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Ethnical Minorities  
of  
Transylvania

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TRANSYLVANUS

EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE (PUBLISHERS) LIMITED  
6 GREAT NEW STREET, LONDON, E.C.4

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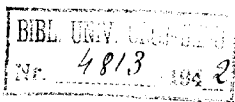
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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

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# The Ethnical Minorities of Transylvania

## INTRODUCTION

The name of Transylvania is generally understood to mean the territory detached from Hungary and annexed to the Kingdom of Roumania under the Treaty of Trianon. This territory has an area of 102,200 square kilometres and a population, according to the census of 1930, of 5,543,250. The name will be used in the same sense in the present work, although, historically speaking, the province of Transylvania comprises three regions: Transylvania properly so called, the district of Crişana-Maramureş and the Banat.

Transylvania properly so called consists of the Departments of Alba, Braşov, Ciuc, Cluj, Someş, Fagaros, Hunedoara, Mureş, Năsăud, Odorhei, Sibiu, Târnava-mare, Târnava-mica, Trei Scaune and Turda. The area is 57,807 sq. kilometres and the population 2,870,751, of whom 1,657,973 (57·7 per cent.) are Roumanians, 826,796 (28·8 per cent.) Magyars, 237,266 (8·3 per cent.) Germans, 65,123 (2·3 per cent.) Jews, and the remainder Slovaks, Ruthenes, Serbs, etc.

The district of Crişana-Maramureş consists of the departments of Arad, Bihor, Maramureş, Salaj and Satu-mare. Its area is 26,000 sq. kilometres and its population 1,733,062, of whom 1,037,463 (59·9 per cent.) are Roumanians, 429,076 (24·8 per cent.) Magyars, 83,226 (4·8 per cent.) Germans,

102,042 (5.9 per cent.) Jews, the remainder being composed of Slovaks, Ruthenes, Serbs, etc.

The Banat is composed of the departments of Caras, Severin and Timis-Torontal. It has an area of 18,393 sq. kilometres and a population of 939,437, of whom 510,825 (54.4 per cent.) are Roumanians, 97,903 (10.4 per cent.) Magyars, 223,130 (23.7 per cent.) Germans, 11,256 (1.2 per cent.) Jews, the remainder being composed of other nationalities, the chief of which are the Serbs, who number 23,907 and represent 8.1 per cent. of the total population.

Transylvania as a whole has thus a population of 5,543,250, of whom 3,206,261, or 57.9 per cent., are Roumanians, 1,353,675 (24.4 per cent.) Magyars, 543,622 (9.8 per cent.) Germans, and 178,421 (3.2 per cent.) Jews. The remainder, 261,271 persons (4.7 per cent.), consists of other nationalities: Slovaks, Serbs, Bulgars, gypsies.

The union between Transylvania and the kingdom of Roumania was realised *de facto* some time before the conclusion of the Treaty of Trianon in virtue of the principle of the self-determination of peoples, which was proclaimed to the public conscience of the world by the President of the United States, President Wilson, and by the vote of the vast majority of the population. The Roumanians voted the union on 1 December, 1918, in the great national assembly held by them at Alba Julia, the Saxons at their assembly at Medias on 8 January, 1919, and the Swabians at the assembly which took place at Timisoara on 16 August, 1919, immediately after the withdrawal of the Serbian troops. The union was thus effected by the manifest will of 67.7 per cent. of the total population (57.9 per cent. Roumanians, plus 9.8 per cent. Germans). The Treaty of Trianon did no more than ratify a union already effected by the freely-expressed will of the population of Transylvania.

In the following pages we shall attempt to show the reader interested in such problems what is the situation of the minorities in this province considered under its different aspects (political, religious, scholastic, and economic). All data given in the ensuing chapters, except the first, are taken from

official publications<sup>1</sup> and from special works by the leaders of the minorities themselves, who are in the best position to know the life of the peoples whom they represent and whose leaders they are. The reader will judge for himself how far we have succeeded in giving a complete and objective picture of the life and development of the Transylvanian minorities, about whom there has been so much recent discussion.

## NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE MINORITIES OF TRANSYLVANIA

The census of 1930 gives the population of Transylvania as 5,543,250 persons, composed as follows:—Roumanians 3,206,261 (57·9 per cent.), Magyars 1,353,675 (24·4 per cent.), Germans 543,622 (9·8 per cent.), Jews 178,421 (3·2 per cent.), minor nationalities (Slovaks, Serbs, Ruthenes, Bulgars, etc.) 261,271 (4·7 per cent.).

1. *Magyars*.—The most important of the minorities, whether from the numerical, cultural or political point of view, is the Magyar. It numbers, as we have seen, 1,253,675 persons and represents 24·4 per cent. of the total population. Geographically, the Magyars form two distinct groups: the Szeklers, and the Magyars of the remaining region of Transylvania. The Szeklers inhabit the departments of Odorhei, Ciuc, and Trei Scaune, where they constitute an overwhelming majority of the population, and parts of the departments of Mureş, Braşov, and Tarnava-Mica. This group, which lives in the immediate vicinity of the old Roumanian frontier and is surrounded on all sides by a compact Roumanian population, comprises 552,347 Magyars, and thus constitutes 42·2 per cent. of the total Magyar population of Transylvania. The second group is formed by the Magyars who live scattered through the other departments of the province. They number 801,328 persons, or 57·8 per cent. of the total Magyar population, and

<sup>1</sup> These are: Kirkliche Blatter, the official organ of the Evangelic Lutheran bishopric; Reformatus Szemle, the official organ of the Reformed Bishopric of Cluj; the annual official reports of the Reformed Bishoprics of Cluj and Oradea; the Unitarian and Catholic Bishoprics of Alba Julia (Catholic status); and Reformatusok Lapok, the official organ of the Reformed Diocese of Oradea.

do not form even a relative majority of the population in any department, as is shown by the following table :—

Department	Roumanians	Magyars	Germans	Jews	Others
1. Alba - -	81.5%	11.3%	3.6%	1.4%	2.2%
2. Arad - -	61.0%	19.5%	12.3%	2.1%	5.1%
3. Bihor - -	61.6%	30.0%	.4%	4.3%	3.7%
4. Caras - -	69.5%	2.5%	12.8%	.3%	14.9%
5. Cluj - -	61.0%	30.1%	.5%	.2%	3.2%
6. Fagaras - -	78.4%	5.5%	12.5%	.2%	3.4%
7. Hunedoara - -	82.0%	11.3%	2.5%	1.4%	2.8%
8. Maramures - -	57.7%	6.9%	2.0%	20.9%	12.5%
9. Nasaud - -	71.8%	5.3%	14.4%	4.4%	4.1%
10. Salaj - -	56.3%	31.4%	4.6%	3.9%	3.8%
11. Satmar - -	60.7%	25.4%	3.2%	8.1%	2.6%
12. Severin - -	76.6%	6.6%	9.6%	1.2%	6.0%
13. Sibiu - -	62.1%	4.7%	29.3%	.8%	2.1%
14. Somes - -	77.6%	15.5%	—	4.8%	2.1%
15. Tarnava-mare - -	44.8%	11.8%	39.8%	8.1%	2.5%
16. Timis-Torontal - -	37.6%	15.4%	35.0%	1.7%	10.3%
17. Turda - -	74.3%	21.5%	.1%	1.2%	2.9%

Of the 4,080 rural communes of Transylvania and the neighbouring departments, the Magyars form the absolute majority of the population in 737 (18 per cent.), the Roumanians in 2,918 (73.92 per cent.), the Germans in 266 (6.5 per cent.), and the other nationalities in 65 (1.56 per cent.).

Although the Magyars constitute only 24.4 per cent. of the total population of Transylvania, their percentage is as high as 39.77 per cent. of the total urban population. This considerable figure is due to the consistent policy of the past Hungarian Governments which aimed at conquering all the social, intellectual and economic centres of Transylvania, although these were inhabited then, as they are now, by a population the great majority of which was Roumanian. It is to this policy that we should ascribe the greater part of the astonishing increase of the urban Magyar population during



the last thirty years of Hungarian rule in Transylvania. The following examples show this development clearly:—

Commune	Roumanians		Magyars	
	Year 1880	Year 1910	Year 1880	Year 1910
Zlatna - - - -	2344	674	2892	1129
Ocnele Muresului - - - -	1272	1226	1845	2862
Teiuş - - - -	1501	640	1951	1547
Bistriţa - - - -	2114	574	4470	2824
Nasaud - - - -	1891	108	2504	778
Rodna Veche - - - -	2164	640	2910	1485
Braşov - - - -	9382	9827	11786	17831
Făgăraş - - - -	1803	1734	2174	3357
Deva - - - -	1842	1480	2417	5827
Haţeg - - - -	1265	290	1514	1438
Hunedoara - - - -	1579	484	1789	2457
Lupeni - - - -	715	—	2145	3630
Petrila - - - -	2538	276	4381	3261
Petroşani - - - -	1287	617	3250	7748
Gherla - - - -	1705	1804	1881	4630
Beclean - - - -	862	785	1205	1791
Ludoşul de Mureş - - - -	1880	650	1385	3116

We have quoted only a few towns which lie in purely Roumanian surroundings. It is the latter, and not the foreign population, which should show the higher rate of increase. The disproportionate growth of the Magyar element, compared to the Roumanian (which is admittedly particularly prolific) is to be explained, as was previously remarked, by the active policy of assimilation and by a slow and steady movement of the Magyar population from Central Hungary to the centre of the Roumanian massif of Transylvania. It is quite impossible that the surplus of births over deaths alone should have produced within 30 years (1880–1910) an increase in the numbers of the Magyar population of Ludosul de Mures from 650 to 3,116, of Petrosanai from 617 to 7,748, of Petrila from 276 to 3,261, of Hunedoara from 484 to 2,457, or Hateg from 290 to 1,438. The artificial character of this increase appears more

plainly still if we compare it with that of the Magyar element in the Szekler towns, as shown in the following table :—

	Year	
Cyergyoszentmiklos - - - -	1880	5370
	1910	8549
Csikszentdomokos - - - -	1880	3967
	1910	5352
Ditrău - - - -	1880	5143
	1910	6560
Gyergyoalfalu - - - -	1880	5038
	1910	6392
Târgul sacuesc - - - -	1880	5098
	1910	5907
Sf. Gheorghe - - - -	1880	5133
	1910	8361
Covasna - - - -	1880	3048
	1910	4154
Odorheiu - - - -	1880	5541
	1910	9888
Cristurul săcuesc - - - -	1880	2872
	1910	3766

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The region in which these towns are situated is Magyar (Szekler), and there was consequently no need of any intervention to change its ethnical character. For this reason, the increase of the Magyar population is normal and does not show the surprising leaps which we have seen in the towns situated in Roumanian districts.

2. *Germans*.—The Germans of Transylvania number 543,622 and form 9·8 per cent. of the total population of the province. Like the Magyars, they fall into distinct groups, three in number. The first is that of the Saxons of historic Transylvania (excluding, that is, the Banat and the Departments of Arad, Bihor, Salaj, Satu-mare and Maramureş). The first Saxon colonists arrived here in the second half of the twelfth century, and the immigration continued until the years 1211-25. In 1468 the Saxons numbered about 80,000. In 1713 this number had fallen to 76,000, partly owing to the continual wars, partly again because they were assimilated by the peoples

among whom they were living, in particular the Roumanians. In 1766 they numbered 120,000; in 1850, 219,000; in 1880, only 211,748; in 1910, 217,620; and in 1930, 237,266.

The chief Saxon settlements are in the Departments of Braşov (where they form 19.9 per cent. of the total population), Taranava-Mare (39.8 per cent.), Nasaud (14.4 per cent.), Făgăraş (12.5 per cent.). Smaller numbers are found in the Departments of Alba, where they form 3.5 per cent. against 81.5 per cent. Roumanians and 11.3 per cent. Magyars; Hunedoara (2.5 per cent.; 82 per cent. Roumanians, 11.3 per cent. Magyars), and Mureş (3.9 per cent.; Roumanians, 45.9 per cent.; Magyars, 42.6 per cent.).

The second important German group is formed by the Swabians of the Department of Arad and of the Banat—(Departments of Caras, Severin and Timis-Torontal). The colonisation of the Department of Arad by Germans began in 1703, while that of the Banat began after the expulsion of the Turks, i.e. after 1717, and lasted until late into the nineteenth century. The majority of the colonists, however, arrived between 1720-40 and 1766-73. In 1839 they numbered 224,007, in 1880 364,080, and in 1910 426,240. As a result of the partition of the Banat between Roumania and Yugoslavia only 275,349 remained on Roumanian territory according to the 1930 census. These were divided as follows: 52,219 in the Department of Arad, 25,628 in that of Caras, 25,053 in that of Severin, and 174,449 in that of Timis-Torontal.

The third group of Germans, which is much the smallest, and under Hungarian domination, was doomed to utter disappearance, is formed by the colonists of the Department of Satu-mare, who were brought to their present homes by Count Alexander Karolyi at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1839 they numbered 17,792. In 1880 this figure had sunk to 14,375, in 1890 to 13,883, in 1900 to 11,713, and in 1910 to 6,670. This disastrous decline was due to the vigorous policy of assimilation conducted by the Magyars and prosecuted by every means by the local administrative services and in particular by the Catholic clergy, who still to-day form one of the greatest obstacles to the development of an ethnical spirit among these Swabians. At the 1930 census, 9,505 inhabitants

of the Department of Satu-mare declared themselves to be of the German race.

There are also small groups of German colonists in the Departments of Maramureş (3,239) and Salaj (15,975).

The *Jews* form the third minority in Transylvania. According to the 1930 census, they number 178,421, and make up 3·2 per cent. of the total population. The Jewish element is found throughout the whole territory of the province. Most of the Jews are immigrants from Galicia or Russia, and their largest elements are in the northern Departments. Thus, in the Department of Maramureş they number 32,798, forming 20·9 per cent. of the total population, in Satu-mare 23,907, in Salaj 13,321, in Someş 10,497, in Cluj 17,135. As we proceed southward their numbers decrease. The great majority of them—64·8 per cent.—inhabit the towns.

## THE POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE TRANSYLVANIAN MINORITIES

Before describing the political organisation of the Transylvanian minorities, we shall give a few preliminary words of explanation.

The juridical situation, the rights and duties of the minorities of Roumania, are established, not only by the Treaty of Paris of 9 December, 1919, but also by the Roumanian Constitution, which received Royal sanction on 28 March, 1923 (No. 1360). To make the situation clear it should be enough to reproduce verbatim the relevant articles of the new constitution of the Kingdom of Roumania.

*Article 5.*—All Roumanians, irrespective of their ethnical origin, language or religion, enjoy freedom of conscience, freedom of instruction, freedom of the Press, freedom of meeting, freedom of association and all liberties and rights established by law.

*Article 7.*—Difference of religious belief or confession, of ethnical origin or language constitute in Roumania no obstacle to the enjoyment and exercise of civil and political rights.

*Article 22.*—Freedom of conscience is absolute. The State guarantees to all religions equal freedom and protection provided that the practice of them constitutes no infringement of public order, morals or the laws and regulations of the State.

*Article 24.*—Instruction is free under the conditions laid down by special laws, and in so far as it does not infringe morals or public order.

*Article 25.*—The Constitution guarantees to all persons freedom to communicate and to publish their ideas and opinions orally, in writing and through the medium of the Press, each individual being responsible for the abuse of these liberties in the cases laid down by the penal code, which cannot in any case restrict the right as such.

No exceptional law may be passed diminishing this right.

No censorship or other preventive measure may be imposed on the issue, sale or distribution of any publication whatever.

No preliminary authorisation is required from any public authority for the appearance of any publication whatever.

No caution money may be demanded from journalists, authors, publishers, compositors or lithographers.

The serving of cautionary notices on the Press is prohibited.

No journal or publication may be suspended or suppressed.

*Article 28.*—All Roumanians, irrespective of their ethnical origin, language or religion have the right to meet in peaceable manner and without arms, in conformity with the laws governing the exercise of this right, to discuss any sort of question; no preliminary authorisation is required for this purpose.

*Article 29.*—All Roumanians, irrespective of their ethnical origin, language or religion, have the right of association, in conformity with the laws governing the exercise of that right.

The texts of the Constitution reproduced above show that a perfect legal equality prevails among all Roumanian citizens, irrespective of their ethnical origin, language or religion. Secondly, the Constitution guarantees to all religions not only the fullest liberty, but also equal protection; similarly, it guarantees freedom of instruction, freedom of the Press and freedom of distribution of publications, providing in particular

that neither censorship nor any other preventive measure may be imposed on the publication, sale or distribution of any publication whatever. No caution money or previous authorisation is required for the appearance of any publication whatever; no journal or publication may be suspended or suppressed. Furthermore, as the texts quoted show, the Constitution guarantees to all Roumanian citizens, irrespective of their ethnical origin, language or religion, the right of free meeting without previous authorisation, and the right of association.

It is undeniable that, as regards public rights and liberties, the situation in which the citizens of Transylvania, including the members of minorities, are placed, constitutes in many respects, an advance on that which they enjoy under Magyar rule.

In Transylvania the situation of the Press was governed by the Hungarian Law XIV of 1914. Article I of this law states that all citizens have the right to communicate their ideas freely through the medium of the Press, and Article XVI lays down that any person is free to found periodical publications (journals and reviews). No authorisation is necessary for this purpose. The same Article, however, provides that the intention to publish a periodical must be communicated fifteen days before its appearance to the head of the local administration; i.e. he must be informed of the name and address of the publisher, the responsible editor and the press, the title, format and place of publication, nature of the proposed journal (political, cultural, social, scientific, etc.), and the place where it will be distributed. If the head of the administration does not take note of this information, the publication cannot, under Article XIX of the law, appear. Thus, it was not necessary for the authorities to give their approval, but they had to "take note." Article XVIII of the same Law provided for *political* journals appearing five times a week or oftener a caution money amounting to 50,000 crowns for Budapest and 20,000 for the provinces.

Before a journal could be sold on the streets or displayed the authorisation of the head of the local Administration, and that of the Minister of the Interior for the country as a whole

was required (Article XI). Furthermore, the person selling it also needed authorisation from the local police (Article XIII).

This Law, however, was only applied for a very short period, since exceptional measures were introduced during the war. Before 1914, the situation of the Press in Transylvania was governed by the Imperial Decree of 27 May, 1852, modified in some points of detail by Orders of the Hungarian Government dated 25 March, 1867, 14 May, 1871, and 22 April, 1872. Now that Imperial Decree had been promulgated at the height of the period of absolutism which followed the repression of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-9, and its aim was the repression of any liberal movement. Although Transylvania was united to Hungary in 1867, and although Hungary possessed a law on the Press which had been voted in 1848, in the age of liberal romanticism in politics, the regime of the 1852 Decree was maintained for Transylvania.

This regime, under which the Transylvanian Press existed up to 1914, was even more severe than the law which we have quoted. Under Article XIII of the Decree caution money was required for periodical publications of a political character, and even for publications dealing with social and religious questions. For Press offences, not only the author of the article was responsible, but also the editor and publisher, unless the editor could prove that the article had been published against his clearly expressed wish (Article XXXIV). If the journal was condemned to a fine, this was deducted from the caution money. The latter had to be paid up to its full amount within three days; failing which, the publication automatically ceased to appear.

Periodical publications could be sold only by a merchant who fulfilled all conditions of the commercial code, and only on his premises. They could not be displayed in the streets and public places without authorisation from the police (Articles V and VII). In localities where there were no persons authorised under the commercial code to engage in the sale of publications, or an insufficient number of such persons, the authorities might permit other *trustworthy* persons to engage in sales, but only for a period of six months, such persons

might only sell those publications listed on their permit (Article XIII).

There is thus a very considerable difference between this regime, under which the Transylvanian Press existed during the period of Magyar rule, and the present regime established by the Roumanian Constitution of 1923.

There was no law guaranteeing the rights of meeting in Transylvania. This rested only on simple Ministerial Orders. The last Order issued on this subject before the war was that of the Hungarian Minister of the Interior, dated 30 September, 1913, No. 7430. Under this Order no public meeting could take place without previous notice to the police, for urban communes, or the head of the Administration, for rural communes. For open-air meetings it was necessary not only to "give notice" to these authorities, but also to obtain their approval.

Similarly, the right of association was guaranteed only by Ministerial Orders, and in particular by the Order of the Hungarian Minister of the Interior of 2 May, 1875, No. 1508. Article I of this instrument laid down that the main condition for the formation of any sort of association was the previous approval of its statutes by the Government. The association could not be definitely constituted until it had obtained this approval. Minorities, said this Order, could form only literary and cultural associations.

Benefiting from the civil rights and liberties which the present Constitution bestows on all citizens, irrespective of their ethnic origin, language or religion, the Transylvanian minorities have founded political organisations of their own, with specific programmes and means of action, which vary among the different minorities according to their different ideals, temperaments and forms of culture.

1. The Saxons were the first minority to adapt themselves to the new situation created by the World War. The Central Committee of their party unanimously voted for annexation to the Kingdom of Roumania at the meeting which they held at Medias on 8 January, 1919. The resolution then adopted states that "on the basis of the right of self-determination,



the Saxon people of Transylvania declares itself united with the Kingdom of Roumania, and sends to the Roumanian people its fraternal greetings, with its cordial congratulation on the realisation of their national ideal."

The example of the Saxons was followed on 16 August, 1919, by the organisation of the Swabians of the Banat (Deutsch-schwäbische Volkspartei), which also voted for union with the Kingdom of Roumania at the Congress which it held at Timișoara. The General Assembly of the Saxon minority delegates (Sachsntag), held on 6 November, 1919, at Sighișoara, ratified the decision of Medias, and at the same time laid down the political programme of all the Germans in Roumania, now organised in the "League of the Germans of Roumania" (Verband der Deutschen in Grossrumänien). This political programme consists of twenty Articles, of which the first fourteen contain the political desiderata of the German minorities, while the last six deal with the internal organisation of the party. The Germans demand recognition by a Fundamental Law of their right to organise politically as a unitary nation (als einheitliche Nation) to accomplish their cultural, national and economic mission; the right to impose taxation on their members for cultural requirements; the right, as a nation, as organisations or as private persons, to found schools and cultural institutions of all grades and categories, to prepare and appoint their own teaching staff. They further demand for the legislative bodies universal, equal and secret suffrage, on the basis of the national cataster, and for municipalities and communes voting by list on the basis of the national cataster; the organisation of the whole public administration (political, fiscal, judicial, etc.) on a national basis, employment of the mother tongue in all branches and at all stages of administration and justice, both in communications to the public and in the formulation of official documents (minutes, decrees of judgment, etc.). They also demand appropriate use of their mother tongue in military instruction. Further, they call for equality of religions and the right of organisation on autonomous national bases; State subsidies for cultural institutions, proportionate to the taxation paid by the German minority; free use of the German national colours; maintenance for a

long period of the laws in force in the annexed territories, and the adoption of laws of recognised utility.

It was mentioned above that the German minority in Roumania as a whole is organised in a single league. Within this league each province has its own organisation under the name of a "people's council" (Volksrat). Thus, there is one Volksrat for Transylvania, a second for the Banat and the Departments of Arad and Satu-mare, a third for the Bukovina, a fourth for Bessarabia, and a fifth for the Old Kingdom and the Dobruja. The principal organisation of the Saxons is divided into district committees (Kreisausschüsse), the latter into communal committees (Ortsausschüsse), and these again into "neighbourhoods" (Nachbarschaften), in which the population of a commune is grouped by streets. The provincial organisation of the Swabians of the Banat, Arad and Satu-mare is fully as precise. At the head of the structure is the People's Council (Volksrat), beneath which come the departmental organisation (Gauämter) of the four Departments of Timiș-Torontal, Arad, Caraș Severin, and Satu-mare, then the district organisations (fifteen in the Department of Timiș-Torontal, two in that of Arad, five in Caraș Severin), then the communal organisations, and lastly the neighbourhoods.

It is incontestable—and the Germans themselves do not contest it—that the annexation of Transylvania to Roumania was a true act of national emancipation for the Swabians of the Banat, Arad and Satu-mare. The policy of assimilation practised by successive Magyar Governments nowhere achieved greater results than among the German minority. The Swabians of Satu-mare were on the point of disappearing completely under the pressure of this policy. Their numbers had fallen from 17,792 in 1839 to 14,375 in 1880, 13,883 in 1890, 11,713 in 1900, and 6,670 in 1910. As for the Swabians of the Banat, we will let their own leaders speak. The monograph entitled *Banat: das Deutschtum im Rumänischen Banat*, published in Dresden in 1926 in the collection entitled *Das Deutschtum im Ausland* contains the following passage:—

"Systematic Magyarisation began in the Banat in the last decade of the 19th century. In the middle of the nineties, for

example, a newspaper in the German language published in Temesvar had the audacity to write that there were two poisonous things in Temesvar: a canal in the Josephsstadt suburb and the German theatre. And this German theatre disappeared, amid the applause of the German bourgeoisie, which invented for itself the curious rôle of being a German-speaking, racially German people with Magyar ideals. Gradually the German speech vanished, too, only the German blood remained, but it did not stir" (page 68). "The east Swabian people offered no resistance worthy of the name to Magyarisation, either in the Banat or in Satmar."

The intellectual class were "not the leaders of the people, but its misleaders" ("nicht mehr Führer sondern vielfach Verführer des Volkes"). "They had become Magyarones, without knowing how" (page 69). Today the situation is different. We read in the same monograph: "The leaders defend German ways step by step and without fear. They have awakened German song to an unexpected and glorious renaissance. . . . They have helped the old manners, the old costumes to live again; they have brought back the German stage to the Banat. . . . They have organised a flourishing German women's league, a pleasant German girls' circle; they have helped the young people to organise and prevailed on them to train their bodies; they have arranged lectures, popularised German books, sent girls, priests and teachers to Germany to see the country, have sent hundreds of students to high schools in Germany and Austria, and have invited important guests from Germany and elsewhere to hold lectures, etc., in the Banat. And the people follow them, its eyes have a different gleam from the old days; the German soul has come home, and looks out through them, blue and blonde" (page 79). "After Apponyi's School Act of 1907 there was no school in the Banat with German as the language of instruction. . . . Now there were no more obstacles to Magyarisation. Magyar was introduced as language of instruction, and met with no resistance" (page 119). Today "the Banat has about 180 German primary schools" (*ibid.*). Theodor Grentrup, in his book on *Das Deutschum der mittleren Donau in Rumanien and*

*Jugoslawien* (Munster, 1930), writes on the German Press in the Banat as follows :—

“ In 1910 the German daily Press was clearly on the down grade and the Magyar on the up grade ” (page 301). “ The advance of the Magyar element brought with it the result that, particularly in the towns, where the intellectual classes in the State services had their homes, the papers whose outward appearance was still German, increasingly breathed a Magyar spirit. It was no longer good form among the educated classes, the so-called ‘gentlefolk,’ to read a Swabian paper ” (pp. 301-2). Today, the same author shows us 24 German publications in the Banat, not counting religious or educational periodicals (pp. 302-3).

Thus, Mr. Hans Muller was able to say with justification, in the lecture which he gave at Hamburg in March, 1931, on the Germans of Roumania, that : “ A few more years under Hungarian domination and the German element would have been wiped out by ruthless Magyarisation ” (*Hamburger Anzeiger*, 19 March, 1931).

From the very beginning, in 1919, the Germans have taken an active part in Parliamentary political life, standing at the elections sometimes on their own lists, sometimes in a cartel with the Roumanian parties, and once in a cartel with the Magyar party.

2. The Magyar minority at first adopted an attitude of passive resistance towards its new country, refusing to participate in the political life of the State. Only a small group of this minority, led by some intellectuals, who, immediately after the defeat of the Central Powers, were clear-sighted enough to understand the profound political transformations which were coming about, attempted to adapt themselves to the new situation by taking part in the parliamentary elections of 1919, and thus succeeded in gaining some seats in the first Parliament of Great Roumania. The remainder, as we have said, remained passive until after the signature of the Treaty of Trianon (4 June, 1920), and even after its ratification by the Senate on 17 August, 1920, by the Chamber on 26 August, and promulgated by Royal Decree of 30 August, No. 3702, afterwards published in the Official Monitor of 21 September, No. 136.

The Magyar minority in Transylvania refused to consider the Treaty of Trianon as valid for itself until after its ratification by the Hungarian Parliament on 26 July, 1921.

Before this date, however, on 9 January, 1921, a certain number of Magyar personalities met at Cluj and decided that the time had come to organise the Magyar minority. They considered the best form of organisation to be a *union* (*szövetség*), to which all Hungarian elements without distinction of political ideas or social class should belong.

The adherents of the union took as basis the principle that the Peace Treaties, and in particular the Convention on the Protection of Minorities signed at Paris on 9 December, 1919, made of the minorities organisations possessing legal personality within the framework of the State. Thus, according to them, the duty of their union was to give concrete form to this organisation with legal personality which the Magyar nation in Roumania was supposed to constitute.

Another section of the Magyar leaders thought that their organisation could only be effected within the framework of a political party. At the inaugural congress which they held at Cluj on 15 January, 1922, they even laid the foundations of a "Magyar people's party." The adherents of the union, however, seeing that their design would meet with numerous and insurmountable difficulties, held a fresh meeting, also at Cluj, where they founded the Magyar National Party on 12 February, 1922. At the end of the same year (28 December, 1922) the two parties amalgamated to form the present Magyar National Party. The chief points in the programme of this party are as follows :—

1. National Autonomy. Each nation having the right of self-government, of conducting its own judicial and administrative system, these functions to be exercised by Hungarian officials. Where it is impossible to realise territorial autonomy, administrative autonomy be granted on the basis of a national register.

2. Liberty, equality and autonomy for all religions.

3. Magyar instruction at all stages and for all categories of schools to be entrusted to the autonomous churches. With this

end the State to place at the disposal of the Magyar churches subsidies proportionate to the State budget.

4. Communal and departmental autonomy.

5. Equal and secret universal suffrage for both sexes, with representation for minorities.

6. Reorganisation of the army on the militia system, military service not to exceed three months and instructions to recruits to be given in their mother tongue.

As regards organisation, the Magyar party accepted as members all citizens who had completed their twentieth year and counted themselves as Magyars, either by origin, mother tongue or culture. As with the Saxons, the party organisation is constructed in the form of a pyramid, the base of which is constituted by the local organisations. These are grouped into departmental organisations, above which comes the General Congress. At the head of the party is the Presidential Council, composed of the president, four vice-presidents, the secretary-general and eight ordinary members; and the Executive Committee, of forty-seven members. Besides its purely political side, the work of the Magyar party embraces all questions affecting Magyar life. There is thus an economic section, with agricultural, industrial, commercial and financial subsections, a cultural section, a minority section, which follows closely minority ideas and movements in all States and is in touch with minority organisations in other countries, and a legal section. After much hard work, the Magyar party now possesses organisations in all the Departments of Transylvania, and has recently founded a branch in the capital of Roumania itself, Bucharest.

3. The Magyar State did not recognise any Jewish minority. Jews, without any distinction, were looked on as Magyars of Jewish religion. Magyar official statistics recognised Roumanians, Serbs, Slovaks, Ruthenes, etc., but not Jews. The Jewish minority, as an ethnical minority, was simply and purely suppressed. For this reason it was unable while under Magyar rule to create for itself an organisation resting on a national basis.

It became clear immediately after the annexation of Transylvania to Roumania how erroneous this conception of the Magyar State had been, and how deeply opposed to the common sentiment among the Jews. Thanks to the suppression of those measures which has made impossible any national demonstration on their part, the Jews of Transylvania began spontaneously to separate themselves from the Magyar element and to consider themselves, and demand that others should consider them, to be what they are in reality—Jews.

The Roumanian State never has had, and has not today, any interest in preventing this minority from awakening to its own national life, either in Transylvania or in the other provinces. On the contrary, it has left it complete liberty to manifest and organise itself. It is particularly significant, and at the same time instructive, for all those States who believe that a people can be made to disappear by the mere fact of not recognising its existence that a movement in favour of a national organisation for the Jews of Roumania originated precisely in Transylvania. It could also be explained by the well-known fact that reaction is strongest where pressure has been heaviest.

At the beginning—during the first years of their emancipation—the Jews of Transylvania did not try to form a political party. At that time it was more important for them to group themselves in a national organisation pure and simple, without any political colouring, and embracing all Jewish elements. Their organisation, therefore, took the name of the “Jewish National League,” and its only purpose was to awaken the national consciousness of the Jewish people in Transylvania.

Once this aim had been attained, which was not later than 1928, the second step was taken : the organisation of the Jewish people in a political party. The Jewish political party is organised in all the provinces, and includes the Jewish elements from the Old Kingdom, the Bukovina and Bessarabia. Its president today is Theodore Fischer, a Transylvanian.

The Jewish party first presented itself to the electorate at the parliamentary elections of 12 December, 1928, when it formed an electoral cartel with the National Peasant Party. It stood on its own lists at the parliamentary elections of the

summer of 1931, and again at the elections of the summer of 1932 and the autumn of 1933.

### THE MINORITY RELIGIONS OF TRANSYLVANIA

The Magyars, Germans and Jews of Transylvania are not only ethnical, but also religious minorities. The Roumanians belong to the Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches, while the ethnical minorities belong to the Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, Unitarian and Mosaic persuasions.

The fundamental principles by which these religions are governed are laid down in Article 22 of the Constitution of 1923, which provides as follows: "Freedom of conscience is absolute. The State guarantees to all religions equal freedom and protection provided that the practice of them constitutes no infringement of public order, morals or the laws and regulations of the State." It was on the basis of these two great principles of liberty and equality that the Act for the general organisation of religions was drawn up. The text of this Act was published in the Official Monitor of 22 April, 1928.

Besides complete freedom and perfect equality of treatment—"equal protection," as the Constitution says—this Act accords the widest autonomy to all religions. Religious organisations, under Article 12 of the Act, conduct their own internal administration in conformity with their statutes; the administration of their funds and foundations is entrusted to the competent organs of the respective religions, under the superintendence of the higher ecclesiastical authorities. Cultural organisations are entitled to found, administer and control cultural and charitable institutions (Article 14), to found special institutes for the training of their clergy (Article 15), to give religious instruction to pupils belonging to their confession, to public and to private schools, to celebrate religious services of all kinds through the medium of their own priests and for their own adherents in the army, civil and military hospitals, orphanages, reformatories and penitentiaries (Article 16), and even to keep up their own cemeteries (Article 17). They may impose taxation on their adherents for the requirements of their institutions, and these taxes may, if they so demand, be collected by the fiscal services of the State



(Article 30). They elect all their own *personnel* freely and without any intervention from the State, the Royal approval being necessary only for the highest officials (metropolitans and bishops) (Article 27). The Act further invests all religious organisations (communities, parishes, archi-Presbyterian sees, convents, chapters, bishoprics, metropolitan sees, etc.) with legal personality, exempts churches, places of worship, cemeteries and objects of veneration of all kind from judicial sequestration in any form (Articles 11 and 12). Under Article 13 the State is obliged to place at the disposal of the religious authorities on their request the *personnel* necessary for the execution of the decisions of the ecclesiastical disciplinary and judicial courts. Similarly, the State places at the disposal of the religious organisations such means as they require for their needs (Articles 31 and 32).

The legal situation of the Catholic Church is precisely defined by the Concordat signed with the Holy See on 10 May, 1927, ratified by Parliament in the spring of 1929, and published in the Official Monitor of 12 June of that year. In conformity with the provisions of this instrument, direct communications on spiritual matters from the bishops, clergy and people to the Holy See and *vice versa* is absolutely free (Article 4); bishops have full liberty in the exercise of their ecclesiastical functions and may, in the direction of their own dioceses, exercise all the rights and prerogatives of their pastoral office, in conformity with the discipline approved by the Catholic Church, and are free to give the religious, moral and ecclesiastical instruction required by their sacred office. The other members of the Catholic clergy are exclusively dependent on the bishops in all matters concerning their appointment and the exercise of their duties (Article 8). The Catholic Church and its members enjoy the same treatment from the State as is accorded under the Constitution to the other religions of the country (Article 10). The bishops are free to create new parishes; but if they proceed in agreement with the Government, which will give its consent if the parish to be founded contains four hundred families, in the case of towns, or two hundred, for villages (Article 12). The properties of schools, educational and charitable institutions and all other pious institutions are administered by the

diocesan authorities (Article 14). The Catholic Church is entitled to found and to maintain primary, secondary and higher schools, and these are subject to the authority of their respective bishops (Article 19).

The Catholic Church of Transylvania enjoys today much more liberty of action and independence than it did under the Magyar rule. In those days, not only the bishops, but also the canons were in most instances nominated by the Government; on the other hand, about half the Catholic parishes were in the hands of lay patrons, who nominated the curates, while today the bishops are nominated directly by the Holy See, and the canons and priests by the bishops. The State imposes only one condition: that they must be Roumanian citizens and not have been condemned under sentences confirmed by the authorities for crime against public order or national safety.

As we stated above, the following minority religions are to be found in Transylvania today: the Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, Unitarian, and Mosaic.

*The Catholic Religion.*—The Catholics in Transylvania number 939,256, of whom about 300,000 are Germans and nearly all the rest Magyars, with a very small number of Slovaks and Bulgars. In conformity with Article 2 of the Concordat, the Catholics possess three bishoprics, those of Alba-Julia, Timisoara and Oradea-Satu-mare, respectively. The Bishopric of Alba-Julia contains 251 parishes and 345,468 adherents, that of Timisoara 160 parishes and 450,802 adherents, and that of Oradea-Satu-mare 99 parishes and 142,486 adherents. These three bishoprics are suffragans of the metropolitan of Bucharest.

Each bishopric has a chapter of canons; that of Alba-Julia has ten members, that of Timisoara eight. The bishopric of Oradea-Satu-mare, which is composed of the former bishoprics of Oradea and Satu-mare, has two chapters; that of Oradea has eight members and that of Satu-mare six. Each bishopric also possesses a theological seminary for the training of its clergy.

All the personnel of the Catholic Church, the bishops, canons (except those of Oradea and Satu-mare, who have a

sufficient revenue from their own ecclesiastical property), teachers in the theological seminaries, curates, and the staff of the episcopal offices are paid by the State. In the payment of salaries, years of service under Magyar rule are counted.

Besides the organisations mentioned above, there are in Transylvania a large number of monastic Orders and congregations of both sexes, purely spiritual, teaching, missionary and religious. There are forty-four monasteries and one hundred and sixteen convents in Transylvania today.

The cultural and charitable work of the Catholic Church in Transylvania is solidly supported by a large number of societies which act under the leadership of the clergy and the superintendence of the bishops. The most important of these is the "Catholic Popular League" founded in 1922, which has today more than 20,000 members and over 170 local organisations. Next in importance is the "Association of Catholic Women," which is exceedingly active in social work. We may also mention the Catholic Academy, founded in 1928, with seat at Cluj and containing three sections: literary, artistic, and scientific and sociological. Central University Library Cluj

*The Reformed Church.*—The Reformed Church has 717,162 adherents, all Magyars, and almost all inhabiting Transylvania; only a few thousand workmen, artisans, industrials, and clerks have settled since the war in the Old Kingdom. There are two bishoprics at Cluj and Oradea, respectively. The latter was founded in 1926 and includes those members of the church in the neighbouring Departments of Hungary who belonged to the bishopric of Debreczen (in Hungary) before the annexation of Transylvania to Roumania. The bishopric of Cluj has 398 parishes and 502,538 adherents, that of Oradea, 182 parishes and 214,623 adherents. The Reformed Church possesses a theological academy at Cluj for the training of its clergy.

As with the Catholic Church, the personnel of the Reformed Church (bishops, teachers in the theological academy and staffs of the episcopal offices) is paid by the State.

The Reformed Church has made great progress since the annexation. The two bishoprics contain a considerable number

of religious associations, which display a most fruitful activity. Thus, the bishopric of Cluj has a Women's League of the Reformed Church, founded in 1927 and possessing to-day 450 local organisations and 25,000 members, about 150 Bible circles founded among the schoolchildren, students, apprentices, etc., and Sunday schools for the missions among the local children. In 1927 these numbered 145 with 5,000 pupils; today they number 344 and are attended by 11,000 pupils. The same bishopric contains an Association of Christian Youth, founded in 1921, a Girls' Association of the Reformed Church, founded in 1933, and a Men's Association, founded in 1932. Important, too, is the Grand Week of the Reformed Church, which takes place every year and is attended by the priests headed by their bishop, professors, teachers and worshippers of both sexes, who discuss throughout the whole week the great religious problems of the day. In 1922 the Reformed bishopric of Cluj also founded a deaconesses' institute, and in 1926 a Work for the Propagation of Religious Writings. In its first year of activity this service distributed 27,827 books and pamphlets; in 1927 the number had risen to 35,221; in 1928 to 37,097; and in 1930 to 56,508. In 1928 the bishopric founded an orphanage, and in 1932 a modern hospital at Cluj.

The new bishopric of Oradea, which had only been in existence for a few years, has 218 Sunday schools with 7,571 pupils, 32 Bible circles, and a Women's Association with 15 local organisations and 3,137 members. Since 1932 it has also possessed a Youth Association. In 1932 the members of the two Reformed bishoprics, following the example of the Catholics, founded a Reformed Academy, entitled the Karolyi Gaspar Academy.

*The German Lutheran Church.*—The Lutheran Church has 255,000 adherents in Transylvania. With a few rare exceptions, all these belong to the German minority, and the Church is therefore justly entitled the German Lutheran Church. The German Lutherans possess one bishopric only, at Sibiu. Its jurisdiction formerly extended only over historic Transylvania; but in 1920 the Lutherans of Bessarabia, the Bukovina, and the Old Kingdom joined it, while reserving to themselves (especially

those of Bessarabia) a large degree of regional authority with a regional Consistory of their own at Tarutino. The Lutheran bishopric possesses 254 parishes in Transylvania. All the church *personnel* (bishop, pastors and staff) is paid by the State.

No minority in Roumania is more deeply attached to its church than the Transylvanian Saxons are to the Lutheran Church. Being practically the only adherents of this religion in historic Transylvania, they identify themselves with their church. Since the beginning of the 16th century this church has formed the great distinguishing mark between the Saxons (their numbers now sadly reduced) and their neighbours, the Roumanians and Magyars, and has preserved its adherents from the danger of assimilation. Furthermore, its democratic organisation makes of the Lutheran Church at the same time a true "people's church" ("Volkskirche"), as its leaders proudly call it. "People and church are identical, the fortress of the church is at the same time the fortress of the people," wrote its venerable bishop, Teutsch, who died in 1933, in his work, *Schule und Kirche der Siebenbürger Sachsen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Sibiu, 1923, second ed., p. 270).

Prominent among the religious organisations of the German Lutherans is the Gustav Adolf Verein, affiliated to the headquarters at Leipzig and with sections in all districts inhabited by the Lutheran Germans of Roumania. The great organisation of Lutheran women (Frauenverein) also has active branches in nearly every parish.

*The Magyar Lutheran Church.*—This has 32,500 adherents who, before the annexation, belonged to the bishoprics of Budapest and Nyiregyhaza, in Hungary. There are 25 parishes. In 1927 the Magyar Lutherans obtained a superintendency of their own, with seat at Arad. As with the other religions, the Magyar Lutheran priests are paid by the State. Since 1930 there has existed under the superintendent an Association of Magyar Lutheran Women, including ten local organisations, three Bible circles for the young, six Sunday schools, etc.

*The Unitarian Church.*—This has one bishopric at Cluj (the only such bishopric in the world), with 113 parishes and 72,000 adherents, all Magyars. There is a theological academy at

Cluj for the training of the clergy. The bishop, teachers of the theological academy, priests and staff of the bishop's office are paid by the State. Within the bishopric there is an active religious and cultural society (the Francisc David) and a League of Unitarian Women.

*The Mosaic Religion* has about 300,000 followers in Transylvania. From the point of view of religious practice these are divided into the adherents of several rites; Neologs (westerners), Sephardim, Orthodox, etc. They are organised in religious communities.

The communities of the Orthodox rite have a central office in Bistrita, founded in 1920; similarly, the Neolog community of Transylvania, which was founded in 1922, with seat at Cluj, possessed a union of their own.

The Jewish communities enjoy the monopoly of butchering and selling their ritual meat (Kosher), manufacturing and selling the Easter bread (matzes) and keeping the ritual baths (mikva). A very large number of cultural and charitable societies work within the framework of the religious communities which control and direct them. The most important cultural institutions are those of the communities of Oradea, Timisoara and Cluj.

## MINORITY EDUCATION IN TRANSYLVANIA

Minority education in Transylvania is of two types: State and private.

State minority education is governed by the law on primary education, of 1924, and the law on secondary education, of 1928; private education, by the law on private education, of 1925. The law on primary education imposes upon the State the following obligation (Article 7): "in communes in which the population speaks a language other than Roumanian, the Ministry of Public Instruction shall found primary schools in which the language of instruction shall be that of the population concerned, in the same proportion as in Roumanian communes." The law on secondary education lays down in its Article 11: "in regions in which a minority population is in the majority, sections may be created, side by side with the

State secondary schools, in which instruction is given in the language of the minority concerned. Only pupils of the same nationality, and whose mother tongue is the same as the language taught in the sections concerned, may be admitted to these sections. A section may only be created where there is a minimum of thirty pupils entered per class for schools (gymnasies) and twenty-five per class for higher institutions."

In conformity with the provisions of these laws, the State maintains in Transylvania the following minority schools :—

*Primary Schools.*

- (a) 26 primary schools with Magyar language of instruction.
- (b) 223 sections of primary schools with Magyar language of instruction.
- (c) 69 primary schools with German language of instruction.
- (d) 47 sections of primary schools with German language of instruction.
- (e) 1 primary school with German and Magyar languages of instruction.
- (f) 12 sections of primary schools with German and Magyar languages of instruction.

*Secondary Schools.*

- (a) 2 high school sections in which the language of instruction in all classes (I to VII) is Magyar.
- (b) 2 boys' and two girls' grammar schools with Magyar language of instruction.
- (c) 2 sections of girls' grammar schools and two sections of commercial high schools with Magyar language of instruction.
- (d) 1 complete high school (lycée) with German language of instruction.
- (e) 4 boys' grammar schools with German language of instruction.
- (f) 1 section of a commercial high school with German language of instruction.

The law of December, 1925, on private education, which constitutes a remarkable concession on the part of the State, is further of most particular importance for minority instruction. From the beginning of her life as an independent State, Roumania has adopted and realised the conception of non-denominational education, organised, paid and controlled by the State. Schools founded and maintained through private initiative were purely private in character, could not confer any degree, and their certificate conveyed no rights. The idea of the Magyar State, for example, was quite different. Before 1867 there was in Hungary no single primary school created and maintained by the State. On the contrary, all instruction was left to religious bodies and communes. It was only after 1867 that the State began to found schools and attend to their maintenance. Thus, even in 1869 there was in Hungary no single primary State school, but only 479 primary communal schools and 13,319 primary confessional schools. By 1880 the State had already founded 266 primary schools, as compared with 1,669 primary communal schools and 13,772 confessional. By 1918 the number of State primary schools had risen to 3,835, as against 1,375 communal and 12,091 confessional. At the same period, out of 185 high schools, 50 only were State and 127 confessional; of 95 "écoles normales," 65 were confessional and only 30 State.

Anxious to respect the traditions of the minorities inhabiting the territories attached to Hungary and to allow the religious bodies to continue the educational work in which they had acquired so much experience, the Roumanian State has renounced its old conception of purely State education. Article 1 of the Law on private education thus lays down that "the instruction and education of pupils may also be carried on outside the State schools, in private schools (belonging to confessions, religious communities or private persons) or in their families." Article 2 lays down that "Such schools may be founded only by Roumanian citizens, either individually or acting in a corporate capacity as cultural societies or religious communities, recognised as possessing legal personality." The language of instruction in private schools attended by pupils whose mother tongue is other than that of the State is fixed by



the person responsible for the maintenance of the school (Articles 35 and 41). That person also nominates the director of the private school and the whole teaching staff (Article 16), and is solely responsible for the administration, direction and pedagogic conduct of the school, the Ministry of Public Instruction reserving to itself only the right of control and supervision (Article 64).

Schools of this category are absolutely free to adopt the State syllabus or not. Schools which do adopt that syllabus and have functioned regularly for at least a year with the authorisation of the Ministry, possess adequate premises, a properly trained staff and the documents and registers required by the corresponding regulations for State schools, enjoy the status of public schools, i.e. they may issue valid certificates, like State schools. The cultural organisations may impose taxation on their adherents for the upkeep of their schools in conformity with Article 30 of the Law on religious organisations, and these taxes may be collected, if required, by the State authorities. Finally, under Article 186 of the Law on the organisation and working of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Cults, of 1930, all sums allotted in communal budgets for schools are divided proportionately among all schools of the commune, whether State or private.

Rudolf Brandsch, the well-known German leader, until two years ago President of the League of German Minorities in Europe and of the League of Roumanian Germans, writes as follows of the scholastic rights enjoyed by the minorities in Transylvania : " Outside Latvia and Esthonia, only Roumania, of all European States, possesses a partial scholastic autonomy for minorities in the provinces formerly belonging to Hungary, in which German and Magyar schools and kindergartens, up to and including grammar schools, are organised on a confessional basis, being thus autonomous denominational schools." (*Die offene Wunde Europas : Handbuch zum europäischen Minderheiten-problem*. Herausgegeben von Professor Oskar Wittstock, jun. Hermannstadt, 1930, page 100.)

Herr Brandsch commits only one error in saying that this scholastic autonomy exists only in the provinces which formerly belonged to Hungary. It exists, on the contrary, throughout

Roumania, the law making no distinction between the different provinces. Thus the Catholic Archbishopric of Bucharest, the Catholic Bishopric of Alba-Julia, the Reformed Church at Cluj, the Lutheran parish of Bucharest, and the Lutheran Bishopric of Sibiu all possess their own schools (primary and secondary), ranking as public schools.

In virtue of the provisions of the Law on private instruction and of the Law on religious organisations, which invests religious organisations (metropolitans, bishoprics, archi-Presbyterian sees, parishes, religious communities, etc.) with legal personality, and accords to them the right of founding cultural institutions of all sorts and of levying taxes on their adherents for the upkeep of these institutions, and owing also to the further fact that the adherents of the minority religions also constitute minorities from the ethnical point of view, the churches form the great framework for the cultural autonomy of the Transylvanian minorities. They also play an exceedingly important educational rôle.

Profiting from the rights accorded by the laws mentioned above, the Catholic Bishopric of Alba-Julia maintains 189 primary schools, 10 grammar schools, 8 high schools, 2 commercial high schools, and 2 écoles normales, all of them ranking as public schools and all giving instruction in Magyar. The Catholic Bishopric of Timișoara maintains 2 high schools with German as language of instruction and 1 with Magyar, two écoles normales with instruction in German, 7 German and 4 Magyar grammar schools, and 85 primary schools, in 61 of which instruction is in German, in 17 in Magyar, and in 6 in Slavonic languages. The Catholic Bishopric of Oradea-Saturne maintains 1 high school, 6 grammar schools, 1 école normale and 101 primary schools and instruction in Magyar or German. The Reformed Bishopric at Cluj has 6 high schools, 3 grammar schools, 2 écoles normales, 2 commercial schools, and 366 primary schools (whereas in the last year of Magyar rule there were only 177 primary schools). The new Reformed Bishopric of Oradea has 3 grammar schools, 1 commercial school, and 153 primary schools. All these schools rank as public and all instruct in Magyar. The German Lutheran Bishopric in Transylvania has 6 high schools, 9

grammar schools, 3 écoles normales, 1 commercial high school, and 263 primary schools, with German language of instruction. Even the small Superintendency of the Magyar Lutherans, which has only 32,500 adherents, maintains 7 primary schools and 1 grammar school, with Magyar as language of instruction. The Unitarian Bishopric has 1 high school, 1 agricultural school, and 37 primary schools with Magyar language of instruction.

As will be seen from the above figures, the Magyar minority possesses in all 1,139 primary schools, and 223 sections of primary schools, in which instruction is in Magyar, with 56 secondary schools and 6 sections of secondary schools with Magyar instruction. The German minority possesses 417 primary schools of its own and 47 sections of primary schools with German language of instruction, 44 secondary schools and 1 section of a secondary school with German language of instruction. To demonstrate even more completely what great progress has been achieved in the field of German minority instruction in Roumania we may recall that under Hungarian rule the Germans had only 15 secondary schools and 254 primary schools.

To complete the picture of minority education in Transylvania, it should be mentioned that there are also 43 primary schools in which the language of instruction is Serb (the total number of Serbs in Transylvania is 43,454) and 12 schools, in which instruction is in Slovak or Bulgar.

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE CULTURAL LIFE OF THE TRANSYLVANIAN MINORITIES

The cultural associations of the Transylvanian minorities are naturally not confined to church and school, but find expression in many other directions also : in the Press, literature, the arts and sciences, cultural and literary associations, etc. If we are to get a complete picture of the cultural life of Transylvania, it is necessary to say a few words on these points.

In no field have the minorities exhibited so great activity as in that of the Press. Enjoying absolute freedom of the Press, and not being obliged to obtain any official authorisation

or to deposit any caution-money before issuing their publications, the minorities have founded and published a large number of journals and reviews. The Magyars of Transylvania possess today 312 periodical publications, 53 of which are dailies. Of these 312 publications, 250 are new, i.e. have begun publication since the annexation of Transylvania to Roumania, only 54 having been founded under the Hungarian rule. Of the 53 dailies, 38 are new. The largest number of the Magyar publications appear in the towns of Cluj (77), Arad (21), Oradea (39), Timișoara (49), Satu Mare (23), and Târgu Mureș (23). There is hardly a single profession without its specialist press. The German minority issues 102 periodicals, 79 of which have been started since the annexation. Of these, 15 are dailies. Only 5 of these date from the period of Magyar rule.

In dealing with the religious question, we mentioned that the Magyar Catholics founded a Catholic Academy in 1928, and the Magyars of the Reformed Church a Reformed Academy in 1932. In 1922 the Unitarians founded a Unitarian Literary Society, the president of which is the Bishop himself. Besides these religious institutes, there are also the following Magyar literary societies :—

- (1) The Transylvanian Literary Society, founded in 1888, with seat at Cluj. This includes among its members all the important Magyar authors of Transylvania.
- (2) The Sigismond Kemény Society of Târgu-Mureș, founded 1878.
- (3) The E. Szigligeti Society of Oradea, founded 1892.
- (4) The I. Arany Society of Timișoara, founded 1903.
- (5) The Fr. Kőcsey Society of Arad. There are societies of the same name at Careii Nari and at Baia Mare.
- (6) Also at Baia Mare, the Teleki Society, which deals chiefly with plastic art.
- (7) The Transylvanian Helikon Society, founded in 1926, the rallying point of the advanced literary movement.

- (8) The ancient Transylvanian Museum Association, a purely scientific body, founded in 1859, with seat at Cluj. In recent years this society has begun to display a remarkably active cultural propaganda by means of lectures organised in different parts of the province. In 1930, for example, it organised a series of conferences at Târgu-Mureş, lasting 25–28 August, for the Magyar doctors, to keep them abreast of the latest progress in medical knowledge. From 28–31 August, 1931, it held meetings at Aiud. The subject-matter of these discussions comprised philosophy and history, natural science, medicine, law and sociology. In the following year the Society organised lectures on the same subjects at Baia Mare (25–28 August), and in 1933 at Sfântul Gheorghe (27–29 August).
- (9) *The Magyar Cultural Society of Transylvania* (E.M.K.E.), founded about 1890, of a general cultural character.

Besides the above, the Magyars of Transylvania possess other cultural associations and reading circles of local character, and 162 choral societies, which, since 1922, have been grouped in the "Association of Magyar Choirs of Transylvania." Since its formation this Association has published a monthly bulletin, the *Magyar Dal* (Magyar Song).

To complete our picture of the cultural life of the Transylvanian Magyars, we may mention that between 1919 and 1933 (that is since Transylvania has been part of Roumania) 5,000 literary and scientific works in Magyar have been published—more than appeared between 1867 and 1918; those figures are given by the Magyar author, Elemér Jancso, in an article on "Magyar Books in Transylvania during the past fifteen years," published in the Magyar review *Pasztoruz*, of Cluj (1933, No. 10, pp. 14–95). The Magyars also possess in Transylvania 255 bookshops and 147 printing presses (see *Lajos György, az erdélyi magyarság szellemi élete*, Budapest, 1926, p. 6). Of the printing presses, the *Minerva*, of Cluj, founded in 1920, has printed and published 1,651,133 copies of Magyar books. Further, there are six regular Magyar theatrical companies in Transylvania;

since the annexation of the province to Roumania, the Magyars have founded a "cultural house" at Timișoara, which was ceremonially opened on 29-30 November, 1930. Another "cultural house" at Oravița, opened on 1 August, 1933, while in 1931 the Magyars began to collect funds for a similar institution at Arad. In 1932, they founded a museum of domestic arts and industry at Targul-Secuesc, and in 1933 an ethnographical museum at Huedin.

Reviewing the cultural developments of his compatriots in Transylvania from the annexation to 1925, Lajos György writes with pride on page 6 of the work previously quoted (which was published in Budapest): "It is certain that the Magyars of Transylvania possess today a cultural life as active and as intense as in the 16th and 17th centuries, when the centre of gravity of Magyar culture lay almost entirely in Transylvania" (most of the rest of Hungary was at that time occupied by the Turks).

The Germans of Transylvania also have an intense intellectual life. We need not speak at length of the Saxons, who had their own cultural life before the war, expressed through the medium of numerous scientific societies—the Verein für siebenbürgische Landeskunde, the Siebenbürgischer Verein für Naturwissenschaften, and the Sebastian Hann Verein for the arts; the Bruckenthal Museum at Sibiu, where there is also a museum of old religious art (Museum für kirkliche Altertümer) and a national science museum, the Saxon Museum of the Barsa district (as the plain around Brașov is called) (Burzenlander sächsisches Museum), the Home-country Museum (Heimatsmuseum) at Sighișoara, etc.

The evolution of the cultural life of the Swabians of the Banat has been nothing less than astonishing. We read in the volume on the Banat in the German collection *Das Deutschtum in Ausland*, published at Dresden in 1926: "What has been going on during the past seven years (in 1919-1926) in the Banat, in so far as it is German, can be described as an 'East Swabian Renaissance,' or, if you like, an 'East Swabian national birth.'" In 1919 the German Women's League was founded at Timișoara; in 1930 this had 37 local organisations and 3,200 members, while in 1932 the number of branches had

risen to 89 and the membership to 5,000. In 1923, the Swabians founded the "Rapid" sports club, which has now 15 local branches; in 1926 they founded a German cultural association for the Banat (Banater Deutscher Kulturverein), the object of which is to propagate German culture in the Banat and the Department of Satu-mare by organising public lectures, giving theatrical performances, founding libraries, etc. This Kulturverein is at the same time the central office for the 112 local German cultural associations. The Banat also possesses an "Association of German Choirs," composed of 95 choral societies of the Banat and the Department of Arad, an Association of Swabian students, founded in 1920, and an Association of German doctors, founded in 1932. In 1932 was founded an Association of German teachers in the Banat (Banater Deutscher Lehrerverband), etc., etc. The foundations of a regional museum (Banater Heimatsmuseum) have been laid in Timișoara. Since the autumn of 1933 the Germans have maintained a regular theatrical company which gives performances in all the German centres of population.

Up to the autumn of 1931 the most important cultural work for the German minority was that carried out by the "Cultural Office of the Association of Germans of Roumania" (Das Kulturredesamt des Verbandes der Deutschen in Grossrumänien), founded in 1922, with seat at Sibiu. This office had separate departments for popular culture, higher culture, the Press, etc. Its main objects were to co-ordinate the work of the various local or regional cultural societies, to promote contact between the Germans of the different parts of Roumania in view of their cultural unity, and to strengthen the cultural ties with Germany. The last-named object, to which the Kulturredesamt devoted the greater part of its energies, was achieved by means of excursions to Germany, visits of Germans from the Reich to Roumania, special courses for teachers, doctors and priests organised with the co-operation of persons from the Reich, and in particular, university vacation courses organised each year at Sibiu. These courses were attended by Germans of the educated classes from all parts of Roumania, and sometimes even from neighbouring countries. The lecturers were German and Austrian professors, who attempted

to keep the Germans of Roumania abreast of contemporary scientific progress in Germany. With the same object of cultivating relations with the German element in other countries, the Kulturredamt published its review, *Ostland*, a "monthly record of the spiritual life of Germans outside Germany." The Kulturredamt at Sibiu played for the Germans of Roumania the role filled in a wider field by the Stuttgart "Institut für das Auslanddeutschtum," which served as its model and with which it maintained very close relations. The Kulturredamt ceased to function in the autumn of 1931, as a consequence of the financial crisis; its director, M. Richard Csaki, is today director of the Stuttgart Institute.

### THE AGRARIAN REFORM IN TRANSYLVANIA

Roumania is an agricultural country. 81·7 per cent. of its population are peasants, and only 19·30 per cent. live in the towns. In the Old Kingdom the townspeople compose 18·60 per cent. of the population, the peasants 81·40 per cent. The corresponding figures for Transylvania are 18·44 per cent. and 81·56 per cent.; for Bessarabia 14·51 per cent. and 85·49 per cent.; for the Bukovina 21·62 per cent. and 78·33 per cent.

The distribution of the land was formerly such as to constitute a permanent social danger. In the Old Kingdom, barely 46·7 per cent. of the total cultivable area was in the hands of small proprietors, while 10·8 per cent. belonged to medium proprietors and 42·5 per cent. to large landowners. In Bessarabia 98·4 per cent. of the landowners were small proprietors who owned 2,156,827 hectares, while 1·6 per cent. were large landowners owing 1,844,530 hectares. The situation in Transylvania before the agrarian reform was as follows:—

Size of holding.	Number of proprietors.	Total area.
0-10 hectares - - -	843,448 (87·6%)	2,356,738 (34%)
10-100 hectares - - -	113,887 (11·8%)	2,153,117 (29%)
above 100 hectares - - -	4,601 (0·6%)	2,751,457 (37%)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	961,936 (100%)	7,441,312 (100%)

These figures show that the smallholders, who composed 87·6 per cent. of the total landowners (843,448 out of 964,936)



owned 34 per cent. of the total cultivable area (2,356,738 out of 7,441,312 hectares), and the large landowners, composed 0.6 per cent. of the total number of landowners (4,601 out of 961,936) owned 37 per cent. of the total cultivable area (2,751,457 out of 7,441,312 hectares).

The unrational and anti-social distribution of the land, which constitutes a standing danger in Roumania's peaceful revolution, occupied the attention of her governments even before the war. In 1909 the Government had prepared the plan of a large-scale expropriation. The atmosphere created by the declaration of war was no longer favourable for a social reform of so important a character. It was, therefore, postponed. On 20 July, 1917, the Constituent Assembly convoked at Jassy modified Article 19 of the Roumanian Constitution, which guaranteed the inviolability of private property, in such fashion as to allow of expropriation for reasons of social utility. It was thus no desire to despoil the minorities which determined the agrarian reform. Roumania did not enter the war until August, 1916, and the reform was voted a year before the annexation of Transylvania. In the Old Kingdom the large estates destined for expropriation were exclusively in the hands of Roumanians (the Constitution as modified at Jassy envisaged first and foremost the expropriation of the domains of the Crown and of corporations, foundations, etc.).

As the above figures show, the same powerful reasons also made imperative the execution of an agrarian reform in Transylvania. On the other hand, it was impossible (and it would have been very dangerous to attempt it) to carry through the reform in the rest of the kingdom and to omit it in Transylvania, the more so since the revolutionary Magyar Government formed in Budapest in the autumn of 1918 had proclaimed the slogan of expropriation among the masses of the people and in particular among the soldiers returned from the front.

Under the Law on the Agrarian Reform in Transylvania, 1,663,809 hectares were expropriated in that province (2,776,401 hectares were expropriated in the Old Kingdom, 1,491,920 in Bessarabia, and 75,967 in the Bukovina). Under the law, 457,673 individuals should have become landowners in Transylvania (1,053,628 in the Old Kingdom, 357,016 in Bessarabia,

and 37,911 in the Bukovina). Of these, 337,082 were Roumanians, 117,591 were members of the minorities. As the land liable to expropriation was insufficient to satisfy the number of new proprietors, only 310,583 persons actually became land-owners in Transylvania, 610,113 in the Old Kingdom, 357,016 in Bessarabia, and 71,266 in the Bukovina.

The reform was carried through exclusively in order to improve the precarious situation of the peasants and to create the social equilibrium indispensable for the pacific evolution of the State. It was, therefore, applied without any consideration to the ethnical origin, language or religion either of the persons expropriated or of the recipients. In Transylvania, out of 310,583 persons receiving land, 227,943 were Roumanians, 82,640 were members of minorities. Thus, 67 per cent. of the Roumanians entitled to benefit actually received land, and 70 per cent. of the members of minorities. Before the reform, the small proprietors in Roumania held 12,025,814 hectares, while large landowners held 8,108,847 hectares, or 40·23 per cent. After the reform, small proprietors held 18,033,911 hectares, or 10·44 per cent. As regards Transylvania in particular, the small proprietors, after the reform, held 6,535,664 hectares (85·38 per cent. of the cultivable area), and large land-owners 1,087,648 (14·62 per cent.).

The agrarian reform has had beneficial results, not only from a social but also from an economic point of view, as the following figures show :—

#### I. AREA UNDER WHEAT

Year	Cultivated Area (hectares)	Total Produce (quintals)
1920	2,022,710	16,685,874
1921	2,488,353	21,381,484
1922	2,649,640	25,040,466
1923	2,690,341	27,792,730
1924	3,172,102	19,165,444
1925	3,300,887	28,506,047
1926	3,327,487	30,177,613
1927	3,101,153	26,327,072
1928	3,206,470	31,446,370
1929	2,737,146	27,148,476
1930	3,055,900	35,590,780

## 2. AREA UNDER BARLEY

Year						Cultivated Area (hectares)	Total Produce (quintals)
1920	-	-	-	-	-	1,400,173	14,719,502
1921	-	-	-	-	-	1,569,373	9,852,923
1922	-	-	-	-	-	1,727,454	20,418,064
1923	-	-	-	-	-	1,898,391	13,252,912
1924	-	-	-	-	-	1,850,731	6,697,017
1925	-	-	-	-	-	1,704,061	10,193,278
1926	-	-	-	-	-	1,551,567	16,849,569
1927	-	-	-	-	-	1,764,260	12,617,202
1928	-	-	-	-	-	1,749,212	15,110,386
1929	-	-	-	-	-	2,053,537	27,404,537

## 3. AREA UNDER OATS

Year						Cultivated Area (hectares)	Total Produce (quintals)
1920	-	-	-	-	-	966,393	9,920,697
1921	-	-	-	-	-	1,339,006	9,631,684
1922	-	-	-	-	-	1,385,522	13,364,502
1923	-	-	-	-	-	1,345,402	9,095,960
1924	-	-	-	-	-	1,236,580	6,098,215
1925	-	-	-	-	-	1,114,847	7,400,625
1926	-	-	-	-	-	1,078,419	11,590,287
1927	-	-	-	-	-	1,084,408	8,681,434
1928	-	-	-	-	-	1,116,430	9,804,376
1929	-	-	-	-	-	1,212,700	13,592,924

## 4. AREA UNDER MAIZE

Year						Cultivated Area (hectares)	Total Produce (quintals)
1920	-	-	-	-	-	3,295,418	26,238,468
1921	-	-	-	-	-	3,443,990	28,103,702
1922	-	-	-	-	-	3,403,854	30,421,949
1923	-	-	-	-	-	3,404,492	38,458,493
1924	-	-	-	-	-	3,621,454	39,488,691
1925	-	-	-	-	-	3,930,780	41,591,467
1926	-	-	-	-	-	4,059,432	58,398,509
1927	-	-	-	-	-	4,219,423	35,331,462
1928	-	-	-	-	-	4,455,492	27,563,720
1929	-	-	-	-	-	4,794,952	63,861,811

## THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE TRANSYLVANIAN MINORITIES

The economic life of the Transylvanian minorities has been—and still is—subject to the disturbance occasioned by the World War and by the economic crisis which followed it. It was further affected during the first years by the great political changes involved in the removal of their centres of gravity from Vienna and Budapest to Bucharest.

Thanks, however, to the free scope allowed to them in Roumania, and enjoyed by them today in their new country, the minorities were soon able to recover their balance, and their economic activities have since developed in a remarkable fashion, as the figures which we shall give will prove. The economic life of these minorities is so complex that it would be impossible to give a detailed picture of it here. We must confine ourselves to the broad outlines, which will, however, suffice for a general idea.

The most active economic and financial life is, without doubt, that of the German, and, in particular, of the Saxon minority. They were already a minority under Hungarian rule, and their whole economic and financial structure has been built up accordingly. The transition from one régime to another was thus comparatively easy, and was further facilitated by the fact that the German financial institutions have always worked along very conservative lines, engage in no risky speculations, adhere to quiet and traditional methods, and practise the most austere prudence.

As, however, the connections of the German financial houses had been with Vienna, Budapest, and (to a far lesser extent) with the financial institutions of Germany, the annexation of Transylvania to Roumania entailed, as its immediate

consequence, the displacement of the centres to which they looked for support, and caused them, for the moment, some initial difficulties. These were, however, quickly surmounted, thanks to their own strength and to the help given them by the National Bank of Roumania and by the great Bucharest banks.

When the union with Roumania was effected, the Saxons had 36 financial institutions. It is impossible to trace here the working and development of all of these. We shall therefore consider only the development of the three leading houses: the "Braşov General Savings Bank" (Kronstadter Allgemeine Sparkassa), founded in 1934, the "Sibiu General Savings Bank" (Hermannstadter Allgemeine Sparkassa), founded in 1841, and the "Agricultural Credit Bank of Sibiu" (Bodenkreditanstalt), founded in 1872. It is round these three houses that the whole economic and financial life of the Saxon minorities in Transylvania centres, directly or indirectly.

The share capital of these banks has risen considerably since the annexation, as the following table shows:—

Year	Brasov General Savings Bank Lei	Sibiu General Savings Bank Lei	Credit Bank Sibiu Lei
1920	5,007,000	10,000,000	14,000,000
1921	5,007,000	10,000,000	18,000,000
1922	10,007,000	10,000,000	25,000,000
1923	10,007,000	20,000,000	30,000,000
1924	20,007,000	40,000,000	32,000,000
1925	30,007,000	50,000,000	57,000,000
1926	50,007,000	50,000,000	57,000,000
1927	50,007,000	150,000,000	60,000,000
1928	100,000,000	154,000,000	60,000,000
1929	100,000,000	154,000,000	62,500,000
1930	100,000,000	154,000,000	62,500,000

The reserve funds have increased in the same proportion :—

Year	Brasov General Savings Bank			Sibiu General Savings Bank			Gredit Bank of Sibiu		
	Lei			Lei			Lei		
1920	-	-	-	1,510,402	6,113,539	4,704,875			
1921	-	-	-	1,767,819	6,305,034	5,538,483			
1922	-	-	-	3,009,454	6,784,573	7,727,383			
1923	-	-	-	4,301,438	9,171,398	8,746,467			
1924	-	-	-	8,787,361	11,456,967	15,699,515			
1925	-	-	-	15,362,284	17,923,626	20,946,066			
1926	-	-	-	26,125,771	26,179,189	26,872,438			
1927	-	-	-	26,725,731	31,239,104	30,435,738			
1928	-	-	-	36,995,747	65,620,238	33,485,617			
1929	-	-	-	38,877,869	71,610,646	36,005,738			
1930	-	-	-	40,796,339	80,338,062	55,497,602			

The Saxon banks of Transylvania have always aimed at increasing their deposits, thus at the same time inducing the population to save and accumulating sufficient capital to meet demands for credit. The large increase in the sums deposited for re-lending with these credit institutions shows at once the complete confidence of the public and the financial strength of the Saxon minority. The following table shows the growth of deposits since 1920 :—

Year	Brasov General Savings Bank			Sibiu General Savings Bank			Credit Bank of Sibiu		
	Lei			Lei			Lei		
1920	-	-	-	43,764,757	33,029,280	36,459,941			
1921	-	-	-	46,455,512	44,273,175	38,893,099			
1922	-	-	-	68,158,055	64,620,841	56,854,677			
1923	-	-	-	74,164,604	74,566,847	61,277,400			
1924	-	-	-	114,019,328	140,887,259	101,497,989			
1925	-	-	-	165,395,956	254,776,874	200,841,947			
1926	-	-	-	191,191,104	367,389,687	221,008,089			
1927	-	-	-	284,498,055	512,278,076	305,069,242			
1928	-	-	-	479,143,642	903,631,615	340,327,065			
1929	-	-	-	543,332,009	1,011,063,179	347,353,156			
1930	-	-	-	648,449,871	1,069,812,827	395,255,612			

As regards credit operations, it should be noted that up to 1918 most of the loans granted by the Saxon banks were agricultural in character. As a consequence of the agrarian reform and of the loss of outlets for the placing of mortgages, the mortgage portfolio has diminished year by year; thus the three great banks have lost their predominantly agricultural character and become more and more commercial and industrial credit institutions. The following table shows the nature of their credit operations:—

Year	Sibiu General Savings Bank.	
	Mortgages advanced	Bills, current deposit accounts
	Lei	Lei
1920	43,387,333	30,294,144
1921	40,830,759	42,873,808
1922	39,643,058	72,714,514
1923	31,225,262	93,567,031
1924	21,986,688	171,232,654
1925	17,150,511	339,913,410
1926	20,093,793	467,356,936
1927	16,888,236	615,152,788
1928	15,746,481	1,218,310,118
1929	14,390,938	1,590,294,861
1930	—	1,622,025,924

Year	Braşov General Savings Bank		Agricultural Bank of Sibiu	
	Mortgages advanced	Bills, current deposit accounts	Mortgages advanced	Bills, current deposit accounts
	Lei	Lei	Lei	Lei
1920	11,137,518	22,667,812	37,404,902	36,492,900
1921	11,783,045	41,999,767	35,342,865	45,009,553
1922	10,756,757	67,178,197	29,621,555	70,180,421
1923	8,794,204	76,823,263	22,146,857	120,739,922
1924	6,780,328	127,832,495	16,080,229	172,256,704
1925	4,233,948	197,659,036	14,326,728	284,694,538

Year	Braşov General Savings Bank		Agricultural Bank of Sibiu	
	Mortgages advanced	Bills, current deposit accounts	Mortgages advanced	Bills, current deposit accounts
	Lei	Lei	Lei	Lei
1926 - -	3,615,498	239,656,653	13,196,619	306,097,450
1927 - -	2,974,758	313,111,099	12,321,468	350,892,522
1928 - -	2,671,596	602,861,487	12,370,709	406,724,066
1929 - -	2,229,707	710,351,923	11,271,921	471,226,996
1930 - -	—	783,612,271	—	441,520,542

The net profit of the Saxon financial institutions has always been lower than that of the Roumanian or Magyar institutions, owing to their practice of helping their countrymen by loans at low rates of interest. It has, however, increased since 1923 in unprecedented fashion. This is due to their having ceased to grant agricultural mortgages on the old easy terms and having taken actively to discounting bills at high rates. The following table shows the growth of the net profits of the three great banks :—

Year	Braşov General Savings Bank		Sibiu General Savings Bank		Credit Bank of Sibiu	
	Lei	Lei	Lei	Lei	Lei	Lei
1920 - - -	456,006	684,938	1,125,923			
1921 - - -	653,590	707,302	1,411,061			
1922 - - -	1,193,223	1,211,384	2,093,986			
1923 - - -	2,512,306	2,600,681	5,000,251			
1924 - - -	4,301,666	5,006,949	7,841,474			
1925 - - -	6,784,859	10,500,372	10,679,094			
1926 - - -	10,403,195	12,084,339	11,011,268			
1927 - - -	10,464,566	12,624,545	11,818,949			
1928 - - -	18,821,216	17,238,155	9,230,713			
1929 - - -	19,184,696	23,490,569	10,653,432			
1930 - - -	15,652,327	20,578,362	8,716,895			

It should be noted that since 1905 the Saxon banks of Transylvania have been organised in a syndicate, the object



of which is not only mutual help, but also strict mutual control of its members' operations; hence the name of "Control Association" (Revisionsverband) adopted by the syndicate. Every year the accounts and books, administration internal services, balances and equipment are closely checked.

Besides these 36 banks, the Saxon minority also possesses a large number of credit co-operatives of the Raiffeisen type, grouped in a "Federation of Raiffeisen Co-operatives," which issues its own periodical, the *Raiffeisenbote*. The membership has risen from 17,215 to 20,806 out of the bare 32,000 which is the total number of all Saxon families. The deposits by members with these co-operatives rose from 21,105,995 lei in 1921 to 231,693,689 lei in 1929. The credits granted by the co-operatives amounted in 1918 to 2,659,906 lei on acceptances and 209,887 on bills discounted, while in 1929 these figures had risen to 273,524,981 lei on acceptances and 37,372,175 on bills. The reserve capital was 1,119,200 lei in 1918 and 10,699,454 lei in 1929, to which must be added 3,179,000 lei for bad or doubtful debts.

Besides their financial institutions and credit co-operatives the Saxons possess an old and powerful "League of Saxon farmers" (Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Landwirtschaftsverein), founded in 1929, and comprising 232 local organisations, which again were grouped in 11 district organisations. Its members, at the end of 1929, numbered 14,351 (in the last year before the war the figure was only 10,850). The League publishes a weekly review, the *Landwirtschaftliche Bälter für Siebenbürgen*. There is also an association of Transylvanian industrialists, the Bund der Siebenbürgischen Industriellen, founded in June, 1919, which had 329 members in 1929. The official organ of this association is the weekly *Industrie Zeitung*. There is, further, an Association of German Commercial Corporations (Verband Deutscher Handelsgremien), founded in 1923 with seat at Braşov. This Association maintains a school of its own at Sibiu for the education of the young generations of German merchants (Gremialhandelschule). The Association had 700 members in 1929. It also possesses its own publication—the weekly *Siebenburgische Handelszeitung*. Since 1928 the

Saxons have also possessed a "German Industrial League in Roumania" (Deutscher Gewerbbund in Rumanien), with seat at Sibiu. This Association is the central body for numerous local German industrial associations. It organises a constant series of specialist courses for the different branches of industry, in the various Saxon centres of Transylvania.

The economic and financial life of the Swabians of the Banat is fully as well organised as that of the Saxons. The interests of the farmers of this region are safeguarded by the powerful "League of Swabian farmers of the Banat" (Banater Schwabischer Landwirtschaftsverein), the statutes of which were officially approved in 1892. The League has today 86 local branches, and publishes the weekly *Banater Landwirt*. Since 1928 the Swabian merchants and industrialists have also organised in a league entitled the Deutschschwabischer Handels und Gewerbbund. The chief financial institution is the Schwäbische Zentralbank of Timișoara, which amalgamated in October 1928 with the Bürgerliche Sparkassa of Arad, and took the name of Banater Bankverein. This bank caters chiefly for the credit requirements of the Swabian farmers, while Swabian industry and commerce are in the hands of the "Swabian Commercial and Industrial Bank" (Schwabische Handels und Gewerbebank), founded in 1919. These two banks also play a cultural rôle, since under their statutes 5 per cent. of their net incomes are devoted to promoting German culture. There are, furthermore, about 100 smaller and local banks in the Banat.

The economic and financial life of the Magyar minority in Transylvania also encountered certain difficulties in the first years after the annexation to Roumania. This was largely due to the fact, additional to the general factors affecting the economic and financial life of all States and all peoples, that on the eve of 1918 the Magyar financial houses of Transylvania lost their independence completely, being absorbed into the sphere of activity of the great Budapest banks. The tendency of the banks of the Hungarian capital to extend the sphere of their influence, their efforts to get the firmest possible grip on the whole economic and financial life of the country, prevented

the development and maintenance of an independent Magyar economic and financial organisation in Transylvania. The Magyar financial institutions, by reason precisely of their very specially national character and objects, had no close relationships with the German and Roumanian banks of the province. For this reason, when the annexation of Transylvania to Roumania automatically cut off their close contact with Budapest finance, they remained totally isolated, without direction or guidance. It was a difficult and critical period which, however, their enterprise enabled them to pass through. The economic and financial life of the Magyars of Transylvania has been organised on new foundations, and has made remarkable progress, particularly since 1922.

At that time the Magyars of Transylvania had 197 banks, with a share capital of 274,388,825 lei, and reserves valued at 89,866,349 lei, making a total capital of 364,255,174 lei. They further administered other capital (deposits, creditors, and re-discounted bills) amounting to 1,804,371,079 lei.

During the year under discussion (1922) the total advances made amounted to 1,854,275,138 lei. At the end of 1922 a "Syndicate of Magyar Banks of Transylvania" was founded for the defence of the common interests of the Magyar financial institutions.

After an intense propaganda campaign lasting for one year, this syndicate had, by the end of 1923, acquired a membership of 98 banks. The houses of Arad and the Banat, and also many banks in historic Transylvania, did not join in the formation of the syndicate; chiefly the latter had introduced compulsory control of, and imposed certain limitations on, the operations of its members.

Thanks to the work of this organisation, and to their own enterprise, the Magyar banks not only surmounted the crisis which followed the annexation, but have since made remarkable progress.

The following table shows the development of the Magyar banks grouped in the syndicate since its formation in 1922 :—

Financial Year	Number of Banks Members	Share Capital	Deposits (excluding call and short notice)				
			Reserves	Creditors	Profit	Debtors	
1922	98	174,247,125	54,469,712.61	868,441,378.25	379,194,736.08	—	1,283,116,924.65
1923	109	171,920,966	78,862,497.98	952,649,197.23	370,224,512.65	35,900,268.11	1,375,343,047.60
1924	119	222,682,350	109,773,726.09	1,337,034,878.52	341,181,043.97	53,273,645.07	1,707,481,334.49
1925	118	258,655,200	130,097,519.20	2,003,833,262.68	473,199,679.29	61,501,608.94	2,721,364,807.86
1926	119	350,092,520	184,258,756.37	2,723,324,457.81	655,271,647.50	86,031,708.64	3,663,567,772.67
1927	107	421,892,450	208,046,262.57	3,382,714,827.96	620,044,870.75	99,666,932.78	4,357,839,001.85
1928	98	576,497,950	253,038,656.85	4,222,249,376.98	956,600,938.85	136,558,349.86	5,616,606,789.12
1929	87	625,496,200	299,810,500.00	4,623,579,100.00	961,000,000.00	145,000,000.00	6,081,000,000.00

The Magyars also possess 385 consumers' co-operatives, with a membership of over 100,000; 315 credit co-operatives, with a membership of 97,027, and a powerful "Economic Union." This Union was organised on a Departmental basis up to 1929; but at the end of that year a vigorous campaign was initiated for the formation of branches in the villages, and since 1930 the Union has had branches in almost every commune.

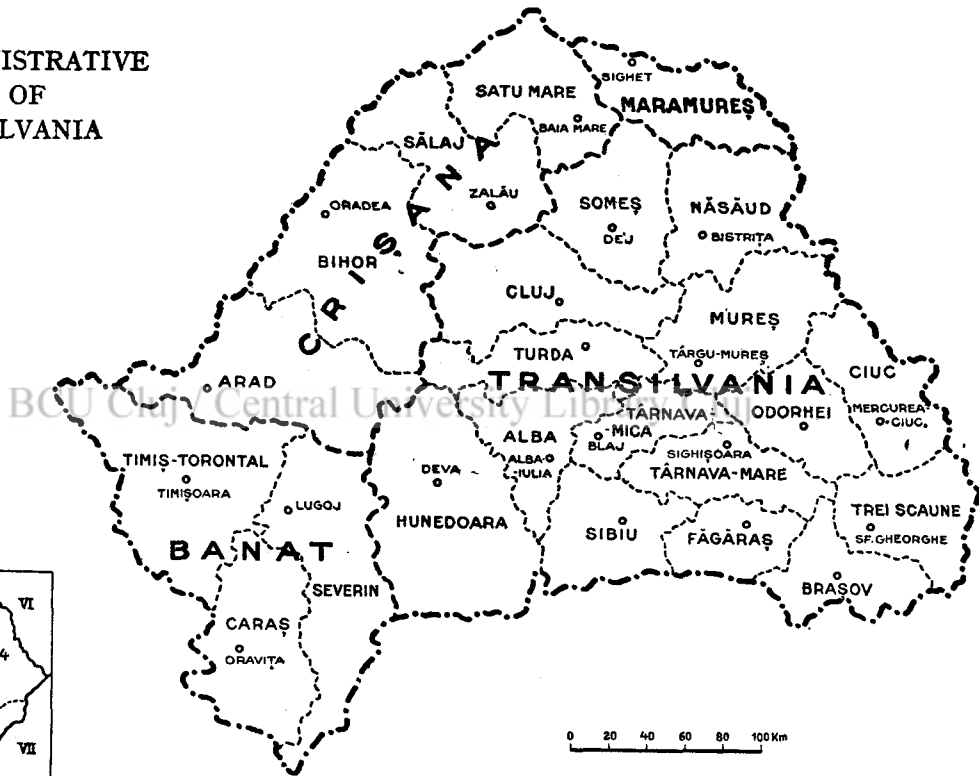
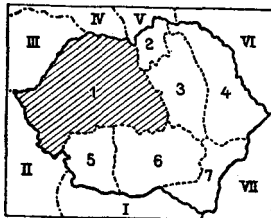
The Jewish minority has not organised its financial and economic life on a national basis, but participates in the economic life of all the peoples among whom it dwells.

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# THE ADMINISTRATIVE MAP OF TRANSYLVANIA

- I Bulgaria
- II Jugoslavia
- III Hungary
- IV Czechoslovakia
- V Poland
- VI U.R.S.S.
- VII Black Sea

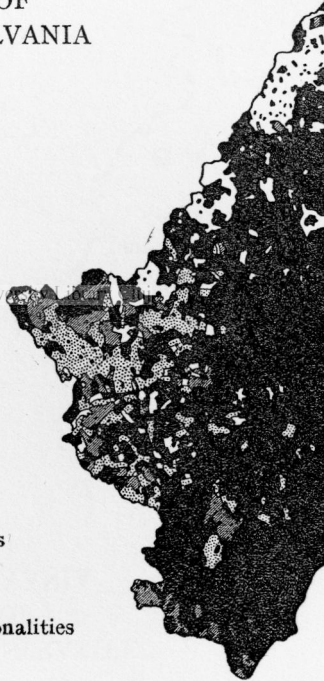
- 1 Transylvania
- 2 Bukovina
- 3 Moldavia
- 4 Bessarabia
- 5 Oltenia
- 6 Wallachia or  
Muntenia
- 7 Dobrudja

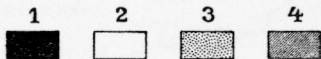
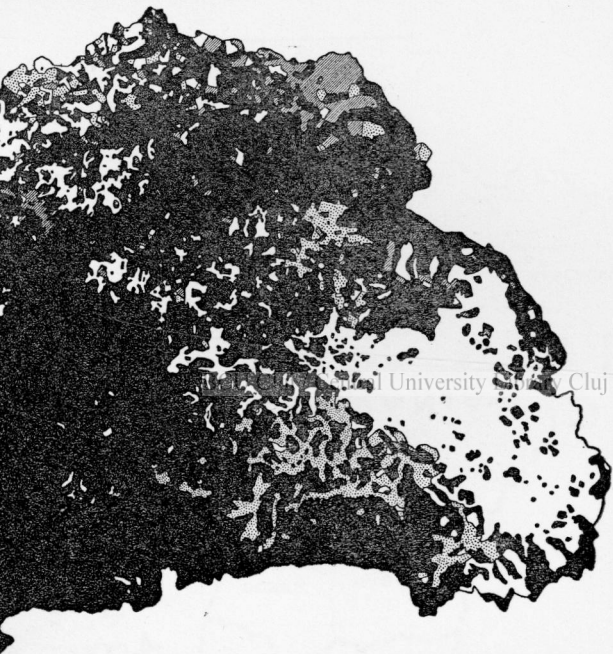


# THE ETHNOGRAPHIC MAP OF TRANSYLVANIA

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- 1 Roumanians
- 2 Hungarians
- 3 Germans
- 4 Other Nationalities







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EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE LIMITED, EAST HARDING STREET,  
LONDON, E.C.4.

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