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The conditions of party politics and parliamentary elections in Szabolcs County  
in 1905 and 1906  
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### **THE SCOPE OF RESEARCH**

The history of party politics and parliamentary elections in the period of dualism in Szabolcs County has not been processed in depth. I have set the aim, with my dissertation, to provide a picture of the developments in the conditions of party politics in Szabolcs County in the course of 1905 and 1906, as well as analyse the preparations, implementation and results of the 1905 and 1906 parliamentary elections. The significance of the topic is given by the fact that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, established by the 1867 compromise, showed the signs of a protracting crisis in the 1890s, which reached its climax in the course of 1905 and 1906. The cause of the government crisis was the 1905 parliamentary elections. These elections can be considered unique in the period since this was the only one in the history of dualism that was won by the opposition party at the national level too.

The topic, due to its special and locally important content, has been only touched upon so far by studies and papers of a more general perspective. Its significance at the national level, however, is undeniable. In 1907, at the end of the 1905-1906 government crisis, Lajos Inczédy chief archivist of Szabolcs County wrote a study titled *Safeguarding the constitution in Szabolcs county, 1905-1906*. In a comprehensive monography on the history of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County published in 1993, professor István Czövek made a general sketch about the political conditions in the period of dualism. Another study by Péter Takács in 1994 made contributions about the social background of the general elections in the period of dualism. In 1995, József Margócsy compiled the biographies of the members of Parliament from Nyíregyháza, while in 1997, András Cieger made a mentioning about a few MPs from Szabolcs in connection with his prosopographic study on the political establishment of Bereg county. In 1998, István Néző published a paper on the elections and the MPs in the Kisvárdai constituency, while László Szilágyi produced a monography with the title of *Members of*

*Parliament and their electors in the period of dualism in Szabolcs County.* This work gave an impetus to further research, but, due to its comprehensive nature, it had not focused on the 1905 parliamentary elections and the ensuing government crisis and had not examined the archive records from this period. That was the reason why I found it important to present the related problems more in depth and detail trying to rely on the prime sources.

Sources published first in this work offer new information and new approaches to the history of Szabolcs at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. In the course of writing the dissertation, one of my main objectives was to point out both the political and personal intentions of those involved in the events rather than merely provide a historical account of the political events related to the two elections. I also wished to highlight the relationship between the national and the local ways of policy making (with reference to the relationship between Ferenc Kossuth or Baron Dezső Bánffy and his county; the family ties between the Meskó family and Dániel Irányi and the contacts between Count Gyula Andrássy and some policymakers in Szabolcs, etc.) and explore the effects of family relations in the world of politics.

The national historiography in Hungary was dominated by the history of politics for quite a long time. The developments in the social history of politics were closely related to those of political studies and political sociology. In my analyses, I have tried to use the latest methods of the history of politics. My aim, in terms of methodology, was to test how the methods of the social history of politics could be adopted for a region or a county, and for a concrete period of these.

The task of the first part discussing the causes of the crisis of dualism has been set to draw a comprehensive picture about the domestic politics at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries in Hungary.

In the second and third parts of the dissertation, the preparations of the parliamentary elections have been studied. Two main aspects of the issues raised here have been discussed: the preparations made by the authorities and the activities of the parties. The legal conditions of the 1905-1906 parliamentary elections have been surveyed in comparison with the elections systems throughout Europe, since the quality and value of the political system of a country is greatly influenced by the current system or lack of elections. The ways of the ballot; equal or unequal; direct or indirect; with universal suffrage or that of property qualification will, of course, determine the political culture of a given country and a state. Analysing the symbolic aspects of political life in connection with the elections preparations, it was found to be important to look at the specific features of the representation of local

power and those of the tools, symbols, political mentality and the sense of community. I have also analysed the methods and ceremonies of voter mobilisation, and contrasted the traditional and feudalistic aspects with the more modern tools and elements in them.

With the analysis of the candidate nomination, I have tried to find an answer to the question what factors influenced the candidate nominations in the course of the 1905 elections in Szabolcs.

Next, I have described the event of the elections, and tried to take account of the election irregularities and abuses in 1905. I have also made an analytical comparison of the winners on the basis of their descent, family connections, age, links to the county and the region, their career paths, and finally on that of the political commitment to their electors. The analysis has been made on the basis of archive sources, the county press coverage, local history works and documents.

The fifth chapter of the dissertation deals with the opposition behaviour of Szabolcs County in the government crisis, as a result of the 1905 parliamentary elections, and the MPs' involvement in the resistance movement, giving a general picture of the role of „national resistance” in Szabolcs County within the national movement.

A novel contribution of this work is that in the last chapter it examines the Tulip Movement in Szabolcs, the emergence of which was closely related to the political crisis overall. Its activity and role, however, has not been studied yet.

## **II. BACKGROUND OF SOURCES USED IN THE WORK**

Three main types of sources have been used in the course of work. Apart from the available literature, I relied primarily on the documents and records from the chief bailiff, vice-bailiff and mayor offices, the minutes of general assemblies as well as documents from central committees of Szabolcs County and Nyíregyháza town available in the Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County Archive. Valuable sources have been found in the documents of the Tulip Association, the Hungarian Defence Society, in those of the Szabolcs County Archive as well as the Luskod and Vaja Vay family archives and the Kállay family documents. The printed and published reports by the vice-bailiffs on the state of public administration in Szabolcs County (1904 yearly, 1905 half-year, 1906 yearly reports) have also been used. I have also done research work on the interior ministerial and prime ministerial documents in the Hungarian National Archive. Unfortunately, the records related to my topic are rather

fragmentary, a considerable amount of them had been scrapped and only demo volumes were available with some information. In the Reference Archive of the National Széchenyi Library, I have found some letters by three winners of the 1905-1906 parliamentary elections in Szabolcs (by dr. László Meskó, dr. Béla Mezőssy and dr. Zoltán Pap). Both these letters and Zoltán Pap's manuscript of two of his poems, however, do not have any relevance in view of the topic I selected for the dissertation.

Great attention has been paid to the press in the given period using, of course, relevant criteria of evaluation when processing the findings. *Nyírvidék*, „the official journal of the community notaries and the teachers' association of Szabolcs” appeared on Sunday and reflected the views of the establishment in the county. It echoed the local policy makers' – mostly Independence Party followers' – opinion and shed a favourable light on any action by them. The articles produced in the campaign period of the parliamentary elections clearly favoured the Independence Party candidates. *Szabolcs* started in 1902 as a newspaper published on Saturday with a general social scope, but the owner Gyula Schlichter changed it into more political to give a boost to the political life of Szabolcs county. This newspaper, although providing room for all the major political views, promoted the principles of the New Party. Both *Nyírvidék* and *Szabolcs* criticised the Fejérváry-government, either whipping them vehemently or ironically. They fully supported the fight for the Constitution. Other valuable background information was provided by the *Kisvárdai Lapok*, the *Kisvárdai and Vidéke*, as well as the *Nyíregyházi Hétfői Hírek*, although a lot of issues of these papers could not be found from 1905 and 1906 (*Nyíregyházi Hétfői Hírek* was first published in March, 1906 and its name was changed to *Nyírvidéki Hírlap* as of June 21st). Journalist publications that could be considered only secondary sources have been compared to archive records and documents for the sake of authenticity.

### **III MAIN RESEARCH FINDINGS**

The parliamentary elections held between January 26th and 4th February 1905 brought an unparalleled victory for the opposition in the history of dualism. The Liberal Party that had ruled for three decades was defeated and the underlying political system shaken. The year of 1905 was also a critical one elsewhere in Europe. The early symptoms of the 1905-1906 political chaos appeared in the 1890s. Legal conflicts appeared and gradually aggravated in the symbiotic political relationship between Hungary and the Austria. First, the conflicts in

economic interests and the differences in views on the development of the military sparked the debate. There was no agreement between the landed gentry and the capitalist groups within the establishment, that is between the so-called agrarians and the mercantilists. Moreover, the movements for the democratic reforms of the society strengthened. The common platform of the main political goal for the social democrats, the agrarian socialists and the civil radicals was the extension of suffrage. The crisis of dualism was further aggravated by the strengthening of ethnic minority movements and the reshuffling of the great power relations turned out to be unfavourable for the Monarchy.

The 1903-04 obstruction and the ensuing government party action, the so called handkerchief ballot had resulted in an unexpected event: it created a coalition of the opposition groups which, at the 1905 elections, defeated the Liberal Party in power since 1875.

In the surveyed period, Szabolcs County included five constituencies: those of Kisvárd, Nagykálló, Nyírbátor, Nyírbogdány, Tiszalök as well as the town of Nyíregyháza with the right to have an MP of its own.

The elections were preceded by lengthy preparations. It was the local authority's right to create the register of voters and the polling stations, to maintain the rule of law and public security in the campaign period and during the elections, as well as to ensure the voters' right to exercise suffrage. In the campaign period preceding the 1905 elections, fierce political fight emerged in all the constituencies of the county, except that of Nagykálló, and it necessitated the intervention of the militia. Events like this did not take place in 1906 as the elections had not been perceived as particularly exciting ones.

When studying the party preparations before the elections, it was considered important to define the related concepts of the period of dualism and the frontlines of the party system, since clearly, the concept of party at the time of dualism was different to that of today.

In the period of the 1905 and 1906 parliamentary elections, most but not all of the voters in Szabolcs County favoured the Independence Party. The Liberal Party also had followers. The national tendency of disintegration within the Liberal Party had reached Szabolcs county, too. Lead by a number of officers from the former military, a political movement emerged with the temporary formation and name of Szabolcs County Új (new) Party. It did not work for long as Baron Dezső Bánffy had been sidelined in national politics. The conditions of party politics in Szabolcs in the surveyed period was also influenced by the fact that, though the number of the Constitution Party supporters was not relevant, they were fairly influential in the economic life. Since 1906, another process of restructuring had started

in the political spectrum, which shows that the process of seeking ways and means continued. Although the workers' movement in Szabolcs can not be ignored in the middle of the first decade of the century, there was no broad and concentrated working class in Szabolcs county, therefore the social democratic movement (used as a term in the dissertation for the organisations of the industrial workers lead by the Hungarian Social democratic Party) did not have a significant social background. In 1905, the activities of the industrial workers in the county were confined almost only to Nyíregyháza. Here, in 1905, they were able to run a Hungarian Social Democratic Party nominee at the parliamentary elections. The nomination of Kálmán Jócsák was, of course, not motivated by the realistic hope of victory, but the general policy practice followed by the social democrats at the turn of the century that every political situation, including the elections campaigns, had to be used to promote their political views and publicise their party programmes.

I have found it important to highlight the specific and symbolic features of the local representation of power. These could be seen both with the elections preparations and activities of the local parties (functioning at the times of parliamentary elections parties and hibernating between two elections) and with the establishment of Új Party by baron Dezső Bánffy, first in Nyíregyháza and then elsewhere in Szabolcs County. In the course of the latter events, it was an important move by the local organisation committee to appoint representatives to welcome baron Bánffy and his escort arriving by train by at the border of the county. The railways were an important factor in the organisation of the political life (thus the social democrats could also mobilise their activists in various parts of the country relatively easily). The leader of the national party was greeted at the train station of Nyíregyháza with a speech and ovation. On August 6th 1904, the leadership of Nyíregyháza, dominated by the Independence Party, had not yet offered the state carriage reserved for the most honourable guests to the local organisers to carry Bánffy around. In 1905, however, as a coalition steering committee member he did enjoy the highest reception, in the course of which he was greeted and celebrated by local dignitaries at the frequented points of the town representing local power. First, outside the casino as a centre of local public life in Nyíregyháza, then on the main square and community centre in front of the town hall, and finally at the Korona Hotel. The casino was at the heart of the social, entertainment and cultural activities in town for the men with membership. The town hall was the very symbol of the local power. At the times of the parliamentary elections, the square in front of the town hall was packed with voters waiting for several hours to hear the results from the leader of the town. These events of local politics were made memorable by speeches delivered from the

balcony announcing the names of and speeches by the winners. Korona Hotel also embodied the local political life, since it was the place hosting both the Independence and the Liberal Party meetings, and the Új Party gatherings.

In the procedures of establishing and re-establishing parties and their activities, deputations played a special role. A festive dinner following the establishment of a party was a tradition from the Age of Reforms, just like the lunch following the party meetings.

Both the elections preparations and the elections themselves took place according to a certain traditional course of events. Analysing the mobilising elements of it, it must be made clear that the well-established procedures dominated the 1905 campaign, too. The candidates made programme speeches, tried to discredit their opponents and gain support with inviting potential voters to pubs and treating them at barbecue stalls. Rallies had been organised where campaign feathers and election badges were distributed to make the candidate more popular. In 1905, neither the Liberal Party member bailiff nor the county leadership with an Independence Party majority hindered the electioneering campaigns by the unfavoured candidate in Nyíregyháza or elsewhere in Szabolcs. The local authorities came to terms with the rallies organised to make the programme speeches. The function of the elections billboards today was fulfilled by flag waving ceremonies, that is using flags with the names of candidates placed in frequented place of the election districts. Real election advertisements were not yet published in the local press, only information on where elections paraphernalia were available. However, „open letters” by the national party leaders appeared in the local press calling for supporting candidates. Of course, „open letters” by party leaders were published in a newspaper, only if it supported the party programme and the given candidate. It can be considered a more modern method to use registration sheets of the party members, although a membership system in the parties did not yet exist in the modern sense of the word in the surveyed period.

My research in the archives has significantly modified the image that emerged in the period of dualism about the general elections related to a more and more direct influence by the government, and about the election abuses. There was also widespread talk about the political pressure exercised by the interior ministry and the prime minister. It is important to point out, however, that in Szabolcs County with an opposition majority in the local authority, the central government had rather limited tools, since the procedures of the elections were arranged and supervised by the local authority. The central authorities had only indirect influence on the events, mostly through the county commissioners delegated by the central government and the chief bailiffs. The office of the chief bailiff was held in the surveyed

period in Szabolcs County by Baron Berthold Feilitzsch. He had received the post as a result of the politics of family relations and the links between the central and local policymaking. He had been given the helm of the county as the son-in-law of Baron Dezső Bánffy prime minister. His brother was Baron Arthur Feilitzsch, who worked as the agricultural minister in the 2nd Fejérváry-government. The chief bailiff had to report to the interior minister. The exchange of information took place in writing and in the course of personal meetings. According to the reports, the authority and influence of the chief bailiff was fully used to support the liberal candidate, but with the observation of the legal regulations only. Baron Feilitzsch had come to terms with the fact that Szabolcs County was strongly, although not exclusively, under the influence of the Independence Party. His orders reflect his understanding the importance of social reconciliation and the intention that peace restored previously with difficulties should not be disturbed in the county with electioneering.

Abuses and corruption at the elections – the incidents of which were almost never tried and cleared at court – had always been part of our election system. They were, of course used in various forms in the 1905 campaign period, too, in the election districts of Szabolcs. I have approached the related problems in two ways. First, I have examined the abuses and corruption cases committed by the MP candidates and their electioneers, then I have checked those committed by the authority. Money as a means of influence was, in effect, used by every candidate running for the mandate, but of course, to a greatly variable extent. It was widely accepted and tolerated at the rallies that the political parties, apart from making speeches, waving flags and meeting the press, used illegal means like money, food and drinks for bribery as well as mud flinging at the rivals or even subversion to convince the great general public. In terms of legality, the 1905 elections in Szabolcs did not produce an extraordinary campaign. In the course of campaign rallies, in some highly tense areas (like in the Kisvárdai and the Nyírbátor election districts) there were clashes between overheated persons and groups, but these situations could be handled well by the deployed militia squads and military forces. In 1905, no casualty or serious injury was suffered during the campaign. No casualty was made either by the fierce cold at the time – at least I have found no record of the in the *Nyírvidek* reports. From our sources it is clear, that in terms of moral conduct, the parties did not differ much from each other, and all of them followed the principle of trying to use the „right means for the right cause”.

In 1905, there were reports about officials in the Kisvárdai constituency committing power abuse. In the absence of proof, the case against Béla Barcs, district notary in Kisvárdai, was not brought, however, even to the point of launching a disciplinary punishment



procedure. The same happened in the case of the district notary from Eperjeske and the chief judge from Mogyorós. The complaint against the chief judge in Lövöpetri had reached a little further, but the disciplinary punishment procedure was cancelled a few months later. This case is a clear example of how difficult it was to prove that in cases like the ones mentioned above the local officials had used power pressure or intimidation. In general, the person making the report took the political side opposite to that taken by the criticised official, but was not one of those who had been adversely affected by the illegal conduct of the official in question. During the trials of these cases, no evidence was given against the officials charged of power abuse, since they could easily have taken revenge. Especially, if the MP candidate who the given official had supported and promoted happened to win in the political fight of the elections.

To be able to present the mechanism of candidate nomination, I have used the reports sent by the chief bailiff to the prime minister and the interior minister, as well as those made by the chief constable and the deputy-bailiff. I have also relied on the local press coverage. In the constituencies of Szabolcs County, with the exception of that of Tiszalök, an important precondition of being nominated and getting elected was to enjoy public esteem and to have links of various kinds to the given district. According to the reports made by the chief bailiff on the political situation and the expected outcome, in two districts of the county, namely those of Nagykálló and Nyíregyháza, the Liberal Party candidates did not have any chance to get elected. In those of Kisvárd and Tiszalök, there seemed to be more hope for the success of the Liberal Party candidates. The greatest chance for a government party candidate success appeared to be there in the Nyírbátor constituency. Finally, government party candidates were nominated in the two districts of Nyírbátor and Kisvárd and they could have had the chance indeed to get the mandates, but due to the general political conditions that had evolved by early 1905 in the country, this chance was reduced to a minimum. The wave of disillusionment caused by the so called „handkerchief ballot” reached the members and supporters of the Liberal Party in Szabolcs county, too. This effect did contribute to the victory of the Independence party candidates in the Nyírbátor and Kisvárd constituencies. In the first place, the nomination of a Liberal Party candidate occurred in Kisvárd only to distribute political tension and not because his victory was a real option. The launch of a Liberal Party candidate was made for purely tactical reasons to prevent „agitation and unrest from prevailing in the Nyírbátor and Tiszalök constituencies”.

In four constituencies of the county (in that of Nyíregyháza and those belonging to Kisvárd, Tiszalök and Nyírbogdány) a fierce power struggle started in the Independence and

the '48 Parties in connection with the nomination of MP candidates. There had been two Independence Party nominees considered for the job in all the four districts. Finally, only one candidate ran for the post in the Nyíregyháza and Kisvárdá constituencies respectively with Independence and '48 Party support. In Nyíregyháza, dr. László Meskó and in the Kisvárdá constituency Guidó Hrabovszky ran, their rivals within the party had withdrawn for health reasons.

In the Tiszalök and Nyírbogdány constituencies, however, two Independence Party politicians competed on January 26, 1905. In a case like this, two factors were considered: who was favoured by the national leader of the political party, and how much money the MP candidate had devoted to convince the voters.

In 1905, neither the chief bailiff heading the legal authority and belonging to the Liberal Party nor the county and county capital administration with a majority belonging to the Independence party made any obstacles to the electioneering campaign of the unfavoured\* candidates in Szabolcs. After an agreement had been made on the persons of the MP candidates, the pre-election speeches followed. The authorities did not try to hinder the rallies and the speeches on the political programmes. In the second part of February 1906, however, the resistance of the counties against the „darabont-government” conceived as illegal became so bitter that Ferenc József dissolved Parliament. To prevent the MP reports to be made on 25 February as planned, major military troops were deployed in the constituencies and the militia were also reinforced. No clashes took place, however, and the agreement made between the ruler and the leadership of the coalition in early April resulted in campaign-free, quiet elections in all constituencies of Szabolcs County.

I have compared the winners of 1905 and 1906 parliamentary elections in Szabolcs on the basis of their descent, family relations, age, links to the county and its regions, career paths, and finally their political commitment to the voters. The MPs from Szabolcs featured a relatively high rate of the noble descent, as many as five persons of the six. In 1905 and 1906 only Nyíregyháza with the greatest number of a middle class population sent an MP with a bourgeois social background to Parliament in the person of Meskó. Of those winning a seat, dr. Zoltán Pap was the only one who did not have strong links to the region he got his mandate from. In the case of all the others strong local and regional links can be found. They possessed considerable pieces of land in Szabolcs or ran law offices somewhere in the county.

In Szabolcs as a „kuruc county”, descent with a touch of heroism and glorious past, if combined with a real involvement in the events of the 1848 revolution lent dignity and respect to the politicians. The six MPs in question were too young to be able to boast personal

involvement in '48, but the deeds of the ancestors in '48 had not sunk into oblivion and gave popularity to the descendants.

In Szabolcs, the winners of the 1905 and 1906 parliamentary elections had all pursued legal studies, with the exception of Miklós Uray. All of them were financially independent. Leopold Kállay, dr. Béla Mezőssy, Uray and Hrabovszky could all rely on the income from their estates. Pap also had an income of this kind, but he relied mainly on the profits from his activity as a solicitor and, of course, not as a literary man. Meskó and Hrabovszky also worked as solicitors. The fee, however, received for the work of an MP, had constituted a substantial part of the increase in their wealth since 1892 for Kállay, between 1892 and 1901 for Meskó, since 1896 for Mezőssy, and since 1901 for Pap. Nevertheless, it can be stated clearly that none of the six MPs with significant financial resources and background tried to get a mandate only to be able to earn their living.

Mezőssy's and Kállay's career started in the field of public administration of the county since both of them worked as deputy notaries after finishing their legal studies. Meskó, after opening his law office in 1878, was elected as municipal attorney and he held this office until 1892 when he won his parliamentary seat. Four of the winners at the 1905-1906 parliamentary elections in Szabolcs pursued a career in financial institutions, too. Meskó was a board member at the Nyíregyházi Savings Bank Society, Uray was the vice-president of the Savings Bank Public Limited Company in Nyírmada, Mezőssy was the board president of the Újfehértó Savings Bank Public Limited Company, while Hrabovszky functioned as a board member and attorney of the Kisvárdai Savings Bank. The surveyed MPs (except for Pap) were well established in the political and social life of Szabolcs county. They were involved in the work of the county and the town legal authorities and public administration committees, either as elected members or as major taxpayers. Apart from these functions they were also activists in various societies and associations. Two of them were active in the church, too, and all the MPs in question were often involved in deputations or lobbying activities for the interests of the county with the prime minister or various ministers.

At the time of the governmental crisis, all the MPs from Szabolcs, with the exception of Pap, were members of the committee safeguarding the constitution, although not equally active. Mezőssy and Meskó were involved the most in organising the resistance. The good relationship they established with the steering committee members resulted in posts of secretary of state for them.

The ladies joined the „national resistance” through the Tulip Movement. In Szabolcs, noble and middle class ladies (as well as gentlemen) were also attracted by this civil

movement. In the county, no separation of organisations between the aristocrat ladies and bourgeois middle class women took place like in the Budapest centre.

The main goal of the movement was to find a solution to the political crisis and ways to help the national industry develop. The active period of the Tulip Movement in Szabolcs between early 1906 and late 1907, however, cannot be considered an outstanding success story. No major results were produced apart from social events that strengthened the sense of community and the financial background of the society. The Tulip Movement in Szabolcs is a good example of how easily a civil society movement is doomed to die down due to the lack of political support. The initial enthusiasm both with the members of the society and with the military officers lost impetus quite soon. The causes of this lie in the lack of persistence and success, as well as the disappointment and bitterness caused by the agreement between the two governments in October, 1907 to make a tariff agreement with Austria for ten years; and also by the abuses related to the promotion of domestic industry.

Due to a series of negative experiences, the supporters of the movement got disillusioned just like those of the coalition government since the principles that had been promoted for decades were completely ignored after the seizure of power. The elimination of the 1905-06 government crisis by the April Pact – although it created the illusion that the order of the dualist state had been restored – did not prevent the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy from the collapse, only delayed it.

#### **IV PUBLICATIONS RELATED TO THE TOPIC OF THE DISSERTATION**

1. The 1905-1906 elections in Szabolcs County. Szabolcs-Szatmár-Beregi Szemle 2005/3. 358-366.
2. Election preparations in the period of dualism in Szabolcs, with special respect to the 1905 parliamentary elections. In: Nations and Empires. Studies in honour of the 70-year-old Dr. Sándor Kávássy. Edited by István Czövek. Nyíregyháza, Bessenyei György Press, 2005. 139-159.
3. Elections in Szabolcs County at the time of the crisis of dualism. In: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Tudományos Közalapítvány füzetek 21. Edited by Miklós Galó - Lajosné Vass. Nyíregyháza, 2005. 145-148.
4. Elections systems in Europe at the turn of 19th and 20th. centuries. In: Studies from the world and Hungarian history IV. Edited by István Czövek. Nyíregyháza, Bessenyei György Press, 2005. 87-115.

5. Parliaments from the late 19th. Century Europe. In: Lectures from the XIV yearly session of the Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County Body of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Edited by Péter Nagy. Nyíregyháza, 2006. 180-185.
6. Opposition of Szabolcs County at the time of 1905-1906 government crisis. In: Gesta 2006/1. 66-76.
7. Parliamentary elections a 100 years ago. In: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Beregi Szemle 2006/2. 213-218.
8. Beiträge zum Kampf eines resistenten Komitats für den Schutz des Verfassungsrechts. In: Studies from the world and Hungarian history V. Edited by István Czövek. Nyíregyháza, Bessenyei György Press, 2006. 85-96.
9. Contribution to the history of Új Party lead by Bánffy. In: Gesta 2006/2. 17-28.
10. The Tulip Movement in Szabolcs. (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Beregi Szemle, approved for publication)