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**The
Transylvanian Question**

By

J. AJTAY, B. JANCSÓ and A. KOVÁCS

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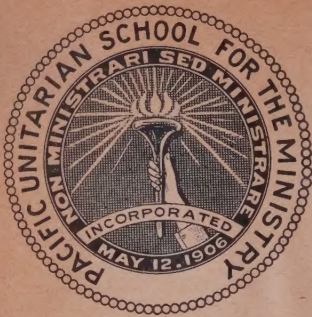
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The Transylvanian Question.

I.

The History of Transylvania.

In a geographical sense, and according to the natural formation of south-eastern Hungary, Transylvania is a basin encircled by high mountain ranges belonging to the system of the Carpathians. The whole of her interior is a country of low hills, the average height of which is from 400 to 500 meters.

The mountain range forming the eastern frontier of Transylvania runs from the Alps of Máramaros to the block of mountains named Csilyános at the south-eastern angle of Transylvania; here it turns at rightangles and continues in a westward line as far as the Iron Gates of the Lower Danube. The mountains bordering the basin on the west, towards the Nagy-Alföld (the Great-Plains of Hungary) do not form such a decided barrier as the mountain ranges on the eastern and southern border, surrounding the basin like veritable ramparts. The line of mountains is lower here, more broken, and affords more facilities for crossing by the valleys of the numerous streams belonging to the river system of the Danube.

The centre of the geographical unit formed by the mountain system of the Carpathians and the river system of the Middle Danube is the Alföld, the basin of Transylvania being joined to it in

strict union by its own mountain and river system. Through all the centuries of the known history of Transylvania this geographical position has determined her fate.

The first real State within the semicircle of the Carpathians was founded in the 10th century by the Hungarians, who took up their position in Dunántúl (Transdanubia) and the Nagy-Alföld. They could not, however, consider this position assured till their dominion extended over Transylvania also; and one of their tribes took possession of the more approachable parts as early as the time of the Conquest.

From the plains of the Nagy-Alföld the conquering Hungarians penetrated into Transylvania by two paths: the valley of the Szamos and, more to the south, that of the Maros where they encountered but a sparse population of Slav race, living in loosely connected tribes. The first Hungarian centre noticeable here is the residence of the chief of Gyula's tribe — Gyulafehérvár. The independence of the chief Gyula was broken by St. Stephen's army, it being the object of the canonised king to join this district more firmly to the Christian Hungarian State with the double aim of spreading Christian culture there and defending it more efficaciously from the inroads of the *Bessenyős* on the east.

From the death of St. Stephen till the time of St. Ladislas the history of Transylvania is enveloped in obscurity. Dominion over this country was contested by the *Bessenyős* (Bissenians) a people of kindred race living on the territory of present-day Roumania. It was these inroads of the *Bessenyős* and, later, of the Cumanians that drew the attention of Ladislas to Transylvania. He had quite a series of successful battles with the *Bessenyős*,

and the Cumanians who followed in their wake. Bent on assuring the favourable results of his victory King Ladislas attempted to organise Transylvania in a manner calculated to render her powerful enough to repulse, of her own strength, the attacks of the Cumanians and Bessenyős, — attacks much resembling guerilla warfare.

After the reign of St. Ladislas two separate masses of Hungarians were already distinguishable in Transylvania: the one in the basin of the Szamos and the western basin of the Maros in the neighbourhood of Gyulafehérvár, the other in the upper course of the two Küküllös and in the eastern part of the valley of the Olt. The former district was inhabited by the ancestors of the Hungarians of Transylvania, the latter by those of the Székelys.

The region spreading from the lower course of the Küküllő, between the Olt and the Maros, as far as Szászváros, together with the present county Besztercze-Naszód, remained uninhabited. It was on this uninhabited and uncultivated land, covered in great part by forests, that King Géza II. settled the Germans emigrating from Flanders and from the banks of the Lower Rhine, the forebears of the Transylvanian Saxons of to-day.

This is how the Hungarian, Székely and Saxon territory was formed in Transylvania in the 12th century, each with a territorial autonomy although not possessed of any special organisation. They were all one in this particular, that they all owed direct allegiance to the King of Hungary, the King's representative the Vajda (Woywode) of Transylvania being endowed only with military power over them, having no right to exercise political or juridical authority over either the Székelys or the Saxons.

King Andrew I (1047), having recalled his younger brother Prince Adalbert from Poland shared his sovereignty with him, handing him over a third of the country: Transylvania and the adjacent district beyond the Tisza. This division was repeated some few times during the time of the Árpád Kings.

This circumstance it is and not the alleged Roumanian autonomy that makes Transylvania under the Árpáds often seem an almost independent province. As for this autonomy enjoyed by the Roumanians as co-equals of the other Transylvanian nationalities, it exists only in present-day Roumanian history of Dacio-Roman, irredentist spirit. There were no Roumanians living in Transylvania at that period. The first mention of them, as within the territories of Hungary, was at the commencement of the 13th century (1210). Before the Mongolian invasion (1241) no Roumanians lived in Transylvania, except on a narrow strip of the southern frontier from the Bodza river about to the Vöröstorony pass, and here only intermingled with Bessenyős and Cumanians with whom they had crossed the Danube together to the territory of the Roumania of to-day and thence in small bands, as half-nomadic herdsmen had filtered into Transylvania, in the last decade of the 12th century.

After the Mongolian invasion Roumanians are more often encountered in different parts of Eastern Hungary. Still, their number is so small that King Andrew III. in a charter issued in 1293 was enabled to decree "all Wallachs, on the estate of whomsoever they should live, shall be resettled on the royal estate of Székás".

As in the 14th and 15th century the Turks gain ground on the Balkan the number of Wal-

lachians crossing the Danube into (present) Roumania and so into Eastern Hungary becomes greater and greater. Of Roumanian historians *Hurmuzaki* acknowledges the fact of this immigration from the Balkan. In his work entitled "Fragmente zur Geschichte der Rumänen" vol. II. p. 185 and 186 he writes as follows: "A Bulgarian realm having been established and slowly strengthened in Moesia it extended its empire in the 9th century over the Roumania of to-day, peopling this land later on with numbers of Roumanians who immigrated with pleasure from Haemus and Macedonia to this fine country in the valley of the Danube, being at the same time forced to do so by the manifold persecution of the Byzantine Government."

There are authentic documents to show of almost every village in the part of Eastern Hungary now inhabited by Wallachians how, in the 15th and 16th centuries, after every movement of the peoples of the Balkan and Roumania of to-day, caused by the oft recurring Turkish wars, larger or smaller bands of Wallachians sought refuge in Hungary.

Roumanian historians and politicians shut their eyes to Roumanian immigration (incolatio) in Hungary, a truth founded on historic fact, and persist in referring to the continuity of Dacia which they are incapable of proving, and which can at most be regarded as a theory more or less plausible, but contradicted by all known facts of history.

In the opinion of Roumanian historians and politicians the Roumanians, being descendants in a direct line of the legionaries of Emperor Trajan and the colonists brought by him from Italy, are the aborigines of the ancient province of

Dacia, of the present-day Transylvania, ever since the conquest by Trajan and have, therefore, an incontestable historic right to that province.

Unbiassed historical criticism has, however, long since demonstrated that the theory of the continuity of Dacia is in contradiction to ascertained historical facts.

One of the most conclusive arguments against the Dacian origin of the Roumanian race is the actual language of the Roumanians. It is a generally accepted thesis in neo-Latin comparative philology that the Roumanian language could not have developed isolated, as regards time and space, from the other neo-Latin languages. The period of the development of the Roumanian language coincides with the period of development of the other neo-Latin languages, lasting from the 4th century A. C. to the 10th century when the Dacian rule of the Romans had long since ceased.

We owe the conclusion that the Roumanian language could not have been formed in Dacia to the distinguished French philologist Gaston *Paris*, according to whom the structure of the language points evidently to the circumstance that in the first stage of its development, at least till the Slav invasion, the language must certainly have been in connection with some territory of the Western Empire. Another eminent French philologist, De la Berget, holds the same opinion.

Now this territory was the part of the Balkan lying towards the Adriatic where the Roumanian developed in continual contact with the vulgar Italian tongue right up to the 8th century, and where it is still existant in the language of the Macedo-Roumans.

Had Roumanians lived in uninterrupted continuity on the territory of the ancient province of Dacia till the occupation of the said territory by the Hungarians in the 10th century they would have named the mountains, rivers and villages of the district in their own language. Transylvania would, in that case, especially in the parts inhabited mostly by Roumanians, abound in names of Latin origin. In fact, however, Slav names preponderate here, as, indeed, they preponderate wherever Roumanians live. This is one of the convincing proofs showing us that the autochthonous people of the present Roumanian territory were Slavs.

The Slav-race played a very important part in the formation of the Roumanian people and the Roumanian language. Roumanian scholars themselves have been forced to admit this. "The customs and traditions of our people most resemble those of the surrounding Slavs . . . But it is more especially in our political institutions that the Slav influence becomes evident" — says Jon *Bogdán*, professor of the University of Bucarest.

The first to start the idea that the Roumanians are descendants of that fraction of the people of Rome which lived in Dacia, was Bonfinius who, carried away by a resemblance between the Roumanian and Italian languages, looked upon the Roumanians of Transylvania as the direct descendants of Emperor Trajan's legionaries and settlers. It is this theory of Bonfinius that, in the 18th century, passed through the channel of Cantemir Toppeltinus' work into the scholarly minds of Europe, there, through the concourse of certain political currents, growing to the rank of dogma. It is worthy of note that ancient Roumanian chronicles, unacquainted with Bonfinius, know nothing

of the continuity of Roman existence in Dacia and, on the contrary, speak of an immigration from the left shore of the Danube, as in the 16th century Roumanian chronicle, made use of in the works of Tunusli and Fotino.

Anonymus, the nameless historian of King Béla, is our only chronicler of the Middle Ages who places the Roumanians in their actual country, in historic Dacia, at the time of the conquest by the Hungarians. Historic criticism has proved however, that the work of Anonymus can not be accepted as a reliable fountainhead of the history of the Conquest. What he wrote was not so much the history as the epic of the Conquest, executed with spirit and imagination. It has also been proved that the part concerning the Roumanians of Transylvania was a latter-day addition to the chronicle.

Another circumstance arguing against the Dacian origin of the Roumanians is that the most important events in the ancient history of the Roumanians all took place on the Balkan. The first mention of them occurs on the Balkan also, in the 10th century, in the work of a Greek writer Kedrenos, who characterises them as "a nomadic, wandering tribe of herdsmen".

The morals of the Roumanians of the Balkan were determined by their manner of life. In the course of their wanderings they worked much damage to the settled, agricultural inhabitants and, for this reason, were not welcome anywhere. In consequence of this habit the Ragusans did not even allow them to tend their cattle in Ragusan territory. We find several measures of precaution against this vagabond people in the laws of the Servian Tsar Dusan.

“I write this for you and your successors — says the Greek writer Kekammenos in 1071 — the Wallach people are corrupt and faithless. They are true neither to God nor the emperor, no, not even to their own people. They are liars and terrible brigands. They are ready to swear anything to their friends or relations, but are as ready to break their oath. They have never kept faith with anyone. The Wallachs are cowardly and white livered, but even in their cowardice they are impudent.” Saint Liethbert, bishop of Cambrai writes of them in 1054: “These savages live like beasts. They have neither laws nor cities. They live by robbery, are merciless and cruel. They have no religion, no gods, no religious ceremonies.”

The historic truth is that these Wallachs of the Balkan are the ancestors of the Roumanian nation of to-day. They brought the civilisation described above across the Danube with them and, from the end of the 12th century onward, carried it across the Carpathians to Hungary too.

The immigrant Roumanians settled first on the uncultivated and uninhabited royal domains under their own “kenéz” or chiefs, originally the organisers of the settlements. Their relations to the agricultural Hungarian and Saxon inhabitants was much the same as it had been on the Balkan. To the economic, social and juridical order of the Hungarian State they accomodate themselves with difficulty or not at all. For this reason there is a vast number of complaints raised against them and the authorities are obliged to have recourse to coercive measures. Most characteristic is the behest of King Matthias in which he makes it incumbent on the *vajda* of Transylvania that “since the Wallachs have gone so far in foolhardiness as to attack with armed force not the other in:

habitants only but even the "nobles" (free men) he (the vajda) should take to himself a following of armed Székelys and inflict condign punishment on the miscreants for, though the Wallachs were not born to freedom, nor are they called thereto, still, contrary to the laws of the country they, by deeds of violence, acquire freedom."

No efforts would be needed to collect quite a heap of historic evidence to show that ever since their appearance in the Middle Ages they were everywhere regarded as a disturbing element, not respecting personal property, social order or the institutions of the state. The evidence would show how true that declaration of the more recent Transylvanian law book, the *Approbata*, is, which says that the Wallachs in many places seize with evident violence the lands of, and live on the other peoples. It would also become apparent how such an element of the population could certainly have no such social, economic, or political weight as would insure its being recognised as a factor in constitutional state life beside the three other legally recognised nations.

The Hungarian Government, however, was not in these early days content with simply using coercive measures against this turbulent, half nomadic people, but endeavoured to gain over the well-intentioned among them to be useful members of society.

The royal officials showed a preference for settling the immigrant Roumanians under their *kenéz* on the lands surrounding the royal fortresses. Here it was not their first task to clear the forest, they could begin immediately to till the earth and, towards the end of this period, in the districts lying in the path of the frequent inroads of the Turk assailing us from the south-west, the

Roumanians of the royal domains began to be used in armed service. Thus round each fortress, as in the county of Hunyad, the neighbourhood of Hátszeg, and in the southeastern part of the counties Krassó-Szörény and Temes, a Wallachian district is formed. These were united by Ladislas V. formed into one administrative district with the reasoning that, being in the marches and guarding against Turkish inroads, they should by this favour be incited to the greater vigilance and zeal.

This is the only existant documentary proof of the Roumanians having possessed any separate administrative district within the Hungarian State in the course of the Middle Ages.

In chapter II. of his work entitled "Europe", Aeneas Silvius writes that there are only a few of these military Roumanians who do not know Hungarian. The army being Hungarian it is easy to understand that the Roumanians entering the army would become assimilated in the same measure as they advanced in the service.

The basis of ulterior public law in Transylvania was the so-called *unio trium nationum* contracted in 1437 between the Hungarians, Székelys and Saxons with the object — as we are informed by the text of the contract itself — of insuring reciprocal assistance in case of an attack of any kind, especially against the inroads of the Turks. This contract united the three nations of Transylvania juridically, connected, till the time of the contract, by the person of the ruler alone. The union, however, had no bearing whatever on the relations of Transylvania to Hungary.

The union was the fruit of the comparative neglect falling to the lot of this part of the country during the lengthy, but troubled period of King

Sigismund's feeble reign. It is undeniable that the union bore in itself the germ of the idea of separation from the mother country. But the germ would certainly have perished and the newly-formed alliance would have dissolved had the mother-country, regaining her lost power, shown herself capable of repelling the succeeding waves of Turkish attack ever increasing in vigour. Such was not the case, however, and so the union of the three nations not only continued, but became an efficacious instrument of defence in the wars against the Turks which — owing to loss of power in the mother-country — they were often left to carry on quite unassisted.

One of the strongest proofs in this period of the unity of the Transylvanian territory with Hungary is that the Hungarian Diet was attended by the deputies (4 in number) of the Hungarian noblemen of Transylvania, moreover by the deputies of the Székelys and Saxons (two deputies each). Transylvania might at her own separate Diet-presided over by the King or, more often his representative the *vajda* — make special laws to meet her own requirements, but not such as would run contrary to the laws in force in the mother country.

After the catastrophe of Mohács the fate of Transylvania came to a turning-point. By the taking of Buda (1541) the centre of the country was subjugated by Turkish arms and Hungary, a unit heretofore, was sundered into a Western and an Eastern territory.

The Western half was soon drawn into the sphere of interest of the great Habsburg realm just forming under Ferdinand I. Although this fact is easily explained and, viewed apart, perfectly permissible, yet it was not founded on the national

feeling, was indeed foreign to Hungarian interests and aspirations. The Eastern half, on the other hand, under the Vajda of Transylvania, John Szapolyai, as Hungarian King, sought and found a basis for further operations in Transylvania.

The fortress of Buda passing into Turkish hands, King John Szapolyai's successor, John Sigismund, elective King of Hungary had to remove his seat to Transylvania and, with that, the central point of his realm was also removed there. At the Diet held at Torda in the January of 1542 the building up of a separate Transylvanian State was begun. Thus Transylvania under the stress of circumstances became a separate state, but still the leading idea in the policy of her princes and politicians always remained the restoration of the undivided Hungarian State through the development of the national forces existing in Transylvania, and that, as occasion offered, either with Turkish or with German assistance.

Transylvania, together with the Tisza district attached to it — the so-called Partium — was from the constitutional Diet of Torda 1542 an elective Principality and an independent State up to the death of Prince Michael Apafi I. in 1690, and was, as such, perfectly independent from the Kingdom of Hungary but under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey. These latter relations were determined by the *athname* presented by Sultan Suleiman to John Sigismund in 1566 in which the Sultan guarantees that he will uphold and even defend the liberty of Transylvania and her prince. The right freely to elect her sovereign is also recognised here. In return, Transylvania was bound to pay a yearly tribute of ten thousand gold-pieces to the Sultan (the amount was later raised to fifteen thousand).

The principle of religious liberty — declared as early as the Diet of Torda 1557, when a resolution was carried that everyone might profess the faith they thought best — was a corner-stone in the constitution of Transylvania. So beside the Roman Catholic Church the two Protestant churches were organised (the Evangelical and the Reformed Church) as being received by law and at the Diet of 1571 the reception of the Unitarian church was inserted. The constitution of Transylvania in this period (the period of the princes of Transylvania, 1542—1690) was thus built up on the basis of the union of the three nations (Hungarian, Székely and Saxon) formed in 1437, and the liberty of the four received churches (*recepta religio*).

The reign of the princes of Transylvania was a constitutional one. Twelve councillors chosen from the three political nations formed the Council of State responsible to the Diet, without whose concurrence no important measures might be taken. The chief functionaries of state and court were chosen from among the members of the Council of State, also the envoys to foreign courts. The Diet was convoked each year by the prince for the levying of taxes and the making of laws presented then and subsequently sanctioned by the prince. The Diet consisted of one chamber only, its members being the high dignitaries of the country, the councillors, the deputies and chief functionaries of the counties, shires, districts and towns. The acts were written at first in Latin, and from 1565 onwards in Hungarian. Debates were carried on first in Latin and Hungarian, later only in Hungarian. Saxon members spoke Hungarian in the Diet, too. The German language was used by them only at their separate national meetings.

The most important organ of government after the prince and the Council of State was the chancellery. The chancellor was the president of the Council of State, the chief counsellor of the prince and was charged with the most important affairs of state. It was his office to read the proposals of the prince and council of state in the Diet. He it was who published and countersigned the prince's edicts. The envoys of foreign courts received the prince's answer by the mouth of the chancellor.

The state functionary next in rank after the chancellor was the treasurer. His office was to manage the state revenues and give account of them to prince and Diet.

The head of the armed force was the captain-general of the land. The Székely army had its own commander, the captain in chief of the Székelys and the armed force of the Attached Parts (Partium) was commanded by the captain of Várad.

The Hungarian counties were administrated by the prefects, deputy prefects and district magistrates, the (Hungarian) Parts by chief and deputy-captains, the Székely and Saxon shires by chief and deputy-royal procurer, each according to their own special statutes and controlled by those who administrated. Justice was administered by the courts appointed thereto, and in the towns by the town councils. The highest court was the Royal Court of Appeal. In important political cases and in cases of high treason the Diet itself delivered judgment.

It was this constitutional organisation, together with the political talent and the great qualities of some of her truly eminent princes, such as Stephen Báthory, Bocskay, Gabriel Bethlen and George Rákóczi I. that rendered Transylvania capable of worthily representing Hungarian policy and Hungarian state-forming power in the concert

of European states. It was from this that the small country gathered strength to interfere in the Thirty Years War as the much sought after ally of western Protestant countries, and to be a worthy champion of the principles and motive powers of this war, of which especially the principle of liberty of conscience had been a sacred tradition of Transylvanian political life ever since the 16th century. And this noble tradition made this small country a model of mutual forbearance and religious enlightenment not only at that time but also at a much later period.

The mission towards general culture was accomplished by that great Hungarian national mission filled by the princely court, together with the Hungarian society gathered round it, through the patronage of Hungarian literature and science. Literary Hungarian at this time developed under Transylvanian influence. How much was done at that period for the promotion of general culture and knowledge in this country is shown when we mention only the colleges founded by Gabriel Bethlen and the two Rákóczis in Transylvania and Hungary, where, besides the best Hungarian teachers, celebrities of European fame lectured, such as the great master of pedagogy, John Amos Comenius, and the father of German poesy, Martin Opitz.

The relations of the independent principality of Transylvania towards the two Danubian principalities forming present-day Roumania, i. e. Wallachia and Moldavia, were determined by the former relations of these states to mediaeval Hungary, Transylvania being, as it were, heir to Hungary in this matter. The principality of Transylvania in its eastern policy considered itself as *de jure* a continuator and representative of Hungary before the catastrophe of Mohács. The Porte and the Roumanian woywodes recognised it as such. This is proved by the Porte

in state documents often applying the term "King of Transylvania" to the princes, while the woywodes do so almost always. The princes of Transylvania, as successors to the rights of the kings of Hungary, claimed sovereign rights over the two woywodeships, a claim voluntarily acknowledged by the woywodes themselves on more than one occasion. Thus the Woywode Michael — this hero of Dacio-Romanism according to Roumanian historians — in the contract with Sigismund Báthory in 1595, in his own name and that of his land and people, acknowledges Sigismund Báthory as his hereditary lord and king and swears him fealty.

It will be interesting and instructive to give a cursory glance to the part played in Transylvania by Wallachian inhabitants at the time of the Principality. It can be proved beyond doubt by the records of history that at the time of the formation of the Principality of Transylvania Roumanians made up about a quarter of the population. The Principality, however, living in quieter and more ordered circumstances was at this time a veritable haven of refuge for the Wallachian peasants eager to escape from the repeated inroads of Turks, Tartars and Cossacks, but more especially from the constant system of extortion practised by the woywodes. In consequence of this the number of Roumanians in Transylvania rapidly increased, so much so that at the end of the period of the princes they formed half of the population.

The moral standard of the immigrant Roumanians is painted in glaring colours by contemporary writers and official documents. There is nothing to surprise us in this, for the Wallachians simply brought with them the customs and morals prevalent in the two woywodeships in the 16th and 17th century.

The reign of Basil Lupu (1634—1653) is described by Roumanian historians as the golden age of

Moldavian history. His court was visited by Paul, a deacon from Aleppo, who wrote in Arabic, an account of his travels. This was translated into English by Balfour and published in London, 1836. In this work we find the following picture of Moldavian morals.

“God Almighty has not created a second people of such depravity as that of Moldavia, where all are murderers and thieves. From the record of punishments inflicted it is to be seen that in the reign of Basil Bey more than 40,000 robbers and thieves were sentenced to death, though in case of first offence a capital sentence is not passed. This cruel severity of the Bey is not enough to exterminate sin. The women and girls have no idea of decency and honour. Fasts are strictly kept by the court and the gentlefolk, but the people neither fast nor pray, as though they had no religion at all. They are only Christians by name and the priests themselves show a bad example, wallowing in drunkennes and the greatest debauchery all night“.

We find the cause of this moral degradation of the Moldavian people explained in the writings of a contemporary, an Italian Minorite monk, Bandinus. “The people of Moldavia — writes Bandinus — are so ignorant that they have not even heard anything of God or of a future life. In the whole of Moldavia there are only a few who can repeat the Lord’s prayer, and all their worship consists in signing the cross. No sermons are delivered in their churches. Christian knowledge is not taught in their schools, as their priests themselves have not learnt anything and do not even know how to write.“

“The people are perfect barbarians. They are constantly exposed to the revenge and persecution of the lords; at the sight of two or three people together they escape to the hills“ writes Bongars

in 1585 of the people of the Roumanian Woywodes. "The Moldavians are uncivilised and savage" writes Reicherstorfer in a description dating from 1550, in which he mentions the Roumanians of Transylvania too. "Among these (the Hungarians and the Saxons) there live Wallachs also on some deserted estates and villages. They are a hardy race, living from their herds and mostly from stolen cattle. They wear clothes made by their own hands from goatskin and live beyond the pale of any human law."

Felix Petantius characterises them as follows: "The Wallachs are a rude race; their property consists of herds only". Gromo Giovandrea, an Italian captain, in his report to Cosimo I. Duke of Florence, writes of the Roumanians of Transylvania as follows: "The third nation is the Wallachian, living dispersed over the whole country; there are many brigands among them, and highway robbers." In the library of the University of Bologna there is a manuscript description of Transylvania saying that "the Wallachians, so far as occupation goes, are peasants or brigands." In the report of an ambassador from Venice written in the first half of the 16th century we may read of the Wallachs: "they are muscular, but savage and uncivilised. If unpossessed of cattle they simply steal". Verancsics writes of the Roumanians of Moldavia and Wallachia: "manslaugster is nothing to them. They are very covetous, as though they were born to steal".

We might follow up our quotations without any difficulty, and this mass of evidence would prove that the Transylvanian historian of the 17th century, Szamosközi, was not carried away by Hungarian prejudice when in his work entitled *History of Transylvania* (vol. III. p. 221.) he expresses himself as follows regarding the political loyalty of contemporaneous Roumanians:

“The Roumanians as regards Christianity were unstable and perfidious to such a degree that, at the Convocation of Lucca, Sigismund, emperor and king of Hungary, proposed the extermination of the whole race to the very roots because they never kept faith with anyone. With their furtively committed theft, their treason, robbery and pillage and especially their deceitfulness surpassing even that of the Carthaginians, they are enemies of the whole neighbouring Christian world. They have repeatedly betrayed Christianity to the Turks. They have always two strings to their bow and change their faith as fortune changes. They are inconstant and have long since broken with the God-fearing spirit of Christianity.”

The government of the principality of Transylvania had much trouble to settle this lawless people and habituate them to a respect of the legal order of society and the juridical institutions of state, in a word, to educate this half-nomadic tribe of herdsmen into an agricultural people ready for work and civilisation.

A means to this end was the attempt of the Protestant princes of Transylvania to gain the Roumanians to Protestantism in the aim of civilisation, not by any violent measures but by the creation of a Roumanian ecclesiastical literature. It was in this manner that a Roumanian translation of the Gospel appeared toward the end of the 16th century at Brassó, as also the Pentateuch of Moses, the former at the expense of Nicholas Fonó, the latter of Francis Geszti, Hungarian nobles. George Rákóczi I. not only had the whole Bible translated, but enjoins the Greek Catholic bishop to found a good Roumanian school at the seat of his bishopric and support two or three good teachers there who should know Latin, Greek

and Roumanian; to found a printing office also, where books should be printed for the use of the Roumanian churches and schools and to cause his priests to cease the use of foreign (Old-Slavonian) liturgy, using Roumanian in all church ceremonies.

This attempt could not attain full success owing to the troubled days of that warlike period and the consequent insufficiency of means. Still it resulted in the inestimable benefit of banishing the Old-Slavonian language heretofore paramount in the church, replacing it by the language of the populace, Roumanian, and, further, laying the foundation of a religious Roumanian national literature. The dawning of a national consciousness and national culture for the Roumanian people dates from here and has only developed since this epoch.

In the time of the Transylvanian Principality the Roumanians, owing to their political and intellectual inferiority, could not aspire to be a political unit like the three other nations, but having come under the civilising influence of this state system, embraced the path leading to a national existence and European civilisation.

The restoration of the Hungarian state, split asunder after the Disaster of Mohács, which had been the constant aim of all great statesmen and princes of Transylvania, was not realised till the 18th century, when the German emperor — wearer also of St. Stephen's crown — through the feats of his army composed of Germans and Hungarians, succeeded in driving the Turks from the central parts of Hungary. The realisation of their dream was not, however, effected in the manner contemplated by Transylvanian politicians.

The Viennese politicians of the Habsburg empire, which had become the first power in Europe, attempted to incorporate Transylvania as one of

the Hereditary Provinces of the House of Austria into the Habsburg empire. The statesmen of Transylvania setting themselves resolutely against this attempt finally succeeded in obtaining the *diploma Leopoldinum* insuring Transylvania a special provincial autonomy. Transylvania had, therefore, as the words of the *diploma* have it "returned to the holy crown, whence a jealous fate had severed her".

It was not in this diploma only that the sovereign admitted Transylvania to have come into his possession by right of the Hungarian crown, he acknowledged the same, later, on more than one occasion (Act XVIII. 1714. Act II. 1792.).

Those politicians of Transylvania who had obtained this diploma insuring an autonomy for Transylvania were not moved to this action by any fear of the consequences of union with Hungary, but were convinced, if they should not procure all securities in public law, the once independent principality of Transylvania would sink to the level of a common province of the Habsburg empire. Roumanian historians and political writers are guilty of a falsification of history and public law when they represent the attitude of Transylvanian politicians at this juncture and the result of their efforts — the *diploma Leopoldinum* — as a token of the mistrust or fear occasioned by the prospect of a union with Hungary.

Transylvania in this period — called "governmental" — continued to develop on the basis of the constitution formed in the days of the principality.

Legislation was carried on by a Diet consisting of one House, conjointly with the King of Hungary, as Prince of Transylvania. The right of convoking and dissolving the Diet belonged to the Prince, as well

as that of sanctioning the laws. The members of the Diet with a right to vote were the 36 county and Székely deputies (two for each county and each Székely shire) 36 town and Saxon deputies (two for each shire), also the Officers of the King (regalists) called thereto by the King by means of the Superior Tribunal from among the leading nobles, according to merit. The governor, councillors and secretaries, as well as the chief functionaries of the courts of law and of the administration, had the right to take part in parliamentary deliberation without voting however. The president was elected by the former class of members. At more important meetings, called plenary sessions, the chair was taken by the Governor. The part of notary was undertaken by judges of the Royal Court of Appeal, as codificators. The right of levying recruits also belonged to the Diet.

Executive power belonged to the Superior Tribunal at Kolozsvár, responsible to the sovereign. The president of the Tribunal was the Governor-in-Chief appointed by his Majesty. The councillors of the Superior Tribunal were elected proportionately from the three nations and the four recognised churches by the Diet, and their appointment was sanctioned by the prince. Administration in the counties and in the Székely and Saxon shires was perfectly autonomous. The functionaries were elected by the inhabitants of the counties or shires, with regard to the matter of religion. The Lord Lieutenants (prefects) and Procurers Royal at the head of the counties and shires were elected by the Diet, subject to the sanction of the king.

The sovereign not residing in the country a Royal Chancellery was organised in Vienna for the exercising of the royal prerogatives. The chancellor was elected by the Diet and confirmed in his post

by his Majesty. The election of the Chancellor always took place with a due regard to the question of religion. The administration of the finances and economics of the country was entrusted to the Treasury Office at Nagyszeben, with the Treasurer at its head elected by the Diet, also subject to royal approval. Justice was administered in the first place by the law-courts of the counties, shires and towns. The second court was the Royal Court of Appeal at Marosvásárhely whose president was appointed by the King, as Prince of Transylvania, from the three candidates — of the three nations — proposed by the Diet.

As proceeds from the above, the autonomous Transylvania continued to develop on the basis of the political and administrative organisation formed in the time of the principality even in the governmental period from 1690 to 1848. Her separate standing was outwardly expressed by her special coat — arms and seal, the coat — arms consisting of the three shields of the three nations. The Acts in Diet, before passing for sanction before his Majesty, were furnished with the seals of the three nations.

The idea of union with Hungary was still alive in the hearts of the Hungarians of Transylvania for they saw in union the first condition of security, for the Hungarian nation and a possible formation of a unified national State of Hungary. The question of union was formally broached at the Diet of 1791, and was only kept from realisation by some successful machinations of politicians in Vienna. Fifty-seven years later, in 1848, this union was legally pronounced and in 1867 was actually realised.

The political organisation of Transylvania in this governmental period rested upon a basis of equality for the three nations, liberty for the four

recognised churches and autonomy for the citizens of the country — just as it had in the period of the principality.

The question now is: In this autonomous political organisation what was the situation, what was the part played by, and what the fate of the Roumanians?

The position of the Roumanians of Transylvania did not escape the eye of the imperial power in Vienna which, on the grounds of the *Diploma Leopoldinum*, had from 1690 onwards a decisive influence on the fate of the country. The fact first remarked by the high functionaries of the empire and the Jesuits — counsellors of the emperor — was that this numerous people was, in consequence of its Orthodox Greek faith, cut off from culture and therefore from the possibility of becoming a useful element in the State. "The Wallachian nation has no religion, only superstitions, and is besides barbarous and prone to every kind of wickedness" — is written of them in an official report (*Documente privitoare la istoria românilor: culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki. Vol. V. p. 536.*) The conversion of the Roumanians to the Roman Catholic faith and ecclesiastical union with Rome was therefore made the order of the day, and was successfully carried out by the first decade of the 18th century.

The Roumanian priesthood entering, by the ecclesiastical union, into nearer relations with Rome and attaining Latin scholarship, became acquainted with the theory of a Roman descent long known to scholars and were awakened to a national consciousness connected with this Roman descent.

"The union of the Roumanians was a grand event — says a Roumanian writer, Obedenariu in 1876 in his work entitled "La Roumanie éco-

nomique" in the chapter "Relations des Roumains avec les Hongrois". — "Without the union we should have no more culture than the Bulgarians... Had those of the United church not opened our eyes for us to see Latin civilisation, the Russians would most surely have swallowed us up."

As soon as the union was accomplished and the scholarly priests of the Roumanian Greek Catholic church who had studied in Rome (Sinkai and Peter Maior) had formulated the historic dogma of Dacio-Romanism, the same appeared immediately as a political aspiration in the petition called "Supplex libellus Vlachorum" presented by the Roumanian bishops in 1791 to Leopold II., the kernel of the petition being that the Roumanians should be recognised as the fourth political nation of Transylvania. From this moment onward till 1848 the political struggles of the Roumanians of Transylvania range themselves round this question.

The Roumanians did not attain a fulfilment of this demand in the period elapsing between 1791 and 1848; however their situation was juridically much improved. At the Diet of 1791 an Act was passed insuring a free following to the Orthodox Greek church living till then on sufferance. The church and school committee of the Diet were at the same time commissioned to draw up plans regarding the better education of the Roumanian priests of the Orthodox Greek church, for "the cause of the rudeness of this people lies in the ignorance of its priests".

After the power of Turkish dominion in Hungary was broken, Transylvania and the adjacent parts of Hungary enjoyed such quiet and security as made this land a veritable haven of refuge for the peasants of Roumania exposed in their own

land to unimaginable hardships of oppression and extortion. Roumanian history names this period of the history of the woywodships the "*Fanariota period*" after the princes of Greek family originating from *Fanar*, a suburb of Constantinople. "It was at this period — writes a Roumanian historian, *Aricescu* (*Istoria revolutiunii romaniï de la 1821. Bucuresti, 1879. p. 4.*) that the Roumanian peasant became a sheep fleeced, milked, and finally skinned by the Greek interloper. The greed of the Fanariota rule left the peasant no other choice than to escape to the forests or *emigrate in masses beyond the Carpathians.*"

Roumanian immigration into Hungary was at its height in the 18th century. It is this course of immigration that explains the Roumanians in the east of Hungary, where they live intermixed with Hungarians, enjoying a relative majority.

As to the moral standard of the Roumanian people of Transylvania, the few strangers traveling among them give just as deplorable an account of them at the end of the XVIII. century as contemporaneous official reports, one and all making their priests responsible for their moral degradation.

"Crossing the Tisza" — writes Lehmann — (Johann Lehmann's *Reise von Pressburg nach Hermannstadt, 1785*) we arrive in the Banat. The inhabitants here are chiefly Wallachians, whose awesome faces, dishevelled locks, ragged and disgusting clothing might easily make the timid say: every Wallachian is a villain. The Wallachian is bloodthirsty and revengeful — but so would every one be if not taught from childhood what is right and what is wrong. It is not enough to say: the Wallach is no better than the cattle he tends. Woe to you, who have made him

no better! You, who are answerable for his soul! You authorities of the church, dismiss these *popes* and appoint priests who wish to and know how to help. The present clergy are not only ignorant but wicked, and so they corrupt the flock entrusted to them. There is seldom a case against a Wallach in which his priest is not implicated. Your neighbours are so shocked at this that the wish has been expressed: every Wallach hung should have his priest hanging beside him, as being the cause of the evil. He never taught: thou shalt commit no murder; vengeance is with God and the law. He himself knows nothing of this. What I quote here is not the accusation of single persons, every one says the same. The civil authorities are not powerful enough to improve the Wallach's mind. Nor would it be devoid of danger for administration to interfere in this matter. Such *alispán* (deputy-prefect) as sought to help might well look to his safety. The priests would soon find someone to settle his business."

The emperor Joseph II. is looked upon by Dacio-Roman historians themselves as the generous patron of Roumanian serfs as against the pretended tyranny of Hungarian landowners, and he also paints just such a sombre picture of the Roumanian people as does the German traveller Lehmann. In the memorandum submitted by him to Maria Theresa after his tour of 1768 he writes as follows:

"Servians and Wallachians alike offer a blind obedience to their priests, but they differ, inasmuch as the obedience of the Wallachians, owing to the crass ignorance and stupidity of this people, is perfectly servile, while the Servians are, in this, led by religious zeal, though they, too, are ignorant enough. The parish priests, recruited

from among uncivilised peasants, and generally unable even to read, are unfit to explain the Gospel or expound Holy Writ. It is impossible for such a priesthood to improve the education and civilisation of the people. Neither the Serbs nor the Wallachs are acquainted with schools. Not one is to be found in a thousand who reads and writes in his mother-tongue . . . The bishops themselves spend all their efforts on extorting as much money as possible, to be spent afterwards in wanton amusements. There is much abuse in pronouncing excommunication. What I have seen has convinced me that that ban of the church is pronounced mostly with a view of extortion."

The image of such a model Orthodox Greek bishop emerges from the papers of the great case started in 1710 at the instigation of the deputy-prefect of Máramaros against Job Czirca, Roumanian Orthodox Greek bishop of Máramaros, for the following offences: The keys of the church were in his personal keeping, and only delivered up to the faithful for money down; for a fee, against all law, he pronounced the divorce of married couples; many priests were, because of their second marriage, deprived of their parish, but, for a sum, reinstated in office; many of the faithful were, under false pretexts, forbidden the church, the prohibition being later revoked for money; he forged documents and caused others to forge. Having alighted in the house of one of his flock he drove the husband from his own house, himself spending the night alone with the man's wife; the wife of another parishioner he took from him with violence and when the man claimed his wife, had him put in irons; he caused a scandal in the monastery of Molyszín by a night of drunken carousal; the monastery of Uglya he robbed one

night; he not only flogged his priests and had them flogged most severely, but the same for freemen (nobles) also.

The flocks of such priests could not be otherwise than as they were described in 1791 by Matthias Bél, a man of Slovak origin and one of the greatest scholars of the 18th century, who in his monograph of the County Zaránd, handed down to us in manuscript form, writes as follows: "The Wallachians are a perfidious race, who claim to be descended from the Romans though they have long since degenerated from Roman virtue. They do not cultivate the soil as they might, and consider thieving the most worthy occupation. There are not only forest brigands and highwaymen among them but also domestic thieves. To steal their neighbour's cattle, eating its flesh at peasant feasts, is a fine thing in their eyes. The Hungarians they pillage whenever opportunity offers".

It is impossible rightly to judge the political and social position occupied by the Roumanians in autonomous Transylvania up till 1848 without some knowledge of their previous moral standard. It is only on these grounds that the civilising influence exerted up to the middle of the 19th century by the legal institutions and the administration of the Hungarian State can be fairly estimated. An unquestionable result of this influence is that the Roumanian people of Hungary in matters of morals, culture and civic virtues far surpass their brethren of the Kingdom of Roumania.

The reforms of 1848, closing the "governmental" period of Transylvania rendered the declaration concerning the Roumanian nation forming the fourth political nation of Transylvania superfluous, the same Act as pronounced the union of

Transylvania with Hungary also pronouncing the full equality of all citizens of the Hungarian State.

The Union Act of 1848 pronounced, indeed, the union of Transylvania with Hungary, but the following war in defence of our rights impeded the actual fulfilment of the union. In the period of Austrian absolutism following the loss of our War of Independence the Roumanians, being considered just as much a subject for Germanisation, received just the same bad treatment as the Hungarians. So the question of honouring Roumanian aspirations only became matter of discussion thirteen years later at the Provincial Diet convoked for the 1st of July 1863 at Nagyszeben, whose business it was to reorganise Transylvania as an autonomous province of the Austrian Empire, on the grounds of perfect equality between the three nations (the Hungarian, the Saxon and the Roumanian).

This lesser plan, together with the greater conception of an Austrian Empire on a federative system attempted by Schmerling, Austrian minister of state, failed, yielding place to Dualism. Dualism returned to the basis of 1848, realised the union of Transylvania with Hungary, pronouncing also the perfect equality of all citizens, but at the same time assuring the different nationalities living in the country the right to use their own language, enacting a law to that effect, Act XLIV. of 1868, commonly called the Nationality Act.

The leaders of the Roumanian nationalist policy were not content with the rights thus assured their people, territorial autonomy not being among the number, and a federative state built up on the canton system not being realisable within the Hungarian State.

Two lessons may be learnt from a review of the life and millennial history of Transylvania as sketched hereinbefore.

The one is that this country through its geographical position and the racial, historical and cultural unity of the Hungarians living there, has always been constrained to keep up with Hungary, if not a perfect unity, at least a close juridical connection.

The other is that the numerical preponderance attained by the Roumanians in the 18th century, and the gradual development of nationalist and political aspirations in the 19th century, caused the question of a territorial autonomy for this part of the country, as apart from the mother-country, to occupy such a foremost position in the minds of this people that a political reorganisation of this country in consideration of the great changes wrought by the war, and of the consequent displacement of power, in consideration also of the permanent and peaceful intercourse of the three nationalities residing there (the Hungarian, the Saxon and the Roumanian) can hardly be contemplated without a full territorial and political autonomy.

The geographical position of this part of the country, the development of its economic system, the historic past and political and racial aspirations of the Hungarians and Saxons and the character of its civilisation; besides all these the evolution undergone by the Roumanians in the course of centuries within the Hungarian State, leaving its indelible mark on their minds, make it a *categoricus imperativus* that this territorial and political autonomy should be accorded them within the Hungarian State, for if received within the frame of the Roumanian State, to which not

only the Hungarian and Saxon people but the Roumanians of Transylvania themselves, in a mass, are bound by no particular bonds neither through their geographical position and historical past, nor their cultural development, this autonomy would as little secure the development of the inhabitants as would an unconditional and perfect union with the same.

II.

Can Roumanian dominion in Transylvania last?

The great war has, with many other questions, brought forward the question of Transylvania which, if not settled in a proper manner, will seriously endanger the permanent peace of Eastern Europe.

On the strength of the victory of her allies and not on the grounds of any victory of her own, Roumania claims Transylvania, an organic part of the Hungarian State, as well as all those contiguous territories to the West of it where any trace of the Roumanian language is to be found, so that, if her demands were satisfied, the whole Roumanian population of Hungary, almost without exception, would pass under the rule of the new Roumanian State: Greater Roumania.

The chief basis of this claim is the principle of nationalities which, according to the Roumanians, requires that all those who speak the Roumanian tongue should be united under the dominion of the Roumanian State.

But this fulfilment of the nationality principle in favour of the Roumanians involves a grave violation of the same principle in regard to the Magyar population, since in case the demands of Roumania, as formulated in her latest memorandum,

including also the Bánát, were satisfied, 2,254,000 persons would be torn from their own nation and millennial State and placed under the dominion of an alien race. It would entail also serious injury on 710,000 Germans whose racial existence would be menaced by the intolerant Roumanian rule, whereas, under the protection of the Hungarian State, they had been able to rise during many centuries of peaceable development, to a high intellectual and economic level. So that this solution of the problem would mean in reality, not an equitable carrying out of the nationality principle, but merely a change of rule entailing a life-and-death struggle between the different races. The Hungarian State may just as legitimately claim on the basis of the ethnological principle that the more than 2 millions of Magyars living in the territories in question should remain under Hungarian supremacy.

Nor can Roumania base her claims to these territories on the right of an absolute majority, since, in the territories demanded in her latest Memorandum (including the whole of the Bánát) the Roumanian population is not even in a numerical majority (45·7 per cent) while in the territories extending to the so-called "Clemenceau" line and, in the Bánát, to the Roumanian-Serb demarcation line, it has only — as shown by absolutely authentic statistical data — an insignificant numerical majority (53·2 per cent) which is constantly on the decline as against the other races which form nearly the half of the population and are steadily increasing. These other races which are all opposed to the annexation by Roumania are greatly superior, intellectually as well as economically, to the Roumanians living in the same territories, as is, for the rest, proved by detailed statistics given further on.

The distribution of the population according to nationalities in the territories extending to the Clemenceau line and in the Bánát as far as the Serb demarcation line is, according to the census of 1910, the following:

Magyars	1,704,851	32·4%
Germans	559,824	10·6%
Slovaks	30,932	0·6%
Roumanians	2,800,073	53·2%
Ruthenians	16,318	0·3%
Croats	2,141	0·0%
Serbs	54,874	1·1%
Others	96,431	1·8%
Total	5,265,444	100·0%

Thus the annexation of Transylvania and the adjoining territories of Hungary by Roumania, is supported solely by the numerical majority of the Roumanians, while it is opposed by many weighty reasons, the first of which is the fact that the races which are against the annexation represent, even numerically, an extremely strong minority which is constantly on the increase, while intellectually, economically, and by the favourable conditions of their settlement, they are in an immense superiority over the Roumanians inhabiting the same territories. The second reason which militates against annexation is the historical one that Transylvania, all through the Middle Ages and the Modern Era, ever since we have authentic documentary evidence of her having played any part in history at all, either formed an organic part of the Hungarian State, or was an independent — but still Magyar — state in which the Magyars and the Saxons, in consequence of their political, intellectual and economic superiority, were always

the dominant races. Never was Transylvania in any close or permanent political union with the Roumanian State, while the Transylvanian Roumanians, in consequence of their intellectual and economic inferiority, played, up till the latest times, but a secondary role in the life of the State. It is true that in 1599 Michael Vitéz, woywode of Wallachia occupied Transylvania with his troops for a brief period, but this was done not on his own account, but in the name of his suzerain lord, the emperor Rudolph. His case cannot be cited as an attempt to establish Roumanian rule in Transylvania, since the best part of his army was composed of Székelys (Magyars), and since he himself, in a famous decree, employs the name of Roumanian as equivalent to that of serf. (Benedict Jancsó: *Histoire des aspirations nationales roumaines.*)

The third reason against annexation is the political, administrative, social, religious, cultural and economic development of Transylvania, a development wholly different from that of Roumania, and therefore separating the two countries more completely than the ranges of the Carpathians, while a multitude of vital interests and important institutions, developed during a thousand years of common existence, have bound Transylvania to Hungary by indissoluble ties.

A fourth reason is supplied by the fact that, even according to the testimony of Roumanian authors, Transylvania is, from an economic and intellectual point of view, in advance of Roumania by at least a century, so that her subordination to the latter would necessarily involve a retrograde movement in her development, as well as raise conflicts of the most serious description.

The fifth reason is to be found in the geographical situation and in the conditions of economic life,

which connect Transylvania with the Great Hungarian Plains and not with Roumania.

Lastly there are the innumerable lessons furnished by the Roumanian occupation of the last twelve months, which foreshadow the most brutal oppression and racial as well as religious conflicts for this fair and until now so peaceable little country, if she were to be delivered over to the tender mercies of Roumania.

It is therefore not only to the interests of the Magyar and German elements inhabiting the claimed territories, as well as to those of the Transylvanian Roumanians themselves, but also the first requirement for the maintenance of the peace in Eastern Europe, that the Transylvanian problem should be solved in some other manner than by the incorporation of Transylvania and the adjoining territories into Roumania; some compromise must be found which, taking account of the perpetual interaction of forces as well as of the imperative demands of the given situation, should consider in an equal degree the interests of the Magyar and of the Roumanian population.

Only two solutions are possible in this respect. Either Transylvania continues to form a part of the Hungarian State, but is given, together with the adjoining territories inhabited by Roumanians, a wide cultural and administrative autonomy based on the complete equality of the three nationalities in order to ensure the free development of the Roumanian race; or it is constituted, within the frontiers which have hitherto bounded it, as a separate historical formation and geographical unity, into an independent State, with a constitution moulded on the pattern of the constitution of Switzerland, which will secure the development of the three principal races (Magyar, German and

Roumanian), on the basis of perfect parity and equality. This new State would entertain close economic relations both with Hungary and Roumania.

That either the one or the other of these two solutions is the only possible means of conciliating the conflicting and seemingly irreconcilable interests must become evident as soon as we examine 1. the present racial and confessional conditions of Transylvania, the latter being in close connection with the former; 2. the development of these conditions; and 3. the cultural, financial and economic situation of the races which form the present population of Transylvania.

III.

Racial and confessional conditions of Transylvania.

According to the official returns of the census of 1910 the 15 Transylvanian counties together with the two municipal towns had a population of 2,678,000 inhabitants, of which :

	in numbers	per cent
Magyars	918,000	34·3
Germans	234,000	8·7
Roumanians	1,472,000	55·0
Others (mostly Gypsies)	54,000	2·0
Total	2,678,000	100·0

As for the confessional distribution of the population, it mostly coincides with that of the races. It is a well-known fact that the Lutherans of Transylvania are almost exclusively Germans (Saxons); the Greek Catholics, Orthodox and United

are nearly all Roumanians; while the members of the other denominations (Roman Catholic, Calvinist, Jewish) are mostly Magyars. The figures showing the confessional distribution are as follows:

Denominations whose members are mostly Magyars :

	in numbers	per cent
Roman Catholics	375,000	14·0
Calvinists	399,000	14·9
Unitarians	68,000	2·5
Jews	64,000	2·4
Total	906,000	33·8

Denominations whose members are mostly Germans :

Lutherans	229,000	8·6
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Denominations whose members are mostly Roumanians :

Greek Catholics	749,000	28·0
Orthodox Greek	793,000	29·6
Total of the last two	1,542,000	57·6

Thus the distribution of the population according to denominations agrees with its numbers according to nationalities, though it must be remembered that there is a considerable number of Magyars among the Lutherans, and that in Székelyland and in the Magyar towns there are to be found Greek Catholics and Orthodox Greeks of Magyar nationality, while the greater part of the Gypsies belongs to the two Greek churches. That the Lutherans and the members of the Greek churches shown as Magyars in the statistical returns are de facto Magyars, is witnessed by the fact that the greater

part of them — as shown in table I. 8. of annex 12. in vol. III. — speak no language but Magyar.

Table No. I. 1. shows the distribution of the races in the 15 counties and the two municipal towns. According to this table, in 4 of the 15 counties and in the two towns (Csik, Háromszék, Udvarhely and Marostorda and the towns of Kolozsvár and Marosvásárhely) the Magyars are in an absolute majority; in one county (Brassó) they have a relative majority; in 8 counties (Alsó-Fehér, Besztercze-Naszód, Fogaras, Hunyad, Kolozs, Szeben, Szolnok-Doboka and Tordaaranyos) the Roumanians are in an absolute and in one (Kisküküllő) in a relative majority, while the Germans have only a relative majority in one county (Nagyküküllő).

This division of the counties is the result of historic evolution, and not of any systematic action on the part of the government based on a consideration of the ethnological conditions, and therefore gives no true picture of the distribution of the races and their comparative strength. On the contrary, it gives the false impression that the Roumanians, distributed evenly over the greater part of Transylvania, are in an absolute supremacy over the Magyar and German element.

If, however, we disregard this antiquated division of Transylvania into counties, and group the Magyar, German and Rouman population according to their actual geographic distribution — it appears that the situation is just the opposite, i. e. that the Magyar and German elements are, from this point of view also, in absolute predominance.

If we examine the territorial distribution of the races, we find in Transylvania, as in the other parts of Hungary three distinct zones 1. districts where the Magyars are in a majority; 2. districts

where neither race predominates ; 3. districts where a non-Magyar race has the majority.

The territories where the Magyars are in an overwhelming majority are the four Székely counties (Háromszék, Csík, Udvarhely, Marostorda, with the town of Marosvásárhely), four fifths of whose inhabitants (78·7 per cent) are Magyars. The regions with a mixed population are the valleys of the rivers Maros, Küküllő, Aranyos and Szamos and the hilly country surrounding them contiguous to Székelyland, i. e. the southern part of Besztercze-Naszód, the south-eastern part of Szolnok-Doboka, the eastern part of Kolozs, the environs of Kolozsvár and Bánffyhunyd, the eastern part of Torda-Aranyos and Alsófehér, the counties of Kisküküllő, Nagy-küküllő and Brassó entirely, the northern part of Szeben and the adjoining valley of the river Maros from Gyulafehérvár to Déva and Marosillye, the valley of the Zsil and the mining district of Petrozsény. In these territories, which comprise nearly the half of the population of Transylvania, the Magyars and Germans are in a majority (56 per cent) in the towns and in the larger villages (with more than 1000 inhabitants), the Roumanians having a majority only in the smaller villages. If we examine this region of downs and plains, taking larger areas under consideration, we find that the Magyar and German elements together are generally just as numerous as the Roumanian element, or at least form a very strong minority, which exceeds 40 per cent of the total population, in virtue of which, as well as owing to their absolute cultural and economic ascendancy, they are, *incontestably the natural leaders of the district.*

The territories with a Roumanian majority commence where the plains and downs merge into the high mountains. In these backward and uncivil-

ized districts the Magyar and German elements suddenly fall to 5—10 per cent, inhabiting for the most part only administrative centres and centres of traffic. These districts are: Besztercze-Naszód, the northern part of Szolnok-Doboka, the northern and southern part of Kolozs, the land of the "Mócz" in Torda-Aranyos and Alsó-Fehér, the greater part of the mountainous regions of Hunyad, the southern part of Szeben, the greater part of Fogaras, and finally, most of the hundreds of Balázsfalva and Alvincz in the valley of the rivers Maros and Küküllő and the whole of the hundred of Kisenyed.

In these three, ethnographically different territories the races are distributed in the following manner: (See Table opposite).

These figures incontestably show that in the mixed territories it is either the Magyars or the Germans, or both together, who have the ascendancy, which is explained by the fact that, apart from the very small villages with less than 1,000 inhabitants, the united Magyar and German elements are in a majority in all the more important communities. It would therefore be a flagrant injustice to join these territories, on the plea of the nationality principle, to the mountainous regions, geographically and economically so different from them, and thus to subordinate, in virtue of a purely mathematical principle, — the principle of majorities, — a higher grade of civilisation to a lower one. These territories could only be joined, from an administrative point of view, to Székelyland which resembles them in character, account being taken of the linguistic demands of the inhabitants of the German territories (environs of Besztercze, northern part of Szeben, Kisküküllő and Nagyküküllő).

	Total population	Magyars	Germans	Roumanians	Others
I. Territories with a Magyar majority (Székelyland)	637,500	502,000 78.7%	12,200 1.9%	115,700 18.2%	7,600 1.2%
II. Territories with a mixed population	1,194,400	377,100 48.8%	205,600	575,700 48.2%	36,700 3.0%
Number of inhabitants in villages with more than 1000 inhabitants lying in territories No II.	828,300	306,600 37.0%	156,500 18.9%	339,200 41.0%	26,000 3.7%
Percentage of Magyars and Germans .		55.9%			
III. Territories with a Roumanian majority	846,400	39,000 4.6%	17,000 2.0%	780,600 92.8%	9,800 1.2%
Territories I and II (Central and Eastern Transylvania) together	1,831,900	879,100 48.0%	217,800 11.9%	691,400 37.7%	44,300 2.4%
Percentage of Magyars and Germans .		59.9%			

If the principle of racial majority were to be consistently followed, only the territories mentioned under item III. — as being *de facto* nearly unilingual territories with a great majority of one nationality, — could be taken into account in a remodelling of the states, or the instituting of autonomous governance, on the basis of the nationality principle, always supposing that historical, geographical and economic considerations may be set aside. But our imperialistically minded neighbours are not satisfied with the territories where they are in a large racial majority, knowing only too well that these territories are backward and undeveloped districts, in no geographic and economic connection with the adjacent states, so that they would only be a burden to their new owners. Therefore their greed reaches out beyond the borders of these territories and would embrace also the areas with a mixed population and the districts whose population is purely Magyar. They artificially construct a racial majority in the territories claimed by adding the numbers of the inhabitants of those districts where they are in a majority, to those of the districts, — culturally and economically so different, — with a mixed or purely Magyar population, and wish to impose, solely on the strength of a numerical majority, the domination of a culturally undeveloped race living in a compact mass on the borders of these territories, on the Magyar and German elements which, having a high intellectual and economic civilization of their own, live their own life on their own territory, utterly separated from them. The little mountain villages, according to them, shall dominate the flourishing towns and cities, the primitive agricultural methods of the mountains the much more highly developed agriculture and industries of the plains. Nay, they

go so far in their cupidity that they would carve from the living body of the Hungarian State, so wonderfully coherent in its highly organized development, even territories where they are in a decided numerical minority and where, therefore, they cannot base their demands on the principle of racial majority. Where this is the case, they generally surmount the difficulty by impugning the correctness of our statistical returns, just as if Hungary were some primitive little country in the Balkans, instead of a highly developed state with an old civilization, possessing precise and punctual statistical data, to be traced back for centuries, and easily to be verified on the spot.

The above plainly shows that a compact mass of Magyars and Germans, amounting to more than a million and possessing a high degree of civilization, is intercalated between the Kingdom of Roumania and the Roumanian inhabitants of our country, forming an indestructible living barrier between them :

	Total of population	Magyars		
I. Territories South of the river Maros, (districts adjacent to Roumania)	1,536,000	644,000 41·9%		
II. Territories North of the Maros, (lying at a greater distance from Roumania)	1,142,300	274,500 24%		
	Germans	Roumanians	Others	Speak Magyar
	184,500 12%	675,500 44%	31,000 2%	807,000 52·5%
	49,500 4·8%	796,500 69·7%	21,760 2%	378,000 33·1%

So that the Roumanian demands concerning Transylvania not only lack all serious historical foundation, but are decidedly opposed by geographical and economic considerations, as well as by racial conditions. The Transylvanian Roumanians form compact masses and a numerical majority only on a comparatively restricted area of Transylvania, and in districts which for the most part are not only not contiguous to Roumania, but are far removed from it.

The annexation of Transylvania to Roumania would thus mean, not the accomplishment of the nationality principle, the reconstruction of the states, as far as possible, on a racial basis in order to avoid racial friction and conflict, but the violent and arbitrary disruption of a geographically and economically coherent, organically complete State-unity with a thousand years of existence behind it, and the incorporation into another and less highly civilized State of more than a million of Magyars and Germans of extremely developed national sentiment; a proceeding which would infallibly raise a new, insoluble national problem, immeasurably more delicate and dangerous than that of the Transylvanian Roumanians, and pregnant with the most embittered racial struggles, menacing the peace and tranquillity of Central Europe.

Table I. 4. of the afore mentioned annex 12., vol. III. shows, on the one hand, that Transylvania is a multilingual country; and on the other, that the Magyar race spreads over the whole of its area. These figures show that in those Transylvanian counties in which the Roumanians are in majority, the percentage of the mixed communities is far greater than in those with a Magyar majority, for example, in the county of Brassó

100 per cent of the inhabitants live in mixed communities, in Nagyöküllő 88·2%, in Kisköküllő 78·5%, in Kolozs 66·5%, in Szeben 58·9%, in Besztercze-Naszód 56·1%, in Alsó-Fehér, Szolnok-Doboka and Torda-Aranyos nearly 50%, in Hunyad two-fifths, and only in the small county of Fogaras does the proportion sink to 25%. The purely unilingual districts are represented by Székelyland, where, for instance, in the county of Csík 86% of the population lives in purely Magyar communities, in Háromszék 72%, and in Udvarhely 95·3%.

Taking the whole of Transylvania, we find that of its 2350 communities, 1475 are unilingual, and 875, that is, 37·0 per cent, mixed. Of the 2,678,400 inhabitants of the entire country, 1,329,000, thus the smaller half of the population, live in unilingual villages, while 1,349,400 (50·4%) live in mixed ones. Of the unilingual communities, one third, in round numbers, are Magyar, and two thirds Roumanian; the greater portion of the latter being small hamlets situated in the high mountains, while the Magyar communities are for the most part of considerable size and importance. Not quite one-third of the total population of Transylvania live in purely Roumanian communities, and these are certainly, intellectually as well as economically, on the lowest level. The fact that the numerical proportion of the Magyars exceeds 10 per cent in 934 communities, proves how widely this race is diffused over the country. These communities have a total population of 1,419,000, thus 53 per cent of the total population of all Transylvania.

As regards the territorial distribution of the different races, the Magyars occupy the plains and the hilly country in the centre and East of

Transylvania, as well as the valleys of the rivers. The Saxons also have built their villages in the fertile plains and hills in the centre of the land, while the greater part of the Roumanians on the mountain regions of the South, East and North, more adapted to cattle-breeding than agriculture. We shall find the same profound and characteristic difference between the Magyar and German elements on the one hand and the Roumanian on the other, in regard to the density of the population in the different communities, if we examine the figures of the following table:

(See opposite).

This table illustrates the characteristic and constantly recurring fact, namely, that the numbers of the Magyar and German inhabitants rise in proportion to the size of the community in question, while those of the Roumanians diminish in the same proportion. This fact bears eloquent witness to the great cultural and economic difference which separates the Magyars and Germans from the Roumanian element. The territorial distribution of the races on the one hand and the degree of their density in the different communities on the other, demonstrate clearly which was the earlier settler and which had arrived too late on the scene to get a share in the best lands. Which had had the time to develop and people its communities, and which had had none. Of these two circumstances result, as their natural consequence, the cultural and economic conditions of the three races and their distribution according to occupations, as shown in chapters V. and VI.

As regards the knowledge of the Magyar language, there were in 1910 in Transylvania, besides the Magyars, 267,000 persons who knew Magyar, i. e. 15.2% of the non-Magyar inhabitants (1,760,000).

	Total	Magyars	Germans	Roumanians	Others
Numbers of inhabitants of Transylvania in 1910	2,678,400	918,200 34.3%	234,100 8.7%	1,472,000 55.0%	54,000 2.0%
Of villages with less than 1,000 inhabitants	932,100	242,900 26.1%	55,200 5.9%	616,500 66.1%	17,500 1.9%
Of villages with more than 1,000 inhabitants	1,746,200	675,300 38.7%	178,900 10.2%	855,500 49.0%	36,500 2.1%
		48.9%			
Of villages with at least 3,000 inhabitants	652,600	352,200 54.0%	76,700 11.7%	210,200 32.2%	13,500 2.1%
		65.7%			
Of the towns and boroughs	350,200	205,700 58.7%	56,300 16.1%	81,900 23.4%	6,300 1.8%
		74.8%			
Of the two municipal towns of Kolozsvár and Marosvásárhely	86,300	73,500 85.0%	2,300 2.8%	9,300 10.8%	1,200 1.4%

Out of the total population of Transylvania 44·2% of the inhabitants spoke Magyar; of those of the villages with more than 1,000 inhabitants 50·1% and of those of the purely Magyar and mixed territories 60·5%. The total of the non-Magyar inhabitants of Transylvania who spoke Magyar was 267,000, out of which 53,000 lived in Magyar territories (Székelyland), 175,400 in mixed territories, the total of the two together being 228,400, while in the Roumanian territories there were only 38,500 persons who knew Magyar. Thus on the Székelyland 39·1% of the non-Magyar spoke Hungarian, in the mixed territories 21·5% and in the Roumanian districts only 4·8%. This fact is a conclusive refutation of the charge that the Hungarian State arbitrarily tried to Magyarize the Roumanians, making use of the schools for this purpose and clearly shows that the chief factor in the spreading of the Magyar language was daily life and its exigencies.

This is proved, for the rest, also by the following figures:

Of the Roumanians born in the years between:

	knew Magyar, per cent	
	in 1900	in 1910
1871—1880	11·5	14·6
1861—1870	9·8	11·2
1851—1860	8·9	10·0
1841—1850	8·0	8·1

Each group shows after a lapse of ten years a greater number of persons knowing Magyar, all of whom could only have learned the language at a later period of life.

As regards the knowledge of languages in general, the situation is as follows:

Out of 918,000 Magyars 674,000 knew only Magyar, 77,000 knew also German and 208,000 knew Roumanian. Out of 234,000 Germans 74,000 knew only their mother-tongue, 80,000 knew also Magyar and 137,000 knew Roumanian. Out of 1,472,000 Roumanians, 1,290,000 knew only their mother-tongue, 173,000 knew Magyar and 21,000 knew German.

In Transylvania one fifth of the Magyars and more than two-thirds of the Germans speak another language also besides their own, while only 182,000, i. e. one-eighth of the Roumanians are in the same position. The cause of this great difference of the knowledge of the languages is due partly to the great difference in the culture, and partly to the grade of intermixture of the races. We must point out that the knowledge of the Magyar and German languages is chiefly spread among the town population and generally comprises also an acquaintance with the language of literature, while those non-Roumanians who know Roumanian are mostly members of the rural population and their knowledge extends only to the vulgar tongue. The introduction of the official language of the Roumanian kingdom into Transylvania — with its expressions taken from the French, — would not only mean a grievous offence to the Magyars and Germans, but would cause serious difficulties to the Transylvanian Roumanians themselves.

Table I. 2. shows the denominational distribution of the inhabitants of Transylvania. The greatest part of the Roman Catholics live in Eastern Transylvania, in Székelyland (counties of Csík, Udvarhely and Háromszék); that of the Calvinists in the counties of Marostorda, Kolozs, Háromszék, Udvarhely, Szolnok-Doboka, and Torda-Aranyos and in the towns of Marosvásárhely and Kolozs-

vár: the Unitarians in the counties of Udvarhely and Torda-Aranyos, the Lutherans in the counties of Nagykovács, Szeben, Brassó, and Besztercze-Naszód; while the great masses of the Greek Catholics live in the Northern and those of the Greek Orientals (Orthodox) in the Southern counties of Transylvania (Brassó, Fogaras, Szeben, Hunyad and Nagykovács). The cause of this characteristic distribution is that — according to the Roumanian denominational censuses of that time, — the Viennese court, in the beginning of the 18th century, compelled the greater part of the Transylvanian Roumanians to enter the Greek Catholic church, while the immigration from the Wallachian principalities which also set in in the 18th century, an occurrence which chiefly affected the Southern parts of Transylvania, restored the balance in favour of the Orthodox Greek church in those parts.

The total of the numbers of the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic churches form a relative majority of the whole population (42 per cent), followed by the Greek Orientals with a percentage of 29·6; the numbers of the three protestant churches (Calvinist, Lutheran, Unitarian) being nearly equal to those of the Greek Orientals (26 per cent). Thus, *more than 70 per cent of the inhabitants of Transylvania belong from the point view of religion to Western Europe*, whereas Eastern Orthodoxy is represented only by the small number of 29·6 per cent. It is indubitable that, from the point of view of religious liberty and religious tolerance it would be dangerous in the highest degree if Transylvania, the classical land of religious and interconfessional peace, were to be delivered over to the intolerant rule of Roumanian Orthodoxy by the Western Powers which represent Western Christianity *par excellence*.

IV.

Racial and religious development of the population in Transylvania during the last two centuries.

All the historical facts at our disposal show incontestably that three hundred years ago the majority of the population of Transylvania were Magyar. Until the 18th century it was only in the Central and Western parts of Transylvania, which we have previously indicated as purely Magyar or inhabited by a mixed population, that populous towns and villages were to be found. These are the territories originally inhabited by the Magyars and the Saxons. Whereas the territories now chiefly inhabited by Roumanians, that is to say, the mountain regions were formerly covered by immense forests. In these sparsely populated territories there were only a few very primitive village communities, as the population, chiefly composed of shepherds, lived scattered in the woods and pasture-lands. A considerable part of the Roumanian villages of to-day owe their existence to the intervention of the authorities which compelled the Roumanians by administrative measures to settle in these villages. All our historic data prove that in the central and Western parts of Transylvania there used to be considerably fewer Roumanians than there are at the present day, a fact incontestably proved also by the Roumanian ecclesiastical censuses of the years 1733 and 1750. In most of the towns there were very few Roumanians in the beginning of the 18th century and these were all described as suburban inhabitants (*Suburbia Mediea*, *Suburbia Cibiniensis*, *Suburbia Bistricij*, in *Suburbia Lipovány-*

Carolina). Even to-day the order of immigration is precisely shown by the characteristic fact that the centre of the Magyar and Saxon communities is always inhabited by Magyars and Saxons, while the outskirts are inhabited by Roumanians. In 1733 there were in Kolozsvár (Claudiopolis), the capital of Transylvania, only ten Roumanian families (not counting the suburb of Kolozsmonostor), in Marosvásárhely 60, in Torda 70, in Nagyenyed 34, in Szilágysomlyó 26 and in Zilah and Bánffy-hunyad none at all. In the old censuses most of the Transylvanian villages have a Magyar name, often corrupted and Roumanized, or a Slav or German one. This is also the case with the names of the rivers and mountains (*Lenk*: *Siebenbürgens Lexicon*, 1839; *Joan Russu Sirianu*; *Romanii din Statul Ungar*, 1904, page 145). Thus it is indubitable that the first occupants of Transylvania were the Magyars and Germans and that the Roumanians only came later. This is also proved by the fact that in the Magyar language there are very few words of Roumanian origin, mostly connected with pastoral life and these too only in the vulgar tongue (*H. Schuchardt*: *Éléments Roumains de la language Hongroise*), while the Roumanian language spoken by the educated people contains more than 800 words of Magyar origin (*Mandrescu*: *Elemente unguresti in limba romana*) and even the Roumanian name for Transylvania, "Ardeal" is derived from the Magyar word: Erdély (*Hasdeu*: *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae.*).

In the XVI. century, Verancsics estimates the Roumanians of Transylvania as forming only a fourth of the total population. At the end of the XVII. century, when the Viennese court compelled them to unite with the Roman Catholic church, the Jesuits estimated their numbers at 200,000.

At this time the entire population of Transylvania may be estimated at half-a-million.

According to Roumanian, Magyar and Saxon sources, Roumanians immigrated in masses from Roumania and Moldavia in the course of the XVIII. century to escape the fierce oppression of the Phanariotes and settled in the sparsely populated mountain regions. The immigrants soon acquired a numerical majority in Transylvania. The Magyar and Saxon documents of this period are filled with complaints concerning the brutalities committed by the nomadic Roumanian immigrants. (B. Jancsó: *Histoire des prétentions nationales roumaines* vol. I. pages 760—770). According to the figures of the Roumanian ecclesiastical census of Klein, undertaken in the year 1733 for every village separately, the number of Roumanian families in Transylvania (including the counties of Középszolnok and Kraszna and the districts of Kővár which did not, properly speaking, belong to Transylvania) had then mounted to 85,550. (*Romanii pin Transylvania la 1733*, published by Nicholas Togan, Greek Cath. priest, Nagyszeben 1898). This census registered the population of 2,078 villages, of which 1,141 were purely Roumanian and 795 inhabited by a mixed population in which the Roumanians formed a minority. As to 142 villages, the census gives no precise information whether they were purely Roumanian, or had a mixed population. About 500 villages which have found no place in this census, were purely Magyar or Saxon. Besides, there must be deducted 162 purely Roumanian villages and 46 with a mixed population lying in the counties of Közép-Szolnok and Kraszna and in the district of Kővár:

Thus, the situation in the year 1733 is as follows :

Purely Roumanian villages in Transylvania	979
Purely Magyar, Saxon and Slovak villages in Transylvania	500
Villages with a mixed population	749
Villages as to which no data are furnished by the census of 1733 but which, accord- ing to present-day data, must have been mostly of a mixed population	142
total	2,370

Taking into consideration the fact that the purely Magyar villages and those with a mixed population were the most densely inhabited and that in the latter the Roumanian element was of a much lower number, this Roumanian source furnishes an incontestable proof that in 1733 the Magyar and Saxon element was very strong.

It must be remarked that the Roumanians of the "Barzaság" are not included in the census of 1733, whereas those living in the present counties of Szilágy and Szatmár are included. Therefore the population of Transylvania, — that is to say, of the 15 counties situated beyond the "Királyhágó" (Royal mountain-pass) and of the two municipal towns, — may be estimated at this time at 80,000 families and calculating five members to a family, at 400,000 in round numbers. According to the ecclesiastical census, compiled by vicar Aron in 1750, there were 538,000 Roumanians in Transylvania. (*Statistica Romanilor din Transylvania in anul 1750*, published by the Greek Cath. canon Augustin Bunea, Nagyszeben, 1901.) *Benkő* writes in his work entitled "Transylvania" and published in 1778 (vol. I., page 472), that according to

ecclesiastical censuses there were in Transylvania in 1761:

Greek Cath., Orthodox and United i. e. Roumanians	547,000
Rom. Cath., Calvinists and Unitarians i. e. Magyars	262,000
Lutherans, i. e. Saxons	130,000

It is to be noted that the Roumanian districts of the counties of Közép-Szolnok and Kraszna, as well as the district of Kővár are included in these statistics. If we exclude these districts, — that is to say, if we take only the 15 counties of Transylvania beyond the "Királyhágó", — we can put the number of the Roumanians at about half-a-million, 55% of the total of 900,000 of the population.

The census of the Emperor Joseph II. found in 1784—87 1·4 million inhabitants in Transylvania, 800,000 of which were Roumanians, so that these latter had in less than a century increased to four times their former number. This unparalleled increase is only explained by the constant immigration of the Roumanians, flying from the Roumanian principalities and the tyrannic domination of the Phanariote rulers, to Transylvania and the Bánát. This immigration lasted till the beginning of the XIX. century.

The Austrian geographer *Lenk* in his work entitled "Siebenbürgens Lexikon", published in 1839, puts the number of the population of Transylvania in 1830 to about two millions:

Magyars and Székelys	517,000	25·9%
Saxons	237,000	11·8%
Roumanians	1,169,000	58·5%
Gypsies	60,000	3·0%
Others	17,000	0·8%

According to the geographical lexicon of Lenk, the communities lying near the borders of the land (Bébor, Békás, Holló, Gyimesbükk, Tölgyes, Palota, Maros-Laka, Kerek-Fenyő [Salomás], Todorkány [Kosna], Gyimes, Iszkrony etc.) were settlements of Roumanian nomad immigrants, composed of a few scattered cottages. He also mentions in the centre of Transylvania several villages inhabited by a nomad population eighty years ago. (Alsóvidra, Felsővidra, Nyagra, Albák, Szkerisora, Felsőcsertes, Kosokány [Offenbánya], Szeketura, Ponor, Marisel etc.) From the beginning of the XIX. century onward the Roumanian population of Transylvania showed only a natural increase and was considerably surpassed in this respect by the Magyar population which is extremely prolific. As a result of the one-child and two-child system prevalent among the Saxons the numbers of these latter also increased but slowly. In consequence of this the proportionate increase of the Magyar element in Transylvania shows a gradual amelioration in the last century.

In these last six decades the racial development in Transylvania presents the following picture:

		in 1850	%	
Magyars		585,300	28.2	
Saxons		219,400	10.6	
Roumanians		1,202,000	58.0	
Others		67,000	3.2	
total		2,073,700	100.0	
	in 1910	%	increase	%
	915,100	34.9	329,800	56.3
	233,400	8.9	14,000	6.4
	1,421,500	54.2	219,500	18.3
	53,200	2.0	-13,800	20.6
	2,623,200	100.0	549,500	26.5

(In the foregoing table are not included the inhabitants of the hundreds of Kőrösbánya and Brád in the county of Hunyad, as these formerly belonged to the county of Zaránd).

Thus during the last six decades the increase of the Magyar element in Transylvania is three times as great as that of the Roumanian element and nine times as great as that of the Saxons, who are not a prolific race. On the basis of the data of the last three decades which are absolutely accurate and reliable, one can trace the same phenomenon, as is witnessed by the following table :

	Magyars	%
in 1880	630,500	30·3
in 1890	698,000	31·0
in 1900	806,400	32·8
in 1910	<u>918,200</u>	34·3
increase		
from 1800)	287,700	45·6
to 1910)		

Germans	%	Roumanians	%
211,700	10·2	1.184,900	56·8
217,700	9·7	1.276,900	56·7
229,900	9·4	1.389,300	56·5
<u>234,100</u>	8·7	<u>1.472,000</u>	55·0
22,400	10·6	287,100	24·2

Thus the Magyar population of Transylvania has increased in the last three decades by the same number as the Roumanian, in spite of the fact that the latter was almost twice as numerous in 1880 as the former. As for the percentage, the increase of the Magyar people per cent was twice

as great as that of the Roumanians and four times as great as that of the Saxons. The Magyar race attained this result by natural increase and not through immigration. The immigration of Magyars which from time to time took place to industrial centres which attracted a certain number of skilled industrial workman, was hardly sufficient to counter-balance the decrease in the population of the Székely counties produced by the emigration to Roumania of a considerable number of Székely artisans and tradesmen.

If we consider the increase of population of Transylvania from the point of view of ecclesiastical statistics, we find the same favourable proportion of increase of the Magyars.

The members of the Magyar churches have increased in the last three decades in the following proportion: the Rom. Cath. church by 111,500, the Calvinist and Unitarian church by 115,600, and Jews by 34,100, making a total of 261,200, while at the same time the members of the Lutheran church, which is essentially German, have only increased by 29,400 and those of the Greek Churches, orthodox and united, both almost exclusively Roumanian, only by 303,500.

The percentage of increase of the Roman Catholics is 42·2, that of the Calvinists and Unitarians 32·9 and that of the Greek Catholics 24·5.

The numerical increase of the members of the Magyar churches is almost as great as that of the members of the two Roumanian creeds.

It is interesting to note that during the three last decades the number of United Greek Catholics has risen from 575,900 to 749,400, that is to say that they have increased by 173,500, — while the number of the Orthodox Greeks has only risen from 662,900 to 792,900, thus has only increased

by 130,000, in consequence of which the percentage of the latter, as compared to the entire population, has fallen from 31·8 to 29·6. (See table No. II. 4.)

The reason of this great difference between the two Greek churches is, that the greater part of the Orthodox Greek population lives in the counties adjoining Roumania, in which one can detect a marked tendency of re-emigration to the latter country. Besides this, the Orthodox Greek Roumanians, who have immigrated to Transylvania at a comparatively recent date, are generally on a very low economic and intellectual level and live under extremely primitive hygienic conditions, so that the proportion of mortality is much greater among them than among the United Greek Catholic Roumanians, not to mention the one-child system so widespread among a part of the Roumanian people (especially in the county of Hunyad and in the neighbouring Bánát).

In the Southern counties adjoining Roumania, the proportion of Orthodox Greeks is constantly diminishing, as is shown by the following table:

	in 1880		
	%		
County of Brassó			37·2
" " Fogaras			64·9
" " Szeben			64·0
" " Hunyad			71·5
" " Krassó-Szörény			77·2
	in 1890	in 1900	in 1910
		%	
	36·4	36·0	35·2
	64·6	65·2	65·0
	59·4	58·2	56·5
	70·0	67·3	63·9
	75·0	73·7	72·4

At their ecclesiastical meetings the Orthodox Greeks complain that their numbers are stationary or only insufficiently increasing. In the districts south of the Maros and in the immediate vicinity of Roumania, it is the Magyars and Saxons together (53·9%) who form the majority, and not the Roumanians. In consequence of the continued decrease of the Roumanian Orthodox Greeks this majority is constantly on the increase, a fact which is of immense importance for the future, as through it, the Roumanians of the Roumanian kingdom and those of the territories lying to the North of the Maros will be separated by an ever-broadening racial gulf.

The magyar element of Transylvania not only surpasses the Roumanian by its increase in general, but also occupies more and more room in the towns and more populous villages, as may be seen in table II. 4, annex 12, vol. III. Thus, for example, in the towns and villages with not less than 3,000 inhabitants the situation is the following:

	Total population	Magyars
in 1880 . . .	417,200	189,300
in 1910 . . .	652,600	352,200
increase during 30 years :	235,400	162,900

Saxons	Roumanians	Others	Number of per- sons speaking Hungarian
68,600	147,700	11,600	233,200
76,700	210,200	13,500	455,300
8,100	62,500	1,900	222,100

It may be seen from these figures that in the towns and villages with not less than 3,000 inhabitants the proportion of the Magyars has increased in the last thirty years, from 45·4%, to 54·4%, while that of the Roumanians has diminished from 35·4% to 32·2%.

The increase of the proportion of the Magyar element is similarly strong in the municipal towns and in those which have an organised town council, in which, it has risen during the period between 1880 and 1910 from 48·6% to 58·7%, while during the same period the proportion of the Roumanian element has fallen from 24% to 23·4%. The cause of the great increase of the Magyars of Transylvania as compared with that of the Roumanians and especially of the Saxons is to be found in the great difference between the three races in regard to natural increase as shown by the following table :

Between the years 1901—1910 the natural increase of the population of Transylvania was the following :

		%	Percentage of the nationalities in 1900
Magyars	89,659	i. e. 37·1	32·9
Saxons	17,789	" 7·4	9·4
Roumanians	133,231	" 55·1	56·5
Others	1,067	" 0·4	1·2
Total increase	241,746		

Still greater is the difference in favour of the Magyars between the proportion of natural increase and the numerical proportion of the diverse races of Transylvania between the years 1911—1917. as shown by the following figures :

Total increase: 75,632 of which are

Magyars	44·3%,	} while the percentage of total population in 1910 is	} 34·3 8·7 55·0
Saxons	7·8%,		
Roumanians	47·6%,		

During the 17 years between 1900—1917 the total increase of the population was, in round numbers 317,000, of which 123,200 were Magyars, 23,700 Saxons, 169,200 Roumanians and 1,500 others. Consequently the proportion of natural increase of the Magyar race (compared with its numerical proportion) is considerably more favourable than that of the Roumanian and furnishes a promising foundation for its future development.

Another factor tending towards the weakening of the Roumanian race is emigration, which is much stronger among the Roumanians than among the Magyars. This emigration is directed partly towards America and partly towards Roumania, and may be explained by the fact that, living in the poor and economically little developed mountain regions, the Roumanian people are obliged to seek the means of livelihood for the surplus population in more fertile countries. Of the 141,685 emigrants from Transylvania between the years 1901—1910, 93,731, that is to say 66·2% were Roumanians. In the years 1911—1914 these figures rose to 72·8%. As to the internal emigration of the inhabitants from Transylvania to other parts of Hungary, it is chiefly the Magyars (Székelys) who take part in it, but this movement is counterbalanced by the fact that a considerable number of tradesmen, artisans and persons belonging to the educated classes, almost all of them Magyars, come from other parts of the country to settle in Transylvania,

so that through this internal migration the Magyar element of Transylvania loses nothing of its strength.

Thus, it is incontestable that the favourable numerical development of the Magyar race (just as the slow development of the Roumanians of Transylvania) has its natural and unalterable causes, shown and proved in every possible relation by the data of statistics. The assertion that the great increase of the Magyars in Transylvania is due to the immigration of great numbers of them from other parts of Hungary does not hold good. This is proved by the data referring to the movement of the population between Transylvania and the other parts of the country, which conclusively show that the census has found in Transylvania almost the same number of persons born outside its borders (78,068) as it has found natives of Transylvania (75,300) residing in the entire territory of Hungary with the exception of Transylvania. Thus this internal migration of the population could not have exercised any considerable influence in favour of the Magyar element in Transylvania. Nor could its numbers have been materially influenced by settlements effected by the State. This table shows that the total population of all the settlements founded and maintained by the State did not exceed in 1910 8,865 and even of these the greater part were natives of other districts of Transylvania.

It is a fact resulting from the natural increase of the population, from internal migrations, emigration and immigration, — a fact which corroborates the above data, — that the population of those villages of Transylvania in which the Magyars and Saxons are in a majority, has increased in the last forty years in a greater proportion than

the population of the villages with a Roumanian majority, as is made evident by the following:

	in 1869
a) Total population of the villages with a Magyar and Saxon majority . . .	928,321
b) Total population of the villages with a Roumanian majority	1.224,484

in 1910	increase during 40 years	in %
1.205,437	277,116	29·8
1.452,722	228,238	18·6

Thus the increase of the population of the villages with a Magyar and Saxon majority *exceeds that of the Roumanian villages not only relatively, but absolutely, and approximately corresponds to the increase of the Magyar and Saxon element in the last 40 years.* As regards the counties, it must be observed that the considerable increase of the Roumanian population has been restricted to the three counties situated on the frontiers (the counties of Besztercze-Naszód, Csík and Háromszék), and that in these it was influenced by immigration from Roumania. There was also a considerable increase of population in the villages of Roumanian majority in the county of Maros-Torda, where it was the result of the development of forestry and of the new railway-line, which has attracted great numbers of Magyar settlers to these villages (Maroshéviz, Palotailva etc.) in which the Magyar minority was, in consequence, much strengthened.

As to the accusation that the development of the Roumanian element has been hindered by a

brutal Magyarization, it is contradicted in forcible fashion not only by the development attained by it within the last decade but also by the fact that its numeric increase has been especially slow in the parts where the Roumanians live in great masses without any contact with the Magyars and where in consequence there could be no question of any Magyarization.

The accusation of a brutal Magyarization is not taken seriously even by the Roumanians themselves, who boast of having Roumanized (See Joan Russu Sirianu: *Romanii din Statul Ungar*, 1904, p. 198) more than 300 Magyar and Saxon villages in the course of the last century. This boast is based on no more solid a foundation than the accusation of Magyarization. The truth is that in Transylvania the intermingling of the three races (Magyar, Roumanian and Saxon) is quite insignificant. This is a natural consequence of the great religious, intellectual and economic differences which separate one race from the other, so that their assimilation has never played and never will play an important rôle in Transylvania.

V.

Conditions of culture in Transylvania in relation to the Nationalities.

If we examine the progress of culture in Transylvania, we get a clear picture of the political and colonial development of the different races settled on this territory. The process of the settlement of the present population shows that the original settlers, the Székelys (Magyars) and the Saxons who came seven hundred years ago occupied the most fertile parts of the country and as a natural

consequence of that fact, the political, social, cultural and economical life of Transylvania has no traces whatever of Roumanian influence, but is exclusively Hungarian or — as on the territories of the Barczaság, “Királyföld” (Kingsland) and Besztercze — Saxon. Every town of Transylvania is, without exception, of Magyar or Saxon foundation and has maintained its Hungarian or Saxon character. There are only three smaller towns (Szászsebes, Abrudbánya and Vizakna) which have a majority of Roumanian inhabitants, all of them later settlers, who, in spite of their numerical majority, had no effective influence on the Hungarian minority either in culture or in economics. In Transylvania all the cultural and economic institutions are exclusively Hungarian or German, the Roumanian established theirs only during the last two centuries under the favourable influence of the Hungarian and German vicinity. It is in consequence of their favourable disposition in Hungary that they succeeded in attaining to a higher culture than those in their national countries of Wallachia and Moldavia, although there they were free from a foreign influence.

The State had hardly any influence on the development of Transylvania's cultural life up to the very latest time. After the compromise with Austria of 1867, in the first years of the new state formation, the educational budget was of a very moderate extent, and mostly related to the highest stage of education. The middle and elementary education was left in the hands of the different autonomic churches, which means, in those of the different nationalities. In the nineties of the last century the total expenditure of the State on religion and education amounted only to 30 million crowns, out of which only 4 or 5 millions fell to Transylvania.

It is only during the last decade that the religious and educational expenditures has risen to a higher sum, as in 1913 when it reached 143 millions, because the State undertook to raise the payment of ministers and priests as well as that of the teachers. This was done without any reference to the national or denominational character of the churches or schools. The Roumanian churches and schools of Transylvania received during the last decades several millions of State support (5.210,530 crowns). These sums came almost exclusively from the Hungarian and Saxon taxpayers, since the territories where the Roumanians live are financially of a passive character.

The State exerted a greater influence on the elementary and middle school education from the beginning of this century, but always evinced the highest respect towards the rights of the denominations (i. e. of the nationalities) and wished to carry on its work in harmony with them. The system of an exclusive State education was never carried out neither in Hungary nor in the Transylvanian parts, consequently the result attained is due almost exclusively to the cultural and economic power of the different races.

As regards the character and the language of instruction in the Transylvanian parts, the school-year 1913/14 shows the following figures:

Total number of elementary schools	States	Parish.	Rom. Cath.
2663	726	162	186
Calvinist and Unitarian	Lutheran	Greek Catholic and Greek Oriental	Jewish and others
180	254	1120	35

This shows that in Transylvania only one fourth of the schools are state schools, the others, are mostly supported by the churches, or else by communities, societies and private persons. In Roumania just the contrary, the elementary schools are all State schools, excepting the few church and private schools maintained *by foreigners, for foreigners*. The Hungarian denominations (R. Cath., Calvin., Unitar., Jewish.) have only 366 elementary schools, only a seventh part of the whole, although they make up one third of the population, while the Germans have 254, one tenth of the total, although the German (Saxon) population is only 8·7%. The Greek Orientals and Catholics have 1120 schools, two-fifths of the whole (42%) although 55% of the population are Roumanians. This difference is somewhat conspicuous, but the Roumanian schools on the whole sufficiently cover the needs of the territories where the Roumanians live.

It is evident from this that in Transylvania the German and Roumanian schools are in the hands of the National Churches, and the establishment of the State schools was to the disadvantage of Hungarian denominations, respectively the Hungarian elementary schools. In order to prove how groundless those charges are which were raised against the State for Magyarising the nationalities, we must point out that out of 726 State schools 335 are in those parts of the country (counties of Udvarhely, Csík, Háromszék, Maros-Torda, Kolozs and the town of Kolozsvár) where the majority of the population, or a great percentage, are Hungarians, the other state schools (391) are established in such places where it was considered necessary for the national defence of the Hungarian minorities. This is plainly demonstrated by the fact that in places of mixed population or of national terri-

tories, besides the State schools the national (denominational) schools were still kept up and aided by the State.

That the State schools were intended mostly for the Hungarian population is shown by the fact that in 1912 out of 69,886 pupils of the State schools only 28,183 were Roumanians. According to the census of 1910 in Transylvania there were 188,274 Roumanian children of school-age. Considering therefore the increase during the course of time, — not quite 15%^o-s of them frequented the state schools. During the last 20 years (1893—1914 the number of schools in Transylvania decreased from 3010 to 2663. This, however does not mean a cultural setback, but simply that two or three small schools of one village were concentrated in one. In this way the number of Greek Cath. and Orthodox Greek schools diminished, but in the same way, and even in a greater proportion, the number of Rom. Cath., Unitarian and Calvinist schools diminished also. The Calvinist schools were 339 in 1893 and only 152 in 1914, therefore a considerable number of the state schools were formed out of the Calvinist ones. Very few Greek Cath. or Orthodox Greek schools were transformed into State schools, but some were closed because the congregation was unable to comply with the demands of the School Act of 1907 to build schools on hygienic principles and to pay the teachers according to the aforementioned law, and refused to submit to the obligation connected with the support of the State. The great generosity of the Hungarian State towards the Roumanian denominational schools is best demonstrated by the following figures: the State gave in the year 1914 K. 1.955,283 aid to the Transylvanian elementary schools and out of it 992,865 crowns fell to the Roumanian schools and only 962,418 crowns

to the Hungarian. This fact demonstrates that the Hungarian State gave more help to the Roumanian than to the Hungarian schools.

During the last twenty years the State schools increased from 230 to 726. This is explained by the closing — mentioned above — of the Hungarian denominational and other schools.

The change is explained by the following statistical table:

Elementary schools in T r a n s y l v a n i a :			
	Total	State schools	Parish schools
In 1893	3,010	230	241
“ 1914	2,663	726	162
More + }	— 347	+ 496	— 79
Fewer — }			

Elementary schools in Transylvania:

Rom. Cath. Calvin Unitar. Jewish	Luther.	Greek Cath. Greek Orient.	Others
650	264	1,607	18
375	254	1,120	26
— 275	— 10	— 487	+ 8

It must be noticed that State schools were opened only in and after the seventies. Their number in 1881 was 102 only.

The language of instruction in the elementary schools in Transylvania in the school year of 1913/14 was:

Total number of schools	Hungarian	German	Roumanian
2,663	1,264	254	1,145

It is evident from this that the language of instruction corresponds on the whole with the denominational character of the schools, the German as well as the Roumanian.

The number of Hungarian and German schools is comparatively larger than that of the Roumanian. This is explained by the considerably higher state of culture of the two races; a natural result of historical development. That the Roumanian schools (1,145) cover the cultural needs of the Transylvanian Roumanians who number 1.5 millions, may be gathered from the fact that the inhabitants of the Roumanian Kingdom, whose number is 7.2 millions, had in 1908 only 4,565 schools, therefore comparatively fewer than the Roumanians of Transylvania. And it is worth noticing that forty years ago the Roumanians (2.4 million) living in the Hungarian State had more elementary schools than the Roumanians (5 million) in their Kingdom, and consequently the number of those who could read and write was also considerably larger here than in Roumania. In 1880 there were in Hungary 2,781 schools of Roumanian language, while in Roumania only 2,505. (Beksics: *La question roumaine*, page 121.)

Four-fifths of the Roumanian scholars in Transylvania frequented Roumanian elementary schools, and nine-tenths of the Germans were also taught in their mother-tongue. Roumanians and Germans attended Hungarian schools mostly in the towns and in Hungarian territories.

In the school-year 1913/1914. the distribution of scholars according to their mother tongue was as follows:

Total number of scholars	Magyars	Germans	Roumanians	Others
241,661	98,514	27,976	113,430	1,741

As for their diligence, the German scholars never play truant, going to school almost without exception; in the second place are the Hungarians, and far back the Roumanians. But the Transylvanian Roumanians are even in this respect in a far better case than those beyond the Carpathians, because of 7·2 million inhabitants only 530,000 attend school there and many of these pupils are of Hungarian or of German nationality. (*Anuarul Statistical Romaniei*, 1912.)

As a natural consequence of the above related facts, the Germans held the first place in the knowledge of reading and writing, the Hungarians the second place. The Roumanian average was the most unfavourable.

The number of those who read and write in Transylvania is shown by the following statistics.

The whole population is divided among the three nations thus:

	Read and write
Hungarians	34·3% 48·0%
Germans	8·7% 15·5%
Roumanians	55·0% 35·8%

This clearly shows that among the literates of the Transylvanian population the Roumanians are represented in a proportion hardly more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total number of literates, — whereas among the illiterates of Transylvania they take an imposing place, $\frac{2}{3}$ out of the whole. This leaves no doubt that an exclusive Roumanian dominion over that country is lacking even of a minimal cultural base.

During the last thirty years the State schools, and the State support of the denominational schools, helped to increase the knowledge of reading and writing to a great extent, and in this respect, quite naturally, the Roumanians, who were far behind, show the greatest progress :

	Percentage of the total population according to the knowledge of reading and writing in			
	1880	1890	1900	1910
Of the whole population	21·3	27·5	35·3	42·8
Hungarians	31·3	41·6	51·3	59·9
Germans	63·4	68·0	73·2	75·9
Roumanians	9·0	13·7	20·0	27·9

The above particulars demonstrate plainly the low degree of culture of the Roumanians but 30 years ago, — considering that hardly one tenth of them was lettered. This explains the fact, that the Roumanians played such an insignificant part in the political, social and industrial life of Transylvania in spite of their great number. Nothing could speak with greater emphasis against their complaint of oppression than the progress they have made in elementary education during the last few decades with the aid of the Hungarian State. There is no room for complaint if we consider that in the Roumanian State with all their great endeavours to elevate their people from their uncultured condition they could not reach a higher standard of literates than that of the Roumanians of Transylvania (36% of the population older than 8 years).

To prove how unfounded were the accusations against the Magyarising tendencies of the Hungarian State by opening State schools, we must refer to the spread of the Magyar language in Transylvania.

In 1910, out of the 1,760,000 inhabitants of non-Magyar birth only 267,000 knew Hungarian, viz. 15·2%. How little must have been the Magyarising activity is still more evident from the knowledge of the Magyar language among the different nationalities. Out of the 234,000 Germans only 80,000 (34·1%) of the 1,472,000 Roumanians only 173,000 (11·8%) spoke Hungarian. Of the other nationalities, mostly Gypsies, 26·2% speak Hungarian, therefore just the Roumanians indeed have not the slightest reason for complaint, considering that every other nationality of Transylvania has a better percentage in the knowledge of the Hungarian language.

It cannot be denied that lately a great progress was made in the knowledge of the Hungarian language in Transylvania, but not nearly so great as in other parts of the country. In Transylvania, out of the non-Magyars, the Hungarian language was known in 1880 by 7·5% in 1890 by 9·5% in 1900 by 11% in 1910 by 15·2%. The progress is moderate and is due rather to general cultural and economic progress, than to the schools.

The Magyarising influence of the schools may be judged from the fact that of the Roumanian children of 12—14 years of age who had finished school only 18·4% know Hungarian, but of the Saxons 49·6% speak Hungarian although the Saxons, except in a few towns, are seldom in touch with the Hungarians. This shows that the Saxons are better cultivated and show more aptitude to learn languages. It is interesting to notice that out of the Transylvanian Saxons 79,704 speak Hungarian (34·1%), but far more, 137,300 (58·7%) speak Roumanian, and out of 918,217 Hungarians 207,560 (22·6%) speak Roumanian, but out of the more numerous Roumanians only 172,975 (11·8%) speak Hungarian, viz. twice as many Hungarians speak

— in proportion — the Roumanian, than Roumanians the Hungarian language.

This difference in their knowledge of languages characterises the superior intelligence of the Hungarian and German race.

Middle schools in Transylvania were distributed according to type of school and language in 1913—14:

1. *State middle schools*: a) *gymnasiums*: Dés, Erzsébetváros, Fogaras, Nagyszeben, Petrozsény, Szamosujvár, Torda, Gyergyószentmiklós, Kolozsvár (Girls' school);

b) *Real schools* (modern schools): Brassó, Déva, Székelyudvarhely;

c) High school for girls: Kolozsvár. Total 13.

2. *Parish middle schools*: Marosvásárhely (high school for girls). Total 1.

3. *Denominational middle schools*:

a) Roman Catholic *gymnasiums*: Brassó, Csík-szereda, Gyulafehérvár, Kézdivásárhely, Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely, Székelyudvarhely, Kolozsvár (for girls). Total 8;

b) *Calvinist and Unitarian*: Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely, Nagyenyed, Sepsiszentgyörgy, Szászváros, Székelyudvarhely; Kolozsvár (Unitarian), Székelykeresztur (Unitarian). Total 8;

c) *Lutheran middle schools*: *gymnasiums*: Besztercze, Brassó, Medgyes, Nagyszeben, Segesvár, Szászrégen, Szászsebes, *real schools*: Nagyszeben, Brassó. Total 9.

d) Greek Catholic and Orthodox Greek *gymnasiums*: Balázsfalva, Brád, Brassó; lower real school: Brassó. Total 4;

e) *Gymnasium sustained, upon a bequest*: Naszód (Roumanian).

Out of the 44 middle schools in Transylvania hardly more than one-fourth are State schools, viz. 13—29 are denominational, 1 communal and 1 sustained upon a bequest. So it was the different churches which had middle school education in their hands with their schools of ancient origin. One third of these belong to the Saxon Lutherans, who are not quite one-tenth part of the population of Transylvania. This proves that under the protection of the Hungarian State a race with inclination for culture was able to educate itself to the highest degree on entirely national lines.

The two Greek churches, that is the Roumanians, have in proportion to their 1·5 million of souls but very few middle schools because two hundred years ago they were living a nomad life as shepherds and cattle-breeders and therefore they could not conceive the advantages of even elementary culture up to the last decades of the 19th century.

Out of the 44 middle schools 30 are Hungarian, 9 German, 5 Roumanian, so that 25,000 Germans and 30,000 Hungarians have a middle school but only 300,000 Roumanians.

The distribution of middle school scholars according to their mother-tongue is as follows:

Total	Hungarian	Germans	Roumanian	Others
11,910	7,140	1,992	2,743	35
	59·9%	16·7%	23·%	0·4%

The number of the Roumanian scholars is higher, proportionately, than, the number of their schools, but it falls far behind that of the Hungarians and especially of the Germans. The Hungarian and German scholars of the middle schools are mostly recruited from the middle classes; those of the Roumanians from the peasantry.

In Transylvania there is only one university, that of Kolozsvár, where there are chairs for the German and the Roumanian languages.

The university students in 1913/14 were, according to their mother-tongue :

Total	Hungarian	Germans	Roumanian	Others
2,119	1,785	101	215	18
	84%	5%	10%	1%

The percentage of the German and Roumanian university students is very low. This is explained by the fact that the Germans go to other Hungarian and foreign (German) universities, as for the Roumanians, their unfavourable number can partly be explained in the same way. For the rest, their scholars after finishing the middle school mostly embrace an ecclesiastical career, and the circumstance that Roumanian youths only began to take an interest in studies in the last decades renders it natural that their number at the university should be but a small one.

A still greater difference is shown to the credit of the Hungarians and Germans if we compare the data relating to the commercial and industrial schools regarding the proportion of scholars there according to language. The Hungarian and German elements enjoy a vast majority in these schools, a natural result of the economic superiority springing from the historic development of these two races.

The following figures summarise the cultural conditions of the three races :

	I n %				
	Total	Hungarian	German	Roumanian	Others
I. Illiterates in Transylvania (over 6 years of age)	1,225,410	20.1	2.1	74.6	3.4
II. Read and write (over 6 years of age)	1,147,434	48.0	15.5	35.8	0.7
III. Finished 4 classes of the middle school	79,174	65.0	18.5	15.6	0.8
IV. Finished 8 classes of the middle school	29,638	63.9	17.0	18.2	0.9
V. Number of persons in civil service or following liberal professions	24,882	60.5	14.5	24.5	0.5
VI. Number of educated persons in economic occupations	9,143	71.7	20.7	6.5	1.0
VII. Intellectual professions (V. VI.)	34,025	63.5	16.1	19.6	0.8
		79.6%			

All these prove that as we examine stages of higher culture the numbers of Hungarians and Germans increase while that of the Roumanians decrease, so that, as a final result, we find four-fifths of the intelligent classes in Transylvania to be Hungarian and German.

The proportion of the Roumanians among the illiterates is 74·6%, among those able to read and write 35·8%; the ratio falls to 15·6% among those passing through 4 classes of the middle school, but rises to 18·2 among those who finished the whole course (8 years) of the middle school. This is because their educated boys were destined to be ministers or teachers, while a large number of Hungarians and Germans sent their sons, after finishing 4 years of the middle school, to follow an industrial or economic occupation, railway service etc. as is shown by the table concerning the proportion of nationalities in the principal branches of occupation.

In 1910 the number of people pursuing intellectual occupations was 34,025, among whom Hungarians formed 65·3%, Germans 16·1%. Roumanians only 19·6%. The usual accusation of the Hungarians putting obstacles in the way of the nationalities in any intellectual career, but especially in public service, we can annihilate by showing how in the intellectual positions of economic life where, after all, no authorities could stand in their way, the number of Roumanians (6·5%) is incomparably lower than of Roumanians in the liberal professions or in public service where appointment must depend on the State or other authorities. (24·5%). They used to explain this by saying the Hungarians oppress them. As a conclusive argument against similar calumnies one must point out that the number of Saxons in the intellectual classes sur-

passes their proportion in the population, in fact they occupy the first place in this class, as possessing a high culture and as having been for a long time and in great numbers dwellers in the cities.

The degree of culture among the three ethnical races of Transylvania is traceable in economic life. We get a fair view of this difference in the following table showing the proportion of nationalities in the principal branches of occupation:

	Total
Population of Transylvania	2.678,000
Out of these:	
1. Agriculturers	1.921,000
2. Miners, artisans, merchants, commercial or railway em- ployés	489,000
3. Public service and liberal pro- fessions	86,300
4. Military service	24,000
5. Day-labourers	49,000

	I n			%
Hungarians	Germans	Roumanians	Others	
34·3	8·7	55·0	2·0	
26·7	7·0	64·9	1·4	
54·6	14·4	27·1	3·9	
59·4	14·6	25·7	0·3	
48·0	15·5	34·1	2·4	
36·1	2·8	53·5	7·6	

Thus, it is the Germans (Saxons) who occupy the first place in the economic field, followed by the Magyars and far behind these two the Roumanians, as shown in detail in Chapter VI.

The cultural standard of the different races may be most easily judged from the number of newspapers and periodicals and their circulation. In this respect we have no special statistics for Transylvania, but that of the whole country may throw light on that part also.

Number of weekly papers and periodicals in 1914 on the territory of Hungary	Of these			
	Hungarian	mixed	German	Roumania
1,892	1,522	83	156	39
	80%	4%	8%	2%
From foreign lands				
4,011	—	—	2,697	20

The circulation of newspapers in Hungary:

Hungarian	64·0%
German	19·8%
Roumanian	1·9%

Of the total population of Hungary together with Croatia there were

Hungarians	48·1%
Germans	9·8%
Roumanians	14·1%

The Roumanian population is, then, behind the Hungarians and Germans in this respect. The above table also shows that those who were really inclined

for culture, as the Germans, had within the realm of Hungary perfect liberty to use their language as a means of attaining higher culture.

We may mention that besides the schools, the three nations have their institutions and social organisations on a national basis (societies) for general culture, libraries and museums. For instance, besides the Hungarian society for culture in Transylvania, the Roumanians have a long-standing and wealthy society the "Astra" and an independent "Roumanian Theatre Society" and many reading clubs and glee clubs in the villages. The Roumanian and Saxon banks give a considerable sum yearly for such purposes of general culture.

The Hungarian State never hindered the Roumanians in their national cultural movements, but rather promoted them. Their elementary and middle schools were subsidised, in the State middle schools instruction in the Roumanian language and literature was provided for Roumanian scholars; and the scientific development of the Roumanian language and literature was promoted at the Universities of Budapest and Kolozsvár.

It is a fact that the culture of the Transylvanian Roumanians thus promoted had a great influence in the same direction in the Roumanian kingdom.

The work now inaugurated in Transylvania, the closing of the University of Kolozsvár, of middle and elementary schools, the dismissal of the Hungarian professors, teachers, officials and others the relegation of administration to the hands of uneducated people, indicate the manner in which all culture, intellectual or economic is trampled under foot by Roumania who, in the absence of all physical, intellectual or moral power, is unable otherwise to uphold her dominion — an idol with

feet of clay — in that Transylvania, which has been awarded to her as an easy prey with a flagrant contempt for all justice.

VI.

Economic situation of Transylvania with regard to the nationalities.

The organic connection generally to be found between the economic strength and the cultural level of the races and their reciprocal effect on each other are apparent in Transylvania also, where we may see a striking manifestation, besides, of the close relation between the circumstances which accompanied the settlement of the different races in their present homes and the historical evolution of their economic development. It is only natural that the Germans, a city-building and industrial people, disciplined and organized for centuries, and the Magyars, who, as first-comers, had possessed themselves of the plains and fertile plateaus, should, from an economic point of view, far surpass the Roumanian race which immigrated at a much later date from the Balkan, was still a nomad people not so very long ago, and even yet, living, as it does, for the most part in the barren mountain regions, is chiefly occupied with cattle-breeding, and up to the latest times played no part whatever in politics.

If Transylvania were to be assigned to Roumania by the Peace Conference, a deadly blow would be dealt not only to the civilization of that country, but also to its economic prosperity, since Roumania could only maintain her unnatural dominion by using every means in her power to hinder the economic development of the Magyar and German

elements, and thereby of the country at large. The inauguration of every new railway-line, the establishment of each new industrial concern would mean, in the future, as it has meant in the past, an advance in the economic superiority of the Magyar and German elements hardly to be countenanced by the Roumanian rulers, so that Roumanian dominion would infallibly carry in its train the decadence of the economic life of Transylvania, as has already been proved, for the rest, during the relatively short period of occupation.

The relations between occupation and nationality.

In Transylvania a greater proportion of the population is engaged in agriculture than in any other part of the country. Whereas the percentage of the agricultural population in the whole of Hungary is 62·4, in Transylvania it rises to 71·7. On the other hand, the industries are represented by 18·3 percent as against 25·1 percent for the entire state. This balance in favour of agriculture is chiefly caused by the Roumanian population, which has only lately and but partially exchanged its primitive pastoral occupation for agriculture, but has not yet attained to the level of the other nations, which take a share in all the other fields of production in proportion to the numbers of their population. 1,246,639 (84·7%) of the total number of the Transylvanian Roumanians amounting to 1,472,021, are still engaged in agriculture; 26,117 are day-labourers, 18,374 domestic servants, and 8128 belong to the army. The persons engaged in these groups of occupations come for the greater part from the ranks of the peasantry, so that it may be said that 90 percent of the Transylvanian Roumanians belong to

the peasant class. Of the Magyars of Transylvania, on the other hand, only 55·8 per cent are cultivators of the soil, and of the Germans 57·8 per cent, and even if we add to this the above-mentioned groups of occupations, the proportion hardly rises above 60 per cent.

In consequence of this unequal distribution of the nationalities among the different groups of occupations, the Roumanians have an absolute preponderance only in agriculture where this percentage is 64·9. In the class of day-labourers, the lowest rung of the social ladder they form more than half of the population (53·5%), but in the classes and occupations which further intellectual and economic development, they play but an insignificant part in comparison with the Magyars, who in this respect take the first place. In industry and commerce their numbers are even surpassed by that of the Germans. Of the total of 489,075 of the industrial population, 266,763 (54·6%) are Magyars: 70,324 (14·4%) Germans, and only 132,672 (27·1%) Roumanian. Thus the percentage of the Roumanians in the industrial field, is not even half of their percentage in the total population. Of all the industrial groups there is only one in which they attain a relative majority (47·7%) and that is the smallest, i. e. mining. In the conveyancing industry their numbers fall to 20·6 per cent (as against the 74·3 per cent of the Magyars), in commerce and business to 16 per cent. Hardly more than a quarter of those engaged in the public services and the liberal professions are Roumanians (25·7 per cent) while the number of the retired and unoccupied, and of those engaged in other occupations is somewhat higher (26·1 and 31·1 per cent respectively).

The above figures show that the distribution of

the Roumanian population according to occupation and social standing is primitive and undeveloped to the highest degree, the great majority of the people being formed by the peasantry, while of the intellectual, industrial and commercial classes there exists as yet only the framework. So that it is quite impossible that this people should have either the moral or the material force to assume the leadership in the higher fields of activity.

Distribution of the landed property among the different nationalities.

The figures of the census also give us some interesting data concerning the distribution of landed property among the agricultural population. According to these data, we can fix the proportion of the three nationalities in the different categories of land-owners, farm servants and day-labourers.

The following table shows these data:

	Total numbers
Owners of large and medium estates	2,448
Small holders of 50—100 cad. yokes	7,471
Small holders of 5—50 cad. yokes	366,613
Small holders and day-labourers with less than 5 cad. yokes	192,090
Farm-servants	63,179
Agricultural labourers	181,028

Of which in percentage

Hungarians	Germans	Roumanians
63·8	8·1	28·0
40·8	11·7	47·4
24·7	10·8	64·5
22·1	6·2	71·6
28·6	2·5	68·0
29·5	2·2	61·7

Thus the Magyar population is more favourably situated than the Roumanians, in that it is represented by a considerably higher percentage in the category of great and medium land-owners than in that of the small-holders. Its proportion is, however, high also among the landless farm-servants and agricultural labourers, which shows that the distribution of land among the agricultural Magyar population is not so favourable as that among the Roumanians, whose small-holder class occupies a much larger place in the ranks of the peasantry than the same class among the Magyar peasants. As, however, the large and medium estates are for the most part owned by the Magyars, the fact is that of the total area of Transylvania, estimated at about 10 millions of cad. yokes, 45·9 per cent are at present in the hands of the Magyar population, 9·8 per cent in those of the Germans, and 44·3 per cent in those of the Roumanians, so that the Magyars still own a larger area of land than the Roumanians. It must also be mentioned that the greater part of the Magyar and German properties are situated in the fertile plains or hill and valley districts, while the Roumanian ones lie in the high and barren mountain regions.

The great industries considered with reference to the nationalities.

In Transylvania the great industries, as the industries in general, gain a strongly Magyar character by the fact that not only the proprietors but also the personnel are chiefly Magyars. The census of 1910 found in Transylvania 60 mining and metallurgical enterprises, each employing more than 20 workmen, with a total of 19,700 workers. There were at the same time 322 enterprises be-

longing to the domain of the great industries, with a total of 33,361 workmen. The number of the Roumanians surpassed that of the Magyar workmen only in the mining industry, while in the great industries 16,349 of the workmen were Magyars, 4,263 Germans and only 10,690 Roumanians. How completely the management of these industrial enterprises is in Magyar hands is shown by the fact that of the directing and technical employees 76·8 per cent are Magyars, and of the overseers and foremen 67·2 per cent; the same proportion may be found in the great industries, where 62·5 per cent of the directing staff, 56·8 per cent of the overseers and 48·0 per cent of the salaried staff are Magyars.

Financial establishments considered from the point of view of nationalities.

In 1915 there were in Transylvania 275 banks and savings' banks and 595 co-operative societies. Of the former 146 were Magyar, 29 German and 100 Roumanian, of the latter 310 were Magyar, 196 German and only 89 Roumanian. Thus the Magyars lead even by the numbers of their financial institutions and — if we take both of the above-named categories — even the Germans possess more (29 + 196) than the Roumanians (100 + 89).

If we consider the capital owned by these institutions, the superiority of the Magyars and the Germans becomes still more evident. The total capital of the banks and savings' banks amounts to 846,153,000 crowns, of which 317,879,000 crowns were owned by Magyar institutions, 405,434,000 crowns by the Germans, and only 123,840,000 crowns, that is to say, 14·6 per cent of the total by the Roumanians.

The total capital of the co-operative societies amounts to 87,182,000 crowns, of which 36,644,000 crowns are owned by Magyars, 40,536,000 crowns by Germans and only 10,002,000 crowns, that is to say 11.5 per cent of the total, by Roumanian institutions.

Thus the Roumanian establishments are not only fewer in number than the Magyar and German ones, but also greatly inferior to the latter as regards their capital. The average capital of the Transylvanian banks and savings banks is 3,077,000 crowns, but whereas that of the Magyars is 2,170,000 crowns and that of the Germans 13,980,000, that of the Roumanians amounts only to 1,238,000 crowns. The same proportion is shown in the case of the co-operative societies, whose average total capital is 147,000 crowns, for whereas the average capital of the Magyar institutions is 118,000 crowns, and that of the Germans 207,000 crowns, the Roumanians only own an average capital of 112,000 crowns.

The wealth of capital of the German financial institutions as compared not only with the Roumanian but also with the Magyar must strike everyone. But it must be borne in mind that the great Magyar financial institutions, whose sphere of activity extends over the whole country, Transylvania included, have their seat in Budapest (the total of the capital possessed by Magyar banks and saving banks amounts to 13,603 milliard crowns, of which 9,252 milliard crowns are in the possession of the Budapest institutions), therefore the part played by the Magyar financial institutions in Transylvania is much more considerable, and that played by the Germans and especially the Roumanians much less so than shown by the above figures.

Taxation and the nationalities.

The figures showing in detail the amount of direct taxes paid by taxpayers of the different nationalities, throw some light on the material situation and prosperity of these nationalities. Unfortunately our returns on this subject only date from the year 1904, and even these do not include all the taxpayers, but only the Hungarian male subjects over twenty-four. This portion of the population paid in Transylvania in direct taxes 9.922,812 crowns, of which the Magyars paid 4.090,974 crowns, or 41·2 per cent, the Germans 1.725,553 crowns, or 17·4 per cent, and the Roumanians 4.046,588 crowns, or 40·8 per cent. Thus the Magyars, although less numerous than the Roumanians, paid a larger amount in direct taxes than they, while the Germans paid twice as much in proportion to their numbers. And if we consider that these sums do not include the taxes paid by fictive persons, it becomes evident that the contributions of the Magyars and Germans must have been still greater, so that they probably attained 65·0 per cent.

VII.

Transylvania from the point of view of State finances.

According to the returns of the pay-offices (excise-offices) of the State, the income and expenditure for Transylvania in the year 1913, were as follows :

	Income: C R O W N S	Expenditure: C R O W N S
1. Ministry of Finance	84,556,000	15,873,000
2. The Prime Minister's office	—	249,000
3. Ministry for Home Affairs	1,084,000	17,814,000
4. " of Commerce	160,000	7,668,000
5. " of Agriculture	4,535,000	11,937,000
6. " of Education	1,432,000	21,386,000
7. " of Justice	425,000	9,953,000
8. " of National Defence	376,000	1,737,000
I. Total	92,568,000	86,617,000
Salt monopoly	23,000,000	4,500,000
II. Grand total	115,568,000	91,117,000

To these must be added the proportionate contribution of Transylvania to the expenses of the Central Administration, the Army and the interest on the National Debt.

(It must be observed that the transitory expenses and the investments have not been mentioned here, because the transitory military expenses have been given above, while the other transitory expenses and investments are included in the returns of the pay-offices. It is also to be remarked that the direct and indirect taxes and the income of the tobacco monopoly differ slightly from the figures contained in the returns of the excise offices, which, showing the taxation of the counting houses, include the costs of the assignments. The divergence, however, is inconsiderable. It seemed therefore best to build up the balance on the basis of the returns of the excise offices, all the more as these returns are in fact somewhat higher than the actual income, and thus, the balance being more favourable, there is the less reason to doubt the truth of the conclusions arrived at.)

To the 794·3 million crowns of the central expenditure Transylvania has to contribute in proportion to her ability, the key of which is supplied by her participation in the direct and indirect taxes.

The income from these taxes was in 1913. as follows :

(See next page).

The railway and postal services have not been included either in the income or the expenditure. It is true that the railway and postal services of Hungary closed the year of 1913 with a surplus of 107 million crowns, but Transylvania is not likely to have contributed to this, since her railway and postal traffic were much smaller than that of the mother-country, while the expenses entailed by them were much heavier. Even supposing, however, that Transylvania is entitled to the

	In Hungary Transylvania included	In Transylvania	The proportion of Transylvania
Income from direct taxes	326 millions	19.6 millions	6.0
Income from indirect taxes	300 "	29.7 "	10.0
Stamps and duties	156 "	11.9 "	7.7
Tobacco monopoly	196 "	17.2 "	8.8
Total	978 millions	78.4 millions	8.0

8 per cent of the above 794.3 million crowns make 62,500,000 crowns which are the share Transylvania has to bear of the central expenses. If we add this to the expenditure :

the income will be	115,600,000 crowns
the expenditure on the other hand	150,500,000 "
Deficit	37,900,000 crowns

proportionate part of the surplus, and deducting accordingly the 107 million crowns from the interest of the national debt, the state finances of Transylvania will still show a deficiency.

In this case we must deduct this surplus of 107 million crowns of the railway and postal services from the 794 million crowns of common expenditure, which leaves a balance of 687 million crowns, 8% of which, that is 55 millions, fall to the charge of Transylvania.

If we add this sum to the expenditure, the balance will be as follows:

Income	115.600,000 crowns
Expenditure:	
91.000,000 + 55.000,000	146.000,000 „
Deficit	30.400,000 crowns

It is to be observed that the State concerns in Transylvania, the accounts of which are kept separately, close without exception with a deficit. So in the year 1913:

	Income	Expenditure
1. The gold-mines of Verespatak and Nagyág	496.500	881,400
and the foundry of Zalatna	7.026,000	7.156,000
2. Coal mines of Petrozsény	2.048,000	2.501,000

There are no separate returns of the financial results of the iron mines and iron-works of Vajdahunyad, Kudzsir and Gyalár, as they are included in the state iron-works, but here also there can be no question of anything but a very small surplus at best, so that it may be said that the Hungarian State has always worked these industrial enter-

prises at a loss, their maintenance serving economic and social rather than financial purposes (i. e. to provide work for the inhabitants). During the Roumanian occupation these concerns were, according to our information, greatly reduced, chiefly for the reason that they did not promise any financial results. If Transylvania were to come under Roumanian rule, it is to be foreseen that the working of the State mines would completely cease.

As it appears from the figures shown above, the financial balance of Transylvania is decidedly passive, and the Hungarian State had to help her annually with considerable sums. The expenses of the Ministry of Education were especially large in Transylvania. They amounted in the year 1913 to 21·4 million crowns, that is to say, to as much as the total expenditure of the Ministry of Education for the whole of Hungary in the eighties. But large sums have been expended also by the other departments, as may be seen from the following table:

	mill. cr.
1. Expenditure of the Ministry of Education	21·40
2. " " " " Home Affairs	17·80
3. " " " " of Finance .	15·95
4. " " " " of Agriculture	11·94
5. " " " " of Justice .	9·95
6. " " " " of Commerce	7·67
7. " " " " of Nat. Defence	1·74
8. " " " Prime Minister's office	0·25
Total . . .	86·70

It is due to the liberality of the Hungarian State that culture, administration, justice and material well-being have made considerable progress in Transylvania in the last ten years. Should Tran-

sylvania be assigned to Roumania, it is out of the question that the latter should be in a position to afford the expenses necessary for maintaining the present economic and cultural level of the country. Roumania is culturally as well as economically far behind Transylvania and cannot afford to spend her means on its development. It must moreover be noted that in consequence of the long war and the necessity of providing for the occupying armies. Roumania will find herself financially straitened in the near future. Further, her greedy conquest having brought her into strained relations with all her neighbours, it is to be presumed that her military expenses will increase considerably. In this state of her finances, Roumania — if she were to annex Transylvania — would have greatly to restrict her expenses, which would involve the cultural, economic and administrative deterioration of Transylvania. It would not materially alter the situation if Roumania were to be assigned also the territories this side the Királyhágó to the Clémenceau line, for these territories are also passive from the point of view of State finances.

The question may be raised whether an independent Transylvania could financially hold her own?

If we compare income and expenditure, we come to the conclusion that were Transylvania to be guaranteed by the European Powers as a neutral state so that she would be under no necessity to maintain an army, her income would, with a careful economic policy, suffice to cover her expenditure.

It must be pointed out that if Roumania were to get Transylvania by means of sheer brute force, she would be obliged, in order to secure her possession, to hinder in every way the economic development of the Magyar and Saxon elements and thereby the future prosperity of the country.

The disastrous financial effects of such a policy are plain. Whereas an independent Transylvania, in which complete equality and free development would be secured to each of the three races, would be on the sure road towards economic strength and prosperity.

Let us now turn our attention to the state of the finances in the territories inhabited by Magyars and Saxons on the one hand, and by the Roumanians on the other.

I. In the counties where Magyars and Saxons live in great numbers or are in a majority, the financial situation is as follows:

	Expenditure millions	Income crowns
1. County of Csík	3·27	3·13
2. " " Kolozs and the town of Kolozsvár	22·16	17·31
3. County of Maros-Torda and the town of Marosvásárhely	7·80	7·48
4. County of Háromszék	5·40	5·30
5. " " Udvarhely	3·50	2·20
6. " " Brassó	4·80	12·96
7. " " Kis-Küküllő	3·00	1·46
8. " " Nagy-Küküllő	2·80	4·10
Total	52·73	53·94

II. Counties with a Roumanian population:

	Expenditure: millions	Income crowns
1. County of Besztercze-Naszód	3·15	3·40
2. " " Szolnok-Doboka	4·94	4·24
3. " " Fogaras	2·17	1·06
4. " " Hunyad	5·95	7·90
5. " " Alsó-Fehér	5·51	6·05
6. " " Szeben	7·67	13·13
7. " " Torda-Aranyos	3·62	3·11
Total	33·01	38·89

Thus the returns of the Magyar and Saxon counties show a smaller surplus than those of the counties inhabited by Roumanians. The explanation of this is that the larger towns (Marosvásárhely, Kolozsvár, Brassó) being the centres of intellectual, administrative and economic life, and having thus to bear the preponderant part of the expenses of the central municipal administration, are situated in those counties in which the Magyar and Saxon elements prevail.

Since in these counties the districts inhabited by Roumanians also profit by the benefits of the central municipal administration, a part of the expenses is expended also upon them, while in the counties with a Roumanian majority (Hunyad, Szeben, Torda-Aranyos, Beszterce-Naszód) the larger part of the contributions is paid by the economically more advanced Magyar and Saxon elements. (Nagyszeben, Beszterce, Torda, Dés, Petrozsény, Szamosujvár), so that, if disregarding the county borders, we consider only the territories with a Magyar and Saxon population, we shall find that their balance shows a strong surplus, whilst in the territories inhabited by Roumanians it shows a deficit.

This is proved beyond all doubt by the figures of the census of 1904, according to which 41·2% of the direct taxes paid by Hungarian citizens not less than 24 years old are paid by Magyars, 17·4% by Saxons and only 40·8% by Roumanians, whereas the proportion of Magyars in Transylvania is 34·3%, that of the Saxons 8·7% and that of the Roumanians 55 per cent. If we consider that only the contributions of unincorporate persons have been taken into account here, and that the corporate bodies (enterprises, companies, etc.) are for the most part Magyar and Saxon, we come to the

conclusion that the Roumanians, who form more than the half of the population of Transylvania, bear only a third of the public expenses, whereas it is certain that they absorb a greater percentage than this of the state expenditure which is in proportion to the extent of the territory and the number of the population.

The above incontestably proves, that considerations of State finance strongly oppose the annexation of Transylvania by Roumania and make it evident that this country of great historical traditions can prosper only as part of the Hungarian Kingdom or as an independent State.



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