.

Railways played a significant role in the development of modern tourism. In this context, the impact of rail transport on tourism has been pointed out by several authors.<sup>29</sup> The strengthening of tourism in the city of Pécs was also positively affected by the railway services well functioning at that time. From 15 May 1930 it was possible to travel directly to Vienna by night train (equipped with comfortable sleeping cabins). If someone left Pécs at 18:15, he could start the next day at 8:44 in the centre of Vienna.<sup>30</sup> One of the characteristics of the era was the system of penny trains. Penny trains arrived in Pécs as early as 1930 and 1931, but the travel possibilities of the people of Pécs expanded considerably from 1932 onwards. In this year excursion trains departing from Pécs left for Budapest, Baja, Fonyód, Győr, Miskolc, Mohács, Sopron, Szeged, Veszprém and Szombathely.<sup>31</sup> According to an analysis made in the spring of 1932 2,060 guests arrived in the city in the previous year by penny trains, and one of the Hungarian State Railways’ most popular trip was to Pécs.<sup>32</sup> Given that at this early stage of our tourism development mass tourism and its negative accompanying signs were not typical at all, the population of the city considered the development of the new economic branch to be a very positive thing and, if possible, was happy to help its development. The penny trains arriving in Pécs were welcomed in almost a festive celebration. This is evidenced by the following writing:<sup>33</sup> „We arrived in Pécs at exactly half past 11 in the morning. A wind band welcomed us at the station and we were cheered by the inhabitants of Pécs enthusiastically. Warning signs on the roads, information

<sup>25</sup> *Dunántúl*, 25. 03. 1934.

<sup>26</sup> *Dunántúl*, 09. 06. 1935.

<sup>27</sup> *Dunántúl*, 15. 02. 1934.

<sup>28</sup> *Dunántúl*, 25. 02. 1930.

<sup>29</sup> *Dunántúl*, 29. 04. 1930.

<sup>30</sup> *Dunántúl*, 09. 04. 1932.

<sup>31</sup> *Dunántúl*, 12. 04. 1932.

<sup>32</sup> *Gonda Tibor*: Pécs idegenforgalmának hőskora II. *Pécsi Szemle* 8. (2005) 2. 68-72.

<sup>33</sup> *Dunántúl*, 15. 03. and 02. 04. 1937.

places, sweet scouts guiding us around willingly. In the downtown we visited the local specialties fair and the sights located in the heart of the city. Music awaited us in the main square and cheap, good lunch in the restaurants and eateries. In the afternoon we were taken on a walking and a car tour to see the most interesting parts of the city, the museums, etc. We went out to the Zsolnay factory, from there to the Mecsek. Whichever sight of Pécs we visited, we had the impression that we did not see anything because, for instance, the interior of the cathedral with its art treasures, artistic frescoes, underground chapels, sculptures, carvings, museums was a spectacle that needed a week to explore. So is the Zsolnay Factory museum which would have taken weeks to study carefully. We walked past the sights stunned by what we saw as it converged before our eyes like frames of a fast-spinning film, only the impression remained. And it was great!”

In March 1937 the inhabitants of the city were very pleased to learn that the Árpád railbus would start running according to the summer timetable. It was said to be comfortable and modern, with first and second class carriages, and with „almost speed corresponding to the speed of an airplane”, reaching the capital in just 3 hours.<sup>34</sup> This was a really remarkable achievement, especially in view of the fact that HSR even today cannot surpass this. The situation in international rail relations was also better than today. From May 15, 1938 with the launch of the Siegfried motor train the Pécs-Vienna journey was shortened to 6 and a half hours, and, in addition, there was a connection in Gyékényes to the trains to Trieste-Venice-Fiume.<sup>35</sup>

### **Improvement of the hosting conditions of tourism**

In response to demand the hosting conditions of tourism were also continuously improved in Pécs. In 1930 Hotel Pannonia was modernized and in the same year the highly prestigious Mecsek Association started the development of a two-storey tourist- and holiday house by Dömörkapu, with a total budget of 70 000 pengő.<sup>36</sup> The accommodation soon became popular and after a few years, due to lack of capacity, it was no longer able to meet the demand. In the absence of entrepreneurial will the municipality decided in early 1935 to build a two-storey, elegant, 50-bed resort hotel on the Mecsek with a budget of a quarter of a million pengő. With a fairly quick work it was completed by the end of 1936 and opened its doors to tourists on 15 December. The operation was carried out under a hotel lease agreement. The tenant had to pay 50% of the accommodation revenue and 7% of the restaurant revenue as rent to the city, with the proviso that this amount may not be less than 10 000 pengő.<sup>37</sup> The hotel soon gained great popularity (partly thanks to the comedy Hotel Kikelet, shot here in 1937), and contributed significantly to the increase of tourism in Pécs. Its restaurant also became very trendy, locals often walked up for a good lunch or dinner. Along with the resort hotel, by 1937 there were already 9 hotels and 21 elegant restaurants and cafes in the city. They were able to accommodate 430 guests and serve 1300 people for lunch<sup>38</sup>. By the second half of the 1930s the hosting conditions of tourism in the city of Pécs were well established.

### **Innovative product development**

In tourism developments the product approach only became a practice in the last decades of the 20th century. In the 1930s the various tourism products were not differentiated at all on the basis of consumer motivation and the nature of attractions. Nevertheless, it is worth examining

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<sup>34</sup> *Dunántúl*, 12. 05. 1938.

<sup>35</sup> *Dunántúl*, 14. 09. 1930.

<sup>36</sup> *Dunántúl*, 07. 11. 1936.

<sup>37</sup> *Gonda, Tibor*: Pécs idegenforgalmának hőskora I. 70-82.

<sup>38</sup> *Dunántúl*, 18. 12. 1935.



how carefully and thoughtfully our predecessors approached the development of tourism. From the examined archival materials and reports of the newspaper *Dunántúl* (Transdanubia) it can be stated that the main development focus was basically on two product types, cultural tourism and ecotourism. (Of course these categories, as I mentioned earlier, did not yet exist at the time.)

The engine of ecotourism was the Mecsek Association. It had more than 2,000 members, including some of the city's most influential citizens. The Association was active and proactive and more importantly, had significant capital. This made it possible to build the tourist and holiday house and to maintain the hiking trails and lodges of the Mecsek. For locals the Mecsek was more important in those times than today. Here we note that the wealthier citizens of Pécs also donated to the developments from their private property: for example the most beautiful promenade in the urban forests above Pécs, the Rotary promenade (now an educational trail) was also built at that time, in the early 1930s, from the private donation of Ede Ereth, the late director of the local tannery. The Mecsek was one of the central elements of the city's tourist offer. Even the visitors arriving by penny trains were taken to the Mecsek to admire the amazing panorama of the city. Popular viewpoints were built, the network of marked trails still in use today were developed, and several forest lodges and shelters awaited visitors. In 1935 tourist information boards were set up in Széchenyi tér to encourage excursions and hiking in the Mecsek. „As if they were just modeled after some Austrian board,” - *Dunántúl* wrote enthusiastically.<sup>39</sup>

The other tourism product type worth highlighting was cultural tourism. From 1933 a cultural event series, the Pécs Festive Week was organized. The tourist office encouraged the organization of various congresses in Pécs (for example National Congress of Lawyers in 1934). The downtown outdoor stage was completed in 1934 and from 1935 the outdoor summer theatre performances were held in two locations (downtown and Tettye). The large-scale flight day held on 2 September 1934 was also a modern initiative. From September 1934 the Pécs Wine Days were organized, which was the forerunner of today's modern gastro festivals. The defining elements of the program packages compiled for individual guests and organized groups visiting the city well represented the city's heritage values: the Early Christian Burial Chambers, the Zsolnay Factory and Museum, the Cathedral etc. In 1936 the city organized a real large-scale tourist event, when the *Missa Solemnis* premiered at the Pécs Festive Games.

### **Modern marketing activity**

Modern marketing tools were used to increase tourist traffic. In 1931 „against the almost hysterical abroad-adoration of the Hungarian public” the National Filmoffice Inc. would draw attention to the beauty of the Hungarian cities. Therefore, audio films were made about the major cities.<sup>40</sup> In 1934 the city's tourist office launched a campaign to promote the autumn tourist season. Brochures, posters, postcards, booklets and stamps appeared as marketing tools. The locals of other cities of the country could learn about the attractions of Pécs through radio and cinema advertising. Even today, it would be a modern idea to focus on the utilization of local products for tourism purposes. This was the purpose of the exhibition of grapes, wine, flowers and honey initiated by the tourist office and the inclusion of the “world-famous” Pécs peach in the offer.<sup>41</sup> Unique souvenirs were designed and manufactured specifically to meet the needs of tourists. Stick badges, Zsolnay souvenirs and the Mecsek Drink produced at the initiative of the tourist office were popular. A form of buying incentive that is still used today was also introduced, with a discount coupon booklet giving customers a 20% discount on various tickets

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<sup>39</sup> *Dunántúl*, 11. 02.1931.

<sup>40</sup> *Dunántúl*, 04. 08.1931.

<sup>41</sup> *Dunántúl*, 02. 12.1934.

and catering services. The highly successful, now legendary film *Kikelet* was also made with the financial support of the tourist office, and the participation of well-known actors in 1937. And finally, a film *One Day in Pécs* made by Antal Hamerli should be mentioned, which was inspired by the movement of visitors arriving by penny trains within the city.

### **Achievements of the city's tourism in numbers**

The energy invested into the development of tourism bore fruit. The *Dunántúl* (Transdanubia) regularly and with great pleasure reported about the improving tourist traffic data. The statistics of the tourist office served as the source of data.<sup>42</sup> Based on this, in 1934 it was reported that the city's tourism increased by 28,000 visitors compared to the previous year. In 1933, there were only 30,120 "reported strangers" in the city, and by 1934 there were already 58,608 (of which 1,871 were foreigners). More than ten thousand of the domestic guests arrived by penny trains, and 1,766 people visited Pécs for a study trip. 29,634 people stayed in private accommodation and 14,433 persons in hotels. In the following years, the dynamics of growth was much smaller, but the city's tourism grew year by year. In 1936, 63,000 guests arrived in the city, of whom 2,579 were foreigners. By 1938, the number of tourists interested in the city already exceeded 70,000. 2,606 foreigners arrived, of whom 1,206 stayed in hotels, 614 booked private accommodation. The number of domestic guests was 69,117, of whom 23,194 used hotel services and 31,196 stayed in private accommodation. The penny trains lost a bit of their importance, but even so, 6,614 people arrived by them. Organized group trips to Pécs multiplied and show a very diverse picture in nature. „In May a French group of 44, in July 14 American guests, in July Polish scouts 8 persons, horseback riding tour 7 people, Polish collage students 20 persons, in August horseback riding tour 9 persons, Keszthely summer university 14 persons, Polish group of students 13 persons, German group of students 114 persons, English group 17 persons, American-Hungarian group 33 persons.” The fact that 23 people arrived in Pécs by plane and 480 people traveled to the city from Osijek by a special train also diversified the incoming programs. The figures confirm that tourism truly became a significant economic sector in Pécs. Thanks to the support of the municipality, the sympathy of the local population for tourism and the enthusiastic work of the tourist office, Pécs caught up with the popular Hungarian destinations.

### **Summary**

Pécs was one of the fastest growing cities in Hungary in the second half of the 19th century. This impetus lasted beyond the turn of the century until World War I. But the 3 years of Serbian occupation, then the global economic crisis had an increasingly negative impact on the city's economic life. As the economic and urban development processes intensified the conscious tourism development of the city of Pécs also started. „Tourism is not the result of a patterned cycle that is repeated year after year, but is the result of an ever evolving, always imaginative internal organization and collaboration.”<sup>43</sup> - formulated by an enthusiastic citizen in a reader letter. As we have seen above, there was no shortage of ingenuity or collaboration in these years. Unfortunately the preparation for war, then World War II interrupted this dynamic development, and it took more than two decades for the tourism of Pécs to slowly recover and boom again in the 1960s. However, the achievements of the 1930s still have their impacts on today's tourism.

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<sup>42</sup> *Dunántúl*, 06. 04. 1936.

<sup>43</sup> *Dunántúl*, 26. 10. 1938.

Imre Gábor Nagy

## Die Vermögenswirtschaft der Stadt im Zeitalter des Dualismus

### Abstract

In the annual budgets of the city of Pécs between 1872 and 1914, revenues from city property were divided into five groups. The first group included revenues from the city's property – the hundreds of acres of Megyer-puszta, urban pastures, urban factories, and urban buildings. The second group included revenues from the city's 4,262 cadastral hungarian acres forests. The third group included interest on the city's cash and securities. The fourth group included excise, duties and fees levied by the city with the permission of the state. The most important of these were incomes from the sale of spirits, wine, beer, the holding of markets and fairs, and the use of roads and railways. The fifth group included the income that arose after the pub law was acquired by the state in 1890: state compensation and various city tax supplements. Overall, revenues from urban property in the years 1870-1880 approached, and sometimes even exceeded, 60% of budget revenues. In the 1890s, their proportion fell below 40%, increased to nearly 50% by the turn of the century, and then gradually decreased to about 30% by 1914. The result of urban wealth management has been future urbanization and infrastructure investments, with the inevitable indebtedness at a disadvantage.

**Keywords:** city of Pécs, wealth management, budget, dualism, indebtedness

Die Städte mit Munizipalrecht funktionierten im Dualismus auf anderen Grundlagen, als die heutigen Städte, da sie autark waren. Die Städte verfügten über beachtliches Vermögen, womit sie selbst wirtschafteten, und auch der Staat überließ ihnen gewisse Einkünfte. Die besten Quellen für die Untersuchung der Vermögenswirtschaft sind die jährlichen Rechenschaftsberichte. Leider wurden die Rechnungshofsbücher der Stadt 1946 für eine Papiersammlung ausrangiert, so stehen nur die jährlichen Budgets zur Verfügung. Die Haushaltsbudgets erhielten nicht den Etat der verschiedenen Fonds und Stiftungen (Krankenhausfond, Waisenkassefond, Armenhausfond, Stiftung für die Armenanstalt, Stiftung Rudolfinum, usw.). Sinngemäß enthielten sie die Modifizierungen, welche im Laufe des Jahres angenommen wurden, die Zusatzbudgets und die Ausgaben außerhalb des Budgets, wie zum Beispiel die während des Jahres aufgenommenen Anleihen, den Ver- und Ankauf von Immobilien.<sup>1</sup>

Ab 1873 wurde die Doppik auf Vorschlag des Hauptkassierers Iván Dévényi aufgehoben und die sogenannte kameralistische Kassenführung eingeführt.<sup>2</sup> Ab diesem Jahr bis 1898 geschah die Kassenverwaltung betreffende Rechnungsführung und die Führung der Tagebücher (Journale), die des Hauptbuches und die der anderen Bücher nach der sogenannten Kameralistik. Das heißt, dass die einzelnen Einnahmen und Ausgaben im Budget extra nacheinander aufgelistet und diese Rubriken nicht zusammengepaart wurden. Ab 1898 wurde die Doppik wieder eingeführt.

Zwischen 1872 und 1898 wurden die Einnahmen und die Ausgaben in fünf, ab 1898 in 10 Gruppen (Abteile) eingeteilt. Bis 1899 wurde in Gulden gerechnet, ab 1900 in Krone. Im Interesse der Vergleichbarkeit rechneten wir den Gulden in Krone um, 1 Gulden entsprach 2 Kronen. Da sich die Gruppen und Items des Budgets mehrmals änderten, folgten wir im Laufe

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<sup>1</sup> Archiv des Komitats Baranya des Ungarischen Nationalarchivs (im Weiteren: MNL BaML) IV. 1412. Pécs Schriften des Städtischen Rechnungsamtes (im Weiteren: IV. 1412.) Budget der Stadt Pécs 1872-1918.; MNL BaML IV. 1402. a. Versammlungsprotokolle des Munizipalausschusses der Stadt Pécs (im Weiteren: IV. 1402. a.) 1872-1918.

<sup>2</sup> MNL BaML IV. 1402. a. 323/1872. (20. Dezember)

unserer Untersuchung den sich jährlich ändernden Rubriken nicht, sondern summierten wir die Items nach der Gruppierung des Budgets von 1914.<sup>3</sup>

Die aus Budgeteinnahmen der Stadt resultierenden Summen wuchsen zwischen 1872 und 1914 auf das Achtfache, von 474.970,88 Kronen auf 3.813.189 Kronen.<sup>4</sup>

Die größte Gruppe der städtischen Einnahmen stammte aus Revenuen des Gemeindevermögens. Der wichtigste Bestandteil des städtischen Vermögens bedeuteten das Grund- und Gebäudevermögen. Die Stadt Pécs besaß am Anfang des Dualismus einen bedeutenden Grundbesitz, aber verhältnismäßig nur wenige und bescheidenen Wert verkörpernde Gebäude. Die wichtigste Komponente des Grundvermögens bildete der städtische Wald. Der andere beachtliche Grundbesitz war das Landgut Megyer (Acker, Weide, wirtschaftliche Gebäude), dessen Ausdehnung sich auf mehrere Hundert Joch belief.

Im Adressenverzeichnis für die Wirtschaft von 1895 steht, dass die Immobilien der Stadt Pécs an Grund 5.167 Katastraljoch ausmachten. Davon waren 149 Katastraljoch Acker, 13 Katastraljoch Garten, 3 Katastraljoch Weingarten, 368 Katastraljoch Weide, 4.262 Katastraljoch Wald und 342 Katastraljoch Gebiet, das nicht unter die Grundsteuer fiel.<sup>5</sup>

Ab 1898 wurden die Revenuen aus dem städtischen Vermögen in folgende fünf Gruppen gegliedert: Einnahmen aus der Wirtschaft und Gebäuden der Stadt, der Waldwirtschaft, den Zinsen des Geldkapitals, den Rechten und Abgaben, bzw. aus Konsumzusatzsteuern und staatlichen Substituten. Die letzten zwei Gruppen zogen wir in unserer Untersuchung zusammen. (Tabelle 1.)

Tabelle 1a: **Revenuen aus dem städtischen Vermögen zwischen 1872 und 1914 in Krone**

Jahr	II/A	II/B	II/C	II/D-E	II	I-X
	Wirtschaft und Gebäude	Waldwirtschaft	Zinsen	Rechten, Abgaben, Substitute	städtisches Vermögen Teilsumma	Alle Revenuen
1872	31285,26	42161,40	68814,34	128563,12	270824,12	474970,88
1878	35987,90	45475,52	77820,70	182910,16	342194,28	585624,10
1882	32408,60	38321,10	87607,40	201918,32	360255,42	580767,78
1887	39856,74	53714,34	60765,54	226590,30	380926,92	599750,22
1892	50443,32	55259,78	96562,52	303404,06	505669,68	878447,42
1898	83328,00	71432,00	77790,00	312000,00	544550,00	1549270,00
1899	84230,00	80756,00	69600,00	320780,00	555366,00	1399174,00
1900	83082,00	74086,00	69410,00	534972,00	761550,00	1659502,00
1901	128402,00	75386,00	69000,00	529365,00	801153,00	1670410,00
1902	132642,00	81948,00	68300,00	522565,00	805455,00	1696390,00
1903	144906,00	81051,00	99000,00	524665,00	849622,00	1820557,00
1904	129880,00	74721,00	94800,00	518115,00	817516,00	1810388,00
1905	145390,00	69947,00	92800,00	513025,00	821162,00	1856674,00
1906	142490,00	76862,00	85000,00	523825,00	828177,00	1873414,00

<sup>3</sup> Es sind verschiedene, von einander leicht abweichende Versionen (Rechnungsamt, Stadtrat, Vollversammlung) der jährlichen städtischen Budgets erhalten. Mit Ausnahme des Ratsbudget von 1898 verwendeten wir immer die Budgets der Vollversammlung.

<sup>4</sup> Ab 1908 wurden die nach den Darlehen zu zahlenden Zinsen und die Raten bei der Ausgabe auch zweimal aufgenommen: zusammengezogen und auch bei den einzelnen Items. Diese doppelt registrierten Items wurden als Rückerstattung auch im Abschnitt „Schulden“ der Einnahmen angegeben.

<sup>5</sup> A Magyar Korona országainak mezőgazdasági statisztikája. II. Gazdacímár. Magyar Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, Bp. 1897. II. S. 74–75.

1907	160020,00	91756,00	71800,00	522085,00	845661,00	1899561,00
1908	160830,00	70311,00	71200,00	566647,00	868988,00	2155511,00
1909	163186,00	79668,00	71000,00	581229,00	895083,00	2261115,00
1910	169498,00	99313,00	71500,00	558875,00	899186,00	2348469,00
1911	177714,00	109323,00	71600,00	584202,00	942839,00	2583914,00
1912	179332,00	99454,00	72000,00	631331,00	982117,00	2658467,00
1913	197507,00	114228,00	72000,00	663089,00	1046824,00	3190955,00
1914	204350,00	146769,00	73500,00	708089,00	1132708,00	3813189,00

Tabelle 1b: Revenuen aus dem städtischen Vermögen zwischen 1872 und 1914 in Prozent

Jahr	II/A Wirtschaft und Gebäude	II/B Waldwirtschaft	II/C Zinsen	II/D-E Rechten, Abgaben, Substitute	II städtisches Vermögen Teilsumma	I-X Alle Revenuen
1872	6,6	8,9	14,5	27,1	57,0	100,0
1878	6,1	7,8	13,3	31,2	58,4	100,0
1882	5,6	6,6	15,1	34,8	62,0	100,0
1887	6,6	9,0	10,1	37,8	63,5	100,0
1892	5,7	6,3	11,0	34,5	57,6	100,0
1898	5,4	4,6	5,0	20,1	35,1	100,0
1899	6,0	5,8	5,0	22,9	39,7	100,0
1900	5,0	4,5	4,2	32,2	45,9	100,0
1901	7,7	4,5	4,1	31,7	48,0	100,0
1902	7,8	4,8	4,0	30,8	47,5	100,0
1903	8,0	4,5	5,4	28,8	46,7	100,0
1904	7,2	4,1	5,2	28,6	45,2	100,0
1905	7,8	3,8	5,0	27,6	44,2	100,0
1906	7,6	4,1	4,5	28,0	44,2	100,0
1907	8,4	4,8	3,8	27,5	44,5	100,0
1908	7,5	3,3	3,3	26,3	40,3	100,0
1909	7,2	3,5	3,1	25,7	39,6	100,0
1910	7,2	4,2	3,0	23,8	38,3	100,0
1911	6,9	4,2	2,8	22,6	36,5	100,0
1912	6,7	3,7	2,7	23,7	36,9	100,0
1913	6,2	3,6	2,3	20,8	32,8	100,0
1914	5,4	3,8	1,9	18,6	29,7	100,0

Quelle: MNL BaML IV. 1412. 1872-1914.; IV. 1402. a. 1872-1913.

Das Wachstum der Revenuen der städtischen Wirtschaft, Gründe und Gebäude zwischen 1872 und 1914 blieb hinter dem Wachstum des Budgets. Es wuchs auf das Sechseinhalbfache, von 31.285,26 Kronen auf 204.350 Kronen. Die Einnahmen aus der Hauswirtschaft und den Immobilien bewegten sich um 6-7 % des Budgets.

Die Stadt verwaltete ihre Gründe und Immobilien teilweise selbst, teilweise wurden sie verpachtet. Der größte Teil des Landgutes Megyer war in städtischer Verwaltung. Das Zentrum der städtischen Wirtschaft war die städtische Meierei, hier waren die Pferdegespanne. Laut

des Vermögensinventars vom 1872 werde die 22 5/8 Joch große städtische Weide „*selbst bewirtschaftet, es wächst darauf 500–700 Zentner Heu, 50–70 Zentner Grummet. Dieses Heu und Grummet werden von den Pferden und Stieren gefressen.*“ Im Viehstall waren 10 Pferde und 7 Stiere. Laut des Adressenverzeichnisses für die Wirtschaft von 1895 dienten in der Meierei 15 Knechten, es wurde 9 Hornvieh und 29 Pferde gehalten, unter den wichtigeren Maschinen und Geräten war eine Sichtmaschine, 3 Pflüge, 2 Eggen, 1 Rolle, 16 Fuhrwerke.

Die Revenuen der Hauswirtschaft kamen in erster Linie aus dem Verkauf von Schafen, Pferden und Mist. Die Fuhrgebühr der hauptsächlich zur Bewässerung, Mülltransport, Beförderungen gebrauchten Gespanne erschien auf der anderen Seite als Ausgabe. Die Stadt konnte noch aus dem kommunalen Schlachthof, aus dem 1896 errichteten amerikanischen Rebschule und bis 1891 aus der städtischen Ziegelei mit Einnahmen rechnen.

Der größte Teil der Bodengebühren ergab sich durch die Verpachtung der durch die Stadt nicht bewirtschafteten Flächen des Landgutes Megyer. Die Stadt erhielt zum Beispiel 1907 nach 78,5 Joch Acker in Megyer 2.474,80 Kronen. In diesem Jahr gebührten der Stadt für weitere 66 Gründe, Territorien kleinere-größere Entgelte und Nutzungsgebühren. Für die Benutzung der Weiden der Budaer und Szigeter Vorstadt zahlten die interessierten Besitzer nach Zahl des ausgetriebenen Viehs und Tierart Weidepachtgebühren.

Von den Haus- und Geschäftsmieten waren die der auf dem Széchenyi-Platz liegenden Anwesen bedeutend, da diese große Anziehungskraft für das städtische Publikum hatten. Die Wochenmärkte, die großen Märkte wurden nämlich bis Anfang der 1920er Jahre hier, auf dem Hauptplatz abgehalten.<sup>6</sup> Durch die Verpachtung des Wirtshauses am Balokány kam dagegen wenig Einnahme.

Die Stadt war gestrebt, nach Möglichkeiten ihre Immobilien zu vermehren, es wurden nur jene Immobilien verkauft, welche nicht nutzbar gemacht werden können. Unter anderen wurden 1891 die städtische Ziegelei für 5.005 Fl.<sup>7</sup> verkauft, bzw. jener Teil der Immobilien, welche zur Erwerbung des Wasserrechts an der Tettye gekauft wurden, aber unbrauchbar waren.

Auch der Betriebszweig Waldwirtschaft wurde von der Stadt selbst betrieben. Der städtische Wald sicherte in erster Linie durch Verkauf von Bauholz, Langholz und Brennholz Einnahmen der Stadt. Seine Bedeutung war aber viel größer, da er das Naherholungsgebiet und touristisches Ziel für die Bürgerinnen und Bürger bedeutete, besonders ab 1892, als der Mecsek Verein e.V. gegründet wurde. Der Wald spielte auch in den Einnahmen der städtischen Einrichtungen und Angestellten eine Rolle, da ihnen für ihre Dienste auch Brennholz gebührte.

Der städtische Wald hatte auch aus sozialem Aspekt Bedeutung, da die ärmsten Schichten kostenloses Brennholz (Abfallholz) erhielten.

Die sich im Wald befindlichen verpachteten Steinbrüche und Sandgruben brachten jährlich 2.000–3.000 Kronen ein, die Waldweiden und das Kastaniensammeln sicherten dagegen nur wenig Einnahmen. Die städtischen Kohlengruben „István“ und „Mátyás“ im Lämpásvölgy brachten ab den 1910er Jahren größere Einkünfte. Sie wurden ab dem 1. September 1909 dem Grafen Károly Kornis verpachtet, der sie nächstes Jahr in Betrieb setzte.<sup>8</sup> Es wurde 1910 mit 10.000, 1911 mit 16.212 und 1914 mit 26.832 Kronen Einnahme gerechnet.

Die Einkünfte der Waldwirtschaft wuchsen zwischen 1872 und 1914 etwa um das Dreifache, von 42.161,4 Kronen auf 146.769 Kronen. Ab den 1890er Jahren sank seine Rolle unter den Einnahmen des Budgets, in den 1870er und 1880er war diese Einnahme um 9 %, in den 1900er und 1910er Jahren um 4–5 %.

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<sup>6</sup> *Dankó Imre: Adalékok a pécsi piacok és vásárok néprajzához.* In: A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve 9 (1964). Janus Pannonius Múzeum, Pécs, 1965. S. 169–186.

<sup>7</sup> MNL BaML IV. 1402. a. 162/1890. (27. Oktober), 56/1891. (27. Mai), 136/1891. (29. Oktober)

<sup>8</sup> Pécs város szénbányászata. A Bánya, 5. Dezember 1909, S. 5.

Die Einnahmen des städtischen Geldkapitals, die Zinsen der Wertpapiere und Einlagen veränderten sich zwischen 1872 und 1914 nicht maßgebend. 1872 beliefen sie sich auf 68.814,28 Kronen, 1914 auf 73.500 Kronen.

Das Rückgrat des städtischen Geldkapitals bildete der Kaufpreis der 500 ungarisches Joch (mit 1200 Quadratklaftern gerechnet) großen Steinkohlengrube, welches 1857 von der Donaudampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft gekauft wurde. Die DDSG war verpflichtet, in Raten 1 Million Fl. für das wertvolle Gebiet zu zahlen.<sup>9</sup>

Nach dem Vermögensinventar 1872 verfügte die Stadt Pécs insgesamt über 979.827 Fl. 77 Kr. Kapital, dessen jährliche Zinsen 34.407 Fl. 17 Kr. waren:

- a). Staatsobligation 10.000 Fl., mit 5 % Jahreszins: 420 Fl.;
- b). Obligation bei der DDSG im Wert von 968.100 Fl. mit 3 ½ % Jahreszins: 33.883 Fl. 50 Kr.;
- c). Anleihe bei 25 Pécs'er Bewohner im Wert von 1.727 Fl. 77 Kr. mit 6% Jahreszins: 103 Fl 67 Kr.

Der Zins der städtischen Kapitalgelder wuchs in den 1870er Jahren und in der ersten Hälfte der 1880er Jahre auf 80-90 Tausend Kronen an. Danach sanken die Zinsen Jahr für Jahr, da die Stadt ihr Kapital auflebte, weil sie überwiegend mit Darlehen aus dem eigenen Stammkapital die Investitionen deckte. Die Stadt nahm bis 1898 insgesamt 1.286.512 Fl. 83 Kr. Darlehen aus dem Stammkapital auf, wovon sie im Laufe des Wirtschaftsprogramms 1898 315.932 Fl. zurückzahlte. Auf Anordnung des Innenministers musste sie die 854.185 Fl. 39 Kr. Schulden während 63 Jahre zurückzahlen.

Mit der Erlösung des Ausschankrechtes erhielt die Stadt eine sog. Regaleentschädigungsobligation im Wert von 703.150 Fl. derer 4 ½ % Jahreszins 31 641 Fl. 75 Kr. Einnahme brachte,<sup>10</sup> die etliche Jahre hindurch in den 1890er 100.000 Kronen Zins bedeutete. Bis 1898 sank der Zins des Geldkapitals auf eine Summe um die 70.000. Er wuchs in diesem Zeitalter nicht mehr bedeutend.

Wegen der Obigen spielte das Geldkapital eine abnehmende Rolle im städtischen Budget: in den 1870er und 1880er Jahren deckte es 12-15 % der Einkünfte, in den 1890er 1900er Jahren bloß nur 4-5 %, 1914 stürzte es auf 2 %.

Zu den größten Einnahmequellen der Stadt gehörten jene Rechte und Gefälle, welche der Staat den einzelnen Gemeinden überließ. Davon bedeuteten den größten Teil die Ausschankrechte: das Recht auf Ausschank von Schnaps und alkoholischen Getränken, der Bier- und das Weinzoll, und der Zoll auf die dörflichen Weine.

Das Recht auf Standgeld, Pflasterzoll, Pflasterzoll der Eisenbahn und die Grundübertragungsgebühren brachten größere Einkünfte. Eine kleinere Einnahme resultierte aus der Verpachtung des Jagdrechtes im Wald und des Jagdrechtes in der unteren Flur, Brückenwaage und Eichung (Markierung der Fässer).

Das Wirtshausrecht gehörte früher zu den den Grundherren zustehenden sogenannten kleineren königlichen wirtschaftlich nutzbaren Hoheitsrechten (Regalen). Das sicherte der Stadt ausschließliches Recht auf Ausschank von allen alkoholischen Getränken und Eröffnung von Wirtshäusern und Gasthöfen. Die Stadt Pécs machte dieses Recht mit Verpachtung nutzbar. Die staatliche Erlösung des Ausschankrechtes 1890 betraf die Stadt sensibel, da sie ihr jährlich mehr als 6.500 Fl. Verlust verursachte.<sup>11</sup> Auch das Zollrecht auf dörfliche Weine konnte die Stadt nur einstweilen, bis Ende der 1890er Jahre ausüben.

<sup>9</sup> MNL BaML IV. 1420. Pécs város okmánytára Nr. 379.

<sup>10</sup> MNL BaML IV. 1402. a. 3/1890. (jan. 22.); IV. 1412. Budget 1891.

<sup>11</sup> MNL BaML IV. 1406. o. Pécs Város Tanácsának különkezelt iratai 15. kcs. – Der Brief von János Aidinger an die Vollversammlung der Stadt Pécs. Um 1892.

Zur Ersetzung der durch Entzug der Konsumsteuer ausfallenden Einnahmen sicherte der Staat eine einmalige Regaleentschädigungsobligation im Wert von 703.150 Fl. Außerdem zahlte er der Stadt jährlich Schadenersatz, in den Jahren 1891-1892 7.200 Fl. (14.800 Kronen) die ab der Jahrhundertwende immer höher wurde. Überdies bestimmte eine sich zum Gesetz VI./1899 knüpfende Verordnung des Finanzministeriums, dass die Stadt aus der netto Einnahme des staatlichen Ausschankrechts jährlich 31.485,34 Kronen Beteiligung erhielt.

Darüber hinaus machte die Vollversammlung der Stadt Brauch aus ihrem Recht, als Gemeindegeldverwaltung örtliche Staute zu verabschieden, und auferlegte ab 1891 der Bevölkerung auch Konsumzusatzsteuer. Die Vollversammlung verabschiedete den Widerstand der Bevölkerung besiegend in den 1890er Jahren die Staute über die Sodawasser- und Mineralensteuer, nach Wein, Fleisch und Branntwein zu zahlende städtische Konsumzusatzsteuer und Hauszinssteuer. Der Auferlegung von Konsumzusatzsteuern setzte die finanzielle Belastbarkeit der Bevölkerung Grenzen. Im Sinne des 1899 über den Hauszins verabschiedeten Statuts wurde nach jeder Lokalität (Wohnung, Geschäft) 5 % des Mietwertes, d.h. pro Gulden 5 Kreuzer Steuer von den Bewohnern, bzw. Besitzern eingenommen. Diese Steuerart musste auch von den sonst steuerfreien Offizieren, Munizipalbeamten, Angestellten, Dienern, usw. bezahlt werden. Die Einführung des Statuts über die Hauszinssteuer löste einen derartig großen Protest aus, dass die Versammlung des Munizipalausschusses gemüßigt war, es zu verändern. Nach dem neuen Statut von 1901 wurde die Steuer nicht mehr den Bewohnern, sondern den Besitzern auferlegt und sie wurde auf 3 % ermäßigt, also es wurden nach 1 Kronenwert 3 Heller eingenommen.<sup>12</sup>

Nach der staatlichen Erlösung des Ausschankrechtes nahm die Stadt die beträchtlichen Rechte und Gefälle in eigene Regie. Die Brückenwaage und die Eichung wurden von Anfang an von der Stadt verwaltet. Die Stadt nahm den Pflasterzoll und den Pflasterzoll der Eisenbahn ab dem 1. Juli 1898 in die eigenen Hände.<sup>13</sup> Nach der Maßnahme erhob die Versammlung des Munizipalausschusses der Stadt die Gebühren. So wuchsen die Einnahmen aus den Zöllen und Standgeldern zwischen 1897 und 1900 um 76 %, von 132.524 Kronen auf 233.328 Kronen.

Die Belastbarkeit der Bevölkerung setzte auch hier Schränke der weiteren Erhöhung, da sich diese Einnahmen in den 1900er kaum veränderten und sie bis 1914 nur auf 274.000 Kronen wuchsen.

Die Stadt verpachtete ausschließlich das Jagdrecht im Wald und das in der unteren Flur, welche in Eigenverwaltung nicht zu handhaben waren und ihre Rentabilität nicht zu erhöhen war. 1887 entstammten diesen Quellen 1.222 Kronen, 1914 1.504 Kronen Einnahmen.

Die aus den Rechten, Gefällen, dem staatlichen Schadenersatz und den städtischen Zusatzsteuern eingeflossene Einnahme wuchs zwischen 1872 und 1914 auf das Fünfeinhalbfache an, von 128.563,12 Kronen auf 708.089 Kronen. Das Wachstum wurde zwar von der Verstaatlichung des Ausschankrechtes gebrochen, aber es wurde ab der Jahrhundertwende durch die Auferlegung von städtischen Zusatzsteuern und Eigenverwaltung ausgeglichen. Ihre Proportion im Budget bewegte sich in den 1870er und 1880er Jahren um 30 %, in den 1890er sank sie auf Werte um 20 % ab. Um die Jahrhundertwende erreichte sie zwar die 30 Prozent, aber bis 1914 fiel sie wieder unter 20 %.

Die Gesamteinnahmen aus dem städtischen Vermögen näherten sich in den 1870er und 1880er Jahren an die 60 % des Budgets an, bzw. überschritten manchmal diese Proportion. In den 1890er Jahren sank ihre Proportion unter 40 %, um die Jahrhundertwende wuchs sie fast auf 50 % an, danach sank sie bis 1914 stufenweise etwa unter 30 %.

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<sup>12</sup> MNL BaML IV. 1418. Pécs város szabályrendeleteinek levéltári gyűjteménye 55. sz. Pécs szab. kir. város szabályrendelete a házbérfillérek beszedése és kezelése tárgyában.; *Pilkhoffer, Mónika*: Pécs építészet a századfordulón (1888–1907). (Pannónia Könyvek.) Pro Pannonia Kiadói Alapítvány, Pécs, 2004. S. 119.

<sup>13</sup> MNL BaML IV. 1402. a. 105/1898. (13. Juni)



Die Ausgaben wurden gleich den Einnahmen zwischen 1872 und 1898 in 5 Gruppen (Abteilungen) geteilt, ab 1898 in 10 Gruppen. (Tabelle 2.)

Tabelle 2: Die Ausgaben des Budgets in Krone und Prozent zwischen 1872 und 1914.

Jahr	I	II		I	II	
	Verwaltung (in Krone)	Vermögen der Stadt (in Krone)	Gesamtausgaben (in Krone)	Verwaltung (in %)	Vermögen der Stadt (in %)	Gesamtausgaben (in %)
1872	174134,72	123388,30	474970,88	36,7	26,0	100,0
1878	214547,38	138468,44	585624,10	36,6	23,6	100,0
1882	234546,64	142115,26	580767,78	40,4	24,5	100,0
1887	252480,80	121498,70	599750,22	42,1	20,3	100,0
1892	302264,52	114163,90	878447,42	34,4	13,0	100,0
1898	269648,00	214300,00	1549270,00	17,4	13,8	100,0
1899	295586,00	244626,00	1399124,00	21,1	17,5	100,0
1900	393730,00	282226,00	1659502,00	23,7	17,0	100,0
1901	379018,00	326998,00	1669435,00	22,7	19,6	100,0
1902	379960,00	342949,00	1695968,00	22,4	20,2	100,0
1903	388247,00	352753,00	1820542,00	21,3	19,4	100,0
1904	389620,00	341151,00	1810388,00	21,5	18,8	100,0
1905	396500,00	339248,00	1855474,00	21,4	18,3	100,0
1906	411711,00	340210,00	1872042,00	22,0	18,2	100,0
1907	418504,00	355483,00	1899055,00	22,0	18,7	100,0
1908	435569,00	336114,00	2153006,00	20,2	15,6	100,0
1909	459679,00	341462,00	2260663,00	20,3	15,1	100,0
1910	474129,00	358145,00	2345376,00	20,2	15,3	100,0
1911	573401,00	378625,00	2583009,00	22,2	14,7	100,0
1912	586299,00	398057,00	2653911,00	22,1	15,0	100,0
1913	649600,00	430140,00	3190885,00	20,4	13,5	100,0
1914	713861,00	434282,00	3810552,00	18,7	11,4	100,0

Quelle: MNL BaML IV. 1412. 1872-1914.; IV. 1402. a. 1872-1913.

Der Zuwachs der Verwaltungsausgaben zwischen 1872 und 1914 blieb weit unter dem Zuwachs des Budgets und auch ihre Proportion innerhalb des Budgets verbesserte sich. Die Verwaltungsgebühren wuchsen nur das Vierfache, von 174.134,72 Kronen auf 713.861 Kronen. Zwischen 1872 und 1892 wurde in Allgemeinen ein Drittel des Budgets für die Finanzierung der Stadtverwaltung, diese Proportion lag später um 20 %.

Zu den Betriebsausgaben kann man den mit den kommunalen Ausgaben (Beleuchtung, Müll) reduzierten Teil der Verwaltungsausgaben und die Ausgaben der Polizei rechnen. Die Besoldung der Angestellten der Stadtverwaltung und Vermögensbewirtschaftung, die Bekleidung des Dienstpersonals, die Renten, die Gnadengehälter, die Unterkunftmieten, der Bürobedarf, die Reisekosten, die Tagegelder, bzw. die Besoldung und Bekleidung der Polizei, die Wohnungskosten und andere Ausgaben der Polizei und die der Feuerwehr verzehrten riesige Summen.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> In die Ausgaben wurden bis 1898 auch die Ausgaben des Wirtschaftsbüros und des Personals des Gesundheitswesens aufgenommen. Ab 1898 wurden die Ersten unter der städtischen Vermögensbewirtschaftung

Die Proportion der Ausgaben der städtischen Vermögensbewirtschaftung (Meierei und Gebäude, Waldwirtschaft, Rechte und Gefälle) gestaltete sich zwischen 1872 und 1914 im Budget günstiger. In den 1870er und 1880er Jahren verwendete man noch ein Viertel des Budgets für die Vermögensbewirtschaftung. In den 1890er Jahren verminderte sich die Proportion auf 13-17 %, im ersten Jahrzehnt der 1900er Jahre bewegte sie sich um 18-20 %, ab 1908 verminderte sie sich allmählich auf 11 %.

Die Verschuldung der Stadt Pécs wurde wegen der Finanzierungsschwierigkeiten ähnlich anderen ungarischen Städten unvermeidlich. Die Verschuldung der Stadt stieg im Budget zwischen 1872 und 1914 spektakulär um das Siebzehnfache an, von 49.320,2 Kronen auf 838.100 Kronen.

Die Stadt Pécs verfügte auch schon in den ersten Jahren des Dualismus über hohe Schulden. Aufgrund des Vermögensinventars vom 1872 hatte die Stadt 281.308 Fl. 92 Kr. Schulden. Sie überschritten die Ausgaben des Jahresbudgets (237.485 Fl. 44 Kr.).

Von den Schulden waren 31.588 Fl. 10 Kr. Kassenrückstand, für den Bau des Krankenhauses wurde ein Darlehen von 34.300 Fl. aufgenommen, so musste es nicht die Stadtkasse tilgen, sondern die Krankenhauskasse. Nur etwa ein Fünftel, 19,02 % (42.715 Fl. 5 Kr.) der Darlehenschuld (215.420 Fl. 82 Kr.) war Bankschuld. Den größten Teil der Darlehen nahm die Stadt nicht von professionellen Geldinstituten auf, sondern von verschiedenen Privatpersonen. Die Kreditpolitik der Stadt folgte eher den Zuständen vor 1848.

Die Schulden der Stadt machten am 31. Dezember 1896 genau 2.619.407 Fl. 30 Kr. aus:

1. Aus dem städtischen Stammkapital zwischen 1878 und 1894 aufgenommenen 1.271.512 Fl. 83 Kr. Darlehen – 875.998 Fl. 41 Kr.
2. Von kleineren Fonds und Stiftungen aufgenommenen Darlehen, welche keine Amortisationsdarlehen waren – 210.002 Fl. 83 Kr.
3. Die Gesamtkredit von der Pester Ungarischen Handelsbank, Stiftungskasse der Pécs-er Diözese, Pécs-er Sparkasse, Pécs-Baranyaer Zentralsparkasse – 1 533 406 Fl. 6 Kr.<sup>15</sup>

Beinahe 60 % der Kredite waren schon von Banken, aber man kann die Proportion der zinsfreien Darlehen, welche aus dem Stammkapital oder von Fonds und Stiftungen aufgenommen wurden, noch immer hoch bezeichnen. Aus den in den 1870er und 1890er Jahren aufgenommenen Krediten wurden die Investitionen der Ära des Dualismus finanziert: der Aufbau der Schulen, Kindergärten, Kasernen, des Theaters, Krankenhauses, usw., die Gebäude- renovierungen, der Ausbau der Wasserleitung und der Ankauf der dazu nötigen Wasserrechte, der Kauf der Mühlen, die Eröffnung neuer Straßen, die Regulierung des Wasserlaufs „Pécsi víz“, der Erwerb von Grundstücken und Häusern bzw. Dergleichen.

Bürgermeister Imre Majorossy arbeitete seines Wirtschaftsprogramms für das Jahr 1897 für die Konvertierung der Darlehen und Investitionen. Die Stadt konnte die sich auf 4,5 Millionen Kronen belaufende „großes Darlehen“ nach mehrmaligen Versuchen endlich 1902 aufnehmen. Die Ungarische Hypothek Bank sicherte den Kredit mit einer Tilgungsdauer von 65 Jahren.<sup>16</sup> Es war früher die allgemeine Auffassung, dass es ratsam ist, die Lasten der für mehrere Generationen geplanten Investitionen mit einem Darlehen mit langer Tilgungsdauer auf mehrere Jahrzehnte zu verteilen.<sup>17</sup>

Die Summe des „großen Darlehens“ machte das Zweieinhalbfache (265 %) des städtischen Budgets (1 697 638 Kronen) für 1902 aus. Aus der Anleihe wurde die städtischen Schulden

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abgerechnet, welche 1898 11.864 Kronen, 1914 20.231 Kronen ausmachten. Die Summe unter die Ausgaben des Gesundheitswesens gestellter Bezüge war 1898 6.208 Kronen, 1914 22.819 Kronen.

<sup>15</sup> MNL BaML IV. 1406. b. Pécs Város Tanácsának közigazgatási iratai 10667/1897.

<sup>16</sup> MNL BaML IV. 1402. a. 49/1902. (márc. 20.)

<sup>17</sup> Sipos, András: Várospolitikai és városigazgatás Budapest 1890–1914. (Városhistoriái tanulmányok.) Budapest Főváros Levéltára, Budapest, 1996. S. 131.

mit ungünstigen Zinsen konvertiert, bzw. zurückgezahlt aus 2.150.000 Kronen wurden die geplanten Investitionen gedeckt. Am 31. Dezember 1901 beliefen sich die Schulden der Stadt auf 4.062.945 Kronen 22 Heller, wovon zwei große Kredite der Pester Ungarischen Handelsbank übrig blieben, welche zusammen 2.069.905 Kronen 66 Heller ausmachten.<sup>18</sup> Nach dem Wirtschaftsprogramm von 1897 wurden die städtischen Investitionen aus Bankkrediten verwirklicht, was zu neuerer Verschuldung führte.

Der Innenminister verlangte 1916 Unterrichtung über die Darlehensschulden der Städte mit Munizipalrecht. In der Aufstellung I. mussten die Daten über Tilgungsdarlehen aufgenommen werden, in der Aufstellung II. die der Kontokorrentkredite. Die erste Aufstellung blieb leider nicht erhalten. Die Schuld der Stadt aus Kontokorrentkrediten machte am 21. Juni 1916 aufgrund der Aufstellung des Hauptrechnungsführers Kornél Deutsch genau 16.006.480 Kronen 56 Heller aus. In dieser Liste steht aber nicht jenes Girokontodarlehen mit 2.589.000 Kronen, welche die Stadt für den Kauf des Elektrizitätswerks aufnahm, weil die Raten nicht die Stadt, sondern die Pécs'er Elektrizitätswerk AG. zahlte. Auch die Darlehen für das Krankenhaus fehlen, weil die Tilgung Aufgabe der Krankenkasse war. Gleichfalls fehlt das für die Sicherung der Verpflegung aufgenommene Girokontodarlehen, da dessen Zinsen vom Verpflegungsüberfluß getragen wurden und das Kapital durch den Schweinebestand, dessen Wert über 2 Millionen Kronen lag, und die Vorräte gesichert war.<sup>19</sup>

Die Bilanz kann doch als positiv bezeichnet werden, da die infrastrukturellen Investitionen und die im Interesse der Urbanisierung doch der Zukunft dienen.

Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg infolge der gewaltigen Inflation entwerteten sich mit dem Geld auch die Schulden.<sup>20</sup>

In den Jahren 1847 und 1848 standen 17 Gebäude im Besitz der Stadt.<sup>21</sup> Bis zum Anfang des Dualismus stieg die Zahl der städtischen Gebäude auf 37 an: das Rathaus, das Krankenhaus, Kasernen, Schulen, Pfarrhäuser, Meiereien, Zollhäuser und andere Gebäude, deren Wert auf 586.678 Fl. 30 ½ Kr. geschätzt wurde.<sup>22</sup> 1900 besaß die Stadt Pécs aus den 8.763 Gebäuden der Gemeinde schon 171. Zwischen 1879 und 1908 wurden Investitionen in einem Wert von 13.197.000 Kronen durchgeführt, 39 % aus eigenen Quellen, das Übrige aus Darlehen.<sup>23</sup>

Alles in allem wuchs der Wert der städtischen Immobilien zwischen 1872 und 1912 auf mehr als um das Dreizehnfache, von 1,5 Millionen Kronen auf 15,69 Millionen Kronen, und mehr als die Hälfte des städtischen Vermögens machten Immobilien aus. (Tabelle 3.)

Tabelle 3: Vermögensinventar der Stadt Pécs 1872 und 1912 in Krone und Prozent

	1872 (in Krone)	1912 (in Krone)	1872 (in %)	1912 (in %)
Immobilien	1.174.156,60	15.693.695,87	23,2	50,5
Rechte und Gefälle	1.811.096,20	10.596.264,00	35,7	34,1
Naturprodukte, Materialien	5.737,36	62.011,80	0,0	0,2
Nutzviehe	2.320,00	22.040,00	0,0	0,0
Gerätschaft, Möbel	10.611,00	250.905,24	0,2	0,8
Stammvermögen, Kapital, Darlehen	1.959.655,54	2.918.292,34	38,6	9,4

<sup>18</sup> MNL BaML IV. 1406. e. Pécs Város Tanácsának „C”, Gazdasági és Építésügyi ügyosztályának iratai C-84/1902.

<sup>19</sup> MNL BaML IV. 1406. g. Pécs Város Tanácsa Főjegyzői ügyosztályának iratai E-16641-1916.

<sup>20</sup> Melega, Miklós: A modern város születése. Szombathely infrastrukturális fejlődése a dualizmus korában. (Archívum Comitatus Castriferrei 5.) Vas Megyei Levéltár, Szombathely, 2012. S. 391–392.

<sup>21</sup> Kajtár, István: Önkormányzati élet Pécsen (1848–1918). Baranya 3. (1990) Nr. 2., S. 72.

<sup>22</sup> MNL BaML IV. 1412. Das Budget vom Jahr 1872.

<sup>23</sup> Kajtár, István: Önkormányzati élet, zitiertes Werk, S. 72–73.

Forderung (aktiver Rückstand)	103.113,56	544.785,70	2,1	1,7
Kassenüberrest	8.349,54	53.707,49	0,2	0,2
Fonds	...	948.713,51	...	3,1
Städtisches Vermögen insgesamt	5.075.039,80	31.090.415,95	100,0	100,0
Darlehen	430841,64	12.990.290,49		
Schulden, Debet	131.776,20	379.455,11		
Lasten (passives Vermögen) insgesamt	562.617,84	13.369.745,60		
Reinvermögen	4.512.421,96	17.720.670,35		

Quelle: MNL BaML IV. 1412. 1872, 1912.

Judit Borsy

## Der Weinbau der Leibeigenen in den Herrschaften des Pécsvárader Stiftungsdistrikts in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts

### Abstract

In the first half of the 19th century, there were no more home-grown vineyards in the estates of the Pécsvárader public foundation district. It was in the interest of the lords to encourage the serfs to grow grapes and to plant grapes, as the wine was needed. The vineyards of the serfs can be divided into three major groups on the basis of the payment that are the following: contributory vineyard, non-contributory vineyard, planted on leased land. Farmers in many cases have initiated the utilization of arable land, pastures, meadows and forests by planting vines. The favorable taxation and tax exemption of serf vineyards encouraged farmers to grow and plant vineyards. For serfs, however, the most obvious advantage of the vineyard was the freedom of the estate. The serfs had to seek the consent of the manor for contracts relating to the ownership of the vineyard, but the approval was almost never refused by the manor. The serf vineyard meant such a value that – unless it was necessary – they did not want to get rid of it permanently. The vineyard regulations laid down the rights and obligations of vineyard owners. The serfs were obliged to cultivate the vineyard, maintain it well, and preserve the value of the grapes. Failure to cultivate the vineyard may have led to the confiscation of the vineyard.

**Keywords:** Vineyard, non-contributory vineyard, serf, estate, the vineyard regulations

Die Weinanpflanzung und der Weinbau gehörten zu den wichtigsten Tätigkeiten der Herrschaften. Der Wein ergab sich grundsätzlich aus zwei Quellen: aus den Weingärten der Herrschaften und den der Leibeigenen. In den Herrschaften des Pécsvárader Stiftungsdistrikts gab es von vornherein wenige Meiereien und bis zum Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts blieb praktisch überhaupt kein herrschaftlicher Weingarten. Es stand also im grundsätzlichen Interesse der Herrschaften, dass sie die Leibeigenen zur Weinanpflanzung und zum Weinbau anregen. Andererseits erlösten die Leibeigenen in den meisten Dörfern ihren Frondienst mit Geld, so konnten sie ihre Arbeitskraft und Zeit frei für den Weinbau aufwenden. „Außerdem berechnete die Herrschaft Pécsvárad den Frondienst ausgesprochen unter dem Preis und lockte die Leibeigenen damit dazu, ihn zu erlösen.“ – schrieb Lajos Rúzsás.<sup>1</sup>

Man kann die Weingärten der Leibeigenen aufgrund der nach ihnen zu zahlende Steuer in drei größere Gruppe einteilen: vom Zehent befreit, vom Zehent nicht befreit, auf Restboden (gepachteten Boden) angebaut.

Die Leibeigenen erfüllten ihre urbarialen Dienste aufgrund der Größe ihrer Sessionen proportioniert. Eine ganze Session belief sich im Komitat Baranya auf ca. 32 Joch, sie bestand aus Acker, Wiese und innerem Hausgrund. Wenn eine Herrschaft zu einer Session die Wiese, beziehungsweise den inneren Grund nicht in genügender Größe sichern konnte, wurden die Sessionbesitzer mit sogenanntem Wiesenersatz oder inneren Grundersatz entschädigt.

Von den Getreiden und anderen Ackerfrüchten stand der Zehent der Herrschaft zu, der innere Hausgrund, der innere Grundersatz und der Wiesenersatz waren aber von allen Abgaben befreit. Die hier angebauten Weingärten waren also vom Zehent befreit.

Der Weingarten war auch in jenem Fall vom Zehent befreit, wenn er auf den zum inneren Hausgrund gehörigen Acker angebaut wurde. Die auf die Ackerfelder angebauten Weingärten

<sup>1</sup> Rúzsás, Lajos: A baranyai parasztság élete és küzdelme a nagybirtokkal 1711-1848. Budapest, 1964. 79.

durften auch von nicht Ortsansässigen kultiviert werden. In den Herrschaften von Pécsvárad, Bozsok und Versend wurden 1850 insgesamt 230 988 Quadratklafter vom Zehent befreiten Weingärten zusammengeschrieben, welche auf den urbarialen, das heißt zu den inneren Gründen gehörenden Ackerflächen angebaut wurden. 87 % der zehentfreien Weingärten (144 Joch 588 Quadratklafter) befand sich in der Herrschaft Bozsok. (Tabelle 1.)

Tabelle 1: **Auf Ackerflächen angebaute Weingärten in den Herrschaften Pécsvárad, Versend und Bozsok am 20. August 1850.**

Gemeinde	Zahl der örtlichen Winzer	Zahl der nicht örtlichen Winzer	Quadrat-klafter
Herrschaft Pécsvárad			
Pécsvárad	18		16 528
Várkony (heute: Zengővárkony)	2		792
Vasas	1	3 aus Hird	808
Herrschaft Pécsvárad insgesamt	21	3	18 128
Herrschaft Versend			
Versend	8		8302
Kéménd (heute: Máriakéménd)	9		3618
Herrschaft Versend insgesamt	17		11 920
Herrschaft Bozsok			
Fazekasboda	12		9366
Lovászhetény	2		947
Varasd (heute: Apátvarasd)	2		1300
Rácmecske	14		10 142
Bozsok (heute: Palotabozsok)	17		10 639
Véménd	124	8 aus Bozsok	95 072
Feked	17		5840
Szebény	46	4 aus Bozsok, 1 aus Véménd, 1 aus Szűr, 1 aus Feked	67 634
Herrschaft Bozsok insgesamt	234	15	200 940
Alle zusammen			230 988

Quelle: MNL BaML XI.605. a.2. 43M/140. (1850)

Die meisten Weingärten mit Zehent wurden auf den Weinbergen gepflegt. Sie gehörten nicht zu den urbarialen Sessionen, also sie waren frei von den an die Sessionsgröße angepassten Diensten, es musste nur das Neuntel und das Zehntel abgegeben werden.<sup>2</sup>

In der Diözese Fünkirchen erlösten die Herrschaften nach der Reihe den der Kirche gebührenden Weinzehent, ab den 1780er Jahren zahlten alle Herrschaften der Kirche aufgrund von Verträgen festgelegten Preis.<sup>3</sup> So gelang die Diözese zu sicherer und ständiger Einnahme, die von Lieferungs- und Lagerungskosten oder von anderen Kosten nicht belastet worden ist.

Eine Aufstellung aus 1833 enthält sowohl die von Zehent befreiten, als auch die mit Zehent belasteten Weingärten der zur Herrschaft Versend gehörenden fünf Dörfer, welche insgesamt

<sup>2</sup> Das Neuntel und das Zehntel wird in den Folgenden zusammen Zehent genannt.

<sup>3</sup> Horváth, István: A Pécsi Papnevelő Intézet uradalma. Pécs, 2016. Thesaurus Historiae Ecclesiasticae in Universitate Quinqueecclesiensi, Band 7. 119.

2372 Hauer ausmachten.<sup>4</sup> Daraus ist ersichtlich, dass die Ausdehnung der zehentfreien Weingärten etwas größer ist (53,8 %), als die der mit Zehent belasteten. Dieser Prozentsatz ist von Dorf zu Dorf verschieden. In Mogyoród machten die zehentfreien Weingärten 66,8 % aller Weingärten der Leibeigenen aus, in Maráza dagegen nur 34,7 %. (Tabelle 2.)

Tabelle 2: **Aufstellung der von Zehent befreiten und der mit Zehent belasteten Weingärten der zur Herrschaft Versend gehörenden fünf Dörfer in Hauer.**

Name der Dörfer	Auf zehentfreiem innerem Grund / Hauer	Auf zehentfreiem Ackerersatz / Hauer	Mit Zehent belastet / Hauer	Insgesamt / Hauer
Versend	331		259 ½	590
Monyoród	249	134	190	573
Babarc	7 ½	82 ¾	70 ½	160 ¾
Maráza	70		131 ½	201 ½
Liptód	501		445	946
Insgesamt	1058 ½	216 ¾	1096 ¾	2372
Prozent	44,7%	9,1%	46,2%	100,0%

Quelle: MNL BaML XI.605. h. F 15. Januar 1833

Nach der Aufteilung der urbarialen Sessionen blieb in Fällen noch bestellbare Fläche übrig, der sogenannte Restgrund. Dieser wurde von den Herrschaften in den meisten Fällen den Leibeigenen verpachtet, welche für 2-3 Jahre in Verträgen festgelegten Preis dafür zahlten. Unter den Pächtern gab es viele Kossaten, welche zwar keine Session, aber materielle Mittel besaßen, und so auf den gepachteten Gründen wirtschaften konnten. Der Großteil des Weinanbaus geschah auf solche Restgründen. Nach solchen Weingärten musste man den Zehent entrichten, aber die Pächter waren mit keiner anderen urbarialen Diensten schuldig.<sup>5</sup>

Die Leibeigenen mit Session und die Kossaten initiierten in mehreren Fällen die Nutzbarmachung der Ackerfelder, Wiesen und Weiden mit Weinanbau. Der Anbau war auch schon darum günstig, weil sie vom Anbau gerechnet erst nach 6 Jahren Zehent zahlen mussten. Zur Änderung der Anbauart musste das Zugeständnis der Herrschaft eingeholt werden, das enthielt der 10. Artikel des 2. Teiles des im Komitat Baranya gültigen Weinberggesetzes.<sup>6</sup> Die kleineren Äcker oder die als Weide ungeeigneten hügeligen Gebiete waren für den Weinanbau sehr günstig.

Nach einer Aufstellung vom 13. Februar 1796 pflanzten die Bewohner der Umgebung auf den Weinbergen von Babarc und Szajk auf den zwischen den Weingärten liegenden Äckern Weinstöcke und Reben an. Nach diesen wünschte die Herrschaft außer dem Neuntel oder Zehntel gar nichts. In Babarc bauten 59 Personen aus Babarc, Szajk, Némethbóly (heute Bóly) Versend und Bozsok insgesamt 37 Joch Wein an, in Szajk 55 Personen aus Szajk, Versend, Bóly und Babarc insgesamt 42 3/8 Joch.<sup>7</sup>

1800 wurden in Véménd 66 Personen zusammengeschrieben, welche auf dem „Mühlgrund“ Wein hätten anbauen wollen. Sie erhielten mit Unterstützung des Amtmanns Peter Gruber 50

<sup>4</sup> Hauer war ein Flächenmaß. Die Tagesleistung des Weinbauers im Weingarten entsprach der Fläche von einem Hauer. In jener Zeit machte ein Weingarten auf 1 Hauer 200 Wiener Quadratklafter aus, das 1600 Quadratklafter große Joch entspricht also einem Weingarten auf 8 Hauer.

<sup>5</sup> Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Baranya Megyei Levéltára (MNL BaML), XI.605.a. 2. Archiv des Pécsvárader Stiftungsdistrikts. Gespannschaftliche Schriften. (XI.605.a.) 2. k.n. 1194/1847.

<sup>6</sup> MNL BaML IV.1.d. Schriften der adeligen Versammlung des Komitats Baranya. Reglementsverordnungen, Preisregelungen, Zolltarife. (IV.1.d.) 8. Weinbergordnung 1795.

<sup>7</sup> MNL BaML XI.605.a. 1. 437., 492/1795/96.

Joch Grund zum Ersatz der Wiesen, so mussten sie nur den Zehent der Herrschaft abgeben. Die Erlaubnis des herrschaftlichen Gespanns behielt vor, dass es sowohl auf der Karte, als auch im Grundbuch festgehalten werden muss, dass es sich um zehentpflichtige Weingärten handelt.<sup>8</sup>

Auf Ersuchen der Bewohner von Szajk erlaubte der Pécsvárader Gespann am 7. Februar 1824, dass 25 Joch Weide mit Wein angebaut werden darf. Die Zehentpflicht trat erst 6 Jahre nach dem Anbau in Kraft, dies wurde auch in einem Vertrag verankert.<sup>9</sup>

Die Gemeinde Fazekasboda wandte sich am 10. August 1842 mit der Bitte an die Herrschaft, dass sie den 18 Joch steilen Berg, der Teil ihrer Weide ist und weder für Acker, noch für Weide geeignet ist, mit Wein anbauen dürfen. Wie sie es formulierten, darum hätten sie das gern, „*damit etwas daraus auch der Hochlöblichen Herrschaft zugute strömt*“. Sie verpflichtete sich, dass sie den Weinzehent immer abgeben wird. Das Ersuchen wurde vom Richter, von drei Geschworenen und sieben Leibeigenen unterschrieben. Diese Bitte wurde auch vom Amtmann Ortutay unterstützt, da die ganze Flur der Gemeinde sehr hügelig ist und die Untertanen sich allein aus den Ackerfrüchten nicht behaupten können.<sup>10</sup>

Die Bewohner von Kékesd beklagten in ihrem an den Stuhlrichter und herrschaftlichen Gespann gerichteten Ersuchen, dass ihre Äcker und Weingärten sehr schlechte Qualität hätten und sie auch ihre Steuer kaum decken könnten. Sie wollten eine mit heckigen Sträuchern volle Wiese roden, um diese unter sich proportional aufzuteilen und darauf Wein anzubauen. Mit dem Weinanbau „*können wir uns sowohl die Steuerzahlung, als auch das Verdienen unseres Lebensunterhaltes erleichtern*.“ Die Meinung des Amtmanns János Légrády war, dass die ca. 70 Joch große Weide „*eine ziemlich flache Lage hat, aus humusreichen Lehmboden besteht und zum Ackerland geeignet*“ wäre und zudem die Gemeinde Kékesd bis jetzt immer wegen ihrer wenig Weide wehklagte. Der Gespann verschloss sich davor nicht, aber verschob die Genehmigung nach der Absonderung der Weiden. Die ungarische königliche temporäre bürgerliche Verwaltung, welche den Wirkungsbereich vom Gespann übernahm, wies in ihrer Antwort vom 3. April 1849 den Umbruch der Weide ab.<sup>11</sup>

Die Absonderung der zehentpflichtigen und zehentfreien Weingärten war für alle eine wichtige Frage. Die Unterscheidung des inneren Grundes, Ackers, Restgrundes und Neuanbaus war aber nicht immer eindeutig, da der Weingarten im inneren Grund konnte nach dem Zeitpunkt des Anbaus zehentpflichtig oder zehentfrei sein und von den Weingärten, welche auf Ackerfläche angebaut waren, waren nur jene zehentfrei, welche auf Acker der eigenen Session standen.

Am 4. Mai 1828 reichte die Gemeinde beim Komitat Baranya eine Klage ein, weil die Herrschaft schon etwa 20 Jahren ihre Weingärten auf inneren Gründen zehent, obwohl laut des Gesetzes gebührte ihr kein Zehent. Auf den inneren Gründen wurde 1828 331  $\frac{1}{4}$  Ohm Wein zusammengeschrieben. Die Untersuchung stellte fest, dass die Weingärten von Kékesd nach der Einführung des Urbariums angebaut wurden, also sie waren zehentfrei. Der Fiskal der Herrschaft, Sándor Káldy, konnte mit der Gemeinde eine Einung erreichen, dementsprechend verzichtete sie auf ihren Schadenersatzanspruch, wenn sie in der Zukunft vom Zehent befreit werden. Die zur bischöflichen Herrschaft gehörige Gemeinde Kátoly forderte in einem ähnlichen Fall 10.000 fl. Schadenersatz.<sup>12</sup>

Im Oktober 1849 wandte sich der Amtmann in Pécsvárád an dem Gespann, da er nicht entscheiden konnte, welche von auf Ackerflächen stehenden Weingärten zehentpflichtig waren,

<sup>8</sup> MNL BaML XI.605.a. 1. 1354/1799/1800.

<sup>9</sup> MNL BaML XI.605.a. 2. 38B/357. (1824).

<sup>10</sup> MNL BaML XI.605.a. 2. 32B/162. (1842).

<sup>11</sup> MNL BaML XI.605.a. 2. 32D/7. (1849).

<sup>12</sup> MNL BaML XI.605.a. 2. 43D/311. (1828).



welche zehentfrei. Der Amtmann befürchtete, dass eine irrtümliche Besteuerung der Weingärten zur Klage oder zum Prozess führen könnte. Er bat den Gespann, dass der Herrschaftsingenieur baldmöglichst die Vermessung der zehentfreien und zehentpflichtigen Weingärten auf den Ackerflächen durchführen soll.<sup>13</sup>

Die Ausdehnung und Bedeutung der Weingärten der Leibeigenen führt uns die Aufstellung der Herrschaft Bozsok über die Weingärten 1834 vor Augen. Alle Weingärten der Leibeigenen der Herrschaft beliefen sich auf 6036  $\frac{1}{4}$  Hauer, das machte mit 1600 Quadratklafter gerechnet 754 Joch aus. Die Zahl der Winzer war 1184, daraus waren 105 Winzer (8,9 %) aus anderen Ortschaften. Besonders in Véménd und in Szebény, in den zwei größten Weinbergen der Herrschaft Bozsok waren Winzer in größerer Zahl aus den Nachbargemeinden. Die durchschnittliche Größe der Weingärten der einzelnen Gemeinden der Herrschaft war sehr verschieden. Die Winzer in Véménd kultivierten einen Weingarten mit 7,4 Hauer durchschnittlicher Größe, die in Bozsok einen Weingarten mit 3,1 Hauer durchschnittlicher Größe. Der kleinste Weingarten war eine halbe Hauer, etwa 100 Quadratklafter groß, der Größte (in Véménd) belief sich auf 29  $\frac{1}{2}$  Hauer, das heißt 3 Joch 1100 Quadratklafter. Man konnte aus einem 1 Hauer großen Weingarten im Schnitt 4-5 Ohm Wein erwarten, der aber beim schlechten Ertrag nur 1-2 Ohm, im Falle eines besseren Ertrages auch 10 Ohm. (Tabelle 3.)

Tabelle 3: Aufstellung über die Weingärten der Leibeigenen in den Gemeinden der Herrschaft Bozsok. (31. Dezember 1834)

Gemeindename	Zahl der örtlichen Winzer	Zahl der nicht örtlichen Winzer	Größe der Weingärten in Hauer
Bozsok	108		333
Véménd	310	49 aus Bozsok, 1 aus Rácmecske	2292 $\frac{3}{4}$
Szebény	200	29 aus Feked, 16 aus Bozsok, 6 aus Véménd, 1 aus Rácmecske	968 $\frac{1}{2}$
Feked	117		411 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rácmecske	178		768
Varasd	67		258 $\frac{3}{4}$
Lovászhetény	71	1 aus Rácmecske	363 $\frac{1}{2}$
Fazekasboda	45	1 aus Püspöklak	258 $\frac{1}{4}$
Szúr	88	1 aus Bozsok	382
Insgesamt	1184	105	6036 $\frac{1}{4}$

Quelle: MNL BaML XI.605. g. F. Weingartenbesitzbuch 1834.

Die günstigen Steuerbedingungen spornten die Winzer zum Weinanbau an. Der auffälligste Vorteil eines Weingartens für die Leibeigenen war dessen Freiheit. Die Leibeigenen mussten zwar zu Verträgen, welche die Besitzverhältnisse der Weingärten betrafen, immer das Einverständnis der Herrschaft einholen, aber es wurde ihnen fast nie verweigert.

Der Verkauf des Weingartens diente fallweise zur Sicherung des Lebensunterhalts. Zur Sicherung der mütterlichen Erbschaft der aus der ersten Ehe des Mágocser Gerbermeisters József Hirth stammenden vier Kinder wurde ein größerer Weingarten von ihm unter Sperre gestellt. Der Wert des Weingartens überschritt aber die Gebührnis der Kinder weit, so bat József Hirth die Herrschaft um Erlaubnis, um einen Teil seines unter Sperre stehenden Weingartens verkaufen zu dürfen. In seinem Ersuchen berief er sich auf sein hohes Alter (56) und auf die Versorgung der aus seiner zweiten Ehe hervorgekommenen „11 lebendigen unerzogenen“ Kinder,

<sup>13</sup> MNL BaML XI.605.a. 2. 43L/242. (1849).

„welche täglich das von mir aufzuschneidende Brot in ihre Hände warten.“ Ein Teil des Weingartens wurde 1832 von János Albert für 140 fl. gekauft.<sup>14</sup>

1838 tilgte Péter Pater in Feked einen Teil seiner Schuld mit Übergabe seines Weingartens. Für seinen auf 440 fl. geschätzten Weingarten erließ sein Gläubiger seine Schuld von 574 fl.<sup>15</sup>

Andere wollten ihren Lebensunterhalt mit Ankauf von Weingarten sichern. Die 48-jährige ledige Fekeder Waise, Erzsébet Kresz, bat am 17. April 1847 in ihrem dem Gespann geschriebenen Brief um Erlaubnis, damit sie ihre väterliche und mütterliche Erbschaft aus der Bozsoker Waisenkasse aufnehmen kann. Die Herrschaft billigte ihren Weingartenkauf und genehmigte die Aushändigung ihres Geldes aus der Waisenkasse.<sup>16</sup>

Der Weingarten ermöglichte auch die Abschließung eines „*Vertrages über Altersvorsorge*“. Nach einem am 19. Mai 1833 in Vasas abgeschlossenen Vertrag gab Frau Jánosné Radó dem Mihály Karikás ihr Haus, ihren Stall, 33 Ohm Wein, ihre Presse und ihren Weingarten auf dem Berg Somoska, der sie dafür lebenslang versorgen musste.

1832 wurde in Berkesd ein Vertrag abgeschlossen, in dem ein Weingarten auf 2 Hauer mit Keller auf einen solchen aber ohne Keller getauscht worden ist. Der Winzer, der den Weingarten mit schlechterer Lage und ohne Keller besaß, zahlte noch 243 fl. 40 x in bar für den Tausch.<sup>17</sup>

Notgedrungen tauschte Péter Czikovatz in Rácmecske 1833 seinen Weingarten gegen 2 Pferde ein. Die Meinung vom Amtmann wurde auch vom Fiskal geteilt, wonach der Weingarten von Czikovatz weniger Wert war, als die 2 Pferde, mit denen er seinen Hof besser bewirtschaften könne.<sup>18</sup>

Mit dem Weingarten wurden oft Fässer, verschiedene für Weinbehandlung nötige Geräte, eventuell auch Keller, Presshäuser verkauft.

Nach einem Kaufvertrag vom 21. März 1847 zahlte Pál Krammer und seine Gattin Katalin Sziver 2000 fl. für den Weingarten auf 11 Hauer den in Szilágy wohnhaften Josef Hahn und Klára Schulle. Zum Weingut gehörte Presshaus mit Stühlen und anderen Sachen, Keller, Fässer insgesamt mit 50 Ohm Gesamtvolumen (unter ihnen ein 5-Ohm-Fass mit eisernen Reifen) 2 Wannen (die eine mit eisernen, die andere mit hölzernen Reifen), Presse und Zapftrog.<sup>19</sup>

Die zum Weinbau nötige Gerätschaft wurde auch vereinzelt verkauft. An der Versteigerung des Nachlasses der Versender Márton Shovak wurden verschiedene Fässer, Hacken, Weingartenmesser, Fassreifen zum Kauf angeboten. An der Versteigerung lizitierten 11 Personen, was die Nachfrage für solche Gerätschaft beweist. Der Endpreis war viereinhalb Mal höher, als der Ausrufungspreis.<sup>20</sup>

Das Weingut konnte man nicht brach liegen lassen. Wenn der Besitzer nicht fähig war, es zu pflegen, so wurde es verkauft, umtauscht, oder gegen Versorgung übergeben. Das Weingut der Leibeigenen verkörperte aber einen Wert, von dem man, wenn es nur möglich war, sich nicht endgültig trennen wollte. 1814 verpfändete die Witwe Teodóra Babits aus Liptód ihrem guten Freund Tádé Dadits ihren Weingarten solange, bis ihre zwei Söhne beim Militär dienten.<sup>21</sup>

Das Vermögen der Waisen wurde von der Herrschaft verwaltet. Nach dem Sterbefall wurde das inventarisierte Vermögen (Mobilien und Immobilien) versteigert, das dadurch eingenommene Geld wurde in die Waisenkasse eingezahlt. Der Weingarten der Waisen bildete oft eine Ausnahme, an ihn hielten die Leibeigenen stark fest. Wenn die Waisen noch zu jung

<sup>14</sup> MNL BaML XI.605.a. 2. 57G/110. (1832).

<sup>15</sup> MNL BaML XI.605.a. 2. 57G/335. (1833).

<sup>16</sup> MNL BaML XI.605.a. 2. 30 O/88. (1847)., 30 O/125. (1847).

<sup>17</sup> MNL BaML XI.605.a. 2. 57G/88. (1832).

<sup>18</sup> MNL BaML XI.605.a. 2. 57G/336. (1833).

<sup>19</sup> MNL BaML XI.605.a. 2. 57L/143. (1847).

<sup>20</sup> MNL BaML XI.605.h. Schriften der Herrschaft Versend. (XI.605.h.) P. Nachlaßinventar von Márton Shovak und Versteigerung seines Nachlasses. 27. Dezember 1827.

<sup>21</sup> MNL BaML XI.605.a. 2. 57/52. (1814).

waren, um den Weingarten zu pflegen, so wurde er entweder verpachtet, oder ein Verwandter pflegte ihn für einen Teil des Ertrages. Es kam vor, dass der Vormund die Verpflegung und Erziehung der Waisen gegen Nutzung des Weingutes übernahm. Die Untersuchung des Jahres 1813 in der Herrschaft Bozsok des Pécsvárader Stiftungsdistrikts zeigt, dass 60 Weingüter von Waisen geerbt wurden, und 40 % derer nicht verkauft wurden. (Tabelle 4.)

Tabelle 4: **Aufstellung der Weingärten der Waisen der Herrschaft Bozsok (1813)**<sup>22</sup>

Immobilie	Blieb im Besitz der Waisen	Blieb im Besitz der Witwe	Nutzte der Vormund, oder ein Verwandter	Wurde verkauft	Insgesamt
Weingarten	2	2	1	12	17
Weingarten und Haus	1			9	10
Weingarten, Haus, Grund	5	5	4	6	20
Weingarten und Kossatenhaus	2	1		8	11
Weingarten und Mühle		1		1	2
Insgesamt	10	9	5	36	60
Porzent	16,7	15,0	8,3	60,0	100,0

Quelle: MNL BaML XI.605. g. Herrschaft Bozsok.80. Schriften der Waisen. 1. Október 1813

Um den Erwerb eines Weingutes argumentierte man oft mit Berufung auf den ureigenen Besitz. Die Vajszlóer Zsuzsanna Mátyás Tóth, Gattin des Dávid Mecseki wollte um jeden Preis verhindern, dass der ureigene Weingarten in fremde Hände geriet, sie verzichtete lieber auf die Verteilung der ganzen Erbschaft.

Auch ein Beweis der Anhänglichkeit an den Weingarten ist, dass es Personen gab, welche versuchten, den schon verkauften Weingarten zurückzukaufen. Am 15. April 1848 wandte sich Mihály Karikás aus Vasas an den Pécsvárader Amtmann, weil sein Vater vor 5 Jahren seinen Weingarten für 50 fl. an József Imre verkaufte, und er wollte ihn für ebenso viel Geld zurückkaufen. Im Laufe der Untersuchung stellte es sich heraus, dass sein Vater wegen hoher Verschuldung seinen vernachlässigten Weingarten verkaufte, der neue Besitzer setzte ihn aber in guten Zustand, so könne er ihn dem Sohn des Verkäufers für den 50 fl. Kaufpreis nicht mehr zurückgeben.<sup>23</sup>

### Zusammenfassung

Das Weingut sowie die Weinherstellung spielten im Leben der Leibeigenen gleichermaßen eine wichtige Rolle. Anstatt des Wassers von schlechter Qualität trank man Wein, da es im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert noch wenig Trinkwasser von guter Qualität gab.<sup>24</sup> In vielen Fällen wurde die Arbeit der Leibeigenen „mit Leikauf, einem Getränk“ honoriert.<sup>25</sup> Die Dorfwirtshäuser verkauften ein halbes Jahr lang, in der Regel vom Tag des Hl. Georg bis zum Tag des Hl. Michael die Weine der Winzer.

<sup>22</sup> MNL BaML XI.605. g. Schriften der Herrschaft Bozsok. O80. Schriften der Waisen. 1. Október 1813.

<sup>23</sup> MNL BaML XI.605.a. 2. 30 O/296. (1848).

<sup>24</sup> Horváth, István: A Pécsi Papnevelő Intézet uradalma 110.

<sup>25</sup> In der Herrschaft des Priesterseminars von Pécs erhielten auch die Robot leistenden Personen 1-2 Schoppen Wein während der Ernte und beim Dreschen. Horváth, István: A Pécsi Papnevelő Intézet uradalma 126.

Die Rechte und die Pflichten der Weingutbesitzer wurden in Weinbergverordnungen festgehalten.<sup>26</sup> Die besondere Rechtsstellung des Weingutes, die Möglichkeit dessen Ver- und Ankaufs und die Vererbbarkeit sicherte den Leibeigenen gewisse Freiheit. Gleichzeitig wurden sie durch strenge Vorschriften verpflichtet, den Weingarten zu pflegen, ihn im guten Zustand zu halten und dessen Wert zu bewahren.

Die Unterlassung der die Weingarten betreffenden Pflichten konnte letztendlich zur Aufhebung der Rechte, zur Beschlagnahme führen. Außer der Pflege des Weingartens verlangten auch die Bewahrung des Ertrages und die Sicherung der Erreichbarkeit der Weinflächen eine umfassende Reglementierung. Zu den Vorschriften gehörten die Instandhaltung der zu den Weingärten führenden Straßen, das Wohnungsverbot in den Presshäusern und das Weideverbot in den Weinbergen. Es war auch das Anpflanzen von großen Baumgattungen mit umfänglichen Laubwerk verboten, da ihr Schatten dem Weinertrag schädlich sein konnten.<sup>27</sup>

Es stand den Grundherren im Interesse, die Leibeigenen zur Weinanpflanzung und zum Weinbau anzuregen. Die günstige Besteuerung nach dem Weingut, fallweise auch die Steuerfreiheit galt für die Leibeigenen selbstverständlich als eine erstrebenswerte Option.

Die durch die Herrschaft bezüglich des Weinbaus gesicherten Begünstigungen und die Anhänglichkeit der Leibeigenen an den Weingarten beweisen, dass das Weingut einen Wert darstellte, der dem Grundherrn und den Leibeigenen gleichermaßen wichtig war.

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<sup>26</sup> *Égető, Melinda: Vagyon szép szőlőhegyünk... Történeti-néprajzi elemzések közép- és nyugat-dunántúli magyar nyelvű hegytörvények körében (1629-1846).* Budapest, 2004. 121-122.

<sup>27</sup> MNL BaML IV.1.d.8. Weinbergreglement 1795.

Imre Halász

## The Network of Financial Institutions and Capital Accumulation in Vas County in the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

### Abstract

The way financial institutions emerged in Hungary was just the inverse of the one followed in Western Europe. In Western Europe capital intensive banks developed first and savings banks rendering services to people with more modest financial means appeared later. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a new bank type (*Credit mobilier*) was created, which combined the commercial and development banking activities. In Hungary the first financial institution got established in 1842 as a company limited by shares, and the banks founded subsequent to 1867 fashioned their business policies in this vein. In Vas county, situated in West-Transdanubia, and in its county-seat, Szombathely, capital accumulation strengthened by leaps and bounds after a difficult start and the emergence of financial institutions was largely supported by the enactment of the Commercial Code in 1875. In the first business year following the crisis of 1873 already 16 banks and savings banks operated in Vas county, with the number of financial institutions reaching 27 by the turn of the century. Between 1874 and 1899 their number increased to almost two and a half times this figure, and in settlements with populations between one thousand and three thousand people two, in larger settlements three, and in the county seat five new financial institutions had been founded by the turn of the century. The increase in the initial capital saw a nearly eleven times increase, the balance sheet total expanded 6.3 times and the total cash turnover of Vas county financial institutions amounted to 178,414,263 Austro-Hungarian Kronas in 1899. Within the county's territory microregional money markets evolved. No data have so far been found regarding the turnover undoubtedly realised between such microregions for the time being.

**Keywords:** Vas county, Szombathely, savings bank, bank, capital accumulation

### Introduction and Precedents

An attempt has already been made to showcase the economy of Vas county, one of the Western Transdanubian counties, during the age of the Dualism.<sup>1</sup> However, the author used only a single source in his study when enumerating financial institutions, namely the master records of partnerships kept by the Registry Court,<sup>2</sup> which definitely provide reliable data about foundations and mergers, but include extremely few economic data besides the development of the initial capital figures.

Although the change in the initial capital is a key data, it by no means reflects the turnover of the business or the split of the various business branches within. Lacking the balance sheet data and most of all the balance sheet total figures, the size of the initial capital cannot be interpreted properly, since a financial institution may have circulated cash several times as much as its initial capital in a business year. Furthermore, in many cases only 50% of the initial capital was actually paid up and savings banks or banks could realise earnings many times its initial capital.

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<sup>1</sup> *Horváth, Ferenc*: Vas megye közgazdasági viszonyai a dualizmus korában II. *Vasi Szemle* 34 (1980). 2. sz. 237-249.

<sup>2</sup> Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Vas Megyei Levéltára. (hereinafter: MNL VaML) VII.1.h. A Szombathelyi Királyi Törvényszék iratai. Cégbíróság iratok. Társas cégjegyzék. [The Hungarian National Archives Vas County Archives. The documents of the Royal Regional Court of Szombathely. Registry Court documents. Partnership register. Hereinafter: Partnership register.]

The development of financial institutions in Hungary was contrary to the process seen in Western Europe, where it was the capital intensive banks that emerged first and an already formed system of banks had been in operation by the time savings banks with much lower capital intensity proliferated. In contrast, in Hungary, the emergence of savings banks predated that of the banks by over two decades. The different paths resulted in different developmental trajectories.

In Western-Europe, the primary objective of savings banks was to allow people with more modest financial means to make interest-bearing deposits or to obtain smaller or larger loans, but it was also to make thousands of people get used to the simplest financial transactions by getting financially educated with the importance of savings in the focus, thereby consequently creating a uniform financial culture. These institutions, often featuring philanthropic traits, were initially involved in collecting deposits only. The first Hungarian savings banks were founded similarly to their Western-European peers, but later, copying the example of the savings bank founded in Pozsony [Bratislava, SK] in 1842 as a company limited by shares, every savings bank of the time shortly switched over to this company form. These, and all the financial institutions established subsequently, already shifted profits to the focus of their business policies.<sup>3</sup> This required the Acts of 1840,<sup>4</sup> which opened the gates to founding companies limited by shares by granting permission to the shareholders to realise profits on the business.<sup>5</sup> In 1848 already 36 savings banks were awaiting clients in Hungary, in Transdanubia such savings banks operated in Sopron, Veszprém, Pécs, Győr, Szekszárd, Nagykanizsa and, in Vas county, the only one was founded in 1844 in Kőszeg.<sup>6</sup>

The Acts furthermore regulated the lines and operations of banks bearing much greater capital intensity than savings banks in detail. Among the lines of business, we could find lending, giro transfer, deposit and advance transactions, property loans and bill discounting. Banks were not allowed to collect deposits; they could only attract borrowed funds with the help of interest-bearing certificates of deposit issued in proportion to their equities.<sup>7</sup>

Following 1850, the Neo-Absolutist public administration introduced the district system in the Hungarian Crown Country. The nine counties of Transdanubia<sup>8</sup> belonged to the Sopron-centred administrative unit in which the above-mentioned seven savings banks operated, five of them in county seats, and the two others in towns with larger market districts than county seats, i.e. it was in Kőszeg, Vas county<sup>9</sup> and in Nagykanizsa, Zala county that the first savings banks were founded.

In accordance with Section 994 of the Austrian Civil Code taking effect also in the Hungarian Crown Country on 1 May 1853 a 5% interest could be collected on loans against

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<sup>3</sup> *Jirkovsky, Sándor*: Takarékpénztáraink és a miskolczi 1899. évi értekezéslet. *Közgazdasági Szemle* 67 (1942) 42. 434.

<sup>4</sup> *Soós, László*: Az Osztrák Nemzeti Bank. In: *A Magyar Nemzeti Bank története I.* Szerk. Bácskai Tamás. *Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, Bp.* 1993. 81-154. A váltójogról (XV. tc.), kereskedőkről (XVI. tc.), gyárak jogviszonyairól (XVII. tc.), közkereseti társaságokról (XVIII. tc.).

<sup>5</sup> *Jirkovsky, Sándor*: Takarékpénztáraink 434.

<sup>6</sup> *Bariska, István*: 150 éves a Kőszegi Takarékbank, 1844–1994. Kőszeg, 1994.; *Kőszegi, József*: A kőszegi Takarékpénztár száz éve. 1844-1944. Kőszeg, 1944.

<sup>7</sup> *Bariska, István*: 150 éves; *Kőszegi, József*: A Kőszegi Takarékpénztár.

<sup>8</sup> Baranya, Győr, Moson, Somogy, Sopron, Tolna, Vas, Veszprém, Zala megyék.

<sup>9</sup> *Bariska, István*: Pénzüzetek és társadalmi környezetük a XIX. századi Kőszegen. In: *Előadások Vas megye történetéből III.* Szerk. Tilcsik, György. Vas megyei levéltári füzetek 9. Szombathely, 2000. 93-104.; *Söptei, Imre*: A Kőszegi Takarékpénztár kegyes és közhasznú adományai 1848 és 1896 között. In: *Előadások Vas megye történetéből III.* Edited by Tilcsik, György. Vas megyei levéltári füzetek 9. Szombathely, 2000. 105-112.

pledge and 6% on loans without pledge.<sup>10</sup> Apart from interest-bearing deposits and mortgage loans bill discounting was the most significant activity.<sup>11</sup>

**Table 1: Savings banks operating in the Sopron administrative district in 1853**

Savings bank headquarters	foundation date	amount of money managed 31.12.1853		annual profit in 1853	
		ranking	sum in C.M.	ranking	sum in C.M.
Sopron	1842	1st	803,018.04	4th	17,760.51
Kőszeg	1844	2nd	603,619.27	1st	83,097.41
Veszprém	1845	3rd	481,245.55	2nd	66,378.13
Pécs	1845	4th	409,230.50	3rd	32,798.38
Győr	1844	5th	325,680.42	7th	4,182.04
Szekszárd	1846	6th	200,707.16	6th	4,266.07
Nagykanizsa	1845	7th	97,148.71	5th	15,588.39

Source: Jahres-Bericht der Handels- und Gewerbekammer in Oedenburg. 1853.

According to legal rules, savings banks were allowed to be involved in mortgage transactions of the banking transactions, could advance money to villages, pawn-shops, invest in treasury bonds, purchase shares issued by the central bank, and discount bills of exchange.<sup>12</sup>

István Széchenyi, in his work entitled *Hitel [Credit]*, which is rightly considered as a milestone book, primarily called for the possibility of taking up high value loans considering that loans had already been available before the advent of modern financial institutions. Various city banks, religious and secular foundations provided short and long-term loans to customers seeking financial support, who were mainly borrowers living in or in the immediate neighbourhood of the settlement owning some kind of assets. Such assets could be land, a residential building, a shop or a parcel of land that could serve as security.

Even villages had lively lending activities, where primarily religious or secular foundations and orphan banks provided loans, which, considering the contemporary price levels and the amount of cash in circulation almost completely satisfied the private and institutional demand for loans. This institutional demand was made by the magistrates of the various settlements.<sup>13</sup>

During the era of Neo-Absolutism banks, likewise savings banks, were under governmental control, commissioners appointed to every savings bank were to ensure that operations were within the limits of the by-laws, and to make regular compliance reports. It was the government's intention to control the financial market through such commissioners.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> These restrictions on interest rates only ceased after 1861, when the Conference of the Justice of the Realm re-enacted the old commercial laws.

<sup>11</sup> Jahres-Bericht der Handels- und Gewerbekammer in Oedenburg an das hohe k. k. Ministerium für Handel, Gewerbe und öffentliche Bauten über den Zustand des Landes-Cultur der Handels-, Industrie- und Verkehrsverhältnisse des Kammerbezirkes im Jahre 1853. Oedenburg, 1855. 230-231.

<sup>12</sup> *Jirkovsky, Sándor*: Takarékpénztáraink 434-435.

<sup>13</sup> *Szabad, György*: A hitelviszonyok. In: A parasztság Magyarországon a kapitalizmus korában. 1848-1914. Szerk. Szabó István. Bp. 1972. II. 184-245.; *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Uradalmi gazdaság és társadalom a 18-19. században. Bp.-Pécs, 2000., *Kóta, Péter*: Áru és pénzhitel Körmenten a reformkorban. In: Előadások Vas megye történetéből III. Szerk. Tikcsik György. Szombathely, 2000. 7-18.; *Borsy, Judit*: Gondoskodás az árvákról a pécsváradi közalapítványi kerület baranyai uradalmaiban a 19. század első negyedében. In: A földesurak szerepe. Dominium IV. Szerk. Szirácsik Éva. Unicus Műhely, Bp. 2018. 186-211.; *Halász, Imre*: „...hatos kamatra...” Adatok Szombathely püspöki mezőváros hitelezési tevékenységéhez a neoabszolutizmus éveiben. In: Magyar Gazdaságtörténeli Évkönyv 2017-2018. Hitel – Bank – Piac. Szerk. Kövér, György - Pogány, Ágnes - Weisz, Boglárka. MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont; Hajnal István Alapítvány, Bp. 2018. 185-200.

<sup>14</sup> *Jirkovsky Sándor*: Takarékpénztáraink 435.

## Financial structure after the Compromise

### The start

Following the Compromise,<sup>15</sup> the foundation of financial institutions gained new momentum and shortly a triple structure evolved consisting of banks, savings banks and mutual loan societies, which was soon supplemented by a fourth type of institution, when the land credit institution also commenced operation.<sup>16</sup> Banks – or bank and credit institutions as they were referred to in contemporary statistics – founded in accordance with Act XVIII of 1840<sup>17</sup> and operating in the form of companies limited by shares were obviously the most capital intensive. The Act remained effective until the Commercial Code of 1875 entered into force. In the 60s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a few people's banks were also formed. Copying the German model, these people's banks were established for a determined period as stated in their by-laws – typically for twenty years – and primarily due to their name – were categorised among banks, but since their members had limited liability in most cases, which at most extended to the amount of their capital contributions, they in fact completed mutual loan society operations.<sup>18</sup> Most of the people's banks subsequently transformed into savings banks.

Following Bach's Absolutism, the difference between banks and savings banks disappeared, their scope expanded thanks to *Crédit Mobilier*, the new type of bank invented and created by Émile and Isaac Pereire and spreading fast all over Europe, which combined the commercial and investment banking operations and expanded its activities to cover each and every area of the economic life. Its most important innovation was to raise capital not only by issuing promissory notes but also by accepting deposits similarly to savings banks. The banks springing up after 1867 introduced this then new approach and practice not only in the capital but also in larger provincial towns under the name of credit or industrial banks. At the county seat of Vas county the Commercial, Industrial and Agricultural Bank of Szombathely was an example of such a type of bank.

By 1865, one, the People' Bank of Vas-Zala (1865), then until the crisis of 1873 further three banks, namely the Commercial, Industrial and Agricultural Bank of Szombathely (1871), the Discounting Association of Szombathely (1871-1876), and the Credit and Discounting Institution of Sárvár (1872) had been established in the county. Following the crisis of 1873 mostly the establishment of financial institutions opting for the savings bank form gained incredible momentum from 1874 on. At the time, some of the former financial institutions were undergoing transformations, also choosing to become savings banks. At the end of 1874, in Vas county, already 20 companies limited by shares were in operation; their number grew tenfold in merely five years. The amount of paid-up share capital increased to F1 720,000, which is F1 674,000 rise in half a decade, while total deposit exceeded F1 7,000,000, which showed an increase of F1 4,231,000. Initially deposits were mainly passbook deposits, but soon current accounts appeared alongside them too. About a quarter of disbursed loans (F1 2,093,000) were short-term loans, mainly in the form of advances and bills of exchange, and three quarters were mortgage backed long-term loans (F1 5,558,000). Total annual turnover jumped to F1 22,598,000 already in the first year after the crisis, which is a F1 16,685,000 increase in five years.

<sup>15</sup> A summary on the era: *Kaposi, Zoltán: Magyarország gazdaságtörténete 1700-2000.* Bp.-Pécs, 2002.

<sup>16</sup> *Kövér, György: Struktúráról a rendszerig. Pénzüntézetek Magyarországon, 1873-1913.* In: Kövér, György: *A felhalmozás íve. Új Mandátum*, Bp. 2002. 241-253.

<sup>17</sup> *Magyar Compass.* Szerk.: Mihók Sándor. Bp. 1874. XXIII.

<sup>18</sup> *Magyar Compass* 1874. 201.



**Table 2: Key indicators of Vas county savings banks as of 31.12.1874**

Name of savings bank [settlement names used after 1920]	Founda- tion year	No. of issued shares	Share capital	Capital coverage ratio	balance sheet total as of 31.12.1874	net profit	per share
		pc	F1	%	F1	F1	%
Felsőőri [Oberwart, A]	1872	300	30,000	40	152,044	1,950	14.1
Hegyháti, Vasvár	1873	500	25,000	50	27,437	2,000	12.5
Jánosházai	1873	400	25,000	70	58,484	2,250	F1 4.50
Kiscelli	1869	250	50,000	51	426,249	9,064	37
Körmendi	1871	300	30,000	40	203,455	4,808	30
Kőszegi	1844	300	31,500	100	2,345,064	16,200	54
Muraszombati [Murska Sobota, SLO]	1873	150	30,000	50	36,976	1,432	n.a.
Németnagy- szentmihályi [Grosspetersdorf, A]	1872	300	30,000	60	77,987	1,320	F1 4.40
Németújvári [Güssing, A]	1872	600	30,000	40	106,504	3,960	F1 6.60
Pinkafői [Pinkafeld, A]	1870	300	30,000	50	445,633	1,800	12
Rohonci [Rechnitz, A]	1873	300	30,000	50	94,362	1,800	12
Sárvári	1869	300	60,000	40	321,327	5,400	12.5
Szentgotthárdi	1871	300	30,000	40	272,636	2,277	18.1
Szombathelyi	1873	150	30,000	50	1,548,955	12,000	20
Szombathelyi Általános	1873	600	60,000	52	151,831	1,867	F1 3
Vas-Zalai, Körmend	1874	500	50,000	30	37,424	1,481	n.a.

Source: Magyar Compass, 1874. n. a. = not available

In the meantime the discounting institutions of Szombathely and Sárvár, respectively, expressed their transformation into savings banks in their names too, which at the same time brought about the expansion of their lines of business, among which bills discounting became just one albeit extremely significant operation.

In some settlements, competition appeared with the foundation of a second or even a third financial institution, which was already indicative of a budding microregional financial centre. We can most effectively illustrate the transformation process with the example of Körmend. Its first financial institute was the Self-Aid Society of Körmend Craftsmen (1865), the predecessor of the People's Bank of Vas-Zala, which was already named a 'people's bank'. This society was called the Self-Aid Society of Körmend from 1870, then from 1871 it continued its expansion and development under the name the Self-Aid Society and People's Bank of Körmend, and at its general meeting of 22 May 1873 it changed its name to the People's Bank of Vas-Zala, whose objective was to support the aims of commerce, industry and agriculture with long- and short-term loans, obviously not barring private customers either. Shortly afterwards there appeared the second, the Savings Bank of Körmend (1871), then also the third financial institution, the

Savings Bank of Vas-Zala (1874) in the manor centre situated at the intersection of major commercial roads. This latter merged into the People's Bank of Vas-Zala one and a half year later. Its emergence and transformation into a savings bank is a perfect example of a financial institution remaining profitable while developing in the centre of a regional market from a self-aid society into a savings bank within a decade.

The People's Bank of Vas-Zala reflects another feature of the initial decade: the emergence of a network of branches. This financial institution referring to its dual regionality (Vas and Zala counties) also in its name opened branches upon its foundation in Vas county in Vasvár, [Rába] Szenttamás, Ják, Németújvár [today Güssing], Muraszombat [today Murska Sobota], then later in Szombathely, of which the most significant one operated in Németújvár. In Zala county they opened branch offices in Alsólendva, Belatinc, then from 1882 in Zalaegerszeg, the Zala county seat. Thereby a contemporary banking market was created which realigned the regional market at the same time.

Apart from the above-mentioned, we are furthermore aware of the foundation of another branch. One of the first branches registered in the company registry documents was opened in Kőszeg by the financial institution named the West-Hungarian Mortgage Bank in Sopron, which at the same time – although for a very limited amount of time – was the rival of the local savings bank. The by-laws of the bank founded with the initial capital of one million Austro-Hungarian forints (F1) and planning its operation for 60 years were approved on 22 June 1872,<sup>19</sup> and the company limited by shares embarked upon an extremely intensive bank development in Sopron from the very first moment. Subscription to their shares of F1 200 and script certificates of F 80 was approved by the Commodity and Stock Exchange of Pest.<sup>20</sup> The new bank shortly opened a branch in Kismarton [Eisenstadt, A],<sup>21</sup> then in Kőszeg. Still in 1872, jointly with the local savings bank in Kőszeg it became one of the share subscription institutions of Haza Life Insurance and Credit Bank.<sup>22</sup> And then happened a so far unknown event, which might have happened as an aftermath of the 1873 crisis; the regional court of Sopron registered the final dissolution of the bank in 1874,<sup>23</sup> while the termination of its branches in Pápa and Zalaegerszeg, respectively, had earlier been reported by the press.<sup>24</sup> The bank's operations were terminated but the dissolution dragged on and the winding-up board invited shareholders to an extraordinary general meeting as late as 28 May 1883, where the board reported on the events to date and further opportunities.<sup>25</sup>

The Vas county savings banks springing up one after the other almost always demonstrate successful operations, even if competitors crop up at an odd settlement in the shape of a second or third savings bank. By the turn of the century the institutional network had expanded, and the operating profits were many times higher in 1899 than those a quarter century earlier.

The gold-based Krone was introduced in 1892 as part of the currency reform,<sup>26</sup> and the law set the value of the new Krone at half a forint. Since the circulation of the Austro-Hungarian Forint was not tied to deadlines, only from 1 January 1900 was it mandatory to publish data in Krone, so in the balance sheets of 1899 both currencies were used.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> This was also reported by the press: *Magyar Újság*, 1872. június 27.

<sup>20</sup> *Budapesti Közlöny*, 1872. szeptember. 4. 1608.

<sup>21</sup> *Pesti Napló*, 1872. október 2.

<sup>22</sup> Advertisements in several issues of the *Ellenőr*, the *Hon*, the *Pesti Napló* and the *Magyar Újság*, the *Vasárnapi Újság*, and *Magyarország* and *Nagyvilág* in December 1872.

<sup>23</sup> *Központi Értesítő*, 1877. február 17. Date of the court resolution on registration: 1876. augusztus 5.

<sup>24</sup> *Budapesti Közlöny Hivatalos Értesítője*, 1873. augusztus 7.

<sup>25</sup> *Budapesti Közlöny*, 1883. május 2. 16.; május 3. 12.; május 5. 12. p.

<sup>26</sup> 1892. évi XVII. tc.

<sup>27</sup> *Magyar Compass* 1900/1.

**Table 3: Savings banks of Vas county as of 31.12.1899**

Name of savings bank [settlement names used after 1920]	currency Fl/K	founding date	initial capital thousand Fl/K	balance sheet total	net earnings	total turnover
Felsőőri [Oberwart, A]	Fl	1872	60	1,267,468	14,755	2,975,459
Felsőőri Járási	K	1894	60	476,045	200 K/r	1,802,348
Felsőőri Általános	K	1894	60		140	1537780
Gyanafalva [Jennersdorf, A]	Fl	1891	30	632,227	10,118	n.a.
Jánosházi	K	1873	35	806,205	14,481	
Jánosháza Vidéki	K	1896	50	683,990	11,758,	6,012,485
Kemenesaljai, Kis Cell	K	1889	40	1,085,308	13,094	8,330,958
Kemenesaljai Közgazda- sági Hitelbank, Kis Cell	K	1893	300	1,904,494	33,750	18,721,395
Körmendi	K	1871	60	2,563,908	34,073	6,880,341
Vas-Zalamegyei Első, Körmend	K	1865	200	710,826	683	3,056,628
Körmendi Általános	K	1895	100	924,322	18,097	8,373,544
Kőszegi Takarékpénztár	Fl	1844	120	5,736,305	78,779	5,090,440
Kőszegi Általános	Fl	1876	25	717,740	5,827	1,948,139
Pinkavölgyi, Monyorókerék [Eberau A]	K	1898	130	238,030	6,891	941,041
Muraszombati [Murska Sobota, SLO]	Fl	1873	60	927,811	n. a.	2,325,879
Délvasmegyei, Muraszombat	Fl	1884	50	409,350	10,050	1,635,365
Muraszombati Mezőgazdasági Bank	K	1898	160	320,087	3,384	2,656,845
Németszentmihályi [Grosspetersdorf, A]	Fl	1872	60	605,002	7,420	1,102,782
Németújvári [Güssing, A]	Fl	1876	30	523,101	8,569	468,666
Németújvári takaré- és hitelpénztár	K	1894	40	176,114	3,493	529,646
Őrségi, Őriszentpéter	Fl	1892	30	209,325	5,010	910,031
Pinkafői [Pinkafeld, A]	Fl	1870	60	781,611	3,166	1,652,832
Pinkafői Községi Hitelpénztár	K	1872	60	2,018,934	n. a.	3,041,930
Rohonczi [Rechnitz, A]	Fl	1873	30	407,297	6,261	1,526,093
Sárvári Első	Fl	1868	60	1,550,868	18,425	4,207,715
Sárvárvidéki	K	1872	80	801,250	8,790	5,924,111
Szentgotthárdi	K	1871	60	2,898,558	24,612	5,040,148
Rába-Lapincsvölgyi, Szentgotthárd	Fl	1882	60	311,321	3,097	1,686,381
Szentgotthárdi Általános	Fl	1892	60	979,246	11,795	2,823,162

Szombathelyi	F1	1867	120	4,451,659	57,012	17,844,643
Szombathelyi Általános	F1	1872	60	2,289,037	25,173	7,654,003
Vas megyei, Szombathely	K	1885	68	2,361,863	24,777	10,098,858
Szombathely Városi	K	1893	120	1,231,955	11,677	5,701,273
Mezőgazdasági Takaré- és hitelbank Szombathely	K	1897	500	1,328,066	38,960	47,016,203
Hegyháti, Vasvár	F1	1873	25	416,483	10,804	2,198,689
Vasvári	F1	1897	40	254,187	6,779	1,427,239
Vép és Vidéke	K	1896	60	101,077	2,084	n.a.

Source: Magyar Compass, 1900/1.

Three lines of business, i.e. accepting deposits, bill discounting and mortgage transactions, were among the services of almost every savings bank. They generally paid a 4% interest on deposits, except for the Savings Bank of Szombathely, which set this value between 3-4%, and there were some savings banks operating at the county seat (the General Savings Bank of Szombathely] and the Savings Bank of Vas county) that assumed the interest tax from its customers in the interest of attracting more business. This could only be done by high-turnover financial institutions. In the period leading to the turn of the century, almost every savings bank had outstandingly high proportions of deposit and mortgage transactions and profits generated on them in their balance sheets. Bill discounting was one of the most significant operations at the great majority of the savings banks, or often the most significant one, generally with a 6% margin. Some savings banks still offered different conditions to their customers: the Savings Bank of Körmend], for example, paid a 7.5-8% interest on 3-4-month terms. However, very few financial institutions offered rediscounting services (e.g. the Savings Bank of Rába-Lapincsvölgy in Szentgotthárd). In case of mortgage loans the lowest margin is 5.5% (at the Savings Bank of Felsőőr and the freshly founded Agricultural Bank of Muraszombat). Generally 6% was charged on 10-year loans, and 6.5% on 20-year ones (Gyanafalva), both savings banks in Jánosháza charged 7% on 10-year loans, while at the Savings Bank of Körmend the basis for the 6.5% interest loans was one hundred times its customer based tax. The Savings and Credit Bank of Németszentmiklós offered loans for 30 years at 7%, the First Savings Bank of Sárospatak charged 6-7% up to half the value of the security or for 10 years, while the General Savings Bank of Szentgotthárd charged 6.5% on 20-year loans.

Later debentures appeared – their turnover was outstandingly significant at the Savings Banks of Németszentmiklós and Németszentmiklós – amounting to F1 102,679 at the latter, which made this line of business the second most successful one in 1899 following mortgage loans. This is when trade in securities also entered the scene. In their balance sheets the banks recognised the volume of treasury bills among their assets. At the county seat, at the Savings bank of Szombathely F1 214,750 out of F1 389,645, at the General Savings Bank of Szombathely, F1 58,010 out of F1 111,281, in one of the district seats, at the Savings Bank of Kemenesalja, treasury bills amounted to 41,400 out of their assets of K 63,310, while at the Savings Bank of Pinkavölgy, treasury bills represented only K 50 out of K 1550. No separate data was registered by the smaller financial institutions, but we cannot rule out the possibility that they recognised securities under advance payments. They generally granted advances on securities, goods and crops and precious metals up to three-quarters of the assessed value. In the case of securities it was typically up to three quarters of their par value at an 8% interest. The situation was the same for mortgage loans.

People could make deposits at most savings banks, with the Economic Credit Bank of Kemenesalja, the Savings bank of Körmend] and the Savings Bank of Vas county among them,

while collateral transactions were only shown separately in the balance sheet of the Savings Bank of Kőszeg; here they also granted loans up to three-quarters of the assessed value at a 6% interest rate.

When a co-operative savings association or self-aid society transformed into a savings bank, shares had to be issued to replace unit certificates. In the first step, the value of unit certificates had to be increased and their value was generally bolstered with money from the reserves and annual dividends. For example, the Savings Bank of Pinkavölgy increased the value of each 40-forint unit certificate to 50 forints and offered a new 50-forint share for two old 50-forint unit certificates. The same happened at the Savings Bank of Rohonc, where they finally issued 200-krone shares. If not completely the same, but a similar process was adopted to increase the capital of the Savings Bank of Muraszombat, where, at the end of the transaction, they completed a share swap too.

The Village Credit Bank of Pinkafő, which retained its former ownership structure, is a unique example, where every house owner had a right to vote. Another unique service was rendered by the First Savings Bank of Sárvár, which provided self-aid society loans at a 5% interest based against weekly deposits.

### **The savings banks of Szombathely**

The financial institutions of the county seat with 16,000 residents, which had become a major administrative and economic centre by the turn of century, must be considered separately. After a modest start before the crisis of 1873, by the turn of century already five successful banks – with differing capital intensities – had been in operation in the town, with the Austro-Hungarian Bank also entering its financial scene. The terms of the almost ubiquitous four lines of business (deposit transactions, bill discounting, mortgage loans and advancement) were similar in Szombathely to those of the other Vas county savings banks, although depending on the amount placed or loaned the interest margin could change. The differences in lines of business between the financial institutions operating at the county seat can be spotted when services other than the core ones are considered.

The Savings Bank of Szombathely offered mortgage loans for 10, 23 or 32-year terms, while the General Savings Bank of Szombathely did so for 10 years but customers were also allowed to repay the loan in instalments, in which case the interest rate was lower (6%). Advancement was generally realised on securities up to 75% of the assessed value and the city savings bank also offered collateral loans. The Austro-Hungarian Bank established official relations with the Savings Bank of Szombathely, which also discounted the bills of exchange of the Austro-Hungarian Bank for 1% commission. The General Savings Bank of Szombathely operated a savings association, the Savings Bank of Vas County also dealt in securities, accepted deposits and also managed current account transactions. The City Savings Bank of Szombathely not only acted as a deposit bank, but also dealt in securities. This bank was the successor of the Commercial, Industrial and Agricultural Bank of Szombathely, which was wound up in 1893 and then re-established under this name.<sup>28</sup> The widest range of services was offered by the Agricultural Savings and Credit Bank, which offered bill discounting, overdraft facilities, securities and property sales as part of their portfolio besides its four core services, and even bought and sold all types of commodity though chiefly completed warehousing operations.

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<sup>28</sup> *Kunc, Adolf - Kárpáti, Kelemen: Szombathely – Savaria rend. tanácsú város monographiája. II. Szombathely, 1894. 528.; Magyar Compass 1892-93. 400.*

Table 4: Key data of savings banks in Szombathely as of 31.12.1899

Name and founding date of the savings bank	currency	initial capital	annual turnover 1899	annual profit 1899	lines of business			
					deposit	bill dis-counting	mortgage loans	Advance-ment
					thousand Ft/K			%
Savings Bank of Szombathely 1867, the contractual partner of the Austro-Hungarian Bank	Ft	120	17,844	57.0	3-4	6-6.5	5.76-6	6
General Savings Bank of Szombathely, 1872	Ft	60	7,654	25.1	4	6-6.5	10 and 6	6.5
Savings Bank of Vas County 1885	K	68	10,098	24.7	4,5	6-7	6	n.a.
City Savings Bank of Szombathely, 1893	K	120	5,701	11.6	5	6; 6.5; 6.75	6-7	7-8
Agricultural Savings and Credit Bank, 1897	K	500	47,016	38.9	4	5-6	yes	6

Source: Magyar Compass, 1900/1.

In Vas county between 1878 and 1899 the number of financial institutions increased to nearly two and a half times, in settlements with populations between one thousand and three thousand, two, in larger settlements, three, and at the county seat five financial institutions were established by the turn of century. The amount of the initial capital increased by nearly eleven times, the balance sheet total figures 6.3 times, and the total turnover of Vas county financial institutions amounted to K 178,414,263 in 1899. Within the county's territory smaller microregional financial markets emerged. So far we have not found data related to transactions that undoubtedly existed between such markets.

If we compare the situation in Vas county to the capital accumulation processes that underwent in Southern Transdanubia, we can see the most intensive and dynamic development in Vas county.

Table 5: Key data of financial institutions in Southern Transdanubian counties as of 31.12.1899  
The amounts are presented here in the currency stated in the balance sheet.

county	number of saving banks	initial capital K 1899	balance sheet total (profit) Ft/K 1899 n.a.: 5	Cumulative annual turnover Ft/K 1899
Baranya	1878: 9 one of which is under liquidation 1899: 9	1,450,000 (of which Pécs 1,000,000)	16,870,694 (246,975) (of which Pécs 13,138,039)	78,780,217 (of which Pécs 58,498,855) 1 is missing

Somogy	1878: 6 1899: 16	F1 970,000 K 890,000	F1 3,660,249 (108,505) K 15,793,916 (309,851)	F1 20,398,148 K148,580,829
Tolna	1878: 10 1899: 17	F1 765,000 K 630,000	F1 9,538,566 (F1 162,198) K 6,251,258 (K 104,240)	F1 37,363,468 K 40,220,897
Vas	1878: 16 1899: 37	K 2,648,000	K 31,730,342 (K 376,094)	K 178,414,263
Zala	1878: 9 1899: 27	F1 1,410,000 K 2,160,000	F1 26,368,298 K 9,483,760	F1 128,323,735 K 44,720,348
Total	1878: 51 1899: 89	F1 4,595,000 K 3,680,000	F1 56,437,807 K 31,528,934	F1 193,963,368 K 233,522,074

Source: Magyar Compass, 1879.; Magyar Compass, 1900/1.

### Mutual loan societies

We can also categorise mutual aid and self-aid societies among mutual loan societies. Their role is not negligible since in the subsequent decades these societies would transform into people's banks or mutual loan societies *en masse* all over Hungary. However, in the middle of the 1870s we are still at the beginning of the process.<sup>29</sup> These mutual loan societies were established and operated in accordance with Sections 223-230 and 247-250 of the Commercial Code<sup>30</sup>; their liability could be limited or unlimited, and their term could be determinate or indeterminate. Their initial capital was not made up of shares, but of capital contributions or unit certificates.<sup>31</sup> We only have sporadic data regarding the number and business data of mutual loan societies for the whole of the historic Hungary. We are aware of several mutual loan societies that must have been in operation but did not report their key data. They collected deposits, made reserves and granted loans against bills or promissory notes. From the end of 1874 we have data about five mutual loan societies operating in Vas county, which are the First Mutual Aid Society of Jánosháza (1874), the Civil Mutual Aid Society of Jánosháza (1871), The Self-Aid Society of Magyargencs-Hőgyész (1874), the Mutual Aid Society of Pinkafő (1873), and the Mutual Aid Society of Szombathely (1873). Of them, the societies of Pinkafő and Magyargencs-Hőgyész reported net profits, the former F1 1,381 and the latter F1 708.<sup>32</sup> In the 1890s already thirty mutual loan, mutual aid or self-aid societies were in operation in the following settlements: Alhó, Barkóc, Borostyánkő, Bottyánd, Csöngé, Csörötnek, Egervár, Felsőlövő [Oberschützen], Gór, Halmos, Ják, Jánosháza, Kemenesszentpéter, Kukmér, Lapincsvölgy, two in Magyargencs (the Savings and Mutual Aid Societies of Magyargencs-Hőgyész and Magyargencs, respectively), Nagynémetszentmihály, Nemesmagasi, Nádasd, Németszentgrót, Nemetújvár, Ölbő, Pinkafő, Pinkavölgy, Pusztaszentmihály, Rábakeresztúr, Rohonc and Vönöck.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Magyar Compass 1873. 60.

<sup>30</sup> 1875. évi XXXVII. tc.

<sup>31</sup> Magyar Compass 1874. 237-265.

<sup>32</sup> Magyar Compass 1875. 256.; 259.; 264; 272.

<sup>33</sup> MNL VaML VII.1.h.

István Lengvári

## The Social Composition of Medical Students at the Erzsébet University in the 1920s

### Abstract

The study presents the social composition of students who graduated from the Faculty of Medicine of the Erzsébet University in Pozsony (Bratislava) from 1918 and then after a temporary stay in Budapest, in Pécs from the autumn of 1923 until the academic year 1929/1930. The article specifically examines the output of university education, excluding students who dropped out or transferred to another institution. It presents the recruitment and mobility of the student body by statistical analysis of the religion, place of birth and father/guardian occupation of the medical graduates of the selected period. The statistical survey shows a large number of Israelites and those born in Budapest. The occupational composition of the father/guardian largely consists of three groups: public and private officials – professionals – traders and large business owners. A separate subchapter deals with the changes resulting from the *numerus clausus* law in the composition of medical students in Pécs, as well as the attitude of the university in Pécs and its impact on the Hungarian higher education market. The clear goal of the university management was to ensure the survival of the university by increasing the number of students. The main reason for applying *numerus clausus* as loosely as possible was also the fact that the number of Christian students remained low, often failing to fill in the allotted numbers. Finally, the paper presents possible further research opportunities.

**Keywords:** university history, social history, social mobility, Hungary, interwar period, numerus clausus, medical doctors

### The refugee university and its medical faculty in Pécs

The Hungarian Royal Erzsébet University in Pozsony (Bratislava) opened its doors in 1912, but it was not until 1914 that education began at the Faculty of Law and then at the Faculty of Medicine in 1918. The university had barely operated for a year before it was closed down in 1919, after the occupation by Czech troops. The institution became homeless, operating in Budapest from the 1920/1921 academic year. Soon a decision was made about the new seat of the institution and on 1 October 1923, the university opened its doors in Pécs, which, in addition to the Faculties of Law, Humanities and Medicine, was supplemented by the Lutheran Theological Faculty in Sopron. The buildings of health care institutions and former schools handed over by the city provided the foundations for the operation of the university and the medical faculty within it. Compared to the two rural university centres (Szeged, Debrecen), the university in Pécs was always underfunded. Through providing health care to the city's population, the clinics received special attention from the host city as well, and by the 1930s, the higher education of Pécs and specifically the medical faculty had achieved significant results in the Hungarian scientific life. By the end of the examined decade, students graduating from Pécs had already appeared in institutes and clinics, and despite the economic difficulties, the number of medical faculty units also increased.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A more detailed overview is unnecessary due to a number of prior works on the subject. In general: *Szabó, Pál*: A M. kir. Erzsébet Tudományegyetem és irodalmi munkássága. Pécs, 1940.; *Benke, József*: Egyetemünk története. Pécs, 2000. 69–242.; *Schmelczner-Pohánka, Éva – Lengvári, István*: The Hungarian Royal Erzsébet University. In: Fedeles, Tamás – Lengvári, István et al.: Centuries of Higher Education in Pécs. Pécs, 2017. 35–49. On the expulsion from Pozsony: *Popély, Gyula*: A pozsonyi Erzsébet Tudományegyetem végnapjai az impériumváltás után. In: A Kárpát-medence vonzásában. Tanulmányok Polányi Imre emlékére. Edited: Fischer, Ferenc – Hegedűs, Katalin et al. Pécs,



### The archival sources used

In the 19–20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the most important sources for university students are semester enrolment forms and diploma books. Of course, other surveys and records on academic progress, student welfare, and other topics have also survived. While the latter are fragmented, the former are available in their entirety from the beginning for the Erzsébet University.<sup>2</sup> Between 2004 and 2007, a database containing the data of the medical students' enrolment forms and diploma books was created at the University Archives of the University of Pécs. After merging the archival sources into a single database, a single record contains all the data for an individual student.<sup>3</sup> In the database, we have always assigned all available data to the data of the graduates. Our current study examines the period from the start of the university to the end of the 1929/1930 academic year, and includes only graduates of medical degrees, i.e. those who have not completed their studies or who have only completed a few semesters at the faculty are excluded.

### Number of students, ratio of men to women

From the beginnings in Pozsony to the 1944/1945 academic year, there were 2,267 graduates, of whom 419 were women. The distribution by academic year is shown in the following table:

Table 1: Number of students based on degrees awarded

Academic year	Number of students, total	Women	%
1918-19	14	2	14.3
1919-20	4	0	0
1920-21	12	0	0
1921-22	75	14	18.7
1922-23	104	13	12.5
1923-24	169	34	20.1
1924-25	122	32	26.2
1925-26	120	24	20.0
1926-27	209	68	32.5
1927-28	148	49	33.1
1928-29	111	22	19.8
1929-30	109	25	22.9
1930-31	68	12	17.6
1931-32	80	9	11.3
1932-33	60	5	8.3

2001. 379–394.; *Lengvári, István*: Az Erzsébet Tudományegyetem alapítása, a pozsonyi és budapesti évek története. *Per Aspera Ad Astra* 1. (2014):1. 15–25. On the relationship between the city of Pécs and the university see: *Rozs, András*: Pécs a befogadó város. In: 80 éve Pécssett. A város és egyeteme. Edited: Nagy, Ferencné – Vonyó, József. Pécs, 2003. 35–48.; *Lengvári, István*: A város és az „árva leány” – Pécs és az Erzsébet Tudományegyetem. *Limes* (2004):4 (Városfejlődés Trianon után II.) 83–92.

<sup>2</sup> Pécsi Tudományegyetem (Pécs University, hereinafter PTE) Egyetemi Levéltár (University Archive, hereinafter EL), VIII.105.d. Erzsébet Tudományegyetem (Erzsébet University, hereinafter ETE), Orvostudományi Kar (Medical Faculty, hereinafter OtK), Iratkozási lapok, diplomakönyvek. (Enrolment forms, diploma books).

<sup>3</sup> These are the following (in addition to archival identification and description data): name, religion, date and place of birth, name of father/guardian and their occupation and place of residence, name of secondary school, semesters when the student was enrolled, previous higher education and other notes (e.g. students' associations memberships). We did not include the list of registered courses.

1933-34	55	6	10.9
1934-35	71	8	11.27
1935-36	89	9	10.1
1936-37	57	7	12.3
1937-38	74	10	13.5
1938-39	88	10	11.4
1939-40	72	10	13.9
1940-41	52	10	19.2
1941-42	52	8	15.4
1942-43	55	6	10.9
1943-44	48	7	14.6
1944-45	149	19	12.8
<b>total</b>	<b>2,267</b>	<b>419</b>	<b>18.5</b>

As enrolment in Pozsony only happened for the upper years, this somewhat distorts the number of graduates in the first few years. The second academic year in Budapest and the restart in Pécs show an increase and stabilization in the number of students. The reason for the decline observed in the late 1920s (which occurred not only in the medical faculties) was that the government sought to reduce the number of admissible students.

### Religious composition

Based on the data taken from the diploma books and the enrolment forms, the religious distribution in the examined period shows the following figures:

Table 2: Religious distribution of medical graduates by the end of the 1929/1930 academic year

Religion	Number of students	%
Roman Catholic	222	18.56
Greek Orthodox	4	0.33
Lutheran	26	2.17
Calvinist	58	4.85
Unitarian	3	0.25
Israelite	775	64.80
N/A	108	9.03
<b>total</b>	<b>1,196</b>	<b>100</b>

The table demonstrates well that, in terms of the total population, Jewish graduates are significantly overrepresented, while Christian students are underrepresented. It is also interesting to observe the change in the proportion of Israelite graduates during the period. While this figure is 75.48% during the 1918/1919 – 1922/1923 academic years, it is down to 60.77% in the 1926/1927, and 41.28% in the 1929/1930 academic year. The decrease in this indicator can already be attributed to the effect of *numerus clausus*. The number of Jewish students studying at the Erzsébet University was also outstanding on a national level: according to the calculations of Viktor Karády, 43% of all Israelite students in Hungary studied in Pécs in the academic year 1921/1922 while 29% in 1924/25.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Karády, Victor: The restructuring of the academic market place in Hungary. In: The numerus clausus in Hungary. Studies on the First Anti-Jewish Law and Academic Anti-Semitism in Modern Central Europe. Edited: Karády, Victor – Nagy, Péter Tibor. Budapest, 2012. 128. Table III.

### Distribution by place of birth

The distribution of the 1,196 graduates by place of birth can be considered even, but there are surprisingly few students from South Transdanubia. Baranya County had 58 (4.85%), Somogy 37 (3.10%) and Tolna 26 (2.17%) people based on their place of birth. Pécs, the seat of the University, contributed only 28 graduates. Among the Transdanubian counties, Vas and Zala had 16-16 (1.34%) and Veszprém 21 (1.76%) students. Excluding Budapest, Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County stands out due to its size, with 99 (8.28%) graduates. (It should be noted that Újpest, for example, was not yet part of the capital at that time.) Based on the place of birth, most students came from Budapest (309 students, 25.83%). In principle, the place of residence of the father/guardian at the time of enrolment was also recorded in the enrolment forms, but only for a part of the students, 876 people. Based on this, we know of 340 students (38.81%) whose father/guardian lived in Budapest during their university studies. Between 1920 and 1930, Budapest made up 15-16% of Hungary's population, so students from Budapest were clearly overrepresented. Returning to the birth data, the religious distribution of the 309 graduates from Budapest is as follows:

Table 3: Religious distribution of medical graduates born in Budapest by the end of the 1929/1930 academic year

Religion	Number of students	%
Roman Catholic	43	13.92
Lutheran	6	1.94
Calvinist	12	3.88
Israelite	227	73.46
N/A	21	6.80
<b>total</b>	<b>309</b>	<b>100</b>

The background of the process is well known from the literature:<sup>5</sup> Jewish students tried to gain admission to rural institutions from Budapest universities, which strictly adhered to the provisions laid out in *numerus clausus*.

### Social background

Unfortunately, the occupation of the father (guardian) was not provided in all cases, and this field can only be found in the enrolment forms. The data of a total of 901 students are available, representing 75.33% of the students examined. As in almost all eras and types of schools, we can state that the completion of this field is the most irregular, the most inaccurate – as the data were recorded on the basis of what information the students provided either orally, or in writing in the forms. The sometimes arbitrary categorisation by researchers, for example, obscures the problem that there can be huge differences in income and wealth behind an occupational classification. Our classification below is primarily based on the occupational structure:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Karady, Victor: The restructuring... 127–129; Kovács M., Mária: Törvénytől sújtva. A numerus clausus Magyarországon, 1920–1945. Budapest, 2012. 141–149.

<sup>6</sup> For this see: Tóth, Zoltán: Társadalmi státusz és foglalkozás az osztrák és magyar társadalomstatistikában. Statisztikai Szemle 65. (1987) 67–87.

Table 4: Occupation of father/guardian (only taking into account the completed data sets)

Father/guardian's occupation	Number of students	%
Self-employed, landlord, landowner	58	6.44
Public and private official	200	22.20
Professional	195	21.64
Trader, large business owner	247	27.41
Craftsman, small business owner	114	12.65
Clerk, assistant, employee	60	6.66
Smallholder, agricultural labourer, factory worker	24	2.66
Pensioner, refugee	3	0.33
<b>total (completed data sets)</b>	<b>901</b>	<b>100</b>

In the course of the categorization, data from all completed fields were recorded. Where the father/guardian retired during the student's studies, we also categorized them according to their former occupation, leaving us with only two "retired" entries without further information. In the first category (self-employed, landlord, landowner), we included all data that clearly indicated the occupation. Among private and public officials we have included all officials, whether they were employed at banks, mines, public administration or the Hungarian State Railway Company. Regardless of their occupation, we included doctors, teachers and those with a degree in law (judges, prosecutors, lawyers) as professionals. Teachers who also acted as school headmasters were added to this category, but also a doctor who worked as a chief medical officer. While the classification of the craftsman – small business owner – smallholder category was clear, in the trader – large business owner category we could not take into account the different financial statuses covered by the term "trader." Further research could determine the size of the business only on an individual basis (if data is available) for the over 200 fathers/guardians categorised as "trader." The clerk – assistant – employee field includes all occupations performed without a higher education qualification, as an employee (including salesmen, for example, in addition to the named ones). We also classified the small number of data registered as smallholders in the category of smallholder – agricultural labourer.

The obtained results show that the supply of doctors from Pécs came mainly from a background of officials, large business owners/traders and professionals. This is mainly due to the fact that, in addition to the reproduction of the professions over generations, few have been able to afford the costs of training (tuition, housing in another city, travel, etc.). Representatives of the medical profession as fathers/guardians were represented with 71 people (7.88%; including dentists but not veterinarians). Regarding the religious composition of the occupation of father/guardian categories, 116 (59.49%) Israelites and 54 (27.69%) Roman Catholics make up the majority of professionals, followed by Calvinists (17; 8.72%), Lutherans (6; 3.08%) and Unitarians (2; 1.03%). The representation of office workers is similar with 108 (54%) Israelites, 75 (37.5%) Roman Catholic fathers/guardians; the additional figures here are 1 Greek Catholic, 12 Calvinists and 4 Lutherans. We see quite different numbers in the religious distribution of the trader/large business owner category, with 92.31% (228) Israelites, 4.86% (12) Roman Catholics, 5 Calvinists (2.02%) and 1 (0.40%) Lutheran.

### **Numerus clausus and the university in Pécs**

As it can be seen from the tables above, the proportion of graduates of the Israelite religion is far greater than that of other denominations. The reasons for this, of course, cannot be examined without taking into consideration the provision that had the greatest impact on higher education in the era: the law known as *numerus clausus*. Law 1920/XXV determined the number of students in higher education according to the proportions of ethnicities, and also defined Judaism as an “ethnic race”. As the proportion of Jews in the total population was around 6%, while this figure reached 25% among university students before the First World War, for them *numerus clausus* definitely meant being displaced from higher education, but beyond that it caused disenfranchisement and stalled previous emancipation processes. Partly as a result of international pressure, Law 1928/XIV amended this: the section on the proportion of ethnicities was removed.<sup>7</sup>

On 19 October 1920, at the first meeting of the academic year, the councils of the universities of Kolozsvár and Pozsony, temporarily co-operating in Budapest at the time, were forced to deal with the situation in the capital. The Faculty of Medicine in Budapest incorrectly applied the provisions of *numerus clausus* to the upper-year students as well, thus removing 1,600 medical students from the Faculty, most of whom were of Jewish origin. If the refugee universities had done the same, their upper years would have been depopulated, and at a time when they were exposed to the attack of the University of Budapest, which questioned the necessity of two state-operated medical faculties in Budapest. Finally, the two universities decided to admit or transfer the candidates who applied on time from the University of Budapest, and thus – amidst intensifying political actions and provocations – they would try to defend their institutions.<sup>8</sup>

Even after the move to Pécs, the circumstances did not change significantly. József Halasy-Nagy, the rector of the 1923/1924 academic year, described the situation as follows: “*Students who were displaced from the University of Budapest or those who sought a cheaper living came to Pécs. The Faculty therefore had a specific interpretation of numerus clausus. It interpreted that if e.g. the ministerial permission allowed the enrolment of 100 students for the first year, but only 40 Christians applied, then filling in the places allowed the admission of 60 Jews alongside them. Thus, the Medical Faculty of the university in Pécs became a national refuge for Jewish youth, and Jewish doctors graduating from foreign universities also tried to naturalise their degrees here.*”<sup>9</sup>

The latter processes strengthened after the move to Pécs, and students and their organisations tried to achieve a stricter interpretation of the law by submitting petitions in addition to several symbolic measures.<sup>10</sup> The university council rejected some of these, but also appealed to the

<sup>7</sup> In summary: Szegvári, Katalin: Numerus clausus rendelkezések az ellenforradalmi Magyarországon. Budapest, 1988.; Kovács M., Mária: A numerus clausus Magyarországon: 1919–1945. In: Jogfosztás – 90 éve. Tanulmányok a numerus claususról. Edited: Molnár, Judit. Budapest, 2011. 29–59.; Kovács M., Mária: Törvénytől sújtva...; Kovács, M., Mária: The Hungarian numerus clausus: ideology, apology and history, 1919–1945. In: The numerus clausus in Hungary... 27–55. On the amendment of the law see: Barta, Róbert: A numerus clausus törvény módosítása 1928-ban. In: Történeti tanulmányok I. A KLTE Történelmi Intézetének kiadványa. Debrecen 1992. 113–124.; Ladányi, Andor: On the 1928 amendment to the Hungarian numerus clausus act. In: The numerus clausus in Hungary... 69–111.

<sup>8</sup> PTE EL VIII.1.a. ETE, A Pécsi Egyetem Tanácsának ülésjegyzőkönyvei (Records of University Council, hereinafter ET-jkv) 1920.10.19. (joint session), agenda item #1.

<sup>9</sup> Halasy-Nagy, József: Summa vitae. Önéletrajzi vázlat. A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve: Studia Historiae Literarum et Artium, 2. Szeged, 1999. 229.

<sup>10</sup> A detailed description and interpretation of these are beyond the scope of this study. See: Lengvári, István: A pécsi jogi kar véleménye a numerus clausus törvény végrehajtásáról (1924). In: A történelem szálai. Tanulmánykötet Vonyó József 65. születésnapjára. Edited: Fischer, Ferenc – Hegedüs, Katalin – Rab, Virág. Pécs, 2010. 311–320.; Paksy, Zoltán: The Implementation of the Hungarian Numerus Clausus Act at the University of Pécs in the 1920s. Diké 3. (2019):2. 100–106.; Paksy, Zoltán: A numerus clausus és a pécsi egyetem. In: Tanulmányok a magyarországi

Ministry of Religion and Public Education to clarify by decree the details of compliance with the *numerus clausus* law.<sup>11</sup>

In the 1920s, the Faculty of Medicine had various options to counteract the decline in student numbers. One of these was the admission of foreign students of the Israelite religion, on which in December 1926 even the Minister of Religion and Public Education sought the opinion of the faculty. At that time, the faculty took the position that a foreign citizen should not have more rights than a Hungarian, so it rejected the proposal.<sup>12</sup> The University Council also accepted this opinion, in opposition to the contrary view of the Faculty of Humanities.<sup>13</sup> However, in September 1927, the ministry decided that vacancies could also be filled by foreign citizens,<sup>14</sup> but this did not result in a significant increase in student numbers.

The other solution was playing with the numbers of admissible students, as mentioned by Halasy-Nagy. In September 1926, it was decided that in the case of first year students, everyone who could be admitted by law would be enrolled, and even in the case of withdrawals, the applications of additional students were accepted. In the case of senior students, the faculty decided to “*admit all students with acquired rights [...] as in the last two years the faculty determined the proportion of first-year Jewish students at the time not according to the number of students allowed, but according to the number of students actually enrolled. In accordance with the provisions set out in the ministerial decree recently published, the Faculty decided to admit eight Jewish senior medical students for the purpose of compensating for the difference between the two figures.*”<sup>15</sup> Incidentally, an additional 90 applicants of Jewish descent wanted to gain admission in that semester.<sup>16</sup>

The clear goal of the university management was to ensure the survival of the university by increasing the number of students. The main reason for applying *numerus clausus* as loosely as possible was also the fact that the number of Christian students remained low, often failing to fill in the allotted numbers. This is also described by Halasy-Nagy in his memoirs,<sup>17</sup> supported by the opinion of Ferenc Vasváry, Dean of the Faculty of Law.<sup>18</sup>

However, a more permissive legal interpretation by the universities of Pécs and other rural universities could not have worked without the ministry and even the government turning a blind eye, or even supporting it. This practice could later be used well in diplomacy as well: in 1921, when the law was examined by the People’s Federation, the Hungarian government was able to successfully respond to the attacks by presenting the student body compositions of the universities in Pécs and in Szeged. As mentioned above, with the 1928 amendment to the law, the limitations in principle were removed, but the number of graduates (as it can be seen in Table 1) began to decline rapidly. The government’s support for the return of students of rural universities to Budapest may have played a role in this: Kunó Klebelsberg, Minister of Religion and Public Education, in a letter to the Erzsébet University in September 1929,<sup>19</sup> described his decree that all students who had not been admitted to the Pázmány Péter University in

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zsidóság történetéből. Edited: Fazekas, Csaba. Budapest, 2019. 121–139.; *Raposa, Vivien Kitti*: A pécsi bajtársiak antiszemita beiratkozási sztrájkja az 1933/34-es tanévben. *Per Aspera Ad Astra* 7. (2020):1. 71–99.

<sup>11</sup> PTE EL VIII.101.a. ETE, ET-jkv, 1924.01.30. agenda item #20.

<sup>12</sup> PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK Kari ülési jegyzőkönyvek (Records of Faculty Council, hereinafter KT-jkv), 1926.12.20. agenda item #10.

<sup>13</sup> PTE EL VIII.101.a. ETE, ET-jkv, 1927.03.30. agenda item #21.

<sup>14</sup> PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK KT-jkv, 1927.09.16. agenda item #24.

<sup>15</sup> PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK KT-jkv, 1926.09.24. agenda item #21.

<sup>16</sup> PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK KT-jkv, 1926.09.07. agenda item #32.

<sup>17</sup> *Halasy-Nagy, József*: *Summa vitae...* 229.

<sup>18</sup> PTE EL VIII.104.a. ETE, Jog és Államtudományi Kar (Faculty of Law and Political Sciences, hereinafter JÁK), KT-jkv, 1924.01.28. agenda item #13. Vasváry’s opinion published by: *Lengvári, István*: A pécsi jogi kar... 318–319.

<sup>19</sup> PTE EL VIII.104.c. ETE, JÁK, Nem iktatott iratok. (Non-registered files.) VKM 410-5-119-1928,

Budapest in previous years, and whose parents had a permanent address in Budapest, would be eligible for transfer.<sup>20</sup>

### **Further research opportunities**

In order to draw further conclusions on a national level, it is necessary that after acquiring and analysing data sets of other medical faculties, we should be able to analyse the differences of the student bodies of various institutions, as well as the transfers between them using uniform data series. Other documents related to student advancement (admission and complex examination records) allow for more detailed and in-depth analyses, which can be supplemented with, for example, matriculation results, which contain information for an even longer period of time.<sup>21</sup> Recollections can help us map out the enrolment strategy of a family or social group. The completed databases<sup>22</sup> can also be of great help in answering such questions as changing religion, refining the ranking of secondary schools, examining the intellectual elite,<sup>23</sup> researching the catchment area of Hungarian cities and regions, or the impact of transport infrastructure on university commute.<sup>24</sup> Finally, it is essential to examine the further individual careers of graduates, no matter how difficult this is, or how little quantitative result it yields.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> The University Council did not discuss the decree.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, *Miklós Zeidler's* research on this, for which only one report is available: <https://tti.btk.mta.hu/esemenyek/eloadas-vitaules/2187-beszamolo-zeidler-miklos-eloadasarol.html> [31.12.2020]

<sup>22</sup> More recently, *The impact of on Trianon on Hungarian higher education* research project by the Veritas Institute (led by *Gábor Ujváry*), previously in the framework of historical elite research programmes led by *Viktor Karády*.

<sup>23</sup> See primarily the research of *Gábor I. Kovács*.

<sup>24</sup> For this, see for example: *Fekete, Szabolcs: A pécsi egyetem bölcsész-diplomásainak rekrutációja 1921–1940.* (Szociológiai dolgozatok 2.) Budapest 2012. 110–114.

<sup>25</sup> For individual careers of the graduates of the medical faculty in Pécs, see *Lengvári, István: A pécsi Magyar Királyi Erzsébet Tudományegyetem Orvostudományi Karának női hallgatói (1919–1945).* In: *Parasztok és polgárok. Tanulmányok Tóth Zoltán 65. születésnapjára.* Edited: Czoch, Gábor – Horváth, Gergely Krisztián – Pozsgai, Péter. Budapest, 2008. 402–403.; *Lengvári, István: Somogyi hallgatók a pécsi Magyar Királyi Erzsébet Tudományegyetem Orvostudományi Karán, 1919–1945.* In: *Szorosadtól Rijekáig. Tanulmányok Bősze Sándor emlékére.* Edited: Mayer, László – Tilcsik, György. Budapest, 2015. 227–228.

## The Beginnings of Agricultural Economics in Hungary – the 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the “*Ordinary Instructions*” by Nagyváthy

### Abstract

János Nagyváthy (1755-1819) was Director in the Festetics estate between 1792 and 1797, and during this time he wrote his book entitled *Ordinary Instructions according to which farming is managed in the estates of the Honourable count of Tolna, György Festetics, royal chamberlain* (*Közönséges Instructio a Mltgos Tolnai Gróf Festetits György Királyi Kamarás Urodalmiban gyakoroltatni szokott Gazdaságnak rendjén keresztül*). The work was intended to assist the proper management of the agricultural estate. The main practices of farming had not been put in writing, these were imprinted only in the farm managers' and bailiffs' minds, therefore new workers learned these tricks only at the expense of trial and error, so he wrote the *Ordinary Instructions* to improve this situation. In Nagyváthy's approach the practical application of theoretical methods played a crucial role, as well as the teaching for farmers and estate bailiffs, stewards, as he wrote: practical experience is a certainty, above all other strengths. Nagyváthy's working as Director led to the founding of Georgikon in 1797. Through his managerial work and books, he contributed not only to the establishment of Europe's first agricultural higher education institutions, but also to the creating the theory and practice of agricultural economy in Hungary.

**Keywords:** large estate, managerial reform, agricultural economy, János Nagyváthy, Keszthely

### Introduction

János Nagyváthy arrived to Keszthely in February 1792, and took the position of *Director* in the Festetics estate. The estate was badly in need of reform, although in spite of its conditions, it possessed excellent economic potentials, with ten of its eleven estate centres situated in Transdanubia, the most developed western part of Hungary, having favourable market conditions, where “*a small feudal kingdom was offered to Nagyváthy*”, who “*insisted on having full powers so that the count (...) did not put any restrictions on the activities of his favoured friend.*”<sup>1</sup> However, at the time of Nagyváthy's arrival to Keszthely, the estate suffered from severe lack of capital. The positions of the estate and its owner, György Festetics, are well reflected in the letter that the count wrote to his father in law: “*I suffer from such distress, that I will quickly arrive to my final ruins, unless I find a true friend who can govern the operations of my estate by wise guidance and by bridling my pilfering and wasteful servants.*”<sup>2</sup> The count, who belonged to the opposition of the aristocracy, was in a hopelessly desperate financial situation: he had a debt of 1.662.000 Ft, owing mainly to his brothers, whom he paid out from his father's inheritance (though it was against his father's last will and testament).

### Book and its influence

János Nagyváthy was Director between 1792 and 1797, and during this time he wrote his book entitled *Ordinary Instructions according to which farming is managed in the estates of the Honourable count of Tolna, György Festetics, royal chamberlain* (*Közönséges Instructio a Mltgos Tolnai Gróf Festetits György Királyi Kamarás Urodalmiban gyakoroltatni szokott Gazdaságnak*

<sup>1</sup> *Borotvás-Nagy, Sándor*: Nagy magyar gazdák. Szeged, 1942. 42.

<sup>2</sup> *Szabó, Dezső*: A herceg Festetics-család története. Budapest, 1928. 218.



rendjén keresztül). In June 1795, on a directional meeting “Mr. Director Nagyváthy, in relation to the estate management, submits 9 copies of the perfectly completed ordinary Instructions.”<sup>3</sup> The work was intended to assist the proper management of the agricultural estate, the foundations of it “standing on such pillars, which have proven to be laws according to the practical experience from several occasions, and with the purpose of amending the frequent occurrences of mismanagement and deficiencies, there was need to summarise these methods in the form of Instructions, that give a standard for earning revenues and spending costs sparingly, with keeping good accounts.”<sup>4</sup> The main practices of farming had not been put in writing, these were imprinted only in the farm managers’ and bailiffs’ minds, therefore new workers learned these tricks only at the expense of trial and error, so he wrote the *Ordinary Instructions* to improve this situation.<sup>5</sup>

Nagyváthy’s system contained gradual innovations, for the farmers and bailiffs were not to “give up the old habits just for the sake of doing something new, nor to stick to the old ingrained methods and think wrongly about all new ideas”, as this quotation reflects the approach typical of the *Ordinary Instructions*<sup>6</sup>. The book survived in a manuscript format, and the copy in Keszthely, that we used, consists of 438 pages. The significance of the book lies in the fact, that this was the first educational work intended for estate bailiffs and stewards about farm management, and it served as the theoretical foundation for managing large agricultural estates: professional farm managers studied and copied it. Nagyváthy checked the copies, corrected the errors and added his signature to the corrections.<sup>7</sup> The farm governor’s chamberlainship book, that described the good management of large estates, clearly demonstrates, that he perfectly understood the problems of managing and governing a feudal estate. The first lines in the “Introduction” are about good management, that lies on three turning points specially, namely, – the farmers should earn what they do not have – they should save what they have earned – and they should faithfully take account of these.”<sup>8</sup>

The book, in order to assist the implementation of these ideas, is structured into three relatively distinct chapters. The first part (*The calendar of field farmers – A Mezei Gazdák Kalendáriuma*) described the farming processes in a calendar format, and outlined several useful new ideas and innovations recommended for the farming practice. The second chapter (*The obligations of estate bailiffs – A Gazdálkodó tiszteknek kötelességei*) describes the tasks that estate governors and workers should do, as well as the requirements demanded from them. The third part (*Keeping accounts – Számadások vezetése*) contains the basic principles of a new farm accountancy system that Nagyváthy recommended instead of the old reporting system of the estate, including the key parameters of the necessary certificates, documents, vouchers. In the introduction Nagyváthy clearly identified the purpose of his book: what “a practical farmer should know, is soon to be described here, with the goal that all who keep these will not be in error, and if someone finds a better way, may deserve praise and reward.”<sup>9</sup>

Compliance with the ideas described in the book and leading to improved farming standards, soon became a basic requirement, the suggested methods were to be applied in accordance with the local endowments, and the unique theoretical knowledge was suitable for practical

<sup>3</sup> Vörös, Károly: Fejezetek Nagyváthy János életéből. In: Agrártörténeti Szemle 3. (1961) 3-4. 379.

<sup>4</sup> Vörös, Károly: Fejezetek... 379.; Magyar Országos Levéltár, Festetics Családi Levéltár (hereinafter MNL FCSL.). Proth. 1795: 455. No. 926.

<sup>5</sup> Vörös, Károly: Fejezetek...379.; MNL FCSL Proth. 1795: 455. No. 926.

<sup>6</sup> Nagyváthy, János: A Szorgalmatos Mezei-Gazda. A Magyarországon gyakoroltatni szokott gazdaságnak rendjén keresztül. Pest, 1791. I. 113.

<sup>7</sup> Unpublished, in manuscript format. For the research I used the 438 page copy written at 1795, and stored Keszthely.

<sup>8</sup> Nagyváthy, János: “Közönséges Instructio a Mltgos Tolnai Gróf Festetics György Királyi Kamarás Urodalmiban gyakoroltatni szokott Gazdaságnak rendjén keresztül” (manuscript). Keszthely, 1795. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Közönséges Instructio...3.

application, relying on Nagyváthy's advice. When writing the *Ordinary Instructions*, outlining modern ideas about management and organisation, he could not rely on Hungarian authors, as he later wrote: “*Regarding writers before me, neither foreign, nor from my home country, there are none as I know*”, therefore we can state, that he opened a new chapter in the history of Hungarian management science.<sup>10</sup> The book was used in the education practice of Georgikon, and according to Zsigmond Csoma, a manuscript from 1828 – “*Farming calendar which was written by Josef K. G. Schmidt, practitioner (of Keszthely Georgikon) at Keszthely in the year 1828*” – was also founded on Nagyváthy's list of instructions.<sup>11</sup>

Besides the purposes of practical application and education, Nagyváthy, the author, later enlarged his work and systematised its knowledge content, to write a new book *Hungarian farm steward (Magyar Gazdatiszt)*, that was published in 1821 after his death. This latter book is very similar to the former one, both in contents and in structure, but besides a thorough revision (including the removal of the full farming calendar), the main emphasis was put on the description of leadership, the system of accounts, and the management of human resources. In Nagyváthy's approach the practical application of theoretical methods played a crucial role, as well as the teaching for farmers and estate bailiffs, stewards, as he wrote: “*practical experience is a certainty, above all other strengths.*”<sup>12</sup>

During the land estate reform the knowledge content of *The Hardworking Farmer of the Field (A' szorgalmatos mezei gazda)*, was made available in every estate, and the *Ordinary Instructions* also makes frequent reference to this book. As far as we know today, these two books formed the foundations of the economic part of the estate reform, together with the command by Festetics about *Directio* – unfortunately this command has been lost. Nagyváthy also wrote a “*Circularé*” about sheep breeding, and a copy of this is kept today in Csurgó. The fact, that sheep breeding deserved a separate book of instructions, reflects the outstanding importance of sheep farming. Nagyváthy's set of instructions had governed the management of the estate for several long decades. After Nagyváthy's 'retirement' several minor issues received new management instructions, but the decisive set of instructions for the overall management of the estate remained those written by Nagyváthy, while the importance and volume of the others became negligible compared with Nagyváthy's monumental work. The *Estate Instructions (Uradalmi Instructiók)* from the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, kept in the Festetics Archives, contain the body of knowledge of Nagyváthy's work, although in slightly restructured form (the order of the individual chapters was changed).<sup>13</sup>

Nagyváthy, however, always gave priority to the practical applications of theory, and in his book *Hungarian farm steward (Magyar Gazdatiszt)* he wrote: “*I have not just taken a shot in the dark (as the saying goes), but I collected everything good that I saw in practice.*”<sup>14</sup> Nagyváthy's approach is well demonstrated by this quotation, he collected the best practices and applied technologies, and recommended their improvement. His works keep returning to the topics of intensification and income-generation as the main focus in farm management, as he said: “*the most hard-working farming is useless if the farmer cannot sell his produces at good prices*”.<sup>15</sup> He adapted the economic theories of the time (Adam Smith's theories and those of his predecessors) to the needs of the practice, ordering, among other things, that “*we have to maintain, that each farmer*

<sup>10</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Magyar Gazdatiszt. Pest, 1821. Előbeszéd IX.

<sup>11</sup> Csoma, Zsigmond: Kertészet és polgárosodás (Az európai szőlészeti-borászati ismeretek oktatása, szaktanácsadása a Georgikonban és a Keszthelyi Uradalomban a 18. sz. végétől a 19. sz. közepéig). Budapest, 1997. 140.

<sup>12</sup> Nagyváthy, János: A Szorgalmatos... 397.

<sup>13</sup> MNL FCsL. P 274./9-10. 107-720. The volume contains: “Közönséges Gazdaságbéli Instructio”, “Gazdaságbéli Kalendarium”. It is nearly fully the same as Nagyváthy's “Közönséges Instructio”.

<sup>14</sup> Nagyváthy, János: A magyar gazdatiszt... Előbeszéd IX.

<sup>15</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Közönséges Instructio... 299.

should produce what is best grown in his land, and can earn the best money for him”.<sup>16</sup> Nagyváthy recognised the importance of the joint management of various farm enterprises, underlining, that “the greatest purpose of cattle farming is the earning of the money income, and the production of manure”.<sup>17</sup> At the same time he correctly identified the factors hindering the spread of intensive farming, including the market-related, financial and social barriers present in many places. He stated, for instance, that “while the plains are so wide and productive, it would be a jest to insist on giving up extensive cattle herding and change for manor farming”.<sup>18</sup>

During his activities as the governor of the estate, Nagyváthy gave directions for solving the problem of labour deficiency, giving a solution for manure handling, a task typically requiring considerable workforce, as “if compared with the number of acres the number of workers is lacking, then the remedy may be to hire cheap labour for the smaller tasks, and these estates should be divided according to the reapers and scythe-men and other necessary farm-hands, mainly among the local people. If this may not be enough, then take as much as can be worked fairly, and the rest should be rented out in exchange for tithes or work, with a contract that requires the tenant to apply manure to the soil”.<sup>19</sup>

Where the above directions were not sufficient, there the field “was not possible to manage by manure application and human labour, nor by renting in exchange for tithes or labour, (...) those lands should be divided to three parts farmed in three-field rotation”.<sup>20</sup> If they were unable to finish the ploughing for spring sowing “then the farmer should leave the not ploughed piece of the field in fallow, or let it out in exchange of tithe, with the condition that some manure should be spread on it”.<sup>21</sup> Eventually, if there were no ways of arranging the spreading of manure on the field, then “rather than allowing it to lose its nutrient, it should be put to fallow, instead”.<sup>22</sup> As a result of the Napoleonic wars, the demand for cereals increased and the owners of large estates strived to increase their allodial property so that they could produce cereals in larger extensively farmed lands. Wherever it was possible, they increased their allodial areas at the expense of their serfs, and where it was not possible, then they chose to clearing forest areas and turning them to arable land. Nagyváthy did not recommend the clearing of the already diminishing forests in densely populated regions, but he considered it possible, and even necessary to find “forests useless for a long time”, and “turn them under the plough. However, occasionally such fallow lands may be too large. In such cases the nearest parts of such areas”, i.e. an area sufficient for a three-field rotation system, should be cleared up – as he recommends, - “and the rest should be divided among tenants for a one-time lease, under the condition, that in the 4<sup>th</sup> year the land should be manured”.<sup>23</sup> In densely populated areas, where “the labour force is more than the cultivated land, then the allodial areas should be extended by clearing forests, but instead of cutting out some good and nearby forests, the allodial land should be taken in a two-field rotation system (*Calcutura*), applying manure over it, and cultivated with care”.<sup>24</sup> In manors where lack of grassland prevented animal husbandry, but animal manure was still needed, then “fat oxen should be contracted, and cattle brought here from other manors for winter keeping, pulling up a cattle stable, and grow clover in fallow lands for them. The clover will make the cattle give more milk, and produce better manure, and will also make the land fatter”.<sup>25</sup> The promotion of growing fodder crops was also included in the book, and the various ways of applying manure to grasslands were also discussed.

<sup>16</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Közönséges Instructio...143-144.

<sup>17</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Közönséges Instructio... 281.

<sup>18</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Közönséges Instructio...393.

<sup>19</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Közönséges Instructio...136.

<sup>20</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Közönséges Instructio...141.

<sup>21</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Közönséges Instructio...142.

<sup>22</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Közönséges Instructio...142.

<sup>23</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Közönséges Instructio...140-141.

<sup>24</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Közönséges Instructio...136.

<sup>25</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Közönséges Instructio...141.

In spite of his success, Nagyváthy worked only for a few years for György Festetics. The reasons for the early “retirement”, the end of the joint work, has remained in obscurity for centuries, but there are many guesses about it. The direct cause of the breakup might have been the full powers that Nagyváthy required, as estate bailiff: Festetics dictated an independent regulation to the book of decisions, but his bailiff considered it a wrong regulation, and crossed it out, using his full powers. The count’s reaction is described by Gereben Vas (1823–1868, born as József Radákovics) as of what “*the collector of historical anecdotes from Somogy and Zala counties has also heard (...). The words by György Festetics are told by the people, that he spoke when his regulations were crossed out: Yes, indeed, I know well that I am a stupid ass, yes; but it was a pity to waste so much ink on crossing out my stupidity, a lighter crossing line should have been sufficient, yes, indeed.*”<sup>26</sup> Following the seemingly insignificant incident, and the resulting arguments “*Nagyváthy, following the expiration of his contract, moved to Csurgó*”.<sup>27</sup> Maybe the bailiff’s full powers led indirectly to the breakup, while the direct, true cause is searched in various different explanations, hinting at the possibility that the true background of it is deeper, and more complex. Probably the former confidential relationship between them had deteriorated, and some sources explain this by the count’s personality, others by the differences between their social status, views and principles. According to Vilmos Lázár, “*the class divide has widened*” between the count and the gentry. “*The count had become increasingly estranged from the plebeian Nagyváthy after the Martinovics-movement*”.<sup>28</sup> As Sándor Süle states, “*Festetics has exploited Nagyváthy to the utmost, his estate started to boom, and the ‘precipitous’ count started to find the careful, highly educated, methodical director burdensome*”<sup>29</sup>, while in other places he calls the count “*inconsistent*”, or “*someone who does not care for anything besides his self-interests*”, referring to Nagyváthy’s dismissal.<sup>30</sup> According to some sources the “breakup” was caused by the bailiff’s extensive learning and accomplishments, and “*Nagyváthy’s unstoppable intentions for cultural development*” resulting from it.<sup>31</sup> Another idea is that count Festetics had a “*personality too unbearable, (...) restless, changeful, to respect an employed man like a prophet for long*”.<sup>32</sup> Besides the count’s personality, Károly Vörös sees another reason in the count’s new economic aspirations, for Nagyváthy was no longer suitable for the implementation of these.<sup>33</sup> The count perhaps did not approve of the mutual respect and appreciation that has developed between his wife and his bailiff, as it was well known, that his marriage with Judit Sallér (1764–1829) was a marriage of propriety. The mutual respect and appreciation is shown by not only a few letters, but by the fact, that Nagyváthy’s book, *The Hungarian Housekeeper (Magyar Házi Gazdaasszony)* (1820) was inspired by the countess. The respect that the countess felt for Nagyváthy is testified by the letter she wrote to her daughter, Mrs. László Nyikos, after Nagyváthy’s death: “*the deceased noble Father possessed indeed great knowledge and experience about the skills of farmers and farm housewives, and I do respect him for his acknowledging my experience of a young age, so that he had included that in his highly esteemed collections: now, if he lived, I would be able to serve him with more valuable housekeeping experience, but god almighty wanted it differently, and he departed this life first, and I will be the second to follow him*”.<sup>34</sup>

The professional reasons for Nagyváthy’s retirement may possibly be that during the Napoleonic wars the enormous demand for cereals for human nutrition led to the dominance

<sup>26</sup> Nagyváthy, Kálmán: Nagyváthy János élete. Pozsony, 1891. 22.

<sup>27</sup> Lázár, Vilmos: Nagyváthy János emlékezete. MTA Agrártud. Osztály Közleményei 3-4. Budapest, 1955. 253-254.

<sup>28</sup> Lázár, Vilmos: Nagyváthy János emlékezete... 253-254.

<sup>29</sup> Süle, Sándor: A keszthelyi Georgikon 1797-1848. Budapest, 1967. 24.

<sup>30</sup> Süle, Sándor: A keszthelyi... 14.

<sup>31</sup> Kuthy, Ferenc: Nagyváthy János, a haladó kispazda. Csurgó, 1943. 9.

<sup>32</sup> Nagyváthy, Kálmán: Nagyváthy János... 21.

<sup>33</sup> Vörös, Károly: Fejezetek... 394.

<sup>34</sup> Nagyváthy, Kálmán: Nagyváthy János... 59. (the date on the letter is: Molnári, 1821. September 25.)

of extensive, traditional arable farming in large estates. Nagyváthy knew that the real boost of farming can be ensured by intensive farming, and more intensive animal husbandry, and he intended to manage large agricultural estates accordingly, and this was the basic principle in his *Ordinary Instructions*, too. Somewhat contradicting to this, Károly Vörös states, that the bailiff was not suitable to implement the new economic ideas initiated by Festetics.<sup>35</sup> Besides the reasons provided before, György Festetics probably wished to use this early retirement as a signal towards the Court in Vienna, the dismissal may rather be understood as a symbolic act: the ultra-rich aristocrat dismissing the bailiff of plebeian birth, who had freely distributed his enlightened thoughts in pamphlets, so that the count could show his loyalty towards the court, and his separation from the ideas of the Enlightenment. Nagyváthy was a freemason, and “*his presence at Keszthely could easily bring about more drawbacks, than advantages, for Festetics’s enterprises of cultural policy*”.<sup>36</sup> The regulation of 13<sup>th</sup> October 1797 written in Keszthely about the dismissal shows, that the leaving Director was replaced with several transfers and relocations, which suggest a sudden change, as well as the fact, that a message was soon sent to Csurgó: “*Mr. János Nagyváthy should be given one of the 3 new houses built in the present year, and in case these may not be fully completed, then the Squire of Csurgó should give him one room with a kitchen, from the rooms of the Interveniens, for the winter*”.<sup>37</sup> Therefore they did not prepare a house in advance for the Director, although he was given proper severance payment, but besides the large number of sudden relocations and the unfinished status of the house, the sudden nature of the ‘retirement’ is also reflected by the beginning of the third point: “*It should be inquired from Mr. Nagyváthy, whether Kemendi Officer wrote about the half year dues...*”.<sup>38</sup> These suggest, that the transfer of tasks and affairs was not quite seamless, and the divorce was probably not quite cloudless. Unfortunately, up to now Nagyváthy’s official contract has not been found in the Archives of the Festetics Family, the only information known at present is, that Nagyváthy worked on the estate from February 1792, and assuming the annual renewal of the contract, as the typical practice of the times, it is impossible that his contract would have expired on 13<sup>th</sup> October. Although the relevant sources do not mention it among the possible causes of the sudden breakup, it is easily imaginable that it was Nagyváthy, who grew tired of the management of the estate, a job of great responsibility, and much work, therefore he decided to retire after completing the most difficult initial stage of the reforms, and transformations. The success of his work is demonstrated by the fact, that “*the count’s estate has long used the management system, operational regulations, accounting and evaluation methods that had been established by Nagyváthy*”.<sup>39</sup> Summing up the reasons for Nagyváthy’s early retirement, these probably included personal conflicts, but the most likely reason seems to be the demonstrative separation to satisfy the Court in Vienna, and this is confirmed by the substantial benefits the count gave to his departing Director.<sup>40</sup> At the same time, Count Festetics probably followed Nagyváthy’s recommendations when he made the decision to establish the first agricultural higher education institution of Europe. However, the year of the foundation (1797) is the year when Nagyváthy left Keszthely, and in light of the foundation the count’s decision is particularly incomprehensible, because this way the college, at its opening, had to miss the person, who was one of the most knowledgeable farming experts

<sup>35</sup> Vörös, Károly: Fejezetek... 394.

<sup>36</sup> Fehér, György – Kurucz, György – Zsidi, Vilmos: Georgikon 200. Keszthely, 1996. 75.

<sup>37</sup> “*Directornak Muraközy Prefectus, ennek helyébe Pozsonyi György Keszthelyi Tisztartó Úr Inspectori Titulussal, Keszthelyre György nevezetű Ttónak, Keresztúrra számtartónak Rezeretits (?) Ferencz Kemendi Kasznár, ennek helyébe Horváth Paál Csurgói Kasznár, Csurgóra Kasznárnak Zatureczki György vári Ispány, ennek helyébe Nyát Sopronyi Gazda Ispánynak rendeltettnek*”. MNL FCsL. P 279/12. cs. 1797. évi iratok. 534.

<sup>38</sup> MNL FCsL. P 279/12. cs. 1797. évi iratok. 534.

<sup>39</sup> Galgóczy, Károly: Nagyváti János. In: Az Országos Magyar Gazdasági Egyesület Emlékkönyve. Budapest, 1879. 62.

<sup>40</sup> Fehér, György – Kurucz, György – Zsidi, Vilmos: Georgikon... 75.

of Hungary. This might have offended the “Director”: the teachers of the college founded according to his advice became Karl Bulla and Ferenc Pethe, while he himself was formally left out of the education. Nagyváthy and Ferenc Pethe might have been together employed by Festetics for a short time, as Pethe arrived to Keszthely at the end of October 1797. Perhaps the interruption of a study created some tension between the two excellent specialists. The journal entitled “*Hungarian News (Magyar Újság), that aims at enhancing the agricultural production and industriousness in Hungary and Transsilvania*” published a sequence of articles by Nagyváthy about meadow management, presenting many useful practical tricks for farmers, and was based partly on “*The Hardworking Farmer of the Field*”, and partly on the *Ordinary Instructions*.<sup>41</sup> Ferenc Pethe was the editor of the journal from issue XXV, and the promise written at the end of the article published in issue XXIV, “*to be continued*”, never came true, the title of the journal changed from issue XXXVI to *Curious Hungarian Farmer (Vizsgálódó Magyar Gazda)*, and soon afterwards the journal was terminated, due to lack of subscribers.

Nagyváthy, in his works written at an old age, and published posthumus, often gave his opinion about farmers insisting on implementing Western innovations at all costs. His book, “*The Hungarian practical producer (Magyar Practicus Termesztő)*” was written “adjusted” to the Hungarian conditions. His opinion was that since the publication of his first book the production standards had improved considerably: “*Perhaps my book 'The Hardworking Farmer of the Field' was useful at least in making the farmers more cautious about their activities*”.<sup>42</sup> However, he disagreed with those who, based on the achievements up to the time, advocated the development of Hungarian agriculture directly following the examples of the economy in England or the Netherlands. His viewpoint was, that in order to attain the development level of the West, “*first the practice of ley-farming, fallowing should be given up*”, then common grasslands should be turned to cropland, and finally, “*acquire as much cheap farm labour and drain tanks and sinks*” as there are in other countries. He could see hardly any chance for “*this to occur in the current century*”.<sup>43</sup> He wrote about the ‘innovations’ adapted from the West, that some of these had already been known and applied by Hungarian farmers. For example, “*Circular sowing*” was already an old practice in Vas and Somogy counties, although the practice was born “*because of the population and the limited land areas, and not from skilled and trained farming practice*”.<sup>44</sup> After mentioning a few similar examples he warned the farmers: “*I do not want us to become immodest, and to deny everything that comes from abroad: but that we should not make ourselves the pupils of Taer, Fellenberg, and Schönburg in every new small things and not either in great things, because, the things they teach to be applicable for us, can mostly be learned at home, too. A nation that imitates other nations, will lose its national character*”.<sup>45</sup>

### Summary

Nagyváthy fought for the development of Hungarian agriculture, and for the improvement of the standards of agricultural production that guaranteed the livelihood of the Hungarian people. Knowing the agricultural situation in depth, he introduced effective production methods applicable in the Hungarian farming practice. His works were the predecessors of the modern agricultural professional literature, and he earned eternal merits in committing the farming knowledge in writing, and spreading Western culture and agricultural science in Hungary. An important feature of his economic works is the attention he paid to every economic agent of the

<sup>41</sup> “*Magyar Újság, mely Magyar és Erdély Országban a Mezeigazdaságot, Szorgalmatosságot irányozza*”. XXII. darab 169-171. XXIII. darab 181-184. XXIV. darab 187-190.

<sup>42</sup> *Nagyváthy, János: Magyar Practicus Termesztő*. Pest, 1821. III.

<sup>43</sup> *Nagyváthy, János: Magyar Practicus Termesztő...III.*

<sup>44</sup> *Nagyváthy, János: Magyar Practicus Termesztő...VI.*

<sup>45</sup> *Nagyváthy, János: Magyar Practicus Termesztő...IX-X.*

epoch, and he created everlasting value in all styles of the agricultural professional literature. For the smallholder squirelets and the more affluent serf farms he wrote the books *The Hardworking Farmer of the Field* (*A szorgalmatos mezzei gazda*) and *The practical Hungarian producer* (*A Magyar Practicus Termesztő*). He summarised the skills and knowledge recommended for the farm housewives in the book *Hungarian Housekeeper* (*Magyar Házi Gazdaasszony*), written in calendar format, and also used the calendar format in the first chapter of the *Ordinary Instructions* that he wrote when being the *Director* of the Festetics estate. In this latter book he dealt with issues related to the problems of the financial chamber of the government, too, as well as in his book entitled “*The economy of the Hungarian Homeland worked out according to the ideas of Smith and Soden* (*Magyar Haza Gazdálkodása Smith és Soden után kidolgozva*)”. Nagyváthy could perfectly comprehend all the problems of the Hungarian economy of the times, and the possible directions of development. During his activities as farm manager and governor he based his work on the optimal exploitation of the agricultural production technologies of his time, together with the rational utilisation of feudal rents. He was familiar with the agricultural knowledge of Western Europe, but he gave priority to practical applications compared to theory, and he always adjusted the advice given to farmers to the Hungarian situation: “*I will only describe the methods that can be practised with some, or full use, in farmhouses of our homeland*”.<sup>46</sup> He took pains to stick to the realities of the country, and he considered it impractical to translate the economic works of foreign authors, because “*those were not written for the housekeepers of our country*”.<sup>47</sup> Methods may not be suitable for Hungary even if abroad they “*proved to be good by pressure or by economic science, cannot be applied generally to my sweet country*”.<sup>48</sup> An interesting parallel can be drawn between his reform ideas proposed in his political pamphlets regarding the social and the economic conditions of Hungary, because he made very cautious suggestions in both areas. He did not propose radical changes about the actual systems, but only their gradual improvements based on the initial situation. In his works he highlighted the importance of reasonable management, and the role of training in development: “*There is no greater mistake in the society than when in rural schools children are taught the Latin language (...) Oh! if only the time came that in rural schools (...) the Master would teach his pupils to understand the beauties of the good life in the fields, because the happiness of the house and the homeland depends on this*”.<sup>49</sup> Nagyváthy’s attention focused not only on educating farmers and estate officers, but on educating women, too, and he thought that girls ought to be trained to good housekeeping in the strict sense of the word, therefore the man “*when marrying, will not get a puppet but a half assistant*”. The contemporary world considers *The Hardworking Farmer of the Field* his major work, and he extended, and revised the systematic contents of this book in his later works, adding his acquired experiences, at such high standards, that, as Lázár says, “*browsing in his works, we find a series of statements that are unquestionably valid today*”.<sup>50</sup> It is worth noticing, that in contrast to the many foreign references in “*The Hardworking Farmer of the Field*”, he hardly mentions any foreign works in his later books. The book written by the estate bailiff about the management of the large estate clearly shows, that he wonderfully understood the problems of the economic management and governance of the feudal estate. *The Hardworking Farmer of the Field* is book written with the approach of “*the landlord*”, while the *Ordinary Instructions*, a book written with regard to the problems of the national financial chamber, with its first chapter written in a calendar format, testified, that Nagyváthy was able to create something new in the full spectrum of the agricultural

<sup>46</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Magyar Practicus Termesztő...Előbeszéd VI.

<sup>47</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Magyar Házi Gazdaasszony. Pest, 1820. 3.

<sup>48</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Szorgalmatos... Elöl-járó beszéd.

<sup>49</sup> Nagyváthy, János: Szorgalmatos... 470-471.

<sup>50</sup> Lázár, Vilmos: Nagyváthy János emlékezete. In: MTA Agrártudományi Oszt. Közleményei 3-4. Budapest, 1955. 254.

professional literature. When assessing the role of the *Ordinary Instructions* a few facts should be highlighted: it has been applied for long by the *Directio*, the central management unit of the estate, in the management and organisation practice of the Festetics estate. It was only in 1817 – i.e. about 25 years after Nagyváthy published his book – that the deservedly famous and respected Széchenyi family started to apply instructions for improving the efficiency of production and management in their estates of County Zala.<sup>51</sup> The significance of Nagyváthy's book is reflected by the fact, that his famous peer, Ferenc Pethe, was required “*as a senior teacher in Georgikon, to learn and apply Nagyváthy's Instructions*”. It is an interesting fact, that count Festetics also commissioned Ferenc Pethe to write a textbook for Georgikon, and he completed his enormous work (later published under the title *Refined Agriculture – Pallérozott Mezei Gazdaság*), but this book was not received favourably by Festetics, he called it “*skimble-skamblé*”, futile.<sup>52</sup> Nagyváthy, however, carried on writing about issues of leadership, management, organisation, and agricultural economics, his book “*Hungarian farm steward*” was focused on leadership, discussing not only its professional requirements, but human endowments as well. His goal was to enhance the social status of the formerly despised profession, if “*the estate owners in our country, due to taking a public office or to sheer contempt, consider farm management as a negligible entertainment: it is rarely not to their detriment. The sensible and hardworking farm stewards may, however, repair the damage*”.<sup>53</sup> He considered hard work and rational management important, because foreign authors attributed the agricultural productivity of Hungary “*simply to the result of good soil, and denied the merits of rational and industrious work by the Hungarian farmer*”.<sup>54</sup> He outlined ideas about agricultural economics in his books, e.g. “*the volume of production is everywhere an undeniable proof of the fact, that there are many people living there, and the prosperous breeding shows, that the farmers are affluent, because breeding requires capital*”.<sup>55</sup> His opinion about the development of the Hungarian economy always took into account the actual Hungarian situation and practices. From 1797 he became an independent farmer in Csurgó, until his death in 1819. He paid attention to the local secondary school, and also maintained his professional writing activity. In his book he summarised his valuable knowledge of practical economics, applying his personal experience gained about managing a large agricultural estate. His work points well beyond his agricultural writings: he wrote essays about economics, and social sciences, and also wrote poetry. Based on his experiences acquired in the written usage of the professional language, he became involved in the language reform of the Hungarian language, and maintained good relations and regular correspondence with Ferenc Kazinczy, until Nagyváthy's death. As Borotvás-Nagy states, Nagyváthy was an early representative and promoter of the modern, income-focused economic system, as “*being experienced and well read in world languages, he recognised, what his world famous German contemporary, Albert Thaer discussed in a systematic way, that the traditionally managed feudal estate, relying on the feudal serf system for its labour force, cannot detach itself from the impacts of the ever expanding monetary economy, and sooner or later will be forced to transform itself into a capitalist enterprise*”.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *Tilkovszky, Lóránt*: Széchenyi István Zala megyei uradalmi. In: *Gazdaságtörténeti tanulmányok. Zalai Gyűjtemény* 34. (1993) 113-165.; and *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Gazdasági változások Széchenyi István gróf Zala vármegyei birtokain (1814-1860). In: *Közép-Európai Közlemények* XI. No. 40. (2018) 1. 138-153.

<sup>52</sup> *Süle, Sándor*: Kisszántói Pethe Ferenc. Budapest, 1964. 95.

<sup>53</sup> *Nagyváthy, János*: Magyar Practicus Termesztő...Elő Beszéd 1.

<sup>54</sup> *Nagyváthy, János*: Magyar Practicus Tenyésztető. Pest, 1822. Előbeszéd III.

<sup>55</sup> *Nagyváthy, János*: Magyar Practicus Tenyésztető...Előbeszéd, IV.

<sup>56</sup> *Borotvás-Nagy, Sándor*: Nagy magyar... 43.



Judit Poór – Éva Tóth

## The Viti-viniculture Sector of the Festetics Estate at the Beginning of the 19th Century

### Abstract

At the end of the 18th century, only 3-4 % of the cultivated area was covered with vineyards. However, the importance of viticulture was not proportionate with the extent of its territorial size - due to the poor public health conditions, most of the waters were non-drinkable, so people usually drunk wines with a 4-5 % alcohol content. The wine production was 13-17 million hectoliters in the first third of the 19th century. During this period, several large estates switched from the former taxation approach to income-oriented market production, in which winemaking played a key role, as it had been an important vital market product before. According to Kaposi, lordships' cellar economy of lordships was engaged in the storage and treatment operations of wine community customs duty, ninth wine, the supply of wine to inns and public houses, and other wine sales.<sup>1</sup> In our study, we examined the most important characteristics of the viticulture and wine sector of the Keszthely-based Festetics estate in the period between 1785-1807, both in terms of production and profitability. We concluded that the share of income from wine within the total income decreased at the beginning of the 1800s, besides high production fluctuation characterized the production of lordships as well as production of the estate; however, the production of the lordships could compensate each other to confirm the diversified production in space.

**Keywords:** Festetics, estate, viticulture, production, profitability

### Introduction

According to Csoma, viti-viniculture played an important role in the national economy at the beginning of the 19th century. After the expulsion of the Turks, the planting of vines was supported by tax incentives, which increased the size of the vineyards, but many fresh plantations were destroyed during the Rákóczi War of Independence. After the end of the War of Independence, viticulture flourished again, it was already typical in the flat areas, but the growth slowed down in at the beginning of the 19th century.<sup>2</sup>

Viti-viniculture has a special role in the management of the feudal large estate. Besides wine collected as a tax (e.g. wine community customs duty, ninth wine), wine produced in lordship-managed vineyards was also sold. During a certain period, serfs also had the right to sell their wines, but for most of the year this took place in pubs, which were either operated by the lordships or leased out.

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<sup>1</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Gazdasági változások Széchenyi István gróf Zala vármegyei birtokain (1814-1860). In: Közép-Európai Közlemények XI. No. 40. (2018) 2.; *Kaposi Zoltán*: Uradalmi gazdaság és társadalom a 18-19. században. Budapest-Pécs, 2000; *Wellmann Imre*: A magyar mezőgazdaság a XVIII. században. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1979.

<sup>2</sup> *Csoma, Zsigmond*: Szőlészeti, borászati hagyományok, a megújulás és a közösség kötelékében. Kapcsolatok, hatások, konfliktusok Dunántúl és Európa között a XVII. század végétől a XX. század elejéig. (Doktori disszertáció, manuscript) Debrecen-Budapest. 1994-1995.; *Csoma, Zsigmond*: Kertészet és polgárosodás. Budapest, 1997.; *Csoma, Zsigmond*: Haszonkertészeti ismeretek és uradalmi gyakorlat a Dunántúlon és Nyugat-Magyarországon a XVII. század végétől a XIX. század közepéig. In: Agrártörténeti Szemle 39. (1997) 3-4. 343-452.; *Csoma, Zsigmond*: Szent Vincétől Szent János poharáig. Budapest, 1997.

## Material and research

In our paper, we analyze the data collected from the archival material of the Festetics Family, in addition to presenting the most important requirements for viticulture of the Festetics estate management guide entitled “*Közönséges Instructio...*” [in Hungarian, Ordinary Instructions] written by János Nagyváthy in 1795. We examine the extent to which the income of the viti-viniculture contributed to the income of the estate.

## Results

The practice of viticulture on the Festetics estate is known thanks to research of Zsigmond Csoma and his extensive publishing activities.<sup>3</sup> In his studies he presented in detail the work of János Nagyváthy in viti-viniculture. Nagyváthy, who was born in Miskolc acquired the basics of viticulture in his childhood, and was well acquainted with viticulture in Hegyalja. As the head of the central directorate of the estate, he gave detailed instructions to his overseers on viticulture, cellar operation, wine treatment and record. For reasons of space, we cannot go into this in detail; we characterize only the valuable knowledge of Nagyváthy with some typical quotations to prove what he pointed out: good wine could only be produced with more accurate, quality work<sup>4</sup>:

- „Grapes and winter- or late-season fruit should be harvested until it is covered by hoarfrost. When harvesting, be careful that the fruit be harvested is not hit, but be dry and stack it in a dry place. It is better to preserve the grapes if they are suspended on rods and dried in the light of noon.”
- „Harvest usually starts in the middle of October in good vineyards. It is good to wait for the grapes to be covered by hoarfrost at least one night. But after that you have to harvest right away, because as soon as a two-night hoarfrost increases the grape juices and propagates the wine, the several times frosts decrease it.”
- „The farmer need to know in advance if he wants to filter a lot or good, he need to know when the grape is in a state to give a lot or a little, but good wine. For this reason, it is necessary to look at the vineyards of the Citizens as well, so that he could not cause himself or the lordship damage.”
- „Grape canes producing good wine are propagated by Farmer in every way; but since experience shows that when planted with such canes they tend to degenerate so that labor and cost are not useless, such noble varieties must be propagated by grafting.”
- Nagyváthy suggested some alternative solutions for arising work organizational problems to increase the efficiency.
- „Although the farmer always knows in advance how many workers are needed to harvest the grape field, but it is possible that the workers are not being able to harvest because of the Rain, or harvesting it sooner, in order to the day-labor will not be lost without gain, men should be set to harvest weak trunks and girls and children should be set to take out the picket.”
- „When the grape harvest is over and the canes have dropped their leaves, it is time top lant. At that time, the ‘better varieties’ can also be identifeid and the canes assorted.”]

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<sup>3</sup> Csoma, Zsigmond: A szőlészeti-borászati szakirodalom kialakulása Magyarországon (18-19. század). In: Századok, 132. (1998) 4. 859-908.; Csoma, Zsigmond: Az európai és magyarországi szőlészeti-borászati ismeretek oktatása a keszthelyi Georgikonban (XVIII. sz. vége - XIX. sz. közepe). In: Agrártörténeti Szemle 37. (1995) 1-4. 190-242.

<sup>4</sup> Csoma, Zsigmond: The development of Hungarian technical literature of oecology. Eger, 2012. Eszterházy Károly Főiskola

- „Low-quality Wines, if not desired for Inns, will not be kept for years, because instead of ‘improving’, they will be worse.”

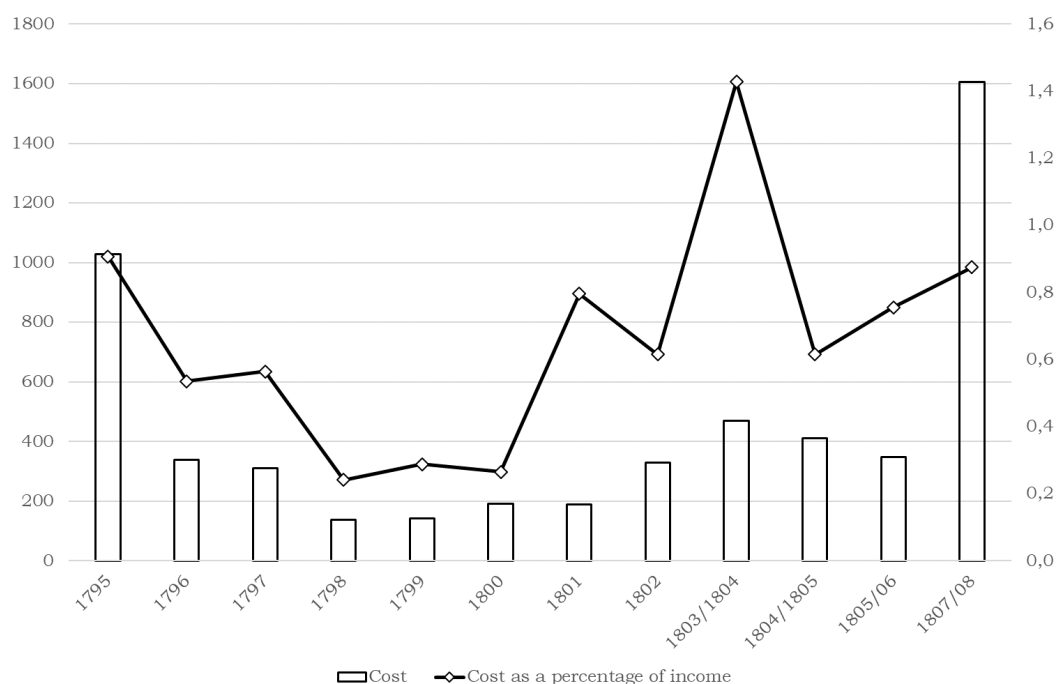
The Festetics estate’s highly educated „Director” renewed not only the technology of production, but also the account system, he ordered the keeping accurate records, including the oenology:

“The followings had to be noted down onto the barell: 1. Number of the Container burnt onto the bottoms 2. Number of ako burnt onto the barell 3. Wine white or red 4. Lordship production 5. Ninth wine 6. Purchased wine 7. The vineyard where the wine was produced 8. The year of its production Thus, everything is being separated from each other.”

Economic approach was a basic requirement in Nagyváthy’s system, which is well illustrated by the following example „only Prominent Inns are allowed to have two or three kinds of wine on tap at the same time for those who want a better kind of wine.”

Nagyváthy introduced in 1795 the obligatory record of the costs for “cellar operation” comparing them with the income for wine sales (see Figure 1). On the basis of Figure 1 we can conclude that the viticulture-viniculture sector had outstanding profitability - due to its specialty mentioned in the introduction, with costs accounting for only around one percentage of the income, and ranging in size from RhF 400 to 1,600.<sup>5</sup>

Figure 1: **Vinicultural cost and cost as a percentage of income in Festetics estate (1795-1807)**

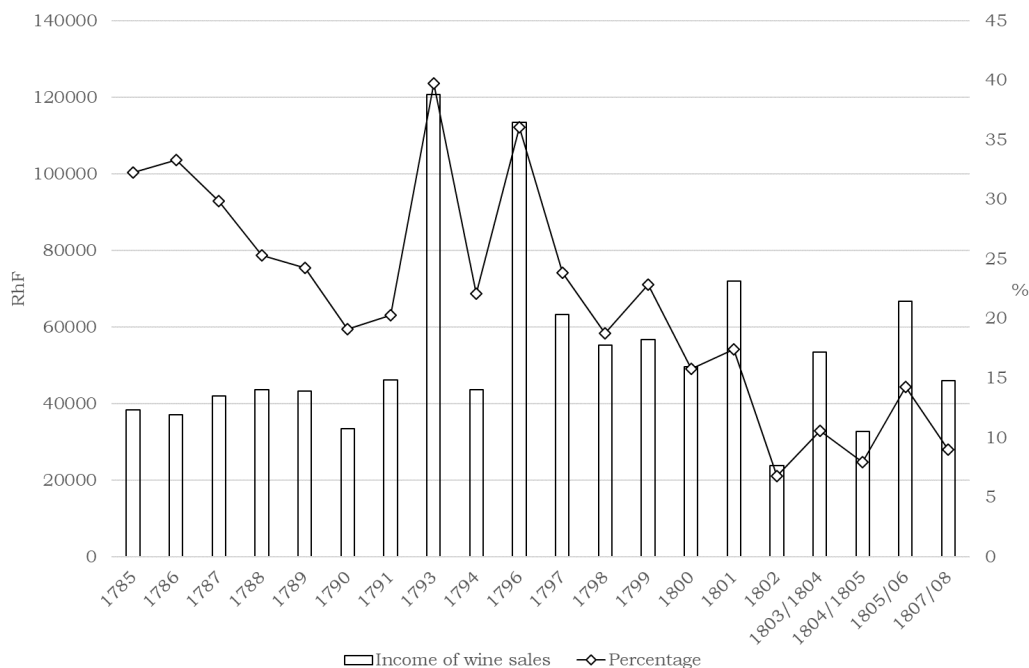


Source: On the basis of the data of the Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára. Festetics család levéltára (hereinafter MNL OL. FCsL.) P 235/147. I-XIX. Vol.

Examining the three most important sources of income of agriculture from the Festetics estate (sales of cereals (1), livestock (2) and wine (3)) (see Figure 2), it can be observed that wine sales became the most significant source of income on the Nagyváthy-managed estate (accounted for 30-35 percentage of total income). A few years later its role receded, mainly due to the grain boom, but still accounted for 8-10 percent of income.

<sup>5</sup> Lukács, Gábor: A Festetics birtok gazdálkodási reformja a XVIII. század végén. PhD disszertáció, Pannon Egyetem, Gazdálkodás- és Szervezéstudományok Doktori Iskola. Keszthely, 2009.; Nagyváthy, János: „Közönséges Instructio a Mltgos Tolnai Gróf Festetits György Királyi Kamarás Urodalmiban gyakoroltatni szokott Gazdaságnak rendjén keresztül”. Keszthely, 1792. (Manuscript).

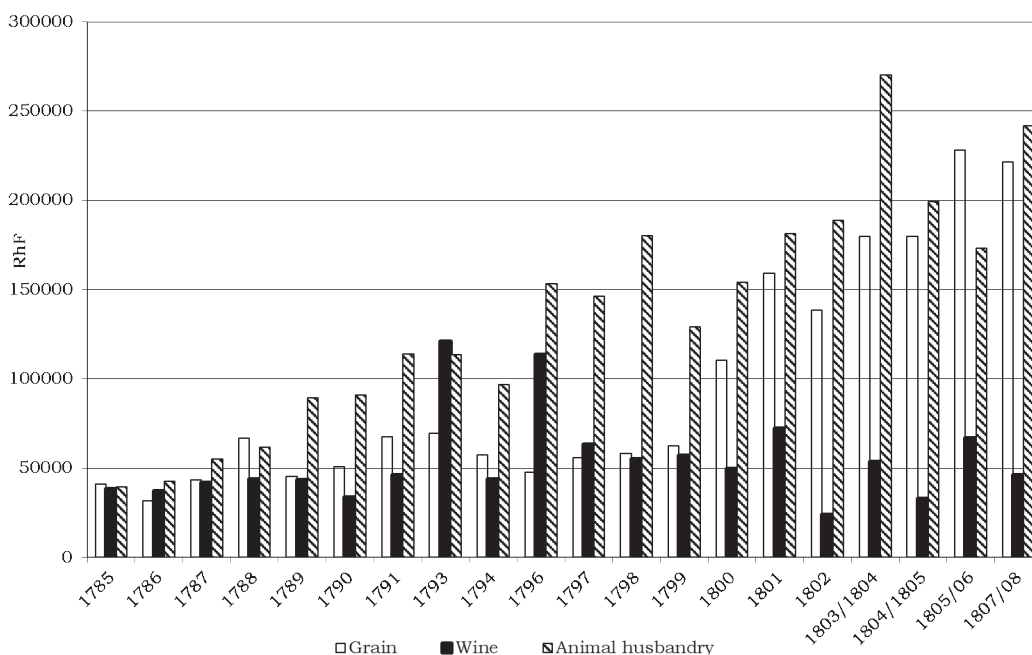
Figure 2: Income of wine sales and its percentage in Festetics estate (1785-1807)



Source: On the basis of the data of the MNL OL. FCsL. P 235/147. I-XIX. Vol.

The share of income from wine within the total income - in addition to the grain boom - was also pushed back by the rapid development of animal husbandry on the farm. Comparing the estate's income of 1785 with the income of early 1800s (see Figure 3), in 1785 most of the income came from the sale of crops of extensive production and the sale of the collected serf's ninth grain, however in the early 1800s the largest share of income already came from animal husbandry, and the viniculture retained its important role in farm management.

Figure 3: The major sources of income on the Festetics estate RhF (1785-1807)

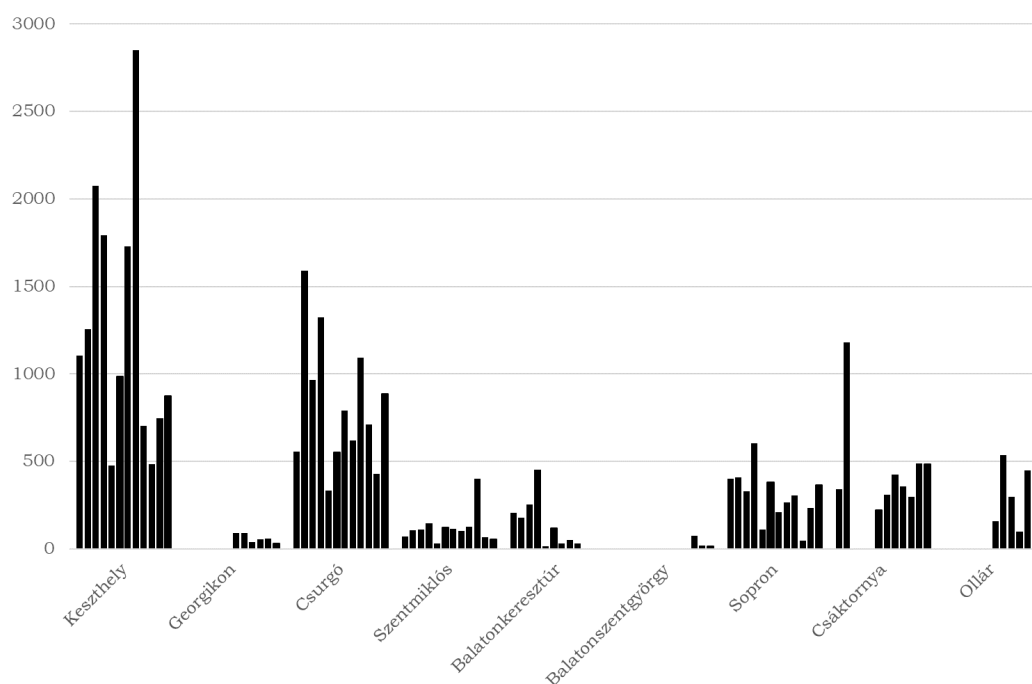


Source: On the basis of the data of the MNL OL. FCsL. P 235/147. I-XIX. Vol.

At the beginning of the 19th century one third of the wine-growing area of the estate belonged to the Keszthely lordship, however it provided 50% of the estate wine production. Although within the sources of income, the proportion of wine decreased, but it still played a decisive role in Keszthely lordship.

Figure 4 shows the wine production of each lordship between 1795-1807. It can be seen that the role of Csurgó and Keszthely was extremely important as well in the wine production of the estate. On the basis of the data we can state that the production fluctuation characterized the wine production is more significant in case of lordships characterized by high-volume wine production. The production of the lordships producing smaller volume of wine (Sopron, Balatonkeresztúr, Ollár and Szentmiklós) was more stable.

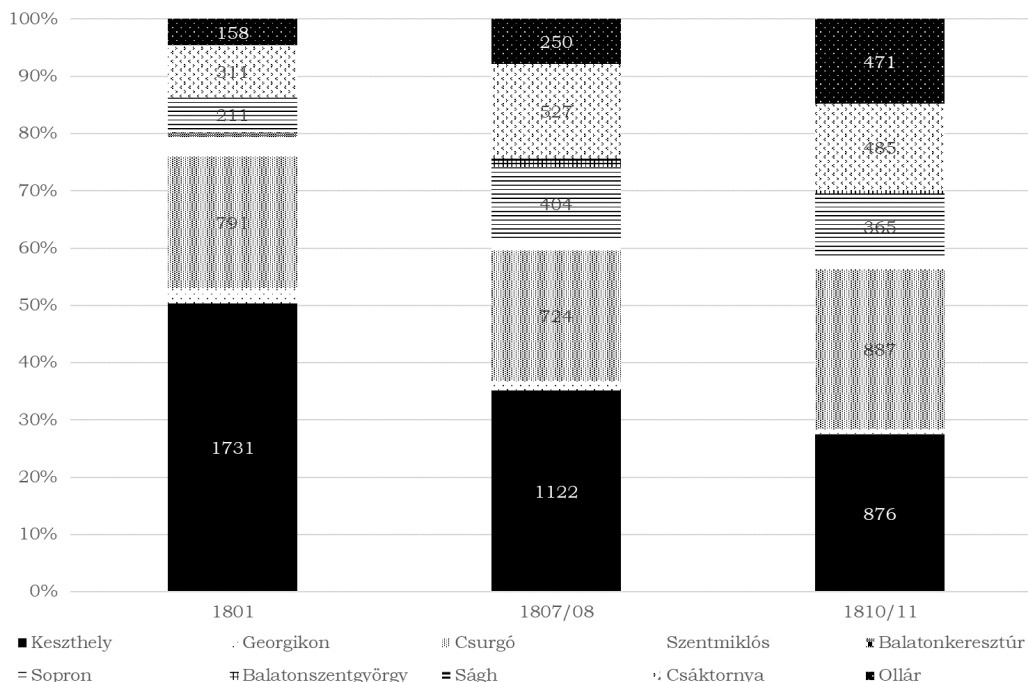
Figure 4: **Wine production in the lordships (akó) (1795-1810)**



Source: On the basis of the data of the MNL OL. FCsL. P 235/147. I-XIX. Vol.

The production fluctuation characterized not only the lordships but also the estate, the greatest production was in 1790 (7070 akó) and in 1795 (5474 akó), and the smallest was in 1799 (1189 akó). The wine production of the estate was almost the same in 1801, 1807/08 and 1810/111 (3434, 3191 and 3187 akó). Examining the production structure in these three years (Figure 5), it can be seen that the role of Keszthely lordship decreased between 1800 and 1810, while the role of the smaller lordships increased with the stable production of Csurgó (around 800 akó). The production of these three years shows and it can be concluded that the production fluctuation of the lordships could compensate each other to confirm the diversification in space.

Figure 5. The role of the wine production in the lordships (1801-1807/08-1810/11)



Source: On the basis of the data of the MNL OL. FCsL. P 235/147. I-XIX. Vol.

### Conclusions

In Festetics estate at the beginning of the 19th century, high-quality viticulture and viniculture activities were introduced. The management of the Festetics estate was transformed under the leadership of János Nagyváthy, it adapted much better and more efficiently to the market demand, thus increasing the income. By the beginning of the 1800s, the intensive sectors came into the focus, in our opinion János Nagyváthy played a decisive role in this, by writing his book “*Ordinary Instruction*” and by his brilliant work as an organizer and leader.

## The Brief History of the New-York Coffeehouse Company Limited

### Abstract

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Budapest was famous for its Coffeehouse Culture. One of the most popular Café was the New-York Coffeehouse; today, it is remembered for its literary life. After 20 years of operation, in 1913, new people bought the tenant's rights and established the first Coffeehouse joint-stock company in Hungary, called New-York coffeehouse Company Limited. This paper aims to analyze the operation of the Company in relation to the stock transfers, analysis of its profitability, and the changes in the transformations in the shares. The main goal was to figure out how the profitability and the stock transfers were connected to the contemporary social and economic circumstances. The years of the World Wars, Revolutions, the Great Depression, and the cultural/social life of the twenties had their deep effects on the life of the Company. The changes were perceptible for the public, too. Many articles were published about the hardships of the Company and the changing atmosphere of the Coffeehouse. These were different; not all of them damaged the interest of the Company Limited equally. Still, the difficulties influenced the stock transfers, profitability, and the everyday life of the Managers and Shareholders. These circumstances are parallel to the changes of the Company.

**Keywords:** New-York Coffeehouse Company Limited, Coffeehouse Culture, Stock transfer, shareholders' list, Vilmos Tarján,

### Introduction

At the beginning of the 20th century, Budapest was called the „Coffeecity”<sup>1</sup> by Dezső Kosztolányi, the famous Hungarian Poet. It got this label because the Coffeehouse was one of the main public space for the contemporary citizens of Budapest.<sup>2</sup> It was part of the people's everyday routine to drink their daily coffee in their stamping ground. In 1894 there were 355<sup>3</sup> Coffeehouses in Budapest. This number was raising as in 1895 there were 663<sup>4</sup> Cafés in the city. In 1896 it achieved its highest number when there were 249 Coffeehouses and 426 “café measurements” which were Coffeehouses with a smaller scale of services.<sup>5</sup> This rise could have been the effect of the Millennial Celebrations. After the series of festivals, the number of Coffeehouses decreased to 431.<sup>6</sup> The New-York Coffeehouse was established in this competitive environment and got the task to stand out from its first day in 1894.<sup>7</sup>

While dr. Miksa Arányi, originally Max Aufricht (teacher, writer, jurist),<sup>8</sup> was living in Paris, got acquainted with the director of the New York Life Insurance Company. He asked Arányi to build out the network of his company in Hungary. The part of the plan was to build an enormous and richly ornamented center of the insurance company, the future New York

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<sup>1</sup> *Kosztolányi, Dezső*: Budapest a kávéváros. Budapesti Negyed 4. (1996) 7–11.

<sup>2</sup> *Gyáni, Gábor*: Budapest története 1873-1945, In: Bácskai, Vera, Gyáni, Gábor, Kubinyi, András: Budapest története a kezdetektől 1945-ig, Várostarténeti tanulmányok 6., Budapest, 2000. 179–180.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeke, Gyula*: „Budapest a kávéváros”. Mikes International, 2. (2002) 10.

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-a-pallas-nagy-lexikona-2/> Downloaded: 11. 10. 2020.

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-a-pallas-nagy-lexikona-2/> Downloaded: 11. 10. 2020

<sup>6</sup> *Zeke, Gyula*: „Budapest a kávéváros”, Mikes International, 2. (2002) 10.

<sup>7</sup> *Pesti Hírlap*: 1894. október 25. 9., *Vasárnapi Ujság*: 1894. Nr. 46. 764–765.

<sup>8</sup> Magyar zsidó lexikon. Edited: Ujvári Péter. Budapest. 1929.

Palace.<sup>9</sup> The architects – Kálmán Giergl and Flóris Korb – could build everything they dreamed of, as there was not a cost limit. According to Andor Kellér, the writer, this was the insurance company’s eccentric advertisement where they equipped the café shop to show their wealth, to inspire trust, and to amaze people.<sup>10</sup> They reached their goal. After the opening, the newspapers referred to the café as the most beautiful Coffeehouse in the world.<sup>11</sup>

Sándor Steuer was the first tenant who rented the fully equipped<sup>12</sup> Café for the first time. Steuer’s brother, Gyula, was a famous Café owner before;<sup>13</sup> this profession was not new to him. Based on his previous experiences, his main goal was to attract the solvent upper-class, not the bohemians who lived a free and easy life. However, the luster of the Café went around fast enough and people from all of the classes visited it. At night an Army Band provided music, conducted by Bachó, while in the souterrain people were playing billiard. People in Pest visited the Coffeehouse, but only once. Steuer did not manage to make the Coffee shop the home of any profession, so it did not have a character. Even though, it was the key to make a successful and profitable Coffeehouse in those times. In the end, he had to sell it in 1900 to the Harsányi Brothers.<sup>14</sup>

The name of the Harsányis was not unknown in this profession, since Rezső was a famous Café owner and his brother Adolf was a private teacher with a wide social network. They made the New-York the center of a vivid cultural life; it became the meeting place of famous writers, poets, artists, and actors during their ownership. They turned it into a “Literary Coffeehouse”.<sup>15</sup> The popularity of the New-York among artists was due to the social network of Adolf<sup>16</sup> and Reisz Gyula, the well-known and well-experienced waiter. These two people became the soul of the contemporary group of Café-owners and Café-workers.

The Harsányi Brothers and Reisz Gyula made the Coffeehouse to be the perfect workplace for writers. They ordered approximately 400 newspapers, established a library, gave free paper, ink, and a cheap menu called “írotál” (writer’s menu) at a discount price. During those years every memorable Poet was working here, the periodical “Nyugat” was edited on the gallery, moreover, the well-known critics established their famous and feared table near the entrance.<sup>17</sup> “The New-York Coffeehouse got its profession, the most splendid and most beggar one, the writing”.<sup>18</sup>

However, the Harsányis sold the Coffeehouse for 500 000 Ft in 1913.<sup>19</sup> It was bought by the Bánó and Szabó Company and they established the first Coffeehouse Corporation in Hungary, called the New-York Coffeehouse Limited. In this research paper, I would like to write about the history of this Company.

<sup>9</sup> *Csapó, Katalin*: A százéves irodalmi kávéház a „Newyork”, *Budapesti Negyed*, 4. (1996) 177.

<sup>10</sup> *Konrádyné Gálos, Magda*: A Newyorktól a Hungáriáig, Budapest. 1965. 7.

<sup>11</sup> *Pesti Hírlap*, 1894. 10. 25. 9.; *Vasárnapi Újság*: 1894. 46. Nr. 764–765.; *Budapesti Hírlap*, 1894. 10. 25.; *Pesti Napló*, 1894. 10. 14. 9.

<sup>12</sup> The price of the Palace was 1 203 000 Ft

<sup>13</sup> He rented the Lloyd Coffeehouse, the Fiume Coffeehouse, and the Abbázia on the Oktogon.

<sup>14</sup> *Saly, Noémi*: „Jean becsukta az ablakokat”. A Nyugat és a „nyugatosok” kávéházai. *Múlt és Jövő*, 69. (2008) 35–36.

<sup>15</sup> A Coffeehouse which was famous for the writers and poets who worked there.

<sup>16</sup> *Kálmán, Jenő*: Emlékek a Harsányi korszakból. In: A Newyorktól a Hungáriáig. Edited: Konrádyné Gálos, Magda, 1965, Budapest, 180.

<sup>17</sup> *Csapó, Katalin*: Százéves irodalmi kávéház a „Newyork”. *Budapest Negyed*, 4 (1996) 179–181.

<sup>18</sup> *Kálmán, Jenő*: Emlékek a Harsányi korszakból. In: A Newyorktól a Hungáriáig. Edited: Konrádyné Gálos, Magda, 1965, Budapest 180.

<sup>19</sup> *Csapó, Katalin*: Százéves irodalmi kávéház a „Newyork”, *Budapest Negyed*, 4 (1996) 185.



### **Focal points**

During my research, I had three major focal points that helped me to analyze the history of the New-York Coffeehouse Company Limited.

The first is about the changes of the authorized capital; the number, value, and currency of the stocks.

The second is about the periodization of the New-York Coffeehouse Company Limited by the stock transfers and the changes in the ownership.

Lastly, the profitability of the Coffeehouse Company concerning the stock transfers.

### **Sources**

The major sources of this research were the documents of the Company Registry which can be found in the Budapest City Archives.<sup>20</sup> No analysis can be read about these documents of the New-York Coffeehouse in the literature of Coffeehouses and Coffeehouse Culture in Budapest. The Company existed for 37 years, while 47 general meetings were held, and the whole documentation of these meetings was preserved for posterity. The minutes of the general meetings with all of its attachments, the reports of the executive and supervisory board, the balance and profit and loss accounts, procurations and power of attorneys as well as the list of shareholders. The last one helps to write the list of the owners of the shares and to reconstruct the stock transfers. The almost complete list of the shareholders can be reconstructed, but we do not know a lot about their identity, profession, and how they were connected to the New-York Coffeehouse before. This can be an interesting focus of the next research. On the other hand, the accounts make it possible to give a picture of the Coffeehouse's profitability. The Company Registry documents were completed with contemporary press materials and Vilmos Tarján's autobiography,<sup>21</sup> as primary sources.

With the help of these sources, I divided the history of the New-York Coffeehouse Company Limited into three major periods.

#### **First period: 1913-1921**

The Coffeehouse Company Limited was established on the 17<sup>th</sup> of June in 1913. According to the Deed of Foundation, the authorized capital was 150 000 korona, which was divided into 375 shares, each of them cost 400 korona. On the constituent general meeting, twelve people attended, even the Harsányi Brothers, who still owned 300 pieces of the stocks. But, they did not take part in the board of directors, and in the everyday management. This task was taken by Dezső Bánó and Lajos Szabó.<sup>22</sup> From this time, the New-York Coffeehouse was identified with Bánó&Szabó by the public.<sup>23</sup> From 1914 the name of the Harsányi Brothers did not even appear on the shareholders' list. They retired from the profession and started to trade with coffee machines and coffee beans.<sup>24</sup>

Bánó and Szabó directed the Café for 5 years. From 1914 to 1918, the shares belonged to the same seven people. Changes occurred only in the number of the owned shares, but these were only minor differences. All of the shareholders took part in the everyday life of the Coffee shop because all of them were part of the board of directors or the supervisory board.

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<sup>20</sup> BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

<sup>21</sup> *Tarján, Vilmos*: (t.v.) -tól a Tarjánig, Budapest, 1937.

<sup>22</sup> BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

<sup>23</sup> *Magyarország*, 09. 17. 1913.

<sup>24</sup> BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

When the new shareholders took over the management of the Coffeehouse, they could not have guessed how difficult years they were facing. They started a new business without former experiences as they were originally merchants. They did not plan a significant renovation, only minor changes in the business. A kitchen was established, the Coffee shop became a Café-Restaurant which made the place a trendy all-night dinner place, until the March of 1916 when the regulations obliged the New-York to close at 1 a.m., every night. The Café that's door was never closed before.<sup>25</sup>

The first year of WWI was profitable in the history of the business, the war was a type of advertisement for the business. The guests came in to hear the news, the journalists were working from here, charity events were held.<sup>26</sup> As a result, the Coffeehouse was profitable during the World War. It was not significant, but at least it was not loss-making. It did not have debt, but could not set aside money. In 1918 the all reserved money was only 13450,40 korona.<sup>27</sup>

Table 1: Profit of the New-York Coffeehouse Ltd. 1914-1918

Year	Profit transfer from last year(korona)	Business year's profit (korona)	All profit (korona)
1914	-	11905,39	11905,39
1915	1905,39	1957,78	3863,17
1916	3863,17	792,34	4655,51
1917	4655,51	3711,48	8366,99
1918	8366,99	5083,41	13450,40

1918 brought the real change on the shareholders' list. The owners sold their shares, only Bánó kept his stocks from the previous owners, but he also sold them one year later. The remaining 325 stocks were shared by nine new people, whose name has been unknown in the history of the Café culture, until 1918.

Table 2: Shareholders' list from 1914-1918

Name	1914 Febr.	1914 Dec.	1915. Apr.	1916 Apr.	1916 Dec.	1918 May	1918 Aug.
Dezsó Bánó	100	100	100	100	100	100	50
Lajos Szabó	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Sándor Horváth	55	50	50	50	50	50	
Ármin Bánó	10	25	25	25	25	25	
Miksa Schaeffer	10	25	25	25	25	25	
József Sterbetzky	50	25	25	25	25	25	
Gyula Királyfy	50	50	50	50	50	50	
Lajos Keleti							50
Miksa Aczél							75
dr. Miklós Gelléri							50
dr. Illés Fleischmann							25
Emil Schwarz							25
dr. Arnold Szűcs							25

<sup>25</sup> Erki, Edit: Kávéház-sírató. Törzshelyek, írók, műhelyek. Szekszárd, 1996. 73–75.

<sup>26</sup> *Budapesti Hírlap*, 1914. június 14.; *Magyarország*, 1914. augusztus 6.; *Budapesti Hírlap*, 1914. szeptember 8.; *Budapesti Hírlap*, 1914. december 20.; *Az Újság*, 1914. december 25.; *Budapest Hírlap*, 1915 szeptember 22.

<sup>27</sup> BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

Manó Schwarz							25
Gyula Dénes							25
Oszkár Markovits							25

Despite being profitable, the popularity of the New-York Coffeehouse declined. The motto: “meet in the New-York after theatre” had changed to “meet in the New-York after the war”.<sup>28</sup> The former customers stayed away, the litterateurs also had to take their share from the wartime obligations. Who did still visit the New-York? The purveyors, gamblers,<sup>29</sup> thieves,<sup>30</sup> shady characters, “slacker” journalists, and the so-called “Konrads of the Coffeehouses”.<sup>31</sup> The atmosphere of the Café had changed, rationing was introduced, and the shareholders were changed, too.

There is no explicit clarification of the stock transfers in 1918, but the directorial reports mentioned the rising prices of the raw materials and the overhead expenses.<sup>32</sup> The stockholders were constantly changing until 1921. From 1918 to 1921 there were seven general meetings: 4 annual general meetings, and 3 extraordinary meetings.<sup>33</sup> This tells us, that there were many extraordinary problems which must have been solved. The ground rules were changed, new members of the executive and supervisory board must have been elected and because of some anomalies they the general meetings must have been reordered. The final accounts were not finished in time, which is explained by the difficulties and damages of the revolutions and the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The tardiness and disruption of the management refers to the challenges the Coffeehouse had to deal with after the First World War.<sup>34</sup>

This time, the beginning of the twenties is full of tragedy and crisis in Budapest. First, in the summer of 1918, the Spanish flu took its victims and made the Café empty. Margit Kafka and the wife of Karinthy died because of the virus, too.<sup>35</sup> The regular guests came in sometimes but did not spend their whole day working here. They were afraid of each other. Later during the period of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, there was no significant café life.<sup>36</sup>

These difficulties indicated the continuous changes on the shareholders’ list. 29 people owned the stocks between the 5<sup>th</sup> of August 1918 and the 15<sup>th</sup> of September 1921. From August of 1918 Miksa Aczél, Lajos Keleti were the main shareholders with six other people. They planned many changes in the Coffeehouse, wanted to make a bakery and bar, but they could not finish their plan. They did not have a stable financial position; they sold their shares to the members of the Haas family. They bought out the shares continuously, until the September of 1920. By that time, 7 out of the 10 shareholders were called Haas. However, they also sold their shares before the general meeting on the 15<sup>th</sup> of September and resigned from their memberships in the executive (Aladár, Lajos, Ignác, Antal Flaschner) and supervisory (Dezső, Andor, Elemér Fellner) board. They were replaced by Miklós Magyar, Béla Zoltán, Olga Herkovits and Vilmos

<sup>28</sup> Konrádyné Gálos, Magda: A Newyorktól a Hungáriáig, Bp. 1965. 14.

<sup>29</sup> Magyarország, 1917. július 31.

<sup>30</sup> Népszava, 1917. augusztus 12.

<sup>31</sup> Balázs, Eszter: Értelmiségellenesség az első világháború első felében: „kávéházi stratégiák” és „lógós” írók Budapesten, In: Értelmiségi karriertörténetek, kapcsolathálók, írócsoportosulások. Budapest, 2016. 153–179. Konrads of the Coffeehouses: they were named after Conrad von Hötendorf the chief of staff in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Those people were nicknamed like that, who talked a lot about how the chief of staff should regulate the army, they had their own opinion, but they themselves did not take their part from the war, but lived their comfortable life in the Coffeehouses.

<sup>32</sup> BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

<sup>33</sup> Klement, Judit: Egy családi részvénytársaság a századelőn. Gizella Gőzmalom Rt. 1905–1917. Korall: Társadalomtörténeti Folyóirat (2000) 67.

<sup>34</sup> BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

<sup>35</sup> Konrádyné Gálos, Magda: A Newyorktól a Hungáriáig, Bp. 1965. 16.

<sup>36</sup> Konrádyné Gálos, Magda: A Newyorktól a Hungáriáig, Bp. 1965. 16.

Tarján, the representatives of the second period of the history of the New-York Coffeehouse Ltd. They have inherited a huge debt (100 569 korona) and a Café with dubious fame.<sup>37</sup>

Table 3: Shareholders' list 1918-1921

Name	08. 05. 1918. annual	10. 14. 1918. extraordinary	01. 14. 1919. extraordinary	01. 03. 1920. extraordinary	09. 15. 1920. annual
Dezső Bánó	50				
Lajos Keleti	50	50	50		
Miksa Aczél	75	50			
dr. Miklós Gelléri	50	10			
dr. Illés Fleischmann	25	50	50		
Emil Schwarz	25	5			
dr. Arnold Szűcs	25				
Manó Schwarz	25				
Gyula Dénes	25				
Oszkár Markovits	25	4	50		
Aladár Gy. Dénes		50			
Viktor Aczél		5			
dr. Vilmos Erős		50			
dr. Dezső Molnár		50			
Aladár Haas			50	90	100
Lajos Haas			50	90	100
Adolf Legmann			50		
Hermann Auslander			10		
Viktor Korányi			5		
Dezső Korányi			5		
Ignác Haas			2	10	10
Dezső Haas				10	10
Ferenc Haas				10	10
Jenő Haas				12	5
dr. Marcell Kemény				10	
Andor Haas					5
Béla König					5
Elemér Fellner					5
Antal Flaschner					125

### Second Period (1920-1936)

The main shareholder and character of the Café in this period was Vilmos Tarján, the famous ex-investigative reporter. He was a member of the executive board and responsible for the daily management, too. He introduced many reforms, made charity events, used the marketing well to

<sup>37</sup> BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

advertise the Café, and had a broad social network, which he applied wisely to make the New-York a trendy and chic venue.<sup>38</sup>

Tarján was fired from the “Az Est” journal, because of an article about Béla Kun.<sup>39</sup> To solve his financial problem he started gambling in the Otthon-Kör. It took months to win 500 000 korona when he stopped gambling and rented the New-York Coffeehouse with his three partners. Béla Zoltán was the Chief Cashier of the Manfréd Weis Steel and Metal Works, Olga Herkovits, the daughter of a Café-Restaurant owner in Zombor, and Miklós Magyar a rich citizen in Budapest.<sup>40</sup>

After renting the Coffeehouse, it was closed for six weeks of cleaning and renovation. This time was enough to get rid of the dust and the suspicious customers, too. They established a kitchen, which made the New-York one of the best café-restaurants of the city under the direction of chef István Varga. After the inaugural, the New-York Coffeehouse became one of the most popular meeting places in Budapest. From the 1920-1930s, the New-York is not only a home for the writers but became a luxurious Coffeehouse. The most prominent people of the society, the biggest Hungarian and foreign stars visited it, according to a guestbook.<sup>41</sup>

Parallel to its popularity, it became profitable. In December of 1920, a 150 000 korona worth of tax upon luxuries must be paid,<sup>42</sup> which means, it had a significant amount of income. According to the general meeting in 1921, the Café became profitable, as the 100 569 korona deficit was turned into an 85 503 korona profit. This was the first time in the history of the Corporation, a dividend was paid (9000 korona). The Coffeehouse remained profitable until 1931.<sup>43</sup>

There were changes on the shareholders’ list until 1931, but these are not significant according to the constant changes from 1918-1920. The majority of the shares were owned by the four major shareholders (Magyar, Zoltán, Herkovits, and Tarján). There was a stock transit in 1921 when 5 of the minor shareholders sold all of their stocks and eight new people bought them, as well as the major shareholders passed some of their shares, too. In 1925 Zsigmond Keil sold his shares to Sándor Gottlieb, but there is no other share issue until 1927.<sup>44</sup>

Table 4: Shareholders’ list 1922-1936

Name	1922 Dec.	1923 Oct.	1924 Nov.	1925 Dec.	1926 Apr.	1926 Dec.	1927 Dec.	1928 Dec.	1929 Dec.	1930 May	1931 May	1932 May	1933 May
Béla Zoltán	50	50	5000	5000	5000	800	800	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000
Miklós Magyar	50	50	5000	5000	5000	800	800	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000
Vilmos Tarján	50	50	5000	5000	5000	800	800	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000
Olga Herkovits	50	50	5000	5000	5000	800	800	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000
Jenő/Jenőné Hartenstein	50	50	5000	5000	5000	250	250	380	380	400	380	380	400
Jakab Tihanyi	20	20	2000	2000	2000	250	250	380	380	400	380	380	400
Ignáczné Klein	20	20	2000	2000	2000	250	250	380	380	400	380	380	400
Henrik Pál	30	30	3000	3000	3000	250	250	380	380	400	380	380	400
dr. József Strasser	25	25	2500	2500	2500	200	200						
Géza Glaser	10	10	1000	1000	1000	200	200						

<sup>38</sup> Csapó, Katalin: Százéves irodalmi kávéház a „Newyork”, *Budapest Negyed*, 4 (1996) 186–192.

<sup>39</sup> Tarján, Vilmos: (t.v.) -tól a Tarjánig, Budapest, 1937. 149–150

<sup>40</sup> Csapó, Katalin: Százéves irodalmi kávéház a „Newyork”, *Budapest Negyed*, 4 (1996) 186–192.

<sup>41</sup> Saly, Noémi: Tarján Vili babérkoszorúja, Budapest, 13. (2016) 23–25.

<sup>42</sup> 25% of the price must have been payed.

<sup>43</sup> BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

<sup>44</sup> BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

István Varga	10	10	1000	1000	1000	200							
Zsigmond Keil	10	10	1000										
Sándor Gottlieb				1000	1000	200	200	100	100	100	100	100	100
Béla Vágó							200	380	380	300	380	380	
József Friedmann													300

The most important changes were in the authorized capital, the number, value, and currency of the stocks. According to the Deed of Foundation, the authorized capital was 150 000 korona which was divided into 375 shares valued at 400 korona each. But, because of the economic conditions, the significant rise of the overhead costs, the salaries, and the commodity prices, and the planned developments, the authorized capital was raised to 15 million korona. This was divided into 37500 shares, valued at 400 korona each. All of the new shares were subscribed by the previous shareholders; there were no new people on the shareholders' list. This refers to some stability in the life of the company.<sup>45</sup>

The introduction of the pengő in 1926 brought some changes, too. According to the opening balance, the authorized capital was worth 50 000 pengő and they could put 2000 pengő in the reserve fund. And according to a ministerial decree,<sup>46</sup> it was divided into 5000 pieces of shares, all worth 10 pengő.<sup>47</sup>

This condition changed one year later because the directors implemented some reconstructions,<sup>48</sup> and the rent was remarkably raised when New York Palace was bought from the Est concern by the Adria Insurance Company. The authorized capital was doubled (100 000 pengő). The new shares were bought in equal proportions (12500-12500) by the four major shareholders.

Table 5: **Changes in the shares**

	1920-1923	1924-1926	1927	1928-1936
Number of the shares (db)	375	37 500	5000	10 000
Cost	400	400	10	10
Currency	korona	korona	pengő	pengő
Authorised Capital	150 000	150 million	50 000	100 000

The company became loss-making from 1931. In that year they could cover the loss from the reserve fund, but later the loss was carried forward to the next business year. The table shows not only the business years' losses, but the numbers include the transferred losses from the previous business year.

Table 6: **Profit and loss of the New-York Coffeehouse; 1920-1934**

	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926 pengő	1927	1928	1929	1930
<b>Profit</b>	8550	530667	858613	47798943	46122220	99502293	23238	20605	20032	-	3757
	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936					
<b>Loss</b>	26570	9295	10308	32497	68277	36769					

The beginning of the loss-making period coincides with the effects of the Great Depression in Hungary. Tarján mentions the specific symptoms of it in his management reports and

<sup>45</sup> BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

<sup>46</sup> Every share must be worth minimally 10 pengő.

<sup>47</sup> BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

<sup>48</sup> *Tarján, Vilmos*: (t.v.)-tól a Tarjánig, Budapest, 1937. 161.

autobiography. These were the dumped prices, the reduced consumer abilities, the continuously decreased prices, the fact that the increasing burdens could not be passed on by the customers. There were expenses which could not be reduced, such as the rent, the taxes, and the electricity bill; moreover, the cost of hiring music bands was getting expensive, too.<sup>49</sup> These cost a lot; meanwhile, they had to survive in a competitive environment. Parallel with the financial issues, Tarján reported in his autobiography that beer bars became more popular in these years, people visited the Coffeehouses less frequently. He tried to attract customers with cheap menus, but it was not economically viable. In these years, the “Nagykörút” the area where the New-York was located became less popular among the citizens, the nightlife centralized between the Nagymező Street and the Oktogon.<sup>50</sup>

The problems of the Coffeehouse were visible to the public, too as many articles were written about the debate of the rent, the demands of the creditors.<sup>51</sup> As a result of the problems, the owners of the Coffeehouse called for a moratorium made a private arrangement and tried to sell their shares immediately.<sup>52</sup> They honored all of the requests of the new main shareholder, gave the stock free even it was not the practice. The former shareholders got rid of a 350 000 pengő worth debt.

### **Third Period (1936-1949)**

The last period of the Coffeehouse’s history last from 1936-1949, but the last general meeting was held in 1947. During this 13 years long period, 46 people owned the shares. According to the previous periods, this is a quite high number which reports about the complicated and uncertain condition of the Café. Some shareholders are well-known people who owned and directed a Coffeehouse before, but most of the shareholders are unknown people who invested his saved money.

First, from 1936-1937 Menyhért Kraszner, the previous owner of the Japán Coffeehouse, owned the majority of the shares. He had four partners in the business, but all of them sold their shares in 1937.

From 1937 to 1939, dr Sándor Tomaschoff and dr Géza Schmidl were the main shareholders and passed them to dr Viktor Géza Frank who was the main figure of the Café until 1942. Until 1944 the famous Café owner family, the Spolarichs took over the New-York and try to make it profitable. They did their best to make it successful again, they even try to change its name to the Spolarich New-York Coffeehouse, but the registry court did not let them to do that. Just like their predecessors, they failed. After them, six new people owned the shares, who sold it to fourteen new shareholders in 1947. Not only the unknown, inexperienced people but the very prestigious owners managed the New-York in these years. None of them could maintain their business for a long time and had to sell it, which shows the hardships of the years before and under the Second World War.

According to its profitability, the Coffeehouse is loss-making except the years of 1941 and 1943. The hardest years were from 1944-1947. A bomb had hit the New York Palace on the 17<sup>th</sup> of 1944 so they had to close it until the May of 1945 when it was repaired and opened again. Later because of the inflation the number of customers raised, but still, the business was not profitable. The stabilization did not make the life of the Café owner easier. The sales declined which was a problem for the management.

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<sup>49</sup> BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

<sup>50</sup> Uo. 193-196.

<sup>51</sup> *8 órai Újság*, 1933. január 14.; *Az Est*, 1933. január 14.; *Friss Újság*, 1933. január 15.; *Pesti Napló*, 1933.február 05.; *Pesti Hírlap*, 1936.április 16. stb.

<sup>52</sup> Uo. 193-196.

No balance account was made in this period, except the opening balance in 1947 when the Forint was introduced. The authorized capital was defined as 150 000 Ft which was divided into 5000 pieces of 30 Ft valued shares.

It could not be reconstructed who owned the shares from 1947 to 1949 because no general meeting was held. In 1948-1949 the members of the executive and supervisory board resigned from their position. In the January of 1949, the ministry designated a manager to run the cafe (László Hima). The last piece of document formed in the life of the Company was written on the 6<sup>th</sup> of September in 1949 when because of its liquidation it was asked to delete it from the company register.

After the end of the New-York Coffeehouse Company Limited, the building was used for various purposes. Firstly it was a warehouse of sport equipment, after that, it was used by the IBUSZ until 1954 when the Café reopened as the Hungária Café. From the 1980s the public started to call it the New-York Coffeehouse again.

### **Conclusions**

The history of the New-York Coffeehouse Company Limited can be divided into three major parts, according to the stock transfers (1913-1920; 1920-1936; 1937-1949). Within that there are more minor eras. The frequency of the stock transfers is connected with the profitability and attendance of the Coffeehouse. In calm and lucrative periods, the shareholders did not want to sell their stocks, but in hard, loss-making times they wanted to get rid of them. The shareholders were the main souls of the Coffeehouse. During the productive and profitable years, they were always talented and committed people. But, there were years, when experienced, previous café-owners tried to make the Coffeehouse profitable, but failed. It was because of the economically and socially tragic times, such as during the Revolutions and the Second World War. However, during these historical eras, mostly inexperienced and less successful people bought the shares and managed the Coffeehouse.



Fritz János

## Landflucht, intensive Kulturen, ausländische Arbeiter in der pommerschen Landwirtschaft vor 1914

### Abstract

This paper concerns with the impact of the intensification exerting on the worker issue after the corn crisis in Eastelbien. It examines the connection between the spread of the intensive culture and the migration of the agricultural workers in Pomerania, one of the Prussian provinces mostly dominated by large estates before 1914. This change of structure takes more issues, particularly regarding the Hungarian comparings. On the one hand in such a geographical environment what chances did the holdings have to the renovating of farming? On the other hand referring to the agricultural workers how realistic were the hopes attaching to the climbing „the social ladder”? Here it has to be taken into account that Pomerania had arrived in the bourgeois era with significant starting disadvantages determined by the antecedents. The peasants went also wrong with the abolition of serfdom having coincided with an agrarian crises. Later in the times of the unity state the province having no raw materials, disposing low population density has also marginalized. Therefore it could hardly get involved in the economic circulation and the industrialization of the country. Next to East Prussia the most of people wandered away from here. The main reason was that the spread of the intensive cultures in the 1890s had coincided with the diminution of the fertility, what implicated in increasing level the employing of foreigner workers.

**Keywords:** corn crises, intensive cultures, rural migration, foreigner workers, “climbing the social ladder”

### Einleitung

Pommern, die von dem Großgrundbesitz dominierte ostelbische Provinz ist schon vor der „Kliometrie“ der 1990er Jahre sehr kultiviert worden, wie es sich auch aus den vergleichenden Analysen der kanadischen Scott M. Eddie<sup>1</sup> und der Monographien der ostdeutschen Ilona Buchsteiner<sup>2</sup> gut herausstellt. Aber meiner Meinung nach kann dieses Thema auch aus ungarischer Sicht sehr aufschlußreich sein. Woran denke ich? Die eine interessante Frage hängt mit der in Folge der Getreidekrise am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts ausgelösten Intensivierung zusammen. Wie bekannt ist, bedeutete dieser Prozess für das Bauerntum in Ungarn große Möglichkeiten um ihr Wirtschaften mit Obst- und Gemüseanbau sowie Milchviehzucht zu verstärken und dadurch den Kleinbetrieb zu einem maßgeblichen Faktor zu machen. Aber wie war es in Pommern, wo die geographischen Gegebenheiten viel ungünstiger sind, als in Ungarn? Hat hier dieser Prozess, nicht eher den Großgrundbesitz bevorzugt, als die Kleinbetriebe und zugleich zur Steigerung der Landflucht auch noch beigetragen.

Die andere interessante Frage ist, hinsichtlich der damaligen Umstände, ob und mit welcher Wahrscheinlichkeit sich die Erwartungen zum Aufsteigen auf der „Sozialen Leiter“ realisierten? Es handelt sich hier um den von der Historischen Schule geförderten Gedanken, aufgrund dessen der Arbeiter zuerst Pächter werden und dann später zum Kleineigentümer aufbrechen soll. Mit dieser Methode hoffte man die Reißzähne des marxistischen „Klassenkampfes“ und zugleich jene des „Laissez-fair“-Kapitalismus herauszuziehen. In Ostelbien kamen noch die

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<sup>1</sup> Eddie, M. Scott: Junkers and Magnates. The social distribution of landed wealth in Pomerania and Transdanubia, 1893. *Österreichische Osthefte* 36. (1994) 109–131.

<sup>2</sup> Buchsteiner, Ilona: Grossgrundbesitz in Pommern 1971–1914: Ökonomische, soziale und politische Transformation der Grossgrundbesitzer. Rostock, 1993. 447.

nationalpolitischen Verhältnisse dazu. Es ist zweifellos, dass die Parole des „Aufstieges auf der Sozialen Leiter“ bis Ende 1945 auf der Ebene der Erwerbstätigkeit ein Leitfaden war. Es ist aber fraglich, ob sich dieser mit der Intensivierung der einhergehenden Kapitalakkumulation verwirklichte. Im Folgenden versuche ich diese Fragen zu beantworten.

### **Die Historiographie des Themas und die Beurteilung der landwirtschaftlichen Arbeiterfrage**

Mit dem Thema beschäftigte man sich damals am meisten in den Enqueten des „Vereins für Sozialpolitik“, jener Organisation, in welcher sich die reformkonservativen Sozialwissenschaftler und Ökonomen scharten. Diese Gelehrten waren die größten Anhänger der Idee des Besteigens „der Sozialen Leiter“. Unter ihnen können als die bedeutendsten Persönlichkeiten Theodor von der Goltz, Max Weber und Adolf Buchenberger erwähnt werden.<sup>3</sup> Bezüglich der Zwischenkriegszeit – als die nationalpolitischen Ansichten in den Hintergrund getreten sind – wurde diese Frage schon weniger ideologisch betrachtet. Aus diesem Zeitraum ist es wert sich auf Friedrich Aereboe, den als liberal eingeschätzten Agrarökonom zu berufen. Wie Aereboe schreibt, die Weimarer Republik hat ernsthafte soziale Maßnahmen getroffen, um die Lage der Arbeiter zu verbessern. Man hat aus der Ernährungsnot des Krieges die Lektion gelernt, dass um Fortschritt bei der Lebensmittelversorgung zu erreichen, zuerst der Arbeitermangel in der Landwirtschaft beherrscht werden muss. Dazu sollte man die Lebensumstände der „Landarbeiter“ verändern, besonders ihre Wohnungsverhältnisse.<sup>4</sup> Diese Maßnahmen dehnten sich auch auf die ausländischen Saisonarbeiter, die in der Kaiserzeit in „Schnitterkasernen“ untergebracht worden sind, aus.

Annähernd der politischen Wende war es nun mehr möglich über die Arbeiterfrage, frei von allen Vorurteilen und ideologischen Ballasten, zu diskutieren. Unter den Historikern der Achtziger- und Neunzigerjahre kann man sich einerseits auf die schon erwähnten „Kliomertriker“ berufen. Andererseits können hier die Werke von Gesellschafts- und Heimathistoriker als Stützpunkt dienen, wie die des westdeutschen Walter Achilles und des polnischen Włodzimierz Stepinski aus Szczecin. Hier ist es wichtig den im April 1992 in Gosen bei Berlin veranstalteten internationalen Historikertag zu erwähnen. Diese Symposion war nach der Wende die erste, die das Thema des ostelbischen Großgrundbesitzes auf die Tagesordnung setzte.<sup>5</sup>

### **Die „Intensifikation“ in Ostelbien am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts**

Bezüglich der Arbeiterfrage kann als die kritische Periode die Epoche der Intensivierung betrachtet werden. Die Getreidenkrise brachte in dieser Frage auch eine Zesur mit sich. Solange früher auf den ostelbischen Großgrundbesitzen die in Dreschanteil interessierte Familienbeschäftigung verbreitet war. So trat danach, infolge der intensiven Kulturen die sogenannte Deputantenschicht mit festem Lohn in Vordergrund. Der Strukturwandel wurde am meisten durch den Zuckerrübenanbau gekennzeichnet, obwohl dessen Anteil der Ackerfläche aller Betriebe über 50 ha LF im Reichsdurchschnitt ständig abnahm, er aber im Jahre 1907 immernoch bei 40 v. H. lag.<sup>6</sup>

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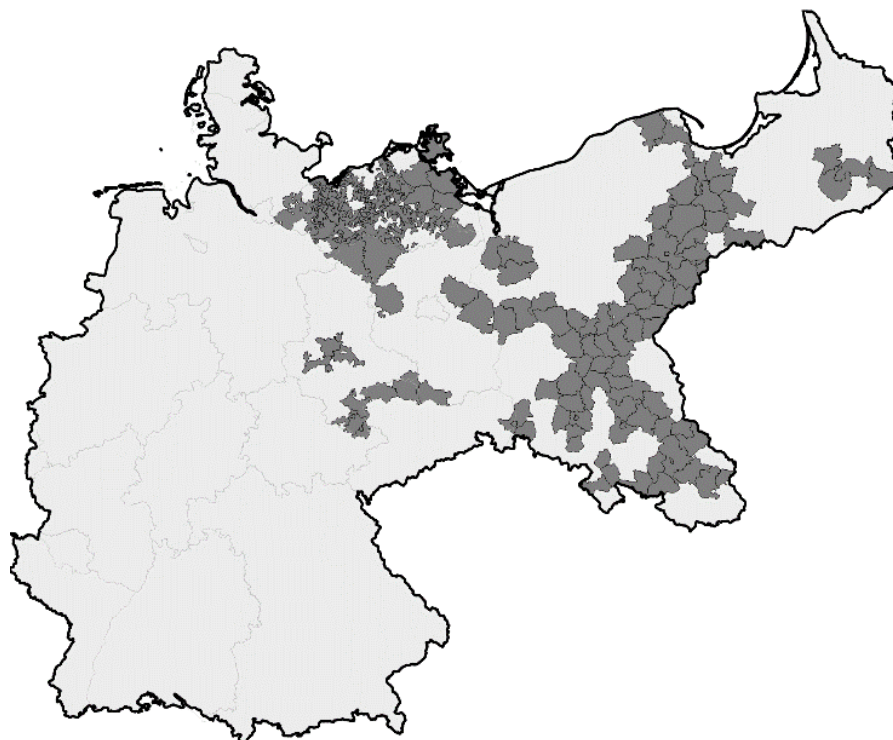
<sup>3</sup> *Walter Achilles*: Landflucht oder Landvertreibung zwischen 1850 und 1914? In: Von der Landwirtschaft zur Industrie. Wirtschaftlicher und gesellschaftlicher Wandel im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Festschrift für Friedrich-Wilhelm Henning zum 65. Geburtstag. Hergestellt von Günther Schultz. Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich, 1996. 77-106.

<sup>4</sup> *Friedrich Aereboe*: Der Einfluss des Krieges auf die landwirtschaftliche Produktion in Deutschland. Stuttgart, Berlin und Leipzig, New Haven, 1927. 140-141.

<sup>5</sup> *Ostelbische Agrargesellschaft im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik*. Agrarkrise – junkerliche Interessenpolitik – Modernisierungsstrategien. Hergestellt von Heinz Reif. Berlin, 1994. 415.

<sup>6</sup> *Achilles, Walter*: Landflucht oder Landvertreibung... 80.

Karte 1: Die Kreise in Ostelbien mit Zuckerrübenanbau im Jahre 1892



Quelle: Max Weber: Die Verhältnisse der Landarbeiter im ostelbischen Deutschland. (Preußische Provinzen Ost- und West-Preußen, Pommern, Posen, Schlesien, Brandenburg, Großherzogtümer Mecklenburg, Kreis Herzogtum Lauenburg), dargestellt auf Grund der vom Verein für Sozialpolitik veranstalteten Erhebungen. Leipzig 1892. 891.

Die drei dominanten Kreise des Zuckerrübenanbaues waren folgende: die Umgebungen von Stralsund (Pommern), Bromberg (Westpreußen) und Breslau (Schlesien). Zugleich repräsentierte Ostpreußen eine andere Extremität, da der Zuckerrübenanbau in dieser Provinz praktisch ganz fehlte, überflügelte dieser die anderen Regionen in der ländlichen Abwanderung.

### Der Zusammenhang zwischen den intensiven Kulturen und der Landflucht

Es ist eine gute Frage, in wie weit die damalige Landflucht von der Verbreitung der intensiven Kulturen verursacht worden ist. Einige Historiker vertreten die Meinung, dass – als erster Schritt – demografische Prozesse auch mitgewirkt haben. Dieser Strukturwandel sollte nach der Theorie von Klaus Sauls mit der Zeit des Geburtenrückganges der Landarbeiterfamilien zusammengefallen sein. Der Umschwung sollte in den 1890er Jahren eingetreten zu sein: bis dahin verfügten die Landarbeiter über eine hohe Geburtenzahl, die die Löhne auf einem niedrigen Niveau hielt. Da es unter den einzelnen Gebieten keine großen Lohnunterschiede gegeben hat, kann auch keine große Abwanderung aus dem Lande festgestellt werden. Aber als die Geburtenzahlen sanken und die Großbetriebe anfangen die intensiven Kulturen zu fördern, hat sich alles verändert. Wo es Arbeitermangel gab und die Zuckerrübe bevorzugt wurde, strömten die Arbeiter wegen der hohen Löhne hin. Von dort, wo der Zuckerrübenanbau nicht vorherrschte, ging man weg.<sup>7</sup> In den nächsten Schritten wurde die Landflucht von den höheren Löhnen der Industrie gespornt.

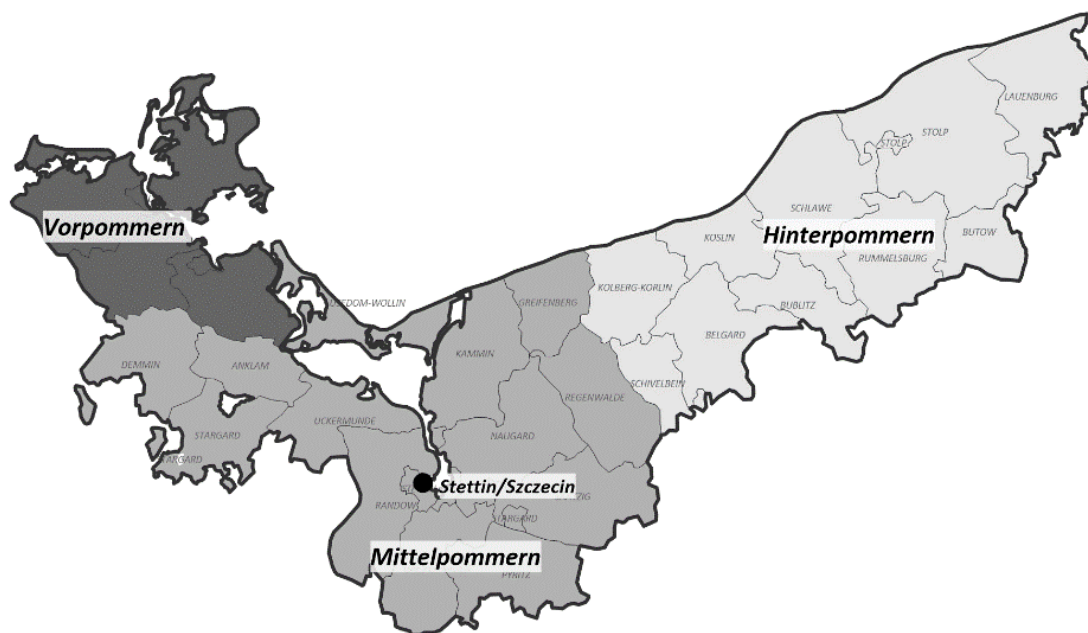
<sup>7</sup> Saul, Klaus: Um die konservative Struktur Ostelbiens: Agrarische Interessen, Staatsverwaltung, und ländliche „Arbeiternot“. Zur konservativen Landarbeiterpolitik in Preußen-Deutschland 1889–1914. In: Deutscher Konservatismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Festschrift für Fritz Fischer zum 75. Geburtstag und zum 50. Doktorjubiläum, Hergestellt von Dirk Stegman u. a. Bonn, 1983. 137.

Walter Achilles meint bezüglich der Abwanderung, dass es noch nicht ausreichend untersucht worden ist, ob die Besserstellung der Landarbeiter die Wirtschaftskraft eines Gutsbetriebes überstiegen hätte oder ob die Gutsbesitzer ihre Forderungen deshalb nicht in erster Linie an den Staat richteten, um das eigene Einkommen zu erhöhen. Dazu müsste man eine repräsentative Anzahl von Ertrags – Aufwands-Rechnungen vorliegen haben. Aber man hat den Verdacht, die Ergebnisse seien manipuliert, um mit ihrer Hilfe die Notlage der Landwirtschaft zu beweisen.<sup>8</sup> Andererseits scheint es logisch, dass der Preisverfall bei Getreide auf der Ausgabenseite mit einer Aufwandsverminderung zusammengegangen sei.

### **Pommern, die von dem Großgrundbesitz dominierte Region**

Wenn wir in die pommerschen Aspekte eingehen wollen, ist es zuerst notwendig diese Region vorzustellen. Es handelt sich um die zwischen 1815 – 1945 existierten preußischen Provinzen, die an der Ostsee und an beiden Ufern der Oder zu finden waren. Sein Hauptsitz war Stettin (Szczecin), die im Jahre 1900 eine Bevölkerung von 211000 Menschen hatte.<sup>9</sup> Die Teile rechts der Oder kamen nach 1945 an Polen und die links der Oder kann heute als „Rechtsnachfolger“ Mecklenburg-Vorpommern betrachtet werden.

Karte 2: Pommern, die preußische Provinz innerhalb ihrer Grenzen vor 1914



Quelle: <https://www.census.gov/geographies/mapping-files/time-series/geo/carto-boundary-file.html>

Was den Großgrundbesitz betrifft, konzentrierte er sich am meisten in Vorpommern, in dem heutigen deutschen Teil, der aber bis 1815 unter schwedische Herrschaft stand. Die Dominanz des Grundbesitzes hängt hier mit der fast kompletten Eliminierung des Bauernstandes während des 18. Jahrhunderts zusammen.<sup>10</sup> Diese Entwicklung wurde von den patriotischen

<sup>8</sup> Achilles, Walter: Landflucht oder Landvertreibung...77-78.

<sup>9</sup> Buske, Norbert: Pommern: Territorialstaat und Landesteil von Preußen, Thomas Helms Verlag, Schwerin, 1997. 104.

<sup>10</sup> Fuchs, Carl Johannes: Der Untergang des Bauernstandes und das Aufkommen der Gutherrschaften nach archivalischen Quellen aus Neu-Vorpommern und Rügen. Strassburg, 1888. 396.

deutschen Historikern in dem 19. Jahrhundert gerne dem „Bauernschutz“ der preußischen Teile entgegengesetzt.

Noch dazu sind die pommerschen Bauern mit der Auflösung der Leibeigenschaft auch sehr schlecht weg gekommen, denn sie mußten den größten Teil –wenn nicht sogar die Hälfte – ihrer Felder zugunsten des Großgrundbesitzes preisgeben. Włodzimierz Stepinski, der Heimatforscher aus Szczecin meint, dass die Sachen deswegen so schiefgegangen wären, weil die Emanzipation mit einer Agrarkrise zusammengefallen wäre und der Adel sich schon bis dahin tief verschuldet hätte.<sup>11</sup> Andererseits handelte es hier um einen Dienstadel, der nicht nur mitgesteuert, sondern auch an der Administration teilgenommen hat. Es war also offensichtlich, dass die Hohenzollern in diesem Prozeß den Adel begünstigten.<sup>12</sup> Jedenfalls als Ergebniss der Regulierungen entstand in Ostelbien eine breite Schicht der Landarbeiter.<sup>13</sup>

### **Pommern, die Region im Schatten**

Hinsichtlich des breiteren Wirtschaftsumfelds sind für Pommern die späteren Zeiten auch nicht gut ausgefallen, da die Provinz innerhalb des im Jahre 1871 verwirklichten Einheitsstaates die Rolle einer an die Peripherie gezwungenen Region erfüllen musste. Da es keine Rohstoffe gab und die Bevölkerungsdichte niedrig war– die zusätzlich durch Abwanderung geringer wurde –, konnte sich die Provinz in den wirtschaftlichen Kreislauf und den Industrialisierungsprozess des neuen deutschen Reiches nur schwierig integrieren. Vielleicht ist die Vermutung nicht übertrieben, dass die Provinz unter preindustriellen Verhältnissen eher auf seine Kosten kommen könnte. Die oftmals kritisierte Getreidemonokultur des 18. bis 19. Jahrhunderts gesellte sich eine ausgedehnte extensive Schafzucht, wo die Tiere unter den Umständen der Dreifelderwirtschaft auf der Brache und auf dem Stoppel beweidet wurden. Die auf diese Weise hergestellte Wolle wurde mit Segelschiffen über die vielen kleinen Häfen der Küste nach England und Skandinavien exportiert. Damals genossen viele, heute eher unbedeutende Häfen, wie Barth und Wolgast eine Blütezeit.<sup>14</sup>

Aber diese Prosperität kam dadurch zu Ende, dass der Seehandel von Hamburg und den anderen größeren westlichen Häfen monopolisiert worden ist.<sup>15</sup> Unter diesen Umständen bedeutete es für die Provinzen, mit einer 365 km lange Seeküste, als einzige Ausbruchsmöglichkeit die Fischerei. Der Massentourismus, als andere Chance ist nur nach dem ersten Weltkrieg am Horizont aufgetaucht.

### **Pommern, die von der Landflucht tief getroffene Provinz**

Auf dieser Grundlage ist es nicht überraschend, wenn die meisten Leute in jenen Jahrzehnten neben Ostpreußen gerade aus Pommern weggingen. Im Zusammenhang damit kommt die Frage, ob dieser Prozess von dem Großbesitz verursacht worden ist? Nach der Meinung

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<sup>11</sup> *Stepiński, Włodzimierz*: Die Pommersche Landschaft und die Junker in der Agrarkrise der 20er Jahre des 19. Jahrhunderts, In: Mecklenburg und das Reich in feudaler und bürgerlicher Gesellschaft – Agrargeschichte, Sozialgeschichte, Regionalgeschichte – Teil 2, Hergestellt von: Der Rektor der Univ. Rostock. Wiss. Leitung: Ernst Münch] (Agrargeschichte Bd. 24), Rostock, 1990. 23–33.

<sup>12</sup> *Ifj. Barta, János*: A felvilágosult abszolutizmus parasztpolitikája a Habsburg- és a Hohenzollern-monarchiában. *Agrártörténeti Szemle* 20. (1978) 395–443.

<sup>13</sup> *Knapp, Georg Friedrich*: Die Bauernbefreiung und die Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den älteren Teilen Preußens I-II. Leipzig 1887. 446–450, 463–473.

<sup>14</sup> *Schleinert, Dirk – Wartenberg, Heiko*: Das alte Pommern. Leben und Arbeiten auf dem platten Land. Rostock, 2013. 11–18.

<sup>15</sup> *Stepiński, Włodzimierz*: Polnische Forschungen über die Geschichte über Pommerns im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Forschungsstand und Forschungsprobleme, In: Pommern. Geschichte, Kultur, Wissenschaft. 2. Kolloquium zur Geschichte Pommerns 13. und 14. September 1991. Hergestellt von Jürgen Schröder. Greifswald, 1991. 28.

von Max Sering, der führenden Persönlichkeit der Agrarpolitischen Schule, ist eine solche Beziehung schon ganz eindeutig. Auf der anderen Seite argumentierte man mit der schlechten finanziellen Lage der Großgrundbesitzer, was – wie ich schon erwähnt habe – von der späteren Geschichtsschreibung (Achilles, Heß) auf differenzierter Weise beurteilt wurde. Aber was in der Sache entscheidend ist, ist dass es für die Landarbeiter immer weniger Arbeiten gab. Solange der Drusch (vorher) in der Winterzeit einen Teil der Erntearbeiten bildete, ist das mit der Einführung der Dreschmaschine weggefallen.<sup>16</sup> Deshalb fühlten sich viele im Lande überflüssig zu sein und gingen in die Städte.

Tabelle 1: Die Wanderungsbewegung seit 1840.

Gebiet	Im Zeitraum zwischen	
	1840–1910	1910–1925
Ostpreußen	-739 300	-111 600
Westpreußen	-603 100	-9 200
Posen	-877 900	
<b>Pommern</b>	<b>-744 100</b>	<b>36 900</b>
Schlesien	-673 400	-37 000
Berlin	948 500	372 300
Hamburg	493 200	121 300
Rheinland	429 400	89 300
Westfalen	322 100	1 400

Quelle: Heinz Rogmann: Ostdeutschlands große Not. Zahlen und Tatsachen. Berlin 1930. 94.

Es war spezifisch für Pommern, dass sich die Zahl der Tagelöhner mit dem Aufhören des Segelschiffsbaus in den 1870-80er Jahren wesentlich vermehrt hat.<sup>17</sup> Während der späteren Industrialisierung konnten nicht so viele Arbeitsplätze geschaffen werden, die diesen Überfluss hätte absorbieren können. Als ein beträchtlicher Betrieb kam die Stettiner Vulcan-Werft noch in Frage, aber sie war auch nur ein mittelständiges Unternehmen. Aber Pommern war im Vergleich zu Ostpreußen in einer günstigeren Lage, da hier mehrere Zuckerfabriken existierten.

### Die Lage der pommerschen Landarbeiter in den 1890er Jahren

Zur Epoche der „Intensifikation“ kommend muss man vor allem die vom „Verein für Sozialpolitik“ in ganz Deutschland in den 1890er Jahren durchgeführte Repräsentativumfrage hervorheben. Mit dieser Untersuchung wurde auf die Veränderung der „Arbeitsverfassung“, und die „Umschichtung der landwirtschaftlichen Bevölkerung“ reflektiert. Innerhalb der Umfragen wurden die Angaben der sieben ostelbischen Provinzen von Max Weber, dem damals jungen Privatdozenten, bearbeitet, der seinen Eintritt in den patenten sozialwissenschaftlichen Verein mit dieser soziologischen Arbeit erreichte. Zur Schilderung der pommerschen Tendenzen wurden 24 „Generalberichte“ und 98 „Spezialberichte“ verwendet. Bezüglich der Provinz hebt Weber hervor, dass zwar der Großgrundbesitz überall maßgeblich ist, aber an der Seeküste

<sup>16</sup> Krockow von, Christian Graf: Die Reise nach Pommern. Bericht aus einem verschwiegenen Land. Stuttgart, 1984. 34.

<sup>17</sup> Bütoz, Martin: Von Bauerndörfern, Schifffahrtshäfen und Badeorten – Siedlungsentwicklung auf Darß und Zingst in letzten 350 Jahren. In: Eginhardt Wegner: Geographische und historische Beiträge zur Landeskunde Pommern. Schwerin, 1998. 120-124.

der Umgebung von Bütow, Schlawe, Lauenburg – also in Hinterpommern – herrschen die Bauernwirtschaften vor.<sup>18</sup>

Trotzdem meinte Weber, dass die Lage der Landarbeiter in Pommern viel günstiger wäre, als in Westpreußen oder in Ostpreußen. Aber während in der früheren Entlohnungsform eher die Ergänzungswirtschaften der Arbeiter in Vordergrund gerückt sind, so hätten die „neueren rationellen Wirtschaftsmethoden“ die Initiativen der Arbeiter ausgelöscht und somit den Weg zur Selbstständigkeit und zum Selbstwertgefühl versperrt. Der Wandel wurde damit gerechtfertigt, dass die Arbeiter durch diese vielerlei Tätigkeiten zu viel gebunden würden und seien aus der Sicht des Großgrundbesitzes weniger zu mobilisieren. Weber beschwert sich dafür auch, dass der jetzige Geldlohn in Wert geringer sei als der frühere Naturallohn.<sup>19</sup>

### Die lokalen Zusammenhänge zwischen der „Intensifikation“ und der Landflucht

Der Zusammenhang zwischen den intensiven Kulturen und der Abwanderung der Landarbeiter ist in seiner Zeit auf lokaler Ebene auch untersucht worden. In dieser Hinsicht muss das im Jahre 1909 von Max von Stojentin, dem Generalsekretär der Landwirtschaftskammer für Pommern, geschriebene Büchlein erwähnt werden. Darin erörtert Stojentin, dass sich die Verbreitung der intensiven Kulturen überall in zunehmendem Maße mit der Beschäftigung der ausländischen Saisonarbeiter und der Abwanderung der einheimischen Landarbeiter paarte. Diese letztere kann dort einen kleineren Umfang haben, wo die intensive Zuckerrübenkultur vorherrscht – wie zum Beispiel in Vorpommern. Aber es gab dort eine ganz große Bedeutung, wo der Kartoffelanbau dominant ist – wie zum Beispiel in Hinterpommern.

Tabelle 2: Die spezifische Zahl der ausländischen Arbeiter in Kreisen mit starkem Zuckerrübenanbau, 1907

Kreise	Mit Zuckerrüben angebaute Fläche, ha	Zahl der ausländischen Arbeiter per 10 Tausend Hektar
Pyritz	4 385	366
Greifswald	4 096	361
Anklam	3 664	366
Randow	3 323	178
Franzburg	3 104	294
Demmin	2 642	235
Rügen	1 621	154
Greifenberg	1 353	218
Greifenhagen	887	97
Usedom-Wollin	793	92

Quelle: Dr. Max von Stojentin: Die ausländischen Wanderarbeiter in der Provinz Pommern. Nach den Erhebungen des Ausschusses für Arbeiterwesen der Landwirtschaftskammer für die Provinz Pommern dargestellt. Stettin 1909. 7.

Dieselbe Fläche mit Zuckerrüben genutzt braucht mehr Arbeitskraft, als wenn sie mit Kartoffeln angebaut worden wäre. Also im Durchschnitt je größer die Fläche des Zuckerrübenanbaus ist, desto mehr ausländische Saisonarbeiter müssen angestellt werden.

<sup>18</sup> Weber, Max: Die Verhältnisse der Landarbeiter im ostelbischen Deutschland. (Preußische Provinzen Ost- und West-Preußen, Pommern, Posen, Schlesien, Brandenburg, Großherzogtümer Mecklenburg, Kreis Herzogtum Lauenburg), dargestellt auf Grund der von Verein für Sozialpolitik veranstalteten Erhebungen, Leipzig, 1892. 283.

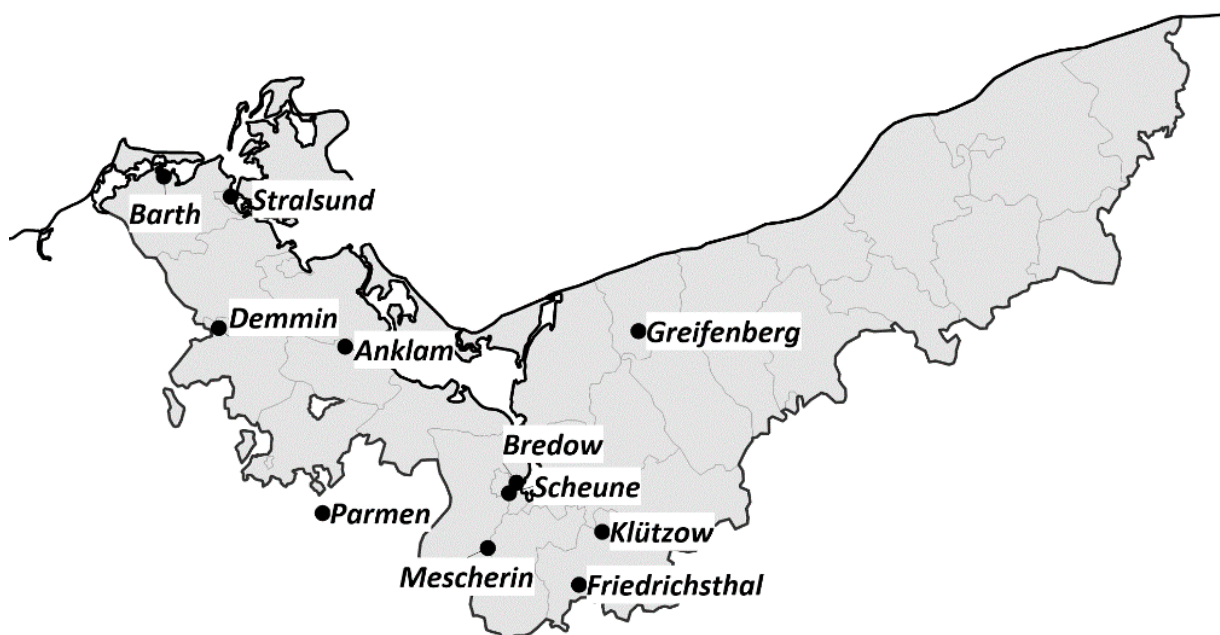
<sup>19</sup> Ders. 373-375.

Diese Leute sind nach Stojentin in den richtigen gutsbetrieblichen Kreisen (Rügen, Greifswald) Russen, während in den eher bäuerlichen Gegenden (Stettin, Köslin) Galizianer.<sup>20</sup>

### Die Zuckerindustrie in Pommern

In Pommern wurden die ersten Zuckerfabriken im Jahre 1836 gegründet. Der Betrieb in Stralsund wurde von zwei Geschäftsmännern, Schlüter und Bollmann, initiiert. Der Rügener wurde von Fürst zu Putbus eingesetzt, aber dieser war kurzlebig. Später hat auch die Eisenbahn an der Entwicklung dieses Wirtschaftszweiges mitgewirkt. So existierten schon im Jahre 1906 im Pommern 11 Zuckerfabriken.<sup>21</sup> Man kann wohl sagen, dass es Betriebe mit kleineren Kapazitäten waren, da die zu ihnen gehörende Zuckerrübenfläche ungefähr 33000 ha einnahm.<sup>22</sup> Während in Ungarn nur im Umkreis der Kaposvárer Fabrik 47000 ha gab.<sup>23</sup> (Nach Ferenc Szili sollte es in Ungarn zwischen 1888 – 1890 23 – ziemlich große Zuckerfabriken gegeben haben, von denen 14 Aktiengesellschaften waren.<sup>24</sup>)

Karte 3: Die Zuckerfabriken in Pommern im Jahre 1906



Quelle: Johannes Neumann: Die Verhältnisse der Landwirtschaft in Pommern. Stettin 1906. 42.

Zugleich in Pommern, ähnlich wie in den anderen ostelbischen Provinzen hatten die Produzenten selbst (Großgrundbesitzer, Großbauern) innerhalb der Eigentümerstruktur der

<sup>20</sup> Stojentin von, Max: Die ausländischen Wanderarbeiter in der Provinz Pommern. Nach den Erhebungen des Ausschusses für Arbeiterwesen der Landwirtschaftskammer für die Provinz Pommern dargestellt. Stettin, 1909. 6-14.

<sup>21</sup> Neumann, Johannes: Die Verhältnisse der Landwirtschaft in Pommern. Stettin, 1906. 38.

<sup>22</sup> Schleier, Dirk – Wartenberg, Heiko: Das alte Pommern. Leben und Arbeiten auf dem platten Land. Rostock, 2013. 11.

<sup>23</sup> Szili, Ferenc: A cukorrépa termesztése Délkelet-Dunántúlon és a MIR kaposvári cukorgyára 1893–1948. Kaposvár. 1986. 56.

<sup>24</sup> Ders. 25.



Zuckerfabriken einen bedeutenden Anteil besessen. Es gab dreierlei Betriebsform: erstens die Einzelunternehmen, bei denen die Inhaber selbst die nötigen Zuckerrüben produzierten. Zweitens waren es die Wirtschaftsgesellschaften, bei denen die Aktionäre zum Funktionieren nur mit Kapital beigetragen haben. Drittens gab es den Typ, wo die Aktionäre – die im übrigen Landwirte waren – die Fabrik mit Zuckerrüben und auch mit Kapital versorgten.<sup>25</sup> Die Zuckerfabriken waren auch hier mit Kleinbahnen verbunden, die zu den Häfen führten, ihr Hauptprofil war Warentransport.<sup>26</sup>

### **Zusammenfassung**

In der Zeit der Diskussion von „Agrarstaat“ oder „Industriestaat“ meinte der Bismarck-Nachfolge Kanzler Caprivi, dass Deutschland entweder Waren oder Menschen exportieren müsse. Obwohl Caprivi von der Agrarlobby gestürzt worden ist, konnte der „Industriestaat“ nicht mehr aufgehoben werden. (Ähnliche Vorstellungen gab es damals in Ungarn auch, wie es aus den Schriften von Lóránt Hegedűs – der damals als Sprachrohr des Fabrikantenverbandes, MGYOSZ fungierte – gut hervorgeht.<sup>27</sup>). Im Zusammenhang damit meinte Friedrich Aereboe, dass der Zuckerrübenanbau in der Zeit des Überganges von dem „Agrarstaat“ zu dem „Industriestaat“ wichtige Funktionen hatte. Das heißt die Auswanderung in Ostelbien zu mildern und zugleich die Intensivierung der Betriebe anzuspornen.<sup>28</sup> Später, als die deutsche Industrie schon stark genug war, konnten die einheimischen Landarbeiter im Zuckerrübenanbau durch Ostarbeiter ersetzt werden.

Die Caprivi'sche Konzeption könnte gut sein, aber sie rechnete nicht damit, dass die Industrialisierung die einzelnen Gebiete ungleichmäßig berührte, dessen Folge die große Landflucht war. Zur Aufholung von Ostelbien bildeten die Landarbeiter den Schlüsselfaktor. Theodor von der Goltz hoffte noch in den 1870er Jahren aus ihnen eine Kleinbauernschicht auszubilden. Max Weber sah schon in den 1890er Jahren die Rationalisierung der Großgrundbesitze viel skeptischer. Weber, der die psychologischen Komponenten in den Vordergrund brachte, bedauerte es deshalb, weil seiner Meinung nach auf solche Weise die strebsamesten, intelligentesten Arbeiter weggingen. Der dritte Verfasser, der süddeutsche Buchenberger sagt, dass es nicht die Arbeiterfrage ist, die wichtig ist, sondern die Betriebsform, die mehrere Arten beinhaltet. Buchenberger meint aufgrund der Verhältnisse seiner süddeutschen Heimat, dass die Landarbeiter vom Abwandern auch in dem Fall nicht zurückzuhalten sind, wenn ihnen sogar Felder zugeteilt worden wären.

Diesen Problemenkreis illustriert sehr gut Pommern, wo es in den 1860er Jahren eine Auswanderungswelle nach Brasilien gab, die sich später zu einer Landflucht gemildert hatte. Die spätere konservative Politik war bezüglich des Bauerntums vielleicht viel erfolgreicher, als bei den Landarbeitern, da Pommern damals als eine Musterregion der Honorationenorganisationen

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<sup>25</sup> Hagelberg, Gerhard B.–Müller, Hans-Heinrich: Cukorrépa termesztésére és feldolgozására alakult tőkés társaságok Németország a XIX. században. Adalékok a cukoripar tőke-, társadalom-, gazdaság szerkezetéhez. Agrártörténeti Szemle 34. (1974) 446-470.

<sup>26</sup> Hormann, Werner: Nachbetrachtung zur wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung der früheren Klein- und Privatbahnen. In: Eginhardt Wegner: Geographische und historische Beiträge zur Landeskunde Pommern. Schwerin 1998. 293-298.

<sup>27</sup> Aber die Ungarn hatten noch weniger Erfolg, als der ehemaliger Kanzler, da man hier nicht einmal angefangen hat diesen Weg zu begehen. Die industriellen Kreise in der Zeit der großen Auswanderungen nach Amerika fanden es logisch diese Leute, anstatt sie emigrieren zu lassen, in die heimische Industrie hinüberzuleiten. Um diesen Strukturwandel zu verwirklichen, bräuchte man einerseits Märkte, die durch das selbständige ungarische Zollgebiet versichert worden wären. Andererseits müsste man den Großgrundbesitz abbauen und die Fideikommissse auflösen, um damit Arbeitskraft zu schaffen, aber die Zeit war kurz dazu. (*Rab, Virág: An Old-and-new Aspect for Interpreting the Course of Life of Hegedűs as an Economist. Sieh in diesem Konferenzband!*)

<sup>28</sup> Aereboe, Friedrich: Der Einfluss...14.

betrachtet wurde. Hier hatten sich – gegenüber zu Brandenburg, Mecklenburg und Ostpreußen – die Groß-, und Kleinbetriebe im Rahmen der Genossenschaften sehr wirksam zusammengeschlossen, was sich auf jede Kooperationsform ausdehnte. Dennoch bedeutete dies für das pommersche Bauerntum die größte Hilfe, um unter den neuen Umständen Boden fassen zu können, zum Beispiel die aus Schleswig-Holstein herübergetragenen Molkereigenossenschaften.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> *Merl, Stephan*: Das Agrargenossenschaftswesen Ostdeutschlands 1878–1928. Die Organisation des landwirtschaftlichen Fortschritts und ihre Grenzen. In: *Ostelbische Agrargesellschaft im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik. Agrarkrise – junkerliche Interessenpolitik – Modernisierungsstrategien*. Hergestellt von Heinz Reif. Berlin, 1994. 297-309.

Dániel Luka

## Land Policy in Hungary 1944–1967

### Abstract

The topic of this study is land legislation and its implementation in Hungary between 1944 and 1967. In the paper, the different types of communist land policy methods were analysed, focusing on abolishing private land ownership and private land use. In this context, the fundamental elements and development of land legislation, furthermore basic trends and changes in land structure are assessed. The land law was not codified in the communist dictatorship, but the attempts of such codification are explored in the paper, which occurred during the “new course” (1953/1954–1955), started around the revolution in the autumn of 1956, and a third in 1962 after mass collectivization. As a result of political change and the aftermath of the revolution, private farmers received twice land back in private ownership and private use. The analysis points out that strengthening private land ownership had a better chance in the “new course” than after the revolution in 1956. Land transfer and lease were restricted from 1948 but increased between 1953 and 1955, and again between 1956 and 1959 during the relaxed agrarian policy. The regulations were implemented in a radical fashion between 1948/1949 and 1953 generally, and legislation on land use, land consolidation, and “waiver” multiplied efforts to abolish private farms. Because of this reason, the idea of the gradual transformation of the countryside was abandoned, “kulaks” were discriminated and their estates liquidated. Imre Nagy and others recognized the paradox situation and initiated corrections, which paved the way and did result in a whole new economic policy in July 1953. On the other hand, after 1956, the new regime set a new upper limit of private farms and started another wave of expropriation. The records indicate that the main method of taking private land in state ownership was “waiver” of land and expropriation until 1967. Private land ownership was finally abolished by creating cooperative ownership. The study can be considered a case study to the account of the legal, economic, and social history of the communist dictatorship.

**Keywords:** land legislation, collectivization, nationalization, land tenure, property

### Introduction

What happened to the Hungarian agriculture in the 20th century?<sup>1</sup> Many different changes occurred in the land tenure system and the process affected the whole Hungarian society. The land reforms represented a European experience; they were accelerated or decelerated by necessity and various political, economic and social interests.<sup>2</sup> The main subject of this paper is state intervention and its forms and methods in legal-, property- and land tenure system in Hungary from 1944 to 1967. I focus on basic features and principles of land legislation and tendencies. After the Second World War in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe Soviet institutions were adapted in politics, economy and culture, and the violent transformation had impact on all aspects of life. The dictatorship had a basic element: communism on the Soviet pattern. How was law in the Soviet power sphere altered? Which parts of the Soviet law and how were they adapted? Written primary sources of national and local agricultural administration bureaus will be evaluated. This topic was not put in focus of historical researches and was not analyzed in detail, nor compared to other cases transnationally. I emphasize legislative process

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<sup>1</sup> In the paper I use hectare (ha) to measure agricultural area. In Hungary katasztrális hold (kh) was used to measure different areas until the end of the 1960s. 1 kh is equal to 0,575 ha.

<sup>2</sup> *Fehér, György: A mezőgazdaság az I. világháború és a forradalmak idején.* In: *Agrárvilág Magyarországon 1848–2002.* Szerk. Estók, János. Budapest 2008. 148–153.

and implementation of land law regarding land ownership and land use. In the time period of 1944 and 1967 general land code did not come into force, however it was planned twice.

### **Land reform? First step of communist land policy 1944/1945–1948/1949**

The land reform in 1945 was ordered from above.<sup>3</sup> The reform was for the communist party an opportunity to interfere into property relations in the countryside, as for the Bolsheviks in 1917 in Russia.<sup>4</sup> The communist party supported the reform for political and tactical purposes. One part of expropriated land was used to create state model farms, and another part of the land was kept in reserve to distribute it among prisoners of war who returned home later. The land reform was declared as completed by law No. 24 of 1949 about the questions of completing the land reform and internal colonization. After this law came into effect it was officially prohibited to distribute ownership rights to private persons in agricultural land, meadow and woodland. On allocated lands unviable small-farms were established.<sup>5</sup> What did the land reform determine from the perspective of general land law? Farmers could own maximal 115 ha (200 kh) agricultural land; landed property of private persons with profession not related to agriculture could not exceed 57,5 ha (100 kh). A state land fund was created and lands were redistributed from this fund. The new farmers could their newly acquired land not sell, burden for 10 years, just with approval of a specific land reform organ. Inheritance of distributed land was restricted and the farmers should have paid a contribution, a redemption fee for the state. These regulations and restrictions served for the MKP's<sup>6</sup> legal policy in the long term partly as control of land tenure system. Reallocated land could have transferred to another person just with approval of state organ, so these lands were from the beginning of land reform under state control. It did mean that limiting right of disposal and it was the same for building sites, houses and another buildings which were redistributed during the land reform. The MKP did not make propaganda to organize agricultural cooperatives on the Soviet pattern. After the decision of the Cominform in June 1948 the preparations began to create "socialist large-scale" farms, so called cooperatives.<sup>7</sup>

### **Land legislation and transformation of land structure 1948/1949–1967**

In August 1948 Mátyás Rákosi, the general secretary of the communist party, announced that the "socialist transformation" of the countryside should occurred by voluntary cooperation of peasantry. Three types of "cooperatives" existed, the third type was considered as the most developed form of "socialist cooperation". Legal provisions were drafted in the time period from 1945 to 1967 mostly by the main department of land organization/land policy in the Ministry of Agriculture. The regulations were not compiled in a general land code. Furthermore, land legislation aimed to abolish private ownership of land. This situation did result a land law that "according to the actual economic- and social development of socialism", determined short-term or long-term aims and tendencies. Private ownership was reinforced and strengthened twice, first during the "new course" between 1953 and 1955 and after the revolution and freedom fight in 1957.

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<sup>3</sup> Prime Ministerial Decree No. 600/1945 (III.18.) on the abolition of large agricultural estates and land redistribution to tillers. Magyar Közlöny, 10. szám, 1945. március 18. The first draft was prepared by the communist agrarian expert Imre Nagy in September 1944.

<sup>4</sup> Brunner, Georg – Klaus Westen: Die sowjetische Kolchosordnung. Stuttgart 1970. 15; 32. Dieter Pfaff: Das sozialistische Eigentum in der Sowjetunion. Köln 1965. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Romsics, Ignác: Magyarország története a XX. században. Budapest 2010. 284. Donáth Ferenc: Demokratikus földreform Magyarországon 1945–1947. Budapest 1969. 125–127.

<sup>6</sup> Hungarian Communist Party (MKP), from June 1948 Hungarian Working People's Party (MDP), from November 1956 Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP).

<sup>7</sup> Honvári, János: Magyarország gazdasági fejlődése a II. világháború után (1945–1955). In: Magyarország gazdaságtörténete a honfoglalástól a huszadik század közepéig. Szerk. Honvári, János. Budapest 1996. 531–535.

## **State's pre-lease right and land transfer**

After the speech of the general secretary in August 1948 two measures linked to land legislation came into effect by end of August: one about cessation of any further land transaction until the regulation of state's pre-emption right, and another on leasing agricultural land.<sup>8</sup> The decree on land lease made possible for instance to provide land for lease cooperatives (later transformed to and called as cooperative groups which were based on collective farms in the Soviet Union) organized from above. Leaseholds from 14,4 ha (25 kh) or if the leaser possessed more than 23 ha (40 kh) own and leased lands, then all of them which were used by lease was claimed by state's pre-lease right. It meant a forced land lease, and the pre-lease lasted at least 5 years long. The lease contracts were designated by decree and not by the voluntary agreement between land owner and land user. Private land was taken in lease by force (state's pre-lease right, waived lands, abandoned lands were cultivated by forced lease, or by "cooperative" members: when land users joined "cooperatives", these "cooperatives" stepped in the leaser's place, and the lease contract was extended automatically with 3 years).<sup>9</sup> From the end of August to December 1948 land transfer was stopped by a decree. The planned legal provision on state's pre-emption right was not issued; instead, land transfer was regulated in general.<sup>10</sup> According to the regulation state could exercise its pre-emption right, but its exact way was not detailed. Sale of agricultural land or forest could take place just with permission of a special committee at the county level, later of the department of agriculture of the county council. The communist leadership had the intention to stop land transactions between private persons in the long-term, and possibly permanently. Internal orders which were sent to local state organs indicate that one of the basic goals of land legislation was to prevent any form of land transfer between private persons.<sup>11</sup> The party state could not prevent people to sale or buy land in the examined period completely.

## **Land use and obligatory utilization**

After the Second World War cultivation of all arable land should have been ensured for common good, which meant basically feeding the population, reconstruction of the country and fulfilling reparations. In March 1947 a decree was promulgated on securing cultivation of abandoned and not properly cultivated soil. Soil which was abandoned or not entirely cultivated was taken in forced utilization, either through trustees, or through compulsory lease. Such lease contracts could not exceed one year.<sup>12</sup> Soil which was in state's ownership was tilled from 1947 uniformly and permanently under the supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture. The land fund which was created to reallocate land was dissolved in 1948. After the dissolution, a state land fund existed with the purpose to allocate and control land owned by the state, furthermore to boost further transformation in land structure. After 1948 new land legislation regarding land use

<sup>8</sup> Government Decree No. 8.990/1948 (VIII.29.) on the restriction of transfer of agricultural land and woodland. Magyar Közlöny, 193. szám, 1948. augusztus 28.; Government Decree No. 9.000/1948 (VIII.29.) on the lease of agricultural lands. Magyar Közlöny, 194. szám, 1948. augusztus, 29.

<sup>9</sup> In fact the "cooperatives" and the state did not pay lease to landowners in many cases.

<sup>10</sup> Government Decree No. 13.100/1948 (XII.22.) on the regulation of transfer of agricultural land and woodland. Magyar Közlöny, 281. szám, 1948. december 22.

<sup>11</sup> The National Land Bureau's confidential internal decree on the implementation of decrees regarding transfer of agricultural land and woodland. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Győr-Moson-Sopron Megye Győri Levéltára (MNL GyMSMGyL), XXIV. A földművelésügyi igazgatás szakszervei, 202. A Győr-Moson (1950-től Győr-Sopron) megyei Ingatlanforgalmi Bizottság iratai 1949–1953. 11. ő. e. 620.001/1949. sz.

<sup>12</sup> Prime Ministerial Decree No. 3.650/1947 (III.30.) on ensuring cultivation of abandoned and neglected agricultural lands. Magyar Közlöny, 73. szám, 1947. március 30.; Decree No. 61.530/1947 (III.30.) of the Ministry of Agriculture on ensuring cultivation of abandoned and neglected agricultural lands. Magyar Közlöny, 73. szám, 1947. március 30.

and forced utilization was promulgated, it aimed to abolish private ownership of land. The decrees from 1949 and 1951 stipulated that (state or privately owned) land, which was not cultivated ordinary or was abandoned, should be utilized by the same guidelines.<sup>13</sup> According to the regulations such soil should have been given primarily to the “socialist sector”, so to state farms and “cooperatives” basically for free use. This process was described later in the communist dictatorship as the “socialization of land use”. Details of land utilization were further regulated in 1953, 1957, 1961 and 1965, but the basic principles remained the same, based on the decree on land use in 1949.

### **Main methods of abolition of private land ownership**

The communist party applied direct and indirect methods in order to realize abolition of private ownership of land. In 1949 beside of the mentioned ones more decrees, presidential council’s decree and law came into force as part of “socialist land policy measures”: a presidential council’s decree on land consolidation, and a decree on waiving land.<sup>14</sup> Exercising state’s pre-emption right in larger scale was not on the agenda, because the MDP wanted to take most of agricultural land in state ownership free of any charge.<sup>15</sup> First of all the so called “kulak” landowners were devitalized and forced by violence and other administrative measures to hand over their land to state as “waiver”. The „waiver“ was based theoretically on voluntarism, but in reality on constraint and abusive administrative measures. Land which was taken over by “socialist sector” was incorporated into the large-scale agricultural fields of state farms and “cooperatives”. The “voluntary waiver” of land ownership became main method of abolition of private ownership of land. Farmers who received land during the implementation of “land reform”, and those who were already landowners and their land tenure was not considered as “kulak estate” (up to 14,4 ha, 25 kh) and tenants fled the countryside too and abandoned their farms, left land uncultivated. In case the “waiver” was conducted as a rent or lease to state, the lease lasted at least 5 years long. This process, despite limiting and halting waiver temporarily partly in the second half of 1952 and in the first half of 1953 from above, led to catastrophic circumstances in the countryside. Agricultural land was taken in state ownership by other methods, for instance expropriation, nationalization, confiscation and “requisition for public utility”. Expropriation and requisition for public utility had almost the same meaning. In 1955 new regulation was announced on expropriation and it annulled former legislation on “requisition for public utility”.<sup>16</sup> Between 1958/1959 and 1961 most of the landowners and rural population were forced to join “cooperatives”.<sup>17</sup>

Massive collectivization and cooperativization of villages meant that the communist regime could declare officially that collectivization of means of production for common use and partly for common property ended, although land consolidation and forcing of peasants to join agricultural

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<sup>13</sup> Decree No. 15.037/1949 (XI.26.) of the Ministry of Agriculture on the temporary utilization of agricultural lands at the disposal of the state. Magyar Közlöny, 246. szám, 1949. november 26.; Decree No. 18.108/1951 (XI.21.) of the Ministry of Agriculture on the temporary utilization of reserved agricultural lands belonging to the state land fund. Magyar Közlöny, 164. szám, 1951. november 21.

<sup>14</sup> Decree No. 3 of 1949 of the Presidential Council of the People’s Republic on the partial consolidation of agricultural land and woodland. Magyar Közlöny, 180–181. szám, 1949. augusztus 30.; Government Decree No. 4.091/1949 (VI.16.) on the waiver of agricultural lands and equipment. Magyar Közlöny, 125–126. szám, 1949. június 16.

<sup>15</sup> Extreme ideas existed about this matter, among others to complete collectivization within 3 or 4 years and to nationalize all land by amending the constitution or in a new constitution.

<sup>16</sup> Decree No. 23 of 1955 of the Presidential Council of the People’s Republic on expropriation. Magyar Közlöny, 81. szám, 1955. július 27.

<sup>17</sup> Ö. Kovács, József: A paraszti társadalom felszámolása a kommunista diktatúrában. A vidéki Magyarország politikai társadalomtörténete 1945–1965. Budapest 2012. 364–365.

collectives continued after 1961. The main mean of production, land remained private property of landowners, who were forced to join or to lease land to “cooperatives”. From this point of view the process of “socialization” of land ownership cannot be considered as completed, because it represented one of the main elements of “socialist transformation of agriculture”. From 1957 lands which were pre-leased or waived as lease to state, and lands including abandoned and not given back to landowners were expropriated without compensation.<sup>18</sup> One part of private land ownership of “kulaks” was permanently liquidated in 1957 and after that year by this method. In 1965 the next step was initiated regarding land use legislation: uncultivated lands were expropriated without compensation even retrospectively, when landowner did not meet the conditions prescribed by decree.<sup>19</sup> Land legislation, land ownership and use were “developed” further to “cooperative land ownership”. “Cooperatives” could own building sites from 1957 but not agricultural land. In 1967 a law was promulgated on „developing land ownership and land use”.<sup>20</sup> “Cooperatives” could acquire land in various ways, and this process determined abolition of private ownership of land in the long-term.

### **The “new course” in 1953 and revolution and freedom fight in 1956**

The economic situation in the country generally, the change in political direction and power struggle in Moscow changed Hungarian politics in 1953. The general secretary Mátyás Rákosi was from power partly removed, and the Soviet communist leadership chose Imre Nagy as Prime Minister. Private land ownership was reinforced in the short-run, agrarian and land policy measures were taken to give compensation to landowners. In August and in September 1953 decrees were issued on land policy, which regulated among others returning of “waived” and abandoned land to landowners in private ownership and use.<sup>21</sup> From the autumn of 1953 began a huge wave of codification of different branches of law, including land law. A thematic draft of general land code was prepared in 1954 and almost the whole text of a new civil code was finished. Some parts of land legislation on land ownership and land tenure system were incorporated into the civil code. The main aim of the general land code would not be the complete transformation of property relations in the countryside; on the contrary, it would have probably secured private property in the long-term, although it contained main elements of communist land legislation, such as state land fund and “cooperative” land use rights. The main aim of legislator was to secure agricultural production by consolidating property relations and land structure.<sup>22</sup> This codification would have been one of the most important measures of the “new course”.

<sup>18</sup> Decree No. 52 of 1957 of the Presidential Council of the People’s Republic on the amendment of Decree No. 10 of 1957 of the Presidential Council of the People’s Republic on the settlement of relations of ownership and use of agricultural lands. Magyar Közlöny, 94. szám, 1957. szeptember 3.

<sup>19</sup> Decree No. 19 of 1965 of the Presidential Council of the People’s Republic on the amendment of Law No. 6 of 1961 on the protection of arable land. Magyar Közlöny, 60. szám, 1965. október 24.

<sup>20</sup> Law No. 4 of 1967 on developing land ownership and land use. Magyar Közlöny, 68. szám, 1967. október 11.

<sup>21</sup> Decree No. 42/1953 (VIII.2.) of the Council of Ministers on the utilization of reserved lands at the disposal of the state, regulation of land lease, and in this relation benefits granted to the working peasantry. Magyar Közlöny, 36. szám, 1953. augusztus 2.; Decree No. 1/1953 (VIII.20.) of the Ministry of Agriculture on the utilization of reserved lands at the disposal of the state and in this relation benefits granted to the working peasantry. Magyar Közlöny, 39. szám, 1953. augusztus 20.

<sup>22</sup> Thematic draft of the general land code, 19 May 1954. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (MNL OL), XIX. Az államigazgatás felsőbb szervei XIX-K. Mezőgazdaság és Élelmiszerügy XIX-K-16 Állami Földmérési és Térképészeti Hivatal XIX-K-16-a Általános iratok (1952–1967). 42. ő. e. 9640–8/1954. sz.; Polgári Törvénykönyv észrevételezése, 1954. augusztus 30. MNL OL XIX. Az államigazgatás felsőbb szervei XIX-D. Építésügy XIX-D-4 Város- és Községgazdálkodási Minisztérium XIX-D-4-a Minisztériumi Titkárság (1954–1956). 16. ő. e. 186/T/1954. sz.

In 1955 the general secretary of the MDP, Mátyás Rákosi came again into power. General and partial land consolidations took place partly without exchanging lands; “cooperatives” were violently established. As in the cities, economic and social policy of the communist party led in October 1956 to revolution in the countryside too, the peasantry insisted to its land. The new government from November 1956 led by János Kádár relaxed hardliner policies. Private land ownership was reinforced again, but private lands were parallel expropriated without compensation as mentioned above.<sup>23</sup> Former landowners could take back “waived” and abandoned soil in private use upon request, though the process was limited as in the “new course”. At the level of agrarian policy an agricultural thesis was prepared by the department of agriculture of the MSZMP, which envisaged a long-term cooperation between private farmers and the state.<sup>24</sup> Implementing land policy measures continued. A new upper limit of land ownership was set, a family was allowed to possess, so to own and use maximum of 14,4 ha (25 kh).<sup>25</sup> Land transfer and lease were restricted as earlier. Selling agricultural soil required permission of state organs; a person could purchase maximum 2,8 ha (5 kh) within the upper limit. The state was granted a pre-emption right in case of inheritance the maximum limit of land per family was exceeded. The Ministry of Justice drafted in 1957 a “cooperative land law”, but it did not come into effect.<sup>26</sup> This law would have regulated some parts of general land law, and it would have allowed the “cooperatives” to acquire agricultural land. The codification was related to the preparations of the civil code and the new “cooperative” law. In 1962/1963 there was another attempt to codify land law generally, but the communist leadership decided to make further changes to land structure instead of consolidate it by such codification.<sup>27</sup> In the 1960s two so called land laws were promulgated, one in 1961 and one in 1967. The first regulated protection of arable land and land use, the second was the mentioned land law on “developing land ownership and land use”.

### Land tenure and rural society

In 1949 a census was carried out in Hungary. According to official statistical data, 41,3% of the whole population were active in agriculture. Some of the landowners were not farmers; furthermore farmers did use partly leased land. From this point of view the land structure contained obviously different land tenure forms, but land ownership was the main core of rural economy. Almost 1 400 000 farms existed in Hungary in 1949 with a total area of 5 608 160 ha (9 753 323 kh). Almost 61 922 landowners were considered as “kulaks”.<sup>28</sup> During the implementation of the above mentioned regulations the land tenure system experienced fundamental changes in 1949, and the radical transformation continued in the following years.

<sup>23</sup> Decree No. 10 of 1957 of the Presidential Council of the People’s Republic on the settlement of relations of ownership and use of agricultural lands. Magyar Közlöny, 15. szám, 1957. február 3.; Decree No. 52 of 1957 of the Presidential Council of the People’s Republic on the amendment of Decree No. 10 of 1957 of the Presidential Council of the People’s Republic on the settlement of relations of ownership and use of agricultural lands. Magyar Közlöny, 94. szám, 1957. szeptember 3.

<sup>24</sup> Varga, Zsuzsanna: Politika, paraszti érdekérvényesítés és szövetkezetek Magyarországon 1956–1967. Budapest 2001. 48.

<sup>25</sup> Decree No. 9 of 1957 of the Presidential Council of the People’s Republic on setting an upper limit of agricultural lands and woodlands in possession of private persons. Magyar Közlöny, 15. szám, 1957. február 3.

<sup>26</sup> Draft of the cooperative land law, 27 May 1957. MNL OL XIX. Az államigazgatás felsőbb szervei XIX-K. Mezőgazdaság és Élelmezésügy XIX-K-1 Földművelésügyi Minisztérium XIX-K-1-y Földbirtokpolitikai (Földrendezési) Főosztály (1945–1967). 1479. ő. e. 153.834/1957. sz.

<sup>27</sup> Memo on the draft of general land code. Secretariat of the Ministry of Agriculture, Department of Administration, 21 February 1963. MNL OL XIX. Az államigazgatás felsőbb szervei XIX-K. Mezőgazdaság és Élelmezésügy XIX-K-1 Földművelésügyi Minisztérium XIX-K-1-b Elnöki Főosztály (1945–1967). 579. ő. e. 2442/1963. sz.

<sup>28</sup> 1949. évi népszámlálás 2. Mezőgazdasági eredmények. Budapest 1950. 18.; 24.



I put emphasis on Southern Transdanubia and mainly on Baranya County in the following brief analysis on land tenure. The area consists of four counties: Zala, Somogy, Baranya and Tolna. In 1949 1 355 350 people lived in these counties, of which 255 833 private persons had farms, but only 204 144 were working in their farms as private agricultural producer. Overall 239 445 people owned arable land, of which 2 553 landowners had arable land of more than 14,4 ha (25 kh), which means they were automatically considered by the state as “kulaks” or “large landowners”. In Baranya County 750 landowners possessed more land than 14,4 ha in 1949.<sup>29</sup> How much agricultural area did they possess, is unknown. The number of persons who were included in the land tenure category “kulak” was much higher, because all other cultivated or non-cultivated area (forest, meadow, pasture, viticulture, horticulture, building area, houses) should be added to the total owned and used area.

The statistical data gives an insight into land use relations, in the four counties 113 had leased (in 1949) more than 14,4 ha (25 kh), in Baranya County 40 land users.<sup>30</sup> In the autumn of 1948 in Baranya County 3 485 ha (6 062 kh) was taken from land users by the state’s pre-lease right, in the four counties a total of 12 532 ha (21 796 kh).<sup>31</sup> Claimed land was partly owned by smallholders and medium-sized farmers, landowners, and this led to disputes in the countryside. The records of the committee which was established to deal with appeals regarding pre-leases indicate that this measure did not lead to intensified “class struggle”, as it is stressed in the literature, and in many cases organizing lease cooperatives had priority.<sup>32</sup> Some landowners wanted to take back their lands which were leased and claimed, and then pre-leased, in order to cultivate it themselves.

In many cases the state’s pre-lease right was not exercised because no claimants did apply for land lease, and no lease cooperatives were organized. In Baranya, land pre-leasing committees were not formed in many municipalities in September/October 1948 to exercise state’s pre-lease right, for instance in Lothárd, Kisbattyán, Mecsekjános, Mecsekfalu, Mecsekpölöske, Csonkamindszent, Bosta, Regenye, and Gödreszentmárton.<sup>33</sup>

In Baranya County from July 1949 to January 1951 at least 134 residential buildings and 219 other agricultural buildings were nationalized among others by “waiver” of ownership, and some of the buildings were given in “cooperative” use.<sup>34</sup> Agricultural equipment, machines and livestock were handed over as “waiver”. Between June 1949 and September/October 1951 approximately 1 920 waiver of land were registered and the landowners “waived” 22 203 ha (38 626 kh). In most cases (1 251), land was given to state free of charge, in 181 cases for a fee, in 2 cases for free use, and in 227 cases as lease. In 259 cases the form of “waiver” is unknown. Agricultural lands of churches were also nationalized (approximately 619 ha, 1 076 kh), while agreements were made between the state and the churches. Detailed records are available for the period from September 1950 to September/October 1951. During this period, 9 004 hectares were handed over as “waiver”. The fields of “waived” agricultural lands were not radically fragmented, 384 “kulaks” “waived” 3 461 hectares (6 020 kh), which consisted of at least 2 212 parcels, the landowners, who did not cultivate their lands themselves and were not farmers, “waived” 834 hectares (1 450 kh), which consisted of at least 149 parcels, and smallholders and medium-sized farmers “waived” 882 hectares (1 534 kh), which consisted of at least 491 parcels.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. 52–53.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 56–57.

<sup>31</sup> *Donáth, Ferenc*: Demokratikus földreform Magyarországon 1945–1947. Lapmelléklet.

<sup>32</sup> *Simon, Péter*: A magyar parasztság sorsfordulója. Budapest 1984. 114–117.; 199.

<sup>33</sup> Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Baranya Megyei Levéltára (MNL BáML), XXIV. Tanácsok 201. a) Baranya megyei Ingatlanforgalmi Bizottság iratai 1949–1953 (XXIV. 201. a.). 25. ő. e.

<sup>34</sup> In this period for instance 39 harvesters, various processing plants and mills.

In 570 cases land was surrendered to state free of charge.<sup>35</sup> Primary sources indicate that the rural society resisted land consolidation and “waiver” was generated by violence and force.

Land transfer was reduced but it was not completely and immediately stopped; state control did not achieve this aim of land policy probably in the rigorous Stalinist years (1950–1953), although there was a drastic reduction in the number of land sales and buys. Presumably the total area of land that was sold or bought decreased, as did the number of applications for permission of land alienation. Protocols of land transfer and waiver committees at the county level show that in January 1950 in Somogy and Tolna counties more applications were accepted than rejected.<sup>36</sup> In Baranya County, many applications were accepted in the first few months of 1951.<sup>37</sup> But the total area of land which was sold was tiny. At the same time, more land was sold and used without permit and illegal land transactions contributed to chaos in the land register. The agrarian and land policy measures triggered flee in rural areas and people left agriculture, in Baranya County in 1949 a total of 96 774 people were employed in agriculture, but in 1960 fewer, 77 045, and it should be noted that collectivization was not finished yet, so this number continued to decline later.<sup>38</sup>

### Results and conclusions

The communist agrarian and land policy evoked radical changes in the countryside. The “socialization of means of production” and the creation of “socialist production relations” were part of transformation of economy and society. The “kulak” estates were liquidated basically by land policy measures. Private landowners of every agricultural estate were restricted in various ways as part of abolition of private property. Security of private property was threatened entirely by the state. In most cases the “kulaks” did not receive compensation for land and for other means of production which were in fact nationalized, while “working peasants”, smallholders and medium-sized farmers did partly receive compensation. In 1953 the relaxing measures to change agrarian and land policy were introduced obviously because in that situation it was inevitable. After June the new Prime Minister Imre Nagy accelerated the process. In terms of land policy, it meant limited restitution, mainly to secure regular and proper cultivation of all agricultural land. It is questionable whether and how the Soviets intervened in the process. Nagy’s government intended to codify land law generally parallel with codification of the civil code to strengthen property relations and thus to secure cultivation of all land. This codification attempt can be considered as a special part in history of land legislation. After 1956 the “cooperative land law” and (until 1967) general land law were not promulgated, so further “development of land ownership and land use” remained possible. In 1967, when the deadline for redeeming “land reform” lands expired, which was regulated in 1957, was the above mentioned land law issued in the official Hungarian gazette. This law was essential to dissolve private land ownership by creating “cooperative land ownership”.

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<sup>35</sup> MIR I/a register No. 3 from 1 000 to 1 500. MNL BaML, XXIV. 201. a. 22. ő. e. “Kulaks” tried to waive parts of their agricultural estates in order to become medium-sized farmers and to reduce burdens that way. During land consolidations their less-fragmented lands were occupied first and they were forced to waive those lands. It was internally restricted, then forbidden for state organs to accept waiver in case landowner wanted to lease or sell land to state. It explains that such cases multiplied from 1949/1950, when landowners gave their land to state free of charge.

<sup>36</sup> Protocol of the meeting of the Committee on Land Transfer, 4 January 1950. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Somogy Megyei Levéltára, XXIV. Az államigazgatás területi szervei (1930) 1945–2008, földművelésügyi szakszervek, 201. Somogy Vármegyei Földhivatal iratai 1945–2000, ingatlanforgalmi bizottság iratai 1949–1950. 45. ő. e. 3.031/1950. sz.; Protocol of the meeting of the Committee on Land Transfer, 13 January 1950. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Tolna Megyei Levéltára, XXIV. Az államigazgatás területi szervei, földművelésügyi szakszervek, 229. Tolna Vármegyei Ingatlanforgalmi Bizottság iratai 1945–1953. 15. ő. e. 2.882/1950. sz.

<sup>37</sup> MNL BaML, XXIV. 201. a. 22. ő. e. i.n.

<sup>38</sup> 1949. évi népszámlálás 8. A foglalkozási statisztika részletes eredményei. Budapest 1950. 24.; 1960. évi népszámlálás 6. Foglalkozási adatok. Budapest 1963. 296.

Tamás Nyári

## **Additions to the History of Hungarian Tourism. The Sikonda Spa in the Middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

### **Abstract**

After the communist takeover, by the end of the 1940s, the previously privately owned spas fell into state hands. This was also the fate of the Harkány and Sikonda spas in Baranya County. In 1928, the Salgótarján Coal Mine Company searched for coal in the forest of the Parish of the Cathedral in Pécs, when it found the thermal water source at a depth of 318 meters. The forest councillor of the Cathedral, Andor Kolossváry, recognising the potential of the spring, using the analysis of the chief chemist of the Danube Steamboat Shipping Company, opened a spa, in the first temporary pool of which 18,000 guests bathed in the first year. In the years that followed, its guests came in part from the ranks of the surrounding mining population, who largely treated their rheumatic ailments here. At the same time, the majority of the guests came from circles that were more able to afford higher prices. The years 1948-49 marked a turning point in the history of the spa, which gained the status of a healing spa from 1935. The nationalisation of the spa and the transformation of the hotel into a night sanatorium could be done during this period. From 1963, a mining sanatorium, which was definitely engaged in healing, also operated here. Sikonda's institution was not unique in the country, but it became one of the most significant, in many cases exemplary, mining medical centres.

**Keywords:** thermal water, spa, nationalisation, socialism, night sanatorium, miner sanatorium

### **Introduction**

The topic of my study is the first thirty years of the history of the Sikonda spa. I am looking for the answer to the conditions under which the spa in Sikonda was established and nationalised, and what effect this had on the development of its future, how the operation of the spa changed at the end of the era, due to the devastating effects of war and its aftermath. I then talk about how conditions after 1945 were used as a reason for nationalisation and how the fate of the spa developed in the years after nationalisation. Finally, I will also examine how unique this process was, or whether a similar phenomenon may have occurred in other parts of the country.

### **The Sikonda Spa**

#### **Discovering the thermal water of Sikonda and the first opening of the spa**

On March 13, 1829, the Erste Donaudampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft (First-Danube-Steamboat-Shipping Company) held its inaugural general meeting in Vienna,<sup>1</sup> which by the end of the century had become the world's largest inland waterway company. To meet their growing demand for coal, they bought a plot of land in 1852 and began his research in the Mecsek. Three years later, the András mine was already operating in Pécsbánya. By 1894, DGT had acquired most of the mines around Pécs, spending about 10 million Austrian Forints on purchases. In

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<sup>1</sup> *Huszár, Zoltán*: Integrációs kísérlet a Duna-medencében a 19. század végétől a második világháború kezdetéig. PhD-Dissertation. Pécs. PTE BTK. 2007. 31.

addition, in 1868 they leased the Szabolcs and Somogy mines of the Pécs Cathedral Estate.<sup>2</sup> By the turn of the century, DGT had become a significant company with modern mining,<sup>3</sup> but the process did not stop: even after the First World War, the mines of Pécs and Pécs research on coal was ongoing.

One of them, which was carried out by Salgótarján Coal Mine Co. in 1928 at the request of First-Danube-Steamboat-Shipping Company, discovered a thermal water source at a depth of 318 meters in the forest of Sikonda of the Pécs Cathedral Estate. The daily, which reported on the discovery, presented the event as a sensation to such an extent that it drew the image of a Hungarian Karlsbad as an opportunity: *“Between Magyarszék and Mánfa, a comparable. [...] The rich amount of healing substances and spring water detected by the analysis of water provides an opportunity for huge concepts, the planned realisation of which can take years. However, one can already predict that a large group of capital could create Hungarian Karlsbad in the forest-crowned Mecsek Mountains.”*<sup>4</sup> The Danube Steam Shipping Company then made an offer to buy the area, but in the end the deal was not established. Thus, the utilisation of the thermal water source took place in the beginning by the ecclesiastical estate. The forest councillor of the manor, Andor Kolossváry, recognising the potential of the spring and using the analysis of the chief chemist of First-Danube-Steamboat-Shipping Company, opened a spa, the first temporary pool of which was visited by 18,000 guests in the first year.<sup>5</sup>

This first pool was a 13x20 metre small and shallow facility with a depth of 30-130 cm.<sup>6</sup> The following year, the number of visitors already increased significantly. The opening of the spa, however, coincided with the unfolding of the Great Depression. The collapse of the New York Stock Exchange and the ensuing economic crisis did not spare Hungary either, and this also had an impact on investments in Sikonda. By 1931, the spa hotel had 35 rooms and a restaurant. The facility also had a reading and card room. So far, instead of the temporary pool, there were two baths and a bathhouse with 7 baths.<sup>7</sup> The continuation of the investment was hampered by the credit crisis unfolding this year, and the crisis in the Central European banking system deepened this year.<sup>8</sup> Several plans in Sikonda could also materialise. Despite the backward investment and difficult accessibility, a vibrant bathing life unfolded from the early 1930s. The press, which saw great opportunities in the spa, wrote at this time: *“Sikonda should be world famous if its source were found abroad ...-The traffic it handles is still significant. There are cottages hidden in a shady forest, which are never empty, the hotel rarely has empty rooms, yet the current situation is unsatisfactory. Due to some transport difficulties, Sikonda is still difficult to reach for large crowds, [...] a glassworks, but the plan fell asleep. There were other plans, especially those that wanted to cultivate winter sports here. The landscape is extremely suitable for this. The valley is a real Sanct Moritz here in Baranya and certainly deserves to be a venue for the implementation of large-scale plans, at least nationally. We wanted to build a straight, new country road through the southern hillsides to the Árpád roof. But the lack of money came...”*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Kaposi, Zoltán: Pécs gazdasági fejlődése 1867-2000. Pécs 2006. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Huszár, Zoltán.: Integrációs kísérlet... 94-97.

<sup>4</sup> Dunántúl, 22. 03. 1928.

<sup>5</sup> Vitális, Sándor: Sikondafürdő és környékének hidrogeológiai viszonyai. Hidrológiai Közlöny 1933. 21-22.

<sup>6</sup> Szászi, Tibor-Kovács, András: Sikonda. Komló 1976. 20. (Manuscript – PTE Tudásközpont. Helytörténeti gyűjtemény.)

<sup>7</sup> Szászi, Tibor-Kovács, András: Sikonda. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Kaposi, Zoltán: Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Ungarn 1700-2000. Studia Hungarica. Passau, 2007. Schenk Verlag. 104.

<sup>9</sup> Dunántúl, 14. 08. 1932.

## Successful times and decline

From 1933, Sikonda already provided medical services.<sup>10</sup> Its audience in the following years consisted of distinguished guests and only partially came out of the ranks of the surrounding mining population, who treated their rheumatic ailments primarily here. However, it was not only the locals who visited these spas. A few years later, the people of Pécs and those around Pécs also appeared, making Sikonda a popular place for excursions and spas all over the county. The excitement of the place is shown by the fact that at the end of the 1930s, the holiday villas of the rich citizens of Pécs were built opposite the spa hotel.<sup>11</sup> Mentioning some of them as examples, politicians of national significance, such as the Minister of the Interior Ferenc Keresztes-Fischer, the retired Prime Minister Károly Huszár, or György Pallavicini, the Member of Parliament. Among the local leaders, Deputy Mayor Béla Fischer and Mayor Andor Nendtvich were also guests. However, in addition to politicians, many other personalities, university professors, writers, painters and actors also visited Sikonda.<sup>12</sup>

Although Sikonda had been called a spa since 1933, it was not officially promoted to the rank of spa until 1935 by the Decision No. XIII of the Minister of the Interior. This decree authorised the use of the spa for public use, and since then its name has officially been "Sikonda Spa."<sup>13</sup> In the same year, Andor Kolossváry<sup>14</sup> retired and the spa was leased. Sikonda Gyógyfürdő és Szálloda Kft., Headquartered in Budapest, was established in 1935 with a share capital of 15,000 Pengő.<sup>15</sup> The identity of the tenants changed once in the period. In 1939, Géza Breznay, an internal medicine rheumatologist, appeared among the managing directors of the company, who rented the facility with his wife from 1940.<sup>16</sup>

The seemingly promising development was interrupted by World War II. The institution suffered from the war, though not in the same sense as other areas. The spa, away from heavy traffic, was not directly damaged by the war, but in the turmoil it was completely looted by the locals. Movable objects were taken and non-movable objects were severely damaged.<sup>17</sup>

However, World War II did not only bring destruction to Sikonda, but to Hungary in general. At the end of the fighting, the country came under Soviet occupation. As the end of the war also meant the redistribution of spheres of interest, our country came under the influence of the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of the Hungarian Communist Party (MKP), the transformation of the country into a "satellite state" began, and the Sovietisation of the country, which was essential for this, began in the first moments. In economic terms, the process began with nationalisations, an important part of which was the nationalisation of the coal mines of Sikonda, which was voted on by the National Assembly at the end of 1945.<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, First-

<sup>10</sup> *Polics, József*: A 85 éves Sikonda története. In: *Múltunk a jelenben 2. A komlói településtörténeti konferenciák 2012-2013.* (Edited by Páll Lajos). Komló 2014. 140.

<sup>11</sup> *Szászi, Tibor – Kovács, András*: Sikonda. 23-24.

<sup>12</sup> *Vratarics, Györgyné*: Sikonda-fürdő története 1928-1978. Sikonda 1988. 25-26., *Dunántúl*, 12. 07. 1932.; *Dunántúl*, 22. 07. 1934.

<sup>13</sup> *Dunántúl*, 24. 03. 1935.

<sup>14</sup> *Dunántúl* 03. 07. 1935., *Magyarság*, 08. 08. 1935.

<sup>15</sup> *Nagy Magyar Compass* 60/2.: Nagy „Magyar Compass” (Before that, Mihók’s) 1936-1937. Anniversary – 60th – year. part 2.: Iparvállalatok. Edited Heir of Nagy Galánthai Sándor. Budapest 1936. 501.

<sup>16</sup> *Nagy Magyar Compass* 63/2.: Nagy „Magyar Compass” (Before that, Mihók’s) 1939-1940. 63rd year. part 2.: Iparvállalatok. (Edited Heir of Nagy Galánthai Sándor). Budapest 1939. 519, *Nagy Magyar Compass* 64/2.: Nagy „Magyar Compass” (Before that, Mihók’s) 1940-1941. 64th year. part 2: Iparvállalatok. Edited Heir of Nagy Galánthai Sándor. Budapest 1940.512.

<sup>17</sup> *Soós, Józsefné – Tímár, Istvánné*: Sikonda-fürdő története (1927-2014). Komló 2015. 27.

<sup>18</sup> *Domonkos, Endre*: Közép- és Kelet-Európa gazdaságtörténete 1945-1953 között. Budapest 2019. 81-82.; *Huszár, Zoltán*: Integrációs kísérlet... 352.

Danube-Steamboat-Shipping Company were liquidated<sup>19</sup>. However, as the German imperial property became Soviet property under the Potsdam Treaty, the mines owned by First-Danube-Steamboat-Shipping Company became Soviet state property, while the property leased from the church became Hungarian state property.<sup>20</sup> This explains why the Mecsek coal mines were a Soviet-Hungarian joint venture, the Hungarian-Soviet Shipping Company (MESZHART).<sup>21</sup>

In the case of Sikonda, the transition took longer. The spa, as we saw earlier, was rented by Géza Breznay from the cathedral estate, but he was no longer able to operate it properly from 1944 due to the looting during the war. The facility became essentially inoperable. The reopening of the spa – in parallel with the general resumption of the country's operation – became increasingly urgent. As a first step, the Pécs Cathedral Estate made a complaint in 1946 about the looting. In 1947, the investigation was closed, and the perpetrators and some of the hijacked equipment were bypassed.<sup>22</sup> The other important step was the re-leasing of the spa. As a result of a government decree of 1945<sup>23</sup>, the right to dispose of the 27-acre Sikonda forest fell into the hands of the Land Policy Department of the Ministry of Agriculture. Therefore, leasing became the task of the Pécs Forest Directorate, which was called for by the Minister of Agriculture. It is characteristic of the confusion of the ownership of the time that the new contract, dated April 13, 1946, was signed by the tenant Gábor Kovács and his colleagues, as well as by the headquarters of the landlord Pécs Forest Directorate. Moreover, the latter was conditional on the contract being reviewed after 10 years, and the tenant repairing the war damage, tidying up the spa, and opening it as soon as possible.<sup>24</sup>

However, the operation of the spa on a lease basis could only take place in a significant political headwind, as it became clear in the first months. The miners' union set a goal to take over the spa for its own purposes as early as in 1946, and the Pécs City Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party was informed about it on 22 May.<sup>25</sup> Afterwards, the press also announced the plans: *“Also the implementation of a work plan point, the claim of Sikonda Spa for the purpose of a working holiday. Sikonda is located in a picturesque part of the Mecsek, a spa with warm healing water. In the past, this spa was rented by private contractors, who made quite a profit from the spa's turnover, but workers, especially miners in the area, did not have the opportunity to use the healing water to refresh their hard-working bodies because of the expensive spa prices. Now the union is demanding the spa, and if the spa becomes the property of the union, it means that all workers can enjoy the healing water that provides health in a cheap and homely environment.”*<sup>26</sup>

The attacks from the trade union through the press continued in the following months. Új Dunántúl dealt with the issue of Sikonda in a voluminous article, the title of which was already telling: *“Sikonda goes to the dogs”* At the beginning of the article, the chair chapter was immediately attacked. According to this, they circumvented the land tenure ordinance in the lease contract because only the Ministry of Agriculture would have had the right to do so. The accusations went on to describe the operating conditions: *“However, with their contractual obligation to start repairing the war damage as a matter of urgency, these tenants did not comply at all, only to the extent that the spa was opened in the most impossible and anti-hygienic conditions. So it was opened, but how? Some rosy cabins were carved together with mining children in need of*

<sup>19</sup> 1946. évi XIII. Act on the Nationalisation of Coal Mining. Announced: 26 June 1946

<sup>20</sup> Jóváételetti Hivatal 29063/1946. number regulation

<sup>21</sup> Huszár, Zoltán: Integrációs kísérlet... 352.

<sup>22</sup> Dunántúli Népszava, 22. 10. 1947.

<sup>23</sup> Magyar Közlöny, 18. 03. 1945.

<sup>24</sup> Új Dunántúl, 28. 08. 1946.

<sup>25</sup> Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Baranya Megyei Levéltára (National Archives of Hungary, Baranya County Archives). X.17. Papers of the Pécs Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party, report of the management meeting et 22.5.1946.

<sup>26</sup> Új Dunántúl, 02. 06. 1946.

a holiday, the condition of which is below criticism, as closing the doors is not possible at all, they can only be supported. The water is constantly infected and smells of dirt. "In this respect, the surrounding forests are no exception, because the remains of animal carcasses left over from the war have not been removed to this day, and the masses of mounds of corpses that cover rotting corpses only increase the spread of various skin diseases."<sup>27</sup> A pile of rubble not at all suitable for bathing, which had to be reached through rotting animal carcasses. The union protesting against the conditions, of course, considered recruitment to be the right solution and kept protesting against the conditions. However, the article quoted earlier also contains other interesting points: "Bathers are there, of course, even in such circumstances, and this provides a very good livelihood for tenants, as their expenses would be kept to a minimum. And day by day, more and more values disappear from the building, so there is no restoration, but permanent destruction."<sup>28</sup> In other words, there still seem to be bathers, which is hard to imagine under the conditions described. Of course, it is conceivable that values disappeared from the buildings, but obviously a tenant has no interest in depreciating the leased property to such an extent as to jeopardise their income.

At the end of the 1940s, the spas of Baranya, Sikonda and Harkány were nationalised. That is why it is now difficult to find out how much propaganda and how much reality there is in these newspaper articles. In any case, it is a fact that they had to support the process of nationalisation to some degree with a social need. In this respect, the protest of the trade union certainly drove the water to the mill of nationalisation. In addition to the constant press attacks, the union submitted a proposal to the Ministry of Agriculture, using a contemporary phrase: with the aim of finally making the spa belong to the "working people".

### **Nationalisation and its consequences**

The nationalisation took place in 1948. After the institution was taken over by the state, the Ministry of Welfare ordered the liquidation of the Sikonda spa. It entrusted the Financial Institutions Centre with the liquidation.<sup>29</sup> Earlier this year, the government established the Mecsekvidék Spas and Resorts Large Company, based in Pécs. Together with the Harkány Spa and the Pécs Mecsek Resort, the Sikonda Spa also became part of this company.<sup>30</sup> This company was liquidated in the early fifties and Sikonda was merged with the Harkány Spa Company. The spa hotel itself was managed by the National Council of Trade Unions. Until 1952, the building was used partly for trade union purposes and partly for children's recreation.

From the 1950s onwards, Hungary introduced a planned management system. The first five-year plan, starting in 1950, aimed to make Hungary a country of iron and steel. It is a fact that, based on the pace of post-war reconstruction, unrealistic goals were set from the outset, which, moreover, were set out.<sup>31</sup> From the Hungarian point of view, it is especially important that after an agreement with the Soviet Union, the mines around Pécs became fully Hungarian property on 1 October, 1952, with the repurchase of Soviet shares in MESZHART, and continued to operate under the name of Pécs Coal Mines Company,<sup>32</sup> and thanks to the huge investments, in addition to the coal mines in Pécs, the coal mining in Komló also developed at an accelerating pace. Komló itself developed into a socialist city; its population increased from 3,000 to 15,000 in ten years from 1951. The extracted coal reached and then exceeded the capacity of 1 million tons, and shipments to Sztálinváros also started.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> *Új Dunántúl*, 28. 08. 1946.

<sup>28</sup> *Új Dunántúl*, 28. 08. 1946.

<sup>29</sup> *Magyar Közlöny*, 04. 05. 1949.

<sup>30</sup> *Magyar Közlöny*, 06. 12. 1949.

<sup>31</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán: Magyarország gazdaságtörténete 1700-2000. Budapest-Pécs 2002. 350.*

<sup>32</sup> *Huszár, Zoltán: Integrációs kísérlet... 352-353.*

<sup>33</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán: Magyarország... 356.*

Sikondafürdő also became part of the infrastructure of coal mining in Komló. In early 1953, the spa hotel building was taken over by the Ministry of Coal Mining. In the previous year, the National Economic Council issued Resolution 332/26/1952. Resolution No. NT, in which the conversion of the spa resort of Sikonda, which had been used as a resort until then, into a so-called night spa resort was ordered. This nocturnal sanatorium opened on 8 March, 1953. Although the area was close to Komló (Sikonda was already part of Komló from 1958), not only the miners of Komló could use the institution, but also the miners of Pécs, partly from 1954.<sup>34</sup>

Nursing homes were a special type of contemporary medical care. The model of the institution, of course, came from the Soviet Union. These spas were not primarily for medical purposes. Despite the fact that it was possible to get in with a referral and they were used under medical supervision, the primary function of these night sanatoriums was a kind of regeneration. It was thought that the transition between medical and occupational rehabilitation could be ensured with this institution. As a gradual and partial return to work was not considered feasible, the concept was that if the workload remained unchanged, the miner would be placed in a sanatorium for the night, eliminating the workload at home: *“The serene atmosphere of a well-run sanatorium spares the person in need of mercy from the day-to-day, often depressing problems of the home and frees them from the burdens and obligations that flow from it. It is relieved of the problems of feeding, the burden of tidying up the apartment, and this is especially significant for single people and women and mothers who bow under the burden of the “second shift”. The nursing home at night usually offers more favourable conditions for both night and day rest than was provided under the home conditions of the workers.”*<sup>35</sup> So the miners partly rested and partly strengthened. Part of this was that instead of less varied and less calorie-rich home meals, miners were given better quality food, in larger quantities, with more calories, under medical supervision. Thus, the operation of night sanatoriums was in fact necessary due to the low standard of living. This, of course, was never stated directly, but one of the works dealing with Sikonda described the situation with the following lines: *“In the early 1960s – with the rise in living standards and the improvement of supply conditions, it became increasingly clear that the miner no longer needed a spa almost exclusively to improve their physical fitness and condition, which was set in the early 50s. institution.”*<sup>36</sup>

In the Kádár era, a new economic policy began in 1958. Compared to the Rákosi era, the development of new industries became important, but it was planned to complete the already started investments – thus the investments in Mecsek, including Pécs, Komló and Szászvár.<sup>37</sup> At the same time, other mining investments continued, as well.<sup>38</sup>

From 1963 onwards, the night sanatoriums were also slowly transformed, adding another function to the existing one. The operation of the Sikonda Bath then shifted more strongly towards medicine.<sup>39</sup> In the following years and decades, not only miners who usually wanted to regenerate or relax visited the facility, but also those who wanted to recover from joint disease. At the same time, the nocturnal sanatorium function was also maintained. In the eighties, the institution, which could receive 100 patients at a time, received 1,600–1,700 miners a year, and then not only from Baranya, but also from e.g. the coal mines of Veszprém.<sup>40</sup> Thus, a mining health centre was established in Sikonda, which operated in this capacity in the following times.

<sup>34</sup> Szászi, Tibor – Kovács, András: Sikonda 31–33.

<sup>35</sup> Rózsahegy, István: Az éjjeli szanatóriumok szerepe a rehabilitációban. Orvosi Hetilap, 08.1963. 1565.

<sup>36</sup> Szászi, Tibor – Kovács, András: Sikonda. 34.

<sup>37</sup> Kaposi, Zoltán: Magyarország... 374–375.

<sup>38</sup> Kaposi, Zoltán: Magyarország... 379.

<sup>39</sup> Dunántúli Napló, 24. 10. 1963.

<sup>40</sup> Dunántúli Napló, 07. 12. 1983.



## Sikonda, the sample

### Night sanatoriums and industrial spas

In 1963, the *Dunántúli Napló* boasted that Sikonda was the only night sanatorium in the country open to miners.<sup>41</sup> This was indeed true, the institution of night sanatoriums was a relatively rare phenomenon despite the Soviet pattern. At the same time, the institution itself existed, although undoubtedly a night sanatorium for miners was typical only in Sikonda. The presentation and propagation of the Soviet model can be traced continuously from the end of 1944. Hungarian doctors noticed the phenomenon very soon.<sup>42</sup> Until the opening of the sanatoriums in Sikonda and then in other night sanatoriums, various professional newspapers and press outlets continuously reported on the operation, successes and advantages of Soviet facilities.<sup>43</sup>

Although Sikonda was the first in time, in the 1950s, several similar institutions were established in other sectors in other parts of the country. In 1953, in Görömbölytapolca (today Miskolctapolca), Lenin Metallurgical Works established a night sanatorium for its metallurgists. Some recollections point to this as the invention of Márton Valkó, the then CEO, but apart from its exaggeration, he undoubtedly played a major role in the establishment of the institution.<sup>44</sup> Its operation was essentially the same as the Sikonda system. The workers did not go to their own homes after work, but to the sanatorium: *“Every morning, a bus takes the residents of the sanatorium to the factory from Görömbölytapolca and a separate bus also takes them back to the sanatorium after working hours. Here they have only one task; gain weight, relax, have fun. For all this, the factory provided plenty of conditions: they served 5,700 calories in front of them in the form of paprika chicken, or stew, pancakes, or cake – to mention lunch for just one day. Fattening takes place in a race: at the end of the three-week turn, the winner gets a cake.”*<sup>45</sup>

Like the Görömbölytapolca, the two night sanatoriums in Budapest, established in the 1950s, were established similarly to the Sikonda institution, but in the Soviet model. The Royal Forest Night Sanatorium for the workers of Rákosi Mátyás Works in Csepel was inaugurated in 1955, where the rehabilitation of iron workers took place.<sup>46</sup> According to the plans, about 100 workers were to be rehabilitated in the first quarter.<sup>47</sup> In the other Budapest night sanatorium, similarly to the institution of the iron foundry in Csepel, the supply was planned for 100 people.<sup>48</sup>

Until the end of the fifties, these four institutions functioned as night sanatoriums.<sup>49</sup> In the light of all this, we can state that the night sanatorium in Sikonda was not a unique phenomenon in the country. It also functioned as an example within a country, despite the fact that it basically followed only a pattern given by the Soviet Union. Thus, it was not a unique phenomenon that the factories and plants maintained an institution for their employees for the purpose of rehabilitation. It is important to state, however, that in the cases discussed so far, we have not primarily talked about therapeutic treatments. In connection with the already mentioned economic-supply situation, we can talk about a series of strengthening and condition-improving measures. This may also explain why such rehabilitative institutions were established in these

<sup>41</sup> *Dunántúli Napló*, 24. 10. 1963.

<sup>42</sup> *Orvosok Lapja*, 1946/13. 815.

<sup>43</sup> *Népszava*, 16. 05. 1948. and 19. 06. 1949.

<sup>44</sup> *Az Acélváros végnapjai: Az Acélváros végnapjai. Hogyan semmisült meg húszezer ember munkahelye a Lenin Kohászati Művekben.* (Edited Lóránt, Károly). Lakitelek 2017. 109.

<sup>45</sup> *Magyar Ifjúság*, 23. 04. 1960.

<sup>46</sup> *Magyar Nemzet*, 18. 01. 1955.

<sup>47</sup> *Szabad Nép*, 21. 12. 1954.

<sup>48</sup> *Szabad Nép*, 07. 10. 1954.

<sup>49</sup> *Népszabadság*, 06. 11. 1958.

cases. Coal mining was a key element of the socialist economy, as was iron and metallurgy. In these areas, ensuring production and achieving the planned targets was of key importance. Therefore, it may have been important to also address the fitness of those who work here.

### Miner sanatoriums

As mentioned, after 1963, in addition to the reinforcing rehabilitation, a service for patients with a definite medical purpose, i.e. medicine, appeared in Sikonda. As a result of the change of attitude, the third Mining Health Days were held here on 22-25 September, 1965, the lectures and related discussions of which highlighted the health problems of miners and possible solutions.<sup>50</sup> The lectures revealed that the main problem is dust protection, and the ensuing silicosis, as well as various locomotor and joint disorders. The medical centre in Sikonda, as it was built on the thermal water source found there, was suitable for the treatment of the latter. At the same time, as it is located in a relatively closed and thus more inaccessible area, the Mecsek Mountains, the fresh and clean air there also has a beneficial effect on the lungs, despite the fact that it did not have a profile of pulmonary medicine.

Therefore, during the period of socialism, Sikonda was not the only miners' medical centre, and the Mecsek Coal Mining Trust was not the only company that took care of the health and rehabilitation of its workers, in this case its miners. In the following, we will look at which areas of the country had already established corporate mining sanatoriums.

As in the case of nocturnal sanatoriums, we examine an example from Borsod in the case of mining sanatoriums. The county's coal mines were managed by the Borsod Coal Mining Trust. While Sikonda healed miners suffering from rheumatic ailments, here there was an opportunity to remedy respiratory complaints. In 1966, a cave sanatorium was opened in the Béke Cave in Jósvalfő for miners with asthma and chronic bronchitis.<sup>51</sup> The dust-free air of the cave was very suitable for this purpose, which is why it was officially declared a health resort from 1969.<sup>52</sup> In the years that followed, the cave was constantly visited, even by guests from abroad. Their success was also due to the fact that as a result of the cure, many people were able to stop taking their medications in part or in whole.<sup>53</sup> Later, the company maintained the facility, so we can essentially say that it took care of the rehabilitation of its employees.<sup>54</sup>

The other place where miners' sanatoriums opened was the shore of Lake Balaton. In this case, it was obviously possible to combine the medical and rehabilitation phases, the rest with the healing. There were several coal mining companies north of Lake Balaton: in Dorog, in Transdanubia, in Oroszlány, in Tatabánya and in the castle palaces. Balatonfüred came close to them, where a miner's sanatorium was opened in the renovated Horváth House in 1960.<sup>55</sup> Despite the proximity of the coal mines, the sanatorium was operated not by them but by the Mecsek Ore Mining Company (MÉV), who renovated the building again in 1975.<sup>56</sup> A location provided an opportunity for healing and bathing at the same time. All this also shows that among the miners of Pécs, not only the coal miners but also the uranium miners had a plant sanatorium. Moreover, the latter may have regenerated in their institution a few years after the opening of the mine.

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<sup>50</sup> Bányaegészségügy: A bányaegészségügy egyes kérdései II: A III. bányaegészségügyi napok előadásai és vitái. Sikonda, 1965. IX. 22-25. Sikonda 1966.

<sup>51</sup> *Észak-Magyarország*, 28. 05. 1966.

<sup>52</sup> *Észak-Magyarország*, 17. 12. 1969.

<sup>53</sup> *Magyar Nemzet*, 30. 06. 1971.

<sup>54</sup> 200 éves a borsodi szénbányászat: 200 éves a borsodi szénbányászat 1786-1986. (authors and edited Bertalanfy Béla et al.). [Miskolc] 1986. 186.

<sup>55</sup> *Középdunántúli Napló*, 09. 06. 1960., Képes Magyarország, 01. 08. 1960.

<sup>56</sup> *Napló [Veszprém]*, 24. 04. 1975.

A little later, the Siófok miners' sanatorium was also established on the shores of Lake Balaton. In 1983, at the initiative of the Ministry of Health and the National Council of Trade Unions, the mining resort of Siófok was transformed and developed into a dual-function institution at the end of the holiday season.<sup>57</sup> It operated as a mining sanatorium out of season and as a resort during the season. In fact, it was also effective against winter underutilisation. Those referred could spend two weeks here, which could be extended by one week. They dealt mainly with musculoskeletal, but partly with intestinal diseases.<sup>58</sup> This institution operated under the management of the National Council of Trade Unions, and healing could also be linked to rest.

So we can see that the institution of the miners' sanatorium itself is not unprecedented in the country. An institution similar to Sikonda can be observed in many parts of the country. Some of these can be linked directly to a mining company, others to the National Council of Trade Unions. The institutions directly belonging to the mine also operated mainly with the help of the local trade union.

### Conclusions

Sikonda's thermal water has enormous potential in terms of both temperature and mineral content. These opportunities began to be exploited essentially immediately after its discovery. First, immediately after the retirement of the chair chapter and then of Andor Kolossváry, entrepreneurs and doctors from Budapest operated the spa. Prior to World War II, it gained national fame and became a popular resort, not just for the surrounding residents. The First-Danube-Steamboat-Shipping Company, which owned the Mecsek coal mines, supported from the outset the miners in handling their rheumatic complaints in the medicinal water of Sikonda. However, the spa hotel was difficult to reach for lower-income miners due to its relatively high prices. The devastation of World War II, followed by turmoil and favourable political conditions, allowed the hostel to be taken into state ownership at the request of the union and converted into a mining sanatorium.

The process was not unique: similar processes took place in many parts of the country. The nationalised hostels were also opened to the lower income groups, so Sikonda's attendance also became massive. During the period of socialism, companies, usually through trade unions, took care of the healing, rehabilitation, and regeneration of their workers in general. These goals were also served by factory trade unions, hospitals, sanatoriums and resorts. If possible, some natural endowment was used: caves in the case of respiratory diseases, and medical and thermal springs in the case of locomotor diseases, or they simply installed the institution next to Lake Balaton, combining healing with rest, even within the framework of a dual-function institution. The latter was characteristic not only of mining but of all segments of the economy.

However, Sikonda's story contains something unique. Although it operated on the basis of the Soviet model, it took over its system from there – this is especially true of the institution of the night sanatorium –, its activity in Hungary was definitely a novelty. The first nursing home was created here, and the experience gained here was used in other parts of the country as well. At the same time, although it was not the first miner sanatorium, on the one hand it is one of the most significant at the national level and on the other hand the only institution that has united the two forms of sanatorium and unites it to this day. The Mining Aftercare and Night Sanatorium is still in operation today, and in 2012 it was renovated with EU funds.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> *Somogyi Néplap*, 07. 08. 1983.

<sup>58</sup> *Somogyi Néplap*, 31. 12. 1983.

<sup>59</sup> *Világgazdaság*, 10. 08. 2012.

Péter Pavletits

## **The Role and Possibilities of Hungarian Narrow-Gauge Railways in Tourism**

### **Abstract**

Since the 1980's almost all of the the Hungarian narrow-gauge railway lines made a complete change of function. In the following decade with a few exceptions the freight was completely abolished and replaced by tourism. We need to address several factors if we want to determine the tourism potential of a particular narrow-gauge railway. One of these is accessibility, which shows what extra effort a tourist needs to make to get to a particular attraction. It is not enough just to look at accessibility, we also need to look how narrow-gauge railways can get involved in the tourism system. In a tourism approach we can examine points of interest from several perspectives. The interdependent material conditions of tourism include basic infrastructure, attraction and tourism infrastructure. The basic infrastructure in tourism means the existence of conditions that are essential to see the attraction. Several narrow-gauge railways also play a role in the basic infrastructure, however, their most significant role is the dynamic infrastructure. The narrow-gauge railway transports tourists to the tourist attraction, or due to its nature, attracts tourists. Most of the Hungarian narrow-gauge railway fall into the category of dynamic infrastructure. Attraction is difficult to define, because there are a lot of subjective elements, but most of the Hungarian narrow-gauge railways we can definitely highlight and call as real attractions. It is important to talk about seasonality. Not all of them offer the same experience in summer as in winter, they are not the same attractions in all seasons. By tourist milieu we mean the attraction of the destination, the totality of the experiences gained there.

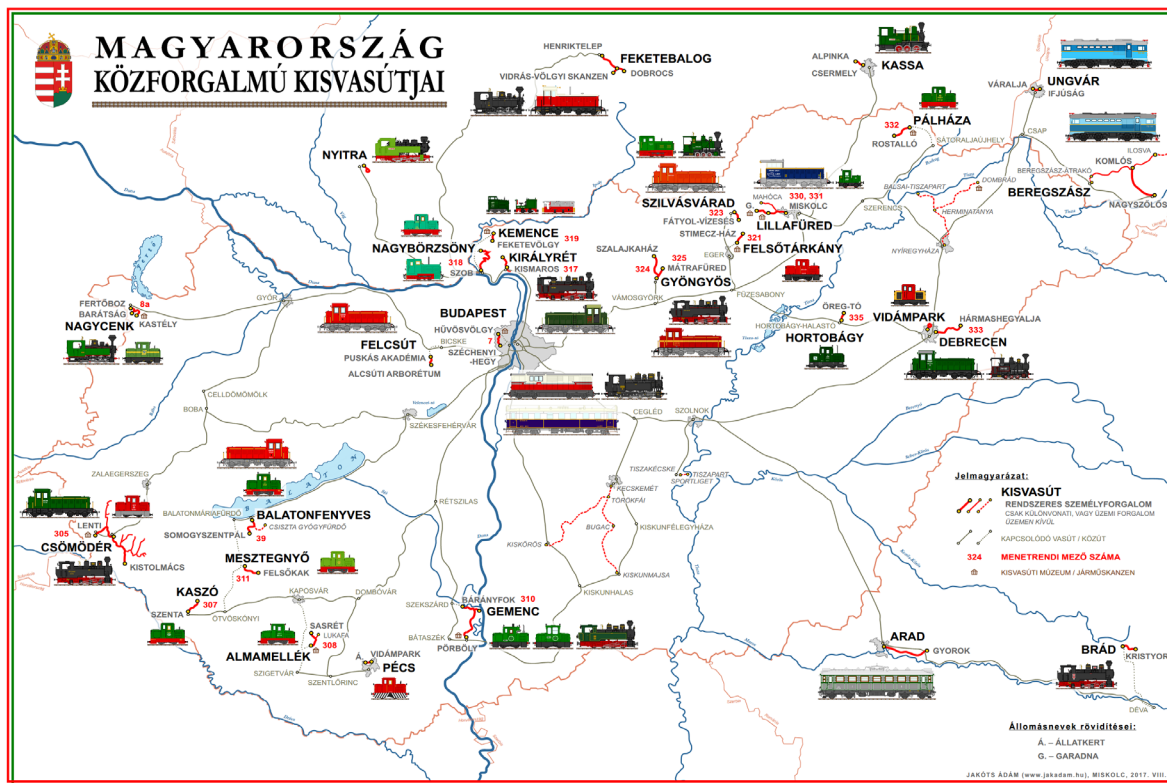
**Keywords:** narrow-gauge railway, tourism, infrastructure, attraction, milieu

### **Their touristical significance**

The Hungarian narrow-gauge railway system has undergone almost a complete change of function since the 1980's. In the following decade, the previous transport of goods, with a few exceptions, ceased altogether and was replaced by tourism. Most of our narrow-gauge railway lines were built for freight transport and passenger demand started to grow on them, some lines were created specifically for the transport of tourists. They can be involved in the tourism system in several areas; however, tourism cannot maintain the railway lines. In some railways, the number of visitors is more than 200,000 per year (Szilvásvárad, Lillafüred), ticket revenues do not cover the costs of operation, so the operator has to supplement it from its own resources. The deficit of narrow-gauge railways is offset by profits from other areas.

The railway can only extract the cost of its own operation in areas where there is also freight. Two lines in Hungary are the Lenti-Csömödér narrow-gauge railway system, and the Gemenc State Forest Railway where a significant part of the supply of timber harvested by forestry is the main profile, which can also compensate for the deficit of passenger transport.

Map 1: The public narrow-gauge railway lines in Hungary in 2017.



Source: Edited by *Ádám Jakóts*, 2017

We need to address several factors if we want to determine the tourism potential of a given area. One of these is accessibility, which shows what extra effort a tourist needs to make to get to that particular attraction. If we consider narrow-gauge railways as attractions in their own right, we need to look at how they can be reached most conveniently and quickly from a given point. It greatly improves the attendance of attractions if they are accessible with direct or minimal transfer.<sup>1</sup> One such concrete example is the case of Lillafüred belonging to Miskolc, which was accessible in the 1930's with a single direct transfer from Budapest. It has been able to host several prestigious events, including its location and good accessibility. Nowadays, we have to change public transport at least twice and travel conditions have deteriorated significantly since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Unfortunately, today the Hungarian narrow-gauge railways are operating as remnants of former lines which have been partially liquidated. In several cases, the liquidated sections have connected the lines running mostly in the depths of forests with the national railway network (Felsőtárkány, Pálháza). Thus, the number of narrow-gauge railways directly connected to the national network has dropped significantly. The number of those located along highways is even lower. In many cases, this fact also hinders the popularity of the attraction, because in some cases the Hungarian narrow-gauge lines are located in hidden valleys, in places only accessible by third and fourth-order roads. In this respect, a solution could be to extend the narrow-gauge railways to the main highways or to the national rail network, thus ensuring better access. An excellent example of this is the Gödöllő Forest Railway, which is being built in the catchment area of the capital and it is also planned to have a major rail link in the medium term.

Unfortunately, some lines are located at a considerable distance not only from Budapest, but even from the headquarters of the given county. One of the worst situations has the Kaszó Forest Railway, which can only be reached from Kaposvár with a minimum of two transfers. Of course,

<sup>1</sup> *Michalkó, Gábor*: Magyarország modern turizmusföldrajza. Budapest-Pécs, 2007. 140.

based on the distances alone, it is not possible to draw exact conclusions, but we observe that among the lines far from the capital city, the traffic is really significant (Szilvásvár, Lillafüred) where there is another attraction besides the railway, we can say, the narrow-gauge railway takes you somewhere. There are always exceptions, of course, there is a significant tourism potential at the Pálháza Forest Railway, which is located near the largest tourism development of the 2000's (Zemplén Adventure Park). An all-day program can be a forest train ride after visiting the adventure park.

### **Narrow-gauge railways as tourist attractions**

It is not enough to just look at accessibility, we also need to look at how narrow-gauge railways can get involved in the tourism system. In a tourism approach, we can examine points of interest from several perspectives. The interdependent material conditions of tourism include basic infrastructure, attraction and tourism infrastructure.<sup>2</sup> These factors are well identifiable on narrow-gauge railways, but we need to mention something else as an attraction. All Hungarian narrow-gauge railways can be classified into one of the infrastructural categories of tourism, some lines into more than one, so they are involved in tourism on several levels. I present this categorization from the basic infrastructure to the attraction and to the dynamic infrastructure.

### **Narrow-gauge railways as part of the basic infrastructure**

The basic infrastructure in tourism means the existence of the conditions necessary for seeing the attraction. The most important elements are the existence of transport, communication and utilities.<sup>3</sup> In this sense, we need to look at narrow-gauge railways as static and dynamic elements of basic transport infrastructure.

### **Static basic infrastructure**

The primary goal of infrastructure developments is to improve the quality of life of local residents, but the development of rural tourism is also a basic and important requirement. The development of rural tourism in Hungary began in the early 1930's, and after a forced break during socialism it began to develop spontaneously again in the early 1990's.<sup>4</sup>

Several Hungarian narrow-gauge railways also play a role in the basic infrastructure. In many cases, the area they explore cannot be approached otherwise, at most on foot. However, in many cases, hikers can only walk on the railway line. The best example of this is the Gemenc State Forest Railway, operating in the Gemenc Landscape Protection Area, which is used not only by tourists, but also in the care of animals living in the nature reserve, in addition to forestry logging. The only public transport in the Gemenc park forest is the narrow-gauge railway, which also offers tourists an opportunity to visit the otherwise inaccessible area. The real value of Gemenc is the untouched floodplain forest, the wildlife can be discovered within the framework of the narrow-gauge railway on foot or by bike, as the Szekszárd-Baja section of the Great Plain Blue Tour also leads through the floodplain forest.

A similarly unique line is the Mahóca wing line of the Lillafüred State Forest Railway in the eastern Bükk Mountains, which today can only run on a very short section, according to a special train schedule. The role of the Old Lake narrow-gauge railway in Hortobágy, which serves the local fish farm, is also important, it handles the traffic among the lakes, both during fishing and feeding. This method is not unique, as small fishponds operate in several places

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<sup>2</sup> Michalkó, Gábor: Magyarország...150.

<sup>3</sup> Michalkó, Gábor: Magyarország... 151.

<sup>4</sup> Kovács, Teréz: Vidékfejlesztési politika. Pécs, 2003. 284.

in Hungary (Tömörkény, Fehér-tó).<sup>5</sup> Hortobágy stands out because the management of the Hortobágy National Park has created a new attraction without a new infrastructure investment, using the narrow-gauge railway, which until then was used only for industrial purposes. In the tourist offer of Hortobágy, it also created the opportunity to get an insight into the everyday life of the fishponds and the birdlife of the area.

However, the infrastructure of narrow-gauge railways includes not only tracks but also buildings. The buildings can be an integral part of tourism as elements of static infrastructure. The static elements of tourism include those that are fixed and thus serve the exploration and sale of attractiveness. These are mostly buildings,<sup>6</sup> but in the case of narrow-gauge railways we can also list the artefacts that form part of the lines. In many cases, the stations themselves, the station buildings are also attractive, thanks to the fact that most of them date back to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They were built in the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and can still be seen in their original condition. For example, the Lillafüred station of the Lillafüred State Forest Railway station, or the Almamellék State Forest Railway, which is the legacy of the former Kaposvár-Szigetvár major railway. Both buildings have an exhibition of the narrow-gauge railways. A similar attraction is the pavilion of the Millennium National Exhibition, which is currently being rebuilt. It will be the wedge of the Pörböly Ecotourism Center.<sup>7</sup> Of course not only former buildings can be part of an attractive static infrastructure. The forest school of Pörböly (Gemenc State Forest Railway) presenting the fauna of the floodplain forest and the Budakeszi Wildlife Park in the immediate vicinity of the Budapest Children's Railway, which also has a stop on the railway.

There are forest schools along several of our domestic narrow-gauge railways, which are important infrastructural elements of environmentally conscious education. Elements related to static infrastructure that appear specifically in traffic are various artefacts such as bridges and tunnels, which are also present on our narrow-gauge railways. The youngest bridges are located on the Kemence Forest Museum Railway. However, the most interesting and spectacular bridges are located on the Lillafüred State Forest Railway (LÁEV) line, and are not only notable from a tourist's point of view, but also from a pontooner point of view. The size of the Deep Valley Bridge stands out from the artefacts of Hungarian narrow-gauge railways, while the Arch Bridge on the southern side of Lake Hámori is unusual and unique in its shape. The two longest tunnels of our Hungarian narrow-gauge railways are also on the LÁEV line, both in Lillafüred, in front of the station and right after the station. This solution is a special experience, as arriving at and leaving the station gives tourists an experience they will not get anywhere else. The Hárs-hill tunnel of the Children's Railway in Budapest was built for a similar purpose in 1950, which enriches the railway journey with new experiences in addition to overcoming the ascent more efficiently.

### **Dynamic infrastructure**

However, their most significant role is as part of the dynamic infrastructure: the railway vehicle. It transports passengers to the attraction, or it is part of the local transport, and due to its nature it attracts tourists.<sup>8</sup> Most of the narrow-gauge railways fall into the category of dynamic infrastructure. This stems from the fact that the narrow-gauge railways in use to this day were built almost without exception to explore forests. One of the most beautiful lines exploring the forests is the

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<sup>5</sup> *Pavletits, Péter*: Ipari kisvasúttal a tavak között. Tömörkényi pillanatok. In: *Indóház vasúti magazin* 6 (2010) 6. 56-57.

<sup>6</sup> *Michalkó, Gábor*: Magyarország...288.

<sup>7</sup> *Pavletits, Péter*: Fejezetek a Gemenci Erdei Vasút történetéből. In: *Indóház vasúti magazin* 15 (2019) 6. 54-57.

<sup>8</sup> *Michalkó, Gábor*: Magyarország...170.

Picture 1: **Train with steam engine MÁV 490,039 at the Children's Railway (2015)**



Photo by Péter Pavletits

Lillafüred State Forest Railway, which winds its way from Diósgyőr to the end of both lines in the forests of the Bükk Mountains for a total length of more than 20 kilometers. The line of the other narrow-gauge railway in Bükk, the Szilvásvárad State Forest Railway, which runs through the deservedly famous Szalajka Valley, is equally exciting. The valley can be explored on foot, but even by car, the railway is just one of the alternatives here. Thanks to this, it is not so much the railway itself, but the Szalajka Valley and its beauty that is attractive to tourists, so the narrow-gauge railway fully meets the requirements of dynamic infrastructure in this approach.

We should not forget the narrow-gauge railways in Somogy either, as both of the lines in Almamellék and Mesztegyő were built to explore the forests, and their remaining lines still run in the forests today.<sup>9</sup> Thus, they are also part of the dynamic infrastructure of tourism.

An important part of the dynamic infrastructure is also the special vehicle fleet of each railway plant. MÁV (Hungarian State Railways) has a forest knowledge laboratory car for kindergarten and primary school groups on the Széchenyi Hill Children's Railway and the Csömödér State Forest Railway. Bicycles and prams

are also used on MÁV's two narrow-gauge lines, Balatonfenyves and the Budapest Children's Railway. An earlier example is also known, the Lillafüred State Forest Railway acquired a saloon car in 1929. The saloon car transported the illustrious guests to the Lillafüred Palace Hotel. Among other things, several members of the Bethlen government traveled regularly with this saloon car.<sup>10</sup>

### Appearance of attractiveness and seasonality

Attraction is difficult to define and describe precisely because there are a lot of subjective elements. In the multitude of narrow-gauge railways, we can definitely highlight and call it a real attraction, the existence of which highlights a line due to its interestingness and thus arouses more interest from tourists and hikers than other similar railway lines. Here again, elements of static infrastructure can be mentioned that may attract tourists, or even areas explored by railways as natural values. In addition to these, it is much more important that almost all domestic narrow-gauge railways have some depth of attraction. There are some that have only a local level, some have

Picture 2: **Train at Kemence Forest Museum railway on 17th March 2020.**



Photo by Péter Pavletits

<sup>9</sup> Pavletits, Péter – Tusnádi, Csaba Károly. A Zselici csühhögő. In: *Indóház vasúti magazin* 14. (2018) 4. 50-54.

<sup>10</sup> Fodor, Illés: *A keskeny nyomközű vasutak közlekedés földrajzi jelentősége Magyarországon*. ELTE TTK. Budapest, 2003. 25.



a regional appeal, but we also have some narrow-gauge railways that can be categorized as having a national appeal.<sup>11</sup> Attraction is therefore a theoretical thing that every narrow-gauge railway in Hungary has. Even in countries such as Switzerland, where narrow-gauge railways are an integral part of the country's rail network, there are several lines that are also extremely popular with tourists.<sup>12</sup> In Hungary, narrow-gauge railways are a great tourist attraction in their own right. However, their appeal is not the same. There are railways that offer the attraction on their own. Such railways are the museum railways, two of them in Hungary are the Széchenyi Museum Railway in Nagycenk, owned by the Hungarian Transport Museum and the Kemence Forest Museum Railway, operated by the Circle of Friends of Narrow-gauge Railways (KBK).

A special attraction is the steam locomotives and the nostalgia trains they tow, which will slowly be found on all our narrow-gauge railway lines. In addition to the masterpieces of the Hungarian mechanical engineering industry, in many cases the steam locomotives purchased and renovated from abroad, mainly from Transylvania, impose kilometers on the various networks of the country. Due to both its historical and technical peculiarities, one of the steam locomotives is LILLA, which is the only steam locomotive with carriage operating on the country's narrow-gauge railways, owned by the Lillafüred State Forest Railway. The locomotive is currently on display at Majláth station due to a lack of funds for its renovation. It adds to its value that it is the only steam engine in Hungary that operates where it originally served. In this case LÁEV has a national significance.

In addition to steam locomotives, the hundred years old Ganz motor car is an interesting and important souvenir of the past of the Hungarian narrow-gauge railway history. It works nowadays in Budapest on the Children's Railway with its associated trailers. These vehicles started their service at the Szinva Valley Forest Railway (SzEV), the legal predecessor of the Lillafüred State Forest Railway in 1929.<sup>13</sup> These vehicles are one of the biggest attractions of the Budapest Children's Railway alongside the nostalgia trains hauled by steam locomotives.

Diesel locomotives may also be of interest on the lines of the already mentioned Kemence Forest Museum Railway, as we do not find Mk48 or Mk45 locomotives commonly used in Hungary here, but used motor locomotives purchased from closed mines and various commercial railways. There are only one or two more working specimens in the country. Another curiosity among motor locomotives is the B26 series diesel locomotive operating at Lillafüred State Forest Railway, which was saved by the railway management during the liquidation of the world famous Szerencs sugar factory.<sup>14</sup> This is the last surviving and still operating locomotive of this type in Hungary. Thus, if we examine the Hungarian narrow-gauge railways from the point of view of technical curiosities, we can state that the Nagycenk Széchenyi Museum Railway, the Kemence Forest Museum Railway, the Széchenyi Hill Children's Railway and the Lillafüred State Forest Railway have a greater attraction than the others.

In addition to attraction, it is important to talk about seasonality. The latter is an important element of tourism. Not all attractions offer the same experience in summer as in winter, they are not the same attraction in all seasons. This is especially true for outdoor attractions such as our narrow-gauge railways. Not only the narrow-gauge railways themselves are seasonal, but in many cases so are the sights they explore or accede. Whether it is the Szalajka Valley or Gemenc, they offer a much greater experience in summer than in winter. Thus, it can be said that seasonality appears almost without exception in narrow-gauge railways. On most lines, this

<sup>11</sup> *Michalkó, Gábor*: Magyarország...200.

<sup>12</sup> *Pavletits, Péter*: A Parsenn iker siklóvasút, a Parsennbahn. In: *Indóház vasúti magazin* 15 (2019) 2. 52-54

<sup>13</sup> *Szécsey, István*: Hetvenéves a Lillafüredi Állami Erdei Vasút (LÁEV) és a MÁV Rt. Széchenyi-hegyi Gyermekvasút Ganz-és Orenstein & Koppel-gyártmányú motorszerelvénye. Budapest, 1999. 40.

<sup>14</sup> *Pavletits, Péter*: Kötőtpályán Kocsonthátra és a Roszmalom-tanyához. Fejezetek a Szerencs környéki gazdasági vasutak történetéből. In: *Indóház vasúti magazin* 16 (2020) 6. 50-54.

is so embodied that traffic is completely disrupted during the winter. During the winter, there are only a few lines with scheduled plants, but most lines run special trains, which are mainly requested by railway lovers. There are very few railways in Hungary that also operate in the 2020-2021 winter schedule period. Such are the Balatonfenyves Economic Railway, which also performs the only public task, and the Széchenyi Hill Children's Railway, which is also managed by MÁV. The Children's railway welcomes tourists all year round - with a Monday break during the winter scheduling period. Based on its location, it is accessible all year round and the train experience is unforgettable at all times of the year. Although there are no seasonal attractions along the line, the trip itself is a great experience. People living in Budapest and in the capital's agglomeration can easily use the trains running between Hűvösvölgy and Széchenyi Hill even on a weekday afternoon. A special advantage of the railway is that it runs a scheduled nostalgia train all year round, with both steam traction and Ganz motor car operation.

The privately owned narrow-gauge railway in Mecsek, which runs between the Pécs amusement park and the zoo, also runs seasonally on weekdays; on Sundays and public holidays we can board the trains in all seasons.

All of the forest railways run seasonally. The heaviest traffic in the winter is handled by the narrow-gauge railway running between Kismaros and Királyrét, which runs in the late autumn and winter months (November-February) on five days with leisure and non-working days, now under reconstruction. This is also due to the relatively high number of 110,000 passengers. Due to the proximity of Budapest and the good accessibility of Kismaros, the line is in a lucky position. Good basic infrastructure allows millions of metropolitan and agglomeration residents to visit the narrow-gauge railway even on winter weekends. The Gemenc State Forest Railway also runs seasonally, but here the seasonality does not mean winter and summer. The railway also operates in winter, the traffic is continuous every day, if only with a few trains. The operation of the railway is affected by the flooding of the Danube. During floods, part of the track is usually submerged, so there is a temporary downtime on the line during spring and autumn floods.

However, most narrow-gauge railways do not have any passenger transport during the winter months. Only a few special trains wear the track at this time. This has long been a common practice on several railways, but financial difficulties, declining funding, the crisis and the growing shortage of tourists in the winter also led to the shutdown of the Lillafüred State Forest Railway in the winter of 2009/2010. In the case of the traffic of short-distance railways, the most important factor is the attraction, which directs the attention of hikers and tourists towards the railway. The more attractions there are near the lines, and the greater the attraction of the railway itself, the heavier the passenger traffic. Seasonality is also extremely prominent in traffic data. In several cases, the number of attractions decreases in winter, thus reducing the attractiveness of the railways, so that they carry far fewer passengers during the winter than in summer.

### **The tourist milieu**

By tourist milieu we mean the attractiveness of the destination, the totality of the experiences gained there.<sup>15</sup> If we want to put narrow-gauge railways in this context, we look at the impressions a tourist makes when traveling on a narrow-gauge railway. In order for a visitor to visit a particular destination over and over again, we need to provide more than average, enriching us with impressions and experiences that we cannot get elsewhere. The tourist milieu can also manifest itself in a psychological sense, the color, shape and smell complex of the landscape undoubtedly has a spiritual impact on the traveler. Nostalgia journeys on narrow-gauge railway steam locomotives certainly operate with these spiritual influences.

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<sup>15</sup> *Michalkó, Gábor: A turisztikai milió földrajzi értelmezése. In: Tér és Társadalom 19 (2005) 1. 43-63.*

The narrow-gauge railway ride itself offers an unforgettable experience, thus meeting the expectations of the tourist milieu. It is also important to stimulate the geographical conditions of the destination. The upper terminus of the Felsőtárkány Forest Railway offers an excellent hiking opportunity to Hungary's only geyser, the Red Stone Spring, which is undoubtedly a unique geographical phenomenon during the spring thaw. There are several railway lines that stand out from the other lines either with their technical curiosity - the vehicle collection of the Kemence Museum

Picture 3. **Train at Felsőtárkány Forest Railway (2015)**



Photo by *Péter Pavletits*

Railway - or with the line drawing - the peak inverter of the Nagybörzsöny Forest Railway. The recently re-installed water crane of the Széchenyi Hill Children's Railway also enhances the travel experience by being the only one in the country to install steam locomotives using the original method.

But in the same way, a tourist who travels from a mountainous area to, for example, the Hortobágy narrow-gauge railway, which winds among fishponds,<sup>16</sup> or from the lowlands to the Slovenian Postojna Cave Railway or the Csorba Lake with the cog railway, may have a higher milieu than others.<sup>17</sup>

The tourist milieu is perhaps even more complex and objective than other attractions in terms of narrow-gauge railways. This is due to the fact that they operate in different regions of the country, in different geographical environments. Thus, the milieu of the Pálháza Forest Railway is different, the Trans-Börzsöny forest is different, and the Csömödér State Forest Railway is different. These are not comparable with each other, however, in the passenger numbers it is somewhat traceable where the depth of the charm of the tourist milieu is present.

The condition of the local infrastructure and the means of transport that help to explore the attractions are also an important milestone. The importance of this was recognized by the two-stage financial support (2017, 2020)<sup>18</sup> of the Hungarian Government, which helps the development of domestic narrow-gauge railways with billions of Forints.

<sup>16</sup> *Fodor, Illés*: A halgazdasági kisvasutak. In: *Indóház vasúti magazin* 2 (2006) 5. 70-75.

<sup>17</sup> *Pavletits, Péter*: Fogasléccel a Magas-Tátrába. In: *Indóház vasúti magazin* 11 (2015) 1. 52-54.

<sup>18</sup> Decision of Hungarian Government 1467/2017 for narrow-gauge railways with touristical purpose

Márton Pelles

## **The Innovative Managerial Role of Jenő de Polnay as the Key Element to the Success of the Atlantica Sea Navigation Company within the Hungarian Maritime Fleet (1907–1914)<sup>1</sup>**

### **Abstract**

The Atlantica Sea Navigation Company was the most innovative of the Hungarian sea navigation companies. In my study, I shall present the company's operations from its founding in 1907 until the beginning of the Great War in 1914. I shall greatly emphasise the analysis of how the company led by Jenő Polnay de Tiszasüly was able to grow in only 7 years into a shipping company that shipped with 12 modern steamships. Thanks to his previous entrepreneurial experience Polnay managed to join the Hungarian State and the Austro-Hungarian Bank to found the company. After this, he had British shipyards design steamships that were able to transport large capacity timber at low bearing depth. He then concluded beneficial deals with the Hungarian State Railways and the Transylvanian and Russian suppliers. The first application of the 'quick despatch' principle in Hungary is also bound to the name Polnay. Atlantica shipped cheaper if the ships were loaded swifter. Based on the sources of the Rijeka State Archives, I shall investigate the question how the innovative managerial skills of Jenő de Polnay attributed to the efficiency of Atlantica Co. in goods transportation and how the company became the most successful Hungarian tramp trade company of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Keywords:** Groedel, Polnay, Atlantica, Maritime history, Quick despatch

### **Introduction**

In the period between 1867 and 1918 Hungary acquired a unique independence within the Habsburg Empire resulting it having its own economic policies.<sup>2</sup> Following the Compromise of 1867, Hungary regained its sole seaport Fiume (today: Rijeka, Croatia), which had been part of the Hungarian Crown from 1776. Within the framework of a gigantic investment, the state built a modern port in the city, which by 1910 was one of the busiest ports of Europe.<sup>3</sup> The value of the investment was 81,318,299 Kronas (today this would be the equivalent of roughly €1,069,732,802). The investment paid for itself through local taxes and port duties as early as 1886, thenceforth generating profit.<sup>4</sup> In the meantime companies from Fiume, Budapest, Liverpool and Glasgow cooperated with the Hungarian state to create Hungarian shipping companies. Among these, the biggest state-funded company was the Adria Hungarian

<sup>1</sup> The research was supported by the ÚNKP-20-3-II-PTE-463 New National Excellence Program of the Ministry for Innovation and Technology From the Source of the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund.

<sup>2</sup> *Komlos, John*: The Habsburg Monarchy as a Customs Union. Economic Development in Austria-Hungary in the Nineteenth Century. Princeton University Press. Princeton. 1983.; *Berend, T. Iván*: An Economic History of Twentieth-Century Europe. Economic Regimes from Laissez-Faire to Globalization. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. 2006.; *Katus, László*: A Monarchia közös piaca. Magyar Tudomány XXXIV. (1989) 10-11. 808-820.; *Kövér, György*: Iparosodás agrárországban. Budapest, 1982.; *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Ungarn 1700-2000. Studia Hungarica. Passau, 2007. Schenk Verlag.

<sup>3</sup> See: *Katus, László*: A tőkés gazdaság fejlődése a kiegyezés után. In: Magyarország története 1848–1890. Edited: Kovács Endre. Budapest, 1979. 2. 913–1038.; *Katus, László*: Magyarország gazdasági fejlődése (1890–1918). In: Magyarország története 1890–1918. Edited: Hanák Péter. Budapest, 1978. 263–402.; *Andrović, Jan*: Triest in seiner See- und Handelsentwicklung Goldovanni, Trieste 1918.;

<sup>4</sup> Državni Arhiv u Rijeci (State Archives of Rijeka, hereinafter: DAR). 46: 66–1891–XIX–2317.

Royal Sea Navigation Company.<sup>5</sup> In the field of tramp trade shipping a number of shipping companies sprung up, partly due to the government providing some subsidies to these and some line support (if they transported goods that were beneficial to Hungary) too. This state presence in shipping, however, was not unique to Central Europe. The big British shipping company, the later Cunard, used state subsidies in order to create its regular Atlantic lines. It was under these circumstances that in 1907 the Atlantica Sea Navigation Company was founded. In my study I examined the question what exactly the secret was to the success of Atlantica, and what innovative tools Jenő de Polnay applied to make the company the most successful Hungarian tramp trading company in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Founding and functioning of Atlantica**

The Atlantica Sea Navigation Company was founded by Jenő de Polnay November 2, 1906. This founding was preceded by serious organisation. Through their successful wood production and export businesses, the Groedel family gained enormous wealth in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Groedel family had large forest areas in the North-eastern Carpathians. Originally, the family moved from Germany to Hungary. The second generation did not only produce for domestic markets but also realised significant export to the world market with all sorts of wood products.<sup>6</sup> It was this Groedel Company where Jenő de Polnay commenced his career. He advocated that the company should not use rented ships but rather have its own fleet to export timber to the ports of Rotterdam and Britain.<sup>7</sup> The London Groedel steam shipping company operated 4 steamships and had become so successful that in 1905 King Franz Ferdinand bestowed the title baron to the Groedels. Their crest showed forests and shipping.<sup>8</sup> Polnay was born in 1873 to a Jewish timber merchant family. Through the Groedels, he became the president of the London shipping company, thus learning the crafts of the management of timber trade and steam shipping at sea. In 1906 he presented a new idea. He talked the Hungarian minister of commerce of then, Count Béla Serényi and the English-Austrian Bank into supporting the foundation of a new Hungarian shipping public limited company.<sup>9</sup> In practice this meant that the Bank financed the company and the Hungarian government had article VI of 1907 accepted by parliament. This article ensured large-sized support for ship building and transportation fees to those tramp shipping companies that transported goods that were important to Hungary.

The Atlantica's capital stock was 4,000,000 Kronas and 70% was owned by the English-Austrian Bank.<sup>10</sup> Apart from the bank representatives shareholders (Ignác Dóczy, Pál Engel, Gyula Landesberger) the following persons were also shareholders: Károly Morawitz politician (10 %), Doctor Izidor Petschek (10 %), Jenő de Polnay (2.5 %), Béla Serényi politician and Zsigmond Kotányi (one of the leaders of the Hungarian State Railways) with one share each and count István Batthyány, retired secretary to the ministry of finance, and the relatives of the latter.<sup>11</sup> The foundation of the company was also supported by the next minister of commerce Ferenc de Kossuth and his secretary of state baron József Szterényi.

<sup>5</sup> *Pelles, Márton – Zsigmond, Gábor*: The Hungarian maritime trade history of Fiume (1868–1918). Pécs, 2018. 95–118.

<sup>6</sup> Tolnai Világlapja, 26.03.1903. [https://adtplus.arcanum.hu/hu/view/TolnaiVilaglapja\\_1903\\_03/?query=groedel&pg=304&layout=s](https://adtplus.arcanum.hu/hu/view/TolnaiVilaglapja_1903_03/?query=groedel&pg=304&layout=s).

<sup>7</sup> The Archives of the Hungarian Museum of Science and Transportation. (hereinafter: KEZ) 680. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Illésy, János – Pettkó, Béla*: A Királyi Könyvek 3. (1527–1867). Budapest, 1895. 72.

<sup>9</sup> DAR. 46: 415–1907–XXI–437.

<sup>10</sup> The Atlantica Co. banner was the Hungarian tricolour (red-white-green) against a golden background with a large black letter A. Please see: *Pelles, Márton – Zsigmond, Gábor*: The Hungarian maritime...170.

<sup>11</sup> On the shareholders please see: DAR. 46: 460–1908–XX–3426.

In the sense of the statutes the aim of the company was long distance shipping, to represent Hungarian commercial interests in all important ports of the world.<sup>12</sup> The company wished to realise this by establishing agencies in the major ports. The company's seat of business was in Budapest. It was a centre employing 25 people and was led by Béla Geiger, Oszkár Solymássy E., Doctor Ödön Fónagy and Ferencz Czanich.<sup>13</sup> In Fiume there was an office employing 3 people, in Odessa 2, in Mykolaiv 5, in Brăila 16, in Sulina 2 and in London one.<sup>14</sup>

The company basically utilised the innovative managerial ideas of Jenő de Polnay to efficiently organise their ship's traffic between the bigger ports. This included a number of arrangements. Firstly, Atlantica founded a Romanian sister company under the name of Societate Atlantica. This supervised the railway transportation of the export timber of Transylvanian Forestry Co. which was governed by the Transylvanian Groedels. Transportation that took place from the South Carpathians through the Romanian Kingdom to the Lower-Danubian ports of Brăila, Galati and Sulina. Secondly, Polnay ordered six ships from the shipyards of Gray in West Hartlepool and Thompson in Sunderland. In cooperation with the engineers of the shipyards he had ships built with lower draught to be able to go up the Danube River, respectively to load and transport as much timber in volume as possible. Thirdly, Polnay concluded an advantageous agreement with the Hungarian State Railways through Zsigmond Kotányi, who was also a shareholder in Atlantica. In accordance with the agreement, Atlantica's ships transported timber to Rotterdam and the United Kingdom and on the return trip brought back coal to Fiume. Coal was used by the steam engines of the railways. To avoid shipments halting due to the Danube being frozen in winter, Polnay also connected to the cereal export business in the Sea of Azov region through his Mykolaiv and Odessa agencies.<sup>15</sup> Fourthly, these transports carried import and export articles that were of importance to Hungary. Polnay created a possibility for Atlantica to access the subsidies determined in article VI. of 1907. Fifthly, it was Polnay that first utilised the quick despatch principle in maritime shipping in Hungary. This meant that Atlantica in many cases grossly overpaid the loading dock workers and transported goods at cheaper tariffs than the competition if the ships were loaded quicker. These innovative measures created the key to the success of Atlantica.<sup>16</sup> For making the company successful and results reached in the development of Hungarian maritime merchant shipping, Polnay received a Hungarian title of nobility in 1911 from Franz Joseph, the title being: de Tizzasüly.<sup>17</sup>

Regarding payments, the Hungarian shipping companies would have generally differentiated based on the role a given employee fulfilled within the company and the amount of years the employee had worked at the given company. The shipping companies generally differentiated two categories in case of clerks, four categories for engineers and three categories each for captains and lieutenants. This differentiation, however, was not uniform. It can be stated that among the Austro-Hungarian maritime shipping companies Atlantica paid the best wages to its employees. This was in unison with the quick despatch principles, since the Atlantica ships were working in the evenings and on Sundays too. This resulted in pays as follows: clerks 180–264 C a month; naval officers on board 120 C; engineers 120–400 C; captains 400–450 C a month.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> DAR. 46: 539–1910–II–2768.

<sup>13</sup> The old Atlantica Palace can still be found in Budapest, Falk Miksa street 18–20.

<sup>14</sup> DAR. 46: 583–1911–II–3058.

<sup>15</sup> For more on Azov Sea Region cereal trade see: *Sifneos, Evrykiki*: Greek Family Firms in the Azov Sea Region, 1850–1917. *Business History Review* 87 (Summer 2013): 279–308.

<sup>16</sup> Polnay's managerial innovations were recorded in the work of *dr. Bíró, Elek*: KEZ. 680. 3.

<sup>17</sup> *Illésy, János – Pettkó, Béla*: A Krályi Könyvek...166.

<sup>18</sup> DAR. 46: 8–1908–IV–263; DAR. 46: 732–1914–I–4232.

### **Atlantica's commercial fleet**

When the company was founded in 1907, it operated with six modern ocean liners; four of them were constructed based on the same design in West Hartlepool (SS Szterényi, SS Magyarország, SS Gróf Serényi Béla, SS Polnay) and two were built in Sunderland (SS Kossuth Ferencz, SS Morawitz). In accordance with the practice of those days, the company's steamships were named after their own shareholders and politicians that helped the founding of the companies. The Szterényi type steamships provided 3,665 gross register ton volume resulting in 2,665 nett register ton transport capacity and 5,250 ton bearing capacity. The Sunderland Kossuth Ferencz type steamers had 4,790 GRT and 3,100 NRT with 7,000 ton bearing capacity.<sup>19</sup>

An excellent example of Polnay's commercial resourcefulness was that by taking advantage of shipping subsidies as per the law of 1907, he purchased a relatively small ocean liner, the SS Tenger (1,220 GRT, 857 NRT, 2,000 ton bearing capacity). After this, they performed the necessary minimum obligation of the 1907 Law on Tramp Shipping (2-3 transport with goods important for Hungary). The steamboat was sold towards the end of 1911 and the request for subsidy was handed in to the State for the year 1912 granting the company a total amount of 97,600 Kronas.<sup>20</sup>

By attracting new shareholders, the company expanded its stock capital to 6,000,000 Kronas in 1911.<sup>21</sup> Increase in stock capital was necessary for the company to build new steamboats. The SS Budapest and SS Fiume were built in Stockton on Tees, each with an approximate 3,655 GRT and 2,325 NRT and 5,300 tons of bearing capacity. There were also three new steamships built in Newcastle: the SS Gróf Khuen-Héderváry and the SS Atlantica with 4,990 GRT, 3,240 NRT capacity and 7,200 tons of bearing capacity, and the SS Hunnia with 2,233 GRT, 1,383 NRT capacity and 3,500 tons of bearing capacity. In the four years between 1907 and 1910, the company disposed over 15,873 NRT capacity and between 1911 and 1914 28,598 NRT clean transportation capacity. For the steamships, the company received a total subsidy for ship acquisition of 3,531,730 Kronas until 1918.<sup>22</sup>

### **The company's ship and goods turnover**

The Atlantica ships' goods turnover can be reconstructed with the help of excerpts of shipping journals of the transports.<sup>23</sup> These sources clearly indicate that the commercial agencies created by the company played a crucial role in the turnover of the company. Until 1912 the company had to ship with chartered steamships too due to the large number of orders. Atlantica's own ships concluded 483 shipments over 1,723,331 nautical miles from the founding of the company until the break out of the Great War. The chartered steamships added another

<sup>19</sup> DAR. 46. Ship register. 241.

<sup>20</sup> DAR. 46. 623-1912-I-128; Hungarian State Budget 1912:895-898. [https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/AllamiKoltsegvetes\\_1912/](https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/AllamiKoltsegvetes_1912/).

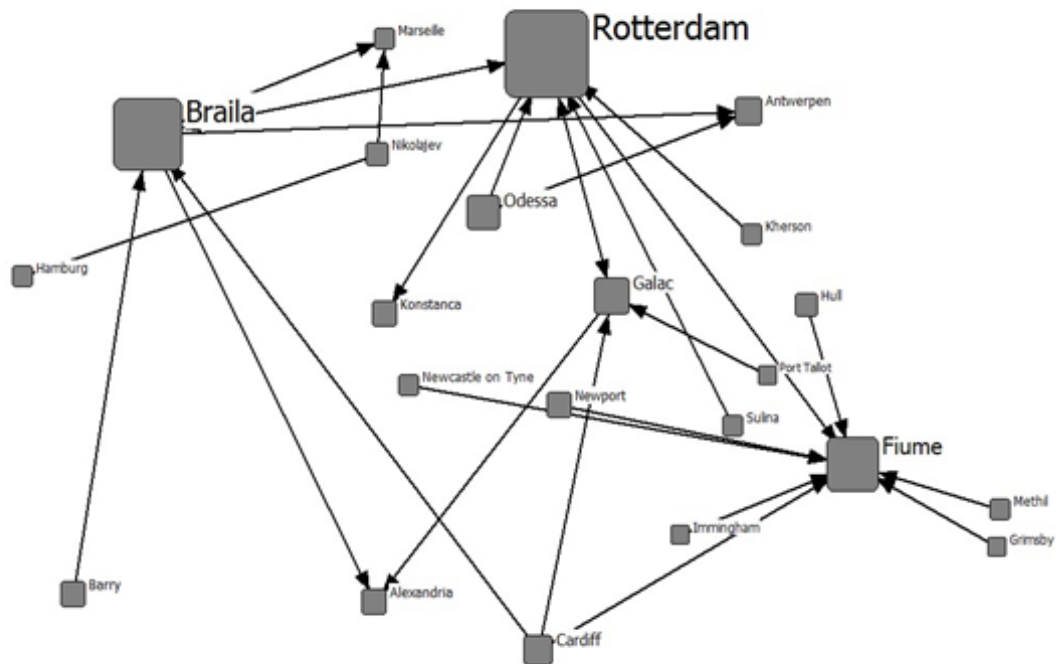
<sup>21</sup> DAR. 46: 630-1912-II-636.

<sup>22</sup> Hungarian State Budget 1917-1918:979-980. [https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/AllamiKoltsegvetes\\_1917-1918](https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/AllamiKoltsegvetes_1917-1918)

<sup>23</sup> DAR. 46: 112-1894-XXI-2795; 151-1897-XXIII-5234; 216-1900-XXI-7; 242-1902-XXI-4; 284-1904-XXI-805; 284-1904-XXI-940; 284-1904-XXI-1310; 284-1904-XXI-1148; 316-1905-XXI-55; 316-1905-XXI-296; 316-1905-XXI-1040; 316-1905-XXI-2336; 364-1906-XXI-2; 365-1906-XXI-1440; 365-1916-XXI-2713; 365-1906-XXI-5512; 415-1907-XXI-321; 415-1907-XXI-437; 415-1907-XXI-800; 416-1899-XXI-4206; 459-1908-XX-205; 460-1908-XXI-2; 460-1908-XXI-360; 460-1908-XXI-2207; 496-1909-II-134; 496-1909-II-161; 496-1909-II-307; 496-1909-I-5599; 497-1909-III-596; 538-1910-II-117; 538-1911-II-3583; 581-1911-II-72; 582-1911-II-173; 623-1912-I-128; 623-1912-I-134; 629-1912-II-147; 630-1912-II-816; 630-1912-II-3906; 675-1913-I-1931; 676-1913-I-3365; 678-1913-II-132; 679-1913-II-132; 682-1913-II-911; 682-1913-II-1951; 682-1913-II-9104; 729-1914-I-707; 733-1914-II-50; 730-1914-I-927; 732-1914-I-4232.

368,922 nautical miles to this.<sup>24</sup> Concerning the turnover of the Atlantica ships, I have created a network illustrating which ports were connected by the company and with what size of goods turnover. From this network I shall show the graph on transports of more than 15,000 tons (Illustration 1).

Illustration 1: Network of ports between 1907 and 1914 connected by Atlantica's own steamers with more than 15,000 tons of goods turnover



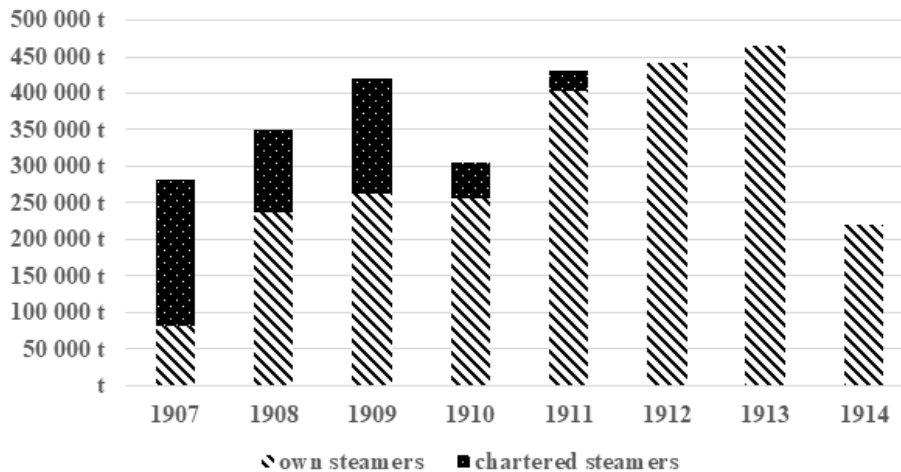
Source: Documents indicated in footnote 23. in the Rijeka State Archives from Atlantica shipping journals

Atlantica's goods turnover could be divided into three groups. As the illustration shows, timber and cereals were transported by more steamers from the Lower Danube and Black Sea ports to Alexandria and Rotterdam and from the Dutch and English ports (e.g. Cardiff) coal and coke to Fiume and the Lower Danube ports. On the other hand there were typical Hungarian transports to gain shipping subsidies to Hungary such as raw rice from Indonesia for the rice mills of Fiume; phosphates from the Christmas Island or cotton from the south-eastern ports of the USA. Finally, there were other tramp shipping transports between the other ports of the world. The latter meant that the company's ships travelled as far as South America (Rosario Santa Fe and Buenos Aires) North America (Tampa, Baltimore and Port Inglis) Asia and Oceania (Karachi, Bombay, Colombo, Calcutta, Akyab, Moulmein, Christmas Island and Africa (Oran, Port Said, Alexandria and Tripoli). In Europe the ships ventured to British, Norwegian, Spanish, French, Dutch, German, Italian, Turkish, Greek, Romanian and Russian Black Sea ports from Fiume, Trieste and Buccari. The total of the company's goods turnover is shown in illustration number 2.

<sup>24</sup> The definition of a nautical mile is 1852 metres.



Illustration 2: Yearly goods turnover of Atlantica between 1907 and 1914 in tons with their own and chartered steamships

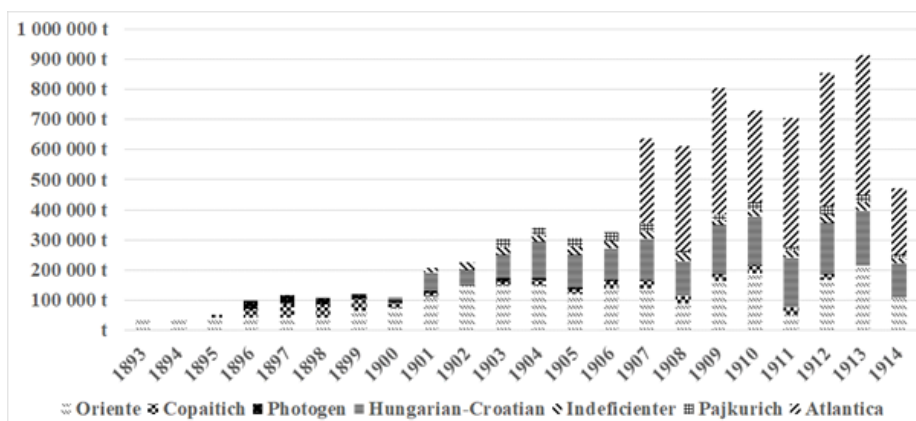


Source: Documents indicated in footnote 23. in the Rijeka State Archives from Atlantica shipping journals

The total of Atlantica’s goods turnover between 1907 and 1914 amounted to 2,912,162 tons of goods. 19 % of this was by chartered steamships (543,125 t) and 81 % by own steamships (2,369,037 t). If by revisiting illustration 1. we investigate how big the role of the weighted goods turnover of the individual ports was in the existence of the company we can conclude that the steamers transported 27 % of the total goods to Danube ports, 19 % to Rotterdam and 10 % to Fiume.

In this timeframe, there were also other tramp shipping companies operational within Hungarian maritime commercial shipping. Between 1893 and 1913 the Hungarian Oriente Shipping Company Limited, between 1895 and 1912 Copaitich and Partners Company Limited, between 1896 and 1908 Photogen Transport Company Limited, between 1900 and 1913 Hungarian–Croatian Free Shipping Company Limited, between 1901 and 1913 the Indeficienter Company Limited, between 1903 and 1913 Pajkurich Company Limited.<sup>25</sup> Based on these, the following, illustration shows the overall goods turnover of the Hungarian tramp shipping fleet globally.

Illustration 3. Total goods turnover of Hungarian tramp shipping companies between 1893 and 1913 in tons<sup>26</sup>



Source: Documents indicated in footnote 23. in the Rijeka State Archives from Atlantica and other tramp shipping company journals

<sup>25</sup> Pelles, Márton –Zsigmond, Gábor: The Hungarian maritime...145–178.

<sup>26</sup> Goods turnover of 1914 naturally dropped due to the outbreak of WWI, hence only showing goods turnover between January and August 1914.

This illustration clearly shows that even though the Atlantica was the tramp shipping company last founded, it could transport more goods (2,912,162 t) than the two big companies Oriente (2,315,956 t) and Hungarian-Croatian Company (1,737,674 t). When investigating the turnover between 1907 and 1914, this advantage for Atlantica only increased. In this period the companies lost the following: 6 steamers of Oriente Co. 187,731 tons each, 6 steamers of Hungarian-Croatian Co. each 200,372 tons and the 12 steamers of Atlantica 242,680 tons each. This success of Atlantica was partly due to Polnay's innovative instruments and partly to the fact that the commercial agencies worked very efficiently. When the Atlantica ships arrived to whichever port, shipments were already waiting for them. This was the reason for the Atlantica ships barely ever traveling empty, while in the case of the other Hungarian companies it was customary to return empty to the mother port of Fiume after delivery of a transport.

### **Transformation of the company during the Great War (1914–1918)**

The outbreak of the War did not come as a surprise to the company. The Hungarian Ministry of Commerce warned the shipping companies through the Fiume Maritime Authority before the 28<sup>th</sup> July 1914 to try to move their transports to the Mediterranean Sea in case of a war against Serbia.<sup>27</sup> However, the war grew into worldwide proportions and this resulted in an uncomfortable situation for Atlantica. Atlantica's steamboats suffered the following fates when the War broke out: they tried to get home through enemy waters, they were captured in enemy ports or they tried to ship to neutral ports.

From the fleet the company sold SS Hunnia in Cardiff to the Russians on 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1914. The SS Kossuth Ferencz arrived from Methil to Fiume on 26<sup>th</sup> July 1914 with a load of coal. The SS Fiume arrived in Pula at the start of August with a load of coal. The SS Szterényi arrived to Fiume on 4<sup>th</sup> August with coal from Newport, the SS Magyarország on 7<sup>th</sup> August with coal from Penarth, the SS Gróf Khuen Héderváry on 7<sup>th</sup> August with iron goods. The SS Polnay was taken as loot in Rotterdam by the British before the declaration of war. Because the ship was sunk during the war, they had to pay 50,000 English pounds indemnity after the war to Atlantica.<sup>28</sup> The SS Gróf Serényi Béla left from Brăila with a shipment of cereals on 28<sup>th</sup> July to Rotterdam and ensconced itself in Cartagena before the war. The SS Atlantica left from Odessa on 25<sup>th</sup> July with a shipment of cereal to Rotterdam and moored in the neutral port of Ferrol. The SS Morawitz left Antwerp on 8<sup>th</sup> July for Galveston, USA and did not return to Europe because of the war. The SS Budapest transported goods from Buenos Aires to Norfolk, USA and also stayed on the American continent.<sup>29</sup> The latter two steamers were sold by Atlantica to the United States in 1915. Pursuant the laws on tramp shipping, the ships that made it back home had to be utilised for the war effort as determined by the Ministry of War. These were primarily transports of troops and goods.<sup>30</sup>

During the war the Austro-Hungarian navy was stuck in the Adriatic Sea resulting in commerce becoming practically entirely infeasible. Certain documents allude to the idea that the Governor of Fiume and the Fiume Maritime Authority urged the companies to have commercial submarines built, which would be able to get out of the Strait of Otranto. However, there is no further mention of this in the sources.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Zsigmond, Gábor: Hungarian commercial maritime shipping in WW1. PhD dissertation. Miklós Zrínyi University of Defense, Lajos Kossuth Faculty of Military Sciences, Doctor School of Military Sciences Budapest. 2011. [http://uni-nke.hu/downloads/konyvtar/digitgy/phd/2011/zsigmond\\_gabor.pdf](http://uni-nke.hu/downloads/konyvtar/digitgy/phd/2011/zsigmond_gabor.pdf)

<sup>28</sup> KEZ. 680. 5.

<sup>29</sup> DAR. 46: 733–1914–II–50.

<sup>30</sup> Zsigmond, Gábor: Hungarian commercial...27–39.

<sup>31</sup> DAR. 46: 859–1917–XI–235.

In order to maintain commerce in the Adriatic Sea region, Atlantica purchased a steamer named Honvéd in 1917 with a capacity of 3,300 GRT and five sailboats with diesel engines.<sup>32</sup> The ships named Szellő, Szélvész, Hullám and Orkán had a capacity of 220 GRT, the one named *Zápor* 450 GRT. These ships were primarily suited for smaller shipments between Fiume and East Adriatic ports.

The 1917 Atlantica general assembly documents refer to the fact that the company planned to build Danube sea-faring ships, concordantly the plans to make the bridges of Baja, Novi Sad (Serbia) and Sombor (Serbia) openable.<sup>33</sup> Apart from this, Atlantica had a shipyard built for the production of Danube sea-faring ships, for which they purchased the Danube island named Háros, located next to Budapest.<sup>34</sup> With the founding of this company in 1918 the Atlantica Sea Navigation Company Co. ceased to exist and its place was taken over by the newly founded Atlantica Trust.<sup>35</sup>

### Conclusion

By investigating the activities of Atlantica Sea Navigation Company Co. between 1907 and 1914, we can state that by the ingenious managerial skills of Jenő de Polnay, he reached the goals as determined in the company statutes and by superseding these made the company the most successful Hungarian tramp shipping company. Jenő de Polnay can be merited for the fact that with the effective help of the Austro-Hungarian Bank and the Hungarian State Atlantica came into existence, and the fact that the redesign of the ships is attributed to his name so these could comply in the best manner for the shipment of timber. Through his contacts, he managed to get continual transports for the timber trade company of the Transylvanian Groedel family and Russian cereals from the Sea of Azov region. By transporting coal on the way back for the Hungarian State Railways he managed to employ his ships there and back again. But what was the most important innovation implemented by Polnay was the efficient introduction of the quick despatch principle in Hungary. This resulted in Atlantica's ability to load their ships faster and to increase efficiency.

Here, we also need to refer to the developed network of agencies that Atlantica operated. It maintained continual agencies in the bigger ports and in ports that were of importance to Atlantica. These agencies coordinated the planned transports between the major ports of the world. These activities added greatly to Atlantica Sea Navigation Company's efficiency.

The outbreak of the Great War greatly held back Atlantica's developments. However, in contrast to other Hungarian shipping companies, Atlantica quickly recognised potential and re-evaluated its own goals to start concentrating on river navigation to stay afloat even amidst the trying economic circumstances that followed World War I.

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<sup>32</sup> DAR. 46: 842–1917–I–1089.

<sup>33</sup> DAR. 46: 844–1917–I–2702.

<sup>34</sup> *Herczeg, Renáta – Prakfalvi, Endre*: Construction by the Atlantica Sea Navigation Company in the end-days of the Monarchy on Háros Island. *Műemlékvédelem*. 60. vol. 3–4 issue. 2016 207–230.

<sup>35</sup> Hungarian National Archives. Z–1070: Atlantica Sea Navigation Company Co. 1887–1929.

Máté Szabó

## From the Manorial Village to the Regional Center. The Economic Development of Barcs in the Period of Dualism

### Abstract

At the very beginning of my essay I point out that what kind of natural and economical conditions Barcs have had in the 19th centuries. This is important because I had to place Barcs into this medium, which in the beginning of the 19th was a simple manorial village situated in the flood plain of the Drava. The Drava river had a great impact on the improvement of the village. This little manorial village by the end of the century became one of the determinative villages in the region of southern Transdanubia. I show why was the location of the village so important at that time. As a vehicular interchange and with its warehouse capacity by the beginning of the 19th century it was significant too. There were five railway lines that are met in Barcs in the beginning of the 20th century. So it was a significant vehicular intersection at that time. Furthermore after Kaposvár it was the second biggest industrial centre of the county. By this time it was famous about its wood and mill industries across Europe. Moreover it had a regional centre role at different types of food industries. I introduce to what kind of economical processes and infrastructural investments helped the large economical development of the village. At the end of my essay I want to show the series of events which crash this tremendous economical and social change in Barcs after the World War I.

**Keywords:** manorial village, Drava river, industrial center, wood industry, infrastructure

### Introduction

Until the bourgeois revolution of 1848, the settlement of Barcs was part of the Csokonya estate owned by the Széchenyi family. An important event in the history of the Széchenyi family was the division of the property in 1814, after which the three sons of Ferenc Széchenyi, Lajos, Pál and István, could take over their inheritance and start independent farming on the estates during its lifetime. The father took great care to ensure that his sons received exactly the same value from his possessions, and therefore he compiled it in the most detailed manner by the officials of his estates and assessed it on that basis for all his possessions.<sup>1</sup> Until 1833, the manor belonged to István Széchenyi, who then sold it to his brothers, Lajos and Pál. The Csokonya estate was a vast latifundium of about 62,000 Hungarian moons, with two market towns, several villages and a sheer.<sup>2</sup> One of the market towns was the settlement of Barcs, which was an old crossing on the Drava to the Slavonian territories, the landlord operated a ferry, which was accompanied by the right to collect custom duties. In the middle of the 19th century, the village had about 5,000 Hungarian moons, and its population was approx. There were 1,700 people, basically Hungarian and German Catholics lived in the settlement. According to contemporary descriptions, quite a few watermills also operated on the Drava. With the parameters indicated above, Barcs exceeded the size of the usual settlements in Somogy county, but not much indicated the change that

<sup>1</sup> *Tilkovszky, Lóránt*: Széchenyi István csokonyai uradalma. In: Somogy megye múltjából 1991. Edited by Kanyar, József. Kaposvár. 1991. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán*: A magyarországi uradalmi rendszer változásai a XVIII-XX. században. Agrártörténelmi Szemle. Historia Rerum Rusticarum. XLIII. (2001) 1-2. 239-261.; *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Uradalmak, földbirtokosok és birtokforgalom a Dél-Dunántúlon a 19. században. Mezőgazdaságtörténelmi Tanulmányok 14. Budapest. MMGM. 2019.

started in the middle of the 19th century. In our study, we follow how Barcs became the second largest settlement in Somogy county during the period of dualism, and what were the reasons for the incredibly rapid transformation process, which was rightly thought by contemporaries that there are hardly any similar examples abroad.

### **Barcs in the middle of the 19th century: endowments, possibilities**

The current existence of the population of Barcs was significantly exposed to the natural conditions that give its surroundings. Of these, the Drava river was clearly the determining factor. In his work in 1812, György Károly Rummy mentions that the largest river in the county is the Drava, which originates in Tyrol and, passing through Carinthia and Styria, separates the three counties of Hungary, Zala, Somogy and Baranya, from Croatia and Slavonia. This river flows through sandy areas everywhere on the border of the county of Somogy, and thus rushes at a very high speed, surrounded by shores without strength. This is due in part to its winding flow, in part to the weakness and collapse of its shores, and finally to the flooding that has slowed and increased the flooding of adjacent lands as a result of the bends.<sup>3</sup> The Drava changed its winding, branching bed quickly, and in addition to its main branches, it formed numerous smaller and larger branches, including islands of significant size. Such was the case between Croatia and Hungary, the long-disputed point of the Répás district. The Drava has a pretty big fall, moving rough gravel for a reefy, degenerate bed, with rapid changes, showing that it is doing filling work. The 10-15 km wide floodplain is full of dead beds and wet marshes, because the river fills its floodplain faster next to the riverbed than farther away.<sup>4</sup> Along the Drava lay huge gallery forests that could provide the best quality timber, while also providing opportunities for diverse forest life for societies along the river.

Rummy's description is also confirmed by contemporary county maps. A few decades later, Elek Fényes characterized the Drava in such a way that the flow of "... is sweeping above it, causing a lot of damage with its floods. They wash gold from its grass, it has an abundance of fish, and its mills grind famous flour. Its shores are accompanied by famous beech and oak forests."<sup>5</sup> The great acquaintance of the county, József Csorba, remarked in the middle of the 19th century that "there have been transport via the Drava from the memory of a person, and by boat and in a few places by bridge."<sup>6</sup> In addition to the Drava, the Rinya is also fundamentally influences the operation of the settlement. Feeding on three branches, the Rinya flows into the Drava close to Barcs, forming the western border of the settlement. With its spring and autumn spills, it poses a serious threat to the agricultural production of the people of Barcs. The manorial regulation extended to this stream, and finally, in 1867, its head was to be submitted to the regulatory work. As the stream flowed into the Drava at the site of today's railway station, construction of the building was only possible after regulation. The area around the estuary and the stream bed was swampy, muddy. The stream was diverted to a new bed, the area was filled up. (The railway station was later built on this territory in 1868, and the central area of Barcs was also moved here.)<sup>7</sup>

Since the end of the 18th century, the population of the Drava region has grown faster than the average. This is also clear in the case of Barcs. According to József II's census, only 355

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<sup>3</sup> The work of Rummy was translated and published by *Tóth, Péter*: Somogy megye leírása 1812-ből. In: Somogy megye múltjából 1988. Edited by Kanyar, József. Kaposvár, 1988.

<sup>4</sup> *Cholnoky, Jenő*: Somogy megye természeti viszonyai. In: Magyarország vármegyéi és városai. Somogy. Edited by Csánki Dezső. Budapest, 1914.

<sup>5</sup> *Fényes, Elek*: Magyarországnak, s a hozzá kapcsolt tartományoknak mostani állapotja statistikai és geographiai tekintetben 1. Pest. 1836.

<sup>6</sup> *Csorba, József*: Somogy vármegye ismertetése. Pest. 1857. 58.

<sup>7</sup> *Harasztia, Attila*: Barcs közlekedése a dualizmus korában, középpontban a vasúti közlekedés. Szombathely, 2005.

people lived in Barcs, while according to the data of 1828, there were already 1,323 people living in the settlement, and in the middle of the century there were already 1,686 people living in the settlement.<sup>8</sup> The increase can be attributed primarily to the fact that for a long time there was a lot of vacant land in this area and there was not enough free labour force to cultivate them, so it was worth deploying labor wherever it came from. This means that the settlements did not stop in the 18th century, even in the first half of the 19th century many newcomers arrived in Barcs or its surroundings. The family of Széchényi's had a big role in the settlements. This process was facilitated by the fact that in many parts of the Csokonya estate the soil conditions were very good for tobacco production. Not far from Barcs is the old center of tobacco production in Somogy county, the settlement of Szulok, which also belongs to the Csokonya estate. Tobacco production required primarily German speakers labours. Let's add that it was not happened only on the Széchényi's estates, but also in Némethlad the Czindery family brought tobacco gardeners from Tolna county.<sup>9</sup>

There were other novelties in crop production in the first half of the 19th century. According to data of 1828, the previous two-pressure border use was replaced by three-pressure field production.<sup>10</sup> It was also a novelty that maize appeared in large-scale and residential production, which increased the possibility of animal feed, not to mention potatoes, which was so important in public nutrition and for which sowing data have also remained. Through the three-pressure system and the introduction of new plants, the production area has increased and productivity has improved. All these, of course, was the result of a long historical process: in agriculture, the new does not occur suddenly and does not crowd out the old at the same time. The robot was still used in the landlord's majors, traditional taxes remained important in the landlord's revenues, and so on. There is no doubt, however, that substantial changes always appear first in manorial farming.

The basis of animal husbandry was provided by the large forests and pastures of the border of Barcs. They could only use 1/3 of the meadows belonging to the plot, the others gave more sedge than hay.<sup>11</sup> And the common pasture was often flooded. Sometimes four times a year, as in 1825.<sup>12</sup> This is why the forest pastures were in great need of both the landlord and the serfs. The Drava region has always been famous for its pig farming: in the first half of the 19th century, pigs were raised in huge herds to major national fairs, especially to the market of Kanizsa.<sup>13</sup> The predominance of brittleness can be observed in cattle and pig farming, although we also know that Swiss type dairy farming was also practiced in several majors in the Csokonya estate of the Széchényi family. Stable animal husbandry will only become common in the last decades of the 19th century.

The market town of Barcs had the right to hold fairs. According to some data, the turnover and market suction power of its animal fairs were already so high in the early 19th century that the fair of the manorial center was almost depopulated. The infrastructural conditions which determining the life of the settlement were acceptable. The southern post route ran along the Drava, meaning that the accessibility of Barcs and then the possibility of crossing the Drava was a huge potential. The postal route led to Nagykanizsa from the edge of Baranya county through

<sup>8</sup> *Danyi, Dezső – Dávid, Zoltán: Az első magyarországi népszámlálás (1784-1787)*. Budapest. 1960.; *Nagy, Ludovicus: Notitae Politico - Geographico - Statisticae Inclyti Regni Hungariae, Partiumque Eidem Adnexarum*. Buda, 1828. Volume 1.; *Fényes, Elek: Magyarország geographiai szótára 1-2*. Pest. 1851.

<sup>9</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán: Uradalmak, földbirtokosok... 62*.

<sup>10</sup> *Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Somogy Megyei Levéltára* (hereinafter: MNL SML). IV. 1. h. Conscr. Regnicolaris, 1828.; *T. Mérey, Klára: A földművelési rendszer alakulása Somogy megyében 1720-1848. Agrártörténeti Szemle IV. 1-2*. 1962.

<sup>11</sup> MNL SML IV. 1. h. Conscr. Regnicolaris, 1828. Barcs.

<sup>12</sup> *Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára* (hereinafter: MNL OL): P 623. IV. 03.08.1825.

<sup>13</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán: Kanizsa gazdasági struktúrájának változásai 1743-1848*. Nagykanizsa. 2009. Czupi Kiadó. 224-225.

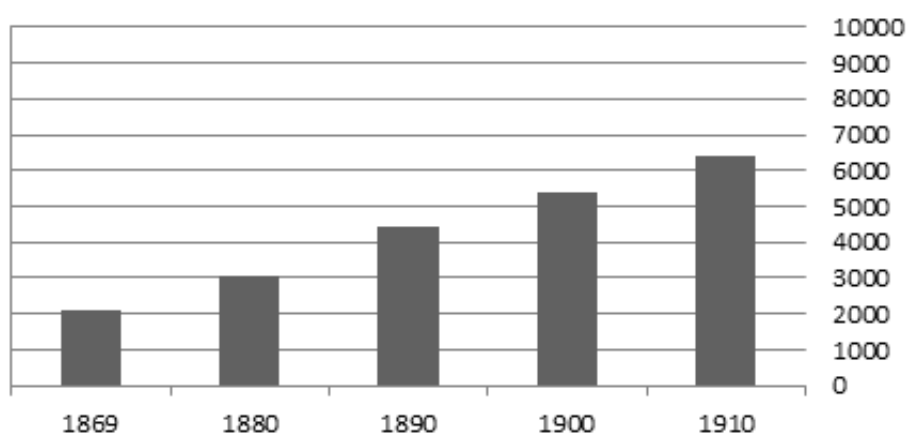
Szigetvár, Istvándi, Komlósd, Babócsa, Berzence and Iharosberény in Somogy county.<sup>14</sup> These settlements could be attributed in part to their economic development by being able to take advantage of the postal and trade route. Let us add that in the middle of the century Szigetvár was one of the most developed settlements in this region and in the county, where six fairs were held every year, and weekly fairs on Tuesdays and Fridays. Szigetvár's role as a market center was indisputable, it could not only take advantage of the benefits of through trade, but it also attracted the surrounding settlements.<sup>15</sup> The possibility is important even if we know that the quality of the county road network during this period was rather poor. The manual and cart labor required for road construction and repair was provided by the localities according to their population. The obligation to repair applied only to state and law enforcement roads that were marked as postal or highway. To this day, you can walk almost the entire length of the old postal road.

### **Population and society in the second half of the 19th century**

As a result of the laws of 1848, the relationship between the manor and the market town changed fundamentally during the years of absolutism. The economic situation of the Széchenyi estate changed in accordance with the new laws. The production costs of the majors increased because he lost the robot, the ninth, and the lord even had to pay taxes. His situation was further hardened by the state tobacco monopoly which was enacted in 1851. As a result, the income of the manor declined. The managers of the dominion have clearly seen that they do not have enough wages and technical equipment, so they must strive to make more optimal use of the land. In addition, the question of the ownership of former common use lands had to be resolved. Both the large landowner and the population were interested in carving out as much of the forests and pastures as possible.

In the second half of the 19th century, the population of historic Hungary grew rapidly. This is also clear in the case of the population of Barcs. According to the census of 1857 Barcs had 1,708 inhabitants.<sup>16</sup>

**Figure 1. The population of Barcs between 1869 and 1910**



Source: A Magyar Korona országaiban az 1870. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei a hasznos háziállatok kimutatásával együtt. Pest, 1871.; A Magyar Korona országaiban az 1881. év végén végrehajtott népszámlálás

<sup>14</sup> Erdősi, Ferenc: Somogy megye közlekedési hálózatának kialakulása a XIX–XX. században. A vasúthálózat kialakulása. In: Somogy megye múltjából 1982. Edited by Kanyar, József. Kaposvár, 1982.; Tóth, Péter: Somogy megye leírása 1812-ből...

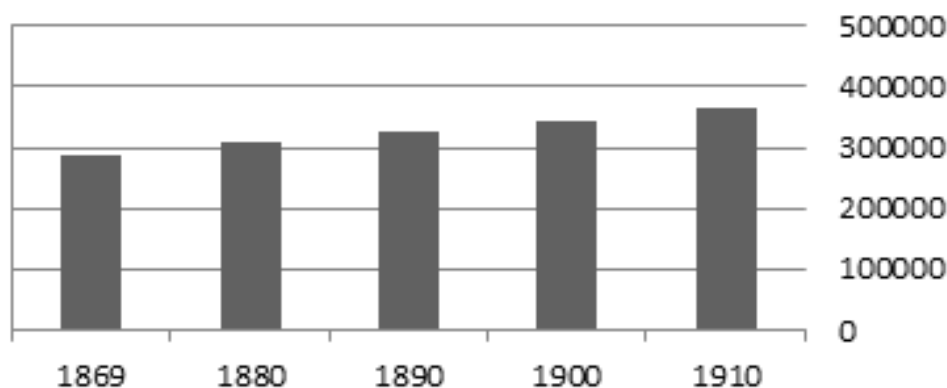
<sup>15</sup> Szili, Ferenc: Somogy megye kereskedelme a kései feudalizmus korában (1700–1848). Kaposvár. 1988.; Kaposi, Zoltán: A nagybirtok modernizációjának lehetőségei a 19. századi Dél-Dunántúlon. In: A tudomány és az oktatás vonzásában. Edited by Kaposi, Zoltán – Lendvai, Tamás – Oroszi, Sándor. Pécs, 2012. 59.

<sup>16</sup> A Magyar Korona országaiban az 1870. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei a hasznos háziállatok kimutatásával együtt. Pest, 1871. 584.

főbb eredményei megyék és községek szerint rendezve II. Budapest, 1882.; A Magyar Korona országaiban az 1891. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei. I. Budapest, 1893.; A Magyar Korona országainak 1900. évi népszámlálása 1. Budapest, 1902.; A Magyar Korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálás 1. Budapest, 1912.

It can be seen that the growth was very significant, far exceeding the indicators typical of the county or the whole country. By 1870, there were already 2,111 inhabitants registered. At the time of the 1880 census, it had grown to 3,080, in 1890 to 4,427, in 1900 to 5,388, while the last pre-war 1910 census showed 6,415 inhabitants. In total, between 1857 and 1910, the population of the settlement increased by 4,707 people. It is clear that in such a short period of time, growth of this magnitude can only be achieved with a significant number of settlers, and natural growth would have resulted in only one-third of this increase. Of course, the population also includes the datas of the outskirts of the settlement. In the 1910 statistics, two inhabited steppes are mentioned: 185 persons lived in Nagyerdő-puszta, while in Sáncz-puszta there were only 171. The population growth in Barcs far exceeded the increase in the market towns of the region. This is well illustrated by the fact that according to the 1910 census, there were 4,593 people in Csurgó, 4,558 in Marcali, 3,753 in Nagyatád and 6,153 in Szigetvár.

Figure 2. **The population of Somogy county between 1869 and 1910**



Source: A Magyar Korona országaiban az 1870. év elején...; A Magyar Korona országaiban az 1881. év végén...; A Magyar Korona országaiban az 1891. év elején...; A Magyar Korona országainak 1900. évi népszámlálása...; A Magyar Korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálás...

It is worth looking at the population change of Barcs from another point of view. If we examine the changes in the population of Somogy county, we can see that between 1869 and 1910 there was a much smaller increase in the county. The population of Somogy county was 287,555 in 1869 and 364,799 in 1910, so the population of the county increased by 77,240. In the case of Barcs, the annual growth rate is 2.75%, while in the county it is only 0.58%.

Let's see what the occupational structure of the settlement was like, and whether something special can be seen in the social system of Barcs. In 1876, the Sopron Chamber of Commerce and Industry counted those who were involved in industry and commerce in all settlements of the nine counties under its supervision. In Barcs, 68 self-employed industrial and commercial entrepreneurs, 61 assistants, 37 apprentices and 29 male workers were registered this year. If we consider 1,000 of the 2,111 inhabitants to be earners, the proportion of the working population engaged in industry and trade (197 people) is still close to 20% of all earners. There were 426 agricultural day laborers. This shows that Barcs was no longer a traditional agricultural settlement just a few years after the lawsuit closing the landlords.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> T. Mérey, Klára: Barcs gazdaság- és társadalomtörténete a kapitalizmus korában. In: Barcs múltja és jelene. Edited by Bihari Ottó. Barcs, 1979. 42.



It is clear from the data that at the beginning of the age of dualism, significant industrial and commercial development may have begun in Barcs. If we examine the occupational composition of the population of Barcs around the turn of the century, we get a completely different situation from the county.

**Table 1. The employment structure of Barcs in 1900 and 1910 (earners)**

Year	Population		Agriculture	Industry	Commerce and Finance	Transportation	Public servants
	Earners	Dependants					
1900	2286	3110	647	619	224	303	117
1910	2663	3752	612	706	363	363	122

Source: A Magyar Korona országainak 1900. évi népszámlálása...; A Magyar Korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása...

It can be seen from the data that although agriculture is still an important economic sector of the settlement, the dynamics is provided by other sectors. The number of workers in industry, commerce and credit grew steadily until the outbreak of World War I. The increase in employment in the transport sector is due to, among other things, there were significant investments in infrastructure during this period. The public service system has so far been fully developed, with a long line of institutions, so there has been no significant increase here. At that time, the number of enterprises engaged in industry increased from 214 to 247, most of which were unassisted enterprises, so they were sole proprietorships. In the censuses, the data of large companies employing more than 20 workers per settlement have already been recorded. In 1900, there were 3 such larger companies in Barcs. The concentration of Barcs industry is shown by the fact that 11.5% of the workers working in large companies in the whole county were employees of the three large factories in Barcs at that time.<sup>18</sup> In the early 1900s, Barcs had a significant number of commercial companies, financial institutions, post and telegraph offices, railway stations, shipping companies and other industrial plants. In other words, it is quite clear from the employment statistics that Barcs has become a dominant industrial and commercial settlement in the region with significant capacities.

### **Agricultural conditions in Barcs in the second half of the 19th century**

From the 1850s to the mid-1880s, there was an agricultural boom in Hungary, when everyone tried to take advantage of the expanding market and rising prices.<sup>19</sup> This, of course, required stable land ownership. The first step in this was created by law in 1848, but procedures for common lands were at least as important. In Barcs this process took quite a long time, and finally it was not completed until 1864. From then on, peasant farming took place on an estate separate from the landlords.<sup>20</sup>

Until 1848, the manor of Csokonya was kept under its own management by the owners, where they practiced manorial farming. After 1848, a significant part of the lands were still in the hands of the Széchenyi family. After the death of Count Lajos Széchenyi, Count Imre from his second wife inherited Barcs, and Count Dénes Széchenyi took over from him. But the lord's possession was not motionless either. We need to mention two important processes in this matter. One is that smaller or larger estates were sold in the second half of the 19th century

<sup>18</sup> A Magyar Korona országainak...1902. 975. At that time, a total of 860 workers worked in 13 large companies in Somogy county, including the Kaposvár sugar factory.

<sup>19</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán*: A kiegyezés szerepe a magyarországi mezőgazdaság fejlődésében. *Agrártörténeti Szemle*, LVIII. 2017. 1–4. 67–88.

<sup>20</sup> *T. Mérey, Klára*: Barcs gazdaság- és társadalomtörténete...39.

from the area of the former Csokonya estate. These estates were not too large. Our other remark is that in the age of dualism, a significant part of the land was leased, but not all at once, as a large lease, but rather per village, so that the landlord's estates there could be priced differently. The proliferation of large leases is a rather general trend in the country in the past, not only in Somogy county.<sup>21</sup>

In 1895, Barcs had a large estate in the hands of two owners: Jr. Count Imre Széchenyi and Zsófia Stern owned larger lands. The two of them own 3,631 cadastral moon. Zsófia Stern's father was a merchant from Nagykanizsa. The land of Jr. Count Imre Széchenyi in Barcs was rented entirely by the merchant Adolf Fuchs. The appearance of a family from Nagykanizsa is not surprising, as it is known from the literature that in the age of dualism, dozens of entrepreneurs from Kanizsa, most of them traders, bought larger estates in Southern Transdanubia.<sup>22</sup>

If we look not only at the large estates, but at the whole agriculture of Barcs, we see that in 1895 there were 409 agricultural farms in Barcs, covering 4,323 cadastral moon. The 409 farms have 692 cadastral moon shared to varying degrees. It can be seen that the previous situation has not changed much: the vast majority of the lands were large estates.<sup>23</sup> And if we contrast this data with the data of the census survey conducted 5 years later, which in Barcs had 163 smallholders, 16 smallholder day labourers, 233 agricultural workers and 171 economic servants with 362 dependents. The number of people living from agriculture was about 700, the 13% of the population.<sup>24</sup> It can be stated that the results of agriculture mainly reflect the results of the manor.

We also have information about the extent of tobacco production, which largely determines the arable farming. The salt house, built by Ferenc Széchenyi, was converted into a tobacco substitute in 1851, as the supply of salt to the Drava ceased. In 1882, 149 tobacco growers in Barcs produced 88,269 kg of tobacco leaves on 250 ½ acres of land.<sup>25</sup> The amount of tobacco area thus decreased compared to the 1850s, when it was grown on 937 acres.<sup>26</sup> Barcs was still in second place in the county, in terms of the number of growers and the size of the tobacco field, after Mike.

In 1865, 40% of the border of Barcs was covered with forest. In 1895, 30 years later, the proportion of forest fell to 20%. In Barcs, significant deforestation took place in the areas along the Drava, due to which the proportion of arable land increased. In Somogy county, the proportion of forests decreased from only 30% to 21% during the same period. Arable farming in particular has strengthened. In addition, infertile areas were cleared at a high pace: including reeds, the unused area on the outskirts of the settlement decreased by nearly 222 acres between 1865 and 1895. In the middle of the 1890s, some pastures of the village of Barcs were divided, during which the people of Barcs had to agree with the Kremzír family, who owned the border, in addition to the Somogytarnóca estate. At that time, a change of ownership was even carried out with the Széchenyi estate. As a large part of its land was owned by large landowners, a significant part of the livestock was also carried out by them.

In 1884 a new farm appeared in Barcs. In December of this year, the Barcs Pig Fattening Limited Liability Company, whose headquarters were located in Barcs, was registered with the court of registration. The company dealt with commission fattening of pigs and their sale and

<sup>21</sup> A Magyar Korona országainak mezőgazdasági statisztikája 2. Budapest, 1897. 100.

<sup>22</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Nagykanizsai vállalkozók birtokszerzése a város körüli területeken a dualizmus korában. In: *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Évkönyv 3. Uradalom – Vállalat*. Edited by Kövér, György. 2019. 223–241.

<sup>23</sup> *T. Mérey, Klára*: Barcs gazdaság- és társadalomtörténete...46–47.

<sup>24</sup> A Magyar Korona országainak 1900. évi népszámlálása...215–216.

<sup>25</sup> A Pécsi Kereskedelmi és Iparkamara jelentései. Pécs. 1882. 25.

<sup>26</sup> MNL SML. Documents of the County Headquarters, Statement of the tobacco production according to the number of moons in 1850 and 1851 and the difference between the cultivation between the two years.

purchase.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, as early as 1909, it supplied electricity to Barcs from its own power plant. The Széchenyi family was also interested in this company.

In the second half of the 19th century, the renewal of technical equipment and the reorganization of the technological system played an increasingly important role in large-scale farming. More and more modern machine devices appeared in the Széchenyi estate as well. The manor kit already included a steam engine, threshing machine, seed drill, iron harrow, or forage harvester, iron harrow, iron cylinder, etc. in the economic toolbox.

### **Major industrial enterprises in the settlement between 1867 and 1914**

All forms of industry were present in Barcs. Traditional meant small-scale industry: small-scale, mainly family-run industrial production has always been strong. In Hungary, the guild system was severely weakened by the industrial order established following the imperial patent of 1859.<sup>28</sup> Our industrialists could no longer adapt to the expansion of consumption, the transformation of its structure and quality requirements, and the competition of cheap mass products within the framework of guilds. The former guilds were unable to accept new, state-of-the-art manufacturing processes due to their closed nature, and the number of professionals was reduced due to the recruitment of fewer and fewer butlers. The role of the guilds was taken over in most places by the industrial associations, the industrial association was established in Barcs in 1874, which became a new organization of the masters, more open than the guild.<sup>29</sup> In reality, however, guild traditions and customs continued to live on for a long time, until the middle of the 20th century. The older masters still raised their disciples in the spirit of these.

The future, of course, was the manufacturing industry. An important sector of the industrial development of Barcs was the wood industry by taking advantage of the natural endowments. In 1882, according to the report of the Pécs Chamber of Industry, there were two wood sawmills in Barcs, one for Schmidt et al and the other for Jenő Schmidt. Both carried out the classification of the delivered trees and their preparation as semi-finished products. The wood, after being dried in a drying chamber, was transported to France. In addition, cooper wood was sold in Barcs, although much of it was obtained from Slavonia and sold.<sup>30</sup> The importance of the wood industry is shown by the fact that several companies registered with foreign capital also worked in Barcs. For example, on December 24, 1884, the company Société d'Importation de Chêne, headquartered in Paris, established a branch in Barcs and registered it with the Kaposvár court of registration. The company's main goal was to transport, buy, sell and process oak trees in the raw state.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, an oak bark tanning company was established in the settlement in 1889.<sup>32</sup> In 1893, in the report of the Pécs Chamber of Commerce and Industry also published data about other large companies, such as the wood industry plant of Count Széchenyi Géza and the steam sawmill of Faipartelep Rt.<sup>33</sup>

The food industry in Barcs was equally important. In 1889, the distillery and refinery of Mór Kremzir, a resident of Barcstelep, were registered in the court of registration.<sup>34</sup> The entrepreneur has become one of the most significant businessmen of Barcs over time. His father, Károly Kremzir, was born in 1818 and settled in Barcs and Pálfalu in the early 1840s. (Later

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<sup>27</sup> MNL SML. VII. 1. f. Cégbírósági iratok 1875-1950. Company court documents. I. 94/I.

<sup>28</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Magyarország gazdaságtörténete 1700–2000. Budapest-Pécs. 2002. 240–241.

<sup>29</sup> *Rózsás, Márton*: Az idő sodrában - Barcs története dióhéjban, Dráva menti füzetek 5. Barcs. 2005. 46.

<sup>30</sup> MNL SML. VII. 1. f. Cégbírósági iratok 1875-1950. Company court documents. I. 75/1.; A Pécsi Kereskedelmi és Iparkamara jelentése. Pécs. 1882. 67.

<sup>31</sup> MNL SML. VII. 1. f. Cégbírósági iratok 1875-1950. Company court documents. 92/I.

<sup>32</sup> A Pécsi Kereskedelmi és Iparkamara jelentése. Pécs. 1890. 18.

<sup>33</sup> A Pécsi Kereskedelmi és Iparkamara jelentése. Pécs. 1894. 88.

<sup>34</sup> MNL SML. VII. 1. f. Cégbírósági iratok 1875-1950. Company court documents. Sole proprietorships. II. 155.

Drávapálfalu, today Barcs) He visited the area collecting iron, glass and bone waste and skins. In 1848, he rented the Belcsa-puszta estate on the eastern border of Barcs, which he bought in 1866, from the money he had collected as a result of his hard and persistent work. He died in 1888. His son, Mór Kremzir, was born in 1866 in Barcs. After his father's death, he took control of the estate. He later managed it with his two sons. He created a model farm in a few years that was unprecedented in the area.<sup>35</sup> According to rumors, the Széchenyi family advised the sale of their property to their administrator, as he believed that the arable land on this estate was of very poor quality and would make a good deal if it was sold. After the Széchenyi found out that Kremzir had set up a model farm in a few years, they immediately knocked out their manager.

Mór Kremzir set up a distillery in Belcsapuszta, belonging to Pálfalu, with large-scale constructions and investments, with such production that he paid a tax of 180,000 forints a year for the distillation itself. In 1893, the largest distillery in the Pécs Chamber of Commerce and Industry was owned by Mór Kremzir, and he submitted the official report to the Chamber on the annual situation of the distillery industry. The decline in spirits exports and the increase in production costs have forced the distillery to operate throughout the year as well. The raw material for this was provided by three agricultural distilleries established in its neighborhood. Its factory refines 9,000 hl of alcohol per year. The operation of the factory was adversely affected by the fact that although it was close to the Pécs coalfield, the private railway transported coal for almost twice the price of the state railway.<sup>36</sup> The Kremzir family helped Barcs develop in addition to successful farming. He was a constant supporter of the Fire Brigade Association, the Theater, the Sport Club, the Casino and various amateur groups.

A steam mill was also established in Barcs. Creating a joint stock company to create a steam mill was not an easy task. Count Imre Széchenyi and Géza convened a meeting twice to subscribe for the shares of the mill, which was eventually established with the share capital of 1,400,000 crowns under the name of Barcstelepi Műmalom Rt.<sup>37</sup> In addition, Sertéshizláló Rt. also had its own steam mill. One of the last large enterprises was the construction of the Union mill in 1912. This huge mill complex was considered to be the second largest in Hungary, but also the largest and most modern in Central Europe. It also met domestic and export needs when it was working at full capacity. It burned twice in ten years, in 1914 and 1916, so it produced predominantly only "semi-steam".

In the industry of stone, sand and clay we could also find a factory: the brick factory of Barcsi Körkemence Rt., Which was founded in 1893.<sup>38</sup> This venture was apparently brought to life by the general boom of Barcs.

### Transport and trade changes

The railway played a significant role in the development of Barcs. The Murakeresztúr-Barcs section was started by the Southern Railway, while the Pécs-Barcs section was managed by the Pécs-Barcs Railway Company. Between the two main lines, the Pécs-Barcs railway was completed first, it was handed over on May 6, 1868, and the Barcs-Murakeresztúr line operated from September 1, 1868. The residents of Barcs welcomed the incoming development, and both the local and national press covered the events on the front page. The enthusiasm of the people of Barcs was not typical of the inhabitants of Somogy county. The line bypassed the central parts of the county, including Kaposvár. The county's second railway line (the first on the southern shore of Lake Balaton) was not expected to have a positive impact on the county's

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<sup>35</sup> <http://www.somogyitemetkezes.hu/elodeink/nev-szerinti-lista/145>

<sup>36</sup> T. Mérey, Klára: Barcs gazdaság- és társadalomtörténete...45.

<sup>37</sup> Somogy, 06. 11. 1893. – Somogy, 07. 02. 1893.

<sup>38</sup> A Pécsi Kereskedelmi és Iparkamara jelentése. Pécs, 1894. 110-111.

economy. The public opinion of the county was afraid of the inflow of cheap grain from Bačka and the Great Plain, they were afraid of its market-influencing, price-reducing power. However, the rapid increase in traffic at the port and train station and the development of the city's economy proved the rightness of building the railway lines.

The development of local railways was greatly facilitated by the laws that applied to them in the 1880s. The main purpose of these was to encourage an increase in the weight of private investment in railways over public investment. The first HÉV that affected Barcs was the Barcs-Pakrác HÉV, which opened in 1885.<sup>39</sup> The Hungarian section was very short, leading from the railway bridge built on the Drava to the railway station. The purpose of the line was to connect the areas of Croatia with Barcs. This was preceded by the transport of timber from Slavonian oaks to Barcs. The wood delivered to Barcs was processed and transported to the western markets as a semi-finished or finished product. Prior to the construction of the railway bridge and railway line, this large amount of timber was solved by floating or transporting by ship. Then in 1883 a wooden bridge over the Drava was built. From then until the construction of the railway bridge, the timber was mainly transported to Barcs by carts.

Two bridges crossed the Drava near Barcs during this period. The substructure of both bridges was stone and the superstructure was an iron structure. The length of the road bridge was 319.8 m and of the railway was 271 m. Within the framework of the national bridge construction program, between 1902 and 1903, a new 280 m long road bridge was built with stone pillars sunk 20 m deep into the riverbed in the line of the demolished wooden bridge. Traffic was maintained by ferry during the construction. The bridge was ceremoniously handed over to the traffic on November 3, 1903.<sup>40</sup>

The next HÉV was the line between Barcs and Somogyszob, which was handed over in 1890. One of the main goals of its construction was, among other things, to get the Széchényi (Géza and Imre) manors of Csokonya, Tarnóca, and Barcs to the railway, thus opening the more distant markets to their crops. The largest owner of the joint-stock company that built and operated the line was the Széchényi family. This line helped to ensure that the tobacco which was produced in the Csokonya-based estates of the Széchényi family could be transported via Barcs to the Tobacco Factory in Pécs, which was their largest market. Probably this is why the line was called the „Tobaccorailway” by the people of Barcs.<sup>41</sup> Additional railway lines of local interest were built. The HÉV line between Kaposvár and Barcs was completed in 1905, which, contrary to the original plans, joined the Pécs-Barcs railway not at Drávapálfalu but at Középrigóc. The next and last built HÉV was the Barcs - Sellye - Siklós line, which was opened in 1912.

From the middle of the 19th century onwards, the creation of the technical preconditions for steamship and the need for transport sufficient to start economical traffic had been given. Still, the transporting by steamboats could only start slowly on the river. The main reason for this was the deregulation of the Drava. The river also changed direction frequently and unexpectedly because of the stumps in its bed. Behind them, alluvium accumulated, creating reef islands that again only changed the direction of the river. Logs are released into the water from the washed-up shores frequently.<sup>42</sup> These problems were overcome by significant regulatory work in the 1880s. After Bernhard Richard's steamship operation in 1817, which lasted about four years, a steamship appeared in Barcs in 1856, but it was already owned by the Danube Steamship Company (hereinafter DGT). As early as the 1860s, a regular combined passenger-cargo flight

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<sup>39</sup> *Kaposi, Zoltán*: Evangélikus földesurak gazdasági és társadalmi jelentősége Dél-Dunántúlon a 19. században. In: *A reformáció a Dél-Dunántúlon*. Edited by Borsy Judit. Pécs – Kaposvár - Szekszárd, 2019. 266.

<sup>40</sup> *Barcs és Vidéke*, 03. 11. 1903.

<sup>41</sup> *Haraszti, Attila*: Barcs közlekedése...50.

<sup>42</sup> *Vízügyi és Hajózási Közlöny*, 1907. No. 41. 322.

was launched. Until 1865, DGT steamers sailed from Osijek to Kakonya. It was a 229 km stretch. Its flights on this route were discontinued by the company in 1865, claiming that this long flight was unprofitable for it. Thereafter, DGT carried out only occasional transport between Osijek and Barcs and was only willing to transport in larger batches.<sup>43</sup>

Thanks to water regulation work in the 1880s, the river became even more navigable. From that time until World War I, was the heyday of the shipping on Drava, and it developed rapidly again. The reason for the increase in traffic was the rapid development of trade in Barcs, which was located at the meeting point of the Southern Railway and the Pécs-Barcs Railway in the 1880s. The raw material was demanded by the masses of large factories and commercial companies established in Barcs. There was a great demand for Slavonian wood. Transport to the ship was the most suitable to meet this demand until the bridges were built. The main transport profile, on the other hand, was grain. In addition to the natural conditions, the transport volumes were also affected by the yields of the grain-exporting areas of South-Eastern Europe. During this period, the steamers sailed mainly to Barcs on the Drava. The reason for this was the development of Barcs in other transport sectors (railways) and the development of the appropriate quality reception and transshipment infrastructure. In fact, a commercial port was built on the Drava in two places, Osijek and Barcs. In Osijek there was a harbor basin, in Barcs a 2.2 km long quay for ships, with warehouses and railway connecting tracks.

Even then, sailing on the river still posed dangers. Some examples of this statement. In 1902, a cargo ship sank from Kaproncza to Barcs in a vortex at the pillar of the road bridge of Barcs.<sup>44</sup> Or, for example, in April 1909, the raft from Mária-Rast to Barcs disintegrated with five wagons of building timber and planks near Bélavár.<sup>45</sup>

Between the two shipping directions, the traffic from the Danube estuary was clearly higher, exceeding the volume of transport from Barcs by six to seven times in some years. In the upper part of the Drava (up from Barcs) there was only a downward voyage. The transport of lowland wheat to the Alps and the Adriatic provinces and countries, or grain from Bulgaria, Romania and Serbia, accounted for this surplus. This, in turn, was influenced by the yields of the surrounding countries or the level of current duties and charges. The development of wheat prices thus had a direct effect on steamer traffic.

The craft along the river rested in the harbors of Barcs, Osijek, Moslavina and Zaláta in winter. With regular dredging, Barcs and Osijek were the two largest recipients of steamers, smaller ships and ship mills. Barcs played a central role in terms of steamship, partly as a steamship terminal, and partly as a destination for rafts and small boats departing from Mura and the Upper Drava. 60-70% of the river's freight traffic landed here.<sup>46</sup>

The time of transshipment from ships to rail cars and wagons and thus its costs were low. The larger cargo ships all sailed up on the Drava only to Barcs. So far, towing roads had also been built on the banks of the Drava, which the owners had to maintain. In Barcs, shipments were transferred to the railway, which at that time was the largest amount of cheap grain and timber from the south. From here these products continued its journey by rail to the rest of the empire. Animal trade was not brisk in comparison. In 1893, at four national and 104 weekly fairs, 1,200 horses, 50 oxen, 500 cows, 600 calves and 1,600 were bred, which was a good average quantity in Somogy.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Erdősi, Ferenc*: Adatok az egykori Dráva-hajózásról és annak Barcs fejlődésében betöltött szerepéről. Somogy megye múltjából 1971. Edited by Kanyar József. Kaposvár. 1971.

<sup>44</sup> *Barcsi Lapok*, 04. 27. 1902.

<sup>45</sup> *Drávavidék*, 04. 25. 1909.

<sup>46</sup> *Bencs, János – Dávid, Ferenc*: Merre a Dráva vize öntözi Pannóniát. Drávaszabolcs nyolc évszázada. Drávaszabolcs. 2016. 37.

<sup>47</sup> A Pécsi Kereskedelmi és Iparkamara jelentése. Pécs. 1894. 56.

Navigation on the Drava was important for the development of Barcs. It was important because it perfectly complemented and cooperated with the transport capacities of the other kind of transport sectors. The proximity of the port and the railway station provided an almost uniquely good basis for development. Such a high degree of concentration of transport infrastructure has attracted economic actors.<sup>48</sup>

At that time, Barcs, the agricultural settlement, was disappearing more and more behind the developing, under construction and Barcstelep with a completely different image. This part of Barcs, referred to as a “settlement” and separated from the agricultural settlement, was essentially created by the construction of the railway. As I have already mentioned, at the same time as the railway lines were being built, the Rinya creek, which until then had flowed into the Drava around today’s railway station, was diverted into a new bed and the swampy meadow behind it was filled up. The Barcstelep was established in the area thus obtained during the same year.

Then Barcstelep was the heart of this Drava coastal settlement. Already in the 1880s, the bustling lives of several plants and offices in trade, industry and transport, employing many workers and employees and networking across Europe, were pulsating here.<sup>49</sup> The people who lived here didn’t really feel like they belonged to Barcs, as there were “only” farmers and craftsmen, and this is where wholesalers, businessmen, bankers and officials lived, where goods from all over the world circulated.<sup>50</sup>

The biggest importance in commercial life was the transport of grain and pigs in 1882, which was interrupted by the collapse of the Drava Bridge in Osijek in September of that year<sup>51</sup>, but more than 82,000 glaze cereals were stored in and more than 71,000 were stored out in the public warehouses which were leased by the Hungarian Discount and Exchange Bank.<sup>52</sup> Direct rail transshipment has not always taken place due to rhapsodically changing shipping conditions depending on water level. Warehouses were needed to store crops and a variety of items in safe conditions. With long-term warehousing, the aim was to sell at the best prices and, in some cases, to influence stock prices.<sup>53</sup> According to Imre Széchényi, Barcs had the „largest visible grain stock” after Budapest, which could hold 300,000 q (3,000 wagons) in the country.<sup>54</sup> Each issue of local weekly newspapers provided accurate data on the turnover and stocks of public warehouses. We know from this brief news that the stocks in the warehouses fluctuated between 75,000 and 170,000 q, of which 70-80% was wheat. The annual turnover of Barcs’s warehouses grew rapidly: it was 200 q in 1882, 848 in 1889, 1,230 in 1893, 1,380 in 1896, 1,300 in 1902 and 1,560,000 q in 1904.<sup>55</sup> Rather, public warehouses are merely an aid to actual trade. 186 individuals were employed in public warehouses in Hungary and Fiume at the time of the census, however, there were no public warehouses in Croatian-Slavonia at that time. In Hungary, public warehouses have been established in Budapest, Bratislava, Barcs, Oradea, Debrecen, Nyíregyháza, Cluj-Napoca and Brasov.

## Conclusions

At the beginning of the 19th century, Barcs was a small market town located in a floodplain area, but with unique features. The development of Hungarian agriculture, which was, among other things, one of the positive consequences of the Napoleonic Wars, significantly helped the

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<sup>48</sup> *Harasztia, Attila*: Barcs közlekedése a dualizmus korában...23.

<sup>49</sup> *T. Mérey, Klára*: Barcs gazdaság- és társadalomtörténete...49.

<sup>50</sup> *Rózsás, Márton*: Az idő sodrában...54.

<sup>51</sup> *Rózsás, Márton*: Az idő sodrában...159 and 161.

<sup>52</sup> *Rózsás, Márton*: Az idő sodrában...162.

<sup>53</sup> *Erdősi, Ferenc*: Somogy megye közlekedési hálózatának kialakulása...200.

<sup>54</sup> *Széchényi, Imre*: Somogy megye. Budapest. MTA. 1892.

<sup>55</sup> *Erdősi, Ferenc*: Somogy megye közlekedési hálózatának kialakulása... 201.

development of the settlement. Through the management and development of the Széchenyi people, the farming of the majors flourished; the landlord family has always been involved in some form of major commercial, industrial, and infrastructure investment. An important aspect of the development of Barcs was the improvement of transport conditions. The railway appeared relatively early in Barcs, with its commercial and other advantages. In addition, navigation on the Drava developed continuously, to a lesser extent than the railway, and bridges over the Drava were built as a development of the Barcs ferry crossing. This further strengthened the trade relations and opportunities of the settlement. These investments had a huge impact on the life of the settlement, as even the nearest major post office before them lay farther from the border of the settlement. In addition to the rapid boom of trade, a significant industrial base was established in Barcs by the 19th century. It is no coincidence that during this period the population of Barcs grew rapidly, which was also eye-catching for his contemporaries. Barcs was rightly likened to the development of American cities. At the same time, we must also see that the development of Barcs is quite unique in the history of the Hungarian cities. The economy of Barcs peaked in the 1910s. The First World War restricted the opportunities for trade and production companies in Barcs to trade in international markets. On November 16, 1918, the village came under Serbian occupation. No one could have guessed then that this condition would last for almost three years.



Borbála Rózsa Zsindely

## Zusätze zur Geschichte der kleinen Mühlen des Komitat Baranya in 20. Jahrhundert<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

In the light of the milling industry, which flourished nationwide at the turn of the century, the study deals with Baranya County's position, primarily examining the possibilities and limitations of operating small mills in the region later. The author outlines this sector's prosperity before 1945 based on the family archives of the owner of the contemporary journal, „Molnárók Lapja” and the Orfű mills. The sources suggest that the mill industry in Baranya cooperated in an organized manner, both at the county and at the smaller, local levels. For example, the relationship between the mills and the Danube Steamship Company (DGT) was established through forced local cooperation. This concentration is to be interpreted as a local specificity, as it was in DGT's interest to know the level of watercourses due to mining. Due to coal mining, the water levels of the local streams dropped, which made it very difficult for small mills to operate. On the other hand, the mills also needed coal, as did the Serbs who temporarily occupied the region after the First World War, who also removed the extracted coal from the area. After the years of consolidation, the first sensitive blow to the small mills in Baranya was the economic crisis, when as a result of the quota regulation, they were forced to limit their production significantly and were obliged to supply the milled grain. Their fate was sealed together by the post-1945 nationalization decrees and the associated withdrawal of water use rights.

**Keywords:** mill industry history, small mill industry, overshot mill wheel, millers' association, Molnárók Lapja

### Einführung

Ein wichtiger Aspekt der Geschichte der ungarischen Mühlenindustrie, der allerdings wenig bekannt ist, ist die Geschichte der Kleinmühlenindustrie. Die ungarische Kleinmühlenindustrie, die in erster Linie am Land tätig war, war der lokalen und regionalen Nachfrage angepasst und versorgte die Bevölkerung mit Mehl, Schießpulver und mit Fries. Ich möchte in erster Linie einen Teil der weitvermahlenden Kleinmühlenindustrie in meiner Arbeit vorstellen. Auf den folgenden Seiten untersuche ich die Geschichte der Kleinmühlenindustrie im Komitat Baranya mit dem Ziel, die lokale Bedeutung der Kleinmühlenindustrie dieses Komitats in der Zeit der Jahrhundertwende bekannt zu machen. Am Anfang meiner Arbeit stelle ich die Grundlagen der Mühlenindustrie Ungarns und in der Zeit vor. Damit im Zusammenhang erläutere ich die verschiedenen historischen Ereignisse, den Einfluss auf die Entwicklung der ungarischen Mühlenindustrie ausgeübt haben. Danach stelle ich die schemenhafte Geschichte der Kleinmühlen im Komitat Baranya vor. Dazu ist meine wichtigste Quelle die Molnárók Lapja<sup>2</sup> die von 1904 bis 1938 die wichtigste und bedeutendste ungarische Fachzeitung für die Mühlenindustrie war. Sie bot ein fachliches Forum und war ein Kommunikationskanal. In meiner Arbeit stelle ich die Texte aus der Molnárók Lapja vor, den Einfluss auf die Mühlenindustrie des Bezirks ausübten. Am Ende meiner Arbeit beschreibe ich die Kleinmühlenindustrie der Stadt Fünfkirchen (Pécs) in der Abfolge wie diese Mühlen an den städtischen Bächen auffindbar waren. Für diesen Teil war meine wichtigste Quelle die Projektbeschreibung von György Bálints

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<sup>1</sup> Ich widme meine Arbeit der Erinnerung an meine Großmutter, Magda Mészöly!

<sup>2</sup> auf Deutsch: Müllerzeitung

Mühlenforschungsprojekt<sup>3</sup>, die ich von Kata Fűzes, Leiterin der Mühlen in Orfű, bekommen habe. Am Ende fasse ich die Ergebnisse meiner Forschung kurz zusammen und ziehe eine Schlussfolgerung.

### Was man über die Mühlenindustrie in der Epoche wissen soll

Nach dem Ausgleich (1867) entwickelte sich die ungarische Mühlenindustrie schnell. Neue Frästechniken wurden erprobt und die wissenschaftlichen Forschungen der Lebensmittelchemie waren erfolgreich. Die größten Wissenschaftler der Epoche (Tamás Kosutány<sup>4</sup>, Hankóczy Jenő<sup>5</sup>, Grutzl Ferenc<sup>6</sup>) experimentierten damit, die idealen Frästechniken zu finden und deren wissenschaftlichen Ereignisse und die Qualität des ungarischen Getreides zu dokumentieren und Eigenschaften zu definieren. Tamás Kosutány untersuchte erstmals das ungarische Getreide chemisch, er erkannte, dass das ungarische Getreide einen größeren Glutenanteil enthält, als ausländisches Getreide. Natürlich darf die Maschinenfabrik von Abraham Ganz nicht vergessen werden, genauso wenig wie die in seiner Fabrik arbeitenden Gebrüder Haggenmacher. Károly Haggenmacher stellte das erste Flachsieb her. Damit konnten schon die Graupen sortiert werden und die Qualität des vermahlenden Getreides wesentlich verbessert werden.<sup>7</sup>

Hinter dem Erfolg der ungarischen Mühlenindustrie müssen aber mehr Faktoren gesucht werden. Die fachliche Überlegenheit und Bewusstheit half dabei, die Menge und die Qualität des Getreides zu verbessern. Ungarn stand auf dem zweiten Platz der Mehlexportweltrangliste, einzig die Vereinigten Staaten exportierten mehr. Riesengroße Mengen von Mehl wurden mit Schiffen über Fiume oder über die Donau Richtung Wien aus dem Land geliefert. Unter den Zielländern fanden sich selbst solche fernen Länder wie Chile, Peru und Indonesien.

Die größeren Dampfmühlen wurden in der Hauptstadt (Budapest) in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts gebaut. An die Donau geliefertes Getreide wurde hier gemahlen und weitertransportiert. Deshalb wurde Budapest zum mühlenindustriellen Zentrum, weil die Handelswege aus dem Balkan, Transilvanien, aus dem Norden und aus Wien sich hier trafen und weil die nötige logistische Infrastruktur hier zur Verfügung stand. Der Verkehr wurde viel schneller und moderner, deshalb konnten die Lieferzeiten gesenkt werden und die ungarischen Getreideproduzenten konnten an den Weltmarkt liefern.

### Lokale Ereignisse, die auf die Mühlenindustrie Einfluss ausübten

Die Blütezeit der Mühlenindustrie fängt in Ungarn im ersten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts mit der Dampfmühlengründungenwelle an. „*Unser Mühlenindustrie war schon in den 1860–70-er Jahren im Weltmaßstab führend.*“<sup>8</sup> Nach der Krise von 1873 wurden weniger Mühlen

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<sup>3</sup> Balázs, György: Malmok Baranyában. (Handschrift) Szentendre, 2015. Entstanden mit der Titel „Kutatás und Studien Herstellung „Miller’s Route“ gekennzeichnet mit der Nummer HUHR/1101/1.2.3/0012. Ich bedanke mich bei Kata Fűzes, die Besitzerin der Orfűer Mühlen, dass sie ihr Familienarchiv zu meiner Verfügung gestellt hat. Das Archiv wurde zu einer wichtigen Quelle meiner Arbeit.

<sup>4</sup> Pintér, János: Kosutány Tamás. In: <https://mek.oszk.hu/00000/00058/html/kosutany.htm> (letztes mal heruntergeladen am: 04. 02. 2020.)

<sup>5</sup> Ders.

<sup>6</sup> P. Hartványi, Borbála: Hankóczy Jenő. In: <https://mek.oszk.hu/00000/00058/html/kosutany.htm> (letztes mal heruntergeladen am: 04. 02. 2020.)

<sup>7</sup> Zsindely, Borbála Rózsa: Egy korabeli szaklap és annak szerepe a biatorbágyi Ilona-hengerműmalom történeti kutatásában. Diplomarbeit, Universität Pécs, Philosophische Fakultät, Ungeteilte Lehrerbildung, Themenbereuerin: Frau Dr. habil. Virág Rab Phd. Jahr der Schützung: 2020.

<sup>8</sup> Katus, László: A tőkés gazdasági fejlődés a kiegyezés után. In: Magyarország története 1848–1890. 2. Hergestellt von Endre Kovács. 1007. Zitiert noch: Klement, Judit: A hazai vállalkozók a hőskorban. A budapesti gőzmalomipar

gebaut, aber die Dampfmühlengründungswelle blieb nicht stehen, die Entwicklung wurde nur langsamer. Aber die Frage, ob die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie funktionierte, lag nicht an der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung.<sup>9</sup> Die Entstehung des ungarischen Kapitalismus und deren Blütezeit steht im Zusammenhang mit dem „mit wirklicher Spitzentechnologie arbeitenden ersten ungarischen Schlüsselsektor“<sup>10</sup> der Mühlenindustrie. Budapest wurde nach Minneapolis das weltweite zweite Zentrum der Mühlenindustrie. Die ungarische Großmühlenindustrie war auf Mehlexport ausgerichtet, während die Kleinmühlenindustrie den lokalen und regionalen Bedarf befriedigten. Wegen des traditionellen Gesellschaftsmodells konnte die kapitalistische Umwandlung nicht im ganzen Land durchgeführt werden, die Rudimente der feudalistischen Ordnung waren noch am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts sichtbar. Das ins Land einfließende österreichische Kapital wurde für die Verwirklichung der kapitalistischen Entwicklungen gebraucht, weil das im Inland sich angesammelte Kapital für die Finanzierung der Modernisierungen nicht ausreichend war. Nach dem Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges musste die Mühlenindustrie sich an andere wirtschaftliche Verhältnisse anpassen. Eine Erscheinung davon war die Einführung der neuen Mahlordnung (Es wurde verboten feines Mehl zu produzieren, stattdessen sollte das Mehl mit Ersatzmaterialien gemischt werden). Daneben wurde es auch schwieriger den Rohstoff einzuholen<sup>11</sup> und zu den Mühlen zu liefern. Nach Trianon erlitt die Mühlenindustrie einen großen Verlust. Die Rohstoffversorgung sichernde Regionen (Batschka und Banat) wurden abgetrennt, was die Arbeit der Großmühlenindustrie, die exportierte, unmöglich machte. Die Budapester Großmühlen versuchten eine Zeitlang Getreide aus den Nachbarländern zu verarbeiten, aber sie mussten wegen fehlenden Geldes und Rohstoffe die Produktion einstellen. Wenn die ungarischen Kleinmühlen aus ihrem Umkreis genügend Rohstoff beziehen konnten, dann konnten diese Mühlen innerhalb der neuen Grenzen Ungarns weiter mahlen. Natürlich gab es viele Mühlen, die nach dem Weltkrieg und nach dem Frieden der existentiellen unklaren Lage zum Opfer fielen. Die große Wirtschaftskrise verschonte auch die Mühlenindustrie nicht. Die Mühlen, die die Krise überlebten, wurden im Zweiten Weltkrieg (Bombenschäden, Explosionen, Brände usw.) oder von dem nachher kommenden neuen Staatsapparat und dessen schrittweise erlassenen Entprivatisierungserlässen (1948, 1952) ruiniert.

Der Grund des bis heute spürbaren Verlustes für die ungarische Provinz ist der hier skizzierte Ablauf. Das folgende Diagramm stellt das 100 Jahre dauernde Schrumpfen der Mühlenindustrie dar, die Daten stammen von Tibor Molnárfi.<sup>12</sup> Das Diagramm stellt eindeutig den größten Rückgang der Mühlenindustrie dar. Der größte Einbruch in der Produktion der Mühlen waren die drei Jahrzehnte nach der Jahrhundertwende. Die Jahre, aus denen die Daten stammen, sind die Jahre, in denen das Statistische Amt Messungen durchführte. Die Häufigkeit der Messungen sind nicht immer gleich. Das Diagramm zeigt anschaulich, wie die Zahl der Mühlen sinkt. Heute ist die Zahl der noch funktionierenden oder als Museum betriebenen Mühlen circa hundert.

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vállalkozói a 19. század második felében. Budapest, 2012.

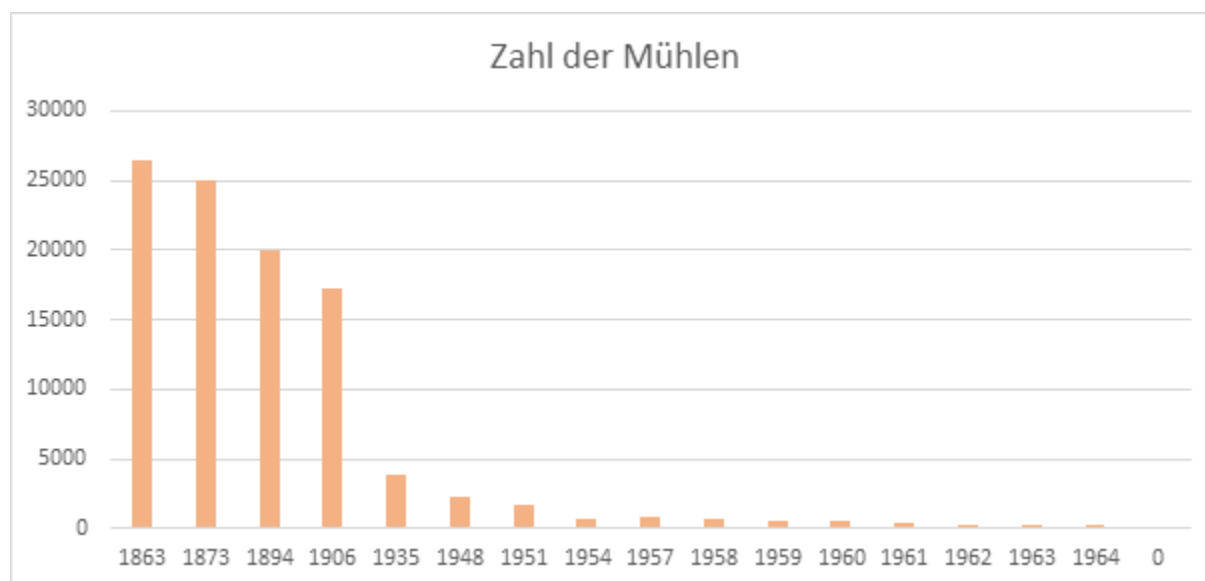
<sup>9</sup> Klement, Judit: A hazai vállalkozók... 20.

<sup>10</sup> Ders. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Ders. 10.

<sup>12</sup> Molnárfi, Tibor: A malomipar történeti-statisztikai feldolgozásának elméleti és gyakorlati kérdései. Történeti statisztikai évkönyv 1967 – 1968. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal Könyvtár, Országos Levéltár. 291 – 346.

Figur 1: Zahl der Mühlen.



Quelle: *Molnárfi, Tibor: A malomipar... 291 – 346.*

### Situation der Mühlen im Komitat Baranya

Die Mühlen aus dem Komitat Baranya wurden am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts steuerlich erfasst. Im Jahre 1815 waren 349 Mühlen in 212 Siedlungen tätig. Bis 1841/42 sank die Zahl der Mühlen auf 207. Die Mühlen zu dieser Zeit hatten ober-schläch-tige Wasserräder und funktionierten mit ein oder zwei Rädern. Die Mühlen konnten nach Regen oder nach der Schneeschmelze mahlen. Viele gerichtliche Auseinandersetzungen sorgten dafür, dass die Ausstattung vieler Mühlen dokumentiert ist. Streit zwischen Mühlen und Siedlungen um Wasserrechte führte zu diesen Prozessen.<sup>13</sup> Ein weiterer Grund waren Konflikte um Besitz- und Erbverhältnisse. Konsolidierte sich die wirtschaftliche Lage entstanden schnell neue Mühlen an den Ufern der Bäche, um den lokalen Bedarf zu sichern. Schon seit den 1730-er Jahren verlangten die Grundherren für die Wassernutzung Steuern. Auch für die Nutzung der Arbeits- und Wohnhäuser verlangten die Grundherren eine Abgabe. Die Müller erfüllten meist vorbehaltlos die Konditionen des Grundherrens. Im Szentlőrincer járás<sup>14</sup> und im Siklósi járás<sup>15</sup> gab es aus Holz gebaute Mühlen, die einfach eingerichtet waren. Wir können aber trotzdem von gut ausgestatteten Mühlen sprechen. Im Mohácsi járás<sup>16</sup> um Pécsvárad war die Leistung der Mühlen kleiner und sie konnten nur die lokale Nachfrage sättigen. In Mohács arbeiteten die Mühlen mit Wasserkraft. Die Besitzer der Schiffs- und Trockenmühlen um Mohács waren hier noch keine offiziellen Handwerker. An Donau und an Drau mahlten 54 Schiffsmühlen und hier waren die Müller bereits Handwerker. Um diese Mühlen miteinander zu vergleichen schlägt Mária Móró in ihrem Aufsatz vor, Gerichts- und Kämmereiunterlagen exakt zu untersuchen.<sup>17</sup>

Für den untersuchten Zeitraum erschienen 1904 die ersten erwähnenswerten Berichte aus dem Komitat in der Müllerzeitung. In diesem Jahr wurde die Müllerzeitung auch gegründet. Im zweiten Teil der Zeitung finden sich zwei interessante Ereignisse. Das Erste war, dass die Bevölkerung als Wunder erwähnt, dass das aus frisch gemahlenem Mehl gebackene Brot sich

<sup>13</sup> *Móró, Mária Anna: Malmok Baranya megyében a 18. században.* In: *Dél-Dunántúl népi építészet.* Hergestellt von: L. Imre, Mária- Cseri, Miklós. Szentendre – Pécs, 1991.

<sup>14</sup> auf Deutsch: St. Laurenzer Kreis

<sup>15</sup> auf Deutsch: Sieglöser Kreis

<sup>16</sup> auf Deutsch: Mohatscher Kreis

<sup>17</sup> *Móró, Mária Anna: Malmok Baranya megyében a 18. században...*

verhärtete. Später kam ans Tageslicht, dass das Mehl nicht ganz rein war, weshalb das Brot versteinerte. Das andere Ereignis war eine Beschreibung einer tragbaren Mühle, die eine große technische Neuerung war.<sup>18</sup> Auch im diesem Jahr kam es zu mehreren Personalwechseln (Mühlen haben Besitzer gewechselt), was auch beweist, dass im Personal der Mühlen Änderungen vorkamen.<sup>19</sup> Ein weiteres hervorzuhebendes Ereignis dieses Jahres ist, dass die Mühlenbesitzer aus dem Komitat Baranya eine Eingabe an den Justizminister Sándor Plósz<sup>20</sup> schickten, um die Streichung der Wassermieten zu erreichen.

Der Grund der Eingabe war, dass das Wasser der Bäche von den Bauern für die Bewässerung verwendet wurde. Oft blieb kein Wasser im Bachbett, womit die Mühlen betrieben werden konnten.<sup>21</sup> Aus dem Jahr 1905 findet sich der interessanteste Artikel der Müllerzeitung in der Nummer 23. In dem Artikel können wir darüber lesen, dass sie Mühlenbesitzer aus Baranya sich entschieden haben in allen großen Städten die Funktionsweise von Mühlen zu unterrichten. Damit konnte das Problem der schlechten Ausbildung gelöst werden. Aus diesem Jahr gibt es mehrere Berichte, die auf logistische Fragen, die zwischen Mühlen entstanden verweisen: zum Beispiel wie stark die Mühlsteine sind.<sup>22</sup> Im Jahre 1906 kann man in der Müllerzeitung über die Mühlen aus Baranya über Personalwechsel<sup>23</sup>, Mühlen-Umbauten<sup>24</sup> und Besitzerwechsel lesen.<sup>25</sup> Im Jahre 1907 wechselten für längere oder kürzere Zeit mehrere Mühlen-Besitzer.<sup>26</sup> Daneben experimentierten einige Mühlen mit der Maisproduktion. Der Mais wurde oft von österreichischen Handelsvertretern verkauft.<sup>27</sup> Im Jahre 1908 konnten die meisten Mühlen aus Branau wegen dem harten Winterfrost nicht mahlen, da die Bäche eingefroren waren. Eine Ausnahme bildeten Wassermühlen, die einen eigenen Motor oder Dampfmaschine hatten. In der Zeitung wurden die Mühlenbesitzer vor dem kalten Winter gewarnt und ihnen wurde geraten – wenn möglich – eine solche Maschine anzuschaffen.<sup>28</sup> In diesem Jahr begannen die Mühlenbesitzer aus dem Komitat Baranya unter dem Namen Mehlverkaufsgenossenschaft der Mühlen aus dem Komitat Baranya zu kooperieren. Am 25. Juli: 1908 war in Fünfkirchen, in einem Privatzimmer des König Matthias Hotel, eine vorbereitende Kommissionsitzung geplant, zu der auch der Chefredakteur der Müllerzeitung, Ödön Jutassy, oder seine Vertreter eingeladen waren. Hintergrund der Genossenschaft war, dass gedacht wurde, dass Kleinmühlen alleine schwer ihr Glück im Bereich des Mehlverkaufs finden. Für den Verkauf sind Transport, Getreide und Beziehungen nötig. Deshalb dachten die Mühlenbesitzer, dass sie in einer Genossenschaft zusammen mehr Möglichkeiten haben können.<sup>29</sup>

Auch im Jahre 1921 kamen die Mühlenbesitzer aus dem Komitat Baranya in der Fachzeitung vor. Genauso wie in den Jahren 1917 und 1918, in denen es aber nur um den Verkauf und Vermiete einer Mühle ging.<sup>30</sup> Zwischen 1918 und 1921 stand mehr als die Hälfte des Komitats unter serbischer Besetzung, die Mühlenindustrie des Komitats befand sich in einer wirklich

<sup>18</sup> *Molnárók Lapja*, 2. Nr. 09. 01. 1904.27.

<sup>19</sup> Ders. 11. (1914) Nr. 22-23. 476.

<sup>20</sup> Sándor Plósz (1846 – 1925) war Justizminister zwischen 26. 02. 1899 und 18. 06 1905, Jurist, Universitätslehrer, Mitglied der Széll-, Khuen-Héderváry und die ersten István Tisza Regime, als unabhängige. Sein Nachfolger war Bertalan Lanyi bis 21. 04. 1906, aus der Szabadelvű Partei Ungarische Lebenslauf Lexikon <http://mek.oszk.hu/00300/00355/html/ABC11587/12280.htm> (letztes mal heruntergeladen am 01.11. 2020.)

<sup>21</sup> *Molnárók Lapja*, 11. (1914) Nr. 24.520.

<sup>22</sup> Ders. 12. (1915) Nr. 20. 30. 05.443.

<sup>23</sup> Ders. 13. (1906) Nr. 7. 17. 02. 160. und Nr. 9. 10. 03. 232.

<sup>24</sup> Ders. 13. (1906) Nr. 28. 14.07. 675.

<sup>25</sup> Ders. 13. (1906) Nr. 45. 10.11.1088.

<sup>26</sup> Ders. 14. (1907) Nr. 4. 26.01. 83. und Nr. 19. 11.05. 502.

<sup>27</sup> Ders. 14. (1907) Nr. 50. 14. 12. 1258. und Nr. 51. 21.12.1313.

<sup>28</sup> Ders. 15. (1908) Nr. 7. 15.02. 158.

<sup>29</sup> Ders. 15. (1908) Nr. 19. 18.07. 714.

<sup>30</sup> Ders. 14. (1917) Nr. 38. 21. 09. 792. und Nr. 45. 10. 11. 930.

schweren Situation. Viele Mühlen mussten die Produktion einstellen, da sie dauernd mit Rohstoff- und Kohlemangel kämpfen mussten. Das gemahlene Getreide beanspruchten die Serben und nicht nur das Mehl, sondern auch die Arbeit wurde nicht bezahlt.<sup>31</sup> Im August 1921 zogen die Serben aus der Region ab und die Mühlenindustrie des Komitats konnte von Neuem starten. Im September 1921 forderten die Mühlenbesitzer des Komitats bei der Ländlichen Müllergenossenschaft schriftlich, dass der freie Verkehr so früh wie möglich wieder einzuführen ist und die Kosten für Kohle in Fünfkirchen gesenkt werden. Ihrer Bitte folgte das Versprechen der Regierung die Maßnahmen in kurzer Zeit umzusetzen.<sup>32</sup> Zu diesem Zeitpunkt ist bereits die Quoten-Regelung mit der Nummer 1921/XXXIX.<sup>33</sup> gültig. Der wichtigste Abschnitt der Quoten-Regelung, die auch die Mühlenindustrie des Komitats Branau betraf, ist die Abschaffung des freien Mahlverkehrs zu Gunsten des gebundenen Mahlverkehrs. Damit wollte die Regierung erreichen, dass ein Teil des Getreide abgeliefert wird, damit Menschen, die keine Nahrung haben, Nahrung bekommen und dass das Schwarzmahlen und der Schmuggel von Getreide eingegrenzt wird. Das langfristige Ziel war, das Land nach schweren wirtschaftlichen, gesellschaftlichen und politischen Krisen neu wiederherzustellen. Der größte Nachteil des gebundenen Mahlverkehrs war, dass die Produzenten aus einer sehr schwerer Position kamen. Die Regelung verursachte wegen der ganz schlechten wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse für viele Mühlen den Untergang. Die Regulierung der Mühlen durch die Quoten-Regelung stockte, weil nicht genug gesät wurde und die Mühlen konnten das Getreide nicht andauernd mahlen, da es nicht rechtzeitig geliefert wurde. Zusätzlich konnten die Mühlen auch nicht auf eigene Rechnung mahlen, da man nicht wissen konnte, wann das Getreide der Quoten-Regelung kam, das in einer bestimmten Zeitspanne gemahlen werden musste.<sup>34</sup>

### Kleinmühlen in Fünfkirchen

Die meisten in diesem Teil genutzten Quellen bekam ich von Kata Füzes, der Leiterin des Orfürer Mühlenmuseums. Dafür bin ich ihr sehr dankbar.

Bei der Betrachtung der Fünfkirchner Kleinmühlen muss man am Anfang unbedingt hervorheben, dass die lokale Mühlenindustrie am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts und am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts eine solche Epoche erlebte, in der die traditionellen – meist Wassermühlen – modernisiert wurden und zu Waltzwerkmühlen umgebaut wurden. Natürlich war dieser Modernisierungsprozess teuer, nicht alle Mühlen konnten ihn sich leisten. Die Mühlen, die sich die Modernisierung nicht leisten konnten, verloren den Anschluss. *„Wasserbücher aus dem Ende des 19. und Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts dokumentieren im südöstlichen Bereich Fünfkirchens Mühlen, die mit zwei Mühlsteinpaaren arbeiteten und aus einem Doppelweizenwerk (wahrscheinlich Ganz-Produkt) bestanden.“*<sup>35</sup> Ab dem Jahr 1885 war die Wassernutzung an Genehmigungen gebunden. Die Genehmigung wurde von dem Vizegespansbüro erteilt und später von dem Kulturingenieursbüro. Das letztere verfügt über Beschreibungen über den Ausbau der Wasserwerke, Wasserräder, Bachbette und Schleusen. Wenn eine Mühle mindestens zwanzig Jahre produziert hatte, dann musste sie mit der Bestätigung der Gemeinde keine Gebühren mehr zahlen und die Lizenz war nicht mehr an eine Zeit gebunden.

<sup>31</sup> Kaposi, Zoltán: Pécs gazdasági helyzete a szerb megszállás idején (1918-1921) Pécsi Szemle, 2011. Frühling

<sup>32</sup> Molnárók Lapja, 21. (1921) Nr. 36. 03. 09. 1.

<sup>33</sup> 1921./XXXIX. törvénycikk. az ellátatlanok ellátásának biztosítására szolgáló örlési és forgalmi adóról. In: <https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torveny?docid=92100039.TVI&searchUrl=/ezer-ev-torvenyei%3Fkeyword%3D%25C5%2591r%25C3%25A9si%2520forgalom> (letztes mal heruntergeladen am: 01.11.2020.)

<sup>34</sup> 1921. évi XXXIX. tv. indoklása az ellátatlanok ellátásának biztosítására szolgáló örlési és forgalmi adóról. Von selben Ort 133-188.(letztes mal heruntergeladen am: 19.10.2020.)

<sup>35</sup> Balázs, György: Malmok Baranyában... 25.

Die Mühlenbesitzer und die Ingenieure mussten gemeinsam die oben erwähnten Eingriffe in die Landschaft planen. Die Planungen wurden in vier Exemplaren ausgefertigt: ein Exemplar für den Vizegespan, eines für das Kulturingenieursbüro, eines für das Kreisarchiv und eines für den Mühlenbesitzer selbst. Die Dokumente vom Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts geben in allen Fällen eine detaillierte Beschreibungen des Wasserrads, des Schleusensystems, der Fallbedingungen des Bachbettes, der Lage von Brücken, der an das Wasserrad gebundenen Teile und Maschinen zum Beispiel Mahlwerk und Sieb und der für den Antrieb gebrauchten Energie. Eventuelle Ausbauten und Veränderungen mussten die Mühlenbesitzer bei dem Vizegespansbüro melden. Die meisten Mühlen behielten den Namen des ersten Besitzers. Ein eventueller Wechsel der Wasserräder musste auch gemeldet werden. Zum Schluss: Allen nach der Verstaatlichung stillstehenden Fünfkirchner Mühlen wurden 1967 alle Genehmigungen entzogen.<sup>36</sup>

Im Folgenden stelle ich schemenhaft die Geschichte der Fünfkirchner Mühlen dar. In Fünfkirchen finden wir in der untersuchten Epoche an vier Wasserläufen Kleinmühlen, deren Namen sind: Szabolcsi-vízfolyás<sup>37</sup>, Ürögi-vízfolyás<sup>38</sup>, Pécs-Meszesi-vízfolyás<sup>39</sup> und der Tettyepatak<sup>40</sup>. Spätestens bei der Verstaatlichung stellten alle Mühlen ihre Produktion ein.

József Nürnberger und seine Frau Mária Loschert bekamen 1901 die Genehmigung zur Errichtung einer Mühle am Pécs-Wasserlauf. Mit einem oberflächigen Wasserrad, mit 8,7 Meter Durchmesser, wurde ein ein Meter breiter Mühlstein, eine Doppelwalze und ein Schleifmittel angetrieben. Die Doppelwalze beinhaltete ein Grieße und ein Feiner. Die Mühle hörte 1929 auf zu mahlen, weil ein Unwetter den Staudamm beschädigte. Das Mühlrad wurde entfernt und der Kanal aufgefüllt.<sup>41</sup>

Auch an diesem Wasserlauf stand die gemeinsame Mühle von Ármin Weisz und György Fulcz. Im Jahre 1909 bekamen sie die Genehmigung für ein oberflächiges Wasserrad mit sechs Meter Durchmesser. Die Versorgung mit Wasser war schwierig, da wegen der Nähe des Bergwerks das Wasser von den Bächen weggeleitet wurde. Die Besitzer übertrugen das Wasserrecht an die Erste Donaudampfschiff-Gesellschaft,<sup>42</sup> wodurch den Bergwerken erlaubt wurde das Wasser zu benutzen. Die Mühle war damit keine Wassermühle mehr.<sup>43</sup>

Verw. Frau János Steiner bekam 1909 am Pécs-Wasserlauf die Betriebsgenehmigung für eine Mühle mit einem oberflächigen Wasserrad mit 4,4 Meter Durchmesser. Das Wassernutzungsrecht hielt 1920 Ádám Schweitzer und seine Frau. Dieses Recht wurde im Jahre 1948 entzogen, aber zu diesem Zeitpunkt produzierte die Mühle schon nicht mehr, der Besitzer nutzte das Wasser nicht mehr.<sup>44</sup>

Der Mühle von Mihály Türr am Szabolcs-Wasserlauf, später eine Dampfmühle, wurde 1894 mit der Arbeit am Maschinenhaus begonnen.<sup>45</sup> Die Besitzer der zwei Nachbarmühlen waren verw. Frau Steiner János und József Papp. Die Mühle hatte ein oberflächiges Wasserrad mit 4,68 Meter Durchmesser, das bis 1901 einen im Durchmesser ein Meter breiten Mühlstein und eine Doppelwalze antrieb. Nach 1901 wurde eine neue Dampfmühle mit einer Maschine von 50 Pferdestärken gebaut. Der Sohn von Mihály Türr und seine Frau baten im Jahre 1923 darum, dass die Stadt das im Jahre 1912 erteilte Wassernutzungsrecht zurücknimmt. 1948

<sup>36</sup> Ders. 21.

<sup>37</sup> auf Deutsch: Szabolcs-Wasserlauf

<sup>38</sup> auf Deutsch: Üröger-Wasserlauf

<sup>39</sup> auf Deutsch: Pécs-Meszescher-Wasserlauf

<sup>40</sup> auf Deutsch: Tettye-Bach

<sup>41</sup> Balázs, György: Malmok Baranyában... 21.

<sup>42</sup> Neulich darüber *Huszár, Zoltán*: A Duna vonzásában. Fejezetek a Dunagőzhajózási Társaság történetéből. Pécs, 2013.

<sup>43</sup> Balázs, György: Malmok Baranyában... 22.

<sup>44</sup> Ders.

<sup>45</sup> Ders. 23.

wurde dies vom Bürgermeister bestätigt, allerdings produzierte damals die Mühle schon seit Jahrzehnten nicht mehr. Wegen Veränderungen der Landschaft erreichte kein Wasser mehr die Mühle.<sup>46</sup>

Die Mühle von József Papp wurde bereits erwähnt, sie bekam im Jahre 1912 die Genehmigung. Die Mühle wurde von zwei oberflächigen Wasserrädern mit 3,76 Meter Durchmesser angetrieben. Schon 1912 suchte István Papp darum an, dass er die Mühle unter seinem Name führen könne, statt unter dem Namen seines Vaters József Papp. Die Mühle bekam István Papp von seinem Vater József Papp als Geschenk. Nach einem aus dem Jahre 1914 stammenden Protokoll hatte die Mühle die Erlaubnis für zwei Räder, aber nur eines funktionierte auch wirklich.<sup>47</sup>

Der Bestizer der Basa-Mühle war János Piribauer, der eine Genehmigung für den Pécsér-Wasserlauf bekam. Er suchte 1901 um die Genehmigung an und bekam sie 1909. Seine Mühle hatte ein oberflächiges Wasserrad, das einen Durchmesser von 5,68 Meter hatte und einen Mühlstein mit 0,98 Meter Durchmesser und eine Doppelwaltze antrieb. Die Mühle war noch im Jahre 1912 im Besitz von János Piribauer, seines Sohnes Jenő, die Genehmigung bekamen sie für unbestimmte Zeit. Die Mühle wurde von der Donaudampfschiff-Gesellschaft bei einer Auktion von Gusztáv Graumann mit Einschränkungen unter Bedingungen gekauft. Die Mühle produzierte bis 1942, die Wassernutzungsrechte nahm die Stadt zurück.<sup>48</sup>

Südlich der Stadt zwischen den Megyei und Füzes Gewannen stand die Megyei-Mühle, aber laut der technischen Zeichnung von Ignácz Lukrits hatte der Baugrund keine Parzellenzahl.

Im Racstadtteil standen ab dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts zwei Mühlen, die dem Jesuitenorden gehörten. Beide hatten oberflächige Wasserräder, eine Mühle hatte ein Rad und die andere zwei. Grundsätzlich wissen wir über die Planungen nur aus Archivmaterialien.<sup>49</sup> An dem Üröger-Wasserlauf stand eine Wassermühle, sie gehörte 1908 János Inhoff und János Rakk. Im Jahre 1910 bekamen sie das Wassernutzrecht. Die Mühle hatte ein oberflächiges Wasserrad, mit 5 Meter Durchmesser. Ein Jahr später wurde die Mühle als die Mühle von János Inhoff erwähnt, zu diesem Zeitpunkt betrug der Durchmesser des Wasserrades 5,68 Meter.<sup>50</sup> Die Mühle wechselte später dreimal den Besitzer, im Jahre 1928 gehörte sie Károly Toldi, dann Frau János Forrai und im Jahre 1941 Dr. Jenő Ernzt.<sup>51</sup> Nach einer 1936 entstandenen Beschreibung standen an diesem Wasserlauf elf weitere Mühlen. Aber mit dieser Beschreibung setzte ich mich noch nicht ernsthaft auseinander.<sup>52</sup>

Die Betriebe am Ufer des Tettye-Bachs können auf eine größere Vergangenheit zurückblicken, aber über die getreidemahlenden Mühlen stehen wenige Daten zur Verfügung. Der Ingenieur Ignácz Lukrits vermaß im Jahre 1878 die Besitzungen der ganzen Stadt, darunter auch die Mühlen am Tettye. Damals arbeiteten hier auch eine Sägemühle und eine Schießpulvermühle. Eine explodierte im Jahre 1832. *„Die Wasserräder waren meistens oberflächig, ein unterschlächtiges Wasserrad hatten nur zwei Mühlen (eine mit einem Rad und eine mit zwei Räder). Der Tettye-Bach ist tief, so konnte hier nicht nur eine große Zahl an Mühlen gebaut werden, sondern auch Mühlräder mit großem Durchmesser. Die Durchmesser der Räder betrug zwischen drei und vier Metern. 16 Mühlen hatten Räder mit einem Durchmesser zwischen vier und fünf Meter, 18 Mühlen hatten Räder*

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<sup>46</sup> Ders. 24.

<sup>47</sup> Ders. 25.

<sup>48</sup> Ders. 27-28.

<sup>49</sup> Ders. 30.

<sup>50</sup> Ders. 32.

<sup>51</sup> Ders.

<sup>52</sup> Ders.



größer als fünf Meter 12 Stück (...) (Ausnahme von mir R.B.ZS.) Es arbeiteten also 30 Mühlen mit insgesamt 48 Rädern, davon war 3 unterschlächtig.<sup>53</sup>

Zusammenfassend kann man sagen, dass die Müller aus dem Komitat Baranya an dem ländlichen Müllerleben teilnahmen. Sie versuchten ihre Interesse sowohl auf der lokalen als auch auf der regionalen Ebene durchzusetzen. Die Mühlenbesitzer in dem Komitat Baranya waren so organisiert, wie die Mühlenbesitzer der Epoche in anderen Komitaten. Die Fünfkirchner Kleinmühlen arbeiteten an den vorher erwähnten Wasserläufen. Oft wechselten die Mühlen Besitzer und die Durchmesser der Räder wurden vergrößert, um mit mehr Kraft antreiben zu können. An den meisten Orten gab es früher schon Mühlen. Ihr Schicksal hing oft davon ab, welche Interessen die Donaudampfschiff-Gesellschaft mit den Gewässern hatte. Die Gesellschaft besaßen Kohlenbergwerke, die an mehreren Orten die Wasserläufe mehr oder weniger beseitigten, so dass diese Wasserläufe keine Mühlräder mehr antreiben konnten. Das Schicksal der Mühlen war unterschiedlich, aber man kann sagen, dass sie mit ähnlichen Schwierigkeiten zu kämpfen hatten. In mehreren Fällen kam es vor, dass erst nach ein oder zwei Jahrzehnten nachdem die Mühle das Mahlen eingestellt hatte, die Stadt das Wassernutzungsrecht widerrief. In der Zwischenzeit konnten die Mühlen schon nicht mehr mahlen, meistens deswegen, weil die natürlichen Bedingungen dies nicht mehr erlaubten. Die historischen Ereignisse, Krisen und Verstaatlichungsgesetze besiegelten ihr Schicksal schließlich endgültig.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Ders. 36.

<sup>54</sup> Soli Deo Gloria!

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