

Š T Ú D I E

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

CASE STUDY:

GERMAN ELECTED DEPUTIES FROM TRANSYLVANIA AND BOHEMIA (1867–1918)¹

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The Habsburg Monarchy underwent significant political transformations in the second half of the long 19th century. These developments led to the decentralization and extension of the political power, particularly through the expansion of the suffrage for the parliaments, which catalyzed a shift toward more dynamic social mobility. This article examines how these changes reflected in the social background of the German elected deputies to the Austrian Imperial Council and the Hungarian parliament. The study of German elites in Bohemia and Transylvania is particularly compelling as it coincides with the erosion of the Germans' centuries-old political privileges in both provinces during the period under study. Moreover, the changes in the suffrage also anticipated shifts in the social composition of the political representatives. The analysis of the social mobility of these political elites can shed some light over the social mechanics through which they accessed power, and reveal broader societal transformations. This analysis also showcases the influence the distinct political systems that evolved in the two halves of the Habsburg Monarchy after 1867 had over the social composition of the political elite. Thus, this article intends to compare the social background of the deputies, with a focus on their social origin, confessional, educational, professional, and social mobility compared to their fathers and fathers-in-laws, to observe what transformations came out of the political changes that took place during

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the analyzed period.

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1. Introduction

The second half of the 19th century brought many rapid changes on multiple levels for the Habsburg Monarchy. On the political level there are a few ideological experiments and political events that led to the introduction of stable representative bodies and the beginning of democratization in the early 1860s. Amid challenges on multiple fronts, a political compromise between Vienna and Pest was reached, leading to the creation of Austria-Hungary in 1867. This agreement established two separate political systems, each with its own parliament, within a single state entity. The political changes also led to social shifts, particularly with the expansion of suffrage for electing representatives, which increased social diversity within the political arena. More exactly, I am referring to a more dynamic social mobility and social composition of the elites, as well as representation of a wider range of social layers at the level of governance bodies.

The purpose of this study is to analyze the representatives of two minorities with a similar ethnic background in order to observe how the introduction of the suffrage and its consequent changes or stagnancy reflected in the social composition and mobility of these deputies. Bohemia and Transylvania have been chosen because they are two non-central provinces from each part of the double monarchy, which have not been studied before in comparative perspective. The selection of German deputies was driven by their particular status in both provinces, with similar backgrounds not only ethnically but also politically and historically. For centuries, these groups held political and economic privileges, but the changes mentioned earlier gradually eroded these advantages as the state and society modernized. It is worth noting that national and ethnic identity began to gain significance in the mid-19th century, making their definitions quite ambiguous for the studied period. For instance, while censuses on the Austrian side of the monarchy only asked about the “*language of daily use*,”² the Hungarian government inquired about the mother tongue of the respondents.³ Thus, the determination of the German ethnic affiliation of

2 TEIBENBACHER, KRAMER and GÖDERLE. *An Inventory of Austrian Census Materials, 1857–1910*. Rostock 2012, p. 10.

3 BOLOVAN et al. Ethnicity and Politics: Censuses in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Case Study: Transylvania, 1869–1910). In *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, 2016, 10, no. 2, p. 139-144.

the deputies consisted in combining a series of factors: their ethnic background rooted in the biographies and family history, the language of daily use for Bohemia and the “mother tongue” for Transylvania, the language used in the schools they attended, party affiliation, their birthplace or the place where they professed or were elected, etc.

I started with the assumption that the German deputies were elected either by people who had an affinity in declaring themselves as Germans or by people that lived in spaces where the influence of the German elites was strong or at least the best option. However, this is just a point of view, as the reality during the studied period and in the two provinces is more complex. In fact, the evolutions in the two provinces, while presenting some similarities, also diverge, but I believe the assumption may be more closer to the reality than the contrary. As mentioned previously, the German communities in both Bohemia and Transylvania had a privileged political status, coupled with economic and cultural advantages, that started diminishing in the second half of the 19th century. For this reason, against the background of other developing nation-building projects in the area, most German deputies in both Bohemia and Transylvania supported those political parties (sometimes not necessary of German ethnic character) whose agenda was most favorable to their political and social needs. In this respect, they were most likely to be supported by voters who wanted to safeguard as many as possible of the former economic and political advantages, which they regarded as vital for preserving their German cultural identity. As a result, these deputies were elected mainly in areas inhabited by compact groups of German population.

The historical and political differences between Bohemia and Transylvania cannot be ignored either, but may strengthen my assumption. In Bohemia, German language had officially been dominant since its incorporation into the Habsburgs' possessions and it started losing ground with the rise of the Czech nationalism in mid 19th century. This, coupled with Austria's language policy after 1867 (which promoted official multilingualism) led to a defensive consolidation of German spaces in terms of language and identity, and increased electoral support for those aiming to contribute to the preservation of “Germannes”. Consequently, in Bohemia, the Germans supported in the beginning the liberal current, whose agenda included maintaining the constitution and a centralized monarchy, which, while it didn't necessarily supported a German national identity directly, it fulfilled their identity-building aims. Later on, the Germans in Bohemia, as well as other German groups in Austria, moved more and more towards parties that were specifically promoting “Germannes” and were more openly supporting reforms and laws that would benefit the German communities specifically.⁴

4 POKORNÝ. IV. Vereine, Verbände und Parteien in den Böhmisches Ländern/A. Vereine und

In the case of Transylvania, while German has been used officially too in the historical German areas (i.e., the so called “King’s land”), it was not the dominant official language even before the Compromise. Moreover, the policy of Hungary after 1867 ditched multilingualism and focused on promoting Hungarian as the official language (and Hungarian as official national identity) for everyone, regardless of the ethnic background. Thus, after 1867, German fell politically on the same level as other non-Hungarian languages in Transylvania, being used mainly in local administration of the German-inhabited areas.

This defensive stance only increased the struggles of preserving German identity in face of both the political pressure coming from the Hungarian state, and the demographic one, coming mainly from the Romanians, which formed the ethnic majority in many parts of the King’s Land. The fact that a majority of the German population was Lutheran (a denomination not shared by other ethnicities) only strengthened the identity building process and the inner-cohesion of the German ethnic group. Another advantage Germans enjoyed in Transylvania was their overall better social, economic and educational standing, which given the particularities of the censitary franchise allowed them to maintain electoral majorities even in electoral districts demographically dominated by Romanians.⁵

Regarding their political program, as it was the case for other nationalities, the German opposed the Compromise and some were inclined to boycott and electoral passivity.⁶ However, given the nature of the political context, the tactic of supporting Hungarian governmental parties gained ground, both through German deputies elected with the former’s programme, as well as through the deputies elected as independents or on the lists of the German parties. The fact that the Hungarian radical opposition parties, who supported the aim of a fully independent Hungary, were voted usually in areas with a Magyar majority,⁷ only strengthened the pro-governmental orientation of the Germans, who preferred to support the party that at least kept Hungary (and through it, Transylvania) linked to the Austrian side of the Monarchy and to the German House of Habsburg.

Parteien in Böhmen. In RUMPLER and URBANITSCH, eds. *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*. Band 8, Teil 1, Vienna 2006, s. 672–680.

- 5 As proven by the data collected by the Romanian National Party on the ethnic make-up of the electorate in Transylvania between 1881 and 1884: Romanian National Central Historical Archives in Bucharest, Fund Comitetul Național Român Sibiu (The Romanian National Committee in Sibiu), files 1/I, 1/IV, 2, 5, 9, 17, 18.
- 6 KWAN. Transylvanian Saxon Politics, Hungarian State Building and the Case of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Schulverein (1881–82). In *The English Historical Review*, 2012, 127, no. 526, p. 601–603.
- 7 PÁL et al., ed. *Parliamentary elections in eastern Hungary and Transylvania (1865–1918)*. Peter Lang 2018, p. 36–40.

Given these historical premises, to fulfill the comparative aim of the research, I have divided the analysis for this study in three sections. In the first section, I discuss the 1867 Compromise and compare the two emerging parliaments, focusing on their structure, electoral geography, electorate differences, and suffrage reforms. The second section focuses on providing a collective biography for each group with focus on birthplace, confession, noble status, education, profession (as well as profession of their father and their first father-in-law), age at first marriage, number of marriages, age at the first mandate and number of mandates. For this section I used HISCO, a system that attributes each historical occupation a code, and HISCLASS, a system that categorizes the professions coded with HISCO in twelve classes according to the level of skill and type of labor.

The first five classes comprise non-manual work: higher-skilled – class 1: higher managers; class 2: higher professionals; medium-skilled: class 3: lower managers; class 4: lower professionals, clerical, and sales personnel; lower skilled and unskilled – class 5: lower clerical and sales personnel. The part of class 5 and the rest of seven classes comprise manual work: higher-skilled – class 5; medium skilled – class 6: foremen; class 7: medium skilled workers; class 8: farmers and fishermen; lower-skilled: class 9: lower-skilled workers; class 10: lower-skilled farm workers; and unskilled – class 11: unskilled workers; class 12: unskilled farm workers.⁸

The third section focuses on calculating intergenerational social mobility by comparing the HISCLASS of each deputy with that of his father and then with his first father-in-law. Then, for each group, I describe the parameters mentioned in section two, to observe whether some of them differed according to the type of social mobility. For this study, data for the German deputies from Bohemia were sourced from the database associated with the project within the framework of which I am conducting my research.⁹ These data was collected from parish and civil registers, address books, obituaries, party lists, newspapers, election results, university records, genealogical websites,¹⁰ and secondary sources. Similarly, for the Saxon deputies from Transylvania, I compiled a database using roughly the same type of sources. The genealogical database developed by Der Verein für Genealogie der Siebenbürger Sachsen¹¹ was particularly valuable in this process.

8 More about the two systems can be found here: VAN LEEUWEN and MAAS. *HISCLASS: A historical international social class scheme*. Leuven 2011.

9 Database of Czech Deputies, <https://parliament.mua.cas.cz/App/> [online]. For more details about the project, see the first footnote.

10 Such as myheritage.com, ancestry.com, etc.

11 <https://vgss.de/genealogie-datenbank/index.php> [online].

2. Historical and political context

The 1867 Settlement

The middle of the 19th century was full of tumultuous events and experimentations for the Habsburg Monarchy. Although the 1848 revolution failed to achieve immediate political reforms, it had lasting repercussions for decades to come. The failure of the neoabsolutism and that of the early federalization attempts of the 1860s, the wars in 1854–1856, 1859, and 1866, the financial crisis, the loss of credibility in the monarchy's legitimacy, as well as the political unrest, especially in Hungary, led Francis Joseph to finally accept a political compromise with the Hungarians.¹² The negotiations were completed in 1867, with the conclusion of the Compromise/Settlement (*Ausgleich*) on the 17th of February and the coronation of Francis Joseph as King of Hungary on the 8th of June. In the same year, the emperor recalled the Austrian parliament, where the majority was held by the centralist liberals, and allowed it to draw new constitutional laws, as a concession for accepting the *Ausgleich*.

The new structure of the Habsburg Monarchy was a confederation of two states linked by the person of Francis Joseph, as emperor of the Austrian half and king of the Hungarian part, and the shared ministries of defense, foreign affairs, and finance. Otherwise, each side governed itself by its own constitution, had its own parliament, and different citizenship, decided on the language used in administration, and took over a certain territory over which the other side had no right of intervention. The new system was criticized as favoring German and Hungarian nationalism. However, the two systems had different ways of dealing with the nationality issue. Neither half had a linguistic and ethnic absolute majority, but while the Austrian side focused on multinationalism, Hungary focused on creating a Magyar nation and assimilating other ethnolinguistic groups.¹³ The two different ways of dealing with the issue of the various ethnic groups were also reflected in the way parliaments and the electoral pools were organized and operated from 1867 onwards.

Structure of the parliament in 1867

The new constitution, crafted by the liberal parliament convened in May 1867 and soon sanctioned by the emperor, established the legal foundation for the Monarchy's new political structure. The new constitution did not change much about the Imperial Council for Cisleithania, which functioned similarly to the *eigener Reichsrat*¹⁴ of the February Patent until 1873. The parliament had two

12 BELLER. *The Habsburg Monarchy 1815–1918*. Cambridge 2018, p. 106-107; 112-115.

13 JUDSON. *The Habsburg Empire*. Cambridge 2016, p. 259-261, 265.

14 In the February Patent, it referred to the narrower parliament that comprised all the non-Hun-

chambers: the Chamber of Deputies (*Abgeordnetenhaus*), which consisted of elected deputies, and the House of Magnates (*Herenhaus*), which functioned as a counterbalance to moderate the power of the former chamber. The counterbalancing character emerged from its role – a law could pass only with the support of both houses and the agreement of the Monarch.

Most of the members of the House of Magnates were Habsburg princes and people nominated by and loyal to the emperor, which also contributed to the moderative role of this body.¹⁵ Their number would vary between 100 to 170 during dualism.¹⁶ The number of deputies in the Chamber of Deputies was much higher compared to the House of Magnates, but decreased from 343 in 1861 to 203 members in 1867. Of these, 54 seats were designated for Bohemia.¹⁷ The provincial diets would select the deputies from their own members and they would also be the ones to deal with the internal issues at the level of the province, thus remaining unchanged in terms of structure and role compared to the February Patent.¹⁸ In 1867, the parliamentary immunity was introduced as well. The age for being elected to the Imperial Council was at least 30.¹⁹ Regarding the suffrage, it was based on taxes of propriety, ownership of a house, and income. Those with university education, teachers from public schools, government officials, the clergy, as well as retired military officers had the right to vote as well.²⁰

However, the new realities were met with strong opposition, especially from Bohemian Czechs and Galician Poles, who were hoping to obtain a similar agreement as the Hungarians. Galician Poles received de facto autonomy and

garian territories of the monarchy; the general parliament comprised Hungary too, but Hungary's internal affairs were dealt by its own diet.

- 15 JUDSON. Forcing Constitutional Change through Parliamentary Practice in 1861. In ADL-GASSER et al., eds. *Hohes Haus! 150 Jahre moderner Parlamentarismus in Österreich, Böhmen, der Tschechoslowakei und der Republik Tschechien im mitteleuropäischen Kontext*. Wien 2015, p. 119-120.
- 16 CEAUȘU. Reprezentare și participare politică. Românii în consiliul imperial din Viena (1861–1873). In *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "AD Xenopol,"* 2014, 51, Supl. 3, p. 98.
- 17 KWAN. *Liberalism and the Habsburg Monarchy, 1861–1895*. New York 2013, p. 28; ADLGASSER. *Die Mitglieder des österreichischen Parlaments 1861–1918*. Wien 2014, p. XXVIII-XXIX.
- 18 CEAUȘU. *Parlamentarism și reprezentare politică în Transilvania între anii 1867–1918*. Iași 2004, p. 41-42, 45-46.
- 19 ADLGASSER. Kontinuität oder Wandel? Wahlrechtsreformen und das österreichische Parlament, 1861–1918. In *Parliaments, Estates & Representation*, 2005, 25, no. 1, s. 151; CEAUȘU. Reprezentare și participare politică, p. 98, 105-106.
- 20 JUDSON, Forcing Constitutional Change, p. 119-120; BADER-ZAAR. Democratization and the Practices of Voting in Habsburg Austria, 1896–1914: New Directions in Research. In *Austrian History Yearbook*, 2022, 53, p. 109.

hegemony in Galicia in 1868. The Czechs almost succeeded in receiving a similar autonomy as Hungary in 1871 through the Fundamental Articles, but under the pressure of the German Liberals in Cisleithania, of Hungary, which invoked it would have been against the 1867 *Ausgleich*, and of Germany, the emperor stepped back. However, the Bohemian Czechs obtained local autonomy and hegemony as well.²¹ Opposition was also encountered on the other side of Leitha, from Croatia and Transylvania. In the case of Croatia, an official agreement (*Nagodba*) was signed with Hungary in 1868, in which cultural and administrative autonomy was granted. Transylvania lost its centuries-long autonomy, although a Nationalities Law was signed, which granted some rights in terms of language to non-Hungarian speakers.²²

The 1867 constitution laid the basis for a separate parliamentary life in the Kingdom of Hungary. In contrast to the Austrian side, the Parliament held effective power in Transleithania, the government being subordinate to it. The only matters that could limit its power were war measures and acts regulating Budapest's relationship with Vienna, which removed from its exclusive authority only international affairs, the army, and the finances. Although the monarch had more power than it had been established in the pre-Compromise discussions and acts, such as pre-sanctioning laws before they were sent by the government to parliament, the parliament could still be considered the real power in Hungary.²³ The Hungarian parliament was bicameral too, consisting of the House of Magnates and the Chamber of Deputies.²⁴ The two chambers of parliament were independent and the relationship between them was not regulated by any specific law. Although the two chambers were supposed to be equal, in reality, the Chamber of Deputies came to have more influence.²⁵ The House of Magnates was composed of aristocrats, namely barons, counts, and princes, heads of all main Christian denominations (such as bishops and archbishops), Lord Lieutenants, and members nominated by the king on the recommendation of the government. The reform of 1885 required members of this chamber to pay a land tax of 3000 Guldens, although members that were at least 50 years old were allowed to stay

21 JUDSON. *The Habsburg Empire*, p. 260-262; BELLER, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1815–1918*, p. 126-127.

22 JUDSON. *The Habsburg Empire*, p. 264-266.

23 PÁL et al., *Parliamentary elections in eastern Hungary and Transylvania (1865–1918)*, p. 16.

24 Hungary had a parliament that was even before 1848 that was bicameral, while Transylvania had a unicameral diet. See more in: PAP. *Parliamentary Representatives and Parliamentary Representation in Hungary (1848–1918)*. Frankfurt am Main 2017, p. 16-17.

25 RUMPLER and URBANITSCH, eds. *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918. VII. Verfassung und Parlamentarismus. I. Verfassungsrecht, Verfassungswirklichkeit, zentrale Repräsentativkörperschaften*. Wien 2000, p. 418.

even if they did not meet this condition.²⁶ The Chamber of Deputies comprised a number of 413 deputies elected by census suffrage.²⁷ Any voter who was at least 24 years old could be elected as a deputy and had to be fluent in Hungarian to participate in parliamentary debates. MPs had the right to initiate laws, to table amendments, to question members of the government, and also to parliamentary immunity.²⁸

Constituencies, electorate, and reforms

The elections for the two parliaments were held separately and at different times. In Cisleithania, at the beginning of the dualism, the elections would theoretically take place every three years, and after 1873 every six years. However, in reality, 11 general elections took place on the Austrian side of the monarchy, namely in 1867, 1870, 1871, 1873, 1879, 1885, 1891, 1897, 1901, 1907, and 1911.²⁹ In Transleithania too in the beginning elections were expected every three years, and after 1887 every five years. In reality, aside from the deputies that were elected in 1865/1866 and whose mandate were reconfirmed in 1867, there were 12 elections: 1869, 1872, 1875, 1878, 1881, 1887, 1892, 1896, 1901, 1905, 1906, 1910.³⁰ The irregularities were caused by political instability and conflicts between different political actors – the monarch, the parliament, and the government, as well as the activity of different political groups and parties.

Between 1861 and 1873, the Imperial Council was based on a decentralized electoral system, with deputies being nominated by provincial diets. In the case of the Bohemian Diet, which functioned according to the *Landesordnung* (provincial constitution), this period was marked by continued conflicts between the Czechs and the German Liberals. The Czechs were seeing the Chamber of Deputies as a “Generallandtag”, where only the most pressing common issues were discussed, while the German Liberal politicians and the aristocracy loyal to the constitution supported the new constitutional regime brought by the 1861 Patent and later on by the December Constitution of 1867. The members of the diets came from four curiae, which consisted of different types of constituencies: the curia of the chambers of trade and commerce, the urban curia, the rural curia, and the great landowner curia. In the case of the Bohemian Diet, it consisted

26 PÁL et al., *Parliamentary elections in eastern Hungary and Transylvania (1865–1918)*, p. 21-22.

27 The number does not include the 40 Croatian seats. PAP, *Parliamentary Representatives and Parliamentary Representation*, p. 35.

28 PÁL et al., *Parliamentary elections in eastern Hungary and Transylvania (1865–1918)*, p. 40.

29 SEMOTANOVÁ et al. *Akademický atlas českých dějin*. Praha 2014, s. 317.

30 PÁL et al., eds. *Parliamentary elections in eastern Hungary and Transylvania (1865–1918)*, p. 30.

of 241 deputies elected for a six-year term. Of these, five were virilists (the archbishop of Prague, the bishops of Leitmeritz/Litoměřice, Königgrätz/Hradec Králové, and Budweis/České Budějovice, and the chancellor of the University of Prague), while the others were elected through the system of curiae.

The urban curia, which included cities, market towns, and industrial communities, elected directly 72 deputies. However, the vote was not equal, as it depended on the type of constituency, the amount of paid taxes, and the social status. Namely, while big cities represented a constituency by themselves, smaller communities were grouped together. Everyone who paid at least 10 gulden as direct taxes could theoretically vote. There were also privileges given to those with university degrees or who were part of the intellectual strata. They would send 16 deputies to the Imperial Council. The rural curia had an analogous structure of the electorate, with the exception that the vote was indirect. More exactly, the curia of the rural municipalities sent 79 deputies elected by electors chosen every 500 rural inhabitants. Of these 79, 19 would be sent to the Imperial Council.

The curia of the trade and commerce chambers elected directly 15 deputies, namely four each for Prague and Reichenberg/Liberec, three for Eger/Cheb, and two each for Pilsen/Plzeň and Budweis/České Budějovice. With the exception of three mandates, until 1883 this curia was dominated by German politicians. They would send 4 deputies to the Reichsrat. The curia of great landowners consisted of 70 deputies elected by the landowners that paid more than 250 gulden in taxes, 16 through the owners of the fideicommissum, and 54 by the allodium large estate. A number of 15 deputies would be sent to the Imperial Council. This curia was disputed between the pro-Czech feudal-conservative/federalist group and the pro-German constitutionalist/centralist group. Due to the electoral law, the group who got the most votes in elections would get all the seats.³¹ This was also the only curia where women had the right to vote, but would still have to send a male representative.³² Without winning the election for this curia, neither Germans nor Czechs could gain a majority for the Bohemian diet, as well as for its counterpart in Moravia. These two diets were important for the entire Reichsrat, as they provided almost two-fifths of the deputies, which often challenged the German hegemony in the Imperial Council. Namely, out of the 203 seats established in the Reichsrat in 1867, 54 were assigned to Bohemia and 22 to Moravia. Of these, 14, respectively, three seats were assigned to those who

31 ŠTAIF. Czech Politics and the Imperial Parliament. In ADLGASSER et al., eds. *Hohes Haus! 150 Jahre moderner Parlamentarismus in Österreich, Böhmen, der Tschechoslowakei und der Republik Tschechien im mitteleuropäischen Kontext*, p. 147-149; ADLGASSER, *Die Mitglieder des österreichischen Parlaments 1861–1918*, p. XXVIII.

32 ADLGASSER, *Kontinuität oder Wandel?*, s. 151.

lost the elections, and thus, were in the minority. Thus, those who won would bring 62 seats of a certain political color in the Lower Chamber, which inclined the balance for different political groups.³³ However, even when they obtained the majority, Czech deputies continued boycotting the Reichsrat from 1863 to 1879, although pro constitution candidates (usually German) participated in the parliamentary life in Vienna starting with 1873.³⁴

There have been several attempts at direct election to the Reichsrat during this period specifically for Bohemia, in order to put an end to the Czechs' boycott. However, they kept on failing until 1873, when a reform at the entire level of Cisleithania took place.³⁵ The reform introduced direct elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the Imperial Council, without the intercession of the provincial diets, and it increased the number of mandates from 202 to 353.³⁶ Thus, the number of deputies elected from Bohemia grew to 92, out of which 32 deputies were elected for the urban curia, 30 for the rural curia, 7 for the curia of chambers of commerce and trade, and 23 for the landowners' curia.³⁷ Nonetheless, there was no modification regarding the conditions to be a voter. Only 6% of the adult male population could vote, and the ballot turnout was not great either – only around 20-30% of the voters.³⁸ The next modification took place about a decade later. At the end of 1882, a law that reduced the amount of taxes to 5 gulden for the urban and rural curiae in the case of both the Bohemian Diet and the Imperial Council changed the social composition of the elected deputies.³⁹

In 1893, protests were organized requesting universal franchise. After opposition from the groups that were privileged by the previous system, and after the dissolution of two governments, a reform was voted by the Parliament in 1896 and took effect the following year. The number of elected deputies increased to 425, by introducing a “general electoral class” (*allgemeinen Wählerklasse*),

33 HÖBELT, The great landowners' curia and the reichsrat elections during the formative years of Austrian constitutionalism 1867–1873. In *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, 1985, 5 (2), p. 177-179.

34 ŠTAIF. Czech Politics and the Imperial Parliament. In ADLGASSER et al., eds. *Hohes Haus! 150 Jahre moderner Parlamentarismus in Österreich, Böhmen, der Tschechoslowakei und der Republik Tschechien im mitteleuropäischen Kontext*, p. 154.

35 HÖBELT, The great landowners' curia and the reichsrat elections during the formative years of Austrian constitutionalism 1867–1873. In *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, 1985, 5 (2), p. 181; KWAN, *Liberalism and the Habsburg Monarchy, 1861–1895*, p. 43.

36 ADLGASSER, *Kontinuität oder Wandel?*, s. 150.

37 SEMOTANOVÁ et al. *Akademický atlas českých dějin*, s. 313.

38 JELAVICH. *Modern Austria. Empire and Republic, 1815–1896*. Cambridge 1987, p. 83; BADER-ZAAR, *Democratization and the Practices*, p. 111.

39 ŠTAIF. Czech Politics and the Imperial Parliament. In ADLGASSER et al., eds. *Hohes Haus! 150 Jahre moderner Parlamentarismus in Österreich, Böhmen, der Tschechoslowakei und der Republik Tschechien im mitteleuropäischen Kontext*, p. 155.

which had 72 seats. In the case of Bohemia, the number of deputies elected in this curia was 18.⁴⁰ Every male citizen who was aged 24 or older and who had their residency in Cisleithania for at least six months could vote in this curia. The problem arose from the fact that everyone who could vote in the four other curiae could vote in this one as well. This situation was not exactly new, as people who could vote in the curiae of the landowners and the chambers of commerce could vote in other curiae as well, but the problem of the double voting rights became bigger.⁴¹ The new reform also reduced the tax for the urban and rural curia to 4 florins/guldens. This reform enlarged the electoral pool by 20%, despite removing the active army and police personnel from the voters' pool. This, together with the introduction of direct elections in the rural and the general curiae may explain the higher voter turnout for the elections in 1897.⁴²

But this reform was not enough and demands for a new reform were made once again. This also came in the context of representative parliaments spreading in neighboring countries, as well as internal restlessness provoked by the Hungarian political crisis of 1905–1906. By reforming the parliament to a higher representation Vienna hoped it would diminish the national problems, so it gave the green light in 1907. Thus, the universal, direct, secret, and equal male suffrage was introduced, while the curial system was abolished. The number of deputies further increased to 516, of which 130 seats were designated for Bohemia (the highest number in the entire Cisleithania). However, there were still discrepancies in representation due to the differences between urban and rural constituencies, and thus, the number of voters and between the provinces' size.⁴³ Still, the voter turnout was very high – about 85%, but this was also because in some provinces voting was mandatory. The constituencies were also mandated to provide more polling stations and candidates according to the language used there.⁴⁴

Unlike the Parliament in Vienna, the electoral base of the Budapest Parliament remained extremely small until the interwar period. There were very few changes even between the parliament established in 1848 and that of 1869. In 1848, 7,1% (ca. 800,000 voters) of the 11,2 million adult population of the Kingdom of

40 CEAUȘU, *Parlamentarism și reprezentare politică în Transilvania între anii 1867–1918*, p. 197–198, 207; ADLGASSER, *Die Mitglieder des österreichischen Parlaments 1861–1918*. Wien 2014, s. LII, LV–LVII.

41 ADLGASSER, *Kontinuität oder Wandel?*, s. 152.

42 BADER-ZAAR, *Democratization and the Practices*, p. 112.

43 CEAUȘU, *Parlamentarism și reprezentare politică în Transilvania între anii 1867–1918*, p. 197–198, 207; ADLGASSER, *Die Mitglieder des österreichischen Parlaments 1861–1918*, s. LII, LV–LVII.

44 The provinces in question were Upper Austria, Lower Austria, Moravia, Salzburg, Silesia, and Vorarlberg.

Hungary could vote, whereas in 1869, 6,8% (ca. 900,000 voters) of the 13,2 million adult population were allowed to participate as electors.⁴⁵ At the last pre-war elections in 1910, only 6,4% of Transleithania's population was eligible to vote.⁴⁶ The resistance to change in the electoral pool, in contrast to the other half of the monarchy, can be attributed, among others, to the ethno-nationalism promoted in Hungary to prevent other nationalities from accessing the electoral system.⁴⁷

As I mentioned earlier, the deputies were elected through census suffrage by men aged at least 24. For Transylvania, an income tax of 8 gulden and 40 kreuzer was required, which was much higher than for Hungary. The discrepancy in income between Transylvania and Hungary was not only due to settlement patterns (Transylvania was more rural than Hungary), but also to the fact that the 1848 laws were different for Transylvania, which at the time was still autonomous from the rest of Hungary. Although this matter should have been regulated by the Law on the union of Transylvania with Hungary (Law No XLIII:1868), in Transylvania Law No II:1848 remained valid as electoral law throughout the entire Dualist period. The only change made in 1868 was the appearance of two new seats, 75 in total after the change.⁴⁸ This meant that in Transylvania there was less electorate reaching the required quotas. This not only disadvantaged the Romanian population and the Hungarian population in Székelyland, both poor, but also favored the Saxon population. The Hungarian population of Székelyland was in fact in an ambiguous position: while it had ethnic representation through candidates elected by the Hungarian nobility and aristocracy, its material situation remained rather precarious, as it could not send deputies from its own social strata to improve their situation. Because of this ambiguous position, they often fell prey to electoral manipulation. Political candidates often resorted to political pressure, bribery, and "political favors," which worked not only because certain social classes remained favored regardless of political changes, but also because the voting was public and voters could be held accountable.⁴⁹

The electoral laws were not changed much by any of the reforms of 1868, 1874 and 1899, remaining largely as they had been established in 1848.⁵⁰ In 1872, new debates began regarding the electoral pool, as there were problems

45 GERŐ, *The Hungarian parliament (1867–1918). A Mirage of Power*. New York 1997, p. 11.

46 JOÓ, Governments-Parliaments and Parties (Hungary), https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/governments-parliaments_and_parties_hungary [online].

47 JUDSON, *The Habsburg Empire*, p. 203.

48 PÁL et al, eds. *Parliamentary elections in eastern Hungary and Transylvania (1865–1918)*, p. 36.

49 GERŐ, *The Hungarian parliament (1867–1918). A Mirage of Power*, p. 9-11, 22-23.

50 PAP, *Parliamentary Representatives and Parliamentary Representation*, p. 15

with voters' turnout and constituency distribution that made the election of MPs in certain regions much easier compared to others. Universal suffrage was brought up for discussion but was quickly dismissed. In 1874 an agreement was reached regarding new conditions for census suffrage in the case of the "old right" – the right for nobles and aristocracy who were born before 1848 to vote, and regarding the census and land ownership. The effect of these conditions was the reduction in number of voters over time. In 1877 an administrative reform was also decided by Law X:1877, but even this could not prevent the negative effects of the 1874 decision. It was not until Law XV:1899 that the restrictions were removed, and the number of voters gradually began to increase.⁵¹ However, somewhat more substantial changes would have been made with Law XIV:1913, which would have increased the voters' pool by about 9% and theoretically introduced secret voting in some regions. Law XIV:1913 also changed the age of voting: previously voters needed to be 20, but according to the new law, the age was raised to 24 for university-educated voters and 30 for the rest. Another change was brought up by Law XVII:1918, which again increased the voters' pool to almost double, lowered the census, and introduced a mixed system of public and secret voting. Nonetheless, although they were adopted, the two acts were never implemented due to the war and the dissolution of Austro-Hungary.⁵²

As for the electoral constituencies for the Hungarian side of the monarchy, there was no curial system, but fixed electoral districts. In the first phase of the dualist period in Transylvania, they were regulated by Law II of 1848, which provided for the existence of 73 and then 75 constituencies. Of these 20 were counties and districts; 22 Saxon seats, districts and towns; 10 Székely seats; and 23 privileged towns. After the administrative reforms of 1876-1877, there were 74 administrative units, of which 55 counties and 19 towns. One of the main reasons for these reforms was the great disproportion between the size of some constituencies. However, the reforms, while focusing on eliminating or cumulating some of the smaller ones, did not deal with the problem posed by the so-called "loca taxalia" towns that had traditional privileges conferred by the kings. Their situation is similar to what is known as "rotten boroughs", namely because they had a very small percentage of inhabitants and voters, but were represented along all the other larger constituencies. The electoral geography favored the urban voters – a deputy elected in an urban constituency represented 4 500 citizens, compared to a Saxon deputy who represented 16 000 inhabitants, and a deputy coming from Székelyland, who represented 41 000 inhabitants.

51 PAP. The Development of Representative Suffrage in Hungary in the Mid-19th Century. In *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis, Ser Historia*. 2018, 15, p. 151-155; GERŐ, *The Hungarian parliament (1867–1918). A Mirage of Power*, p. 50.

52 GERŐ, *The Hungarian parliament (1867–1918). A Mirage of Power*, p. 54-55.

Law XIV:1913 brought into discussion a new administrative reform. According to the statistics measured in 1913 for this purpose, the percentage of voters in Transylvania was disproportional to the number of populations for each ethnic group. There was overrepresentation in the case of Hungarians (56,2% of the voters compared to 34,3% in the general the population) and the Saxons (15,3% of voters vs 8,7% in the general population), while the Romanians were disadvantaged (28,2% of the voters vs 55% in the population). A territorial reorganization of the entire Hungary was regulated by law XV:1914, but this too was never enforced because of the start of the war.⁵³

3. General prosopography of the German deputies

The sample includes 258 German elected deputies from Bohemia to the Imperial Council in Vienna and 102 German/Saxon deputies from Transylvania to the Hungarian Parliament in Pest/Budapest between 1867 and 1918. I could not identify more detailed information about the ethnicity of the electorate, so I am presenting just a general overview of the proportion of the population in each provinces and of the mandates obtained by the German deputies in each parliament. The German population in Bohemia was 1,693,862 individuals (38.62% of the total population of Bohemia) in 1851; 2,054,174 (37,17%) in 1880; and 2,467,724 (36,76%) in 1910.⁵⁴ In Transylvania, the Germans numbered 192 204 individuals (10,26% of the entire population of Transylvania) in 1850; 211 748 (10,16%) in 1880; and 231 403 (8,71%) in 1910.⁵⁵

Regarding the parliamentary representation, for Bohemia, the elections in 1867, 1885, and 1910 are taken into consideration. In Bohemia, in the 1867–1870 electoral cycle (the first after the Settlement), the Germans obtained 66% regular mandates; in the 1885–1891 term (the first after the census in 1880), 41,57%; and in the 1911–1918 term (the first after the census in 1910), 42,96%.⁵⁶ The overrepresentation was influenced not necessarily by the ethnicity, but by

53 PÁL et al, eds. *Parliamentary elections in eastern Hungary and Transylvania (1865–1918)*, p. 36-40.

54 SEMOTANOVÁ et al. *Akademický atlas českých dějin*, s. 347

55 SZÁZ. *History of Transylvania Volume III. From 1830 to 1919*. New York 2002. <https://mek.oszk.hu/03400/03407/html/404.html> [online].

56 The database of the Czech parliamentarians from where I obtained the data (mentioned in the footnote 5; the data has been extracted on 3.6.2024) is not complete regarding the ethnicity/nationality of the people, due to the difficulty of establishing one's ethnical identity in the 19th century. For this reason, as well as the difficulty in accounting the different types of mandates (due to which I consider just the regular mandates), the following numbers differ from what is mentioned in literature in section 2. Thus, in the 1867–1870 cycle, the Germans obtained 33 out of 50 mandates; in the 1885–1891 cycle, they obtained 37 out of 89 mandates; in the 1911–1918 cycle; they obtained 55 out of 128 mandates.

a series of factors that could have contributed to the election of these deputies, from the electoral geography to the evolution of suffrage, although with the rise of the Czech nationalism, nationality cannot be ignored either. In the case of Transylvania, in the 1869–1872 cycle (the first parliamentary term after the Settlement), the Saxons obtained 14,58% of the regular mandates; in the 1881–1884 cycle (the first after the 1880 census), they obtained 8,53%; and in the 1910–1918 cycle (the first after the 1910 census), they obtained 8,64%.⁵⁷ If for the former two cycles there is some overrepresentation of the German population, this leveled out by the last electoral cycle.

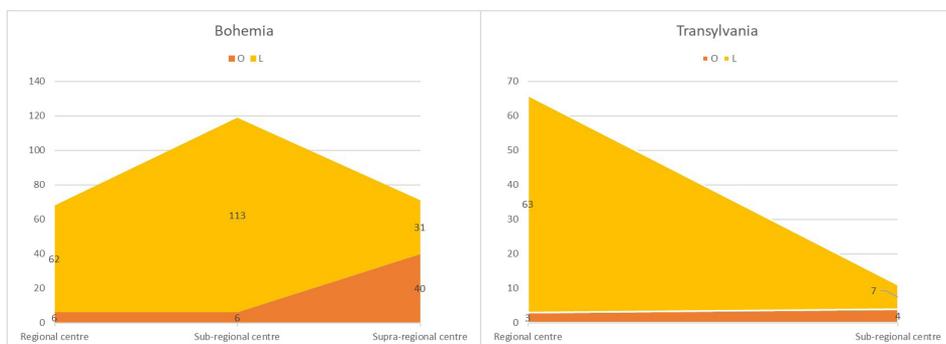


Fig. 1. Place of birth (O – outsiders; L – Locals)

Regarding their origin of these deputies, as can be seen in Figure 1, there are a few differences between the two provinces. The “locals”, those whose birthplace was inside Bohemia/Transylvania, are represented with yellow, while the “outsiders”, namely those born outside of the two regions (respectively), are represented with orange. I divided the birthplaces in three categories: supra-regional centers, regional centers, and sub-regional centers. The supra-regional centers include the two capitals of the empire – Vienna and Pest/Budapest, as well as crown land capitals (in the case of this paper, only Prague, as there were no crownlands in Hungary, nor any equivalent center for Transylvania). The regional centers are represented by regional cities, such as seats of counties, of bishopric administration, of county courts, and of Army Corps, as well as district towns (seats of districts captainships after 1868 in Bohemia) and towns with

⁵⁷ I keep the same rationale for the Transylvanian mandates in order to compare the values from a similar position. In the 1869–1872 cycle, the Saxons obtained 28 out of 192 regular mandates; in the 1881–1884 cycle, they obtained 14 out of 164 regular mandates; in the 1910–1918 cycle; they obtained 16 out of 185 regular mandates.

a functional town council (after 1876, in the case of Transylvania). The sub-regional centers are mostly market towns and other smaller localities.

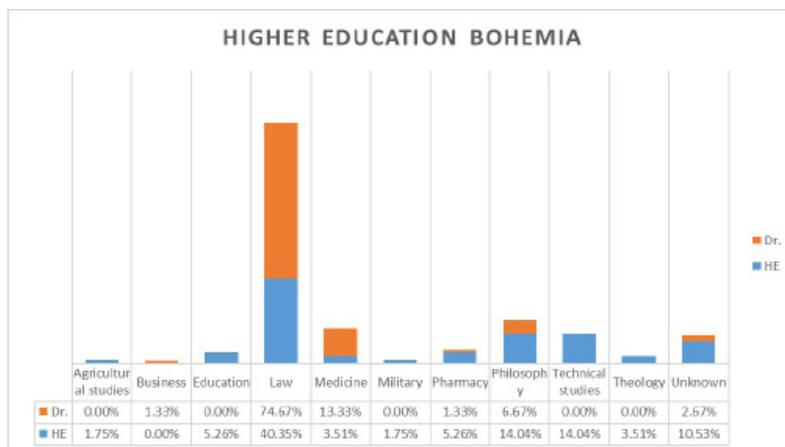
In the case of Bohemia, more than half of the local deputies came from sub-regional centers (52%), especially in the cohort of deputies elected starting with 1897, when the general curia was introduced. This category, as well as the category of supra-regional centers, were strongly underrepresented in Transylvania. Here, from the 77 cases out of 102 where the information about the origin could be identified, 90% of the locals came from regional centers. The big distinction could be explained by a combination of two factors: a) the lack of supra-regional centers in Hungary and b) the concentration of the Transylvanian Saxon political elite extraction pool in localities which offer higher educational possibilities as well as a local political framework which helped in the process of socialization. Another bigger distinction is the percentage of outsiders. In the case of Bohemia, 16,6% of the deputies came from outside, mainly from supra-regional centers both in the Habsburg Monarchy, as well outside of it (Germany, Italy, etc.), while in the case of Transylvania, the outsiders constituted only 9,1% and they came from other places in Hungary, with no distinction between the types of settlements.

The nobility status distribution is also different in the two provinces among the studied population. In Bohemia, 64 cases (25%) had noble titles and the majority came from supra-regional centers (59,3%) from both inside and outside of Bohemia. In the case of those from sub-regional and regional centers, they were mostly local. Regarding Transylvania, there were 14 deputies (13,72%) who had noble titles, although in the case of another 22 deputies it is unknown whether they had titles or not. The vast majority (8 cases out of 11) from those with known place of birth come from local regional centers.

In terms of denomination, in the case of the Bohemian German deputies, the percentage of Catholics throughout their entire life was 72,87%, the Evangelicals 4,65% and the Jewish⁵⁸ 3,49%. There are quite a few cases of deputies who changed their denomination (not included in the numbers mentioned previously): 9,69% of deputies changed from Roman-Catholicism to the Evangelical Church, 4,65% decided to renounce any denominational affiliation, and 0,78% changed to the Old Catholic Church. The same happened in the case of those who were initially Jewish but changed either for Roman Catholics, Evangelical Church or no affiliation, although they together make up for only 1,56% of the deputies. A percentage of 0,78% Evangelicals also decided for no affiliation

58 As mentioned previously, for the German community in Bohemia, the access was not limited to the religious or racial aspects, but to the social class. Starting with 1860s, there are a number of Jews who entered different German associations. See more in COHEN. *The politics of ethnic survival: Germans in Prague, 1861–1914*. Purdue University Press 2006, p. 58-64.

later in life. Lastly, 3 deputies (1,16%) changed their denomination multiple times. These statistics are particularly interesting when analyzed in relation to the denominational proportions within the general population. Bohemia had a 96,11% Catholic population, with 2,06% Evangelicals and 1,74% Jewish in 1869.⁵⁹ The situation did not change much by 1910, where the percentage was about 95,66% for Catholics, 1,45% Evangelicals and 1,26% Jewish.⁶⁰ In the case of Transylvania, where the ethnicity was more or less correlated to the denomination,⁶¹ the Saxon population overall was mostly affiliated with the Evangelical Church starting with the Reformation.⁶² In the case of the Saxon deputies elected in the studied period, 84,31% were Evangelicals and 8,86% Catholics. There is one case of an Unitarian deputy and for 8 cases (7,84%) the denomination is unknown. At the level of the entire population of Transylvania, in 1850 9,5% of the population was Evangelical, 11,37% Roman Catholic, and 2,42% Unitarians, while in 1910, the proportions were 8,6% Evangelists, 14% Roman Catholics and 2,5% Unitarians.⁶³



- 59 *Bevölkerung und Viehstand von Böhmen nach der Zählung vom 31. Dec. 1869. Herausgegeben von der Statistischen Central-Commission. Wien 1871, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiuo.ark:/13960/t6g21cg15> [online], s. 38.*
- 60 *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1910 in den Reichsräten vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern. 1. Heft: Die summarischen Ergebnisse der Volkszählung. Wien 1912, p. 55 <https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=ost&datum=0001&page=57&size=45> [online].*
- 61 BRIE. Identitatea etnică în Transilvania (a doua jumătate a secolului XIX–începutul secolului XX) – Repere metodologice. In *Istoriografie și politică în estul și vestul spațiului românesc*. Chișinău/Oradea 2009, p. 176.
- 62 GRANCEA et al. *Nationalist politics and everyday ethnicity in a Transylvanian town*. Princeton University Press 2006, p. 58.
- 63 SZÁZ, *History of Transylvania Volume III. From 1830 to 1919*. <https://mek.oszk.hu/03400/03407/html/404.html> [online].

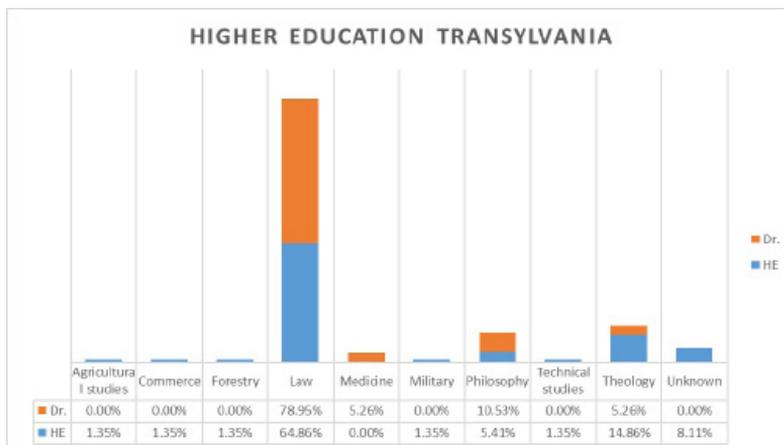


Fig. 2. Higher education

Another difference in the two provinces shows up in education. In the case of the Bohemian deputies, aside from 21 deputies for whom the education is unknown, 46 cases (17,82%) had no education, 59 cases (22,86%) had lower education, and 132 (51,16%) had higher education. Regarding those with a higher degree, 56,81% had doctoral studies as well. Worth mentioning is that after the introduction of the general curia in 1897, the proportion of those with just lower education is about 1,7 higher than those with higher education. Of those with higher education, they mostly preferred to study Law (59,85%), which is congruent with the preference for all the deputies elected to the Imperial Council during this period.⁶⁴ The next more common field of study among the Bohemians was Philosophy (9,85%) and Medicine (9,09%). In the case of Transylvania, except for the 8 cases for which the education is unknown, there is only one case with lower education, while the vast majority (91,17%) had a higher degree. In contrast to Bohemia, though, only 19 deputies (20,43%) had a doctoral title. However, there is still a very high preference for a degree in Law for those with or without doctoral studies (67,74%) as well, followed by those with a degree in Theology (12,9%) and Philosophy (6,45%). This preference is congruent with the statistics at the level of Transylvania and the Saxon elites.⁶⁵

64 See more in ADLGASSER. Lawyers in the Austrian Parliament, 1848–1918. A Prosopographic Case Study. In PÁL and POPOVICI, eds. *Elites and Politics in Central and Eastern Europe (1848–1918)*. Frankfurt am Main 2014, p. 39-52.

65 See KARÁDY and NAGY. *Educational Inequalities and Denominations, 1910. Volume 3 – Database for Transylvania*. Budapest 2012, p. 17.

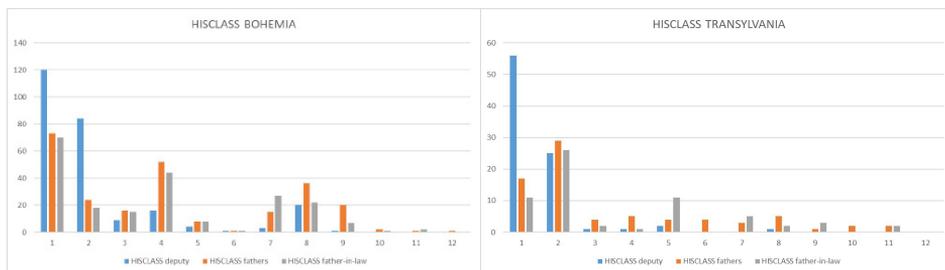


Fig. 3 HISCLASS deputy, fathers, and fathers-in-law

Figure 3 showcases the HISCLASS of the deputies, their fathers, and their fathers-in-law according to the highest occupation identified in the sources. An analysis of the profession at different moments in life (such as first marriage, first mandate) would provide a more detailed picture about the life of these deputies, however for many of them it was not possible to identify the specific time frame for many of the occupations, especially for Transylvania. As can be seen in Figure 3, most of the deputies can be placed in the first two classes, more exactly 82,25% out of the 248 known cases known for Bohemia, and 94,18% out of the 86 cases known for Transylvania. In the case of the Bohemian German deputies, the most common occupations in class 1 are owners of estates, companies or factories, and in class 2 lawyers and journalists, while the lowest was a tanner in class 9. After the introduction of the general curia in 1897, however, the number of those in the first classes decreased and the number of those in lower classes increased, making for a more diverse socio-professional group. For the Transylvanians, the most occupations of those in class 1 include presidents or members of different financial institutions, school directors, mayors or high positions in higher legal institutions, while those in the second class were usually judges, lawyers, editors or teachers. The lowest was a small landowner in class 8. Regarding the fathers and fathers-in-law, in the case of Bohemia, they are distributed in more classes, especially in 1, 4, 7, and 8, while in the case of Transylvania, most of them are part of the highest two classes too, with the exception of a relatively higher proportion in class 5.

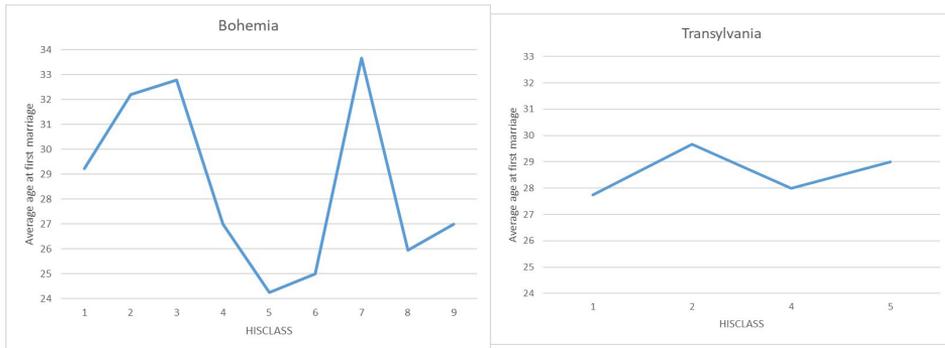


Fig. 4. Deputy's age at the first marriage

The class provides some interesting insights in terms of nuptiality among these deputies. The average age at first marriage for the deputies for Bohemia was 29,8 for the 230 deputies for which data about marriages are unknown and who got married (the seven cases where the deputies never married were not included). The average marriage age of deputies elected after the introduction of the general curia in 1897 was approximately one year lower (they would marry on average at 29) compared to deputies from the previous cohort (who would get married at a little over 30 on average). The age for deputies at their first marriage is lower than of the senior civil servants from Bohemia, for example, who would marry on average at 32,8, while higher when compared to the population of entire Bohemia, for which the age was 28.⁶⁶ The lower age for the deputies may be explained by the increase in diversity of the social and educational background, especially after 1897. As can be seen in figure 4, the age is higher for the first three classes, then lower for the others, except for class 7, but this may be due to the fewer cases of deputies within this class (just 3 cases). Most probably, the time and effort (education and climbing professional stages) put into reaching HISCLASS 1 and 2 delayed the marriage. The highest proportion of deputies who remarried once is also higher in the first two classes (67,65%), and those who remarried more than once are exclusive to them. This may be skewed by the lower proportion of deputies in other classes than the first two.

66 VELKOVÁ. Specificities of the Family Life of the Elites: Senior Civil Servants Working in Bohemia in the Second Half of the 19th Century and at the Beginning of the 20th Century. In *Transylvanian Review*, 2022, 31, no. 2, p. 29, 31.

In the case of Transylvania, according to the information available for 86 cases, the deputy's average age at first marriage was 28,4. This is higher than the average age at the first marriage for the elite in general in Transylvania (25,9) or Transylvanian men in general (25,5).⁶⁷ The age average is lower for the first class, while higher for the second class and there does not seem to be any distinction between those who held a noble title and those who did not. The only explanation could be that those in the first class had the resources and the social position to marry earlier, but is contradicting the situation in Bohemia, highlighting potentially different career patterns, social origins, and social climb-up strategies. The fluctuation in the lower classes is skewed by the low number of cases (two cases in HISCLASS 4 and one case in HISCLASS 5). There are 8 cases of deputies who remarried once that are from class 1, and just one case in class 4. The difference between Bohemia and Transylvania may be given by the higher percentage of deputies with doctoral degrees, as well as the social and occupational structure of the two provinces, given that Bohemia was more industrialized, while Transylvania had an agricultural profile.

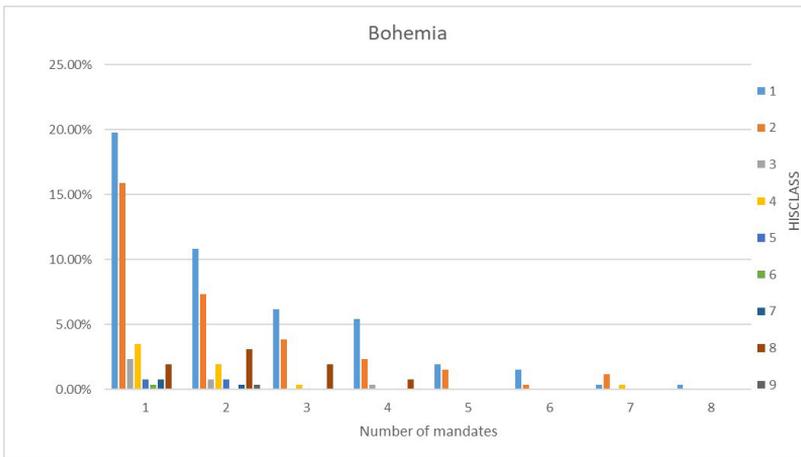


Fig. 5 – Number of mandates by HISCLASS

There are a few differences in terms of the political activity from the perspective of the historical classes. The Bohemian German deputies were about 45 on average when they got elected for the first mandate, but there are a few difference from one class to another. This is heavily influenced by the disproportionate number of deputies for each class (for example, there are 120 deputies in class 1

⁶⁷ HOLOM et al. Beyond the visible pattern: Historical particularities, development, and age at first marriage in Transylvania, 1850–1914. In *The History of the Family*, 2018, 23, no. 2, p. 17.

and their average age was 44,6, while for the four deputies in class 5, the average age was 38,75). Regarding the number of mandates, 45,35% of the deputies had just one mandate and they came from all over the first eight classes, although the highest percentage (19,77%) is found in the first class. The deputies who had four mandates and more (16,67% deputies) were almost exclusively from classes 1 and 2, with one exception - a deputy from class 4 obtained 7 mandates. The highest number of mandates – 8, was obtained by a deputy in HISCLASS 1.

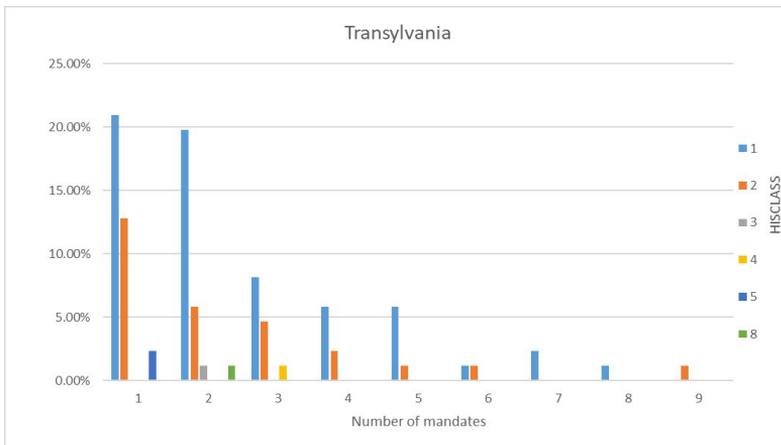


Fig. 5 – Number of mandates by HISCLASS

The deputies in Transylvania would get their first mandate at about 44 years, but the same problem as for Bohemia is encountered in terms of age by class – the highest classes have a greater number of deputies, while lower classes have only a few cases that skew the average number (the 56 cases of deputies with HISCLASS 1 had an average of 45,12 years at the first mandate, while the only deputy in HISCLASS 8 had 37). In terms of the number of mandates, 36,05% deputies had only one mandate, but they only came from the HISCLASS 1, 2, and 5. The deputies who had four or more mandates (22,09%) had come exclusively from the first two classes, with the highest number of mandates – 9, obtained by a deputy from class 2. Of course, this analysis does not offer a very real picture, as it is based only on the highest occupation/profession ever achieved by these deputies and not the one they had at the first mandate, due to the lack of detailed biographical information, but it does provide some interesting insights.

To sum up, the group of German deputies from Bohemia showcased differences when compared to the group in Transylvania both because of historical-cultural background differences, and because of the political evolution in the two parts of the monarchy during dualism. The Bohemian deputies include a large share of persons born in sub-regional centers, probably due to the social diversity

brought by the introduction of the universal curia and universal male suffrage. However, besides the relative majority represented by local key-figures, the high number of outsiders, especially from supra-regional centers requires future research. A quarter of the Bohemian deputies had a noble status, and in terms of denomination, most of them were Catholics, although their share is lower than the overall share of Catholics in Bohemia. There is also a significant percentage of deputies who changed their denomination at least once. In terms of education, while more than half had at least a university degree, if not even a doctorate, a not-at-all negligible number only had lower education or even no education at all, again a result of the suffrage reform of 1897 and subsequent. Those with a higher education were mostly Law graduates, similar to the majority of other deputies from the Imperial Council. Regarding their occupations, the highest position attained places a large share of these deputies into HISCLASS 1 or 2, with a preponderance of owners of big estates, companies, etc., lawyers and journalists. The Bohemian deputies would marry for the first time at almost 30, although the generation elected after 1897 married one year younger on average. The deputies who remarried at least once were almost exclusively from the highest two HISCLASSes. Regarding their political career, the Bohemian deputies won their first mandate at around 45, with almost half of them not being elected more than once. Only one in six deputies managed to secure four or more mandates, and unsurprisingly, they were mostly from HISCLASS 1 or 2.

In Transylvania, most deputies came from regional centers, which is partly explained by the lack of supra-regional centers in the region, partly by the fact that the Transylvanian Saxon settlements were usually urban. However, compared to Bohemia, most Transylvanians were part of the local communities. In terms of denomination, most of them were Evangelicals, which was the denomination most associated with the Saxon community. Almost all of the known cases were highly educated, and also had a preference for Law, which is true also for the entire Saxon community in Transylvania. However, the percentage of those who also obtained a doctoral title is less than in the case of the Bohemians. Unsurprisingly, most of the Saxon deputies also ranked within the first two HISCLASSes, with occupations such as presidents or members of the governing body of different financial institutions, school directors, mayors, different legal positions, editors and teachers. Regarding their private lives, the Transylvanian deputies would marry a little over 28, on average several years older than the elites in Transylvania and remarriages happened almost exclusively for the deputies in HISCLASS 1. The Saxon deputies would start their political careers similarly to the Bohemians, at around 44 on average, but the percentage of those with just one mandate is lower – only a little over a third. Moreover, the percentage of those who managed to obtain four or more mandates is higher

than their counterparts in Bohemia, namely one in five people, exclusively from HISCLASS 1 or 2.

4. Social mobility

This section comprises an analysis regarding relevant statistics from the previous section through the lenses of social mobility. By social mobility I refer to the movement of the individuals, in this case of the deputies, between historical classes of the HISCLASS system when compared to their fathers and their fathers-in-law, to observe whether there is an intergenerational mobility. To see whether there is a connection between social mobility and different aspects of the deputies' lives, I divided them in four categories: those who have HISCLASS 1 and whose fathers/fathers-in-law also are in HISCLASS 1 (group called HF – when the mobility is compared to the father; and HFL – when mobility is compared to the father-in-law); those who were stagnant, but were part of other classes (SF and SFL, respectively); those who experienced upward mobility (UF and UFL, respectively); and those who experienced downward mobility (DF and DFL, respectively). In all cases the highest occupation or profession attained is use to determine the historical class due to lack of detailed information about them at certain points in the life of the deputies, their fathers or fathers-in-law.

Social mobility compared to the father

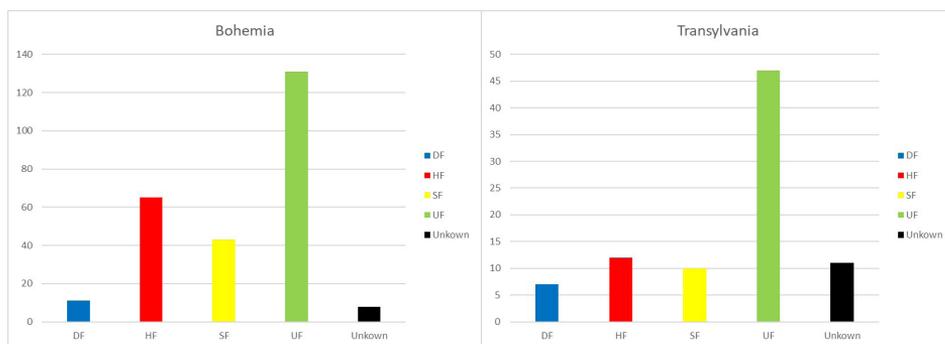


Fig. 6 – Number of deputies by social mobility compared to their fathers (DF – downward mobility; HF – highest class for both the deputy and his father; SF – stagnant mobility; UF – upward mobility)

The analysis is limited to 250 deputies from Bohemia and 86 from Transylvania – those for whom the profession of the father is known. First group taken into consideration comprises those deputies whose fathers were in

HISCLASS 1 and the deputies remained in this class as well (HF in Fig. 6). They could be considered as stagnant from the perspective of social mobility, however, I decided to treat them separately due to the fact that these deputies were at the highest level and could not raise any further. There are 65 such cases for Bohemia. Almost half (47,69%) of these deputies came from supra-regional centers, 32,31% from sub-regional centers and only 20% from regional centers. Almost half of these deputies (32 cases) had a higher degree (including those with doctoral titles), but there is a surprising number of those with no education (17 cases), while only 11 cases had lower education and for 5 there is no information. They married on average at 29 with brides that would be on average 5,67 years younger. These deputies started their first mandate at about 43 and generally had just one (46,15%) or two mandates (21,54%). The highest number of mandates, i.e. six, were obtained by just two deputies.

The situation in Transylvania differs significantly. There are 12 cases where the deputies maintained their father's HISCLASS 1 status, of which three quarters came from regional centers, and 8,33% originating from sub-regional (while for the rest the information about their birthplace couldn't be identified). As mentioned before, the vast majority of the Transylvanian deputies held a higher education degree, but this group has the highest proportion of those with a doctoral degree, i.e., 1 in 3 of these deputies. The Transylvanian deputies that maintained their father's class 1 status married at about 30, making them the oldest in the classification of social mobility according to the father. Their brides would be about 10 years younger, which is also the biggest age difference according to this classification for the Transylvanian deputies. These deputies would obtain their first mandate at 42, which is the youngest age compared to the other categories for Transylvania, although the differences are not more than 1-2 years. Most of them had two mandates (58,33%), but there are no cases with just one mandate and there is even one case with 8 mandates. Thus, the deputies in this group had slightly different statistics when compared by province in all the parameters analyzed. As can be seen in figure 6, the proportion of this type of deputies is higher in Bohemia than in Transylvania, which could be explained by the curial system in the Austrian side of the monarchy, and probably by the differences in political geometry and mandates distribution in Transylvania. In any case, their electoral and family behaviour identifies them rather evidently as the peak of this elite category.

Next analyzed are the rest of the deputies that were stagnant in terms of social mobility compared to their fathers, but who were part of classes other than the first. In the case of Bohemia, 43 deputies can be classified in this category, and, with the exception of the first class discussed above, they were most common in class 8 (16 cases) and class 2 (13 cases). Regarding the place of origin, 58,14%

came from a sub-regional center, 32,56% from regional centers and only 9,30% from a supra-regional ones. There is almost an equal proportion regarding their studies – 14 deputies had a higher degree, 13 had lower education and 11 had no education, while the level of education is unknown for 5 cases. These deputies married a little over 30, which is the highest age for Bohemia in terms of these categories. Their brides were on average 6,04 years younger, which is also the highest age difference for Bohemia in terms of these categories. They obtained their first mandate at about 45 and had in general one (45,04%) or two mandates (27,91%). Regarding the 10 cases of Transylvanians with stagnant mobility, half of them came from a regional center, but the information for 40% of the rest is not known. They were all highly educated, but only two had a doctoral title. These deputies married at about 29 with brides 7,85 years younger. All the deputies with stagnant mobility are from class 2. They started their political activity as elected deputies at about 43 on average and would have one to four mandates. One case, however, secured 9 mandates, which is the highest number for Transylvanian Saxon deputies. Thus, it seems that except for some similarity in terms of age at first marriage and age at the first mandate, and HISCLASS, these deputies differ in quite a few aspects between the two provinces.

The most common category for both Bohemia and Transylvania was of those deputies who experienced upward mobility when compared to their fathers. More exactly, Bohemia had 131 deputies with upward mobility compared to their fathers, of which most common were those who attained class 2 (67 cases) and class 1 (50 cases). A relative majority (50,38%) came from sub-regional centers, followed by those from regional centers (27,48%) and supra-regional centers (22,14%). They also had a higher educational degree (81 cases, out of which 48 also had a doctoral degree), while only 28 degree had only a lower education diploma, 14 no education and for 8 information was not found. They married on average at about 30 with brides 5,76 younger and they would start their first mandate at around 46, being the oldest of the categories based social mobility compared to their fathers. On average, they would have one (45,35%) or two mandates (26,67%), but there is a case from those who experienced upward mobility who secured 8 mandates, which is the highest number of mandates for Bohemia. Regarding Transylvania, the number of deputies with upward mobility was 47, who managed to attain either HISCLASS 1 (38 cases) or HISCLASS 2 (9 cases). They came mostly from regional centers (82,98%), while 8,51% from sub-regional centers, and for the rest the birthplace is unknown. Almost all of them (95,75%) had a higher education, out of which 21,28% had a doctoral title. They married for the first time at almost 28, which makes them the youngest of all these 4 categories. Their brides were 6,77 years younger, which makes it also the smallest age gap. Regarding their activity as elected deputies, they

obtained their first mandate at 44, which makes them the oldest to obtain a mandate. The highest proportion of this group (44,68%) had just 1 mandate, at a large difference compared to the next proportion, those with 2 mandates, who constituted only 17,02% of this category. The highest number was obtained by a deputy who had 7 mandates. To sum up, the deputies in this category seem to have been better educated and entered the political scene as the oldest of all deputies in their respective provinces, while most of them managed to secure around two mandates on average. The fact that the majority of deputies were part of this group might indicate the possibility of entering the political scene as a means to improve one's social standing, especially as in Transylvania the average number of their mandates ranks lower among all the categories under discussion. Thus, for them politics was not a profession, but rather a channel for professional and social mobility.

The last category is of those who experience downward social mobility compared to their fathers. In Bohemia, they represent the smallest percent, with only 11 cases. There is no significant proportion accumulated in one particular class (there are three cases for class 4, two cases for class 2, and one case each in class 3 and 6). A relative majority of them (54,55%) came from sub-regional centers, followed by those from regional centers (27,22%) and only 18,18% from supra-regional centers. These deputies had mostly lower education (although two of them had a doctoral title too). They married for the first time at 27 and their brides were only 2 years younger on average, which represents both the youngest average marriage age for deputies and the smallest age gap between spouses in Bohemia. They started their first mandate at 42, which is also the youngest age compared to all the other three categories in Bohemia. Most of them had one (45,45%) or two mandates (27,27%), with the exception of one deputy with three mandates and two deputies who had seven mandates. In the case of Transylvania, there were 7 deputies who experienced downward mobility compared to their fathers, of which five were in class 2, and one each in class 4 and 5. A proportion of 57,14% came from regional centers, while 14,29% from sub-regional centers and for the rest, the place of birth is unknown. They were also mostly beneficiary of higher education, with one of them having a doctoral title. Part of this category is also the only deputy who attained just lower education. These deputies would marry on average at about 29 with brides that were 7,16 years younger. They obtained their first mandate at about 44. A proportion of 42,86% obtained one mandate, 28,57% two mandates and the same proportion for those with three mandates. There is no case of deputy from this group obtaining more than 3 mandates, which makes it the group with the lowest number of mandates on average. The deputies in this group seemed to have been more disadvantaged in

terms of origin and education and social mobility, but this did not reflect as much in their political activity in Bohemia, while it did in Transylvania.

In conclusion, in both provinces more than half of the known cases of deputies experienced upward social mobility when compared to their fathers. In many cases, the possibility that they entered the political scene trying to improve their chances for upward mobility cannot be overlooked. However, there seem to be a significant proportion of those who were already part of the highest social layers at least for a generation and could not raise further, especially in the case of Bohemia. For the deputies in this category, the choice for a political career could have been motivated, among others, by maintaining the social prestige. Given the case of the German community, it could have been also the need to politically defend its situation. There are also a few cases of those who stagnated even if they could be classified in lower classes, especially in Bohemia. However, more interesting are the cases of downward social mobility. In both provinces they are the fewest, which may suggest that once entering the political arena, there was not much of a chance to fall down the social ladder when compared to the fathers. Of course, even in these cases, some of the deputies may have chosen professional paths that were seen as more necessary or popular at the time, which may have a lower position in the HISCLASS hierarchy (for example, a deputy who is the son of someone in class 1 could have chosen a legal professional path, classified in class 2, as it is mainly the case for Transylvania), but the small number of cases is prone rather to individual explanations than to a general argument.

Social mobility compared to the father-in-law

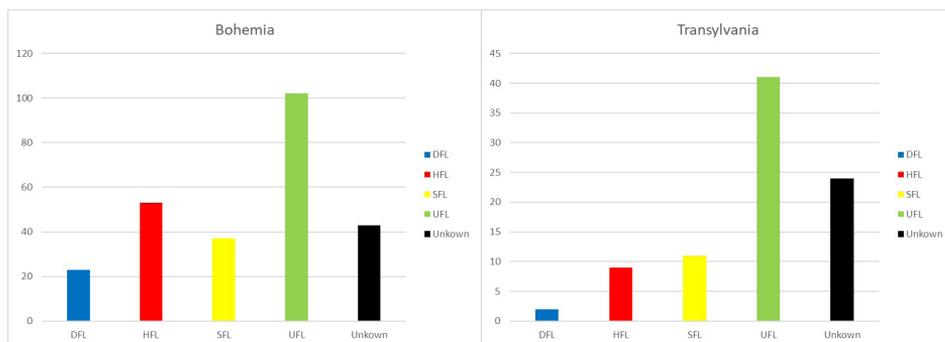


Fig. 7 – Number of deputies by social mobility compared to their fathers-in-law (DFL – downward mobility; HFL – highest class for both the deputy and his first father-in-law; SF – stagnant mobility; UF – upward mobility)

In this section different aspects from the deputy's life are discussed from the perspective of social mobility when compared to the father-in-law. The analysis focuses on the same four categories discussed in the previous section. In this case there are a higher proportion of unknown information, especially for fathers-in-law professions, which diminished significantly the number of study cases for both provinces. In this section the number of marriages was also taken into consideration too, as the social mobility may have been influenced by those who married multiple times. However, only details for the first marriage are analyzed in this paper. There are 215 German deputies from Bohemia and 63 Saxon deputies from Transylvania taken into consideration for this analysis, as only for them information about their first father-in-law could be identified.

In the first category, which included the deputies from HISCLASS 1 who married for the first time someone from the same high class, there are 53 cases for Bohemia, so slightly less than for the comparison with the father. Similarly to the equivalent category in the previous section, they came mostly from supra-regional centers (45,28%), followed by sub-regional centers (37,74%), while only 16,98% came from regional centers. A big proportion attained higher education (28 cases, out of which 10 had doctoral titles), 7 cases had lower education and 14 no education, while for 4 cases the information is unknown. These deputies married on average at about 28, thus one year younger than the people in the same category in the analysis of social mobility compared to their fathers. Their first brides were on average 5,41 years younger. Only five cases remarried once again. These deputies started their political activity as elected officials at 44, so one year older compared to the deputies from the same category in the previous section. Two thirds of them had one, two, or three mandates, while only one deputy had six mandates, which is the highest number for this group. For Transylvania, there are only 9 cases in this category, and except for one case with unknown details, they all came from regional centers. They were all highly educated and two of them had a doctoral title. These deputies married on average at 27, thus three years younger than their counterparts in the social mobility compared to the fathers. Three deputies in this category remarried once. In terms of their political mandates, they obtained their first one on average at 42, similar to their equivalent in the previous section. Most of them had either one (3 cases) or two mandates (3 cases), while there is a deputy who obtained eight mandates. From an overview on the two provinces, the main difference comes down to origin, remarriages, and age at the first mandate, while the deputies are relatively similar in terms of education, age at first marriage, and number of mandates .

There are 37 other deputies who stagnated from a social perspective in the case of Bohemia, but were part of classes other than HISCLASS 1. More exactly, most of them are class 8 (14 cases) or class 2 (12 cases). Similarly to the analysis

compared to the fathers, most of them came from sub-regional centers (64,68%), while 21,62% came from regional centers and 13,51% from supra-regional centers. They also followed a similar proportion in the analysis for the fathers regarding education – there are 14 cases of deputies with lower education, 12 had a higher degree (of which 7 had a doctoral title), while 10 had no education and for one deputy the information is not known. They married for the first time at almost 28, making them the youngest to marry from the four categories in this section.⁶⁸ They married brides who were 4,88 younger, which is also the smallest age gap in this section for Bohemia. This is the total opposite when compared to those in the same category of the social mobility compared to the fathers. There are six deputies who remarried once, and one deputy who remarried three more times. Regarding their parliamentary activity, they obtained their first mandate at about 46, making them the oldest out of all categories in this section. Most of them had one (48,65%) or two mandates (24,32%) and there is no deputy that had more than four mandates.

There were 11 cases of Transylvanian Saxons who married for the first time in the class they found themselves at the peak of their career, thus experiencing a stagnant mobility compared to their first fathers-in-law. Of these, 63,64% came from regional centers and the rest have no information regarding their origin. There were 9 cases that had a higher education, with two deputies attaining even a doctoral title. The only deputy with lower education is part of this category instead of downward, as it is the case for when social mobility is compared to the father. These deputies married at 28, thus one year younger than their counterparts in the social mobility compared to the father. Their brides were 6,81 years younger, which also makes up for the smallest age gap in this section in the case of Transylvania. None of them remarried. In terms of political activity, they started their first mandate at 41, thus one year younger than their counterparts in the previous section. Most of them had just one mandate (five cases), while there were two deputies who obtained two mandates and other two obtained three mandates. The highest number of mandates, i.e. six, was obtained by one deputy. Two of them came from HISCLASS 5, while the vast majority from HISCLASS 2 (9 cases). To sum up, there are significant differences between the two provinces in specifically in terms of origin, education and age at the first mandate, while having similar age at the first marriage, number of mandates and having a large component of professionals in class 2.

There are 102 Bohemian deputies who experienced upward mobility even after marriage, which makes it also the largest group in the comparison of the

68 While those in the HFL category married on average also when they were about 28, the average for those stagnant and outside of HISCLASS 1 is lower – 27,86 than those in this class – 28,33.

social mobility to the (first) father-in-law. These deputies are mostly part of HISCLASS 1 and 2. Similarly to the same category in the previous section, a big proportion (47,06%) of these deputies came from sub-regional centers, while 28,43% came from regional centers and 24,51% from supra-regional centers. There are 52 cases of deputies with higher education (of which 32 also had a doctoral title), 25 with lower education and 16 with no education, while for 9 there are no details regarding their training. These deputies married at about 30 and their brides were on average 5,2 years younger, both which are similar to the same category in the section regarding the fathers. There are 19 deputies who remarried once and one deputy who remarried twice. Regarding their parliamentary activity, they obtained their first mandate at 44, so about 1-2 year younger than their counterparts in the previous section. Most of them had one (52,94%) or two mandates (26,47%), but one deputy obtained 8 mandates, the highest number for Bohemia.

Regarding the Transylvanian Saxons, there are 41 cases who experienced upward mobility when compared to the (first) father-in-law. Most of them (31 cases) are HISCLASS 1, followed by nine cases in HISCLASS 2 and one case in HISCLASS 4. Their birthplace was predominantly a regional center (80,49%), while 7,32% came from sub-regional centers. All of the known cases (39) were highly educated, with 8 having a doctoral title. In terms of their first marriage, the deputies were 28 on average at the wedding, while their brides were 7.1 years younger. In the case of Transylvanians this category has the highest number of deputies who remarried once, namely 5. These deputies would obtain their first mandate at about 45 and most of them would have one (16 cases), two mandates (19) or three mandates (5). One deputy, however, obtained nine mandates. It is challenging to establish the main reason of professional success for this category, given the differences in almost all of the analyzed parameters. However, both in Bohemia and Transylvania this category contains the highest amount of deputies who remarried at least once, which might have played a role in the ascension on the social ladder, but probably entering the political scene might have had a big influence as well, given that those who married only once form the majority in this category.

The last category, those who experienced downward mobility when compared to their first father-in-law, comprises of 23 Bohemian deputies, which is twice the number of their counterparts in the previous section. The highest proportion are HISCLASS 2 (13 cases) and HISCLASS 8 (4 cases). Similar to the analysis to the fathers, the majority's place of birth were sub-regional centers (60,87%) and regional centers (30,43%), while only 8,7% came from supra-regional centers. Most of them were highly educated (13 cases, of which 11 also had doctoral studies), while only 4 cases had lower education, 2 no education and 4 do not

have information about their training. These deputies married on average at about 32, which is the highest age from all categories in the analysis comprising the fathers-in-law. Their brides would be 8 years younger, which is also the highest age gap in this analysis. Both values are the polar opposite of the values obtained for the deputies with downward mobility compared to the fathers, who were the youngest and had the smallest age gap. Regarding remarriages, only two deputies remarried once. There is also a significant difference regarding the age at first mandate – they obtained it at around 45, which is 4 years higher their counterparts in the section analyzing the fathers. What is surprising is that the biggest proportion had two mandates (39,13%), followed by those with one mandate (21,74). The highest number of mandates, i.e. seven, were obtained by three deputies.

In the case of Transylvania, only 2 deputies experienced downward mobility compared to their (first) fathers-in-law, but this may have to do also with the low number of cases with known information about the professions of the first father-in-law. Both deputies are HISCLASS 2. One of them came from a regional center, while for this other the birthplace is unknown. Both were highly educated, one of them even obtaining a doctoral degree. They married at about 28, which is one year younger than their counterparts in the previous section, while their brides were 3,5 years younger, which is half the age gap of their counterparts. None of them remarried. They were the oldest compared to the other categories when they obtained their first mandate too, namely at 46, thus two years older than the downwards deputies in the analysis of the fathers. While one of them had just one mandate, the other one had five. To conclude, given the few cases in this category, it is hard to assume much, but these deputies might have focused on marital strategies to maintain or climb the social mobility, given that they married in families from a higher social class.

Overall, in the case of the social mobility compared to the father-in-law, things look differently, in several aspects, than in the previous section. The highest proportion of the deputies still experienced upward mobility, which strengthens the idea that entering the political arena may have improved the chances for better professional and social standing. More exactly, I believe it may have increased social capital through networking and granted better social and professional support even after exiting politics. However, their proportion seems to differ between the two provinces. In Bohemia they cover about one third of the cases, with a wider diversity in terms of social mobility when compared to the first father-in-law. For Transylvania the upward mobility is almost half and the proportion of the other types is rather small. These differences may indicate different marital strategies in the two provinces, especially considering the high proportion of remarriages in this category and the low number of those who

experienced downward mobility, which means they married in families with higher status. Either way, the degree of overlap between the social mobility compared to the fathers and the fathers-in-law should also be explored.

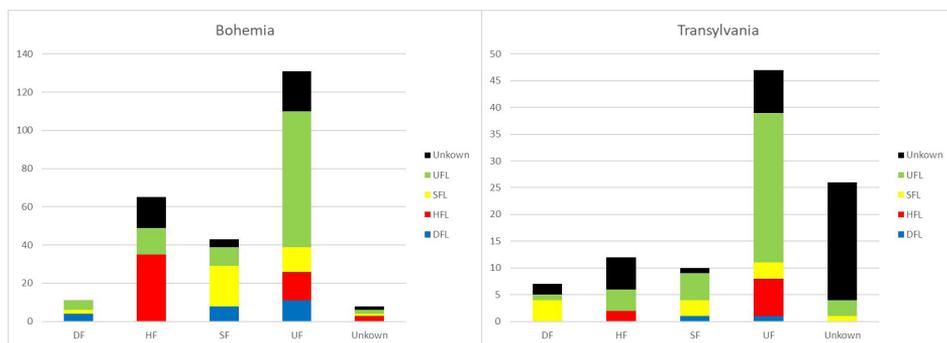


Fig. 8 – Intersection of social mobility compared to the father and social mobility compared to the father-in-law

The differences in the categories of the two types of social mobility are given by the distribution of the deputies, more exactly, by the fact that not all deputies who had a specific experience with their social mobility compared to their fathers experienced the same when it came to their fathers-in-law. In fact, as can be seen in figure 8, the situation was slightly different in the two provinces. There seems to be some overlap in Bohemia between the two types of mobility in the sense that a big proportion of deputies who experienced one type of mobility compared to their fathers had a relative high chance of experiencing the same type when compared to their first father-in-law. The main exception was deputies who experienced downward mobility compared to their fathers; they were somewhat more likely to experience upward mobility when compared to their fathers-in-law, suggesting that choosing the right bride / father-in-law and entering politics may have helped them avoid significant social decline. In the case of the Transylvanians, only those who experienced upward mobility compared to their fathers seem to have experienced to a greater extent the same type of mobility when compared to their first father-in-law. Those who experienced downward mobility compared to their fathers seem to have been more likely to experience stagnancy compared to their fathers-in-law, and marriage might have played a role in their paternal downward mobility. Lastly, those who had fathers in HISCLASS 1 and maintained their status, as well as the others who were stagnant, seem to have had married women from lower classes, given the upward

mobility compared to their first father-in-law. Overall, it appears that deputies with upward mobility in both comparisons may have found political entry more influential for their social advancement than marriage. Conversely, deputies who maintained their status, particularly those in HISCLASS 1, likely relied on both political careers and marital strategies to secure their position.

5. Conclusions

Before the concluding general remarks, I find it important to provide an overview of the main statistics and differences regarding the two provinces and the type of social mobility. Generally, the main differences between the German deputies in Bohemia and the Saxon deputies in Transylvania encompass: a) origin – the Bohemian deputies came to a high extent from sub-regional centers, but also had a big proportion of deputies from supra-regional centers, both local and from outside of Bohemia; the Transylvanian Saxon came mostly from local regional centers; b) noble status – the share of nobles and aristocrats in Bohemia is twice the one in Transylvania; c) denomination – most Bohemians were Catholics and experienced some degree of interfaith change, while most Transylvanians were Evangelicals and remained the same; d) education – while half had higher education in Bohemia (of which half held a doctoral title), there are some significant proportions of deputies with lower or no education; in Transylvania with the exception of one deputy with lower education and some deputies with unknown information, all the others had a higher education degree, but the proportion of those with a doctorate is only of 20%; e) age at first marriage – the Bohemians married 1,4 years later than the Transylvanians (29,8 vs. 28,4, respectively); f) proportion of those with just one mandate – 45,35% in Bohemia, and 36,05% in Transylvania. There are not big differences in terms of: the field of studies – with Law being the most dominant for both Bohemia and Transylvania; class – most are in the first two HISCLASS; age at first mandate – 45 for Bohemia and 44 for Transylvania; average number of mandates – 2,15 in Bohemia and 2,49 in Transylvania.

Regarding the differences in social mobility behavior, they are numerous but rather small, and as there is not a big difference that cannot be explained by the general statistics, I decided to mention just the outstanding similar statistics either in-group or between the two provinces. In Bohemia, only deputies in HISCLASS 1, whose fathers and first fathers-in-law were also in the same class, originated from supra-regional centers, while the other categories have the highest proportion from sub-regional centers. Among Bohemian deputies who remained stagnant in other classes compared to their fathers and fathers-in-law, the distribution across the three educational levels analyzed was similar and a significant proportion fell into HISCLASS 2. Those experiencing upward mobility in relation to their fathers

and first fathers-in-law had the highest proportion of all the types of mobility, as well as the highest number of remarriages, in both Bohemia and Transylvania. The deputies in the upward mobility category attained HISCLASS 1 and 2 in both provinces. Lastly, in both provinces and related to both father and father-in-law, the downward mobility comprises the fewest cases.

Thus, while my study considered the elected deputies from the same period, state entity, and ostensibly similar ethnic backgrounds, a deeper analysis unveiled numerous differences between the two groups in terms of social composition, but some similarities as well, especially in terms of social mobility. The differences were influenced by the different political systems in the two halves of the monarchy, the way the democratization process took place in each region, especially in terms of suffrage and electoral geography, the historical background, as well as culture and education of each group. In the case of Bohemia, the political system that gradually opened to more people through the extension of suffrage led to a representation more closely to the demographic realities of the province, although the previous historical privileges still afforded the German population some overrepresentation. It had also allowed for more diversity in terms of origin, with a big representation of sub-regional centers; social status; and marital strategies. The analysis of social mobility compared to both the father and the father-in-law however, revealed that the majority of deputies experienced upward mobility, and I believe entering the political scene might have played a more important role for climbing the social ladder, given that these deputies surpassed both their fathers and their (first) father-in-law, while the number of remarriages in this category was not very big. The Bohemian deputies were more dynamic in terms of social mobility, given that the proportions for all the other categories are higher than in Transylvania, and for these categories marital strategies might have played a more important role in one's social peak.

In the case of Transylvania, things looked differently. The absence of reform in suffrage and other political and geographic factors of Transylvania as a periphery of Hungary impacted access into the political arena, as evidenced by the somewhat uniform nature of the social composition and social mobility among the Saxon deputies. Most of the deputies came from mid-size urban localities, had similar origin, similar education and similar marital strategies. Even though there is a higher representation in the highest social classes according to the HISCLASS system in Transylvania, when looking at the social mobility compared to both the father and the first father-in-law of the deputies, the proportion of those who experienced upward mobility is even higher compared to the Bohemian deputies. Still, given this high proportion in terms of only one type of social mobility is also representative for the unvaried social structure of these representatives. Here

there is a higher chance that the involvement in politics might have contributed to a larger extent to climbing the social ladder. However, more detailed analysis that would include the professional timeline is necessary to determine precisely which had a higher contribution.

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