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Author(s): Scott M. Eddie

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The Changing Pattern of Landownership in Hungary, 1867–1914[1]

By SCOTT M. EDDIE

I

The Compromise of 1867 established the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, united by the person of Franz Josef, who was both Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. The signing of the Compromise returned constitutional government to Hungary, giving her autonomy in her own internal affairs, a privilege the Hungarian nation had not enjoyed for more than three centuries. The *Tripartitum* had followed the defeat by the Turks at Mohács in 1526. The western areas of Hungary became a part of the Habsburg dominions; the central regions were occupied by the Turks; and the East (Transylvania) was governed by a local prince who recognized the suzerainty of the sultan. Turkish rule lasted for a century and a half. After expelling the Turks, the Habsburgs crushed local resistance and brought all of Hungary under their control. In 1849 Hungary was reduced to colonial status following the defeat of the Hungarian revolutionary forces by Austrian and Russian armies in the War of Independence of 1848/9. Thus began the "Absolutist" period (1849–67), during which Hungary was ruled from Vienna by decree.

The absolutist era was one of repression by the Austrians and passive resistance by the Hungarians. When defeat at the hands of Prussia and trouble with the Italian provinces forced Franz Josef to seek an accommodation with the Hungarians to preserve his empire, the Compromise which he signed released the Hungarians' long-pent-up desire for greater independence. Much of this desire found expression in a drive for economic development, which was seen as the key to genuine political independence. It is from 1867 that we can date the real beginning of industrial development in Hungary.[2]

The Hungarian government was the guiding force in industrialization during the era of the Dual Monarchy. Its policy concentrated on providing infrastructure and encouraging the establishment of a manufacturing industry.[3] With

[1] The author is particularly indebted to E. D. Domar and C. P. Kindleberger for helpful criticism of an earlier draft of this paper.

[2] See, for example, Anton Deutsch, *25 Jahre ungarischer Finanz- und Volkswirtschaft (1867–1892)* (Berlin, 1892); Alexander Eckstein, 'National Income and Capital Formation in Hungary, 1900–50', in International Association for Research in Income and Wealth, *Income and Wealth: Series V*, ed. Simon Kuznets (1955); or Wilhelm Offergeld, *Grundlagen und Ursachen der industriellen Entwicklung Ungarns* ('Probleme der Weltwirtschaft: Schriften des Instituts für Seeverkehr und Weltwirtschaft an der Universität Kiel', Jena, 1914). In all footnotes to this paper, the author has endeavoured in so far as is practical to give citations to works in English, French, and German. Although this has meant in some cases finding and citing a work in one of these three languages for a fact originally derived from a Hungarian-language source, it is hoped that the much wider accessibility of the western European languages to readers of this *Review* will contribute significantly to the clarity of footnotes and to the ease of checking any points made in the text.

[3] One student has suggested that the State was forced to take the initiative because of the general disinclination of the high nobility, who alone had large amounts of capital in 1867, to engage in industry—especially in competition with firms already well established in Austria. Anton Gavajda, 'Die Entwicklung der ungarischen Industrie von 1867 bis 1938' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Hochschule für Welthandel, Vienna, 1942), p. 6.

the impetus of State guarantees of income, railroad trackage grew eightfold by 1913—to 22,000 kilometres against the 2,700 kilometres extant in 1868. Manufacturing industry received help through a system of tax exemptions, preferential shipping-rates, government purchases, and direct subsidies.[1] It was during the period of the Dual Monarchy that the Hungarian milling industry became world-famous, and a considerable expansion of other lines was also effected—among them many branches of food-processing, machine-building, and the electrical and chemical industries.[2]

Despite the emphasis on industrialization, Hungary remained an essentially agrarian land, even at the end of the period. Of the total population in 1910, about 63 per cent were still dependent on agriculture for a livelihood,[3] and half of total exports by value were raw farm products.[4] Eckstein's calculations for the area of present-day Hungary—about one-third the former Kingdom, and definitely the most industrialized part—estimate that 49·8 per cent of net national product in current prices originated in agriculture in the 1911–13 period, and that mining, manufacturing, small-scale industry, and construction together accounted for just over 23 per cent (manufacturing alone = 13·8 per cent).[5]

With the heavy weight of agriculture in the total economy, and with the dominance of the aristocracy and gentry at all levels of government, it is clear that the institutional structure of the rural economy could have had a considerable influence on the pace and character of economic growth in Hungary. The particular institutional characteristic which has received the most attention in the literature is the structure of landownership. The dominance of large properties in the distribution of landholding is usually given as the cause of stifling of incentives for economic progress (both in agriculture and in industry), of the existence of "land hunger" and of the heavy emigration from Hungary in the pre-war period, and of a host of minor problems.[6] Typically the statistics of land distribution in some base year are given; the radical skewness of this distribution is self-evident, and

[1] The weapon of the protective tariff was not directly available because of the Austro-Hungarian customs union. More advanced Austrian firms, whose products entered Hungary duty-free, often exposed the nascent Hungarian industry to "devastating competition". György Ránki, 'Problems of the Development of Hungarian Industry, 1900–44', *Journal of Economic History*, XXIV (1964), 204.

[2] A quite detailed account of the progress of industry in this period is provided in Gustav Gratz, *A Dualizmus Kóra* (The Era of Dualism) (2 vols, Budapest, 1934), esp. vol. I, ch. 14 and vol. II, ch. 32. For a good English-language survey of Hungarian history, see C. A. Macartney, *Hungary: A Short History* (Chicago, 1962).

[3] *Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen*, N.S. (Neue Serie), XLVII (Budapest, 1913), 28*. The figure refers to "Hungary proper", i.e. without Croatia-Slavonia. All subsequent data, except those for foreign trade, will also refer to "Hungary proper".

[4] The following categories from official statistics accounted for 54·6 per cent of total exports in 1882–4 and 46·9 per cent in 1911–13: grain, malt, legumes, rice; fruit, vegetables, and plants; draft and slaughter animals; milk and cream, eggs, honey, raw hides, feathers, entrails and bladders; raw tobacco; live and dressed poultry; hemp, flax, and raw wool. Calculated from data in *Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen*, N.S. LXIII (Budapest, 1923), 49, 53–76, 94, 106–7, 109, 195–6, 206.

[5] Eckstein, op. cit. p. 165.

[6] See, for example, P. Sándor, 'Die Agrarkrise am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts und der Grossgrundbesitz in Ungarn', in *Studien zur Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, ed. V. Sándor and P. Hanák ('Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae', no. 51, Budapest, 1961), pp. 167–93; Geoffrey Drage, *Austria-Hungary* (1909), esp. pp. 300–42; Oscar Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Chicago, 1929), esp. pp. 220–39; or János Iván, *Foldbirtokreform és Tarsadalmunk* (Land reform and our society) (Budapest, 1935), esp. p. 3.

therefore the reader is provided with no more details and usually left to assume that the situation remained static and stagnant.[1] A number of questions thus remain unanswered: Did the landownership pattern show any significant changes between 1867 and 1914? Were there any marked differences in landownership structure regionally within Hungary? And how did the situation in Hungary compare with that in other European countries at the time?[2] The three following sections will take up these questions in turn.

II

Of the changes made during the 1848/9 Hungarian insurrection, the only major one which Franz Josef allowed to stand was the freeing of the serfs. This revolutionary alteration of the pattern of rural institutions set in motion a number of changes, among which the most important for the questions of this paper was that "die Gentry begann in wachsendem Masse den Boden unter den Füssen zu verlieren; es begann ihre Abwanderung in die staatlichen Stellungen."[3] The peasants themselves did not have to pay the landlords any compensation for the loss of their services; this obligation was assumed by the State. Macartney attributes the financial difficulties of the gentry, which forced many to sell their land to meet debt obligations, to the niggardliness of the compensation and the long delays in its payment, coupled with a general and severe shortage of credit.[4]

The survey of landownership undertaken by the Hungarian Finance Ministry in 1867 should, therefore, already reflect the first stage of the process of decline of the gentry class as landowners.[5] The results of the cadastral surveys of 1867, 1885, and 1914 are presented in Tables 1 and 2.[6] The 1867 data include some 1·4 million hectares, or 5 per cent less land, than the other two. Despite the disparity (which cannot be resolved because the 1867 data were published only in summary form), we can still make some useful comparisons by taking into account that (1) each figure can be regarded as a minimum for its category, and (2) the

[1] Although he does note a "systematic increase" in the share of large estates in total land during the inter-war period, Nicolas Spulber repeats the common view that "... of all the East European countries only Hungary had not witnessed any truly significant changes in its land-ownership structure in more than a century." Nicolas Spulber, *The Economics of Communist Eastern Europe* (New York, 1957), p. 234. Cf. Doreen Warriner, *The Economics of Peasant Farming* (2nd ed. New York, 1964), pp. 22–3.

[2] A number of other questions could also arise, the most important of which is the question whether or not the land-distribution pattern was in fact a major deterrent to economic progress. This question is too broad to be handled within the scope of a single article, but will be taken up explicitly and in detail in a forthcoming book on the role of agriculture in Hungarian economic development.

[3] Julius Miskolczy, *Ungarn in der Habsburger-Monarchie* ('Wiener Historische Studien', vol. v, Vienna, 1959), p. 130. The problems of the gentry in adjusting to city life and work in the bureaucracy are a major theme in much of the Hungarian literature of this and later periods. A useful survey can be found in Antal Sivirsky, *Die ungarische Literatur der Gegenwart* (Bern, 1962).

[4] Macartney, op. cit. pp. 164–5.

[5] Macartney states that 20,000 foreclosures were made in less than two decades following the freeing of the serfs. Ibid. p. 16.

[6] An estimation of the landownership distribution was made in the early 1850's in connexion with the provisional land tax decreed by Franz Josef. Because of widespread under-reporting and false reporting of land to avoid tax liability, this early survey does not present an accurate breakdown of the landholding pattern. József Orlicsek, 'A kataszteri felmérések föbb területmegoszlási adatai az 1853–1935. évek között' (Principal land distribution data of the cadastral surveys between 1853 and 1935), *Történelmi Statisztikai Közlemények* (Historical Statistical Reports), II (1958), 51. Heinrich Ditz, *Die ungarische Landwirtschaft* (Leipzig, 1867), p. 89.

bias imparted by the omissions in 1867 is probably towards the relative underemphasis of the importance of smaller properties in the distribution of that year. This latter consideration rests on the assumptions that the likelihood of missing a property in the enumeration varied inversely with the size of the property, and that the greater probability of missing small holdings was enough to outweigh the acreage differences between them and any large estates which might have escaped inclusion.

Table 1. *Changes in Landownership, 1867–1914*

	1867		*1885*		*1914*	
*Size of unit (holds)**	*Properties (1,000's)*	*Area (1,000 ha.)*	*Properties (1,000's)*	*Area (1,000 ha.)*	*Properties (1,000's)*	*Area (1,000 ha.)*
0–5	1,444	3,801	n.a.	9,368†	n.a.	13,852
5–30	904	4,847	n.a.		n.a.	
30–200	119	3,879	n.a.	4,262‡	n.a.	
200–1,000	13	3,833	n.a.	3,529	13	3,193
1,000–10,000	5	8,195	n.a.	8,511	4	5,728
Over 10,000	0·2	2,262	n.a.	2,539	0·3	5,464
Totals§	2,486	26,817	n.a.	28,209	n.a.	28,237

* One *hold* = 1·43 acres = 0·575 hectares. † 0–35 *holds.* ‡ 35–200 *holds*
§ Details may not add to totals due to rounding.

Sources: 1867: Károly Keleti, *Hazánk és Népe* [Our Land and its People] (2nd ed. Budapest, 1873), pp. 148, 150. 1885: Alfred Hirsch, *Ungarns Grundbesitzverhältnisse* (Halle a/S. [Germany], 1893), pp. 4–5. 1914: *Annuaire Statistique Hongroise, 1914* (Budapest, 1916), p. 71. The total, and thus the residual figure for the 0–200-*hold* class, comes from p. 76.

Table 2. *Percentage Distribution of the Area of Landed Properties*

		Percentage	
Size (holds)	*1867*	*1885**	*1914*
0–30	32·2	33·2	49·1
30–200	14·4	15·1	
200–1,000	14·3	12·5	11·3
1,000–10,000	30·6	30·2	20·3
Over 10,000	8·5	9·0	19·4
Totals†	100·0	100·0	100·0

* The first two size categories for 1885 are 0–35 and 35–200 *holds* respectively.
† Details may not add to totals due to rounding.
Sources: See notes to Table 1.

With these considerations in mind, we may observe the following:

(1) Properties larger than 200 *holds* (286 acres or 115 hectares) account for just over half of the total landed property in Hungary, and this share appears to have remained nearly constant. The sub-totals for the over-200-*hold* categories are 14·29, 14·58, and 14·38 million hectares in the respective surveys. The difference between the 1885 and 1914 totals is thus less than 1·5 per cent.

(2) There were marked shifts in the relative importance of the sub-categories included in the above group. Holdings of between 200 and 1,000 *holds* (286–1,430 acres) show a steady decline in both numbers and area, while the latifundia—defined in Hungarian statistics as estates over 10,000 *holds* (14,300 acres) in extent—made a massive gain in acreage at the expense particularly of the next smaller size category (1,000 to 10,000 *holds*). The additions to the former group

of 2·9 million hectares represent an increase of 115 per cent over 1885, while the 2·8 million hectare decrease in the latter category is a loss of one-third.

(3) Besides the decline in the 200–1,000-*hold* class, the surveys show that the number of properties in the 100–200-*hold* category also diminished—from an 1867 total of 11,365 to 10,846 in 1914.[1] From this and the preceding results it seems clear that the erosion of the gentry as a landholding class continued while the great estates of the aristocracy and the wealthy capitalists assumed ever greater weight in the land distribution.

The Dual Monarchy had been ushered in by a short period of good harvests and high grain prices,[2] but this soon gave way to the generally poor harvests of the 'seventies[3] and the long decline in grain prices—especially in that of wheat, the most important crop in Hungary—which set in at about the same time. When the price of the compensation bonds, which had been used by many landlords as collateral for loans of working capital to hire labour, fell as a result of the war with Prussia in 1866 and the economic crisis of 1873, many landholders who had weathered earlier storms were forced to sell off properties to meet their debt payments.[4] The middle-sized properties (defined in Hungarian statistics as those between 200 and 1,000 *holds* in size) seem to have borne the brunt of the losses inflicted in this period. According to the tables, the process of the great aggrandizement of the largest estates, however, did not begin in earnest until sometime after the mid-'eighties, and then appears to have come almost entirely at the expense of the 1,000–10,000-*hold* class. The latter group seems to have had the resources to hold its own through the crash of 1873, but could not survive the continued decline in grain prices during the 'eighties and 'nineties. Taken together with the small observed increase in the area of properties under 200 *holds*, the foregoing observations provide corroboration for Fellner's 1905 observation that "...der Mittelgrundbesitz [wurde] von zwei Seiten gerieben: teils zu Kleingrundbesitz zerbröckelt, teils in den Grossgrundbesitz aufgesaugt..."[5]

The seeming paradox of the small farms surviving the economic crises while larger units succumb can be rather easily explained. The larger estates, when such did come on the market, "were practically never sold in small units to peasants".[6] This practice, when combined with the restrictions of entail (see below) on much of the estate land, meant that the effective market supply of land facing the high demand of the peasants—the legendary "land hunger"—was severely limited. If a small farmer failed, there was always a host of eager buyers waiting to purchase his plot of ground. The appearance of stability in the data on numbers

[1] See notes to Table 1.

[2] Keleti, *Hazánk és Népe* (Our Land and its People) (2nd ed. Budapest, 1873), p. 94.

[3] "In den siebziger Jahren konnte kaum eine nennenswerte Ernte erzielt werden." Cautes (no first name given), *Die Lage der ungarischen Landwirtschaft* (Budapest, 1895), p. 2.

[4] Drage, op. cit. p. 307.

[5] Friedrich von Fellner, *Das System der Rentengüter und seine Anwendung in Ungarn* (Berlin, 1905), p. 121. As succeeding paragraphs will show, the absorption into larger estates was overwhelmingly the more important of these two forces.

[6] John Kosa, 'A Century of Hungarian Emigration, 1850–1950', *Slavic Review*, XVI (1957), 503. There were, however, a number of middlemen who made considerable profits by purchasing debt-ridden properties cheaply for subdivision and sale in small parcels at high prices. Eventually the Minister of Agriculture stepped in to halt this form of "exploitation". Andrew György, 'The State and Agriculture', in *Hungary of Today*, ed. Percy Alden (1909), p. 262.

and area of the smaller holdings could conceal vast turmoil in the form of high rates of turnover in ownership.[1]

Beyond the mere distribution of properties by size, it is of considerable interest to examine the character of landholding. Although ownership in fee simple predominated, the 1885 survey, for example, revealed that over one-third of the total land area consisted of properties held in mortmain.[2] Chief among such holdings were the entailed estates of the nobility and the considerable holdings of the State, the towns,[3] and the churches. Table 3 presents a breakdown of these mortmain holdings from the land surveys we have previously considered. It must be stressed that this table can be used for illustration only, since neither the aggregate totals nor the individual items are strictly comparable because of differences in coverage among the three surveys.

Table 3. *Mortmain Properties Covered by the Various Surveys**

(*thousands of hectares*)

Property owned by:	*1867*	*1885*	*1914*†
The State	1,567	1,603	1,625
Towns and communities	3,640	4,992	2,375
Other joint-ownership associations			2,075
Fideikommisse‡	267	1,352	1,305
Churches, monasteries, etc.	742	1,307	1,052
Schools and foundations	222	220	267
Total§	6,437	9,474	8,701

* Excluding property owned by railroads and corporations (274,000 ha. in 1885 survey and 323,000 in 1914).

† This includes only properties larger than 100 *holds*.

‡ I.e. entailed lands. § Details may not add to totals due to rounding.

Sources: Cautes, op. cit. p. 8. 1885: Hirsch, op. cit. p. 9. 1914: *Annuaire Statistique Hongroise, 1914*, p. 72.

Mortmain holdings were about one-quarter of all land covered in the 1867 survey, and about one-third of all land in 1885. Those mortmain properties greater than 100 *holds* in extent accounted for more than 30 per cent of the total area of landed property (i.e. including all holdings under 100 *holds* as well) in 1914. Therefore it does not appear that this form of ownership lost any ground in the three decades preceding the First World War. The concentration of these holdings in the larger-size groups is shown in Table 4, which reveals that nearly three-fifths of the land in properties larger than 100 *holds* was held in mortmain, with the proportion so held generally increasing as the size of holding increases.[4]

[1] One account by a contemporary socialist writer estimates that some 300,000–400,000 transfers of ownership took place annually, only a small fraction of which were inheritances. Jaša Tomić, *Das Bauernproletariat Ungarns* (Neusatz, 1897), p. 7.

[2] Hirsch, op. cit. p. 9.

[3] The large tracts owned by the towns were a peculiar characteristic of the land distribution in Hungary, and were often cited as obstacles to agricultural progress. The town lands usually surrounded the inhabited part of the town, so that the farmers lost much time in traversing this area before they could get out to their own fields. Often, too, the town lands were not cultivated, and by taking up the land most advantageous because in closest proximity to the population centres, hindered the development of such activities as truck farming and market gardening. See, for example, Iván, op. cit. p. 89.

[4] The difference in total area figures for 1914 between Tables 3 and 4 represents the land owned by corporations, which cannot be separated out according to size. The amount in question—323,000 hectares—makes up less than 4 per cent of the area of mortmain holdings covered, and therefore cannot significantly affect the results so far presented.

Table 4. *Mortmain Properties in 1914 by Size of Holding*

Size in holds	*Area (1,000 ha.)*	*Percentage of total acreage in given size class*
100–200	318	36·1
200–500	766	46·1
500–1,000	694	45·4
1,000–10,000	2,835	49·5
Over 10,000	4,411	80·7
Total*	9,024	59·1

* Details may not add to total due to rounding.

Source: Calculated from figures presented in *Annuaire Statistique Hongroise, 1914*, pp. 72, 76.

The actual control of landed property was considerably more concentrated than the statistics would, on the surface, indicate. The principal reasons for this lie with the organization of county government and the ownership of several properties by one person or family. One half of each county central committee, which appointed most officials, was made up of the persons who paid the highest taxes (almost exclusively estate owners); the other half was elected by a limited franchise and open ballot. Dominance by a very few families was typical,[1] and because towns bulked so large as landholders, this political control served to concentrate control of land still further in the hands of the nobility. In addition, the 1914 statistics (for example) inform us that the 147 entailed properties listed should really be counted as only 92, because many owners had estates in several counties, each of which was counted as a separate property.[2] Or, from a list of all estates of over 1,000 *holds* in the single county of Somogy (in western Hungary), we can count 109 owners with 628,000 *holds* (about 900,000 acres). Just nine families, however, possessed 387,000 of those *holds* in 45 different properties.[3]

From the foregoing analysis we see a strongly polarized system of land distribution, which showed a concentration of ownership both in the static sense—a tiny fraction of all properties accounting for over half the acreage—and in the dynamic sense—the average size of large holdings was growing.

III

The census of agriculture taken in 1895[4] offers an opportunity to examine landholding for inter-regional uniformity or diversity of pattern. The land distribution data from this census are not comparable with the other surveys which are summarized in Tables 1 and 2 for two main reasons: (1) The coverage was different for 1895; only those properties which contained some arable land were counted, so that holdings of strictly forest and/or pasture land, which fell overwhelmingly into the larger-size categories, were excluded from the data, and (2) the land unit for the census was the *Betrieb*, or operating unit, rather than the ownership parcel. Further, the enumeration took place county by county, so that a property which overlapped into two counties was counted as two farms, unless operated with a common inventory.[5] All of these considerations tend to bias the results downward,

[1] Jászi, op. cit. p. 229. [2] *Annuaire Statistique Hongroise, 1914*, p. 72n. [3] Hirsch, op. cit. pp. 70–3.

[4] The results of this census were published in four volumes: *Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen*, N.F. (Neue Folge), xv, xvii, xxiv, and xxvii (Budapest, 1897–1900).

[5] Gustav Bokor, *Geschichte und Organisation der amtlichen Statistik in Ungarn* (Budapest, 1896), pp. 205–6.

i.e. to under-emphasize the share of larger properties in total landownership for the country. On the other hand, the definitions adopted do carry with them the advantage of concentrating our scrutiny on those holdings which are more strictly agricultural in the ordinary sense of the word.

Tables 5 and 6 present a summary of the regional landholding data from the 1895 census. The regions are the seven "states" into which Hungary proper was divided for official administrative and statistical purposes; the names as they appear in the tables are translations of the Hungarian names for these areas, which describe quite well the geographical location of each (except for Transylvania in the east).

Table 5. *Regional Land Distribution, 1895*

Percentage of Total Number of Agricultural Properties in each Region by Size Categories

Size of property (holds)	*Right bank of Danube*	*Left bank of Danube*	*Between Danube and Tisza*	*Right bank of Tisza*	*Left bank of Tisza*	*Tisza-Maros corner*	*Transylvania*
0–5	57·8	54·2	59·2	51·1	55·0	51·7	46·8
5–10	17·7	19·8	13·6	22·8	18·4	20·9	21·8
10–20	15·5	16·3	12·8	16·8	14·8	16·7	19·3
20–50	7·4	7·5	10·2	7·0	8·7	8·5	10·0
50–100	0·9	1·2	2·7	1·1	1·8	1·5	1·4
100–200	0·3	0·3	0·8	0·4	0·6	0·3	0·4
200–500	0·2	0·3	0·4	0·3	0·4	0·2	0·2
500–1,000	0·1	0·1	0·2	0·2	0·2	0·1	0·1
Over 1,000	0·2	0·2	0·2	0·2	0·2	0·1	0·1
Total*	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

* Details may not add to totals due to rounding.

Source: Calculated from figures in *Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen*, N.F. vol. XXIV, *passim*.

Table 6. *Regional Land Distribution, 1895*

Percentage of Total Agricultural Land in each Region by Size Categories

Size of property (holds)	*Right bank of Danube*	*Left bank of Danube*	*Between Danube and Tisza*	*Right bank of Tisza*	*Left bank of Tisza*	*Tisza-Maros corner*	*Transylvania*
0–5	6·1	6·4	5·1	5·2	5·1	6·3	6·7
5–10	8·1	9·4	6·0	9·3	7·4	11·5	11·9
10–20	13·8	15·1	11·0	12·9	11·5	17·6	20·5
20–50	13·3	14·2	19·0	11·4	14·4	19·3	21·9
50–100	3·9	5·2	11·3	4·4	6·5	7·8	6·8
100–200	2·2	3·1	7·0	2·9	4·2	3·4	3·7
200–500	3·5	6·0	7·5	6·0	6·3	4·0	5·4
500–1,000	5·4	6·7	6·8	8·1	6·9	4·5	4·7
Over 1,000	43·6	33·8	26·2	39·8	37·7	25·7	18·3
Total*	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

* Details may not add to totals due to rounding.

Source: Calculated from figures in *Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen*, N.F. vol. XXIV, *passim*.

The size categories are finely enough divided to show a considerable diversity from region to region within some size groups, but the general countrywide similarity in the pattern of landholding is perhaps even more striking. In only one

case does the number of properties under 20 *holds* (28 acres) stray more than 2 percentage points away from accounting for 90 per cent of the total number of properties (the figure is 85·6 per cent for the area between the Danube and Tisza rivers), although the share of this class of farms in total land surveyed varies from 22 to 39 per cent. This range is overstated, since the three regions which show the highest percentages (left bank of the Danube, Tisza-Maros corner, and Transylvania) are areas on the perimeter of the country containing large areas of forest, where the criterion of inclusion in the census would seem to lead to the greatest degree of overstatement of the relative share of small properties. Even if we follow Hungarian practice in stretching the ordinary definition of "middle-sized" considerably on the upper end, we find the group rather thinly populated everywhere: e.g. all farms between 50 and 1,000 *holds* (71–1,430 acres) taken together occupy more than one-quarter of the agricultural land in only one region—the area of central Hungary between the Danube and Tisza rivers, where the figure reaches 33 per cent. For the other regions, the range is 15 to 24 per cent. The list of such comparisons that could be made is almost endless. Suffice it to note here that the theme of a markedly polarized distribution of landed property, established for the country as a unity, runs through the regional data as well, with only minor variations. The comparisons of the aggregate data from the 1895 census of agriculture to the results of the other surveys will be part of the concern of section V.

IV

The distribution of landownership in a single country is at best a two-dimensional representation, and the picture does not begin to emerge in any rounded form until one introduces the third dimension through consideration of questions such as "How did the pattern of landholding in Hungary compare with that in other European countries? Was it really the archetype of a latifundia-dominated system?" Table 7 presents some data for selected European countries, particularly Hungary's more immediate neighbours, but we can perhaps more easily perceive the similarities and differences among these countries by looking at Chart 1.

The Lorenz curve is used to reveal in graphic form relative differences in the degree of inequality of landholding. Though size categories[1] and types of land included or excluded[2] differ among the surveys on which the chart is based, the differences are not so great as to obscure all meaningful comparison between countries. We can determine probable direction of shift of the Lorenz curve of a given country, had its data included the same types of property as the data for the other countries, and thus establish maxima or minima in terms of variations between any two curves chosen for comparison. With more than one-fifth of Hun-

[1] Only Hungary and England differed in this respect from the others. See notes * and || to Table 7.

[2] This was most marked in the case of Rumania. Omitted were forest (21 per cent of total area), vineyard (0·75 per cent), waters (6 per cent), and State domains (3·5 per cent), or just over 31 per cent of the landed property in the country. George D. Creanga, *Grundbesitzverteilung und Bauernfrage in Rumänien* ("Staats- und sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen" (Schmollers Forschungen), no. 129, Leipzig, 1907), p. 31. We can assume, however, that all of these save vineyards would tend by their very nature to fit into the larger-size categories, and thus their inclusion would only further emphasize the importance of large properties in Rumania. That the same sort of consideration also holds true for Hungary has already been noted (see text above, pt III). For the remaining countries all forest and meadowland was included in the data.

garian landed property and nearly one-third of that of Rumania omitted from the calculations, the nature of the properties escaping enumeration[1] assures that the shift would be considerable. I feel it reasonable to assume that the curve for Hungary would be everywhere to the right of that for Germany, and that that for Rumania would move very close to the English curve at the lower end, while standing even farther to the right of it at the upper end.

Table 7. *Distribution of Landed Property in Selected European Countries, around 1900*

Size of property (hectares)‡	*Hungary, 1895** *Properties*		*Austria, 1903*† *Properties*		*Rumania, 1904 Properties*	
	Number %	*Area* %	*Number* %	*Area* %	*Number* %	*Area* %
0–5	72·8	14·8	79·2	10·3	77·2	25·7
5–20	24·7	30·9	15·1	23·2	21·9	23·4
20–50	1·5	6·5	4·7	18·8		
50–100	0·4	3·8	0·6	5·3	0·3	2·1
100–500	0·4	11·6	0·3	8·3	0·4	10·4
Over 500	0·15	32·3	0·1	34·1	0·2	38·3
Totals§	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

Size of property (hectares)	*Germany, 1895 Properties*		*England, 1895*‖ *Properties*		*Bulgaria, 1908*¶ *Properties*	
	Number %	*Area* %	*Number* %	*Area* %	*Number* %	*Area* %
0–5	76·5	15·1	51·5	6·2	61·6	22·3
5–20	18·0	29·0	16·5	8·8	34·8	54·4
20–50	4·3	21·9	12·8	15·0	3·2	14·5
50–100	0·7	8·5	15·6	42·6	0·3	3·3
100–500	0·4	15·2	3·5	24·9	0·1	3·2
Over 500	0·1	10·3	0·1	2·5	——**	2·1
Totals§	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

* Calculated from data appearing in *Annuaire Statistique Hongroise, 1911* (Budapest, 1912), p. 80. Since the size categories for Hungary are in *holds* (1 *hold*=1·43 acres), the categories listed in the table are only approximate. The actual size limits in hectares would be as follows: 0–5·8; 5·8–28·8; 28·8–57·6; 57·6–115·1; 115·1–575·5; and "over 575·5" hectares.

† Nine provinces: Upper Austria, Lower Austria, Salzburg, Steyr, Tirol, Vorarlberg, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia.

‡ One hectare equals 2·47 acres. § Details may not add to totals due to rounding.

‖ The English size categories, being in acres, also do not correspond exactly with those used in the table. The actual division which the figures represent is as follows: 0·4–8·1 ha., 8·1–20·2, 20·2–40·5, 40·5–121·4, 121·4–407·7, and "over 404·7" hectares.

¶ Calculated from figures presented in Walter Weiss-Bartenstein, *Bulgariens Volkswirtschaftliche Verhältnisse* (Berlin, 1917), p. 8.

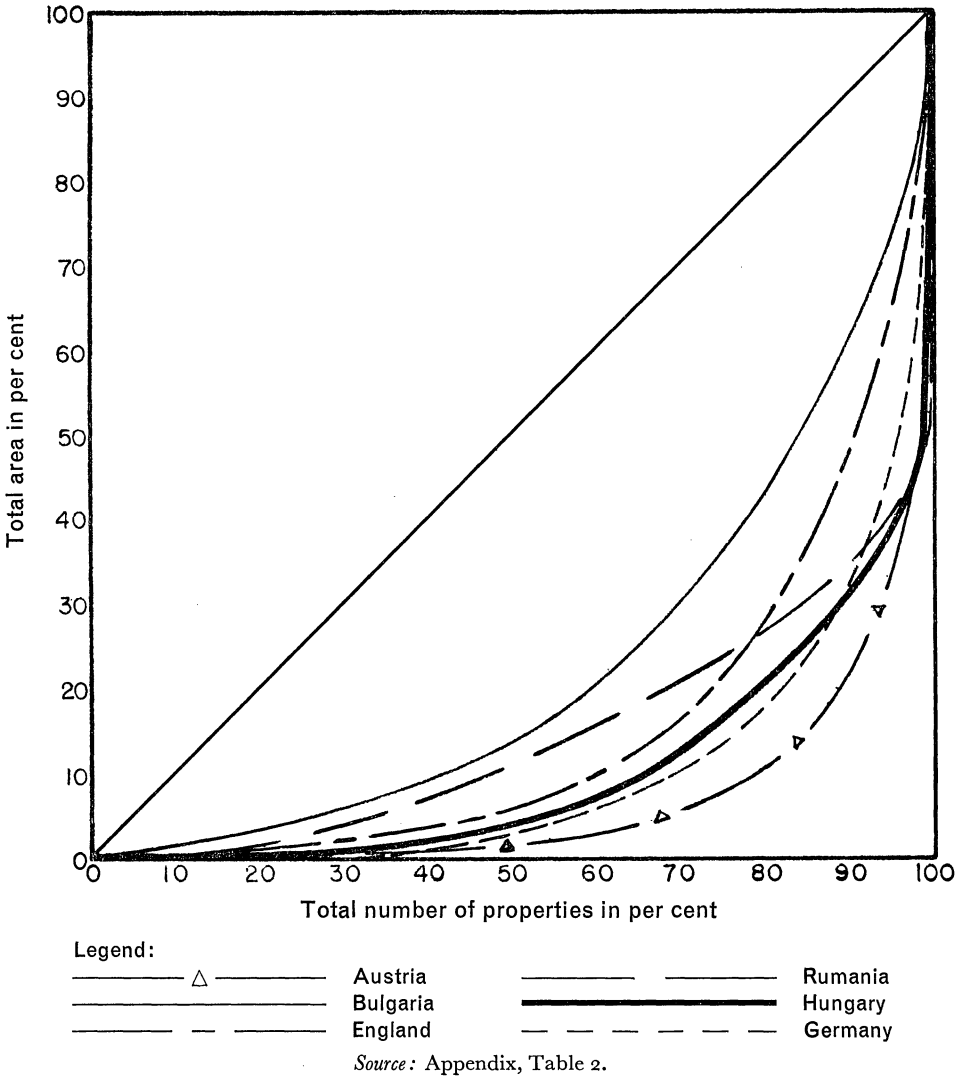
** Less than 0·05 per cent.

Source of data for all countries other than Hungary and Bulgaria: George D. Creanga, *Grundbesitzverteilung und Bauernfrage in Rumänien* ('Staats- und sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen' (Schmollers Forschungen), no. 129, Leipzig, 1907), pp. 93, 168, 176, 182.

Keeping these modifications in mind, we can observe that although very great differences in the degree of inequality of landholding existed among the countries considered, the situation in Hungary was quite similar to that of her neighbours

[1] It is suggestive, if by no means conclusive, to note that the 1895 census counted only 4 per cent fewer properties, but 20 per cent less land, than the 1867 survey.

Chart 1. *Distribution of Landed Properties*



Source: Appendix, Table 2.

Austria, Rumania, and Germany. The similarity to the German pattern is not particularly surprising, but the dissimilarity to England, the third of the "classic" cases of large-estate dominance in the land distribution, is more unexpected. The reasons behind this have their origins far back in Hungarian custom and law: the practice of equal division of property among heirs, nearly universal among the peasantry and lesser gentry, assured a proliferation of small holdings and prevented the formation by agglomeration of a substantial class of middle-sized farms. At the other end of the size scale, the larger estates, especially the latifundia, were kept intact in part through the continuance of entail, which in Hungary recognized several types of inheritance (*majorat*, *seniorat*, or *primogenitur*), but

required that in each case the entailed property be passed on intact, and that no part could be alienated in any way.[1]

For England, two-thirds of the land area was encompassed within properties of 40 to 400 hectares in extent, whereas only two-ninths of the acreage of holdings covered in the 1895 Hungarian agricultural census could be found in the even longer range of 29 to 575 hectares. Even if every square foot of land not included in this census should happen to have fallen in properties in this 29–575-hectare range, it would then have contained just over two-fifths of the area of all holdings[2]—still far short of the share in England.

England can thus be viewed as occupying a middle ground between the extremes represented in the chart—on the one hand by the strikingly similar distributions of Hungary, Austria, and Rumania, and on the other by Bulgaria, the peasant land *par excellence*, where farms under 20 hectares accounted for 95 per cent of the number of holdings and 75 per cent of the total acreage.

V

We have seen in the preceding sections a pattern of landholding in Hungary characterized by many tiny holdings, a small and dwindling *Mittelgrundbesitz*,[3] and the dominant position of huge estates. The static picture of landownership around the turn of the century conforms very closely to that of Austria and Rumania; comparison to Germany also fails to show any striking differences. The pattern revealed for Hungary as a whole persists region-by-region as well, with the only important reductions in the share of the large estates occurring around the perimeter of the Kingdom from north-east to south-east. Even these differences may be more apparent than real, given the criterion for inclusion of a property in the 1895 census and the geography of the regions involved.

Over the approximately one-half century that is the focus of this paper, the latifundia (taking the official definition—estates larger than 14,300 acres) more than doubled their share in the total landed property, with nearly all of this increase—which represents the transfer or absorption of an area about the size of Massachusetts and Connecticut combined, within a country the size of Nevada—occurring in the last three decades before the outbreak of the First World War. During the same time the middle-sized properties, but especially the estates which we might call "large but not mammoth", were seen to have declined in numbers and area, with the former group the first to buckle under the pressure of credit restrictions and loss of serf labour.

Table 8 is provided to show more precisely which classes of properties gained or lost most. It would indicate that perhaps some consolidation was effected among the smaller farms as well as among the very largest estates, and hints at a new consideration—that the larger peasant proprietors as a class might have been able to hold on, or even make some gains in their position. (Cf. the numbers in the 5–50 and 50–100-*hold* categories for 1867 and 1895 with those for the 0–5-*hold*

[1] Hirsch, op. cit. p. 26.

[2] On the basis of the 1885 and 1914 totals of 28·2 million hectares for the country as a whole (see Table 1).

[3] A "middle" holding is defined in Hungarian statistics as 200–1,000 *holds* (286–1,430 acres). This seems extreme, but in large part reflects the very "extensive" nature of Hungarian agriculture in the period. For a discussion of this point, see Ladislaus Hévey, *Grundbesitzpolitik in Ungarn* (Budapest, n.d.—*c.* 1940), p. 6.

class.)[1] Every class of properties above 100 *holds* in size suffered a decline in numbers, except for the latifundia. These declines are slight for farms of between 100 and 500 *holds*, but more marked among the estates of 500 to 5,000 *holds*. For the latter group, about one of six or one of seven properties in each of the subcategories disappeared—usually being absorbed into something larger. Even though the numbers involved were small, the area was very considerable, as was noted above.

From Table 2 we have seen that the share of farms under 200 *holds* changed little. They represented 46 per cent of total land in 1867 (and that share may be understated—see part II above), 48 per cent in 1885, and 49 per cent in 1914. The changes at the top end of the size scale become even more dramatic when we look at mean size of holding. Not only had the number of over-10,000-*hold* properties increased, but the average size of such properties, which in 1867 was just under 9,800 hectares (more than 24,000 acres), had grown by 1914 to more than 17,000 hectares (42,000 acres). In the 200–1,000-*hold* and 1,000–10,000-*hold* classes, the losses in land were relatively greater than the decline in numbers, so that the size of the average holding actually *fell* in each of these categories.

Table 8. *Number of Properties by Size Category, 1867, 1895, and 1914*

(*Thousands of Holdings**)

(a) Properties smaller than 100 *holds*

Size (holds)	*1867*	*1895*	*1914*
0–5	1,444	1,280	n.a.
5–50	1,008	1,049	n.a.
50–100	30	36	n.a.
Totals†	2,482	2,365	

(b) Properties larger than 100 *holds*

Size (holds)	*1867*	*1895‡*	*1914*
100–200	11·36	(10·27)	10·85
200–500	9·25	(6·45)	9·21
500–1,000	4·50	(3·14)	3·87
1,000–5,000	4·70	(3·77)	3·45
5,000–10,000	·49		·41
Over 10,000	·23		·32
Totals†	30·54	(23·63)	28·12

* Thousands of "exploitations" in 1895.

† Details may not add to totals due to rounding.

‡ Numbers in parentheses to emphasize that criterion of inclusion in 1895 census makes numbers increasingly less comparable as size class increases.

Source: See notes to Table 1 and Appendix Table 1.

Accompanying the notable increase in the concentration of landholding which was summarized above were many other changes in the character of Hungarian agriculture. Since it is not the purpose of this paper to describe all these changes in detail, the following paragraphs will comment only briefly on some of the most important.

Before the middle of the nineteenth century, Hungarian agriculture had been chiefly concerned with supplying the internal market—indeed, the primitive

[1] Such a conclusion can be at best haltingly tentative, since the 1867 data refer to ownership parcels, while the 1895 data are for operational units.

nature of transportation at that time kept Hungary itself divided into several local and regional markets.[1] At the time the serfs were freed, animal husbandry—especially cattle-raising—was the most important branch of Hungarian agriculture,[2] but the expansion of the railroad network opened vast new markets for grain, exports of which had formerly been almost exclusively limited to Vienna and the Steiermark in Austria.[3] Hungarian response to this new opportunity was to increase greatly the area planted to grain, at the expense particularly of pasture land.[4] Gradual adoption of crop rotation practices to replace the old three-field system also helped to expand the area under crop by cutting into the fallow. Although figures for earlier years are unavailable, we find that of arable land in 1870, 21·5 per cent lay fallow. This proportion was reduced to 16·5 per cent in 1890, and to 8·4 per cent by 1910.[5]

With the increased activity in the rural sector came greater demands for labour, both from the estates and from the new peasant holdings. Public works—especially flood control projects and railroad construction—also competed for the available rural labour supply, and wages rose.[6] Labour demand continued high into the seventies, when the bottom seemed to fall out of everything at once. Railroad construction ground to a halt (only 600 kilometres of new line were built between 1873 and 1882),[7] other enterprises failed, and the North American competition began to be felt in the grain market.[8] Employment declined, and with it wages. As rural employment and incomes fell, emigration—which had been only a trickle since the 1850's—accelerated into a large-scale movement.[9] The numbers of emigrants continued high throughout the period under review, reaching flood proportions after the turn of the century.[10]

[1] Part of this fragmentation could also be traced to the various ethnic groups' mutual suspicions. Vilmos Sándor, 'Die grossindustrielle Entwicklung in Ungarn, 1867–1900', *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, III (1956), 142.

[2] Árpád Hensch, 'Agriculture', in *The Millenium of Hungary and its People*, ed. Joseph de Jekelfalussy (Budapest, 1897), p. 446. See also István Nagy, *A Mezögazdaság Magyarországon az Abszolutizmus Korában (1849–1867)* (Agriculture in Hungary in the Absolutist Era (1849–1867)), (Budapest, 1944), p. 121.

[3] Offergeld, op. cit. p. 179. The Danube, the only significant water outlet to the west, not only flowed the wrong way (Hungarian farm products, with a high bulk/value ratio, had to go upstream) but was so shallow in one area between Budapest and Vienna that cargoes had to be transferred to small boats or to waggons to make it past these shallows. Roland Kühne, *Die Geschichte des ungarischen Getreidehandels und die Getreidepreisbildung in Oesterreich-Ungarn* (Magyaróvár, 1911), pp. 1, 3. Transportation by road was also difficult, and impossible at some times of the year. Especially in the Great Hungarian Plain, the most important farming region, the lack of stone and the softness of the roadbed meant that "Die ungarische Strasse galt lange Zeit hindurch als Prototyp des ungangbaren Weges." Deutsch, op. cit. p. 44. See also Ditz, op. cit. pp. 24–5.

[4] Deutsch, op. cit. p. 83. In some areas the ploughing up of pastures reached such alarming proportions that a law was passed forbidding this practice entirely. István Király, 'A szarvasmarhatenyésztés átalakulása Somogy megyében, 1848–1944' (The transformation of cattle raising in county of Somogy, 1848–1944), *Agrártörténeti Szemle* (Agrarian History Review), V (1963), 184.

[5] Gyula Bernát, *Az Uj Magyarország Agrárpolitikája, 1867–1914* (Agrarian Policy of the New Hungary, 1867–1914) (Budapest, 1938), p. 95.

[6] Nagy, op. cit. p. 40.

[7] Paul Teleki, *Magyarország Gazdasági Térképben* (Hungary in Economic Maps) (Budapest, 1921), pp. 5–5*b*.

[8] Emil Kún, *Sozialhistorische Beiträge zur Landarbeiterfrage in Ungarn* ('Sammlung nationalökonomischer und statistischer Abhandlungen des staatswissenschaftlichen Seminars zu Halle a.d. S.', vol. 37, Jena, 1903), 106–7.

[9] Ladislaus Schneider, *Die ungarische Auswanderung* (Pozsony (Bratislava), 1915), pp. 10, 35. Kosa, op. cit. pp. 503–4. Macartney, op. cit. p. 195.

[10] The most recent estimates put the net flow of emigrants from Hungary at about 200,000 persons be-

Thus the response of the rural proletariat and smallholder[1] to the decline in grain prices was essentially similar to the response in Italy, i.e. "to quit Europe".[2] The estate owners responded—as elsewhere in Europe[3]—by an effort to cut production costs. Cost-cutting operations concentrated on mechanizing the most labour-intensive operations, harvesting and threshing.[4] The harvest in the Great Hungarian Plain had provided about 40–60 days' employment in the 1860's, but this had been reduced to 14–21 days around the turn of the century, according to a contemporary estimate.[5] A more recent estimate figures that approximately 130 days were the minimum needed to thresh the grain harvest around 1872 with then-existing machinery. This figure had been reduced to 75 days in 1895 and to only 33 days by 1915.[6]

According to official statistics, agricultural money wages declined between 1872 and 1890.[7] My own preliminary estimates, based on the above-mentioned wage statistics and on later official statistics on farm wages (which, because of changes in the methods of reporting, are not strictly comparable), and using the cost of an average diet in the early 1880's as a proxy for a general price deflator, indicate that real wages also declined in 1890. Between 1900 and 1910 money wages in agriculture rose about 74 per cent (countrywide average), approximately double the increase in the cost of a diet, and this particular gain in real wages seems to have exceeded the increase in average labour productivity in agriculture. If the focus is changed in 1890, the increase in real wages just about exactly matches the growth in labour productivity. The gain in real wages in these later years, however, appears to have been in the main merely a recapturing of the level which existed in the early 1870's.[8] It therefore would seem—but the preliminary nature of these estimates must again be stressed—that producers were able to shift a part of the decline of grain prices back on to the labour force

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tween 1869 and 1880; 250,000 between 1880 and 1890; then 165,000 in 1890–1900; and nearly 647,000 in the 1900–10 decade. Lajos Thirring, 'Magyarország Népessége 1869–1949 Között', (Hungary's Population between 1869 and 1949), in *Magyarország Történeti Demográfiája* (Historical Demography of Hungary), ed. József Kovacsis (Budapest, 1963), p. 238. The foregoing data refer to Hungary *with* Croatia-Slavonia.

[1] Schneider (op. cit. p. 40) asserts that 60 per cent of the Hungarian emigrants owned real property. The upper classes did not emigrate; in fact "... emigration was handled by the state as a tool not to ease the existing social tension but to safeguard the powers and privileges of the ruling class.... The upper classes of the society had no general reason to leave the country. They enjoyed a secure, privileged status and all the benefits of a long economic boom." Kosa, op. cit. p. 506.

[2] Charles P. Kindleberger, 'Group Behavior and International Trade', *Journal of Political Economy*, LIX (1951), 35.

[3] Helen C. Farnsworth, 'Decline and Recovery of Wheat Prices in the Nineties', *Wheat Studies*, X (1934), 300–1.

[4] In the early decades following the freeing of the serfs, seasonal demands for harvest labour were so great, and the supply so restricted, that it was not uncommon for wages to rise 300 to 400 per cent above their winter levels. István Weis, *A Mai Magyar Tarsadalom* (The Hungarian Society of Today) (Budapest, 1930), p. 150. Drage, op. cit. p. 309.

[5] Kún, op. cit. p. 119.

[6] Vilmos Sándor, 'Die Mechanisierung des Getreidedrusches in Ungarn', *Agrártört. Sz.* v, Suppl. (1963), pp. 52–3.

[7] Conclusion based on a series of daily wages for adult male farm labourers, reported in monthly averages for each of the principal market towns of Hungary, which appears in the 1872–90 volumes of the *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv* (Hungarian Statistical Yearbook) (Budapest, annual).

[8] Scott M. Eddie, 'Agricultural Income and the Demand for the Products of other Sectors in Hungary, 1867–1913' (unpublished manuscript, Williams College, Williamstown, 1966).

in the form of lower real wages, and that it was not until the emigration from Hungary reached its peak that workers in agriculture were able to regain the lost ground. Meanwhile, the number of days of employment available had shrunk.

We have already seen that one reaction to the dimmer income prospects for farm workers was to emigrate. The other main reaction was to organize. Despite strenuous efforts to suppress all peasant organizations,[1] the "agrarian socialist" movement—fed by the perception of exploitation and based fundamentally on land hunger[2]—expanded, culminating in the great harvest strike of 1897. This strike and some unfavourable weather cut the 1897 wheat harvest to little more than half what it had been in 1896.[3] The reaction of Hungarian landowners was very vivid. Besides the legal actions taken to suppress workers' movements and to punish the participants in the strike, imports of harvesting machinery soared. More than four times as much was spent on imports of harvesting machinery in 1898 as in 1897. Another, smaller harvest strike in 1905 led to a tripling in imports of reaping machines in the following year. There were also increases, though much less spectacular, in the imports of all other classes of agricultural machinery in those years.[4]

The counter-attack by the great landlords to prevent a weakening of their position involved not only legal action and the use of financial power, but political moves as well. This took the form of demanding increasing protection for Hungarian grain producers, since cereals were the overwhelmingly dominant product of the large estates. Tariff walls around the Austro-Hungarian Empire rose, and Hungarian grain exports were more than ever sold exclusively in the Austrian market. For 1912–13 less than one-half of 1 per cent of Hungarian wheat exports went outside the Empire, whereas in 1882–6 nearly 23 per cent had been sold to non-Austrian countries.[5] Part of this decline was of course due to the trade barriers erected by Hungary's former customers as protectionism swept across Europe. Fortunately for Hungary, she was able to replace lost external markets with sales to the growing (and increasingly exclusive) market in Austria. In addition, the protected market conferred a significant price advantage. From 1872 to 1892 the Budapest wheat price remained below the "world price" (taken as the average value of wheat imported into Great Britain), but it was about equal to the world price throughout the 'nineties, and eventually rose above the world price during the last few years before the war.[6] So Hungarian agriculture not only shared in the world-wide shift in terms of trade in favour of farm products after the turn of the century, but gained even greater short-run advantage because of the tariff system. It is easy to see why the protective tariff surrounding the Dual Monarchy was considered one of the principal bulwarks of the latifundia system.[7]

This paper has attempted to show that powerful centrifugal forces affected the

[1] Jászi, op. cit. p. 231. [2] Kún, op. cit. p. 111.

[3] From 161·3 million bushels to 87·0 million. M. K. Bennett, 'World Wheat Crops, 1885–1932', *Wheat Studies*, IX (1933), 270.

[4] *Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen*, N.S. LXIII, 308–11.

[5] Ibid. p. 29*. 1882 is the first year for which reliable foreign trade data are available.

[6] The British prices, and the Hungarian prices to 1900, are to be found in Farnsworth, op. cit. pp. 346–7. The observations about Hungarian prices after 1900 are made on the basis of Budapest prices converted into U.S. gold dollars per bushel at the going exchange-rate, using the same method employed by Miss Farnsworth.

[7] See, for example, P. Sándor, op. cit. p. 190.

distribution of landed property in Hungary during the era of the Dual Monarchy. The increased polarization of landownership, especially the transfer of 11 per cent of the landed property of the country into the latifundia class (leaving this group—a mere 321 holdings—in possession of one-fifth of the country), is certainly not an insignificant development. The increasing dominance of mammoth estates in Hungarian agriculture, maintained and supported through the exercise of political as well as financial power, was accompanied by important changes in the composition of agricultural output, in employment, in incomes, and even in the population of the country itself. The vast economic and political power that rested with the great landed nobility lent strong support to belief in the Hungarian saying "Akié a föld, azé az ország"—"Who owns the land, owns the country."

Williams College, Massachusetts

Appendix Table 1. *Cumulated Distribution of Landholding in Hungary*

1867		*1895*	
Number of holdings %	*Share of total area* %	*Number of holdings* %	*Share of total area* %
58·1	14·2	12·3	0·2
94·4	32·2	23·6	0·6
99·2	46·6	53·6	5·8
99·7	60·9	72·8	14·8
99·9	91·5	88·9	29·5
100·0	100·0	97·5	45·8
		99·0	52·3
		99·4	56·1
		99·7	61·6
		99·8	67·7
		100·0	100·0

Source: 1867: Keleti, op. cit. pp. 148, 150. 1895: *Annuaire Statistique Hongroise*, 1911, p. 80.

Appendix Table 2. *Cumulated Distribution of Landholding, Selected European States, around 1900*

Hungary, 1895		*Bulgaria, 1908*		*Germany, 1895*	
No. of holdings (H) %	*Share of total area (A)* %	*H* %	*A* %	*H* %	*A* %
12·3	0·2	2·4	1·0	58·2	5·5
23·6	0·6	17·1	2·8	76·5	15·1
53·6	5·8	34·1	7·0	94·5	44·1
72·8	14·8	45·3	11·6	98·8	66·0
88·9	29·5	54·1	16·7	99·5	74·5
97·5	45·8	61·6	22·4	99·9	89·7
99·0	52·3	75·5	36·6	100·0	100·0
99·1	56·1	84·2	49·2		
99·7	61·6	93·0	66·9		
99·8	67·7	96·4	76·8		
100·0	100·0	98·7	85·7		
		99·3	89·4		
		99·9	94·5		
		100·0	100·0		

Rumania, 1904		*England, 1895*		*Austria, 1903*	
No. of holdings (H) %	*Share of total area (A)* %	*H* %	*A* %	*H* %	*A* %
6·6	0·3	22·7	1·1	41·6	0·9
15·1	1·3	51·5	6·2	54·3	2·2
30·3	4·3	67·9	15·0	66·4	4·6
43·9	8·6	80·8	30·0	79·2	10·3
61·8	16·7	96·4	72·6	87·2	18·2
77·2	25·7	99·0	88·3	94·3	33·5
90·7	35·2	99·9	97·5	99·0	52·3
95·4	40·3	100·0	100·0	99·6	57·6
99·1	49·2			99·8	61·3
99·4	51·3			99·9	65·9
99·8	61·7			100·0	100·0
99·9	72·0				
100·0	100·0				

Source: See notes to Table 7.