

# THE DAWN OF POLITICAL CATHOLICISM IN HUNGARY, 1844–1848

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In Hungarian historiography the beginnings of modern political Catholicism are usually associated with the political party debates over religious policy during the second half of the nineteenth century. More precisely, political Catholicism is tied to the law resulting from these debates.<sup>1</sup> Signifying the growing influence of the middle class, the 1894–95 law on religion made civil marriage mandatory, established birth certificates issued by the state, gave equal rights to Jews, and provided guarantees for the free practice of religion in general. Although not without considerable political disagreement, these constituted the achievement of long standing liberal goals; and without any doubt the representatives of the Catholic church organized the staunchest resistance against them. Despite the Catholic protests, the majority of the public supported the law of 1894–1895, and the changes have stood the test of time.

Nevertheless, the problems of state-church relations did not appear in Hungary for the first time during the later decades of the nineteenth century. During the 1830s and 1840s, or the period historians usually call the Reform Era, the growing influence of middle class values experienced its first great test of strength, which touched not only on the suppression of feudal privileges, but also on exemptions from taxation, equality before the law, as well as the establishment of freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of conscience and religion. The heated debates among well-known politicians over the changes remained constrained within the old framework of feudal politics, where the main public forums were the county assemblies of the nobility and the national diets. On the other hand, the content of the discussions was increasingly “new.” The opposition gradually stepped beyond the traditional grievance politics of the estates and, while not neglecting Hungary’s uniqueness, appropriated the program of Western liberalism. It is important to recognize that the general tendencies of modern Hungarian political life began to emerge publicly at this time. For example, the first political parties appeared: in 1846 the Conservative Party and in 1847 the Opposition Party; and the various movements based on ideological considerations became ever more clearly defined. The centralists

and the various young radical groups arising among Pest's intellectuals were also significant. The representatives of political Catholicism were present at this early date in the increasingly colorful tapestry of public life; and although they did not play any decisive role in the enactment of legislation, their appearance in Hungary's public life warrants attention and further consideration.

Most analysts have found the roots of the religious laws of the 1890s in the deliberations of the last estates' diet during 1847–48, or more exactly, arising from the deficiencies and consequences of that diet's twentieth article.<sup>2</sup> In agreement with the Benedictine historian Pongrác Sörös and others, I share the view formulated at the turn of the century, a view which has found few twentieth-century supporters, that disputes over religious policy emerging at the end of the nineteenth century, "even in the modern sense," arose from a much earlier period, at least as early as the twenty-sixth article of the diet of 1791.<sup>3</sup> Namely, beginning at this time and throughout the century that followed, the essential issue in the various concrete questions affecting church–state relations remained basically the same: the difficulties arising from the emerging civil state's conflicts and attempts to find accommodations with a Roman Catholic church that remained wedded to feudal political structures. The ecclesiastical historian Gábor Salacz touched on the core of the matter when he noted,

A cultural conflict develops when those subject to the state, or at least a significant portion of them, find it impossible to obey the laws and directives of the church and state at the same time. In short, the citizens in submitting to the laws and regulations of one unavoidably come into conflict with the those of the other.<sup>4</sup>

This description is entirely appropriate for the situation of the Reform Era state and church.

We can briefly identify political Catholicism as a movement that began to organize when liberal political forces grew so greatly in strength that they succeeded in influencing legislative and executive policy; and, based on the principles of civil society, the liberals attempted to rearrange the relationship between church and state.<sup>5</sup> In opposition to these liberal forces, or in order to reduce their influence, the church no longer employed merely its traditional instruments in the struggle. In order to achieve its aims the church also tried to adapt to the changing rules of public life and initiate movements, such as political parties or organizations associated with them, that were tailored to the norms of civil society. During the second half of the nineteenth century we can observe in opposition to liberal tendencies and the development of capitalist values the appearance of neo-conservatism and as a result of the "cultural struggles," above all in Bismarck's Germany, and political Catholicism. The most obvious manifestation of the latter phenomenon in Hungary before the turn of the cen-

tury was the formation and activity of the Catholic *Néppárt* [People's Party] as a force to counter the religious legislation of 1894–95.<sup>6</sup> In other words we can concur with the frequently expressed opinion that in Hungary the problems created by the spread of middle class society were not solved in the middle of the nineteenth century by the Revolution of 1848, its failure and the subsequent dictatorial government. Consequently, according to the historian Jenő Gergely, political Catholicism could appear in Hungary only a few decades after its appearance in Western Europe as a “defensive reflex,”<sup>7</sup> when the Catholic church felt that as a result of the legal equality created by the civil laws, it would be squeezed out of public life. At the same time, it is important to realize that the seeds of this had appeared during the 1840s, and the “defensive reflex” was already set in motion at that time.

We can also note that during the Reform Era not only the prelates, clinging to the status of Roman Catholicism as a state church and to their privileges and close connections with the Habsburg court, opposed the liberal political forces. During the 1840s a political tendency, similar in character the Catholic movement of the 1890s and even bearing the marks of forming a political party, began to emerge within the Catholic church. Its representatives had come to believe that under the new circumstances of public life the clergy alone was no longer able to defend effectively Catholic interests, and that new organizations needed to be formed in order to influence and gain the support of public opinion. The diet of 1843–44 played a key role in the formation of this concept. With the enactment of article three this diet brought to an end, at least temporarily, the increasingly passionate disputes over religious policy, which had been brewing since the 1830s, and gave a new direction to the subsequent debates.<sup>8</sup> We have no desire here to examine in any detailed fashion the stormy and animated events arising from the problem of the obligations, or so-called “reservations” [reverzálisok], demanded from Protestants in the cases of mixed marriages or the raising of children born from these marriages. Nevertheless, it is important that beginning with 1839, when the Bishop of Nagyvárad Ferenc Lajcsák in a pastoral letter instructed his diocesan clergy not to give their blessing to mixed marriages – the Bishop of Rozsnyó had earlier taken a similar step – the overwhelming protest of the counties intensified Catholic-Protestant discord and drew the line of opposition permanently between the liberal camp favoring reforms and the leadership of the Roman Catholic church. Many of the reformers, including István Széchenyi, Ferenc Deák and Ödön Beöthy were themselves faithful Catholics. At the same time, the prelates of the Catholic church had no desire to yield their ecclesiastical privileges, including the ruler's position in the Catholic church and their rights in opposition to the Protestants, or their rank and properties as great feudal lords. Consequently, undertaking a political movement through which they hoped to represent their inter-

ests in the public life of the counties and at the upcoming diet constituted a logical step.

A few weeks after the conclusion of the diet of 1839–40 the Archbishop of Esztergom József Kopácsy directed the entire Catholic clergy in Hungary to practice *passiva assistentia*, in effect denying the church's blessing in cases of mixed marriages. The counties responded with a protest of previously unparalleled dimensions, which included newspaper articles and pamphlets. Appealing in part to the prestige of the clergy and in part playing for rime, the ecclesiastical leadership sent the Bishop of Csanád József Lonovics to Rome in order to obtain a papal decision for settling the dispute over the marriage policy.<sup>9</sup> This step unfortunately became a source for further grief. From 1840 to 1843 the years leading to the next diet saw the debate over religion, which had begun primarily with the Protestant grievances at the diets between 1832 and 1836, expand beyond its previous framework and take on the possibility of a general rearrangement of religious issues based on middle-class values. The Catholic church was forced, however slowly, to respond to such a prospect. The depth and nature of the dilemma are appropriately illustrated by a comment made at the Diet of 1839–40 by one of the leading conservatives, Aurél Dessewffy. "Justice for the Protestants has reached the point beyond which injustice for the Catholic cause begins."<sup>10</sup>

Even if we cannot pinpoint the inception of political Catholicism to any single date, there can be no doubt that in the course of the discussions held by the episcopacy and other church leaders at the Diet of 1843–44, most especially at the meeting of 27 October 1844, one can discern distinctly the outlines of a Catholic political program. By taking into account the requirements of the age for the exercise of political influence, the ecclesiastical leadership attempted to promote the interests of the church. During the course of the debates over religious policy in the second half of the 1830s and the first half of the 1840s many individuals, especially among the representatives of the cathedral chapters in the lower house of the diet, became convinced that in order effectively to assert the interests of the Catholic church, the mere declaration of Catholic dogma was insufficient. One could no longer simply and ceremonially invoke the authority of the church and its apostolic origins in order to condemn liberal ideas in general,<sup>11</sup> as Pope Gregory XVI had done in the encyclicals *Mirari vos* of 1832 and *Singulari nos* of 1834 – in the latter declaring the views of the liberal Catholic Lamennais heretical. It is important to recognize that the clergy, who as politically active Catholics in Hungary during the second half of the 1840s desired to assert the interests of Catholicism in political and social life, differed neither in their understanding nor in the content of their arguments from the positions represented by Gregory XVI and his rather conservative secretary Lambruschini. They were in fundamental agreement on all the major points, and they accepted the authority of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In other

words they consciously opposed Lamennais, Lacordaire, and József Eötvös – who in Hungary can most notably be included in this camp – as well as other representatives of liberal Catholicism, who by this time wanted to find an accommodation with the middle-class movements and to come to terms with the social and political changes that had followed the French and Industrial Revolutions. Although the differences of the political Catholics with the pope were very significant, they were primarily strategic. Clinging to their privileges, the representatives of political Catholicism during the Reform Era, just as the papacy, condemned the growth of middle-class culture in its entirety. At the same time (and in their own interest) the politically active Catholics did not object to employing the new instruments, modified to suit their “image and likeness” (Gen. 1:26), which had been offered by liberalism and were also employed by the liberals.

Without desiring to be comprehensive, we must attempt to characterize the nature of the Catholic political movement that arose during the Reform Era.<sup>12</sup> We can obtain our best overall view from articles appearing in the press, contemporary publications and the minutes of the meetings, which after 1844 became a regular feature of political Catholicism. Naturally, episcopal and other conferences had also been held earlier in the Catholic church, but after the Diet of 1843–1844 the proclamation and representation of the Catholic church’s interests in political life became the focal point of these peculiarly structured and designed councils. The items under discussion can be most easily divided into two groups. On the one hand, they involved purely theoretical discussions, such as the analysis of the nature of liberalism and conservatism; on the other hand they debated over the closely related concrete strategical problems and determined the practical steps to be utilized. Similarly to the liberals and conservatives, they usually held meetings every three months when the national fairs in Pest generally drew large crowds. As we shall soon see, the politically active Catholics served as a secure bastion of the conservative camp, and consequently adjusted their discussions to the meetings of the “thoughtful progressives.” By the last years of the Reform Era, Pest had become unambiguously the center of political life, and the Catholics also chose this major city for their organizational work. The selection of Pest as the center for Catholic politicking reveals a practical understanding of the emerging political realities. One of the leaders of the group, Mihály Fogarassy, Canon of Nagyvárad and from 1846 a titular bishop, became in practice the national coordinator of the group in Pest. Toward the end of the Diet of 1843–1844 the direction of Catholic politicking was entrusted to a clerical committee. In addition to Fogarassy, the members included the Canon of Veszprém Miklós Bezerédy, the director of a seminary András Liphay, and a Benedictine monk from Pannonhalma, who later became Abbot of Bakonybél, Miklós Sárkány, while the prelates were represented by the Bishop of Pécs János Scitovszky, who had been most active in issues of public

life. The committee held its first meeting after the conclusion of the diet in September 1845. Afterwards its meetings became more regular, and the number of participants also grew. The committee saw itself as a type of "leading organization" [csúcyszervezet], and interestingly devoted most of its attention not to staged mass gatherings but to improved organization for the advancement of Catholicism.

One of the dominant characteristics of the meetings held during and immediately after the Diet of 1843–1844 was the negative evaluation of the events of the diet. Most significantly they interpreted Article Three as a serious defeat for the Catholic church. The participants found the causes of this defeat above all in the "spirit of the age," and identified with liberalism the struggle for religious liberty, which they deemed as anti-Catholic. It is interesting to note, for example, that the conference of bishops held on 21 October 1844, which preceded the previously mentioned gathering of the representatives of the cathedral chapters on 27 October 1844, ascribed the unfortunate atmosphere much more to the Protestants; and while analyzing the injuries suffered by their church, the bishops concentrated on driving back Protestantism. Apparently at the same time the representatives of the cathedral chapters no longer hoped to achieve a Catholic victory merely by opposing the rival denominations but also desired to defeat the influence of liberalism.<sup>13</sup>

The cathedral chapters sought from the beginning to avoid the charge that their actions constituted an effort to circumvent, or even oppose, the Catholic hierarchy and emphasized their indebtedness to the episcopate. At the same time, it appears that in disguised form desired to convince the bishops, most especially the Archbishop of Esztergom, to embrace and provide leadership for, or at least lend their names to the chapters' political movement. They desired to mobilize the entire Catholic public sphere; and the representatives wanted not only to win the entire clergy over to assume a role in their cause of public political action but also, however subtly, hoped to nudge their superiors in the same direction. The fact that during this early phase of political Catholicism the members of the cathedral chapters played the leading role is both interesting and significant. Relatively few bishops participated. The Bishop of Pécs, János Scitovszky, who became Archbishop of Esztergom in 1849, did, however, show interest and assumed a role. Unlike, the later Catholic social movements the lower clergy, the parish priests, also did not contribute to the same degree as the cathedral chapters. The representatives of the chapters sat in the lower house of the diet and as a result became particularly sensitive to the dangers liberalism posed to the privileged position of the Catholic church, which had been rooted in feudalism. As a result they probably also came to understand first that in order to resist liberalism they would have to develop a new strategy. Later during the 1860s and 1870s, that is during the period of the Compromise of 1867 and the First Vatican Council, the leading members of the Reform Era's political

Catholicism often rose to the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. For example, Mihály Fogarassy became Bishop of Transylvania, János Ranolder rose from Canon of Pécs to Bishop of Veszprém, István Lipovniczky was promoted from the Esztergom cathedral chapter to Bishop of Nagyvárád and János Perger moved up to become Bishop of Kassa.

In keeping with the basic stance of political Catholicism, the members of the movement in 1884 exaggerated the dangers posed to their church by the liberal proposals. They discovered the hand of devil in the demand for reciprocity by all the denominations in cases of mixed marriages and spoke of an effort to dismantle the rights of the Catholic church. The representatives of political Catholicism tended to judge any initiative directed against the Catholics as a first step designed ultimately to destroy the church. They spoke of frontal anticlerical assaults. At the same time, despite the most strident verbal exchanges, the majority of the lower house of the diet held moderate liberal views. This attitude was reflected by the response of the overwhelming majority of the county nobility at the diet and even earlier in 1841–42, when in the matter of the archbishop's encyclical on mixed marriages they deemed the behavior of the clergy as harmful and rose in clamorous protest against it. Yet, during the second phase of the dispute, when more radical ideas against the rights of the Catholic church began to circulate – Bereg county demanded civil marriage and a Hungarian Catholic church independent of Rome, while Borsod suggested the secularization of ecclesiastical lands – the overwhelming majority of the county nobility refused its support to these initiatives. It is also true, however, that during the Reform Era the church found itself under increasing attack from many more directions than earlier. This was so because Catholicism was coming into growing conflict in more and more areas with the reforms demanded by the spread of middle class values. The Catholic church suffered serious embarrassment when Károly Wurda, the representative of the Győr cathedral chapter, in unprecedented fashion at successive diocesan meetings during June of 1843 echoed the program of the opposition and proclaimed his allegiance to the concept of a "free church in a free state."<sup>14</sup> Wurda was immediately recalled by his chapter, and his colleagues quickly distanced themselves from his views. The notebooks, letters and publications of the politically active Catholics, make clear that they did not reject just certain aspects of religious policy but repudiated the Reform Era in its entirety. They recognized in the Reform Era anti-church tendencies; and instead of seeking contacts with the opposition, they busied themselves with a complete renunciation of middle-class culture. They condemned the reform movement for its attack on feudalism and its assertion of middle-class freedoms.

In the interest of achieving concrete results, political Catholicism in general borrowed many of the seemingly successful instruments of liberalism. In other words political Catholicism seemed to recognize that in a changing world they

could employ new types of organization. One of their most important discoveries was that wooing the public and shaping public opinion in their favor had become a necessity. The political Catholics realized that their opponents, by enlivening the correspondence among the counties, by actively participating in the county assemblies, and by using the press had achieved a major advantage. In the opinion of the canons these instruments had to be appropriated, or at the very least counterbalanced.

But before taking up this matter, let us note briefly that the main goal of political Catholicism, the central aim of its organized activity, seems to have been somewhat anachronistic. Beginning with the Diet of 1825–27 the representatives of the cathedral chapters, just as the representatives of the royal free towns, retained only the right to offer advice and one collective vote for each group. The representatives of the cathedral chapters considered the loss of their individual votes a serious grievance and began striving for ever greater representation. In this undertaking they attempted to establish a common cause with the towns but with little success. Nevertheless, between 1844 and 1848 the efforts of political Catholicism were not entirely devoid of strength. They published a number of books and many newspaper articles in defense of their individual voting rights; and they also managed to win the support of some conservative minded county representatives. In 1846 they even produced a petition to the ruler. For example, the Catholic church financed conservative *Nemzeti Újság* [National Newspaper] published numerous lead articles during the diets in support of the representatives' voting rights; and prelates financed the publication of several pamphlets in the same cause. One need hardly mention that the institution of representation for the cathedral chapters at the diets was fundamentally opposed to the "spirit of the age" as well as the concepts of popular representation, modern parliamentarism, and equality before the law.<sup>15</sup> In other words the organization of political Catholicism at this time was initiated by the desire to retain a former feudal privilege. The loss of this right was deemed a danger for the church. Just as later the loss of the tithe in 1848 and the establishment of civil marriage during the second half of the nineteenth century would be perceived as pointing toward the eventual destruction of the Catholic church.

Canon Fogarassy and his allies designated as their most important task the encouragement of activity in public life. In its characteristic fashion, political Catholicism urged the Catholic clergy not to be preoccupied exclusively with religious matters but to become engaged in the political life of the age, to let its voice be heard, and to defend its interests at the various forums of public life. At that time this meant above all encouragement for the participation of the lower Catholic clergy in the county assemblies, which were considered the most important stage for political activity, and the regular attendance of the prelates in the upper house of the national diets. The effort to urge the clergy to partici-

pate in the political life of the counties, not only in a direct manner, but also indirectly was not entirely new. What is significant, however, is that its form can be considered a new element. The political Catholics' goal was to influence the instructions to be given to the county representatives for the next diet. They could only hope to achieve this aim through actively building personal contacts. They considered the effort important, although they recognized that the majority of county representatives were liberal, and even the conservative ones were not particularly enthusiastic about the cause of the church. Often the political Catholics sought to win over the straddlers by spreading information that demonstrated the danger posed by their enemies to the public. The lower clergy were virtually directed to emphasize and, if necessary, to exaggerate the radicalism of the liberals. It is also noteworthy that in order to express effectively the Catholic point of view and successfully participate in public life, the political Catholics desired to study in depth the liberal arguments and publications.

At this time political Catholicism truly discovered one of the main sources of liberalism's Reform Era strength: the utility of a political power, which was based on the massive spread of information. One important source for the expansion of liberal views and their growing influence was the formation of public opinion through the institutional network of information exchanges among the counties. The political Catholics desired to transplant this form of interchange to the cathedral chapters. In short, through the exchange of information among various Catholic bodies, they sought to develop common positions, which would be included in the instructions for the representatives to the diets. The political Catholics wished to appropriate a mobilized public, which, although not institutionally a part of the diet, still at that time formed an increasingly important weapon in the arsenal of their opponents.

The attempt to form a Catholic public opinion was not entirely new but still significant. Above all they endeavored to establish a Catholic public opinion by financing publications. On the main issues the political Catholics wanted to influence the publications that more or less defended Catholic interests. These included: the *Religio* [sic!] *és Nevelés* [Religion and Education], which primarily attracted those interested in theology, the daily *Nemzeti Újság* [National Newspaper], and the *Budapesti Híradó* [Budapest Courier]. Nevertheless, the papers supported by the Catholic church could not compete effectively with the liberal press. The number of their subscribers did not increase, and even with the support of the clergy the publications barely continued to make ends meet. On the other hand, in 1845 the *Nemzeti Újság* acquired as editor the talented journalist Sándor Liphay, who helped make the paper a more effective mouthpiece for conservatism. In addition political Catholicism considered the improvement of religious life important. It assigned considerable significance to religious education, the acquisition and maintenance of intellectual influence over the schools, as well as the strict supervision of reading materials available

to the young. The council also first formulated the idea of an independent modern Catholic publishing house, which – the forerunner of today's Szent István Társulat [St. Stephen Society] – was formally established under the leadership of Fogarassy in 1848. The political Catholics also assigned a considerable role to the maintenance of successful boarding schools and the establishment of new ones. They also sought the clerical leadership of the Catholics who joined devotional groups and sodalities, which were intended to deepen not only the commitment to Catholicism but also to shape the political opinions of their members. Furthermore, the cathedral chapters desired to sustain good relations with not only the secular nobility and the prelates but also the lesser clergy. It was characteristic during the growth of urbanization that the Catholic church was able to react reasonably quickly and to employ to its own advantage other new developments in state and social relations. These included the laws on bills of exchange, the gradually expanding banking system, and the institutional engagement with the newly growing money economy.

Finally, the most interesting question could perhaps be the delineation of the place of political Catholicism in the development of ideology.<sup>16</sup> We can only touch on this issue here, and can provide no definitive answers. During the debates that engulfed ecclesiastical politics in the 1830s and 1840s only a handful of conservative magnates participated, and only a few secular nobles were willing to take up the defense of the interests of the Catholic church. Although some laymen wished to portray themselves as the defenders of a “tormented church,” this stance was not typical, even of conservatives. Perhaps János Majláth's lead articles in *Nemzeti Újság* represented these defences of Catholicism best. It is also true that after 1844 the nascent conservative camp, led by Emil Dessewffy, Antal Szécsen and Sándor Liphay among others, expected the assistance of the Catholic clergy in the formation of their party. On the other hand, we ought to keep in mind that although Hungarian conservatism of later eras considers itself above all Christian and likes to portray itself as a defender of the church, this was not a general characteristic of the conservatives of the Reform Era, especially not during its formative years. Although a few signs of a link between Christianity and conservatism were apparent in 1847, these were not characteristic of the conservative camp as a whole. It would appear that the Catholic church was a necessary but somewhat uncomfortable ally. The conservatives appeared to need the support of Catholicism: the backing of the responsive prelates and lower clergy as well as the national organization of the network of parishes. At the same time, the conservatives did not automatically wish to represent the interests of the Catholic church. The reason for this was most probably connected to the situation that during the 1840s the Catholic church was at a low point in Hungary; and the “thoughtful progressives” did not want Catholic support to result in the loss of the vacillating nobility in the county assemblies.

The following episode provides a good example of the problem. The day after the official formation of the Conservative Party and the proclamation of its program on 12 November 1846, the council of the political Catholics met and expressed its dismay at the party's extensive program by protesting the complete omission of the cathedral chapter representatives' voting rights at the diet. The Catholic agitation did not remain ineffectual. In 1847 and in somewhat veiled terms Apponyi yielded to the Catholic request and expanded the program of the party to include the restoration of the cathedral chapter representatives' votes. (The events of the spring of 1848, however, probably prevented any further advance in this area.) In 1847 political Catholicism also succeeded in achieving one of its characteristic goals: it gained influence over several secular nobles, and gained their support for the interests of the church. A good example of this can be found in the lead article, "The Clergy: One of the Founders of the Conservative Party" [A clerus, mint a conservatív párt alkotó eleme] written by a layman and published by the *Nemzeti Újság* in the spring of that year.<sup>17</sup> Although the constraints of time prevented the creation of an independent Catholic group in order to counterbalance the efforts of liberalism to legally separate church and state, the political Catholics represented a faction allied with the Conservative Party, but clearly differentiated from it. This is hardly surprising; since the opposition party, which had been working together for far longer, only organized itself during the spring of 1847 and only published a formal program in June of the same year. On the other hand, the political Catholics could point to some serious accomplishments in the field of propaganda. In 1847, of the 600 members of the conservative minded club of Pest, *Gyűlde*, one fourth were Catholic ecclesiastics; and we can find these same clerical club members working not only in the national conservative party but also in its local organizations.

In summary, despite many peculiarities, political Catholicism appeared on the stage of Hungarian political life during the Reform Era and attempted to counterbalance the growing forces of middle-class transformation.

#### Notes

1. József Galántai, *Egyház és politika. Katolikus egyházi körök politikai szervezkedése Magyarországon, 1890–1918* [Church and Policy: Political Organizations of Catholic Church Circles in Hungary, 1890–1918] (Budapest, 1960); Jenő Gergely, *A politikai katolicizmus Magyarországon (1890–1950)* [Political Catholicism in Hungary (1890–1950)] (Budapest, 1977).
2. Gábor Salacz, *Egyház és állam Magyarországon a dualizmus korában, 1867–1918* [Church and State in Hungary during the Age of Dualism, 1867–1918], *Dissertationes Hungaricae ex historia Ecclesiae*, no. 2 (München, 1974), 83; Mihály Futó, "Az

- 1843/44-ik évi vallástügyi tárgyalások” [The Religious Debates of 1843–1844] *Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Lap* (1894): nos 14–18, 212; on this concept see, among others, in detail Árpád Zeller, *A magyar egyházpolitika, 1848–1894* [Hungarian Church Policy, 1848–1894], 2 vols. (Budapest, 1894); and Mihály Miklós K. Török, *A magyar egyházpolitikai harc története, az 1847–48. évi pozsonyi országgyűléstől 1895-ig* [A History of the Conflicts over Church Policy from the Pozsony Diet of 1847–1848 to 1895], Szent István könyvek, no. 108 (Budapest, 1933).
3. Pongrác Sörös, “A kath. klérus törekvései az 1843/44. országgyűlés egyházi ügyeinek tárgyalása alatt” [The Efforts of the Catholic Clergy during the Religious Debates of the Diet of 1843–1844] *Katholikus Szemle* (1901): 865–890; Mórítz Csáky, *Der Kulturkampf in Ungarn. Die kirchenpolitische Gesetzgebung der Jahre 1894/95* [The Cultural Struggle in Hungary: The Religious Laws of 1894–1895], Studien zur Geschichte der Österreichisch–Ungarischen Monarchie, Bd. VI (Wien–Köln, 1967).
  4. Gábor Salacz, *A magyar kultúrharc története, 1890–1895* [The History of the Hungarian Cultural Struggle, 1890–1895] (Pécs, 1938), 6.
  5. Jenő Gergely, op. cit. (1977), 6.
  6. See, among others, Gábor Salacz, op. cit. (1938); and Dániel Szabó, A Néppárt megalakulása [The Formation of the People’s Party], *Történelmi Szemle* (1977): no. 2, 169–208.
  7. Jenő Gergely, “Szabad egyház a szabad államban? A politikai katolicizmusról” [A Free Church in a Free State? On Political Catholicism], *Népszabadság*, 14 August 1993, 19.
  8. *Corpus Juris Hungarici. Magyar Törvénytár, 1836–1868. évi törvénycikkek* [Corpus Juris Hungarici. Hungarian Law Code, the Laws of 1839–1868] (Budapest, 1896), 199.
  9. The secondary literature on the questions of ecclesiastical politics during the Reform Era is considerable. Among others, see Mihály Horváth, *Huszonöt év Magyarország történetéből* [Twenty-Five Years from the History of Hungary], vol. 2, (Budapest, 1886), 105–109, 169–287; Antal Meszlényi, *A jozefinizmus kora Magyarországon (1780–1846)* [The Era of Josephism in Hungary, 1780–1846] (Budapest, 1934); Egyed Hermann, *A katolikus egyház története Magyarországon 1914-ig* [A History of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary to 1914], *Dissertationes Hungaricae ex Historia Ecclesiae*, no. 1, 2nd ed. (München, 1974); János Varga, “Megye és haladás a reformkor hajnalán (1840–1843)” [County and Progress at the Dawn of the Reform Era, 1840–1843] *Somogy Megye Múltjából* 11 (1980): 177–243, and 12(1981): 155–294.
  10. Pongrác Sörös, op. cit. (1901), 867.
  11. See e.g. Jenő Gergely, *A pápaság története* [A History of the Papacy] (Budapest, 1982), 282–284; and Béla Menczer, ed., *Catholic Political Thought, 1789–1848* (London, 1962).
  12. The following parts of this paper are basically the first treatment of this theme. My work is based primarily on Latin and Hungarian archival sources, as well as on the press (*Nemzeti Újság, Pesti Hírlap, Budapesti Híradó*). The main archival sources were: Főegyházmegyei Levéltár, Eger [Roman Catholic Archdiocesan Archive,

- Eger, Hungary] Archivum Novum 2730 (Dietalia); Püspöki és Székeskáptalani Levéltár, Székesfehérvár [Episcopal and Cathedral Chapter Archives, Székesfehérvár, Hungary] 109, no. 391 (Dietalia, 1839–1925); Pannonhalmi Főapátsági Könyvtár, Kézirattár [Library of the Archabbey, Pannonhalma, Hungary, Manuscripts] BK. 182/XI., 146/4–9; Magyar Országos Levéltár, Magyar Kancellária Levéltára, A 45 [Hungarian National Archives, Archive of the Hungarian Chancellery] Acta Praesidialia 1844–1847; Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, Levelestár [National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Letter Collection. For a more detailed account of these sources and problems see Csaba Fazekas, “‘Az idő ránk is terhesedett.’ Adalék a politikai katolicizmus reformkori történetéhez” [‘Time has Come to Weigh Heavily on Us.’ A Contribution to the History of Political Catholicism during the Reform Era] in *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* [Yearbook of the Otto Herman Museum], László Veres and Gyula Viga, eds., 35/36 (1997): 255–272; Csaba Fazekas, “Katolikus egyháziak ‘platformja’ a Konzervatív Pártban. Adalékok a pártalakulás kezdeteihez a reformkori Magyarországon [The ‘Platform of the Catholics in the Conservative Party: A Contribution to the Beginnings of Party Formation in Hungary during the Reform Era] in *Az Ellenzéki Nyilatkozat és a kortársak*, András Molnár, ed. (Zalaegerszeg 1998), 73–112; Csaba Fazekas, “Katolikus politikai nyilatkozat 1846-ban” [Catholic Political Declaration in 1846] to be published at Szeged in 1998.
13. See Pongrác Sörös, op. cit. (1901), 885–888; Ferencz Kovács, *Az 1844-ik évi országgyűlési tárgyalások naplói a papi javokról* [The Records of the Debates at the Diet of 1844 on Ecclesiastical Property] (Budapest, 1893); György Bárány, “A liberalizmus perspektívái és korlátai az 1843/44-es országgyűlés vallásügyi vitáinak tükrében” [The Perspectives and Limits of Liberalism as a Reflection of the Debates on Religion at the Diet of 1843–1844], *Századok* (1990): no. 2, 183–218.
  14. Mihály Horváth, op. cit. (1886), vol., 2, 393–403; Ferencz Kovács, *Az 1843/44-ik évi magyar országgyűlés alsó tábla kerületi üléseinek naplója* [The Records of the Lower House of the Hungarian Diet of 1843–1844], vol. 1 (Budapest, 1894), 100–314.
  15. László Révész, *Die Anfänge des ungarischen Parlamentarismus*, Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, no. 68 (München, 1968); Sebestyén Szöcs, *A városi kérdés az 1832–36. évi országgyűlésen* [The Urban Question at the Diets, 1832–1836] (Budapest, 1996); József Podhradzky, *Magyarország karainak ’s rendjeinek szavazati joga a közgyűléseken, különös figyelemmel az egyházi rendére és a királyi városokéra* [The Voting Rights of Hungary’s Estates and Orders, with Particular Attention to those of the Ecclesiastical Estates and the Royal Free Towns] (Buda, 1847); István Mester, *Nézetek a káptalanok, apátok és prépostok országgyűlési szavazatjogáról* [Perspectives on the Voting Rights of the Cathedral Chapters, Abbots, and Provoests] (Pest, 1847).
  16. On these problems see Iván Zoltán Dénes, “The Hungarian Conservatives and how They Saw Themselves,” *Journal of Hungarian Studies* (1983); in considerably greater detail Iván Zoltán Dénes, *Közügyé emelt kiváltságörzés. A magyar konzervatívok szerepe és értékvilága az 1840-es években* [The Defense of Privileges in the Public Sphere: The Role and Values of Hungarian Conservatives in the 1840s]

- (Budapest, 1989); on the sources of the Hungarian Conservative Party see Magyar Országos Levéltár, A Dessewffy-család iratai [Hungarian National Archive, Papers of the Dessewffy Family], P 90, 3/K; as well as A Konzervatív Pártra vonatkozó iratok 1846–1847 [Records of the Conservative Party, 1846–1847], R 144; Erzsébet Andics, ed., *A magyar arisztokrácia ellenforradalmi szerepe 1848–49-ben* [The Counter Revolutionary Role of the Hungarian Aristocracy in 1848–1849] vol. 1 (Budapest, 1981).
17. J[ózsef] A[ndrássy], “A clerus, mint a conservatív párt alkotó eleme” [The Clergy as Founding Members of the Conservative Party], *Nemzeti Újság* 12–13 March 1847.