

HISTORISCHE GEOGRAPHIE

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

NEW ASPECTS IN HISTORICAL-GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY: THE LEGAL NATURE OF THE CUSTOMS UNION AND MIGRATION LINKS BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY (1870–1910)¹⁾

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*Initial submission / erste Einreichung: 05/2023; revised submission / revidierte Fassung: 12/2023;
final acceptance / endgültige Annahme: 12/2023*

with 5 figures and 1 table in the text

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Summary

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was undoubtedly a complicated state formation whose foundation was influenced by many factors in the 1860s. The Compromise of 1867 estab-

¹⁾ This study is an expanded and revised version of my earlier work, originally written in Hungarian and published in 2016 in *Földrajzi Közlemények* (Geographical Review) (HILBERT 2016).

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lished a unique governmental system that had many uncertain legal elements and details that could be interpreted in different ways. Therefore, Austrian and Hungarian politicians and scholars viewed the empire's legal framework mostly through their individual (national) ideologies. This manifested even in the formulation of the Austrian and Hungarian laws which granted the basic administrative structure of the empire. Presumably, this phenomenon caused a long-time discrepancy in the scientific research of the empire. Although the empire's unified customs area enabled the free movement of capital, labour, goods, and services, scholars from Austria and Hungary tended to study socioeconomic dynamics separately in the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the empire, even in recent studies. There is a paucity of comprehensive studies treating the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a singular entity, aiming to comprehend the interconnections among its diverse regions.

This study aims to shed light on a research perspective centred on the legal framework of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a unified state space, granted by the customs union. First, the study takes a brief look at the discrepancies between the interpretations of the past studies on the empire and the legal facts of the customs union. Then, as a case study, the paper discovers the main migration patterns between Austria and Hungary, utilising data extracted from the Austrian and Hungarian censuses carried out throughout that era 1870–1910. Using three specific migration indicators, the study analyses the volume of migration and identifies the primary migration patterns between Austrian crownlands and Hungarian counties. The case study not only underscores the importance of this innovative research perspective on the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy but also unveils, for the first time, a seemingly fundamental yet previously undiscovered area of research.

Keywords: Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Austria-Hungary, customs union, Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, historical geography, census, migration, migration patterns

Zusammenfassung

NEUE ASPEKTE DER HISTORISCH-GEOGRAPHISCHEN FORSCHUNG ZUR ÖSTERREICHISCH-UNGARISCHEN MONARCHIE: DIE RECHTSNATUR DER ZOLLUNION UND DIE MIGRATIONSSTRÖME ZWISCHEN ÖSTERREICH UND UNGARN (1870–1910)

Die ehemalige Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie kann zweifellos als ein komplexes Staatsgebilde betrachtet werden, dessen Fundament in den 1860er Jahren durch eine Vielzahl von Faktoren geformt wurde. Der Österreichisch-Ungarische Ausgleich im Jahr 1867 führte zu einem Staat, dessen Regierungssystem sich zwischen einem Bundesstaat und einer Konföderation bewegte. In der Zeit des Nationalismus und Imperialismus, vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg, interpretierten österreichische und ungarische Politiker sowie Wissenschaftler die Rechtsnatur des Reiches entsprechend ihrer eigenen Ideologie. Dies spiegelte sich sogar in der Formulierung von österreichischen und ungarischen Gesetzen wider, die die grundlegende Verwaltungsstruktur des Kaiserreichs bildeten. Obwohl die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie ein einziges gemeinsames Zollge-

biet bildete, in dem Kapital, Arbeit, Waren und Dienstleistungen unbeschränkt verkehren konnten, neigen österreichische und ungarische Wissenschaftler dazu, sozioökonomische Prozesse in Österreich und Ungarn getrennt zu untersuchen. Nur wenige Studien befassen sich mit Österreich-Ungarn als Ganzheit und können die Verbindungen zwischen den verschiedenen Regionen des Reiches angemessen erfassen.

Das Ziel dieses Beitrags besteht darin, eine Forschungsperspektive auf die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie zu präsentieren, die den Schwerpunkt auf den gesamten imperialen Staatsraum legt. Dabei werden zunächst die Differenzen zwischen den zentralen Merkmalen der bisherigen Monarchie-Studien und dem Rechtsstatbestand der Zollunion kurz dargestellt. Als Fallstudie, die die Bedeutung dieses Forschungsaspekts veranschaulicht, werden im Folgenden die Einzelheiten der Migrationsströme zwischen Österreich und Ungarn auf der Grundlage von Daten der österreichischen und ungarischen Volkszählungen aus diesem Zeitraum (1870–1910) untersucht. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit wird dem Ausmaß der Migration anhand von drei spezifischen Migrationsindikatoren und der Identifizierung der wichtigsten Migrationsmuster zwischen den österreichischen Kronländern und den ungarischen Komitaten gewidmet.

Schlagwörter: Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie, Österreich-Ungarn, Zoll- und Handelsbündnis, Österreichisch-Ungarischer Ausgleich von 1867, Historische Geographie, Volkszählungen, Migration, Migrationsmuster

1 Introduction: The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as an Object of Research and its Paradoxes Compared to the Constitutional Nature of the Empire

1.1 Different Points of View Concerning the Research of the Empire and its Possible Backgrounds

Since the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918, only a limited number of studies have explored the socioeconomic interconnectedness or interactions between its two halves. Even the comparison of Austria and Hungary concerning any research field or a specific question regarding this time is also rather uncommon in the historical-geographical literature. This observation becomes evident when examining the published studies in the primary official journals of the Austrian and Hungarian Geographical Societies – the Annals of the Austrian Geographical Society²⁾ (*Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft*), and the Geographical Review³⁾ (*Földrajzi Közlemények*).

²⁾ Volumes published between 1857 and 1945 are accessible at: <https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-plus?aid=geo> (accessed on May 6, 2023). Volumes from 1946 to 1989 are available, for instance, at the Library of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (OAW) or at the ELTE Library of Science. Volumes published since 1990 can be found at: <https://oegg.univie.ac.at/publikationen/mitteilungen-der-oesterreichischen-geographischen-gesellschaft/moegg-archiv/> (accessed on October 6, 2023).

³⁾ Volumes published between 1873 and 2011 are accessible at: <https://adt.arcanum.com/hu/collection/FoldrajziKozlemenyek/?page=1> (accessed on May 6, 2023). Volumes from 2011 to 2022 can be found at: <https://www.foldrajzitorsasag.hu/kiadvanyok/foldrajzi-kozlemenyek> (accessed on May 6, 2023).

Even during the era of Dualism, these journals contained no articles addressing the interconnectedness of the Monarchy's two halves. The few studies concerning the other half of the empire mainly focused on physical geographical topics. After the dissolution of the empire until the present time, both journals barely contain papers concerning the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a whole or specifically addressing the other half of the empire. This means, that among more than two thousand papers that were published in these journals, only an insignificant number of studies (approximately under one hundred) concerned these geographical areas and historical time, not even mentioning the studies dealing with a topic concerning both halves of the Monarchy.

This trend persists when examining some of the primary Austrian, Hungarian, and international literature on the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. While there exist comprehensive volumes covering the entire Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, such as “The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Picture” (*Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild / Az Osztrák–Magyar Monarchia írásban és képben*) (ERZHERZOG RUDOLF 1901) and “Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918” (RUMPLER, URBANITSCH et al., 12 volumes, finished 2022), they primarily depict Austria and Hungary separately, providing overviews of their crownlands, regions, and diverse subjects including population, economy, and administration. However, the exploration of interconnectedness between Austria and Hungary, beyond specific topics like the Compromise of 1867, common state organs, the role of the emperor, domestic and foreign policy, and the First World War, is notably lacking in these volumes. In summary, both Austrian and Hungarian geographers have exhibited minimal interest over time in research concerning the other part of the Monarchy.

The potential origins of this phenomenon may have been influenced by various factors. One significant contributing factor could lie in the differing nature of Austrian and Hungarian national identities during that era, which in turn influenced distinct interpretations of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 and, consequently, the legal essence of the empire. Austrians and Hungarians held contrasting perspectives on the Compromise of 1867 within their historical narratives. The Austrian narrative contends that this historic event preserved the stability of the empire as a whole by resolving one of its most challenging nationality issues (BIBL 1937). In contrast, the Hungarian perspective views it as a (semi-)restoration of Hungarian independence (SOMOGYI 2004).

These divergent viewpoints significantly shaped the formulation of specific laws governing the constitutional relationship between Austria and Hungary in 1867. This discrepancy is apparent in the titles of the identical foundational law governing the common affairs of the empire's two halves, as ratified separately by the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments (“Reichsrat” and “Országgyűlés”):

- *The title of the Austrian piece of law: Constitutional Law of 21 December 1867 which concerns the common affairs of all provinces of the Austrian Monarchy and the manner of their treatment.*⁴⁾

⁴⁾ In German: Staatsgrundgesetz vom 21. Dezember 1867 betreffend die allen Ländern der österreichischen Monarchie gemeinsamen Angelegenheiten und die Art ihrer Behandlung.

- *The title of the Hungarian piece of law: Act XII. of 1867 on the mutual interest and relations between the countries of the Hungarian Crown and the other countries under His Majesty's rule, and the manner of their treatment.*⁵⁾

The phrase “all provinces of the Austrian Monarchy” implies that the legally united empire had provinces, similar to a federal state, reaching agreements on their relations (HASLINGER 1996). In contrast, the Hungarian legislation emphasised that two distinct groups of countries agreed upon certain terms, resembling more like a confederation. The inclusion of the term “His Majesty's” underscored that the Hungarian parliament and Emperor Franz Joseph reached a final agreement on the Compromise of 1867. The Austrian parliament played no decisive role in the process; its role was limited to the official adoption of the relevant law.

These differing interpretations of the empire's state structure influenced the ongoing political aspirations of leading Austrian and Hungarian politicians during the time of Dualism (KOZÁRI 2005; SZENTE 2011). An evident manifestation of this was the interpretation of the common institution of the delegations (one Austrian and one Hungarian delegation created by the Compromise), tasked with adopting the common budget of the empire. In the Austrian narrative, these delegations signaled the initial step toward a common imperial parliament, while the Hungarian perspective argued that these organs were merely bodies managing the common affairs of two independent states (SOMOGYI 1995).

Additionally, the official titles of the common ministers differed: in Austria, they were called “imperial ministers”, while in Hungary, they were termed “common ministers”. The first foreign minister of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Friedrich Ferdinand von Beust, even received the title “imperial chancellor” [German: Reichskanzler; Hungarian: Birodalmi kancellár] in 1867, sparking strong protests from the Hungarian government. After Beust's dismissal in 1871, no other foreign minister held this title (KATUS 2012).

The official name of the empire was also a consistent point of contention between Austria and Hungary. The state's official name, established by the Compromise of 1867 (“Austro-Hungarian Monarchy”), was later replaced with “Austria-Hungary” in official documents and international agreements, reflecting the Hungarian side's influence (WELLER 1996). The term “Customs Union”, denoting the legal document granting the empire's common customs area, was also changed in 1907 to “Customs Treaty” under Hungarian pressure (GERŐ 2007). Nevertheless, these name changes did not alter the fundamental legal framework of the empire but served as clear indications of the disparities between the perspectives of the Austrian and Hungarian governments.

The significance and interpretation of the compromise also vary between Austrian and Hungarian historiographical narratives. In Austrian historiography, the Compromise of 1867 is portrayed as a rational consequence following the Habsburgs' defeat

⁵⁾ In Hungarian: 1867. évi XII. törvénycikk a magyar korona országai és Ő Felsége uralkodása alatt álló többi országok között fennforgó közös érdekű viszonyokról, s ezek elintézésnek módjáról.

at Königgrätz in 1866 (CIEGER 2004). Certain well-known Austrian historians attribute a notably negative connotation to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise and the era of Dualism within Cisleithania (BIBL 1924; BIBL 1937; HANTSCH 1968; KANN 1974). Their argument centres on the Compromise of 1867 having significantly disadvantaged the Austrian part of the empire by granting substantial political dominance to the Hungarian part (HANTSCH 1968). This triggered a crisis in Austrian identity, as the Cisleithanian part of the empire was not identified as “Austria” but as “the kingdoms and countries represented in the Imperial Council” (“im Reichsrat vertretene Königreiche und Länder”) (BIBL 1924). In contrast, Hungarian historiography interprets the compromise as a great success in the re-establishment of Hungarian (semi-)independence (CIEGER 2004; SOMOGYI 2004) marking one of Hungary’s most illustrious historical periods.

These narratives presumably significantly influenced the perspectives and mentalities of Austrian and Hungarian historians, geographers, and other scientists from the downfall of the empire until the present day. It appears that factors like nationality, culture, and history, which differed between Austria and Hungary, held more influence in the scientific research of the empire than the legal aspect of the customs union that established a unified state space.

Another crucial factor that could notably impact research on the empire as a whole and specifically the interconnectedness of its different parts, is the language of the sources. Given that German and Hungarian were the official languages of the Dual Monarchy, the primary sources for this kind of research are commonly available in these languages, encompassing laws, imperial decrees, statistical documents, and scientific literature. Other languages might also prove useful; for instance, Croatian served as the official language of administration in Croatia-Slavonia (though most documents were translated into Hungarian), and several Austrian crownlands had multilingual administrations, such as Moravia, Bukovina, and Galicia. Consequently, Hungarian scientists could play a pivotal role in advancing this research field since, generally, they are more likely to have German as a second language, whereas proficiency in Hungarian among Austrian or other German-speaking scientists is comparatively less common.

1.2 Constitutional Ties between Austria and Hungary and the Treaty on the Customs Union

However, a range of factors, particularly tied to national identities, has directed scientific research on the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in divergent directions. Nonetheless, an approach rooted solely in legal facts offers an entirely distinct perspective on the research topic.

The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 established a real union between Austria and Hungary, creating the so-called “common affairs” (military affairs, foreign affairs, and their financial affairs), and the “common state organs” (common ministries for each common affairs, Austrian and Hungarian delegations, and the common council of ministers headed by the common emperor). However, several crucial aspects regarding these common affairs and institutions were often overlooked. Beyond the

primary common affairs, numerous issues required joint handling by the Austrian and Hungarian governments, including the monetary system, uniform interest rate regulations, standardised measures and weights, water and rail transport, postal and telegraphic operations, and mutual recognition of inventions and trademarks. Additionally, the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878 required a common governance of this territory⁶⁾ which extended the common affairs of Austria and Hungary.

Furthermore, the jurisdiction of these joint institutions was outlined in a “negative form” within the Austrian and Hungarian constitutions, specifying the actions these organs were prohibited from doing. Notably, one of the significant constraints was their prohibition from intervening or influencing the internal affairs of either part of the empire. Two common foreign ministers (Agenor Maria Gołuchowski and Gusztáv Kálnoky) even had to be discharged by the emperor for intervening in the internal affairs of Austria and Hungary (KATUS 2012). However, discussions on internal Austrian or Hungarian affairs occurred within these institutions, and decisions were made regarding those matters.⁷⁾ During these instances, the common bodies functioned technically as the collective parliament and government of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (SOMOGYI 1996).

But one of the most important factors shaping the governance of the empire was the significant (semi-absolutist) rights wielded by the emperor across both halves of the realm. The emperor possessed the authority to call elections, dissolve parliaments, appoint government members, and validate their resignations. Furthermore, he exercised control over the legislature: in Austria, through emergency decrees, and in Hungary, via the right of pre-Royal Assent (KÁRBIN 2019). In Austria, the emperor could dissolve the parliament (“Reichsrat”) at will and govern using emergency decrees without encountering any constitutional hindrances. He even had the authority to promulgate the state budget for Austria through this means. Conversely, in Hungary, the right of pre-Royal Assent did not afford the emperor the same absolute power as in Austria, but it wielded significant influence over Hungarian legislation. The Hungarian government was obliged to secure the emperor’s approval for a bill before submitting it to parliament. In cases where no agreement was reached between these entities, Hungarian legislation was blocked and could only progress once a consensus was reached.

Since the emperor could enforce the Austrian state budget and exercise complete control over the Austro-Hungarian army, he held a more dominant position in this “power game”. Consequently, the Hungarian government was inevitably compelled to comply with the emperor’s will in order to promulgate a budget for the Hungarian part of the Monarchy (SARLÓS 1976). Therefore, both the Austrian and Hungarian governments were more reliant on the emperor than their respective parliaments

⁶⁾ The military and administrative governance of Bosnia and Herzegovina was placed under the authority of the common Ministry of Finance (HASLINGER 1996).

⁷⁾ For example, the case of the Fundamental Articles of 1871 in Austria (proposed by the cabinet of Karl Sigismund von Hohenwart), or the internal political crisis in Hungary following the opposition’s victory in the 1905–1906 election.

(SZENTE 2011). Thus, the governance of the entire empire was profoundly impacted by the semi-absolutist authority vested in the emperor.

Alongside the constitutional ties between Austria and Hungary, their common customs area was a significant aspect of their physical integration, established in 1851 before the Compromise of 1867, with Liechtenstein joining in 1852 (FINK 1968). A specific piece of law addressed this matter in the Compromise of 1867, stating that the customs union required renewal every decade thereafter. Article XXII of this law allowed either party to terminate the customs union, causing long and difficult negotiations between Austria and Hungary nearly every time.

After the initial ten-year period, the Hungarian government ended the union, seeking more favourable terms for Hungary in a new agreement. In 1897, due to continuous obstructions, the Austrian Parliament became entirely blocked, leading the Hungarian government to once again terminate the union. However, despite this, the common customs area remained intact in practice, with the renewal of the agreement postponed initially to 1902 and later to 1907 (KATUS 2012). Three articles within the Act governing the customs union (Article I and XIV from the Act of 1867, and Article XX from the Act of 1878⁸⁾) delineate the true essence of this unified customs area:

Article I: “The state territories of both parties form a common customs territory for the duration of this alliance which is surrounded by a common customs border. During the period of this alliance, neither of the two parties will have the right to impose any kind of import, export, or transfer customs duty on the products that are taken from the territory of one party to the territory of the other party, and to establish a customs line inside this territory. [...]”

Article XIV: “Residents of one state’s territory who wish to engage in trade and industry or seek employment in order to conduct an industrial business in the other state’s territory, shall receive the same treatment as the natives, as well as concerning the matter of paying taxes. [...]”

Article XX: “Joint-stock companies [...], insurance companies, public benefit, and industrial cooperatives [...] legally established in the territory of one state may extend their operations to the territory of the other state and establish branches there. In such cases, they are considered equal to domestic associations and institutes, and they would be subject to the rules that apply to business conducted by domestic companies for business conducted in this state territory. [...]”

Furthermore, in 1878, the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian Bank⁹⁾ consolidated the Monarchy’s common monetary system. All these laws ensured a unified customs territory where capital, labour, goods, and services moved freely, supported by a uniform currency across the entire empire. Consequently, socioeconomic processes could freely transcend the administrative borders of Austria and Hungary without any

⁸⁾ Austrian piece of law: RGBl. Nr. 62/1878; Hungarian piece of law: ACH, 1878/XX.

⁹⁾ Austrian piece of law: RGBl. Nr. 66/1878; Hungarian piece of law: ACH, 1878/XXV.

obstacles. Therefore, these processes need to be examined from the perspective of the common state space provided by the customs union.

2 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The citizens' freedom to move and settle anywhere within the empire was a significant outcome of the Customs Union. Consequently, the migration of citizens stands as a prominent socioeconomic process, vital for affirming and underscoring the importance of a new historical-geographical research perspective on the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

Upon uncovering the disparities in interpreting the empire across different periods, it is not surprising that there is no comprehensive study addressing the migration patterns between the two parts of the Monarchy. Numerous significant studies and books by Austrian and Hungarian authors focus solely on either the Austrian or Hungarian part of the Monarchy (BELUSZKY 2005; DÁNYI 2000; DÖVÉNYI 2001; FASSMANN 1986; FASSMANN 1999; HANÁK 1975; KOMLOSY 2003; MIKOLETZKY 1992; PUSKÁS 1990; STEIDL et al. 2007; ZÖLLNER 1998).

While some consider both parts of the empire (e.g. FASSMANN 1990; PRINCZ 1938; RUMPLER and URBANITSCH 2010; STEIDL 2008), none delves into investigating migration across the Austro-Hungarian administrative border. On a smaller geographic scale (such as within a crownland or regarding a city), there are studies examining cross-border migration (e.g. CATTARUZZA 1987; GYŐRI 2005) yet they fail to offer a comprehensive, detailed portrayal of migration dynamics between Austria and Hungary during that era.

Studying migration ties between Austria and Hungary during the period of Dualism poses several challenges, including linguistic and methodological factors. Essentially, the Austrian and Hungarian census data from 1870 to 1910 can effectively illuminate only two key aspects of cross-border migration: the intensity and the directions of migration flows. Based on this, I have outlined two specific objectives to underpin the conclusions of my study:

1. Evaluation of the intensity of migration flows across Austria and Hungary and its changes between 1870 and 1910.¹⁰⁾
2. Identification of migration patterns between Austrian crownlands and Hungarian counties in 1910.

The results of these objectives aim to offer insights not only into the socioeconomic ties between Austria and Hungary but also shed light on their geographical characteristics at a subnational level.

¹⁰⁾ Bosnia and Herzegovina is not included in the research due to its limited statistical data on migration. Being an occupied territory of the Monarchy starting in 1878 and annexed only in 1908, substantial statistical records on migration for this region are limited.

3 Limitations of the Statistical Data and Methodology of the Study

3.1 The Austrian and Hungarian Censuses Recorded between 1870¹¹⁾ and 1910 as the Main Sources of the Research

The five Austrian and Hungarian national censuses conducted every ten years between 1870 and 1910 serve as the primary sources for accurately evaluating migration flows and the main migration patterns between Austria and Hungary during the era of Dualism. Fortunately, all these censuses are available online: the Austrian ones in the Austrian National Library's database known as "ÖNB ALEX",¹²⁾ and the Hungarian records in the public archive of the Library of the Hungarian Parliament called "Hungaricana".¹³⁾

Within these census databases, there are only two demographic records useful for reconstructing migration relations: Birthplace records (referred to in the Austrian censuses as "*Bevölkerung nach Gebürtigkeit*") and in the Hungarian censuses as "*Népesség születési hely szerint*") and citizenship records (referred to in the Austrian censuses as "*Staatsangehörigkeit*" and in the Hungarian censuses as "*Honosság*"). However, both data types have limitations concerning this research.

Birthplace data is available only at the national level (Austria / Hungary), the Austrian censuses even lack records for inhabitants born in Hungary. Fortunately, citizenship data, alongside the registered place of residence (identified in the Austrian censuses as "*Heimatberechtigung*" and in the Hungarian censuses as "*Illetőség*"), is accessible at the level of Austrian crownlands and Hungarian counties (even at the district level in Austria). However, there are two important factors why these data must be handled carefully. Citizenship could be acquired or lost based on specific criteria.¹⁴⁾ Both Austrian and Hungarian citizenship could be revoked after a ten-year absence. Moreover, the accuracy of registered residence was uncertain, as not all individuals were recorded by local authorities at their place of residence (BELUSZKY 2005).

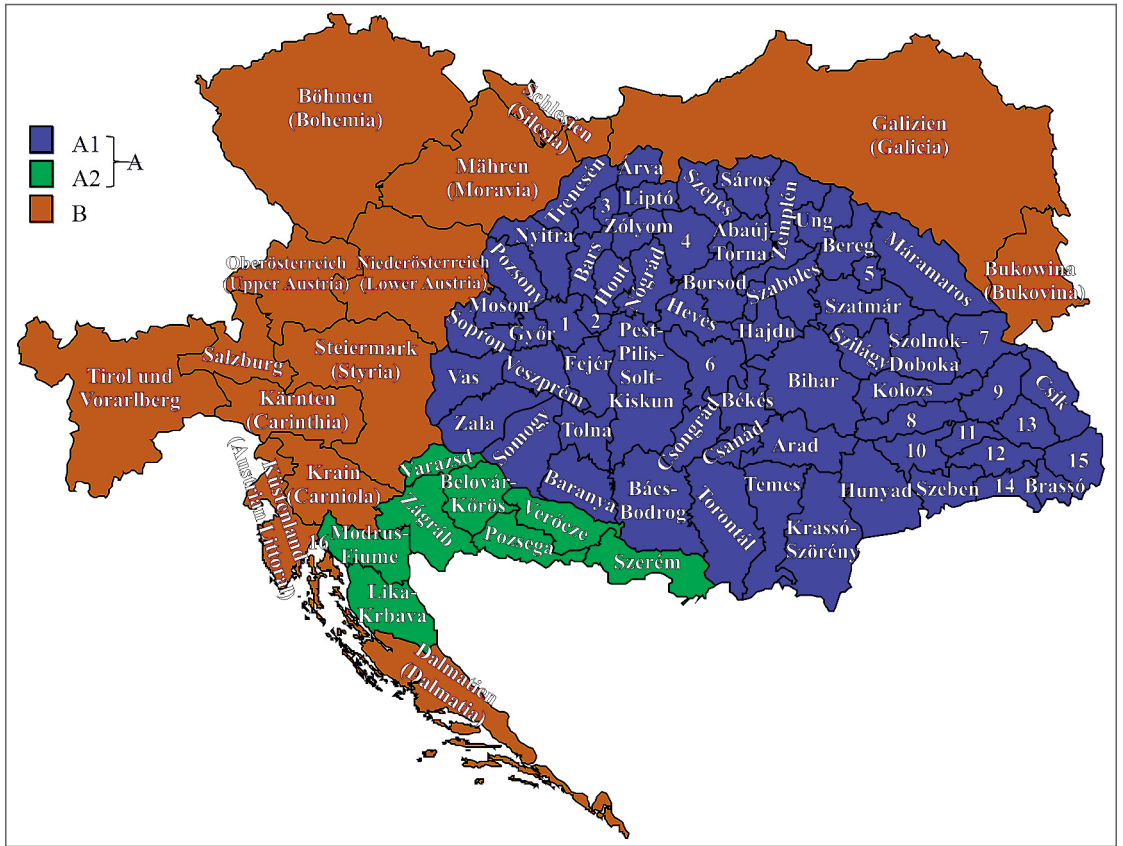
The term „citizenship” may be misleading as it presumes the full sovereignty of Austria and Hungary but considering the customs union and the equal treatment of all inhabitants living in the empire remains fixed. So, Austrian and Hungarian citizenship could be defined the same as the registered place of residence, only at a higher administrative level. This represents one of the many paradoxes concerning the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Despite its limitations, citizenship records remain the most effective sources for assessing migration volume and patterns at the subnational administrative levels of Austrian crownlands and Hungarian counties (Figure 1).

¹¹⁾ The initial censuses of Austria and Hungary were recorded in different years (1869 in Austria and 1870 in Hungary). To simplify the reference to these censuses together, the year 1870 is employed as a „logical” date considering the subsequent censuses conducted in 1880, 1890, 1900, and 1910.

¹²⁾ The data from the 1869 census is available in the Austrian statistical yearbook of 1870: <http://www.iterature.at/viewer.alo?objid=685&page=1&viewmode=fullscreen>. Censuses between 1880 and 1900 are available at: https://alex.onb.ac.at/static_tables/ors.htm; the Census of 1910 is available at: https://alex.onb.ac.at/static_tables/ost.htm (accessed on May 6, 2023).

¹³⁾ Available at: http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/ksh_neda_nepszamlalasok/ (accessed on May 6, 2023).

¹⁴⁾ Austrian piece of law: RGBl. Nr. 142/1867; Hungarian piece of law: ACH, 1879/L.



Legend: Parts of the Monarchy and its administrative units:

A – Countries of the Hungarian Crown, A1 – Counties of Hungary [Komitate / vármegyék], A2 – Counties of Croatia-Slavonia [Komitate / vármegyék]. Counties marked with numbers: 1 – Komárom, 2 – Esztergom, 3 – Turóc, 4 – Gömör és Kis-Hont, 5 – Ugocsa, 6 – Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, 7 – Beszterce-Naszód, 8 – Torda-Aranyos, 9 – Maros-Torda, 10 – Alsó-Fehér, 11 – Kis-Küküllő, 12 – Nagy-Küküllő, 13 – Udvarhely, 14 – Fogaras, 15 – Háromszék, 16 – Fiume.¹⁵⁾

B – Crownlands of Austria [Kronländer / tartományok] (in brackets their English names)

Source: Own design

Figure 1: Subnational administrative units of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1910: Austrian crownlands and Hungarian counties

3.2 Methodology of the Case Study: Migration Indicators¹⁵⁾

As mentioned earlier, the primary data source for investigating migration between the two parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is the statistical records of citizenship. This study

¹⁵⁾ For methodological and cartographic purposes, the city of Fiume and its neighbouring county merged into a single entity, referred to solely by the name of the county (Modrus-Fiume).

does not focus on internal migration within Austria and Hungary, it encompasses exclusively Austro-Hungarian cross-border migration. Three key indicators have been selected to evaluate the volume and directions of these migration ties:

1. *Gross migration rate* (m): The sum of emigrants and immigrants (with Austrian or Hungarian citizenship, moving to or from the other half of the empire) within an administrative territory over a specific period (M), divided by the total population of that territory (P). The result is expressed as the net number of migrants per 1,000 population:

$$m = 1000 \cdot (M/P)$$

The gross migration rate is often referred to as “the mobility of a specific territory’s population” (HOÓZ 1995). In this study, it will indicate the proportion of a crownland/county in the total migration between Austria and Hungary.

- 2) *Migration balance* (M_b): “The migration balance is the difference between the number of persons having entered the territory and the number of persons having left the territory in the course of the year.” (INSEE¹⁶) In this research, focusing on citizenship, the calculation involves the difference between immigrant and emigrant Austrian and Hungarian citizens. Two distinct formulas have been set up for the Austrian crownlands and the Hungarian counties. To simplify things, in both cases, the number of Austrian immigrants or emigrants was subtracted from the number of Hungarian immigrants or emigrants.

- The formula set for the Austrian crownlands:

$$M_b = M_{hi} - M_{ea}$$

Where: M_{hi} = the number of immigrant Hungarian citizens
 M_{ea} = the number of emigrant Austrian citizens

- The formula set for the Hungarian counties:

$$M_b = M_{he} - M_{ai}$$

Where: M_{he} = the number of emigrant Hungarian citizens
 M_{ai} = the number of immigrant Austrian citizens

The interpretation of these indicators will differ from the original definition of migration balance, as it now considers solely Austrian and Hungarian citizens. According to the formulas, a negative value will indicate a migration surplus to Austria, while positive values will signify a migration surplus to Hungary. The final results will illustrate whether a territory gained or lost population due to migration between Austria and Hungary. Additionally, this indicator serves as a measure of an administrative unit’s attractiveness to migrants from the other part of the empire.

¹⁶ The definition of the French national institute for statistics and economic studies (“Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques”, INSEE): <https://www.insee.fr/en/metadonnees/definition/c1450> (accessed on May 6, 2023).

- 3) *Migration intensity* between two administrative units (I): The calculation formula is similar to that of the gross migration rate. However, it differs in that it combines data from two territories (one Austrian and one Hungarian) (n+m): the sum of migration between them (M) and their total populations (P). The results will be expressed per 1,000 inhabitants. The formula is as follows:

$$I = 1000 \cdot (M_{n+m} / P_{n+m})$$

This indicator will illustrate the migration intensity between paired territories from each part of the empire. By calculating the migration balance indicator for each case, we can identify the direction of the migration flow between every paired territory. The combined results of these two indicators will provide a picture of the most intense migration paths within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

4 Results of the Statistical Research on Migration

4.1 Intensity of Migration Flows between Austria and Hungary (1870–1910)

The analysis of census data revealed a significant increase in cross-border Austro-Hungarian migration between 1870 and 1910. The total number of Austrian and Hungarian citizens residing in the other part of the Monarchy grew nearly sixfold (Table 1). According to the census of 1910, more than half a million citizens of the empire were found living in the other part of the Dual Monarchy. However, notable disparities existed between the numbers of Austrian and Hungarian citizens involved in this migration. At the time of the first census taken in 1870, more Austrians resided in Hungary than vice

	Unit	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Austrian citizens in Hungary	number	66,468	104,698	159,637	207,593	235,475
	percent	100	157.52	240.17	312.32	354.27
Hungarian citizens in Austria	number	26,813	183,422	228,647	270,751	301,088
	percent	100	684.08	852.75	1,009.78	1,122.92
Total	number	93,281	288,120	388,284	478,344	536,563
	percent	100	308.87	416.25	512.80	575.1

Source: Austrian and Hungarian censuses of 1869/1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910 (K.K. Statistische Zentral-Commission 1872, 1882, 1893, 1895, 1902, 1912, 1913, 1919; Országos Magyar Királyi Statisztikai Hivatal (1871, 1882, 1893); Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal (1907, 1909, 1916, 1920). Own compilation.

Table 1: Volume and growth (1870 = 100 %) of the migration between Austria and Hungary (1870–1910)

versa. Subsequently, from the 1880 census onwards, the analysis showed that there were consistently roughly 60,000 to 80,000 more Hungarian citizens migrating compared to Austrians.

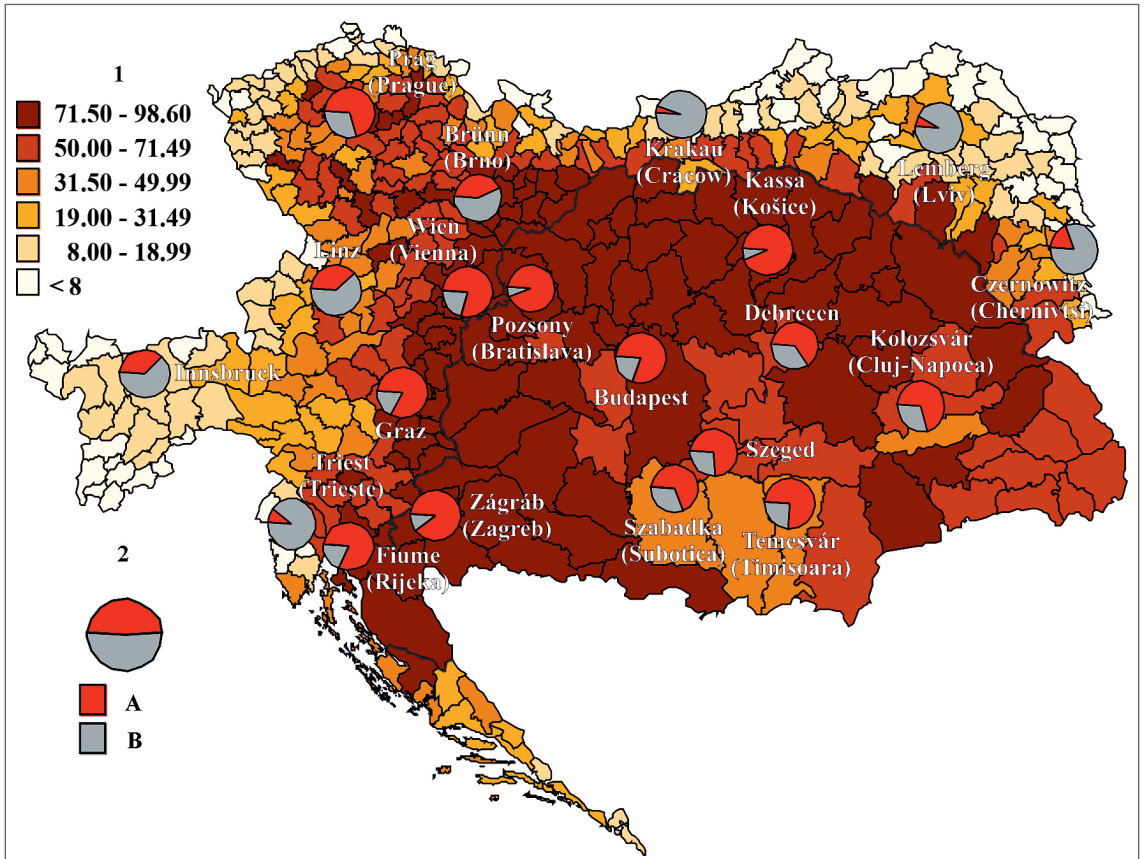
This shift was possibly tied to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, where the Act on the Customs Union facilitated easier migration for Hungarian citizens to the economically more developed Austrian crownlands. Presumably, due to the aftermath of the absolutistic era before 1867, many Austrian civil servants remained in Hungary which explains their higher number in 1870. Over the four decades from 1870 to 1910, the number of Hungarian citizens in Austria increased elevenfold, while the corresponding data for Austrians grew by only 3.5 times.

The periods of most significant migration differed for each group: the peak increase for Hungarians occurred between 1870 and 1880, whereas for Austrians, it was a decade later. However, the data on citizenship could present significant uncertainties, as both Austrians and Hungarians could lose their citizenship after a decade of absence from their last residence. This situation implies that a considerable number of migrants might have been omitted from the statistics used in this research, as these individuals lost their citizenship between two censuses. Consequently, the actual volume of migration between Austria and Hungary, particularly from 1880 to 1910, could potentially be significantly higher than the data reflected in this study.

The significance of Austria-Hungary-related migration can be highlighted by another indicator: the ratio of Austrian and Hungarian citizens among all foreign citizens, considering only Hungarians in Austria and vice versa. Between 1880 and 1910, citizens from the other side of the empire constituted the majority of foreign citizens in both Austria and Hungary. In Hungary, during this period, over 80 percent of non-Hungarian citizens were Austrians, while in Austria, more than 50 percent were Hungarian citizens.

As seen in Figure 2, geographical distance played a crucial role in the distribution of Austrians and Hungarians among subnational-level units. Moving from the empire's external borders towards the Austro-Hungarian administrative border, the percentage of Austrian and Hungarian citizens among all foreigners increased progressively. The Austrian census of 1910 provided detailed district-level data on the Austrian side, showing that Hungarian citizens comprised the majority of foreigners in 131 out of 369 Austrian districts. Most of these districts were near the Austro-Hungarian border, but some were also located farther away, particularly in the central territories of Bohemia and Moravia. However, in some districts along the external border of the Monarchy, the share of Hungarian citizens was rather low (e.g. in Tirol-Vorarlberg and Galicia).

In contrast, Hungary exhibited a different pattern, where Austrian citizens comprised the majority of foreigners not only in bordering counties (with proportions close to 100 percent in more counties) but also in counties deep within Hungary, such as Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun or Bihar County, and along the outer border far from Austria (Southeastern counties and counties in Croatia-Slavonia). Only four counties had less than 50 percent Austrian citizens among all foreigners: Torda-Aranyos County and three Southern Hungarian counties (Bács-Bodrog, Torontál, and Temes counties). It's worth noting that even in Torda-Aranyos county, Austrians accounted for 43 percent of all foreigners, the lowest proportion based on this indicator.



Legend:

1 – Percentage of citizens from the other half of the Monarchy among all foreign citizens in Austrian districts and Hungarian counties (%);

2 – Percentage of citizens from the other half of the Monarchy among all foreign citizens in the ten most populous Austrian and Hungarian cities*: A – citizens from the other half of the Monarchy, B – other foreign citizens.

* City names primarily indicate contemporary (German and Hungarian) names (as recorded in the Austrian and Hungarian censuses of 1910). English and/or present-day names of the cities are provided in brackets.

Source: K.K. Statistische Zentral-Commission (1912, 1913, 1919); Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal (1916, 1920). Own design.

Figure 2: Austrian citizens in Hungary and Hungarian citizens in Austria (1910)

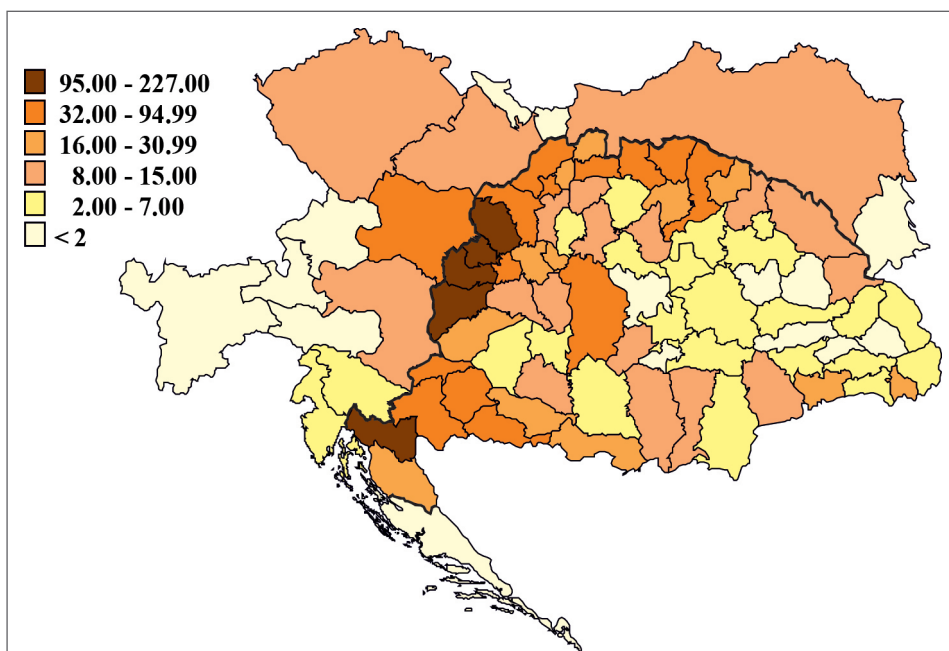
4.2 Identifying Primary Migration Paths between Austria and Hungary in 1910

The gross migration rate results depict the proportional contribution of each Austrian crownland and Hungarian county to the total migration volume between the two halves of the Monarchy (Figure 3). Predominantly, the territories with the highest share were

situated along the Hungarian side of the Austro-Hungarian administrative border. The chain of counties stretching from Modrus-Fiume to Zemplén counties exhibited the most substantial activity in this migration process. Notably, four counties adjoining Lower Austria and Styria (Pozsony, Moson, Sopron, and Vas counties) displayed the highest values.

Additionally, the crownland of Lower Austria and Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County registered relatively high gross migration rates, likely attributed to the presence of the two most populated cities of the Monarchy, Vienna and Budapest. Figure 3 illustrates that every county in Croatia-Slavonia exhibited a substantial gross migration rate, particularly when compared to the neighbouring Hungarian counties. Moreover, Szeben and Brassó counties stood out among the Southeastern Hungarian counties, possibly due to their predominantly (German-speaking) Saxon population. Conversely, the least active counties in migration were situated east of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, extending as far as the Transylvanian counties.

In Austria besides Lower Austria Styria, Bohemia, Moravia, and Galicia showed significant activity in the migration flow between Austria and Hungary (Figure 3). Salzburg, Upper Austria, Tirol-Vorarlberg, and Dalmatia had the lowest gross migration rates, while Carinthia, Silesia, and Bukovina also demonstrated relatively low values.

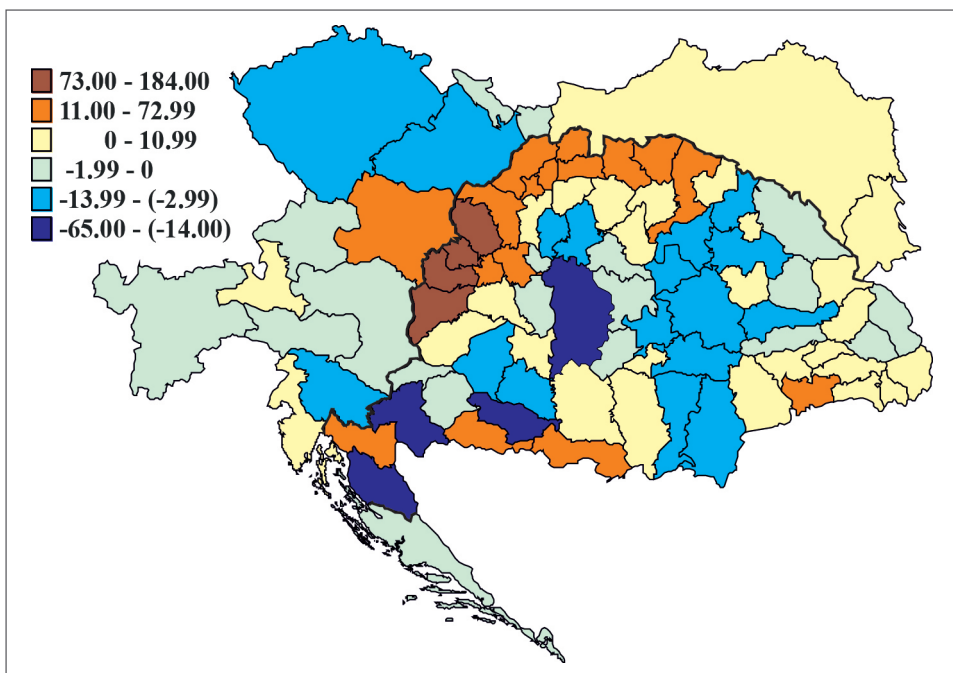


Legend: Values of the gross migration rate, in percent (calculation of the gross migration rate see Chapter 3.2, page 74)

Source: K.K. Statistische Zentral-Commission (1912, 1913, 1919); Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal (1916, 1920). Own design.

Figure 3: Gross migration rate of the Austrian crownlands [Kronländer/tartományok] and the Hungarian counties [Komitate/vármegyék] in 1910 (in percent)

Changes in the gross migration rates regarding crownlands and counties between 1880 and 1910 illustrate the shifting dynamics of their connectedness over time (Figure 4). The indicators for Pozsony, Moson, Sopron, and Vas counties experienced the most substantial percentage point increases. Additionally, several counties along Hungary's northern border also witnessed an increase in migration activity. Even distant counties like Szeben, Szerém, and Pozsega also became more intensively connected to the migration process. Whereas, the share of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun and three Croatian counties (including Zagreb county) experienced the most significant decrease in percentage points throughout the empire. In Austria, Lower Austria's dominance grew even more pronounced, while most other crownlands exhibited stagnant rates (Figure 4).



Legend: Change in the gross migration rate (as defined in chapter 3.2, page 74) between 1880 and 1910 (calculation in percentage points)

Source: Austrian and Hungarian censuses of 1869/1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910 (K.K. Statistische Zentral-Commission 1882, 1893, 1895, 1902, 1912, 1913, 1919; Országos Magyar Királyi Statisztikai Hivatal (1882, 1893); Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal (1907, 1909, 1916, 1920). Own design.

Figure 4: Change in the migration rate of the Austrian crownlands [Kronländer/tartományok] and the Hungarian counties [Komitate/vármegyék] between 1880 and 1910

The interpretation of the results from the migration balance and migration intensity indicators must be done in conjunction. The migration balance reveals whether a territory had an

emissive or recipient role in the migration process, while the migration intensity indicator ranks the connectedness of Austrian crownlands and Hungarian counties based on migration volume. By combining these indicators, we gain insight into the primary migration paths in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1910.

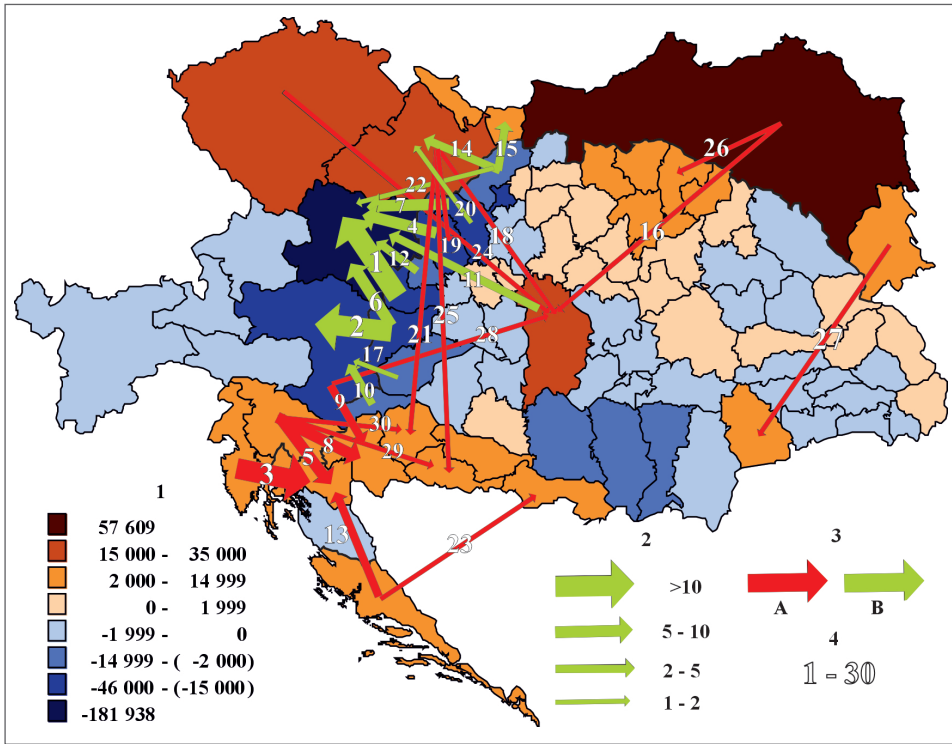
The results of the migration balance indicator (Legend 1 of Figure 5) highlight that Lower Austria was by far the most important destination territory for migrants from the Hungarian part of the empire in 1910. While the crownland of Styria and Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County were also significant recipient territories, their migration balance figures were notably less than those of Lower Austria. In Austria, a distinction emerges between crownlands inhabited by predominantly German-speaking populations and those with non-German populations. The former received more Hungarian citizens than they emitted Austrian ones, while the latter experienced the reverse. Certain emissive crownlands, like Galicia, Bohemia, and Moravia, showed higher figures compared to others.

Hungary's migration balance results contrast with Austria's. Besides Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County (with Budapest), the primary recipient counties were predominantly in areas populated by minorities, such as counties in Northeastern Hungary facing Galicia, most Croatian counties, and the sole exception of Hunyad county in Southeastern Hungary. The most emissive counties in the migration process were situated on the western borders of Hungary, neighbouring Lower Austria and Styria. Additionally, further away from the Austro-Hungarian border, Bács-Bodrog, Torontál, and Temes counties also saw considerable emigration among Hungarian citizens and a surplus in the migration balance to Austria's favour. Within Hungary's inland territories, an almost equal number of counties played either recipient or emissive roles in the migration between Austria and Hungary, which correlated to some extent with their gross migration rate values.

The migration balance, calculated from previous census records, depicted a similar scenario. Only two territories showed a reversal in their migration balance between 1890 and 1910: Carinthia and Bukovina. Emigration towards Lower Austria and immigration from Galicia intensified during this period, while the recipient role of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county diminished.

The results of migration intensity, specifically calculated between each Austrian crownland and Hungarian county, illustrate the level of migrational connectedness between them, focusing solely on the migration of Austrian and Hungarian citizens. In this study, we'll examine and analyse the 30 crownland-county pairs with the highest migration intensity (above the value of 1) from nearly a thousand pairings (see Legend 2 and 3 of Figure 5). These results, coupled with those from the migration balance indicator calculated for these territorial pairings, allow us not only to define the intensity of the migration flow between these pairs but also their directions. Essentially, this helps us visualise the most significant migration patterns outlined on the map (Figure 5).

The indicator revealed highly intense migration ties (exceeding 10) among three pairs in 1910: between Lower Austria and Sopron County, Styria and Vas County, and the Austrian Littoral and Modrus-Fiume County (incorporating the city of Fiume). In the former two pairs, intense migration occurred from the Hungarian side towards the Austrian, whereas in the latter, it was the reverse. Rapidly growing cities, like Vienna in Lower



Legend:

- 1 – Balance of migration between Austria and Hungary (in absolute numbers; calculation see Chapter 3.2, page 74):
positive values (+) ... migration surplus to Hungary's favour,
negative values (–) ... migration surplus to Austria's favour;
- 2 – Strength of the migration linkage between two administrative units, measured by the migration intensity (calculation see Chapter 3.2). Note: Only the 30 crownland-county pairs with the highest migration intensity (above the value of 1) from nearly a thousand pairings are shown in this map.
- 3 – Nationality: A ... Austrian, B ... Hungarian
- 4 – Rank among the 30 Austrian crownland / Hungarian county pairings with the highest migration intensity.

Source: K.K. Statistische Zentral-Commission (1912, 1913, 1919); Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal (1916, 1920). Own design.

Figure 5: Main migration routes between Austria and Hungary in 1910

Austria and Graz in Styria might have been significant attraction for Hungarian emigrants. The situation is more complex in the case of the Austrian Littoral and Modrus-Fiume, where two competing, swiftly developing cities (Trieste and Fiume) were located. In this case, economic circumstances, along with ethnic and cultural factors, likely influenced the primary direction of migration flow. Furthermore, the proximity of Fiume to the common border of the two administrative units implies a cross-border economic zone along the

coastline. On the Hungarian side, Zagreb might have been another significant migration hotspot regarding cross-border migration.

The ten most intense migration patterns occurred between the crownlands of the Austrian Littoral, Carniola, Styria, Lower Austria, and their neighbouring Hungarian counties. Apart from the ethnic-linguistic aspect, a developing common identity might have amplified migration between Austrian crownlands with a sizable Slovenian population and Croatian counties, given the close relationship between Slovenian and Croatian political movements by the early 20th century (JELAVICH 1983). While each mentioned territory played a distinct role in the migration process – either as a recipient or an emitter – Styria exhibited a dual character, being a popular destination for Hungarian emigrants while, at the same time, experiencing emigration of many local citizens (presumably mainly Slovenian-speaking) toward Zágráb County.

The eleventh most intense migration in 1910 occurred between Lower Austria and Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, marking the first instance of non-adjacent territories demonstrating significant migration ties. Undoubtedly, Vienna and Budapest, the dual capitals of the empire, maintained close socioeconomic and political connections, with Vienna exerting a notably stronger overall pull than Budapest.

As the indicator values decreased below 5, additional migration patterns emerged between non-neighbouring territories. The most intense migration link regarding this group existed between the crownland of Dalmatia and Modrus-Fiume County. However, Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County and its capital, Budapest, had a distinct geographical position from Lower Austria and Vienna, yet served as a significant destination for Austrian citizens arriving from considerable distances, specifically from Styria, Galicia, Bohemia, and Moravia. Nonetheless, Lower Austria attracted a substantially larger number of Hungarian citizens from Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County than the reverse, underscoring Vienna's compelling influence in the migration dynamics.

Two extended migration routes were identified between Moravia and two Croatian counties (Belovár-Kőrös and Pozsega),¹⁷⁾ while the migration path from Dalmatia to Szerém county (across Bosnia and Herzegovina) also covered a considerable distance. Bohemia's case stands out as it was the sole Austrian crownland without a direct administrative border with Hungary, yet it was involved in one of the 30 migration patterns with the highest migration intensity outlined in this section. Migration intensity across the northern and eastern parts of the Austro-Hungarian border was significantly weaker compared to the western regions. Notably, the Northeastern Hungarian counties, especially Zemplén County, received numerous emigrants from Galicia while Hunyad County received many Austrian citizens from Bukovina,¹⁸⁾ marking a unique instance of long-distance migration across the Austro-Hungarian border.

¹⁷⁾ This migration route can be traced back to the historical origins of the Croat minority in Moravia and the Czech minority in Croatia. Following the Ottoman invasion of Southern Hungary in the 16th century, Croats sought refuge in Moravia. Later, after the Habsburg Empire reclaimed Croatia from the Ottoman Empire, Czech settlers migrated to Slavonia in the 18th century.

¹⁸⁾ Linguistic and economic factors can explain the significance of this migration pattern: Both administrative units were mainly Romanian-speaking, and the coal mines and heavy industry of Hunyad County could attract a workforce from Bukovina.

In summary, while migration patterns among Hungarian citizens predominantly showed an eastward movement, Austrian citizens' migration paths were more diverse. The busiest migration patterns predominantly headed eastward, particularly from Carniola and the Austrian Littoral to the Croatian counties in Hungary. However, there were distinct migration flows towards the south (from Moravia to Croatia) and westward (from Galicia and Bukovina to Eastern Hungary). Geographical proximity was a significant factor in migration patterns; however, the evident intense migrations between relatively distant territories suggest the presence of other socioeconomic influential factors.

5 Conclusion

The Compromise of 1867 and the customs union between Austria and Hungary established a unified state space of the entire empire, enabling the free movement of capital, labour, goods, and services. Beyond that, several significant constitutional and political connections existed between Austria and Hungary such as common governance over certain affairs, joint control of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a common bank and currency system. Above all, the semi-absolutist power vested in the emperor proved to be one of the most significant constitutional forces unifying the different parts of the empire. However, despite these strong constitutional and economic connections, as well as the existence of a unified customs area, contemporary historical-geographical studies indicate that national perspectives remain crucial in analysing the empire. Sometimes, these studies inaccurately portray Austria and Hungary as separate entities, suggesting that their respective socioeconomic dynamics strictly remained within their administrative borders. Despite the clear legal-geographical foundation for analysing the empire as a whole, the topic has seen very few scientific studies since the dissolution of the empire.

This paper – exploring the migration links between Austria and Hungary during the era of Dualism – demonstrated the relevance of this scientific perspective. The research revealed a nearly sixfold increase in migration between Austria and Hungary from 1870 to 1910, a figure that might have been even greater considering the limitations in citizenship data accuracy. The study highlighted the extensive involvement of both Austrian and Hungarian territories in this migration phenomenon. While a majority of migrants were concentrated near the Austro-Hungarian border, the research also uncovered high-intensity migration patterns between territories spanning significant distances. Beyond geographical and economic factors, ethnic-linguistic considerations likely played a significant role in shaping these migration routes, notably connecting Austrian crownlands and Hungarian counties predominantly inhabited by Slavic ethnic groups.

The analysis underscores the deeply intertwined socioeconomic dynamics that connected Austria and Hungary. Despite over a century passing since the empire's collapse, the scholarly focus remains largely confined to individual studies of Austria or Hungary, overlooking the importance of considering both as equal subjects of research. The unique entity of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy endured for over half a century, and its unified customs territory persisted even longer. Undoubtedly, numerous unexplored scientific areas are waiting to be explored on the topic. Therefore, research perspectives on the

Austro-Hungarian Monarchy should be reconsidered in the fields of geography, history, historical geography, and related disciplines, surpassing the conventional nationalistic interpretations found in past works on the empire.

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