

**Pázmány Péter Catholic University
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László Nagy

**The „Younger” Andrassy
Fundamental Principles of the Political, Scientific and Cultural
Activity of Count Gyula Andrassy the Younger**

Thesis of Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

**Supervisors:
Dr. Sándor M. Kiss DSc, professor emeritus
Dr. Attila Horváth PhD, habil.**

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I. Research background and problem statement

In 2010, for the 150th anniversary of the birth of Count Gyula Andrassy the Younger (Töketerebes, 30 June 1860 - Budapest, 11 June 1929) a memorial book entitled *Az európai utas – Ifjabb gróf Andrassy Gyula emlékezete* was published by Institute and Museum of Military History (Budapest) and Count Gyula Andrassy the Younger Foundation. The editorship led by Dr. habil. József Ferenc Holló lieutenant general asked me to write two chapters about cultural and diplomatic activity of Andrassy the Younger (*Ifjabb gróf Andrassy Gyula kultúrtörténeti jelentősége, A nemzetközi integráció Andrassy Gyula eszmerendszerében*). The starting point of my research are these chapters, what I extended and modulated during my further researches and writing my dissertation.

Count Gyula Andrassy de Csíkszentmihály and Krasznahorka the Younger is among the forgotten persons of the Hungarian history. The aristocrat politician, who is well-known as the son of Count Gyula Andrassy, the foster-father of the “red countess”, Katinka Andrassy (wife of Mihály Károlyi) and the last Joint Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary (24 October – 2 November 1918), was a significant Hungarian statesman and scientist in the first three decades of 20th century. But the procession, the analysis and the interpretation of his oeuvre is problematical in many respects. His familial background was both advantage and disadvantage for him, under the spell and shade of his father. As an open-minded, all-round person he dealt with diplomacy, internal affairs, party politics, legal history, art collecting, aesthetics. He endeavoured to reach the fullness and the synthesis all through his life, but in his writings his oeuvre is qualitatively unbalanced. His graphomania is a great problem in the most of his works.

II. Methods and structure of the dissertation

The aim of my dissertation is the presentation of the guidelines of the political, scientific and cultural activity of Count Gyula Andrassy the Younger by means of primary sources, which have not been analysed until now. I would like to present Andrassy the Younger as a thinker – I endeavoured to emphasize the most important contexts in every field cultivated by him.

Andrassy the Younger was a typical progressive conservative aristocrat Count Aurél Desseffy. His historical interpretation is problematic, because there are two opposite judgement about Andrassy the Younger in the historiography. The legitimist historians

glorified without reservation in the thirties and under socialism “the black count in sheet breeches” was characterized as an unlikeable person. Both distortions harmed very much to the judgement of Andrásy the Younger.

The oeuvre of Andrásy the Younger was began to appreciate due to legitimist historian and journalists. The National Gyula Andrásy Memorial Committee was established for the politician’s memory (its ambiguous name could apply both to his father and him). The elaboration of a monumental biography was started led by a close friend of Andrásy the Younger, Sándor Pethő journalist-historian (the founder general editor of *Magyar Nemzet*), but this work wasn’t realized. In the life of Andrásy the Younger, in 1924 Sándor Pethő’s book entitled *Andrásy és ellenfelei* was published. This tendentious work deals with the relationships of Andrásy the Younger and his opponents, István Tisza, Mihály Károlyi and István Bethlen. In the first anniversary of death of Andrásy the Younger, in 1930 Pethő delivered a speech entitled *Gróf Andrásy Gyula emlékezete* in the Holy Crown Assotiation of Hungarian Women. This appraisalment was published as a book.

Dr. Attila Thewrewk-Pallaghy, who was a lawyer of Ministry of Defence and an emigrant professor of law in Paris after the Second World War, gave a propagative lecture entitled *Az egyedüljáró* in the session of the National Gyula Andrásy Memorial Committee on 12 April 1932, which was published as a book, too. Thewrewk-Pallaghy in his book entitled *Az ifjabb Andrásy és a különbékekísérlete* (1934) dealt with the diplomatic activity of Andrásy the Younger under the First World War and it contains interesting information.

János Kertész wrote two works with subjective approach, *Ifjabb gróf Andrásy Gyula és a magyar-osztrák monarchia* (1934) and *Lengyelország és az Andrásyok* (1936). But it is his merit that he prepared the complete bibliography of the Andrásy the Younger’s writings in Hungarian and in foreign languages (1933). This is a real valuable help for the historians in the field of the related primary sources. It was the starting point of my researches, too.

In 1930 Dr. János Luttor canonist and law professor, also a representative of the legal historicism wrote a study entitled *Ifj. Andrásy Gyula gróf politikai eszméi* in the review *Külügyi Szemle*. The lack of the complex analysis is a great mistake of this work, which concentrate on Andrásy the Younger’s activity in the filed of foreign policy, in accordance with the thematic review.

The book of Lóránt Hegedűs (Minister of Finance in the first Teleki- and Bethlen-governments) entitled *Két Andrásy és két Tisza* (1937) isn’t a historical work, but it lightens the background of the historical period. The second period is typified as a period of the decadence by the author: both Andrásy the Younger and István Tisza (son of the Hungarian

Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza) are presented in the shadow of their fathers after the glorious past of the first generation.

Outside of Hungary, Marian Zdziechowski, a Polish philosopher, writer and historian, representative of Catholic universalism, dealt with Count Gyula Andrassy the Younger. He dedicated his book entitled *Wegri i dookola wegier* (1933) to the memory of Andrassy the Younger. Its two chapters summarize the diplomatic activity of Andrassy the Younger for the sake of the independence of Poland.

About art collecting of the Andrassy-family and Andrassy the Younger the first comprehensive art historical study was written by György Gombosi in 1927 in the review of Pál Szinyei Merse Society entitled *Magyar Művészet* edited by Pál Majovszky.

After 1945, the historiography emphasized Andrassy the Younger's conflict with Mihály Károlyi, the workers' movement and the nationalities. There isn't any synthetic monograph about Andrassy the Younger under socialism. But memoirs of Mihály Károlyi and his wife, Katinka Andrassy were published: Mihály Károlyi's writing entitled *Andrassy, vagy az arisztokrata* in the historical review *Történelmi Szemle* in 1975 and Katinka Andrassy's books entitled *Együtt a forradalomban* (1973) and *Együtt a száműzetésben* (1977). The books of "red countess" – being available for everyone – formed the public opinion during the Kádár Era.

Well-known documents in Hungary against Andrassy the Younger's plan of the plural voting are Endre Ady's poem entitled *Pannónia grófnő szekere* (1908) and the December 1908 issue of *Huszdik Század (Twentieth Century)* with the study of Jászi Oszkár and critiques of numerous international public figures.

One of the important aims of the socialist cultural policy was the widely familiarization and propagation of documents of workers' movement. The volumes of *A magyar munkásmozgalom történetének válogatott dokumentumai* (Volume III – 1955; Volume IV, First Part – 1966) was published in this spirit. It contains numerous primary sources, for example the articles of *Népszava*. The conflict of Andrassy the Younger and the workers' movement comes to life expressively, from the latter's point of view. About the strained relations (culminating in the Černová massacre) of Andrassy the Younger and the nationalities, *Iratok a nemzetiségi kérdés történetéhez Magyarországon a dualizmus korában* (Volume V – 1971) is an important sourcebook.

After the change of regime, in the historiography written about Andrassy the Younger, the turning point is Miklós Szalai's monograph *Ifjabb Andrassy Gyula élete és pályája* (2003), which is an objective, critical work after many schematic interpretations. Miklós Szalai

unbiasedly presents Andrassy the Younger also in his numerous studies: he gives a synthetic analysis in his study *Ifj. Andrassy Gyula helye a magyar politikai gondolkodás történetében* entitled in *Világosság* in 2001 (Issue 7-9.) and his other studies concentrate on the important details of the oeuvre, like his political career before his activity as Interior Minister (*Ifjabb Andrassy Gyula gróf pályájának első szakasza. (1860-1904)*. In: *Századok*. 1997/3.), about the book *Az 1867-iki kiegyezésről (Andrassy a kiegyezésről*. In: *Valóság*. 1995/10.) and his plan of plural voting (*Választójogi reformkísérlet a századforduló Magyarországon*. In: *Múltunk*. 2000/2.). The highlights of Andrassy the Younger's political diary was published by Miklós Szalai in *Történelmi Szemle* in 2002 (Issue 1-2.). Szalai lightens the background and central questions of this work, which wasn't written for publication.

The oeuvre of Andrassy the Younger is the subject of the representative memorial book entitled *Az európai utas – Ifjabb Gróf Andrassy Gyula emlékezete* edited by Institute and Museum of Military History (Budapest) and Count Gyula Andrassy the Younger Foundation in 2010, for the 150th anniversary of the birth of the politician. Dr. Attila Horváth's study entitled *Andrassy Gyula életműve az alkotmány és jogtörténet tükrében* deals with the works of Andrassy the Younger in the field of legal history and his acts with which he improved the Hungarian constitution.

In my dissertation during the research of the voluminous oeuvre I took three great source groups for my basis with the knowledge of the secondary sources:

a) The works of Count Gyula Andrassy the Younger:

- books

- studies

- articles

- political diary (in the matter of Albania's independence) – archival source (National Archives of Hungary)

- speeches (parliamentary speeches)

b) Laws and decrees

c) Contemporary press

The thematic of the chapters has been taken shape according to the professional field cultivated by Andrassy the Younger:

a) foreign policy

b) home affairs

c) scientific activity in the field of the constitutional law and legal history

d) art collecting and cultural activity

The last greater thematic chapter deals with his Christian-legitimist activity under the Horthy era, emphasizing his relationship with József Mindszenty, who was a young parish priest in Zalaegerszeg at that time.

The final form of my dissertation has taken shape after analysis and selection of countless primary and secondary sources: I endeavoured to draw such a panorama from perspective view, which tries to find the common ground of a many-sided personality, who sought the fullness, but who was also tend to be unbalanced because of his wide field of interest. For me it's important to exact reproduce the arguments of Andrassy the Younger and his opponents. The quotations serve this purpose in my dissertation, too. I use the quotations according to the archaic orthography, which seems incorrect nowadays, but it can picture the atmosphere of this historical period and the style of the writings and the speeches of Andrassy the Younger.

III. Main conclusions of the dissertation

I. In his youth Count Gyula Andrassy the Younger planned to be a diplomat, but after his promising start he pored over the Hungarian internal politics. He concentrated on the foreign policy again during the Balkan Wars: he played an important role in the formation of the independent Albania, then – before and during the First World War, in spirit of the European balance of power – he sought the possibilities of mutual approach with England and France. Although the Polish question was solved in different way, he took important measures the restoration of the independence of Poland, too. His most progressive idea is his conception against the *Mittleuropa*-vision of Friedrich Naumann, in connection of the European integration of Hungary and the union of Central Europe. He couldn't put his program into effect as the last Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary in the last two weeks of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (24 October – 2 November 1918).

II. The most contradictory period of the political career of Andrassy the Younger is his activity as Hungarian Interior Minister (1906-1910). Although he improved the Hungarian constitution with constitutional guaranties (Acts LVIII-LXI of 1907) and he modernized the state after Western models, – like other politicians of the Monarchy's leadership – he couldn't solve the questions proposed by the nationalities and the leftist workers' movements. The gendarmerie was under his direction, so he was impeached for the Černová massacre on 27 October 1907, in which 15 people were killed. During his ministerial period there were

numerous repressions of scharecroppers strikes and labour movement's actions, disestablishments of trade-union groups and press suits against the nationalities and the workers' movement. His widely criticized bill of plural voting aggravated the internal problems very much.

III. Andrassy the Younger also experimented with party organization: in spite of that he wasn't an organizer personality, many politicians joined in his parties. Under the Dual Monarchy he was the president of the National Constitution Party (1905-10, 1913-18), which played a significant part in the coalition government (1906-10), but it wasn't able to solve the problems. As an atheist under the Horthy era he was a prominent member of the Christian-legitimist group (this contradiction has attracted wide attention) as candidate Foreign Minister under the second attempt of ex-emperor Charles IV to reclaim throne of Hungary and he was the president of the Christian National Union Party and Christian National Agricultural Workers' and Civic Party. In Zala Country and in Zalaegerszeg the local president of these Christian parties was József Mindszenty, who was a young parish priest in Zalaegerszeg at that time. It's a tendency that after a while unfortunately the parties of Andrassy the Younger became insignificant and peripheral. Perhaps the reasons of this fact are the following: Andrassy the Younger wasn't an authoritarian personality in contrast with his political opponent, István Tisza and his progressive conservative policy couldn't mobilize the great mass of the people. Politicians and public figures, like István Bethlen, Count Móric Eszterházy and József Mindszenty, who started their careers in his parties, sooner or later found their own way.

IV. As a scientist Andrassy the Younger dealt with Hungarian constitutional law and Hungarian constitution's history. His most important scientific work, written in the spirit of legal historicism, is a tree-volume monograph entitled *The Development of Hungarian Constitutional Liberty* (1901, 1905, 1911), which is a monumental synthesis of history of the Hungarian constitution. Except this masterwork, the most of his other scientific works are the victims of his graphomania or/and the current political messages, like in his book entitled *Az 1867-iki kiegyezésről* (1896), which he endeavour to justify the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 without reservation. In the field of historiography his constructive critique of the book of a young Hungarian historian, Gyula Szekfű entitled *A száműzött Rákóczi* with the same title (1914) is an important work, in which Andrassy the Younger appreciates the book on the whole as a work of the "labanc" (the loyalist supporters of the

Habsburg Empire during and after the uprising led by Francis II Rákóczi between 1703 and 1711) historiography.

V. The field, with which Andrásy the Younger dealt principally in his free time, was the art collecting. In Hungary he had one of the most important aristocratic private collections in his palace in Budapest (Fő street 11.) and in his castles in Töketerebes, then in Tiszadob – all was the heritage of his father. He improved his family collection and he was the first collector of French impressionist painters in Hungary. His favourite Hungarian contemporary painters were Pál Szinyei Merse (also known Paul von Szinyei-Merse) and József Rippl-Rónai. He wrote essays about the fine arts. In the foreword of the Almanac of National Salon in 1912 he drew up the theory of “cultural supremacy” without any chauvinism, before the cultural ministerial activity of Kunó Klebelsberg. As representative functions he was the president of the traditional academic National Society of Hungarian Fine Arts long after its golden age and the National Salon, in the latter with Lajos Ernszt, but after the expulsion of Ernst, Andrásy the Younger didn't prevent that the organization became insignificant. Like in the party politics, the limits of his organizing ability are obvious in this field, too.

During the research of his oeuvre, it has become more and more evident that Count Gyula Andrásy the Younger is a typical representative of progressive conservative type of the Hungarian aristocrats like Count Aurél Dessewffy. The conservative progression determines both of his perspectives, his latitude and his limits.

IV. Publications

Studies:

- *Ifjabb gróf Andrássy Gyula kultúrtörténeti jelentősége; A nemzetközi integráció Andrássy Gyula eszmerendszerében.* In: Az európai utas. Ifjabb Gróf Andrássy Gyula emlékezete. Bp., 2010, HM Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum – Ifjabb Gróf Andrássy Gyula Alapítvány. p. 108-131., 133-150.

- *Tisza István és ifj. Andrássy Gyula politikai küzdelme.* In: Tisza István és emlékezete. Tanulmányok Tisza István születésének 150. évfordulójára. Szerkesztette: Maruzsa Zoltán, Pallai László. Debrecen, 2011, Debreceni Egyetem Történelmi Intézete. p. 79-96.

Conference:

- „*Gr. Tisza István és ifj. gr. Andrássy Gyula politikai küzdelme*” – Lecture in István Tisza Memorial Conference in the Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Faculty of Humanities, Gólyavár on 5 May 2011.