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# THE ETHNICAL MINORITIES IN TRANSYLVANIA



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IN TRANSYLVANIA**

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## PREFACE

The author's intention in the following pages is simply to give an exact account and to furnish correct information in regard to a question which has been frequently debated during the last few years and has been the subject of so much misrepresentation and distortion of the truth: the relations between the Roumanian State and its ethnical minorities.

The present work does not pretend to be a detailed refutation of the erroneous allegations contained in Anti-Roumanian, more especially in Hungarian propaganda leaflets. Most of the reports and documents on which these leaflets are based, or which they have merely reprinted, have already been submitted as complaints to the League of Nations, and their assertions have been amply refuted by the Roumanian authorities. Documents C. 230, M. 168. 1921. I ; C. 488. M. 351. 1921 ; C. 522. M. 370. 1921. I ; C. 65. M. 21. 1922 ; C. 208. M. 113. 1922. I, of the League of Nations, the detailed reply presented by the Roumanian Government to the League on December 1st 1925, and also Miss Henriette M. Tichner's booklet "The Religious Minorities in Roumania" (Philpot & Co., London, 1926), have demonstrated beyond all question that these assertions were either absolutely unfounded or were grossly and mischievously exaggerated for other than peaceable purposes.

In the following chapters the author will give a brief description of the situation in Transylvania as regards the ethnical minorities of that Roumanian province. He will endeavour to avoid any unnecessary replies to the misrepresentations of M. Zsombor de Szász and other Hungarian propagandists. The

facts of the situation are easily ascertainable and he feels sure that after weighing his arguments the reader will not fail to admit the justice of his conclusions.

The author feels obliged to express his gratitude to Mr. Basil Stoica, the distinguished Roumanian diplomatist, for the valuable help which he has given him in writing and publishing this book.

## I. ROUMANIAN TRANSYLVANIA.

One of the chief results of the World War, so far as concerns Eastern Europe was that it gave the great principle of racial nationality the importance it really deserves in view of the dynamic force which it represents. The long expected victory of this principle, for which the nations of Eastern Europe had made so many sacrifices since the middle of the XIXth Century, offered the oppressed nationalities the possibility of liberating themselves from all foreign domination and of taking their future into their own hands.

By the political settlement which was established for Central and Eastern Europe in the Treaty of Trianon, at the conclusion of the World War, the Roumanian race living on the left bank of the Danube succeeded in bringing finally under its sway almost the whole of its national territory. After almost one thousand years of Hungarian domination Transylvania has returned to its rightful owners and the Roumanian nation by the right of her historical priority, of her overwhelming racial majority and of her political importance has superseded in every respect the sovereignty and authority, which had been usurped and oppressively exercised until recent times by the Hungarian State over this country. The vehement Hungarian propaganda directed from Budapest, of which the book of M. Zsombor de Szász "The Minorities in

Roumanian Transylvania”<sup>1</sup> is the latest example, is persistently striving to revive a protracted and painful historical struggle, which was brought definitely to an end by the Treaty of Trianon. Such efforts are to be regarded rather as effervescent manifestations of an unquiet racial temperament, than as the expression of a genuine political conviction.

Throughout the struggles of our past history we, Roumanians of Transylvania, have found our claims to a free national life of our own invariably rejected. Whenever the leaders of our Roumanian masses advanced in support of our rightful claims any of the countless arguments which a vigorous and progressive nation can provide, they were met with taunts and sneers by the cynical Hungarian rulers, who would not even listen to the suggestion that the Roumanians of Transylvania also possessed an historical past and a national consciousness or that they also could be entitled to a national, political and educational life of their own. The historical and political publications of Hungarian savants and authors during the last two centuries are, with a few exceptions, full of passionate diatribes against the Roumanian race,—attacks in which they perpetually endeavoured to prove that the Roumanians in Transylvania were merely a collection of vagabonds brought thither by fortuitous circumstances, a people without a past and without a future. For these authors no color was sufficiently dark to be thrown on the canvas on which they tried to portray the Roumanian life of the past or of the present. Not a single insulting remark that was ever written or printed about our people escaped the researches of these writers, or failed to be exploited by them in the vituperative monographs in which they claimed to set forth the truth and to present the unvarnished

<sup>1</sup> “The Minorities in Roumanian Transylvania” by Zsombor de Szasz, late Transylvanian member of the Hungarian Parliament etc., London, The Richard Press, 1927.

facts. A strange, insatiable desire to disparage and defame their opponents seems to have impelled them to make use of these methods. For truly there is no nation on earth, about which, besides laudatory remarks and eulogies, no defamatory statements are to be discovered.

Authors who only collect and make use of comments of the latter category are obviously guilty of slander, and the Hungarian savants seem to have never remembered, even for a moment, that sooner or later the immanent justice of history would pitilessly refute their tendencious assertions and tear to shreds the whole fabric of contrivances and even the State organization itself, which was founded on a long oppression and injustice.

Mr. Zsombor de Szász' book mentioned above, is merely another example in a slightly modified form of the same attitude, which is really the result of an overweeming feudal mentality. ~~The former deputy of the days of Count Stephen Tisza has retained un-~~ touched the mental and moral characteristics of the Hungarian intellectual class of pre-war days, to which the events of the last few years have added the impotent hatred of the vanquished for the cause of the victor. The voluminous work of this Hungarian propagandist is conspicuously marked by the stigmat of its birth. ~~Not only it is far from presenting the real Transyl-~~ vania, which was liberated only a few years ago from the Hungarian yoke and which is still inevitably faced with the task of dealing with its baneful inheritance from the old regime, but by glorifying one of the most shameful chapters of modern European history,—the senseless policy of denationalization followed by the Hungarian government from 1867 till 1918,—it portrays a Transylvania which does not exist, except in the author's too fervid imagination. If his apologia for "millenary" Hungary is unfounded, his description of the Roumanian régime in Transylvania, where he

finds nothing but violence, immorality and corruption, is utterly false. It will be necessary to dwell for a few moments on the methods to which this author resorts in order to misrepresent the facts about the political situation in Transylvania.

Let us first consider what is the nature of his information? Whence is it derived? and what degree of accuracy does it possess?

The greater part of Mr. Szász' information appears to have originated in the propaganda offices at Budapest, whose main business is to disparage Roumania. In most cases they date back to the days immediately following the Union of Transylvania to Roumania, that is to say to the period of the so-called "repatriation" of the Hungarian officials. The various organizations of the Hungarian propaganda service, at whose instigation these unfortunate officials refused to take service under Roumanian rule and chose rather to abandon their old homes, made haste to interview them on their return in order to write down all the circumstances of their departure from Transylvania and to extract the greatest possible propaganda value from their stories. It was from these offices that countless tales of atrocities, alleged to have been committed by the Roumanian troops and the Roumanian officials, were let loose in the world press. There existed undoubtedly certain measures, dictated by superior interests (as, for instance, measures for the accommodation of Roumanian State officials in a number of Transylvanian towns), which from their very nature were bound to create inequalities and even to involve acts of injustice, but which were unfortunately inevitable in such circumstances. Nevertheless the reports of the so-called "Hungarian-Szekler Association" contain some imaginative narratives full of incredible episodes, the simplest administrative measures being distorted into frightful atrocities. As the number of



the “patriots” leaving Roumania and “repatriating” themselves into Hungary decreased after the first two years, the material supplied by their fantastic tales also diminished till the supply ceased almost entirely. Finally the activity of the so-called “office of refugees” (“menekültügyi hivatal”) ended in some disgraceful revelations of fraud, the hero of which was Baron Horvath-Petrichevich, former Commissioner of the Hungarian Government for the suppression of the Roumanian schools in Transylvania. One is impelled to ask what kind of a moral authority can be assigned to information given by people of this sort, who have openly violated the penal code ?

Another part of Mr. Szász' material is supplied by the Hungarian press of Transylvania and by various leaflets of our ethnical minorities. We readily admit that this material is of better origin ; nevertheless, any unbiased reader will speedily discern the negative and hostile point of view, which some of these minorities have adopted towards the Roumanian State. In the last five years, as the “Hungarian National Party” has gradually abandoned its severely passive attitude and as a result of various understandings has begun to take part in the active life of the Roumanian political parties, this hostile behaviour of the Hungarian press has also ceased and with it has ceased—as might be expected—the dissatisfaction created amongst its readers by the peace treaties. In any case, the Hungarian newspapers of Transylvania never attempted to be, and never have been, a true mirror of the real situation in this Roumanian province. It ought also to be added that, in addition to the hostility of the Hungarian intellectual class, we have to reckon in Transylvania with the complete freedom of the press, a freedom of which the Hungarian and other minority newspapers naturally make the greatest possible use and which unfortunately in many cases undermines the spirit of journalistic responsibility.

c) A third kind of information was harvested by Mr. Szász from Roumanian sources. The methods he employed for this purpose would be highly interesting if they were not patently ridiculous and absurd. He has simply followed the speeches delivered in the Roumanian Parliament by the representatives of the opposition parties and picked out from the political debates—which are always very passionate in Roumania—all the most bitter criticisms and all the most violent invectives which have been directed at the Government from 1920 to the present day. There is evidently a kernel of truth in some of these rhetorical outbursts, but to consider them as evidence in chief in an enquiry which aims at arriving as nearly as possible at the exact truth, is a procedure unworthy of serious consideration and capable of leading to absurd and irrelevant conclusions. The same judgment must be passed on the selection of cuttings from the Roumanian opposition press, with the aid of which Mr. Szász sets out to draw a picture of the usually perfervid atmosphere prevailing at our parliamentary elections. Such methods will be at once recognized as improper for presenting a situation as it really is.

What would Mr. Szász say if, following his own methods, we sought to draw a picture of "mutilated Hungary" by making use of the statements which appear in the newspapers of the Hungarian emigrants or in the organs of the few democrats who are still left, though they do not dare to express their opinion freely about the reactionary and terrorist government of present day Hungary? The case of such means would make it impossible for any one to visualise the political situation as it actually exists in a country and would certainly disqualify him from posing as a defender and advocate of truth and justice. It has sometimes happened that Transylvanian politicians of the opposition, when attacking the Government have referred to the Hungarian administration of

pre-war days as better suited for the country than the administration of the Roumanian Government in power. But this comparison was employed with a view to emphasize the speaker's contention by choosing as an example one of the most tyrannical régimes of civilized Europe. It was used as a culminative argument against a Government, which was not wanted. Does Mr. Szász feel flattered by this comparison? Besides, not even Mr. Szász can believe that there is in Transylvania any Roumanian desirous of returning to the cold embrace of Hungarian rule.

It is not only the sources of his information, which have led Mr. Szász onto slippery ground, but also his too evident inclination to speak slightly of the past history of the Roumanian race and to heap contempt on Roumanian Transylvania. This is why he opposes "the empty past of the Roumanians to the long and glorious history of the Hungarian nation", calls the Roumanians "a nation which, lacking in education, has not the slightest idea of right and constitution", and, in the Hungarian edition of his book, he asserts with true feudal arrogance: "stupidity is one of the qualities of the Roumanian race".<sup>1</sup>

As a fact, Transylvania with her overwhelming Roumanian population was kept for several centuries under the influence of a civilization entirely alien to the spirit of her people: the Hungarian civilization. Imprisoned within the narrow bounds of this heterogenous civilization, from which it rarely had an opportunity of escaping into the more westerly and variegated fields of German culture, our nation was compelled to concentrate all its ancestral forces, the heroism and tenacity of a "Dacus asper qui profundum Danuvium bibit" in order to preserve its wonderful racial qualities, its national character and its aspirations for progress. Its endeavour for educa-

<sup>1</sup> Szász Zsombor : Erdély Romániában, Budapest 1927, p. 41.

tional progress has always been obstructed by the overwhelming political power of the Hungarian rulers. J. Acsády, a most distinguished historian of Hungary and of the Hungarians, draws the following picture of his countrymen's activities in this fields :

“ The Transylvanian noblemen went in constant fear of the Roumanian serfs and their anger rose to a climax, when after the Union with Rome the Roumanians also erected a number of schools. The noblemen feared that if the Roumanians received school education and had some more enlightened leaders, they would refuse to support any longer the burden of serfdom. That is why no schools were allowed to be opened for the poorer class. The antiquated economic system became the most embittered enemy of education and in order to maintain the supposed interests of some hundred landowner families a whole nation was condemned to perpetual ignorance, to spiritual blindness, to a material and moral misery, the consequences of which were very soon apparent during the Horia revolution and can be seen in this very day in the economical and social relations of Transylvania ”<sup>1</sup>.

This explanation of Mr. Acsády is a most emphatic refutation of the various attempts to misrepresent the truth by passionate and unfounded assertions.

Shortly before the end of the World War another well known Hungarian sociologist, Mr. Robert Braun, after analysing in a brilliant essay the results obtained by the Austrian and Hungarian régimes in regard to their respective ethnical groups and after pointing out what Austria had done for her Slovenes and what Hungary had done for the Transylvanian Roumanians, drew the following conclusions :

“ These few data prove sufficiently that, taken as a whole, the less important ethnical group of Austria represents a greater weight than the most important

<sup>1</sup> Közgazdaságtörténeti Lexikon, edited by Mr. Al. Tagányi.

ethnic group in Hungary (i. e. the Roumanians). On the other hand it must always be remembered that, in relation to our civilization, the Roumanians represent a far greater force than the Slovenes or even than the Czechs in relation to the German civilization (Germany included N. A.). It is by the relative strength of the forces, by the distances between nations on the path of progress that the political struggle of the future will be decided. It will be far easier for the Hungarian nationalities to reach the standard of Hungarian civilization, than for the Austrian nationalities to reach the standard of German civilization, because the distance in our case is much shorter than in theirs. The shorter this distance becomes, the more vehement and more earnest will be the claims of our nationalities to political self-determination. The demands of these nationalities as regards the alien elements which rule over them, can be summed up very shortly: the aliens are summoned not to improve or to govern better, but *to leave* the country. It would be a mistake to deceive ourselves any longer.”<sup>1)</sup>

These lines, written by a Hungarian savant, state very clearly the grounds of the judgment that has been pronounced in the historical trial between Hungarians and Roumanians. We have quoted these explicate testimonies, because it is precisely on the grounds of his nation's cultural superiority that Mr. Szász demands the revision of the Peace Treaty.

In order to complete our argument on this subject, we reproduce below the opinion of Franz von Loher, a well known German savant, on the value of the Hungarians from the point of view of human civilization :

“ One would search in vain for the stones which

<sup>1</sup> Huszádik Század 1917, p. 186. The author continues : “ It ought further to be emphasized that the national civilization of the Balkan nations, for instance of the Roumanians and Serbians, has far more internal force than ours.”

would represent the contribution of the Hungarians to the edifice of human progress. There is not a single idea, whether on the field of law, strategy and politics, of religion and ethics, of arts and science, or in any other field of human activity, which has originated in Hungary and found its way to the civilized world. Collect in a single heap all achievements of Hungarian history and compare them with what other small nations, the Swedes, the Danes, the Scots, the Portuguese or the Dutch, have accomplished for human civilization, — what a yawning desert covers the whole millenary history of the Hungarian race! Their spirit, passionate, hard, and wilful, is utterly sterile in its depths. Their character, so proud in its gallantry and passion, is detrimental to any creative activity. Hungary has always been a consumer and has never been able to repay the good that came to her from other nations, except with wheat, meat, wine and excellent recruits.”<sup>1</sup>

We might quote abundant testimonies of this kind, but we do not desire to slander the Hungarian nation. Our ways and theirs are forever separated and as peaceable neighbors we never seek to undervalue their qualities or their importance.

It has been an extremely difficult problem that the administration of present day Roumania has had to deal with during the last few years. The newly redeemed provinces, Transylvania, Bucovina and Bes-sarabia, had brought with them their old Hungarian, Austrian and Russian systems of administration. The organization of pre-war Roumania was also different. In Transylvania a great number of officials and magistrates refused to serve under Roumanian rule, while on the other hand the officials of pre-war Roumania were not sufficiently numerous nor were they sufficiently prepared to solve the new and more important

<sup>1</sup> Oesterreichische Rundschau, Band X, Heft 6, p. 408-409.

problems of their enlarged territory. We do not try to conceal by every means the deficiencies and errors of our country. We know that in order to justify the confidence placed in us, we shall have to labour and struggle for a long time to come. But any unbiased student of our circumstances and of our development will be obliged to recognize the immense progress Roumania has made between 1918 and the present day. The reform of the administration, the statute of the state officials, the laws for the unification of the various codes and systems in force in our Courts, are sufficient proofs of our efforts. —

## II. HISTORICAL SURVEY.

The name Transylvania applies today to the whole of the country extending West of the Carpathian range, which forms the axis of present day Roumania. Geographically it is perfectly justifiable to apply this name to all the territory inhabited by Roumanians on the Western slopes of the Carpathians. The Roman colonization of the II<sup>nd</sup> and III<sup>rd</sup> centuries, which extended to every district, had even in those days moulded the country into a political unit. During the middle ages the rulers of Transylvania always strove to bring the whole territory extending to our present frontiers under their sway. During the XVI<sup>th</sup> and XVII<sup>th</sup> centuries very important parts of the so-called Banat region (Lugoj, Caransebesh, Lipova) were torn away from Turkish rule and added to the Transylvanian principality; on the other hand the districts along the Crish and Somesh rivers have at all time been an object of controversy between the Hungarian kingdom and the Transylvanian principality which up to modern times has never renounced its claim to them.

The Carpathians, extending from the Iron Gates on the Danube North-East, then East and North-West, up to the sources of the Pruth and finally, with the range of Bihor, completing the triangle from the peaks of Maramuresh to the Iron Gates, form one of the most powerful natural fortresses of Europe. This citadel is the cradle where the Roumanian nation was born and where it developed its characteristic faculties, its skill and tenacity.

The passions raised by political controversies have for a long time obscured the truth about the origin of the Roumanian people. The first critical essays on the subject were composed at the end of the XVIII<sup>th</sup>



century at a moment when the Roumanian struggle for political emancipation had already commenced and was waging its first battles against the Hungarians and the German colonists of Transylvania, the so-called "Saxons". The first results obtained by a number of talented historians and savants like Sulzer, Engel and Kopitar, were immediately taken hold of by our political opponents and were employed as weapons against our political claims. Lacking in education and without educational facilities, exploited ruthlessly by the Hungarian landlords and deprived of all political rights, the Roumanians of Transylvania found that the sole argument on which, as they believed, they could base a claim for a redress, their historical priority, was also challenged.

The theory of the Daco-Roman continuity in Dacia within the territory conquered and colonized by Rome during the II<sup>nd</sup> and III<sup>rd</sup> centuries, is not the creation of Petru Maior, a well known Roumanian historian and philologist of the early XIX<sup>th</sup> century, as is asserted out of ignorance or ill will by Mr. Szász<sup>1</sup>, but it represents the old tradition of our history, referred to long ago by Byzantine authors, revived with great enthusiasm by the humanists of the XV<sup>th</sup> and XVI<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>2</sup>.

Speaking a latin language and inhabiting a territory which corresponds exactly to Dacia Traiana, the Roumanians seem indeed to be the natural heirs and defenders of the Balcano-Carpathian Roman tradition which withstood victoriously the assaults of eighteen centuries. Undoubtedly there is still much research work to be done before we can reach a definite conclusion on this problem. This work however is advancing rapidly and it employs the most modern

<sup>1</sup> Zsombor de Szász : The minorities in Roumanian Transylvania, London 1927, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The opinions of Kekaumenos (XI century) and Kinnamos (XII<sup>th</sup> century), as well as the opinions of Bonfinius, Petantius and of the Dalmatian Lucius (XV<sup>th</sup>-XVII<sup>th</sup> c.) are well known.

methods of historical investigation. In the last few years, the University of Cluj has issued a great number of strictly scientific essays and has succeeded in explaining and throwing new light on some of these problems<sup>1</sup>. The investigations, — from which any political tendency has been scrupulously eliminated, — seem to prove a powerful infiltration and a marked expansion of the Roman element in Eastern Europe, where, grafted on the sturdy stem of Illyro-Thracian races, it gave birth to the Roumanian nation. Linguistic investigations in particular, have proved that the “primeval homeland” of the Roumanian race must have been extended on both banks of the Danube, over a wide area, and that the various Roumanian groups, after keeping for several centuries in close contact with each other, separated at various periods between the VIth and the XIIth centuries. We should point out that, as regards the Roumanian territory North of the Danube and as regards the whole of Eastern Europe North of this river, there is a long period (from 300 to 1200 A.D.) in respect of which we do not possess any document or written information. This is why some Hungarian authors, like Mr. Szász, feel encouraged to assert that the existence of the Roumanian element in Dacia at the time of the Hungarian invasion is a simple legend, invented for the benefit of Roumanian ambitions and Roumanian imperialism.

When at the end of the XIIth century the historical

<sup>1</sup> G. Giuglea (in “Dacoromania” II) and C. Diculescu (“Die Gepiden”) proved the existence of old Germanic words in the Roumanian language; F. Capidan (“Dacoromania” IV and “Megleno-Românii”) studied the relations between Albanians and Roumanians, and between Slavs and Roumanians and determined the epoch when the Macedo-Roumanian and Megleno-Roumanian groups separated from the great Old-Roumanian bulk; S. Dragomir (“Vlachii și Morlăcii”) and S. Pușcariu have traced the roads that were followed by the Roumanian element towards the west of the Balcan Peninsula and explained definitely the origin of the Istro-Roumanians; N. Banescu together with N. Jorga proved the existence of Roumanian political organisations on the Danube in the XIth and XII centuries.

documents begin to give us more information about our territory, the Roumanians appear already as an old and well recognized people, scattered all over the area of Transylvania. Certain charters of the Hungarian kings mention even a “Terra Valachorum”, the “Country of the Roumanians”, — “Wallachia” — a name which as the Hungarian invaders, with their army and their state organization penetrated southward and eastward from the Hungarian plain into Dacia, was confined gradually to a smaller and smaller area.

The Hungarian penetration into the territory “beyond the great forests”—hence the name Transylvania,—which like some primeval wall separated Hungary from this province took place two centuries after the conquest of the Danubian plain by the Hungarian tribes. Their advance undoubtedly involved some bitter and sanguinary encounters with the local population, because the echo of these combats is still preserved in the Hungarian chronicles, while on the other hand the Szeklers are in all probability the offsprings of a military vanguard whose duty was afterwards to protect the boundaries of the Hungarian kings.

There was also a slow penetration in the XIth and XIIth centuries; this expansion however aimed rather at the mineral wealth, and especially at the salt of Transylvania, of which Hungary was in great need, and its impetus was broken in collision with the numerous and sturdy masses of the Roumanian population. Some evidence of this resistance is furnished by the Hungarian settlements themselves, which (with the exception of the Szekler districts) have in no part of Transylvania been able to consolidate themselves in large units, and also by the settlements of the German colonists, who were brought to Transylvania in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries for the same purpose of breaking the resistance of the Roumanian masses and of protecting the rule of the king.

It would be puerile to believe in the existence at that period of a policy of denationalization on the part of the Hungarians, but it is a fact that the attitude of the Hungarian State,—to which in spite of her autonomy, Transylvania also belonged,—became more hostile every year toward the Roumanian population. The reasons were partly political, partly economic and also religious. The ruling class which was formed and which even absorbed a few leading Roumanian elements, became entirely Hungarian, took into its hands the whole political power of the province and disregarded any interest of the autochthonous Roumanian people. And it should be pointed out, the Roumanian element was so numerous at the end of the XIIIth and at the beginning of the XIVth century in Transylvania that it contributed materially to the foundation of the two Roumanian principalities : Moldavia and Wallachia.

As a consequence of this historical evolution, there followed the complete political and social enslavement of the Roumanians in Transylvania; serfdom was gradually introduced into the province and the immense Roumanian masses were forced into villeineage. The land was taken by the king, who only distributed it to his Hungarian nobles, while the poorer population was left a prey to the deepest misery. If at any time some more vigorous individual succeeded in rising from serfdom to nobility and in obtaining a domain or a landed estate, he soon forgot his poor relatives and became assimilated to the privileged class and privileged race.

Finally, in 1437, the three privileged "nations" of Transylvania, the Hungarian nobility, the Saxons and the Szeklers, concluded a formal alliance, the "Unio Trium Nationum", in order to secure their domination and pledged themselves to afford each other all necessary help against the Roumanian serfs, deprived of land and rights, whose numbers by far

surpassed the number of the three dominant nations put together.

There is no doubt that the religious factor, the Orthodox religion of the Roumanians, played a decisive part in their evolution. Up to the XVIth century our people were the object of a long series of Catholic-Hungarian attacks, which however never obtained any substantial success, while during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries they had to withstand the proselytizing efforts of the Protestant Churches, which came into existence in Transylvania during the XVIth century and whose violent assaults and petty persecutions, perpetrated against our people with the unrestricted assistance of the State, are recorded even by the Hungarian authors of the time.

Anybody who respects the truth will therefore condemn such an assertion, as is made by Mr. Szász, that at this period of her history "Transylvania became the classic home of political and religious freedom".

It would be difficult to find anything more incorrect than this statement, which has been so assiduously repeated by the Hungarian propaganda leaflets during the last few years. We shall quote a few testimonies, which illustrate the mentality prevailing among the leaders of this "classic homeland of political and religious freedom".

By Article 36 of the Decisions of the Transylvanian Diet of 1566 it was decided that all teachings contrary to the Lutheran and Calvinist principles should be exterminated, because they were heresies. At this time the Roman-Catholic Church had been entirely abolished in Transylvania, her hierarchy suppressed and her estates confiscated; it was therefore only to the Roumanian Church that this decree had to be applied. The Hungarian princes of Transylvania, up to the end of the XVIIIth century, never ceased to repeat that the Roumanian Church was only tolerated

in the country, so long as it pleased to the prince and the Diet. <sup>1</sup>

A modern Hungarian author, Mr. Alexander Gagy, after a careful study of the religious conflicts in Transylvania, comments as follows on the decree of the Diet, which ordered the expulsion of the Roumanian clergy :

“ This decree which aimed at the conversion by forceful means of the Roumanian clergy and which is so often quoted by the Roumanian historians as evidence for tyranny and brutal violence on the part of the Protestant Diet, was issued under the impression of a decision promulgated by the Diet in the same year, while in session at Sibiu, and ordering all the Catholic clergy of the country to be expelled. There is no doubt that when the Diet gave the Roumanian clergy the alternative of either accepting the Protestant principles and submitting to the Calvinist Bishop George or of undergoing a severe punishment, it took a very harsh decision. But there was a difference in regard to the legal basis of the two decisions. The expulsion of the Catholic clergy was carried out on the basis of an order, it was an act of violence against the clergy of a denomination whose freedom of worship was guaranteed by the law and whose existence was based on sound legal foundations. But when Orthodox clergymen were compelled to submit to a Calvinist bishop, this order was not in contravention of any legal right, because those whom the decree intended to force into the Protestant community were only adherents of a denomination which was never awarded any legal status and whose worship was only tolerated *usque ad beneplacitum*. Still in this case the Diet was more lenient, because it ordered that the clergy should first have a formal debate on religion with the Calvinist

<sup>1</sup> G. Baritiu : *Parți alese din istoria Transilvaniei*, Sibiu 1889, p. 129.

bishop and that the law should only be enforced if the debate failed to produce a favourable result".<sup>1</sup>

Such was the famous religious freedom of Hungarian Transylvania. We draw the attention of the reader also to the mentality of Mr. Gagyí, who though a modern historian, can yet find justification for the persecution of the Roumanian clergy. Mr. Szász, in his turn, repeats the same justification, based on principles that Western Europe rejected almost 200 years ago.

When, at the end of the XVIIth century, the Austrian Government took the first steps for converting the Transylvanian Roumanians to the Catholic faith and offered them a number of advantages, the Diet of Transylvania, in the year 1699, gave the following highly characteristic opinion on the Emperor's proposal :

" We are far from having any intention of opposing the orders of His Majesty. Nevertheless, as regards this problem, we ought not to give so much consideration to the religious question. We have decided humbly to beg His Majesty not to allow that nation a greater freedom than it possessed up to the present time, because this would be to the detriment, unhappiness and prejudice of the three nations. Our forefathers never "received" that nation and its clergy; they never incorporated it and far less did they allow the Roumanians and their clergy to partake of the same liberties as ourselves".<sup>2</sup>

A very eloquent commentary on this subject is furnished by the dialogue between the Roumanian Bishop Innocent Micu-Klein and the Diet of 1744, when the Bishop complained of the misery of his

<sup>1</sup> Gagyí Sándor : Erdély vallásszabadsága a mohácsi véstől Báthory Istvánig, Budapest 1912.

<sup>2</sup> The religious struggles of the Roumanians of Transylvania during the XVIIth century have been the subject of a long essay published by the author : *Istoria desrobirei bisericii ortodoxe din Ardeal in secolul XVIII*, Cluj, 1920.

people who were "wounded to their very bones" and were "moaning in a new Egyptian captivity":

*The Hungarian nobles*: "The Wallachs are all vagabonds".

*Bishop Micu*: "They cannot be anything else, because they are cruelly oppressed".

*The Hungarian nobles*: "They are sluggards, thieves and bandits".

*Bishop Micu*: "Do not wonder if they are so; you do not leave anything to the poor people to live on, except their skin. Are not all those who work in your salt, gold and iron mines Roumanians? And you take from them even the skin of their bodies."

It is natural that in proportion as education permeated the Roumanian masses, their national consciousness, hardened by the political, religious and economic oppression, should grow stronger. The religious struggles of the XVIIIth century created a marked solidarity between the Roumanian masses in the various districts of Transylvania. The revolution of Horia in 1784, which represents the revenge of the oppressed Roumanian peasants upon the Hungarian nobility, marks the beginning of the political and national resurrection of the Transylvanian Roumanians.

"This painful event — wrote Emperor Joseph the II<sup>nd</sup> concerning this revolution, — should convince the nobles and landlords that their lives and fortunes are in the hands of the masses, in the hands of the people and that it is only by equitable treatment, by confidence and affection that the people can be kept permanently under control, while obedience imposed by excessive severity can only be short lived."<sup>1</sup>

It was at the time of the French Revolution, when, under the menacing influence of the French ideas, the successor of the enlightened Joseph the II<sup>nd</sup> was forced to introduce a more liberal régime, that the Roumanians

<sup>1</sup> G. Schaser: *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben des Freiherrn Samuel von Bruckenthal, Sibiu 1848.*



started their first vigorous offensive for the recognition of their nationality and for the conquest of those liberties which the other nations of Transylvania already enjoyed. One of their memoranda, which was entitled in derision "Supplex Libellus Valachorum" (1791) by the privileged nobility, comprises a genuine political programme, which only the generation of 1848 was able to carry out. Soon afterwards further energetic manifestations took place against the rule of the Saxons (1842), who relying on the support of the State were incessantly working to deprive the Roumanians of the "right of citizenship" in their districts and to reduce them to serfdom. In the Banat another movement had sprung up (1814) with the aim of emancipating the Roumanian Churches from the Serbian hierarchy, which was also seeking to bar our progress towards national life and liberty.

There were two predominant factors which determined the development of our history during the XIXth century: on the one hand the policy of denationalization followed by the Hungarian State, on the other hand the revival of Roumania, as a result of the union of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859.

The Hungarian policy of denationalization which was inaugurated about 1830, acted, up to the last, as a powerful stimulus of our national consciousness. Though the fierce conflict between Roumanians and Hungarians during the revolution of 1848-1849 may be accounted for as a passionate outburst of feelings of revenge which had been accumulating for centuries in the hearts of the Roumanian peasants, it is none the less true that it was during this revolution that, for the first time, the Roumanian nation as a whole reacted violently against the efforts striving at its denationalization. Long before 1848 Count Stephen Széchenyi, the great Hungarian patriot, who always advocated moderation among his countrymen, had foreseen the results of this unsound policy:

“ As a reaction against our efforts to denationalize them, the Non-Hungarian races may conclude an alliance among themselves, may annihilate the supremacy of the Hungarian race and may take possession of the country. ”

It is curious to note how Mr. Szász explains why the Hungarians, who demanded during the revolutionary years of 1848-1849 the application of the principles of the French Revolution for their own nation, failed to apply them for the benefit of the Non-Hungarian races of the Hungarian State.

“ In the first half of the XIXth century—writes Mr. Szász,—the *principle of nationalities* meant the national consolidation of the peoples who had a civilization and a part in history, but not the right of minority peoples who as a result of European history were still unfreed serfs and villeins. The independance of Greece and of Hungary, the unity of Italy and of Germany, the restitution of Poland were parts of this policy ; but the protection of racial minorities was not part of it, when their status was that of an oppressed class and not an oppressed race. The theories of Marx and Lasalle had a closer bearing on the condition of the sweated servile peasants than had the declaration for national selfdetermination. ” <sup>1</sup>

An entirely unjust and unjustified distinction is thus drawn by the Hungarian author between nations who had a history and who contributed to the European civilization on the one hand and nations without history or culture of their own on the other hand. This conception *sui generis* of modern liberalism is very remarkable and proves once more that the representatives of the Hungarian people have understood very little the teachings of the World War.

Hungarian politicians have always misinterpreted the ideals which animate modern civilization, in

<sup>1</sup> Szász op. c. p. 17-18.

order that they should not be compelled to draw from them the logical consequences in regard to the nationalities under their domination. During the XVIth and XVIIth century the Calvinist Church of Transylvania, though it advocated religious freedom, felt no scruple in persecuting the Orthodox Roumanian Church in the name of the same principle. The contradiction between the liberal ideas of Louis Kossuth and his denationalizing tendencies is even more striking. An excellent historian of modern Hungary, Mr. Julius Szekfü, makes the following remarks on his policy :

“ One need only read his programme in order to be astonished by its antiliberal contents. He demands the passing of certain laws ; yet if, in accordance with the principles of democracy and the sovereignty of the people, the population of the country were asked to decide, its decision would be entirely different than that which is expected by the liberal politicians. These legislative measures could not be enforced without offending liberal principles, without reducing the franchise and the political rights generally and without being imposed by forceful means ”<sup>1</sup>.

During the long debates of 1917-1918 for the creation of a new electoral law, most of the speakers in the Hungarian Parliament, while advocating the extensive application of the democratic principles, advanced an immense variety of arguments to prevent the Non-Hungarian nationalities from enjoying these beneficial reforms.

There is also something tragic in the Hungarian-Roumanian conflicts. Hungarian obstinacy is always found refusing our right to a national life of our own, and always making concessions too late, after the

<sup>1</sup> Szekfü Gyula : Három nemzedék, Budapest 1922.

battle was already lost. In 1848-49 Louis Kossuth stubbornly refused to recognize the Roumanians as a "nation", in accordance with the decisions of the Roumanian National Assembly of Blaj (May 15th 1848), but he admitted the recognition in a law passed on the eve of the complete collapse of the Hungarian revolutionary forces at Shiria. During the World War it was only in November 1918, when everything was lost, that the Hungarian Government of Count Karolyi made proposals for an understanding to the Roumanian leaders.

During the last 50 years any reconciliation had become an impossibility. The Hungarian statesmen were guilty of too many errors in their policy towards the Roumanians. The national consciousness of the Roumanian masses was constantly growing, the ideal of the union of all Roumanians into a single state and the decision to unite at the earliest possible moment with the Roumanian kingdom permeated all strata of our people and kept the national forces alive even in the remotest villages of the remotest districts. This was the only method by which, in our time, the problem of Transylvania was capable of being solved.

A solution of the Transylvanian problem by the union of all Roumanians into a single political body was foreseen as long as 1848 by a leader of the Transylvanian Saxons, Stephen Ludwig Roth. In his opinion, the two Roumanian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, were necessarily weak; the result of their union would be the creation of a stronger state, which would not however have sufficient power to resist attempts against it from the North and the South, for its territory would not form a defensible strategic unit. For the two principalities, the accession of Transylvania was, he considered, an absolute necessity; they could not exist without the Transylvanian fortress, which was their natural centre. In consequence, they were bound

to join the Transylvanian principality and to unite with it in a Daco-Roumanian Monarchy, under Austrian protection <sup>1</sup>.

The same idea was formulated by a Transylvanian professor, Ion Maiorescu, in a slightly different form : Austria should leave Italy and should combine Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia and Bucovina in a kingdom, to be called Roumania, with an Austrian prince on its throne.

Another Transylvanian professor, Constantin Romanu, who fell in battle against the Hungarians in 1849, was holding forth the union of all Roumanian provinces already in June 1848 :

“ We ought to watch events very carefully, he said, because if our action is not directed by a common goal, we are lost. All homogenous elements, Italians, Germans, Slavs, are striving to unite. Why should we not do the same, now that the time has come ? Our enemies assert that we intend to reconstruct Dacia ; why should we hide our faces in our hands ? Europe ought to know that nothing but the creation of Dacia will be able to stem the onrush of Pan Slavism, as was indeed proved during so many centuries <sup>2</sup> ”.

After the union of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859, which fulfilled one half of the Roumanian ideal, the path of our policy in Transylvania was definitely marked out. Our eyes turned to Bucarest. Louis Kossuth himself saw the mistakes he had committed, and while proposing to Alexander Cuza, the first ruler of united Roumania, the creation of a Danubian Confederation, he also offered Transylvania the possibility of deciding either to become autonomous, or to form an independent State under a ruling prince.

<sup>1</sup> Stephan Ludwig Roth : Von der Union und nebenbei ein Wort über eine mögliche Dako-Rumänische Monarchie unter Oesterreichischer Krone, Sibiu, 1848.

<sup>2</sup> N. Banescu și I. Mihailescu : Ioan Maiorescu, Bucarest 1912.

At a time when the Greeks of Crete, of Epirus, of Thessaly, of Constantinople were asserting their desire to unite with the weak kingdom of George the Ist, when the Serbians were openly declaring their intention of liberating Bosnia and Hertzegovina and the Bulgarians were working energetically for a free and united Bulgaria, when the Poles were preparing their last revolution, when the Italians were sacrificing their blood in three successive wars for the union of Italy, when the whole German race was struggling feverishly to achieve its national unity,—at such a time it was inevitable that the Roumanians should also endeavour to the utmost of their power to follow these examples and that the idea of a united State comprising all Roumanians should be seen as an essential and fundamental necessity for them.

*essential  
in union.*

The school and literature, those two important factors of our national life, shared the duty of completing this work by inculcating the ideal of union in every district and in all strata of our people. Literature was the main lever in our efforts for unity. The creations of our poets and novelists, the works of our historians, the writings of our clergy, the daily articles of our publicists, all contributed to the creation of this united national spirit. From a cultural point of view the union of the Roumanians had been achieved four decades before December 1st 1918. The great National Assembly, which met at Alba Iulia on December 1st 1918, had merely to draw up a document placing on record a reality which had been achieved long ago and which was familiar to all who had followed closely our development. This explains why the Assembly, in spite of the terrible cold, was attended by such immense number of peasants and intellectuals (over 100,000 people) and why there was such unanimity in regard to the union among all the Roumanian masses. The Treaty of Trianon simply ratified this decision of our people and finally consecrated for this

part of Europe the triumph of national and democratic principles over feudal conceptions.

“ From every point of view, the New Roumania is anything but new, except that its area is now twice as large as that of the pre-war Kingdom. It appears not as a State created by the phantasy of diplomats, not as a political unit pieced together in obedience to some abstract principle, but, in a certain sense, as the logical outcome of a long process of evolution. It does not belong to the category of States whose names were unknown before the war. The name of Roumania was already on the map ; the State which perpetuates this name is now larger and better balanced. Following as closely as possible its national aspirations, it unites almost all the Roumanians within its nearly ideal boundaries around the Carpathian fortress which was always the heart of the Roumanian race. Its economic life does not suffer any disturbance by the addition of the new provinces, whose various resources are the natural complement of one another. The mineral wealth that has been acquired does not even disturb the balance between the agricultural and industrial life of the country. There is no need of an adaptation to an entirely new life ; the old life will continue, but with a more powerful pulsation of its commercial arteries. ” <sup>1</sup>

This striking picture of Roumania, drawn by Mr. Emmanuel de Martonne, the distinguished professor of Geography at the Sorbonne, entitles us to believe that our statements, based on unbiased researches and studies, are not erroneous. The Union of Transylvania with Roumania is the logical outcome of an historical evolution, the result of our struggle for emancipation, the triumph of the generous Western

<sup>1</sup> Emmanuel de Martonne : *La Roumanie nouvelle dans la nouvelle Europe*, Bucarest 1922 p. 19.

ideas for which our Allies and our own brethren of pre-war Roumania have sacrificed their blood and, finally, it is the natural consequence of the principle of selfdetermination, which, born of the dignified conception of a free and democratic nation, came to us as a gospel from beyond the Ocean.



### III. THE POPULATION OF TRANSYLVANIA.

Transylvania (including the Banat and the Departments of Bihor, Satu-Mare and Maramuresh) has an area of 101.200 sq. km. According to the statistical data collected by the administration immediately upon the union of the province to Roumania and published by Messrs. C. Martinovici and N. Istrati<sup>1</sup>, her population in 1919-1920 numbered 5,114,124 souls, divided as follows :

Roumanians . . . . .	2.930.120	57.50%
Hungarians and Szeklers. . .	1.305.753	25.53%
Germans (Saxons and Souabians) . . . . .	534.427	10.45%
Jews . . . . .	184.340	3.60%
Others (Serbians, Ruthenians, Gypsies, etc.) . . . . .	158.484	2.92%

According to the more recent investigations and studies made at the Statistical office of the State by Mr. N. Istrati himself, the population amounted in 1923 to 5,487,966 souls.<sup>2</sup> Among these inhabitants there were :

Roumanians . . . . .	3.232.806	58.90 %
Hungarians and Szeklers . .	1.357.442	24.73 %
Germans (Saxon and Soua- bians.) . . . . .	557.683	10.16 %
Jews . . . . .	203.191	3.71 %
Others (Serbians, Ruthenians, Gypsies etc.) . . . . .	136.844	2.50 %

<sup>1</sup> C. Martinovici și N. Istrati : Dicționarul statistic al Transilvaniei etc., Cluj, 1922. We shall make use of these statistics when dealing with the years immediately preceding or immediately following the union of Transylvania to the Roumanian Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin Statistique de la Roumanie*, Directeur Général : Dr. Teodoresco, 1925. No. 1, p. 106-121.

The superiority of the Roumanian element is in reality greater than would appear from these statistics, owing to the fact that the Roumanians form a large and compact mass, extending, with the exception of an "island" inhabited by the Szeklers, over the whole of the province, which thus, in spite of one thousand years of Hungarian rule, wears the same ethnical aspect as that of the other Roumanian provinces.

Out of the 22 departments, 15 have an absolute Roumanian majority : Alba (80.5 %), Arad (61.59 %), Bihor (56.32 %), Bistritza-Nasaud (70.59 %), Carash-Severin (74.55 %), Cluj (62.5 %), Fagarash (91.95 %), Hunedoara (81.94 %), Maramuresh (54.2 %), Salaj (61.63 %), Satu-Mare (54.05 %), Sibiu (64.22 %), Solnoc-Dobaca (or Somesh, 77.3 %), Tarnava-Mica (50.89 %, and Turda-Ariesch (73.8 %),—and 2 have a relative Roumanian majority : Brashov (35.44 %) and Tarnava-Mare (45.41 %). The 4 Szekler departments, facing towards Moldavia, form an "island" which the Hungarian Government never succeeded in connecting with the Hungarian ethnical block, either by the "corridor" system of special colonies or by the denationalization of the Transylvanian towns, for which Hungarian leaders were continually striving during the last century. The Szekler departments, with a Szekler-Hungarian majority are : Ciuc (77.73 %), Odorhei (93.26 %), Trei-Scaune (78.78) and Muresh (52.56 %). The latter has also a strong Roumanian population (39.96 %) belonging, of course, to the great Roumanian block. The Germans do not form a majority in any of the departments ; they only have a relative majority in Timish-Torontal (37.67 % as against 35.04 % Roumanians), due to the forceable delimitation of the boundary facing Yugoslavia.

The superiority of the Roumanian element becomes more apparent if we consider its distribution in "dis-

tricts”<sup>1</sup> (“plasa”, “pretura”) and communities. Out of 152 districts, as they were under Hungarian régime, 107 have Roumanian, 20 have Hungarian and 5 have German absolute majorities. Out of 4082 villages the absolute majorities are Roumanian in 2918, Hungarian in 737 and German in 266.

From whatever angle one considers the distribution and settlement of the nationalities in Transylvania, one cannot fail to recognize the overwhelmingly Roumanian character of this province. United Roumania of to-day is a State with a profoundly national character; out of its 16,500,000 inhabitants the Roumanian element form 74 %, while none of its ethnical minorities attains 10 % of the Kingdom’s total population. Besides, these remnants of alien dominations only form a few islands in a Roumanian sea. The Hungarians are 8.4 %, the Germans 4.3 % of the population. Some Hungarian authors, however, like M. Szász, endeavour to persuade themselves that Roumania is not an ethnically national State and utter bitter complaints, when some political leader demands that the national principle should be regarded as the foundation of our constitution. Pre-war Hungary, a country in which in the years immediately preceding the World War the Hungarians were only able after great efforts and after manipulating their statistics to show a proportion of 48.1 %<sup>2</sup> of the total population, nevertheless, passed as a “national, united and indivisible State” in the eyes of these authors, while Roumania with her overwhelming (74 %) Roumanian majority, which gives her a character beyond the reach of discussion, represents for them a polyglot organization. Is it ignorance or selfdeception ?

As a rule the presentation of the demographic

<sup>1</sup> A “department” is divided into several “districts”.

<sup>2</sup> Magyar Sztatisztikai Közlemények, 42 Kötet, Népszámlálás, Budapest 1912 (Census of 1910) p. 6.

aspect of Transylvania in the Hungarian propaganda leaflets is drawn not only with partiality, but also with a complete disregard of scientific methods. The official Roumanian statistics they always regard as unreliable, while their own statistics, for the years previous to the war, or their private letters and communications, or bitter newspaper articles, which are their source of information for the years since the war, are treated as solid ground on which to build their theories.

Unfortunately no systematic and conclusive study exists, as yet, on the statistical data of present day Roumania. An official census for the whole country was only carried out last spring and its results have not yet been published. The statistics edited by Messrs. C. Martinovici and N. Istrati<sup>1</sup>, so often referred to by Mr. Szász, as well as the statistical guide of Mr. Istrati<sup>2</sup> are based chiefly on the official Hungarian statistics, which they were only able to correct approximately, owing to the defective material they disposed of. In scientific circles these publications are considered as successful attempts to present, at any rate approximately, the situation after the War. We shall make use of them while looking forward, of course, to the more ample material which will be available as a result of the new census.

Nevertheless we cannot avoid commenting on the malignant tone in which Mr. Szász refers to the perfectly justifiable criticisms of our colleague, professor O. Ghibu, on a superficial statistical essay by Mr. G. Theodoru. In reality it only shows that we watch these questions with serious and critical attention. On the other hand Mr. Szász ascribes great importance to a statistical study by Mr. Emil D. B. Vasiliu, secre-

<sup>1</sup>) C. Martinovici și N. Istrati : Dicționarul statistic al Transilvaniei etc., Cluj, 1922.

<sup>2</sup> N. Istrati : Indicatorul comunelor din Ardeal și Banat, Cluj. 1925.

tary of the Anti-Semitic League, whose tendencious investigations and conclusions he ought to have considered more cautiously. Public opinion in Western countries may easily be misled by such methods, because it has no possibility of investigating the facts and thus of attributing such testimonies only so much credit as they deserve.

Regarding the results of the Hungarian census, which we are still compelled to make use of, it must be stated that they can scarcely be considered reliable; we are familiar with the unvarying tendency of these statistical offices to represent the progress of the Hungarian racial conquest of the other nationalities in the most favourable light.

We shall only mention the case of Satu-Mare.

The numbers of the German (Souabian) population of this department increased from 1910 to 1923 by 22,948 souls, although the total increase of the population of the department during the 13 years in question was only 23,129. The numbers of the Hungarian population of the department in the same interval show a decrease of 32,451. When it is remembered that, according to the official Hungarian statistics, the number of the German population in 1910 was 6352, it is evident that this population could not possibly have increased in any normal way by 23,129, but that what has happened is that the greatest part of the German population was simply transferred by the census authorities to the Hungarian total. Thus in a single department the Hungarian statistics have shown as Hungarians a body of at least 20,000 Germans. And in regard to other departments and other nationalities there are many instances of the same kind, which definitely establish the unreliability of the Hungarian statistics of pre-war days <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> We owe a part of this information to Dr. Sabin Manuila, whose book "The demographic policy of the towns and the ethnical minorities of Transylvania" is shortly to appear.

The Hungarian population of Transylvania is composed of three separate groups with exceedingly slender connections. That is why the Hungarian Government used always to work so strenuously to create some sort of a "corridor" between them. This was the aim of the Hungarian colonization in Transylvania. Certain railways were also built specifically for this purpose. The intention was that new Hungarian settlements and villages should spring up in proximity to these railways and should thus link together the Hungarian groups. Naturally they also strove to split the large Roumanian mass into a number of fragments<sup>1</sup>. This interesting policy which was not lacking in a certain ingenuity unfortunately suffered from the defect of being conceived and put into practice a little too late; the well contrived beginnings that had been made are already tottering and in the end they are bound to collapse altogether.

The relative strength of the four Hungarian groups is as follows: 1. Szekler group, about 40 %, 2. Hungarians of the towns, about 30 %, 3. Hungarians of the border departments, about 20 %, and 4. Hungarians scattered in Transylvanian villages, about 10 % of the total number of our Hungarian population.

The most numerous among them is the group of the Szeklers, comprising the departments of Odorhei, Ciuc, Trei-Scaune and Muresh. They amount to about 500,000 people.

The Hungarians in the towns number 369,680 people. They form a considerable group, which however owes its existence to the special policy followed during 50 years by the Hungarian Government in regard to the Transylvanian towns.

The Hungarian population of the border departments number scarcely 260,000 souls; they do not however form a homogenous ethnographic strip along

<sup>1</sup> Kenéz Béla: Föld és nép, Budapest, 1911.

the border, but are divided and scattered over a large area, among a far greater number of Roumanian villages.

The Hungarians of the Transylvanian villages number about 150,000. They only form some minor ethnographic groups, like small islands in a Roumanian sea.

Owing to their numbers and their geographic situation the Szeklers form the only minority "island" in Roumania which is able to live an ethnical life of its own, alongside of the Roumanian element. A vanguard of the Hungarian kings in Transylvania, they form an almost compact block in the South-Eastern corner of Transylvania, the centre of present day Roumania. It is interesting, however, to note that in the past, both during the middle age and in the years preceding the World War, they were far more attracted by Roumania, where they could better satisfy their economical requirements, than by Hungary, which was so far distant. An eminent student of the Szeklers, Mr. Michel Szöke, admitted regretfully as long ago as 1902 that the Szeklers were much better acquainted with Bucarest than with Budapest<sup>1</sup>. As an example of the usual attitude of the Szeklers, Mr. Szöke quotes the words of a Szekler mother whose daughter was leaving, to take a place as servant, for Moldavia: "I would rather let her go to Moldavia than to Budapest, because in Moldavia she will still not be in a foreign country." It is again Mr. Szöke who informs us that the Szeklers are entirely unaware of the existence of a Hungarian plain: "They think that Hungary is as mountainous as the departments of Ciuc and Trei-Scaune. . . They scarcely know the names of such Hungarian towns as Szeged or Debreczen, but Bucarest, Braila, Sinaia, Dof-tana are talked about even by the children playing in the dust."

Mr. Roland Hegedüs, formerly Hungarian minister of Finance, tells us in one of his essays that the Szeklers,

<sup>1</sup> Szöke Mihály: *Pusztuló véreink (Adatok a székely kérdéshez)*, Budapest, 1902.

when talking about Moldavia, call her “belföld”, which means “inner country” or “homeland”, while Hungary is referred to simply as “vármegye”, — “department”, — in the sense of an administrative authority,<sup>1</sup> not in the sense of a country.

This also explains why the emigration of the Szeklers into Moldavia and Wallachia was so considerable even before the war. The Hungarian Government took several exceptional measures to prevent this emigration, but they only produced a general dissatisfaction among the people. At a statistical inquiry held by the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Galatz in 1903, it was found that the town was inhabited by 3666 Hungarians, almost all of them Szeklers. In some cases 10 % of the population of certain Szekler villages had found their way to Galatz.

The Germans are divided into two groups entirely distinct from each other : The Saxons of Transylvania, and the Souabians of the Banat, Arad and Satu-Mare. There are also considerable numbers of Germans in the towns, but they are again of different origin.

The Souabians number about 300,000 people, but they have never formed a national unit, like the Saxons. They immigrated into the territory of former Hungary mostly during the XVIIIth century and, scattered over too large an area, they never succeeded in collecting in a united ethnical group with a single leadership and a definite national ideal. That is why they were the first victims of the Hungarian denationalization policy. The Roumanian régime is proud of having called them to a national life of their own.

The Saxons number 230,000 people. But they play the part of a select body not only among their German kinsmen, but also among the other nationalities of Transylvania. Their cultural and economical

<sup>1</sup> Hegedüs Loránt : A Székelyek kivándorlása Romániába, Budapest, 1902.



superiority is due to the favourable conditions which they enjoyed during the past centuries.

Theirs were the most important resources of Transylvania and, isolated in their well-ordered national autonomy, they had had opportunities for developing a civilization of their own.

They are at present distributed in several "islands" and islets within the triangle Bistritza-Brashov-Orash-tie, surrounded and outnumbered by the Roumanian masses. There is not a single department where they would form the majority of the population. There is only one district ("plasa"), in the department of Brashov, where they have a slight majority. On the other hand the Hungarian minority in this triangle is far less numerous : there is only one district (also in the department of Brashov) which possesses a Hungarian majority.

Mr. Denys Sebess, a Hungarian author, has made the following remarks in regard to the Saxons :

"The Saxon towns are passing through a slow but certain ethnical transformation. They are surrounded by a very narrow strip of Saxon villages. But this strip usually consists of a narrow circumference which is already perforated in more than one place giving entrance on all sides to a Roumanian population. Nor are the people of the Saxon villages so pure from an ethnical standpoint as they were in former days. This applies more to the villages neighbouring on Roumanian districts." <sup>1</sup>

These views which are based on the statistics of the last decades have also been fully accepted by Saxon authors, like Mr. August Jekelius, who made use in his investigations not only of the official Hungarian data but also of the figures and statements provided by the Saxon Church organization. <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sebess Dénes : Emlékirat az erdélyrészi telepítésekről, Targul-Muresh, 1605.

<sup>2</sup> August Jekelius : Die Bevölkerungs- und Berufsstatistik des ehemaligen Königsbodens, Sibiu, 1908.

Among the causes which determine the slow decrease of the Saxon population the following are the most important :

1) The natural surplus population is very small. If we compare the average figures of the yearly increase in the departments inhabited by Saxons (Bistritza, Brashov, Tarnava-Mare and Sibiu), we find that in the period 1880-1900 the Hungarians increased by 19.4 %, the Roumanians by 8.4 %, the Saxons by 3.6 %. The increase is especially small in the department of Brashov and Tarnava-Mare.

2) A part of the Saxon population emigrated to pre-war Roumania, and even to America. They were attracted more especially by the Prahova valley and by the Danubian harbours. From 1887 to 1916 the total surplus of births among the Saxons was 41,379 ; nevertheless they only increased by 24,105, whence it follows that over 15,000 of them emigrated or were denationalized. <sup>1</sup>

The population of Transylvania up to 1914 was continually increasing. After this year a decrease took place. In 1914 the province contained 5,430,499 inhabitants, in 1920 this figure had fallen to 5,114,124, a decrease of 316,375 souls. After that year the loss was recovered and at present the population of Transylvania is more numerous than it was in 1914.

The Roumanians during this period increased considerably, while the other nationalities suffered some substantial losses.

Especially noticeable was the loss of the Hungarian element. They decreased by 141,407. <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. H. Siegmund: *Sächsisches Wer- und Mehrbuch, Mediash, 1922.*

<sup>2</sup> See pages 47 and 49. — This figure also proves that Mr. Szász' assertion that 197,035 Hungarians have been "repatriated" from Roumania, is incorrect.

Why the Roumanians increased and the Hungarians decreased, is easy to understand. In the first place, many Roumanians were reckoned by the Hungarian census of 1910 as Hungarians. In addition a great number of Roumanians who were left by the Treaty of Trianon under Hungarian or Yugoslav rule preferred to leave their homes and to move into Transylvania. On the other hand a great number of officials have been transferred from other parts of Roumania into Transylvania in order to replace the Hungarian officials who refused to serve under Roumanian rule. Roumanian merchants and industrialists from pre-war Roumania also came and settled in the Transylvanian towns.

The Hungarians experienced the reverse of this process. Those who had no roots in Transylvanian soil, left the province and went back to their districts of origin. They were followed by another numerous contingent, consisting largely of officials who, at the instigation of the Hungarian leaders at Budapest, chose to "repatriate" themselves into Hungary rather than to live under the "barbarous" rule of a "barbarian" nation like ourselves, although they had every opportunity offered them of becoming Roumanian citizens and pursuing their careers in peace. There was also a Hungarian, more particularly a Szekler emigration, from Transylvania into the towns of Wallachia and Moldavia. This emigration, as we have mentioned above, had already commenced before the Great War.

The following is a comparative table of the rural population of Transylvania according to departments and nationalities :

### The rural population of Transylvania in

	DEPARTMENT	Total population		Roumanians		Hungarians		Germans	
		1910	1923	1910	1923	1910	1923	1910	1923
		1	Alba .....	194.353	208.371	160.027	180.686	23.205	19.500
2	Arad .....	355.154	327.303	237.356	221.697	71.527	60.000	27.630	30.000
3	Bihor .....	421.734	423.868	250.048	287.570	141.392	120.031	2.042	1.500
4	Bistritza-Nasaud	114.607	116.322	83.094	91.677	2.100	3.500	19.774	14.145
5	Brashov.....	60.143	63.600	23.305	26.500	17.455	18.700	18.701	18.166
6	Carash-Severin ..	438.667	421.154	326.135	333.443	22.671	13.500	47.345	45.500
7	Ciuc .....	133.114	123.421	17.833	21.914	111.953	99.600	920	210
8	Cojocna .....	229.739	247.029	157.435	133.970	55.286	51.053	6.711	5.700
9	Fagarash .....	88.595	81.939	82.262	78.970	2.718	1.300	2.233	1.420
10	Hunedoara .....	316.155	321.700	262.134	264.501	36.773	38.400	6.208	9.500
11	Maramuresh ....	129.098	121.342	71.456	93.384	11.105	2.200	6.582	1.068
12	Muresh-Turda...	186.762	195.941	68.881	78.236	104.271	106.000	4.712	4.147
13	Odorhei .....	113.929	113.697	2.725	5.577	107.513	105.113	1.990	1.350
14	Salaj.....	215.193	222.538	134.799	149.435	65.811	61.000	777	807
15	Satmar.....	239.565	262.694	124.132	164.991	89.451	57.000	6.352	29.300
16	Sibiu .....	134.928	135.060	99.868	103.658	1.894	1.000	30.580	29.400
17	Solnoc-Dobâca ..	229.767	231.529	180.933	190.941	34.270	29.700	6.266	3.000
18	Târnava-Mare ..	123.613	135.258	54.621	68.775	13.554	13.200	52.872	53.000
19	Târnava-Mica...	107.266	109.085	53.688	61.143	27.887	27.014	19.658	18.500
20	Timish-Torontal.	438.461	405.814	166.783	177.445	54.304	40.044	163.321	152.400
21	Trei-Scaune ...	133.336	129.531	22.805	35.506	108.443	93.107	422	200
22	Turda-Ariesch ...	160.920	161.270	122.279	131.837	32.790	26.800	476	1.500
	<b>Total....</b>	<b>4.570.099</b>	<b>4.558.466</b>	<b>2.702.599</b>	<b>2.951.856</b>	<b>1.136.373</b>	<b>987.762</b>	<b>431.790</b>	<b>427.513</b>

1910 and 1923, according to its ethnical origin.

Jews		Others		INCREASE OR DECREASE IN 1923					
1910	1923	1910	1923	Roum.	Hungar.	Germans	Jews	Others	TOTAL
1.771	714	3.132	1.271	+20.659	- 3.705	- 18	- 1.057	- 1861.	+14.018
8.807	1.213	14.834	14.393	-15.659	-11.527	+ 2.370	- 2.594	- 441	-27.851
17.807	6.667	10.945	8.100	+37.522	-21.361	- 542	-10.640	- 2.845	+ 2.134
5.813	5.000	3.826	2.000	+ 8.583	+ 1.400	- 5.629	- 813	- 1.826	+ 1.715
86	184	596	100	+ 3.195	+ 1.245	- 535	+ 48	- 496	+ 3.457
2.505	576	40.011	28.135	+ 7.308	- 9.171	- 1.845	- 1.929	-11.876	-17.513
1.795	1.289	613	408	+ 4.081	-12.353	- 710	- 506	- 205	- 9.693
5.535	4.006	4.772	2.300	+26.535	- 4.233	- 1.011	- 1.529	- 2.472	+17.290
391	60	991	189	- 3.292	- 1.418	- 813	- 331	- 802	- 6.656
4.080	2.766	6.960	6.533	+ 2.367	+ 1.627	+ 3.292	- 1.314	- 427	+ 5.545
20.330	20.590	19.625	4.100	+21.928	- 8.905	- 5.514	+ 260	-15.525	- 7.756
4.158	3.058	4.740	4.500	+ 9.355	+ 1.729	- 565	- 1.100	- 240	+ 9179.
1.057	757	644	400	+ 2.852	- 2.400	- 140	- 300	- 244	- 232
7.994	5.096	5.812	6.200	+14.636	- 4.811	+ 30	- 2.898	+ 388	+ 7.345
18.113	9.787	1.517	1.616	+40.859	-32.451	+22.948	- 8.326	+ 99	+23.129
138	99	2.448	903	+ 3.790	- 894	- 1.180	- 39	- 1.545	+ 132
5.104	6.794	3.194	1.094	+10.008	- 4.570	- 3.266	+ 1.690	- 2.100	+ 1.762
518	129	7.048	154	+14.154	- 354	+ 128	- 389	- 6.894	+ 6.645
1.192	628	4.841	1.800	+ 7.455	- 873	- 1.158	- 564	- 3.041	+ 1.819
1.910	925	52.143	35.000	+10.662	-14.260	-10.921	- 985	-17.143	-32.647
744	218	922	500	+12.701	-15.336	- 222	- 526	- 422	- 3.805
2.166	1.055	3.209	78	+ 9.558	- 5.990	+ 1.024	- 1.111	- 3.131	+ 350
<b>106.514</b>	<b>71.561</b>	<b>192.823</b>	<b>119.774</b>	<b>+249.257</b>	<b>- 148.661</b>	<b>- 4.277</b>	<b>- 34.953</b>	<b>- 73.049</b>	<b>- 11.633</b>

It appears from this table that during the period 1910-1923 the rural population increased in 14 departments, while in 8 it decreased. The highest increase took place in the departments of Alba, Cluj and Satul-Mare.

The Roumanians have lost a little ground in the departments of Arad and Fagarash : in Arad on account of the low birth rate, in Fagarash on account of a strong movement of emigration to other Roumanian provinces or to America. In all other departments the number of Roumanians has considerably increased.

The Hungarians increased in number in the departments of Brashov, Hunedoara, Bistritza and Muresh, while in the other departments they decreased considerably. It is however only in Muresh that this increase is due to a natural surplus ; in the other three departments it is a consequence of the immigration of workingmen. Thus, Hunedoara attracted the Hungarian workingmen to its mining districts of the Jiu valley, while Bistritza and Brashov are, so to speak, outlets for the poorer Szekler population. In the Szekler departments the Hungarian population is declining : in Ciuc it decreased by 12,353, in Odorhei by 2400 and in Trei-Scaune by 15,336 souls, owing, of course, to emigration into pre-war Roumania.

The German population is more advantageously situated than the Hungarian, although compared to the Roumanians it also shows a considerable decline. They number 4277 less than in 1910. The German losses however are much heavier than would appear from the above table. In 1910 the Hungarian census authorities transferred a large number of Souabians to the Hungarian total, alleging that the people had declared themselves to be Hungarians. As a guide for determining the mother tongue and nationality of the inhabitants, the Hungarian census authorities issued instructions that "the language that a person speaks most fluently and with greatest pleasure" is to be

regarded as his mother tongue. The knowledge of the Hungarian language, the lack of national consciousness, especially among the Souabian intellectual class, and the insistent and continuous political pressure which was brought to, bear easily account for the Hungarian statistics being so favourable to the Hungarian groups.

The Saxons also show a tendency to decrease in the villages. The only exception is the county of Tarnava-Mare, where for the period 1910-1923 they increased by 128. But this increase was chiefly due to a large influx of German industrial workers who settled in the towns and were not registered separately, but as belonging to the Saxon group.

The Jews occupy a special situation, partly on account of their demographic characteristics and partly owing to the way in which they are scattered over the whole Transylvanian area. The Transylvanian Jews had already been for the most part assimilated by the Hungarian element when the War broke out and it was only after the War that they began to sever their connection with the Hungarians and to consider themselves a separate nationality. In regard to the Roumanian nation and the Roumanian State they have not, up to the present, displayed any tendency to assimilation. The Roumanian statistics indicate for the Jews in the rural communities of Transylvania a decrease of 34,953 during 1910-1923.

The situation is more favourable for the minorities in the towns and townships. The following table shows the population of the towns and townships according to nationality :

	1910	1923	Increase
Roumanians . . . . .	119.121	280.950	161.829
Hungarians . . . . .	362.476	369.680	7.204
Germans . . . . .	104.521	130.170	25.649
Jews . . . . .	76.383	131.630	55.247
Others . . . . .	15.922	17.070	1.148
Total . . . . .	<u>678.423</u>	<u>929.500</u>	<u>251.077</u>

The towns have a population of 929,500, that is 16.94 % of the total inhabitants of the province, while the population of the villages numbers 4.558.466 i.e. 83.06 % of the total. It will be seen that the Transylvanian population is overwhelmingly rural. The towns are a safety valve of the rural communities; it is towards the towns that the surplus of the village population takes its way. As a rule these emigrants afterwards pass into industrial or commercial vocations. In Transylvania however the towns had a different significance and a different purpose. Up to the middle of the last century the Saxons took the most draconic measures to prevent the Roumanian population from settling in their towns. The modern Hungarian legislation preserved unchanged the greater part of these restrictions. The author of the present essay had intended, when a professor at the Theological Academy of Sibiu, to become a citizen of that town, but the authorities of Sibiu assessed him for taxation for this privilege, in virtue of the law, at a figure higher than his whole annual salary. It goes without saying that he renounced this intention.

In the XVIIIth and during the first part of the XIXth century, almost all the Transylvanian towns had a German character. Cluj and Arad, which long before the War were considered as important Hungarian towns, had been flourishing German centres. It was only during the second half of the past century, at the time of the great denationalization offensive of the Budapest Government, that they lost their German aspect. There were also other circumstances that contributed to their denationalization. The Saxons, who were the original founders and had been the masters of the Transylvanian towns for several centuries, had never established round these towns any large reserves of rural workers who would have been capable, on account of their higher birth rate, of filling the gaps in the town population. The Hungarians



on the other hand succeeded, in spite of the fact that no Hungarian villages exist round these towns, in compensating for this deficiency by providing, under official protection, for the settlement of Hungarians from the interior of Hungary in the Transylvanian towns and by promoting by every means in their power the denationalization of the Non-Hungarian inhabitants. The town of Cluj, for instance, became almost completely Hungarian, in spite of the fact that it was surrounded by purely Roumanian villages.

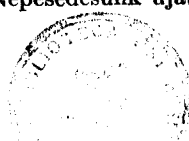
In an ethnographical essay, printed in 1798, a well known Hungarian author, Martin Schwartzner, after demonstrating the German character of the towns of Hungary, expresses his astonishment at the Hungarian language having been preserved for so many centuries in a country where the towns are inhabited by Germans, while the Hungarians, like the Teutons of Tacit, refuse to settle in them <sup>1</sup>.

However, the situation changed completely under the pressure of the Hungarian denationalization policy, during the last 50-60 years. Between 1880 and 1900 the Hungarian population of the towns of pre-war Hungary increased by 850,000 people, while the Non-Hungarians showed an increase of scarcely 13,000; in other words, the Hungarians increased by 62.6 %, the Non-Hungarians by 1.7 %. It is obvious that such an increase of the Hungarian population was due to the efficiency of the denationalization policy. It is for that reason that an eminent Hungarian demographer, Alois Kovács, observes: "In Hungary, the expansion of the towns and the increase of their population is tantamount to an increase of strength for the Hungarian element." <sup>2</sup>

The Roumanians contributed very little of the fuel

<sup>1</sup> Baró Láng Lajos : A statisztika története, Budapest 1913.

<sup>2</sup> Kovács Alajos : Népesedésünk újabb jelenségei (in Közgazdasági Szemle, 1912).



for this Hungarian Moloch. The towns were closed to them. The normal movement of the surplus rural population from the Roumanian villages into the towns was obstructed by every means with the result that they were forced to emigrate, especially to America. Within 10 years, from 1900 to 1910, the Roumanian emigrants from Transylvania amounted to 129,445. In spite of this emigration, which involved a great loss of numbers and in spite of the denationalization policy pursued by the Government, the Roumanians increased during this period by 149,553.

After the War, as the Hungarian rule in Transylvania was replaced by the Roumanian administration, the policy of increasing the Hungarian population in the Transylvanian towns and of denationalizing the inhabitants in favour of the Hungarian race was of course immediately discontinued. The relations between town and country took their normal development. The high figures of Roumanian emigration to the United States showed a rapid decrease and the population thus retained, as well as the surplus inhabitants of the Roumanian villages, now find their way into the towns.

It is a mistake therefore to talk of a "roumanizing" policy as being pursued under our administration.

The rapid increase of the Roumanian population in the Transylvanian towns is a fact proven by all our statistics. But this result was obtained, not by substituting a "roumanizing" régime for the "magyarizing" régime of pre-war days, but simply by allowing the demographic evolution to follow its free and normal course.

From the statistics it appears that in certain towns the increase of the Roumanians has been unusually rapid. In 1910 and 1920 the Roumanian population was as follows :

	1910	1920
Careii-Mari . . . . .	1.3 %	19.2 %
Baia-Mare, . . . . .	20.7 %	39.1 %
Baia Sprie . . . . .	5.2 %	35.9 %

None of these towns however possesses the characteristics which would account for its having attracted such large numbers of the Roumanian population as would at first sight appear to be the case since the union. None of them is a great cultural, industrial or administrative centre, like Cluj for instance, where the notable increase of the Roumanian population is easy to account for. They are simple provincial towns with a simple provincial life. As a fact the percentage of their Roumanian population is exactly the same as it was in 1910 ; but as most of the Roumanians of these towns spoke Hungarian as well as their own tongue, the official census of 1910 classified them as Hungarians. In 1910 they no longer feared to declare their real nationality <sup>1</sup>.

Up to the present the Roumanian State has not taken any steps to influence the natural evolution of the Transylvanian towns. Nationalist and Anti-Semitic authors often complain of this attitude of the Government. The opinion of the Roumanian intellectuals on this problem is expressed very clearly by Professor P. Suciú :

“ In regard to the factors of penetration, we are in a far better situation than were the Hungarians. Besides wielding the political power, we possess the whole hinterland of the towns. The Transylvanian towns are, for the most part, situated in districts inhabited by compact Roumanian masses. Their “roumanization” will take place in a normal way, without any violence and without any brutality. With free economic competition the vital forces will complete the process of purification : they will pull

<sup>1</sup> Societatea de Mâne, Cluj, 1924. p. 514.

down the fortresses of privilege and they will help onwards to victory over the ruins those who toiled indefatigably, who have the advantage of numbers and tenacity. And we, the Roumanian element, have unshaken confidence that the victory will be ours.”<sup>1</sup>

In his interpellation last June in the Roumanian parliament, the Anti-Semitic deputy Dr. Valer Pop accused the Government of having completely neglected to draw up and apply any programme for the “roumanization” of the towns:

“The first requisite is a central organizing and directing authority with a definite programme extending to all branches of the nation’s activity. And allow me to state that such an authority, such a Government has not so far been given to our country.”

The reply that was made to Mr. Pop, by the Minister of the Interior, Octavian Goga, is a complete confirmation of our assertion:

“The problem of the towns is undoubtedly one of the most important problems of our national life. In a State with a normally settled life the town is the ethnical expression of a region; at the basis of the town and of the region there is a perfect ethnical identity. But we should not forget that the provinces which joined the mother country have passed through a long period, through a period of several centuries, during which the defense of our national interests was impossible. It is true, the evolution of our towns is a long and mournful chapter of suffering. Condemned to permanent oppression both racially and socially, the former serfs of Transylvania and of Bessarabia, have been a rural population whose cultured elements fell victims to denationalization as soon as ever they rose above the level of the masses. The gates of the town were always closed to the Roumanian serf. You will remember from our history that for a long

<sup>1</sup> Societatea de Mâne, I., p. 516.

time the bishop of the Roumanian Orthodox Church in Transylvania, who represented the religious destinies of a population more numerous than all the other nationalities put together, was not allowed to reside in a town. You remember that when, after the episcopal chair had been vacant for a hundred years, a bishop was once more appointed, he had to find a residence in the village of Reshinari, because the city of Sibiu refused to admit him within its walls. Roumanians were not allowed to be sheltered within the towns. I only mention these details in order that you may visualise the dark centuries out of which we have risen and that you may see that the demand for reparation is legitimate. We do not seek for reparation through violence done to our fellow citizens, but through a sentiment of equity which should form the basis of our political convictions. It is our duty to protect our Roumanian element permanently and progressively in its logical and healthy endeavour to penetrate, slowly but infallibly, from the country into the towns. I believe that now that the times have changed, that the situation has changed and that the political régime has also changed, this historical movement will pursue its further course without any difficulty".<sup>1</sup>

And, in truth, the demographic evolution in Transylvania is following its logical and normal course, with a result which can already be foreseen.

<sup>1</sup> Monitorul Oficial, June 12th. 1927.

#### IV. — THE MINORITY CHURCHES OF TRANSYLVANIA AND THE ROUMANIAN STATE.

In none of the chapters of the Hungarian leaflets is the tendency to slander Roumania so clearly revealed as in those which deal with the religious policy of our State in Transylvania. Mr. Szász for instance maintains, as do several other Hungarian propagandists, that by the union of Transylvania to the Roumanian Kingdom : 1) the harmony that existed between the various denominations was destroyed, 2) the minority Churches were forced to renounce almost all their religious activities on account of endless chicanery and restrictions, and 3) under the pressure of the State the adherents of the Hungarian denominations gradually abandon their faith, and are converted to the Orthodox Church, so that the Western denominations are on the verge of disappearing from Transylvania.

We shall try to reestablish the truth in regard to this problem and to describe first the true situation of the minority churches and secondly the basic principles of our religious policy.

In pre-war Roumania, State and Church were completely united. The Orthodox religion was the religion of the State and the Orthodox Church was the dominant religious organization. The other denominations, — Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Mahommedan, — representing an exceedingly small number of adherents in proportion to the Orthodox population, had no history and no well defined organization. The State never concerned itself with them and at the same time it never impeded their free development. This accounts for the fact that the territory of Roumania never witnessed any religious struggles and persecutions, such as those which continued for centuries in some

of the Western countries. Owing to their lack of any important following, the Catholic and Protestant denominations were never able to erect a definite organization of their own; they always lived under the protection of Austria-Hungary and Germany and depended on the ecclesiastic leadership of these States. The Constitution of 1866 proclaimed solely as a general principle that "freedom of worship of every kind is guaranteed in so far as its practice is not inconsistent with public order or public morals."

The adoption of such a policy toward the Catholic and the Protestant denominations was due, besides the always tolerant attitude of the Roumanian State on religious matters, to the overwhelming influence of Germany and Austria-Hungary, both of whom displayed a keen solicitude in regard to the religion of their nationals. The Non-Orthodox denominations enjoyed privileges not far removed from exterritoriality, a situation which is not to be found in any other country in Europe. Rome considered Roumania as a missionary territory administered by vicars forane and it was only recently that the Holy See instituted the two bishoprics of Jassy and Bucarest. The protestant denominations also preserved undisturbed their connexions with their Churches in other countries: the Lutheran communities with the Lutheran Church of Berlin and the Calvinist communities with the Calvinist Hungarian bishop of Cluj<sup>1</sup>.

Consequently there was no special legislation whatever in regard to the Non-Orthodox denominations. All that exist are certain provisions which indicate that the State was not entirely indifferent to those denominations which possessed a certain importance. Such were for instance the measures which provided for the protection of the Mahommedan worship and for the clergy of that religion being paid and educated by the State.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. I. Matei: Dreptul bisericesc de stat in România intregită. Regimul general al cultelor, Bucarest 1926, p. 23-25.

This situation had to be modified after the World War. The union of the redeemed provinces to the pre-war Kingdom brought within the new frontiers several denominations which had a long tradition behind them and which had played an important part in the history of Transylvania. —

Equality of rights, in the relations of the denominations to the State, had never been admitted by the Hungarian régime, which always discriminated between one denomination and another. In spite of the fact that freedom of worship and equal rights of denominations had been officially proclaimed (although it was only after a long delay that they were embodied in the law XXXXIII of 1895), the old conception of dividing the Churches into two main categories, denoted by medieval names, was preserved untouched. There were 1) “accepted” denominations (“*religiones receptae*”), and 2) “recognized” denominations (“*religiones recognitae*”). “Accepted” denominations were: the Roman-Catholic, Greek-Catholic, Armenian-Catholic, Calvinist-Presbyterian, Lutheran, Orthodox-Serbian, Orthodox-Roumanian, Unitarian and Jewish. Their “acceptation” had taken place at various periods and sometimes only after a long and painful struggle. The other denominations, such as for instance the Baptist and Anabaptist groups, were considered only as “recognized”.

A certain discrimination was exercised between these two classes. The “accepted” denominations (“*religiones receptae*” — a term, which although accepted by modern Hungarian legislation, is a creation of the medieval Transylvanian Diet) were considered as organizations possessing an ethical personality recognized and protected by the State and possessing an authority guaranteed by the public law of the country<sup>1</sup>. The bishops and superintendents of these

<sup>1</sup> Dr. J. Matei o.c.p. 26 and fol.



denominations were ex-officio members of the Hungarian House of Magnates, their officers were public authorities and their employees were public officials. The decisions of the Churches were executed, at their demand, by the organs of the State; the Churches were entitled to impose taxes on their adherents to provide for their religious needs, and to collect these taxes through the State administration; the religious education of their youth below the age of 18 was compulsory. Publicity was not required for their meetings. The reports of their conventions were only forwarded to the Government, if this was specially demanded. The clergy, while performing religious duties, enjoyed special protection. In the Army special chaplaincies were instituted by the State for each "accepted" denomination.

The State, in its turn, reserved for itself: 1) the right to prescribe the conditions for recognition of the denominations and for the free exercise of their activities, to alter the assignment of ecclesiastical estates in case of a denomination ceasing to exist or of its adherents being converted to another belief, 2) the right to supervise the activities of the denominations either by sending special commissioners to their conventions or by requesting that their resolutions should be forwarded to the Government for approbation, and 3) the right to examine the resolutions and decisions of the denominations from the point of view of legality and complete accordance with the laws of the State.

It should however be emphasized that the actual extension given to these rights of the State was not equal in all cases, but varied with every denomination.

*The Roman-Catholic Church*, possessing no special autonomy, was largely dependent of the State. Its archbishops, bishops and canons were appointed by the king, who founded and suppressed bishoprics and ecclesiastical dignities, awarded and forfeited estates, disposed during a vacancy of the revenues

which accrued, retained in his own hands, through the agency of his Government, the administration of the foundations and of all property of the Church. On account of the right of patronage possessed by the "apostolic" Hungarian King and on account of the Hungarian conception of royal prerogatives, the Roman-Catholic Church enjoyed the privileges of a State Church without any restriction.

Nevertheless the Roman-Catholic bishopric of Alba-Iulia occupied a special situation. Its evolution took place for a considerable period under Protestant pressure, which from 1556 to 1715 forbade even the appointment of a Catholic bishop. It was owing to this pressure that the bishopric, when organized, adopted a special form of Church government, consistent with the conditions and mentality of its adherents at the time. It accepted a Church Assembly consisting of clergy and laymen, modelled upon the organization of the State and including all high officials of the public services, of the administration and of the judiciary who were members of the Catholic Church. As the great foundations and the estates of the Church were kept under State administration, immediately after the revolutionary years of 1848-49 a movement started for their autonomous administration by the Church authorities. The Assembly of the Catholic bishopric of Alba Julia, the so-called "Status Catholicus" adopted a constitution of its own, based on the principle of autonomy and endeavouring to enforce it; the State however refused to recognize it, as a whole, and only allowed it to be partially applied, leaving the final form of constitution to be definitely settled after a solution had been reached in regard to the autonomy of the whole Catholic Church of Hungary. This contemplated autonomy never came into existence.

The "Status Catholicus" finds itself under Roumanian rule in exactly the same situation as it was under the Hungarian administration: that is, it

enjoys a complete autonomy which exists *de facto* but not *de jure*, which is tolerated, but up to the present has received no formal recognition on the part of the State. It is only logical therefore, that before allowing certain Hungarian leaders to extend this autonomy to the bishoprics of Satu-Mare, Oradea-Mare and Timishoara, the Roumanian Government should first wish to settle by a Concordat with the Holy See the definitive situation of the Catholic Church of Roumania. We are certain that the autonomy, which was denied to the Transylvanian Catholics by the Catholic State of Hungary under the "Regnum Marianum", will be granted to them by the Roumanian State, in so far as such autonomy is found to be in conformity with the Catholic canon law. Mr. Szász asserts that the Holy See has "tacitly recognized" the Status and that in virtue of the statement contained in the new "Codex Juris Canonici" of 1918 to the effect that the general law does not abolish the regional law, the recognition of the Transylvanian "Status" may be regarded as an accomplished fact. This allegation is completely erroneous: the question of the "Status" will be settled by the Holy See, in the Concordat which is at present under discussion with the Roumanian State.

During the eight years that have passed since the Union, the autonomy of the "Status Catholicus" has not been curtailed in any respect by the Roumanian Government. Moreover, this autonomy, which in pre-war days was not allowed to extend beyond the administration of the estates and foundations of the Church, was considerably enlarged<sup>1</sup>.

The report which was made by the Governing Council of the bishopric to the General Assembly of 1920 proves that, after the Roumanian administration was introduced in Transylvania, the Council

<sup>1</sup> Dr. F. Teutsch (the Saxon Lutheran bishop of Sibiu): Die Kirchlichen Verhältnisse Siebenbürgens, Halle 1906, p. 41.

refused to recognize a great part of the rights of the Ministry of Public Worship, emancipated itself from the Ministry's supervision and achieved complete autonomy.

The statute for the administration of Church estates, approved by the Hungarian Ministry of Education and Worship in 1915, was also modified by the "Status" which cancelled all articles referring to the rights of the King and of the State. The Roumanian Ministry of Public Worship has never been asked to give its consent to this modification, although such consent is required by the Constitution of the "Status" itself <sup>1</sup>.

The "Status" also eliminated the rights of patronage of the king in regard to the Catholic Church. In its report of 1921 the Governing Council states on this subject :

"The rights of patronage of the Hungarian apostolic King have not been transferred to the Roumanian State, or at least this transfer has not been effected as yet".

It is admitted consequently that the *ius supremi patronatus* of the King, as regards the Catholic Church is still under discussion <sup>2</sup>.

The Roumanian Government very rightly avoided stirring up any "Kulturkampf" with the Catholic "Status", which is more Hungarian than Catholic, although many distinguished intellectuals and all the organizations of the Orthodox Church have repeatedly called its attention to the privileged situation which the "Status" was creating for itself, to the prejudice of the other denominations <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Az érdélyi római katolikus status-igazgató tanácsának jelentése 1922, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Évkönyv 1921, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> O. Ghibu : Catholicismul unguresc din Transilvania si politica religioasa a Statului Roman, Cluj 1924.

Preotimea ortodoxa din Ardeal si chestiunea cultelor din Romania, Arad 1924.

Until fresh legislation will definitely settle the relations between the minority Churches and the Roumanian State, the old Hungarian laws have been kept in force in Transylvania. The legal connection between State and Church has not been interrupted, and the Roumanian State has not refused to give material support to the Catholic bishoprics and parishes of Transylvania. In a memorandum which it presented to the Government the Catholic "Status" made the following declaration :

"As a consequence of the ratification of the Treaty of Trianon, all obligations which were formerly incumbent upon the Hungarian State in regard to the Churches are now incumbent upon Roumania, as a successoral State."

The "Status" thus showed its desire that the rights of the State should be abolished and at the same time it reminded the State of its obligations, although both rights and obligations are derived of the same source. The Roumanian Government has never for a moment neglected to fulfil its obligations in spite of the many mistakes committed by the "Status".

The evolution of the Catholic Church in the Banat furnishes fresh evidence of the liberal spirit of our régime. Up to 1918 the bishopric of Timishoara had a decidedly Hungarian character, though out of its 462,515 parishioners (in 1910), 268,230 were Germans. After 1918 these Germans awoke to a new national life and introduced their own language in all the parishes and in all the denominational schools where the parishioners and the pupils were of German extraction. The Government did not prevent them from carrying out this change; moreover by the appointment of a bishop-in-charge of German origin it directly facilitated this re-birth. A great number of the clergy among the Souabians were Hungarian in language and sentiment and had been appointed before the War for purposes of denationalization.

Since 1918 they have been gradually replaced by clergy of the same race and language as their parishioners. At the same time the Hungarian parishes of the bishopric have been left untouched. It is hoped that now, after justice has been done to the German parishioners, they will understand how to hold the balance between the two nationalities, German and Hungarian, which compose the Catholic population of the diocese, in order to avoid any undesirable dissensions within their Church.

*The Calvinist-Presbyterian Church* enjoys complete autonomy. Its Constitution, which was promulgated and sanctioned in 1907, while it guarantees this autonomy, contains also certain provisions which are intended to safeguard the rights deriving from the sovereignty of the State. Article 4, for instance, provides for the right of the King to supervise the activities of the Church, *jus supremæ inspectionis*. The election of the bishop needs to be confirmed by the State and the newly elected bishop is obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the King (Art. 183). At the head of the Church organization, consisting of the parish, the decanate, the diocese and the general convention, is the Synod endowed with legislative powers. It is important to note that according to this constitution, which was adopted in 1907, no laws or ordinances passed by the Synod can be put in application until they have received the consent of the State (Art. 8).<sup>1</sup>

Far from being hampered in its activity, the Calvinist-Presbyterian Church has organized a second diocese, which has its centre in Oradea Mare and comprises the Calvinists of the Western departments of the country.

The future problem for this denomination will be to unify the administrative systems of the two bishop-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Matei o.c.p. 30-31.

rics which up to the present have been conducted on entirely different principles.

*The Unitarian Church* also enjoys complete independence and unrestricted autonomy. Its Constitution, which had been adopted before the war, recognizes the *jus supremæ inspectionis*, the right of the State to supervise its activities, the right of the King to confirm the election of bishops as well as the obligation of the latter to take an oath of fealty to the King. But it should not be forgotten, that a provision in the Statute requires that all resolutions of the Supreme Council, which is the legislative body of the church, shall be forwarded to the Government and receive the sanction of the King. According to Julius Térfi, the eminent Hungarian expert on public law, when this Constitution of the Unitarian Church was adopted, its provisions for autonomy appeared so audacious, that the Hungarian Government hesitated for a long time to give its consent. Nevertheless the Roumanian Government has respected it to the very letter, regardless of the fact that the leaders of the Unitarian Church for several years carried on a very injurious propaganda campaign abroad against Roumania.

*The Lutheran Saxon Church* was, up to 1920, placed by its Statute in about the same situation towards the State as the Calvinist-Presbyterian Church. There was however one difference : the resolutions of its General Assembly concerning purely ecclesiastical matters, with the exception of modifications of its Constitution, did not require to be sanctioned by the State. Article 4 provided for the State's right of supervision ; Article 8 empowered the Church to levy taxes on its adherents ; if these taxes had a general character or were to be levied for a period exceeding two years, they could not be assessed without the consent of the Government. Article 15 obliged all

members of the Church to be faithful to the King and to obey authorities of the State. Article 168 and 169 laid down that a newly elected bishop must be confirmed by the King and that he could not occupy his episcopal chair before he had taken an oath of fealty to the King and had made a solemn promise that he would respect and cause to be respected, the Constitution, the laws and institutions of the country.

This Statute of pre-war days was replaced at the General Assembly of 1920 by a new one, in which all the articles laying down the rights of the State have been suppressed. Article 1 of the new Statute solemnly declares that, on the basis of the old religious laws, of the State conventions and of the peace treaties, the Church is entitled to have a legislation and an administration of its own ; while the last Article briefly announces that “ the present Constitution will be put in force immediately ”. It was in view of this Statute that its chief, Bishop Teutsch of Sibiu, very justly declared : “ The Church acknowledged with gratitude that all possibility of interference with her inner life was excluded. Its autonomy was left untouched ”. <sup>1</sup>

To this frank statement we should only add one brief remark : under the Roumanian régime the Lutheran Saxon Church has once more entered on its rights, which had been usurped before the war by the Lutheran Hungarian Church, in Cluj and in 10 other parishes in which its adherents were on the verge of losing their German mother tongue.

*The Lutheran Hungarian Church* of Roumania has only about 33,000 adherents who prior to October 1918 belonged to the diocese of the Theiss region in Hungary. Their 23 parishes will shortly be organized,

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Teutsch : Die Siebenbürger Sachsen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Sibiu 1924, p. 302.



with the consent of the Government, into a diocese of the Lutheran Hungarians of Roumania. Their present organization adopted at a synod in Sacele in 1922, is based on the same principles as the organization of the Calvinist and Unitarian parishes. For the time being an executive committee, residing in Cluj, is at the head of this Church.

It is obvious from the above paragraphs that the régime of the minority Churches in Transylvania is still their pre-war Hungarian régime, adapted to the new political circumstances; the modifications introduced by certain Churches in their respective constitutions and by-laws, far from restricting their rights, have only widened their autonomy and in a number of cases have imposed obligations upon the State without recognizing the rights, which are conferred upon it by the laws.

Not a single step has been taken by the Government to prevent the free development of these Churches or their freedom of public worship. Mr. Szász accused the Roumanian Government of seeking to destroy the harmony that existed between the various churches and to drive the Western denominations out of Transylvania. But he cannot quote a single order or a single measure in support of this allegation. Religious intolerance was never characteristic of the Roumanian people. We should be rather inclined to believe that our nation was indifferent in religious matters, — as indeed is the opinion of Bishop Teutsch himself, — if we were not acquainted with the generous tradition of toleration that always flourished on Roumanian soil.

It was with great truth that Dr. Miron Cristea, the Patriarch of Roumania, stated in the Roumanian Parliament: "We Roumanians have been the most tolerant nation in the world. It is easy to be so today, when toleration is one of the acquisitions of human civilization; but we have been tolerant at a time,

when the whole of Europe was being suffocated by the most brutal forms of religious intolerance. ”

The Roumanian Constitution adopted in 1923, contains the following principles in regard to the Churches :

“ Freedom of conscience is absolute.

“ The State guarantees to all denominations equal freedom and protection, in so far as their practices are not inconsistent with public order, public morals and with the laws of the State.

“ The Christian Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Churches are Roumanian Churches.

“ The Orthodox Church being the religion of the great majority of the Roumanians is the dominant Church in the Roumanian State ; the Greek-Catholic Church has precedence over other cults.

“ The relations of the various cults to the State will be established by law. ” <sup>1</sup>

Can there exist any doubt as to the attitude of the State towards religious freedom ? Or as to its attitude towards the equal protection of the various denominations ?

It is alleged that this wording of the Constitution is not clear, that a distinction is drawn between the churches of the majority and those of the ethnical minorities, that the former are called “ Churches ”, while the latter are referred to as “ cults ”, with the intention of creating a gulf between the two groups. <sup>2</sup>

The best reply to such allegations is the interpretation given in Parliament to this paragraph by Mr. C. Banu, who was Minister of Public Worship at the time when the Constitution was adopted :

“ At the bottom of his conscience each of us believes as he is convinced. Nobody can penetrate into the sanctuary of our hearts either to compel us to believe something or to prevent us from believing it. But that is not the point which we are now discussing.

<sup>1</sup> A. Lascarov-Moldovanu și S.A. Jonescu: *Constituțiunea României* adnotată, Bucuresti 1925, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Z. de Szász, o.c.p. 179.

In any religion there are two principal elements : the dogma, — the metaphysical part, — and the rite, — the form of worship. Who can deny to any individual the freedom of expressing, orally or in writing, the dogma of his faith ? But that liberty is identical with liberty of opinion. The religious freedom, which we are now discussing is the freedom of worship.

“ What does this freedom consist of ? The principle can be stated briefly as follows : I, a citizen, am not allowed to prevent you, another citizen, either directly or indirectly, from practicing your own form of religious worship and I am not allowed to compel you, either directly or indirectly, to take part in a form of worship which is not yours.

“ What happens then if such attempts to prevent or to compel should still be made ?

“ It becomes the duty of the State to step in and not only to proclaim freedom of worship, but also to give its full protection in order to make this freedom of conscience secure ”. <sup>1</sup>

Can there exist any more emphatic statement of religious liberty? On the other hand it is obvious for any unbiased reader, that any argument that seeks to prove discrimination, relying on the use of the terms “ cults ” and “ Churches ”, is artificial and cannot be taken seriously ; the two Roumanian Churches are themselves included in the general expression “ cults ”. If there were really any discrimination, why should the heads of the minority Churches, who were members of the Senate, have failed to mention it, or to protest against it?

As to the assertions that have been raised in regard to the “ dominant ” character of the Orthodox Church, we shall now quote the opinion of Mgr. Basil Suci, Greek-Catholic Archbishop of Transylvania, as expressed by him in the Senate :

<sup>1</sup> A. Lascarov-Moldavanu și S. D. Jonescu: *Constitutiunea României*. p. 211.

“ The authorized representatives of the sister Church have stated that the term “ dominant Church ” does not imply that this Church would dominate anybody ; the Minister of Agriculture announced in his turn, in the name of the Government, that the State has no denominational character : it could not therefore be said that the Orthodox religion is the dominant religion of the State in the sense as it was stated in the Constitution of 1866 ; the rapporteur, Mr. Dissescu, has also explained that the word “ dominant ” in this place does not mean a “ domination ” in the sense of a relation between a master and a servant, but only in the sense that one colour may be said to predominate over the other colours in a picture. It is in this sense that the word is to be understood, because otherwise there would not be “ equal freedom and protection ” of cults. The Orthodox Church is manifestly the dominant Church in the Roumanian State, because it is an incontestable fact that the overwhelming majority of Roumanians belong to the Orthodox faith.”<sup>1</sup>

Senator Adolphe Schullers, one of the leading personalities of the Saxon Lutheran Church and of the Saxon minority, made the following statement on the same subject, during the debates in Parliament :

“ There is another delicate problem which has found a fitting solution in the text of the Constitution, namely the relation between the Christian Orthodox religion and the other denominations of the country. I also agree that the Orthodox religion, owing to the fact that it is the religion of the majority of all the Roumanian people, should have priority in the State, *prima inter pares, praerogativa honoris*. That is to say, the Orthodox Church should officiate at christenings and weddings in the royal family ; the Orthodox Church should lead the religious solemnities on the occasion of the King’s coronation, of the opening of Parliament,

<sup>1</sup> O.c.p. 186,

etc. This priority evidently does not bear within itself the implication of any kind of influence upon the life and management of the other denominations.”<sup>1</sup>

Finally, in order to avoid any misunderstanding on the part of the German representatives in Parliament, the Minister of Public Worship, Mr. Banu thought it desirable to state once more the principles by which the Roumanian State is guided in regard to religious autonomy and equality :

“ Mr. Binder, who spoke here in the name of Roumanian citizens of German extraction, proposed an amendment demanding equality and autonomy for the Churches. If Mr. Binder had read more attentively the article to which he was referring, he would have found that it comprises both equality and autonomy.

“ How can it be suggested that this equality is ignored when the second paragraph reads : The State guarantees to all cults equal freedom and protection ? The text is perfectly clear. But this paragraph provides for the freedom of cults, for freedom in general. It is not confined to liberty for the adherents of any cult to practice their own form of worship, it also implies the liberty of the Churches in dealing with their internal problems, the freedom to organize and to conduct their affairs to the best of their intelligence. Autonomy ? Yes. But autonomy without any limits ? No. Unless you are aiming at something else than the liberty to worship God in the manner of your choosing, to proclaim the dogmas that you believe in, and to practice the rite that you prefer, denominational liberty can certainly have no other limits than those indicated in the text of the paragraph, namely : public order, public morals and laws of the State. But if you, as a denomination, are aiming at something more and request the material support of the State, — a support which is provided by taxes levied from citizens of other denominations as well, — then it is clear that

<sup>1</sup> A. Lascarov-Moldovanu si S.D. Jonescu o. c. p. 178-179.

certain relations based on certain principles need to be established between Church and State.”

The law of the cults, which is provided for by the Constitution, has not as yet been passed. The delay has been due to political events in Roumania during the last two years. Meanwhile, in Transylvania the Hungarian laws of prewar days are still in force. The bill, drawn up by Mr. Al. Lapedatu, the Minister of Public Worship, as long ago as 1925, was brought, before being presented to Parliament, to the knowledge of all minority Churches, whose opinion was asked for in regard to it. Based unreservedly on the principles of religious liberty and denominational equality, this bill contains nothing detrimental to the minority Churches, nor does it discriminate against them in any way. Its provisions are already comprised in the prewar Statutes of the various denominations in Transylvania. It is therefore absurd to maintain as is done by Mr. Szász, that by requiring that the election of a bishop shall be confirmed by the King and the bishop shall take an oath of allegiance to the King and State, the autonomy of the Churches is being gravely restricted. Why was it not gravely restricted at the time of the Hungarian régime, when the obligations imposed upon the Churches were exactly the same?

It has been asserted that the adherents of the Hungarian Churches are being converted to the Orthodox faith and that Western denominations are disappearing from Transylvania.

This is nothing but a baseless insinuation. Between the Orthodox Church and the other denominations there is a profound difference, not only in regard to dogmatic principles, but also in regard to the methods of religious activity. The Orthodox Church has never disturbed the peaceful relations of the various religious organizations. If in certain villages from time to time single individuals pass from one denomination to another, this is due always either to local dissensions

with the clergy, or to marriages among people of different religion. Such cases happen within the Roumanian as well as within the minority Churches.

Far from being menaced by the Orthodox religion, the Hungarian Churches are in a continuous fight with each other. The Calvinist bishop of Cluj himself stated, a short time ago, that the religious education of his adherents was passing through a great crisis on account of the activity of the Roman Catholic Church:

“Leaving aside anything else, I only want to point out the two dangers threatening with destruction our young generation : the insidious and powerful Catholic propaganda and the spreading of anti-religious ideas.”<sup>1</sup>

Consequently the bishop himself is rather afraid of the Catholic propaganda than of the interference of the Roumanian State in favour of the Orthodox religion. Besides, the Orthodox Church never was an *ecclesia militans*. Central University Library Cluj

When dealing with the situation of the Churches in Transylvania, the Hungarian propagandists, including Mr. Szász, usually recount a series of so-called “religious persecutions” and “atrocities”. They are simply reprinted from the pages of various reports written by certain American and British missionaries who, ignorant of Transylvanian conditions, travelled in the province for ten days during 1920-1921, were supplied with every kind of fantastic material, and believed, after their return, that they knew all about our conditions. All these reports, compiled with an amazing superficiality, were also submitted to the League of Nations. The reply of the Roumanian Government, which was based on careful investigations, demonstrated beyond cavil on the one hand the naïveté of the authors and the fragility of their allegations, on the other hand the mischievous character

<sup>1</sup> “Az Ut” (a Calvinist review), Cluj, 1925. p. 35.

of their informers. By incessantly reprinting and repeating the above mentioned reports, without ever taking into account the refutations that were furnished by the Roumanian Government, these authors show once again, that their real aim is not to present the truth or to secure any improvement, if such is necessary, in the conditions of the minority Churches, but to stir up and to keep alive a sentiment of constant suspicion towards Roumania and towards the Roumanian Government in view of some more remote purposes, which we do not desire to discuss. Impartial students of these problems will find both the Hungarian complaints and the Roumanian replies among the archives of the League of Nations.

For the benefit of our American and English visitors, who while travelling in Transylvania were induced to avoid all contact with Roumanian society or with Roumanian intellectual and scientific circles, and who left our country with a large supply of tendencious information, suggestions and insinuations not entirely unrelated to the Hungarian political propaganda, we ought to state, in all fairness, that Roumanian public opinion, more especially the Roumanian public opinion of Transylvania, which is regardful of truth and utterly opposed to any illegality, knows absolutely nothing of the atrocities and persecutions that have been broadcasted at length in England and in America. How was it possible that we should have heard nothing at all of these persecutions, whose victims clamour so loudly that their voices are heard beyond the Ocean? We, who in our laboratories and in our archives and libraries are engaged in incessant and scientific research for the truth, we know the impossibility of the incidents alleged in those insidious propaganda leaflets and we know that the charges are without a vestige of foundation.

We do not pretend that in Roumania no excesses of any kind ever occur. Excesses do occur, — for



instance, there have been various Anti-Semitic incidents, — but for the greater part they are either consequences of the War, or of a mistaken sentiment which has pervaded the whole of Europe. We should therefore distinguish with greatest care between the perfectly legitimate claim for religious freedom and certain unavowable political aspirations.

It has also been asserted that by introducing and carrying out an agrarian reform the Roumanian régime has sought to reduce the minority Churches to poverty and to break their resistance. The agrarian reform in Roumania and Transylvania was a stringent social necessity. It is perfectly true that the minority Churches were hard hit by it, but this was also the fate of the Roumanian Greek-Catholic Churches as well as of the great Roumanian hospital foundations of Bucarest and Jassy. The Roumanian Greek-Catholic bishopric of Oradea Mare had its estates expropriated in exactly the same proportion as the Hungarian Roman-Catholic bishopric of the town. The Roumanian Greek-Catholic archbishopric of Blaj and its institutions were allowed to retain less than the Hungarian Roman-Catholic bishopric of Alba Iulia and its Chapter. The only bishoprics which were completely spared by the agrarian reform, were those of the Orthodox Church ; this privilege was due to the simple fact, that the Orthodox Church on account of the persecutions it had endured in the past, had not a single estate or any land suitable for agriculture ; there was, in short, nothing to expropriate.

The comparison drawn between the Orthodox and the other denominations by Mr. Basil Goldis, the Minister of Public Worship, in the Roumanian Senate on December 16th, 1926, gives a clear picture of the situation of the latter denominations within the Roumanian State.

“ The representatives of the Greek-Catholic Church and of the minority denominations, — said the Minister,

— have succeeded in creating the legend that the Orthodox Church is a privileged Church in this country and that injustice is being done to the Greek-Catholic and to the minority Churches, because the State does not grant them its support to the same extent as to the Orthodox Church. Let us therefore examine the question and see whether the Orthodox Church, the dominant Church of this State, enjoys any special privilege or not. Let us consider first the number of the adherents of our Churches. Let us assume that the Orthodox parishioners number 12 million ; I believe they are more, but I take this figure, because I do not want to be accused of an exaggeration. The figures for the other denominations I take according to their own data. I take the budget for 1926 because that for 1927 has not yet been passed by Parliament and cannot be the basis of such a discussion. By the budget for 1927 the Orthodox Church with her 12 million adherents obtains an yearly subvention of 330 million Lei. The Greek-Catholics, according to the returns of their own ecclesiastical authorities, number 1,386,000 people and they receive a subvention of 50 million Lei. Proportionately and according to the "equal protection" provided for by the Constitution, the Orthodox Church should have a subvention of at least 450 million Lei.

" The Protestant denominations together number, according to their own statistics, 1,660,000 souls and receive a subvention of 36,894,000 Lei. Proportionately the Orthodox Church should receive 440 millions.

The Mahommedans number 153,000 people and receive a State subvention of 4,619,000 Lei. In the same proportion the Orthodox Church should receive a subvention of 369 million Lei...

" From the point of view of the budget, as you can see, the dominant Church is less favourably treated than the other denominations.

" It is necessary that our citizens should be able to appreciate the truth in order to discourage the

creation of so many false rumours and legends. Lies will never succeed in creating brotherhood among national groups.

“ A society is organized in proportion as its leading organs are equipped with an efficient staff.

“ Let us see from this point of view what is the situation of the Orthodox Church and of the other Churches and how many bishops they possess, because the bishoprics represent the organic force of a Church.

The Orthodox Church with her 12 million adherents has 18 bishops. The Greek Catholic Church with her 1,386,000 adherents has 4 bishops. In the same proportion, the Orthodox Church should have 38. And our Uniate brethren ask for one more bishop, in order to have 5.

The Protestants *i.e.* Calvinists (776,000), Lutherans (338,000), Unitarians (66,000), have 4 bishops; proportionately the Orthodox Church should have at least 40 bishops. The Roman Catholics with 1,430,000 adherents, have 5 bishops, and the bishopric of Timisoara is vacant; proportionately we should have 45 bishops.

“ In regard to the strength of her organization, it will be seen that the dominant Church of the State is the less favoured.

“ But let us consider the number of persons who work in close co-operation with the bishops, the staff of the Church organizations. In the Roman-Catholic and Greek-Catholic Churches this staff consists of canons, in the Orthodox Church of eparchial counsellors. In this connection, one could not even mention the Orthodox Church of the pre-war Roumanian Kingdom, because her organization was utterly deficient. The Greek-Catholic Church has 28 canons, the Roman-Catholic has 32, the two Catholic Churches together have 60 canons, whose attributions are exactly the same as those of the Orthodox eparchial counsellors. The Orthodox Church has 22 counsellors, in the near

future she will have 60 ; proportionately, however, it should have at least 300. It is almost ludicrous to describe this Church as dominant.

“ Let us pass to the archpriests and deans, who are the backbones of every Church organization. The Greek-Catholics, with their 1,386,000 adherents, have 78 archpriests ; the Orthodox have 87 in Transylvania and 47 in the old Kingdom. In proportion to the Greek-Catholic Church we should have 720 archpriests and not only 134, as we have at present. The Roman-Catholics have 25 ; in the same proportion we should have 250. The Calvinists have 27 ; proportionately we should have 324. The Lutherans have 14 ; a right proportion for us would be 560. The Unitarians with their 66,000 adherents have 8 deans : proportionately the Orthodox Church with her 12,000,000 adherents should have 1,200 archpriests. The Mahomedans too have 4 muftis ; in the same proportion the Orthodox Church should have 320 archpriests. From this point of view we are again behind the other denominations, even behind the Mahomedans. ”

To the comparison thus made by Mr. Goldis we ought to add, in explanation, that it is the State that pays the salaries of the bishops, canons, counsellors, archpriests, deans and clergy and of all the Church officials of the mentioned denominations.

The following table shows the subventions which are being paid by the State to the various denominations in Roumania, on the basis of the budget for 1927 :

the Orthodox Church . . . . .	657,053,920 Lei,
the Greek-Catholic Church . . . . .	89,157,333 »
the Roman-Catholic Church . . . . .	37,472,232 »
the Calvinist-Presbyterian Church . . . . .	41,711,354 »
the Lutheran Church . . . . .	14,008,613 »
the Unitarian Church . . . . .	6,016,538 »
the Mahomedan Communities . . . . .	8,962,232 »
Transylvanian Jewish Synagogues . . . . .	400,000 »

As can be easily seen, there is not the slightest discrimination as between the Orthodox and Greek Catholic national religions and the minority denominations.

The Hungarian Government in pre-war days paid no salaries to the clergy; they had to live on the revenues of their parishes. By the law XIV of 1898 the State decided to make the parish revenues of the Lutheran, Calvinist and Orthodox clergy of higher educational degrees up to a total of 1,600 crowns and those of the clergy of lower educational degrees up to a total of 800 crowns yearly. The parish revenues intended for the payment of the Catholic clergy were also supplemented by the provisions of the law XIII of 1909; the State however contributed only a small amount to this fund as the larger part of it was supplied by the "congruary fund" which, in its turn, was nourished by a sum of 700,000 crowns contributed yearly by the Catholic bishops, canons and abbots who had large estates at their disposal, and by a sum of 1,200,000 crowns paid annually by the "Catholic Religious Foundation".

The Roumanian State continued the system of supplementing the parish revenues for the payment of the clergy. The salaries have of course been raised in proportion to the needs of the present situation. These increases provide the clergy with high educational degrees with a basic salary of 6,000 Lei and the clergy with low educational degrees to a basic amount of 4,200 Lei. These basic amounts, which are equal for the clergy of all denominations, will be raised every 5 years by an increasement of 25 per cent besides the yearly family and cost-of-living allowances, which represent larger amounts than the basic salaries. All these expenses are defrayed by the State out of the public exchequer, without any special contribution either from the Catholic bishops and canons or from the Catholic "Religious Foundation" (as under the Hungarian law XIII of 1909).

The Hungarian State never paid any allowances to the archpriests and deans of any denominations; the Roumanian State pays thsm. besides their salaries, a monthly allowance of 600 Lei.

Under Hungarian rule the diocesan chanceries were kept up by the bishops out of their own funds. Now their expenses are defrayed by the Roumanian State, although their staffs have been greatly increased since 1918.

The chancery of the Roman-Catholic Hungarian bishopric of Alba Iulia had in 1918, according to the official Hungarian records, 8 officials paid by the bishop; today it has 11 officials and two servants, all paid by the Roumanian State.

The chancery of the Calvinist Hungarian bishopric of Cluj had in 1918, 7 officials paid by the Church; it has now 19 officials and 3 servants, all paid by the State.

The chancery of the Lutheran Saxon bishopric of Sibiu had 11 officials; at present it has 23, likewise paid by the State.

Under Hungarian rule the theological seminaries of the various denominations were all kept by the dioceses at their own expenses. Today all the professors and teachers of the minority seminaries receive from the Roumanian State a salary equal to those of the assistant professors of the Roumanian Universities, and the seminaries receive also a special subsidy to meet their material needs.

When describing the great progress made by the Unitarian Church since the war, one of her representatives, Dr. Coloman Gál, made the following remarks regarding the subvention awarded by the Roumanian State :

“ As a result of this enthusiasm and of the general political conditions our Theological Academy rose during the last five years to a very favourable position. Her situation, both moral and material, can be con-

sidered as favourable. The Government, with an impartiality that we ought to recognize, defrays all the personal and material expenses of the Academy. In this respect the *atra cura* does not sit at our hearts.<sup>1</sup>

The short notices printed in the Almanach of the Hungarian review "Napkelet", which tries to give an exact picture of the Hungarian life in Transylvania, as well as the articles that are published in the many religious reviews of our Transylvanian minorities, prove beyond all question that these churches are at present displaying a healthy activity both in the solution of their internal religious and educational problems and in the output of literary works.

"Concerning our intellectual life, — writes Dr. Béla Jánossy in his article on the Hungarian Catholic life in Transylvania, which appeared in the "Napkelet Almanach", — we state that we are making decided progress, owing to the expansive power of our spiritual energies which, in spite of some strangling embraces, always regain their elasticity. The great general interests of the Catholics of Roumania will in future be kept on the programme by the Transylvanian Catholic Association which was founded three years ago and which, in the course of its normal development, will very soon change its title and extend its activity beyond Transylvania in order to help the common Catholic interests to victory and to take its proper place in the great educational programme of the Catholic world of Roumania."<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Jánossy in his article asserts that the Hungarian Catholic Church of Transylvania is displaying a great and remarkable activity, "on account of the oppressive policy" of the Roumanian State; Mr. Szász, in his propaganda book, which is addressed to people unable to investigate the facts, uses exactly the contrary

<sup>1</sup> Napkelet Almanach, Cluj 1925.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem

argument : “ chicanery and incessant persecutions have made religious life almost impossible.”

In order to know which is true of the two allegations, we shall quote the opinion of Father Jánossy :

“ An expression of the great expansion of our Catholic intellectual life is our Catholic press. This of course does not mean that the present Catholic press is adequate to satisfy the intellectual needs of our Catholic people, but in any case it is a result which we were unable to attain before the great breakdown (of Austria-Hungary).”

The “ *Protestáns Szemle* ”, the leading Calvinist review of Budapest, whose editor, Ladislas Ravasz, is one of the most embittered propagandists against Roumania, is likewise compelled to admit that the Calvinist Hungarian Church of Transylvania is flourishing :

“ The continuous progress in the internal life of the Calvinist Church of Transylvania is undeniable. Besides the frequent tours of inspection that the bishop makes through his diocese, good service is being rendered by the almost continuous conventions of the clergy at which all Church problems are seriously discussed. We cannot sufficiently praise the serious work of guidance and direction that is being accomplished in this respect, as well as in the general intellectual life of the diocese, by Messrs. Alexander Makkay, Louis Imre and Alexander Tavasz, professors at our Theological Academy. They have reissued the review “ *Az Ut* ” which was founded by Mr. Alexander Ravasz ; for the benefit of the youth they publish the review “ *Ifju Erdély* ” and whenever circumstances allow, they travel in the country, take part in conferences and discussions of the clergy, preach in the churches, organize collections at concerts of theological students in order to provide the means, which are lacking for our Academy ; they hold in their hands the spirit of the children and of the youth of our villages, in



other words they work without relaxation, without advertisement, but with gratifying success.”<sup>1</sup>

Under the leadership of her new Bishop, Alexander Makkay, the Hungarian Calvinist Church of Transylvania is continuing her steady progress and Roumanian public opinion and intellectual circles follow with the greatest interest and sympathy his efforts for this purpose.

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<sup>1</sup> *Protestáns Szemle*, főszerkesztő Ravasz László, Budapest, 1925, No. 1.p. 23.

## V. THE MINORITY SCHOOLS IN TRANSYLVANIA.

One of the most difficult problems that the Roumanian State had to resolve in Transylvania after the conclusion of the war was undoubtedly the question of public education.

It is a merit of the Roumanian Government that the solution it gave to this problem was liberal and in accordance with the most modern principles. Indeed instead of continuing the policy of denationalization followed by the Hungarian régime in favour of the Hungarian race, with the substitution of the Roumanians for the Hungarians as the favoured element, the leaders of New Roumania accepted as the basis of their educational policy the liberal conception of the National Assembly of Alba-Iulia :

“ Complete national liberty for all peoples dwelling in our territory. Each people to educate, administer and judge itself in its own language through the agency of individuals of its own race.

“ Equality and complete autonomy for all religious denominations in the State.”

There were in Transylvania in 1918, before the union of the province to the pre-war Roumanian Kingdom :

2392	Roumanian primary	
	schools for	2,930,120 Roumanians <sup>1)</sup> ,
2593	Hungarian primary	
	schools for	1,305,753 Hungarians,
258	Saxon (German) primary	
	schools for	230,697 Saxons,
28	Souabian (German) prim-	
	ary schools for	303,737 Souabians,

<sup>1)</sup> C. Martinovici și N. Istrati o. c. — See also p. 35.

Consequently there was :

1 primary school for . . .	1,229 Roumanians,
1 " " " " . . .	504 Hungarians,
1 " " " " . . .	890 Saxons and
1 " " " " . . .	10,847 Souabians.

Out of the 2593 Hungarian primary schools, 1497 were supported by the State.

Out of the 2392 Roumanian primary schools *not a single one* was supported by the State; the means for their maintenance were furnished by the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Churches.

There were in 1918 :

4 Roumanian high schools (of first degree) for,	2,930,120 Roumanians,
109 Hungarian high schools (of first degree) for . . .	1,305,753 Hungarians,
6 German-Saxon high schools (of first degree) for	230,697 Saxons,
— German-Souabian high schools (of first degree) for	303,737 Souabians.

Consequently there was :

1 Roumanian high school for	732,525 Roumanians,
1 Hungarian " " "	11,979 Hungarians,
1 German Saxon high school for	38,449 Saxons,
No German-Souabian high school for . . . . .	303,737 Souabians.

Out of the 109 Hungarian high schools 66 were supported by the State.

None of the Roumanian high schools enjoyed any State subsidy.

There were in 1918 :

5 Roumanian lycées for . .	2,930,120 Roumanians,
52 Hungarian " " . .	1,305,753 Hungarians,
9 Germain-Saxon " " . .	230,697 Saxons,
No Germain-Saxon " " . .	303,737 Souabians,

Consequently there was :

1 Roumanian	lycée for	586,024	Roumanias,
1 Hungarian	„ „	25,110	Hungarians,
1 German-Saxon	„ „	25,633	Saxons,
No German-Souabian	„ „	303,737	Souabians.

Out of the 52 Hungarian lycées 25 were supported entirely by the State, while the remainder enjoyed substantial subsidies.

No Roumanian lycée was awarded the slightest subvention by the Hungarian State. Moreover, the lycée of Beius, founded and supported by the Greek-Catholic Roumanian bishopric of Oradea-Mare, was transformed compulsorily by the Hungarian authorities into a Hungarian lycée, while that of Brad, which only had 4 classes, was never allowed to be made up to its normal figure of 8 classes.

There were also : 1 Roumanian commercial school, as against 22 Hungarian commercial schools ; 8 Roumanian and 3 German teachers' schools as against 24 Hungarian teachers' schools.

It is obvious that the disproportion between the Hungarian and Roumanian schools in Transylvania was enormous ; this phenomenon was due, above all else, to the policy of denationalization pursued by the régime. If the cultural level of the great Roumanian masses was inferior to that of our Non-Roumanian countrymen, the responsibility lay with the unjust policy of which the Roumanian people had been the object. The Souabians, in their turn, were left without schools of any kind, because they were always considered by the Hungarian leaders as being on the verge of completely losing their national consciousness.

Immediately after the union was effected, the Directory Council of Transylvania proceeded to a reorganization of all cultural and educational work and to an equitable distribution of the means of promoting it among the nationalities of the province.

As in the last decades the Hungarian Government, pursuing its policy of denationalization, had established a considerable number of Hungarian schools, with Hungarian as the language of instruction, in purely Roumanian villages and in districts or in villages of other origin than Hungarian, the Roumanian State, after taking over these institutions, decided, according to the principles of the Alba Iulia resolution, to transform them into schools of the same language as the local population. All State schools established in Roumanian villages were transformed into Roumanian schools; those in Hungarian villages were kept as Hungarian schools with Hungarian teachers,—in most villages with the same Hungarian teachers as before,—and with Hungarian as the language of instruction, while the State schools of the German villages were transformed into German schools. It was on the basis of this arrangement that the Souabians of the Banat and of Western Transylvania finally received the schools they were longing for and with the help of which the process of denationalization which they were undergoing has definitely ceased. In communities where the population was mixed, the Ministry of Education established parallel classes for all the local nationalities. Thus there are primary schools with two and even three parallel classes: Roumanian-Hungarian, Roumanian-German, Roumanian-Hungarian-German.

The same situation was created in regard to the high schools, the lycées and the commercial and professional schools. In almost all cases the pre-war teaching staff was retained; its acquired rights were respected and taken into due consideration. Naturally an oath of allegiance was demanded from anybody who entered the service of the State.

Great difficulties arose in carrying out this new school organization.

Before the war the Hungarian Churches of Transylvania, especially the Protestant Churches, had renounced, for the most part, their ambition of creating and

maintaining denominational schools. The Calvinist bishop of Cluj, George Bartok, stated in 1906 on this subject :

“ People who have an idea of science will never allow our academies and lycées to be at the free disposal of Church authorities. Neither do our primary schools have any need of the Church tutelage. ”

This view soon gained acceptance and a great number of denominational primary schools (more especially Reformed and Unitarian) were ceded by contract to the State.

In the first years of the Roumanian régime the Hungarian churches of Transylvania, or at least a great part of their leaders seem to have had little or no confidence in the stability and definitive character of the newly created political situation. The new distribution of the schools, the new educational organization which was created by the Roumanian Government and which of course is intended to educate all citizens in a spirit of loyalty to the Roumanian State, encountered obstinate opposition in their midst. The Churches forgot the favourable attitude they had observed in pre-war days towards the State schools and decided to establish primary schools of their own in all villages where they had a certain number of parishioners, with the object of opposing them to the State schools, even in cases when the latter had Hungarian teachers and where the language of instruction was Hungarian. The Directory Council took cognizance of this policy and these decisions, but did not prevent in any way either the creation or the functioning of these, in many cases, improvised institutions. Most of them had no purpose but to serve as a demonstration, and the number of their pupils was insignificant, owing to the fact that the peasants still preferred to send their children to the State school. The Roman-Catholic primary school of Miercurea (department of Sibiu) had for instance 7 pupils ; the Roman-Catholic primary school of Ighiu (department of Alba) had 14 ;

the Calvinist school of Bistra (department of Turda) had 6; that of Rapoltul-Mare (department of Hunedoara), likewise Calvinist, had 12; that of Pauca (department of Alba), Calvinist, had 9 pupils. The Lutheran Saxon Church at first followed the same policy: In Giacash (department of Târnava Mica) it created a Saxon denominational primary school for 9 pupils; in Cushma (department of Bistritza) a school for 5 pupils. We could quote a great number of such cases showing, if not a spirit of enmity, in any case a feeling of distrust among the minority leaders towards the Roumanian State.

It is no wonder that these hasty creations in many instances had a very short life. After the first 2-3 years the enthusiasm for the denominational schools waned, the expenses for their maintenance rose and the Churches were compelled to close them down, partly for lack of means, and partly for lack of pupils. Nevertheless the number of denominational schools, Hungarian and German, is much higher at present, after 9 years of Roumanian rule, than it was under the Hungarian régime.

The situation of the denominational schools of Transylvania has repeatedly been an object of discussion not only by the Hungarian propagandists but also by the League of Nations itself. Some long memorials were presented to the latter body complaining of the attitude of the Roumanian authorities in this regard. Explanations have been asked for and it has been proved that the accusations were either absolutely baseless, or grossly exaggerated<sup>1</sup>.

In 1925 a law was passed by the Roumanian Parliament regulating definitively the situation of the denominational and private schools in Roumania. Against this law, as well as against the State school authorities, a petition was drawn up and presented to the League

<sup>1</sup> See: Observations presented to the League of Nations by the Roumanian Government on December 1st 1925 (Imprimerie Atar and J. de G.), as well as document C. 208 M. 113. 1922 I., - C. 522, M. 370. 1921. I., - C. 488. M. 351. 1921. I.

of Nations by the Roman-Catholic, Calvinist and Unitarian Churches of Transylvania. On March 18th 1926 this petition was carefully examined together with the observations of the Roumanian Government by the special Committee of the Council. The Committee found, on the one hand, that "the final text of the law does not contain any provision to which the members of the Council represented on the Committee need draw the Council's attention" and that on some very important points "the law adopts a more liberal attitude towards the minorities than a strict application of the Treaty alone would require", on the other hand that the petitioners' statements "in a large number of cases do not correspond to the facts as revealed by the enquiries, acts and documents examined."

The Committee also considered necessary on this occasion "to point out how important it is that complaints made to the League of Nations by minorities should be drawn up with an utmost care, in order that the League may not be asked to investigate statements based on inaccurate informations."

In connection with this case Lord Cecil, president of the Committee on March 18th sent the following letter to the Roumanian Government, expressing the views of the League :

"My colleagues of the Committee of the Council which has examined the question of the Roumanian law on private education, have requested me to express on their behalf their appreciation of the valuable assistance afforded by the Roumanian representative, M. Comnène. The Committee recognize that the Roumanian Government has spared no effort to place at the disposal of the Committee all the information necessary for a thorough study of the question and they desire to thank the Roumanian Government for it. In a very difficult matter the Roumanian Government have shown a genuine and admirable desire to meet the claims of justice and humanity." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Official Journal of the League of Nations, June 1926, p. 741-742.



Such opinions however as the opinion of the Committee of the Council and of Lord Cecil himself, are never taken into consideration by the Hungarian propagandists or by their friends.

In order to strengthen their accusations they simply declare as an axiom that the statements of the Roumanian Government and the reports of the Roumanian Ministries are utterly untrue.

Nevertheless Mr. Erik Colban, Director of the Minorities' Department of the League of Nations, had an opportunity of convincing himself personally as to the accuracy of these statements. In October 1926 Mr. Colban, at the invitation of the Roumanian Government, undertook an extended tour in Transylvania and Bucovina. On his way, from Oradea-Mare to Brashov, he visited the schools and educational institutions of over 60 villages and towns, inhabited mostly by Hungarians, many of which had been mentioned as instances of infractions of the Treaty in the above mentioned petition of the Hungarian Churches of Transylvania and he was able to ascertain that the information contained in the Roumanian Government's reply was accurate in all its details.

Nothing can better prove the liberal policy of the Roumanian régime in regard to the public education of our minorities than the following tables showing their denominational schools during the Hungarian rule and under the Roumanian régime :

<i>Primary Schools.</i>	Hungarian rule 1918.	Roumanian rule 1925.	Increase.
Roman-Catholic Hungarian	377	372	— 5
Roman Catholic German	—	53	+ 53
Calvinist Hungarian . .	362	684	+ 322
Unitarian Hungarian . .	27	44	+ 17
Lutheran Hungarian . .	4	14	+ 10
Lutheran German . . .	258	268	+ 10
	<hr/> 1028	<hr/> 1435	<hr/> + 407

<i>High Schools (1st degr.)</i>	Hungarian rule 1918.	Roumanian rule 1925.	Increase.
Roman-Catholic			
Hungarian . . . . .	25	41	+ 16
Roman-Catholic German	—	1	+ 1
Calvinist Hungarian . .	3	19	+ 16
Unitarian Hungarian . .	1	2	+ 1
Lutheran Hungarian . .	—	2	+ 2
Lutheran German . . .	5	8	+ 3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	34	73	+ 39
 <i>Lycées.</i>			
Roman-Catholic			
Hungarian . . . . .	18	17	+ 4
Calvinist Hungarian . .	9	11	+ 2
Unitarian Hungarian . .	2	3	+ 1
Lutheran German . . .	9	11	+ 2
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	38	42	+ 9
 <i>Commercial schools.</i>			
Roman-Catholic			
Hungarian . . . . .	1	4	+ 3
Calvinist Hungarian . .	—	4	+ 4
Lutheran German . . .	—	3	+ 3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1	11	+ 10

Consequently the number of denominational primary schools in Transylvania increased by 407, out of which 63 are German and 344 Hungarian schools ; the number of the denominational high schools of 1st degree increased by 39, out of which 4 are German and 35 Hungarian ; the number of denominational lycées increased by 9, out of which 2 are German and 7 Hungarian ; the number of the denominational commercial schools increased by 10, out of which 3 are German and 7 Hungarian.

To this number of primary and high schools maintained by the minority denominations ought to be

added the State schools, which according to the basic principles of the Roumanian educational organization have the language of these minorities as the language of instruction.

There are 562 Hungarian and 51 German primary schools; 20 Hungarian and 8 German high schools (of 1st degree); 7 Hungarian and 2 German lycées and 6 Hungarian commercial schools,—all supported by the Roumanian State. There are likewise 38 German and 38 Hungarian primary schools, 2 Hungarian high schools of 1st degree and 2 Hungarian lycées supported by municipalities. To these institutions we might also add 19 Hungarian teachers' schools (1 supported by the State), 3 German teachers' schools, 3 Roman Catholic Hungarian, 1 Calvinist Hungarian and 1 Unitarian Hungarian theological academies.

We ought to emphasize the fact that while Transylvania was under Hungarian rule, not a single Roumanian school was supported by the State. All Roumanian schools were supported by the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic parishes. The State only supported Hungarian schools.

The number of the Roumanian schools in Transylvania is as follows: 3611 primary, 44 high schools of 1st degree, 40 lycées and 10 commercial schools.

These results may be summed up as follows:

<i>Primary schools.</i>	Under Roumanian rule	Under Hungarian rule
1 school for	803 Roumanians	1229 Roumanians
1 " "	778 Hungarians	504 Hungarians
1 " "	880 German- Saxons	890 German- Saxons
1 " "	2184 German Souabians	10,847 German- Souabians

*High Schools* (1st degree).

	Under Roumanian rule	Under Hungarian rule
1 school for	65.909 Roumanians	732.525 Roumanians
1 " "	15.163 Hungarians	11.979 Hungarians
1 " "	28.750 German-Saxons	46,000 German-Saxons
1 " "	38,504 German-Souabians	No school.

*Lycées*

1 school for	72,500 Roumanians	586,024 Roumanians
1 " "	32,500 Hungarians	25,110 Hungarians
1 " "	20,900 German-Saxons	25,633 German-Saxons
1 " "	154,200 German-Souabians	No school.

It must be obvious to any unbiased student of educational conditions in Transylvania that under Roumanian rule the number of schools of all degrees has considerably increased, while on the other hand the grave injustice inflicted by the Hungarian Government in pre-war times upon the ethnical groups inhabiting the province have entirely ceased.

A régime of equity, equal protection and equal opportunity has been introduced.

## VI. THE ROUMANIAN UNIVERSITY OF CLUJ.

The most striking evidence for refuting the charge so often repeated in Hungarian circles in regard to the inferiority of Roumanian civilization, is the foundation of the Roumanian University of Cluj and its activity during the last 8 years, an activity which has surpassed our most sanguine expectations. The Hungarian professors who were teaching before the War at this University, while it was an institution of the Hungarian State, and who left Transylvania after the University had been taken over by the Roumanian Government, declared in a Memorandum addressed to the whole world that the "national aspirations which endeavour to raise a Roumanian State in Transylvania, after her severance from Hungary, are an absurdity from the point of view of cultural development, because they seek to make the inferior and primitive Roumanian civilization the master of the superior and many sided Hungarian civilization."

The history of the Roumanian University of Cluj during the last eight years has given an unequivocal reply to all these Hungarian insinuations. The work performed during these eight years is an open book for anybody to read and we may justly be proud of what we have achieved.

The University of Cluj is not simply a continuation of the pre-war Hungarian University of that city. We have not simply changed the sign-board and language of the former institution ; we have done more : we have created new organisms and we have infused into them the liberal spirit that we brought with us to the task. A whole number of new institutes and

new chairs have been added to those which already existed. At the School of Philosophy and Letters new chairs have been established for the English and Italian languages, for History of Arts, Sociology, Literary Esthetics, Byzantinology, Slavonic Philology, South-Eastern European History, General Philology ; a number of new institutes have been created for Experimental Psychology, Experimental Pedology and Pedagogy, Experimental Phonetics, National History, Universal History and in addition we have founded a Museum of the Roumanian Language. At the School of Sciences there have been created : the Institute of Speology, which is unique in its domain in the whole world, the Institute of Geology and Paleontology, the great Laboratories for Theoretical and Applied Physics, for Physical and Anorganic Chemistry ; a new Botanical Garden has been organized and also a new Institute of Physiology, for which new buildings are now in course of construction. At the School of Medicine an excellent Institute of Social Hygiene has been created besides the Institutes of Radiology, Biochemistry and Medical History, while special clinics for Neurology have been organized.

The organization of the University was carried out by a Commissioner General with the assistance of a Senate composed of the most distinguished savants of the Roumanian Universities of Bucarest and Jassy. They succeeded in getting together at the University of Cluj an enthusiastic body of professors.

The courses of lectures were opened on November 1st 1919 at all the four schools of the University. The teaching staff and students at that time consisted of : 1) at the School of Law 11 professors and assistant professors, and 888 students ; — 2) at the School of Philosophy and Letters 23 professors, assistant professors and lecturers, and 116 students ; — 3) at the School of Medicine 17 professors with 102 assistants and 721 students ; — 4) at the School of Sciences

16 professors and lecturers with 20 assistants and demonstrators and 165 students.

The scientific activity of the professors has in certain regards surpassed all our hopes. The School of Letters published a long series of studies and scientific essays which were most warmly appreciated not only by the Roumanian but also by foreign scientific institutions. The professors of the School of Sciences published several research works, which are at present known at all Western Universities, while the professors of the School of Medicine have been issuing during the 8 years past the excellent monthly review "Clujul Medical", which has contained some very valuable contributions to the medical science.

We quote here a few of the periodical publications and reviews issued by the University :

1. « Buletinul Gradinii Botanice si al Muzeului Botanic de la Universitatea din Cluj » (« Bulletin of the Botanic Garden and of the Botanic Museum of the University of Cluj »), 6 volumes ;

2. « Contributiuni botanice din Cluj » (« Botanical Contributions of Cluj ») published by the Institute of Botanics, No. 1-9 ;

3. « Publications de l'Institut Chimique de l'Université de Cluj », 2 volumes ;

4. « Lucrarile Institutului de Geografie al Universitatii din Cluj » (« Works of the Geographical Institute of the University of Cluj »), 3 volumes ;

5. « Revista Muzeului Geologic-Mineralogic al Universitatii din Cluj » (« The Review of the Geological-Mineralogical Museum of the University of Cluj »), No. 1-3 ;

6. « Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Nationala » (« Yearbook of the Institute of National History »), 4 volumes ;

7. « Publications de l'Institut d'Histoire Générale », 1st volume (1927).

8. « Dacoromania », bulletin of the Museum of the Roumanian Language, 4 volumes (4,345 pages);

9. « Biblioteca Dacoromaniei » (« Dacoromania Library »), 3 volumes;

10. « Clujul Medical », monthly review, 1919-1927;

11. « Buletinul Eugenic si Biopolitic » (« Bulletin of Eugenics and Biopolitics »), monthly review, 1927 (first year);

12. « Buletinul Societatii de Stiinte din Cluj » (« Bulletin of the Society of Science in Cluj »), 3 volumes (1,520 pages);

13. « Lucrarile Institutului de Speologie din Cluj » (« Works of the Institute of Speology in Cluj »), No. 1-48;

14. « Biospeologica. Etudes sur l'histoire naturelle du domaine souterrain. Editées par l'Institut de Spéologie de Cluj », 6 volumes (60 issues, a total of 5,759 pages).  
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All these publications are continuing to be issued at regular intervals under the direction of savants well known in all scientific circles of Western Europe.

Besides their work at the University most of the professors have assisted in spreading among the masses the scientific learning, which they are in need of, by writing in various popular reviews and by lecturing in the Transylvanian towns and in the villages around Cluj.

Three years ago, the professors of Cluj organized a University Extension movement, which arranged for hundreds of lectures and conferences.

Any impartial observer of the work done by the University of Cluj would speedily be convinced that the result of our activity during the past eight years has produced far more results than the efforts of the Hungarian University in that city for over half a century.



The prophecies made by our Hungarian opponents in 1919 that the level of the University as well as the number of students would rapidly decline, have not been fulfilled. On the contrary, both the educational level and the number of students have constantly risen. The pre-war Hungarian University needed no less than 26 years after its foundation to attain the figure of 1000 students, while the Roumanian University, already in its first year of existence had over 2000 students, and in the second year it had 2647, a figure which was never reached by the Hungarian University.

It is very interesting to note the constantly increasing number of the Roumanian students since the war. In 1918-19, while the University was still Hungarian, there were 264 Roumanian students, in 1919-20 their number rose to 1433, among whom only 127 were born outside of Transylvania. In 1926-27 the Cluj University had a total of 2566 students, among whom there were 1780 Roumanians and 468 Hungarians, while the remainder belonged to other ethnical groups.

It is to be expected that during the next few years the numbers of students, — especially of Roumanians, — will increase considerably on account of a constantly increasing number of Roumanian pupils passing through the newly created Roumanian State lycées.

In spite of its rich collections, libraries and laboratories and in spite of the efficient protection it received from the State, the pre-war Hungarian University of Cluj had never succeeded in creating a scientific centre in Transylvania ; this phenomenon can be ascribed to the mistaken policy which the University had come to adopt : the energies of the professors and lecturers were directed not to the creation of scientific values but to the denationalization of the Non-Hungarian elements of the province.

The new course inaugurated at the University by the Roumanian régime has liberated not only the Roumanian nationality, but also the scientific spirit, from the narrow dungeon of Hungarian chauvinism.

## VII. THE AGRARIAN REFORM IN TRANSYLVANIA.

In an agricultural country the organization of agriculture and the distribution of the means of direct production constitute the main preoccupation of internal policy. The political considerations and the economic factors form always the criteria by which the State is guided in seeking a solution of this problem. The organization of agriculture has of course always come about as a result of practical exigencies rather than of principles deduced from scientific speculations.

It is common knowledge that the problem of agricultural production and of agrarian reform had engaged the attentions of the Roumanian State and the Roumanian people several decades ago, at a period when the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and the union of the provinces inhabited by Roumanians to the old Kingdom of Roumania had not even been imagined. Thus, in pre-war Roumania a first measure of expropriation and distribution of land to the peasantry was enacted in 1864, a few years after the union of Moldavia and Wallachia into a single Roumanian State (1859). A second measure of expropriation was carried out in 1889, a few years after the War of Independence (1877-1878).

The latest measure of expropriation and agrarian reform, which took place during and immediately after the World War and which extended to the newly redeemed provinces, is undoubtedly one of the most important reforms of European history. In a certain sense it was a peaceful revolution; it transferred, by legal means and without any destructive outbreak

the greater part of the national soil to the peasants who had hitherto cultivated it as agricultural workers. It is far from having been brought about by the peasants' revolts in 1907, as has been sometimes asserted. Those riots were simple, though painful, episodes in a social and economic upheaval.

The results of this great agrarian reform of present day Roumania speak for themselves : at a time when bolshevik revolutions were raging at Moscow and at Budapest, when dangerous movements, not unrelated to the bolshevik activities were appearing in Bulgaria, the Roumanian State, extending from the shore of the Dniester to the plain of the Theiss and to the Danube, constituted, as it still constitutes, an island of security, of order and social peace. At a time when the right of individual property, the foundation of our European social organization, was being undermined by the new doctrines of Moscow, Roumania through her agrarian reform was able to associate all the millions of her peasants, who form the enormous majority of her population, in her efforts to preserve the Western principles of property.

The beginnings of the latest agrarian reform in the old Roumanian Kingdom date back to 1913. The situation of the peasantry who had just given proof of their endurance and patriotism during the second Balkan War, was utterly unsatisfactory. Out of about 8 million hectares of arable land in the pre-war Kingdom, 4 million hectares belonged to about 4000 landowners, while the remaining 4 million hectares were owned by over 1,200,000 heads of peasant families (5 million peasants). A Constituent Assembly was therefore elected in 1914 for the special purpose of amending the Constitution and of authorizing the transfer of the great landed estates to the peasants by the method of expropriation. The discussion of the principles which were to guide the legislature in this respect had already commenced in 1914.

But the World War followed and Roumania herself entered it on August 28th 1916. In spite of the retreat of the Government and Parliament to Jassy, the Assembly at the beginning of 1917 modified the Constitution and inserted in it the principle of expropriation "for national utility". It decided to expropriate, besides the landed estates of the Crown, of the State, of educational, cultural and social institutions, 2,200,000 hectares of cultivable land from private owners, with a view to its distribution among the peasants. In conformity with this principle the "Decree-Law for Agrarian Reform" of December 16th 1918 which provided for its application was next drawn up. The actual law, which was subsequently passed in 1921, only increased the number of hectares to be expropriated, in order to meet new exigencies and regulated the procedure both of the expropriation and of the distribution of the land.

Such being the facts, — and they can be verified at any time, — the assertion which is often made in Hungarian circles, that the Roumanian Government introduced a mild agrarian reform measure for the pre-war Kingdom, in order to be able subsequently to enact a more severe measure for Transylvania and to dispossess the Hungarian landowners of that province, is seen to be nothing more than an attempt to deceive public opinion in the Western countries.

How could it have been possible for Roumania to pass a series of agrarian laws in 1864, 1889 and 1914, for the purpose of striking a blow at the Hungarian nobles in Transylvania, when it had not been even imagined at that time that they would become her citizens? How should the Parliament of Jassy in 1917 have decreed the expropriation of over 2 million hectares, with the intention of dispossessing, in exchange, the Hungarian proprietors of Transylvania, who did not at that time belong to Roumania? How could the Roumanian Parliament of 1917 have legis-

lated with a view to "roumanizing Transylvania" at a time when the Central Powers were dictating the Treaty of Bucarest ?

The situation of the peasant class in Bessarabia was as wretched as that of the Russian peasantry. It was for that reason that as soon as the province became, in 1917, an autonomous, and subsequently, in 1918, an independent Moldavian republic, its provisional Government and its provisional Parliament, the so-called "Sfatul Tzerii", "Council of the State", took steps to provide land for the peasants. The claim for land was one of the first demands put forward by the representatives of the Bessarabian population. This was all the more natural because for a whole year Bessarabia had been the scene of an upheaval similar to that in Russia and the slogans of the Russian revolution were not unknown to her people. At the moment of her union to Roumania, in March 1918, the great landed estates had already been taken possession of by the peasants. On November 27th the provisional Parliament of the province passed an agrarian law (which the Government promulgated on December 22nd 1918), based on the same principles as the law for the pre-war Kingdom, but expropriating the land-holders to a far greater extent.

At the end of 1918, when Transylvania was united to the Roumanian Kingdom, a radical agrarian reform was already in course of application both in pre-war Roumania and in Bessarabia.

The peasant population of Transylvania was in the same need of land as that of pre-war Roumania. Great estates of the nobility, of the Churches, of the State and large fideicommissa covered the whole surface of the province, leaving the peasantry a prey to poverty. The demands for land, that were raised by the great mass of the peasantry, had always been rejected by the Hungarian Government. No improve-

ment had been made in this respect since the reform of the revolutionary years of 1848-49, when serfdom was abolished and when at least the so-called "urbarial portions", on each estate, were handed over to the peasants. The land that the agricultural workers succeeded in purchasing from the great landholders, was utterly inadequate for their modest necessities.

The Hungarian Government, instead of introducing agrarian reforms on an economic basis and satisfying the demands of the peasant class, was content to pursue, solely and exclusively, the chauvinistic policy of denationalization which marked the Hungarian rule for the last 50 years : they were not concerned with the needs and claims of the agricultural workers, whether Hungarians, Roumanians or of any other race, but with their plans of strengthening and increasing the Hungarian "islands" in the Roumanian sea, of creating corridors between them by means of Hungarian settlers imported from the Hungarian plains, and of breaking the Roumanian block into a number of fragments. The laws creating the Hungarian settlements in Transylvania and the four great financial institutions : the "Hungarian Institute of Landed Credit" (1871) for the great landowners, the "Institute of Landed Credit for Small Landholders" (1879), the "Central of the Co-operative Societies" (1898) and the famous "Altruistic Bank" (1911) were framed for no other purpose. The latter institution was created for the special purpose of buying up the landed estates of the Hungarian nobles in Transylvania, who were in financial difficulties, and of distributing them to Hungarian settlers. The purely chauvinistic and utterly uneconomic character of these provisions is shown by the fact that all the Hungarian settlements and colonies created by the Government were established in purely Roumanian districts, without taking into consideration the economic exigencies and necessities of the local population, and that from the beginning of the first settle-

ments organized by Minister Ignace Darányi, in the 80-ies, up to the union of Transylvania to Roumania not a single Roumanian peasant received any land or was settled on these estates. Moreover, as the estates purchased from Hungarian nobles did not suffice for the colonies of Hungarians drawn from Bucovina, the so-called "Tchangos" (Roum. "Ciangai"), the Hungarian Government simply seized the pasture lands of a number of Roumanian villages for their benefit. In this way the new settlements acquired not only very large pastures, but also some 30-50 acres of arable land for each of their members.

This policy of preventing the Roumanians from acquiring land continued until the collapse of Austria-Hungary. During the World War, while Transylvanian Roumanian soldiers were fighting in the ranks of the Austro-Hungarian Army, the Presidency of the Hungarian Council of Ministers issued Decree No. 4000/1917, by which the transfer of estates in Transylvania, —only, mark you, in Transylvania,— and their purchase and sale were strictly forbidden except with the special approval of the Ministry of Agriculture. Thousands of petitions for approval were filed in the Transylvanian Law Courts by Roumanian peasants and were rejected by the representatives of the Hungarian Ministry. The feature of the Hungarian programme, which was mainly responsible for the blunt refusal of any such approval for the benefit of the Roumanian element, found emphatic expression in the various publications and books dealing with this programme, and can be summed up in the following sentence: "The land of the country ought to belong to the Hungarians, because he who owns the land, owns the country."<sup>1</sup>

The neglect to enact any serious reform in favour of the Transylvanian peasants made their lives exceed-

<sup>1</sup> O M G E évi jelentései, 1910-1912.



ingly wretched. Many of them had to seek refuge in emigrating to other countries, to Roumania and more especially to America, where in the years previous to the War there were living approximately 400,000 people,—Roumanians, Hungarians, Germans,— whose homes were in Transylvania.

In 1919 there were in Transylvania out of a total area of 14,933,841 acres, 7,613,555 acres of arable land<sup>1</sup>; of this area 39.95% belonged to the State, communities, foundations, schools, associations, fideicommissa, while 61.05% were free private property.

The estates exceeding 100 acres, with a total of 6,075,662 acres, belonged to 8435 owners, — approximately 33,000 people.

The estates below 100 acres, with a total of 8,855,767 acres, belonged to approximately 4,540,000 people.

It is evident that the need of land was very stringent.

Among the landowners having estates exceeding 100 hectares there were 208 Roumanians, owning a total of 198,995 acres. Of the estates below 100 acres the Roumanian rural population, though numbering 2,900,000 souls, held only 3,448,620 acres, whereas the rural population belonging to Non-Roumanian races, which numbered 1,605,000 souls, held 5,407,147 acres.

Thus, the Roumanian population, though an overwhelming majority, held in large and small holdings a total of 3,598,669 acres; whereas the minority population (Hungarians, Saxons, Souabians), although much fewer in numbers, held in large and small holdings a total of 11,283,818 acres, that is to say three times as much as the majority population of the province.

The wretched situation of a great part of the peasant population is self evident. The War aggravated it and demands for land were repeatedly put forward. Land was promised to the soldiers at the front, to the people at home. The Transylvanian soldiers, whether Rou-

<sup>1</sup> 1 Transylvanian acre (called in Transylvania „jugar cadastral”, Germ. „Joch”) = 0.5754 hectare.

manians or Hungarians, who returned to their homes after the collapse of Austria-Hungary at the end of 1918, had only one demand: they wanted land. An agitated spirit, created undoubtedly by the sufferings of the war, but also by ideas related to the bolshevik teachings, prevailed among the people. There were men who had been prisoners in Russia and who had lived under bolshevik rule; there were others, more especially Hungarians, who had been in touch with the workingmen of Budapest, where a powerful communist centre was flourishing. In the spring of 1919 Bela Kun was inaugurating in Hungary his bolshevik soviet republic and his terrorist rule, from which, the country was only liberated by the Roumanian Army. The danger of a possible bolshevik movement in Transylvania in 1919-1920 was admitted by the Hungarian Peace Delegation itself in one of its memoranda addressed to the Peace Conference and dealing with the Roumanian agrarian reform. Library Cluj

The provisional Government of Transylvania, the so-called Directory Council, could not close its eyes either to the economical situation or to the general spirit of the peasant masses. An agrarian reform was decided upon, based on the same principles as the reform already promulgated for pre-war Roumania. And, as it will be seen below, the only aim of this reform was social peace; all political tendencies were eliminated: Roumanian and Non-Roumanian peasants benefited to the same extent by its provisions. In order to collect all the information necessary for such a reform, the Department of Agriculture for Transylvania arranged for a series of meetings with the representatives of the landowners, to whom its bill was presented. A thorough investigation was made of the whole problem. The meetings with the Roumanian landholders took place at Alba Iulia, those with the Saxons at Sibiu and those with the Hungarians at Targu-Muresh.

We shall deal more especially with the latter, because they are closely related to the case of the Hungarian optants and absentees, which in 1923 and again in 1927 was an object of important debates at the Council of the League of Nations, and because some of the landowners who took part in them are optants.

At these meetings, which were held at the end of June 1919, at the invitation of the Department of Agriculture, there were present, among others, the following leaders of the Hungarian landowners of the province: Messrs. Ladislav Béldi, a great landowner in the department of Trei-Scaune, Arthur Teleky, Ladislav Tokay, former director of the Union of Hungarian Farmers of Transylvania, John Jósika, Francis Bánffy, Dr. Aladar Krüger, jurisconsult of the Roman-Catholic episcopal domains of Oradea-Mare, Dr. Ladislav Ravasz, representative of the Hungarian Calvinist bishopric of Transylvania, Albert Bürger, a large industrialist and landowner, Coloman Végh, director of the domains of bishop Mayláth of Alba-Iulia, Géza Fehér, canon and director of the domains of the "Status Catholicus", Ladislav Mara, a former prefect of Hunedoara and a large landowner, Dr. Arpad Apáthy. All of the above took part in the debates. They were assisted by Dr. Michel Ferencz, Nicolas Patrubány, Charles Orbán, Ernest Desbordes, Joseph Bethlen, Sigmond Mikes, Thomas Barcsay, Eugène Haller, Christophe Degenfeld, Ferdinand Inczédy, Francis Pálffy and several others.

At these meetings which were held with the most representative delegates of the Transylvanian Hungarian agriculturists, all of whom were bitterly opposed to any Roumanian rule, not a single word was raised against the spirit of the bill for agrarian reform so far as concerns its political tendencies; not a single provision was pointed out as aiming at the "roumanization" of Transylvania by dispossessing the Hungarian landowners, and not the slightest protest was

made against the provision in Article 6, which is now the subject of attack and which provides for the total expropriation of the estates of absentees. And it cannot be objected that the fear of some kind of reprisals deterred them from expressing their opinions openly in regard to this problem, since words of far greater political significance were uttered on this occasion.

Thus, Dr. Ladislas Ravasz, representative of the Calvinist Presbyterian Church, said bluntly: "This bill is based on the political supposition that Transylvania will belong to Roumania. As this supposition may be logical, but does not constitute a reality, I shall however refrain from making any statement at present."

If such declarations could be made on this occasion, it would have been all the more natural that statements should be made in regard to the alleged dispossession, to the total expropriation of the absentees and aliens. Nevertheless, not a single word was pronounced on this matter by the Hungarian landowners.

Moreover they drew up and printed a special bill for the agrarian reform of Transylvania, as opposed to the official project of the Directory Council. This bill was compiled by Messrs. Dr. Aladar Krüger, jurisconsult of the Roman Catholic bishopric of Oradea-Mare, and Eugene Madarassy, director of the domains of Archduke Joseph. We quote a few paragraphs from this Hungarian project:

"*Art. 2.* — The following will be expropriated in their entirety:

"*a)* all the estates belonging to alien subjects, without consideration as to their extent or character; the term alien is understood to mean any citizen of a foreign State and all persons who in the prescribed period fail to obtain the right to Roumanian citizenship;

"*b)* all estates belonging to legal personalities, corporations, endowments, banks, etc., whose seat is outside of the country;

“ c) all estates belonging to absentees, without any consideration as to their extent or character; the term absentees is understood to mean those who are absent from the country for more than six months annually, without the permission of the authorities, during a period of 5 consequent years;

“ d) all estates of upwards of 20 acres, purchased by non-agriculturists subsequently to July 20th 1914.

“ Any person who fails to take the oath of allegiance in the prescribed period, shall be entitled to cede his estate to one of his descendants who takes the oath required. In this case the estate shall not be considered as being the property of an alien citizen.

“ Endowments, legal personalities, corporations, banks, whose seat is outside the territories in which the present law is applicable, but which possess in the said territories educational or ecclesiastical institutions, schools, model-farms, commercial and industrial enterprises, shall be entitled to establish here, within one year, institutions similar to their central organisations, to which they may cede their estates. In such cases these estates are not to be considered as belonging to alien citizens. ”

The above provisions evidently refer also to the estates belonging to churches, schools and cultural associations.

These quotations from the original project of the Hungarian representatives, in regard to Article 6 of the final law for the Transylvanian agrarian reform, are, in our belief, sufficient to discredit the agitation that is being carried on at present by the Hungarian optants and absentees against the Roumanian State. The provisions for their total expropriation were suggested to the Roumanian legislation in Transylvania by their own delegates, whose names are mentioned above.

In September 1919 the bill was submitted by the

Directory Council of Transylvania to the Provincial Assembly,—which had legislative power,— and was passed after a short discussion. On September 12th the “Decree-Law for the Agrarian Reform in Transylvania” was promulgated and its application was begun without delay. Later, in 1921, the bill was passed by the Roumanian Parliament, but without any important modification.

The following sentences in the statement made by the Directory Council, when it presented the bill to the Provincial Assembly, emphasize its guiding principle :

“The land, which is intended to be a field for the employment of labour and a means of production, must be assigned to those who can cultivate it, and not to those to whom it serves only as a means for the exploitation of others. The governing idea of the whole agrarian reform bill is consequently the social-economic principle that the land must be taken from those who are only interested as middlemen in agricultural production and given to those who will harvest the crops as the result of their own labour”.

The law, while thus consecrating the right of individual property, gives the direct producers the foremost place in the life of the State. In spite of the many sufferings and persecutions to which the Roumanian peasants of Transylvania were subjected for centuries, in spite of the shameful discrimination made to their disadvantage by the Hungarian Government and in spite of the wretched economic conditions which were purposely created for them during the World War, —we have already mentioned Decree No. 4000 issued by the Prime-Minister of Hungary in 1917,—the Roumanian Government did not, even for a single moment, think of avenging or of redressing the injustices of the past. The agrarian reform was considered as a purely social-economic problem. Its aim was social, not national justice. The whole peasantry of Transylvania, without distinction of race or religion

had to benefit, and indeed did benefit, to the same extent by its advantages.

In order to prevent disturbances on the part of the impatient villagers, especially at the time of the Bolshevik revolution of Bela Kun in Hungary, and in order to prevent the agricultural land from remaining uncultivated and the country from falling a prey to famine, the Directory Council had ordered a series of " compulsory leases " to be drawn up, as soon as the principles for the agrarian reform had been established, at the beginning of the summer of 1919 : all uncultivated estates and all those parts of other landed properties which, according to the principles decided upon, were bound to be expropriated had been put provisionally at the disposal of the peasantry. After the law was promulgated, the definite expropriation and distribution of land was begun, and the peasants, without any distinction on the ground of their ethnical origin, finally received the land which they so urgently needed.

There were entitled to land in the whole of Roumania :

in the pre-war Roumanian Kingdom . . . . .	1,014,819	people.
in Transylvania . . . . .	530,694	"
in Bucovina . . . . .	50,593	"
in Bessarabia . . . . .	357,016	"
Total . . . . .	<u>1,953,122</u>	people.

There were in Transylvania 530,694 people entitled to land under the terms of the law. The first among them were the invalids, the widows and orphans of the fallen, the former soldiers of the World War, without distinction as to the side on which they have fought. Up to the end of 1924 land had been distributed to 335,073 peasants, out of whom 246,695 were Roumanians and 88,378 belonged to other ethnical

groups (Hungarians, Germans, Jews, Serbians), but more especially to the Hungarian group. The following comparative table, showing according to ethnical origin the number of persons who were entitled to land and who actually received it by a definitive decision of the Law-Courts established for this purpose, furnishes additional evidence that no discrimination was made as to race or religion :

<i>Ethnical origin</i>	<i>Entitled to land</i>	<i>Received land by definitive sentence</i>
Roumanians . . . .	396,342	246,695
Hungarians . . . .	87,426	55,422
Germans . . . . .	31,195	22,963
Others . . . . .	17,731	9,993
Total . . . . .	<u>530,694</u>	<u>335,073</u>

The remainder of those entitled have received the available land provisionally and are waiting for their turn to obtain the definitive sentences of the Courts. And it is important to notice that up to the present not a single complaint has been made, whether to the Roumanian Government or to the League of Nations, by peasants belonging to our ethnical minorities, that the benefit of the law has been denied to any of them.

No better proof can be offered of the impartiality of the Roumanian Government in regard to expropriation than the figures showing in hectares the area of the large estates and the area which was actually expropriated in the four provinces of present day Roumania :

<i>Province</i>	<i>Large estates</i>	<i>Expropriated area</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Pre-War Kingdom .	4,473,030 ha.	2,776,401 ha.	62.07 %
Transylvania . . . .	3,073,548 »	1,711,575 »	55.68 %
Bucovina . . . . .	370,075 »	75,967 »	20.52 %
Bessarabia . . . . .	1,665,410 »	1,491,920 »	89.58 %
Total . . . . .	<u>9,582,073 ha.</u>	<u>6,055,863 ha.</u>	<u>61.11 %</u>



Consequently while in Transylvania the area expropriated amounts to 55,68 % of the large estates, in pre-war Roumania it amounts to 62,07 %. And it ought to be added that while the area expropriated in Transylvania includes the forests necessary to the villages, in pre-war Roumania almost the whole of the expropriated area is arable land ; the forests, which are now in course of expropriation, on the basis of a special law, are not comprised in the above figures. In regard to arable land, according to a British author, Professor L. L. Evans of Cambridge, the average charge of expropriation on a landowner was 400 hectares in the pre-war Kingdom, 897 hectares Bessarabia and only 190 hectares in Transylvania<sup>1</sup>. " If this fact is born in mind, — says Mr. Evans, — it appears that the preponderance of Magyars is greater in the numbers of the interested than in the losses involved"<sup>2</sup>.

It ought also to be mentioned that all the great landowners of pre-war Roumania as well as the greater part of the landowners of Bessarabia and Bucovina, whose estates have been expropriated for the benefit of the peasantry, are of Roumanian race and that it is only in Transylvania that, on account of the historical evolution of that region they belong, for the greater part to the ethnical minorities.

Payment for the expropriated land is made, for the whole of Roumania, in State bonds, carrying 5 % interests and payable in 50 years. Up to the end of July, 1927, the bonds issued for this purpose in Transylvania represent a value of 214,409,553 lei. The price was calculated in pre-war Roumania at an average of 2,215 lei per hectare ; in Transylvania and Bucovina at an average of 2,180 lei per hectare. That is to say : although as it is generally known, the land in pre-war

<sup>1</sup> The Agrarian Revolution in Roumania, by L. L. Evans, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, University Press, 1924, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> O. c. p. 172.

Roumania is far superior in quality to the land in Transylvania and Bucovina, the price shows only a small difference of 35 lei on a hectare.

Everybody in Roumania understood the great importance of such a social reform and the landholders submitted to it without protest. In Transylvania over 95 % of the owners of large landed estates consented to the provisions of the law.

The only ones who rose in violent opposition to the reform were a small number of Hungarian proprietors who, although born and living in Transylvania up to 1919, chose Hungarian citizenship and moved into Hungary.

Alleging that, on the basis of the Treaty of Trianon (Art. 63 and 64), they have the right to retain untouched their landed properties within the Roumanian frontiers, they appealed, in March 1923, through the agency of the Hungarian Government, to the League of Nations and demanded that the League should compel the Roumanian Government to exempt them from expropriation.

In pursuance of the recommendation of the Council of the League an agreement was reached in regard to this matter by the Hungarian and Roumanian Governments at Brussels on May 29th 1923, under the auspices of the League which was represented by Mr. Adatei, Ambassador of Japan to Belgium. The delegate of the Roumanian Government was Mr. N. Titulesco, Minister of Roumania to the Court of St. James; the delegate of the Hungarian Government, fully empowered to sign the agreement, was Count Csáky, Plenipotentiary Minister. The Hungarian representative admitted that the expropriation of the estates of the Hungarian optants for reasons of public utility and for the needs of an agrarian reform, was not inconsistent with the Treaty of Trianon. The Roumanian Government, in its turn pledged itself on the one hand to allow the Hungarian optants who had

already submitted to expropriation, to retain the property which was left to them after the expropriation, in spite of Article 19 of the Roumanian Constitution which prohibits alien citizens from owning rural property within the Roumanian frontiers, and further to treat the Hungarian nationals on the same footing as the Roumanian nationals in regard to expropriation and to make special investigation of any individual cases of infringement of this principle, which might be brought to its attention.

The agreement was duly signed by the representatives of the two Governments.

In spite of the written document, the Hungarian Government on June 12th and on July 5th 1923 simply disavowed its delegate, denied that an agreement was concluded and demanded a fresh examination of the case.

This curious behaviour of the Hungarian Government was severely censured by Mr. Adatci as well as by Lord Robert Cecil, when the question was brought again before the Council on July 5th 1923.

Mr. Adatci could not refrain from stating openly :

“ It is obvious that the action of the Council of the League of Nations in working to maintain good relations between its members when separated by a dispute, would be rendered impossible if, in contradiction to all international practice, the delegates sent by the parties and duly authorized to negotiate under the auspices of a member of the Council, could be afterwards disavowed by their Governments.”<sup>1</sup>

Lord Cecil on his turn, who spoke on behalf of Great Britain, declared energetically after hearing the exposé of Mr. Adatci that the Council could not doubt that an agreement had been concluded. He emphasized his belief that it was of the greatest importance that an agreement of this kind should be respected, in

<sup>1</sup> *La Réforme agraire en Roumanie et les optants hongrois devant la Société des Nations, Mars-Juillet 1923, Paris, Jouve et C<sup>o</sup>, 1924. p. 109.*

view of the fact that the League of Nations rested entirely upon respect for contracts, and he added that it would be extremely regrettable if the Council did not attach a great importance to this contract<sup>1</sup>.

The Council consequently refused to agree to the Hungarian demand and accepted the report containing the understanding of Brussels.

The optants then appealed to the Roumano-Hungarian Mixed Arbitral Tribunal at Paris, which is provided for in Article 239 of the Treaty of Trianon, and represented the expropriation, which was applied to all landholders of Roumania, as a war time "retention and liquidation" contrary to Article 250 of the Treaty. The Roumanian Government, in view of the fact that the agrarian reform is a measure of internal policy to which all landholders of the country, whether Roumanians or aliens, had to submit, objected to the jurisdiction of the Tribunal and denied its rights to pass judgment upon the Roumanian agrarian laws. As the Tribunal on January 10th 1927 nevertheless declared itself competent in the matter, the Roumanian Government on February 24th withdrew its arbitrator and informed the Tribunal that he would no longer take part in any of the suits brought by Hungarian nationals against the Roumanian State in connection with the Roumanian agrarian reform law. The Roumanian Government at the same time called the attention of the Council of the League upon the whole situation as being one which might endanger the peaceful relations between two States.

The problem was debated by the Council on March 7th 1927 and a Committee of three members was appointed, under the Chairmanship of Sir Austen Chamberlain, to report on it and to propose the best possible solution.

<sup>1</sup> O. c. p. 177.

After the representatives of the two Governments had been heard by the Committee and after all efforts for a conciliation had been exhausted, the Committee took a final decision. It submitted the question of the Hungarian optants in regard to the Roumanian agrarian reform as well as the question of the authority of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal to a commission of six eminent specialists on international law : a Frenchman, Mr. Henry Fromageot,—an Englishman, Sir Cecil Hurst,—an Italian, Mr. Massimo Pilotti,—a Japanese, Mr. N. Sato,—a German, Dr. Frederick Gaus—and a Pole, Mr. Michel Rostworowski. After receiving the opinion of this commission, the Committee made, on September 17th, a very important report to the Council, setting forth the principles of equality by which the two Governments should be guided in the solution of this conflict and which had been unanimously recommended by the six jurists.

During the debates on the report on September 17th and 19th, the two opposite points of view were made exceedingly clear, as had been the case during the debates in April and July 1923 and in March 1927 : Hungary demanded preferential treatment for her nationals (optants and others) in Roumania, while the latter stood for perfect equality as between nationals and aliens on her soil.

According to the Hungarian contention Hungarian nationals or optants owning lands in Transylvania were entitled to be exempted from any expropriation to which Roumanian citizens were subjected. The Hungarian Government claimed for their nationals a treatment different and more favorable than that applied by Roumania to her own citizens.

Count Apponyi, the Hungarian delegate, stated at the Council of the League on September 19th, in so many words :

“The proposal which lays down peremptorily that all differential treatment between nationals and aliens

should be excluded is a legal error.... The restitutions which the Hungarian nationals desire and for which they have brought their case *necessitate a differential treatment*”.

He therefore demanded that the whole case, together with the principles of equality laid down by the Committee, should be submitted for an advisory opinion to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

Roumania's contention is that the provisions of the Treaty of Trianon do not establish any difference whatever between Hungarian and Roumanian nationals, to the detriment of the latter, as to their immovable property on Roumanian territory, and that no differential treatment can be admitted for Hungarian optants or Hungarian nationals in this regard. Roumania holds all the more to this view because during the peace negotiations in Paris in 1920 the Hungarian delegation itself, headed by Count Apponyi, only demanded that the same treatment should be applied to the Hungarian nationals as to the Roumanian subjects. The Roumanian Government therefore opposes any attempt to create special privileges within the territory under its administration. According to the views of the Roumanian Government, the Hungarian optants and other Hungarian nationals are free to retain their immovable property on Roumanian soil, but only within the limits of the Roumanian laws, to which all inhabitants of the country are subjected.

“Indeed, Roumanians, Frenchmen, and Englishmen,—said Mr. Titulesco in his brilliant presentation of the case to the Council of the League on April 20th 1923,—can own estates in Roumania only in the same way as the ordinary citizens; that is to say, estates governed by Roumanian laws, which laws might change according to the exigences of the interests of the Roumanian nation.

“ Nothing of this kind in the case of a Hungarian optant. He has a Treaty, which taking into account the situation in a certain moment, establishes his right for ever.

“ And as a Hungarian optant is by definition a Hungarian subject living in Hungary, he will not be subjected to expropriation by the Hungarian law, because his immovable properties are beyond the Hungarian border, in Roumania; and he will not be submitted to the Roumanian expropriation either, because he is protected by a Treaty.

“ If this was the real intention of the contracting parties at Trianon allow me to say that, after looking over all the treaties of the World since 1919, I cannot find a creation surpassing in attractiveness... the profession of a Hungarian optant.

“ And I take the liberty of calling the attention of the Council to the fact that Hungary, while requesting you to give this interpretation to the Treaty of Trianon, is also requesting you to give the same interpretation to the Treaty of Versailles.

“ Indeed, I find in the Treaty of Versailles, under *Section 8, Poland*, within Article 94, the provision that the optants: ‘will be entitled to retain their immovable property’; under *Section 7, Czechoslovakia*, within Article 85, the provision that: ‘persons having exercised their right of option... will be entitled to retain the immovable property which they own on the territory of another State’; and finally, under *Section 1, Belgium*, within Article 37, the provision that: ‘persons having exercised their right of option... will be entitled to retain the immovable property that they own in the territories acquired by Belgium’.

“ The acceptance of the Hungarian thesis would mean consequently that the treaties have strewn on the new map of Europe a number of fortresses, intangible from the point of view of private law, which would be for the future and forever in relation to the

sovereign States what the fiefs of the feudal lords were in the middle ages in relation to the King.”

On September 19th 1927, in connection with the report, which had been presented by Sir Austen Chamberlain and to which Hungary refused her acceptance, Mr. Titulesco stated again to the Council :

“ You have before you a report which lays down *absolute equality* between Roumanians and Hungarians, an equality which we have never contested. More than that: there is the possibility for Hungarian subjects, if they can prove that a measure has been promulgated so as to injure them in their capacity of ex-enemies, of resorting to arbitral justice. Hungary however refuses to accept the report. Why? Because, as Count Apponyi clearly stated, Hungary assumes the right to preferential treatment on the basis of the rights of foreigners. Count Apponyi wishes to ask for the opinion of the Hague Court on the three principles in the report... He wishes to submit to it the question of the preferential treatment for Hungarians to the detriment of Roumanians. But why ask the Court to settle that question?... It was the Hungarian Government itself which at the Peace Conference asked, as the maximum of its claims, for equality of treatment for nationals and aliens :

“ We ask for a declaration to the effect that no property belonging to our nationals and situated on the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy shall be sequestrated, liquidated or expropriated in virtue of *any legal provision or any special measure which does not apply under the same conditions to the subjects of the liquidating State, or to the State executing that measure...*”<sup>1</sup>.

“ The Treaty of Trianon has been interpreted by you, Count Apponyi, to mean that the maximum

<sup>1</sup> Les négociations de la Paix hongroise, Budapest, Impr. Victor Hornyánszky, 1921, vol. II, p. 460.



which you will ask for your nationals is that they should receive *the same treatment* as the Roumanian subjects.”

The correctness of the Roumanian point of view was amply recognized by the Council of the League and on September 19th 1927 the report of the Committee presided by Sir Austen Chamberlain, was unanimously adopted.

The principles laid down in the report and submitted by the Council to the Roumanian and Hungarian Governments to comply with, are the following :

“ 1) *The provisions of the peace settlement effected after the war of 1914-1918 do not exclude the application to Hungarian nationals (including those who have opted for Hungarian nationality) of a general scheme of agrarian reform.* Article 250 forbids the application of Article 232 to the property of Hungarian nationals in the transferred territory. Under the terms of Article 250 the prohibition to retain and liquidate cannot restrict Roumania's freedom of action beyond what it would have been if Articles 232 and 250 had not existed. Even if none of these provisions appeared in the Treaty, Roumania would none the less be entitled to enact any agrarian law she might consider suitable for the requirements of her people, subject to the obligations resulting from the rules of international law. *There is however no rule of international law exempting Hungarian nationals from a general scheme of agrarian reform.* The question of compensation, whatever its importance from other point of view, does not here come under consideration.

“ 2) *There must be no inequality between Roumanians and Hungarians, either in the terms of the agrarian law or in the way in which it is enforced...*

“ 3) *The words retention and liquidation mentioned in Article 250 which relates only to the territories ceded by Hungary, apply solely to the measures taken*

“*against the property of a Hungarian in the said territories and in so far as such owner is a Hungarian national...* It is not sufficient that these measures entail the retention of Hungarian property by the Government and that the owner of this property is a Hungarian. The measure must be one which would not have been enacted or which would not have been applied as it was, if the owner of the property were not a Hungarian.”

The Council of the League, adopted unanimously the report and decided: *to request the two parties to conform to the three principles enumerated above*, and also to request them to give a definitive answer before the month of December when the Council will be in session again.

The Roumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Titulesco, declared immediately in the name of the Roumanian Government that Roumania was willing to comply with the principles and recommendations of the Council. The Hungarian reply, for the time being, was dilatory.

It is evident that the problem of the Hungarian optants, as it was presented from Hungarian side, was void of any foundation of law or equity: the Roumanian agrarian legislation does not contain any special or exceptional provisions directed against any landholder in Roumania and does not make any discrimination as to the landholder's ethnical origin and citizenship.

Not the slightest distinction between the subjects of the various countries — whether Roumanians, allies or ex-enemies — was made by the law. In this respect Roumania had followed the same principle which had been adopted by the legislation of other States (Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia).

The demand for an exemption of the Hungarian optants from expropriation or for an indemnity higher than that which was awarded to Roumanian citizens,

was based on a false interpretation of the Treaty of Trianon and compliance with it would have constituted a privilege in favour of these alien citizens, which no State would ever tolerate on its soil. The Roumanian State cannot admit on its territory any privileges beyond the rights that its own citizens are enjoying.

The agrarian reform in united Roumania was a social necessity of primary importance. The attempt to bring it under discussion, whatever be the form of such action, is inspired by political aims inconsistent with social harmony or with a peaceful settlement in Eastern Europe as established by the Peace Treaties.

## VIII. CONCLUSIONS.

It is obvious to any unbiased reader of these notes that Roumania has not only scrupulously respected the obligations imposed upon her by the additional Treaty of December 9th 1919, regarding her ethnical and religious minorities, but by recognizing the de facto situation and by giving a large measure of protection their cultural and social consolidation, she has gone far beyond the provisions of the Treaty.

The Roumanian attitude in regard to this problem is expressed in Art. III, paragraph 1 and 2 of the resolutions of Alba Iulia, *previous to the Peace Treaties and to any Treaty of Minorities* :

“ 1, Complete national liberty for all the peoples dwelling in our territory. Each people to educate, administer and judge itself in its own language, through the agency of persons of its own race...”

“ 2. Equality and complete autonomy for all religious denominations in the State.”

The basic covenant of united Roumania, the Roumanian Constitution of 1923, contains without any restriction these important principles.

The Roumanian State, faithful to its tradition, has displayed the most benevolent attitude towards its ethnical minorities . We have shown above the protection, freedom and material assistance it gave their religious and educational organizations. Its attitude was the same in regard to the other branches of their activity. The situation of the minority industrialists and workers is far better at present than it used to be in pre-war days ; the number of their cultural and social organizations is increasing ; their theatres, newspapers and reviews of every kind are progressing.

There are at present in Transylvania 61,000 handicraft shops, among which 46,000 belong to the ethnical minorities ; there are 1780 commercial enterprises, out of which 1312 belong to the minorities ; there are 21,000 merchants and tradesmen, among whom 18,000 belong to the minorities. There are 17 Hungarian, 7 German, but only 2 Roumanian daily newspapers. There are 8 Hungarian and 1 German, but only 1 Roumanian theatrical company.

In 1918 the Transylvanian Hungarians owned 325 co-operative associations (banks excepted), at present they own 354 (an increase of 29), with a capital of 48,981.750 Lei and a membership of 103,166 people. In 1918 they had 106 cultural associations, at present they have 120 (an increase of 14), with a capital of 2,547.379 Lei and a membership of 18,152. In 1918 they had 60 philanthropical societies, they have at present 67 (an increase of 7) with a capital of 16,325. In 1918 there were 28 Hungarian religious associations, today they number 34 (an increase of 6) with a capital of 193,529 Lei and a membership of 4428. Their musical societies numbered 31, at present they number 37 (an increase of 6) with a capital of 219,037 Lei and a membership of 3927. Finally, to mention one more aspect of Hungarian social activity, they had in 1918 20 sporting associations in Transylvania, they have at present 30 (an increase of 10) with a capital of 3,175.826 Lei and a membership of 23,768.

Mr. Iuliu Maniu, President of the National Peasant Party, former President of the Directory Council (Provisional Government) of Transylvania, has made the following very judicious statement in an excellent lecture which he delivered on the minorities of Roumania :

“ We ought to make every possible effort to raise, with the aid of the State power, our whole Roumanian nation to the same level of education and economic welfare, to the same degree of indestructible spiritual,

national and social solidarity, to which (likewise with the protection, material support and power of the States on the ruins of which our reintegrated national State has been erected as a manifestation of eternal Justice) the national groups of alien race, language and religion inhabiting our country have succeeded in raising themselves. No civilized nation will blame us for such endeavours, but every one would blame us if by neglecting to do so we were to show that we are a nation incapable of making use of its right, of its force and of its possibilities for the benefit of its people.”<sup>1</sup>

All political parties of Roumania agree with these views. Can anybody blame us for our high intention of elevating also our Roumanian nation in Transylvania after thousand years of serfdom, if by these efforts no harm is being done either to the intellectual or to the economic life of our Non-Roumanian countrymen ?

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The narrow conceptions and medieval mentality on which the Anti-Roumanian propaganda is based, are not only deeply erroneous, but do prejudice to the Hungarian nation itself. The spirit of intolerance and hatred, the feelings of revenge and envy which appear on every page of the Hungarian propaganda leaflets throw a regrettable light upon the moral standards of their authors who hope to revive by such means the utterly untrue legend of a Hungary living happy and united for ten centuries past.

No revival of the past will ever again be possible.

We are perfectly well aware that the denationalization of the few ethnical minorities living within our boundaries and their complete and definite union with our overwhelming and sturdy Roumanian majority cannot be achieved by laws and administrative measures. That is a problem that will be solved by time

<sup>1</sup> Iuliu Maniu : Problema minorităților, Bucarest, 1923.

and mutual good will. Therein lies the explanation of the profound difference between the brutal denationalization policy of pre-war Hungary and the tolerant, liberal attitude of present day Roumania towards her minority populations.

In a relatively short lapse of time United Roumania succeeded in consolidating her new administration, her finances, her new educational and intellectual life. The vigorous forces of the redeemed provinces are largely contributing to this consolidation. Transylvania with her rights restored, has ceased to figure on the map of European civilization as a cemetery of the principles of equity and freedom. We, who have attended the magnificent National Assembly in Alba Iulia on December 1st 1926, we keep forever engraved in our hearts the great principles expressed unanimously by our nation in its exalted resolution on that historic day. We shall fight for these principles and we shall apply them unflinchingly : the greatest honour that a liberated nation can do to herself is to award to her minorities of alien extraction all freedom and all opportunity that had been denied to herself.

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