

A Piece of Late Modern Age History of Hungary through the Rombauer Family Tree

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INTRODUCTION



In this study is focused on the integration of a German minority family to the Hungarian society during the centuries especially the first half of the 19th century. But through their story I also want to tell about society from a rarely exposed viewpoint. This family lived for ages in Lócse (today Levoča in Slovakia), Szepes County, keeping their German language and identity, while in the 19th century they moved to the very different parts of the country or even — as a consequence of their participation in the Revolution and War of Independence — to different parts of the world. The migration patterns of the family is exemplary: moving from northern, peripheral areas to the center was a general direction in inner migration in Hungary in the 19th century and the first great international migration outflow burst out just after the fall of the Revolution.¹ Our aim is to get closer to the traditional bourgeoisie world of Szepes, the fate of Fabricius, Mauks, Quendel and Blom families. We want to peer into the life went on behind the city walls and to form a picture how this very closed and special community cope in the big World. So my story is about those who left the immediate environment's protective arms. Each members' stories create independent narratives needed to be examined embedded into different contexts but just because of the many contexts a more holistic, intergenerational approach is also needed. Thus we came closer to interpret the whole as long-term mobility and continuity or discontinuity let us to connect to wider interpretational frames of society of the adequate period. Those family members moved to different environment from their primary socialization were under secondary influences and had a "chance" to keep some of the values and to leave some others. At the same time the connection of a personality and the community he or she becomes a part of is a process of interactions altering the recipient too. This might be especially true in societies with great migration gain like big cities in the 19th century America.

We don't need to give up rationality as the main organizing principle during a biography research or generally during creating a historical narrative. Rationality might be a construction itself and not reality but was relatively continuous in history at least in the last centuries thus we can report it as the most active principle. Not

1 P. KOUDELA, *Turning Points of Emigration from Hungary: Understanding the Present Changes in Migration Structure*, in: B. BILTSIK et al. (Eds.), *International Relations, History and Social Sciences: New Approaches in a Complex World*, Budapest 2014, pp. 163–178.

only the researcher of the past “wants” to arrange events into series but the “intent” of the creators of the past was also this. The difference is that while the researcher wants to make a chain of events for a relatively long period actors in the past could do this only for the moment. Single intentions could come true at a given moment thus rationality could prevail only horizontally but not longitudinally. So we have to coordinate three points in case of a biography: the actual changes happened at the time of the incidence; the circumstances of the genesis of our sources, namely how the given event appears in historical sources; the researcher’s narrative and its mechanism.

The rationality of the explored reality is hidden in the first point: the given event matches probably rationally into its context and its antecedents both on human and social level. Rationality in this case is not individuals’ rational choices or a resultant of them but a structure which is the correlation of the events in a given moment. Thus irrational (emotional, traditional) acts can be interpreted in a logical framework because actors’ minds work like this. The given event is known only through our sources which can be fragmented: most sources are written in different times and places carrying different intentions so their interpretations’ is limited. Considering all of these we can use rationality as a code language to solve a message as long as we presume that coding systems are similar. This way decoded single events can be put next to each other in a timeline creating a biography which is not a narrative, not a story in a traditional way and even not rationally constructed. The biography built like this can be interpreted rationally afterwards by searching patterns in careers or in the process of social environment and in their interaction. This rationality is nevertheless independent from personal interactions and is merely a possible interpretation. Method of filtering rationality thus is not researching individuals’ careers but the series of incidents happened to individuals this way.

THE DESCENDANTS FROM LÓCSE

Lócse — considering its population — never was a big city, but even not a medium-sized.

TABLE NO. 1: Houses and Population in Lócse in Different Years²

Year	Number of Houses	Population
1555	536	3162
1667	866	4869
1728	494	2915
1786	834	4971
1810	829	4891
1849	1092	5412
1869	855	8016
1890	806	7582
1900	854	7866
1910	856	7528

² K. DEMKÓ, *Lócse története*, Vol. 1, Lócse 1897, p. 269 [Népszámlálás (Census): 1869, 1890, 1900, 1910].

The town's public position was very special since Géza II when its first residents, the Saxon colony founded it. Due to its special legal position even in the 18th century only German citizens lived there; immigrants came only from and the youth of the city studied in German territories, priests and teachers were asked from Saxony and guilds recruited only German members in the city. While citizenship was limited to those with German origins and language skills Slovaks from neighboring villages started to flow in since the 16th century. These worker and servant families had their own preacher that time and in 1570 they built a separate church. After the plague in 1717 migration inflow increased and ethnic composition started to change basically but until 1865 only German school worked in town. In the 19th century other changes occurred in the composition of the city's population. The traditionally artisan-merchant population — although not as highly as in other cities in the area — loaded up with officials.

TABLE NO. 2: Merchants, Artisans and Officials in Lőcse in Different Years³

Year	1667	1697	1720	1810	1896
Merchant	292	278	169	337	367
Artisan	265	253	145	287	167
Official, intellectual	27	25	24	50	200

Our protagonist family's first known member in Lőcse was Mátyás Rombauer, city councilor at the beginning of the 17th century.⁴ One of the beautiful epitaphs in the north nave of the St Jacob Church remains the name of his son, Mátyás Rombauer, merchant from 1640. The family was probably already wealthy that time: the clothes of the mentioned councilor's second son is known from 1689. The green dolman made of Dutch baize with eighteen-eighteen silver buttons and same amount of silver acorns on its sleeves and breast confirms this. His son, Samuel worked also as a senator in 1720: his great-grandchildren were János and David whose descendants we deal with below.

AT THE TURN OF THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

David Rombauer, joiner and Anna Mária Prossin's son János Rombauer was born on May 28, 1782, in Lőcse. The document of his baptism suggests that his father was a wealthy artisan. The high number of godparents corroborate this because of its luxurious nature that time. From his family circumstances and from data for his later life it is presumable that he was probably intended for priesthood and as a theologian arrived to Dutch where he became a painter. During his studies he might have been to France also and learned French perfectly.

János Rombauer later studied partly in Pest and partly in Lőcse as a student of Johann Jacob Stunder from Copenhagen but in 1806 a Russian count took him to Saint-

³ Ibidem, p. 306.

⁴ Lived 1592–1640. The family name was written like Rompauer that time: e.g. in the 1667 and 1728 register.

Petersburg where he became the royal painter of Czar Alexander I. According to his death certificate he was a member of the Russian Royal Academy of Arts. He married in Saint-Petersburg and after his return from Russia received a pension from the Czar. He painted the portrait of Ignác Aurél Fessler, famous Hungarian historian also in Russia. The painting is in the portrait room in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences today. Rombauer painted him in his superintendent vestment in Saint-Petersburg. That time he also deepened his knowledge by copying old masters' works in the Hermitage in 1810.⁵

Rombauer's father worked as a joiner and his many godparents were also all artisans. As the lives of painters in the 18th – 19th centuries show nobody became a painter merely following his bent. Just like Miklós Barabás only their innate aptitude, extraordinary charting skills and related financial success drafted most of the painters to the artistic career. General perception handled artistic talent as part of artisan craft or even everyday life but rarely as an independent way of subsistence. It's more than likely that Rombauer didn't prepare to be an artist. His parents expected him a normal position, only as an autodidact has been painting in Eperjes (today Prešov in Slovakia), the town which exceeded the average with its intellectual life. Probably the financial success he reached with his portraits inclined him to be a painter. The tight relationship to the Steinhübel family since the beginning of his career until his death might had also contributed to his artistic progress and direction of life. Samuel Seinhübel — whom he recorded with its wife with oil on two separate canvases at the early age of 22 — was one of the wealthiest merchant and richest citizen of the town at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the next century. Vivid educational and artistic life characterized Eperjes in that period: Gábor Fejérváry, the famous collector lived there under whose influence two excellent historians of arts evolved Ferenc Pulszky and Imre Henszlmann.

This is very likely that János Rombauer went to Samuel Steinhübel in Eperjes as a merchant assistant; exactly as a liberated assistant but never became an independent tradesman. In the preserved documents and registers of the guild we can find only those clerks and apprentices who were liberated in Eperjes and paid the adequate charge to the guild chest. Apprentices might have had their own chest but nothing remained of this.⁶ Despite of this career his leaning to artistry appeared in different ways in his youth: he was even an amateur actor in 1804–1805.⁷ The tight connection between Rombauer and the Steinhübel family is clearly shown in the letter below which is remained in the archives of the Academy. The letter was written in German by Károly Steinhübel's son, Samuel to count Emil Dessewffy, the President of the Academy.⁸

5 A. PETROVÁ-PLESKOTOVÁ, *Die Entwicklungsaspekte des Schaffens Johann Rombauers*, in: Časopis ARS, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1968, pp. 31–66.

6 K. DIVALD, *Adatok Rombauer festő életéről*, in: Művészet, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1904, pp. 123–144.

7 L. ZEMAN, *Gymnasiologia, Az eperjesi Kollégium és áthagyományozódásai*, Dunaszerdahely 2003, p. 29.

8 Eperjes, 1863, I. 18. Your Excellency! I would prefer to write you in Hungarian, but I'm more familiar with German, so I venture to write in German. I sent Your Excellency a paperboard depicting the Resurrection with closely life-size figures in black style with the

Another portrait, Rombauer painted in Russia, depicts Czar Alexander I. in a blue General Uniform with red cuffs and golden fringes, in a size of app. 30–40 centimeter. One of Rombauer's best portrait is almost life-sized of his younger brother, Samuel, who was a solicitor in Eperjes and died in 1830 at the age of 37 according to his gravestone. This portrait might have been painted in the 1820s already in Eperjes. Another painting depicts the resurrection of Christ was painted in Russia. It was ordered by Prince Czartoryski who paid a considerable amount: 400 Rubles for it. We could reckon Rombauer a late eclectic on the score of this work of art, who was inspired by Rembrandt and Rubens unlike his contemporaries. Though considering all of his works he seems to be rather a representative of the Biedermeier. Although Dutch masters influenced him undeniably, Rombauer didn't deny his own era and the Vienna School. His perception was realistic, but brushwork was fine and meticulous, the development of his pictures, which paid homage to taste of contemporary audience, was just as academic taste as his contemporaries'. Only the bright and sometimes garish coloring distinguishes his artwork. About fifty paintings remained after his oeuvre.⁹

He returned from Russia in 1824 to Eperjes. He painted mostly portraits of the city's bourgeoisie there but was interested in other themes too. Those portraits exhibited in the ceremonial hall of the City Hall the portraits of King Franz I and King Ferdinand V were obviously based on etchings. His most famous painting is the portrait of Ferenc Kazinczy from 1825.

János Rombauer was a shot and man with red and shaved face according to the reminiscences of his paint rubbing prentice. He was very polite with everybody and

morning mail coach, and I consider it my duty to offer this to the honorable Academy. This not only schematic but almost finished paperboard, of which the main figure is the Savior, who resurrects from his graveyard with the victory flag in his hands was painted by Mr. János Rombauer deceased years ago in Eperjes. He oil painted the original for the count Bobrinsky family with the family's greatest satisfaction. I entrust the aesthetic evaluation to the competent and only note that Mr. Rombauer's picture affects from a medium distance from where its plastic impression prevails. I even confine myself only for some data for this excellent painter. If Mr. Rombauer is less well-known than Markó, the famous landscape painter, who was born in Lőcse too, this is because Mr. Rombauer was mainly a portrait painter and hardly painted any historic picture or landscape. His extraordinary talent turned up even in his youth which persuaded Count Illinski of Wolhyna, whom he met in Bath Bártfa, to carry him to Saint Petersburg as a companion. He got a very pleasant job there, in which he had a chance to improve his artistry with adequate tools and also could compete with the best artists for eighteen years. He painted the deceased Czar Michael I. over many of his family members. Czar Alexander I wanted to send him to Rome at his own expense to make him stay at the Academy of Saint Petersburg later but he didn't want to engage himself and returned home in 1824, especially because the climate of Saint Petersburg was harmful for his wife, and died in Eperjes. With the hope to be able to give artistic joy for Your Excellency and the audience of Eperjes I assure my highest consideration for your Excellency. Your obedient servant. Károly Steinhübel MTA kéziratár (HAS archive) 126. sz. Vettem mart. 28-án 1863; K. DIVALD, *Újabb adatok Rombauer János festőről*, in: *Művészet*, Vol. 14, No. 8, 1915, pp. 414–418.

⁹ J. BAYER, *Újabb adatok Rombaueréről*, in: *Művészet*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1908, pp. 124–144.

could create a wealthy lifestyle in which he could live for his pastimes. He and his wife from Saint Petersburg always talked to each other French, and her epitaph in the Lutheran Cemetery suggests that they had a very gentle and benevolent relationship. *“Liebe verwandelte Dir die Fremde zur Heimat. Du schiedest. Ach! und zur Fremde für uns hat sieh die Heimat geschaltet. — Amalie Rombauer geborne Baumann zu St. Petersburg geb. 1794. d. 25 oct., zu Eperjes gestor. 1842. cl. 30. dec.”*

János Rombauer shortly survived his only son who died in tuberculosis at the age of nineteen. Rombauer died in stroke in the triumphant Eperjes shortly after the victory of Branyiszkó, but fully forlornly because his younger brother, Gusztáv moved to Pest in 1848 and took the Hungarian name of Romlaky.¹⁰

The first generation leaving Lőcse had chosen the typical migration direction to the center of the country. In case of the Hungarian Highlands this meant a flow from the north the south. At this time it was a general phenomenon to move from the Szepesség to Eperjes than to Kassa and at the end migrating to Pest-Buda. The other great-grandchild of Mátyás Rombauer (1592–1640), mentioned above was also called János Rombauer (1717–1794). He and his wife, Dorottya Krausz had two children. The older, Mátyás was born on February 22, 1759, the younger was called Gottfrid. We know very little about the latter and this is that he worked as a mine councilor and steward and that his daughter, Bertha, who was born in 1809 married to her own cousin, Tivadar on September 11, 1827. Because Tivadar was the son of Mátyás, we are going to deal with them all as the descendants of Mátyás.

Mátyás Rombauer (1759–1822) was born in Lőcse but later moved to Körmöcbánya (today Kremnica in Slovakia), where he became clergyman then livestock manager. He continued this job at the Révay family’s manor of Túróc County in Prékopa (today Priekopa in Slovakia). He was a man of means.¹¹ He didn’t have children with his first wife (his own cousin, Júlia Krausz), why he divorced. His second wife was the daughter of János Elhard, famous physicist and surgeon in Lőcse and Anna Lassgallner (1777–1853). He was 38 in September 5, 1797, when they married, and they had seven children of which three died young.

IN THE AGE OF REFORMS AND REVOLUTION

The oldest of the sons was János Tivadar Rombauer.¹² He was born in Lőcse on January 23, 1803,¹³ in the Elhard family’s still existing flat at 22 Fótér. Shortly afterwards they moved to Prekopa where there was no schools and he had been learning privately until he could enroll to the Lutheran Lyceum of Lőcse in 1811. The frequent moving was so typical so we even don’t be surprised that he finished his elementary school in

10 K. DIVALD, *Adatok Rombauer festő életéről*, in: *Művészet*, Vol 3, No. 2, 1904, pp. 123–144.

11 S. TÓTH, *Sáros vármegye monográfiája*, Vol. 3, Budapest 1912, p. 670, http://mek.oszk.hu/12800/12885/pdf/12885_3_4.pdf, [cit. 2015-07-25].

12 T. VASS, *Rombauer Tivadar a gyáralapító (1803–1855)*, in: *Ózdi Honismereti Közlemények*, Vol. 12, 1996, pp. 3–130.

13 A Lőcsei Evangélikus Egyház lajstroma 1803 (Levoča Lutheran Church Register 1803), 9/11. no. document. P. RIECKE, *Nachkommen von Dr. Johann Christoph Elhard*, Brassó 1900.

Selmecbánya (today Banská Štiavnica in Slovakia) where he was usually the best student. He enrolled to the Academy of Mining and Forestry in Selmecbánya in 1822, and started to study forestry too in the following year. He finished the Academy in 1825¹⁴ and married to her cousin, Bertha Rombauer September 11, 1827.

After finishing schools, in 1825 he started to work at the iron foundry in Rohnic as an apprentice. The following year found him at the Schönborn manor next to Munkács (today Мукачеве in Ukraine) working in the industrial plants. Bereg County, on its 2,351 km² 174 settlement belonged to it and the number of inhabitants exceed the sixty thousand. On the mostly wooded area agriculture had not play a major role but regarding to the close sources of raw materials different industries like weaving, iron and chemicals were tried to domesticate. The large distance of the consumer markets nevertheless impeded the development.¹⁵ Rombauer became the overseer of the alum works in Pusztakerepes, next to Munkács but also participated in the development of the metallurgical plants. He managed the building of the ten meter high forge in Selesztó between 1829 and 1832. The foundry with its diverse casts became known nationwide.¹⁶ The management was satisfied with Rombauer's work because he could achieve forty percent savings at the fuels and ten percent at the ores. Along with these he realized 1750 quintals production growth until 1831. Foundries were built, depositories were installed in Sátoraljaújhely, Kassa (today Košice in Slovakia) and Pest. Rombauer initiated the production of machine parts¹⁷ that time but in 1832 he even wrote about artistic moldings in a submitting. And really: one-fourth of the sales catalogue next year contains artistic casts. The result is that the factory received a gold medal¹⁸ in 1842 on the first industry exhibition organized by Kossuth. Even in 1834 the management sent him to Glewice to gain experiences, but in 1838 he was such a celebrity that Chancellor Metternich invited him for performing manorial services. Count Ferenc Schöborn retained him in Munkács by offering higher position and salary. That was quite reasonable because he boosted the factory's distribution such a large extent: in 1840 they had to answer for orders from Pest that only bigger casts are able to deliver because of the huge demand.

After the successful participation on the exhibition in 1843, on which Kossuth special praised the factory, Tivadar Rombauer nonetheless switched job and became chief officer at the headquarters of the Coalition of Rima (Rimai Coalitio) in Rimabréz (today Rimavské Brezovo in Slovakia). He provided new iron ore licenses, made a new road build for ten thousand forints which investment paid off soon by helping to reduce transport costs with fifteen percent. He also increased capacity by technical and organizational measures indicating a huge profit growth for the company.¹⁹

14 A Selmeczi M. K. Bányász- és Erdész-Akadémia évszázados fennállásának évkönyve 1770–1870, Selmecz 1871, pp. 229–230.

15 A. SAS, *Egy kárpáti latifundium a hűbéri világ alkonyán: A munkácsi Schönborn-uradalom társadalmi és gazdasági viszonyai a XIX. század első felében*, Bratislava 1955, pp. 39–40.

16 Z. REMPÖRT, *Magyarország vaskohászata az ipari forradalom előestéjén (1800–1850)*, Budapest 1995, p. 123.

17 SAS, pp. 56–57.

18 G. NYÁRÁDY, *Az első magyar iparműkiállítás*, Budapest 1962, p. 133.

19 J. MARTON — L. TETMAJER, *A Rimamurány-Salgótarjáni Vasmű Rt. fejlődésének története a XXV. közgyűlés alkalmából*, Budapest 1906, p. 22.

Representatives of iron industry held a meeting in the Andrassy mansion in Husszúrét in 6 September, 1843. This was the second time to hasten progress in legislation: proposal for a mining act, founding Technical University and schools, developing infrastructure. By the proposal of Rombauer a new plan was born to build an iron refinery and roller factory. According to Széchenyi's and Kossuth's vision large amount of rail were needed in Hungary which was unable to be produced by the small metallurgical companies. The government and the railway companies wanted to provide it from abroad, mainly from Wien, but as a consequence of this meeting and Rombauer's proposal the two largest company, the Coalition of Rima (Rimai Coalitio) and the Union of Murány (Murányi Unio) was planned to be united.²⁰ Two crucial question arose: if the two companies together have enough financial resources to apply the latest technology and for this technology they need foreign experiences that they couldn't acquire even in Austria. For this reason they asked the President and the Chief Officer of the Rimai Coalitio, Pál Szathmáry-Király and Tivadar Rombauer to go to West-Europe. After their field trip in England, Czech and Belgium only one task had left: to find adequate coal sources and to install the new factory nearby. Ózd proved to be the most appropriate place.

Experiments of lignite were carried out by Rombauer in Germany and test furnaces were built in Hungary to convince the skeptical land owners.²¹ Ózd was a rather small settlement that time, only 334 inhabitants are mentioned in 1837 by Elek Fényes, the statistician.²² The Rimai Committee led by Rombauer was delegated to organize the new company and developed the iron factory plans by the May 1845. The foundation of the Ironworks Association of Gömör was decided and Rombauer was entrusted with the task of the technical management. The funds were 250 thousand forints and both capital and entrepreneurs were all Hungarian, and even foreign subscription of shares were prohibited by its statutes. This put some trouble on selling shares, partly because of land owners who were not rich enough to buy whole shares, but partly because political reasons. One of them was the non-attendance of Count György Andrassy, a close friend of Széchenyi with whom he had used to go to England before the building of the Chain Bridge. Rombauer belonged to the company of Kossuth at the same time, who had a decisive influence in factory building in Hungary. Andrassy so feared that he would be ignored in the management. Rombauer himself became a shareholder with a half share.

Negotiations had taken place with the Central Hungarian Railways (Magyar Középpontú Vasúttársaság)²³ in 1845, but they had failed to conclude a contract thus they had no other choice but concentrating on acquiring coal-beds. Rombauer had a leading role in site selection and later in the organization of the factory and mines. It was a Herculean task to contract with the landowners one by one for the coal

20 K. JENEI, *Az alapítás előzményei*, in: I. BEREND T. (Ed.), *Az Ózdi Kohászati Üzemek története*, Ózd 1980, pp. 43–51.

21 A. ÓVÁRI, *Az ózdi vasmű alapításának és első üzeméveinek vázlatos története*, in: *Kohászati Lapok*, No. 10, 1967, p. 439.

22 E. FÉNYES, *Magyarország mostani állapotja statisztikai és geográfiai tekintetben*, Pest 1837.

23 MOL RMST-Okmánytár (Hungarian National Archive Rimamurány-Salgótarján Document Bank hereinafter referred to as HNA), Z 366–155.

rights transfer.²⁴ Large mine excavations begun in September, 1846 with sixty miners. Steam machines, ordered from abroad, came on board to Vác and by storage cart to Ózd. Technical experts from Brno and England assembled them, which wasn't rare in that period: a significant number of skilled workers came from abroad to Hungary in the 19th century.

While the number of industrialist population in 1805 was 88,000 this number increased to 125,000 in 1840, and still only one inhabitant became craftsman out of eighty in Hungary counter to Austria where the rate was one craftsman out of 13–15 inhabitant. The surplus worked mainly in the large-scale industry. Counting smaller manufactories and factories together their number was 528 in 1847 in the country, in which 23,400 workers were permanently employed. The number of foreign skilled workers begun to increase substantially in this period, and the number of factory workers increased fifteen times during the following forty years.²⁵ The factory had financial problems due to the loss of contract, which could have been complemented only by shareholders' further investments, but as a consequence profiles had to be replaced thus rail production fifteen years delayed.

Ózd had an outstanding position in Hungarian industrial history. Although the construction of the iron factory had not finished by the time, the rolling friction stir process was practiced in 1847 first in Ózd in Hungary fifty years after its introduction in England and twenty years after in Western Europe. Tivadar Rombauer had a leading role in the foundation of the factory, in the production of the first machine: a ninety three meters long and seventy meters wide rolling mill and in the structure of the officials' and workers' houses with ornamental gardens next to each.²⁶

IN THE REVOLUTION

Construction and production stopped with the outburst of the revolution, foreign workers returned to their homelands. Lajos Kossuth — based on their former relationship in the Végegylet — called Tivadar Rombauer to be a staff member of the first independent government formed in 1848 April. Rombauer left the Rimai Coalition and moved to Pest where he became the Head of Department of Industry in the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Trade lead by Gábor Klauzál.²⁷ As his very first action in May he summoned the owners of mines, factories and industrial plants to Pest. He imported iron through Fiume because he should have mainly deal with the production of saltpeter, gunpowder and cloth. He had success in acquisition of wood, copper and tin from western Hungary. The opening of the sulfur mine in Kalinka and the development of new types of production method was also his merit; the Austrian government — to prevent gunpowder production — banned the import of sul-

²⁴ MOL RMST-Okmánytár (HNA), Z 366–153/a.

²⁵ G. RÉZLER, *A magyar nagyipari munkásság kialakulása 1867–1914*, in: G. LITVÁN (Ed.), *Magyar munkásszociográfiák 1888–1945*, Budapest 1974, pp. 15–26.

²⁶ J. FALLER, *Régi kép és leírás Ózdról*, in: *Bányászati és Kohászati Lapok*, No. 10, 1943, p. 370.

²⁷ I. BAKÓ, *A magyar állami „Országos Fegyvergyár” működése 1848–49-ben*, Budapest 1942, p. 22.

fur from Sicily. Because of the lack of arms production in Hungary it was needed to establish its large-scale production. The first factory was built in Pest next to the Rolling Mill in the Foundry and Machine Company Plant which was nationalized and supplemented with smaller manufactories later because of the sabotages.

As a consequence of Rombauer's proposal the factory in Ózd was tried to equip for weapon production, but the engineer from Aachen who was responsible for the purchase of equipment was not able to fulfill his mission because of the closing of borders. Rombauer became the director of the armory nationalized in November but preserved his position in the Ministry. As a director he recruited workers from factories, workshops, military troops and adjusted the factory for mass production. He developed regulations for civilian workers who were constituted deserters — despite of their civilian job — if they left their working place. At the same time in November the foundry didn't receive proposals from Rombauer any more but command from Kossuth to produce cannon balls and grenades otherwise it would be confiscated. The contract was signed by Lázár Mészáros, member of the government and by Vilmos Kubinyi, representative of the Coalition. Rombauer got in a controversial position since he became the director of the factory of which he remained one of its shareholders. He was interested in the most important factor, increasing productivity from both sides. He helped the factory to get a loan and undertook to make moldings prepared for barrels.²⁸ But the president of the association of the factory did nothing to change for weapon production only admitted the loan. Despite of this arms production was managed to ensure in many places: fifteen settlements only in upper Hungary; and supply was provided in the full country. One of the small participating manufactures was the Kachelmann Foundry in Selmecbánya.²⁹

As a consequence of the government's move to Debrecen on January 1, 1849 the armory of Pest also fled from Windischgrätz to Nagyvárad (today Oradea in Romania). Delivery on sleighs in the 25-degree cold was organized by Rombauer. There were plenty of difficulties: the evacuation of all machines failed, the supply Rombauer promised for workers couldn't be fulfilled and housing conditions in Nagyvárad were much worse than that in Pest.³⁰ Despite of these problems arms production started at the end of January and the initially impatient Kossuth and Rombauer could be satisfied with the castle furnished perfectly to an armory. There were continued disruptions: Rombauer had to displace all the smiths because of their disobedience in February and replace the missing jobs. In such circumstances he never had a say in the provisions of Kossuth and the factory remained operable. Rombauer sent one part of the factory of Pest to Ózd under the supervision of Tivadar Karafíáth, armory inspector. He wrote a project to lease the factory in Ózd in the spring but

28 MOL RMST-Okmánytár (Hungarian National Archives, Documents of the Rimamurány-Salgótarján Ironworks), Z 366-6-197. — Pest, November 25, 1848. Rombauer Tivadar kötelezvénye: három hónapon belül az állami fegyvergyárban puskacső gyártása céljából két pár hengert öntet. (Promissory note of Theodore Rombauer: two pair of cylinders to be poured in the state armory for gun barrel production within three months).

29 P. KOUDELA, *Selmecbánya helyi és regionális szerepe a magyar gazdaságban a 19-20. században*, in: *Közép-Európai Közlemények*, Vol. 6, No. 22, 2013, pp. 186-194.

30 M. HEGYESI, *Bihar vármegye 1848-1849-ben*, Nagyvárad 1999, pp. 88-94.

later cancelled based out on Karafiáth's report on the lack of technical conditions of production.³¹ Because they had no intention to manufacture arms the inspector made the machines returned to Pest. The Iron Company of Gömör was threatened with bankruptcy from which it escaped only in 1853 by joining in the former union of the Rimai Coalition and Murányi Union establishing the Rimamurány Iron Works Association.³²

THE EMIGRATION

After the capitulation at Világos Rombauer had to flee dressed to a journeyman. He went to Hamburg through Austria than to Belgium and to England. When he became aware of that even smaller officials had no chance to escape the jail he travelled to America. Along with those emigrant groups in Germany (e.g. Mednyánszky), in England (e.g. Gorove) and in France (Szemere and Teleki) many — most with a safe-conduct of Komárom — looked for and found shelter in the New World.³³ But, just like others, Rombauer used his social network, the help of Ferenc Pulszky and György Klapka to migrate to the United States. The previous got out him to London and helped to transfer 480 pounds to New York which was a kind of insurance for his wife in case of a possible shipwreck. They were close friends, in his farewell letter he also offered his help and expressed his desire: I wish “*that next time our incorrectly applied idea of humanism [...] (wouldn't disclose others, and) not only Hungarian but other nations would take part in it and share the obtained fruit.*”³⁴

Immediately they arrived he started to deal with mining and iron industry issues.³⁵ He had a proposal for Washington about gold mines in California but it was refused. Later he made a tour in South America and after all returned and settled in Iowa. Farming wasn't successful and the family finally moved to Davenport, where he became editor at a German newspaper; he died in 1855.³⁶

31 MOL. RMST — Okmánytár (HNA), (Hungarian National Archives, Documents of the Rimamurány-Salgótarján Ironworks) Z 366-6-197. — April 7, 1849. Szerződéstervezet az állami fegyvergyár igazgatósága és a Gömöri Vasművelő Egyesület között az ózdi gyárnak puskacsövek gyártására való bérbevétele tárgyában. (Draft treaty between Board of Directors of the State Armory and Gömör Ironworkers' Association for the subject of leasing the Factory of Ózd for the purpose of producing gun barrels).

32 JENEI, pp. 52-87, 62.

33 G. ALBERT, *A Kossuth-ellenes emigráció — Szemere Bertalan levelezése (1849-1851)*, in: *Kortárs*, Vol. 42, No. 6, 1998, pp. 66-96.

34 OSZK Kézirattár (National Széchenyi Library Archive), Rombauer Tivadar levele Pulszky Ferenchez 1849.

35 B. FORGÁTS, *Rombauer Tivadar az 1848-49. évi szabadságharc fegyvergyári igazgatója és a Rimamurány-Salgótarjáni Vasmű Rt. alapítója*, in: *Bányászati és Kohászati Lapok*, No. 73, 1940, pp. 177-182, 181.

36 ACCESSION CA5235 Papers Leslie KÖNNYŰ Papers, Box 9, The State Historical Society of Missouri, *Az American Hungarian Review szerkesztőjének Ózdra küldött tájékoztatója Rombauer tevékenységéről*. (Briefing of the American Hungarian Review's editor about Rombauer's activity, sent to Ózd).

His wife, Bertha actively participated in the War of Independence and followed him to America in 1850 where she translated Hungarian poems to German.³⁷ They had eleven children of whom three died in the war. The others settled down in different parts of the United States, St Louis, Davenport and San Francisco, and became integrated parts of its society. The family line has an interesting story: many of the descendants became famous. Irma Rombauer, the author of the bestseller cookbook of all times: *The Joy of Cooking*, the Rombauer Vineyards in Napa Valley are also their successors and even a small village was named after an engineer Rombauer in Missouri.

THE FAMILY LINE IN HUNGARY

Emil Károly, the younger brother of Tivadar was born in Prekopa in 1805. He studied at the Academy of Mining and Forestry in Selmezbánya and worked for more than forty years as the director of Máramaros Sate Forestry. He retired as a councilor but never had family and died in Budapest in 1884.³⁸

Mátyás Rombauer's youngest son, János Lajos was born in 1825. He studied in Pest, Vienna, Padua and Prague. He received his medical degree in Padua and became obstetrician in Prague and surgeon in Vienna. He worked there as an assistant in the children's hospital and later as a practicing doctor in Selmezbánya. Since 1848 he became doctor at the mines in different small mining villages like Zsarnóca (today Žarnovica in Slovakia), Szklenőfürdő (today Sklené Teplice) and finally in Steffultó (Štefultov, district of Banská Štiavnica). Like his brother he published several essays mostly in German but his geographical writings were already Hungarian published in the *Medical Journal* and as independent publications. He married Zsuzsanna Kachelmann, the sister of factory founder Karl Kachelmann.³⁹ Their surviving two children were Emil Rombauer and Lajos Tivadar.

Emil Rombauer, nephew of Tivadar was born in Szklenő (Bars County) in 1854. He received mostly classical education at the Lutheran Lyceum in Selmezbánya but his father directed toward the natural sciences at the young age. In his old age he remembered about it: *"I'll be always thankful to my fate that in my age there were not extra Greek courses yet and I had the chance to read Homer, the kind Xenophon and Plato and drew most important elements of my thinking, ideology and idealism from there."*⁴⁰ He started architect studies in the Stuttgart Polytechnic in 1872. His favorite professor was Friedrich Theodor Vischer, the famous esthete and writer whose novel, *Auch Einr* remained his favorite reading during his whole life. He spent the following year with the one year of voluntary service in the artillery which he remembered with great enthusiasm and then spent two more years in Stuttgart. He spent the summer of 1876 at the Protestant University of Tübingen where he studied Christian ethics, esthetics

37 B. ROMBAUER, *Bunte Blätter*, St. Louis 1889.

38 P. RIECKE, *Nachkommen von Dr. Johann Christoph Elhard*, Brassó 1900, p. 5.

39 KOUDELA, *Selmezbánya...*, pp. 186–194.

40 E. ROMBAUER, *A társadalom és az iskola. Felolvasta a Társadalomtudományi Társaság 1905. május 19.-i ülésén*, in: *A Budapesti V. kerületi M. Kir. Áll. Főreáliskola 1904/5.-évi Értesítője*, Vol. 33, pp. 5–30.

and metaphysics. During the 1876/1877 school-year he studied at the university in Budapest and the following year at the Academy of Selmecbánya. Later he returned to Budapest and received teaching diploma of chemistry and natural sciences.

He became an assistant professor of the Department of Experimental Natural Sciences at the József Technical University between 1880 and 1882. During the following three years he was a teacher at the Lutheran Lyceum in Selmecbánya where he taught history, German language and literature. He met Paula the daughter of István Röck, machine manufacturer there who he married in 1882. By his wife he had gained such relatives as Mihály Munkácsy, Pál Hunfalvy and the Zsilinszky family. János Breznyík, the director of the Lyceum classified him like this: *“He proved a great talent in teaching and discipline [...] his political view is liberal, his social status is respected.”*⁴¹ He became the notary of the National Association of Secondary School Teachers Selmecbánya Circle in 1884. By his first study on the curriculum reform he can be characterized as a typically idealist entrant with a high ideal position: he criticized the state of education of his own age uncompromisingly. His opinion was that secondary schools’ task is to help develop students’ individual talent along with strengthening their character and mind through teaching and processing the curriculum.

The Central Committee of National Association of Secondary School Teachers by the request of Ágoston Trefort, minister of education organized a dispute in 1885 where Emil Rombauer gave a lecture on April 25. As a consequence of his proposal a decision was taken that general exams should be taken at least in every three years and those students failed should be sent down. Schools’ municipal law have to extend in a pedagogical sense, teacher training have to be transformed and more textbooks have to be written. These were the main elements of his proposal and he repeated his lecture in Budapest on the General Meeting of the Association in July.⁴² The lecture generated positive coverage in the press causing a turning point in his life. This gained such a reputation that when director was wanted to the Main Technical School of Brassó (today Braşov in Slovakia) the choice fell on him. Great importance was attached to school foundation in Brassó because it was difficult to compete with the Saxon and Romanian higher schools with a long history. Despite of this the school was initially placed into apartment houses and a site was bought only later on which construction was finished in 1889.⁴³

It was not an easy task for Emil Rombauer in such a multinational city that we can illustrate with a letter of him written to the City Council: *“The pig fair placed between the two apartment houses of the Hungarian Royal State Main Technical School forced us to cease teaching and let the students home because due to the prevailing noise teaching was impossible. I am convinced that when the Respected Council of the Free Royal City of Brassó changed its fair rules and placed the noisiest, most unhealthy and dirtiest part of it to the Woolmarket on which there was only wool market — as its name proofs — since centuries until today and placed it just between the two apartment houses of the State Main Techni-*

41 A Selmecbányai Ág. h. Ev. Lyceum Értesítője az 1882/83. tanévre. Az oktatók, p. 5.

42 E. ROMBAUER, A középiskolai oktatás sikerességének akadályairól s azok elhárításának módjáról, Budapest 1885.

43 E. ROMBAUER (Ed.), A Brassói Magyar Királyi. Állami Főreáliskola Értesítője az 1889/90. tanévre, Brassó 1890, pp. 3–11.

cal School there were no willfulness against the educational institution; and on this basis I have no doubt that my present lines referring to facts will be enough to make that part of fair replaced elsewhere already one week from today.”⁴⁴ The council responded to the letter immediately which Rombauer published with his own in the School Bulletin. One of his colleague remembered even twenty six years later how big scandal he caused with this.⁴⁵

He was a thorn in the Saxon intellectuals’ side who considered the guards of Rombauers, Szontaghs, Jahns, Walters, Bäumlers, Raidls, Ungers, Horgers, Moeszses, Hoffmanns and Binders “Hergelaufenes Renegatengesindel” (upstart renegade-ragtag).⁴⁶ And he was also a thorn in the Hungarians’ side who looked the school with suspicious eyes — because originally the State Main Technical School of Székelyudvarhely was planned to replace, the apple of Székelys’⁴⁷ eye. In addition to all the school’s patriotic feelings they considered the Székelys’ behavior deconstructive, ostentatious and ornamental patriotism.

The director had to assemble the faculty. Because of his perseverance and perfectionism what characterized him already in Selmecbánya he managed to create outstanding faculty. Many excellent teacher worked there like Frigyes Hoffmann, the German teacher of the Eötvös Collegium, Sándor Mika, later history professor at the university in Budapest and scientific celebrities like Antal Horger, Gisztáv Moesz etc. He collected teachers on by one visiting the Ministry many times for applications. His perfectionism manifested not only in sorting out teachers but in teaching too. Under his direction such criteria were realized as one subject group was taught by one teacher, student remained under the leadership of one teacher in the same subject for years. The latter was almost impossible expectation because teachers rotated continuously. In case of teaching foreign languages teachers held lessons in the adequate language (direct method). Rombauer provided the school with large library, tool collection and mineral collection; he bought two third of them on his own expense even in 1893.⁴⁸

In fact Emil Rombauer viewed the school’s development like an outsider formulating such expectations which didn’t adapt to the reality of the era. Nr to its financial limits, nor to the institutional frames, nor to the expectations and claims of the local environment. He could do this because his financial possibilities allowed greater leeway for him than to others. His vocation made him to have resort to these. Nevertheless his ideas were very prospective. He firmly opposed penalty in educational habits; as he always said: the hazel stick doesn’t educate, only punish. Poor students never had to leave because of the lack of tuition payment, he paid of his own pocket. He tried to reconcile the nationalities, he joined the Saxon associations, subscribed

44 Letter of Emil Rombauer to the City Council of Brassó, in: *Ibidem*, p. 11.

45 J. BINDER, *Rombauer Emil*, Budapest/Légrády 1914, p. 10.

46 *Ibidem*, p. 11.

47 Székelys are a Hungarian ethnic minority in Transylvania with a strong group consciousness.

48 E. ROMBAUER, *A Brassói Magyar Királyi Állami Főreáliskola Alapításának és Eddigi Működésének Története*, in: E. ROMBAUER (Ed.), *A Brassói Állami Kir. Kat. Főreáliskola értesítője az 1892/93. tanévre*, Brassó, 1893, pp. 3–104.

for their newspapers and invited them and Hungarians to his home at the same time. Many followed his exemplary behavior even when it was obvious that every change could have been connected to his personality. But the mere fact that the use of his own assets was allowed didn't create greater budget. Schools already received together Lóránd Eötvös, Minister of Education. His meeting with Rombauer strengthened his faith in scientist teachers.⁴⁹ Later, at the times of the green Saxon aspirations, this kindness disappeared.⁵⁰

Rombauer also supported the press: the newspaper Brassó was on the edge of bankruptcy by 1899. The sheriff convened the leading personalities of the Hungarians and reached agreement but the pressman demanded the debt in one piece. The sheriff — claiming that he wouldn't remain in his office for a long time (he left for the ministerial chair) — didn't pay. In the awkward silence Rombauer stood up and offered the amount (1,400 Ft) expressing his hope that the new sheriff would pay it back in the future; but he never received the money.⁵¹ In the same year the National Society of Fine Arts organized an exhibition in Kolozsvár (today Cluj-Napoca in Romania) and Rombauer called them to Brassó too. The money was gathered by the donations of the Saxons — approximately two hundred paintings were exhibited —, but no one bought and Rombauer had to “save the honor of the city” again. At the same time he had good relationship with the Saxon painters: Robert Wellmann was his guest for a long time and painted the portrait of Pál Hunfalvy in Rombauer's house which decorates the third floor dome of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences today (Rombauer's library in the background). This friendship redounded Saxon painters (Frigyes Miesz, Arthur Coulin, Robert Wellmann) to visit increasingly exhibitions in Budapest and integrate to Hungarian culture. In the 1880s Hungarian Choral Society could not compete with that of German and Romanian. It suffered losses and didn't have a single charter member. Rombauer became its first founder after his arrival to town and later in the 1890s he was already its director even until 1904.⁵²

Rombauer performed other public tasks too. He was the first church warden of the Lutheran Church between 1887 and 1903 and created a two hundred forints Foundation for the memory of the foundation of the Hungarian Lutheran Deanery of Brassó in 1886 but anyway we could hardly find a corner of the parish where he didn't donate something. He took part in the makeover of the Tisza District Bishopric to Deanery. He performed its duties as a cashier between 1886 and 1888 and as a superintendent until 1896. He was elected to be a vice-president of the Transylvanian Hungarian Cultural Association and a representative of the City and the County. He was the Liberal Party candidate against the Green Saxon Ultra candidate in the Szászhermány (today Hărman in Romania) constituency in 1901.

49 G. RADNAI, *Az Eötvös-korszak*, in: *Fizikai Szemle*, Vol. 41, No. 10, 1991, p. 341.

50 E. ROMBAUER, *A középiskola feladata*, in: G. VOLF — J. WALDAPFEL (Eds.), *Emlékkönyv Kármán Mór huszonötéves tanári munkásságának ünnepére* Eggenberger, Budapest 1897, pp. 162–170.

51 E. ROMBAUER, *A Brassói...*, pp. 3–104.

52 T. ROMBAUER (Ed.), *Emlékkönyv a „Brassói Magyar Dalárda” fennállásának félévszázados évfordulója alkalmára*, Brassó 1913.

Two of his articles were published about the reform of teacher training in 1891.⁵³ He wanted to settle the payments and emphasized the importance of secondary schools in teacher training foundation. His third proposal was not only published but was also said word of mouth on the Twenty-year anniversary of the General Assembly. He took size against Mór Kármán, famous pedagogue and professor that nor the examination schedule of the Faculty of Arts needed to be tightened nor it had to make teacher training a profession but this was the task of the Public Education Department because this was their direct interest. He cited the example of Tübingen, introduced their organizational structure and called for the establishment of a similar institution. This fruitful idea largely supported the call the institution of the Eötvös Collegium to life. Already in 1881 on the Electrical Congress in Paris Lóránd Eötvös and Károly Than represented Hungary and Trefort also tasked Eötvös to study French education. According to the memories of Géza Bartoniek, the organizer and first director of the Eötvös Collegium Eötvös hoped for roughly from this time forth that he can establish a Collegium in Hungary along the lines of the Ecole Normale Superieure in Paris.⁵⁴

Though countless many things had to happen until 1895 when it had the chance to be established. The idea of the integrated secondary school system raised also in the nineties and the minister organized a group to deal with the case into which Rombauer was elected. In the following years Rombauer took part in different preparatory law committees to help the regulation of teachers' payment, status and position in educational system. In 1895 his article "Some intentions on textbook authorization" first formulated the need that authorization must be general. This aspect was then included into the Regulation by Minister of Education Wlassics issued in 1896. In the same year he became the vice-president of The National Association of Secondary School Teachers and in the following year he received the title of Director-General and membership in the National Council on Public Education. In this position he performed countless tasks. He edited and wrote the chemical part of the journal Technical School Instructions. Eötvös invited him to be the head of the Secondary School Department in the Ministry but he didn't accepted. But in 1904 he couldn't refuse the minister's invitation to the position of director of the V. District Technical School in Budapest. He made the new building constructed, established new drawing room, gym, library, and teacher conference room. Later a new wing was attached to the building and many equipment were provided.⁵⁵

In the spring of 1905 on the meeting of the Society for Social Sciences he spoke about the problems of the secondary schools and defended his position just like on the annual meeting of the Teachers' Association. He defended himself against such accusations that excessive curriculum would have bad influence on students' nerve condition.⁵⁶ In 1906 — partly due to these attacks and partly because he came round

53 E. ROMBAUER, *A tanárképzésről*, in: Országos Középiszkolai Tanáregylet Közlönye, 1891/nov., pp. 1-2, 1891/dec., pp. 1-3.

54 RADNAI, p. 341.

55 ROMBAUER, *A társadalom...*, pp. 5-30.

56 E. ROMBAUER, *A középiskolai reform kérdéséhez*, in: Országos Középiszkolai Tanáregylet Közlönye, 1904, pp. 62-72.

that the secondary schools' integrated public position was against insurmountable obstacles⁵⁷ — he resigned from the vice-residency of the National Association. Zsolt Beóthy — one of the leading figures of literature science and one of his best friends — followed him. After his decision Rombauer partly retreated but didn't give up completely public activities. He remained an active participant of Lutheran Church in Budapest. The Church decided to give tuition waiver for poor Jewish students too due to his proposal. He functioned the supervision of religious teaching even in his old age and interceded to settle the payments for religious education teachers.

Superficially it might seem that Rombauer basically didn't change his social environment. He remained in Hungary and even despite of his Saxon ethnicity he came to another Saxon town. His difficulties actually derived from his humanitarian, progressive and uncompromising nature but at least all of these contributed to them. Despite all of these it seems that even Saxons disliked him in Brassó. This might be partly interpret by his Hungarian identity: till Roderick Rombauer — his cousin in the U.S. — got far from Hungarian or even European identity due to his refugee status and desire of integration so long Emil was strengthened in his national identity by his plodding on the fate of home.

THREE GENERATIONS DURING MORE THAN A CENTURY

*“The task of scaling is to identify context-systems which give the frame for social games.”*⁵⁸ Life spans and social environment are in close interrelation both in vertical and horizontal meaning. A career shows the features of a social group,⁵⁹ or here the middle strata, but in two different way: representing its actual social environment and its origins. We wouldn't digress too much if mention — in our case — the theory of Protestant Ethic nowadays a bit sunk into oblivion. A painter, a manufacturer and a teacher: all typical middle class members, all Protestant and all with an indestructible will to create. Their values include frugality and hard work but also emphasizes mathematics and observation. It's easy to find the elements of the enhanced values of scholarship, rational systematization of government administration, and an increase in entrepreneurship ventures lead to a modern western value system linked to Protestant origins.⁶⁰ And we shouldn't forget that in our contemporary geopolitical view these elements are part of the western civilization according to Huntington's interpretation and influence.

As today it is generally accepted everything which was written as a story create a hardly disentangled line of acts and contain a specified direction at the same time.⁶¹

57 Az egységes jogállásítású középiskolákról. Szakértekezlet, 1906. január 29–31.-én Jegyzőkönyv. 119. and 139. BINDER, p. 25.

58 B. LEPETIT, *Architecture, géographie, histoire: usages de l'échelle*, in: Genèses, T. 13, No. 13, 1993, pp. 118–138.

59 G. LEVI, *Les usages de la biographie*, in: Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations, T. 44, No. 6, 1989, pp. 1325–1336.

60 B. REINHARD, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait*, Oakland 1977.

61 A. MACINTYRE, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, Notre Dame 2007, p. 230.

Every biographies must be teleological,⁶² interpersonal relations namely bear the effects of narrative traditions thus narrative tradition itself effects our senses. This preforms writing itself and even thinking. Usually we try to create a story in which individual elements fit together and eliminate contradictions.⁶³ But in our case not only history itself but the positive information extracted from it can be a narrative too.

A PIECE OF LATE MODERN AGE HISTORY OF HUNGARY THROUGH THE ROMBAUER FAMILY TREE

ABSTRACT

A closed community of Lutheran Germans in the city of Lócse (Levoča) and a family lived for centuries in this city showed three generations in the 19th century got far from their home but kept their values. A painter, a manufacturer and a teacher in different eras and environments in Hungary with the same ethic: hard work and thrift. Both originated from Lócse: János Rombauer, the painter got to Saint Petersburg as a royal painter of Czar Alexander I and returned later to Eperjes (Prešov). Tivadar Rombauer moved close to Munkács (Мукачеве) and later to Ózd as a founder of the most famous iron foundry. Later because of his role in the Revolution he had to flee to America where he established a new life for the emergence of a new family line of his descendants. Emil got to Brassó (Braşov) where he had to cope with Saxons as a Hungarian and later to Budapest where he had to cope with the bureaucracy as a teacher and director. In both three life spans we can easily discover the essence of those values derived from their ancestors and can be characterized with the spirit of capitalism and Protestant ethic.

KEYWORDS

Micro history; Genealogy; Migration; Social integration

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62 P. BOURDIEU, *L'illusion biographique*, in: Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales, T. 62, Nos. 62-63, 1986, pp. 69-72.

63 D. SPENCE, *Narrative Truth and Historical Truth: Meaning and Interpretation in Psychoanalysis*, New York 1984.