

ROMANIAN VOTERS IN TRANSYLVANIA AND HUNGARY. THE 1881-1884 ELECTORAL SURVEY BY THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL PARTY*

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Abstract

The study analyses the electoral statistics compiled by the Romanian National Party between 1881 and 1884, with the aim to identify how the internal organization of the party functioned, the details of its relationship with local leaders and voters, and to understand why, despite the existence of a Romanian electoral majority in several dozen electoral districts, the results in parliamentary elections were always below expectations. The conclusions underline the fact that, despite a good internal organization at the top, the relationship with the leaders in the territory remained difficult, while the relationship with the Romanian electorate was burdened by the precarious political culture of the latter, as well as by the obstinacy of the passivist tactics, which generated a rift between the voters and the party leadership, facilitating the success of the election fraud practices.

Keywords: *parliamentary elections; Transylvania; Hungary; electoral rolls.*

Sources and status of the overall research on the topic

Most studies of the electoral process in Hungary and Transylvania before 1918 are either collections of election results, or prosopographies of those elected, or local case studies, at best micro-historical.¹ Less attention has been paid to the most numerous actors in the electoral process, i.e. the voters – mostly rural. The question of the ethnic and social profile of the electorate in dualist Hungary has been a matter of debate both at the time and in historiography. Until 1918, the arguments were accompanied by

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¹ A recent overview of the literature focused on the Romanians in Transylvania, including pamphlets and brochures, in Vlad Popovici, *A románok és a magyar országgyűlési választások a 20. század elején*, in "Kelet-Közép-Európai Történelmi Tanulmányok" Vol.1, No. 1, 2023, pp. 31-55.

figures and calculations, mostly in the press and in electoral or political pamphlets, as they were related to the necessity and consequences of changing the electoral legislation. Subsequently, at least in Romanian historiography, the approach to the subject remained narrow and one-sided, focusing on the discrepancy between the demographic share of Romanians and their representation in the electorate – perceived as one of the main reasons for the political difficulties and failures of the Romanian National Party. Figures, percentages, and data were not missing from the historiographical argumentation, but in most cases they referred to the number of voters present at the polls in one electoral district or another in which Romanians were running and not to the overall situation at regional level.² In the absence of credible vintage statistics, the latter would have required an analysis of the main sources: the nominal electoral rolls.

The voters' lists were compiled locally, based on the fulfilment by the citizens of communes and towns of the criteria laid down in the electoral legislation. The main categories ensuring electoral rights in Hungary and Transylvania from 1848 to 1918 were: "old right" (i.e. the right to vote on the basis of nobiliary status); ownership of dwellings in towns or agricultural land; the amount of tax paid according to income from land, landed property or profession, the possession of a university degree or equivalent for the professions of priest and teacher and, a special, less studied category, which applied only in Transylvania, voting "by chimney" – i.e., the delegation of two electors for every 100 dwellings in which there were no voters according to the other categories. The financial amount of the value and size of property and taxes, as well as other details related to the exercise of the right to vote, changed over time in 1848, 1874, 1898 and 1913, but broadly speaking the categories remained the same.³

After being drafted at the local level, the electoral rolls were verified by the county or town administration, and then sent to the

² Most detailed figures by Stelian Mândruț, *Mișcarea națională și activitatea parlamentară a deputaților Partidului Național Român din Transilvania între anii 1905-1910*, Oradea, Fundația Cele Trei Crișuri, 1995, pp. 79-80, 94-96, 152-153.

³ An issue detailed comprehensively in the recent literature. See József Pap, *Parliamentary Representatives and Parliamentary Representation in Hungary (1848-1918)*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2017, pp. 129-153; Judit Pál, "Parliament and the Political System in Hungary during the Dualist Period", in J. Pál et alii (eds.), *Parliamentary Elections in Eastern Hungary and Transylvania (1865-1918)*, Berlin, Peter Lang, 2018, pp. 25-30; József Pap, *The Development of Representative Suffrage in Hungary in the mid-19th Century*, in "Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historia", Vol. 15, 2018, pp. 137-158.

Royal Hungarian Ministry of the Interior for validation.⁴ Given some of the criteria underlying the right to vote (income and property) as well as the inherent deaths, these lists had to be updated annually, but in practice interest seems to have been higher only in election years. Citizens could contest their own absence from the electoral rolls, as well as the presence of persons they considered not to meet the criteria laid down by the law, with the appeals being judged in the first instance by the local administrative representation and in the second instance by the court. All this made the process of “tidying” the electoral rolls a relatively slow one, which sometimes hindered the extraction of accurate statistical data, even though the lists were (theoretically) public. In September 1880, the lawyer Alexandru Filip from Abrud / Abrudbánya⁵ informed the Central Electoral Committee (CEC) of the Romanian National Party of Transylvania (RNPT) that

“The Hungarians have lodged complaints against 10 Romanians, which, although the central committee [i.e., the local commission compiling the lists], composed of Romanians, will reject them, it is still to be believed that the Supreme Court will find them to be well-founded. 5 Hungarians have asked to be received among the electors, which will probably be rejected by the central committee.”⁶

Starting in the 1870s, electoral rolls in Hungary and Transylvania began to contain a standardized set of information including the name of the person entitled to vote, place of residence, profession, age and category of voting right. Based on these lists, the parties and candidates made their electoral calculations, assessed their chances of success and, especially during the election period, the press also used these lists to project various figures, the accuracy of which was sometimes questionable. For example, an excerpt from the official list of voters in the city of Sibiu / Nagyszeben / Hermannstadt, dated December 26, 1883, mentions

⁴ Romanian National Central Historical Archives in Bucharest, Fund *Comitetul Național Român Sibiu* (The Romanian National Committee in Sibiu), file 2, sheet 7 (henceforth: RNCHAB-RNC).

⁵ Throughout the paper, localities are mentioned by today’s placenames (i.e., Romanian, with Hungarian and German versions also listed at first use), while counties, administrative and electoral districts are mentioned by nineteenth century official names (i.e., Hungarian, with Romanian and German versions also listed at first use).

⁶ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 2, s. 3.

120 Romanian voters.⁷ A few months later, on May 25, 1884, Dumitru Comșa, secretary of the CEC, registered in the same city 100 Romanian voters in electoral district I and 97 in electoral district II.⁸ The difference was most probably due to the fact that 1884 being an election year, the interest in the accuracy of the lists increased. After the election period had passed, copies of the electoral rolls were kept in the county or town archives, but in practice no one was directly interested in these endless strings of names and dates until the next parliamentary or county elections (the voters were the same for local and parliamentary elections). Some of them have survived to this day and for some counties there are complete sets of electoral rolls from before 1918 and even from the inter-war period – but the situation varies from county to county and there is no consolidated catalogue for the whole of Transylvania.⁹

Given that the preservation has been uneven and the amount of information in the lists is immense, historians have shown little interest in them, although their longitudinal analysis would allow to map the geographical and social evolution of the right to vote in the Transylvanian countryside between 1867 and 1918, to correlate the right to vote with indicators such as profession or age, and to follow the transformations of the legal basis of the right to vote and the composition of the voting body. In combination with other types of longitudinal sources, such as parish registers, or with narrative sources from the period (electoral brochures, press articles, memoirs and correspondence) voter lists may even allow testing the relationship between the electoral process and family or occupational clusters. However, the amount of work required to extract and standardize the data, as well as the time-consuming nature of such cross-analyses, have been a major demotivating factor. If we consider, for historical Transylvania alone, the presence of several tens of thousands of voters at each election, a database for the period 1867–1918 with more than 600,000 records would be required (this is the minimum estimate). While it is feasible to consider manual data extraction for research at the electoral district or county level, for an overall analysis at the level of the former

⁷ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 1/IV, s. 86-89.

⁸ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 1/I, s. 101.

⁹ E.g., for the counties of Alsó-Fehér (Alba de Jos) and Hunyad (Hunedoara) the electoral rolls are almost completely preserved in the county archives: Romanian National Archives, Alba County Service, Fund of the Alba County Prefect's Office, Central Electoral Office, inventory no. 366, files: 1/1869–30/1915; Romanian National Archives, Hunedoara County Service, Fund of the Hunedoara County Prefect's Office, files: 3/1892, 9/1899, 2/1901, 1/1904, 17/1904, 15/1905, 26/1906, 24/1908-1909, 25/1908-1909.

province or Hungary it is obvious that automated extraction of information by using Handwritten OCR is required. Even if, for the moment, one cannot expect such research to be carried out at the regional level, mainly because of the large amount of information to be processed (i.e., digitized), exploring and testing potential directions of analysis is necessary in order to arouse the interest of researchers in finding the best methodological and technical solutions to approach the topic.

In addition to the huge amount of information, an additional reason for the reluctance of historians was probably the fact that the official lists were compiled using Hungarian versions of names, which makes it difficult and sometimes even impossible to ethnically separate all those nominated. Therefore, although since 1878 the library of the Hungarian Parliament has kept numerical records of voters down to the electoral district level,¹⁰ to date there is no statistical projection of the ethnic and professional profile of voters in parliamentary or county elections in Transylvania, nor is it feasible to make any ethnic statistics on the basis of the official lists alone. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Szivák Imre's work was published, in which a statistic of voters according to the basis of the right to vote is presented, but his figures do not go down to the level of localities, referring only to constituencies.¹¹ References to electoral statistics also appear in the political propaganda works of the national movement, but with the same summarizing character.¹²

Sources that go down to the local level and provide ethnic breakdowns and statistics are few and their reliability remains questionable. Occasionally, correspondence from the election period appears in the press of the time in which the author also provides statistics based on personal observations or calculations. More detailed are usually the election brochures published by the various candidates, which sometimes contain, for certain constituencies, data down to the local level and sometimes even nominal data

¹⁰ Library of the Hungarian Parliament, *Sommás kimutatás az ország összes választókerületeiben összeírt országgyűlési képviselőválasztók száma között mutatkozó különbségről és a végleges névjegyzékbe felvett választók számáról 1878–1916 években*, Budapest, s.n., 1878–1916.

¹¹ Imre Szivák, *Országgyűlési képviselőválasztás és curiai bíraskodás codexe. Kiegészítve az összeférhetlenségi és mentelmi jog, a parlamenti reform kérdésével, az új házszabályokkal, az összes törvényhatóságok választási fuvardíj-szabályrendeleteivel, a választókerületek és választók statisztikájával stb. Közjogi anyaggyűjtemény*, Budapest, Athenaeum, 1901.

¹² Eugen Brote, *Cestiunea română în Transivania și Ungaria. Un memoriu politic cu 67 anexe și o hartă*, București, Tipografia Națională, 1895, Annexes 6–7 (Annexes, pp. 12–23).

collected by the campaign teams of the various candidates.¹³ Given their polemical nature, however, both categories of sources must always be approached cautiously.

This landscape of sources is complemented by a particular category, almost completely ignored until now: the internal statistics of the Romanian National Party in Transylvania (1880–1881) and the subsequent statistics of the Romanian National Party in Transylvania and Hungary (RNP). They were the result of the initiative of the Central Electoral Committee, and their role was to help the party leadership decide the most effective electoral strategy. However, as the information began to be received and consolidated, some of the party leaders, and especially George Bariț, started to perceive other potential argumentative uses. How these statistics differ from other sources, and what historiographical added value they bring, will be discussed below.

The electoral survey of the Romanian National Party in Transylvania in 1880-1881

In the late 1870s, the Romanian National Party in Transylvania was going through a period of relative crisis. The electoral passivity that had already lasted for a decade had led to a rift between the party leadership and the electorate. Some Romanian voters were going to the polls anyway, attracted by pecuniary benefits or simply by the possibility of exercising their right to vote. General passivity could not be enforced, Romanian candidates – admittedly, very few – were consistently elected in various constituencies in historical Transylvania.¹⁴ Attendance at party

¹³ Selectively: Aurel Cosma, *Ocna la 26 ianuarie 1905. Lupta Partidului Național Român și datele referitoare la alegerea de deputat dietal*, Arad, George Nichin, 1905; *Biruința dela Chișineu a domnului Ioan Russu Șirianu, deputatul Chișineului*, Arad, Tribuna, 1905; *Din luptele noastre naționale. Alegerea protopopului Vasile Damian de deputat dietal la Baia de Criș în 26 și 27 ianuarie 1905*, Orăștie, Tipografia Nouă, 1905; *Lupta de la Ighiu data în ziua de 26 ianuarie 1905 în jurul d-lui Dr. Alexandru Vajda-Voevod pentru a zmulge cercul electoral din mâna străinilor și a-l cuceri pentru un deputat cu program național român, descrisă de un martor ocular*, Orăștie, Tipografia Nouă, 1905; *Organizarea Partidului și a clubului dietal al naționalităților* Arad, George Nichin, 1905; *Alegerea de deputat dela Năsăud în 5 maiu 1906*, Bistrița, Tipografia G. Matheiu, 1906; Coriolan Meseșian, *Pro memoria din prilegiul alegerilor de deputați în Ungaria, anul 1910*, Șimleu, Victoria, 1910; *Lupta noastră de la Ighiu, în 1 iunie 1910. Alegerea de deputat*, Orăștie, Tipografia Nouă, 1910; *Lupta de la 2 iunie 1910 st. n. în cercul electoral Șomcuta Mare, de Sentinela română*, Brașov, Tipografia Mureșianu, 1910.

¹⁴ E.g.: Ioachim Mureșianu 1872, Naszód I electoral district; Petru Nemeș 1872, Kolozs county, Alsó kerület (the lower electoral district); Nicolae Strevoiu 1878, Brassó II electoral district. An overview of the electoral results for Transylvania in Judit Pál et alii (eds.), *Parliamentary Elections*, pp. 75–166.

conferences was dwindling, reaching a few dozen people in 1878.¹⁵ Concurrently, following the administrative reform of the year 1876, a redrawing of the electoral districts took place in 1877, bringing important changes to the political and electoral landscape.¹⁶ In this context, the members of the party leadership (CEC) elected in 1878 decided to assess the share of Romanians in the electorate of the province in an attempt to establish a strategy for the 1881 elections – a strategy that included rebuilding the party’s organizational base by setting up electoral committees in each electoral district. The minutes of the CEC meeting of October 26, 1879 are explicit in this respect. The members of the party leadership identified about two dozen “trustworthy men” in Transylvania, to whom they sent a written request, asking:

“a. To ensure in every legal way that all Romanians who have the right to vote will register in the electoral rolls; this being the fundamental political right of every citizen, being able to use it to good advantage when the occasion arises, and political constellations require it. The right entered on the electoral rolls remains a right even if the entitled person does not use it. Therefore, registration on the electoral roll is always necessary.

b. To inform themselves and properly get accurate and positive data from the electoral rolls about the total number of voters in each electoral district in the respective county and in particular about the number of Romanian voters in comparison with the number of voters of other nationalities; so that the number of Romanian voters, the number of Hungarian voters and the number of Saxon voters is obvious.

c. The sub-committees shall report on this to the central electoral committee in Sibiu.”¹⁷

Lack of experience played its part, as those to whom the request was sent included residents of municipalities that were not county seats, and therefore only had access to local electoral rolls. Replies, on the other hand, were slow in coming. A new appeal to trustworthy persons, written on February 13, 1880, largely echoed the demands of the message in October. On the margin of the draft,

¹⁵ “Telegraful Român”, 36, 1878, No. 82, 18 July, p. 326.

¹⁶ József Pap, *Parliamentary Representatives*, pp. 146–153.

¹⁷ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 1/I, s. 2-3.

one of the committee members (G. Bariț or E. Brote)¹⁸ added the question: “could not it be printed in 35-40 copies?”, to which the party president Nicolae Popea replied in writing: “I think it would be better to have it multiplied by handwriting” - probably to keep the initiative as veiled as possible from the authorities.¹⁹

At the committee meeting of July 19, 1880, it was noted that “only about five people have replied so far”. Visarion Roman proposed to send a new request from the committee, with a deadline of September 30, 1880, which was done.²⁰ From a later report we learn that by July 19, Vasile M. Moldovan from Diciosânmărtin / Târnăveni / Dicsőszentmárton and Augustin Horșia from Sighișoara/Segesvár/Schäßsburg, who had sent the requested data, as well as Nicolae Strevoiu, MP in Budapest (who had announced that he was denied access to the electoral rolls by the Ministry of the Interior)²¹ and Artemie Publiu Alexi from Năsăud / Naszód (who requested a postponement) had replied to the initial request.²²

The party’s “Protocol of exhibits” (list of incoming correspondence) for the year 1880 shows that a good part of the local leaders responded to the July request after the deadline of September 30, 1880, some even at the beginning of 1881. On the other hand, there is no certainty that all their letters contained the requested data (Cf., Alexi).²³ At its meeting on January 4, 1881 the committee decided to send a third “invitation” to the “trustworthy men” to provide the requested data and to initiate the organization of local committees in their constituencies.²⁴

It remains unclear if, before the summer of 1881, when the elections were held, data collection had managed to cover the entire area of Transylvania inhabited by Romanians (practically all counties in Transylvania except some areas in the Székelyland). Starting with the second call, local leaders were asked by the party leadership to organize local electoral committees in each electoral district, which probably contributed to demotivating some of them, affecting data collection. On the other hand, not all the correspondence received was kept in the party archive. For the county of Kolozs / Cojocna, and the city of Cluj / Kolozsvár / Klausenburg, for example, the lists were sent by Grigore Silași, they are mentioned in the internal reports and in the “Protocol of exhibits”, but they were not

¹⁸ The second letter of the signature is B. The first letter can be either E. or G.

¹⁹ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 1/I, s. 4-5.

²⁰ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 1/I, s. 7.

²¹ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 21, s. 68-69.

²² RNCHAB-RNC, f. 1/I, s. 14v.

²³ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 1/I, s. 31.

²⁴ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 1/I, s. 33-34.

preserved.²⁵ In other places, local leaders sent data fitted to the electoral geography before 1878, such as in Sebeş / Szászsebes / Mühlbach, from where Nicolae Cristea sent the number of voters separately for the constituencies Szászsebes I (rural area) and Szászsebes II (town). These two had functioned separately until 1878 but had been reunited after the redrawing of constituencies because of the administrative reform of 1876 (when five villages from the former Saxon see of Reußmarkt / Miercurea were also added).²⁶

Data collection was hampered by the fact that there was a lack of interest and even a feeling of distrust among Romanian voters, some of whom did not understand why this statistic was being compiled, even though it was being done by their own national leaders. To meet these sensitivities, the RNPT leadership prepared a standardized response and sent it to local representatives:

“It has been observed [in] the meantime that some voters are in doubt and ask for what purpose those extracts from the electoral rolls are being requested. Should there be any in your electoral district who are in doubt on this matter, you are fraternally requested not to hesitate to assure them that no harm can come to the electors, much less to our nation, from this simple collection of statistical data.”²⁷

After the unification of the Romanian political parties in Transylvania and Hungary in 1881,²⁸ on the occasion of the parliamentary elections of 1884, a new data collection was attempted, now extended to the western and northern counties (i.e., the lands inhabited by Romanians in Eastern Hungary and the Banat). However, the results, at least those preserved, were even less satisfactory than in 1881 in terms of geographical coverage. In addition, some of the documents preserved in the party archive are mere lists of names and figures, lacking the accompanying letters and even chronological markers, which makes it hard to establish if the figures are from 1881 or from 1884. One such situation is that of the Maros-Torda / Mureş-Turda county, from which a non-

²⁵ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 7, s. 2-3.

²⁶ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 1/I, s. 35.

²⁷ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 1/I, s. 12.

²⁸ Bujor Surdu, *Conferința de constituire a Partidului Național Român din Ungaria (1881)*, în “Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj”, No. XI, 1968, pp. 307–325; Liviu Maior, *Constituirea Partidului Național Român. Conferința din 12–14 mai 1881*, in “Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Series Historia”, XV, 1970, fasciculus 1, pp. 91–107.

nominal list of voters has been preserved, with the ethnic distribution by localities and constituencies, but it is not clear whether it was compiled in 1881 or in 1884 (more likely in 1884).²⁹ Similarly, from Torda-Aranyos / Turda-Arieş county two lists with different statistical data were preserved. One of them can be dated with certainty in the fall of 1880,³⁰ which makes the second one probably from 1884.³¹ For Hunyad / Hunedoara county three statistics have been preserved, two dated 1880,³² respectively 1884³³, the third undated, but its figures matching the official statistics of the Hungarian Parliament for 1887 (probably a local initiative, since there is no other clue for the party leadership asking for electoral statistics in 1887).³⁴

In other cases, the registration figures contain obvious miscalculations, probably caused by carelessness of the compilers. For the Dés / Dej electoral district, Szolnok-Doboka / Solnoc-Dăbâca county, the table sent to the party leadership in 1881 records a total of 1189 voters (matching the Parliament's statistics), but the ethnic detailing mentions 1063 Romanian voters and 626 Hungarian and other nationalities – figures which far exceed the total of 1189 and whose ethnic distribution is not realistic for the town of Dej in the 1880s.³⁵ The most likely figures are 563 Romanian voters and 626 Hungarians and other nationalities, the error most probably appearing during the transfer of the compiler's mental calculations on paper: $563 + 626 = 1189$, of which the order of thousands has been transferred to the number of Romanians, resulting in 1063 instead of 563.

There is also the situation in which not only the figures sent by two correspondents from the same county differ, but also the realities described in the narrative. On September 7, 1880, Nicolae Gaetan, a lawyer in Aiud / Nagyenyed, told the CCE that

“in the county of Lower Alba, as it is today, there are 4 constituencies:

1. the electoral district of Aiud has 672 voters of which Aiud alone gives 313 – therefore the vast majority is on the Hungarian side;
2. the electoral district of Uioara [n.n., Ocna Mureş/Marosujvár] has 594 voters, the

²⁹ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 11, s. 50-54.

³⁰ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 2, s. 8; f. 20, s. 73.

³¹ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 20, s. 71.

³² RNCHAB-RNC, f. 2, s. 7v.

³³ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 9, s. 51.

³⁴ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 9, s. 158.

³⁵ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 15, s. 4.

administrative districts of Uioara, Ciumbrud [n.n., Csombord], Păuca [n.n., Pokáfalva] and the communes of Bucerdea [n.n., Bucerdea Grânoasă/Búzásbocsárd] and Cistei [n.n., Oláhcseszte] in the administrative district of Blaj [n.n., Balázsfalva]. In this electoral district there are many Saxons who always vote with the Hungarians, Romanians are in a minority;

3. the electoral district of Ighiu [n.n., Magyarigen] counts 523 voters, including here Ighiu and Roșia Montană [n.n., Verespatak] with a significant number of gentry and Jews – Romanians are here also in minority;

4. the electoral district of Vințu de Jos [n.n., Alvinc] has 904 voters, including gentry from Vințu de Jos and Sângătin [n.n., Kis Enyed], and Romanians are in the minority here.”³⁶

A few months later, Ioan Antonelli, president of the RNPT's county committee, provided the figures for 1881 (see Appendix 1).³⁷ The numerical differences can be explained by the updating of the lists in the election year, as mentioned above, and in some electoral districts they amount to dozens of voters. When it comes to the ethnic structure, however, Antonelli counts only Hungarians in the electoral district of Marosujvár, while Gaetan explicitly mentions that a good number of the voters there were Saxons who, it is true, “always vote Hungarian”. Ethnicity, or at least the ethnicity of the non-Romanians, seems to be a subjective matter for Antonelli, pertaining more to political orientation than genealogy or language. He also mentions in his comments that Jewish voters were counted together with Hungarians. In this respect the situation differs from correspondent to correspondent. Nicolae Gaetan, who was more circumspect, explicitly stated: “Extracting the names of the voters according to the three nationalities in a tabulated form has not yet been successful, because the name of the voter alone could not provide a reliable clue.”³⁸ In the same county, in the urban electoral district of Abrudbanya, the lawyer Alexandru Filip strived to provide both ethnic labelling and political orientation, using both clear ethnonyms (“Romanian”, “Hungarian”, “Jewish”) and terms such as: “Hungarianized German”, “renegade Romanian”, “untrusty

³⁶ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 2, s. 5.

³⁷ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 18, s. 10.

³⁸ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 2, s. 5.

Romanian, pressured by Ebergenyi Mozes”.³⁹ It is therefore possible that in other electoral lists from the party archive, in which the information was recorded in less detail, the ethnic category “Romanian” actually included only those Romanians who were certainly known to be reliable from a political point of view.

To summarize the above: the Romanian national parties in Transylvania and Hungary initiated in 1881 and 1884 actions to collect statistical data on the ethnic distribution of voters, based on the official electoral rolls. The results do not seem to have been satisfactory even at the time (the geographical coverage remained incomplete, the subject was not publicly discussed, and did not materialize into a clear electoral strategy) and only some of these data have survived to this day. To complicate matters further, the way of data collection differs from county to county and, moreover, the ethnic labels seem to differ depending on the political perspective of the person who compiled the statistics. Even contemporaries, such as N. Gaetan, have expressed misgivings about using absolute ethnic labels based on the onomastics in the lists. What seems certain is that those in the “Romanians” category are those persons with the right to vote who were known to be of Romanian ethnicity and were not directly associated with Hungarian political parties. But do these fragments of information help us, as historians, to draw more general conclusions about the Romanian voting body in Transylvania at the end of the nineteenth century? We will try to answer this question in what follows.

Learnings from a statistical patchwork, then and now

As we mentioned earlier, the geographical coverage of the materials collected by the members of the CEC remained incomplete even at the time of their gathering, and some of them were lost over time (we know from correspondence of the existence of nominal lists for several counties, which unfortunately have not been preserved). In October 1880, George Barițiu summarized the figures received so far:

“Although some of this information contained in my report is of great value for the purpose before us, yet I do not dare to draw any valuable corollary from it, until accurate information is received from all the other electoral districts in which there are Romanian inhabitants.

³⁹ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 2, s. 11-13.

What I am taking the liberty of proposing to the honourable Committee on this occasion is only that it would be kind enough to take the necessary measures for a third time in order to obtain conspects of voters in all the electoral districts in which Romanians are present, and all the more so since there are very few of the 75 electoral districts in Transylvania in which there are no Romanian inhabitants. If there are Romanian voters among them, we will only be able to find out from our fellow members of the intelligent class who live in the various electoral centres.

In Transylvania there are 16 counties, and in the seats of those counties there are to be sought firstly reliable men, because the electoral lists of the respective districts are gathered by those counties; in the same way also in the privileged cities which form an electoral district of their own."⁴⁰

We don't know how for how many electoral districts the data was received, but the ones that reached us are distributed as following:

- for the years 1880-1881, 11 counties in Transylvania (Alsó-Fehér, Beszterce-Naszód, Hunyad, Szolnok-Doboka, Nagy-Küküllő, Kis-Küküllő, Háromszék, Torda-Aranyos);
- for the years 1883-1884 data sent from the counties of Beszterce-Naszód, Brassó, Háromszék (one electoral district), Hunyad, Maros-Torda (without the city of Târgu Mureş / Marosvásárhely), Szeben (partially), Torda-Aranyos, Krassó-Szörény, Szatmár – without the city of Szatmárnémeti – and Szilágy;
- for the year 1887 only data from Hunyad county have been preserved.

In total, data were kept for 72 (48%) of the 150 electoral districts in Transylvania and Eastern Hungary belonging to counties and to cities enjoying the right to form an electoral district of their own, that are currently part of Romania. The figures differ slightly from year to year, but the percentages are identical or, in a few cases, show minor variations (1-2 percentage points), so in the following we will refer to both the data kept for 1881, and to those for 1883–1884, where the 1881 were not preserved, in order to reconstruct as complete a picture as possible of the electoral geography. The complete data can be consulted in the annexes of the

⁴⁰ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 2, s. 8v.

study. In order to relate the percentage of voters to the demographic situation at the time, we used data from the 1880 census structured according to the electoral geography.⁴¹

In the quantitative analyses, the main research question was whether correlations can be identified at electoral district level between the percentage of Romanians in the total population and the percentage of Romanians in the voting population?

Graph 1. Share of Romanian voters vs. Romanian population

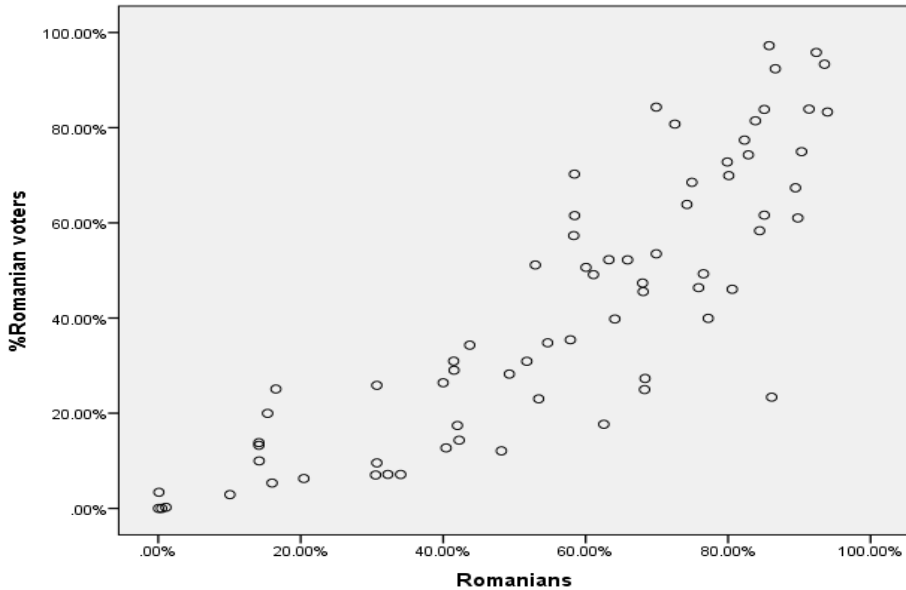


Table 1. Pearson correlation coefficient (r) between the percentage of Romanian voters and the Romanian population

		% Romanian voters	% Romanians
% Romanian voters	Pearson Correlation	1	.853**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000

⁴¹ We express our deepest gratitude to Prof. Dr. József Pap, from Eszterházy Károly Catholic University in Eger, who has kindly allowed us to make use of the dataset of consolidated data of the 1880 population census and electoral districts' structure, compiled within the framework of the project K 134378 "Parliamentarism in the Dualist Period from a Regional Perspective". For a wider use of this dataset, which covers the whole dualist period and represents an invaluable tool for the study of Hungary's (and Transylvania's) electoral history, see also: József Pap, "The spatiality of parliamentarism in the age of dualism", in Máté Gál, Annamária Kónya, Gergely Péterffy (eds.), *1918: End and Beginning*, Presov, Presovskej Univerzity, 2020, pp. 97-123.

	N	71	71
% Romanian voters	Pearson Correlation	.853**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	71	72

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).⁴²

From Graph 1 (projected using SPSS), we can observe, on the whole, the existence of a linear relationship between the percentage of the Romanian population in the electoral districts and the percentage of Romanian voters. There is a positive association between the two variables (the above-average values of one tend to accompany the above-average values of the other even when the below-average values tend to appear together). For example, in the elections of 1880, in the electoral district Kőrösbánya/Baia de Criș, the share of the Romanian population was 92% and the share of Romanian voters was 96%. A similar example is the electoral district Kisnyíres / Mesteacăn (Szolnok-Doboka county), where 94% of the population were Romanians, and the share of Romanian voters in 1881 was 93%.

Even so, overall, for the 72 electoral districts for which information was preserved, Romanian voters were, in percentage terms, lower than the Romanian population, with an average difference of 14% (see Annex 2). This average, however, was the result of major differences by geography and social structure. In Krassó-Szörény and Szatmár, there were electoral districts where the share of Romanian voters outnumbered that of Romanians in the total population by up to 14% (e.g., Románbogsán / Bocșa, Krassó-Szörény, 84% vs. 70%). In Transylvania, such situations only occurred in the electoral districts of Fogaras (Fogaras County, 97% vs. 86%) and Kőrösbánya (Hunyad county, 96% vs. 92%). These constituencies were dominated by Romanians anyway, so the percentage difference did not have a major impact on the ethnic balance at the polls.

However, out of a total of 72 constituencies, situations of the above type occur in only 13 cases. In another 27 constituencies the difference in favour of the total population was at most equal to the average (1%-14%), while in 23 constituencies the differences between the percentage of Romanian voters and that of the Romanian population ranged between 15%-30%. Finally, in seven other cases, these differences were between 35% and 63%. It is

⁴² In this case, the correlation (relative to the r statistic) takes the value .853. The widely used rules specified by Cohen consider a correlation of $r=1$ as low, $r=3$ as moderate and $r=5$ as high. In our case we see a high positive correlation.

worth mentioning these last cases, due to their exceptional nature: Déva / Deva (35%), Szentágota / Agnita / Agnetheln (36%), Nagyenyed / Aiud (37%), Torda / Turda (41%), Nagydisznód / Cisnădie / Heltau (43%), Újegyház / Nocrich (45%), Torockó / Remetea (63%). Apart from Szentágota, in all other electoral districts the Romanian population reached percentages between 63% and 86%.

What were the factors behind this situation? Most likely a combination of the ethnic profile of the electoral districts and the presence of urban centres. Of the 30 electoral districts where the difference in percentage points between the Romanian population and Romanian voters exceeds the average (15%-63%), 13 were located in the former King's Land (thus economically, socially and sometimes also demographically dominated by Saxons), and 13 others host a traditional urban centre. Cumulatively, 19 electoral circles out of 30 fulfil at least one of the two conditions, which seem to make the majority of the Romanian population unable to reach the economic level required for the franchise. G. Bariț in his comments to the members of the Central Electoral Committee, referring to the fact that in the electoral districts of Szentágota / Agnita and Kőhalm / Cohalm, out of 212 Romanian voters, 107 were priests, teachers and public notaries (i.e., there were only 105 Romanian voters on the basis of other than professional-intellectual rights out of a population of tens of thousands), underlines that "...in combination with other statistical data from those counties is very significant and deserves to be taken into close consideration".⁴³ In some of these micro-areas the backwardness of the Romanian population was not only material, but also educational, as evidenced by the very low number of university students compared to other Romanian areas in Transylvania, and by the difficulty of Romanians to penetrate the functional Saxon networks in urban centres.⁴⁴

⁴³ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 1/I, s. 14v.

⁴⁴ Vlad Popovici, *Considerații privind funcționarii publici români din Transilvania. Studiu de caz: comitatul Sibiu și scaunele săsești care l-au format (1861-1918)*, in "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „George Barițiu” din Cluj-Napoca Series Historica”, No. 55, 2016, pp. 169–173. An ethnic disparity also underlined by József Pap, *Parliamentary Representatives*, p. 162.

Graph 2. Share of Romanian voters vs. literacy level

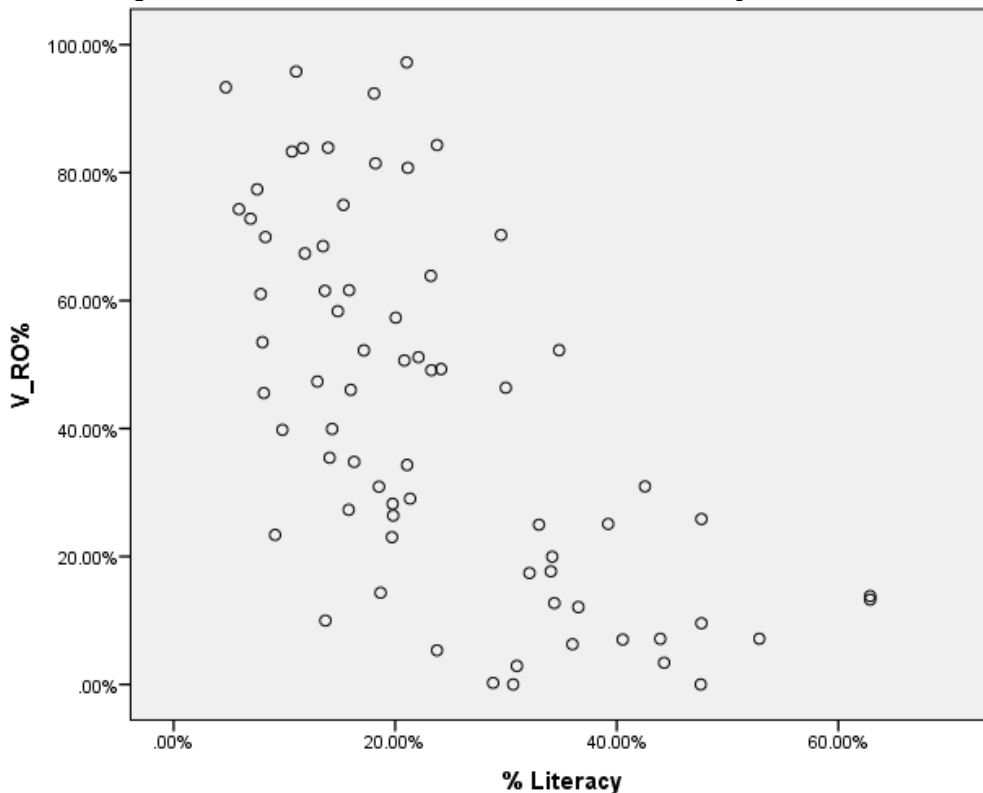


Table 2. Pearson correlation coefficient (r) between the share of Romanian voters and literacy

		% Romanian voters	% Literacy
% Romanian voters	Pearson Correlation	1	-.649**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	72	72
% Literacy	Pearson Correlation	-.649**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	72	72

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Starting from these premises, we also tried to test the relationship between the share of Romanians in the total population, the literacy rate, and the share of Romanians in the voting population. The results were as expected, namely that there was a negative linear association (inversely proportional) between the share of Romanian

voters and the overall rate of literacy: the lower the literacy level, the higher the share of Romanian voters. For example, in the electoral district of Baia de Criş (Hunyad county) the literacy rate was 5% while the share of Romanian voters was 93%. In Sibiu, however, the literacy rate was over 60%, while the percentage of Romanian voters only reached 14%. In general in the electoral districts inhabited by Saxons, where the literacy rate was over 40% (Brassó / Braşov / Kronstadt, Szeben / Sibiu/ Hermannstadt, Medgyes / Mediaş/ Mediasch, Segesvár / Sighişoara / Schäßburg), the share of Romanian voters was low, averaging 11%. Of course, beyond descriptive statistics, in the absence of nominative sources, it is almost impossible to say how many of the voters were actually illiterate. But if one takes into account the results of previously published nominative analyses for 1919,⁴⁵ as well as the general statistics of the time⁴⁶ it can be safely assumed that forty years earlier the situation could only have been more precarious and that, most probably, a large part of the Romanian voters who enjoyed franchise based on property or taxing grounds were illiterate.

An adjacent discussion, which complements the picture of the social origin of Romanian voters, and adds an interesting perspective on their overall smaller share compared to the demographic situation, concerns the right to vote based on nobiliary status – the so-called “old right”, because it applied only to those who had exercised it before 1869 and, as a result, the number of voters in this category was naturally constantly decreasing due to mortality. There were areas in Transylvania where the percentage of Romanians with noble status was high: Fogaras, areas in the county of Hunyad (especially the electoral district of Hâtszeg / Haţeg), or the former district of Kővár / Cetatea de Piatra. The same G. Bariţ underlined the importance of this aspect in the medium and long term, as these voters would physically disappear over the course of the next two decades:

“in this county [n.n., Fogaras] it would be desirable to open two rubrics separating the boyars [n.n., the traditional name of the local gentry in the area] from non-nobles. Until 1872 in the district of Fogaras there were 2989 boyar voters from both electoral

⁴⁵ Vlad Popovici, “The Reorganization of the Romanian National Party in Rural Areas of Lower Alba County prior to Parliamentary Elections in 1919”, in Sorin Radu, Oliver Jens Schmitt (eds.), *Politics and Peasants in Interwar Romania. Perceptions, Mentalities, Proaganda*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2017, p. 345.

⁴⁶ Sorin Radu, *Electoralul din România în anii democraţiei parlamentare (1919-1937)*, Iaşi, Institutul European, 2004, p. 92.

districts, therefore almost three thousand, and the number of all the others only 453 gathered from 78 communes, together with those incorporated in 1862 from the district of Brassó, meaning 11 from Brassó, then Zărnești [n.n., Zernest], Tohanul vechi [n.n., Ótohán / Alt-Tohan], Tohanul nou, Cârțișoara [n.n., Kercpatak/Kleinkertz], some of which have 200 to 630 families, and yet only 453 voters came out of all those, together with 2 delegates from each commune.”⁴⁷

Before that physical disappearance, however, the high percentage of Romanian voters on the basis of the “old right”⁴⁸ signaled, together with the high percentage of voters with higher education, the fragility of the Romanian electoral body in historical Transylvania, which included too few voters enjoying franchise on the basis of tax or property – that is, those characteristics that would have ensured long-term consistency, increased independence from the authorities, and a higher degree of resistance to electoral corruption.

“In these five districts [n.n., the electoral districts of Hunyad county] it can be seen that from the multitude of communes in which there are no nobles, there are barely 1-2, 3 to 10 voters.”⁴⁹

Despite these unfavourable premises, the group of electoral districts in which Romanians appear to be at a strong statistical disadvantage (more than 14% difference in percentage points between overall population and voters) includes six districts in which Romanians retain the majority of voters: Magyarigen / Ighiu (61%), Szászváros / Orăștie (58%), Naszód / Năsăud (62%), Hunyad / Hunedoara (67%), Marosludas / Luduș (53%) and Alsóárpás / Arpașul de Jos (75%). The number of electoral districts with a Romanian electoral majority increases to 15 out of 27 in the group with differences between 1%-14% to the disadvantage of Romanians, while the group in which Romanians were electorally advantaged by 1%-14% also includes 8 such districts. In total, out of the 72

⁴⁷ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 2, s. 8v.

⁴⁸ See also the discussion on “old right” in general and its impact in the shaping of the electoral body in József Pap, *Parliamentary Representatives*, pp. 137–141, pp. 162–163. In 1872, according to the Székely MP Balázs Orbán, the number of Romanians voting based on the “old right” (i.e., nobility status) was ca. 30.000 (Ibid., p. 145).

⁴⁹ RNCHAB-RNC, f. 2, s. 7v.

electoral districts for which information has been preserved, the Romanian political leaders of the time considered that there was a Romanian electoral majority in 29, of which 15 in historical Transylvania and 14 in Krassó-Szörény, Szatmár and Szilágy (we recall that the data for the extra-Transylvanian area is limited to these three counties).

29 electoral districts is not at all few, given that in the geographical area left uncovered there were most certainly other electoral districts with demographic majorities and Romanian voters (as evidenced by the electoral results of the time). A realistic estimate would be somewhere between 40 and 50 such electoral districts, in which over 50% of the voters were Romanians. Hence, the question naturally arises: why have been the electoral results of the Romanian National Party so poor, both in the 1880s and later, after the official renunciation of passivism in 1905?

Conclusions

We will try to answer this question in the conclusions of the study.

We have seen so far that the RNPT leadership had, before the 1881 merger, both the intention to gain a clear perspective on electoral statistics at the local level, and to organize the party locally by creating committees in each electoral district. The first initiative got off to a slow start and seems to have had some degree of success only due to the insistences of the leadership. G. Bariț, however, did not seem satisfied with the statistical overview he got. We believe that if the initiative would have been a success, this would certainly have been reflected in the Memorial of 1882, where he instead provides only general statistical data on the number and situation of voters.⁵⁰ Opposition from the authorities, and the lack of interest or ineptitude of local leaders were among the most frequent reasons for delays or ignoring requests sent by the party leadership. The documents also record a reluctance on the part of the electorate, which illustrates both the precarious political culture of the Romanian electorate and their questionable relationship with local nationalist leaders.

The same complex of factors certainly affected local organization. The documents speak of hindrances and hassles from the authorities, but also of a lack of interest on the part of the great

⁵⁰ George Bariț, *Memorial compus și publicat din însărcinarea Conferenței generale a reprezentanților alegătorilor români adunați la Sibiu în zilele din 12, 13 și 14 maiu st.n. 1881 prin comitetul său esmis cu acea ocaziune*, Ed. a 2-a, Sibiu, W. Krafft, 1882, pp. 83-84.

mass of voters. The party archives confirm that the 1881 merger mobilized energies among local nationalist elites, but it is impossible to say what was the degree of involvement of the Romanian electorate. In the period covered by the archive (ca. 1880-1893), the local organizations seem to have functioned well, but without managing to mobilize a large number of voters. This is only natural, given that passivism, elevated to the status of official NRP policy in 1881, deprived the mass of voters of one of the most important rights they could exercise, as well as of the benefits that accompanied election campaigns and voting. The nationalist idealism trumpeted in the newspapers was contradicted by electoral practice. Although there are still no clear statistics on Romanian voter turnout before 1905, both the presence of Romanian government or independent candidates, and the high turnout in some electoral districts (impossible to achieve without Romanian voters) are strong arguments for the dissonance between the idealistic desires of the NRP leadership and the grass-roots electoral practice. A decent share of Romanian voters went to the polls and cast their vote for the candidate who persuaded them, by various means, to do so, regardless the latter's ethnicity. The desire for a bolder political involvement also manifested among the elite, various attempts to organize a Romanian party of a moderate-governmental orientation taking place between 1881 and 1887.⁵¹

However, the reluctance of the NRP leadership towards electoral involvement was justified not only by programmatic, principled reasons, but also by the difficulty of obtaining positive results. In a rapidly professionalizing political environment,⁵² pecuniary benefits, corruption and electoral abuses had a greater impact on voters than nationalist discourses and impulses. The success of the Romanian "governmental" candidates in Banat and Eastern Hungary, which completely ousted nationalist candidates between 1887 and 1905, is a case in point.⁵³ The demographic criterion, which ensured an electoral majority in a few dozen constituencies, appears in this light as insufficient, in the absence of electoral education and economic and professional independence. Nationalism was definitely not the only political driving force, nor seemed to have been the strongest – at least in the case of Romanians. Nationalist speeches, no matter how spirited, were no substitute for the financial and human resources required for a

⁵¹ Ovidiu Iudean, *The Romanian Governmental Representatives in the Budapest Parliament (1881-1918)*, Cluj-Napoca, Mega, 2016, pp. 67-84.

⁵² András Cieger, "Politics as a Profession in Nineteenth Century Hungary?", in *Parlamentarische Kulturen in Europa: Lebenswelten von Abgeordneten. Parlamente in Europa*, Düsseldorf, Droste, 2014, pp. 105-116.

⁵³ Ovidiu Iudean, *op.cit.*, pp. 17-66.

successful campaign; they were less effective in countering administrative pressures and election fraud practices,⁵⁴ and almost completely lost their value when the opponent was a Romanian, supported by the ruling party. The results were seen in the 1905-1910 elections in many constituencies with Romanian demographic and electoral majorities.⁵⁵

In addition to revealing a broader spectrum of electoral impulses than the purely nationalist one, the data provided by the NRP electoral survey also indicate that it is not feasible to try to infer ethnic voter percentages solely based on demographics. The former can fluctuate, as we have seen, in both directions – although more likely, for Romanians from historical Transylvania, in the direction of under-representation. The same data emphasize the social structure of the voting body, dominated in many constituencies by the rural intelligentsia (priests, teachers, notaries public) or by the traditional local elite (the gentry), which increased the under-representation of the great mass of Romanian subsistence farmers and raises additional questions about the situation at the beginning of the twentieth century, as well as about the political culture and horizon of those enfranchised by the introduction of universal male suffrage in 1919.

Last, but not least, the data collected between 1880 and 1884 highlight the micro-zonal discrepancies within the Romanian ethnic group, especially in southern Transylvania, on the former King's Land, whose Romanian inhabitants seem to have been unable to get out of the social and electoral shadow of the Saxons. These discrepancies, as well as the possible impact of the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic confessional structures on the composition of the voting body, however, need to be studied separately, through much more detailed comparative analysis.

⁵⁴ Selectively: András Gerő, *The Hungarian Parliament (1867-1918). A Mirage of Power*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1997, pp. 57-105; A. Cieger, *Politikai korrupció a Monarchia Magyarországon*, Budapest, Napvilág Kiadó, 2011; Judit Pál, "Electoral Corruption in Austro-Hungarian Transylvania at the Beginning of the Dualist Period (1867-1872)", in Frédéric Monier, Olivier Dard, Jens Ivo Engels (eds.), *Patronage et corruption politiques dans l'Europe contemporaine. 2. Les coulisses du politique à l'époque contemporaine XIXe-XXe siècles*, Paris, Armand Colin (Recherches), 2014, pp. 107-126; Aliaksandr Pihanau, *The Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie and Political Violence in "Happy Peaceful Times" (1881-1914)*, in "Crime, Histoire & Sociétés. Crime, History & Societies", 25, No. 1, 2021, pp. 85-110.

⁵⁵ Stelian Mândruț, *Mișcarea națională*, pp. 79-80, 94-96, 152-153.

Annex 1. Ethnic statistics of the voters (1881–1884) according to reports received from the territory by the Central Electoral Committee of the Romanian National Party⁵⁶

County	Electoral district	RO voters	RO voters %	Non-RO voters⁵⁷	Non-RO voters %	HU voters	GE voters	Total no. of voters	Year
Alsó-Fehér (Alba de Jos)	Abrudbánya (Abrud)	84	49%	87	51%			171	1881
Alsó-Fehér	Alvinc (Vințu de Jos)	551	70%	237	30%	99	138	788	1881
Alsó-Fehér	Magyarigen (Ighiu)	321	61%	205	39%	205		526	1881
Alsó-Fehér	Marosújvár (Uioara)	242	40%	366	60%	366		608	1881
Alsó-Fehér	Nagyenyed (Aiud)	250	40%	376	60%	376		626	1881
Alsó-Fehér	Vizakna (Ocna Sibiului)	174	52%	159	48%	159		333	1880
Beszterce-Naszód (Bistrița-Năsăud)	Beszterce (Bistrița)	147	13%	1010	87%	56	899	1157	1881
Beszterce-Naszód	Naszód (Năsăud)	456	62%	284	38%		78	740	1881
Brassó (Brașov)	Brassó I. (Brașov I)	95	10%	898	90%			993	1883-1884
Brassó	Brassó II. (Brașov II)	218	26%	625	74%			843	1883-1884

⁵⁶ Compiled based on the information provided by RNCHAB-RNC, f. 1/I, 1/IV, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

⁵⁷ HU voters + GE voters + others.

County	Electoral district	RO voters	RO voters %	Non-RO voters ⁵⁷	Non-RO voters %	HU voters	GE voters	Total no. of voters	Year
Brassó	Szászhermány (Hărman)	212	31%	473	69%			685	1883-1884
Brassó	Vidombák (Ghimbav)	50	7%	650	93%			700	1883-1884
Fogaras (Făgăraș)	Alsóárpás (Arpașu de Jos)	1063	75%	355	25%			1418	
Fogaras	Fogaras (Făgăraș)	1657	97%	47	3%			1704	
Háromszék (Trei Scaune)	Bereck (Brețcu)	132	26%	368	74%	368		500	1881
Háromszék	Kézdivásárhely (Târgu Secuiesc)	0	0%	675	100%			675	1881
Háromszék	Kovászna (Covasna)	50	3%	1677	97%			1727	1881
Háromszék	Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfântu Gheorghe)	“well represented”	N/A	N/A	N/A			409	1881
Hunyad (Hunedoara)	Déva (Deva)	605	46%	709	54%	709		1314	1880
Hunyad	Dobra (Dobra)	374	83%	75	17%	75		449	1880
Hunyad	Hátszeg (Hațeg)	1172	84%	226	16%	226		1398	1880
Hunyad	Kőrösbánya (Baia de Criș)	1121	96%	49	4%	49		1170	1880

Romanian Voters in Transylvania and Hungary. The 1881-1884 Electoral Survey by the Romanian National Party

County	Electoral district	RO voters	RO voters %	Non-RO voters⁵⁷	Non-RO voters %	HU voters	GE voters	Total no. of voters	Year
Hunyad	Szászváros (Orăștie)	416	58%	297	42%	165	132	713	1880
Hunyad	Vajdahunyad (Hunedoara)	803	67%	389	33%	379	10	1192	1880
Kis-Küküllő (Târnava Mică)	Balavásár (Bălăușeri)	191	29%	467	71%	322	145	658	1880
Kis-Küküllő	Dicsőszentmárton (Târnăveni)	383	35%	718	65%	326	392	1101	1880
Kis-Küküllő	Erzsébetváros (Dumbrăveni)	15	6%	224	94%			239	1881
Krassó-Szörény (Caraș-Severin)	Facset (Făget)	1262	84%	242	16%			1504	1884
Krassó-Szörény	Karánsebes (Caransebeș)	5331	81%	1215	19%			6546	1884
Krassó-Szörény	Lugos (Lugoj)	1497	64%	847	36%			2344	1884
Krassó-Szörény	Nagyzorlenc (Zorlențu Mare)	2283	81%	544	19%			2827	1884
Krassó-Szörény	Oravica (Oravița)	2153	70%	912	30%			3065	1884
Krassó-Szörény	Románbogsán (Bocșa)	2210	84%	411	16%			2621	1884
Krassó-Szörény	Szászskabánya (Sasca Montană)	1455	92%	120	8%			1575	1884
Maros-Torda (Mureș-Turda)	Ákosfalva (Acățari)	85	5%	1508	95%			1593	1884

County	Electoral district	RO voters	RO voters %	Non-RO voters⁵⁷	Non-RO voters %	HU voters	GE voters	Total no. of voters	Year
Maros-Torda	Gernyeszeg (Gornești)	319	31%	713	69%			1032	1884
Maros-Torda	Mezőség (Câmpia)	185	14%	1106	86%			1291	1884
Maros-Torda	Nyárádszereda (Miercurea Nirajului)	6	0%	2570	100%			2576	1884
Maros-Torda	Szászrégen (Reghinul Săsesc)	207	23%	692	77%			899	1884
Nagy-Küküllő (Târnava Mare)	Kőhalom (Rupea)	108	17%	512	83%			620	1880
Nagy-Küküllő	Medgyes (Mediaș)	63	7%	821	93%			884	1880
Nagy-Küküllő	Segesvár (Sighișoara)	59	7%	781	93%			840	1880
Nagy-Küküllő	Szentágota (Agnita)	104	12%	756	88%			860	1880
Szatmár (Sătmar)	Aranyosmedgyes (Medieșu Aurit)	1600	62%	1000	38%			2600	1884
Szatmár	Csenger	510	20%	2044	80%			2554	1884
Szatmár	Fehérgyarmat	120	3%	3418	97%			3538	1884
Szatmár	Krassó (Cărașeu)	1966	57%	1464	43%			3430	1884
Szatmár	Mátészalka	0	0%	2049	100%			2049	1884

Romanian Voters in Transylvania and Hungary. The 1881-1884 Electoral Survey by the Romanian National Party

County	Electoral district	RO voters	RO voters %	Non-RO voters⁵⁷	Non-RO voters %	HU voters	GE voters	Total no. of voters	Year
Szatmár	Nagybánya (Baia Mare)	670	51%	653	49%			1323	1884
Szatmár	Nagykároly (Carei)	703	25%	2099	75%			2802	1884
Szatmár	Nagysomkút (Șomcuta Mare)	2000	69%	919	31%			2919	1884
Szeben (Sibiu)	Kereszténysziget (Cristian)	339	46%	392	54%	2	390	731	1881
Szeben	Nagydisznód (Cisnădie)	194	25%	583	75%	0	583	777	1881
Szeben	Nagyszeben I. (Sibiu I)	100	13%		0%			754	1883
Szeben	Nagyszeben II. (Sibiu II)	97	14%		0%			702	1883
Szeben	Szászsebes (Sebeș)	420	49%	432	51%	29	403	852	1881
Szeben	Újegyház (Nocrich)	105	18%	489	82%	5	484	594	1881
Szilágy (Sălaj)	Diósad (Dioșod)	1105	35%	2014	65%			3119	1884
Szilágy	Szilágycseh (Cehu Silvaniei)	1672	73%	625	27%			2297	1884
Szilágy	Szilágysomlyó (Șimleu Silvaniei)	886	34%	1697	66%			2583	1884

County	Electoral district	RO voters	RO voters %	Non-RO voters⁵⁷	Non-RO voters %	HU voters	GE voters	Total no. of voters	Year
Szilágy	Tasnád (Tășnad)	1135	51%	1084	49%			2219	1884
Szilágy	Zilah (Zalău)	1119	52%	1024	48%			2143	1884
Szolnok-Doboka (Solnoc-Dăbâca)	Bethlen (Beclean)	450	46%	538	54%			988	1881
Szolnok-Doboka	Dés (Dej)	563	47%	626	53%			1189	1881
Szolnok-Doboka	Magyarlâpos (Târgu Lăpuș)	1616	77%	472	23%			2088	1881
Szolnok-Doboka	Nagyiklód (Iclod)	907	74%	314	26%			1221	1881
Szolnok-Doboka	Nagy Ilonda / Kisnyíres (Ileanda Mare / Mesteacăn)	672	93%	48	7%			720	1881
Szolnok-Doboka	Szék (Sic)	46	10%	415	90%	414	1	461	1881
Torda-Aranyos (Turda-Arieș)	Felvinc (Unirea I)	479	28%	1218	72%			1697	1884
Torda-Aranyos	Marosludas (Luduș)	636	53%	553	47%			1189	1884
Torda-Aranyos	Torda (Turda)	270	27%	719	73%			989	1884
Torda-Aranyos	Torockó (Remetea)	104	23%	341	77%			445	1884

Annex 2. Share of Romanian voters, share of Romanian population and rate of literacy for the electoral districts surveyed

County	Electoral district	RO voters	Romanian population	Difference in percentage points	Rate of literacy
Krassó-Szörény	Románbogsán	84%	70%	-14%	24%
Krassó-Szörény	Oravica	70%	58%	-12%	30%
Fogaras	Fogaras	97%	86%	-11%	21%
Szatmár	Nagykároly	25%	17%	-9%	39%
Krassó-Szörény	Nagyzorlenc	81%	73%	-8%	21%
Krassó-Szörény	Szászabánya	92%	87%	-6%	18%
Szatmár	Csenger	20%	15%	-5%	34%
Hunyad	Kőrösbánya	96%	92%	-3%	11%
Szatmár	Fehérgyarmat	3%	0%	-3%	44%
Szatmár	Aranyosmedgyes	62%	58%	-3%	14%
Szatmár	Mátészalka	0%	0%	0%	31%
Szolnok-Doboka	Nagyllonda / Kisnyíres	93%	94%	0%	5%
Szeben	Nagyszeben II.	14%	14%	0%	63%
Háromszékek	Kézdivásárhely	0%	0%	0%	48%
Maros-Torda	Nyárádszereda	0%	1%	1%	29%
Szeben	Nagyszeben I.	13%	14%	1%	63%
Háromszékek	Sepsiszentgyörgy	0%	1%	1%	51%
Szatmár	Krassó	57%	58%	1%	20%
Hunyad	Hátszeg	84%	85%	1%	12%
Szilágy	Tasnád	51%	53%	2%	22%
Krassó-Szörény	Karánsebes	81%	84%	2%	18%
Szolnok-Doboka	Szék	10%	14%	4%	14%
Brassó	Brassó II.	26%	31%	5%	48%
Szolnok-Doboka	Magyarláros	77%	82%	5%	8%
Szatmár	Nagysomkút	69%	75%	6%	13%
Szilágy	Szilágycseh	73%	80%	7%	7%

County	Electoral district	RO voters	Romanian population	Difference in percentage points	Rate of literacy
Háromszék	Kovászna	3%	10%	7%	31%
Krassó-Szörény	Facset	84%	91%	7%	14%
Szolnok-Doboka	Nagyiklód	74%	83%	9%	6%
Szatmár	Nagybánya	51%	60%	9%	21%
Szilágyc	Szilágysomlyó	34%	44%	9%	21%
Krassó-Szörény	Lugos	64%	74%	10%	23%
Brassó	Szászhermány	31%	41%	11%	43%
Maros-Torda	Ákosfalva	5%	16%	11%	24%
Hunyad	Dobra	83%	94%	11%	11%
Alsó-Fehér	Alvinc	70%	81%	11%	8%
Alsó-Fehér	Vizakna	52%	63%	11%	35%
Alsó-Fehér	Abrudbánya	49%	61%	12%	23%
Kis-Küküllő	Balavásár	29%	42%	12%	21%
Háromszék	Bereck	26%	40%	14%	20%
Szilágyc	Zilah	52%	66%	14%	17%
Kis-Küküllő	Erzsébetváros	6%	20%	14%	36%
Fogarás	Alsóárpás	75%	90%	15%	15%
Torda-Aranyos	Marosludas	53%	70%	16%	8%
Kis-Küküllő	Dicsőszentmárton	35%	55%	20%	16%
Szolnok-Doboka	Dés	47%	68%	21%	13%
Maros-Torda	Gernyeszeg	31%	52%	21%	19%
Torda-Aranyos	Felvinc	28%	49%	21%	20%
Brassó	Brassó I.	10%	31%	21%	48%
Hunyad	Vajdahunyad	67%	89%	22%	12%
Szilágyc	Diósad	35%	58%	22%	14%
Szolnok-Doboka	Bethlen	46%	68%	23%	8%

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County	Electoral district	RO voters	Romanian population	Difference in percentage points	Rate of literacy
Beszterce-Naszód	Naszód	62%	85%	23%	16%
Nagy-Küküllő	Segesvár	7%	31%	23%	41%
Alsó-Fehér	Marosújvár	40%	64%	24%	10%
Nagy-Küküllő	Kőhalom	17%	42%	25%	32%
Brassó	Vidombák	7%	32%	25%	53%
Hunyad	Szászváros	58%	84%	26%	15%
Nagy-Küküllő	Medgyes	7%	34%	27%	44%
Szeben	Szászsebes	49%	77%	27%	24%
Beszterce-Naszód	Beszterce	13%	40%	28%	34%
Maros-Torda	Marosvásárhely, Mezőség	14%	42%	28%	19%
Alsó-Fehér	Magyarigen	61%	90%	29%	8%
Szeben	Kereszténysziget	46%	76%	29%	30%
Maros-Torda	Szászrégen	23%	53%	30%	20%
Hunyad	Déva	46%	81%	35%	16%
Nagy-Küküllő	Szentágota	12%	48%	36%	37%
Alsó-Fehér	Nagyenyed	40%	77%	37%	14%
Torda-Aranyos	Torda	27%	68%	41%	16%
Szeben	Nagydisznód	25%	68%	43%	33%
Szeben	Újgyház	18%	63%	45%	34%
Torda-Aranyos	Torockó	23%	86%	63%	9%