

The Political Economy of the Prussian Three-class Franchise

Journal of Economic History, December 2020

Sascha O. Becker Erik Hornung
Monash U & U Warwick U Cologne

Appendices

A Further historical background

A.1 The political landscape

This section extends the description of the political landscape and the political parties provided in the main article in the historical context section. The Prussian political landscape stabilized during the early periods of our analysis. Political factions and parties formed during the 1860s, and became even more important after the German Reichstag was established in 1871.

Drawing on biographical information from Kühne (1994), we report the party affiliation of MPs in Table 1.⁶⁵ The table depicts an aggregate number of 3,658 MP-by-period observations of party affiliation between 1867 and 1903. A range of smaller factions were represented in parliament. We classify members of smaller factions into larger party groups as indicated in columns 2 and 3. This leaves us with six main parties which were active during our period of analysis (and the residual category ‘Other’ (1.35% of observations)).

Parties and their members overlap with the German Reichstag. One reason why some MPs were members of both parliaments is the fact that the Reichstag did not reimburse its MPs for (travel) expenses whereas the Prussian House of Representatives did.⁶⁶ Platforms covered a spectrum of left and right wing policies. However, due to the inequalities embed-

⁶⁵In some cases when party affiliation was uncertain, we used the most likely party affiliation given in Kühne (1994). In cases of changes in party affiliation *within* a legislature, we use the initial party affiliation. Party changes within legislature are extremely rare and affect well below 1% of MPs, on average. In cases when MPs changed party affiliations *between* legislatures, we assigned the party for which the most roll call votes were cast.

⁶⁶Approximately 24% of Prussian MPs were members of the two parliaments at the same time for at least one year (on average 6.7 years). Concerns that MPs who belonged to both parliaments were systematically different can be addressed with a dummy variable for dual membership. In unreported regressions, we find that adding such a control variable does not change our results.

ded in the franchise system, platforms addressing social issues and redistribution such as the Socialist Workers' Party did not manage to obtain any seats in the Prussian Parliament until 1908.⁶⁷ Parties were additionally distinguishable in their religious views as well as in their support of the Imperial Government, in particular the political agenda of chancellor Otto von Bismarck. For a summary of the key debates that provides further context to the political landscape of our period under analysis, we would like to refer the reader to Section A.2 and especially Table A.2.

The Conservative Party (K) was a nobility-dominated group of Protestants representing agrarian interests. They formed a natural alliance with the Free Conservative Party (R) and had shifting alliances with the National Liberal Party (N) and the Centre Party (Z). The Conservative Party was conservative in all dimensions, aimed at retaining the feudal structure, the monarchy, and opposed the unification of the German Empire in favor of a strong Prussian state. Conservatives were strongly in favor of agrarian protectionism, and weakly in favor of industrial protection and guilds. They were divided over the *Kulturkampf* in the 1870s, but rallied behind Bismarck after his 'conservative turn' in 1879, and supported the return to protectionism in the 1880s. The Free Conservatives (R) also consisted of Protestant conservatives, but were consistent supporters of Bismarck's policies. Thus, different from the Conservative Party, they were in favor of the *Kulturkampf*. They supported the unification of the German Empire and protectionism.

The National Liberal Party (N) was dominated by burghers and businessmen. National Liberals constituted the largest faction in parliament during the *Kulturkampf* period for which they supported Bismarck's policies. They had a natural alliance with the Left Liberal Party (F) with which they shared similar views on economic liberalization and free trade, but they were split between left- and right-leaning groups. From 1879 to 1885 they opposed Bismarck's 'conservative turn' but moved to the right afterwards when they strongly supported industrial tariffs and were partly in favor of agrarian protectionism and guild protection. The Left Liberals (F) consisted of members of the German Progress Party (*Deutsche Fortschrittspartei*) and its spin-offs and successors. Members usually opposed Bismarck and large government, whereas they supported democracy, equality before the law, and economic liberalism (Treue, 1975). In line with their ideals, Free Liberals were supportive of Bismarck's strive for secularization during the early *Kulturkampf*.

The Centre Party (Z), became highly successful with the Catholic population when opposing secularization during the *Kulturkampf* and defending the position of the Catholic Church. Subsequently, it maintained its electorate and strengthened its dominance in the western regions of Prussia. The party is generally categorized as conservative but did not develop a comprehensive program beyond religious issues. This made the Centre Party a

⁶⁷In that sense, the Prussian Parliament as a whole was a conservative one. But as argued before, our interest is in the link between vote inequality and political orientation *within* the three-class franchise.

crucial ally with shifting allegiances in many important topics (Treue, 1975). During 1879 to 1885, after the *Kulturkampf* period, Bismarck convinced the Centre Party to ally with Conservative parties to support his protectionist policies.

Minority parties (M) include mostly ethnic minorities in Prussia: Polish MPs from the Slavic regions, Danish MPs from the Schleswig region, and Guelph/Welf MPs from Hanover. Some Danish MPs refused to accept the constitution and were consequently barred from parliament and roll call voting. Polish MPs (mostly Catholic) supported the Centre Party during the *Kulturkampf*. Guelph Party MPs favored Hanoverian independence from Prussia, opposed the government and supported the Centre Party during the *Kulturkampf*. We assigned remaining MPs to the category Other (O) that captures mostly liberal members that are neither left liberals nor national liberals and MPs from the *Bund der Landwirte*, an economic association which leaned predominantly toward right-wing conservative policies.

This description shows that liberal parties of the time did by no means stand for extreme economic liberal views as one might find in some Western Democracies of the 20th and 21st century. Liberal parties were more liberal in comparison to a conservative spectrum that aimed at retaining the feudal structure and the monarchy, and that even opposed the unification of the German Empire. It is important to keep this in mind when we talk about liberal-conservative policies and MPs.

A.2 Key debates in the period 1867–1903

Our empirical analysis starts in 1867, after Prussia won the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, and annexed the Kingdoms of Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse, and the Duchy of Nassau to reach its maximum extension which it kept until WWI. From 1867, that is election period 10, the new provinces of Hanover, Hesse-Nassau and Schleswig-Holstein were part of Prussia and elected members to the Prussian House of Representatives. Election periods initially lasted three years and, after 1888, five years. Table A.1 shows the dates of primary elections (column 1), of the election of MPs by the electoral delegates (column 2), and the start and end dates of the legislatures (columns 3 and 4). Column 5 lists the number of RCVs that took place in each election period. We end our analysis in 1903 due to a range of changes in the electoral system and the division of constituencies thereafter.

Table A.2 presents a systematic overview over the content of all RCVs comparing the ten election periods.⁶⁸ A fundamental issue looming throughout the entire period under

⁶⁸The categories in this table roughly correspond to the ministries of the Prussian government. Due to the small number of votes on foreign affairs (mostly a Reichstag matter), this category was combined with interior affairs. Due to the high frequency of budgetary issues and procedural issues, these items form a separate category. RCVs were first itemized by keywords according to the original parliamentary minutes before keywords were assigned to a category.

analysis is the social conflict arising between advocates of economic liberalism and advocates of a social policies. This conflict did not arise in the Prussian parliament due to the lack of representation of socialist parties and was eased by the introduction of Bismarck's system of social insurances from the 1880s.

The entire period 1867–1903 can be roughly subdivided into three subperiods, each of which may be associated with the political life of Otto von Bismarck, Chancellor of the German Empire and Foreign Minister of Prussia. This excludes election period 10 (1867–1870), that preceded the foundation of the German Empire and the Reichstag. Political parties were not yet fully developed and the preceding election periods were dominated by a constitutional conflict between the Emperor and Parliament which had power over the budget. The conflict, although officially resolved in 1866, continued in election period 10, which stands out as a period mainly concerned with budgetary issues (budgetary allocation to different ministries).

The following three election periods 11 to 13, covering the years 1870 to 1879, are dominated by the struggle between the Prussian state and the Roman Catholic Church (ca. 1871–1878, and finally diplomatically settled in 1887). During this period, labeled as *Kulturkampf*, a large share of RCVs are directly related to debates about the so-called May Laws (*Maigesetze*) designed to bring education, marriage, and so on under the control of the state. The debates about the separation of church and state do not follow a classical liberal-conservative divide, but define a separate political dimension relevant to explaining voting patterns. Apart from the *Kulturkampf*, a range of RCVs can be found in the category Interior and Foreign that are concerned with administrative reforms of the counties. The county reform was heatedly debated as it also determined the fiscal responsibilities for welfare benefits.

We use the label *Protectionism* for a second subperiod to characterize the three election periods 14 to 16 covering the years 1879–1888. Following his so-called 'conservative turn' in 1879, Bismarck broke with the National Liberal Party and tended towards more nationalist-conservative policies. It is important to note that, given the subsidiarity of the Prussian House of Representatives to the German Reichstag, some policy issues, especially those related to external affairs, were debated primarily in the Reichstag. For instance, the turn from liberalism to protectionism and the "Marriage of Iron and Rye" (see [Schonhardt-Bailey, 1998](#); [Lehmann, 2010](#)) were issues mainly debated in the Reichstag.⁶⁹ However, nationalization of railways, a Prussian matter, has a similar flavor in terms of beliefs in free markets vs state, and is the topic of a substantial number of RCVs in period 14 (see category Commerce). Similarly, resonating with the findings by [Cinnirella and Schueler](#)

⁶⁹Agricultural tariffs were the matter of four RCVs in the Prussian House of Representatives. One in election period 15, one in 16, and two in 19, but – in line with subsidiarity – voting was concerned with submission to the Reichstag.

(2018), some RCVs were concerned with the introduction of German as main language of instruction in regions with Slavic majority (see category Culture in election period 15) and the promotion of German interests and settlement in eastern Prussia (see category Interior and Foreign in election period 16). Although the *Kulturkampf* was largely settled, we find many RCVs related to church and state in election periods 14 to 16. These are predominantly concerned with mitigating the impact of the May Laws, for example pardoning of wrongdoing according to these laws and sorting out remaining issues related to education.

Finally, we use the label *post-Bismarck* for a third subperiod that combines the final three election periods 17 to 19 (1888–1903). With the elections in 1888, legislatures moved from three-year duration to five-year duration. During the debate over new anti-socialist laws and the conflict with the new King, Bismarck resigned in 1890 and died soon after. While an increasing number of social-democratic MPs were voted into the Reichstag, such change did not occur in the Prussian House of Representatives, arguably because the three-class franchise favored elite voters and discounted votes of the working poor. Major debates, as captured by a high share of RCVs, concerned fundamental changes in income taxation (see also Hill, 1892; Mares and Queralt, 2014) and corresponding changes in the allocation of voters to classes in the primary elections (see categories Treasury and Procedures in election period 17). Finally, in election period 19 RCVs were mainly concerned with the building of the Mittelland Canal, linking the river Rhine and river Elbe. The canal was seen as a threat to the nobility in East Elbia because they feared a penetration of cheap goods from the west via the canal and the Elbe (see category Commerce).

Table A.1: Election periods and roll call frequency

Election period	Primary election (1)	Election of MPs (2)	Legislature start (3)	Legislature end (4)	No. roll calls (5)
10	30.10.1867	07.11.1867	15.11.1867	12.02.1870	67
11	09.11.1870	16.11.1870	14.12.1870	20.05.1873	47
12	28.10.1873	04.11.1873	12.11.1873	30.06.1876	39
13	20.10.1876	27.10.1876	12.01.1877	21.02.1879	15
14	30.09.1879	07.10.1879	28.10.1879	11.05.1882	26
15	19.10.1882	26.10.1882	14.11.1882	09.05.1885	34
16	29.10.1885	05.11.1885	14.01.1886	28.06.1888	26
17	30.10.1888	09.11.1888	14.01.1889	05.07.1893	29
18	31.10.1893	07.11.1893	16.01.1894	18.05.1898	23
19	27.10.1898	03.11.1898	16.01.1899	01.07.1903	23

Notes: This table reports the key dates of election periods and the corresponding frequency of roll calls covered in our analysis. Note that election period 13 ended prematurely in February 1879 after the Prussian King dissolved the House of Representatives.

Table A.2: Content of roll call votes

Election period Years	(Kulturkampf)				(Protectionism)			(Post-Bismarck)		
	10 1867-70	11 1870-73	12 1873-76	13 1877-79	14 1879-82	15 1882-85	16 1886-88	17 1889-93	18 1894-98	19 1899-03
Agriculture (in %)	6.0	4.3	0.0	0.0	3.8	11.8	0.0	10.3	13.0	0.0
Commerce (in %)	0.0	2.1	10.3	20.0	19.2	2.9	3.8	13.8	13.0	34.8
Treasury (in %)	1.5	10.6	2.6	0.0	7.7	5.9	0.0	31.0	13.0	0.0
Justice (in %)	6.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	2.9	3.8	0.0	26.1	17.4
Interior and Foreign (in %)	17.9	25.5	20.5	6.7	34.6	17.6	23.1	13.8	17.4	0.0
Culture (in %)	6.0	40.4	41.0	6.7	26.9	26.5	46.2	6.9	17.4	4.3
Budget (in %)	53.7	17.0	10.3	13.3	3.8	29.4	7.7	10.3	0.0	43.5
Procedures (in %)	9.0	0.0	15.4	20.0	3.8	2.9	15.4	13.8	0.0	0.0
Total RCVs	67	47	39	15	26	34	26	29	23	23

Notes: This table reports the content and frequency of roll call votes by category and election period. Categories roughly correspond to the ministries of the Prussian government. Due to the rare occasion of votes on foreign affairs, this category was combined with interior affairs. Due to the high frequency of budgetary issues and statutory issues, these items received a separate category. RCVs were first itemized by keywords according to the original parliamentary minutes before keywords were assigned to a category.

B Voting behavior in individual roll calls

This section provides additional details on the parliamentary debates surrounding the five selected RCVs analyzed in the main text.

Election Period 10, RCV 44: School tuition The Prussian constitution of 1850 stipulated in Article 25, sentence 3, that public primary schooling was provided free of charge. Municipalities were in charge of financing public schooling and, in case of need, could be supported by the state. In 1869, the King proposed a bill to revoke the third sentence. The RCV is a vote for the acceptance of the bill. Conservatives supported it, whereas liberals strongly opposed it. Details from the debate: One conservative argument was that the poor favored tuition over taxes because tuition was limited in time and they would not have to pay school taxes their whole life. Essentially, conservatives were in favor of allowing municipalities the choice between tuition and taxes. It was rejected.

Election period 10, RCV 65: County reform The administrative county reform (*Kreisordnung*) was one of the most important bills of liberal policy making (p. 319 [Nipperdey, 1992](#)). It transferred power over local administration, especially in the rural countryside, from the nobility to public officials and thereby democratized the public administration. In 1870, National liberal MP Johann von Miquel proposed an amendment regarding §47 of the bill presented by the King. The proposed version of the section determines that the newly introduced role of a public official (*Amtshauptmann*) should be filled following a selection by the local administration instead of being appointed by the King. The RCV is a vote for the acceptance of an amendment. It is essentially a vote about decentralization of power ('Yea') vs centralization ('Nay'). It was accepted.

Election period 14, RCV 1: Railroad nationalization The bill on nationalization of the Prussian railroads introduced by the Minister of Public Works Albert von Maybach in 1879/80 can be interpreted in the light of rising protectionism. The fact that transport costs hugely varied and were not under control of the state counteracted the new imperial trade policies. The RCV is a vote on §1 which determined that the state should buy railroad companies. It was accepted.

Election period 17, RCV 10: Income taxation One of the most famous bills of Prussian legal history is the Income Tax reform of 1891 (discussed by [Hill, 1892](#)), introduced by the Prussian Minister of Finance Johann von Miquel who was also a leading figure of the National Liberal Party. The progressive income tax bill laid the foundation of today's system

of taxation in Germany. The bill was extensively discussed in the Prussian House of Representatives and was amended through numerous votes. For example, in the 48th meeting of the session, on March 4, 1891, 19 amendments and sub-amendments were proposed by MPs. RCV 10 is a vote on an amendment to §16 of the bill regarding the taxation of income from stock companies, introduced by Conservative Party MP von Jagow. Jagow's amendment proposes that taxable income from investment in joint stock companies (for example dividends) should be reducible by 3.5% of the face value of the shares. At the same time National Liberal MP von Heede introduced a competing amendment that wanted to reduce the income by 4% of the face value. The competing amendment and the ensuing debate show that liberals preferred higher tax exemptions for capitalists than conservatives. Jagow's amendment was accepted.

Election period 19, RCV 6: Canal construction In 1899, the Kaiser introduced a bill to finance and construct a canal connection between the rivers Rhine and Elbe in Prussia. In his view, the canal was as a symbol of technological and economic progress in Prussia. The RCV was a vote for or against § 1 and § 2, that is, the construction of the segment Dortmund-Rhine. Conservatives were against building the canal because it would be detrimental to agrarian interest. The agrarian elites feared a 'grain invasion', in other words, the import of cheap grain from the United States. Liberals were for the canal because, in their view, it would be highly beneficial for industry but also beneficial for agrarian interest in East Prussia. Because of the conservative opposition to the Kaiser's plans, some MPs that were also civil servants, were temporarily retired from their positions and faced disciplinary sanctions. These MPs became widely known as 'canal rebels'. The bill was rejected.

Table B.1: Results for selected roll call votes

Year:	1869	1870	1879	1891	1899
Topic:	Revoke free school tuition	County reform pro decentralization	Railroad nationalization: state allowed to buy private companies	Income taxation: lower deductibility of investments in joint stock companies	Canal construction between Rhine and Elbe bringing competition to East Elbian agriculture
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Yea (=1)	134 (C)	185 (L)	226 (C)	184 (C)	209 (L)
Nay (=0)	202 (L)	164 (C)	155 (L)	160 (L)	212 (C)
Vote inequality (sd)	-0.097 (0.061)	0.182*** (0.057)	-0.071* (0.037)	-0.105** (0.053)	0.086** (0.038)
Baseline controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	336	349	380	343	420
R-squared	0.12	0.13	0.46	0.14	0.39

Notes: This table reports results from linear probability models estimated for five individual RCVs. The roll calls are nr. 44 in election period 10 (column 1), nr. 65 in election period 10 (column 2), nr. 1 in election period 14 (column 3), nr. 10 in election period 17 (column 4), and nr. 6 in election period 19 (column 5). The binary dependent variable assumes the value 1 for yea and the value 0 for nay votes. Vote inequality (sd) is standardized with zero mean and a standard deviation of one. We denote the conservative (C) and liberal (L) position at the top of the table. A position is coded as conservative if the majority of MPs from the conservative parties voted for it, and vice versa. Control variables include landownership inequality, indu. employment (share), urbanization (share), Protestant (share), linguistic frac. (Herfindahl), never migrated (share), and literacy rate. Standard errors, clustered at the constituency level, in parentheses. *** denotes statistical significance at the 1% level, ** at the 5% level, and * at the 10% level.

C Variable definitions and data sources

C.1 Constituency-level variables

The following variables were either part of the Galloway database (see [Galloway, 2007](#)), the iPEHD database (see [Becker et al., 2014](#)) or specifically digitized for this paper. The corresponding original sources are indicated below.

Vote inequality. Gini coefficient, calculated using the number of voters in each class in the three-class franchise system of 1893 assuming that the tax burden of each class amounts to exactly one third, constructed using county-level data reported by [Königlich Preußisches Statistisches Bureau \(1864–1905, vol. 17\)](#).

Vote inequality 1861. Gini coefficient, calculated using the number of voters in each class in the three-class franchise system of 1861 assuming that the tax burden of each class amounts to exactly one third, constructed using county-level data reported by [Königlich Preußisches Statistisches Bureau \(1861–1904, vol. 2\)](#).

Landownership inequality Gini coefficient, calculated using using the number of farms in 6 size groups in 1882. Farms with arable land up to 1 hectare, 1 to 2 ha, 2 to 10 ha, 10 to 50 ha, 50 to 100 ha, and more than 100 ha. Constructed using county-level data reported by the [Königlich Preußisches Statistisches Bureau \(1861–1934, vol. 76c\)](#).

Indu. employment (share). The total number of a county’s inhabitants employed in mining and industry in 1882 divided by the county’s population in 1880, constructed using county-level data reported by the [Königlich Preußisches Statistisches Bureau \(1861–1934, vol. 76b\)](#).

Urbanization (share). The total number of inhabitants across cities that held city rights in a county in 1875, divided by the county’s population in 1875, constructed using city- and county-level data reported by [Königlich Preußisches Statistisches Bureau \(1861–1934, vol. 42\)](#).

Protestants (share). The number of a county’s inhabitants that belonged to the Protestant religious denomination in 1871, divided by the county’s population in 1871, constructed using county-level data reported by [Königlich Preußisches Statistisches Bureau \(1861–1934, vol. 30\)](#).

Never migrated (share). The number of a county’s inhabitants that live in the same municipality in which they were born in 1871, divided by the county’s population in 1871, constructed using county-level data reported by [Königlich Preußisches Statistisches Bureau \(1861–1934, vol. 30\)](#).

Linguistic frac. (Herfindahl). The Herfindahl index of (ethno-)linguistic diversity calculated using the number of a county c ’s inhabitants whose mother tongue was German or

any of the $k = 20$ other languages p . Constructed using the following equation $1 - \sum_{k=1}^K p_{kc}^2$ based on county-level data reported by [Königlich Preußisches Statistisches Bureau \(1861–1934, vol. 177c\)](#).

Literacy rate. The number of a county’s inhabitants aged 10 and above that were able to read and write in 1871, divided by the county’s population aged 10 and above in 1871, constructed using county-level data reported by the [Königlich Preußisches Statistisches Bureau \(1874\)](#).

Total tax (per capita). The total amount of direct taxes, including class tax (*Klassensteuer*), classified income tax (*classifizierte Einkommensteuer*), land and property tax, and trade tax collected in a county for the budget year 1877/1878 (ranging from April 1877 to March 1878) divided by the county’s population in 1875, constructed using county-level data reported by the [Königlich Preußisches Statistisches Bureau \(1864–1905, vol. 7\)](#). These data are not available for the 26 city counties.

Number of uprisings 1816-67. The number of violent protests, each involving at least 20 participants, in a county during the 1816-1867 time period, constructed using data reported by [Tilly \(1990\)](#) on the location and timing of such protests.

Large firms (dummy). Dummy is equal to one if constituency belongs to the upper quartile of the distribution of the share of firms with at least 5 employees according to the firm census of 1875. Constructed using county-level data reported by [Königlich Preußisches Statistisches Bureau \(1861–1934, vol. 40\)](#).

C.2 MP-level variables

The following variables were taken from a TUSTEP dataset kindly shared by Thomas Kühne. The corresponding source is [Kühne \(1994\)](#).

Publ. admin. The share of election periods an MP reported an occupation in the public administration, public service, public judiciary, or military.

Agriculture. The share of election periods an MP reported landownership or peasantry as main occupation.

Industry. The share of election periods an MP reported to be occupied in manufacturing or industrial production, to be a merchant, banker, or shipmanager.

Service. The share of election periods an MP reported to be a lawyer, physician, architect, apothecary, writer or similar.

Clergy. The share of election periods an MP reported to be a priest or similar.

Education. The share of election periods an MP reported to be a teacher, professor or similar.

Protestant denom. The share of election periods an MP reported to be of Protestant faith.

Catholic denom. The share of election periods an MP reported to be of Catholic faith.

Jewish denom. The share of election periods an MP reported to be of Jewish faith.

Unknown denom. The share of election periods the faith of an MP was not reported.

Non-resident. The share of election periods an MP reported his place of residence was not located in his constituency.

Noble title. The share of election periods an MP's name includes the term Freiherr, Graf, Baron, Edler Herr, Prinz, von, vom, am, aus dem, de, du, van, or zur.

Academic title. The share of election periods an MP's name is preceded by the title Dr. or Dipl. Ing.

Retired. The share of election periods an MP was listed as retired from his occupation.

MP in Reichstag. Unity if MP was also MP in the Reichstag at any point in time before 1903.

RCV part. (share). The number of roll call votes in which the MP voted Yea, Nay or abstained, divided by the total number of roll calls.

Elec. margin. Mean margin of victory across election periods, defined as the share of votes the MP received in the second stage of voting where the electoral delegates elect the members of the Prussian House of Representatives.

Elec. turnout. Mean turnout across election periods, defined as the share of electoral delegates that voted in the election for the members of the Prussian House of Representatives, divided by the total number of electoral delegates.

No. of MPs. The total number of MPs elected to the Prussian House of Representatives from the constituency.

Table C.1: Constituency-level summary statistics

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Obs.
Vote inequality	0.533	(0.040)	0.401	0.603	256
Vote inequality 1861	0.512	(0.037)	0.413	0.616	175
Landownership inequality	0.742	(0.107)	0.415	0.933	256
Indu. employment (share)	0.122	(0.057)	0.032	0.301	256
Urbanization (share)	0.303	(0.230)	0.000	1.000	256
Protestants (share)	0.679	(0.356)	0.004	0.999	256
Linguistic frac. (Herfindahl)	0.104	(0.172)	0.001	0.690	256
Never migrated (share)	0.586	(0.119)	0.338	0.926	256
Literacy rate	0.885	(0.123)	0.422	0.991	256
Total tax (per capita)	4.569	(1.687)	0.411	12.074	239
Large firms (dummy)	0.256	(0.437)	0.000	1.000	254

Notes: Descriptive statistics for variables measured at the constituency level

Table C.2: MP summary statistics

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Obs.
<i>Political orientation</i>					
Liberal-conservative	0.020	(0.395)	-0.952	0.936	1903
Secular-religious	0.009	(0.323)	-0.838	0.906	1903
<i>Constituency characteristics</i>					
Vote inequality	0.534	(0.039)	0.401	0.603	1903
Vote inequality 1861	0.512	(0.035)	0.413	0.616	1544
Landownership inequality	0.753	(0.103)	0.415	0.933	1903
Indu. employment (share)	0.124	(0.060)	0.032	0.301	1903
Urbanization (share)	0.313	(0.225)	0.000	1.000	1903
Protestants (share)	0.646	(0.362)	0.004	0.999	1903
Linguistic frac. (Herfindahl)	0.119	(0.184)	0.001	0.690	1903
Never migrated (share)	0.574	(0.115)	0.338	0.926	1903
Literacy rate	0.870	(0.127)	0.422	0.991	1903
Total tax (per capita)	4.352	(1.512)	0.411	12.074	1781
Large firms (dummy)	0.255	(0.436)	0.000	1.000	1894
<i>MP occupation</i>					
Publ. admin	0.413	(0.487)	0.000	1.000	1903
Church	0.037	(0.189)	0.000	1.000	1903
Industry	0.101	(0.297)	0.000	1.000	1903
Agriculture	0.357	(0.475)	0.000	1.000	1903
Education	0.037	(0.186)	0.000	1.000	1903
Service	0.113	(0.312)	0.000	1.000	1903
<i>MP religious denomination</i>					
Unknown denom.	0.139	(0.346)	0.000	1.000	1903
Protestant denom.	0.628	(0.483)	0.000	1.000	1903
Catholic denom.	0.227	(0.419)	0.000	1.000	1903
Jewish denom.	0.006	(0.076)	0.000	1.000	1903
No denom.	0.000	(0.000)	0.000	0.000	1903
<i>MP biographic information</i>					
Non-resident	0.245	(0.428)	0.000	1.000	1903
Academic title	0.170	(0.376)	0.000	1.000	1903
Noble title	0.306	(0.461)	0.000	1.000	1903
Retired	0.080	(0.263)	0.000	1.000	1903
<i>MP RCV and election results</i>					
RCV part. (share)	0.166	(0.121)	0.046	0.848	1903
Elec. margin	0.728	(0.153)	0.500	1.000	1898
Elec. turnout	0.903	(0.090)	0.377	1.000	1896
No. of MPs	1.945	(0.642)	1.000	3.000	1903

Notes: Descriptive statistics for variables measured at the individual MP level (except No. of MPs)

D The cutting line procedure in Optimal Classification

The OC method classifies a matrix of yea and nay votes. It interprets votes of MPs as revealed preferences from a choice between a proposed policy and the status quo. The underlying assumptions are that legislators have Euclidean preferences defined over the policy space and that they vote sincerely for the alternative closest to their ‘ideal point’. Since neither the exact position of the proposed policy nor the status quo is known, we only observe two positions reflecting ‘yea’ or ‘nay’ votes. These two positions can be intersected by a cutting line separating groups of legislators with different positions. To illustrate how we operationalize political orientation using the two-dimensional policy space, we show the cutting lines of our five specific RCVs within the corresponding policy space of the election period during which the RCV took place.

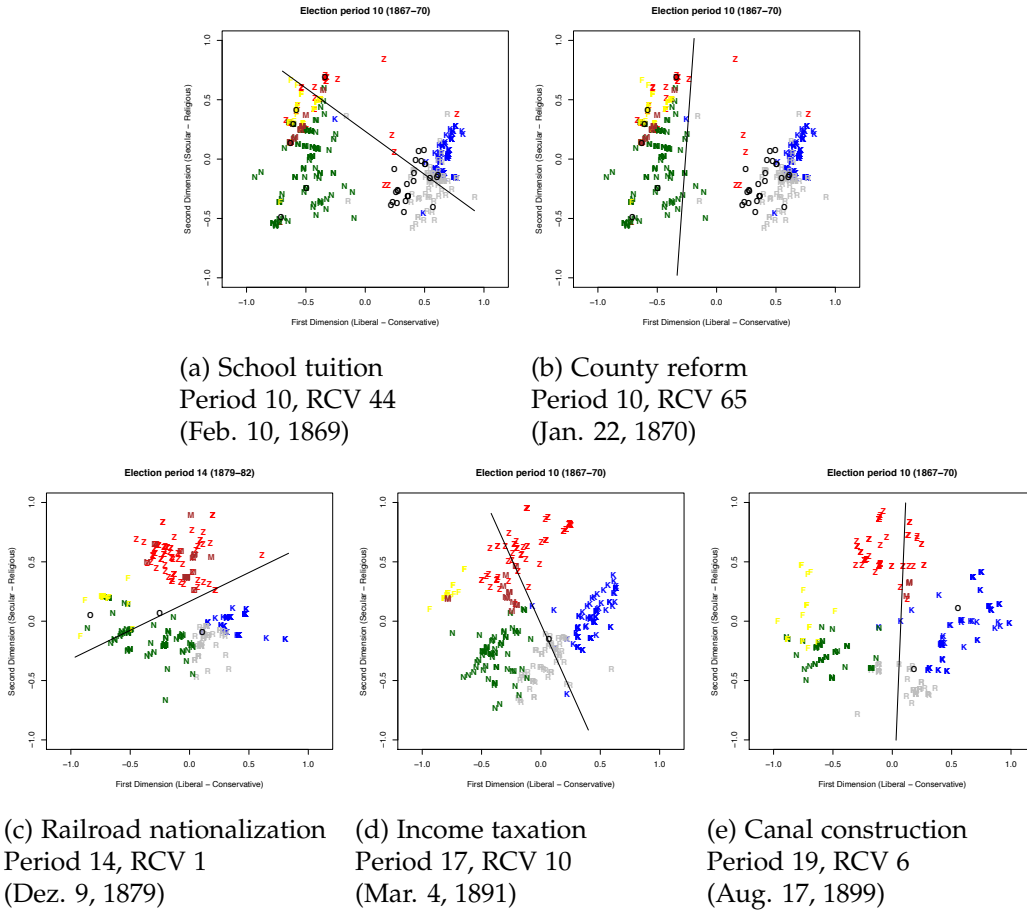


Figure D.1: Voting behavior in selected roll calls

Positions of MPs in the Prussian House of Representatives. Each shape represents the orientation of an MP according to his votes during the full election period. The cutting line separates between yea and nay votes in the specified RCV.

E Supplementary results

This section contains supplementary information and robustness tests related to the Optimal Classification method and the main results.

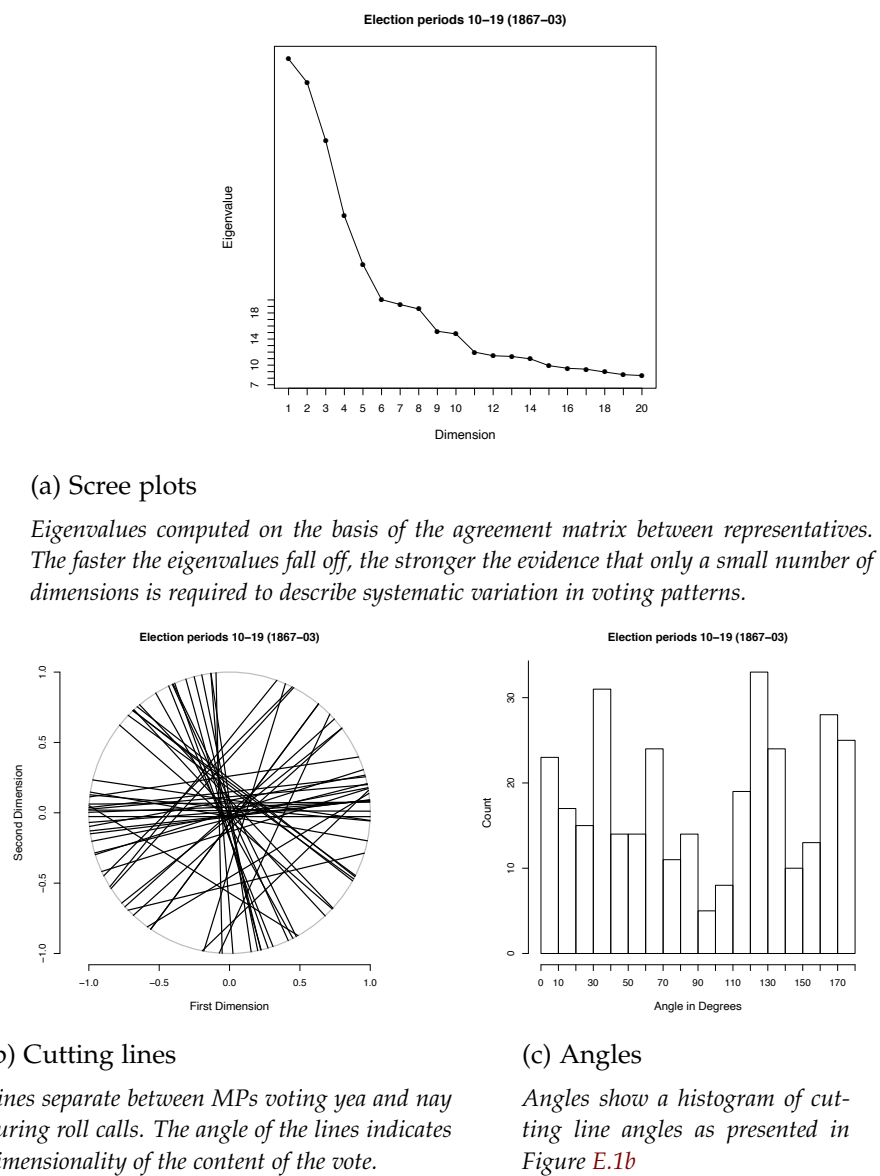


Figure E.1: Additional output plots from the OC procedure.

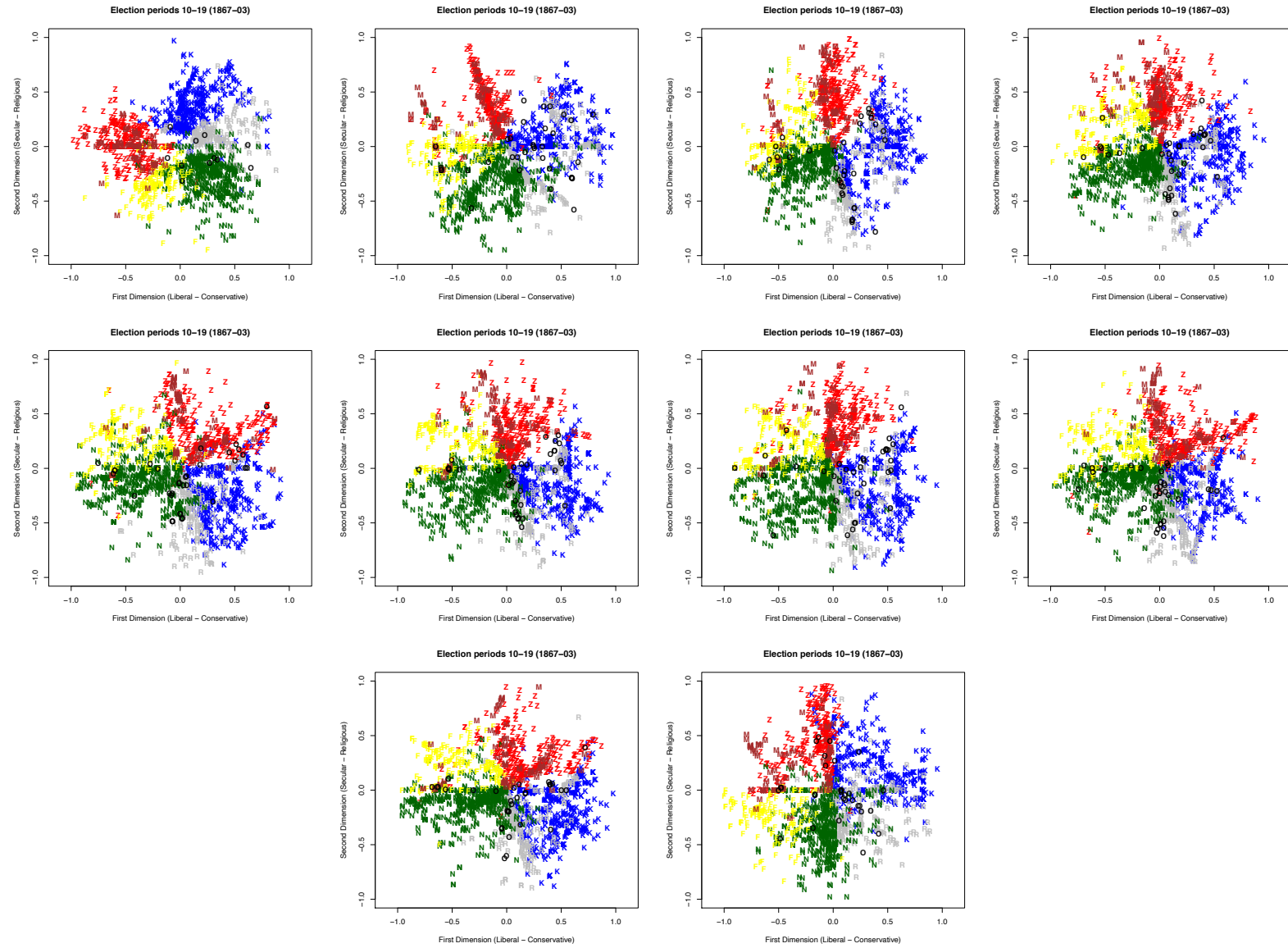


Figure E.2: The Prussian policy space, sequentially dropping election periods.

Positions of MPs in the Prussian House of Representatives. Each shape represents the political orientation of an MP based on his voting behavior during roll calls in the period 1867-1903. In each shape, we dropped RCVs for one election period, starting with period 10 in the upper left panel.

Table E.1: Pre-treatment controls only

	Liberal-conservative orientation			Secular-religious orientation		
	Pre-treatment	Geo coord.	District FE	Pre-treatment	Geo coord.	District FE
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Vote inequality 1861	-1.069*	-1.349***	-1.518***	0.184	-0.109	-0.222
	(0.553)	(0.518)	(0.563)	(0.472)	(0.438)	(0.438)
Landownership inequality 1849	0.265	0.270	-0.262	-0.353***	-0.306***	-0.333***
	(0.216)	(0.249)	(0.164)	(0.101)	(0.116)	(0.094)
Indu. employment (share) 1849	-2.172***	-1.776**	-0.591	-0.989**	-0.533	-0.488
	(0.763)	(0.785)	(0.591)	(0.401)	(0.384)	(0.447)
Urbanization (share) 1849	-0.282*	-0.236	-0.428***	-0.310***	-0.270**	-0.182*
	(0.165)	(0.163)	(0.162)	(0.106)	(0.107)	(0.105)
Protestants (share) 1849	0.091**	0.015	-0.141*	-0.264***	-0.339***	-0.501***
	(0.036)	(0.064)	(0.074)	(0.028)	(0.049)	(0.067)
Non-German language speakers (share) 1861	-0.099	-0.155*	-0.147*	-0.098*	-0.119**	-0.025
	(0.065)	(0.082)	(0.088)	(0.052)	(0.060)	(0.067)
Primary school enrollment (share) 1849	0.521***	0.695***	0.675***	0.105	0.284	0.199
	(0.165)	(0.211)	(0.219)	(0.115)	(0.174)	(0.162)
Longitude and latitude	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
District FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Observations	1497	1497	1497	1497	1497	1497
R-squared	0.09	0.09	0.19	0.15	0.15	0.21

This table reports results of OLS regressions. *Columns 1–3*: Positive values of the dependent variable are interpreted to reflect higher levels of conservative orientation; negative values reflect liberal orientation. *Columns 4–6*: Positive values of the dependent variable are interpreted to reflect higher levels of adherence to the church; negative values reflect secular orientation. Standard errors, clustered at the constituency level, in parentheses. *** denotes statistical significance at the 1% level, ** at the 5% level, and * at the 10% level.

References

- Becker, Sascha O, Francesco Cinnirella, Erik Hornung, and Ludger Woessmann. (2014). "iPEHD–The ifo Prussian Economic History Database." *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 47 (2):57–66.
- Cinnirella, Francesco and Ruth Schueler. (2018). "Nation Building: The Role of Central Spending in Education." *Explorations in Economic History* 67:18–39.
- Galloway, Patrick R. (2007). "Galloway Prussia Database 1861 to 1914." <http://www.patrickgalloway.com/prussia.htm> .
- Hill, Joseph A. (1892). "The Prussian Income Tax." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 6 (2):207–226.
- Königlich Preußisches Statistisches Bureau, (1861–1904). *Zeitschrift des Königlich Preußischen Statistischen Bureaus*, vol. 1–44. Berlin: Verl. d. Königl. Statist. Bureaus.
- , (1861–1934). *Preussische Statistik*, vol. 1–305. Berlin: Verl. d. Königl. Statist. Bureaus.
- , (1864–1905). *Zeitschrift des Königlich Preußischen Statistischen Bureaus - Ergänzungshefte*, vol. 1–23. Berlin : Verl. d. Königl. Statist.
- , (1874). *Die Gemeinden und Gutsbezirke des Preussischen Staates und ihre Bevölkerung: Nach den Urmaterialien der allgemeinen Volkszählung vom 1. December 1871*, vol. 1–11. Berlin: Verl. d. Königl. Statist. Bureaus.
- Kühne, Thomas, (1994). *Handbuch der Wahlen zum Preussischen Abgeordnetenhaus 1867-1918*. Düsseldorf: Droste.
- Lehmann, Sibylle H. (2010). "The German Elections in the 1870s: Why Germany Turned from Liberalism to Protectionism." *Journal of Economic History* 70 (1):146–178.
- Mares, Isabella and Didac Queralt, (2014). "Autocratic Taxation: Examining the Adoption of Income Taxes in Imperial Germany and Prussia."

- Nipperdey, Thomas, (1992). *Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. 2: Machtstaat vor der Demokratie. München: Verlag C. H. Beck.
- Schonhardt-Bailey, Cheryl. (1998). "Parties and Interests in the 'Marriage of Iron and Rye'." *British Journal of Political Science* 28 (2):291–330.
- Tilly, Richard H., (1990). "Social Protest in Germany in the 19th Century." ZA8040 Data file Version 1.0.0, GESIS Data Archive, Cologne, Germany. [doi:10.4232/1.8040](https://doi.org/10.4232/1.8040).
- Treue, Wolfgang, (1975). *Die deutschen Parteien: Vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*. Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein.