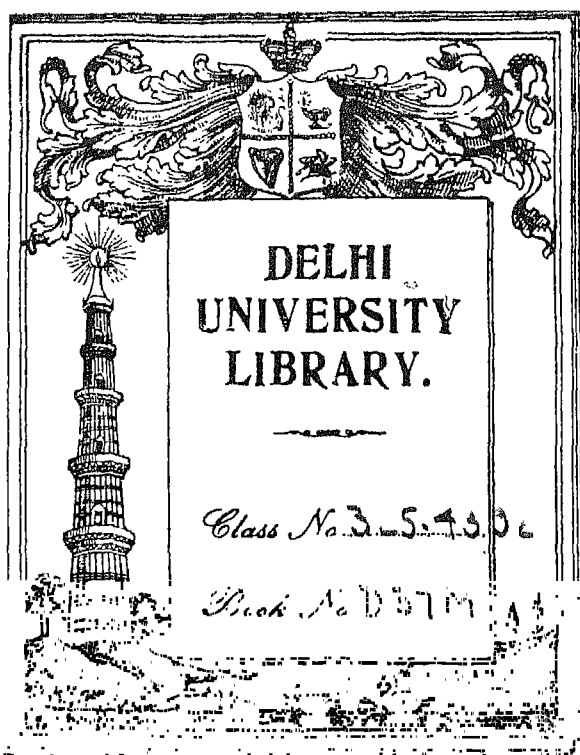




DELHI
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY.

Class No. 3.5.43.06

Book No. D57M

DELHI UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Cl. No. V5921:258Y138:N2 F7

Ac. No. 28000

Date of release for loan

This book should be returned on or before the date last stamped below. An overdue charge of one anna will be levied for each day the book is kept beyond the date.

[illegible]

THE MINORITIES IN
ROUMANIAN TRANSYLVANIA

THE MINORITIES IN ROUMANIAN TRANSYLVANIA

By

ZSOMBOR DE SZÁSZ

*Late Transylvanian Member of the Hungarian
Parliament and of the Austro-
Hungarian Delegations*



LONDON
THE RICHARDS PRESS
LIMITED

1927

Printed in Great Britain
by The Riverside Press Limited
Edinburgh

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I TAKE great pleasure in expressing in this place my gratitude to Mr Stephen Gwynn for his valuable assistance in revising the manuscript of this book.

Also to Dr C. H. Irwin, who has looked through the chapters dealing with the churches and the schools.

My thanks are further due to the Editor of *The Tablet*, who has kindly allowed me to make use of my article entitled, "Catholicism in Transylvania," which appeared in that paper on 24th December 1924.

ZSOMBOR DE SZÁSZ.

BUDAPEST, 27th March 1927.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	11
CHAPTER I. THE LEGAL BASIS	21
II. THE THEORY OF THE RIGHTS OF THE MINORITIES ACCORDING TO THE ROUMANIAN POLITICAL PARTIES	34
III. DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS AND ROUMANIZING POLICY	47
IV. AFTER THE OCCUPATION	66
V. WAR AGAINST NATIONAL SENTIMENT	81
VI. THE ADMINISTRATION	95
VII. THE PASSPORT SWINDLE	119
VIII. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE JUDICIARY	133
IX. THE AGRARIAN REFORM	153
X. THE CHURCHES IN GENERAL	176
XI. THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES	189
XII. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH	205
XIII. GREEK ORTHODOX <i>versus</i> GREEK CATHOLICS	217
XIV. THE SCHOOLS—I	233
XV. THE SCHOOLS—II.	249
XVI. THE SCHOOLS—III	270
XVII. THE UNIVERSITY	284
XVIII. THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF THE MINORITIES	294
XIX. THE SAXONS	316
XX. THE JEWS	328

CHAPTER	PAGE
XXI. TRANSYLVANIA <i>VERSUS</i> THE OLD KINGDOM .	347
XXII. ROUMANIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS .	363
XXIII. THE AVERESCU ELECTIONS	383
APPENDICES .	
A. The Resolutions of Gyulafehérvár .	405
B. Chapter I of the Treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Roumania, signed at Paris, 9th December 1919	406
INDEX	409

NOTE ON THE REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS are used only when referring to the Journals of both Houses of the Roumanian Parliament—that is, the House of Commons and the Senate:

Desbat. Deput. = Journals of the House
of Commons.

Desbat. Senat. = Journals of the Senate.

In this book the name of "Transylvania" covers all the lands which were transferred from Hungary to Roumania through the Treaty of Trianon.

“ We may be taught to suffer, but not to fear.”

BARON NICHOLAS WESSELENYI

(A Transylvanian statesman in the early nineteenth century.)

INTRODUCTION

BEFORE the war Transylvania formed the eastern part of the Hungarian kingdom, and, surrounded as it was by the south-eastern Carpathians, made a perfect geographic unity. All its rivers spring in the country, leaving it in three directions; its valleys are wonderfully fertile and its forest-clad mountains are rich in salt and minerals. It is one of Europe's wealthiest districts in natural resources and beauty of scenery.

In consequence of its detached position, it had for centuries a distinct historic and political development: in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was an independent principality, and from that time on till 1867 it was governed by the Austrian Emperors as a separate province.

The Hungarians, coming at the end of the ninth century as the last wave of the migrating peoples, had gradually occupied all the territory of pre-war Hungary. They settled in the valleys of the rivers and used the surrounding uninhabited mountains as natural barriers against their neighbouring enemies. Early chroniclers relate that they first occupied the great plains of the Danube and the Tisza, and that from there they invaded Transylvania, defeating Gelu, the ruler of a Slav population.

According to legend they found among the south-eastern mountains a people speaking the same language as they themselves: the Székelys¹—who after the retirement of Attila's Huns from Europe had remained in Transylvania and now, after four centuries, joined their conquering kinsmen.

Historic evidence, however, indicates that at the

¹ The Peace Treaties consistently misprint the name of this race. Article 11 of the Roumanian Minorities Treaty calls them "Czecklers," which is a further distortion of the German name, "Szeklers."

time of the coming of the Hungarians, Transylvania, as well as Hungary proper, was for the most part a sparsely populated territory. In the second century Trajan, the Roman Emperor, annihilated the Dacian state which he found in Transylvania and founded a Roman colony, which, however, could not be maintained against the migrating peoples pouring into Europe from Asia. After one hundred and sixty years of colonial domination, Transylvania was relinquished, the Roman population and soldiery withdrawn and the country delivered over to the devastations of the successively arriving peoples, Gepides, Avars, Vandals, Huns, Bulgarians. None of them was able to found a permanent State, but each in turn left a devastated and depopulated country behind. The population of Transylvania in the ninth century was mostly of Slav origin and very scanty in number.

Roumanian historians give a different account. According to them the Roumanians are the descendants of Emperor Trajan's soldiers and colonists, who after the short Roman domination were left behind in Transylvania and who, intermingling with the aboriginal Dacian inhabitants, formed the population of the country at the time of the Hungarian occupation. Hiding in the mountains for a thousand years, they survived the devastating invasions of the migrating peoples—which all vanished without leaving a trace; and they reappeared in history in the twelfth century as a people which had kept the language and the traditions of the Latin colonists.

This is the theory of the so-called "Daco-Roman origin" of the Roumanians, as formulated first by a Transylvanian Roumanian, Petru Major, in 1800; and maintained without serious criticism by all Roumanian historians. And this was the foundation of the claim of the Roumanians on Transylvania.

Yet historic evidence affords so slender a basis for these assumptions that they can be regarded as no more than hazardous guesswork.¹

¹ See Professor Seton Watson's article in the January 1923 number of *History*; J. Lupaş: "Factorii istorici ai vieţii naţionale româneşti," in

When the Hungarians penetrated into Transylvania in the ninth century they found the Székelys and a thin Slav-Bulgarian population, ruled by petty chieftains dependent on the Bulgarian principality in the Balkans. It is possible that there were also a few remnants of the autochthonous inhabitants, driven by the invading peoples into the mountains and living a pastoral life there. But the character of the country was distinctly Slav; the names of the mountains and rivers are of Slav origin, and the country was so deserted that it had to be colonized with settlers to provide for its defence. Thus, quite early in the twelfth century Germans from Flanders and the Lower Rhine were invited to the south-east; where, preserving their own language, customs and culture, they became the present-day Saxons.

A country with such a past, and in such a need for settlers, could not have had an autochthonous population of any considerable importance.

It is in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the first traces of the Roumanians in Transylvania are found in historic documents. They are mentioned as nomadic, pastoral people who roamed about the Balkans and the eastern slopes of the Carpathians, and in the summer months penetrated into the Transylvanian mountains to find pasture for their cattle.

At the end of the thirteenth century Muntenia, the southern Roumanian principality, and a century later Moldavia, the northern, came into existence. But at the end of the fourteenth century the Turks appeared in Europe, and the inhabitants of Muntenia fled in great numbers to the north—that is, to Transylvania. They were unruly, disorderly, thieving people, very undesirable in the country, and the Legislature took strong measures against them. Yet at the end of the seventeenth century these intruders already formed half of the population of Transylvania.

Anuarul institutului de istorie nationala, 1921-1922, p. 31; O. G. Lecca: "Neamul românesc, formarea lui și influențele străine," in *Viața Românească*, 1926, Nos. 5-8 and 10; and Professor Alexander Filipide's recent big work, *Origine Românilor*, vol. i.

The most glorious period in Transylvanian history is that during which Hungary was occupied by the Turks.

In 1526 the last Hungarian national king, Louis II., perished in the battle of Mohács. The Hungarians of Hungary proper elected Ferdinand the Hapsburg; the Transylvanians, John Szapolyai, a Hungarian nobleman, and voivod of Transylvania, as King of Hungary, while the central part of the country was subjected to the Turks. Gradually Transylvania was transformed into an independent principality and a stormy but glorious period followed: a constant fight, now against the Sultans, now against the Habsburgs, defending Christian Europe against Mohammedan invasion, and Protestantism against Austrian Catholicism.

At the end of the seventeenth century the Emperors expelled the Turks from Hungary; and the Transylvanian principality also came to an end. The last Prince, Michael Apafy, a young boy, was taken to Vienna, and never saw Transylvania again. The country was transformed into an Austrian province.

When the Turks were expelled from Hungary the two Roumanian principalities on her eastern and south-eastern borders remained under Turkish suzerainty; and Greeks of Constantinople, the Fanariots, were appointed by the Sultans as their Princes. Their domination—called the “Fanariot epoch”—was the most tragic period of Roumanian history. “In those times,” wrote the historian Aricescu, “the Roumanian peasant became a sheep, which the foreigners had shorn, milked and finally skinned. The greediness of the Fanariot wolves forced the Roumanian peasants to fly into the forests, or to emigrate beyond the Carpathians, to Transylvania.” The number of these emigrants steadily grew during the eighteenth century, and according to a census of 1761 it was then already 787,000, forming a majority of the Transylvanian population.

In consequence of this historic development the population of Transylvania was composed of four elements—the Hungarians and the Székelys, who

were racially akin to each other, the Saxon colonists, and the Roumanian intruders.

The situation and the legal status of these four peoples were very different. The Hungarians and the Székelys, both of the conquering race, and the Saxons, invited to the country by the King of Hungary, formed the substratum, the foundation, of the political life and constitutional Government of the country. The former two peoples, Hungarians and Székelys, were the free nobles, the latter, the Saxons, the free burghers. There were also, of course, the serfs, the subjected peoples or those Hungarians who had lost their land and nobility. The three free peoples gradually developed a wide self-government. At first they were invited from time to time to take part in the Hungarian Legislature; later, after the foundation of the principality of Transylvania, they assembled in common diets to deliberate on the common affairs of the country; but an extensive administrative and judiciary autonomy was secured to each race.

The development of the Churches followed the same lines.

Protestantism was introduced into Transylvania in the sixteenth century, and during the rule of the Princes the greater part of the country was Protestant. In 1557 the Legislature declared religious freedom in general terms; and a diet held in 1571 secured freedom and equality to the four creeds—Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Unitarian—which formed the *receptæ religiones* of the country. Although there were alternate, mutual, petty persecutions, in a time when religious wars raged everywhere, yet Transylvania was the first of all the countries of Europe to proclaim religious equality and tolerance.

In this political and religious development the Roumanians did not participate. As later emigrants, or (according to Roumanian historians) as the conquered original inhabitants, they were serfs, and had no political organization; they formed no *recepta natio*, and their religion, the Orthodox, was not a *recepta religio*. But the Roumanian serfs were in no

worse position than the Hungarian ones, and their religion was never persecuted.¹ They could be ennobled and thus enter the ranks of the Hungarian nobility. It was not as a nationality that they lacked the rights and liberties of the three free peoples; it was simply that, belonging to the class of the serfs, they bore the duties and burdens of villeinage which were common to all the serfs of the country, and of early modern Europe. The peasant revolts in Transylvania were not national struggles of the Roumanians against the Hungarians and Saxons for political recognition, but were rebellions of the oppressed peasantry, Hungarian as well as Roumanian, against the harshness of the landlords.

The natural result of political and ecclesiastic disability was an inferiority in culture, which, however, had also other causes. The Roumanians, following the Orthodox creed, were cut off from Western influences; and since, in the later Middle Ages, Byzantium had lost its power as a centre of culture, the Orthodox peoples were abandoned to their own resources. Orthodoxy, based on tradition, was never a source of progress. To spread civilization among the Roumanians, the Transylvanian Princes tried to introduce Protestantism among them, but it proved an abortive effort; they were insensible to the freedom and liberalism inherent in that creed. The endeavour of the Hapsburg Emperors to catholicize them was seemingly more effective. At the end of the seventeenth century the Greek Catholic Church was founded in Transylvania, and connexion with the West was established. The Catholic Roumanians came into spiritual contact with Rome, and into close cultural and political contact with Hungary: those Roumanian priests and students who returned from Rome and Budapest were the pioneers of Roumanian civilization. It was these Greek Catholics who founded the first Roumanian secondary school in Transylvania in the middle of the eighteenth century; and it was a Transylvanian, George Lazăr, who established the first

¹ P. Suciù . *Probleme Ardelene*, p. 3.

school in Bucarest, with Roumanian instead of Greek as its language of instruction. The famous *History of Roumanian Origins* of Petru Major, and the first Roumanian review, the *Bibliotheca Românească*, were printed in Budapest.¹

The cultural awakening was soon followed by political revival. Their supposed legendary Latin origin lent a halo to the Roumanian people, and this quickened the spirit of nationality of those who believed in it. But even before this, during the eighteenth century, the leaders of the Roumanians (mostly their priests) had appealed to the Emperors for ecclesiastic and political reforms. Their demands were embodied, in 1791, in a memorandum, the so-called *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, which asked for the recognition of the Roumanians as a free nationality, and of their Church as an acknowledged Church; for proportional representation in the Legislature and administration; and for equal rights and privileges with the other peoples of the country. The petition had no result.

The nineteenth century brought a great change in the mutual relations of the Transylvanian peoples. The idea of national self-determination which, as a practical political endeavour, originated with the French Revolution took a powerful hold of the Hungarian mind; demands were raised for the re-establishment of the independent national state of pre-Habsburg times and for the assertion of the Constitution; a mighty swing towards national assertion set in, shown first of all by the introduction into public life of the Hungarian language instead of the Latin which had been in use before. The subject-races had no benefit of this movement. They were serfs, who must first be liberated before they could participate in the rights and privileges of the nation. In the first half of the nineteenth century the "principle of nationalities" meant the national consolidation of the peoples who had a civilization and a past in history; but not the right of minority peoples who, as a result of European history, were still unfreed

¹ See also Chapter XIII.

serfs and villeins. The independence of Greece and of Hungary, the unity of Italy and of Germany, the restitution of Poland, were parts of this policy; but the protection of racial Minorities was not part of it when their status was that of an oppressed class and not an oppressed race. The theories of Marx and Lassalle had a closer bearing on the position of the sweated servile peasants than had the declaration for national self-determination.

The relation between the dominating and the dominated classes underwent a powerful development in 1848.

In that year the Hungarians revolted against Austrian governing methods and demanded the re-establishment of their old independence in a loose union with the Austrian Empire. But their war of independence, led by Louis Kossuth, was crushed by the Austrians with the help of the Russians. Of the nationalities of Hungary, the Slovaks, the Ruthenians and the Suabians fought bravely for the Hungarian cause; the Saxons stood by the Emperor, while the Roumanians, in revolt against Hungarian domination, joined the Austrians and Russians in a bloody warfare against the Hungarians.

The crushing of the revolution was followed by a short period of absolutism; but after Austria's defeat on Italian and Prussian battlefields the *Ausgleich*—a compromise between Austria and Hungary—came into existence. Hungary's Constitution and independence were recognized and the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy was organized, accepting German hegemony in Austria and Hungarian supremacy in Hungary. The ostensible reason for the former conception was the Teuton character of the Habsburg dynasty; the justification for the latter was the existence of a state founded by the Hungarian race a thousand years earlier, and the services rendered by the Hungarian nation to Europe's political growth and civilization.

Through the *Ausgleich* new Hungary came into existence in 1867.

As early as 1848, before the revolution, Transyl-

vania had been reunited with Hungary proper, and a mighty reform was carried out—the liberation of the serfs. The old class distinctions disappeared. But their place had already been taken by a new one—that of the various nationalities. As yet these were not called Minorities; but the Hungarians realized the exigencies of the new situation and immediately after the compromise with Austria the Legislature enacted the rights of the nationalities in extensive Acts.

The chief provisions of the *Act concerning the Equality of the Nationalities and the Use of their Languages* are the following:

“All nationals of the Hungarian State, belonging to whichever nationality, are equal members of the Hungarian nation.

“The official language of the State is Hungarian, which is exclusively used in the Legislature, but the Acts must be published in the language of every nationality.

“At the meetings of the self-governing bodies, and in their minutes, the language of any nationality may be used, parallel with the Hungarian, if one-fifth of the representatives demand it.

“In parish administration everyone is entitled to use his own language; and, in districts where different nationalities live, officials cognizant of the language of the different nationalities shall be appointed.

“Applicants may use their own language both before the administrative and the judiciary authorities.

“The language of the Churches shall be fixed by the Church authorities, and that of the future State schools by the Government.

“Churches, parishes and private persons shall have the right to establish educational institutions under the control of the Hungarian Government.”

Separate Acts secured full autonomy to both the Greek Orthodox and the Greek Catholic Churches.

The Transylvanian Roumanians, however, were not satisfied with this development. They were hostile towards the conception of the Dual Monarchy, which recognized the supremacy of the Hungarians in

Hungary, and towards the reunion of Transylvania with Hungary, which destroyed their hopes of organizing the former as a separate province. For similar reasons they were dissatisfied with the Nationalities Act. They refused to participate in government and withdrew from public life.

The real cause of the disaffection was, however, not so much their dissatisfaction with the Nationalities policy of the Hungarian State as the gradually developing irredentism, both in Transylvania and the newly united Roumania. Its origin reached back to the forties of the nineteenth century. The idea received a mighty impulse first when, in 1861, the union of the Roumanian provinces was declared, and later, when, during the Russo-Turkish war, the Roumanian army fought side by side with the Russians, and as a consequence of the victorious war the country was proclaimed an independent kingdom.

From this time on, the loyalty of the Transylvanian Roumanians towards the Hungarian State became somewhat hollow; but their irredentism was also undetermined. The political and administrative organization of the brand-new Balkan kingdom was not of a quality to allure them.

In 1916 the Roumanians declared war on the Monarchy, on the flimsy pretext that the Hungarian Government was treating the Roumanians badly; and the Allied Powers gave as a reason for the destruction of Austria-Hungary the inability of the two states to manage their Minority races. This task was handed over to the Succession States. The Hungarian kingdom was broken to pieces and Transylvania was transferred to Roumania, on condition that the latter "assured full and complete protection" of the rights and liberties of the Minorities.

The following chapters will show how she fulfils this obligation.

CHAPTER I

THE LEGAL BASIS

AT the outbreak of the Great War, Roumania was the ally of the Central Powers. But from the very first she pursued an ambiguous policy and waited for the moment when she could join that side of the belligerents which had a better prospect of victory. As long as King Charles was alive he stood by his obligations and remained neutral, but after his death the Roumanian Government had conversations with both sides, and in the summer of 1916, when the Austrian army suffered serious reverses on the Russian front, Roumania broke her alliance with the Central Powers and made the Secret Treaty of 17th August 1916 with the Allied and Associated Powers. "We had national claims both on the other side of the Carpathians and beyond the Pruth," writes M. Kirişescu, the historian of Roumanian unity. "The first meant a conflict with Austria, the second with Russia. It was necessary to choose the more advantageous of the two possibilities."¹ By the secret pact Roumania secured large Austrian and Hungarian territories in case of a final victory.

On 27th August Roumania declared war on Austria-Hungary and invaded defenceless Transylvania. The pretext for the declaration of war was the alleged incapacity of the Austrian and Hungarian governments to deal with the Nationalities Question.

After a short period of success the Roumanian army was driven from Transylvania by the German and Austro-Hungarian forces and the greater part of Roumania, as well as her capital, was occupied.

In May 1918 the Treaty of Bucarest was concluded between the Quadruple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria) and Roumania. This

¹ G. Kirişescu : *Istoria războiului pentru întregirea României*, i., p. 72.

finished the Roumanian war. Since Article 5 of the Secret Treaty had stipulated that "The Allied Powers on the one hand and Roumania on the other undertake not to make a separate or a general peace, except jointly and at the same time," in consequence of the breach of this stipulation, Roumania had, by her action in 1918, lost every claim secured in the Treaty of 1916.¹

In the autumn of 1918 the Central Powers collapsed, and at the end of November the Roumanian army again crossed the frontiers of Transylvania. The leaders of the Transylvanian Roumanians convoked a National Assembly at Gyulafehérvár for 1st December, without inviting the Hungarian and Saxon inhabitants of the country. This Assembly declared for the union of Transylvania with Roumania and adopted certain principles for the administration of the country which, embodied in the so-called Resolutions of Gyulafehérvár, contain the following provisions concerning the Minorities:

"Article 3. The National Assembly declares as fundamental principles of the new Roumanian State the following:

"(1) Complete national liberty for all the cohabiting peoples of Transylvania. Each people to educate, govern and judge itself in its own language through the medium of persons from its own midst. Every people to have the right of legislative representation and of taking part in the administration of the country

¹ Concerning the Peace Treaties see H. W. Temperley: *History of the Peace Conference*, vol. iv., p. 221, and V. V. Tilea: *Acțiunea diplomatică a României*, November 1919–March 1920.

Typical of the Roumanian mentality is the cynical declaration of the peace delegates in Paris that the signature of the Bucarest Treaty had been insincere. In the memorandum presented to the Peace Conference on 1st February 1919 it was explained that after the collapse of Russia no military action was possible for Roumania: "The King of Roumania and his Government could have no other ambition than to preserve the Roumanian army in a condition which would enable it to go into action at a propitious moment. This decision, communicated to the Allied Governments, shows the real character of the Peace of Bucarest as a suspension of the fight till it should be possible to recommence it. The peace negotiations were only started to gain time and to hinder the separation of the King from his army. The Peace was merely a means for awaiting developments. We were neither legally nor practically nor morally at peace with the enemy for a moment."

in proportion to the number of the individuals of whom it is composed.

“(2) Equality and complete autonomous religious liberty for every denomination in the State.”

Meanwhile the Allied and Associated Powers were busy making the new Europe in Paris, and, anxious to protect the rights of the Minorities, embodied in each treaty the obligation of the Succession States to sign a separate treaty concerning the protection of those living on their territories.

The Brătianu Government, which at that time was in power, refused to accept this obligation, that, according to them, would curtail the sovereignty of Roumania and mean the “political enslavement of the country.”¹ But the Allied Powers were unyielding. The Brătianu Government resigned, and the following Vajda-Voivod Government signed, on 9th December 1919, the Paris Treaty concerning the protection of the Minorities.

In Hungary the collapse of the Monarchy had been followed, first, by a Republican, then by a Bolshevik Government, and lastly by the Roumanian occupation. When, in the autumn of 1919, order was restored the Hungarian Government was called on to conclude a peace; and on 4th June 1920 the Treaty of Trianon was signed. Article 47 of it pledges Roumania concerning the protection of the Minorities in the transferred territories:

“Roumania recognizes and confirms in relation to Hungary her obligation to accept the embodiment in a Treaty with the principal Allied and Associated Powers of such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.”

Thus the provisions concerning the protection of the Minorities in Transylvania are embodied in three separate instruments, the Resolutions of Gyulafehérvár, the Treaty of Trianon and the Paris Treaty of 9th December 1919, the so-called “Minorities Treaty.”

¹ *Viitorul*, 28th September 1919.

There is, however, a great difference between these documents in regard to their legal and political significance.

The Gyulafehérvár Resolutions contain provisions of different character. The first Article declared the union of Transylvania with the Roumanian kingdom; the second provided for a temporary autonomy for the country; while the third contained the above-mentioned principles concerning the Minorities and a democratic Government.

Of these resolutions, Article 1, which contained the declaration of the union, was "ratified" by the King, and published as a *decret-lege*, on 27th December 1918, in the *Monitorul Oficial*. Later, in December 1919, the union of all the transferred territories was declared in the first Roumanian Parliament held after the war; and the *Law of the Union* was published in January 1920. The rest of the Articles of the Resolutions were neither ratified by Parliament nor King.

On the question of the Resolutions the political parties of Roumania and the legal authorities occupy different standpoints.

According to Professor Djuvara's article in the *Democratia*, Transylvania was not united with the Roumanian kingdom by her own free will, but was annexed by the latter. It was not a case of two independent states proclaiming their union, but of Roumania extending her sovereignty over a territory which she had conquered by military force. Transylvania was merged into the Roumanian kingdom, and has since been governed by the Government of Roumania. The resolutions which proclaimed the provisional autonomy and the rights of the Minorities had no legal value and no constitutional significance.

This is what M. Brătianu may have meant when, in 1925, he said: "The Gyulafehérvár Resolutions undoubtedly form an important document in the history of the union; but the basis on which it was built is the Treaty sealed with the blood of 800,000 soldiers." He probably meant the Secret Treaty of 1916, which lost its validity by the Bucarest Treatv.

A contrary standpoint is represented by M. Romulus Boila, professor of the Roumanian University in Transylvania, in his *Law of the Roumanian Constitution*.

According to him, Transylvania is not a conquered country but a part of the new Greater Roumania which came into existence when the Old Kingdom, the Bukovina, Bessarabia and Transylvania were joined together. Transylvania was not subjected to the sovereignty of the Old Kingdom, but became a party to the new, collective sovereign state of Greater Roumania. The Resolutions are in the nature of an international treaty "containing principles which cannot be disregarded in the future framing of the Roumanian State, and in this sense they have the character of a source of Constitutional Law."¹

In an essay, entitled *The Resolutions of the National Assembly of Gyulafehérvár*, M. J. Jacob, professor of the law school in Nagyvarad, criticizing the above opinions, arrives at the following solution:

It is a fact that the Assembly of Gyulafehérvár was "the sovereign organ of the Roumanian nation," and that it "had the right to declare the immutable will of the Roumanians of Transylvania, the Bánát and Hungary." In consequence, its Resolutions are the source of law, but *only* for those territories and *only so long* as the autonomous administration of those territories existed. Once the united kingdom had come into existence, and this autonomy had been suppressed, the validity of the provisions had to cease, as the legislative organ of Roumania is King and Parliament. Consequently, Article 1—which declared the union, was ratified by the King, and was accepted by Parliament—became a law of the Constitution for the entire kingdom. But the other Articles—among them Article 3, which refers to the Minorities—were not ratified later, and therefore did not attain the force of a law. They are no source of the Constitution. According to Professor Jacob, even the wording of Article 3 is obscure. It is not clear whether its provisions relate to the Minorities. "National liberty" (*libertatea națională*)

¹ R. Boila : *Drept constitutional român.* no. 27 30

is the "liberty of a nation." But "the Minorities are not nations . . . and we cannot speak of the 'national liberties of a Minority.'"¹

The result, therefore, of Professor Jacob's investigations is that, as the provisions contained in Article 3 "have not been ratified by the Act of Union, they are abrogated (?). They have a place in the history of the Roumanian Constitution, but are no positive law, and have only a political importance." The union of Transylvania with Roumania was unconditional; and the National Assembly declared these principles only with the aim of introducing into the life of the state a democratic *régime* as regards civic liberties without distinction as to race, language, religion or class.²

Professor Jacob's interpretation is for the most part correct; but it is in contradiction with the theory of M. Juliu Maniu, chairman of the Roumanian National Party of Transylvania, who as the leader of the Transylvanian Roumanians, and one of the authors of the Resolutions, is their most competent interpreter. In a lecture given in the Sociological Institute of Bucarest, on 11th May 1924, M. Maniu explained that by "national liberty" the Roumanians of Transylvania have always understood the rights and liberties of the Minority peoples, and this being the origin and the essence of their political conception, it could be no other in the Resolutions of Gyulafehérvár.³

It would seem that, according to M. Maniu, the National Assembly of Gyulafehérvár, in securing the "national liberties" of the peoples of Transylvania, aimed at legislating concerning the Minorities. But his standpoint in regard to the legal nature of the Resolutions is not clear. On 1st June 1921 there was a hot debate in the House concerning them and the question whether they were constitutional conditions of the union or not. On this occasion M. Maniu closed the debate with these words: "It was decided in Gyulafehérvár that until a Constituent Assembly could be convoked and new Roumania was organized

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

³ J. Maniu, *Problema minorităților*, p. 10.

in accordance with Article 3, which *must be observed*, a provisory autonomy should be granted to Transylvania.”¹ But later, in 1924, he was not so peremptory. “I must state,” he said in his lecture, “that the National Assembly accorded these rights not only to Transylvania but to the entire country, with the intention that the new Constitution *might be framed* on the principles contained in them.”² It will be seen that, according to his later interpretation, Article 3 bears rather the character of a pious desire than that of a source of constitutional obligations.

Other Transylvanian Roumanians are even more positive in repudiating the Resolutions.

M. Octavian Goga, one of the leaders at the Gyulafehérvár Assembly, violently attacked the idea that they might be considered as binding. In his paper, the *Tara Noastră*, he wrote: “The Gyulafehérvár Resolutions can be regarded neither as a source of law nor as a suggestion for the solution of the problem. Source of law they are not, since in Gyulafehérvár the people manifested merely its desire for a union with the Regat, while the rest of the Resolutions was only the improvised codification of the mentality of a few provincial politicians. Nor can they form any suggestion for the present times, because these few declarations of a nebulous doctrine would ultimately shake the foundations of the unitary State, because they are detested by public opinion, and because they are unrealizable.”³

It is true that the Resolutions cannot be regarded as a source of the right of the Minorities in a legal sense. They merely bind their authors, no one else. Politically, of course, they have an immense importance. On the principles embodied in them the Minorities build their hopes. The Saxons accepted the union on the assumption that their Minority rights would be secured. “The Gyulafehérvár Resolutions are the *alpha* and the *omega* of our policy,” a Saxon paper wrote, “and we shall not let one jot of our clear

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1921, p. 2695.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

³ *Tara Noastră*, 1925, No. 18, p. 562.

right be filched from us by good friends or bad. We know that the existence of this State is indissolubly connected with them, in its origin and in its further development. We must often look on helplessly while this clear right of ours is outraged and trampled on; but nothing can prevent our believing that it is a right, and will remain so.”¹

The legal character of the Treaties, that of Trianon and that of Paris, is simple. By their ratification they are part of the laws of the country; and as international conventions they prevail over them.

The Trianon Treaty has no material provisions concerning the Transylvanian Minorities, except a few relating to nationality. It only fixes Roumania's duty to accept such treaty obligations “as may be deemed necessary to protect the interests of inhabitants who differ from the majority of the population in race, language and religion.”

The Paris Treaty contains the fundamental juridical stipulations concerning the protection of the Minorities in Roumania.

Article 1 of this Treaty provides that “Roumania undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.”

However, these provisions were not embodied in the new Constitution of 1923. M. Brătianu was again in office and his reason for refusing the enactment was the same as for refusing his signature in 1919. It would mean the limitation of the sovereignty of the State and its subjection to international control. In 1919 the Roumanians could not evade the signature of treaties on which depended the acquisition of large territories; all the less so as the Allied Powers exerted a strong pressure upon them. But four years later the Powers cared little whether the obligations were fulfilled or not; the Roumanians were bound only by their own signature, which did not mean much for

¹ *Kronstädter Zeitung*, 17th December 1924.

them. Thus the stipulation of Article 1 was simply ignored.

In the legal literature of the country it is not denied that the Treaties, having been ratified, are laws of the country. Professor Jacob even regards the Minorities Treaty as fundamental law. Since, however, its provisions are not enacted in the Constitution, their execution cannot be enforced before the Roumanian tribunals.

Besides, there is an artificial misunderstanding on the part of Roumanian statesmen concerning the precedence of an international convention and of the law of the country. Although Article 1 of the Minorities Treaty unequivocally orders that "no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations . . . or prevail over them," the Legislature and Governments seem to support the theory that the regional law of the country, even if it is not a fundamental law, prevails over an international treaty: in consequence of this, Acts are passed by the Legislature and official actions taken by the authorities which conflict with the provisions of the Treaties.

About official acts of this sort, more will be said in the subsequent pages. To the collisions between the treaties and the laws of the land the following examples bear witness :

Article 3 of the Minorities Treaty.

" . . . Roumania admits and declares to be Roumanian nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality all persons habitually resident at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty within the whole territory of Roumania."

Article 56 (1) of the Roumanian Law concerning the Right of Citizenship.

"Roumanian nationals shall become those who possessed domicile in a parish on 1st December 1918."

Articles 60, 61.

"Persons who opted for the nationality of another State before the publica-

Article 4.

" . . . even if at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty they are not themselves habitually residents there."

Article 64 of the Treaty of Trianon.

" Persons possessing rights of citizenship in territory forming part of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy shall within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty be entitled to opt for Hungary."

tion of this law, are regarded as having lost their Roumanian nationality.

" As option is regarded not only as an act made under the formalities fixed by the Government, but also such facts from which an intention to opt may be inferred; that is, as optants are regarded by the Roumanian law those who were forced by circumstances to leave the country or were expelled by the Government before the expiration of the term granted for option."

The most illuminating cases, however, are the collisions between the Land Reform Act of 30th July 1921 and the Trianon and Minorities Treaties. The whole of the matter will be dealt with in a later chapter; its legal aspect, put briefly, is as follows:

According to Article 63 of the Trianon Treaty and Article 3 of the Minorities Treaty " Hungarian nationals . . . will be entitled to opt for any other nationality . . . Persons who have exercised the above right to opt . . . *will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Roumanian territory.*"

In September 1919 the Governing Council issued a so-called Law Decree, Article 2 of which provided that " expropriated shall be the immovable property of the alien subjects " and that " the inhabitants of Roumania who shall opt for the nationality of a foreign State shall be regarded as alien subjects."

This meant that the optants are not allowed to retain their immovable property. At that time the text of none of the Treaties was known.

In June of the next year another decree appeared, which again ordered the expropriation of the lands of

aliens, but regarded the optants as aliens only if this was "not contrary to the stipulations contained in the Treaties which the Allied Powers shall conclude with Austria-Hungary."

The change of the wording of the Articles shows that the Government were conscious of the fact that they were not entitled to legislate contrary to the Treaties.

In 1921 the Land Reform Act was passed, Article 6 of which contains the following provision: "... will be expropriated in its entirety . . . the property of the absentees." Farther, an ordinance of the Minister of Agriculture (No. 15,112. R.A.—922) explained that "the law regards as absentee an owner who is absent for a fixed period, regardless of his nationality." Under these provisions the Roumanian Government treats the Hungarian optants as absentees and expropriates their property.

The dispute was brought before the League of Nations by the Hungarian Government. Their standpoint was that the said provision of the Land Reform Act is an infraction of international conventions, and, consequently, null and void.

The legal standpoint of the Roumanian Government was vaguely stated by M. Titulescu, Roumanian Minister in London, at the Geneva Conference, on 23rd April 1923. "The Treaty of Trianon," he said, "stipulates that the Hungarian optants are entitled to retain their immovable property. For the Hungarian Government, this means that the Hungarian optants remain the owners of a specific possession which can never be touched by any law without international sanction. According to Roumanian interpretation, the optant will be the owner of his property within the limits fixed by the national law of a sovereign State."¹

The same question was involved in the case of the Transylvanian settlers which was submitted to the League of Nations in 1925. The League expressed

¹ *Recueil des actes et documents relatifs à l'affaire de l'expropriation par le Royaume de Roumanie des biens immobiliers des optants Hongrois*, p. 34.

its doubt whether the provisions of the Agrarian Reform Act are not contrary to the Minorities Treaty; but once more the question was left unanswered, as the matter was settled out of hand by a compromise.

From the statement of M. Titulescu it would seem that he holds that national laws prevail over international treaties, or have at least the same force. The latter seems to be also the opinion of Professor Boila.¹

In his report on the new Constitution, the *rapporteur*, Senator Professor Dissescu, also found himself face to face with this problem, but he evaded it. Writing about the Minorities in his report he said: "As regards their religion, education and language, they enjoy the rights of the aliens secured to them by international conventions. Consequently, it is superfluous to create a special constitutional *régime* in the text of the Constitution or in common law. And if we suppose that a contradiction may now or at some future time arise between the provisions of the diplomatic Acts and the text of a regional law, of which shall the dictate prevail? This is a question of legal doctrine and jurisprudence." And he adds that his report is not the place for dealing with this problem.²

The fact is that Roumanian jurists and politicians are not inclined to accept the theory that the sovereignty of a State may be limited by its own voluntary act. But they are just as reluctant to declare that the regional laws of Roumania prevail over her international obligations if the interests of the Government's policy demand it.

In December 1925, M. H. O. Roth, a Saxon member of the House, mentioned during the debates the Minorities Treaty as imposing obligations on the Roumanian State. A Roumanian member intervened, and the following short dialogue developed:

"M. D. LASCU: If, according to you, an international

¹ R. Boila: *Dreptul constituțional*, p. 26.

² *Raportul d-lui C. G. Dissescu către comisiunea constituțională mixtă*, p. 42.

treaty is a greater source of law than the law of the country, I do not know where we shall come to.

"M. H. O. ROTH: There cannot be any conflict between these two instruments, because the Minorities Treaty is part of the Roumanian statutory law.

"M. D. LASCU: Yes, in so far as it does not infringe on the sovereignty of the State; but M. Brătianu said in the Senate that we are not going to respect such treaties as are contrary to the principle of national sovereignty."

At this point one of the Cabinet Ministers, M. Angelescu, interjected: "Yes, that is right."¹

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1925-1926, p. 702.

CHAPTER II

THE THEORY OF THE RIGHTS OF THE MINORITIES ACCORDING TO THE ROUMANIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

THE theory of the Allied Powers was that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy fell, not because it was composed of several nationalities, but because the rights and liberties of these nationalities had not been adequately secured. In consequence they introduced a new system into European politics—the system of international guarantee of the rights of the Minorities, and international supervision of their protection. Thus they raised the Minorities Question into the domain of international law. The time was past when Bluntschli could write that “the Nationalities’ principle has a significance only in politics, not in constitutional law.” Unfortunately, the Allied Powers committed this great blunder. Instead of maintaining the Monarchy, and forcing it to accept the new order, they destroyed the two states which formed it and entrusted the execution of the new system to the Succession States. As the subsequent years proved, this was a fateful error, springing from a complete ignorance of the question and of its past, as well as of the ethnographic and geographic conditions of Europe. It showed complete ignorance also of the psychology of Balkan politicians.

As a beginning, in 1919, the Roumanian Liberal Government, then in power, unhesitatingly refused to sign, and later to enact in the Constitution, the stipulations of the Minorities Treaty. The Resolutions of Gyulafehérvár were referred to by M. Brătianu in 1919, when it was necessary for his political purposes; but they had no constitutional sanction whatever, and were soon disavowed by all political parties except the National Party. There exists in Roumania no

party willing to accept the principles of the Treaties and Resolutions without reservation.

The standpoint of the Liberal Party is that Roumania is not a polyglot but a unitary national State, in which all Roumanian nationals have equal rights and liberty. In such a State there is not much room for the rights of the Minorities.

On 17th December 1919, after the Vajda Government had signed the Treaties, M. Brătianu made a great speech in Parliament in which he surveyed Roumania's situation since the war:

"For us," he said, "the question of the Minorities is solved. It was solved at the moment when we recognized the necessity of its complete solution, a necessity created by the interests of justice and peaceable existence in the present life of the State, and dominated by that spirit of religious tolerance which never abandoned the Roumanian people. For the Old Kingdom, it was solved at the moment when we accorded Roumanian citizenship to the Jews and thereby all political rights and equality before the laws as to every other citizen. As regards the newly acquired territories, we and our brethren were from the first moment convinced that only on the principle of equality, and of equal rights to the Minorities as regards their language and special culture, could an enduring and tranquil existence in our State be established. Therefore for us the whole question has been regulated, solved and definitively finished."

Thus, in 1919, M. Brătianu wished to convey the impression that the Minorities Question had already been solved by a simple declaration—*i.e.* the Resolutions of Gyulafehérvár. The dishonesty of this policy is accentuated by the fact that M. Brătianu never recognized the Resolutions as the source of any binding obligation. He spoke of them, as a Saxon member remarked, as one speaks of the dead in a funeral oration—*De mortuis nihil . . .*

"One thing we must fix," he said, in one of his speeches in the Senate. "One always alludes to the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions as standing above the

Constitution. It is necessary to clear up this question once and for all, so that there shall be no error about it. The Roumanian State, forming the national integrity of all the Roumanians, is not the result of Gyulafehérvár. Undoubtedly the Resolutions are a very important manifestation concerning the integrity, but the basis, the reality of it, is the Treaty with the Allies, sealed with the blood of 800,000 soldiers.

"Change if you like the Constitution and the political life of the Roumanian State, but to suppress the Constitution for the sake of the Resolutions—there I cannot follow you, and I repeat, the foundations of our State are the Treaty and our soldiers."¹

This opinion was put even more crudely by a Transylvanian Roumanian who belonged to the Liberal Party :

"The Gyulafehérvár Assembly made wide-reaching promises in the spirit of the Wilsonian principles; we did not remember that we might be called upon to fulfil them. Who, after six years, believes that they can be fulfilled? Who believes in their application? Experience has shown that they only sprang from lack of political training and the enthusiasm of the moment."²

In 1923, when M. Brătianu introduced his Constitution, Article 1 declared that "The Roumanian kingdom is a national, unitary and indivisible State"; and Article 5 provided that "Roumanians, without distinction of racial, linguistic or religious origin, shall enjoy liberty of conscience, liberty of education, liberty of the Press, liberty of assembly and of association, and every liberty and right established by the laws."

This is a most fallacious Article. It conveys the impression that, by granting rights equal to those enjoyed by the nationals belonging to the ruling race, the rights of the Minorities are guaranteed. Yet this formula is not a recognition of the rights of the Minorities, but the usual declaration of equality of

¹ *Desbat, Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 3742.

² *Ibid.*, 1925-1926, p. 364.

citizenship which can be found in most of the written constitutions of Europe. Equality before the law does not cover the equality of the national Minorities. The former is a general, the latter a special, law. Under the former all nationals are equal—that is, they all enjoy the rights which are established for the nationals of a state. The Report of the Special Committee on the Administrative Reform Bill, in 1925, contained the following statement: “The new Constitution has not recognized the nationalities of Roumania as political bodies, as distinct nationalities, but only as nationals of a different ethnical origin, different language and religion, to whom all rights and liberties are guaranteed which are secured to the nationals of Roumanian origin.”¹ They are all entitled to speak the official language, to apply to the Law Courts, to attend the State schools, etc. But the problem of the Minorities is not this equality. The right of the Minorities means *equal rights based on their racial, religious and linguistic distinctions*. As they are racially, religiously and linguistically different, so their rights relating to culture, language and creed must be different, not in quantity, but in quality. Equality to them means their right to use *their own* language, *their own* schools, to exercise *their own* creed, as distinguished from that of the Majority people. A stipulation granting general equality to all nationals is a rigid denial of all Minority rights. The Saxon Senator M. A. Polony, commenting on the above statement of the Report, said: “If the Roumanians have the right to use only the Roumanian language in the administration it would be a denial of equality, a privilege to allow the Minorities to use any other language. With this simple logic the right to their own mother-tongue is filched from the Minorities to whom, according to you, the Liberal Party, equality is granted.”²

This is that equality of the law which, as Anatole France says, forbids to millionaire and beggar alike to sleep underneath a bridge.

¹ *Desbat. Senatului*, 1924-1925, p. 908.

² *Ibid.*, n, 909.

In 1922, before the Constitution Bill was introduced in Parliament, M. N. Dascovici, professor of the Jassy University, explained it with great lucidity :

“ At the first glance the Minorities Treaty would seem to constitute exceptions in favour of the Minorities supplementing the individual rights recognized in an equal and uniform manner by all modern Constitutions as appertaining to every national of a State.

“ But, in fact, the enumeration and securing of the individual rights, which give so deceptive an appearance to the democratic-liberal Constitutions, make possible the greatest crimes against the Nationalities and Minorities.

“ The State, whether governed by a majority or by a minority, which acquired its domination through a complexity of historical circumstances, had regard only for the individual, whose person and freedom it respected. By taking no notice of the nationality of the individual, and of the living reality which forms nationality, the State followed its own purposes, effacing the different traits of the individual and trying to destroy thereby his nationality. Thus, invested with every individual right and liberty, the person was violated and oppressed in his most vital and conscious being—his nationality.” ¹

This is just what M. Brătianu wished, and at the end of the debate on the Constitution Bill he said : “ We regard the minority peoples as Roumanians, and only minorities in regard to their number ; they must not believe that as minorities they are entitled to privileges.” ²

During the debates on the Bill the Opposition parties were absent, because they did not recognize the Parliament then sitting as a constituent assembly. But, before leaving the Chamber, M. J. Sándor, the Hungarian member, made a powerful speech, in which he demanded that the rights of the Minorities should be enacted in the Constitution as they are embodied in

¹ N. Daşcovici : *Principiul naţionalităţilor şi Societatea Naţiunilor*, p. 186.

² *Debat, Deput.*, 1923, v, 1900.

the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions and in the Minorities Treaty. At the general debates only the Saxons, who had a pact with the Liberals, were present to represent the Minorities, and Senator Schullerus in the Senate, and M. A. Connert in the Second Chamber, proposed an identically worded amendment to Article 5 of the Constitution, demanding the substitution of "Roumanian citizen" for the simple "Roumanian." The original text sounds like an attempt at surreptitious elimination of the Minorities, who, though Roumanian citizens, are racially not Roumanians, but Hungarians, Saxons or Russians. In the name of the Government M. G. Mârzescu, Minister of Health, spoke against the alteration of the Article. The Constitution, he said, guarantees the rights of the Minorities; but "the Nationalities do not form unities different from the Roumanian nationality. In the organism of a united national State one single nationality exists, and that is the Roumanian."¹

It is evident from the above that the standpoint of the Liberals towards the Minorities differs widely from that of the Treaties; it has nothing to do with that recognition of the rights of the Minorities and that international control, which is the novel system of the Treaty.

It is not so easy to fix the standpoint of the National Party, which is composed mostly of Transylvanian Roumanians, for their actions do not correspond with their theories. As the framers of the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions, the basis of their policy is Article 3 of the latter. But during their administration in 1919 they did nothing to realize these promises; and when the Constitution Bill was introduced no demand for the enforcing of the Resolutions found expression from their side. They constantly underline their own virtue in being the authors of the Resolutions; but in practical life they are lukewarm and sometimes furiously hostile towards the Minorities; as, for example, after the Szászrégen election when the Hungarians had voted with the People's Party. During their administration

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 27th April 1923.

of Transylvania in the first year of the annexation they could have done much to hinder the budding of an oppressive policy, but they did nothing. "The standpoint of the National Party," wrote the *Patria*, in January 1924, "is that the rights of the Minorities must be respected, not out of love for them, but in the interest of the State. The Party maintains the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions, but will not permit the creation of a state within the State."

It is not difficult, however, to construe the theory of the Party. It has already been mentioned that its leader, M. Juliu Maniu, gave a lecture in the Sociological Institute of Bucarest, on 11th May 1924, about the problem of the Minorities, which is the weightiest contribution to the Minorities Question in Roumania. It was published in the collected essays of the Institute, "*Politica Externă a României*," under the title: *Problema Minorităților*. The theories embodied in it were approved by all the members of his party.

The conception of M. Maniu is as follows.

Roumania is a unitary and national, not a polyglot state, because its minorities are small in number and (according to him) nowhere to be found in a compact majority; they have no proper traditions, are unable to impose their will and their character on the State, and cannot influence its life in a noble and genuinely democratic direction.

The Gyulafehérvár Resolutions gave "full national rights to all peoples." The meaning of this, according to M. Maniu, is that "every people shall have political influence in the State in proportion to its numerical and social importance, and have the right to develop its racial peculiarities not only individually, but also collectively, through the right of association, the liberty of education in its own language, and by having its language respected in the public service, according to its geographic settlement." This does not, however (according to him), mean any separate political, administrative or judiciary autonomy for the Minorities.

M. Maniu follows up this somewhat hazy theorizing

with a detailed programme for the National State and for the Minorities.

As regards the first, he demands that the official language of the State shall be Roumanian in every connexion, in the civil and diplomatic services, in the army and with the railways; Roumanian shall be the language also of the educational institutions of the State, etc.

As regards the Nationalities—beyond the general equality before the laws embodied in the Constitution, their special civil and political rights must be guaranteed :

“(1) Liberty of association and liberty of the Press without previous permission and censoring must be granted.

“(2) Previous acts and regulations concerning the Churches must be maintained; the autonomy of the Churches in Transylvania and their right to establish and maintain schools must be secured, with the right to use their own language.

“(3) In non-denominational education the right for everyone to choose the school which he wishes to attend, and the language in which he wants to be instructed, must be respected.

“(4) The right to use their own language must not be limited in private and in commercial intercourse, in the Press and at public meetings. The Minorities must be entitled also to their own language in every public office, except where it is exceptionally prohibited. Every member of a Minority people may unrestrictedly use his language in the administration and in the judiciary. Equal participation in the Legislation, in the administration and the judiciary must be guaranteed.”

The rights of the Minorities were more simply and concisely formulated by Professor R. Boila, the legal authority of the National Party :

“The recognition of a person's right to his mother-tongue must be a principle of the new Constitution, even for the nationals of another race than the Roumanian. If in the new Constitution we guaranteed the

rights of the Minorities to their language in religious, educational, social and economic matters, and the right that under certain conditions the tribunals shall try them in their own language, and, if possible, by judges of their own, we have chosen the most liberal way for the solution of the question of the Minorities. By the recognition of these principles, which were fixed by the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions, we should give more than the stipulations imposed on the Roumanian State by the Minorities Treaty. But neither the Gyulafehérvár Conference nor we (the National Party) wish to go so far as to grant to the Nationalities the rights of a body politic, with autonomy and a separate territory.”¹

This conception marks an immense progress in comparison with the Liberal policy. But in real fact the National Party never did anything for its realization. In April 1926, after the fall of the Brătianu Government, when the King refused to let the National Party form an administration, and it found itself split and isolated, one of its leaders confessed remorsefully that “the party had failed to enforce the Resolutions and had constantly neglected to fix a programme concerning the Minorities.”²

It was when the Hungarians sought their welfare in a collaboration with the governing party that the Minorities policy of the National Party showed at its worst. Press organs and party leaders unanimously declared that, as a result of the pact, the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions had ceased to exist. “When the Hungarians concluded the pact they renounced the Resolutions,” declared M. Vajda. It is evident that the National Party regards the Resolutions as merely a party manifesto and not as the basis of a constructive Minorities policy. “When the Hungarians,” wrote the *Birvința*, “began to assert themselves in other ways than through the National Party, the authors of the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions simply went back on their word and declared that they would give the Minorities

¹ R. Boila : *Principiile constituției noi*, p. 383.

² *Idem*, loc. cit. April 1926.

nothing at all. They announced that the Resolutions were dead, and poured all their wrath into one sentence: 'The Hungarians have refused to vote with us, let them perish!'"¹

The position of General Averescu's People's Party was apparently similar. The party has members from the Old Kingdom who know nothing about Transylvania, as well as Transylvanian members. When General Averescu speaks of the Minorities he means the Jews, and touches the verge of antisemitism. On the other hand, when the present Home Secretary, Octavian Goga, himself a Transylvanian, speaks about them, he means the Transylvanian Minorities, and says to them: "Adapt yourself to the Roumanian State, recognize the immutable and supreme principle of its territorial integrity and you shall receive our respect for your national attributes. We do not wish to assimilate you, but we demand that you shall fit yourself into your surroundings."² But, although he was one of their framers, he has never recognized the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions, which he designated as "the vagary of a handful of men."

The People's Party was in office for nearly two years, in 1920 and 1921, and to this period are attached the most tragic memories of expulsions and evictions of Transylvanian Hungarians. The Ministers "studied" the Transylvanian Question with great zeal, constantly travelling all over the country; but the only result was the creation of a separate under-secretaryship for Transylvania. In the preamble of the Bill the reason for its creation was given as follows: "Greater Roumania, which unites all the Roumanians, contains also nationals differing in race, language and religion. In accordance with the tolerance which has always characterized our race, and with the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions, these must be treated in the same way, and have the same rights before the law and before the officials, as those who are Roumanian born. In default of a special link connecting the Government and the

¹ *Biruința*, 17th June 1926.

² *Debat. Demut.* 1924-1925. n. 9898.

Minorities, the affairs of the new citizens have not always found the solution most conducive to the universal interest."

To fill this gap, the under-secretaryship was organized. It was a hopeful beginning, but the sequel was not in accordance.

In February 1921 the Bill came before Parliament, and M. Argetoianu, the Home Secretary, explained the measure: "The under-secretaryship is not intended as an instrument for the defence of the Minorities, but as an organ which is to decide in the differences arising between them and the Government. It is to serve the counter-propaganda at home which is absolutely necessary against the propaganda carried on abroad by hostile elements against the unity of the State."

To Senator Nistor, who said that the Minorities believed the institution to have been organized in their interests, the Minister replied that they would soon find out their mistake. "In three months' time they will be demanding its abolition."

But this attitude of the Party gradually underwent a radical change when the management of the Minorities Question was assumed by M. Goga.

In October 1923 the so-called Pact of Csucsă was made between the People's Party and the representatives of the Hungarian Party. In it the most liberal treatment for the Hungarian Minority—the redress of the recognized grievances and adequate representation in Parliament and in administration—was promised. There is no more striking recognition of the grievances of the Hungarians than this Pact which promised their redress.

The Pact was relinquished at the end of 1925 by the Hungarian Party, but was renewed in April 1926, when General Averescu again came to power.

The most liberal party of Roumania is without doubt the Taranist or Peasant Party, which is imbued with radical ideas and has many eminent leaders and members. Being mostly recruited from the Old Kingdom, they do not perhaps feel so deeply the importance of the Minorities problem: consequently

they do not speak so much about it, nor do their opinions always agree. When the private Education Bill came up in the House, in December 1925, M. Teodor Jacobescu, after stating that it was impossible to assimilate the Minorities and force them to change their nationality, read the following declaration of the Party :

“The Party cannot vote for the Bill which diminishes the rights of the Minorities secured in the Constitution and in the Resolutions of the different provinces.

“The Party recognizes the right of the racial minorities to organize themselves into communities for the purpose of securing within the Roumanian State their cultural interests and instruction in their mother-tongue, the State being obliged to contribute equitably to the expenses.

“A control shall be exercised according to the interests of the State.”¹

These principles, which are in accordance with the Minorities Treaty, are probably a part of the Peasant Party's programme. It is probable, also, that its feeling concerning the Minorities was truly expressed by M. Virgil Madgearu, who, a few weeks before M. Jacobescu's speech, declared that, since the securing of the rights of the Minorities must form an integral part of the Constitution, the existence of a special Minorities policy is senseless, and that it is impossible for all the members of a Minority people to belong to one and the same party. Political differentiation can only be based on class distinction, and the members of the Minorities must join those parties to which they are bound by their class interests. For example, “the interests of the Roumanian, Hungarian, Saxon and Russian workmen being similar, they must belong to the same Party.”²

Of the standpoint of the Hungarian and Saxon Minorities there is not much to be said. They stand on the basis of the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions and

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1925-1926, p. 794.

² *Uj Kelet*, 12th November 1925.

the Minorities Treaty and, so far, have had to fight a desperate fight against the Roumanizing policy of the Liberals.

The fate of the Minorities is closely connected with that of the Governments, but up till now no changes in the latter have wrought any corresponding changes for them. From the Liberals nothing can be expected but oppression and denationalization; nor have the other administrations been in accord with the principles laid down in their programme. Whether the new administration of the People's Party will have the moral force to fulfil its spiritual programme, and stand by the pact made with the Hungarian and Saxon Minorities, is a question not easily answered. In Roumania programmes and promises, signatures and obligations are not taken very seriously.

But the problem is there and must be solved.

In an essay on the Minority policy, Professor Trajan Bratu wrote: "Whether we like it or not, we have racial and religious minorities in our country which form one-third of the total and one-half of the town population. We can neither destroy them, nor force them to leave the country. It is evident that the interest of our country demands that we should live in harmony with them, not estrange them and turn them into enemies. This is the reality which we must not forget when we reflect on the future of our race."¹

Undoubtedly there is plenty of wisdom to be found in Roumania concerning this great problem of the twentieth century. The gravity of the situation lies in the fact that she does not follow her own wisdom, but is trying to solve the question according to the methods of the past.

¹ T. Bratu : *Politica națională față de minorități*, p. 12.

CHAPTER III

DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS AND ROUMANIZING POLICY

It is not yet fifty years since, in February 1880, Roumania was recognized as an independent state by England, France and Germany. At that time it was a small and insignificant country, with probably less than five million inhabitants.

Thirty years later, according to the census of 1912—the last one held in Roumania—the number of her population was 7,234,920, on a territory of 140,350 square kilometres.

After the Great War, Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia were annexed by Roumania, and a population of 8,449,643, and a territory extending over 156,804 square kilometres, were transferred to her. Both her territory and her population were more than doubled, the present figures being 15,684,563 inhabitants and 297,155 square kilometres of territory. Not one of the Allied Powers came out of the war with such an immense aggrandisement, both in population and territory—an aggrandisement which, as General Polivanow remarked, is “obviously out of proportion with her share in the military operations.”¹

In the pre-war Roumanian kingdom, usually called the Regat, 93·47 per cent. of the population was Roumanian, the rest mostly members of a Jewish minority.² Roumania was a National State *par excellence*.

In consequence of the annexation of the new provinces this racial proportion has undergone an enormous change.

As no census has been held in the Regat and in Bessarabia since before the war, and as the census

¹ J. W. Temperley: *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, iv., p. 515.

² *Statistica demografică a României*, p. 68.

made by the Roumanians in Transylvania and in the Bukovina served a definite purpose, the figures given by the various Roumanian statistical offices and Roumanian statesmen are absolutely unreliable.¹

A Transylvanian Roumanian statistician, M. Em. D. B. Vasiliu, complained that Roumanian statistical methods, although very pretentious, have fundamental defects, the chief of which is the want of good faith which manifests itself in hiding the disagreeable facts, so that, as he states, "it is quite impossible to discover the real situation." As an example, he mentions that since 1899 no returns were made in Roumania as regards the racial and religious distribution of the population. He might have added that figures concerning the devastations of consumption, alcoholism, etc., are equally wanting.²

Two large statistical works have appeared in the last years containing returns concerning Transylvania, *The Dictionary of Transylvania, the Bândt and the other Annexed Territories*, by C. Martinovici and N. Istrati, and *The Statistics of Education in United Roumania*, by G. Teodoru, who is the Director of the Statistical Bureau of the Educational Department. Both have been criticized very unfavourably, the former by Dr E. Jakabffy, in *The Magyar Kisebbség*, and in a few articles in the *Ellenzék*, the latter by Professor Ghibu, in a book published by the Societatea de Mâine. What can be the scientific value of a statistical work, the author of which, as Professor Ghibu states, "ignores the unity of Roumania . . . has no exact knowledge of the nuances and the names of the denominations in the country," and "confounds the conception of nationality with that of confession and mother-tongue"? For example, M. Teodoru speaks of the "Protestant religion" (which does not

¹ One of the best examples of the unreliability of the figures quoted by Roumanian politicians is the speech of M. Leonte Moldovan, rapporteur of the Administration Reform Bill in May 1925. It can safely be said that not one of his statements concerning Roumanian or Hungarian statistical data or historic facts is true.—*Desbat. Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 3524, etc.

² Em. D. B. Vasiliu : *Situația demografică a României*, pp. 10, 14.

exist as a unit), instead of Presbyterians, Lutherans, Unitarians, etc., and of "Catholics"—neglecting to tell that in Transylvania there are Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics. The entire organization of statistical research is bad.¹ But when M. Elemér Fakabffy, a Hungarian, compiled a comprehensive statistical account of Transylvania, the Government promptly seized the book and prohibited its distribution.

In 1922 the number of the inhabitants in the four parts of Greater Roumania, according to Roumanian returns, was the following :

Regat	7,770,000
Bessarabia	2,665,000
Bukovina	835,000
Transylvania	5,230,000
Total	16,500,000

Out of this total population there were :

	<i>Per cent.</i>
Roumanians	74·0
Hungarians	8·4
Germans	4·8
Russians	3·8
Bulgarians	1·5
Turks	1·0
Jews	5·0
Others	2·0 ²

These figures are entirely misleading. All impartial Roumanians admit that in actual fact one-third of Roumania's population belongs to the racial Minorities. Notwithstanding this, great importance is attached to these figures by Roumanian politicians. According to them, the question whether Roumania is a national or a polyglot State depends on the proportion between the dominating race and the Minorities, and it is on the answer to this question that the Minorities policy of Roumania must be founded.

¹ O. Ghibu: *Cea dintâi statistica a învățământului din România, întregită*, and the *Societatea de Măine*, 22nd February 1925.

² *Buletinul statistic a României*, 1924, No. 1.

The further removed a country is from the type of a polyglot State, and the nearer to that of a national one, the less important as an independent problem will be the question of the Minorities. Once the Roumanian statesmen are satisfied that a majority of 70 per cent. constitutes a "National State," and that Roumania has this majority, they will agree to base their policy on the numerical proportion represented by the "National State" and to disregard the Minorities policy, as embodied in the Minorities Treaty. Or, in other words, they will regard their oppression of the Minorities as justified by their conception of Roumania as a "National State." They wish to treat the right of the Minorities as a question of degree and not as a dogma.

This idea has found expression in an essay by M. Vintila Brătianu, late Minister of Finance :

"The first principle which must inspire the new Constitution is that it shall preserve the united national character of the 'National State' to which we are entitled by the overwhelming majority of our race. It is all the more necessary to settle this point, as an endeavour has been made to weaken this national character by means of the Minorities Treaty, and to turn Greater Roumania, with the aid of promises which were fortunately not kept, into a new and ill-fated Austria-Hungary. The principle of the National State does not preclude the normal life of the inhabitants of other languages being secured by certain conditions. . . . We can do this, not only because the Minorities are divided from us by their language, culture and interests, but also because the Roumanian people has in numerous cases proved its assimilating faculty and its power of racial resistance." ¹

This same theory is accepted by nearly all the Roumanian statesmen and political writers, who formulate it in a more or less aggressive manner, and it was embodied also in the new Constitution which declares that "Roumania is a National State, unitary

¹ V. J. Brătianu : "Noua constituție României" in *Nevoile statului modern și constituție României Mari.*, pp. 27-28.

and indivisible." In it the conception of a Minority right has no place.

It is not easy, however, to fix the percentage where the national character of a State ends and the polyglot type begins. Tangible numerical majority is the weakest test of the importance of the races composing a State. The important point is the cultural and human preponderance of a people; its history and traditions, its feats in the past and its civilizing faculty and moral worth in the present. This is also confessed by many Roumanian politicians. Yet, when they compare the value of the nationalities, they always return to the numerical basis, the only one on which they can build up their chimera of the "National State."

Nothing, however, shows more plainly that the question is one of political opportunism than the fact that, when the conception of the polyglot State better serves some political purpose, Roumania is ranged among the polyglot and not the national states.

Professor Ghibu, for instance, whose important book will be dealt with later, states unhesitatingly that "Roumania is to-day the most polyglot State, and in addition has also the greatest number of denominations; national and religious unity is in no State so weak as in our country, where, consequently, national and religious struggles are the order of the day."¹

The figures so far given concern the whole of post-war Roumania. The following statistics show the desolate picture of a country in which two peoples—the Hungarians and the Germans, forming nearly half of the population and standing on an immensely higher cultural level than the rest—have been delivered over to

¹ O. Ghibu: *Catholicismul unguresc în Transilvania și politica religioasă a statului Român*, p. 1. It must be admitted that a few Roumanian authors, realizing the situation of Roumania, are anxious to construct a conception of the State in which the Minorities could take their due place. Thus for example Dr J. Lemény, who proposed as Articles in the Constitution: "The Roumanian Kingdom is a national State with minorities, unitary and indivisible," or "The Roumanian Kingdom is a national, unitary and indivisible State. The following nationalities will be recognized . . . etc." In articles: "Nation, Nationalstaat und Minderheit," in the *Kronstädter Zeitung*, 4th April 1924, and "Problema Minorităților," in the *Adevărul*, 9th March 1924.

the domination of a people which has not contributed a single monument to the culture and civilization of that country, and whose only claim was its majority of 6 per cent. over the rest of the population, plus a hypothetical descent from a people who ruled the country two thousand years ago. Later chapters will show the methods by which the old civilization of these large Minorities, and the Minorities themselves, are being destroyed and the country dragged down to the level of the Balkans.

According to the Hungarian census of 1910, the racial distribution of the population of the annexed Hungarian territories was as follows :

		<i>Per cent.</i>
Hungarians . . .	1,704,851	32·5
Germans . . .	559,824	10·6
Slovaks . . .	30,932	0·6
Roumanians . . .	2,800,073	53·2
Ruthenians . . .	16,318	0·3
Croats . . .	2,141	..
Serbs . . .	54,874	1·1
Others . . .	96,431	1·8

The religious distribution of the population corresponded fairly exactly to the racial distribution. The Hungarians are mostly Roman Catholics or Protestants of some denomination, the Germans Lutherans, and the Roumanians without exception Greek Orthodox or Greek Catholics (Uniates). The figures are the following :

		<i>Per cent.</i>
Roman Catholics . . .	1,007,603	19·1
Presbyterians . . .	719,162	13·7
Unitarians . . .	68,763	1·3
Lutherans . . .	262,732	5·0
Greek Catholics . . .	1,233,749	23·4
Greek Orthodox . . .	1,789,776	34·0
Jews . . .	178,871	3·4
Others . . .	4,788	0·1

The above Tables show a slight majority of 6 per cent. of the Roumanian population above the other

races. If numbers alone justify the transference of a territory, and if a majority of 6 per cent. justifies the destruction of an old civilization, then the annexation of Transylvania by Roumania was a legitimate one. But there are other aspects of the question—that of civilization and its bearers in a country.

A few statistical data will show the cultural disparity of the three races.

In Transylvania the percentage of those who could read and write was the following :

	In 1880	In 1890	In 1900	In 1910
Of the whole population . . .	21·3	27·5	35·3	42·8
Hungarians . . .	31·3	41·6	51·3	59·9
Saxons . . .	63·4	68·0	73·2	75·9
Roumanians . . .	9·0	13·7	20·0	27·9

The responsibility for the high percentage of Roumanian illiteracy rests with the Roumanians themselves. Education in Transylvania was entirely denominational till 1880, and even later the schools were mostly in the hands of the Churches. In the other Roumanian provinces, which were not under Hungarian or Austrian rule before the war, illiteracy is even more widespread. In Bessarabia the percentage of those who could read and write was, according to a Roumanian author,¹ the following :

	<i>Per cent.</i>
Germans	63·5
Poles	55·6
Jews	49·6
White Russians	42·3
Great Russians	35·9
Bulgarians	31·4
Turks	21·1
Ukrainians	15·3
Roumanians	10·5

In the Old Kingdom the situation is similar. On the occasion of introducing the Elementary School Education Bill in Parliament, in 1924, M. Angelescu, Minister

¹ Dr P. Caracu: "Moldova dintre Pruth si Nistru sub imperiul rus" in *Viața Românească*, 1923, No. 10, p. 188.

of Education, laid a statement before the House, according to which 67 per cent. of the population of the kingdom cannot read and write.

According to a Roumanian statistician¹ the educational institutions in the four Roumanian provinces were distributed in 1919 as follows :

<i>Schools</i>	<i>Old Kingdom</i>	<i>Transylvania</i>	<i>Bessarabia</i>	<i>Bukovina</i>
Kindergarten . . .	229	645	..	..
Elementary . . .	5339	5,631	1392	493
Repeating . . .	..	3,561	..	..
Agricultural . . .	..	1,002	..	..
Middle . . .	145	235	..	..
Universities and High	7	18	..	1
Total	5720	11,392	1479 (?)	517 (?)

Number of population :

<i>Old Kingdom</i>	<i>Transylvania</i>	<i>Bessarabia</i>	<i>Bukovina</i>
7,234,563	5,208,345	2,441,200	800,098

It is a curious fact that the great number of Roumanian illiterates is in no proportion to the number of schools. In 1914 the distribution of the elementary schools in Transylvania was :

<i>Schools</i>	
State	1306
Parish	398
Roman Catholic	409
Presbyterian	325
Lutheran	268
Unitarian	28
Greek Orthodox	1157
Greek Catholic	955
Jewish	31
Others	51
Total	4928

¹ Gh. Adamescu : *Problemele fundamentale al învățământului în România Mare*, 1919. That the figures of the "total" do not correspond with the detailed figures is only a usual phenomenon of Roumanian statistical methods.

State, parish and denominational schools were at the disposal of the Transylvanian Roumanians, so that their illiteracy can only be explained by the fact that the children did not attend the schools, and that their schools were perhaps not adequate. "No threat of punishment could overcome the indifference and the obstinacy of the parents and make them send their children to school," said M. Angelescu concerning the Roumanians of the kingdom in the preamble of the above-mentioned Bill.

The distribution of the secondary school scholars according to their mother-tongue was :

		<i>Per cent.</i>
Hungarians	7140	59·9
Germans	1992	16·7
Roumanians	2743	23·0
Others	35	0·4

In Transylvania there was only one university—a Hungarian one, in Kolozsvár—with Chairs for the German and the Roumanian languages and literatures. The number of the students in 1914 was :

		<i>Per cent.</i>
Hungarians	1785	84
Germans	101	5
Roumanians	215	10
Others	18	1

An important test of the cultural level is the knowledge of languages.

According to the census of 1910, 28 per cent. of the Hungarians spoke German or Roumanian, 34 per cent. of the Saxons Hungarian, while only 11·8 per cent. of the Roumanians spoke Hungarian, although Hungarian was the official language of the State. These figures show the unfairness of the accusation of a "brutal nationalist" policy constantly levelled against Hungarian administration by the Roumanian leaders in the past. It might be said that the reverse was true. A Roumanian author, M. Russu Sirianu, boasts in his book, *The Roumanians in Hungary*, that more than three hundred Magyar and Saxon villages have

been Roumanized in the course of the nineteenth century.¹

The disparity of culture among the three races is traceable also in their economic life. The following Table shows the proportion of the races in the principal professions :

	<i>Hun- garians</i>	<i>Germans</i>	<i>Rou- manians</i>
Agriculturists	26·7	7·0	64·9
Merchants, artisans, private and railway employees . . .	54·6	14·4	27·1
Civil Servants	59·4	14·6	0·3
Military service	48·0	15·5	34·1
Labourers	36·1	2·8	53·5

As regards the territorial distribution of the races the Hungarians occupy the plains and the hilly country as well as the river valleys. The Saxons built their towns and villages in the fertile hills in the south and north-east, while the Roumanians live in the surrounding high mountains which are more adapted to a pastoral than to an agricultural life. The larger a town or a village, the smaller its proportion of Roumanian inhabitants. Of the forty more important towns on the transferred territories only the six smallest have a Roumanian majority. This is so everywhere in the kingdom—in the Regat as well as in Bessarabia and in the Bukovina. The Roumanians are *par excellence* the pastoral people of the mountains, far from the towns and their cultural influence. M. Petru Suciū, a Roumanian sociologist, gives a vivid description of the situation of the Roumanians in the Transylvanian towns during the last decades of Hungarian rule :

“ Since 1870, nearly all the Transylvanian towns have, as regards the language, given the impression of purely Hungarian places. They are full of denationalized (Saxon) and adapted elements (Jews). The work of denationalizing was done by the local Hungarian officials, who had their origin in the town

¹ R. Sirianu : *Românii din statul ungar*, p. 198.

population, and by the cultural institutions and the offices. The most ardent champions of the 'Kulturkampf' were the Jews.

"Inadaptable was the Roumanian element: not so much in consequence of a conscious racial resistance, as in consequence of its cultural isolation. It was from their numbers that the servants, labourers and workmen were recruited. The more intelligent strata of the Roumanians, artisans, merchants, officials, overpowered by the seductive mirage of town life and being without the cultural strength needed for a national resistance, lost first their language in private intercourse, and, later, even their Roumanian character. But of a denationalization of the Roumanian elements of the towns there cannot be any question. They were only isolated islands, caused by the pressure of forces and the circumstances of life. The employer only wants the work of the servant and the workman; the State demands also the language of the official. The Roumanian element in the towns formed by servants and labourers was very little influenced by the epidemic of denationalization."¹

Yet the Hungarian character of the towns is not the result of an artificial denationalization but of the cultural, civilizing influence of the towns themselves. No aspect of the demographic conditions proves more clearly the cultural inferiority of the Roumanians.

"The towns," writes M. Ėm. D. B. Vasiliu, "are, in consequence of the concentration of all branches of human activity and of cultural institutions of a country, the true revealers of the value which a nation has contributed to human culture and civilization.

"But what of original and truly national can be contributed by our towns, in which only 28 per cent. of the population—and that only the poorest—represents Roumanian culture and civilization, while the rest stand for a foreign culture and civilization?"²

According to the same author, the relation of the Roumanian and non-Roumanian population in

¹ P. Sueiu : *Probleme ardelene*, p. 19.

² Ėm. D. B. Vasiliu : *Situția demografică a României*, p. 81.

the forty-one largest towns of Transylvania was—668,700 non-Roumanians and 126,150 (*i.e.* 18 per cent.) Roumanians.

This situation is very disquieting for the Roumanians. In 1923 the Infrățirea complained that "five years after the foundation of Greater Roumania the towns have still a distinctly Hungarian character, which in some has even become accentuated." The Roumanization of the towns is therefore one of the corner-stones of their Nationalist policy.¹ "Our minority, as against the majority of the alien elements in the towns," writes M. Vasiliu, "is not only a misfortune of the present, but also an irremediable calamity for the future. The danger is that, while the aliens increase, because their birth-rate exceeds their death-rate, the Roumanians are decreasing by a significant deficit." According to the figures of the *Serviciul regional*, the increase of the races during the last four years was—Roumanians, 9·92 per thousand; "other Christians" (*i.e.* Hungarians and Germans), 12·54; and Jews, 13·35. The general decrease of the Roumanian race is a well-known fact also to the Roumanian statesmen; it was mentioned as a deplorable phenomenon by Professor Jorga in the House.²

Even more unfavourable for the Roumanians are the figures relating to the town population, which shows a general decadence of the towns under Roumanian rule. According to the calculation of a writer in a Roumanian paper, *Patria*, the increase of the races in the nine largest towns of Transylvania was—Roumanians, 0·29 per mille; "other Christians," 2·94; Jews, 6·39.³ In one town, Dés, the "other Christians" show a small increase of 1·30 per thousand, while the Roumanians show a decrease of 3·80 per thousand. In seventeen formerly flourishing towns a general decadence can be traced. They are mostly those

¹ See the illuminating articles of Professor G. Bogdan Duica: "Orașele Ardealului," in the *Societatea de Măine*, and M. Suciș's and M. Vasiliu's above-quoted works.

² *Desbat. Deput.*, 1925, p. 3527.

³ *Desbat.* 21st August 1924.

with a larger Roumanian population—Abrudbánya, Beszterce, Déva, Fogaras, Lugos, etc.¹

The cause of the slow increase—or in some cases decrease—of the Roumanian population is the miserable hygienic and moral conditions under which they live. Whereas in Denmark 9 persons out of 10,000 die of tuberculosis, the corresponding number in Roumania is 37.² Alcoholism, too, must account for some of it. According to Dr Manuila there are, on the annexed Transylvanian territories, 18,572 public-houses, which would mean one public-house to 70 adults. "What quantity of alcohol these 70 men must consume," exclaims Dr Manuila, "to enable the owners to exist, to pay the heavy excises, and in most cases even to enrich themselves."³ This question of the doctor's was answered by Under-Secretary Banu, who stated that whereas in the Scandinavian countries 2 litres of alcohol are consumed annually per person, in Roumania 150 litres is the corresponding quantity.

In a very instructive article in the Church paper, *Crucea*, an Orthodox priest, Joan Mangu, gives the following description of the moral situation of his parishioners in the village of Germanești:

"The Sundays and the holidays serve for most people only for roistering and drinking, which they begin in the morning and continue for two days. It is well known that the Sunday rest is not respected in this country. I called the attention of the gendarmes and authorities to the state of the public-houses, but in vain. They said they could do nothing. This is easy to explain: every political party has its own public-house in the parish; in Germanești there are three for a population of 1197. Being a priest, I have done my duty and have spoken and preached against drinking. But the temptation is at every cross-road and the evil is too deep-rooted for my counsels to bear fruit. Worst of all, the women drink together with their husbands. There are some who drink even on

¹ *Buletinul statistic*, 1924, No. 1., p. 78.

² These figures were given by M. Gh. Banu, Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Public Health, *Biruința*, 5th February 1927.

³ *Societatea de Măine*, ii. 7.

work-days, and if they have no money, give hay or linen or what they have in payment.”¹

The Roumanians entertain the hope of ameliorating their position in the towns by drawing thither the village population. If they believe that this is desirable, and that deserted villages will be for the benefit of the country, it is their own affair. They are entitled to use suicidal methods in the interest of their Nationalist policy.

The demographic situation of the Roumanian people was concisely summed up by M. Em. D. B. Vasiliu, under the following points:

“1. The Roumanian population is mixed with two categories of alien people:

(a) Colonists who came among them during the centuries of foreign rule, and

(b) Jews immigrating from the East.

“2. Both categories are settled both in the towns and in the villages, but mostly in the former, in which they are in a majority.

“3. Both in the towns and in the villages the changes of the population are unfavourable to the Roumanians—in the towns their number is decreasing, that of the aliens increasing; while in the villages the increase of the aliens is greater than that of the Roumanians.

“4. While the aliens of both categories dominate exclusively in economic and agricultural life, the Roumanians, being officials and peasants, are poor.

“5. The result of this state of affairs will be an irremediable national disaster in the future.”

Different remedies are suggested by M. Vasiliu against these two kinds of evil.

In the annexed provinces—in Transylvania, in Bessarabia and in the Bukovina—there are large territories with compact masses of “other Christian” racial minorities, Hungarians, Germans, Russians and Bulgarians. “These minorities are assimilable and must be put under the terror and the influence of the original population, and made to understand that the logical solution of their fatal isolation—their

assimilation with us—is merely a belated result of the immanent and merciless justice of the events which introduced them into our body.”

As for the Jews, the first measure must be to prevent their immigration—but also a comprehensive policy must be framed to destroy their increase and predominance in the country.¹

The denationalization of the Minorities through the medium of the schools and of the administration, even if relentlessly pursued, is a slow and insecure process. Artificial measures must therefore be applied; these territories must be populated with Roumanian settlers and the undesirable “aliens,” *străini*, as the Roumanians call the non-Roumanian minorities, must be forced to emigrate. A leading Roumanian statesman said to M. H. O. Roth, the Saxon member of Parliament: “We are going to annihilate you, Saxons and Suabians; as for the Hungarians, we shall gradually make the country too hot to hold them.”²

In 1922 a Roumanian association in the southern districts, the “Casa de Educație Națională,” acknowledged with distressed candour that the Treaties of Saint-Germain and Trianon had annexed 4,000,000 non-Roumanians as against 5,000,000 Roumanians on the transferred territories. The Roumanian “National State” is far from being a reality. The Association worked out a plan according to which Roumanians living outside the Roumanian kingdom should be induced to return and settle in the territories inhabited by racial Minorities. There are Roumanian-speaking peoples in the Bánát, “robbed” by the Yugoslavs, Kutzo Vlachs in Macedonia and Albania, and Roumanians on the shores of the Bug in Russia. The latter, it is true, have since founded the Moldavian Soviet Republic instead of hastening to join Greater Roumania; but there are also a few hundred thousand Roumanians in the United States who could be asked to return. The remigrating people should be settled in Bessarabia, in the county of Hoțin, which is purely

¹ Em. D. B. Vasiliu : *Situația demografică a României*, p. 101.

² *Kronstädter Zeitung*, 28th December 1924.

Ukranian, in the Saxon districts of Transylvania, and chiefly in the unmixed Székely districts of Eastern Transylvania, in the mountains of Harghita. Thus the force of the Minorities could be broken.

A similar plan was expounded by M. J. Maniu in his "Problem of the Minorities," in Article 10 of his programme for a constructive policy of Greater Roumania.¹

By the Agrarian Reform Act the Government actually did start a colonizing policy. On the western frontier of Transylvania, which is contiguous to Hungary, large strips of land with a big Hungarian majority had been transferred to Roumania. That is why M. A. Vajda-Voivod, the late Prime Minister, said in a lecture, given in Bucarest on 3rd February 1925, that the western frontiers of Roumania towards Hungary were bad—there being no natural and no racial frontiers—and that they must be improved by means of colonization; and that is why the Roumanian Government started colonizing these purely Hungarian districts.²

During 1924 the Government distributed 18,000 acres in the county of Szatmár among 1000 Roumanian families, and two villages were founded—one in memory of the eighteenth-century Roumanian rebel, Hora, the other in that of L. Lucaciu, a late Roumanian politician. In the county of Bihar, in an unmixed Hungarian district, a Roumanian village, New Skerisora was founded with 200 Roumanian families brought from the western mountains. To the county of Temes, Roumanians from Hunyad and Szeben were transferred to counterbalance the Suabian and Serb population. In March 1925, 960 families were transferred to these districts from the mountains of Torda Aranyos.

Up to the present the colonization has not been a great success. Apparently the pastoral hill-dwellers

¹ *Problema Minorităților*, p. 18.

² "Problema frontierei românești" in the *Politica externă a României*. A more valuable contribution to the question is Dr Karl Braunias' article, "Das Minderheitenproblem als rumänisches Grenzproblem," in the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, 1920, 10, p. 754.

are not going to prove good agriculturists, and they are not happy on the plains.¹

Besides, the incompetence and corruption shown in every other branch of the administration characterize also the colonizing action of the Government.

In May 1925 M. Mihai Popovici questioned the Government about the fate of fifty colonists who, in the autumn of 1924, had sold their farms and equipments in Valeni, in the north of Transylvania, and had travelled to the southern county of Temes, where they had been promised land. They arrived at the beginning of the winter, when no agricultural work could be done, and were left to kick their heels and eat up their small capital, till, a few weeks later, they were told that they had been summoned to Temes by mistake and that they were really destined for a northern district in the county of Szatmár. They left for that place. But when they arrived it transpired that there was no land for them there, and they were told to return home, where they had sold everything. The Minister, of course, answered that he would see to it that these wanderers were indemnified; but the case remains to show in what manner such vital questions are handled by the Roumanian authorities.

The Government was not satisfied with these results of their Roumanizing policy. The Roumanians of the Soviet Republic, and those who have emigrated to the United States, showed considerable reluctance to return. During the years of 1918 to 1920 only 21,610 Roumanians returned from America, while already in 1920 emigration from the kingdom had begun.²

In 1920 a common ordinance of the Home Secretary and of the War Office appeared under No. 11,109-920, permitting Hungarians liable to compulsory military service to emigrate to Hungary, and Jews to America. The latter were discharged even if actually in the army. They had to declare that they left the country of their own free will and would never return. It is not known how many left in consequence of this

¹ *Cuvântul*, 27th February 1923.

² Șerban Drutzu : *Românii în America*, p. 15.

ordinance, but the temptation of being liberated from military service, in a foreign army with a brutal system of drilling, must have been great.

Two years later the expatriation of the Hungarians was organized on a much larger scale, and on a basis on which the perpetrators came into collision with penal law. Shipping companies and emigration agencies were founded under the auspices of the Government to induce the Hungarians and Suabians to emigrate. It was an illegal and immoral act, as the law in Transylvania prohibits inducement to emigration. The details of this swindle, one of the biggest and meanest in post-war Europe, will be told in a following chapter. They will throw a glaring light on the situation of the Minorities.

The following returns for the year of 1924 illustrate the result of the Government's action in its full enormity :

NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO LEFT FOR OVERSEAS
COUNTRIES ¹

	<i>Regat</i>	<i>Transylvania</i>	<i>Bessarabia</i>	<i>Bukovina</i>
Total of population .	7,770,000	5,230,000	2,665,000	835,000
Emigrants	811	18,015	1,425	2,361

Such is the demographic situation in present Transylvania. Hitherto the policy of the Government has been distinctly hostile to the Minorities. But there are Roumanians who appreciate the value of their presence and civilizing influence in the country. Dr J. Lemeny, an eminent Roumanian author, lays stress on the fact that morally and culturally Transylvania is on a much higher level than the Old Kingdom. "Roumania," he writes, "is to-day a rich country with great resources and possibilities of growth and progress, a fact for the greater part of which she must be grateful to the Minorities—the Hungarians, Germans and Russians." ²

¹ *Statistica anuală a României*, 1924, vii. 1a.

² Dr J. Lemeny: "Problema minorităților" in *Adevărul*, 9th March 1924.

Unfortunately the policy of the Roumanian Governments follows other paths.

M. Emil Dandea, Roumanian mayor of the purely Hungarian town of Marosvásárhely, concluded his Report concerning the administration of the town in 1924 with the following words, which contain the entire Minority policy of the Roumanians :

"When I close my eyes, I see with my spiritual vision the contours of the Roumanian cathedral which rises in the midst of the square. I see the streets and the vast square crowded with Roumanian workmen and Roumanian intelligentsia, who have immigrated from the provinces to do productive work here ; I see the hundreds of Roumanian scholars of the present who, to-morrow, will occupy the leading places due to them in administration, industry and commerce.

"In a word, I see the future Marosvásárhely : the Roumanian Marosvásárhely ! . . ." ¹

This tragic dream of the simple mayor of a Hungarian town is dreamt by all the Roumanians about Hungarian Transylvania.

¹ V. P. Râmniceanu : "Orașele noastre," in the *Țara Noastră*, 1925, No. 38.

CHAPTER IV

AFTER THE OCCUPATION

IN the autumn of 1918, after the collapse of the Central Powers, a Republican Government was installed in Hungary. The monarchy was abolished, revolutionary ideas prevailed, and utter confusion reigned throughout the country. National and military councils were formed which paralysed the administration and were themselves unable to maintain order. Soldiers of the disbanded regiments and prisoners of war, tainted with Bolshevism, came flooding back from the fronts and from Russia, and pillaged the country. By the end of November irregular Roumanian troops began to penetrate into Transylvania.

On the 18th of November the revolutionary Károlyi Government concluded an armistice with the French General, Franchet d'Esperey, in Belgrade. It was stipulated that the Hungarian troops in Transylvania should retire, and that the River Maros, which cuts the country into two equal sections, should be the demarcation line. The Allied Powers were to occupy the evacuated districts, but "the civil administration remains in the hands of the present [Hungarian] Government."

In November King Ferdinand mobilized the Roumanian army, and in an Order of the Day, which did not sound like the command for a mere advance as far as the demarcation line, he summoned his soldiers "to realize the old dream of the unity of all the Roumanians." By the beginning of 1919 the whole of Transylvania and a strip of Hungary proper, up to the line which was held by the Hungarian troops, was occupied. In Hungary a Bolshevik Government was installed at the end of March, and the small Hungarian force which had defended the last western line of Transylvania was disbanded. In April the

Roumanians invaded the whole territory fixed by the Secret Treaty of 1916.

From the very first the Roumanians regarded the Belgrade Military Convention as non-existent. Some of them, chiefly in the Regat, held the theory that, by virtue of the Secret Treaty, Transylvania was transferred to Roumania and that by its invasion by the Roumanian army it became a conquered land. Others maintained that it was united with the kingdom by the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions. It would be difficult, however, to harmonize either of these contentions with International Law and with the stipulations of actual international contracts.

It is true that Article 3 of the Secret Treaty acknowledged the right of Roumania to annex certain territories of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. But this right was only an abstract one. Article 5 said that the "Allied Powers undertake that *at the Peace Treaty* the territories . . . *shall be attached to Roumania*"—not sooner, that is, than after the conclusion of the Treaty. But, as has been said before, even this abstract right became extinct when, contrary to her obligation not to make a separate peace with the Central Powers, Roumania concluded the Peace of Bucarest. The Secret Treaty could afford no basis for the annexation of Transylvania.

It was by signing the Treaty of Trianon, on 4th June 1920, that Hungary renounced her rights over Transylvania and recognized it as part of the Roumanian kingdom. But the Roumanians had marched into that defenceless country already, at the end of 1918, just as they had invaded exhausted Bulgaria at the close of the Balkan War.

The policy of the subsequent Roumanian Governments was uncertain and opportunistic to a degree. In certain cases they acted as if the occupied territories were already a part of Roumania; in other cases, when such a course seemed more advantageous, they treated Transylvania as if it were still Hungarian territory. In December 1918 M. S. Pop-Csicsó, one of the members of the Transylvanian Governing Council,

declared that "the Hungarian administration of the country will not be impaired by the Roumanian occupation; it will remain Hungarian till the peace conferences end, but it will be under Roumanian control."¹ But in fact it was not so. Ordinance No. 1085 of the Roumanian Railway administration, issued on 11th February 1919, one month after the King's proclamation of the unity, speaks of Transylvania as of "a territory occupied by the Roumanian army." In 1921, Ordinance No. 19477 of the Foreign Minister declared that Roumania's sovereignty over the transferred territories dates retrospectively from 1st December 1918, the date of the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions; which means an extension of the sovereignty even over such territories as were then still unoccupied. What the purpose of this senseless Ordinance was, is unknown outside the frontiers of Roumania.

As the occupation progressed, the situation became more and more confused.

The Hungarian Government, relying on the stipulations of the Military Convention, appointed M. Stephen Apáthy, Professor of the Kolozsvár University, High Commissioner of Transylvania, on 6th December 1918.

On 24th December, King Ferdinand, in flagrant violation of the same convention, issued a decree, No. 3632, which placed certain branches of the administration of the country in the hands of the Governing Council of Transylvania, while other sections—such as military administration, the administration of the railways, posts, customs, police, etc.—were transferred to the Roumanian Government in Bucarest. On the 15th of January the Hungarian Chief Commissioner was arrested and sentenced by a court martial to five years' imprisonment. Whereupon the Roumanians took over the administration *de facto*. The occupied territories were closed against all communication with the rest of Hungary and the Roumanization of the country commenced.

In the month of January 1919 posters proclaimed

¹ *Aradi Közlöny*, 6th December 1918.

that Transylvania had definitely become Roumanian territory. By Ordinance II. of the Governing Council the town and county councils were dissolved and the autonomous administration was suspended. Roumanian prefects were appointed who began to organize the Roumanian administration, demanding of the Hungarian Civil Servants the oath of allegiance to King Ferdinand. The Hungarian officials did not yield without resistance. Quoting Article 45 of The Hague Convention, according to which it is forbidden to compel the population of occupied territory to swear allegiance to the hostile Power, they refused to take the oath. The prefects tried to intimidate them, threatening them with dismissal, imprisonment and expulsion. The consequences of the rendering or refusing of the oath were explained in a note handed to the officials of the county of Fogaras: "Those who take the oath become from that moment onward Roumanian nationals, and are under Roumanian law. The Roumanian Government will dispose of them and employ them where they find it necessary, which means that they are transferable. . . . As they are from the same moment onward Roumanian Civil Servants, they must cease every communication with the Hungarian Government. Every official who infringes this obligation commits high treason and will be prosecuted according to Roumanian law. Nobody is forced to take the oath; but the payment of the salaries of those who refused it will be suspended on the 1st of February, and the official will be dismissed."¹

The officials in Kolozsvár were told that they would not only be dismissed, but would have to repay their salaries from the 1st of January on. In Székely Udvarhely the officials were arrested and imprisoned in Segesvár. The railway officials had to sign a paper (Ordinance 1085—1919), declaring that they would accept orders only from the Roumanian Government, those who refused being dismissed.

On 24th January an Ordinance published the text

¹ *Documents concernant l'exécution de l'armistice en Hongrie*, published by the Armistice Commission of the Hungarian Government, p. 87.

of the oath which, until then, had not been uniform. It fixed at the same time, definitely, the consequences of a refusal to take the oath—dismissal, and annulment of the right to a pension: lawyers and public notaries would not be allowed to pursue any public functions. Dismissal from office was not to be preceded by any judiciary procedure, the act of refusal forming a sufficient reason in itself.

In the first months the officials complained to the Hungarian Government, which appealed to the Allied Military Mission in Budapest, and demanded the replacing of the Roumanian troops by French or English ones. But by the end of March Bolshevism had broken out in Hungary, and from that date on there was nobody to listen to the complaints of the Transylvanian officials.¹

The real aim of the measures applied against the Civil Servants, lawyers, etc., was not to compel them to remain in office and have a guarantee of their good behaviour. In Kolozsvár a deputation of the Civil Servants attended on M. Juliu Maniu, President of the Governing Council, on the 15th of January 1919, and declared their own and their colleagues' willingness

¹ A curious explanation of the change of the sovereignty and justification of these unwarrantable persecutions was contained in an article of the Roumanian paper *Drapelul*, entitled "The Legality of the Official Oath." The paper appeared in the southern districts, where the French General Franchet d'Esperey, the author of the Military Convention of Belgrade, was the commandant of the Allied forces. The writer of the article, a Dr V. Birlea, wrote: "On the 28th of May 1919, General Franchet d'Esperey, who had framed the provisions of the armistice, revoked them with a single act by appointing for the county of Kraszszörény a Roumanian prefect and sub-prefect, by which act the entire country, with its administration, judiciary, etc., came under Roumanian domination. This disposal of the General is an all the more secure legal basis for Roumanian rule, as both the appointments and the conditions of the military convention emanated from him, respectively from the Peace Conference of Paris" (28th June 1919).

This conception of international obligations is typical of the Roumanians and at the same time shows a deplorable aberration of the French General. Apparently he believed himself entitled to appoint Roumanian officials on a territory where, according to his own stipulations, the "civil administration was in the hands of the Hungarian Government." Also Dr Birlea was convinced that an international convention could be revoked independently by any one of its signatories and that the General was entitled to annul the Military Convention by the sole act of appointing a Roumanian prefect.

to take a solemn vow that they would conscientiously fulfil their duties and refrain from politics. Their offer was not accepted. The Government wished to create an opportunity for depriving them of the means of existence and for making their life so intolerable that they would leave the country "voluntarily" and "repatriate" to Hungary—as it is expressed in Roumania. It was part of the Roumanizing policy of the Government, which had various ramifications, one of the most effective being their housing and evicting policy. At the second meeting of the Roumanian National Assembly, M. J. Maniu stated that the Roumanization of the country was the most urgent task of Transylvanian politics; and plans were made for its realization in the towns which were entirely in the hands of the Hungarians and the Saxons. A flood of orders and bye-laws was issued concerning eviction and housing. No sooner had one order been put into force than it was superseded by another. A picture of the *Aurora* showed the Home Secretary carrying a coffin, with the inscription, "Housing Law," and the text under the picture was: "Hardly born and already consigned to the grave." The wildest confusion prevailed, in which the Roumanian officials ruled as they pleased, with arbitrary cruelty.

On 20th September 1919, Ordinance No. 14,005, concerning housing, was issued, containing the following provisions:

"(1) If the size of the lodging of a person exceeds his absolute necessities, parts of it may be requisitioned.

"(2) If the end proposed cannot be attained by the above measure, lodgings will be requisitioned even where the conditions stated in the previous paragraph do not prevail. In this case the owner whose lodging has been requisitioned must be compensated with another lodging, which, however, need not be equal to the requisitioned apartment either in the number of its rooms or in comfort."

In the spring of 1920 another order was issued, under the provisions of which those inhabitants of the country were regarded as foreigners who were not

born in Transylvania but had come into the country after the 1st of August 1914, and could not prove their domiciliation by a certificate of the place where they lived. Those officials who had refused the oath must be also treated as foreigners. To this was added a few months later the provision that those who "testify by words, by writing or by their acts that they do not intend to be Roumanian nationals," and those who have no occupation, or are undesirable elements, will be regarded as foreigners liable to expulsion.

Under these ordinances no Hungarian was safe in Transylvania. Housing bureaux were organized in the towns, whose procedure was usually the following.¹ A written order from the Commissioner of the office, or from the police inspector, was issued, ordering the person to leave his house within three or four days, sometimes even within twenty-four hours. No appeal was granted against the order and nothing was accepted but an application for a railway van to transport the property of the expelled person.

Here is an example of the eviction order generally used :

Housing Commissary

KOLOZSVÁR, 2289—1919.

To MR LÁSZLÓ TOKAJI,
KOLOZSVÁR, ATTILA STREET, 10.

Hereby you are directed to place your flat and offices at my disposal, and to leave them on the 30th of this month, otherwise measures of eviction will be taken.

No appeal is granted against this decision.

J. BOERIU.

KOLOZSVÁR, 29th October 1919.

M. Tokaji was the Managing Director of the Royal Agricultural Society in Transylvania, and his flat and offices were in the buildings of the Society.

¹ See *Mémoire présenté par le Comité des Hongrois proscrits de Transylvanie à l'Union Internationale des Associations pour la Société des Nations*, and *The Grievances of the Hungarian Minority in Roumania*, i. 1919-1920,

Thousands of these cases happened in Kolozsvár alone. Distinguished persons, like A. Papp, Under-Secretary of State; Dr A. Haar and Dr J. Hornyánszky, professors of the University; M. Rosenberg and M. A. Gaál, landowners; M. E. Grandpierre, Government Commissioner; Dr P. Zachar, physician; J. Czirják, factory-owner, have been evicted from their houses. Even women were not spared. Madame Szvacsina, widow of the late mayor of the town, was forced to leave her flat.

Most appalling was the fate of the dismissed officials. Deprived of their salaries, and ordered to leave their homes, they were in the shortest possible time faced with penury. Many of them attempted to raise small loans from the Hungarian financial institutes or from private individuals, but the Roumanian authorities forbade everybody to come to their rescue. There were even cases in which the officials were prevented from finding manual work in the factories. Under such circumstances, if they had not been expelled at the same time as their lodgings were requisitioned, they had themselves to apply for a permit to leave the country. These were the persons who—according to the Roumanians—"repatriated themselves voluntarily" to Hungary.

Those who were not expelled, and preferred to stay in their own country, were crammed into one or two rooms, or into a miserable flat. A man named Szöke, in Nagyvárad, lived many weeks in a vault in the cemetery, because no lodging was allotted to him by the authorities after his being evicted from his own flat. But then, the ordinance had expressly stated that the lodging found for an evicted person need not necessarily be similar in comfort to the one he had before.

While Hungarians lived in vaults, Roumanian officials, professors and rich bankers secured spacious flats in the towns. A Roumanian official, named Marcire, lived alone with his wife and dog in a flat of seven rooms in the centre of Kolozsvár, at No. 7 Fötér. In August 1920 the *România* wrote: "Every

day complaints arrive at the Housing Commissariat concerning certain gentlemen and 'merry widows' who live in large flats, in which several families could exist. Large flats have been requisitioned for Roumanian professors: Dr U. has twelve rooms and Engineer T., a bachelor, six." Requisitionings of lodgings were sometimes used also as a punishment, although they are unknown as such in the Criminal Code. In October 1919, when the Roumanian troops retired from Hungary, M. Stoica, the Chief Police Inspector of Arad, issued Ordinance No. 1141—919, threatening those who disseminated alarming news with the requisitioning of their lodging within forty-eight hours.

These proceedings were sometimes repellent even to the Roumanians themselves. The Bucarest paper, *Dacia*, has, in its issue of 18th May 1920, the following letter from a correspondent in Kolozsvár: "The endeavour of the political leaders of Transylvania to lend a Roumanian appearance to the Transylvanian towns is praiseworthy, nay, necessary. It is a legitimate tendency, but only up to a certain point. I have now been staying here for several months and have witnessed some extremely painful cases. I have seen pieces of furniture and parcels thrown into the streets, in rainy weather, by order of the Commissary. On Friday, 23rd April, I witnessed a scene unparalleled in my experience. The owner of one of the shops in the main square, Mr S. Abraham, received an order to evacuate his shop within twenty-four hours and to hand over the keys to a Roumanian shopkeeper, Joan Popa, who was not satisfied with his own premises and who, by means of bribery, succeeded in obtaining a requisitioning order. The owner's mind gave way and he had to be removed to an asylum. His shop was evacuated and put at the disposal of M. Popa."

These tragic events were explained by the Roumanian authorities, though not the above case, by the necessity of finding lodgings for the new Roumanian officials transferred into Transylvania. M. John Suciu, President of the Liquidation Committee, stated that

it was necessary to find lodgings for four hundred new Civil Servants in Kolozsvár. But the explanation is far from being convincing. The number of Roumanians in Kolozsvár in 1910 was 7562, and at the end of the war, in 1918, it could not have been more. Yet in 1920 it was 28,244. This immense difference can be explained neither by the natural increase of the Roumanians nor by the transference of 2000 to 2500 Roumanian officials, together with their families. It is due to the settlers from Moldavia and Wallachia who were brought into the Hungarian towns so as to deprive them of their Hungarian character. The requisitionings were partly made in the interest of these settlers, and partly were corrupt machinations.

This early period of Roumanizing policy was described by an American Unitarian Commission, which spent three months in Transylvania in the spring of 1920 :

"The first step taken was the return to Hungary of all who had settled in Transylvania since 1913. The next move was aimed at the leaders of the Hungarians, those in official positions of every kind (including teachers) being required on a few days' notice to take an oath of allegiance, which was refused by most men. . . . The result, which it is fair to assume was anticipated by the Roumanians, was a considerable exodus of men of these classes with their families, and, of course, the flooding of the cities and towns with new officials hastily appointed, in part from among the Transylvanian Roumanians, but principally from Bucarest. In Fogaras, for example, which we visited in June, it was estimated that out of a Hungarian population of 6000, nearly 1000 had, in one way or another, been driven out, including more than fifty families described to us as the intelligentsia of the town. The early rush of deportation was over when we arrived in Transylvania, but repatriation, forced by the conditions of life under Roumanian domination, was steadily going forward. On 8th July we crossed the border from Püspök Földő on an exile train. It consisted of five covered

vans filled with families, and all their possessions, from Torda ; some of the women wept when the train was pushed over the border ; they had been obliged, like all who go, to swear never to return, and felt that they had bidden good-bye to their relatives in Transylvania for ever.

“The most pathetic case of exile which came under our observation, however, occurred in May, while we were in Kolozsvár. The Roumanians at that time took over a privately endowed Hungarian institution for the blind and deaf and dumb. The Transylvanian children they scattered to their homes ; those born in Hungary, fifteen in number, they put into a cattle car with five kilos of bread apiece, and shipped them over the border. They refused permission to a physician to accompany them.”¹

In May the Housing Commissariats were dissolved and reorganized, a process which brought to light an immense amount of corruption. M. Lázár, Assistant-Commissioner in Kolozsvár, Katz, Rosenzweig, and a Mrs Székely, were arrested, and there were grave suspicions concerning the complicity of the Chief Commissioner, G. Iván. But no material change ensued. The few culprits who were imprisoned were replaced by others. M. Boeriu, the famous chief, left, but only to give way to M. Guiu, who hastened to declare that it was absolutely necessary to remove at least another 20,000 Hungarians from Kolozsvár.

Once more things went so far that even the Roumanians themselves complained. The *Universul* accused M. Groza, the Transylvanian Minister ; the *Luptătorul*² made the whole of the Old Kingdom responsible : “The Hungarian, Saxon and Jew owners are forced to leave their houses while settlers from the Kingdom take their place. If neither the Home Office nor the Minister of War takes measures against this, it is the Old Kingdom which bears the responsibility collectively.”

¹ *Transylvania under Roumanian Rule*, Report of the American Unitarian Commission, p. 5.

² 27th October 1921.

In real fact, it was the system which was responsible : it was regarded as a patriotic feat to help to destroy the existence of persons belonging to the Minorities. In a litigation on a housing question a lady, Madame Herbay, the wife of a Roumanian general, penetrated to the very core of the question when she said to the judge, who did not appreciate her standpoint : "Don't you see that this is not a fight between owner and lessee, but between Roumanian and Hungarian society ? It is the duty of the judge to defend the Roumanian cause." ¹

This lady saw only one, the Roumanian, side. Here is the other side, described by one of the most eminent Roumanian journalists of Transylvania : "Do we realize what sufferings and what bitterness we have implanted into the souls of tens of thousands of Hungarians ? Hundreds and thousands have left this country mortally wounded and in despair. Do we feel and understand what it means when you have to leave your native land, where you were born, where you grew up, to which you are tied by familiar ties, by happy as well as sorrowful memories, by the graves of your parents and your children ? Can we imagine how these suffering people will curse Roumanian rule and work with all their might to undermine the credit and the prestige of the Roumanian State ? There is not a State in the world which can afford the luxury of creating implacable enemies. Least of all can we, who are a young country with the road towards consolidation still before us and who are surrounded on three sides by neighbours whose intention and sentiments cannot inspire us with much confidence." ²

But the system was continued till it had done its work. The Roumanian authorities placed one or two railway vans at the disposal of the expelled families, in which they installed their movable property, and they were put over the border. Daily thousands and thousands of Transylvanians arrived in Hungary in a destitute condition, so that within a few weeks the

¹ *Ujsdg*, 2nd April 1922.

² Dr Ludovic Ciato : *Problema minorităţii în România Mare*, p. 5.

country was confronted with the terrible problem of the refugees. A few months after the lost war, dismembered and plundered both by the Bolsheviks and the Roumanians, Hungary had no money with which to come to their assistance; food as well as fuel was scarce and no lodgings could be found. Therefore most of the refugees had to remain in the railway vans, which became their permanent abode. What they endured only they themselves know. Shunted on to side-tracks in the dirty outskirts of the towns, exposed to summer heat and winter cold, these thousands and thousands of Civil Servants, soldiers, merchants, lived for years the life of miserable exiles.

"The flood of the refugees began with the Roumanian invasion of Transylvania, but took greater dimensions when Bolshevism collapsed and the Roumanians were forced to retire from Hungary. At that time the Roumanian policy of expulsion was also inaugurated. Already in the autumn of 1919 great masses of Transylvanians arrived—those who were expelled and those who were forced to leave the country 'voluntarily.' Most of them were destitutes, very often robbed by the Roumanian soldiers during their slow travel.

"In September 1919, after Bolshevism collapsed, Hungary was invited to conclude peace, and, to prepare the necessary informations and documents, two offices were installed, one of which—section 'B'—was entrusted with the Transylvanian Question. When the number of the refugees increased, and their existence began to grow precarious, office 'B'—the members of which were all Transylvanians—initiated an action for the help of their unfortunate compatriots. At first only a separate section was maintained in office 'B' for this purpose, but in April 1920 the Hungarian Government ordered the transformation of this section into a general and independent National Bureau for Refugees, which should assist not only the Transylvanians, but also the refugees from the territories transferred to Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Austria.

"The principle of the new office was to grant and distribute financial help only in cases of serious and

urgent necessity, but to assist the refugees with gifts in kind. Foodstuffs, fuel and clothing were distributed, cheap eating-places were maintained, medical and legal help was granted, lodgings and occupation procured. All this, of course, involved immense difficulties at a time and in a country where everybody was more or less poverty-stricken. The greatest difficulty was to find work. Some of the Civil Servants could be given appointments, state and municipal; but there were not many of these in dismembered Hungary. Some found occupation in banks, workshops, factories; but they were untrained for this work. This was the reason why the office decided, in 1920, to organize courses where the elements of banking and trading, handicrafts and gardening, etc., were taught. Sixteen courses were held and a few hundred refugees acquired new knowledge for a new life.

"The following few figures will show the magnitude of the problem :

"The number of the refugees registered at the office was: from Yugoslavia, 44,903; from Czechoslovakia, 106,841; and from Roumania, 197,035—a total of 350,000. The total of the sum of all kinds of help in money and kind represents the sum of 270,124,435 Hungarian crowns."¹

Gradually all the refugees found homes and a living in their new home, and the office was dissolved at the end of June 1924. The staff of the office had done a great work: during the four years of their activity they had had in their hands the fate of 350,000 men.

"They formed even numerically a large portion of the nation," wrote the last report of the office, "but even more important than this is the fact that their great number belonged to the intelligent middle classes, who became refugees on account of their loyalty to their country. They were all embittered men, whose life, plans, savings and social position had come to nothing. They had no home and no occupation; the misery of

¹ *Report of Four Years of Activity of the Bureau for Refugees*, by Under-Secretary Baron E. P. Horváth, Budapest, 1924.

a railway van or a crammed lodging in a suburb was all they could expect. They had nothing to lose except their patriotism."

They were all saved, and not one of them has lost in banishment his burning devotion to his lost country.

CHAPTER V

WAR AGAINST NATIONAL SENTIMENT

THERE is one circumstance concerning the Hungarian Minority in Transylvania which renders their situation delicate—namely, the fact that they became a minority after having been the ruling majority in a State which they themselves founded a thousand years ago. The Treaty of Trianon has subjected them to a people which was a vassal of the Turks no longer than fifty years ago, a people whose history had no significance or bearing beyond the frontiers of its own country, and which had no Constitution before 1866 except one forced upon it by the Russians. “In this country, we have so few traditions that we must be careful not to waste even one,” said Professor Jorga in the House. It is not language, race and religion alone which divide the Hungarians from the Roumanians, but also the difference which lies between the empty past of the latter and the long history of the former still living in memories, sentiments and marble monuments. It was on this point that the vindictiveness of the Roumanians was most manifest and most wounding for the Hungarians. The prohibition to speak Hungarian or to celebrate the memory of a national hero may hurt more than the expropriation of a piece of land or the requisitioning of a flat. Only those who have experienced it can know the deep indignity of seeing one’s national colours trampled in the dirt or the statue of a national hero mutilated.

The Minorities Treaty contains the following provisions concerning the use of the languages. Article 8 provides that :

“No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Roumanian national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, religion or in publications of

any kind, or at public meetings. Notwithstanding any establishment by the Roumanian Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Roumanian nationals of non-Roumanian speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts."

But this provision was not embodied in the Constitution of 1923, any more than the rest of the Minorities Treaty. In the Constitutional Committee, in which the Minorities were represented only by a Saxon member, M. H. O. Roth, the latter demanded that the right of the Minorities to their language should be embodied either in the Constitution, or in a separate Act, as in Czecho-Slovakia. The Prime Minister, M. Brătianu, vaguely admitted the justice of the demand and promised to settle the question in a separate Bill. Accordingly the Constitution contains only one article concerning the language, Article 126, which provides that "the Roumanian language is the official language of the Roumanian State." Previously, when the administration of Transylvania was organized in 1919, the language question was satisfactorily settled by keeping in force the Hungarian law. But this arrangement was ignored by the Bucarest governments, and the law of the country was destroyed by contrary ordinances, until not even its skeleton remained.

The situation which arose was accurately described in the Report of the Commission appointed by the American Unitarian Association, dated 30th October 1920.

"Not easiest to endure, of the trials of the Hungarian people in Transylvania under Roumanian domination, are the little things—the pin-pricks, the petty tyrannies—by means of which a hostile administration keeps them in constant irritation. A chief instrument is that of language. If one half the pains that have been taken in changing Hungarian signs and notices into Roumanian (in places where not a single person understands Roumanian) were expended on useful administrative activities, Hungarians might now be blessing the providence that gave them new rulers. The *reductio*

ad absurdum of the effort may be seen at country railway crossings in Széklerland, with its unmixed Hungarian population, where the warning notices have been carefully changed to Roumanian. In some places our churches had been obliged to expunge the familiar Unitarian motto over their doors '*Egy az Isten*' (God is One). All communications with officials must be in Roumanian, and late in June the Unitarian Bishop of Transylvania made application, duly translated into Roumanian, and signed and stamped with his seal, for permission to hold the regular August meeting of the Representative Consistory of his Church. It was returned with the note that no further applications from him would be received until the words on the bishop's ancient seal (*Unitárius püspök*) were changed to Roumanian."¹

The first and simplest act in the Roumanizing process of the country was to lend a Roumanian exterior to the towns. Immediately after the occupation, the military authorities ordered not only the removal of the Hungarian inscriptions on public buildings, railway stations and schools, but also the changing of the street names and shop signs, even in the unmixed Hungarian and Saxon districts.

In Hungarian and Saxon towns, streets have been named after unknown Roumanian persons, and after men still living who took part in the Roumanian campaigns of 1916 and 1918 against Transylvania, or in the declaration of the union. In the Senate M. Bianu complained that in Kisheneff, Bessarabia, the name of a street—*Ulitza Gogol*—had not yet been exchanged for the more suitable *Strada Metropolitul Gavril*, which had been decided on by the authorities. *Gavril versus Gogol*!

In Vajdahunyad four days were allowed for changing the Hungarian shop signs; in Zilah, a fortnight. In Kézdivásárhely, where the proportion of the population is 6079 Hungarians to 50 Roumanians, in Szatmár (34,892 Hungarians to 986 Roumanians), in Csikszereda (3591 Hungarians to 44 Roumanians), the Roumaniza-

¹ *Transylvania under the Rule of Roumania*, p. 6.

tion of street names and shop signs was carried out in the same manner as in purely Roumanian districts.

The short time granted for compliance with the orders became the source of great difficulties. The shopkeepers, not knowing Roumanian, did their best, but their signs were often quite unintelligible. In Arad, M. J. Rabu complained in his order of 18th November 1919 of the bad Roumanian of the shop signs, and ordered them to be changed for correct ones within three days. He considerably added a list of correct terms in order to facilitate matters. His lesson in grammar seems to have been insufficient, however, for in October 1923 the pretor, M. Georgescu, organized a translator's office warranted to put any text into perfect Roumanian. His motive, as stated by himself, was that "the shop signs are still written in such shockingly bad Roumanian—altering and distorting the language—as to scandalize all those who know its purity and enchanting beauty. It is a patriotic and national duty to hinder this and prevent a derision of the Roumanian language which hurts our national sentiments."

In Temesvár the authorities were more circumspect. They ordered the shopkeepers to present the new signs for inspection before they were hung out.

Not only the shop signs, but the names of the hotels, public-houses, restaurants, etc., had to be changed. In Csikszereda the proprietors of the cafés Kossuth and Europa were fined 1000 leus each for not having changed these Hungarian appellatives in time. In Szatmár the prefect of the town, M. J. Barbul, ordered the Hotel Pannonia to be changed into Hotel Dacia.

In September 1924 the chief school inspector in Kolozsvár detected a marble tablet on the wall of the Unitarian middle school bearing the inscription:

"Built by the Hungarian Unitarian Church during the Reign of Francis Joseph I. Apostolic King of Hungary and in the Time of Dr Gy. Wlassich, Minister of Education, and planned by the architect, L. Pákey, in 1901."

The inspector promptly ordered the removal of the

inscription as a memorial of Hungarian rule, and the school authorities were obliged to wall it up, leaving only the last harmless sentence, which in the Hungarian text runs "built in 1901."¹

These tentative steps were soon followed by others, causing more difficulty and discontent. A wholesale Roumanization of the administration and judiciary was started, and became so pronounced that in some places the more zealous officials would not allow one word of Hungarian to be uttered in their offices.

On 3rd August 1921 the director of the railways, General Jonescu, issued an order (No. 46,481) stating that it had come to his knowledge that railway employees called out the names of the stations also in Hungarian and gave information to travellers in that language. "I strictly forbid this procedure, which is an offence against the prestige and dignity of the State, lending to it the character of a cosmopolitan instead of a national State, which Roumania *de facto* is. No excuse will be accepted for giving any information to anybody in another language than Roumanian."²

A year later five officials, the stationmasters of Bályog, Margita, Apátmonostori, Saskó and Drágeséke, all purely Hungarian places, were suspended because of their imperfect knowledge of Roumanian.³

The housing bureaux announced that they would not accept applications except in Roumanian. Tenders for Government enterprises were also accepted only in Roumanian.

On 4th September 1922 an order was issued by the director of the post and telegraph office in Temesvár, M. Marmea: "I wish to inform all superior and inferior officials that I shall no longer tolerate the use of Hungarian in the offices. Customers must always be answered in Roumanian, unless they are absolutely ignorant of the language."

In all the public buildings of the same town warnings were put up on the walls: "Vorbiți românește!"

¹ *Keleti Újság*, 20th September 1924.

² *Ellenzék*, 18th August 1921.

³ *Brassói Lapok*, 30th June 1922.

(Speak Roumanian!).¹ In Csikszereda, a town with an unmixed Hungarian population, this order was put in a more stringent form on the walls of the railway station: "Vorbiți românește! Cine nu se va conformă va fi dat afară din birou!" (Speak Roumanian, or you will be chucked out of the place!).²

On 17th January 1924 the chief educational inspector of Arad ordered that the pupils of the State schools must use Roumanian exclusively. "The Minister of Education," the order ran, "wishes to exclude all kinds of racial and religious strife from the schools. This can only be realized if the pupils use Roumanian instead of their mother-tongue. In consequence he orders that they shall use that language even in their private intercourse."³

The most tragic victims of the language question are the Hungarian Civil Servants, judges and teachers, who were ordered to learn Roumanian, and dismissed if they were unable to do so within the period fixed. About their situation more will be said in the chapters on Administration and Judiciary.

Apart from these linguistic troubles, there were the constant insults to national sentiment. The Hungarians were asked to eradicate every feeling of past patriotism, every memory of their previous history. It was to demand the impossible. "One cannot," wrote even the Roumanian paper, the *România*, "in the course of a few months forget a history of ten centuries, full of so many glorious and magnificent feats."

The Hungarians were ordered to celebrate not only the commemoration days of the old Roumanian Kingdom, as, for example, 10th May, the date of the foundation of the kingdom and the coronation of the first Roumanian king, or the birthdays of the members of the new dynasty, but also the dates of the recent past, the victories of the Roumanian army during their glorious campaigns in 1916 and 1918-1919—the

¹ *Schwabische Volkspost*, 23rd September 1922.

² *Brassói Lapok*, 13th June 1922.

³ *Magyar Nemzet*, 1924 v. 723.

dates of the entrance of the Roumanian troops into peaceful Hungarian towns and the occupation of Budapest. The inhabitants of the towns were ordered under heavy penalties to procure the Roumanian national flag in the size fixed by the authorities, and to beflag their houses whenever the order came. It is characteristic that after a time the Saxons were allowed to use their own national flags, but not the Hungarians.

The 19th of April was ordered to be celebrated in Nagyvárad as the date of the entrance of the Roumanian troops into that town; the 20th of April had to be commemorated in Nagyvárad for the same reason. The 9th of June was the day of the unknown heroes, the "croilor" of the Roumanian army. On all these days *Te Deums*, military reviews, military tattoos and torchlight processions must be held, and the houses have to be beflagged and illuminated. In Segesvár, a Saxon town, the beflagging of the houses was ordered for 24th July, the date of the promulgation of the Agrarian Reform Act, which meant the spoliation of the Hungarian and Saxon landowners.

In connexion with the Nagyvárad celebrations, a Roumanian, M. P. Vuruclaş, a former staff officer, wrote a letter to the Roumanian paper, *Dacia*, criticizing the behaviour of his compatriots: "It would appear from our behaviour that we wish to use every possible and impossible occasion to tear open again the half-healed wounds and reawaken the hatred which had begun to slumber. Only six per cent. of the inhabitants of this town are Roumanians, and we demand that the ninety-four per cent. of Hungarians should celebrate their separation from their own country."

Painful, too, for the Hungarians is the removal of all the memorials, statues, tablets, which commemorated their past history. This is another point where The Hague Convention was rudely violated, which forbids "all seizure or destruction of, or wilful damage to, institutions, historic monuments, works of art and science."

In Brassó the memorial of Árpád, the prince who led

the Hungarians into their present country a thousand years ago, was blown up. The statue of King Francis-Joseph in Karánsebes was demolished as a symbol of the "humiliating and shameful past." Both in Nagyszeben and Ujszentes the memorial tablets of the greatest Hungarian poet, Petőfi, were broken into bits. In Marosvásárhely, a Hungarian town, the Roumanian mayor ordered all the stained glass and frescoes of the town hall and the museum to be removed or destroyed because they represented scenes from Hungarian history. In Nagyvárad the ancient statue of King Ladislas, the Saint of Hungary, which bore the inscription, "Ora pro Nobis," and was used as a shrine by the devout, was removed from the centre of the town to give place to a very mediocre statue of Ferdinand I., the present King of Roumania. In Marosvásárhely the statues of Francis Rákóczi and Louis Kossuth, the two great fighters for Hungarian liberty, and of General Bem, the victor in the wars of independence against the Russians in 1849, were demolished. The bronze figure of Petőfi in the same town was removed from its pedestal and replaced by that of an unknown Roumanian "hero." In Déva the statue of the founder of Transylvanian Unitarianism, Francis Dávid, was broken to pieces. The beautiful bronze monument in Arad commemorating the execution of thirteen Hungarian generals after the defeat of the war of independence in 1849 is still awaiting its fate, the prefect, M. Veliciu, who decided to have it smelted and turned into bells, having unfortunately died before he could accomplish his fell purpose.

Nor did literary products escape the persecution of the new rulers.

In 1920 the commanding general, Neagu, and in 1923 Under-Secretary Jonescu, prohibited (by ordinance No. 14,005) the singing of several Hungarian songs, one of them the national anthem, which has the sublime form of a prayer to God for the protection of the country and was often sung in the churches in the place of a hymn. The reason given for the prohibition was that "it hurt the feelings of the population and

was liable to disturb the good relations between the different denominations." As there are usually only members of one denomination in church, this is hardly a tenable reason.

A Roman Catholic book of hymns, entitled *The Heavenly Harp*, was censored, and all the songs which contained an allusion to Saint Stephen and Saint Ladislav were struck out because both happened to be Hungarian kings.

In the winter of 1922, Police-Inspector Puricescu, in Fogaras, forbade the gipsy band to play Hungarian music; and in Mármarosziget the military authorities ordered that at every concert three Roumanian pieces must be performed, one at the beginning, one in the middle and one at the end.

In November 1922 the Rev. S. Szombati-Szabó, Presbyterian clergyman of Lugos, published some verses in the *Magyar Nép*, which contained the following lines :

"Stand there like sentinels
In the co'd dawn of the coming spring
Till new skies come, a new earth and new leaves,
And other songs shall fill the air."

He was arrested because, according to the Public Prosecutor, he had "incited against the safety of the Roumanian State by describing Roumanian rule as a temporary one, raising the hope that it will soon have an end and Hungarian domination return."

The Hungarian stage, as one of the strongest pillars of Hungarian culture, was also doomed by the Roumanian Government to slow extinction.

The Transylvanian stage has a brilliant past to look back upon, extending over a hundred and thirty years. It was in Kolozsvár, the capital of Transylvania, that the first Hungarian theatrical company was formed in 1792 and the first theatre opened in 1821. This theatre, ever the home of serious art, became the starting-point and training school of nearly all the great Hungarian actors.

In 1900 it was transferred to a new building, which,

raised out of private donations and owing nothing to the State, was the property of the "Kolozsvar National Theatre Fund."

From the first days of the occupation the Roumanian authorities began to interfere with the management of this theatre. Repeated domiciliary visits were made, and plays by Hungarian authors, however unobjectionable, were banned.

At last, on May 1919, M. Onisifor Ghibu, then Under-Secretary for Arts and Cults, seized the theatre and declared it to be Roumanian State property. The Hungarian company was allowed to remain for the present, but it was subjected to a vexatious censorship. Not only were Hungarian costumes and colours, dances and songs vetoed; even classical plays were either forbidden or censored past recognition. Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* and *Julius Caesar* and Rostand's *L'Aiglon* were struck off the list as revolutionary works, and more than half of *Hamlet* was expunged, the churchyard monologue being shorn of all but the opening words: "To be or not to be, that is the question." Stranger than all, the censor struck out the following lines from Dorine's speech in *Tartuffe*:

"Indeed, it is most scandalous to see a stranger come and make himself at home here; most scandalous that a beggar who had no shoes to his feet when he first came, and whose coat was not worth three halfpence, should so far forget himself as to interfere with everything and play the master!"

In the autumn of 1919 the Hungarian company was ordered to make way for Roumanian actors, and they were forced to retire to a small cinema theatre, where they continued to produce plays in Hungarian, in spite of the unabated persecutions of the authorities and of the censor.

On 22nd February 1923 fell the centenary of the birth of the Hungarian dramatic author, E. Madách, and the Hungarian theatres in Transylvania wished to celebrate it by producing his masterpiece, *The Tragedy of Man*. It is translated into most European languages and has been done into Roumanian by M. Octavian

Goga, the present Home Secretary and late Minister for Arts and Cults in the former Averescu Government. The play is a series of historic scenes from the beginning of creation to the last day on earth, and one scene represents an episode in the French Revolution. The Kolozsvár theatre applied for permission to produce the play, but it was refused by the then Home Secretary, General Vaitoianu: "I cannot," he wired to M. Janovics, the manager of the theatre, "allow the production, because revolutionary songs would be sung and scenes played on the stage which are apt to incite to revolt."¹ The song he objected to was the *Marseillaise*, the national anthem of France, Roumania's closest ally.

Before long, financial difficulties were added to the other troubles of the Minority theatres. The impoverished Hungarian public is no longer an adequate support; and although the State Budget provides eighty-six leus for theatrical purposes, the Government take care that not a penny of this considerable sum should find its way to the Minority theatres. Not only do the latter receive no State aid, they are also exorbitantly and unjustly taxed, as is shown by two Acts passed by Parliament in March 1926, which fix the income tax of the Roumanian theatres at 10 per cent. and that of the non-Roumanian ones at 26 per cent. So high a penalty for the crime of producing plays in one's mother-tongue cannot but entail the final extinction of all the Minority theatres.

In the spring of 1923 all Hungarian books printed in Hungary since 1919 were ordered to be confiscated on Roumanian territory, on the pretext that some which had been sent to Transylvania had contained irredentist passages. There was a universal uproar in the Press, even in the Roumanian papers. "We could understand," wrote the *Aurora*, "that books which contain political propaganda, or can be suspected of causing misunderstanding between the Hungarian Minority and the Roumanian State should be confiscated. But Homer and Goethe and Shakespeare . . . ?"

¹ *Ujság*, 15th February 1923.

In the autumn of 1925, M. T. Sándor complained in the House that Hungarian doctors and chemists were debarred from access to the medical books and periodicals needed for keeping abreast of the present state of science.¹

In March 1925 the Reform of Administration Bill was introduced in Parliament, Article 398 containing the following simple provision concerning the Minority languages :

"The Chief Legislative Council shall decide in which cases the use of the Minority languages is necessary for facilitating intercourse between the population and the local administration."

M. H. O. Roth, the Saxon member, demanded in the Constitution Committee that in districts where at least 20 per cent. of the inhabitants belong to a linguistic minority their language shall be allowed to be used in the administrative corporations. The Committee refused this because, as the Report said : "The Constitution did not recognize the nationalities as corporate bodies—that is, as separate nationalities—but only as Roumanian nationals of different race, language and religion, to whom the same rights and liberties were secured as to those of Roumanian origin."²

No wonder that another Saxon, Senator A. Polony, complained about Roumanian unreliability. "In 1923 they said that the language question cannot be settled in the Constitution, but will be provided for in a separate law; and now, when the separate law is made, the Committee says that it cannot be regulated in this law because the Constitution forbids such a settlement. I abstain from the characterization of such a procedure," said M. Polony.³

In an article in the *Adevărul* the Transylvanian Roumanian M.P., M. G. Popp, criticizing the Act, stated that out of 400 articles only one deals with the Minorities, and even that one in a most unsatisfactory manner : "On account of its intentional vagueness and absolute emptiness, the article is unique in the legis-

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1925-1926, p. 1881.

² *Op. cit.*, 1924-1925, p. 2919.

³ *Desbat. Senatului*, 1924-1925, p. 909.

lation of Minority rights. It is the codification of *nothingness*, the refusal of rights. It is a shame and an offence to the tolerance of our people, of which we are constantly boasting.”¹

The language question is the core of the Minorities problem. So long as it remains unsolved, no legislative measure can disentangle the problem of a polyglot State. A striking statement of the case can be found in an article, picturesquely called “The Poisoned Well,” by a Roumanian writer, G. Tulbure :

“Let us suppose that English culture and democracy were to be transplanted from London to Bucarest. Our Balkan morals, corruption and abuses, political nepotism and all our sins would vanish as by magic. Order and honesty would reign in the administration, and everywhere an austere morality ; in every branch of public life we would have the most perfect methods of administration and the latest acquisitions of civilization, everything that heart can desire, except one thing : our language. For all this would of course be in English, schools, administration, everything . . .

“Would we be satisfied ? I think that we should gladly renounce all the advantages of English civilization and democracy, and declare ourselves content with less order and civilization, provided that they were in Roumanian . . .

“But let us look at the other side of the shield.

“If we could not feel at home in the paradise of English civilization and democracy, how can we expect others to be content among us to whom we give neither civilization nor democracy ? Besides this, our minorities have an extra cause for dissatisfaction on their side. Even a good administration in a different language than one’s own is difficult to endure. But if in addition this administration is wretchedly bad, then two evils must be suffered at once . . .

“There is a certain ‘minimum of grievances’ which must be established, a few postulates forming the basis of the ethnical individuality of a minority which must be respected.

¹ 13th November 1925.

"The minimum consists of three things: good administration, good judiciary and good schools. And when we speak of good administration, good judiciary and good schools for a people, we must remember that they are only good if its language is respected. No people can be asked to renounce this."¹

The following chapters will show just how good are the institutions which Roumania has given to her new nationals in return for their language.

¹ G. Tulbure: "O fântână otrăvită," in the *Țara Noastră*, 27th January 1924, p. 106.

CHAPTER VI

THE ADMINISTRATION

ACCORDING to paragraph 2 of Article 1 of the Military Convention of Belgrade "the Allied Powers shall have full right to occupy the evacuated territories. The civil administration shall remain in the hands of the actual Government"—meaning, of course, the Hungarian Government. Transylvania should have been governed by Hungarian officials according to Hungarian laws and the attitude of the Roumanian occupying army should have been regulated by The Hague Convention.

We know that this was not done.

On 1st December 1918 the Roumanians of Transylvania declared the union of the country with the kingdom, while stipulating for a provisory autonomous Government. A "Great National Council," *marea sfat national*, was appointed to "direct the affairs of the nation," and a "Governing Council," *consiliul dirigent*, to "conduct the provisory administration of the country." The autonomy of the towns and counties was suspended, and a prefect was appointed as the chief official of the municipalities, who was to exercise the rights previously belonging to the elected municipal councils. The theory was that the officials then in office should remain, but that the system of electing administrative officials should be abolished and that in future they should be appointed by the Government. In other respects the Hungarian laws concerning the administration of the towns and counties and of the parishes were to remain in force.¹

This administration lasted only a little over a year. At the end of April 1920 the Governing Council was dissolved and the unification of the administration with that of the Regat was gradually effected.

¹ Decret No. II., in the *Gazeta Oficială*, No. 6.

An old historic system, unique of its kind in Europe, was destroyed. In Hungary the administration of the towns and counties and of the parishes was based on perfect self-government. The elective "municipal councils" were the chief organs. They had the right, not only to govern the municipality and to exercise an extended jurisdiction, as well as partly to find the financial means for the administration, but also to send addresses to the Central Government, to protest against their acts or to recommend modes of procedure; and they had the supreme, unchallenged privilege of refusing to comply with orders of the Government which they believed to be illegal, and of refusing to collect taxes and recruit soldiers if the Legislature had not voted them.

The officials, except the "főispán," or Lord Lieutenant, and one or two professional men, such as the veterinary surgeon, etc., were elected by the municipal councils.

Nowhere was the value of this system appreciated more than in Transylvania, that classic land of self-government, where all the Churches, even the Roman Catholic and Orthodox, are organized on an autonomous basis. This self-government was not only the source of political freedom and the citadel of civic liberties, but also a powerful factor in the development of the towns and parishes. The Roumanians of the Old Kingdom regarded this institution with wonder. M. Costa Foru, the excellent journalist, wrote in the *Dacia* in 1923: "Everybody who travels beyond the Carpathians (in Transylvania) must admire the cleanliness and order of the towns and villages. One feels the breath of a higher civilization. Thanks to the 'unification' of the administration these beautiful towns will sink to the level of our own dirty towns and villages. The cause of their advantageous position was their autonomy and decentralization, the cause of their decay will be the Roumanian system."

The Transylvanian Roumanians, the members of the Governing Council, proposed that the suspension of the municipal councils and of the electing of the officials

should only be transitory. Perhaps they believed that this admirable system would be extended over the whole new kingdom. It would not have been an unknown thing, for instance, in Bessarabia, where the *zemstvos* were similar self-governing bodies.

As soon as the rumour spread in 1921 and 1922 that the Government intended to reform and unify the administration of the whole country, the Transylvanian towns and counties organized themselves for the defence of their old self-government. "Civic Associations" were formed, the mayors of the towns, even those of the other provinces, assembled in Kolozsvár and enthusiastically demanded the revival of municipal self-government. But the atmosphere of Bucarest was not favourable to such large and liberal measures. It soon became known that the Brătianu Government did not intend to introduce the Hungarian system into the Regat and refused to revive it in Transylvania.

The Transylvanian Roumanians saw clearly what this "balkanization" of the country meant to them. They knew best what they were losing and what they had to expect. M. Constantin Stere, late professor of the University of Jassy and one of the leaders of the Peasants' Party, has described, in his "Proposal for a Constitution," what Roumanian administration is like:

"Roumania may serve as a classic instance of a country which was content to copy the institutions of Parliamentary Government.

"The Constitution of 1866 was one of the most advanced of its time; in general, it proclaimed individual rights and liberties as well as the decentralization of the administration and the independence of the parishes. Unfortunately this was followed neither by real guarantees of civic rights and liberties nor by any institution of local self-government. . . . In consequence the Roumanian citizen is without any legal instrument of defence against the violation of the rights and liberties platonically guaranteed to him by the Constitution.

"The results are well known. There is no need to

describe in detail that reign of constitutionalism under which the villages, placed beyond the pale of the law, were left a prey to the gendarmery, while even in the towns the 'constitutional guarantees' could do their work unhindered—in the cellars of the police stations.

"The saddest result of this system is the curious mentality of the administrative authorities, who have lost the very conception of legality."¹

There is also another circumstance which contributes to the decay and insecurity of Roumanian administration, and that is the habit of desultory law-making and ordinance-mongering. In Transylvania the Hungarian laws have remained in force, but besides these "an immensity of chaotic Acts, decrees, statutes, ordinances and circulars issued by the different civil and military authorities, beginning with the Cabinet Ministers and corps commanders and ending with the prefects and gendarmery platoons, bewilders the administration and makes it depend, not on legal principles but on senseless paragraphs. Such an administration is either cynicism or stupidity; it is possible in a military or a police State, but not in a constitutional one. . . . No wonder that everyone, without distinction of nationality, who suffers under it crosses himself and sighs: 'Lord, deliver us!'" This description of the Bucarest system of administration comes from a Roumanian—but a Transylvanian Roumanian—M. W. Șorban, a late prefect.²

In this administration only very few Hungarian officials took part. It will be remembered that prior to the signature of the Treaty of Trianon most of them refused to take the oath of allegiance and were dismissed in consequence. But after the signature of the Treaty both parties had to change their attitude. The Civil Servants became Roumanian subjects and lost their motive for further resistance; while the Roumanian Government could no longer refuse point-blank to appoint or to pension them, although they

¹ *Ante-proiect de constituție*. Intocmit de secția de studii a partidului țărănesc. Cu o expunere de motive de C. Stere.

² Guilelmu Șorban: *Administrația Ardealului*, p. 19.

have found means to evade their obligations in this respect.

A few days after the signature of the Treaty the Government issued a curious ordinance (No. 1674—920), which provided that “a period of one month is granted to the officials and lawyers to take the oath of allegiance, whereafter they will acquire all the rights inherent in Roumanian citizenship and recover all those which they possessed in the State of which they were nationals before the union.”

This order was a juridical absurdity. The officials and lawyers did not need to take the official oath to become Roumanian Nationals, but had become so by the simple fact of the coming into force of the Treaty; and it is nonsense also to say that by taking the oath they would recover the rights which they had possessed before—for example, the right to their salaries and pensions. They had the right already. Roumania as a successor State inherited these obligations from Hungary, her predecessor.

But however senseless the ordinance was, it created the impression that the Government was inclined to accept the oath of the officials, and probably to reinstate or pension them. A few actually were reinstated, mostly in positions inferior to those they had occupied before. But the greater number, about three thousand, waited in vain. Two years passed and nothing happened; they were neither reappointed nor pensioned off. In May 1922 the Civil Servants and the members of the Judiciary drew up a memorandum and a deputation presented it to the Government and to both Houses of the Legislation. A declaration of the Home Secretary, General Vaitoianu, revealed at once the fate awaiting their demands. M. E. Gyárfás having reminded the Minister that the pensioning of the officials was a duty of the State, the General replied: “We know of no such duty; pensioning is not a question of right but a humanitarian act.”¹

The officials settled down to wait for an answer; and in the meantime they starved. A temporary

¹ *Déva és Vidéke*, 25th May 1922.

committee was formed under the chairmanship of M. G. Toth, a judge of the Court of Appeal, to come to their rescue. It applied for permission to start a money collection, but this was refused by the Home Office: "The permission cannot be granted because the action seems to be hostile to the State."

At last, on 23rd March 1923, a short communication from the Chief Educational Inspector of Transylvania was sent to the headmaster of the Lutheran secondary school, as one of the members of the deputation. It was from the Minister of Education, and stated tersely that the demand of the teachers for a pension could not be complied with, because they had refused the oath when they were first asked to take it, and because they did not know Roumanian.

The other Ministers never even answered.

Parallel with this action, the Brătianu Government started another attack against the Hungarian officials, which affected also those who had taken the oath previously and were in office.

It has already been told that in 1920-1922 the Roumanization of the administration and the judiciary had made some progress. The same decree which allowed the officials to take the oath fixed the end of that year as the limit for learning Roumanian. At the same time, orders were issued which prohibited the use of Hungarian in the Government offices. But it soon appeared that the officials, even the Roumanians, continued to speak Hungarian with the parties and in private conversation, and that the Hungarian officials made but slow progress in the acquisition of Roumanian. This was not for want of good will; but they were mostly of an age in which grammar becomes difficult; there were no teachers and no adequate Roumanian grammars; while in the purely Hungarian districts no Roumanian could be heard, so that the possibilities for learning the language were slight. Still, they honestly made the experiment. It was not only a question of existence, but also of political wisdom. "It would be sheer stupidity," wrote the Hungarian paper, *Székegyföld*, "for the members of the Minorities not to learn

the language of the State. On the contrary, it is in our interest as a Minority and in the interest of our future to learn it as soon as possible.”¹

Courses of three to six months for the teaching of Roumanian were organized, but it was not an adequate measure. Even the Roumanian *Dimineața* criticized it as insufficient. Only five courses were held, it wrote, in the larger towns, while in the smaller ones and in the country none were held at all. “The responsibility rests with the Home Office, which has not offered sufficient opportunities for the officials to learn the language.”

A Hungarian paper tells the story of a private Roumanian course with hindrances. In Zágón about twenty-five Hungarian officials, teachers and merchants gathered together to take lessons from a Roumanian named Nicolas Lázár. But the Roumanian headman of the village, Simon Gavrilă, who was an old foe of Lázár, dissolved the course as “a gathering hostile to the State” and ordered Lázár to leave the village.²

At the end of 1922 a decree (No. 67,586—1922 of the Home Office) was issued ordering the dismissal of all those officials who did not know Roumanian by 1st April 1923. From this time on the greatest confusion reigned. The prefects and the heads of the different administrative branches and of the judiciary did what they liked. Already in December 1922, 30 officials had been suspended in Nagyvárad; in February 1923, 42 officials were dismissed in Kolozsvár on the pretext that they could not speak Roumanian adequately. In Arad 29, in Gyergyó 4, in Nagyvárad another 15, in the county of Bihar 27, were dismissed. All these were Hungarian places.

The attitude of the Government became evident. They did not wish to reappoint the Hungarian officials, preferring to leave their posts vacant. They cared little about the efficiency of the administration and the judiciary and only appointed Roumanians. In the bad financial situation of the country the Government were glad if they could economize on the salaries of the

¹ 12th November 1922.

² *Keleti Újság*, 10th February 1922.

officials. "Should Hungarian officials be appointed for the sole reason that they were Hungarians and were constantly complaining to the League of Nations?" asked the *Viitorul*, the official organ of the Government, on 20th May 1922.

By 1924 the terrible misery of the Hungarian officials was manifest to all the world. They had tried everything, they were willing to take the oath and had done their best to learn the language, yet they had been without position and without pensions for the last six years.

In November 1924 the officials of Kolozsvár were definitely informed by the Town Council that they could count on no pension because they had not taken the oath the first time they had been asked to do so. "Yet what would *we* have said," asked the Roumanian *Dimineata*, "if our officials had taken the oath to the Kaiser during the German occupation?"¹

In the spring of 1924 the Civil Servants of the county of Marostorda took a bold step. They turned to the Highest Administrative Court in Bucarest with a complaint against the Government. But their suit seems to have had the fate of other suits before the Roumanian tribunals: it dragged on and on and has not been settled to this day.

It was in this way that the Hungarian Civil Servants had to give up their positions and that Hungarian administration passed into Roumanian hands. "It was a great error to dismiss the Hungarian officials merely because they were Hungarians," said, in the autumn of 1923, M. Marghiloman, leader of the Conservatives and former Prime Minister.²

But the mischief was done, and the consequence was that the Government had to get their officials where they could find them. Inferior officials were transferred to high positions, second and third secretaries became prefects and sub-prefects. Priests and teachers, demobilized soldiers and all kinds of adventurers were appointed as Civil Servants. The expert officials of

¹ *Székelő Nép*, 8th January 1922.

² *Temesvári Hírlap*, 5th October 1923.

the Hungarian administration were exchanged for inexperienced ones, and what was more, the honest Hungarian officials were replaced by corrupt and dishonest Roumanian ones. "In former times," said M. V. Toni in the Chamber, "the Western countries sent their inferior goods to us; they were 'good enough for the Orient.' To-day every inefficient official whom we cannot use at home is labelled 'good enough for Transylvania' and sent there."¹ M. Pistiner, Socialist member of the House, said that in 1924 a groom of the Finance Minister, M. Vintila Brătianu, a man named N. Mocanu, was appointed pretor (chief clerk) of the Transylvanian town Szászrégen. He promptly embezzled 30,000 leus.²

The Transylvanian Roumanian, Dr W. Șorban, whom we have already quoted, has drawn a comparison between the administration of Transylvania under Hungarian and under Roumanian rule. He says that after 1868, following on the *Ausgleich* with Austria: "Hungarian administration became so perfect and ran so smoothly that it could be compared with that of any Western country. . . . And where are we now? To-day no honest and well-meaning official who has no intention of selling his soul and convictions to mammon can remain in the administration. To speak plainly—you cannot charge a thief or a criminal if he is a man of the Government, you cannot punish an official, though he be the greatest rascal, if he is useful to his party; you can steal, and your crime will be forgiven; but do not attack a man of the Government or you will get into trouble. All that we read in the *Annales* of Tacitus about crimes and vices, falsifications of documents and false witnesses has been revived in Transylvania. *Virtus rediviva Romana.*"³

In a comedy by the playwright M. Liviu Rebreanu, called *The Apostles*, there is a conversation between officials transferred from the Regat to Transylvania.

"I cannot for a moment forget," says one of them, called Brihac, "that I am here to fulfil a cultural and

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1923-1924, p. 135.

² *Op. cit.*, 1924-1925, p. 82.

³ *Administrația Ardealului*, pp. 22 and 38.

national mission. I regard myself, and everybody else regards me, as an apostle."

"Yes, we are all apostles," answers Turturcanu.

But a minute afterwards, getting angry with each other, the truth breaks through.

"I know you," says Brihac to Turtureanu, "I know the pretty rogue you are. . . . It's a locust, not an apostle, that you are."

In April 1920 the autonomous administration of Transylvania by the Governing Council came to an end. "For more than a year the Governing Council has been our dictator and has tormented us with its wise decrees," wrote the Hungarian *Ellenzék* on 28th April; "now it has passed away in the fullness of its crimes." It was followed by a powerful campaign of calumny and accusation. The county of Szatmár proposed to send a deputation to the King and tell him of the "thefts and corruption" of the officials. The prefect and sub-prefect were accused of having appropriated more than 100,000,000 crowns. At a conference of the People's Party a public prosecutor, M. Livius Ghileşan, disclosed the fact that the public prosecutors had received orders from the Department of Justice forbidding them to institute proceedings against the higher officials.

A Liquidation Commission was appointed and investigation ordered into the doings of the Council; but nothing came of it. A few subordinate officials, chiefly those of the Housing Office, were arrested, but by June the Governing Council and its administration had been forgotten and the new topic was the corruption of the succeeding Government.

In July M. Madgearu questioned the Averescu Government about some scandals in the Ministry of Industry. The Prime Minister conceded that some "incorrect transactions" had occurred in M. Taslovanu's department, but "they were not so important as those committed under the previous Government." The *Gazeta Transylvaniei* used this occasion to quote the old Roumanian saying: "Thou art a thief, I am a thief, which one of us is the greater thief?" It added

that the public morals of the Government could be described in the phrase : " We steal to-day, but more was stolen yesterday ; all is condoned, if you steal only from the State." ¹ Within a few weeks the Schuller scandals and those of the Resitza works came to light. In the latter case 25,000,000 leus had been distributed by a large steel company among members of the administration and high officials to obtain permission to continue the concern under Roumanian rule. The indignation of the country was so great that M. Taslovanu had to resign.

With the Roumanian officials and Roumanian methods a terrible curse was introduced from the Regat into Transylvania—namely, the system of gratuities. It is impossible to take a step, to have a question answered, or get a signature from a Roumanian official, without a bribe. This is, so to speak, the official, legalized method for gently extorting money from the public. It is an evil impossible to eradicate, and one which makes all contact with the administration a question of money, the sum luckily varying according to the size of the applicant's pocket. If he is unwilling to pay, he is certain to rue it in the end. The *Luptătorul* knew of a big commercial concern which had depots in Galatz, Braila and Constanța and which had refused to give bribes. Within twelve months, goods to the value of 10,000,000 leus were stolen from its warehouses.

At the end of 1920 M. P. Metes, prefect of the capital of Transylvania, issued a heroic ordinance (2001—1920) forbidding this system of gratuities. He wrote : " Seeing that the offering and accepting of bribes threatens the administration with disaster, it is the duty of all of us, authorities as well as public, to eradicate this disease with the sharpest instruments." He declared the asking and giving of gratuities to be illegal, and called on the public to bring each case to the notice of the police authorities. He ordered the organization of " anti-baksheesh leagues " in every town and village to keep permanent watch on the proceedings of the authorities.

Unfortunately the causes of the system are much too

¹ 24th July 1920.

deeply rooted to allow of its being eradicated by a prefectorial order. The morality of the Roumanian people and the economic situation of the Civil Servants would have to be altered before "anti-baksheesh leagues" could be formed with any profit. Four years after the Metes order M. L. Ciato writes of the system of gratuities as being in full vigour. He says: "When I remember the word 'balkanism,' two great sins come into my mind which weigh heavily on the conscience of the Roumanians—flogging and baksheesh. Two sins which shackle our feet so that we cannot advance, cannot draw near the West; sins which alienate our friends and make for us enemies in our own country as well as abroad."¹

At the close of 1921 the Averescu Government was nearing its end, and it was their turn to be attacked. The Liberals attacked the person of the Prime Minister, while the Press of the People's Party retaliated by slandering even more vehemently the Liberal leader, M. Brătianu. A disgraceful fight raged in the Press round the persons of the party leaders. The Liberal *Viitorul* accused General Averescu, and the *Infrățirea* accused M. Brătianu, of having enriched themselves by illegal practices. For weeks the Press feud was carried on with a virulence that cannot be compared with any outburst of Western journalism. The *Aurora* called the Brătianu brothers an "odious gang"²; and while General Averescu was accused of having built out of military materials a palace in Turnu Severin,³ the charge against the three Brătianu brothers was that they had amassed such wealth at the expense of the public that they had as many as eleven houses in town and country. Worse than that, M. Brătianu was accused of having, in 1919, retained for himself and his family the best of the spoils brought back from the invasion of Hungary, as well as of the reparations which Germany had paid in kind. The

¹ L. Ciato: *Problema minoritară în România Mare*, p. 6.

² "Odioasă banda, etichetată curent 'dinastia.'"—*Aurora*, 18th December 1921.

³ *Viitorul*. 11th and 12th December 1921.

*Luptătorul*¹ addressed the reproach to him of having "lent to the national war the character of a piracy in private interest."

After the retirement of the Averescu Government there was a few months' lull in the Press. But when M. Take Jonescu, who had followed General Averescu, retired, and M. Brătianu and his Liberals came into office, the fight blazed up anew.

The day when M. Brătianu took office he declared war on all corruption and on every corrupt official. But by June every paper was filled with the abuses and corruption of the Government and their officials.

T. Gonescu, Vice-Mayor, and F. Pap, Chief of the Housing Office, were arrested in Szatmár; in Temesvár the prefect, Stefanescu, in Brassó, Alexe Suciu, were accused of serious abuses; but the Home Secretary, General Vaitoianu, suspended the investigation.² The malpractices in connexion with permits to export animals were endless; long lists of those who had received such permits were published in the papers.³ In the *Lupta* the well-known journalist, L. Paukerow, demanded an answer to fourteen questions concerning bribes and illegalities committed by the prefect, Julian Peter. In September the prefect of Temesvár, J. Costea, was arrested, but set free again by order of "a Minister."⁴

Before the Liberals came to power, in December 1921, their paper, *Viitorul*, said in an article⁵ entitled "Régime of Corruption": "Of the many sins committed by the Government [of General Averescu] the most serious is that their actions have caused a moral dissolution, and given a bad example at a time when the purity and honesty of the Government were more than ever necessary." A year later the *régime* and the rôles were changed, and the Transylvanian *Patria* wrote with the same patriotic vehemence: "Corruption everywhere, baksheesh recognized as a legal means of payment, influence needed to attain anything, however

¹ 31st December 1921.

² *Indreptarea*, 28th July 1922.

³ *Patria*, 24th August 1922.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3rd October 1922.

⁵ 7th December 1921.

just and fair, from the authorities, and the Government at the disposal only of such as are entered on the party lists. 'Gentlemen, stop stealing!' this is the cheerless echo to every act of the Government."¹

But the echo had no influence on public life; everything went on just as before. According to the *Luptătorul* the Minister of Communication never dares to ask any stationmaster about the origin of his fortune.²

In December 1922 Todorov and Talaba, Treasury officials, were arrested in Kolozsvár for embezzling 800,000 leus. In March of the next year the Mayor of Temesvár, Stan Vidrighin, was suspended for theft and the accepting of gratuities. In Beszterce, Chief Police Inspector A. Bolfa was arrested for having been bribed. In August, Titu Cotrusca and O. Rafael of Nagyenyed were suspended for issuing permits to sell rotten meat. Haralamb Popescu, Chief Police Inspector of Arad, was arrested, set free on the order of the Home Secretary, and rearrested a few days later. In the mountains of Western Transylvania, Joan Mihailescu, forest engineer, and P. Vidran, forester, sold permits to the peasants to fell trees in the forests, and so enriched themselves by hundreds of thousands of leus. The prefect of Torda, M. Moldován, and his son-in-law, the Mayor, were dismissed for causing more than 4,000,000 leus' damage to the town.

In Resicza four chief police inspectors had to be transferred within twelve months: Gutu for embezzling 100,000 leus, Burki for beating a lawyer in the street, Cupşa for speaking Hungarian and manifesting Hungarian sympathies, and Gheorghiu for extorting a monthly payment of 500 to 1000 leus from merchants and public-house keepers on the plea that he could not exist on his salary.³

In January 1924 a correspondent of the Bucarest paper *Indreptarea*, visiting Transylvania, wrote to his paper: "It is small wonder that the Transylvanians, not only the Hungarians and Saxons, but even the Roumanians, show little enthusiasm for Roumanian

¹ *Patria*, 30th October 1922.

² *Luptătorul*, 21st September 1921.

³ *Keleti Újság*, 24th December 1923.

rule. Anyone who has been in Transylvania and seen what sort of officials have been appointed to the most important places—men ignorant of their job, who commit all sorts of illegalities and exercise an inexplicable despotism—can understand the spirit and the constant complaints of the Transylvanians.”¹

It is a curious circumstance that one very seldom hears of a corrupt official being sentenced. They are arrested, kept in prison for a few weeks, and set free by order of “a Minister” or some other high personage. “The astonishing and depressing side of the situation,” wrote M. C. Bacalbaşa, in 1923, “is not that thefts and forgeries are committed, but that the perpetrators are not punished. In every country in the world there is a justice which smites. If an official commits a misdemeanour he receives no mercy. Thefts are not hushed up, the criminals do not find mighty protectors.” All this, according to M. Bacalbaşa, is not so in Roumania.² When sentences are passed at all, they are much too mild, in view of the situation of the country. In Mármarossziget, Police Inspector C. Marghescu and Detective I. Oniţa, both accused of bribery and theft, were sentenced, the first to one year’s imprisonment, the second to six months’.

In the spring of the same year, 4,000,000 leus were missing from the tax office in Kolozsvár, and the chief cashier, Danilescu, tried to commit suicide. It transpired that under Hungarian rule he had already, as village notary, served six months in jail for embezzlement. Haralambie Cioc, head of a railway machinery factory, sold the materials of the factory for his own profit. He also stole an engine, dismantled it and sold its various parts.

On 23rd April 1925, M. G. Fischer, in a letter to the *Adevărul*, stated that the prefect of the county of Háromszék, Rauca Raucanu, had refused him the prolongation of the lease of some well-known mineral water springs, unless he paid him 500,000 leus.

Even officials connected with the Educational Department have committed irregularities. E. Stoica, the

¹ 31st January 1924.

² *Adevărul*, 5th December 1923.

bursar of the University of Kolozsvár, embezzled 250,000 leus, and the Inspector of Education in the county of Bihar, P. Coroiu, regularly kept back a part of the 3,000,000 leus a month which he received for the salaries of the teachers.

One of the causes of this situation is the distressing economic position of the officials and their absolute dependence on the Government. Badly paid at best, and never sure of receiving their salaries, they are transferable at will, and may be dismissed at a moment's notice. *Politicianismul* is the Roumanian word which denotes the political dependence of the Roumanian official, and for which there exists no adequate English expression. Professor Rădulescu Motru of Bucarest University defines it thus: "*Politicianismul* means that masterly manipulation by which institutions and offices destined to serve the commonwealth are handled so as to further personal interests." Another professor, M. N. Daşcovici, describes the result as follows: "In our public life *politicianismul* has overthrown every hierarchy and all the social values needed for the consolidation of a State, and has relegated public morality to the museum of antiquities. This is the reason why the authority of officials and institutions has declined and the moral order is everywhere in a state of disintegration."¹

In Kolozsvár, Gendarme Podár was brought before the criminal court because he had accepted 800 leus from a thief, Ludoşan. His defence was that his boots were torn and that he could not buy new ones out of his salary. He actually did buy boots with the stolen money and was acquitted.² "Has he only stolen? Poor man, what else could he do! He has a houseful of children." That is what the Roumanians say, wrote C. Bacalbaşa, being a people with soft hearts and soft morals.³ The Hungarians will also have to learn to take this sympathetic attitude towards corruption.

¹ N. Daşcovici: "Politicianismul şi cultura naţională," *Societatea de Măine*, 18th July 1926.

² *Hétfélt Napló*, 9th February 1925.

³ *Dimineaţa*, 9th September 1922.

Sometimes even the Roumanian officials have grown tired of starving and stealing, and have put their demands into memoranda to the Government, which usually did not take the slightest notice of them. Once, in April 1923, they even went on strike; but it was forcibly broken down by the Government.

The causes of all this are deeper than appear at first sight. Why do none of the Governments, whether Liberal or Conservative, ever try to alter the situation?

In a delightful article, called "A Country in which One Steals," C. Bacalbaşa, seeking for an explanation, writes that in olden times the inhabitants of the present Roumania were Scythians, who were notorious thieves and drunkards, and stamped their character on the soil so indelibly that succeeding people were all smitten with it and became thieves and rogues in their turn. It is the misfortune of the Roumanians that they came to found their State on Scythian soil. In Roumania, as far back as one can remember, every Government has fallen in consequence of some question connected with theft and bribery.

Lascar Catargiu in 1876, Jon Brătianu, the elder, in 1888, Sturdza, Jon Brătianu, the younger, all resigned because of some case of venality and corruption. But, although Governments have changed, the customs have remained the same; immorality, theft and an intense shamelessness still dominate the country.¹

The consequence of this inherited calamity, he writes in a later article, is that "Since Greater Roumania was founded, not a day, nay, not an hour, nor a minute pass in which an official, civil or military, be he a subordinate or the head of his office, does not steal, or commit a burglary or embezzlement, arson or some other piece of roguery. The whole country is a huge den in which you never know whom you can shake hands with, a den in which multitudes live by immoral acts and where it is very rare for anyone to be punished."²

And it is not only Transylvania's tragedy, and that of the Bukovina—which was exemplarily governed by

¹ *Adevărul*, 3rd August 1921.

² *Dimineaţa*, 9th September 1922.

the Austrians—to have been subjected, after an efficient administration, to such a domination. Even the Bessarabians, who used to live under Russian rule, are driven to despair and revolt and wish the rule of the Tsars back again. On 9th March 1923, before the debates on the new Constitution began, M. Pan Halippa read a declaration of the Bessarabian *bloc* in the House :

“For five years Bessarabia has lived, and still lives, under a *régime* for which no analogy can be found in the past, not even in the darkest pages of the administration of an African colony. Outside the law, without the most elementary human and civic rights, the citizens have to see their property and their honour at the mercy of the meanest agent of an irresponsible and all-powerful administration. Extortions, violence, even executions without previous legal procedure, occur day by day on the pretext of public security, and remain unpunished. And in this graveyard no cry of protest can be raised ; the Press is in chains, no meetings are tolerated ; every sign of civic life is extinct ; the local autonomous institutions which functioned even under the Tsars are suppressed.”¹

The most characteristic tools of this administration are the gendarmes and the policemen. M. E. Beldiman, brother of the late Roumanian Minister to Berlin, characterized them as follows :

“The most corrupt branch of our bad and degenerate administration is the gendarmery, which is devoid of the most elementary sense of duty. More than once before the war I read stories about the atrocities committed by the gendarmes, but I always regarded them as the sort of exaggerations common in our papers. Since then I have seen things with my own eyes which surpass all those of which I have read. I have seen old men beaten till their blood ran, pregnant women being delivered under the blows of the gendarmes, and children lying in bed on account of the tortures suffered at their hands. These are the cruel gendarmes. There is another type, the mild one,

¹ *La lutte contre l'absolutisme en Roumanie*, p. 83.

which expects to be bribed. . . . It is of such people that our gendarmery is composed: some are brutal as wild animals, others corrupt. Sometimes the two types are amalgamated in one person.”¹

The cause of this low level of the police forces is the same as with the officials: they are miserably paid and thus forced to be corrupt. A man cannot exist on a monthly salary of 600 to 1000 leus (10s. to £1).

During Hungarian rule there were more than 300 policemen in Kolozsvár. In 1919 there were only 220, of whom, in 1921, 44 resigned. The chief constable arrested them and forced them to continue their service for a monthly salary of 570 leus. In Brassó 5 to 6 policemen resigned every week, so that at last only 45 remained in the service. In Székelyudvarhely all the policemen of the old *régime* left, so that the whole service had to be created anew. Those who remain do what they can to secure a living. In Nagyvárad they organized themselves into bands and plundered the inhabitants.² In many villages they live on the peasants and go round begging. In Szászváros the sub-prefect collected regular taxes from the villagers to improve the salaries of the gendarmes. “It is a revolutionary act,” wrote the *Dimineața*, “but it must not stagger us. The naïve act of the sub-prefect has a very deep significance: the hungry officials are taking the law into their own hands to secure their existence.”³ The result is that the honest men leave the service and no honest man can be found to be appointed. Rough, half-nomad people from the Western mountains, so-called *moși*, and peasants from the Olt Valley have had to be recruited, and form an impossible body of policemen.

It is difficult to describe the conditions that the tyranny of these half-educated, badly paid people has produced in Transylvania.

In April 1920 a Commission of the American Unitarian Association arrived in Transylvania and, having stayed there nearly three months, published a report which

¹ E. Beldiman: *Schife și impresiuni din grele vremuri*.

² *Luptătorul*, 28th July 1921.

³ 7th September 1922.

contains a good deal of authentic information about the situation there and the real motives of the persecutions of these first years.

"The use of the rod is still customary among Roumanians, and it has been freely resorted to in order to terrorize Hungarians in Transylvania. In more than half of the villages visited we were given circumstantial accounts of beatings by soldiers and gendarmes. In several instances we talked with the victims. Many of the beatings took place during the search for weapons at various times last year. Some men were beaten because weapons were found; others were beaten because weapons were not found, on suspicion that they were hidden. The cantor of the Unitarian Church at Csegez, where we spent a day, was among those beaten for this cause (twenty-five lashes were given and the butt-ends of guns were used); eight or ten men besides him were flogged. In Nagyenyed, which we also visited, we were told that more than twenty men were beaten during the search in April 1919.

"Other beatings were given without immediate cause—on suspicion or merely to terrorize. In Homorodkarácsonyfalva we talked with M. Dionysius Barabás, a fine-looking gentleman of sixty, member of the Chief Consistory of the Unitarian Church. He was arrested without any apparent cause than that he was the prominent man of his village, taken to the fields where no one could look on, and there beaten with guns and by hand. He was then brought back to the village and released. A similar case is that of M. Coloman Kovács, a lawyer in Sepsiszentgyörgy, arrested last November after he had refused to take the oath to the Roumanian king. He told us that men came into his cell at midnight, waked him up and beat him. He was released after two days without trial.

"Among wanton cruelties, the treatment of the Curator of the Unitarian Church in Izsló was the worst case we came across. The curator of a congregation in Transylvania is always respected; he holds a post of honour in the village. We met and talked with this

man—a simple honest farmer, sixty-five years of age. Last October, having a good yield of plums, he proceeded to make brandy out of them. At this time Hungarians recognized the Roumanians as occupiers of the country only, and the curator had no intention of paying them a tax on his brandy. The gendarmes discovered the liquor, and gave him his choice of punishment—to take fifty lashes from the whip (‘ We will beat you so that your eyes will pop up to the sky ’); or to drink a litre of the brandy in two hours. He elected the second alternative, and the gendarmes sat by and watched the torture, forcing him to sing and dance during the early stages of his intoxication. The old man nearly died; he did not fully recover for two months.

“ Towards the end of our stay, a new occasion for brutalities was arising, in the enrolment of Hungarian *young men in the Roumanian army*. It has been denied that any Hungarian men have been called up, but we saw them at the centres of enrolment. In Marosvásárhely, while one of our mission was in town, young men gathered about the pedestal on which the Kossuth statue used to stand, to protest against enrolment prior to the signing of the Peace Treaty. Some of them wore Hungarian colours; one waved a Hungarian banner. They were surrounded, arrested and badly beaten. In Bölön, a village of 2800 people, with a large Unitarian church, which we visited later, there was a similar occurrence at the enrolment of 15th April last. Most of the youths of the village were flogged; one, a member of the congregation, who had rashly carried a Hungarian banner, died soon after his beating.”¹

In his often-quoted answer to the complaints of the Siculo-Hungarian Association to the League of Nations, M. Duca, late Roumanian Foreign Secretary, declared that the Roumanian Government had no intention of concealing the light or grave errors of the authorities;

¹ *Transylvania under the Rule of Roumania*, pp. 9-11. More than 500 cases of cruelty and atrocity are mentioned in the complaint of the Siculo-Hungarian Association to the League of Nations in 1922, published later under the title, *The Grievances of the Hungarian Minority in Roumania*, 1919-1922.

but that, *having been committed during 1918-1921, in time of war*, they could not be represented as a violation of the Minorities Treaty.

But the awful misery of the Transylvanian people cannot be explained away by such easy-going phrases. The war was over in 1918, but the cruelties of the Roumanian gendarmes survive to this day. "We cherished the illusion," wrote the *Aurora*, on New Year's Day, 1922, "that those five centuries which divide us from mediæval times have put a layer of dust between us and their horrors. We thought that our State, like all other civilized states, is based upon the ideals of the white, or at worst of the yellow races. We believed that the bandits are in jail and that the honest people can come and go and admire the beauty of the sky. But the truth is that the rogues are in uniform and that it is the honest people who are arrested, beaten and tortured in this country of Roumania."¹

There are hundreds of people in Transylvania who have been crippled for life by the gendarmes. In April 1920, G. Weiszlovits, of Nagyvárad, was beaten to death by policemen, because he gave lodgings in his house to "repatriated" Civil Servants. In the same month a young man named Vilmos Bálint, of Bácsfalu, who had been imprisoned once before, hearing that he was to be rearrested, hanged himself, preferring death to a Roumanian prison.

In July 1921 the correspondent of the Roumanian *Universul* had an unpleasant adventure in Kolozsvár. Madame Molnár, a Hungarian woman, had been arrested, together with her three daughters, by a constable named Simeon Iconar, and beaten till they bled all over, because of an insignificant quarrel with the constable's wife. The correspondent, M. Nicolai Constantin, who happened to be at the police station, intervened, whereupon the irate policeman threatened to shoot him. "Is human life safe in such a town?" asked M. Constantin earnestly.²

An old Jew, Bernhard Schön, was stabbed to death

¹ *The New York Times*, 1922.

² 20th July 1921.

by Gendarme Talpeanu for no other reason than that he was a Jew. While another Jew, Aron Geller, walking home to his village, Nagyoklós, with 400 leus (about 6s.) in his pocket, was murdered and robbed by two gendarmes named Florean and Marian who had accompanied him.

The Székely county of Csik was particularly afflicted. In August 1922 a man named Dimitrescu Spatar, a Bessarabian, who did not know a single word of Hungarian, was appointed prefect. His first act was to dismiss all Hungarian officials as well as those Roumanians who had served under Hungarian rule, and to appoint as Chief Police Constable a man named G. Tabán, whom the criminal court had declared to be under suspicion of embezzlement, bribery and theft (No. 2273—923). A ghastly era of atrocities, described in all the papers of Transylvania, followed this appointment, till at last Tabán was transferred—to a similar position in another town of Transylvania.¹

The authorities do all they can to minimize the atrocities committed, and it is rarely that a guilty constable, any more than a guilty official, is punished according to his deserts.

In August 1922 the Home Secretary ordered an investigation of the cases which had happened in the county of Csik, forced to do so by an open letter in the Hungarian paper, *Brassói Hírlap*. Four cases were investigated, and the Home Secretary in a letter to the paper stated, as a result of the inquiry, that as a matter of fact the "brutal procedure" of the authorities had been unnecessary, and that they had been "somewhat culpable"; adding that in the two worst cases he had "called the attention" of the gendarmes to their "tactless" behaviour.²

As a natural consequence of this lenient attitude, three gendarmes, Mihaloviciu, Kovaciu and Pircea, who had murdered one man and tortured several others, were sentenced, the first two to one year's hard labour and the last to two years'. Joan Gaborian,

¹ *Keleti Újság*, 16th and 21st September 1923.

² *Brassói Lapok*, 16th July 1922.

gendarmery sergeant, and a gendarme, Nikolai Tatariu, were sentenced to five and three years' imprisonment respectively for murdering Sándor Kocsis. A detective, G. Boncea, found guilty of rape and several cases of extortion, was sentenced to ten months' imprisonment.

We refrain from going more deeply into this last-named ugliest crime of the Roumanian police force, the rape of young girls. We only mention that when a strike broke out in Arad in December 1921, and young girls, some of them not older than fourteen and fifteen, were arrested and brought to the police station, the most shocking fate awaited them there, as anyone may read in the pages of the *Aurora* of 31st December 1921.

The police administration of Roumania is a terrible crime against civilization. Not a single ray of light can be detected in this horror-filled mediæval atmosphere, of which more will have to be told in connexion with the Judiciary. "The blood of the country is poisoned," said Professor Jorga in the House.¹

In a small Bessarabian town, Edințe, the Chief Police Constable, Vulpia, issued an ordinance in 1923 which made it incumbent on the civil population to salute the officers of the army "with raised hat, a pleasant smile and a profound bow down to the ground." To give the population a chance to practise this salute, Captain Dumitriu, Commandant of the Town, ordered his cap to be carried round the town several times a day, when everybody was under the obligation to salute it in the manner prescribed above.

Does not this incredible story remind one of a historic incident which was the starting-point of an oppressed people's victorious struggle for freedom?

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 1075.

CHAPTER VII

THE PASSPORT SWINDLE

Not later than two or three years after the creation of Greater Roumania, emigration from the country recommenced. The hope of the Roumanian statesmen that the new State would have an attraction for those who had left the country before the war proved false. A few thousand Roumanians who had emigrated before returned from America in 1919 and 1920. But that was all. In 1919 the Roumanian Government sent a Commission, under the chairmanship of a naval officer, Commodore Pantazzi, to the United States to induce the Roumanians living there to return. About 5000 declared their willingness, sold their property or left their employments, paid 150 to 300 dollars for the *visas* to the Commission and then were left stranded. In a letter addressed to Mr J. F. Hylan, the Mayor of New York, they complained of being "treated no better than a herd of cattle. We are huddled together in small rooms and fleeced; these officials only make mock of us and take our money." The United States Government had finally to intervene to get them back to Roumania. No wonder they have no great longing to see their native land again.

The reasons which prevented the American Roumanians from returning worked in the opposite direction in Roumania. Bad administration, corruption and the distressing economic situation were strong inducements to emigration.

The dissatisfaction of the people was moreover coupled with circumstances which favoured the illegitimate transport of emigrants.

Before the war there had been only two or three shipping companies in Roumania; but after the war she got a great number of ships in reparation, and

shipping companies, as M. V. Moldovanu said in the House, grew like mushrooms in Bucarest. In 1925 there were more than sixty shipping agencies, all founded in 1921 and 1922, and all eager to make business. But as there was a great slump in economic life, and the only goods they could carry were emigrants, they organized emigration and sold their nation abroad.

The matter was not easy, however.

It was the principle of the Roumanian Government not to further emigration, and it was made difficult to obtain passports for overseas passengers. Moreover, in Transylvania, where Hungarian law is still in force, Act 1909, II., forbids agents to incite people to emigration. But this principle was applied only towards the Roumanians; with the Minorities it was different.

However, even in the case of Roumanians, the difficulty of procuring passports was not insurmountable. In Roumania there is a factor which stretches out a helping hand to everyone and can render assistance in every situation: this is corruption. Corruption came to the rescue of those Roumanians who wished to emigrate. "A prohibition is only a prohibition while it is obeyed," said an emigration agent in Transylvania. "I can arrange that you shall get to America; but, of course, it will cost money."

Notwithstanding the famous Agrarian Reform Act, the situation of the peasants was so wretched that they willingly sacrificed money to be able to leave their *mama patria*, or mother-country, and gladly paid 10, 20 or even 50 and 60 thousand leus for a passport. In some cases it happened that Roumanians changed their name and religion so as to be taken for Hungarians and thus obtain passports more easily. In the county of Bihar, Roumanians who wished to obtain passports were designated as Jews by the village notaries.¹ The procuring of passports developed into a profitable branch of business: agents, lawyers, officials, Members of Parliament intervened at the passport offices and in the Home Office. Late Ministers of the Crown and

¹ *Ellenzék*, 2nd November 1925.

even actual Members of the Government were connected with this illegitimate business.

"How can it be tolerated," asked M. V. Moldovanu, in the House, "that the papers should day after day accuse Members of Parliament, be they of the Government or of the Opposition parties, of being mixed up with the passport affair? To-day's papers say that a high-standing lady who is in close connexion with the Court has received two hundred passports; that a colonel who is a near relation of the Minister of Commerce received fifty; there is even a rumour that His Holiness the Metropolitan Primate is entangled with these matters." The Minister of Justice answered the question, but failed to contradict the rumours.¹

The right of issuing passports, which was legally in the hands of the Home Office, was transferred after the war to the prefects, who handled it with the utmost irresponsibility. In 1921 about 112,000 passports were issued, as was stated in the House by the Home Secretary. The Home Office issued orders to regulate the question, but they were disregarded by the officials. General Vaitoianu, the Home Secretary, admitted that there had been numerous irregularities and that he had even been forced to dismiss an official.

The issuing of orders and the dismissal of one official were hardly adequate measures. But neither was it the Government's aim to hinder the emigration of all sections of the population.

In 1921 and in 1922, when the expropriation of the land of the Hungarian owners was started under the Land Reform Act, people in the county of Hunyad, who were going to lose their property and their hope of a future in Transylvania, began to entertain the idea of emigrating to America. Two Hungarians, J. László and G. Herberger, took the matter into their hands, and in February 1922 went to Brazil to explore the situation. They returned with different views. László, who was an honest and patriotic man, said that the situation of the labourers on the coffee plantations and in the gold mines was intolerable; neither the

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 43.

work nor the climate was suitable for Transylvanian peasants. He did his best to dissuade his compatriots from emigrating. Herberger did the contrary. He was a man of dubious character, who had been guilty of some petty theft in Rio Janciro, and had cheated even the Hungarian Consul of Sao Paolo. Unlike László, he did his best to persuade people to emigrate, and started an emigration agency in the county of Hunyad, which was not very successful at first, owing to the action of László and of the Hungarian Press. In an open letter László designated Herberger's statements as atrocious lies, while the Hungarian paper, *Hunyad-vármegye*, drew the prefect's attention to the propaganda and to the fact that enticement to emigration was a criminal act.¹ Herberger transferred his activities to the neighbouring county of Arad, which is contiguous to Hungary—in fact, parts of it still belong to that country. Here he displayed an unwearied activity among the farmers and peasants. In a pamphlet, which he spread in all the villages, he described the advantages of South American life and said that the Brazilian Government guaranteed a free passage and gave forty-seven acres of land and a house to every immigrant. As the Roumanian Government allowed Hungarians to emigrate, he could easily procure passports, he said. The result was brilliant. From the one Hungarian village of Ószentanna alone, 120 families, farmers, merchants and Civil Servants, notified their willingness to emigrate. Herberger issued his pamphlet in book-form, *Brazil and Emigration thereto*, and extended his activities to the neighbouring counties. The emigration fever began to infect even the contiguous Hungarian districts.

By this time Herberger had become the chief agent of the Roumanian Cunard Line Company.

In May 1922 General Arthur Vaitoianu, then Home Secretary, had appointed a committee for the control of emigration, and appointed as its chairman M. Richard Franasovici, who was his under-secretary in the Home Office and son-in-law to his brother, General Alexander

¹ 26th August 1922.

Vaitoianu. On 8th June this committee concluded an agreement with the Cunard Line Company, authorizing it to transport emigrants. The Roumanian Cunard Line Company was formed, the directors of which were four Englishmen and five Roumanians, one of them being R. Franasovici.

Under the auspices of this influential company Herberger unfolded his propaganda, and the emigration of the Hungarian and Suabian inhabitants of the country assumed alarming proportions. Out of the Sztrigy valley alone 806 families emigrated, as was stated in the House by the under-secretary. The formerly rich Suabian villages of Lovrin, Billed and Besenyő were entirely depopulated by 1923. Sometimes as many as 300 to 400 families a week left the country. It was chiefly in the Bánát that the emigration fever raged, in that wonderfully fertile district where the Suabian and Hungarian farmers had lived in great prosperity, and therefore suffered all the more severely under the loss of their property and the unbearable Roumanian administration.

The emigrants were not only forced to pay for their passports, but also to contribute 400 to 500 leus each towards the forming of a future company in Brazil or the Argentine.

In the autumn of 1923 the emigration business was so prosperous that there was an opening for a second company. A person named Nicolai Filipescu, whom the magistrate described as "a man of unusual intelligence and possessing an enormous persuasive faculty," undertook the forming of a company for the exploitation of Roumanian oilfields. He had no money and owned no oilfields. Thirteen years before he had been sentenced to twelve months' hard labour for embezzlement and fraudulent bankruptcy, in consequence of which his entire family had committed suicide. This sinister tragedy was known all over Roumania.

With this person there were associated two other men, H. Georgescu and H. Stoianescu, representing a dubious company, the "Industria Națională de

Petrol," and together they founded, under the chairmanship of General A. Vaitoianu, the "Petroliul Național," a company with a nominal capital of 400,000 leus. But as none of the founders had money, the paid-up capital was represented by the modest sum of 21,500 leus. To the board of directors there were later added MM. D. Jonescu, C. Stojanescu, J. Constantin, and, still later, M. Richard Franasovici. The company applied for its registration in October 1923, but only received it in 1924, when Franasovici was appointed director. In the meantime it carried on its fraudulent business as if it had already had the authorization of the Home Office.

Before long Filipescu had an inspiration as to the best way of procuring the missing capital as well as the oil wells—namely, to issue shares and place them with Roumanians living in the United States. The placing would be done by Roumanian peasants who wished to emigrate and for whom the company was willing to procure passports and *visas* for the payment of 40,000 to 60,000 leus each (130 to 150 dollars). At the end of 1923 fifty-five Roumanian peasants from the Transylvanian county of Fogaras arrived in Bucarest and stated their willingness to emigrate and work for the company. They were made to sign a paper declaring that they had paid no money to anyone, but were entitled to receive from the company a valid passport for America.

But here difficulties arose. The first was to acquire passports for nationals of the Roumanian race; but this was not insuperable. It was easy to find two officials in the Home Office, in the Direcțiunea Generală a Statului, A. Stoicescu and H. Dumitriu, who undertook to forge the passports. Dumitriu went even further and stole one of the office stamps, which he gave to Filipescu so that from that time on he could issue as many passports as he needed. The signatures were forged, of course.

Another difficulty seemed insurmountable at first. The quota of emigrants from Roumania to the United States was already full and the American Consulate

refused further *visas*. Even General Vaitoianu's letters to the Consulate remained without effect.

But Filipescu found a solution even for this problem. He had an old friend, a man named E. Codrescu, who was an agent of the Canadian Government. Filipescu forged the passports so that they served for Canada as well as the United States, and Codrescu politely granted the *visas* to the peasants, as members of "a big delegation of the powerful company, the Petrolul Național."

Yet even so there were obstacles in the way. The peasants had paid about 2,500,000 leus—30,000 to 60,000 leus each—to Filipescu when they arrived in Bucarest. But, with all the difficulties incident to procuring the passports and *visas*, nearly six months had elapsed. Filipescu had had to pay for their keep meanwhile, and the directors themselves had lived sumptuously. At the end of the six months the millions were gone and there was no money to pay the fare to America.

Again Filipescu found a way out.

He went to the Royal Mail Packet Company and made a contract with them. The Petrolul Național paid ten dollars for each emigrant, for which sum the company agreed to send them as far as Cherbourg. To that port the Petrolul Național was to send the rest of the fare for Canada later on.

So the fifty-five peasants were transferred to Cherbourg; but no money awaited them on their arrival, nor did it come later, though they waited week after week. They sent wires to Filipescu and General Vaitoianu, and applied to the Roumanian Legation at Paris. The English Consulate threatened to annul the *visas*. The situation was alarming. Filipescu sent Draganesti to calm the peasants. Arriving in Cherbourg, he told them that the Petrolul Național had failed and that Filipescu had committed suicide. But he was not believed. Then he tried to intimidate the peasants by saying that as a late aide-de-camp of Prince Nicholas he would make order among them by the help of the French military. But this threat made no more

impression than his first statement. Then he telegraphed for Filipescu, who came, but having no money could do nothing except prolong, with the aid of the stolen stamp, the passports for another six months. Then he returned to Bucarest.

At last the Royal Mail Company took the fate of the victims in its own hands, and after many telegrams advanced the return fare of thirty-one peasants to Roumania; a few went over to Columbia, while the rest remained in France as day-labourers.

In October 1924 Filipescu was arrested, and his arrest was followed the next day by that of General Vaitoianu. When the magistrate informed the latter of his preliminary detention he tried to commit suicide. Although his wound was slight, he was sent to a nursing home instead of being kept in prison.

Later some more of the company's directors were arrested. But the procedure was slow, as usual. One by one they were released, Filipescu alone remaining in jail. In vain he protested against this. "I demand," he wrote to the magistrate, "that the same justice be meted out to little men as to big. . . . If I am dragged before the Court for cheating and emigration swindles, I demand that the law shall be applied also against those who really committed the passport frauds."

At this time of writing—September 1925—he is still in prison, but undoubtedly he will be released without any sentence. In the meantime he can meditate on the words of M. Moldovanu, who asked in the House, when the debates on the scandal of the Petrolul Național were in full swing: "Is there an impartial tribunal and an impartial judiciary in this country which is not in the hands of a political party? Do the laws rule here, where the little people who have no connexions are sent to jail, while the big ones who have political and family influence sit on the front benches!"

At this point it is necessary to return to Herberger to understand how the machinations of the Petrolul Național were possible. On 27th February 1922 a police agent in Déva, the county town of the county of Hu-

nyad, had called the attention of his chief to the fact that a strong propaganda was being carried on among the people, "exclusively among the Hungarians," to induce them to emigrate to Brazil. "The propaganda is made in view of the fact that next spring the land of the Hungarians will be expropriated. . . . I have the honour to draw your attention to this, because it will have injurious consequences for our State, as the Hungarians will not fail to make detrimental propaganda against our country."¹

The Chief Police Inspector reported the case to the Home Office, whence he received a ciphered telegram to the effect that the under-secretary, M. Franasovici, had heard from Herberger that he was being hindered in his work as the agent of a shipping company, "notwithstanding the fact that he was working according to an arrangement with the Home Secretary: "I must ask you to take the necessary measures to prevent your subordinates from putting these obstacles in his way in the hope of personal advantages." When M. Moldovanu read this telegram in the House he added: "The Home Secretary went so far in protecting common knaves that he aspersed his own officials to keep the scoundrel out of jail." So Herberger continued his business.

Apparently, however, not all the members of the police were initiated into this affair. A little later another, more zealous, officer arrested Herberger. Brought before the Court the latter told the magistrate that "he was not culpable and if there were any question of culpability it was M. Arthur Vaitoianu, the Home Secretary, who was culpable, because he, Herberger, had his authorization for this crime." In a document submitted to the magistrate he declared: "All my actions connected with the Brazilian emigration were done openly and under the control of the Government. I had an authorization of the Home Secretary, which he gave me personally."

¹ This and most of the following facts and documents are taken from the *Hansards* of the Roumanian Parliament, *Desbat. Deput.*, 3rd March 1925, pp. 1383-1407.

The stupefied magistrate appealed to the Home Secretary to learn whether Herberger's statement was correct, and received the following open official answer from the Secretary under No. 13,267—924: "J. Herberger has received no authorization either from the Home Office or from the Ministry of Works to carry on a propaganda for emigration, nor for issuing shares in the name of any Argentine company whatsoever." A "strictly private" telegram, however, No. 56,259—924, sent to the president of the Court runs as follows: "In answer to your question under No. 792—923 I wish to inform you that Julius Herberger has been verbally and temporarily authorized to recruit emigrants. For the Minister—OLARĂȘU."

On receipt of this telegram Herberger was released, and even supplied with a certificate testifying to his unimpeachable character, with the aid of which he obtained a passport and left the country. In June 1925 the Court decided to discontinue the procedure against him.

Naturally these scandals got into the Press, and were eventually brought before the House.

Already in 1924 M. V. Moldovanu had brought before the House the Pantazi case, and as Pantazi was a commodore in the navy on active service, the Minister for War, General Mardarescu, had promised to hold an inquiry. When, however, a year after, he was questioned again and Moldovanu laid all the documents concerning the case on the table of the House, the Minister confessed that he had done nothing in the matter; but it was "mere forgetfulness," as he assured his questioner, and he again promised an inquiry. In March 1925, six years after the case had happened, he declared that Commodore Pantazi was an honourable man and had done nothing blameworthy.

But the chief subject of M. Moldovanu's speech on that memorable 12th February was the story of the Roumanian Cunard Company and the machinations of J. Herberger. At the end of his speech he turned to the Government benches: "I ask you what retribution you intend to apply toward a Minister who has

protected the most terrible of monopolies, that of slave trade? What satisfaction do you intend to take from a Minister who has made a mockery of justice, who has protected a cheat and authorized him to commit crimes, and who, to save his own skin, has influenced the Judiciary to allow the said cheat to escape over the frontier?"

After Moldovanu's speech General Vaitoianu gave his version of what had occurred. In the midst of his speech a debate arose concerning the nationality of the emigrants. When he described the activities of Herberger, M. J. Maniu, Chairman of the Roumanian National Party in Transylvania, intervened. The dramatic debate which ensued throws a glaring light on the situation of the Hungarian Minority and on the standpoint of the Government towards it:

"J. MANIU. Will you allow a question? Have you any knowledge regarding the Emigration Act? . . .

"GEN. VAITOIANU. Yes, certainly.

"J. MANIU. . . . Article 2 of which unequivocally orders that no one is to be allowed to have an emigration agency who is in communication with a Government of a foreign State?

"GEN. VAITOIANU. It has also other provisions . . .

"J. MANIU. How do you think it permissible to have dealings in emigration questions with a person who is the agent of a foreign Government?

"GEN. VAITOIANU. The Hungarian Colonization Act—on the strength of which denationalization was carried on in more than one district of Transylvania—provides that the Governments are entitled to prevent emigration, which means that they are also entitled to allow it.

"J. MANIU. I do not advise you to use that argument as defence, if you do not wish to strengthen the accusation. . . .

"J. G. DUCA (FOREIGN MINISTER). A nice state of affairs!

"J. MANIU. I ask the Minister for Foreign Affairs to warn his colleague not to involve himself still more by his defence.

"J. G. DUCA. Since M. Maniu appeals to me, I would like to ask him to answer unequivocally the following question : Have you any objection against the emigration of the non-Roumanian elements ? Yes or no ?

"J. MANIU. I ask the Minister for Foreign Affairs to allow me to answer him with another question. . . . Is it your conviction that the Roumanian national who speaks another language than Roumanian is to be regarded as an alien ?

"DUCA. Gentlemen, it is clear that all the inhabitants of Roumania who became Roumanian nationals on the strength of the Treaties are *de facto* Roumanian nationals. It is no less true that within the frontiers of present Greater Roumania there are also Minorities. I repeat my question : If parts of this Minority cannot accept the fact of a Greater Roumania in which they form a minority instead of a majority ; if these elements, I say, want to leave Roumania without the intention of returning ; if they want to go and found colonies either in North or South America or Australia—does the Roumanian National Party and its leader see any drawback, any national danger in this ?

"MANIU. My answer had been given by an eminent member of my party, who stated that those who desire to emigrate of their own free will should not be hindered in their purpose. What I protest against is that these people should be misled by agents appointed for this purpose, that they should be made to emigrate as a matter of business, that they should be exploited and sent to a place where their lives and work are endangered : and that they should be made the subject of illegal commercial transactions and illegal commercial gain by agents who are under the protection of the Home Secretary, and that this should form a source of income to the friends and relations of the gentlemen on the front bench.

"DUCA. I must state that M. Maniu has not answered the very important question which I put to him.

"A VOICE. He cannot answer it.

"DUCA. I repeat my question clearly. Do you and your Party make no distinction in the question of

emigration between one section and another of the population ?

"E. ANTONESCU. This is no way for a Minister for Foreign Affairs to speak.

"DUCA. I had to formulate the question precisely, because the impression made on me by the present debate is that you and your Party do not desire the emigration of the Minorities who will not recognize the rule of the Roumanian State and wish to leave the country."

Here this part of the debate died away.

It is a fact that M. Maniu did not answer the question of the Foreign Minister. The Home Secretary continued his speech, and was able to read the following report of the Transylvanian Chief Police Inspector without interruption : "In this whole affair there is only question of those elements who are disturbers of the peace, and we ask them to leave as soon as possible so that their land may go to the Roumanian farmers."

The debate reveals the real attitude of the Home Secretary, the Foreign Minister and the entire Government, backed by the Liberal Party, towards the Minorities. It reveals the fact that the Hungarian and German Minorities are regarded as undesirable elements which the Government tries to eliminate. Emigration is part of the policy which wants to transform Roumania into a national State.

This policy is not applied only in Transylvania ; it is universal all over the kingdom and directed against every Minority.

In November 1925, Mr H. O. Roth, a Saxon member of Parliament, mentioned in the House that thousands of emigrants leave the fertile country of South Bessarabia and that they are all Germans, Russians and Bulgarians ; the Roumanians are not allowed to emigrate.¹

In an article in the *Dimineata*, M. Batzarica described the situation in Dobrudsza : "Do the Bulgarians emigrate ? So much the better for us, we will send

¹ *Debat. Deput.*, 1925-1926, p. 225.

Roumanian settlers to take their place." This, according to the writer, is the general view about the Bulgarians. They are undesirable elements and irredentists, and must leave the country. Even the peaceful Turks and Tartars are forced to emigrate to Anatolia. It is the intolerable administration, the constant vexations, "the verbal and actual violences, the tortures and illegalities, the requisitionings and arbitrary taxations, which drive them to a *happier land, to Asia.*"

The policy of expulsions had to cease after the first years ; its place was taken by a traffic in souls ; both are based on the same principle, that of making the life of the Minorities intolerable. The groundwork for the nationalist State is done by the gendarmes, the rest by the emigration agents of the Home Office.

The figures in regard to emigration, already quoted in Chapter III., should be borne in mind. We print them again to bear witness against the devastating Minorities policy of the Government :

PERSONS WHO LEFT FOR OVERSEAS COUNTRIES
IN 1924

	<i>Regat</i>	<i>Transylvania</i>	<i>Bessarabia</i>	<i>Bukovina</i>
Total of population .	7,770,000	5,230,000	2,665,000	835,000
Emigrants . . .	811	18,015	1,425	2,361

CHAPTER VIII

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE JUDICIARY

IN a Transylvanian German paper, the *Schwäbische Volkspresse*, it was stated by Dr Karl Grassner, a lawyer who had been a member of the German Minority under Hungarian rule, that "The Hungarian Judiciary had been exemplary; it had been supported by an array of truly noble-minded judges who had no other aim in the judge's seat than to do right according to their own conviction." Within a few months this state of affairs was wholly changed and the Transylvanian Judiciary had become similar to that of the old Roumanian kingdom.

It is not only that, in contravention of various provisions of the Minorities Treaty, Hungarian judges have been dismissed, the Courts Roumanized and the Minorities forbidden to use their own language before them; but the entire Judiciary of the country, which formerly came up to Western standards, has been lowered to a Balkan level. The judges are inefficient, the Courts work little and slowly, and all confidence in them has vanished so entirely that litigants prefer to choose private arbitrators, avoiding the regular Courts. An old labourer said to M. Tanase, the Socialist member of Parliament: "For us the gendarme is no better than the hangman, the constable no better than a thief and torturer, and the judge than a vindictive evil-wisher." Worst of all are the prisons, which recall the horrors of mediæval torture-chambers.

The first act of the Governing Council in 1919 was to order that the Hungarian laws should remain in force and the judges continue in their offices, provided they took the oath of allegiance. The Hungarian judges refused to do this, and were dismissed.

Their places could only in a very few cases be filled with competent Roumanian jurists—*i.e.* solicitors who were willing to exchange the ample income of a lawyer for the miserable salary of a judge; in most cases the vacant positions were filled either with inefficient, pensioned-off judges from the Regat, or were left vacant. In the Hungarian and Székely districts the latter course was preferred. In the purely Székely counties of Csik and Háromszék the Law Courts were simply suspended and the inhabitants forced to travel to the third county to find a tribunal. This was by way of retaliation for the attitude of the Hungarian judges. In Brassó, where there had been thirty-six judges under Hungarian rule, there are now twelve, although the above-mentioned two counties of Csik and Háromszék are also attached to this tribunal. In the time of the Hungarian domination there were about 1400 judge-ships in Transylvania; in 1919 their number was reduced by half, and later by still more, so that in 1922 there were only 170 judges at the tribunals of first instance.

Another act of vengeance was the appointment in Hungarian places of Roumanian judges from the Regat and from Bessarabia who knew no Hungarian. In 1920 six Roumanian judges from the Regat were appointed in Marosvásárhely and six in Arad, both purely Hungarian places. These judges were entirely useless in Transylvania, being ignorant not only of the language but also of the law. In November 1924 M. C. Simonescu, an excellent man in his place in Kisheneff, was appointed President of the Law Courts in Arad. He could speak Russian and was thoroughly versed in Bessarabian law, but knew neither Hungarian nor the laws of Hungary, which are in force in Arad. A striking case which shows the result of such transfers was that of M. S. Praporgescu, a half-Greek from the Regat, who was appointed President of the Court in Kolozsvár, and who in one of his sentences neglected to apply a Hungarian law which was in force in Transylvania. Brought before the

High Court in Bucarest, he defended himself by saying that he had not known that such a law existed. The Court had perforce to sentence him to a reprimand (*Ujhelyi v. Praporgescu*).

Many of the judges are of an incredible ignorance, in illustration of which innumerable stories are told. It is said that in a case concerning the lease of an apartment the Hungarian lawyer, J. Horváth, picturesquely described the rooms in question as "unfit for human habitation, being rather like the 'Night-shelter' of Maxim Gorkij," whereupon the Court summoned M. Gorkij as a witness in the case.

At Christmas 1921 the ladies of Szatmár arranged a collection for the benefit of the poor children, and a Roman Catholic priest, M. J. Csáky, gave his contribution as coming from Saint Anthony. The police authorities, scenting irredentism at the back of the charitable enterprise, started an investigation, in the course of which "Saint Anthony," as one of the suspected donors, was summoned before the magistrate.

The most regrettable feature of the Roumanian Judiciary introduced into the transferred territories is the low morality of many of the newly appointed judges. The *Keleti Ujság* mentions a Kolozsvár judge who, on a cold December night, was found totally drunk on the pavement and who made a disgraceful row when he was taken to the police station.¹ In Brassó the Public Prosecutor was accused of stealing and embezzlement, as well as of illegally detaining persons in prison; his substitute was discovered to have a *liaison* with a woman prisoner of bad character.² Simionescu, a judge in Jalomîta, was dismissed by Royal Decree because he had offered to set arrested persons free on payment of 50,000 to 100,000 leus.³ In the summer of 1924 the official *Gazette* published a list of judges, who all have been dismissed for acts "coming under the provisions of the Penal Code." "Is that an adequate punishment?" asked the *Adevărul*, seeing that, for example, the crime of Vasile

¹ *Keleti Ujság*, 9th December 1921.

² *Ellenzék*, 31st March 1922.

³ *Brassói Lapok*, 16th February 1924.

Conduli was that of extortion and that of Const. A. Jonescu embezzlement.¹

Apparently such cases are not sporadic, but a characteristic of the Roumanian Judiciary. At the beginning of 1925 an inquiry was made into the matter, in connexion with which the *Indreptarea* wrote: "It has been publicly and incontestably proved that we have incorrect and venal judges who sell justice for money, and others who are not on the level of their high profession and lack the most elementary knowledge of the law. . . . Immediate steps must be taken concerning this, and first of all a thorough moral purification must be made."²

The cause of this situation was primarily the wish for a rapid Roumanization of the Judiciary. In the first year the Hungarian judges were dismissed because they would not take the oath, and later they were either not reinstated or were again dismissed because they could not learn Roumanian and so help to Roumanize the Courts as quickly as the Government wished.

The Gyulaféhervár Resolutions declared that "each people shall . . . judge itself in its own language by persons from its own midst," and the Minorities Treaty ordered that "adequate facilities shall be given to Roumanian nationals of non-Roumanian speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the Courts."

Notwithstanding this the Government started enforcing the Roumanian language already in the second year; and in June 1920, before the Treaty of Trianon was ratified, an order was issued fixing the impossibly short time of twelve months for the judges to acquire it.

Later a flood of ordinances came, ordering the introduction of Roumanian in the tribunals.

In January 1921 Ordinance No. 28,819 of the Transylvanian Chief Legal Director was issued, ordering that litigants without exception should use orally and in writing only Roumanian before the Courts.

¹ *Adevărul*, 81st August 1924.

² *Indreptarea*, 16th February 1925.

ORGANIZATION OF THE JUDICIARY 137

It happened in the Bukovina that a Court issued a summons written on an old printed German form, whereupon Ordinance No. 16,695—922 ordered, on pain of a heavy penalty, that official documents must always and without exception be written in Roumanian. Magistrates, judges and lawyers were warned that no plea of ignorance of the language would be accepted.

A later ordinance provided (No. 19,645—922) that the registers of land must be drawn up exclusively in Roumanian.

The two latter ordinances originated from M. Florescu, Minister of Justice in the Brătianu administration, who regarded the Roumanization of the Judiciary as the paramount duty of a Minister. In May 1922, on a tour of inspection in Arad, he explained his standpoint: "It is desirable to introduce the Roumanian language into every branch of the administration. It is more important for a judge to know Roumanian than to understand the language of the litigants or to be acquainted with the principles of the regional law."

In April 1922 he ordered that, as the time for the learning of Roumanian expired in June, no other language was to be allowed in the Courts in future. Then he began his tours of inspection in the Transylvanian towns, personally examining the judges, dismissing those who could not speak Roumanian perfectly, and issuing orders which generally conflicted with the laws of the country, and were mostly absurd. For example, he ordered that old lawsuits begun years before under Hungarian rule and not yet concluded must be tried all over again, the documents being translated into Roumanian.

Naturally there was a general revolt against all this. The Chamber of Commerce in Temesvár protested in a Memorandum which called the Minister's attention to the fact that more than 80 per cent. of the inhabitants of the town and 95 per cent. of the merchants and industrials were non-Roumanians, whose interests would be immensely damaged by

such measures. There were lawsuits which had been pending for years. The slowness of the judicial procedure might be excused for a time by the change of domination, but it would be still more retarded if the exclusive use of the Roumanian language were to be introduced. "It will have a detrimental influence on our credit and cripple the whole of our mercantile life, causing immeasurable damage not only to private persons but also to the State." The Memorandum reminded the Minister that during Hungarian rule the Courts in that town had been German up till 1884, and that since that time the use of any of the Minorities languages had been permitted. "The Hungarian State had allowed the use of non-Hungarian languages on a territory which had not been lately annexed but had belonged to it for centuries."

The Memorandum had no result.

In the autumn of 1922 M. Florescu was again on tour, hunting for Hungarian judges with an insufficient knowledge of Roumanian. On this occasion two elderly judges in Arad, with respectively thirty-five and forty years of service behind them, said frankly that they were too old to learn a foreign language. M. Florescu replied ungraciously that people who did not learn Roumanian were no better than conspirators who betray their country; thereupon both judges immediately tendered their resignation.¹

These tours of inspection did not always have such a dramatic ending. In Nagyvárad, M. Florescu inspected the prisons, and his visit was described in the Transylvanian Roumanian paper, *Patria*. "This visit of the high personage," wrote the paper, "was not at all satisfactory. A great number of the jail-birds proved to be ignorant of the beautiful language of Joan Creanga [a Roumanian poet]. The logical result of this experience will be that the Minister will introduce a Bill in the House to-morrow, stipulating that no such rascals shall be allowed to enter the jails as cannot read and write Roumanian."²

The ministerial decrees and declarations had their

¹ *Temesvári Hírlap*, 16th September 1922.

² *Patria*, 20th April 1923.

effect on the officials, however. In Kolozsvár the President of the Law Courts, M. Praporgescu, ordered that the hearing of the litigants and the witnesses must be in Roumanian. In February 1923 he went so far as to forbid, in this old Hungarian town, the giving of any information in Hungarian, and to order that judges and officials should speak Roumanian even in their private intercourse in the precincts of the Law Courts.¹

Such orders had quaint results at times. It happened that when a judge asked a peasant whether he could read and write, the man answered that he had been able to do so before, but that now he had become illiterate, because—producing a Roumanian document—he could not read this.

The low level of the Roumanian judges is the result—as it is with the other Civil Servants—partly of their bad economic situation, partly of their dependence on the Government. In 1921 the judges declared that they would either go on strike or leave the service if their economic situation was not ameliorated. The report of the Chamber of Lawyers in Nagyvárad stated that the salary of a judge was less than the income of a waiter in a good restaurant.

It is evidence of the decay of the Judiciary that in Roumania trials never come to an end. The procedure begins, slackens and lingers on for a time, but very seldom reaches the stage where sentence is pronounced. Persons are remanded for months, and even years, without being brought before the magistrate, and the usual procedure, especially in political cases, is to keep the accused in jail and release him after a few months' imprisonment without trial or any redress.

The so-called "bankruptcy of the Judiciary" is a well-known fact in Roumania. Not only the Press, but the authorities and Parliament speak of it quite openly. The tribunals are unable to cope with the situation, and this state of affairs has a disastrous reaction on economic life. At the tribunal of

¹ *Ellenzék*, 4th February 1923.

Nagyszeben there were seven judges before the war; at present there are only three, and the number of the cases grows constantly. In 1923 there were 10,000, in the following year 13,000, and in 1925 about 16,000 cases in arrears. It is evident that the Court is unable to cope with the situation.¹ In the spring of 1925 M. Aurel Lazăr said in the House that one of the Courts of Appeal was in arrears with 6000 cases.² The belief in the security of the Judiciary system is undermined: no obligations are kept, because there is little chance of enforcing them. "Nowadays the debtor who pays at the appointed time is a miracle," wrote Professor Antonescu, "when a much more convenient and practical way is open to him—viz. to force his creditors to sue him and thus drag out the payment for years."³

The Transylvanians were not used to a system which protects dishonesty. Thus the daily routine of economic life has brought into existence the institution of selected tribunals of arbitration, in which expert jurists have been appointed. Already in the spring of 1922, on the occasion of the debate on the Speech from the Throne, M. Bernády, the Hungarian member, mentioned in the House that on account of the unreliability of the Roumanian Courts this procedure is very popular, chiefly among the Hungarians, who enjoy all its advantages—Hungarian procedure, expert knowledge and promptitude.

But nationalist Roumanians looked askance at these tribunals, which threatened to frustrate the work of M. Florescu, and a regular campaign was started against them, in the course of which they were branded as instruments of irredentism. In Kolozsvár they were denounced by the *Infrățirea*; and at the meeting of the Astra, a Roumanian cultural and literary society, in Temesvár, a lawyer, M. Rădulescu, attacked them violently. On 30th January 1924 Senator Bianu, a man entirely blinded

¹ L. Borcea; "Accelerarea judecăților," in the *Ardealul Juridic*, 1925, No. 18, p. 275.

² *Debat, Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 2434. ³ *Cugetul Român*, 1922, i., p. 7.

by narrow-minded hatred of the Minorities, invcighed against them in the Senate. He had a really harrowing tale to tell about them :

"Using the fact that the Courts of Justice are overwhelmed with work, and adroitly preparing public opinion to believe these Courts to be venal and incapable, the Hungarians have organized Courts of Arbitration. These tribunals, standing outside the law, exercise the functions of regular Law Courts, with not a single Roumanian judge or clerk, but only alien judges and lawyers, mostly Hungarians and Jews who have refused the oath of allegiance. These tribunals do not restrict themselves to cases where the litigants are nationals belonging to the Minorities, but deal even with lawsuits between Roumanians. . . . In this way permanent Minority Courts have been created parallel to the regular State Courts and using Hungarian as their official language." ¹

Senator Bianu knew of the existence of such "occult" Courts in Kolozsvár, Temesvár, Nagyvárád, Marosvásárhely, etc.

It was, however, difficult to proceed against these Courts of Arbitration, as the Hungarian Law of Civil Procedure not only allows them, but has definite provisions concerning their organization, so that they are legally recognized institutions in Transylvania. All that the Minister of Justice could do was to forbid judges to function in them. Judge Praporgescu, who at first was hostile, later on accepted, for the salary of 200,000 leus (about £400), the office of an arbitrator in the big case of *Fränkl v. Moldován*, and was transferred by way of punishment from Kolozsvár to Nagyszeben.²

In September 1926 the Lawyers' National Association held its annual conference in the presence of the Minister of Justice. The chairman, M. Dobrescu, summed up the objections entertained by the lawyers against the Judiciary under the following six headings :

1. The procedure is too expensive.

¹ *Desbat. Senatului*, 1924, No. 35.

² *Temesvári Hírlap*, 27th June 1924.

2. The confidence of the public in the judicial courts is constantly decreasing.

3. The declaration of civic liberty is valueless.

4. Criminal procedure chokes the civil procedure and often takes the latter's place.

5. The defence of the accused is often curtailed.

6. Equality before the law is only a theory; in practice the litigants are entirely delivered over to the despotism of the judges.

This is how the law was administered in Roumania in the year 1926.

All the above gives a sufficiently dark picture of the Roumanian Judiciary introduced into Transylvania. But the darkest side is still to be told—the condition of the prisons. We all remember the indignation with which we read the pages of *My Prisons*, by the Italian poet and patriot, Silvio Pellico, who was imprisoned by the Austrians. That was a hundred years ago, and yet his sufferings seem mild in comparison with the torments endured by the wretched inmates of the Roumanian prisons in the twentieth century. These can probably only be compared with the dens of the Siberian exiles, and their tortures with those of the darkest times of mediæval inquisitions.

A hundred years after Pellico's work there appeared a Roumanian book under a similar title, *My Imprisonments*, by a well-known Transylvanian Roumanian author, M. Joan Slavici, who was imprisoned for political offences both in Hungary before and in Roumania after the war.

M. Slavici arrived at the Hungarian prison in Vác.

"I received a room with one window which looked on to a clean courtyard. In the room I had a bed with horse-hair mattress and a down pillow, a table, two chairs and a wardrobe, all nice and clean. I had a servant whom I paid according to a tariff fixed by regulation. My food was prepared by my wife, who had taken a furnished room in the neighbourhood.

"In the evening I was locked into my room, but in the morning at six my cell was opened and my wife could come and stay with me all day."

ORGANIZATION OF THE JUDICIARY 143

He goes on to say that no hindrance was put in the way of his literary work, that he could write for the Roumanian papers, and that the director of the prison—who was a kind old gentleman—helped him with his proof-sheets. His wife being in a family way, he was released for a fortnight so as to be near her during and after her confinement.

Such was the life of a Roumanian political prisoner in a Hungarian prison.

After the war M. Slavici was imprisoned by his own people, because during the occupation of Roumania by the Central Powers he had contributed to a Bucarest paper published by the Germans.

"I was taken to Vacaresti, and there I passed the most horrible days of my life. I have read the *Divine Comedy* of Dante, I have seen Michelangelo's Hell in the Sixtine Chapel, I have seen hells painted in the Campo Santo and in our monasteries; but all that is nothing in comparison with what I saw in Vacaresti.

"There were masses of dirt in the yard and on the staircases. There were also smallpox and typhoid fever; we were in the midst of this infection. As many as seventeen to nineteen of us were packed into one room, and in the night I have seen naked prisoners washing themselves with petrol to keep the vermin off them.

"When I went down I saw four or five corpses with open eyes which nobody had closed; no priest had come to give them the Last Sacrament. There they lay on their backs till they were buried, two or three of them in one coffin. . . .

"I was ashamed of being a man and a Roumanian when I saw this," he adds.¹

Even this picture is mild compared with those given by M. Tanase, Socialist member of the House, or M. G. Costa Foru, the eminent journalist.

Since the war Roumania has had constant nightmares of Communist and Irredentist revolutions. Not a week nor a day passes without a Communist plot or a Hungarian conspiracy being detected. As a result

¹ J. Slavici: *Inchisorile mele*. On different pages.

of the General Strike in 1920, and later of a Socialist Congress held in May 1921, hundreds of Socialists and Communists were arrested and maltreated in a manner which surpasses everything one can imagine. They were flogged and beaten till the blood ran, pieces of hot iron were put into their hands, chains were laid not only on their hands and feet but also on their neck. The windows of their cells were not allowed to be opened. During the great Communist trial in the spring of 1922 the accused were tortured every night, so that at the trial they were unable to sit on the benches and defend themselves. One after the other fainted and collapsed before the Court. They started a hunger-strike, the only result of which was that their guards refused to give them water. "Those who are not hungry cannot be thirsty," they said mockingly. M. Tanase mentions a Cabinet Minister having said to him : "We will bring the Roumanian Socialists to their senses ; as for the Jewish Socialists, we shall exterminate them."

On the 1st of June Dr N. Lupu, questioning the Government concerning the imprisonment of the Socialists, read the following extract from the French *L'Humanité* : "Since the arrest of the entire Socialist Congress, a regular system of white terror has gone on in that unfortunate country whose population was trebled by the stupid Versailles Treaty. People are imprisoned, tortured and murdered at will. The ferocity of the Government knows no limits. A whole political party is put outside the laws. Roumania, which pretends to be a civilized country and has annexed millions of Hungarians, Russians and Jews, knows no creed, no law. She is behaving like a wild horde. There is no liberty, no respect for human dignity."¹

To be tortured is not the exclusive privilege of the Socialists. On the occasion of an ordinary trial for a petty theft the *Patria* wrote : "Every kind of

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1921, No. 106, p. 2714. M. Henry Barbusse's book, *Les Bourreaux*, gives a stirring picture of the revolt of Tatar Bunar in the chapter called "Le plus grand procès politique du monde."

torture was used upon the suspected persons ; they were flogged, starved, isolated in dark, damp cells for the purpose of extracting confessions from them. The prisoners, to escape from the tortures inflicted on them, made confessions which they revoked at the trial." All this was done at the command of the magistrate and of the Public Prosecutor.¹

It is into this atmosphere that the Hungarians of Transylvania were transplanted in 1918.

A few months before they had been used to breathe freely, to speak their own language, think their own thoughts, wear their own costumes and colours, to sing their own songs. After the winter of 1918 all this suddenly became a crime. At first it was only the presence of the occupying army which made things difficult. The inhabitants of Transylvania were still Hungarian subjects and they believed that they had to do with a civilized nation. But as the occupation of the country progressed, so the political persecution increased. Martial law was proclaimed, and every trace of Hungarian life was suppressed. For the smallest imaginary offence, on the information of Roumanian *agents-provocateurs*, hundreds of Hungarians were arrested, imprisoned or interned, and horribly maltreated. On the 6th of January 1920, more than a year after the great humanitarian principles were proclaimed in Gyulafehérvár, the Roumanian paper, *Socialismul*, wrote as follows :

"The 800 Hungarians interned at Constanța are treated in a horrible manner. Men, women and children are crammed together in a few sheds and warehouses. They live in a state of indescribable misery. The severe cold, the want of foodstuffs, and dirt, causes typhoid fever to spread among them. Every day they are taken by groups of ten to the hospitals, which are just as miserable as the camp itself, and where they lie about quivering with pain and in cold rooms without assistance. These unfortunate people have been brought into Roumania as hostages by the Roumanian army. The army has long since left

¹ *Patria*, 23rd May 1922.

Hungary, so that there is absolutely no reason why they should be further tormented and made to suffer in this country. The Government ought to see that this inhuman state of things is made an end to as soon as possible, pending their repatriation. There are other camps besides the one at Constanța, where the situation of the interned is just as cruel, and against which we raise our protesting voice in the name of humanity."

The first Hungarian "revolt" was based on the following facts. In the month of March 1919, during the fair held at Etéd, two Roumanian gendarmes had an altercation with some farmers. A fight followed, with the result that the two gendarmes were left dead in the square. This was described as a "revolt" by the Roumanian authorities, and a detachment of soldiers was sent to suppress it. They invaded the place, shooting every man they met, and even wounding a woman. Men and women were arrested and dragged to the distant town of Nagy-enyed. On the way, a lady, seeing that one of the women was pregnant, requested the commander to spare at least this woman and not leave her in the cold and dirt; which charitable request was refused with the words: "Hungarian children are no longer wanted." Many of the suspected persons were simply shot dead, while others were beaten and tortured. Of those who remained alive the court martial passed death sentences on six, sentence of forced labour for life on three, and from five to ten years of forced labour on four. A few were set at liberty, broken in body and mind.

Innumerable political trials have taken place in Transylvania since the Roumanian rule.

In 1919 M. S. Apáthy, University Professor and Hungarian Commissioner of Transylvania, was put on trial for Bolshevism and conspiracy against the safety of the State. The principal charge against him was that when, in January 1919, the Roumanian army was on the advance, it was attacked by the Hungarians at the order of M. Apáthy, and nine

Roumanians fell. For the nine dead, General Neculcea, commander of the Roumanian troops, exacted 900,000 crowns, payable by M. Apáthy and twenty companions. The court martial unanimously acquitted Apáthy, without however ordering the restitution of the money. The less serious charge against him was the spreading of pamphlets instigating to *lèse majesté*. Under this charge he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, but was acquitted and set at liberty by the Supreme Military Court. In spite of this the civil authorities kept him interned till he "repatriated."

Two hussar officers, Colonels Cserey and Csécsy, and several comrades, were put on trial for conspiracy, seven were sentenced to death, the rest for longer terms of imprisonment. In the so-called *levente pör*—trial of knights—at Temesvár, young officers and students were accused of having conspired against the safety of Roumania. Eighty-two pupils of the Roman Catholic grammar school of Arad, boys of seventeen to eighteen, were put on trial, charged with irredentist conspiracy. Two were sentenced to two years, one to eighteen months, two to one year, and one to three months' imprisonment. Ultimately all were declared to be innocent, and released.

Numerous other alleged "conspiracies" were discovered by the secret police in Kolozsvár, Nagyszében, Kézdivásárhely and Zilah. "Every week a new plot is discovered," said in 1924 M. Manu in the House.¹ The Tamás trial, in which more than seventy members of the Hungarian intelligentsia were involved, revealed the fact that most of these accusations resulted from the work of *agents-provocateurs*.

In the Complaint presented by the Siculo-Hungarian Association to the League of Nations, more than 500 cases of political persecutions and trials are enumerated.

In August 1922 a moving letter was published in several Hungarian papers from two brothers, George and Albert Laczkó, in which they said that they had

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1924, p. 207.

been in prison in Craiova for the last thirty-seven months for resisting the Roumanians at their occupation of the town of Zilah in the spring of 1919. Three times they had been condemned to death, but they were still in jail and ignorant of their ultimate fate.¹ This was two years after Roumania signed the Treaty of Trianon, with the obligation that "no inhabitant of the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy shall be disturbed or molested on account of his political attitude between 28th July 1914 and the definitive settlement of the sovereignty over these territories."

The Roumanian Government's answer to the complaints of the Association was that "it was possible that in such a troubled epoch as that after the war, the authorities committed some errors; but after a few months order had been re-established without the civil population having suffered damage to life or property."

A book published by M. Costa Foru in 1925, and entitled *Crimes and Abuses of the General State Police*, gives a different picture of the situation even after the "troubled epoch." Seventy cases of tortured persons are described in it, most of whom were Hungarians. M. Costa Foru writes in his Preface :

"The abuses of the police forces, generally recruited from the most suspect elements of the population, exceed all bounds. We must go back to the Middle Ages or among the wildest tribes of Central Africa to find cruelties comparable to these. Persons are arrested, kept in prison for weeks and months, or even longer, without the knowledge of the magistrate. They are flogged and tortured without the victims being able to get either medical attendance or the help of a lawyer. Besides these illegal detentions, the members of the police forces commit innumerable crimes and misdemeanours which are against the Criminal Code. Insulting behaviour, acts of violence, brutality and cruelty, intended to extort declarations and confessions dictated to the victims by their

¹ *Arad és Vidéke*, 14th July 1922.

torturers, these must be eradicated for ever. . . . It is time to look more closely into this question when we see that again and again the prisoners have recourse to suicide as their only and supreme protest against the sufferings they endure.”¹

Most of the cases in the book refer to people who were suspected of Communism, and occurred in December 1924, and in January and February 1925.

The process is generally the same. The detained person is taken to the police station, mostly in the evening or at night, and is received by a police in spector with blows. After that other members of the force fall upon him, beating him with fists, sticks and rubber knouts, and kicking him till he swoons. This is continued with intervals all next day. Sometimes a special implement of torture is used, formed out of a three-cornered piece cut out of a rubber tyre, called by the people *biciu*, which is stuck deep in the flesh of the victim and causes terrible pain without leaving any wound. The tortures are continued till the prisoner is willing to sign a declaration confessing the offence he is accused of. Generally the declaration is not read to him, and if, as is mostly the case, he knows no Roumanian, he would not understand it if it were. After this he is taken to the jail in Jilava, where another hell begins for him.

Sometimes these corporal maltreatments are supplemented with menaces of immediate death; or the prisoners are forced to witness the torturing of their comrades. The worst is when, as sometimes happened, their relatives are flogged in their sight. In one case a Hungarian named Charles Lévyay was threatened that, if he did not confess, his wife, to whom he had been married only a few days before, would be violated in his presence by all the members of the *siguranța*, or secret police.

In Jilava the only means of protest at the disposal of the prisoners is to go on hunger-strike. M. Costa Foru mentions that in the course of eighteen months

¹ C. G. Costa Foru : *Abuzurile și crimele siguranței generale a statului*,
n. 1

no fewer than 2230 days were passed in hunger-strike by the prisoners. He also says that out of 800 prisoners 750 had to be released because their guilt could not be proved otherwise than by confession extorted by physical tortures.¹

After the first year or two the era of the big "conspiracies" somewhat abated, and the conspiring generals, colonels and landowners were replaced by insolent schoolboys.

At the end of 1922 a Hungarian boy of fifteen, F. Füzesy, was arrested as a dangerous spy alleged to be collecting data about the situation of the Roumanian army. In July 1923 a wizened little Jewish boy named S. Fellner was said to have plotted against the security of the State, commissioned by the two most fanatic Hungarian anti-Semites, Colonel Próney and Captain Héjjas.

Besides these more impressive cases, there are innumerable petty pin-pricks, such as the case of M. Martin Bokor, a Presbyterian clergyman, who was put on trial because a torn picture of the King of Roumania was found in his room and because, preaching on New Year's Eve, he quoted the prophet Nehemiah's words that "we must build even when we have a sword in one hand." Or that of E. Pesty, a Roman Catholic priest in Kaplony, a village near the Hungarian frontier, who was tried in 1923 because in 1919 he had advised his parishioners to take no part in the Parliamentary elections since, the Peace Treaty not yet being signed, it was uncertain to which country the village would belong.

It must be repeated that it is not only Transylvania and not the Hungarians alone who suffer under these grievous conditions, they are the common fate of all the Minorities in Roumania. The situation of the Russians and the Jews in the Bukovina and in Bessarabia, and that of the Bul-

¹ In December 1925, just after the publication of his book, M. Costa Foru was passing through Transylvania and had to change trains in Kolozsvár. While he was waiting at the station, Roumanian students attacked him, an old man of seventy, and beat him so that doctors had to render him first aid.

garians in Dobruksa, is just as bad. They are mostly accused of being Bolsheviks and kept in prison indefinitely, or simply shot on the highroads. In the summer of 1922 amnesty was granted to certain political offenders. Forty Jewish prisoners were released from Jilava, but instead of being set free they were sent to Bessarabia and ordered to leave Roumania for Soviet Russia. Soldiers escorted them by threes to the Russian frontier. The first three were shot in a forest, the second were thrown into the Dnjestr and bidden to swim to the other bank—with the natural result that they were all drowned. It is not certain what happened to the rest.

In the spring of 1923 General Vaitoianu, the Home Secretary, made a tour in Bessarabia and gave his account of it in the House.

People flying from Russia, he said, have inundated the country and, while abusing Roumania, are not willing to leave it; and they pollute the minds of the Roumanian people. They must be got rid of. As for the atrocities, they were not committed by the gendarmes, but by rascals dressed up in their uniforms. The Government had given orders that nobody must be killed, but only shot in the leg. The result was that it was the gendarmes who were killed.

To complete the impression of leniency, he added that in the course of the year only 107 persons had been shot, and 187 wounded, by the gendarmes.

In the summer of 1926, in the eighth year of the foundation of Greater Roumania, M. N. Ghiulea, Professor of Sociology at the Kolozsvár University, wrote in an article the following staggering lines on the judicial administration of the country :

“There is no place in the world where people have been beaten and tortured to a greater extent than in our country, and in such a manner as to make the moral suffering and degradation worse than the physical. There is no place in the world where the citizens have been more completely deprived of their personal liberty. With us everybody can arrest

anybody, under any pretext, or even without any palpable reason. There is no place in the world where human dignity has been trampled more deeply in the mud than in our country.

“And it is not a question of criminals !

“In civilized countries it is only the criminal who can be punished, after his crime has been ascertained by judiciary sentence, and nobody can be flogged or tortured, unless flogging and torturing are legal means of punishment. We are speaking of abuses, of the beating of innocents, of the arrest of decent people, of the violation of personal liberty and the honour of peaceful citizens.

“All this is the moral ruin of our people ! . . .

“Our people has lost its confidence in the Judiciary. They know that they cannot obtain justice by rightful means, that they cannot enjoy the fruits of their toil, that the State does not secure social order, and that, consequently, they are not obliged to respect an order which is built on dishonesty, illegality and injustice.

“Our people has lost its faith and confidence in the Crown and its hope for the future of the nation and the country.”¹

¹ N. Ghiulea : “Apărarea națională,” in the *Societatea de Măine*, 18th July 1926, p. 510.

CHAPTER IX

THE AGRARIAN REFORM

It was, after the long war, a legitimate craving of the masses who lived on the soil to be supplied with land which could secure their existence. No country could wish to evade this claim; the only question was how to set about so great a reform—the expropriation and the distribution of millions of acres of land—so that neither the former owners nor the interests of agriculture should suffer.

The principle to be followed must evidently be, to take only so much land from the large owners as was needed to satisfy the claims of the landless, who must be able to cultivate their allotments themselves; and to spare as far as possible the large estates, which serve the progress of agriculture, or the purposes of social and cultural institutions.

This principle was entirely lost sight of by the Transylvanian Agrarian Reform, whose chief aim was the destruction of the Hungarian landed property and whose execution led through a perfect morass of corruption and vindictiveness.¹

In the past the distribution of land in Transylvania had not been ideal; but the condition of the villeins had not been worse than elsewhere in feudal Europe, as the Roumanian sociologist, M. P. Suciú, attests,² and

¹ During the elections of 1922 a leaflet was distributed containing the following inflammatory nonsense:

"The expropriation of land has begun, and in a short time the peasants will be able to till their own land. Who will grudge it to them? The Hungarian counts, barons, great owners, Roman Catholic priests . . . Seeing that the land no longer belongs to them, they have asked their friends in Hungary to come and save them. They wish to set Transylvania on fire so as to save themselves. The Roumanian boyars gave all their possessions to the peasants; the Bethlens, Bánffys, Hallers, Horváths would rather set fire to the world than renounce one bit of their lands."

² P. Suciú: *Probleme Ardelene*, pp. 3-5.

the privileges of the big landowners not more extensive than those of the corresponding classes in Germany or France. In 1848 the landowners distributed of their own free will a great amount of land among the villeins, and the situation became healthier in consequence. It was chiefly the Roumanians, as that class of the population which belonged in its entirety to the villeins, who profited by this reform. Transylvania became the typical land of small-owners, and since then there was no trace of agrarian discontent, like the agrarian revolt in Roumania in 1907. "The situation of the peasants," says the same M. Suciù, "became tolerable, in some districts even flourishing"—and in the first decade of the present century the Roumanian peasants, receiving considerable financial help from the newly established Roumanian banks in Transylvania, and from Bucarest, acquired a large amount of land from Hungarian landowners. According to M. Suciù, the Roumanians bought in the course of the last ten years before the war 719 estates, of a total area of 170,000 acres. The landed property of the Saxons diminished by 250,000 acres between 1885 and 1916; they lost a quarter of their land.¹ All of this shows that the prospects of the peasants in Transylvania were not at all desperate. It was in the nature of things that after seventy years the situation created in 1848 should need correction; but it could easily have been remedied by measures which no sensible landowner would have opposed.

Before the war the distribution of the land among the different nationalities was as follows :

Size of Holding	Number of Landowners		
	Hungarians	Germans	Roumanians
Over 1000 acres . . .	143	7	17
1000 to 100 acres . . .	13,328	2,679	1,249
100 „ 50 „ . . .	3,051	877	3,539
50 „ 10 „ . . .	53,660	25,444	121,360
10 „ 5 „ . . .	36,806	14,225	115,014
Under 5 acres . . .	42,453	11,896	137,553
Total	149,441	55,128	378,732

¹ Dr G. A. Klein : "Soziale und nationale Probleme der Agrarreform," *Deutsche politische Hefte*, vi., No. 12, p. 251.

The percentage of the arable soil distributed among the holdings of various sizes was the following :

Under 5 acres	.	.	.	.	18.3
5 to 100 acres	.	.	.	.	61.17
100 to 1000 acres	.	.	.	.	13.85
Over 1000 acres	.	.	.	.	6.68

The Gyulafehérvár Resolutions declared the necessity of a "radical land reform." "By abolishing the entailed estates and diminishing the large ones it shall be made possible for the farmers to acquire at least so much land as they are able to cultivate with the members of their family."

This was a reasonable proposition, and it is a calamity that, under the influence of the non-Transylvanian Roumanians and of the Bucarest Parliament, a reform was inaugurated which was founded on entirely different principles. At the end of March 1921 a Bill was passed in Parliament and published on the 30th of July as the *Agrarian Reform Act concerning Transylvania*.

Here are its more important provisions :

Under Article 8, estates which have been let for a period of ten years during 1904 to 1918 shall be expropriated, the owner being allowed to retain 30 acres in rural districts and 10 acres in urban communities. Of estates which are farmed by the owner, 50 acres are to be left to him in the high mountains, and 100 in hilly districts; in the plains, in districts where the demand for land is great, the owner shall retain 100 acres, and 200 where it is less; in districts where all the claims have been satisfied 500 acres can be left to him.

In their entirety shall be expropriated the estates of fictitious persons, such as churches, schools, hospitals, village communities, limited companies, banks, syndicates, etc.

Similarly expropriated shall be the property of the absentees.

The Act plans the introduction of holdings of 7 to 16 acres whose further subdivision is prohibited and

which, according to the latest amendment of the Act, are inalienable.

The price of the expropriated land is to be calculated according to its value during the five years preceding 1913, and to be paid not in cash, but in untransferable Roumanian State bonds yielding 5 per cent.

The organs of expropriation are to be: as first instance, the Local Agrarian Committee, consisting of the headman, the priest, the village school teacher and four villagers; and as second instance, the County Committee, against whose decisions appeal may be granted to the Central Agrarian Committee in Bucarest.

Even before the law was put in force, the distribution of the land of the Hungarians had practically been effected. Already in 1918 and 1919 the Roumanian peasants had, with the tacit consent of the new Roumanian authorities, occupied by force and distributed among themselves the larger estates, which arbitrary procedure was sanctioned later by the Governing Council, by the institution of the so-called "forced leases." It was a preface to the definite expropriation, as the peasants regarded these leased lands as their own property and failed to pay for them even the incredibly low rent fixed by the Roumanian authorities.

It would not be fair to say that the agrarian reform was aimed against the Minorities exclusively: it was a general law introduced in different forms in every province of Roumania. But as a result of the distribution of the land, it hit first and foremost the Hungarians; and the difference in the provisions of the Acts concerning the different provinces and the manner of their execution shows manifestly that it is used as a weapon against the Minorities.¹

At the National Council of Nagyszeben, held in

¹ This opinion is expressed also in an excellent article in the *Juristische Wochenschrift*, 1924, Nos. 17-18, entitled "Minderheitenrecht und Agrarrecht," by Dr Bruns; and by Dr G. A. Klein in an article on the question of the Transylvanian settlers in the *Deutsche politische Hefte aus Grossrumanien*, 1925, Nos. 11-12.

1920, M. O. Goga declared : " We regard the agrarian reform as a supreme instrument in the Roumanization of Transylvania." ¹

It has already been mentioned that in Transylvania the medium and large estates were for the most part in the hands of the Hungarians. Seventy-nine per cent. of the estates over 200 acres were owned by them, and only 14·8 by the Roumanians and 7·7 by the Germans. But the difference between the total area of the small and the large estates was not so great as for example in England or in Roumania.

The total area of the small holdings of 1 to 100 acres was—according to a Roumanian authority—4,303,562 acres, while that of the large estates of over 100 acres was 1,904,635.²

The anti-Hungarian tendency of the reform will be easily perceived also by comparing a few provisions of the Transylvanian Act with that of the Regat.

In the Regat the total area of land liable to expropriation is 2,000,000 hectares; and as this total has already been taken no further expropriations will be permitted, except by a change of the Act. In Transylvania there is no such limitation, and expropriation goes on indefinitely, so that the Hungarian owners can never be certain that the land left to them will not be taken later on.

In Roumania land is measured in hectares, in Transylvania in cad. acres. As 1 hectare is equal to 1·737 acres, it follows that the landowners in old Roumania can keep nearly double the amount of land allowed in Transylvania. According to the Regat law the maximum of the area left to the owner is 500 hectares; the maximum left to the Transylvanians is 500 acres—that is, little more than half of the Regat area; but it can be reduced to 100, or even to 30 and 10 acres. In the Bukovina the maximum is 250 hectares, in Bessarabia 100—everywhere half

¹ Quoted by Dr G. A. Klein in the *Deutsche politische Hefte*, vi., No. 12.

² Mițuța Constantinesco : *L'Évolution de la propriété rurale et la réforme agraire en Roumanie*, p. 247.

or less than half of the Regat area. The explanation of these provisions is that in the Regat the large owners are Roumanians, while in Transylvania they were Hungarians and Saxons, and in the Bukovina and in Bessarabia Germans and Russians.

In Transylvania the land of an owner, if situated in different districts, is considered as one estate, and he will be entitled to retain only one quota. The Roumanian law contains no such disposition, so that the Regat owner is entitled to keep the maximum land in each of his several estates.

And it happened also in Transylvania that a Roumanian, M. Joan Jacob, who was *rapporteur* of the Agrarian Bill, was allowed, in clear contradiction of the law, to retain of his property of 1514 acres, 250 acres each for himself, his wife and two sons, that is, 1000 acres in all, while the peasants received only 514 acres.¹

But the most grievous difference between the two laws lies in the prices for the expropriated land.

In Transylvania, as we have said, the price is to be fixed according to the average price of the years 1918 to 1913—that is, pre-war prices, which come to about 5 per cent. of prices in the present currency; in Roumania post-war prices are to be paid, calculated from those of the years 1917 to 1922.²

The intricate provisions of the Act were made immensely complicated by the usual frequent modifications and by an infinity of ordinances. But it is the discretionary powers and the corruption of the authorities entrusted with the carrying out of the provisions which make the reform a source of injustice and of a series of misdemeanours.

¹ *Nagyvárad* *Napló*, 4th May 1923.

² It is characteristic that M. Constantinescu, in his French book on the Roumanian agrarian reform, does not mention this difference of the prices. And even more characteristic is the fact that the Minister of Agriculture gave the following statement to the Anglo-American Unitarian Committee in 1924: "The principle of the law is to fix the price of the value of the land for the years which preceded the great war (1908-1918). The same principle rules the fixing of the price of the expropriated land both in the old kingdom as well as in the other provinces. Therefore the Transylvanian landowners are not worse treated in this respect."—*The Religious Minorities in Transylvania*, p. 141.

In the spring of 1922 the expropriation of the land commenced. "The last act of the tragedy of the non-Roumanian peoples of Transylvania has begun," wrote the Saxon deputy, M. Fritz Connert. "That which is now happening, the cynicism with which the provisions of the Act are trampled in the dust, transgresses the most pessimistic fears. To understand what is being done the perceiving organ is wanting."¹

Already a month later the Roumanian paper, the *Indreptarea*, stated: "The scandals connected with the application of the agrarian law are endless. Complaints come from all corners of the country and voices of protest are raised everywhere against the illegalities and corruption."²

The *Dacia* cites the following case³:

In Elesd a large estate was to be expropriated on 2nd September. On that day, however, the chairman of the Agrarian Committee, a M. Samuil Jacob, fell ill, and the procedure was postponed. Next day his brother, Eftim Jacob, announced that he had bought the whole estate for 2,700,000 leus, and offered it to the peasants for 10,000 leus an acre, with a profit of more than 5,000,000 leus. The paper goes on to say that by the transaction not only the peasants but also the State was cheated, as the house situated on the estate had been destined for a Roumanian middle school, and 7000 acres of wooded land were to have become State property.⁴

Exactly similar cases happened in Nagyjécsa, where the land of a man named Pollák was bought by the Primpretor Luca, a higher administrative official, and in Németság, where the estates of Count Szápáry were bought "by a man who was in a position to obtain their exemption from expropriation."⁵

In December 1923 a peasant, named G. Petcuța, appealed to the Minister of Agriculture in the name

¹ *Siebenbürgisches Volksblatt*, 24th August 1922.

² 2nd September 1922.

³ 18th September 1922.

⁴ See also the *Patria*, 1st March 1923.

⁵ *Temesvári Hírlap*, 15th August 1922.

of thirty-seven Roumanian peasants who had sold all their belongings in Yugoslavia and settled in Nagycsanád, where 7 acres had been promised to them, of which they had received only 3 acres because the rest of the expropriated land was leased by Juliu Crăciun & Co., who sublet it to the peasants for the fantastic rent of 2000 to 2500 leus an acre. Petcuța complained that the Agrarian Committee could do nothing in the matter, because, according to its chairman, "the contract of M. Crăciun was made by the intervention of a high personage."¹

This district seems to be a hothouse of corruption, for in the same place 3745 acres were expropriated from the Princess of Sanmarco, out of which 2235 were let to 1357 peasants, so that they did not even get 2 acres each, while the remaining 1510 acres were let to the Sămânța Company to establish a farm for the improving of seed. The Company, however, uses the land for ordinary farming.

In the Saxon districts the land of the churches rented by smallholders was expropriated and distributed among Roumanian peasants, so that the Saxons are unable to find pasture for their cattle and, according to a Saxon paper, "are confronted with the bitter prospect of having to emigrate."²

Scandalous cases occurred in Mărmaros and in the western mountains of Transylvania, where there are immense forests and a very poor population. The paper *Patria* published long weekly articles about the abuses committed in these districts. Roumanian and Jewish owners found means to save their property. Out of a property of 34,000 acres belonging to Mrs Simon Pop, only 1300 were expropriated; of 4200 acres belonging to M. G. Mihályi 1500 were taken; while to Vasile Juveca 2100 acres were left and only 100 were taken.³

In the neighbourhood of Lippa M. S. Pop-Csicsó,

¹ *Indreptarea*, 15th December 1923.

² *Siebenbürgisch Deutsches Tagblatt*, 20th November 1924.

³ *Patria*, 9th February and 22nd April 1923, and the *Adevărul*, 10th January 1923.

a late member of the Governing Council, owned 1817 acres, which were left unexpropriated by the Agrarian Committee. One of the peasants, Juon Tripon, became so infuriated over this that he nearly killed M. Pop-Csicsó.¹

Of M. A. Vlád, another member of the Governing Council, M. L. Goldiş observed from the ministerial bench that "it is not known by what means he succeeded in saving his estates from expropriation."² And it was also in the House that M. Vintila Brătianu, the late Minister of Finance, was accused of having evaded expropriation by declaring that he was ignorant of the size of his estate. His brother-in-law, Dinu Stolojan, was alleged to have likewise kept 1200 acres.³

One of the most glaring cases of injustice is that of the property of the so-called "frontier regiments." After the Turkish wars the population of the eastern and south-eastern districts of Transylvania was organized into frontier regiments, and large tracts of land were assigned for the maintenance of the families of the soldiers. After the abolition of this military organization the land was left in the possession of the descendants of the soldiers, and a sort of land-communities were formed, of which in 1918 there existed two in Transylvania, that of the Székely regiment of Csik and that of the Roumanian regiment in Naszód. The property of the Székelys consisted of 62,000 acres, and its income served also for the maintenance of schools and orphanages; teachers were paid out of it and poor students supported. A law decree of the Governing Council freed these lands from expropriation; the Land Reform Act, however, exempted only the land of the Roumanian regiment, but not that of the Székelys, and the Agrarian Committee has expropriated 27,000 acres of the latter's property.⁴

¹ *Ujság*, 19th June 1923.

² *Debat. Deput.*, 1926, "Sesiunea extraordinară," p. 301.

³ *Op. cit.*, 1924-1925, p. 3276.

⁴ Pál Gábor; "A székelyföldi közbirtokok és az agrárreform," in the *Magyar Kisebbség*, 1923, vol. i., pp. 4 and 46.

The above cases are not sporadic. The report of the Casa Centrală a Improprietărirei, a society to help the peasants to land, confesses that many abuses have been committed, and knows 551 cases of corrupt functionaries.¹

Flat country was classified as hilly so as to allow more land to be expropriated, yet the peasants have only in rare cases received the quota fixed by the law. In many places the expropriated land was distributed among the rich peasants and the landless received only one or two acres; the shirkers in the war had their share in the distribution, while the unknown "heroes" of the Roumanian army received nothing.²

The *Țara Noastră*, the paper of the present Home Secretary, mentions only 450 cases in which officials have been dismissed, or arrested and punished.³

The dishonesty of the whole procedure, complained M. C. Bacalbașa in the Roumanian paper, *Adevărul*, is incredible and detrimental to the interests of the nation. The owners have been expropriated at ridiculously low prices, yet the peasants have no land. "Are we not entitled to ask: Where is Roumania's land? In whose pocket has it been put? Who has stolen it both from the old and the new owners? Who encouraged these robberies and who tolerates and hides them?"⁴

The answer to this question was soon given. The Agrarian Committees, explained an eminent political writer, M. Jon Clopoțel, are docile instruments of the Government, reserving thousands of acres of land for the State and so forming the most terrible weapon of present-day politics. "Those land reserves help the parties to soothe the dissatisfied, chiefly in Parliament, for whom favours and privileges are necessary in return for their services—the land reserves are to be an instrument of the greatest possible corruption to the detriment of our peasants."⁵ The land reserves,

¹ *Lupta*, 18th November 1923.

² *Epoca*, 2nd February 1923.

³ *Țara Noastră*, 20th February 1927, p. 66.

⁴ 5th December 1923.

⁵ J. Clopoțel: "Rezervele de pământ," in *Societatea de Măine*, 9th August 1925.

said the Rev. D. Manu in the House, are distributed "among private persons, supporters of the administration, or agricultural societies, formed by the Government, while the peasants receive a plot of barren hillside, on which no green plant grows."¹

Now, at the end of 1925, four years after the passing of the Agrarian Reform Bill, judgment can be passed on the results achieved by the law.

According to Roumanian returns, up to the end of 1925, 2,745,788 acres of land have been expropriated in Transylvania, of which 798,723 are acres of arable land, 1,168,408 acres of forest, and the rest pastures, meadows, etc. Out of this total area, 711,028 acres have been distributed among 241,286 peasants, that is not even three acres per head. "The land has been pulverized," said M. Jon Jacob.² On the other hand an immense reserve of 925,350 acres, more than a third of the expropriated land, was retained by the State, the remaining land having seemingly been distributed among the parishes and villages, and the Roumanian Churches.³

More interesting than these general figures are those relating to the distribution of the expropriated land among the claimants of the different races.⁴ In fifteen counties of Transylvania they are as follows :

	<i>Roumanians</i>	<i>Hungarians</i>	<i>Germans</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
Arad . . .	25,626	4,173	1,116	534	31,458
Udvarhely . .	212	1,076	..	..	1,288
Alsófehér . .	17,755	2,748	541	..	21,044
Marostorda . .	5,655	4,684	103	..	10,452
Szolnokdoboka . .	16,281	2,560	144	..	18,985
Hunyad . .	19,008	647	657	666	21,068
Kisküküllő . .	9,268	3,818	917	..	13,503
Temes . .	29,928	3,838	12,594	6,347	52,707
Szatmár . .	13,513	5,542	3,628	656	23,334
<i>Carry forward</i>	137,386	28,586	19,695	8,203	193,839

¹ *Debat, Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 207.

² *Tara Noastră*, 21st December 1924.

³ M. Constantinesco : *L'Evolution de la propriété rurale et la réforme agraire en Roumanie*, pp. 408-413.

⁴ Gyárfás Elemér : "Az erdélyi magyarság gazdasági helyzete," *Pásztorház-almanach*, 1925, 172 lap.

	<i>Roumanians</i>	<i>Hungarians</i>	<i>Germans</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Brought forward</i>	137,336	28,586	19,695	8,203	193,839
Nagykukullő .	2,073	..	136	..	2,209
Háromszék .	2,903	2,849	..	57	5,809
Beszterce .	1,534	92	110	..	1,556
Tordaaranyos .	1,847	1,303	9	521	6,680
Krassó .	19,098	488	657	1,154	21,397
Szilágy .	12,219	3,163	56	..	15,418
Total	179,940	36,481	20,613	9,944	246,908

Still more interesting is the comparison of the figures relating to the distributed land according to the size of the holdings. The statistical returns for 1926 for the Ministry of Agriculture give the following data :

	<i>Large Estates</i>	<i>Smallholdings</i>
In the Regat .	1,121,397 ha.	5,237,319 ha.
In Transylvania .	261,251 ,,	2,662,712 ,,

That is, the land left to the large owners is nearly five times more in the Regat than in Transylvania, whereas the population of the former exceeds that of the latter by only one-third.¹

This will result in the gradual annihilation of the Hungarian agricultural class : it was their land which was taken and it was they to whom the smallest possible quota was left, mostly on the worst soil ; it was they, also, who received nothing for their taken land but the promise of valueless Government bonds. Up to the end of 1924 the Government paid in the Regat, as interest on the Agrarian State bonds, 104,665,219 leus, while in Transylvania the corresponding sum was 151 leus and 54 bani.

But it is not only the Minority landowners who suffer under the reform. The future of agriculture itself is threatened. Since the war, and chiefly since the execution of the reform, the productivity of Roumanian agriculture has fallen considerably, and Roumania, which was one of the chief grain-exporting countries of Europe, is faced with the prospect of becoming an importing one. The statements of M. G. Jonescu Şişeşti, Professor of Agriculture in Bucarest,

¹ *Monitorul oficial*, 4th March 1927.

are interesting. He writes with great confidence about the future of Roumania's agriculture, but his figures do not bear out his optimism; on the contrary, they show a constant decrease in the output of the various cereals.

Here are a few of his figures :

		<i>In Tons :</i>			
		<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Rye</i>	<i>Oats</i>	<i>Barley</i>
1920-1921	. .	2,138,148	230,674	963,168	985,292
1921-1922	. .	2,501,046	283,844	1,336,450	2,041,806
1922-1923	. .	2,779,274	244,018	909,596	1,325,291
1923-1924	. .	2,023,208	164,898	642,080	702,585

It must not be forgotten that it was the year 1922 when the execution of the Agrarian Reform was started.

It is significant that the 2,138,148 tons of wheat were yielded in 1921 on an area of 2,488,335 hectares, while the smaller output of 1924 was produced on 3,172,102 hectares; the 2,041,806 tons of barley in 1922 on 1,727,454 hectares and the 702,585 tons in 1924 on 1,850,731 hectares.¹

The above figures reveal the circumstance that not only the general productivity of the country, but also the output of the soil, is decreasing. This is not the result of post-war conditions, but of hasty reform, ignorance and negligence on the part of the new farmers. More sincere than his Bucarest colleague, Dr Chirițescu Arva, Professor of Agriculture in Kolozsvár, wrote that, now that the agrarian reform had been achieved, with a good deal of ignorance and much dishonesty, one could state that the problem had not been solved and would come up again tomorrow: because the problem is not one of political demagoguery, but of agricultural science, and a complex one at that, involving the education of the peasants, the study of climate, improvement of the soil, agricultural credit, etc.² The framer of the Bill, M. C. Garoflid, knew this just as well as Professor Chirițescu, and stated in a book, published before he

¹ G. Jonescu Șisești : *Reforma agrară și producțiunea*, p. 25.

² Dr Chirițescu Arva : "Agricultura de Măine," in the *Societatea de Măine*, 18th May 1924.

became Minister of Agriculture, that the agrarian question was a problem of agriculture; but on the front bench he sacrificed his principles to *politicianismul*.¹

Under these circumstances it is a question whether M. Mița Constantinescu is right in his proud conclusion that in consequence of the land reform the peasantry has become, in the domain of agriculture, the arbiter of its own fate.² Those who are not on the staff of the agrarian committees are of a different opinion. It is not only the Hungarians, Saxons and Russians who feel the injustice and irrationality of this big spoliation, but also the Transylvanian Roumanians. We shall quote the opinion of two eminent Transylvanian politicians and good Roumanian patriots on the subject. M. Aurel Vlăd, a late member of the Hungarian Parliament and late member of the Governing Council, wrote as follows in the paper *Solia Dreptății* :

"We have expropriated 11,000,000 acres and have given them to 1,250,000 claimants, breaking up the land and making 14,000,000 honest citizens sufferers. We have paid the owners 1000 to 1500 leus for an acre instead of its real value of at least 10,000 leus, causing them a total loss of at least 110 milliards."³

An even more destructive criticism of the reform is contained in the first chapter of M. P. Suci's *Transylvanian Problems* :

"The State has given our peasants small plots of 1 to 3 acres, but did not give them implements and capital, nor even the possibility of securing them. Thus the peasants carry on a lamentable economic existence on the small plots and 'rob' the soil. Such a piece of land is not sufficient for the maintenance of a family, and contributes absolutely nothing to the general production.

"Through the expropriations the number of small-

¹ C. Garofid : *Chestia agrară în România* (Preface).

² *Op. cit.*, p. 456.

³ Quoted in the *Societatea de Măine*, 14th December 1924.

holdings has increased. The large estates have disappeared, which may be a national consolation, but is in no case an economic gain. The breaking up of the big farms into innumerable small, impractical and unproductive holdings may be social justice, but is not a real economic strengthening of the Roumanian element.

"The reform has done one thing: it has temporarily satisfied the thirst of the peasants for land; but it will not hinder the outbreak of the economic crisis." ¹

Professor Rădulescu-Motru goes even further in his pessimistic criticism; he has sinister forebodings concerning the consequences of the reform:

"The demagogue ideologists have a rich prospect before them. The peasant, levelled to a uniform standard of poverty, will be the best element for the maintaining of the revolutionary spirit in the State. The demagogues have every interest in the breaking up of rural property, for it alone can produce those conditions of general poverty from which springs class-war, fought with revolutionary weapons. This is Karl Marx's receipt, and absolutely sure." ²

Such is the judgment of fair-minded, sober Roumanians on the reform.

Since Roumania became a State in 1866 she has constantly been shaken by agrarian troubles. The sanguinarily repressed peasant revolt of 1907 is a memorable event of the twentieth century. But if the forebodings of the above writers are well founded the wounds will not be healed by the present reform.

One thing is certain: the reform has entirely changed Roumania's social organization, and has caused a great dislocation in political life.

In an agrarian country like Roumania, social strength and political influence are linked to the soil, represented by the peasantry under the leadership of the landowners, the *boers*. In consequence of the

¹ P. Suciu: *op. cit.*, p. 14.

² Rădulescu-Motru: *Țărănișmul, un suflet și o politică*, p. 60.

reform, the middling and large landed properties disappeared, and their place was taken by the small farms of 5 to 10 acres, which cannot form a basis for any cultural and political influence. According to M. Petru Suciū, social and political influence can be attributed only to persons in possession of at least 50 acres. In pre-war Transylvania, he says, the well-situated Hungarian peasants were important factors in economic and political life; whereas the irredentist policy of the Roumanians could find no support in the small farmers. That policy relied solely on the national consciousness of the leaders, supported by a relentless foreign propaganda.

This aspect of Roumanian political life was aggravated more than ameliorated by the land reform. The new peasantry, states the same M. Suciū, have neither culture nor political insight: from a political standpoint, they are useless: "Our small farmers are in reality agricultural labourers. The Transylvanian as well as the Regat Roumanian peasant lives in an extremely narrow circle, without recognizing even the immediate needs of his village. In this mediæval atmosphere, he is not only unable to grasp the great national issues, but fails to understand even the requirements of his own class."¹

The land reform pillaged the middling and great owners, who either remained as small farmers on the small property left to them, without social and political influence, or left the land and were merged into the *bourgeoisie* of the towns. "We have brought a country," wrote another writer, "which depends on agriculture and on farmers, to a condition in which the best of the population nourishes only the towns, for the agriculturalists have no opportunity to rise socially. And can it be conceived that a people which has no *élite* should be able to develop?"²

¹ P. Suciū: *Poporația Ardealului și simțul realităților social-economice*, p. 27.

² D. V. Barnosch: "O sărbătoare agrariană," in the *Țara Noastră*, 25th April 1926.

There is an *élite* in agricultural Roumania, but it has been shifted from the landowners to another class, which is called by a Roumanian writer the "commercialized boers," *boerii comercializati*. Through its power, social and political influence has passed entirely to the towns, into the hands of capital and great industry. This fact is bewailed by the same nationalist Press which helped to destroy the political leadership of the landowners, and which has further aggravated that unpleasant trait of Roumanian public life : anti-Semitism.

In 1923 M. Leonard Paukerow, editor of the Bucarest paper, *Lupta*, made a tour in Transylvania to study the effects of the agrarian reform. In the beautiful valley of the Szamos he came to the village of Galgó, and, falling into talk with the peasants there, asked them whether they had received any land.

"The devil we have," answered a man angrily. "Nice kind of justice we have got. Those who had land already have been given more, while the poor have been given nothing."

Another interrupted :

"All day I pray to God : give me, Lord, enough for my wants. I have six to feed, and work day and night till I drop dead. A bushel of maize meal costs 120 leus, and nine bushels are needed for six people."

A third intervened :

"Believe me, sir, things are much worse now than when the land belonged to the gentry. In those days the meanest could find land to work on."

"How was that ?" I asked.

"Well, for instance, if that bit of land there had belonged to you, you would give it to us to till and the crop would be divided equally between you and us. . . . You see, sir," he continued, "the quality will always remain the quality, whereas once a beggar always a beggar."

"This is," concludes M. Paukerow, "how the peasants regard agrarian reform." ¹

¹ *Lupta*, 30th August 1923.

Two questions have still to be dealt with which, although entirely different in their social and legal aspects, manifestly show the tendency of the Transylvanian Agrarian Reform, which is to destroy as far as possible the Hungarian element and its influence in the country. One is the question of the settlers, the other that of the optants.

The case of THE SETTLERS was the following.

In the eighties of the last century the Hungarian Government cut down about 21,000 acres of forest in the south-western districts—a territory much fought over in Turkish times and consequently thinly populated—and sold the land at a low price to landless Hungarians. Twenty-four villages were established, and each colonist received a plot of about 24 acres for the price of 7940 crowns an acre, payable in yearly instalments in the course of fifty years. During thirty-five years the settlers paid the instalments regularly, first to the Hungarian Government, and since 1918 to the Roumanian State, so that in most cases only an insignificant sum remained to be paid.

In 1921 the Land Reform Act was passed, Article 10 of which contains the following provision: "The land of those colonists who were settled after 1885 shall be expropriated up to the limit of the quota allotted to the claimants of that district." As, according to the Act, no holding of the size of 24 acres is liable to expropriation, it is impossible to exonerate its framers of having specially aimed this article against the Hungarian small-owners.

The settlers, feeling the injustice of the transaction, appealed to the Parliament and to the Minister of Agriculture, who declared that such small farms could not possibly be expropriated. They even presented a memorandum to the King, notwithstanding which the expropriation was started in the autumn of 1922. In some districts the lands were taken in their entirety, while in others they were only partially expropriated, 1 to 7 acres being left to the owners. The price fixed was 1000 leus per acre, so that the settlers lost about

six-sevenths of the money they had paid for their land. The total amount offered by the Roumanian Government was 300,000 gold francs. The expropriated land was distributed in plots of 16 acres among Roumanian peasants and settlers brought from Yugoslavia. In those districts, declared the Minister of Agriculture, "the expropriated land will be given to Roumanians who have lived outside our frontiers or in the great mountains, because I believe that only those who represent Roumanian nationalism are entitled to own these lands."

Finally 2285 Hungarian settlers appealed to the League of Nations, which, although it expressed a doubt whether the provisions of the Act are in accordance with the Minorities Treaty, accepted the proposal of the Roumanian Government. This was, to leave the fact of the expropriation unaltered, but to pay a higher price—i.e. a total 700,000 instead of 300,000 francs for 24,015 acres.

Thus the land, with the approval of the League, goes to foreign Roumanian colonists, while the Hungarian settlers, in addition to being evicted, have to be satisfied with 29 francs per acre instead of the current price of 1000 to 2000 francs.

The case of THE HUNGARIAN OPTANTS does not directly concern the Minorities; it is a question of Hungarian influence in Transylvania, and a social problem of hundreds of spoliated Hungarians. It is also a question of international law arising out of an article of the Treaty between Roumania and the Allied Powers and the Treaty between Hungary and Roumania; it is an international dispute, a problem for the League of Nations—which, however, was unable to solve it.¹

Under Article 3 of the Minorities Treaty and Article 63 of the Treaty of Trianon:

"Hungarian nationals . . . will be entitled . . .

¹ The legal aspect of the question was dealt with in Chapter I. Exhaustive material for the study of the question is contained in the *Recueil des actes et documents relatifs à l'affaire de l'expropriation par le Royaume de Roumanie des biens immobiliers des optants hongrois*, published by the Hungarian Foreign Office.

to opt for any nationality which may be open to them. Persons who have exercised the above right to opt . . . will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Roumanian territory."

In June 1921, twelve months after the signing of the Treaty of Trianon, the Agrarian Reform Act was published, Article 6, paragraph (c) of which contains the following provisions :

"Expropriated in their entirety will be the landed estates of the absentees.

"As absentees are regarded those who have been absent from the country since 1st December 1918 till the introduction of this Bill in Parliament" (23rd March 1921).

An ordinance of 4th November 1921 explained that those who had left the country on an official errand, or were foreigners, could not be regarded as absentees. This correct interpretation of the law was, however, abandoned by the Brătianu Government. Its Minister of Agriculture, M. Constantinescu, issued a new ordinance in 1922, in which the declaration that foreigners are not regarded as absentees was omitted; and when the Act was executed it was interpreted in a contrary sense—*i.e.* that the Hungarian optants are absentees.

This interpretation is entirely illegal.

Apart from the fact that it leads to a flat contradiction between international treaties and the Agrarian Act, it results in those being treated as absentees who were absent from Transylvania at a period—from 1918 to 1921—when the country was not Roumanian territory and the Transylvanians were Hungarian nationals, and so could not be regarded as Roumanian absentees. Besides, during these first years of Roumanian occupation thousands of Hungarian families had to leave the country, or were either expelled or hindered from returning by the Roumanians themselves.

The *Recueil* contains, for example, the following document :

LEGATION OF ROUMANIA
IN VIENNA.

No. 3416.

CERTIFICATE

At the request of Count Raphael de Zichy, the Royal Legation of Roumania states that from the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy up till February 16, 1921, it was prohibited to grant *visas* for the passports of Hungarian nationals. During the period between May and August 1920, Count Zichy applied several times to the Roumanian Commissary requesting the permission to enter Roumania and to grant him the necessary *visa* for this purpose, but the Commissary was unable to comply with his request.

For the Minister,
DR EUGENE PANAIT.

VIENNA, 28th May 1923.

Notwithstanding this, the Roumanian Government ruthlessly expropriated the estates of the optants, offering, as usual, to pay no more than pre-war prices for them; but as the dispute was submitted to the League of Nations, *pendente lite* they pay nothing at all, and the optants receive neither the rents of their estates nor the promised valueless State bonds.

The Hungarian Government requested the Roumanian Government to observe their obligations, but met with a flat refusal. Thereupon, following the instructions of the Ambassadors' Council, they submitted the case to the League of Nations, which dealt with it at the end of April 1923. The defence of the Roumanian delegate, M. Titulescu, was that the measure was a social reform, and that, if the problem was left unsolved, "the dissatisfaction of millions of Roumanian peasants" would endanger European peace. *Nota bene*, the total number of the claimants in Transylvania was 530,964, and the Government was able to retain undistributed more than one-third of the expropriated land for political purposes.

The *rapporteur* of the case, M. Adatci, the Japanese ambassador, made several suggestions for a solution. One was to submit the question for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice; another to ask its *avis consultatif*. But the Roumanian delegate accepted neither proposal, and refused even the suggestion that in case of a postponement of the decision the execution of the law should be suspended.

The Council, seeing that there was no prospect of an agreement, deferred its decision "in the conviction that in the meantime the Hungarian and the Roumanian Governments would do their best to come to an agreement."

In May the delegates of the two Governments met in Brussels, in the presence of M. Adatci, and agreed on a declaration, according to which the two Governments were to make every effort to maintain the good relations between the two countries, and the Roumanian Government promised "to give proof of their good intentions in regard to the interests of the optants," while the Hungarian Government was to do its best to pacify the latter.¹ One proof of the goodwill of the Government was the promise not to take such land of the optants as might possibly have been left to them *after the expropriation*.²

Such were "*les grandes concessions*," as the Hungarian Foreign Office bitterly remarked; neither more nor less, in fact, than a flat denial of the treaty rights of the optants.

The Hungarian Government immediately disavowed the action of their delegate. But the League, only

¹ "Le Conseil est persuadé que le Gouvernement Hongrois après les efforts faits de part et d'autre pour écarter tout mal-entendu au sujet de la question des optants, s'emploiera de son mieux à apaiser les esprits de ses ressortissants ;

"Et que le Gouvernement Roumain, de son côté, fidèle aux traités et au principe de justice qu'il déclare avoir mis à la base de sa législation agraire, fera preuve de sa bonne volonté à l'égard des intérêts des optants hongrois."—*Recueil*, p. 55.

² It may be observed that the Roumanian Government failed to keep even this agreement. When the writer of these lines had his lands expropriated, 54 cad. acres were left to him; later, however, notwithstanding the Brussels promises, these were also taken.

too glad to get out of the embarrassing situation, took cognizance of the declaration.¹

The Hungarian optants then applied to the Mixed Arbitration Tribunal in Paris, and it is to be hoped that that independent and non-political Court will recognize the manifest contradiction between the international Treaties and the Roumanian regional law.

¹ "Le Conseil, après avoir examiné le rapport de M. Adatci et les documents annexés :

"Approuve ce rapport,

"Prend acte des diverses déclarations et espère que les deux Gouvernements feront tous leur possible pour que la question des optants Hongrois ne devienne pas une cause de trouble des rapports de bon voisinage entre les deux pays."—*Recueil*, p. 141.

CHAPTER X

THE CHURCHES IN GENERAL

AT the time of the Reformation, and of the religious wars, freedom and equality of the Churches were declared in Transylvania and enacted in several laws. The Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian, the Lutheran and the Unitarian Churches were the accepted religions (*receptæ religiones*) of the country.

The Orthodox Church was not among them. Its creed was that of the Roumanians—of that nation which was not represented in the political life of the country. The members of the four accepted Churches were recruited from the three free nations—the Hungarians, Székelys and Saxons—who formed the political body of the Transylvanian State. But, as was told before, the Roumanians were not a *recepta natio*; that is why their Church was not a *recepta religio*.

Later, the Greek Catholic Church, having been founded with the help of the Habsburg Emperors,¹ was recognized in 1701. The Orthodox Church of those Roumanians who would not follow the Pope gained recognition only in 1848. The freedom of both Roumanian Churches was entered in the Hungarian Statute Book after the end of Austrian absolutism, in 1868, and from this time no difference was made between the Churches.

This harmony was rudely broken by Roumania's annexation of Transylvania.

The change was caused by the radically divergent religious conceptions of the Western and Eastern Churches and their different organization as regards the relation between State and Church.

M. C. Rădulescu-Motru, Professor of the Bucarest

¹ See Chapter XIII.

University and Member of the Roumanian Academy, gives the following deep characterization of the spiritual divergence between these Churches :

"Orthodox Christianity has a soul which is the product of traditions, while the soul of Western Christianity was lent to it by the theological writers, by the spirit which they have individually drawn from the teachings of Christ. While Orthodoxy excludes any contribution of individual thought, and rests on tradition, the Christianity of the other Churches is, on the contrary, the fruit of such individual contributions. Truly, it is a sublime pretension of the individual to arrogate to himself the right of being able to fathom the depths of religious belief and select what is the veritable truth as Luther has done—but it is an extremely dangerous one. Orthodoxy believes that this sublime pretension is a sublime human vanity. For an Orthodox, the teachings of Christ have not been developed since His days by any subtle interpretations of the mind; they are enveloped in the traditions. The words of Jesus exist in consequence of the fact that they were heard, understood and spread without any need for sophisticated commentators. . . . Nothing in them is invented. They have nothing to do with the vanity of the reformer."

This difference is weighty with consequences.

"It makes Orthodoxy a stable Church, free of schism, and one, besides, which is destined to mingle with national feeling, whereas Catholicism is lost in a vague internationalism, and Protestantism is bound to the personality of the individual believer. Orthodoxy, based on tradition, finds its national roots in the traditions of any people; while the Western Churches, being foreign to the traditions of the different peoples, are hostile towards them. Thus the Orthodox Church becomes, as no other Church is, a veritable State institution, maintaining the national continuity." ¹

This is the reason why the Orthodox priest never

¹ C. Rădulescu-Motru : *Țaranismul, un suflet și o Politică*, pp. 23-24.

preaches nor expounds the Bible : "*Noli esse doctior, quam liber hic sanctus.*"

The Orthodox Churches have always been dependent on the State; they were subordinated to the omnipotent rulers. Dogmas, discipline, administration of the Church were regulated by these. The Church was so tightly interlocked with the State that it became a part of the race. Orthodoxy is not the faith of persons, but that of the race and of the State. A Protestant Roumanian is unthinkable, and the Greek Catholic Church was always nearer to Orthodoxy than to Catholicism.

This dependence, however, has immense drawbacks as well as advantages. A historian, M. Jon Georghescu, gives the following description of the Orthodox State Churches :

"All Orthodox Churches suffer from the same innate weakness, inherited from Byzantium : of complete subservience to the State, of sterility in cultural and religious matters, of want of continuity, and, in consequence, of entire demoralization. A Church from which the sense of duty has died out cannot retain a real Christian character. Its members, seeing that they are led, not according to the principles of Christianity, but according to political interests, lose courage, and surrender in the struggle for ideals. Such a Church may be a State institution, it may sing *Te Deums* and go through various ceremonies, but it will make no progress ; it will be a decorative figure without ideals and without initiatives." ¹

The monthly review, *Ideea Europeană*, goes even further : it denies the justification of Orthodoxy at the present day : "More than ever Orthodoxy is to-day devoid of a living doctrine that has either an essential value or forms suitable to the spirit of our times." ²

All this was very different in Transylvania. There the earliest political institutions were organized on autonomy, and when the time of the Reformation came, the organization of the differentiated Churches

¹ J. Georghescu : *Istoria bisericii universale*, p. 183.

² 29th March 1925, No. 166, p. 4.

was built up on the lines of Protestant independence and self-government. This spirit was so strongly developed on Transylvanian soil that not only the Western Churches, but even the Orthodox Church, organized everywhere else on autocratic lines, was founded on that principle here.

In Roumania Byzantine submission, in Transylvania Protestant independence, made the atmosphere in which the Churches had grown up. Into these two contrasting worlds order and readjustment had to be introduced when Transylvania was transferred to Roumania.

The Minorities Treaty has a short provision concerning the Churches of the Minorities. The second paragraph of Article 2 runs thus: "All inhabitants of Roumania shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order and public morals."

The Gyulafehérvár Resolutions were the last emanation of the Transylvanian spirit. They declared that all the denominations of the State shall be equal and entitled to the freedom of self-government.

Five years later the draft of the new Constitution was introduced in Parliament, and in it only a few scanty words are to be found concerning religious freedom. A general declaration is made about the freedom and equality of the "cults," but a hierarchy is built up for the Churches, in which the Orthodox Church is at the top and the Greek Catholic Church comes immediately after, to be followed at a distance by the other "cults," which are not even called Churches, so that the great gulf between them and the Roumanian Churches may be further emphasized.

The words of Article 22 of the Constitution referring to the Minority Churches are as follows:

"Freedom of conscience is absolute.

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

"The Christian Orthodox and the Greek Catholic Churches are Roumanian Churches.

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

Provisions—in nearly all of which the meaning is obscure—follow concerning the organization of the Orthodox Church. The last paragraph of the Article provides that the relations of the different "cults" shall be regulated later by a special law.

Thus the theoretical equality of the Churches is recognized, but their historic rights, their autonomy, are not guaranteed. One of the following chapters will describe the fight which was fought by the Transylvanian Orthodox Church for the maintenance of her old autonomous administration, so different from that of the State Church of the Regat.

The two Roumanian Churches are called Churches, and the Minority ones only "cults," in order to make a distinction between them and to assign a lower rank to the non-Roumanian ones.

The declaration that the Orthodox and the Greek Catholic Churches are "Roumanian" Churches seems meant to emphasize the fact that the religious differences in the State coincide with the racial differences; that the nations which are divided racially are divided also in their religion. It widens the gulf between the Roumanians and the Minorities. The question is whether this provision implies that the Government wishes to regard as Roumanians all persons belonging to the Roumanian Churches or not? It seems absurd, yet Roumanian statistical methods appear to point that way. Among the Hungarian Székelys there are a few thousand Orthodox. Their number in fourteen villages in which 20,669 Hungarians and 170 Roumanians were found, in 1910, was 4605. According to the Roumanian statistical work, the *Dictionarul* of MM. Martinovici and Istrati, the number of the Hungarians in these villages in 1920 was

15,751, and that of the Roumanians 4254. Evidently the Greek Catholic Hungarians have been added to the insignificant number of the Roumanians. A similar procedure can be seen in the Nagykaroly hundred, where the Greek Catholic population of 14,447 in 1910 was divided among 7699 Hungarians and 6248 Roumanians. In 1920 Roumanian returns increased the number of the Greek Catholic Roumanians by 6421 and decreased that of the Hungarians by precisely the same number. Here again the Greek Catholic Hungarians were counted as Roumanians racially.

Not less obscure is the real meaning of the word "dominant," and the influence exercised by this distinction on the Minority Churches.

The Presbyterian Church authorities, when asked to give their opinion on the Bill, protested against it. "In a State ruled by law," they declared, "it is impossible to imagine any other relation between the sects than full equality and reciprocity. None of them must enjoy fuller rights or privileges on account of its greater number than the other." Relations were very acrimonious also between the two Roumanian Churches—the Orthodox and the Greek Catholic—on account of their different treatment.

In Parliament, in the absence of the Opposition parties, M. A. Dragoș, a Greek Catholic priest, and two Saxons, Senator A. Schullerus and M. Binder, criticized the provisions of the Bill. M. Schullerus admitted that the Orthodox Church, as that of the majority, should have precedence over the other Churches, but asserted that this should only be the prerogative of a *Primus inter pares*, the *prerogativa honoris*, which must not influence the status of the other Churches; full liberty and equality must be established. He objected also to the silence with which the autonomy of the Churches had been passed over.

Nearly all the speakers from the Government benches commented on the words "dominant" and "precedence." Yet curiously enough it is impossible

to find an exact statement as to their real meaning in relation to the other Churches. All that transpires from the speeches is the reason why they must be retained in the Constitution and the explanation of what they do not mean.

The Cabinet Ministers, M. Constantinescu and M. Banu, the latter being Minister of Cults and Arts, justified the word "dominant" by the fact that the great majority of the population belonged to the Orthodox Church. The most competent commentator, the Primate Metropolitan, Mgr Miron Cristea, gave only a negative explanation. "We, the Orthodox Church," he said, "have never given a mediæval sense to that word. We have never dominated, and never will try to dominate, other cults. We have always been the most tolerant Church in the world, and are still so in the twentieth century when tolerance is easy as one of the fruits of civilization. By the adjective 'dominant' we do not attribute more to our Church than it actually has. The word is merely the sanction of an existing condition."

The practical meaning of the word was, however, explained in the Press, if not in Parliament.

"Everyone knows its reason," wrote the Transylvanian Roumanian paper, *Patria*. "It is not because the Government wishes to be connected with a Christian Church, but because, by assigning to the Orthodox Church the attribute of a State Church, it will in actual fact become not a 'dominant' Church, but one 'dominated' by the State. The Liberal Government regards the State Church as an instrument for political supremacy, as it used to be in the Old Kingdom. There the Orthodox Church has never been asked by the State to fulfil its high mission of moral regeneration and cultural work among the people, but was held responsible for the manner in which it played the political rôle entrusted to it by whichever political party was in power."¹

As far as can be ascertained, the privileges of the dominant Orthodox Church are to be the following :

¹ *Patria*, 24th June 1923.

1. The descendants of the Royal Family must be educated in the Orthodox creed.

2. The priests of the Church are paid by the State.

3. All the Bishops of the Greek Orthodox and the Greek Catholic Churches are without exception members of the Senate, while the other Churches shall be represented by only one Bishop each and only if the Church in question has at least 200,000 members. For example, the Unitarians shall lose their representative.

4. The holidays of the dominant Church are official holidays, and must be observed also by the other denominations.

The Article contains some general instructions about the construction of the Orthodox Church, but its general organization was accomplished by a special law. The Bill concerning the organization of the Minority Churches is not yet introduced in Parliament. The Saxon members demanded that at least the principle of the self-government of the Churches should be affirmed. But their amendment was refused. It was characteristic that while the Regat Bishop Bartolomeiu was strongly against ecclesiastic autonomy, and supported the Government, the Metropolitan Primate, Mgr Miron Cristea, who is a Transylvanian, was for the autonomy. Bishop Bartolomeiu was satisfied that "the equality of administrative organization was secured for the Minority Churches," the Metropolitan demanded that "their administrative and spiritual autonomy should be recognized."¹

The provisions of Article 22 are framed entirely in the spirit which led M. Brătianu to refuse the enactment of the Minorities Treaty in the Constitution. But the few speakers who mentioned the Minorities at all spoke of Roumania as the home of freedom and tolerance, where the liberty and equality of the Minority Churches was fully guaranteed. Mgr Bălan, Orthodox Metropolitan of Transylvania, unctuously declared that the Orthodox Church has no wish to dominate either the State or the other cults, "but

¹ *Indreptarea*, 5th January 1928.

respects every one's convictions, knowing that where there is a deep and sacred belief there must also be an altar, and we will never be desecrators of altars. We attack neither the language nor the culture of others. Under the protection of the Roumanian State and its laws all the racial and religious Minorities will be able to develop themselves. More than the Constitution, the good and mild disposition of the Roumanian people is a guarantee for the free development of the Minorities."

M. Bogdan, speaking in the Chamber, was perfectly right in saying that the Roumanians are wonderfully tolerant "when they are making laws." In practical life they are less so.

The lofty assurances of prelates and Ministers raised an odd echo in a corner which is representative of Roumanian thought and civilization—namely, the Roumanian University of Transylvania.

In April 1923, a month after the Constitution was passed, the Roumanian *Patria* published a series of articles, under the title "Necessity of a Radical Revision of the Situation of the Churches in Transylvania," written by Dr Onisifor Ghibu, Professor of the University of Kolozsvár, member of the Roumanian Academy and late under-secretary in the Church and Educational Department of the Governing Council. In the spring of the following year he enlarged these articles and published them in a book, called *Hungarian Catholicism and the Religious Policy of the Roumanian State*. Professor Ghibu, in view of his high position both in the scientific and in the political life of modern Roumania, can safely be taken as an authentic exponent of the Roumanian attitude towards the religious Minorities.

Professor Ghibu states that the greatest problem of Transylvania, that of the racial and religious Minorities, is far from being solved. The new Constitution has merely drawn a veil, a very transparent one, over its gravity, but it may reappear again at any time in a more virulent form than before.

His starting-point is that it is not a matter of

indifference for a people what kind of religion it has got. Religion is the most potent factor in the spiritual life of a people, more important than any material one. "The religious problem is not simply a problem of the Churches, as many superficial observers believe; it is eminently a national one: more than that, *it is a problem of the State*, in the superior sense of the word."

In the time before the union, he went on, it was impossible for Roumania to follow a clearly outlined national and religious policy for all the Roumanians, because a great number of them lived outside her frontiers. At that time the spiritual unity of the Roumanian people was unachievable. But to-day, when 90 per cent. of the Roumanians form a compact political body, the time has come when "means must be sought for re-establishing the religious unity of our people, broken up during past adverse times, and the religious unity of the entire Church of Christ, from which evil fortune removed us at a time when an alien people dominated us." Nothing has been done so far to achieve this. From the national point of view this omission is all the more injurious, as it has stood in the way also of the solution of other problems. The re-establishment of Orthodox unity would have made it easier to solve the problem of the other denominations, as well as the difficult problem of the racial Minorities.

But, complains Professor Ghibu, when the Roumanians declared for the union in 1918, "in an atmosphere created by President Wilson," they did not realize the importance of the religious question. They declared equal rights and full and free autonomy for all the denominations. Thus the autonomy of the Transylvanian Churches, instead of being destroyed, was recognized in its old form. Nor have the subsequent Governments done anything in this direction. They respect the old autonomies of their new enemies and allow the latter to continue organizing themselves *extra legem*.

Professor Ghibu declares that he is not a foe of

religious autonomy if granted by the Roumanian authorities. But he cannot understand how the Roumanian Churches are to exist side by side with denominational Churches to which autonomy was granted by the Hungarian State.

This indifference of the Roumanian Governments about finding a solution for the religious question has in his opinion resulted in leaving also the problem of the racial Minorities unsolved.

"The problem of the Minorities is so closely interlocked with that of the Churches that the one cannot be solved without the other. It has been the great fault of our policy that we did not realize this close contact, and that we improvised measures which only served to embitter the Minorities. . . . The Minorities policy, the racial as well as the religious, must be uniform for the entire country and only vary in the different provinces in so far as necessity demands."¹

As the book deals with Roman Catholicism in Transylvania, Professor Ghibu's practical recommendations for a solution concern that Church, and will be dealt with later on in the chapter on that Church. For our present purpose it is sufficient to realize the difference of tone between the sanctimonious speeches of the Roumanian prelates in Parliament and the robust sincerity of a man who openly admits that the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions, Minorities Treaties and the rest, created "in President Wilson's atmosphere," are impracticable nonsense, and that the present autonomous administration of the Transylvanian Churches must be put an end to.

The promise contained in Article 22 of the Constitution that the situation of the Minorities Churches should be regulated by a special law was fulfilled by the introduction of a Bill in Parliament in December 1925. It is a strikingly nationalist instrument and, if it is carried through, will become a strong weapon in the hands of the Government. The Churches will in all their relations be subjected to a strong control

¹ The quotations are from the Introduction and the closing chapter of the book.

and supervision. Every single act or ordinance of the Church authorities will have to be submitted to the Church Department. An intolerable interference on the part of all kinds of administrative authorities, Ministers, prefects and detectives will be introduced into the daily life of the Churches.

A direct encroachment on self-government is that provision of the Bill which provides that the leaders of the Churches, metropolitans, bishops and superintendents, whether elected or otherwise appointed, may be installed in their offices only if their appointment has been sanctioned by the King on the recommendation of the Government, and that they, as well as all other functionaries, must render an oath of allegiance. The relations of the Churches with foreign countries will be restricted; no Church will be allowed to maintain foreign connexions except with the permission of the Government. One can imagine the difficulties, seeing that the Roman Catholics must communicate with Rome and the Presbyterians had always a constant and close connexion with their English and Dutch brethren. The whole Bill is full of provisions giving ample opportunity to the authorities for interference.

The first Article declares the liberty of all denominations, but only those enumerated in Article 21 are "recognized cults"—namely, the Greek Catholic, Roman Catholic, Armenian Catholic, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Unitarian, Armenian-Gregorian, Jewish and Mohammedan. Thus to the cults which "are not inconsistent with public morality, but are bizarre and queer," as Professor Jorga called, for example, not only the Sabbatists, but also the Adventists, Baptists, Nazarenes, etc., recognition is refused.

What this strong Government control will mean for the Churches one can approximately guess if one remembers the situation of the Church in the Regat.

In a book published in 1925, M. Joan G. Savin, Inspector-General in the Ministry of Arts and Cults, describes the fateful influence of the State on the Church in the following words:

“One thing can be denied neither by churchmen nor laymen—namely, that the Church in Roumania is dead. Since its secularization the Roumanian State has shown neither love nor understanding for the Church and for those who have dedicated their work to it. Since Cogalniceanu and Rosetti, our politicians have not been sons of the Christian Church; grown up in Western countries, in an atmosphere of free-thinkers and revolutionaries, they are whatever you will: materialists, positivists, evolutionists, free-masons, occultists, everything except Christians. And such statesmen, who are entire strangers to the Church, are called on to manage her affairs. . . . How can we avoid the bankruptcy of religious life in a country in which the entire life and the affairs of the Church, from the appointment of a sacristan to that of the Metropolitan, is laid into the hands of a few Epicureans and Voltairians? . . . Our religious degradation is the result of the administrative enslavement of the Church.”¹

Such are the present foundations and the future hopes of the Minority Churches in Roumania.

¹ J. G. Savin: *Biserica română și noua ei organizare*, p. 21.

CHAPTER XI

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES

PROTESTANTISM was introduced into Transylvania in the early decades of the sixteenth century. Disciples of Luther preached his doctrines to the Saxons, who accepted them readily. The Hungarians learnt more towards the puritanism of Calvin and the Székelys towards the rationalism of the Unitarian creed.

The organization of the Protestant Churches was based on self-government in ecclesiastic as well as in scholastic matters, a fact which was recognized both by the Transylvanian law-books, the *Approbatæ et Compilatæ Constitutiones*, and by the Hungarian Legislature. The Presbyterian Church had a synodal-Presbyterian self-government, comprising scholastic autonomy. The King's right of superintendence was recognized, but the duty of the State to render material assistance to the Churches (*jus advocatiæ*) was also established. The Church was entitled to levy taxes for its purposes, and to found and maintain schools.

The organization of the other Protestant Churches was on similar lines, and these rights and privileges were never infringed either by the Transylvanian Princes or by the Kings of Hungary.

This ideal situation was completely altered by the coming of the Roumanians. At once there commenced a systematic persecution of the Protestant clergy and the constant molestation of divine service.¹ This was because the Transylvanian Churches are characteristically national Churches. "They are regarded by the Roumanian Government as centres for national feeling," said the Report of the American

¹ In the following pages we shall rely for the most part on evidence collected by impartial ecclesiastic delegations sent to Transylvania by the English and American Protestants.

Unitarian Commission of 1920. "Roumanian officials have accordingly watched carefully, and borne heavily upon the Hungarian Churches and their activities. We have seen enough to convince us that they believe it necessary to weaken these institutions in order to bring about the speedy Roumanization of the population, which appears to be their goal."¹

In the first period of Roumanian rule this policy was marked by a personal persecution of the clergymen. "These, by reason of their position in the community (in the villages they wield, by virtue of their office, great influence), were from the first marked men, and those who were most active and efficient appeared to be most liable to trouble. The Roumanian policy, with them as with others, has been to stifle leadership."

The reasons for the arrest and maltreatment were manifold, and often paltry enough, while in many cases no reason at all was given. Refusal to hold divine service on Greek Orthodox holy days was a favourite pretext; where all else failed, there could always be brought forward a general charge of unreliability or irredentism.

The Rev. A. Zoltán of Homorodszentmárton and I. Urmössy of Homorodszentpál were imprisoned, then released, without trial and without any known reason. In Abrudbánya the Unitarian as well as the Presbyterian clergymen were arrested because their church bells were not rung to celebrate the entry of the Roumanians into Budapest. In Csegez the Rev. A. Bartók was arrested for not having greeted some gendarmes. Two Unitarian ministers, A. Kiss and L. Orbán, were interned in Fogaras for four months because they had attempted, in accordance with their Bishop's orders, and under the provisions of the Minorities Treaty, to start denominational schools in their villages.

"In Nyomát," the Report of the Unitarian Commission says, "we found a minister, the Rev. C. Pethő, still under Roumanian surveillance. From

¹ *Transylvania under Roumanian Rule*, p. 11.

May 1919 until 1920 he was either in prison or at home, but not allowed to preach. On the occasion of his first arrest he was taken to Marosvásárhely and shut up for twenty-four hours in the morgue; from thence he was removed to Kolozsvár, robbed of everything of value and incarcerated in a filthy cell. After four weeks a brother minister succeeded by bribery in investigating the conditions of his confinement. Meanwhile gendarmes, on promise to gain his release, extorted 1600 crowns from his wife and father-in-law. He was freed, but after two weeks was arrested again." And so it went on for months and for years.¹

These cases happened in the first two years; later the personal abuse, floggings and other brutalities abated somewhat, but occasional beatings and imprisonments still occurred. The second Commission sent by the American and British Churches to Transylvania in 1922 thought matters improved; but this favourable impression, which was only the result of a comparison with the previous situation, was not shared by a later, third, Commission. In 1924 the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities sent a Commission to Transylvania, which was joined by one English member. The Commission arrived in June and made a thorough investigation of the situation of the Hungarian Minority Churches. Their Report was submitted to the Roumanian Government, and printed, with their "Remarks," in a volume entitled *The Religious Minorities in Transylvania*.²

In the Report innumerable atrocities and illegalities are enumerated, and in most cases simply denied by the Roumanian authorities. "The inquiries made established the fact that nobody was beaten"; "the inquiry shows that no one was ever obliged to put up a flag"; sometimes, "they were not beaten, as they themselves own," etc.

Later, in the autumn of 1925, a pamphlet was published in criticism of the book, compiled by Miss

¹ *Op. cit.*, chapter ii., p. I.

² The Beacon Press, Boston, Mass., 1925.

Henrietta Tichner, which bears every sign of being a Government publication. The author accuses the members of the Committee of not understanding Roumanian, which she, the author, alleges she does. But as, on the other hand, she does not pretend to know Hungarian, and the question regards a Hungarian-speaking Minority, her so-called personal investigations can hardly carry more weight than those of the Committee.

Early in 1926 the ecclesiastical review of the Greek Catholics, the *Cultura Creștină*, dealt with the report of the Committee, and commented on it thus: "We touch upon the subject because the grievances contained in the Report are not only those of the Minorities, but also those of the non-Orthodox Churches and—in regard to educational matters—even those of the Orthodox Church. We touch upon the subject with the purpose of showing how ridiculous are the chicaneries of the administrative authorities, since they deepen unnecessarily the dissatisfaction of the people and create an unfavourable atmosphere for us abroad."¹

In this connexion we will quote a few lines of the 1922 Report concerning the Commission's own experiences with Roumanian Civil Servants. They were introduced by Mr Goodwin, the British consul in Transylvania, to the prefect of the capital of the country, an official whose position is similar to that of a Lord Lieutenant in England.

"The prefect gave us a cordial welcome. He said he would be glad to help us in any way he could. He expressed his surprise that there was more than one denomination in Transylvania. In Roumania they had only the Greek Orthodox Church, and he said we must give the Roumanians a little time to get used to having more than one denomination. He asked if we had more than one in the U.S.? Our impression of this prefect was pleasant enough. He illustrated what seemed to us to be the root of much of the colossal difficulty. He was ignorant of the very

¹ *Cultura Creștină*, 1926, 1-3, p. 19.

elements of the diversities inherent in modern civilization. Without necessarily meaning to be brutal or repressive, his ignorance will leave him so unaware of the very rudiments of freedom and diversity, both for individuals and institutions, as to make him in effect a harsh ruler. He quoted the Crown Prince as having said that it was also new to him to have more than one denomination in the country."¹

These are the civil authorities to whom the Hungarian clergymen have been delivered up.

In January 1923 the Rev. S. Csiky of Marosvécse was charged with having incited the Hungarians against the Roumanians and having called the Orthodox pagans. In the same year M. Martin Bokor, Presbyterian minister of Bánffy Hunyad, was accused of *lèse majesté*, as has been mentioned elsewhere, because a torn picture of the King had been found in his room and because on New Year's Eve he preached a sermon on the text: "We must build even if we have a sword in one hand."

In March 1924 Coloman Rákosy, the Presbyterian pastor, M. Szász, the school teacher, and a retired Hungarian colonel were arrested by the gendarmes in Adámos. They were taken to the gendarmery and were severely beaten with rifle butts. The following day the gendarme Krişán went to their houses and forced them by threats to sign a declaration to the effect that they had suffered no outrage. The Roumanian prefect reported that "nobody had been beaten."

In June 1924 J. Sándor, presbyter of the Unitarian Church in Alsójára, left his house for a few days, and returning found the pretor (the administrative head of the district), Vasile Roşu, living in it. When he asked that his furniture should be returned to him the pretor beat him about the head with a stick; his wounds were seen by the Unitarian pastor. The Roumanian Government's answer was that Sándor had "violently entered the pretor's house, abusing

¹ *Transylvania in 1922*, p. 65.

and striking him, and that the house had been requisitioned by a regular commission in his absence.”¹

One case is specially characteristic.

In the parish of Felső Csernátón a feud arose between the teachers of the denominational and the Roumanian State school; and the Presbyterian minister, Michael Medgyaszay, was accused of agitating against the Government school and so, indirectly, against the State.

The report states:

“On the 23rd of December 1923 the head of the gendarmes went to the home of the minister and carried him by force to the village hall, where he was beaten with the help of the pretor so cruelly that his body was badly swollen in many places. The beating was repeated five days later and still more cruelly, so that he could not go to a doctor to have a certification of his injuries until after another five days. Then he was watched so closely that he could only make his report later on. Moreover, two gendarmes were forced into his home, at his expense, in order that they should watch and control him.”

Here the story of the Committee ends, but not that of Mr Medgyaszay. He was dragged to the next town, imprisoned, and tortured, then again released, but constantly harassed till at last he was expelled from Transylvania. He is now in Budapest as a living document of Roumanian religious tolerance.

The reply of the Roumanian Government is a flat denial of all the facts. It is denied that the minister was ever beaten or tortured; it is admitted that gendarmes were sent to his house, but it is alleged that “it was the priest who was defended against the Hungarians” (*sic*).²

In the first year nearly all religious work of the communities had to be given up because of the restrictions laid on them by the civil and military

¹ *The Religious Minorities in Transylvania*, pp. 50, 53.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 58-61. The writer of these lines is personally acquainted with Mr Medgyaszay, and heard his story from his own lips.

authorities. No meetings, says the Report of the 1920 Commission, are allowed to be held, or a censor must be present. Permission is often difficult to obtain, and the Commission has heard of instances where the authorities have set the date three months ahead. In this connexion, as the 1924 Committee points out, the constant complaint of the Churches is to the effect that written orders are usually refused by the officials, and the ministers have to content themselves with verbal orders, which are later on denied. The Commission stated that the constant interference with the religious meetings by local authorities without cause and without the sanction of the law greatly hampers the religious work.

Under Hungarian rule, and according to Hungarian laws, it had not been permitted to take the pupils to any but their own churches on official holidays.

The Presbyterian clergyman of Bósháza complained that the Presbyterian children were forced to attend Mass on the 24th of January 1925, a Roumanian national holiday, under the penalty of 100 leus. In Lisznyó, where half of the population is Hungarian and Presbyterian, the teacher of the Roumanian State school forced on the first of December the Presbyterian pupils to go to the Orthodox church, notwithstanding that there was a service at the same time in the Presbyterian church. The same thing happened in Marosbogat. In Sepród a money collection in aid of the Presbyterian church was forbidden by the gendarmery. In Hosdát the Presbyterian minister wished to hold meetings for the young twice a week to teach them hymns. The pretor refused the permit. In Szacsva the gendarmery did the same. In Mezópanit meetings are allowed to be held only after 6 P.M., from which hour on all traffic in the streets is prohibited.¹

A regrettable feature of Roumanian Church policy is the hindrance of religious instruction.

Article 61 of the Elementary Education Act provides that :

¹ *Református Szemle*, 1925, Nos. 3 and 7.

“Religious instruction is obligatory. The plan of instruction shall be settled by the Church authorities in accord with the Minister of Education. Religious instruction is given two hours a week by the teacher, if he is of the same religion as his pupils. If he is of another religion, or if the pupils belong to different denominations, the clergyman of the respective denomination shall provide for the religious instruction of the children, having at their disposal the necessary hours, so that the instruction of *other subjects shall not be interfered with and the pupils not be prevented from appearing punctually for the other lessons.*”

It will be seen that religious instruction does not occupy a very “dominant” position in the school system of the Government, and only too often even this little is withheld from the children of the religious Minorities.

In Bánffy Hunyad, where out of 5194 inhabitants 4699 are Hungarians (of whom 3000 are Presbyterians) and only 451 Roumanians, the Presbyterian school was requisitioned and turned into a State school. In this school, Bible teaching for the Presbyterian pupils is allowed only during the recreation hours. In the Presbyterian Church district of Udvarhely the Government has turned thirty-four schools into secular schools, and prohibited the Presbyterian youth from holding religious meetings in them. In Marosvásárhely, where out of a population of 25,527 only 2983 belong to the Greek Church, and 22,544 to the Minority Church, the headmaster of the girls' *lycée* declared to the authorities of the Minority Churches that in future he would not let them have the school premises for religious instruction.

The gravest menace to the existence of the Minority Churches is the destruction of their economic and financial foundations.

In the past all the Churches had extensive landed property, the income of which served their ecclesiastic and educational expenses. The members of the communities were also able and willing to help their Church materially, while the Hungarian State granted

large subsidies not only to the Hungarian but also to the Roumanian Churches.

All this is now at an end. The Hungarians are poor, some even destitute. The officials have lost their posts and their salaries, the estates of the landowners have been expropriated, the Hungarian banks and industrial enterprises nationalized. Thus the members of the Hungarian denominations are unable to support their churches financially. The clergy receive some subsidies from the Government, but not as much as previously, nor as regularly. A salary due in April has been received in August.

The organization of the financial support of the Churches and its result was described by the 1922 British-American Commission as follows :

"An order has been given that all churches having less than 300 confirmed members shall receive no support from the State. This order withdraws support from 27 per cent. of the Unitarian churches, from about the same per cent. of the Roman Catholic, from somewhat less of the Presbyterian and Lutheran, a total average of 25 per cent. reduction in the congregations of the denominations. There is no possibility whatever that the congregations can survive if the State support of the ministers is withdrawn.

"Further, the number 300 may at any time be changed. If congregations of 300 members can be arbitrarily suppressed, what assurance is there for the others ?

"Further still, it is alleged that the order will never be applied to the Greek churches. If the inhabitants of such villages desire any Church services (and all Transylvanian people observe baptism, marriage, funeral service and communion) they would be obliged to turn to the ministry of the Greek Church."¹

The end will be that such people will leave their Church and turn Orthodox, and that gradually the Western Churches will disappear from Transylvania.

This is all the more probable since not only the State subsidy has been withdrawn from these

¹ *Transylvania in 1922*, p. 68.

communities, but even the possibility to maintain themselves has been destroyed.

In Chapter IX. it was mentioned that the Agrarian Reform Law is applied also to the land endowments of the educational and denominational institutions.

The law grants for each parish church 50 acres for the maintenance of the church and the salaries of the clergymen and cantor; and 16 acres for the maintenance of the school. Evidently the income of this amount of land is insufficient for the decent maintenance of a parish church and school. But in reality not even this much is left in most cases, nor are those parishes which possessed no land hitherto given the fixed quota.

The Presbyterian Church of Transylvania owned 58,502 acres, which would not have sufficed to supply every parish with the necessary 66 acres. Yet up to the end of 1924 about 21,000 acres were expropriated for secular purposes.

The Bethlen College, the oldest public school of Transylvania, lost 9190 acres, so that its future is very precarious. It was a school like Eton or Harrow, with the difference that hundreds of poor boys were educated in it on scholarships. This is now at an end. From the Kolozsvár College 1423 acres, of the educational endowments of the Unitarian Church 6285 acres, were expropriated. Thus old educational institutions are deprived of their means of existence and doomed to perish.

In many cases, parishes which already owned less than the fixed quota found yet more being taken from them, the expropriated land being distributed among Roumanian peasants or Greek churches to be founded in the future. In the "Complaint of the Churches to the League of Nations" in 1925, 42 Presbyterian schools are mentioned whose entire property was expropriated, and 13 to whom less than the fixed 16 acres were left. Many Unitarian churches are in similar case. The church of Firtos owned $14\frac{1}{2}$ acres; 13 were expropriated, and only $1\frac{1}{2}$ left; the Unitarian parish at Tarcesti had 150 acres, from which

128 were taken and only 22 left, instead of the 50 fixed by law.

In Alsórákos the Roumanian church, which has only 100 members, received 32 acres, while the Unitarian and Presbyterian churches received nothing.

In Szilágynagyfalu the Presbyterian church, which has 1800 members, possessed only 22 acres, and applied in vain for the quota, while the Roumanian church in the adjoining village, which does not exist as yet, received 140 acres.

In Zágón, a purely Hungarian parish, the 30 acres which served for the maintenance of the Presbyterian church orphanage were expropriated in 1922 and let to Roumanian peasants of the neighbouring village. The land whose income supplied the salary of the cantor was also expropriated and given to a Roumanian church which has yet to be built.

The land of all those Protestant churches which had less than 300 members has been taken, so that they are financially ruined. The land belonging to the Presbyterian church in Retin, Markosfalva and Szilágysomlyó was taken and given to Roumanian churches of the future.

These are but a few examples, but those who care may find a long tale of this spoliation of the Minority Churches in the above-quoted reports and in the "Complaint of the Hungarian Churches to the League of Nations" in 1925.¹

The Memorandum of the Anglo-American Commission of 1924 summed up the matter as follows :

"The Commission respectfully submits that the Treaty guaranteed full liberty and support to all the Minority Churches, together with freedom for self-development. The Commission respectfully raises the question whether the alleged decision of the Roumanian Government to support only such Churches as have 300 members is in accordance with the terms of

¹ *Transylvania in 1922; The Religious Minorities in Transylvania, 1925, and Mémoire supplémentaire à la pétition adressée par les représentants légaux des églises minoritaires hongroises, catholique romaine, réformée et unitaire en Transylvanie, au Conseil de la Société des Nations.*

the Treaty. The Commission further raises the question whether the decision of the Roumanian Government to permit no new churches of the Minority denominations to organize or to receive support from the State that, at the start, have less than 300 members, as is alleged, is in accordance with the terms of the Treaty. The Commission, providing that the facts are as alleged, submits that taking away land from the parishes of under 300 members cannot be in accordance with the terms of the Treaty."¹

The most revolting case is still to be told, however.

In the village of Maros Szentimre, where the majority of the population is Greek Catholic, there is a small Presbyterian congregation, numbering ninety-five members in all. It had a small but beautiful old church, built, so legend tells, by the great captain, John Hunyadi, to commemorate his victory over the Turks in 1442.

In the spring of 1921 the Greek Catholic church received a building plot in the village from the lands expropriated from the Bethlen College, but later it was rumoured that the Greek Catholic priest, R. Muntean, would prefer to have the old historic church of the Presbyterians, and on 27th March 1923 he applied to the Agrarian Committee with the demand that they should expropriate the Presbyterian church and hand it over to the Greek Catholics. Two days later, on 29th March, the Committee promptly brought in a decision (No. 48—1923) expropriating the church for the Greek Catholics, and the church lands for the Roumanian peasants, because—so the decision ran—"in Szentimre there is not one single Presbyterian, and the parish is a non-existent, illusory thing; even from a financial standpoint it is not permissible to maintain a church without members, where the minister preaches to the empty walls a few times in the year."

The statement that the parish has no members was untrue, since, as we have said, it had ninety-five, and the minister preached to his congregation and

¹ *The Religious Minorities in Transylvania*, p. 144.

the church bells were rung each time a Presbyterian member was followed to his grave. The parish appealed to the Agrarian Committee of the county, which brought a different, but just as revolting, decision. It said that "Since it was uncertain whether the church had been erected by the Church or by the State, the Ministry of Arts and Cults must settle whether it was not a monument of art and then decide the destination of this historic building—that is to say, which denomination was to be entrusted with its maintenance." Soon the decision of the Government came. On 10th July M. Constantinescu, Minister of Agriculture, arrived in the village with two under-secretaries, the Greek Catholic dean, and a large following, and, dismissing the appeal of the Presbyterian Church, solemnly handed over both the church and the vicarage to the Greek Catholic community. Naturally the Presbyterian Church could not acquiesce in such a decision. They complained to every authority, in Parliament, in the Press, but without result to this day.

The expropriation of the church was painful even for the Greek Catholics. The official Church paper, the *Unirea*, commented on the affair as follows: "We do not know what our Church authorities will do with the building. But we know that there is no legal basis for its expropriation. We are against it, and if it depended on us, the church would never become Greek Catholic without the consent of the Presbyterian Church. What guarantee have we else that it will not be our turn next?"

One more case to illustrate the work of the Agrarian Committees. During the war a plot of 20 acres was marked out for a Presbyterian cemetery in Nagyszalonta, and the dead had been buried there since that time. In the autumn of 1925 the Agrarian Committee handed an ordinance to the Presbyterian authorities, according to which "part of the burial ground, being eminently adapted for agriculture," was to be expropriated.¹

¹ *Brassói Lapok*, 24th October 1925.

There are also a few smaller sects, which are not recognized by the Constitution : Baptists, Adventists, Evangelical Christians, Bible Students, Nazarenes, Duchobors, etc. These are all persecuted in the same manner.

According to the latest decree of the Minister of Cults and Arts (12,794—924), the regulations concerning them are the following : the name of the preacher, and the place and exact time of the divine service must be reported to the civil authorities in every case. Only such persons as have not committed theft, embezzlement or any other crime mentioned in the Penal Code can be appointed as permanent preachers. The free exercise of the creed of two of the sects, the Baptists (called in Roumania semi-Jews) and the Adventists, was recognized.

But the administrative authorities and the Orthodox priests do not respect the Government ordinances. "The Minister is Minister in Bucarest," said a priest in Bukovina, "but here the minister is the Minister."¹

The result of this characteristic attitude is the constant persecution of the sects. Their papers are suppressed, their members are maltreated and forced to kiss the cross, their chapels are closed. An article of the *Dimineața* called Dumitru Cojocaru, the prefect of Suceava, the "Torquemada of the Baptists."²

Ioan Socaciu, a late theological student, stated that secret orders contrary to the Government ordinances are constantly being addressed to the authorities to hinder the public service of the Baptists. Gendarmes enter their chapels, disturbing the service, terrorizing the congregation and often confiscating the prayer-books and Bibles.³

Various reasons are given for these persecutions.

An order of the Minister of Cults and Arts (12,000—924) stated that "some of the sects are dangerous for the security of the State and for public morality,"

¹ *Luptătorul*, 1st January 1924.

² *Dimineața*, 18th August 1923 ; *Luptătorul*, 1st January 1922 ; *Adevărul*, 24th September 1922, etc.

³ *Presa*, 18th August 1923.

while the aforementioned decree declared that "religious propaganda is permitted, but only in so far as it has no detrimental influence on the existing Churches." On these elastic bases all manner of persecution is possible.

A pamphlet written by an Orthodox priest maintains that, while "these sects dazzle our eyes with an ideal future, their only aim is to annihilate our creed and our race . . . and to produce a religious anarchy."¹

But the creation of religious anarchy is not the only crime attributed to these sects.

According to Mgr Romulus Ciorogariu, Orthodox Bishop of Nagyvárad, "the creed of the Baptists is not a religious creed at all, but a political one. Such is its character also in Roumania, where its activity is aimed chiefly against the Roumanian Churches and against the interests of the State. The cause of its spreading is the dearth of priests in the two Roumanian Churches, but its chief promoter is American money. And those who assist the Baptists with material help are the enemies of Roumania." His Eminence finished his interview with the paper, *Nagyvárad*, by saying that "the Baptist creed is no reformation, but only a seeking for no one knows what. It has no reformatory conception: no reformers, but only money agents."²

Before starting for Transylvania in 1924 the Anglo-American Commission was received in Bucarest by M. Lapedatu, Minister of Cults and Arts, who made the following statement to the Commission:

"Under the influence of this ministry a good understanding between the different religious bodies and the Government is rapidly coming into being. . . . Article 22 of the new Constitution maintains absolute equality of treatment to members of all religious denominations. Its provisions are in every way in harmony with the principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations."³

¹ *Sectele religioase din România, 1925, p. 4.*

² *Nagyvárad, 12th March 1925.*

³ *Op. cit., p. 12.*

A few months later, on 3rd November 1924, Charles Nagy, Presbyterian Bishop of Transylvania, made a speech in the Senate, which gave a somewhat different picture of the situation :

“Our liturgical service, though controlled, is free ; but our administration and the social and pastoral care of our members has to suffer constantly under the restriction of the right of assembly as well as from the open and secret hampering of the police authorities. For the terrible brutalities which many of our clergymen had to suffer from the gendarmes—with the encouraging indulgence of the administrative authorities—we have received no satisfaction ; no wonder that public opinion abroad speaks of religious persecution. . . .

“A heavy offensive has been directed by the Government against our culture. Not only its development is insecure, but its annihilation is planned.”

Then the Bishop enumerated all the grievances of his Church—a truly long list—and finished his speech with the words :

“I beseech the King to show us that God has not given him stepchildren among his subjects.”

A few days later the venerable Unitarian Bishop, Joseph Ferencz, thanked Bishop Nagy, at the synodal conference, “in the name of the suffering sister Churches,” for the courageous words with which he had voiced their common sufferings.

CHAPTER XII

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

ON Transylvanian soil the Roman Catholic Church had its own history, a struggle which it had to fight out all by itself in the first centuries of Protestant preponderance, and in consequence of which it developed an organization unique in the history of Catholicism.

In Transylvania the nobles had from early times been the patrons of the Church, and were used to exercise an influence upon its administration. This influence grew immensely when, in the early decades of the sixteenth century, Protestantism was introduced, and a large number of the clergy were expelled from the country; after the death of Bishop Statileo, in 1542, even the See of the Bishop was mostly vacant, till 1666. For more than a hundred years the Transylvanian bishopric was without a leader.

In this situation the members of the parishes looked after themselves as best they could. They maintained their churches, paid their priests, and even built new churches; the lay members began to acquire an influence on the administration of the Church. In accord with the priests they not only maintained the religious and educational institutions, and paid their expenses, but exercised even a certain jurisdiction. In the absence of a bishop, it was the few Roman Catholic nobles who were the visible representatives of the Church. They defended their faith against the Protestant princes and Protestant Churches; at the Diets they discussed separately the ecclesiastical matters connected with the administrative, financial and educational questions. During the long years of vacancy they sometimes even elected a bishop. From the end of the seventeenth century, the separate

meetings of the Roman Catholic laymen together with the clergy gradually became a permanent institution, and a body corporate, called later *Status Catholicus*, came into existence. Its origin was common law, but it was recognized and embodied in 1653 in the Transylvanian statute-book, the *Approbatæ Constitutiones*, and sanctioned by the two diplomas of Emperor Leopold I. in 1690 and 1693. In 1866 the *Status* submitted new rules for its constitution to the Hungarian King, as chief patron of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary, who confirmed them on 12th September 1867.

Nor was the activity of the *Status* challenged by the Holy See. As, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Transylvania seemed to be lost to Catholicism, Rome willingly admitted the co-operation of the lay nobles and tacitly recognized the *Status*. This tacit recognition by the Holy See of the right to exercise a certain influence on the administration of the Church is the legal basis of the *Status* in canon law. The new *Codex Juris Canonici* of 1918, by declaring that the general law does not abolish the regional, common law, recognized the *Status* of the Transylvanian Roman Catholics, based on unwritten law.

The *Status Catholicus* is the autonomous administrative instrument of the Roman Catholic Church of Transylvania. It represents the Church against the State and the other Churches, and is a self-governing, corporate body in the Universal Church, represented by its different organs, consisting mainly of lay members. Its central organ is the Status Assembly, whose members are partly elected and partly members *ex officio*. It holds its meetings every year under the presidency of the Bishop. It discusses the general and economic situation of the Church, organizes its government, fixes its rules and its budget, the expenses of the schools and the parishes; controls and supervises the activity of the clergy and the officials.

The administrative organ of the *Status* is the Administrative Council, consisting of eight ecclesi-

astical and sixteen lay members, elected by the Assembly. It is this Council which manages the property of the Church, appoints the school teachers and the priests of those parishes which are supported by the *Status*, and submits to the Assembly a yearly return on the general situation.

The territory annexed by Roumania comprises the entire Transylvanian bishopric, with parts of those of Nagyvárad, Csanád and Szatmár. According to the Hungarian returns of 1910, the number of the Roman Catholics in the annexed territories was 1,007,503.

Roumanian rule brought an immense change into the life of this Church also. Its present situation, as characterized by an eminent Roman Catholic writer, Canon Dr A. Balázs, is the following :

"Our ancient autonomy is attacked from every side, our very right to existence is contested. It is the Government's aim to distribute our funds between all the denominations, to suspend our self-government, and to requisition our educational institutions. A systematic war is waged against our schools by the means of suspending their activities, depriving them of their public status, and restricting the use of our language. Our scholastic autonomy is attacked and our schools are confronted with impossible tasks. In consequence of the agrarian reform, our financial bases are shaken, so that the existence of our educational institutions has become critical. The history of our diocese in the last seven years was a constant struggle for existence."¹

At first the dioceses were entirely cut off from Rome; the private and official correspondence of the bishops and the clergy was obstructed; the *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis* were withheld, and the activity of the ecclesiastical tribunals was suspended. Ecclesiastical meetings were forbidden, or only allowed to be held if previous permission was granted. In 1919 the annual meeting of the Status Assembly was prohibited; in November 1921 it was permitted, but, after its opening, detectives entered the hall and

¹ A. Balázs : *A román uralom évei, 1919-1925*, p. 8.

demanded the identity papers not only of the ordinary members, but even those of the Bishop, and nobody was allowed to leave the room until the procedure was finished.

The ecclesiastical courts were forbidden to exercise their functions. The members of the clergy were under permanent control; gendarmes and detectives followed them and were present at the services; the Catholic newspapers, as well as the sermons, were subjected to a severe censoring.

Many of the priests were subjected to persecution, bodily maltreatments and imprisonment. The following case may serve as an example of all the others. Father John Sporni, an old priest, and teacher in a grammar school in Gyulafehérvár, arriving on a wintry February day at the railway station of Tövis, was rudely attacked by a Roumanian lieutenant, named Bacila, with the words: "You are a Bolshevik like all Hungarian priests, your Bishop first and foremost, and we will teach you a lesson!" At his command a gendarme corporal came forward and began to beat Sporni; after that he was dragged into the station buildings, stripped and beaten with sticks and rifle butts for two hours. Then he was thrown into a railway carriage and sent back to Gyulafehérvár. This is but one case of many. The sufferings of the priests L. Stenczel, L. Kacsóh, S. Ferenczy, Fathers Biró, Riethly, Botár, L. Tréfán, Canon J. Hirschler, and so many others, who were insulted, beaten and arrested without any cause will never be forgotten.

Even the exalted person of the venerable Bishop of the Diocese, Count Gustavus Majláth, was not spared. In September 1919 he was confined, on the denunciations of an *agent-provocateur*, to his residence, where he and his household were guarded by soldiers with fixed bayonets, not even being permitted to celebrate Mass for eight days. Later he was released, but for a long time he was constantly watched and harassed by the police, and accompanied by detectives even on his confirmation tour.

On 19th May 1921, after the ratification of the Trianon Treaty, the Bishop took the oath of allegiance, and the Minister of Cults being a Transylvanian Roumanian that year, the situation became somewhat more tolerable. But, although the systematic personal persecutions ceased, the petty molestations continued. Roman Catholics were hindered from attending Church ceremonies or joining processions, as when, in the spring of 1922, the inhabitants of the village of Fenyéd were kept at home on Ascension Day on the pretext of domiciliary visits from the police authorities. Absurd accusations were levelled against Roman Catholic priests, as when A. Ferencz, priest of Sepsi Bükszád, was charged with having incited the villagers to murder his Greek Catholic colleague. And there were other acts of tyranny, such as when, on 21st October 1924, the Roman Catholic school building in Várad Szentmárton, as well as the house of the teacher, were declared to be State property, and ordered to be evacuated within an hour, the teacher's—J. Pfeiffer—belongings being thrown into the street.¹

In February 1922 the Brătianu Government came into office, and immediately the attack against the denominational schools and the property of the Church began. In 1923 the new Constitution containing the unfavourable provisions described in Chapter XI. was passed.

The details of the educational policy of the Government will be told in the following chapters. The financial situation of the Church was as follows.

The property of the Roman Catholic Church originated in various donations, one of the first of which was made by Stephen Báthory, Prince of Transylvania and King of Poland, who gave large landed estates to the Church, chiefly to the Jesuits, "to promote the Roman Catholic interests in the schools and outside the schools." Once or twice this property changed hands in the course of the centuries. After the expulsion of the Jesuits a part of

¹ *Brassói Lapok*, 14th July 1922 and 26th October 1924.

it became State property, while a part went into private hands; but when the Jesuits were recalled they repurchased the lands little by little out of their own funds. When their Order was dissolved, in 1773, the property was transformed into the so-called Roman Catholic "Educational Fund," and considerably increased in the course of the years by pious donations and prudent economy. Before the war the Roman Catholic *Status* owned four large estates, in Kolozsmonostor, Váralmás, Radnóth and Alsóbajom. These estates formed the bulk of the "Educational Fund," but besides these there were other funds, most of them serving educational purposes.

The expropriation of the estates was begun in May 1922. The large estates were almost entirely expropriated, while in many cases even the land owned by the parishes was taken, so that the Church and its schools were left without any means. In vain the *Status* appealed to the Agrarian Committees; the parishes never got their fixed quota, which, according to the law, should have been 7436 acres for 190 parishes. The following schools have had their entire property expropriated, so that at present they have no land at all: Miklósvár, Erzsébetváros, Ditró, Magyarigen and Türe.¹ The result of all this is the gradual impoverishment of the parishes, and the time is near when they will be unable to maintain their churches and their schools.

In its Report for 1925 the Administrative Council of the *Status* wrote: "The Government has taken everything from us except the burden of maintaining our schools, and even this burden has only been left to us in the hope that we shall not be able to bear it for long."²

So far the Government have not gone to the extreme of closing the Roman Catholic churches, but already they have forced the Roman Catholics to surrender a few of their church buildings to the Roumanian churches.

¹ A. Balázs: *A román uralom évei*, pp. 35-39, and *Mémoire Supplémentaire*, p. 88.

² *Az erdélyi román. kath. státus igazgatótanácsának jelentése*, 1926, p. 48.

Before the war the Greek Catholics had only one church in Kolozsvár, which was sufficient for the small congregation. Immediately after the occupation they demanded and obtained permission from the Minorites to hold divine service in the beautiful old Minorite church in the centre of the town. Nor was their greed satisfied with this. Before long they proposed to the Minorites to buy both their church and their monastery, offering in payment the paltry sum of 1,500,000 leus, which was refused. Thereupon they applied to Rome; and as there are negotiations pending between the Holy See and the Roumanian Government concerning the making of a Concordat, the Minorites, lest worse should befall, solved the question by presenting their church and monastery to the Pope. The latter, while maintaining his property rights, has leased both to the Greek Catholics, and the Minorites have removed to another Transylvanian town, that of Marosvásárhely.

Since then the Greek Catholics have continued to employ this easy way of acquiring churches instead of building new ones for themselves. Already they have seized the Roman Catholic chapel in Kolozsmonostor and the citadel church of Fogaras.

That the ultimate aim is the entire destruction of the Roman Catholic Church is proved by the attacks directed against it by such notorious enemies of the Minorities as Senator Bianu and Professor Ghibu.

On 7th March 1923 Senator V. Bianu asked the Home Secretary whether he was aware of the fact that the Roman Catholic Church of Transylvania was carrying on an active irredentism in the churches and the schools; that the adoration of the Hungarian saints, Stephen, Ladislas, Emeric, and others, still went on in the churches; and that in the Kolozsvár Cathedral the Hungarian crown of Saint Stephen hung suspended as before over the head of Saint Michael; that in the Roman Catholic girls' school, the Marianum, the girls were wearing Hungarian national dress, and that Canon Hirschler, the archpriest of the cathedral, was still ignorant of the Roumanian

language? According to Senator Bianu, it was that greatest of Hungarian chauvinists, Bishop Count G. Majláth, who was responsible for all this. In conclusion, he alleged that this attitude of the Roman Catholics imperilled not only the interests of the nation but also the security of the State.¹

Bishop Majláth found it easy to prove that the cult of the Hungarian saints was not equivalent with irredentism, and that the national dress of the Hungarian schoolgirls had been approved by the Educational Department; but speeches such as the above, or that of another senator, M. Policrat, who intervened in the debate, show the bitter hatred of the Roumanians towards everything Hungarian and Roman Catholic.

It was in such an atmosphere that Professor Ghibu's book on Transylvanian Roman Catholicism appeared. The basic principles on which he desires to build up the rights of the Minorities have already been described in Chapter XI. The book is a violent attack on Catholicism, and it is important because Professor Ghibu is one of the most prominent of Transylvanian politicians, and because his book caused a great stir in ecclesiastical circles.

He begins with the statement that it is not the Western Roman, but the Eastern Orthodox Church which is the Universal, Catholic and Apostolic Church. His argument for this is that in the past centuries the Orthodox Church had often been called "Catholic," and that the word "*sobornicesc*," usually applied to that Church, also means "universal," or "catholic." The word "Orthodox" is not the antithesis of "Catholic," but its nearer definition. "That in latter times the word 'Catholicism' has come to mean exclusively that Church which is ruled over by the Pope of Rome does not alter the essence of the matter. The Papists are free to call and believe themselves Catholics, just as we Orientals are entitled to regard ourselves as the real Catholics, who have kept the teachings of Christ in a purer form, and"—

¹ *Desbat. Senatului*, 1922-1923, Nos. 35, 36.

he adds modestly—"more truly live according to the principles of Christian life. To-day we are the real Catholics of this country."¹

This is no place for a lengthy exposition of Professor Ghibu's not very dignified vituperations against Roman Catholicism, which, according to him, had made a "crusade against the Orthodox Church," and "tried to destroy Orthodoxy with the force of arms." But his description of the present institutions of the Roman Catholic Church, and his counsels to the Roumanian Government in regard to their future attitude towards it, are of importance.

He affirms that the property of the Roman Catholic Church is not of an ecclesiastical, but of a secular nature and origin; and that its real owner was not the Church but the Hungarian State. It would lead us too far to explain this juridical thesis, which is a *mala-fide* misrepresentation of the theory of the Hungarian law which regards the "Holy Crown" as the source of every landed property. Professor Ghibu's purpose is to construct a basis on which the property of the Church can be secularized with an appearance of legality.

He devotes a long chapter to his contention that the position of the *Status* is illegal, and that it was recognized neither by the Holy See nor the Hungarian Government; that "it maintains itself by fraud," and that consequently it must be dissolved as soon as possible. He demands that the privileges of the apostolic Hungarian kings shall be transferred to the Roumanian King, so that he shall appoint the Bishop of Transylvania, whose seat shall be transferred to a purely Roman Catholic place, while the two bishoprics of Nagyvárad and Szatmár shall be suppressed, and Count Majláth, that incarnate foe of the Roumanian State, shall be deposed. Also, the schools must be transformed into State schools and the land of the Church secularized.

But even such radical measures as these would not satisfy Professor Ghibu's implacable hatred against

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 15 et seq.

the Hungarian Roman Catholics, and he goes on to propose alterations so sweeping that they would change not only the position of the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania, but its entire organization everywhere.

He affirms that the only way to solve the question is "to create a mighty centre of religious life in Roumania for all 'Christians,' whether Orientals or Occidentals; or, in other words, to found a Roumanian Patriarchate which shall unite under one shepherd not only all the Roumanians, but, by putting itself in connexion with the entire universal Christian Church, Oriental as well as Occidental, become the organ of the entire Catholic world of both rites."

It is not quite clear how Professor Ghibu proposes to organize this mighty institution. But if this Patriarch is to become the head of all the Christians, then the Pope will have to submit to his authority, and Bucarest will take the place of Rome as the centre of the spiritual life of mankind.

And if Rome is not prepared to accept this solution . . . ?

"If Rome," so Professor Ghibu finishes his book, "failed to understand the nobility and importance of our gesture, if Rome refused to do everything to help us regain that place in the Universal Church which is due to us by right of our true Christian spirit, our historic traditions, our present situation, and our future mission—then there remains nothing for us but to break the seal of the pact of 1698, which has riven asunder the Roumanian people of Transylvania, and to use every means to restore the Oriental religious unity of the Roumanian people. . . ."

This means, in place of the domination by Bucarest of the whole Christian world, a modest propaganda for the reunion of the Greek Catholic and the Orthodox Churches. A piteous enough *ridiculus mus* truly!

Yet the matter is not so ridiculous as all that. The book, so full of hatred and animosity, had an ominous sequel, the end of which cannot even yet be foreseen.

On the 7th of February 1924, Senator Bianu put a question to the Government regarding their attitude

towards the Roman Catholics and their *Status*, and asked why they did not sequester the movable and immovable property of the Roman Catholic Church.

"The *Status Catholicus* has an absolutely illegal position," he said, at the conclusion of his speech, "and arrogates an autonomy which it never had. In virtue of this pretended autonomy, it exercises a powerful influence over the entire religious, cultural and national life of the Roman Catholics in Transylvania. Its inimical attitude and illegal nature warn us that the time has come to destroy this institution. The supreme right of patronage of the Hungarian kings must be transferred to the Roumanian King, so that he shall be entitled to appoint the bishops and dispose of the ecclesiastic and monastic property. The movable and immovable property of the *Status* must be handed over to the Roumanian Government, which shall distribute it among the citizens of the State according to the necessity of the present day. The diocese must be 'de-Hungarianized' and the seat of the Bishopric transferred to a Hungarian county."¹

All this is taken word for word from Professor Ghibu's book. His accusations and demands have reached the hall of the Legislature. Only, Senator Bianu has been more frank in avowing that the real aim of the movement is to take away the property of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church and divide it among the Roumanians.

M. Lapedatu, Minister of Cults and Arts, replied briefly that he was aware of the mismanagements of the *Status*, and had already ordered that its minutes, statutes, and the list of its members should be sent to the Department.

This was the Government's answer to Professor Ghibu's book.

But his incendiary work had fateful results also in other quarters. The leaders of the Orthodox Church embraced with great fervour the idea of the destruction of the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania.

¹ *Debat, Senatului*, No. 35, p. 559.

The Metropolitan Primate of Bucarest proposed to the Minister of Cults the appointment of a commission which should investigate the doings of the Roman Catholic *Status*, and the Metropolitan of Transylvania invited Professor Ghibu to give lectures on the question for the theological students. In the autumn of 1924 a big meeting of the Orthodox clergy was held in Nagyvárad, at which a resolution was accepted aimed exclusively against the Roman Catholic Church. Twelve articles were drawn up reiterating the demands for the dissolution of the *Status Catholicus*, the appointment of the Roman Catholic bishops by the King, the secularization of Church property, the suppression of the dioceses of Nagyvárad and Szatmár, etc.—Again nearly all these demands were taken from Professor Ghibu's book.

The religious war was declared. And then came a dramatic development. A few weeks later, the same Professor Ghibu wrote an article in the *Societatea de Mâine*, under the title, "Are we on the Eve of a 'Kulturkampf'?" In this, comprehending the fateful mistake he had made by conjuring up the ghosts of religious war, he confesses that he was the originator of the movement, but states that he had not foreseen such a development. Painfully struck by it, he "regrets the collective attack of the Orthodox clergy, under the leadership of their bishops, against one of the Christian Churches. . . . It is a curse that the leaders of this country are incapable of solving any delicate question without resorting to violence. It is thus that they poison not only the religious but also the public life of Transylvania, instead of seeking to hinder the development of such a hostile attitude as has been manifested by the Orthodox clergy. So miserable a religious policy is leading us direct towards a *Kulturkampf*." ¹

Here Professor Ghibu errs only in one thing. The *Kulturkampf* has already begun, not only against the Roman Catholics, but also against the Protestants, and even the Greek Catholics.

¹ *Societatea de Mâine*, 7th December 1924.

CHAPTER XIII

GREEK ORTHODOX *VERSUS* GREEK CATHOLICS

A QUAIN picture is presented by the mutual relationship of the two Roumanian Churches—the Greek Catholic, which is a creed peculiar to Transylvania, and the Greek Orthodox, which is the faith of all the other Roumanians. The former constitute a religious Minority of about 1,204,000 souls; the latter belong to the *dominant* Church of the State, which, however, in Transylvania, owing to its different organization and administration, also forms, so to speak, a religious Minority: the Transylvanian Minority of the Orthodox Church.

The Roumanian attitude towards both these Churches is the same—namely, oppression of the minority by the majority. The Transylvanian Orthodox Church would like to see the Greek Catholic Church destroyed; the national Orthodox Church desires to abolish the independence and autonomous rights of the Transylvanian Orthodox Church. The result in both cases is a desperate and ugly fight between closely-connected sister Churches, and in both cases the victim will be the Minority, which is on a higher, more Western, cultural level than that of the oppressor.

It has already been mentioned that the Orthodox Churches in the Regat and in Transylvania had developed on entirely different lines. In the former, the Church had always been connected with the State, and soon became formally a State Church; its bishops are now appointed by a Committee of the Legislature, its priests paid and its churches owned by the State; its property and its schools have been secularized. It has suffered not only materially, but also culturally in the process.

The Bishop of Râmnic drew an unsparing picture in the Senate of the results of the Roumanian Secularization Act of 1893.

"This Act," he said, "meant the moral murder of the Church. . . . The civil power was raised above the ecclesiastical, so that the bishops, priests and ecclesiastical authorities can do nothing in their Church without the consent of the civil authorities. By this Act our two thousand-years-old Church was declared impotent to fulfil its mission. . . .

"The Act has injured us also financially. Before it, people used to take an interest in the welfare of the clergy; now they no longer do so, because the priests have their salary. But what a salary! Thirty to eighty leus a month, as much as a night-watchman, or even less. The number of the seminaries has been reduced. . . . In consequence, there is such a dearth of priests that in my diocese, for example, there were 218 vacancies, and no more than 100 candidates to fill them with."

In 1914 there were 6768 parish churches in the Regat, but only 3810 had a priest, while more than 2000 were vacant. The *Lupta* complained that the priests and teachers are, in consequence of their dependence on the Government, more and more drawn into politics; they lose their interest in their calling, and finish by taking on some political job or more lucrative business.¹ "Is it to be wondered at," asks M. I. G. Savin in his very interesting book on the Orthodox Church in Roumania, "that the number of crimes is on the increase, that souls are hardened and sects rise and expand, when the holy pictures under the empty arches of the deserted churches are covered with cobwebs?"²

All this was not so in the transferred territories.

C. S. Paunescu, a priest from the Regat, wrote in 1911 that the Roumanians of Transylvania are much more religious, more cultivated than those of the Regat. Their churches are filled, their liturgy is more

¹ 15th February 1922.

² I. G. Savin: *Biserica Română și noua ei organizare*, pp. 25 and 33.

elaborate, their priests preach beautifully. Their cultural institutions are better and more active; their priests and teachers better educated, and the people have retained more faithfully the old Orthodox customs than have the people in the Regat.¹

In Transylvania and Bessarabia the Orthodox Church was built upon a comprehensive self-government. The Transylvanian organization was characterized by a Greek Catholic canonist as "Protestantism painted over with a thin coat of Orthodoxy." It was, besides, a citadel from which the Roumanians under Hungarian rule fought the State. In the course of the debates on the Bill concerning the organization of the Orthodox Church, M. A. Cosma said that the self-government of the Transylvanian Church had been a "modern Constitution" for the Roumanians, a "sort of Parliament," in which the work for the "spiritual unity and consolidation of Roumania" had been accomplished.² The Transylvanian Roumanians were not willing to abandon such an organization.

The aim of the Government was to introduce uniformity into the administration of the Churches by transforming it on the pattern of the Orthodox Church of the Regat. Article 22 of the Constitution declared that "the Orthodox Christian Church shall have a unitary organization in the whole Roumanian kingdom." Both the Transylvanian and the Bessarabian Orthodox protested against this; they knew why.

In April 1925 Professor N. Jorga made a speech in the House in which he gave a very pessimistic account of the Orthodox Church under Liberal influence. He said that the anti-clericalism of the French Revolution dominated public life; the ecclesiastical funds were wasted, the works of art of the churches were being frittered away, bishops and priests were appointed for political services. Take, for example, the case of a certain priest, who had been divorced from his wife and whose sole merit was electoral services to the Government, and who had been appointed to the bishopric of Romanati. The theological schools

¹ *România Creștina*, July 1911. ² *Desbat. Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 2244.

and seminaries, which used to be the centres of Roumanian art and literature, at present yielded the greatest proportion of hypocrites and atheists.¹

The Transylvanian Roumanians abhor this worldly atmosphere, the *politicianismul* with which the Church of the Regat is saturated and which the Liberals have already introduced into Transylvania.

In the spring of 1924 Orthodox synodal elections were held in Transylvania, at which the Liberals applied all the corrupt and illegal methods so characteristic of Roumanian elections.² The primars (the chief administrative officers of the hundreds) and gendarmes went from house to house ordering people to vote Liberal; in Kürtös the church, which was the polling-place, was surrounded by gendarmes, and only the Liberal voters were allowed to enter; in Öszentanna money and brandy were distributed among the voters even in the precincts of the church, etc.—All this was told in detail by M. Josif Tărău in the House on 6th April 1924.

The result of these elections was described by the Transylvanian *Patria*, in an article entitled, "The Church in Danger":

"Men who have never been in church since they were christened, who show the greatest indifference towards ecclesiastical questions, and others who have no idea what a synodal representative means in Transylvania—such men are sent now as voters and councillors to the Church Council, in which the clergy and the laymen assemble to lay the foundations of a national religious life and deal with questions connected with the morality and culture of the people, with the schools, etc.

"We can only characterize this procedure by stating that it is an endeavour to curtail the autonomy of the Transylvanian Orthodox Church, so that it may be put to the service of the State, as is the case in the Regat."³

Such is the atmosphere of the Orthodox Church

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1925, p. 2249.

² See Chapter XVIII.

³ 24th April 1924.

in the Regat, which the Government wished to introduce into the old-fashioned ecclesiastical life of the Transylvanian Orthodox. The resistance was successful for the time being. The Act of the Union of the Churches was passed, but the separate autonomy of the Transylvanians remained untouched.¹

Far more desperate is the struggle between the Greek Catholics and the Orthodox.

It is known that up to the end of the seventeenth century all Roumanians belonged to the Orthodox Church. At that time the Transylvanian Principality came to an end and the Habsburgs, strong Catholics and anti-Hungarians as they were, started a campaign among the Roumanians to induce them to join the Roman Catholic Church, hoping to use them as a counterweight against Protestant Hungarian separatism. The Jesuits, well aware of the indelible character of Oriental Orthodoxy, made no attempt to convert the people, but induced the clergy to accept a few of the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church and to recognize the Pope as the head of a new Church, the Greek Catholic. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the new Church was founded.

During Hungarian rule the two Churches existed peacefully side by side. The dogmatic fights were fought out in the theological papers, and the masses knew nothing of them. The lower clergy of the two Churches worked in unison for the cultural, political and economic progress of their flock, and at Church festivals walked shoulder to shoulder in front of the people. But when, in 1918, the political unity of the Roumanians was accomplished, the desire arose also for spiritual unity. Why should there be two Roumanian priests each in 600 parishes, and in 500 other parishes no priest, at all, asked the *Telegraful Român*; why should two teachers teach the Bible in the schools, when the dogmatic divergences are so slight?

It is said that in 1918 the Greek Catholic bishops declared their willingness to make the greatest sacrifice

¹ *Lege pentru organizarea bisericii ortodoxe române*, Art. 38.

for the realization of ecclesiastical unity—namely, to renounce their offices and hand over their parishes and dioceses to the Orthodox, if the “Greek Catholics and Orthodox will unite in one single Roumanian Church, with dogmatic and canonic connexion with Rome.”¹ The wish to bring all the Roumanians over to Catholicism was later expressed in Press and pulpit by the Greek Catholics, but with no other result than that the Orthodox indignantly repudiated the insinuation that they, who formed the dominant Church of the great majority of the Roumanians, should be merged into the small Greek Catholic Church and recognize the Pope. On the contrary, they invited the Greek Catholics to return to the old Church; and a fierce struggle arose round the question of “who should unite with whom?”²

The Greek Catholic writers pointed out the great damage caused by Orthodoxy to the Roumanian people. In mediæval times, when the Papal power was supreme and the Western peoples were all Roman Catholics, the Roumanians were Orthodox, and living, as they did, with no Western connexions, in the midst of an orthodox Slav ocean, were looked on, and regarded themselves, as Slavs.

The union of the Greek Catholics with Rome connected them again with the West, and conferred an immense benefit on the entire Roumanian race. “The Greek Catholic Roumanians studied in Rome, and became the apostles of Latinity; from Rome they received a mighty incentive to break the chains of the past. The Transylvanian Roumanians, having gained enlightenment in Rome and Vienna, brought back with them the new spirit which now reigns in the cultural life of Roumania.” It is thus that an Orthodox priest of the Regat, Father Ghibescu, described, in 1910, the advantages of the union.³ The resemblance of the Roumanian and Latin languages was detected, and the myth of the Roman origin of the Roumanians invented. G. Sinkai and

¹ *Albina*, 16th November 1922.

² *Infrățirea*, 26th January 1923.

³ *Voința Națională*, 23rd April 1910.

Petru Maior, the founders of the theory of Daco-Roumanian continuity, were both students of the *Propaganda Fidei* in Rome. In the Greek Catholic liturgy the Roumanian language was introduced to replace the Slav, and at the end of the eighteenth century, signs of national and political consciousness became visible. "Neither our friends nor our foes had foreseen what invaluable services the founders of the Greek Catholic Church rendered to the cause of Roumania," said Crown Prince Carol in a speech made on New Year's Day, 1920.¹ This historic feat is the justification of the Greek Catholic Church in a united Roumania.

Yet the antagonism of the two Churches seems insurmountable, and reveals itself in an uncompromizing hatred of Catholicism by the Orthodox. The Greek Catholics expect the moral regeneration of Roumania from Rome; the Orthodox see nothing but the mediæval sins of Catholicism, the inquisitions, the Borgias, the counter-Reformation. An Orthodox priest, Canon Ciuhanda, has declared that Roumania must be just towards all denominations, except Papism, whether Greek or Roman. "The Roumanian State must try to make an alliance against Papism—which is a subversive political factor—with all the other denominations which have endured such long and bitter sufferings at the hands of Papal Catholicism."²

The Orthodox would also like to see the Roumanians united in one Church, but they demand that the Greek Catholics should return to the old fold. They look on Greek Catholicism as a temporary outcome of the Habsburg policy, and pretend that there is not the slightest Catholic feeling among the Roumanian masses. There is much truth in the argument that the Greek Catholic Church is a Western Church only on the surface, and that in reality the masses, who know nothing of dogmas, have remained as Oriental, as bigoted and superstitious, as the Orthodox.

¹ *Unirea*, 28th November 1922.

² Ciuhanda: *Papism și Orthodoxism in Ardeal*, p. 63.

"Anybody," wrote M. I. Lupaş, Professor of History at the University of Kolozsvár, "who wishes to tell the truth must confess that among the Transylvanian Roumanians there is only one Church, because they all believe and profess the same creed. Not one of the famous four points of 1700 could infiltrate into the Roumanian soul: neither *filioque*, nor the Host, nor purgatory, nor the 'Holy See.' At most one can speak of a difference in Church constitution and administration, *clarum est unitos a non unitis in eo tantum distingui, quod hi Episcopo Petro, illi Episcopo Paolo adhereant.*"¹

It was Athanasius Rednic, one of their bishops in the eighteenth century, who declared that "he would tolerate no Latinism either in vestments, ceremonies or anything else. . . ."

On the occasion of the debates on the Constitution, Mgr Bălan, Orthodox Metropolitan of Transylvania, said in an eloquent speech in answer to his Greek Catholic colleague, Mgr Suciu:

"The Roumanian people has always categorically and systematically refused to allow their Orthodox creed to be touched; that creed which is identified with its Roumanian soul.

"I contend that the Roumanian people has at all times refused Catholicism. If during more than two hundred years this Papism, this union with Rome, has not been able to penetrate the Roumanian spirit, tell me frankly"—he turned to Mgr Suciu—"after more than two hundred years of propaganda, does Catholicism live in the heart and in the soul of the Greek Catholics?"

"I know that it does not; I know that that people which went over to the Papist Church lives to-day in exactly the same religious and ecclesiastical traditions in which it lived before 1700 and in which its brethren who have not deserted the Orthodox Church still exist."²

¹ I. Lupaş: "Factorii istorici ai vieţii naţionale româneşti," in the *Anuarul institutului de istorie naţională*, 1921-1922, p. 86.

² *Debat. Senatului*, 1922-1923, p. 629.

The endeavours on both sides to win over the opposite camp grew more and more fierce as time went on.

In the New Year number for 1924 of the *Telegraful Român*, the official gazette of the Transylvanian Orthodox, there appeared an invitation to the Greek Catholics to leave Rome and rejoin the Orthodox Church. The appeal was refused in dignified terms by Mgr Niculescu, Greek Catholic Bishop of Lugos, who declared that the Greek Catholics clung to Rome and the Pope and gave seven reasons for their so doing, the chief of which were: That Rome had converted the Roumanians to Christianity; that the Roman Catholic Church had never destroyed nationality, as does the Orthodox, for example in Greece and in Yugoslavia (he might also have added Transylvania); that Rome represents the spiritual superiority of the world; and that the national renaissance of the Roumanians is due to Rome.¹

The situation was aggravated when the Orthodox Church was declared the "dominant" Church of the State. As has been related above, the Orthodox speakers in Parliament tried to convey that the Orthodox Church was "dominant" only because its adherents formed the great majority. In that sense Mgr Suciu was prepared to accept the situation. But in reality it was quite otherwise. "For two years," wrote Canon Dr Brinzeu, in 1925, "we have looked on at the way in which the principle of the Constitution has been put into practice and see with regret that, in flagrant contradiction to democratic ideas and the equal protection promised to all the denominations, the 'dominant Church' means a favoured Church."²

The attitude of the two Churches towards each other became more and more hostile, till it has gradually degenerated into a regular religious war. "After 1918," wrote an author in the *Societatea de Mâine*, "our clergy deserted the great ideals of pre-war

¹ *Erdélyi Tudósító*, 4th May 1924.

² N. Brinzeu: *Culte în România*, p. 6.

times; they are being drawn into petty political struggles and, what is worse, they drag their Churches also in the filth. It breaks one's heart to read day by day news like the following: In such and such a parish the villagers have nailed up the door of the school to hinder the teaching of the 'other' denominational teacher; or they regard with hostility the priest of the 'other' creed; in another village the priests themselves quarrel in the presence of their parishioners; in a place in the Bánát, the dead are not allowed to be buried in the churchyard of the 'other' sect, etc., etc."¹ "The fight," wrote the *Unirea*, "which in other countries was fought in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is just commencing with us."²

Both Churches are trying to proselytize, but the Orthodox, being the official State Church, has got the upper hand. With the help of the civil authorities and with the tacit consent of the Government it is carrying on an effective propaganda, which leaves no doubt as to its ultimate victory.

In 1924 the Home Secretary issued an order to the Civil Servants prohibiting them from siding with either Church; and the Minister of Arts and Cults, M. Lapedatu, declared that, as minister of all the denominations, he was not entitled to interfere in favour of either party, quite apart from the fact that the change of one's religion was a matter of conscience. But impartiality in this case meant the abandonment of the Greek Catholics.

On 4th September 1922 the Orthodox dean, Zaharia Manu, sent a simple letter to the Greek Catholic deanery of Nagyánya, in which he announced that the whole Greek Catholic parish had returned with "its entire ecclesiastic and scholastic property" to the Orthodox Church. Commenting on this case, the *Telegraful Român* expressed its delight over the parish "having shaken off the Papist yoke and

¹ Jon Breazu: "Confesionalismul," in *Societatea de Măine*, 1925, No. 42.

² *Unirea*, 24th July 1926.

left that creed which was also the creed of the Hungarians, who still regard themselves, as they did in the past, as the brethren in Christ of the Greek Catholics."

In the following year a similar movement was perceptible in the district of Brád. It was again a dean, M. Piso, who stood at the centre of it. In January 1925 the *Unirea* published a document which bears witness to the methods employed in this kind of propaganda. It is a declaration signed, on 10th December 1924, by the Greek Catholics of Iloba, attesting that Orthodox priests had tried to entice them to join the Orthodox Church, promising 400,000 leus for the erection of a church, and a building site for a vicarage, as well as a bell to be supplied by the Government.¹ "They are not particular in the means they use," observed the *Unirea*, "from cunning seduction and rich promises to cruel corporal maltreatments by the administrative and police authorities, nothing has been left untried to make the population of this district hostile towards our Church."²

In Libaton, where 74 Greek Catholics live side by side with 1028 Orthodox, and both sects had their own church, the Orthodox Bishop of Kolozsvár advised the Government (under No. 3520—923) to hand over also the Greek Catholic church to the Orthodox, saying that as the former church had only two or three members, it was not worth while to maintain a separate church for them.

In Pálos Remete, where there are 934 Greek Catholic Ruthenians, but not one single Roumanian, Orthodox or Greek Catholic, an Orthodox priest, M. A. Gânju, seized the Ruthenian church for the purposes of a future Orthodox Roumanian parish, which would combine the tasks of converting and of denationalizing the Greek Catholic Slav Ruthenians.

A detailed account of the ugly cases of Cseb and Pojána is given in Nos. 14-16 of the *Sionul Românesc*, the official gazette of the Greek Catholic diocese of

¹ 24th January 1925.

² 27th January 1925.

Lugos. We will only cite that of the village of Pojána.

On 5th July 1924 the Metropolitan, Mgr Nicolae Bălan, being on an official tour in the county of Hunyad, a few parishioners of Pojána appeared before him and declared their intention of turning Orthodox. It is not known what answer they received, but the next thing was that the village notary announced to the whole village that the union with Rome had ceased because the King, being himself an Orthodox, had so wished it. After that, the men took the ritual objects as well as the bell over to the Orthodox church, where the latter was consecrated on the spot by the Metropolitan. It was promptly decided, moreover, to demolish the Greek Catholic church, the headman, N. Ciucean, and the notary, J. Giurgiu, declaring that such was the command of the King.

On 15th July the Orthodox priest, Joan Jancu, personally started, with the help of two other men, the work of demolition. The Greek Catholic congregation, having no priest of their own for the time being, appealed for assistance to the priest of the neighbouring village, Sabin Bublea, who arrived, with the teacher and cantor, to find the Orthodox priest, axe in hand, demolishing the church. After a short altercation, Bublea and his men were driven off by the headman and the Orthodox priest, and the Greek Catholic church was demolished.

This is the story of Pojána, which recalls, as the *Sionul Românesc* said, "the times of the Turks and the Tartars." The Greek Catholic Bishop appealed to the Minister of Cults, demanding the restitution of the church, or rather its site. "We are envisaging the future with confidence," wrote the paper, continuing enigmatically: "one can eat lies for breakfast, but not for dinner."

The *Telegraful Român*, however, had a different point of view. Commenting on this and similar cases, it wrote: "Enveloped in a tragic struggle with their own people, and gradually abandoned by them, they [the Greek Catholic clergy] must choose between two

things: either to follow the example of the men of Ūseh, Pojána, Ūesa, Drágos, etc., and so heal a gaping wound in the body of our people, or remain pastors without a flock, mournful survivals of the time of oppression when our Transylvanian people were dominated by the Habsburgs, the Pope, and the Hungarians.”¹

Under Hungarian rule conversion from one Church to another was strictly regulated. No hindrance was put in the way of a change of religion, but abuses were not tolerated. After the aforementioned cases, the Greek Catholic Canon, Dr Nicolae Brinzeu, wrote: “If the pretor, the primar, the notary, and the gendarme, together with the Orthodox priest, can simply declare to people that they have joined the ‘dominant Church,’ if they can demolish churches and terrorize people who wish to be members of another denomination . . . *who is going to secure the interests of the Minority Churches?*” This is the great question. And Dr Brinzeu’s answer is: “The security is the Hungarian Law, 1848, Article XX., which regulates religious conversion.”²

The Orthodox accuse the Greek Catholics of similar atrocities. But these accusations are vague, and remind one of Æsop’s fable about the wolf and the lamb.

In May 1924, when the Orthodox propaganda was in full swing, an article appeared in the *Telegraful Român*, complaining in bitter tones of the persecution of the Orthodox by the Greek Catholics in the north of Transylvania, where the latter are in a majority. “A veritable crusade has been started by the Greek Catholic clergy, with the help of the functionaries, gendarmes, notaries, etc.; and, parallel with this terror, a miserable and calumnious propaganda is being conducted against the Orthodox.”³

The *Infrdtirea* accused the pretor, M. Simon, and the vice-pretor, Mihali, of the parish of Krasznaterebes,

¹ *Telegraful Român*, 1924, Nos. 65, 66.

² N. Brinzeu: *Cullele in România*, pp. 51, 52.

³ *Telegraful Român*, 23rd May 1924.

of arresting and maltreating, on the pretext that they were Communists, those who joined the Orthodox Church.¹

A symptom of Orthodox propaganda is the establishment of Orthodox parishes and churches where few if any members of their faith had lived before.

In Kolozsvár there were, in 1910, 8646 Greek Catholics and 1859 Orthodox Roumanians, and 50,704 Roman Catholic and Protestant Hungarians. The Greek Catholics had one church, and later the church of the Minorites and a suburban chapel were let to them by the Roman Catholics. In the course of two or three years, according to Roumanian returns, the number of the Orthodox grew by colonization to 28,274, and in 1923 the foundation stone of an Orthodox cathedral was laid in the centre of the town. Thus the formerly pure Hungarian town is to be transformed into a stronghold of Roumanian Orthodoxy.

In Érmihályfalva there were, in 1910, 4009 Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, 707 Greek Catholics and 5 Orthodox. In June 1925 Bishop Ciorogariu ordered the foundation of an Orthodox community and the building of a church.

In Mészkö, where only Hungarian Unitarians and Roumanian Greek Catholics lived, there were assigned out of the expropriated lands a building plot for a future Orthodox church, 10 acres for the priest, and 32 acres for the maintenance of the church. The Greek Catholics wished to erect a new church in the place of their old wooden one, but for this and a vicarage "no land could be found."²

In Tohán, in a pure Greek Catholic parish, the two finest gardens of the village, opposite the Greek Catholic church, were expropriated in the spring of 1924 for the site of an Orthodox church. A hot quarrel arose on this occasion between the official papers of the two Churches. "The Orthodox are erecting an altar," wrote the *Unirea*, "before which

¹ Quoted by the *Adevărul*, 10th October 1924.

² *Unirea*, 28th June 1924.

no one is going to bend the knee; we are not going to lose one single member of our Church.”¹ The *Telegraful Român* answered that “If it were a question of building a pagoda, a mosque, a synagogue or any other temple, the so-called Uniate believers would not be as indignant as they are over the building of an Orthodox church.”²

The yearly Report of the Orthodox Diocese of Kolozsvár for 1924 boasts that in that year 3481 persons left Greek Catholicism and rejoined the Orthodox Church. “The current grows . . . we are making definite steps towards victory.”

The above are the militant aspects of the struggle between the two Roumanian Churches. But the Greek Catholics are affected also by the agrarian reform, and their schools are menaced by State education; besides which, they are also made to suffer from those small pin-pricks with which the Minorities are constantly irritated, such as army officers and non-commissioned officers being warned not to marry Greek Catholic girls³; or school-books written by eminent Greek Catholic writers being refused official approval: as for example the *History of the Universal Christian Church*, by Dr J. Gheorgescu, and *Historical, Liturgical and Constitutional Notions*, by Dr N. Brinzeu, and innumerable cases of the same sort.

It is evident from all this that the endeavour of the two Churches for spiritual unity has led to disastrous results. The Greek Catholics soon realized this themselves, and asked despondently why it was that Roumanians could not live in peace even though divided into different sects. “With us in Transylvania,” Mgr Suciu wrote, in the *Unirea*, “it is not only the different nations which have different creeds, but even the same nations are divided among several denominations. In the past, one respected the religious convictions of others, and thus friction was avoided among the members of the same race.”⁴

This is, however, an obsolete philosophy.

¹ *Unirea*, 5th April 1924.

² *Telegraful Român*, 21st May 1924.

³ *Albina*, 29th November 1923.

⁴ *Unirea*, 6th January 1923.

On 7th May 1924 a big meeting of the Greek Catholic clergy and laymen was held in Szatmár. In their Manifesto, which was signed by a hundred members, they vigorously protested against Orthodox propaganda and persecution. They pointed out that these had destroyed not only internal peace but also foreign respect for the country. After the World War an even more destructive religious war was tearing the country to pieces. Misstatements, corruption, lies, promises which could not be kept, followed by the demoralization and vulgarization of the people—these were the weapons in the struggle to force men to leave Rome and join the Orthodox Church.

The Manifesto concludes with the following sentences :

“ We demand that this propaganda shall cease. We demand that the spiritual calm of the Greek Catholics shall not be disturbed, and that this work of hatred and discord on the part of Orthodoxy shall not have the support of the authorities of the State, but be suppressed, as an action endangering the interests of the country and our race.

“ We have no acceptable reason for abandoning our creed . . . and therefore solemnly declare that we will adhere unswervingly to the Church of our forefathers, to Rome the Eternal, and that we are willing to defend our faith even at the sacrifice of our lives.”¹

Does not this sound like a declaration of faith from the time of the Reformation ?

¹ *Unirea*, 31st May 1924.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SCHOOLS

I

THE schools of Transylvania were, like the federal constitution of the country and the autonomy of the Churches, the products of the historical development peculiar to this land. When Protestantism was introduced, schools were founded by the new Churches, and richly endowed by the princes and the nobles. Later, during the renaissance of Catholicism, in the eighteenth century, Roman Catholic schools were also established. The value of education as the foundation of religious life was so much appreciated that Prince George Rákóczi II. had the Bible translated into Roumanian and founded Roumanian schools—so that this people should be able to acquire the truth of the new creed. The early schools served the purposes of the Churches, they were “the nursery gardens of the Church,” as the synod of Debrecen characterized them in 1567. But before long also secular learning, coupled with religious education, reached so high a level that the schools of Transylvania could compare with the best institutions of Western Europe. The denominational schools of Transylvania, M. Angelescu, Minister of Education, declared in the Senate in May 1925, “helped not only to maintain the old faith and the ancient customs, but spread civilization to the lowest social strata of the people.”

The Hungarian State did not interfere with education. It was only at the end of the nineteenth century that it began to take an interest in it, and even then its policy was not aimed against denominational education. On the contrary, it came to the rescue of

the denominational schools, promoted their establishment and maintenance, and only founded schools itself in places where the Churches were unable to maintain their own. In consequence of this attitude a curious relation developed between the Presbyterian Church and the State. As the Church had not adequate means to maintain all its schools, it handed a great number of them over to the State, on condition that their ownership remained with the Church, the State being only their lessee and the Church entitled to recover her schools at any time.

The Minorities Treaty has extensive provisions concerning the schools of the Minorities. Paragraph 2 of Article 9 provides that the Minorities :

“Shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.”

Article 10 deals exclusively with this question :

“Roumania will provide in the public educational system, in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Roumanian nationals of other than Roumanian speech are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Roumanian Government from making the Roumanian language obligatory in the said schools. In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Roumanian nationals belonging to racial, religious and linguistic Minorities, these Minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of the public funds under the State, municipal or other budget, for educational, religious or charitable purposes.”

The Gyulafehérvár Resolutions declared the right of each people “to educate itself in its own language by persons from its own midst.”

Such detailed provisions might seem to ensure the

right of the Minorities to their own schools. The Report of the Commission of the American and British Unitarian Churches states that "the Roumanian Government is morally and technically bound to maintain the denominational schools. This obligation is part of its agreement with the Allies. Differences of opinion as to the continuance of Unitarian, Presbyterian, Lutheran or Roman Catholic, or other confessional schools, is not within the province of any but the denominational authorities themselves. The right of the Churches to conduct their schools is one of the Minority rights guaranteed by Roumania under the Treaty. If the Roumanian Government can put aside the plain guarantee and its unquestioned responsibility concerning the schools, then it can as lightly disregard the other obligations of the Treaty."¹

"Unluckily, the problem of the schools of the linguistic and religious Minorities," as Professor J. Popovici stated, in the spring of 1925, "is not only a question of culture, but a political problem *par excellence*. . . . The problem of the Minorities schools is the problem of the Roumanian State, and on its solution depends the tranquillity of the citizens of Roumania."²

One can see how great an importance Professor Popovici attributes to this question. In fact it is impossible to overrate it. But its importance must remain a cultural and not a political one. The problem of the denominational schools would never have been transferred into politics if the Roumanian Government had treated them as instruments of education only. But nowhere are the Minorities attacked with such relentless virulence as in their schools. Like the administration and the judiciary, education is yoked into the service of Roumanization.

In a series of articles, M. O. Prie, who was Secretary-General of Education in Transylvania in 1920-1921, explained the educational policy of the Government,

¹ *Transylvania in 1922*, p. 1.

² J. Popovici: *Probleme școlarelor minoritare din Ardeal și Banat.*, p. 7.

and although he had to leave his post before he could realize his ideas, M. Angelescu, the Minister of Education in the last Brătianu Government, followed them more than scrupulously.

The basic principle of M. Prie was that "The Hungarians have too many schools"; and that accordingly the number of schools must be reduced in proportion to their numbers. To transform the denominational schools immediately into Roumanian ones and, by their apportionment among the various races, to create a cultural equilibrium, is not in the power of the State. The only way to arrive at this goal is (in his view) to transform the school system according to the interests of the Roumanian State—that is, to declare education a State function. This would have as a consequence that the State would subsidize only its own schools, and that all financial assistance would be denied to the denominational schools. This done, it would be difficult for the Hungarian schools to exist, except in districts where the Hungarians are in a big majority; they would gradually vanish and give way to the State schools.¹

The example given by M. Prie in illustrating his contention is instructive.

The new building of the Roman Catholic *lycée* in Szilágysomlyó, erected during the war, was requisitioned for a Roumanian middle school. The *lycée* lingered on for a time in unsuitable, leased premises, but could not maintain itself for long, and was abandoned by the Church herself. M. Prie expresses his satisfaction over this occurrence because, as he alleges, the *lycée* was not established for the education of the Hungarians but for the denationalization of the Roumanians. The facts, however, are the following.

Szilágysomlyó is a town of 6885 inhabitants, close to the Hungarian frontier on the ethnographic border; it is surrounded by Hungarian villages, and to the west of it the great Hungarian plain begins. In the town there were, in 1920, 2240 Roman Catholics,

¹ O. Prie: "Subvenționarea școlilor minoritare," in *Țara Noastră*, 1923, No. 16, p. 109.

1880 Presbyterians, 1440 Jews and 1285 Greek Catholics. Among the 133 pupils of the *lycée* there were, according to M. Prie, 56 Roman Catholics, 44 Jews and 33 Presbyterians, but not one single Roumanian. Where, then, was the denationalizing influence of the school? Nevertheless M. Prie concludes his article thus: "The case of Szilágysomlyó must serve as a memento for the Churches. If a pacific settlement cannot be found with the State, the schools of the other towns must follow."¹

In real fact, the purpose of the Roumanians is not to apportion the schools according to the proportion of the races, but to destroy the Hungarian ones. No less a man than Professor Ghibu, late Secretary-General for Education in Transylvania, states that the aim of the educational policy of the Roumanian Government is "to destroy at all costs the cultural power and supremacy of Transylvania, a land already reduced to the level of a colony."²

Nothing better illustrates the cultural disparity between Transylvania and the Regat than some figures quoted by Professor Popovici. He mentions, it is to be hoped with shame, the difference in the percentage of illiteracy on the two sides of the Transylvanian Roumanian border. In the Hungarian border county of Háromszék, 57·4 per cent. of the inhabitants could read and write: in the adjoining Roumanian county of Buzeu, only 18·7 per cent.; in the German-Hungarian Brassó, 74·9 per cent.; in the Roumanian Prahova, 23·3 per cent.; in the Transylvanian county of Hunyad (with a Roumanian population), 24·7 per cent. could read and write, but in the contiguous Roumanian Gorj, only 17·6 per cent. "This glaring disproportion must vanish," says Professor Popovici.

Unluckily the Roumanian Government proposes to obliterate the disparity, not by the extension of the Transylvanian standard to the Roumanian provinces,

¹ O. Prie: "Prea multe școli ungurești în Ardeal," in *Țara Noastră*, September 1923, p. 1174.

² *Societatea de Mădine*, 2nd November 1924.

but by lowering the Transylvanian level to the percentage of Roumanian illiteracy. For no other result can be expected from facts such as the closing of the denominational schools, the appointment of Roumanian teachers with incredibly low qualifications, and the refusal to found a Hungarian University. There is nothing more characteristic of the educational policy of Roumania than M. Prie's statement that "there are too many schools."

In the first year of Roumanian rule the attitude of the Governing Council was conciliatory towards denominational education. The members of the Council were all Transylvanian Roumanians, their Churches had the same system of denominational schools as the Hungarian and Saxon Churches. They took over the Hungarian State schools, a great many of which were in reality Presbyterian schools under State management; but, realizing the wrong done to the Hungarians, they not only granted permission to the Protestants and Roman Catholics to use temporarily the premises of these schools, but even encouraged the Churches to found new schools, and promised them the pecuniary help of the State. In this manner nearly 600 new schools were founded in 1919 and 1920, and the Hungarians made far-reaching projects for educational reforms to restore the *status quo* in their cultural life. As the University of Kolozsvár was transformed into a Roumanian one, they even planned the foundation of a new Hungarian University. Very soon, however, disillusionment set in.

Even in this first period the authorities showed no inclination to respect the intentions of the Government. According to the Report of the American Unitarian Commission, as early as 1919 the situation was the following :

"In some places the new schools were organized without interference on the part of the authorities; in other places many stumbling-blocks were placed in the way. In at least four villages—Csegez, Kissolymos, Ujszékely and Szentábráhám—the organization of

denominational schools was not allowed at all, and in the three last-named the children were compelled by force to go to the State schools. In the first-named place, the teacher nominated by the bishop having been rejected, the children have not gone to school for a year. This is the case also in Küküllőszéplak, where Unitarian children used to go to a Presbyterian school. The Roumanians took over the school, and there was at the time of our visit no school in Hungarian in the village. In Sárd, likewise, parents would not send their children to a Government school; but here they are not able to support one for themselves.

"In a number of places the authorities, though they have not directly opposed the new schools, have adopted a dog-in-the-manger policy with respect to buildings and equipment. In Torockószentgyörgy they keep two teachers and a whole building idle, and in Alsószentmihály a teacher and a building are without pupils; in both these places a flourishing church school must use makeshift quarters. In Kolozs, where the Hungarian State recently erected a modern building, the Roumanians use two of the rooms and keep one empty, while the combined Unitarian - Presbyterian school meets in the two ministers' houses. In Torockó two rooms are assigned to 220 Unitarian children, one room is given to 12 Roumanian children, and one room is kept empty. In Csekefalva one room is allowed for school purposes, the rest are locked up. In seven places the Roumanian Government charges the Churches rent for the buildings where the Hungarian Government formerly conducted free schools.

"In some communities the buildings were village property. There are many instances where the Roumanian Government has failed to respect these rights. The most flagrant example is in Csegez, where we found that the Roumanian priest had moved from his own residence, and was living, rent-free, in the school-building, property of the Unitarian Church. Meanwhile, as has already been noted, the Hungarian children of Csegez have for the past year not gone

to school at all. In Sinfalva the church is allowed to use part of its own school-building, but the Roumanians have seized the teacher's lodging without compensation. In Szentháromság, likewise, and Csikfalva, the gendarmes have lived in the teacher's house for a year without paying rent, etc."¹

After the dissolution of the Governing Council, the administration of Transylvania was merged into that of the Old Kingdom, and from that time on an even more vigorous attack was aimed both against the old and the newly founded denominational schools. Already in the autumn of 1920 rumours were afloat about the transformation of denominational education into a system of State education.²

The State subsidies promised by the Governing Council were not forthcoming. The explanation offered was the usual one; the Hungarians having, in 1918, refused to recognize Roumanian rule, they had lost their right to the assistance of the Roumanian Government.³ In consequence of this, many Hungarian parishes were unable to maintain their existing schools. The Roman Catholics had to close their schools in Csiklázárfalva, Csikszentmiklós, Borzova, etc., for want of means; and to give up in 1922 the teachers' training school in Kolozsvár and three grammar schools in the Székely districts, as well as to merge similar schools in Kolozsvár and Brassó into their *lycées*.

¹ *Transylvania under the Rule of Roumania*, chapter iii., "Denominational Schools."

² Concerning the whole question of the schools, see also the yearly reports of the Transylvanian Churches and the ecclesiastical papers. Besides these, see *The Grievances of the Hungarian Minority in Roumania*, i. 1919-1922; *Struggle for Existence, The Reformed Church of Transylvania in 1923-1924*; *Mémoire présenté par le comité des Hongrois proscrits de Transylvanie à l'Union Internationale des Associations pour la Société des Nations*, 1922; *Les infractions au traité des minorités en Roumanie*, par Veridicus, 1925; *A román uralom évei*, by Canon A. Balázs. But chiefly: *Mémoire supplémentaire à la pétition adressée par les représentants légaux des églises minoritaires hongroises, catholique romaine, réformée et unitaire en Transylvanie à la Société des Nations au sujet du projet de loi* *privé*, Genève, 1925.

³ O. Prie: "Subvenționare școlilor minoritare," *Țara Noastră*, 1923, p. 509.

From 1921 onwards the active campaign against the Hungarian denominational schools began.

In the spring of 1922 the Brătianu Government came in, with M. Angelescu as Minister of Education, and, according to the Roumanian journalist, Tiberius Vornic, "a flood of statistical tables was produced, proving that the Hungarians have more schools than the Roumanians, and that these schools are secret and dangerous hearths of a treacherous chauvinism."¹ Innumerable ordinances were issued, restricting the working of the denominational schools, but trying to maintain the appearance of legality.

In June 1922 a Government ordinance (No. 26,169) appeared, prohibiting pupils from attending schools of a different denomination than the one to which they themselves belonged. As there are few parishes in which all denominations have schools, this was a hard blow, chiefly for the Jews, who usually attended the school of one or other Christian denomination. In Hungary, the children of different religions attended unhindered the nearest school, no matter what denomination it belonged to. According to the Hungarian returns of 1910, during Hungarian rule 7244 Roman Catholic and 2349 Greek Catholic pupils attended the Presbyterian schools, and 1668 Orthodox pupils the Roman Catholic ones, while nearly 12,000 Jewish boys went to non-Jewish denominational schools.²

The absurd explanation given by the Roumanian Government to the Unitarian Commission in 1924 was that "the Government, with the desire to do away with the struggles between the different religious sects, gave each religion the right of establishing its own school. For the very reason that the education received in those schools is in concordance with the principles of the various sects, which all differ from one another, it was obliged to lay down that only pupils of the respective religion should go to each school."³ This would seem a superfluous solicitude,

¹ *Adevărul*, 16th February 1924.

² *Magyar Kisebbség*, 1923, i., p. 326.

³ *The Religious Minorities in Transylvania*, p. 67.

considering that in the last two centuries there have been no struggles whatever between the sects in Transylvania. In Nagyenyed the elementary teaching of the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian children was carried on in the same building, as the former had no school of their own. The result of the order is that many Hungarian families change their religion so as to be able to send their children into an existing Hungarian denominational school, and thus avoiding the Roumanian State school.¹

On 13th March 1923 a decree (No. 6505) of the Transylvanian Educational Department was issued concerning the middle schools. It ordered that the curriculum of the schools must be the same as that for the State schools; French must be obligatory; co-education was prohibited; once again pupils were forbidden from attending schools of a different denomination than that to which they themselves belonged, "as the denominational schools serve the cultural needs of particular churches"; and only school-books printed in Roumania were allowed to be used.

Nearly all these provisions could be, and actually were, used as weapons against the denominational schools. The introduction of the French language, for instance, was a very hard blow for the two Protestant Churches, the Presbyterian and the Unitarian, which had an old and friendly connexion with England dating from the seventeenth century, so that Hungarian students often went to Scotch Universities. English was taught in the schools of both churches, and there was no sensible reason to substitute French for it, unless we are prepared to accept the reason given by M. Pric to the bishops, that "French is the most cultivated and most widespread language in the world," and that therefore English must give way to it.

Two months later another ordinance appeared (No. 10,592), which ordered that in the schools maintained by Roman Catholic religious orders and

¹ *Infrăpîrea*, 19th November 1923.

other societies the language of instruction must be Roumanian.

After a good deal of vacillation, and yet more ordinances, there appeared in the autumn of 1923 two comprehensive decrees, one, No. 100,088, relating to the primary, the other, No. 100,090, to the secondary schools. Both are reiterations of the previous ordinances, the new provisions being only those concerning the teaching of the Roumanian language, which form the basis of the later legislative Acts.

The decrees provided that in the first two classes of the primary schools, where children from 6 to 8 attended, Roumanian grammar, spelling, reading, writing and composition must be taught in Roumanian; in the higher classes Roumanian must also be the language of instruction for history and geography. In the secondary schools all these subjects, as well as the Law of the Constitution, must be taught in Roumanian.

These provisions created a veritable babel in the schools, especially in the Protestant ones. Young boys of ten had to start learning the grammar of three languages, Hungarian, Roumanian and French. The following year German was added, and in the third year Latin; while in the Presbyterian and Unitarian schools English still continued to be taught. Six languages at once! One can imagine the insuperable difficulty of these Hungarian boys.

All these ordinances were used as pretexts for temporarily suspending the working of Hungarian schools or for closing them down altogether. But in many cases not even a pretext was used. The first to go were those schools which had previously been leased by the Churches to the Hungarian Government. Up to the present, 217 Presbyterian, 20 Roman Catholic and 33 Unitarian schools leased by the Hungarian State have been taken over by the Roumanian Government. In each case it had been a condition of the transfer to the Hungarian State that "the language of instruction should remain Hungarian," and that the confessional character of the

school should be maintained. Now, of course, Roumanian teachers have been appointed and Roumanian instruction introduced, with the result that the Hungarian children do not attend the schools, and the class-rooms, for example of the school in Csikszentdomokos, are used by the Roumanians for social gatherings.

The pretexts used for the closing of the schools were as various as could be invented by the different authorities.

One was that the opening of a newly built school or the working of an old one had not Government permission. On this pretext the opening of the new Presbyterian schools in Gyalu and Magyarókerék was forbidden, and the old Presbyterian schools in Balásfalva, Csomafája, Mikefalva, Bonyha, Szotyor, Kilyén, and the Unitarian school in Torockó were closed. In Péterfalva the schoolrooms were found inadequate, but no authorization was given to build a new school.

Another pretext was the unfitness of the school for educational purposes ; that the classrooms were dark, small or unhealthy. In some cases this was true ; but nearly always the cause was that the Hungarian school building had been requisitioned for a Roumanian State school, so that the former had to be content with premises more or less unsuitable for their purpose.

In Alsócsernáton the house of the Roman Catholic teacher was requisitioned for gendarmery barracks, so that the teacher was obliged to live in the schoolrooms. In Tusnád the pretext for closing the Roman Catholic school was that the house had not been originally built for a school, but was just an ordinary house leased from the parish. The schools in Sáromberke, Brád, Magyarzsombor, Válaszút, Pata, Zsibó, etc., were found unfit ; in Kisilye the equipment was pronounced to be incomplete. In Mezőkapus, Báld, Fráta, Páncéleseh the teaching was suspended because it was carried on in the church.

Another pretext for closing was the insufficient

number of the scholars. On this pretext more than thirty Presbyterian schools were closed, in Girolt, Nagysomkut, Sárd, Borbátviz, Cege, Lisznyó, Mezőujlak, Szamosardó, etc. The Hungarian children were forced to go to Roumanian schools or remain without schooling. On the other hand, the Presbyterian school of Aranyospolyán was closed because it had too many pupils.

The schools of Csikszentmiklós, Borzova, Déda-bisztra were closed on a charge of irredentism and anti-Roumanian tendencies among the teachers: the schools of Egerhát and Radákszinye, because the teacher in each was the clergyman. The higher primary schools of Marosujvár, Baróth and Dicső-szentmárton were closed because co-education was introduced in them; that of Székelyudvarhely, because pupils of other denominations were enrolled in it.

The reasons for the closing of the Presbyterian school in Bánffyhunyard were manifold: one was that it had been founded after 1919 and had no Government permission to work; another, that co-education was introduced in it; also, Jews attended it and the headmaster, the Presbyterian clergyman, Martin Bokor, was suspected of unpatriotic tendencies.

A characteristic order (No. 89,477) of the Minister of Education was received on 26th September 1924, by Count G. Majláth, Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania, dealing with the schools in the Székely county of Csik. The Minister ordered the Church:

(1) To erect new buildings for the schools in Kászonujfalu, Csicsó, Szentdomokos, Mádéfalva and Tölgyesrecsefalva.

(2) To pension off the teachers of the schools of Tapole, Ditró, Csicsó and Kászonujfalu; and

(3) To hand over to the State the schools of Karcfalva, Csicsó, Somlyó, Csomaháza, Szentimre, Szentgyörgy, Szentmarton, Szentsimon, Nagykáson, Csátószeg, Szárhegy, Ditró and Hódos.

It will be noted that the parish of Csicsó is ordered

under paragraph 1 to build a new school, and under paragraph 3 to hand it over to the State.

Up to the beginning of 1925, 107 Presbyterian and 103 Roman Catholic schools were closed by the Roumanian authorities.

In places where there already is a Roumanian State school no denominational school is allowed to be founded. In the Hungarian town of Arad the request of the Presbyterian Church for permission to open a middle school was refused on the plea that there was already a similar Roumanian school. In Magyar-péterfalva, a parish with 99 per cent. of Hungarian Presbyterians, the demand of the Church for permission to establish a denominational school after the Hungarian State school had been transformed into a Roumanian one, was refused for the same reason. The Presbyterian school of Ráton was closed (Order No. 42,364) by the Minister on the pretext that, there being a Roumanian State school in the parish, two schools were unnecessary. The Presbyterian school of Szamosfalva was closed without any reason given (Order No. 3292—1924); 7 of its pupils went to the Presbyterian school in the next village, while 44 were enrolled in the Roumanian school, in which there are no Hungarian classes. In Retteg, where there are 517 Presbyterians, 116 Roman Catholics and 530 Jews—1163 Hungarian-speaking inhabitants in all—and 1147 Greek Catholic Roumanians, the Protestant and the Jewish children used to attend the Presbyterian school, and the Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics the Roman Catholic school. Now a new Roumanian State school has been erected, and by Order No. 56,873—1923 the closing of both denominational schools has been ordered, because “they do not comply with the regulations, and, further, there is no need for them as there is a State school in the parish.”

In places where a Roumanian State school and Hungarian denominational schools exist side by side, the parents are forced by threats to send their children to the former. Fines are imposed, and those who

are officials are menaced with dismissal. In September 1921, at the beginning of the school year, the school inspector of the county of Nagyküküllő sent round a circular note to the Civil Servants of the county, in which he threatened to report them to the Home Office if they sent their children to denominational schools. In Kiskapus 60 Roman Catholic pupils, in Néma 11 Presbyterian ones, in Doboka 12, in Borberek 10, in Nagysármás 25, in Kovászna 20, in Szilágysomlyó 18, were forced to attend Roumanian schools.¹

The text of two orders to the Church authorities show the manner in which the Government decrees are enforced.

The school inspector of the county of Brassó sent the following order (No. 2642—23) to the Roman Catholic diocese :

“I have the honour to inform you that, by his Ordinance No. 90,127—923, the Minister of Education has ordered the closing of the following schools :

“Eresztevény, Maksa, Dálnok, Kézdimarkosfalva, Albis, Alsó-és Felsőcsernáton, Zabola, Kovászna, Páké, Barátos, Czófalu, Bita, Réti és Sepsiszetngyörgy.

“At the same time he has prohibited the foundation or maintaining of denominational schools.

“BRASSÓ, 1st September 1923.”

The text of Ordinance No. 1165, sent on the 13th January 1924, by the inspector of the county of Háromszék, to the Presbyterian parish of Ócfalva, was the following :

“I hereby inform you that the Chief Director of Education has ordered the closing of your school, because it did not fulfil the requirements and failed to conform to Ordinance No. 100,088.”

That was all ; not a single word as to the particular crime of the school, which was a newly founded one with 22 pupils.

¹ *Református Szemle*, the official gazette of the Presbyterian Church, 2nd January 1925, p. 6.

The following table concerning the Presbyterian schools in the purely Hungarian Church district of Orba shows the result attained by the application of all the above orders ¹:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Number of Teachers</i>	<i>Pupils</i>
1919-1920	19	43	2036
1920-1921	17	33	1838
1921-1922	16	20	1543
1922-1923	15	21	1172
1923-1924	8	13	554
1924-1925	8	11	554

This is but one instance of a decline which is general throughout the land.

¹ *Református Szemle*, 1925, No. 12, p. 179.

CHAPTER XV

THE SCHOOLS

II

Two years of the Brătianu administration had passed, and innumerable desultory and contradictory ordinances had been issued, when finally, in 1924, the Government were ready with the Bill which was destined to bring uniformity into the various educational systems of the provinces of Roumania, by introducing secular or State education. The question was a delicate one, because the educational systems of the Regat and of Transylvania were entirely different. In the Regat, education was a State function and denominational schools were unknown. In Transylvania, education was in the hands of the Churches and the schools were the foundation stones of religious and national consciousness. The atmosphere of the Transylvanian schools, said Professor Iorga, is very different from that of the Regat schools. "In the former we feel the presence of something sacred, something historic, a religious and moral ideal; every school has in it something of a church; just as every church has something in it of a school."¹ "I want to emphasize," said M. Connerth, the Saxon member, during the debates on the Elementary State Education Bill, "that the Saxons regard their schools as their most sacred inheritance. It is to them that they owe their present cultural level, their economic strength and the preservation of their national character."² Church, schools and nationality are so closely interlocked in Transylvania that the destruction of one of these factors endangers the existence of both the others. This is felt not only by the

¹ *Debat, Deput.*, 1925-1926, p. 586.

² *Op. cit.*, 1924, p. 3445.

Minority Churches but by the Greek Catholics, and even by the Orthodox of Transylvania. "It is inexplicable to me," said M. V. Goldiș, a prominent member of the Transylvanian Orthodox Church, "that you (the Government) should be unable to understand that the denominational schools of Transylvania were eminently national schools, and that the Church which maintained them was the Roumanian nation of Transylvania itself. The Church has saved us from sinking in the ocean of aliens which surged round us. . . . And now I stand aghast in pained wonder that the Roumanian nation should suddenly be willing to renounce this living force which for hundreds and hundreds of years has been the shield of its existence, the source of its expansion."¹

The Government is quite aware of the importance of the denominational schools, as the hearths of national life: that is the reason why they want to destroy them.

In an article, entitled "The Secularization of the Denominational Schools," M. G. Popa-Lisseanu, Under-Secretary of State in the Educational Department, clearly fixed the standpoint of the Government towards the denominational schools. "We hear of the great services rendered to our nation by the Roumanian denominational schools in Transylvania. Nobody denies these services. But it is exactly on account of those services that we must destroy them. The denominational schools, besides the learning they gave, inoculated the souls of our youth with hostile sentiments towards the State in which they lived. But since this rôle of the past to develop the feeling of national resistance towards other nationalities is no longer necessary, the justification for their existence has ceased." In the past they were of great importance for the Transylvanian Roumanians in their fight against the Hungarian State, but in the changed situation "we do not want citadels of aliens in the midst of our national State."²

The State Elementary Education Act was passed in

¹ *Op. cit.*, 1924, p. 3445.

² *Revista generală al învățământului.*

July 1924; the Private Education Act had, however, many vicissitudes.¹ When it was introduced in Parliament in the spring of 1925 the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Churches launched a complaint against it at the League of Nations, which, however, was not discussed at Geneva, as in September of that year M. Duca promised certain modifications of the Bill. Unluckily, no agreement was arrived at between the Churches and the Government, and the Bill was passed with insignificant modifications. Both Acts contain unfavourable provisions concerning the denominational schools. They were characterized by M. Ghița Popp, member of Parliament, as "monuments of hostility towards the confessional schools."²

The State Elementary Education Act does not abolish denominational education. Article 2 of the Act recognizes private schools, which include also the denominational schools; and the separate Act Concerning Private Education was passed in December 1925. But the phrase "denominational schools" is absent from both Acts, the schools of the religious Minorities being ranked among the "private schools." The introduction of the State school system into Transylvania is the first stage towards the suppression of denominational education. The Government does not openly abolish confessional schools; it merely causes them to atrophy.

The gravest attack of the new legislation on the denominational schools is contained in the provisions of the Acts concerning the teaching of Roumanian.

Article 7 of the S.E.E.A., which deals with the language of the schools, has the following text:

"Elementary instruction in the State schools is given in the Roumanian language.

"In polyglot districts the Minister of Education *may* establish elementary schools in which instruction

¹ In the following we shall refer to the State Elementary Education Act by the abbreviation S.E.E.A., and to the Private Education Act by P.E.A.

² *Adevărul*, 18th November 1925.

shall be given in the language of the respective population in the four lower classes ; but the Roumanian language is obligatory, and must be taught as many hours weekly as shall be fixed by ordinance.

"In the higher classes the instruction shall be in Roumanian ; the Bible and the national language, however, will be taught in the mother-tongue."

The P.E.A. orders in Articles 35 and 39 that :

"In private schools attended by pupils whose mother-tongue is other than the State language, instruction *may* be given in the mother-tongue of the pupils. In such schools only those pupils can be enrolled whose mother-tongue is that of the instruction.

"For the Jewish pupils the mother-tongue is the State language."

Article 39 : "Whatever is the language of instruction in a private school, the Roumanian language, Roumanian history, the geography of Roumania and the Law of the Constitution shall be taught in Roumanian."

These provisions, which legalize the similar provisions of many ordinances, are creating an intolerable situation for the Minorities. The Minorities Treaty orders only the "adequate instruction" of the official language.

The Preambles of both Acts pretend that these provisions are exclusively in the interest of the Minorities. "They must not isolate themselves ; they must not bottle themselves up in a national egotism which might hinder them in taking part in the public life of the State," says the Preamble of the S.E.E.A. ; and the P.E.A. continues with magnificent hypocrisy : "If the nationalities do not know the language of the State they will be in an inferiority. Their children, who have the same rights as the born Roumanians, will not be able to progress in their studies and to compete with the Roumanian scholars. It is the moral obligation of the State to facilitate the learning of the official language."¹

¹ *Desbat. Senatului*, 1924, No. 35, p. 1309, and *Proiect de lege asupra învătămintului particular*, p. 98.

All this would be in order if the details and the methods of the Acts did not show that the solicitude of the Government is directed not so much towards the welfare of the Minorities as towards the destruction of the denominational schools. The Hungarian member, M. J. Sándor, as well as the Saxon members, fought a desperate fight against the Bills. They resented the introduction of the Roumanian language into the schools at such an early period of the child's life, and showed that it would take, chiefly in the higher classes, nearly all the hours of instruction. If the Roumanian language, history, geography and the Constitution are taught in Roumanian, what time remains for the Hungarian subjects? M. T. Pistiner mentioned in the House that there are schools in Transylvania in which the number of obligatory Roumanian lessons is twenty-two, while the sum-total of teaching hours is eighteen. During Hungarian rule in the Roumanian schools the Hungarian language was taught only as a separate subject, and no other subject was taught in Hungarian.¹

The Transylvanian Roumanians who had objected to much more lenient measures of the Hungarian Government, and who had made the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions, now that the time had come to apply their principles, kept a profound silence in the House. Yet their previous declarations were abundantly used in the debates by the Saxon members.

M. Fritz Connert quoted Professor Ghibu's declaration in one of his earlier books that "Real education can only be given in the mother-tongue," and M. H. O. Roth called attention to the lectures given by M. J. Maniu in the Sociological Institute, in which the attitude of the Transylvanian Roumanians concerning the language question had been defined. "The principle," M. Maniu had said, "must be respected that everyone has the right to attend the school which he pleases and that everybody is entitled to be taught in his own language. The

¹ O. Ghibu: *Viața și organizația bisericească și școlară în Transilvania and Ungaria*, p. 108.

attempt to use education for the purposes of the arbitrary denationalization of a people is the greatest of crimes and the most futile self-deception. . . . Therefore," he continued, "nationals of other than Roumanian speech must be taught in their own language. The teaching of Roumanian must not be obligatory earlier than the fourth elementary class—that is to say, not before the pupil is perfectly good at reading, writing and arithmetic in his own language and has acquired such elementary knowledge as is absolutely necessary for everyday life. . . . As for the denominational institutions, in them it is only in the middle schools that Roumanian should be taught as an obligatory subject, and for no other purpose than that the pupil should be acquainted with the official language of the State."¹

Unfortunately M. Maniu repeated none of these wise recommendations in the House.

The result of these provisions was felt already in 1925. At the parochial meeting of the Kézdi Presbyterian Church district the chairman complained that the small children did not speak such pure Hungarian as they used before; they were mixing their mother-tongue with Roumanian words.²

Just as dangerous for the Minorities as the language provisions are the seemingly unimportant measures hidden in the jungle of articles of both Acts.

The same Article 7 of the S.E.E.A. provides that the Minister "may" found State schools with a Minority language in "polyglot districts," but does not fix which district shall be regarded as "polyglot." Article 65 orders that in every parish where the number of the pupils is at least thirty, a Roumanian State school shall be established. M. H. O. Roth proposed that that number should be fixed as a minimum also for the establishment of Minority schools, but his proposal was refused. M. J. Pistiner, the Socialist member, complained that not only were there no schools established by the State for the

¹ J. Maniu : *Problema minorităților*, p. 16.

² *Református Szemle*, 1925, No. 40, p. 795.

Minorities in places where their numbers would entitle them to have them, but permission was even refused for the Minorities themselves to build such schools, "so that the scholars of the Minorities are forced to attend Roumanian schools and learn from books and lectures of which they do not understand a word."¹

A flagrant violation of the Minorities Treaty is the provision of the P.E.A. which orders that in the schools maintained by religious orders and congregations the language of instruction must be Roumanian. "The religious orders," says the Preamble, "are institutions with an international humanitarian character; they cannot be allowed to serve foreign culture, and therefore must accommodate themselves to the local environments, and use the language of the State in question. Thus it is in England, France, Germany, Italy, Poland; thus it was in Hungary, and so it must be with us. They must teach in Roumanian and serve the culture of our State." This is pure sophistry. The religious orders in Transylvania, the Minorites, Premonstratensians, etc., are Hungarian Roman Catholic orders. There are no Roumanian-speaking Roman Catholics, and the religious orders are not only part of the Roman Catholic religious Minority, but are, through their Hungarian- and German-speaking members, also parts of linguistic Minorities. By forcing these denominational schools to give instruction in Roumanian, Hungarian and Suabian Minorities are compelled to learn in that language.

On 26th March 1926, M. Dumitrescu, Chief Educational Inspector, appeared in the Roman Catholic secondary school in Kolozsvár, and simply wrote into the control-book that "the school being a convent school, its language of instruction must be Roumanian." Bishop Majláth protested against this summary procedure, since the school was not the property of any religious order. But it is easy to foresee how the matter will end.²

¹ *Debat. Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 83.

² *Az erdélyi róm. kath. státus igazgatótanácsának 2487—1926 sz. jelentése*, p. 31.

A similar half-veiled attack is to be found in Article 8 of the S.E.E.A., which orders that "parents of Roumanian origin who have lost their mother-tongue (*i.e.* Roumanian) are only entitled to send their children to a State school or to a private school in which instruction is given in Roumanian." Under this Article, hundreds of Hungarian children will be forced into Roumanian schools. In a country racially so mixed as Transylvania, the authorities can allege of thousands of people that their forbears were Roumanians. For example, Professor N. Iorga has the queer theory that the Székelys, these purest of Hungarians, who regard themselves as the descendants of Attila's Huns, are of Roumanian origin. Will all the Székely children be sent to Roumanian schools? Already it has happened in the Székely village of Koronka, that at the beginning of the school year 1924-1925 fifteen Hungarian boys were forced to attend the Roumanian school on pretext that their ancestors were Roumanians.

In the autumn of 1925 seven Presbyterian children in Nyárádszentbenedek were forced by the authorities to attend Roumanian schools. About the same time the Presbyterian school in Hidvég was summoned by the educational inspector to transfer fourteen pupils to the Roumanian State school, on the pretext that they were of Roumanian origin. The parents being unwilling to comply, a fine of 240 leus was imposed upon them. In Nyomát, where all the inhabitants are Hungarian Unitarians with the exception of one Roumanian family, the gendarmerie "settled" the race of each child, and decided which school he or she was to attend. In 1926 several Roman Catholic schools were reprimanded for receiving pupils who declared themselves to be Roman Catholic Hungarians, but whose name sounded Roumanian.¹

The P.E.A. is going to extend the provision, already imposed by many local ordinances, according to

¹ *Az erdélyi róm. kath. státus igazgatótanácsának 2487—1926 sz. jelentése*, p. 61.

which children may only attend schools of their own denomination. Thus private schools shall only be attended by children whose language and denomination are the same as that of the instruction in the school.

The hardest blow for the denominational schools is contained in Article 27 of the P.E.A., which deprives the private schools of their "public status." Private schools will not be entitled to issue certificates, so-called diplomas, but only testimonials, to the effect that So-and-so has been a pupil of the school, but such testimonials shall have no State value. This provision will be sufficient to put an end to the denominational schools, as no one can be expected to attend a school whose certificates are of no use to him for his future career.

Denominational schools for the training of teachers will be abolished altogether. The training of teachers is declared to be the duty of the State—a State function—and the future teachers are to be trained in the Roumanian State schools in a secular spirit.

Article 159 of the S.E.E.A. is a clear instance of the tendency of the legislation.

On the western frontier of Transylvania, where the country is contiguous with Hungary, a large strip of land, with a great majority of Hungarians in compact masses, was transferred to Roumania; it is a striking violation of the nationalities principle and one of those injustices done by the Trianon Treaty which will have to be corrected. These districts are in the counties of Szatmár, Szilágy, Bihar and Temes. On the other side, on the eastern border of Transylvania, there are three counties, Csik, Háromszék and Udvarhely, with a purely Székely-Hungarian population, forming a compact island in the midst of the Roumanian and Saxon peoples. A short ordinance, No. 40,771, from 1924, declared these counties to be "cultural zones," in which the activity of the teachers must be more intensive, and fixed their salaries higher by 50 per cent. than those of the teachers in other districts.

These provisions were embodied in Article 159 of the S.E.E.A., in which also further advantages were

promised to these teachers. At the same time a short explanation of the measure was given in the Preamble: "This is a favoured position for the teachers because in these districts there is more cultural and national work to be done. The Roumanians of these districts, in contact with the alien element, have been strongly denationalized and have remained in a cultural inferiority."¹

But that is not quite the case. These favoured Roumanian teachers are not appointed to Roumanian schools, but to State schools, the language of which should be Hungarian, but is in fact Roumanian. In the county of Csik 90·55 per cent., in Háromszék 89·55, and in Udvarhely 96 per cent. of the population is Székely, with a comparatively low percentage of illiteracy. To these counties the Roumanian Government is sending its apostles with enhanced salaries to spread Roumanian culture, whereas the Roumanian kingdom and the Roumanian districts of Transylvania, with 60 and even 70 per cent. of illiterates, would offer a sufficient field for the civilizing work of the Roumanian teachers. In the Hungarian schools of these "cultural zones" there have been appointed teachers from the Regat who know no word of Hungarian. In the Hungarian school of Csikrákos there are two Hungarian teachers and one Roumanian; in the schools of Csikpálfalva and Gyimesfelsőlak there is one Hungarian and one Roumanian teacher. In Csikjenőfalva there are four Roumanian teachers and one Hungarian, while in Ajnad and in Mádéfalva there are no Hungarian teachers at all, but only Roumanians.²

According to the Suabian deputy, M. F. Kreuter, in the State schools of Buziás there are 92 German, 62 Roumanian, and 51 Hungarian pupils, but not one single German teacher.³

The Roumanian educational authorities are them-

¹ *Desbat. Senatului*, 1924, p. 1831.

² *Mémoire supplémentaire*, XXXI., p. 98, and an article, "A kultur-zona," in the *Magyar Kisebbség*, 1924, p. 615.

³ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1925-1926, p. 638.

selves aware of the absurdity of this situation. The educational inspector of Marostorda writes in his report concerning the school-year of 1924-1925 that there is an increase of 50 per cent. in the number of school teachers in the county. The explanation of this lies in the fact that the teachers sent from the Regat choose the "cultural zones" by preference.

"The experiences of the past year," says the Report, "show how mistaken these appointments often are. To villages where not a soul knew Roumanian, except perhaps the notary and the gendarme, men were sent who had never in their life heard a word of Hungarian, and who were entirely ignorant of the habits and ways of thought of the people they had to work among. The conscientious among them wriggled like fish out of water to make themselves understood by their pupils, but in the end they had to report that they could do nothing; the children knew no Roumanian. . . . These teachers, who should by rights head every movement, spend solitary lives in their villages."¹

"It was in the days of the Tsars that we had such provisions," said Policarp Bețianu, a deputy from Bessarabia, "when school teachers sent out to Siberia enjoyed certain advantages over their colleagues. But Bessarabia is not Siberia."

The principle that Education is a State function would imply that it is compulsory and gratuitous, and that the expenses connected with it are borne by the State. It is not so in Roumania, however. The principle is declared but not carried out. "Primary instruction is compulsory for all children—where there is a school," states an author on Constitutional Law, M. J. N. Stambulescu²; while as for being gratuitous, the State pays the salaries of the teachers, but "the maintenance of the elementary schools is the duty of the parishes" (Article 161), which means that the parishioners have to erect and

¹ *Dare de seama asupra învățământului primar din Județul Mureș-Turda pe anul școlar, 1924-1925*, p. 27.

² J. N. Stambulescu : *Principii de drept constitutional*, p. 61.

furnish the building and acquire all implements as well as the library; the parish shall heat and light the rooms and keep them in repair. If it should refuse or neglect to provide for all this, the Minister for Education is entitled to order the inclusion of the necessary sums in its budget.

M. Vasile Goldiş, a Roumanian member from Transylvania, described in the House the injurious effects that might result from these provisions. In the parish of Malajesd a school was to be built at the cost of 500,000 leus (about £550). What would happen under the new law? The villagers, being poor, had refused to include in their budget this considerable sum. "Will their cows and horses be sold to provide the sums necessary for the education of their children?" asked M. Goldiş.¹ The Ministry of Agriculture refused to let the inhabitants of poor mountain villages fell in the immense State forests a few trees for the building of a school. "The Hungarian Government were much more complaisant," remarks a Roumanian Transylvanian, "they always gave timber for ecclesiastic and educational purposes."²

Far graver is the situation of the religious Minorities. The financial capacity of the Minority peoples is very heavily taxed already: the Hungarian officials have lost their positions and pensions, the estates of the landowners have been expropriated, heavy public burdens are laid on them, and as the Roumanian State refuses to subsidize the denominational schools the burden of their maintenance is entirely on their shoulders. But according to the above provisions they have to contribute also to the establishment and the maintenance of the Roumanian State schools. "The measure," said M. F. Connert, "betrays the endeavour to build up Roumanian culture with the help and at the cost of the Minorities."³ Hungarians maintain their own confessional schools for their

¹ *Debat. Depul.*, 1924, p. 3441.

² T. Clopotel: "Cum trăesc patruzecidemii de moşii," *Societatea de Măine*, 12th September 1926, p. 609.

³ *Kronstädter Zeitung*, 11th November 1924.

children, but have to contribute also to the education of the Roumanian children. "On prend l'argent des vaincus pour favoriser la culture intellectuelle des vainqueurs."¹ This was avowedly the intention of the legislators. "If there is a Minority school in a parish," explained the *rapporteur* of the Bill in the Senate, "maintained by part of the parishioners, and the State establishes a school, the parishioners have no right to refuse the contribution to it on the excuse that they have already their own private school."² The result in most cases will be the closing of the denominational schools, as the Minorities will be unable to contribute to the maintenance of two schools. It is sufficient to found a State school for the denominational school to disappear.

Moreover, the provision is unconstitutional, as no direct taxation may be imposed on the population outside the budget. Yet the administrative authorities collect school taxes of varying amounts in the parishes, from 200 to 10,000 leus per family. The Cuvântul suspected that the money was used not so much for schools as for political purposes.³ M. Bernády, the Hungarian deputy, started a campaign against this unlawful taxation, in consequence of which the authorities invented another plan. They compelled the parishioners to pay the fixed amounts, not as a tax, but as a voluntary contribution towards the establishment of a future school, whose locality is left unspecified.

The donor receives a printed receipt after the pattern of the following :

COUNTY OF MAROS TORDA. PARISH OF PASSERENI.
No. 35—201.

RECEIPT

For 54 leus received from M. Zsigmond Szövérfi,
as a gift for the fund of a school-building in
the hundred.

PASSERENI, 19th April 1925.

Signature: PAP.

¹ Novicow : *La lutte entre les sociétés humaines*, p. 137.

² *Debat. Senatului*, 1924, 1458.

³ Quoted by the *Ujság*, 16th April 1925.

In the "Complaint of the Churches to the League of Nations" many cases of such unlawful taxation are enumerated.¹

Both these educational Acts are illuminating examples of Roumanian methods of legislation: proclaiming high-sounding democratic principles and rendering them illusory by contrary provisions. During the debates on the State Elementary Education Bill, M. D. Simionescu opined that it would be advisable to translate the latter into all the languages of the civilized world and "to send it to London, Paris and New York, so that foreigners might read it and exclaim: Fortunate country which has such laws!" But M. Goldiş's comment on this was: "Our villages languish in the most terrible darkness and the gloom expands over our poor parishioners. If an Englishman were to come to us with this Act in his hand he would ask: But where is the country in which this law is applied?"²

The provisions of the above-mentioned ordinances and Acts were the instruments for the annihilation of the denominational secondary schools. Their suppression needed more elaboration than that of the elementary schools, since they were institutions with a venerable past, often founded centuries ago. Pretexts had to be found, and often a protracted procedure came before the final blow.

Before M. Angelescu introduced his Bill on Elementary Education in Parliament in 1924 the draft was carefully kept from publicity in Roumania. But an intense campaign was carried on in the foreign Press to prepare a favourable reception for the Bill abroad. The *Journal de Genève*, for example, wrote that the Minorities of Transylvania have no cause for complaint, since the number of their educational institutions is steadily growing and all facilities are granted them to "develop their culture according to their own traditions and through the medium of their own language."³

¹ *Mémoire supplémentaire*, Appendix XXVI., A-D.

² *Desbat. Deput.*, 1924, p. 2429.

³ The article was quoted by the Transylvanian review, *Magyar Kisebbség*, 1924, No. 14.

The following account of the fate of some of the middle schools shows how M. Angelescu's Acts secure the culture of the Minorities and its development.¹

The Roman Catholic *lycée* of Mármarosziget, founded in 1730, was seized immediately after the occupation on pretext that it had been maintained by State funds. It was turned into a Roumanian middle school. The Presbyterian *lycée* at the same place was closed on 19th April 1921, because its headmaster had been arrested on the charge of being implicated in a "conspiracy." He was acquitted by a court martial, but the school was not allowed to reopen.

The Roman Catholic *lycée* of Arad, which was established in 1774 and was supported from private funds, was seized like that of Mármarosziget, on the pretext that it had been maintained by the Hungarian State. It was transformed into a Roumanian middle school, and the instruction of the 1110 pupils was continued in a leased building. In December 1921 this school was closed because twenty-two of its pupils were accused of conspiring against the State; they were acquitted, and the school was reopened, but its "public status" was withdrawn on the plea that its building and equipment were incomplete and its teachers inefficient. The pupils were ordered to pass the examination in the Roumanian school. In the meantime the Church has built a modern building where the school has been installed, but nevertheless the Government refused to reinstate it in its former rights.

The Roman Catholic *lycée* in Nagyvárad was closed on 18th January 1923, after a long and weary proceeding. Both the teachers and the pupils were accused of irredentism, but none were brought before any court.

The newly erected Roman Catholic *lycée* of Szilágy-somlyó was closed because private persons had been

¹ The data are taken from two articles in the *Magyar Kisebbség*, entitled "The Fate of our Middle Schools," 1924, Nos. 14 and 17, but chiefly from the *Mémoire supplémentaire*, App. XXIV., A-E.

found to have been lodged in the school-building. In actual fact, these lodgings had been requisitioned by the Roumanian Housing Office for Roumanian families. Notwithstanding this, a Roumanian *lycée* was opened in the building, and the Hungarian institute, after continuing for a short time in a leased building, was closed by the Church itself on account of the unfavourable circumstances.¹

In Szatmár the Roman Catholic *lycée*, founded in the sixteenth century, was requisitioned in April 1919 by armed force, and transformed into a Roumanian school. The Presbyterian school at the same place was deprived of its "public status."

In Nagykároly 63 per cent. of the pupils of the Roman Catholic school were excluded because they belonged to other denominations. Later the staff were accused of working in an unpatriotic spirit, and the school was transformed into a Roumanian State school in the autumn of 1923.

The right of publicity was withdrawn from the Presbyterian *lycée* of Zilah, the Unitarian *lycée* of Torda, and the Roman Catholic *lycées* of Déva and Nagyszeben.

Since September 1923 the language of instruction in the three *lycées* of Temesvár has been ordered to be Roumanian, and in the State *lycée* of Brassó no Hungarian instruction is given, although one-third of the population of the town is Hungarian. In the State schools of Arad, a purely Hungarian town, all instruction in Hungarian was suspended in 1923.

The Presbyterian *lycée* for girls in Kolozsvár was deprived of its "public status" in 1922. Until 1925 the Protestant girls could attend the Roman Catholic *lycée*, but in that year this school was warned not to enrol other than Roman Catholic girls, so that they will be forced to attend the Roumanian schools.

In June 1923 the Jewish *lycées* in Nagyvárad, Kolozsvár and Temesvár were closed (Ordinance No. 53,762) because they had only "formally" introduced Roumanian instruction instead of Hungarian.

¹ See page 236.

In some cases the methods used by the Government were most simple. For example, in the spring of 1922, before the closing of the school-year, the following ordinance of the Minister of Education was sent to the Church authorities (No. 52,629—922) :

“The Department having made inquiries concerning the public status of the Roman Catholic *lycée* in Déva, the Presbyterian *lycée* in Dés, and the Unitarian one in Torda, will in future regard these schools as private schools.”

The Church and school authorities have never found out what the pretext was for this procedure.

We have left for the end the story of the Presbyterian *lycée* of Szászváros, the so-called Kún College, which shows up more than any other the insincerity and bad faith of the Roumanian Government.

The school was founded in the sixteenth century, and was richly endowed in the nineteenth century by Count Kún. Pupils of every denomination and race attended it; the Roumanian Cabinet Ministers, A. Vlád and P. Gróza, received their education here. The institution consisted of a middle school, with an adjoining boarding-house for the students, and of a commercial school; the number of the pupils in 1919 was 558.

On 10th September 1922 the boarding-house of the school was requisitioned by the Roumanian authorities without any previous notice, and the 183 pupils who lived in it had to be transferred into the school-building. In the same year the headmaster was accused of irredentist tendencies, and it was alleged that the level of the school was low, the teachers inefficient, etc. In August 1923 the school was deprived of its “public status” (Ordinance No. 84,020—923), and the commercial school closed without any reason given (No. 53,881—923). At the end of the next school-year, 1923—1924, it was ordered that the pupils should pass their examination before a Roumanian commission. In 1923, out of 43 pupils, 3 failed; in 1924, 96 per cent., and in 1925 all of them were unsuccessful.

The school degenerated rapidly. The number of the students was :

In 1918-1919	.	.	.	558
„ 1919-1920	.	.	.	423
„ 1920-1921	.	.	.	348
„ 1921-1922	.	.	.	393
„ 1922-1923	.	.	.	422
„ 1923-1924	.	.	.	138
„ 1924-1925	.	.	.	73

During 1924-1925 the school was constantly harassed by the Roumanian authorities, so that at the close of the school-year the Church authorities decided to close down temporarily, and to use the premises for a girls' school and an orphan asylum. Suddenly, on 21st June, the Housing Bureau ordered the requisitioning of the building for the Roumanian Lycée Vlaicu.

The explanations furnished by the Roumanian Government in the different stages of this case are very characteristic. In the autumn of 1924 the Report of the American Unitarian Delegation gave an account of the situation of the school as it then stood. The reply of the Government, dated 28th October 1924, was as follows :—

“ In the Kún College case, the Delegation has been induced into error. The Reformed Religion college has a beautiful new building, only the old building has been hired by the State, for the establishment of a high school. It is not exact that it has been deprived of the right of publicity on the grounds that the building is insufficient, but it was proved by several inspections that the level of education had fallen so low, inasmuch that it could no longer be allowed to issue State value certificates. By the light thrown on the question the complaints raised against the acts of the Departments fall through completely.”¹

In 1925, after the “ beautiful new building ” had also been requisitioned, the Church applied for help to the League of Nations. It was then that the

¹ *The Religious Minorities in Transylvania*, p. 123.

answer of the Roumanian Government divulged the real attitude.

"This Hungarian school," they wrote, "situated in a Roumanian centre, was fatally doomed to vanish. Seeing the decreasing number of its pupils, the Church authorities themselves decided to close it down. At the same time when the premises of this institution were without any clear destination, the Roumanian *lycée*, having no proper locality, occupied a leased house quite unfit for its purposes." In consequence of these facts it applied to the Housing Bureau, which, "seeing the danger that the Roumanian school would have to stop working," requisitioned the building of the college.

In the following a few figures will be given to demonstrate the influence of the Roumanian educational policy on the denominational schools¹:

<i>Elementary Schools</i>	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Roman Catholic in Transylvania .	176	188	275	247	235	227	210	295
Roman Catholic in Szatmár .	30	30	30	30	30	29	25	23
Presbyterian .	195	198	504	515	494	476	423	389
Unitarian .	27	27	86	53	46	43	30	30
Total	428	438	895	845	805	775	698	647

These figures show, first, a small increase, and later a constant decrease, in the number of denominational schools. The Roumanian Government refer to the increase as a testimony to their tolerance and to the progress of denominational education under Roumanian rule. But this is mere hypocrisy. The still existing small plus in the number of the denominational schools is not a proof of the advantageous situation of denominational education. Since the Roumanian rule the Hungarians have lost 1600 *Hungarian State schools*, a great number of which were denominational schools rented by the State; it was to make up for these that the Government permitted the building of a few new schools. But since

¹ *Mémoire supplémentaire*, XXVII., p. 98.

1921 their number is constantly decreasing, so that in 1925, as shown above, it was less by 250 than in 1920. The above returns are not a testimony to Roumanian tolerance, but a sign of the tragic decay of Hungarian education.¹

In his Preamble to the Private Educational Act, M. Angelescu pretends that in 1922 out of 1668 State schools 562 were Hungarian.² This does not correspond with the real situation. In the State schools most or all of the subjects are taught in Roumanian, and Roumanian teachers are appointed even in the purely Hungarian districts. All the State schools, whether elementary or middle schools, are Roumanian. In the secondary school of Perjámos, in an unmixed German district, instruction in German is given only twice a week.

In the light of the above facts one cannot refrain from quoting two declarations, leaving it to the reader to decide which of the two to believe. One contains the concluding words of the above Preamble :

"The facts," writes M. Angelescu, "clearly show that all the statements of the hostile propaganda are unfounded, the Minorities have been and are protected by the Roumanian State. . . . The denominational schools which existed during the Hungarian rule continue to function, and, thanks to the spirit of tolerance and freedom of the Roumanian people, the religious Minorities were able to establish a great number of new schools."³

The other declaration was quoted in an article in

¹ In May 1925, M. Leonte Moldován, *rapporteur* of the Administrative Reform Bill, said in the House that the Hungarian Churches maintained more than 300 "clandestine" schools. No lesser person than the late Prime Minister, M. A. Vajda, a Transylvanian Roumanian, repudiated this untrue and foolish accusation, and M. Moldován was forced to admit that he could not cite a single place in Transylvania where such a school existed.—*Debat. Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 3529.

² *Proiect de lege asupra învățământului particular*, p. 57. The figures quoted in the *proiect* are absolutely unreliable. In one of the tables the number of the Hungarian schools in 1922 is given as 1069, but if one adds the number of the pretended Hungarian State schools, and the denominational schools, the figure is 1714. In one table the Lutherans are said to have 8 schools, in another on the same page they have none; the Unitarians 26, in another place 28.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

the *Adevărul* by Professor Ghibu, who recommends "its careful perusal by the Minorities for consolation in their sufferings."

The quotation is from the report of the diocesan synod of the Orthodox Roumanian Church of Transylvania, and runs as follows :

"During the worst persecutions of the Roumanian schools by the Hungarian Governments we have not had as many complaints concerning school affairs, which are in a complete state of anarchy, as in the past two years. . . . The Church has been regarded and treated by the Government as beyond the pale of the law. The organs of the State have conducted their destructive campaign with the utmost virulence and with a total disregard of the laws." ¹

¹ 10th December 1925.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SCHOOLS

III

THE administrative organization of the schools was followed by measures the alleged aim of which was to raise the level of education.

In the beginning of 1925 M. Angelescu introduced a new Bill concerning the re-establishment of the so-called *baccalaureate* examinations, which were in existence up till 1908, but were abolished in that year. In a Cabinet Council held on 10th January he said that it was necessary to reintroduce them, because foreign universities had called the attention of his Department to the fact that the training of the Roumanian students was as a rule so defective that they were incapable of following the lectures, and were a hindrance to the other students.

This state of affairs was a legacy of the past: ever since the foundation of the Roumanian State in the sixties of the last century education in Roumania had been in an appalling condition. Professor Odobescu says that in 1865 in the county of Argeş there were only four schools with four teachers, but no four men could be found who were able to read and write. This was a regrettable but not an exceptional state of affairs. In the village of Dragomireşti the teacher was at the same time the swineherd. Twenty years later the situation was more or less unchanged.¹

M. S. C. Mihailescu held the system responsible for this state of things. "Our schools are a real calamity for the country. Not to have schools is an evil, but to have bad ones is a disaster."²

¹ *Desb. Deput.*, 1924, p. 8508.

² "New Masks but the same Comedy," in the *Societatea de Măine*, 1925, No. 10.

All complaints were futile, however, because the root of the evil lay deep. M. Spiridon Popescu, in his speech on the occasion of the State Elementary Education Bill in 1924, frankly admitted that neither the State nor the people wanted schools. "The defence of the State is that it has no money for schools and that of the people—the people does not realize the necessity of schools, and consequently does not want them."¹ The *Patria* related the tragic story of Miss Stephanica Georgescu, a teacher in the village of Mărgăritești. She fined the peasants who failed to send their children to school five to ten leus (fourpence in English money), and the peasants killed her with knives. "Illiteracy in Roumania is beginning to make its martyrs," remarked the paper.²

This led to the situation which was portrayed by M. Jon Simionescu in his speech during the same debate in July 1924. He said: "One thing we cannot deny—we are a country of illiterates. . . . To the number of illiterates shown in the statistical tables there must be added the 'cultural illiterates,' those who have returned to that initial stage in which they were before they went to school. Those who got their education in parish schools, and afterwards spent their life among illiterates and ended by forgetting to read and write. Such cultural illiterates can be found in abundance also in the towns."³

In the meantime the people received the boon of universal suffrage and the peasantry small lots of land which, as M. Angelescu believed, "had entirely transformed the moral and material situation of the people, so that it was an absolute necessity to put an end to the shameful state of illiteracy which makes of our country the last among all the States in this part of the world."⁴

Since the war a national educational policy has been pursued by the Government in two directions:

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1924, p. 3180.

² *Patria*, 12th August 1925.

³ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1924, p. 3167.

⁴ *Acitivitatea Ministerului Instrucțiunii*, 1922-1926, p. 4.

the destruction of the denominational schools and the establishment of innumerable State schools. The destruction of the existing institutions proved, however, easier than the foundation of the new ones. It is true that the Statistical returns show, as Professor Ghibu said, a "devilishly obstinate" increase of the State schools.¹ According to the report of M. Angelescu, during his office, from the spring of 1922 on up to March 1926, the number of the schools increased from 12,008 to 23,057, and that of the teachers from 23,692 to 27,767,² but this is merely food for self-deception and the deception of the world. "Our people forget that culture is spread by efficient teachers and not by empty school walls," wrote the *Cuvântul* in 1925, in an article entitled "New Schools—Deserted Schools."³ The new schools are bad and the school teachers inefficient and do not serve the cultural needs of the country. If one reads the constantly reiterating complaints concerning the dearth of trained teachers—as we shall see later—one wonders how it was possible to increase their number by more than 14,000 within four years.

M. O. Prie, who—as will be remembered—was Under-Secretary of Education in Transylvania in the former Averescu Government, gives a vivid description of the process of establishing, and the value when established of the new Government schools. In the past, he says, the opening of a new middle school was a great event; now it is no longer so. In the single year of 1923 ten new middle schools were founded in Transylvania without the public having the slightest notion of their existence. "Of course those people who had a *lycée* opened opposite their front door would be pleased, if only they could be sure of its future and whether it will be still in existence tomorrow. What sort of schools are those, they ask, the staff of which consists of one or two teachers, who bear with Christian resignation the burden of

¹ O. Ghibu : *Problema învățământului*, in the *Societatea de Măine*, 1925, p. 32.

² *Activitatea Ministerului*, p. 6.

³ 1st August 1925.

M. Prie gives a few figures about the training of teachers, and continues: "The figures show that we have so few teacher candidates that there are not enough for the present vacancies. The key of the situation is not the number of the *lycées*, but that of the teachers. If we do not see to it in time that we have a sufficient number of teachers we shall not be able to maintain even those schools which we possess at present." ¹

In the first times of the occupation, when the Hungarian State schools were taken over and the Hungarian teachers were dismissed, a great lack of teachers presented itself. The Secretary-General of the Educational Department of the Governing Council was Professor Ghibu, whose plan was to organize courses of one to two years for the training of teachers. Before his intention was realized, however, the Governing Council came to a sudden end, and under the following Governments his plan degenerated into a mere farce. The period of the courses was lowered to two or three months, and every person was admitted without selection; people of no previous education, village notaries, railway guards, etc., offered themselves, and after a superficial training and merely formal examination were appointed as secondary-school teachers.² They were called *profesori cursisti*,

¹ O. Prie: "L'art de la guerre" *Tara Noastră*, 1923, No. 21, p. 662.

² "In chestia" in the *Societatea de Mădine*, 2nd November 1924, p. 582.

and are not popular among the regularly qualified teachers, who feel the shameful degradation they bring on the cause of education and would like to get rid of them; the more so as there are many whose morals are anything but satisfactory. In a series of articles in the *Patria*, Professor O. Ghibu dealt with the cultural and moral qualification of the teachers. He described them as "simple electoral agents" who received their posts for political services; as "adventurers without a moral compass, who believe in no God and have no convictions"; and the Teachers' Home in Kolozsvár as a society which "created anarchy and disturbed the cultural atmosphere of the country."¹

Yet these persons have their defenders. "It may be that their selection was not fortunate," wrote Professor Sever Boscaiu, "but after Gyulafehérvár it was necessary to organize education. The cursists followed the call. Without them the patriotic work could not have been done. . . . Cursists or not, we are all apostles of Roumanian culture, and will ever be so."²

Apostles of culture the cursist teachers can hardly be called; they are simply instruments of Roumanization: their apostolic mission in the past was to occupy the place of the trained Hungarian teachers who had been driven from their posts; and their present task is to help in the strangulation of the Hungarian schools.

To another class belong those teachers who are sent to Transylvania from the Regat. Their standard is not much higher than that of the cursists, and in addition they do not even know Hungarian.

On 2nd May 1925, M. Sever Dan, a Transylvanian Roumanian member, complained in the House of

¹ The articles appeared in the March numbers of the paper in 1924, and parts of them were read in the House by M. D. Hancu (*Debat. Deput.*, 1924, p. 1005). After this, Professor Ghibu was the object of a vehement article, entitled "The Necrologue of a Living Man," in the *Învățătorul*, a Press organ of the Transylvanian teachers, of 15th May 1924.

² S. R. Boscaiu: "In chestia profesorilor cursisti din Transylvania," in the *Societatea de Măine*, 1925, Nos. 5 and 6.

their low level. "They are not chosen from among the best elements," he said, "on the contrary; out of a hundred teachers fifty have no education and no qualification at all, and have no real intention of spreading culture in the new territories."

Professor Jonescu of Bucarest wrote in a similar tone in an article entitled "The Fruit of the Secondary Schools":

"In our middle schools it is not our habit to occupy ourselves with teaching and education. The pupils, following the example of their teachers, employ their time organizing political scandals. This cannot be otherwise. No one could expect our schools, which have sprung like mushrooms from the earth, to bring forth any other fruit. What kind of education can those unfortunate pupils receive at a school whose staff of teachers consists of three or four improvised instructors, who are continually forced to meddle with politics so as not to lose the favour of the Government?

"How can a child learn anything from a master who is himself ignorant of his subject? All the world knows—perhaps even the Minister of Education does so—that the greater number of our teachers were formerly priests, solicitors, telegraph operators, postmen and secondary-school pupils; there was even a lady teacher in a girls' school who was the happy possessor of a diploma—being a certified midwife.

"The profession of teacher is no longer an apostolic calling with us. Professional teachers are as rare as white ravens."¹

It is not only in the daily papers that such complaints appear; the foremost educational periodical of the country, the *Revista generală a învățământului*, contains the following statement in its October number, 1925: "The Roumanian schools, so much

¹ *Adevărul*, 18th January 1925. On 11th October 1924 an open letter, by M. M. Sotiriu, teacher in a State *lycée* in Brassó, Transylvania, addressed to the Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Education, M. Popa-Lisseanu, appeared in the same paper, and an impressive article in the *Indreptarea*, 28rd March 1925, entitled "Who lowers the Level of Education?" contained similar complaints.

increased in number after the war, suffer from one of the most fateful maladies—namely, the intrusion of incompetent elements into the field of instruction. They are going through a dangerous period of cultural dilettantism.” The title of the article is “Painful Actualities: the Want of Professional Training.”

Perusing the *Year Book for Education in Roumania*, one finds teachers with the following qualifications:

Maria Lapodat, teacher in the girls' school in Saliste, and Scevola Moldovan in Erzsébetváros, finished four classes in an elementary school; D. J. Matei, teacher of French in Szilágysomlyó, five classes of the same. In the latter school V. Pop, who teaches Latin, has only finished the eight classes of a middle school. In Beszterce L. Macedon, who teaches Roumanian grammar and geography, has attended four classes of a *lycée*. Numerous young students of theology are appointed to give instruction in sciences which they have never studied seriously: S. Ciumasia teaches chemistry, Th. Pop physics and mathematics, J. Romasan history and geography, Z. Stanciu mathematics.¹

All these people, teachers and professors, suffer under the common curse of the Roumanian officials—namely, that they are badly paid and must serve the Government of the day.

“It is not our fault,” wrote the *Învățătorul*, the official paper of the Transylvanian teachers, “if the schools remain without teachers; let a teacher regard his calling as being ever so high and ideal, if he looks with anxiety towards the morrow, if he has nothing to eat, if he has no boots and no clothes to cover his nakedness, if his salary is miserable, the result will be disorder and disinclination for thorough work. Salaries are small, life is expensive: this is the calamity.”²

The consequence of this was that the teachers

¹ C. Kirîtescu: *Anuarul învățământului secundar din România pe anul, 1924-1925*.

² *Învățătorul*, March 1925, Nos. 2-3.

resigned in such alarming numbers that, in the summer of 1923, M. Angelescu ordered that teachers who had had State scholarships and who left their profession before the expiration of ten years of service, must repay 5000 leus to the State for every year left over. The *Adevărul* remarked that it is better for teachers with so little interest in the school to resign. "But how to replace them, that is the problem," the paper asked. "How can we ask people to embrace a profession which is left even by those who are at present in it? We have few teachers, and even that number is constantly decreasing. The order of the Minister bears witness to the gravity of the situation."¹

Yet, according to the Minister's report, there were 14,000 more teachers in 1926 than had been two years before.

But this is only one cause of their disinclination for work. The other is their dependence on the Government, their obligation to be party agents. One wonders whether there is any exaggeration in the description of the situation of the teachers by Professor Ghibu, "The Teachers' Home," he wrote, "is the meanest political *cloaca*, where the teachers sell their souls like cheap goods. It was here that the transactions took place which in 1921 led up to the teachers swearing allegiance to General Averescu's people's party and a year later to the liberals; and next time they will do the same to the communists or for anybody."²

It was this situation which M. Angelescu desired to remedy by rendering the school examinations more severe.

In 1923 the Educational Department, in its often-quoted Ordinance No. 100,088, ordered that after the fourth year a comprehensive examination shall be made in the schools, and only those pupils who have passed it shall be allowed to enter the fifth class. In the following year an ordinance was issued, according

¹ *Adevărul*, 26th August 1923.

² O. Ghibu; *Universitate din Cluj și instituțiile ei de educație*, p. 63.

to which in the secondary schools with no right of publicity—*i.e.* in the denominational schools—three examinations were organized; one in writing in January, and two others at the end of the school year, of which one in writing and a public one of all the subjects, even gymnastics, drawing, etc., included. In June of the same year, just before the examinations, another ordinance was issued (No. 58,886—924), providing that the examinations shall be held not by the teachers of the schools, but by a special commission, and in Roumanian. It is easy to imagine the dismay caused by this in the Minority schools. The remonstrances of the Church authorities were of no avail, and the result was that the Hungarian pupils failed at the examinations in great numbers. In the Roman Catholic elementary school of Tekeröpaták 55 per cent., in Gyergyóditró 75 per cent. of the pupils were rejected. In Gyergyószentmiklós not one was allowed to pass.

In January 1925 a short Bill was introduced by M. Angelescu, modifying the provisions of a previous Act concerning the passing of certain examinations. It organized two comprehensive examinations, one after the fourth form, which was to serve as an indispensable step to the fifth, and the other after the eighth or last form, the so-called *baccalaureate* examination, the passing of which should alone entitle the pupils to go on to a university.

The principle of making a selection among the pupils, and only allowing the capable ones to enter a university, is commendable. But "the way in which it is carried out is new, trivial and unjust," remarked M. P. Nemoianu, writing about these examinations in the *Țara Noastră*.¹

The examinations after the fourth form are held by the teachers of the *lycée*, only the chairman being a Roumanian.

The *baccalaureate* examinations, however, are held before committees specially appointed by the Educational Department, consisting of six Roumanian

¹ Anul VI., No. 80, p. 859.

members, teachers of *lycées*, but not of the one at which the examination is held and which the pupils have attended. The chairman, also a Roumanian, is a professor of one of the universities. The subjects shall be Roumanian language and literature, the history, geography and the constitution of Roumania, and the examination is to be conducted in Roumanian. Two subjects can be selected by the pupil himself, and in these the examination may be passed in the language of the pupil, if his mother-tongue is not Roumanian. The examinations are twofold: written and oral. The written theses are: Roumanian composition, and French and Latin translation. The translation into French is from Roumanian (and not from Hungarian), and the use of a dictionary is forbidden. The entrance fee is to be 800 leus (about £1). The examinations are not to be held at the school which the pupil has attended, but in places fixed as the seats of the committees; and to these the pupils will have to travel.

The Bill was passed at the end of February 1925, and was already applied at the examinations of the school-year of 1924-1925.

The Act is one of the most destructive attacks against the culture and the education of the Minorities. It makes two categories of students—the privileged Roumanians, who pass the examinations in their own language, and the students of the Minorities, who are forced to take it in a foreign language, which they cannot know so perfectly that it should not be a handicap for them, so that the examinations will be far more difficult for them than for the Roumanians. In his report on the examinations, Professor G. Antonescu, who was chairman of one of the committees, complained that the Roumanian students know very little French after eight years' study.¹ How can one expect the Hungarian, German and Russian students to know Roumanian so perfectly that they could give correct answers on questions of history and constitution? They will fail on account

¹ *Revista generală a învățământului*, September 1925, p. 441.

of being non-Roumanians; they will feel very deeply the injustice done to them by this classification. "When a boy sees," M. Fr. Kräuter, a Suabian member, said in the House, "that Pavel was able to pass the examination because he had the luck to be born of a Roumanian mother, while he, the Saxon or Hungarian, will fail although he has been an excellent scholar, he will regard these examinations as a kind of 'Sicilian Vespers,' at which the men were judged by the way they pronounced the word *cicer*, which showed whether they were French or Italian."¹

If the members of the committees were at least benevolent and lenient towards the non-Roumanian pupils! But it is manifest that their aim is to allow as few pupils of Hungarian, Saxon and Jewish origin to pass as possible. The whole system will be a veiled *numerus clausus* against the Minority students. Already in 1923, when the *baccalaureate* examinations had not yet been introduced, M. A. Vajda said to an editor of the *Lupta*: "The question of the *numerus clausus* is already solved, and in a very ingenious manner. M. Angelescu has hit on the plan of debarring the Minority and Jewish students from the University, if, by any chance, they are unable to tell the date of the birthday of Creanga the poet, or if they are not sufficiently *au fait* with the *liaison* between Eminescu and Veronica Micle."² A teacher in the Roman Catholic *lycée* of Arad, writing about the examinations there, furnishes some incredible details. The time for the writing of the theses was shortened because it grew dark and no light was available. Roumanian teachers wrote questions on the board which the pupils could not read; one of the teachers asked a question in mathematics which was insoluble, etc.³

The denominational schools have lost their last privilege—that of examining their own scholars and of supplying them with a diploma for their future

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1925, p. 1565.

² Quoted by the *Uj Kelet*, 25th September 1923.

³ "Sicilian Vesper and St Bartholomew's Night in Arad," by Spectator, in the *Magyar Kisebbség*, 1st September 1924.

career. In a short time they will have no justification for existence, and will be closed one by one.

At the *baccalaureate* examinations in summer 1925, from the seven Presbyterian *lycées* in Transylvania 137 pupils presented themselves for examination and 31 passed—that is, 22 per cent. The failure of the Unitarian pupils was even greater: out of 48 only 10 passed—*i.e.* 20 per cent. But the most remarkable are the cases of the Presbyterian *lycée* of Zilah and the Jewish Tarbut *lycée*, where not one single pupil was allowed to pass the examination.

The following figures relate to the Roman Catholic schools:

Town	Number of Pupils	Number successful	Per cent. of Failures
Brassó . . .	15	7	53·33
Csikszereda . .	13	4	69·23
Gyulafehérvár .	17	5	70·59
Kézdivásárhely .	14	7	50·00
Kolozsvár . . .	19	3	84·21
Marosvásárhely .	14	1	92·86
Székelyudvarhely .	9	3	66·67
Total	101	30	70·30

At the examinations held in September 1925 the results were similar. The percentage of failures were in Arad 56·5, in Nagyvárad 81·9, in Kolozsvár 84·6, in the Saxon middle school of Beszterce 62. Even more disappointing were the results in Bessarabia, where the great majority of the students are Russian—chiefly Jews. In the two *lycées* of Kisheneff the respective failures were 86 and 96·2 per cent.¹

M. Angelescu writes with pride in his report that, whereas in the school-year of 1921–1922, 1097 pupils passed their *baccalaureate* examination successfully in the Transylvanian denominational (*i.e.* Hungarian and Saxon) schools, their number was only 698 in 1925.²

¹ *Revista generală a învățământului*, October 1925, p. 505.

² C. Angelescu: *Activitatea ministerului instrucțiunii*, 1922–1926, p. 27.

It was a disastrous result, wrote the *Societatea de Măine*, "disastrous for the pupils and for the parents, but the most disastrous of all for our own culture and our whole national life."¹

The Press of Transylvania, and even members of the examining committees, were unanimous in condemning the system. "What were the *baccalaureate* examinations?" asked Professor Dr Joan Baciú, a member of the Brassó Committee in the *Patria*. "A parody. In our committee one member knew some Hungarian and another a little German. Such a committee examined the pupils of eight Hungarian schools and a German one. When the committee discovered that the pupils could not answer in Roumanian, a teacher was appointed as interpreter, who translated both the questions and the answers. Can there be any doubt as to the entire unfitness of such committees?"²

The impossibility of the system was pointed out by Professor G. Popa-Lisseanu, chairman of the above Committee, who suggested that the Minority pupils should be examined by teachers who understood their language. "If the teacher does not know well, or is entirely ignorant of, the language of the pupil, the answers cannot be adequate, nor can they be conscientiously judged if passed on by an interpreter."³

It may be observed that the situation of the Greek Catholic and the Orthodox denominational schools is just as precarious, and their school authorities are just as anxious about the future, as the Hungarian and Saxon Minorities. In October 1926 the National Church Conference of the Transylvanian Orthodox sent a deputation, consisting of all the bishops and members of Parliament, to the Government to request the maintenance of their denominational schools. And we quote without comment parts of an article of a Greek Catholic priest which appeared in the spring of 1925 in the *Unirea*, the Greek Catholic official journal:

"In view of the situation we are in, and the crisis

¹ 9th to 15th August 1925.

² *Patria*, 2nd August 1925.

³ *Revista generală a învățământului*, September 1925, p. 445.

prepared for our confessional schools by the new educational Bill, we must look with anxiety towards the future, and must arm ourselves for the struggle.

"In a recent conversation with a school inspector, on the new educational policy, he said to me: 'If we carry out the new law, and the children attend the schools regularly, you will see that in a few years' time the churches will not be as full as they are now.'

"This then will be the result of the education and culture given by State functionaries! . . .

"There are disquieting symptoms. We see persons sent to us from the Regat who boast of their infidelity and atheism. We understand perfectly well why the dignitaries of our Church cling so tenaciously to our schools.

"Beyond all fight and struggle, we see the loss of our schools. But our last refuge will be the Church, and, as in the West, our clergy will be victorious over the anti-Christian influences."

Here we finish the description of the educational policy of the Roumanian State after the war. In 1924, when the State Education Bill was discussed in the House, M. S. Pop, the *rapporteur*, said that after the disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy it was Roumania's duty "to spread culture and civilization in this part of the world."

The foregoing chapters show how she fulfils this duty.

CHAPTER XVII

THE UNIVERSITY

DURING the reign of the princes and the Habsburg rulers various high schools were founded in Transylvania, different in denominational character but alike in instability. Prince Stephen Báthory, who was at the same time King of Poland, founded in 1581 a university in Kolozsvár, managed by the Jesuits, which was in existence for ninety years, till the Jesuits were expelled from the country. In 1629 the great Protestant Prince, Gabriel Bethlen, erected a Presbyterian high school in Gyulafehérvár, which was transferred later to Nagyenyed, and existed uninterrupted as a law school till 1869.

When the principality ceased, the Habsburgs recalled the Jesuits, and in 1698 the Catholic University was reopened, and continued amidst various vicissitudes till 1872, when the Kolozsvár University was founded by the State, with the four faculties of law, medical sciences, philosophy and natural history. In the fifty years of its existence, magnificent buildings were erected, and it was endowed with extensive scientific laboratories, a zoological institute of world-wide fame and a library of great value.

After the Roumanian occupation of Kolozsvár on Christmas Eve, 1918, the University continued its work up to the spring of 1919. Representatives of the Allied Powers passed through the town and declared that the University would not be touched. The French Colonel Saugnier, coming from Bucarest, and seeing the University, exclaimed admiringly: "Here we are in Europe again!"

But soon there were signs of approaching disaster. The plan of the Governing Council was divulged by M. L. Goldiş early in the winter, who declared that

the Kolozsvár University would be turned into a Roumanian one, the Hungarian Minority being permitted to found a university of their own.

On 10th May the University unexpectedly received an order of the Governing Council demanding that the professors should take the oath of allegiance. They unanimously refused, pointing out, as had the other Civil Servants, that, pending the conclusion of the Peace Treaty, the University—according to The Hague Convention—was a Hungarian institution and its professors Hungarian subjects.

Two days later, on 12th May, Dr O. Ghibu, Under-Secretary of Education in the Governing Council, appeared with an armed force in the offices of the *rector magnificus*, suspended all the professors from their posts and took possession of the buildings and institutes.

It was an unexpected blow, and a hard one. "One serious charge," says Professor Temperley, "has not been denied. The Roumanians have broken up the Hungarian University of Cluj (Kolozsvár), and dispersed the professors and educational staff, an action in flagrant contradiction to the securities to race and language afforded by the Minorities Treaty to which Roumania has subscribed."¹ The Hungarians, relying on the assurances of the Governing Council that they would be allowed to establish any kind of educational institutions, started a movement for the foundation of a Hungarian university. In the summer of 1920 there occurred, as the Prorector of the University, Professor Schneller, said, "an event unprecedented in the world's history"—namely, the union of the five Churches of Transylvania, the Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Unitarians and Jews, for the purpose of founding an interconfessional university. It soon transpired, however, that they would not succeed. In July a medical congress in Bucarest protested against the plan, and a week later M. Negulescu, Minister of Education, declared in the Senate that

¹ H. W. V. Temperley: *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, iv., p. 495.

the endeavour to found a Hungarian university was a challenge to the Roumanian State which cannot be tolerated.

The Churches tried to develop the Presbyterian theological institute into a university, but very soon it was closed by the Government on the pretext that its activity was aimed "against the security and the dignity of the Roumanian nation."¹ From this day on the two million Hungarians in Roumania have been without a high school.

The transformation of the Hungarian University into a Roumanian one was not a difficult task. There were the magnificently equipped institutions, with new buildings, valuable collections and libraries — more valuable, stated the Roumanian *Lupta*, than those of the other three universities of Roumania.²

In 1922 M. E. de Martonne, Professor of Geography at the Sorbonne, having given some lectures at the new "Roumanian" University, wrote in his report :

"The geographical institute of Kolozsvár vies with the best-equipped; in many respects its equipment is even better than that of the Sorbonne.

"The premises are those which were installed by Professor Cholnoky, the eminent Hungarian geographer and founder of the institute in the time of Hungarian rule. The library is rich and contains in especial a quantity of remarkable books on Asia, where Professor Cholnoky has made a research expedition."³

All that was needed was to change the names of the institutes and to appoint Roumanian professors, and the work of Hungarian culture and science could be labelled as Roumanian. A similar process was applied to the Austrian University of Czernowitz.

In November 1919 the new Roumanian University of Kolozsvár started its activity, though the fact seems to have made but little impression on educational circles in Roumania. The official educational statistics published by the Government for the years 1920 and

¹ Dr Márki Sándor: *Am. kir. Ferencz József tudományegyetem története.*

² *Lupta*, 11th October 1924.

³ *Anuarul universităţii din Cluj, pe anul şcolar, 1921-1922, p. 222.*

1921 enumerate only three universities in the country—those of Bucarest, Jassy and Czernowitz—but know nothing of that of Cluj (Kolozsvár).¹

A detailed description of the activity of the University is difficult because there are few data available; in the *Yearbooks* of the University only the bare numbers of the students and their distribution according to their confession are enumerated. Assuming that the Orthodox and the Greek Catholic students are Roumanians, while those belonging to the Western Churches are Hungarians and Saxons, the racial distribution would be the following:

		<i>Roumanians</i>	<i>Hungarians and Saxons</i>	<i>Jews</i>
1918-1919	. .	332	2240	394
1921-1922	. .	1625	264	555
1923-1924	. .	1184	286	227

It was no easy matter to appoint competent professors at first. "In the Roumanian kingdom," said Rector S. Puşcariu in his closing speech of the school-year, 1919-1920, "men of learning were not so abundant as in France, so the two new universities (in Kolozsvár and in Czernowitz) could not be supplied with professors as easily as the University of Strassburg."² Still, most of the professorial chairs are now filled, only a few (it is true, some of the most important), such as those of Ecclesiastic Law and Civil Procedure, remaining vacant. There were also appointed a few French professors, but this experiment seems to have been a failure. At the beginning of the school-year of 1925-1926 the students complained that they were unable to understand the French of M. Pierre Thomas, Professor of Biology.³ At the same time financial difficulties arose in paying the French secondary teachers and university professors in francs.

An incident mentioned in the *University Yearbook*

¹ "Universitatea din Cluj," by Professor O. Ghibu, in the *Societatea de Măine*, 8th November 1925.

² *Anuarul din universităţii din Cluj*, 1919-1920, p. 4.

³ *Adevărul*, 18th November 1925.

of 1923-1924 recalls what was told in previous chapters about the insufficiency of secondary instruction.

The Professor of Byzantine History and Civilization, M. Bănescu, complained that he had not a single student, because, in this eminently Orthodox country, not one of the thousands of Orthodox students knew Greek or had an interest in the subject. Professor Bănescu laid on the secondary schools the responsibility for this deplorable fact. It is a question whether the situation will be improved after the introduction of the *baccalaureate* examinations.¹

Professor Ghibu stated in a review that the Roumanian University in Kolozsvár is not merely the continuation of the Hungarian one; the Roumanians have not only altered the inscriptions and the language, but have also introduced a new spirit into the *alma mater*. He mentions the founding of a few professorships, and the scientific activity of some of the professors. But the really new thing is the characteristic Roumanian trait of dabbling in politics both by professors and students, the so-called "*politicianismul*," which, represented by a wild antisemitism, has gradually degenerated into uncontrollable anarchy.

Previously, during Hungarian rule, the political activity of the professors was more or less restricted; they could not be elected to Parliament, took little part in party politics, and it was unusual for professors of law to act as lawyers. During the administration of the Governing Council this custom was maintained, but it was later abandoned by the Government; professors became active politicians and many of them entered Parliament.

On the other hand, the Government appointed only professors who belonged to their own political party, without regard to their ability. The result was that the level of the professors was lowered, savants of European fame being mixed up with simple electoral agents. The *Aurora* called the Kolozsvár University a Liberal club.²

¹ *Anuarul universității din Cluj*, 1923-1924, p. 187.

² *Aurora*, 9th July 1921, and the *Indreptarea*, 24th June 1925. The right of the Government to appoint professors without a strict scrutiny

The political activity of the professors could not fail to react on the students, who lost all interest in the lectures and followed the example of their teachers.

Originally, up till 1922, the students' movements were of an economic and financial nature. They soon lost this character, however, and became purely nationalist and antisemite. Their singular aspect was that many of the professors themselves joined in them—the latter are at present the real leaders of the anti-semite students. In an interview published by the *Adevărul*, Professor Slatineanu, Rector of the Jassy University, stated that "not one single disturbance at the University was started without the influence of one or other professor."¹

The centre of the disturbances was the University of Jassy, the nearest university town to Bessarabia, whence Russian Jewish students came in great numbers. From here the disturbance spread to the Bucarest and Kolozsvár universities, and in a lesser degree to Czernowitz.

For the understanding of the attitude of the Roumanian students it is necessary to remember a few figures concerning their religious distribution.

At the Czernowitz University there were in 1919-1920 :

	<i>Roumanians</i>	<i>Jews</i>
Students of Law . . .	43	211
Students of Philosophy .	174	574

At the Jassy University in 1922-1923 :

	<i>Roumanians</i>	<i>Jews</i>
Medical students . . .	546	831
Pharmaceutical students .	97	299

The figures relating to the Kolozsvár University were quoted above.²

of their qualification, accorded by Article 81 of the *Secondary and High School Education Act*, was suspended in March 1925, and guarantees were established that only persons of erudition could be appointed.

¹ *Adevărul*, 1st January 1924.

² Em. D. B. Vasiliu : *Situația demografică a României*, p. 88 et seq.

In 1922 the Roumanian students rioted, maltreated the Jewish students, and prevented their attending the lectures; they demanded the introduction of the so-called *numerus clausus*, which meant that the Jews should be allowed to attend the University only in the proportion of their number to the entire population; they also raised the quaint demand that Jewish corpses should be procured for the Jewish medical students to dissect.

In February 1923 M. N. Jorga, the famous Professor of History at the Bucarest University, renounced his professorship because he was prevented by the students from lecturing on account of his disapproval of the antisemite excesses. In a letter addressed to the Rector of the University he explained his attitude :

“ If the University does not fulfil its calling, if the students cannot grasp the general humanitarian ideas which they ought to propagate, I cannot remain a professor of the university; it would be degrading to my personal dignity.”

Later he returned to the University, but in April 1924 he again suspended his lectures on account of the hostile attitude of the antisemite students. “ Is this a university ? ” he asked, in his paper, *Neamul Românesc*. “ We try to regard it as a temple, but the students have degraded it to the level of a Greek coffee-house.”

But the students pursued their course with unabated vigour : they hindered the lectures of those professors who had no sympathy with antisemitism, and prevented the Jews from attending the lectures. The maltreatment of the Jews and the constant fights in the precincts of the universities assumed such proportions that the aid of the military and of the police forces had to be called in. Peace could not be restored, and at last the closing of the universities was ordered. The boarding-houses attached to the universities were closed and hundreds of students had to return to their homes or starve. The anarchy at all the universities was complete. In January 1924 the antisemite professors addressed a demand to the restaurants of

Bucarest that they should supply the hungering students with gratuitous meals. Professor Toma Jonescu observed that "the Roumanian students had fallen so low that they were no better than hungry stray dogs."¹

This unfortunate situation gradually spread beyond the walls of the universities, and became a cancerous growth in public life. The Nationalist students turned against those professors who had no sympathy with their antisemitism, and addressed their demands no longer to the university authorities but "To the Roumanian People," and "To the Members of the Legislation." This was a natural consequence of the fact that the professors themselves were split into two camps, and that many of them regarded the movement with approval. The feud between the professors became even more acrimonious than that of the students. "The students merely protest, but the professors beat each other," wrote the *Cuvântul*.² "As in a public-house" (in the original text, *ca la parlagii*), "they use good popular oaths and threats, and spit in each other's faces." The result is a general demoralization and, continued the paper, "the public receives the impression that the appointment of a professor is no longer a question of erudition and authority, but a test of electoral services and of the faculty for swearing like a boor."

The attitude of the Government and the authorities towards the movement was ambiguous. Manifestly they were in sympathy with the students, as was also the general public. Professor Paul Bujor of Jassy, in the House, accused the Minister of Education of not only tolerating the agitation but encouraging it.³ The interference of the police forces was always lukewarm when disorders happened and when, in February 1925, the students went on strike, and the authorities of the Kolozsvár University took measures to hinder disturbances, M. A. Vajda taxed the professors with

¹ *Cuvântul*, 20th November 1924.

² *Ibid.*, 3rd December 1924.

³ *Debat. Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 925.

harshness and want of understanding. He called their measures "draconic" and their procedure "unworthy." Later, Professor Cuza of Jassy and five of his colleagues resigned because they did not approve of the coercive measures of the Government and University authorities towards the rioting students. In the autumn of 1924 a student, Zelea Codreanu, shot the Chief Police Inspector of Jassy, who had resolutely tried to suppress the disturbances, and was acquitted by the jury.

Under such conditions the measures taken by the University authorities to prevent the constantly recurring excesses were of no avail. Before the strike of 1924 the "Christian University Students" issued a manifesto, in which they stated that they were not satisfied with the attitude of the Minister of Education and the measures of the professors. They demanded the removal of one of the Bucarest professors, M. F. J. Reiner, the withdrawal of the military and police forces from the precincts of the University; the suspension of the punishments of some of the students, etc. The document contained a curious passage which complained that the Jewish students of Kolozsvár University had shown an "aggressive attitude" towards the Christians and had not been punished. The manifesto called upon the students to go on strike, and threatened those who refused to join them with "everlasting persecution."

The question was discussed also in the House, where the attitude of the students found a sympathetic reception.

The situation of the Roumanian universities is complicated and very grave; more than that, it is anarchical. At the end of the school-year of 1923-1924 M. Gusti, Professor of Sociology and Rector of the University of Bucarest, mentioned the disturbances in his closing speech, but instead of condemning them, and exhorting the students to a more conciliatory attitude, he only tried to divert their attention from the Jews to the other dangerous minorities.

"We have," he said, "two kinds of Minority

students—the Hungarians, Bulgarians, etc., whose eyes are turned towards Budapest and Sophia, who only wait for the favourable moment to destroy our national unity; and the other minorities—the Jews and the Ruthenians, whom we can conquer spiritually. Instead of alienating them and forcing them to go to school abroad, we must open our schools for them, captivate them by our language—in short, we must assimilate them.”¹

This is the Minorities policy, as taught to the youth at the Roumanian universities.

It is manifest that the causes of the movement are deeper than the simple antisemite feelings of the students, and that M. V. V. Ţoni was right in making the whole political system responsible for it.

“People accuse the students of anarchy,” he said, in his speech on the Government’s educational policy, “but they forget that anarchy is just as often found among the leaders of political life, on the front benches, and in the entire system of administration. It is there that the abuses, the illegalities, the contempt of the law, the anarchy, first commenced. . . .

“Try to eradicate politics from the universities, to prevent the appointment of some professor just because he has written a few articles favourable to the Government and joined the party a few days before his appointment. Try to create a different political, social and moral life in this country, and then the students will be such as we should like to see them.”²

¹ *Dinineaga*, 19th June 1923.

² *Debat. Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 178.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF THE MINORITIES

NOWHERE in Europe is the incapacity of a people to assimilate modern Western political ideas and to organize its government accordingly more manifest than in Roumania. More than sixty years ago the first Roumanian Constitution was framed on the basis of the sovereignty of the people; but this great principle never became effective in the political life of Roumania. The old Constitution of 1866, framed on the pattern of the Belgian Constitution of 1831, was very liberal, but it was never actually applied. "It only served as a façade," said a member of the House in 1924. Parliamentary Government before the war was only a fiction in Roumania. Two parties succeeded each other, called to office by the mere will of the King: these were the Liberals and the Conservatives, neither of whom represented the country, as only 10 to 15 per cent. of the population had a vote. The two parties formed a kind of political oligarchy; the country was governed by a few families who were represented in Parliament and in the administration by their relatives and political friends. But even this two-party system was not a reality, because the Conservative administrations, which lasted only a few months—or, at most, a year or two—were merely *interregna* between the long *régimes* of the Liberals. Nor was this situation much changed after the war.¹ Elections were never agencies for the expression of the people's will, and uncontrolled party and personal despotism triumphed in the place of Parliamentary Government. In June 1925 a Transylvanian member, M. M. Popovici, characterized Roumanian Parliamen-

¹ *La lutte contre l'absolutisme en Roumanie*, published by the united Opposition parties in 1923, pp. 4,5.

tary Government as "a reactionary practice which never allows the citizens to elect the representatives they wish, but forces its will on them, and by corrupting their faith and freedom of conviction creates a Parliament, so that an infinitesimal minority—two or three persons who govern the party—is in a position to govern the country. Universal suffrage exists, but is corrupted, deformed and transformed into a simple instrument in the service of party aims and intentions. Administration is not based on public opinion or a collective will, but on superior corruption." ¹

A people unable to grasp the most elementary principles of public morality; corrupt elections and a corrupt administration; imported but undigested political ideas from the West—these are the bases of Roumanian politics and Legislation. "The truth is," wrote the *Adevărul*, after the scandalous elections in 1921, "that universal suffrage will never become a reality in this country so long as the voters can neither read nor write, and are unable to discriminate between good and evil." ² In no sphere of Roumanian life has the enormous percentage of illiteracy wrought such havoc as in politics.

This is the political atmosphere of the State to which the fate of Transylvania has been bound.

The Roumanian occupation found the Transylvanian Hungarians wholly disorganized. Before the war they had been a part of the political and social body of Hungary; they had belonged to the Hungarian historical parties. But all that was now at an end. The Saxons were in a much better position. They had had, under the late Hungarian administration, their own party organization, which they had only to revive under the altered conditions to be able to start their political activity. They were more adaptable, too; they recognized Roumanian rule even before the whole of the country had been invaded. The Hungarians had lost their best leaders—who had either left the country voluntarily or had been "repatriated"; some

¹ *Debat. Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 2563.

² *Adevărul*, 24th October 1921.

of them were in gaol, and all had suffered heavily under the change. Their chief reason, however, for taking up an attitude of passivity was an ineradicable optimism in regard to the Peace Treaty. They considered themselves, and they *de facto* were, Hungarian subjects; and even if Transylvania was to be lost, they did not, pending the question of option, consider it fair or necessary to demand a share in Roumania's political life. Consequently they did not care whether they were registered as voters or not.

But these reasons for refraining vanished together with their hopes when the Treaty of Trianon became a reality and the aggressive Roumanizing policy called for defence. Professor N. Jorga said to the editor of a Hungarian paper: "The assimilating policy of the Roumanians is madness; more than that, it is criminal and injurious. But it is partly the fault of the Hungarians, because they stand disorganized in the face of these assimilating tendencies. Passivity is the greatest of vices."¹

But the matter was not so simple as all that. Two Parliamentary elections were held after the occupation, one in 1919, the other in 1920, and neither of them augured well. They were held by two different administrations and at each the Government Party was victorious and secured overwhelming majorities by enormous corruption.

At the end of 1920 and the beginning of 1921 the Hungarians became active; meetings were held and the Press discussed the question of activity *versus* passivity. In the spring of 1921 the "Hungarian Association" was formed; it was more social than political, but it nevertheless carried weight throughout the country. Later two political parties came into existence, differing but slightly one from the other—the Hungarian People's Party, which had Radical leanings, and the Hungarian National Party, which was more of a Liberal character. All of these organizations went through a series of vicissitudes, being first suppressed by the Roumanian authorities, then again

¹ *Keleti Újság*, 24th April 1920.

set free. But when the Brătianu Government dissolved Parliament in 1922 and fixed the elections for the beginning of March, the Hungarians were ready to take part in them under the authority of the Hungarian Association. They had no uniform organization; four or five programmes were issued. The most comprehensive was that of the chief Committee of the Hungarian Association. It demanded national autonomy for the Minorities; the recognition of the old autonomies of the Churches; Hungarian instruction for Hungarian children; equal political rights; the use of the Hungarian language according to Article 8 of the Minorities Treaty, as well as various constitutional and administrative reforms—as, for example, the revival of municipal self-government, the suspension of martial law and of the censorship, reform of the fiscal and juridical administration, etc. Its first few demands were reiterations of the stipulations of the Minorities Treaty, which were observed by no one in Roumania. It was an honest endeavour to smooth the path for participation in a public life very different from that to which they had been accustomed before.

In the transferred territories there were more than 1,700,000 Hungarians, and, as every 50,000 inhabitants had the right to elect one member, they ought to have been able to send some twenty-five to thirty members into Parliament.¹

¹ The Electoral Law of Transylvania was contained in the *Decretul-Lege Electoral*, No. 3621, of August 1919. Its provisions, slightly modified by *Decretul-Lege*, No. 1530, of 8th April 1920, were the following:—

The number of the members and senators shall be in proportion to the population, so that 50,000 inhabitants elect one member, and 100,000 one senator. In Transylvania 121 members shall be elected.

Every male person not less than twenty-one years old is a voter. The suffrage is universal, equal and direct, and the voting is by parishes. The senators are elected under the same conditions, except that the voters must be not less than forty years old.

The voters' lists are drawn up *ex officio*, but every person who has a right to vote can ask to be entered on the list, and everybody is entitled to make sure that he himself or any other person is on the register.

The nomination of the candidate must be made at least eight days before the polling day. On the nomination day the returning officer must be at the disposal of the electors to receive the nomination papers. The candidate must prove under the certificate of the recorder that he is a Roumanian national and is willing to accept the candidature. As

But from the very first they met with disillusionment.

The Roumanian Government had precise information as to the aim and endeavours of the Hungarian Party; they knew perfectly well that it was loyal and harboured no irredentist tendencies. It would have been madness to do so. Yet no sooner had the Hungarian Party entered on the electoral campaign than it found itself confronted with the most destructive hostility on the part of the Government.

The electoral law, framed after Western patterns, had provided heavy penalties against its violation. The Government had declared the days of the election to be public holidays. In theory their freedom and solemnity seemed to be sufficiently guaranteed.

During the years of passivity the Hungarians had not troubled themselves about the legality or illegality of the elections; and this indifference was used by the Roumanians to their detriment. Wherever it was possible, the constituencies were reorganized so that the Hungarians should form a minority in them, adjacent Roumanian districts being incorporated into Hungarian constituencies. By this means the Hungarian majority was destroyed, as for instance in the Tölgyes and Hétfalu constituencies.

The same result was attained by leaving out large masses of Hungarians from the voters' list of 1919. In this way the Hungarians lost their majority in the racially mixed constituencies, while in the purely the provisions regarding the nomination were much misused at the last election, Article 40 will be quoted verbally.

"Article 40.—The nomination of the candidate cannot be accepted unless at least fifty voters recommend him if for the Second Chamber, or at least twenty-five voters if for the Senate.

"The nomination paper must contain; the surname and Christian name of the candidate; his occupation and domicile, and must be signed by the proposers. Every proposer must indicate the parish in which he is registered as an elector. The authenticity of the signatures must be certified by the chief official of the parish.

"The nomination papers must be presented by at least two and not more than ten voters who are known to the president or can prove their identity.

"The returning officer can accept or refuse a nomination, but in the latter case he must give his reasons in writing."

There is one more provision which is important for our purpose: Article 58 provides that "an election once begun must be continued without interruption."

Hungarian ones their smaller numbers were more at the mercy of the gendarmery and of the corrupt practices of the Government.

Another abuse in connexion with the voters' lists was that they had not been revised since 1919. Soldiers had been demobilized, prisoners of war had come home, Hungarian refugees had returned, and every year a certain number of persons had attained the voting age. All these thousands and thousands were left out of the lists. A small number of voters is always more convenient to an unscrupulous Government. And so, at the close of 1925, Transylvania still elects according to the voters' lists of 1919.

The figures concerning the voters contained in numbers 280, 283 and 285 of the *Monitorul Oficial* show the divergence between the Hungarian and the Roumanian constituencies. In the Roumanian constituency of Lugos there were 13,294 registered voters; in the county constituencies, with a great percentage of Roumanian illiterates, there were in Facset 12,201; in Karánsebes, 12,361; in Oravica, 12,214; in Topánfalva, 12,980 voters, etc. On the other hand, in Temesvár, a town constituency with 28,552 Hungarian, 31,644 German, and 7566 Roumanian inhabitants, only 4758 voters were registered; in Kolozsvár, the capital of the country, with a population of 50,704 Hungarians and 7562 Roumanians, the number of the voters was 5008; in the purely Hungarian towns of Arad the number of registered voters was 3700, in Marosvásárhely, 2398; and in the purely Székely constituency of Csíkszereda, 4998.

The Hungarian Party addressed a memorandum to the Prime Minister, demanding the revision of the lists and pointing out that the great discrepancy between the numbers of the Hungarian and Roumanian electors could not be an oversight, but was assuredly and perforce intentional and systematic. After a long delay M. Brătianu replied that for the present it was impossible to revise the lists. In these circumstances the party could only hope to succeed in the unmixed Hungarian constituencies.

A curiously distorted statement about the situation of the Hungarians in the time before the elections was made by the present Roumanian Foreign Secretary, M. Duca, in his previously quoted answer to the complaint of the Siculo-Hungarian Association.

He denied that the Hungarian voters had been intentionally left out by the authorities. The real cause of their exclusion, according to him, was that in consequence of a propaganda led by the intelligentsia, and supported by the Budapest Government, the Hungarians had refused to regard themselves as Roumanian nationals and had not asked to be registered on the lists, whereas the Roumanians had "hastened to comply with the formalities necessary to the exercise of the right of voting."

M. Duca is perfectly right in saying that the Hungarians had not regarded themselves as Roumanian citizens before the Treaty of Trianon was signed. As nationals "hanging in the air" they did not wish to take part in elections which, held on occupied territories, they regarded as unlawful. M. Duca's theory was that, Transylvania being a part of Greater Roumania since 1st December 1918, the Hungarians were Roumanian nationals from that date on. But this theory, if accepted, must be accepted in its entirety. One cannot say that Transylvania is Roumanian territory and insist that the Hungarians were Roumanian nationals in so far as they paid taxes and were recruited as soldiers, and then treat them as Hungarian nationals when it came to the question whether they had a right to vote or not. Moreover, M. Duca, relying on the probable ignorance of the League of Nations concerning the Roumanian franchise law, asserts facts which do not accord with the provisions of the latter. He speaks of "formalities" with which the Roumanians hastened to comply, whereas the Hungarians had not done so; the fact being that, according to the law, there are *absolutely no formalities to be complied with* by future voters. In Transylvania those who are entitled to vote must be placed on the lists *ex officio*. In the Regat, the

Bukovina, and Bessarabia, this is not so. Paragraph 1 of Article 27 of the Transylvanian *decret* says: "The commissions shall place upon the lists, *ex officio*, all those who unite in their persons the conditions of a voter." Every voter is entitled, and *can demand*, if by an oversight he has been left out, to be placed upon the list; but it is the duty of the Commission to place every voter on the list, without any formality being complied with by the latter.

No sooner had the electoral campaign started than the crude reality of the situation became manifest: the Opposition parties found themselves confronted with the irreconcilably hostile power and authority of the Government. Naturally, the Hungarian Party was not the only one to suffer from its corrupt and illegal actions: the Roumanian Opposition parties in the Regat and the Roumanian National Party in Transylvania were also heavily handicapped by them; but it was the Hungarian Party which the Government wanted to annihilate.

The first step was to intimidate the officials. They were ordered to vote Liberal.

M. Constantinescu, Minister of Communications, sent a rescript to the railway officials in which it was laid down as a principle that it is "inadmissible to fight against those who represent the administration of the State."¹ The Under-Secretary of the Educational Department, M. Almajan, sent the following wire to the Teachers' Association of Transylvania: "Tell the State teachers and the denominational teachers that the Government has fulfilled all their demands. They will be represented in Parliament by twelve teachers whose candidature is powerfully supported by the Government. It is their duty to support in their turn the candidates of the Government."

But over all these brief orders and telegrams towers the "strictly confidential" order of the Home Secretary, General Vaitoianu, to the local commanders of the gendarmery. It was published by the united Opposition parties and should be known in detail,

¹ *Indreptareu*, 25th February 1922.

because it is a paramount document of Roumanian political morality. It runs :

"The country needs a strong Government which is able to solve the questions of home and foreign politics, and can guarantee the security of the State. On the eve of the elections various groups have united and have taken up the fight to assure their victory. But the means they use in their propaganda are mendacious and humiliating, anarchical and revolutionary, and degrading to a Roumanian citizen. His Majesty has placed the administration of the country into the hands of a party which has always led the country to victory, even at the most difficult times.

"It thus being a necessity for the Liberal Party to assure its success at the polling, I recommend the following two categories of measures :

"(1) *Official and Legal*.—These will be executed by the authorities (gendarmes). Under the mask of the law, all propaganda hostile to the Government shall be suppressed. Reasons to be given : anarchy, revolution, disorder, menacing the tranquillity and security of the State.

"(2) *Illegal*.—These will be used by the electoral agents of the Government, who must not be hindered in their fight for success, and if they employ illegal means (abuse, injury, beating) the authorities must pretend to proceed against them (in serious cases only), but ultimately they must be acquitted."

In Paragraph 3 detailed directions are given as to the general measures to be taken. The agents of the Opposition parties must be debarred from all propaganda ; they must be accused of inciting to revolt and anarchy ; they must be arrested and taken into custody. The display of posters and the discussion of politics in public-houses must be forbidden. The peasants must be told that they will get permits to sell and transport their grain only through the Home Office.¹

The minor authorities acted accordingly. The pretors and primpretors issued similar orders to the

¹ *La lutte contre l'absolutisme en Roumanie*, p. 8.

village notaries, and the whole country was organized on these lines.

A few recalcitrant officials who had served under Hungarian administration and refused to comply with these orders had to suffer for their disobedience. M. Julius Pap, sub-prefect of the county of Szilágy, was transferred to Fögaras; the mayor of Szilágy-somlyó, M. Deleu, was suspended; M. Sever Andru, prefect of Bihar, resigned of his own accord.¹ But the bulk complied with the ordinances.

In the Gyalu constituency the candidate of the Hungarians was M. Martin Bokor, the Presbyterian clergyman. Two of the party's agents, J. Nagy and Ch. Toth, having arrived in the neighbouring village of Szászfenes to examine the voters' list, were arrested and forced to walk to Kolozsvár, about three hours from the village.² In Kovászna, a purely Hungarian town, Dr F. Sylvester, the candidate of the Hungarian Party, and his ten followers were marched out of the town. In Marosludas a Greek Catholic priest, J. Camaimanu, the candidate of the Roumanian National Party, was arrested; so were M. J. Sanzian, M. A. Sokol and M. A. Aciu, candidates of various Roumanian Opposition parties. M. Adliceliu, school inspector in Temesvár, and candidate for the senatorship in Buziás, was transferred to the Regat. In Viziriu, M. Demetrescu, a late Cabinet Minister, and M. Sassu—both candidates in the county of Braila—were arrested.

Even so representative a man as Professor N. Jorga, of Bucarest University, was arrested by the gendarmes, "these rulers of the villages and representatives of 'liberal ideas,'" as he wrote in his paper, the *Neamul Românesc*, because "he spoke against the Government."

The post was forbidden to forward Opposition papers—like the Hungarian *Ellenzék* and *Újság* and the Roumanian *Patria*. The *Tribuna* appeared with strongly censored sheets. Political meetings were either prohibited or dissolved after a few minutes by

¹ *Gazeta Adreaulului*, 18th February 1922.

² *Temesvári Hírlap*, 26th February 1922.

the gendarmes. Only the Liberals were allowed to put up posters. Money, alcoholic drinks and tobacco were lavishly distributed by the Liberal agents. Seven people are known to have died of acute alcoholic poisoning during the campaign.¹

A nearly incredible case is reported by the *Aurora*.² In the Bánát, leaflets were distributed with the following text: "Peasants, revolt against the age-old oppression of the boiars. Attack with arms, hoe and axe, the foreign King who has nothing to do with this country, and his soldiers and gendarmes. When the bells ring, the peasants will assemble from all parts of Roumania to kill and eradicate their oppressors." According to the paper these leaflets were secretly distributed by the Liberal agents to incite the peasants to revolt and so compromise the Opposition.

The simplest method, however, of destroying a candidate's chance of election was to hinder his nomination by refusing to accept his nomination papers. This is what happened to many candidates of the National and the Peasant parties; but as for the Hungarians, they "were rejected wholesale and not retail," as the *Gazeta Ardealului* wrote, on 28th February.

The nomination papers of the Rev. J. Bokor, in Gyalu, were rejected on the pretext that the identity of those who had signed them could not be proved.

The papers of M. J. Sándor, in Bánffy Hunyad, on the plea that the signatures were illegible.

The nomination of M. J. Willer, in Nagyvárad, because the date was written at the bottom instead of the top of the document.

Count Béla Wass was rejected because the nomination papers did not designate him as a "count," whereas the voters' list did. *Nota bene*, titles are abolished in Roumania.

In Zilah, M. I. Péchy was rejected because the signatures were written in two different kinds of ink.

M. A. Nagy was arrested, and on his release, two

¹ *Indreptarea*, 18th February 1922.

² 12th March 1922.

hours later, was told that he had in the meantime been appointed returning officer and as such could not be a candidate.

The papers of the Roman Catholic Canon, Dr J. Görög, of Gyergyószentmiklós, were rejected because they contained no certificate that he was not an idiot.

The nomination, in Csikszereda, of M. E. Gyárfás, late Lord-Lieutenant under Hungarian rule, was a mere farce. His agents, prepared for every possible trick on the part of the president, arrived early, so as to be able to correct any fault found with the nomination papers. First, the nomination was rejected on the same plea as that used in the case of Canon Görög, that there was no certificate among the papers attesting that M. Gyárfás was not an idiot. (The constituency adjoined that of Canon Görög.) The agents supplied the certificate. The next pretext was that no proof had been furnished that M. Gyárfás was not the owner of a brothel. This also was proved. The third pretext was that there was no proof that he had never been under sentence of imprisonment. The agents supplied this certificate also. At the end of his wits, the returning officer, A. Ciurea, was on the point of accepting the nomination, when the sub-prefect, who had been an onlooker, drew a document from his pocket which removed M. Ciurea and appointed another returning officer in his place. This person definitively rejected the nomination on the plea that the signatures were so similar that there was grave suspicion that all the names had been signed by the same hand.

Of 33 candidates of the Hungarian Party 28 were refused.

The illegalities committed during the campaign were continued during the election days.

According to Article 56 of the Electoral Decree, an election in Transylvania, once begun, cannot be interrupted. In the Regat it was different. By an order published in the *Monitorul Oficial*, 23rd January 1922, the Government simply changed the law and ordered that if polling was not finished by eight o'clock

in the evening it must be broken off and continued next day. This order was entirely illegal. M. Take Jonescu, the late Prime Minister, attacking the Government at a public meeting, said that "a simple ordinance cannot modify a law. Also, this one is unnecessary because in Transylvania the constituencies are small and the polling districts numerous, so that one day suffices for the polling. The Transylvanians are rightly anxious; they do not like the idea of the ballot boxes being left for a whole night."¹

The Transylvanians, filled with foreboding, had asked the Prime Minister to revoke the ordinance, but their request had been refused.

Their fears were only too justified. In innumerable places the ballot boxes were broken open during the night and the Opposition votes destroyed or falsified. In Szászváros, where General Moşoiu, the War Minister, was opposed by M. A. Vlad, of the National Party, the boxes were stolen and about four thousand ballot papers were falsified. In Oravica eight boxes, in Clacov seven boxes, were broken open. The same thing happening in Ilidia, the voters became so furious that they burnt the ballot papers in the street and beat the members of the commission.

In Dicsőszentmárton the Liberal candidate, although he could not hold a single meeting before the election day, was returned with a majority of 4000.² In Dragoseşti 1000 voters were on the list and 1600 voted; in Berezeni 840 voters were on the list, yet after 1000 had voted, voters were still turning up. In Ilfov, 1000 electors having voted on the first day, 1800 ballot papers were found in the boxes next day.³

These figures are not from Transylvania only, but from different parts of the country, and show that the system of the Government was uniform everywhere. The Peasant Party of the county of Argeş published a bulky "Black Book" after the elections containing hundreds of cases and documents concerning the corrupt

¹ *Universul*, 8th March 1922.

² *Epoca*, 12th March.

³ *Aurora*, 9th and 12th March; *Steagul*, 8th March.

and illegal practices committed by the officials and the Liberal agents in that county.

The Hungarian Party had little concern with these matters; their candidates had mostly been rejected on the nomination day, and at these memorable elections of March 1922 only one Hungarian, M. George Bernády, succeeded in being elected a member of the Roumanian Parliament.

When M. Brătianu dissolved Parliament, he had 7 Liberal adherents among 369 members. At the March elections, 285 Liberals were returned. At the time of the dissolution, no Liberal organization had existed in the transferred territories; yet there had been 27 uncontested Liberal elections in Transylvania, 9 Cabinet Ministers being returned. In less than six weeks M. Brătianu managed to bring in his party with the same overwhelming majority that had been General Averescu's a few months earlier. "With us," wrote the *Dimineata*, "public opinion has been vitiated by a Byzantine past. In our country everybody is used to the idea that 'so it must be'; when the Liberals are in power the electors unanimously vote Liberal; when the Conservatives come in, the same electors are all Conservative."

The result of the March elections was in accordance with the "Byzantine past." The Liberals received, out of 369 seats, 227, and were supported also by smaller fractions—the Unirea Party of Bukovina, the National Peasant Party, etc.—so that they had a secure majority of two-thirds of the votes of the House. The members of the previous governing party sank to 12, the Transylvanian Roumanians were represented by 25, the Peasant Party by 40, and the Bessarabians by 22 members. The racial Minorities had the worst of it: the whole representation of a population numbering more than 4,000,000 was composed of 9 Germans, 1 Hungarian, and 1 Bessarabian Jew.

This was a terrible blow for the Hungarians. It was not so much the defeat which exasperated them as the brutal and immoral force which had been used against them and which showed the complete hopelessness

of their cause. They realized that the Government wished to exclude them from public life. Useless were all the Articles of the Minorities Treaty stipulating equal political rights for all nationals, when the State was governed by men who had refused to sign it.

Nor were they alone in these sentiments. The Transylvanian Roumanians felt even more deeply the shame and disgrace of this ugly business. "Since the elections Transylvania has turned her back on Roumania," wrote the *Patria*, on 24th March, "who seems worse than a stepmother to us. Is it to be the fate of Transylvania, after so many centuries of adversity, to suffer a worse treatment from her own sister than she had ever suffered before ? "

A telegram sent to the King by M. J. Maniu, leader of the Transylvanian National Party and late member of the Hungarian Parliament, gave an unvarnished account of the elections and their tragic importance for the country :

"SIRE,—The Parliamentary elections in Transylvania are over, and I feel it my duty to tell Your Majesty that the results declared by the returning officers do not in the least correspond with the will and the votes of the electors. The Government did not disdain to use the most incredible means to influence and intimidate the voters. By illegal ordinances they made the electoral presidents reject the nominations and suspend the elections for the night, thus affording an opportunity for fraud and crime. Hundreds of officials have been suspended or transferred. The election results were attained with the wildest corruption, bribery, imprisonments and riots, the arrest and the detention of the candidates, and the hindering of the electoral campaign.

"As the Liberal Party, which is unspeakably hated in Transylvania, was unable to secure votes even by such means, they had recourse to the rejection of the candidates and the theft of the ballot papers, and when even this was not sufficient the returning officers simply declared false results. Thus 27 Opposition

candidates were rejected illegally, and 27 Liberal candidates declared members without opposition, among them 9 of your Majesty's Cabinet Ministers, headed by the Prime Minister himself.

"We have witnesses and conclusive proofs that ballot papers have been stolen from the boxes and that in many constituencies the result declared was false, that it was not the Liberal but the candidate of the National Party who had received the majority of votes. . . .

"This, Sire, is the manner in which the day of the elections—which was made into a public holiday, a solemn opportunity for the expression of that authority and sovereignty of the nation which we have acquired by so many sacrifices—has, in Transylvania, become a day of mourning and of hopelessness, and has been drowned in national shame and European scandal.

"Transylvania is deprived of her rightful representatives. In the last years states have gone under because they had no understanding of legality and morality, and took no account of the rights of the masses. Yet these are the foundations of the State. It fills us with anxiety to see our public life affected by such vices. Our only hope is in Your Majesty's comprehension and sense of justice. We trust that you will efface the stain which soils our state, and find means to repair the illegalities and crimes committed. We, for our part, cannot recognize the validity and moral justification of a legislative body elected by such means."

This was the standpoint of the Transylvanian Roumanians. But the *Epoca* felt the humiliation also on account of the Hungarian cause. "It is not the fate of the National Party," it wrote, "which makes the business so disgraceful; both Liberals and Nationals are Roumanians, belonging to the majority race, the rulers of the country; but that, in the fourth year of our existence with the racial Minorities which were left between the new frontiers of Greater Roumania, a Government should come, and by various practices

exclude them from the public life of the State, goes beyond the limits of home politics and must have disagreeable repercussions for our reputation.”¹

There was, besides, a feeling that the exclusion of the Hungarians from Parliament had been a blunder. A minority excluded from political life is an easier prey to disaffection and irredentism than one that has at its disposal the organs of publicity—first of all, that of Parliament. “It is necessary,” wrote the *Adevărul*,² “that the Minorities should take part in politics with us. The more they do so, the less they will take part in them against us.”

Since the general elections a few by-elections have been held in Transylvania—one more disappointing for the Opposition than the other. The terror and the corruption were greater than ever. At the Magyarigen elections not only the candidate, Professor Silviu Dragomir, but even the former Prime Minister, M. A. Vajda-Voivod, who canvassed for him, were arrested. At the Dés election there was a queer occurrence which shows how far terror and corruption can go. The returning officer of one of the polling-centres was a Greek Catholic priest, Gavril Mureşan, who, on proclaiming the result—which was 776 votes for the Opposition candidate, against 39 for the member of the Government Party—was asked by a gendarmery officer to follow him to the prefect. The rest of the story is told in a telegram sent by Father Mureşan to the King :

“Entering the office of the prefect, I was received by a certain M. Costea, and a professor of law from Nagyvárad, Dr Cotruş, who tried to induce me to make away with the minutes on which, they said, the result of the election depended. They insinuated that I might say that the minutes had vanished on the occasion of an accident to the car, or also that I might take a room in the hotel from where a police agent could steal them, whereupon I might report the agent for having stolen both my money and the minutes.

¹ *Epoca*, 8th March 1922.

² 18th March 1922.

They told me that the position of the Home Secretary, General Moşoiu, depended on this election."

M. Mureşan had answered that as a servant of God he could do none of these things, whereupon they took the minutes from him and sent him home.

At these elections, and at those of Szászrégen and Bogsán, there were no Hungarian candidates. But in April 1925 the seat of a senator became vacant in the county of Csík, where 90·55 per cent. of the population are Hungarian. One of the leaders of the Hungarian Party, M. E. Gyárfás, was the candidate of the Hungarians; the candidate of the Government was the prefect of the county, M. Florescu. Notwithstanding the preliminary terror of the Government officials and the gendarmery, thousands of Gyárfás' electors voted with great enthusiasm. On the evening the polling was suspended. In Gyergyószentmiklós, the centre of the constituency, the ballot boxes were sealed and the agents of M. Gyárfás remained on the premises to guard them. During the night gendarmes appeared, and, driving out the agents, installed themselves in the house. Similar scenes occurred at nineteen voting stations, where the boxes were broken open, and the ballot papers falsified. In the villages where the boxes were not touched the figures unmistakably showed M. Gyárfás' majority. In Kászón, Florescu got 8 votes out of 700; in Csikmenaság, 8 out of 230; in Szentdomokos, 6 out of 500. Yet as a result of the election he was declared senator, elected by 5241 votes against the 3041 votes of M. Gyárfás.

After the election the prefect observed to the journalists: "The fight was not between Gyárfás and Florescu, but between Budapest and Bucarest."

But the most momentous by-election from the standpoint of the Minorities was that of Szászrégen.

At the end of March a by-election was held in Szászrégen—which is a mixed Hungarian, German and Roumanian constituency—and the candidates were M. O. Goga, late Minister of Cults and Arts of the People's Party, and M. Voicu Niţescu, member of the National Party. Part of the Hungarian

electors voted with the People's Party, and M. Goga was elected.

The fury of the National Party was unbounded. In the Press and in Parliament they attacked the election as one of the most corrupt ever held in Roumania—chiefly because M. Goga had been elected with the support of the Hungarians.

Apart from the incredibly offensive attacks of various Press organs, some very interesting arguments were brought forward concerning the collaboration with the Minorities. M. M. Popovici maintained in Parliament that a pact with a Minority was immoral because the problem of the Minorities is part of the general policy and cannot be solved by one party according to party interests. It is all the more immoral, he added curiously, because the Minority voters go with a party on the supposition that they will receive certain advantages.¹

The argument of the *Patria* is even more astonishing. It contends that a Minority Party should never be allowed to be the ally of a party of the ruling race, and that the latter must never on any account seek assistance from a minority. In a State, if the national consciousness is unadulterated, the National parties must be so organized that they can maintain the equilibrium without the help of the Minorities. A Minority can only take part in political life as a separate body, either in the Opposition or as a temporary supporter of the Government.²

When, in 1921, the Hungarian Party was founded, the *Renasterea Româna*³ objected on the general plea that "such party organizations have no vitality and no root or reason in a State where the rights of the Minorities are respected and infringed by none." The paper recommended the Hungarian voters to join the existing Roumanian parties.

All of which shows how difficult it is for the Hungarians to please the Roumanians.

¹ *Desbat Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 2566.

² *Patria*, 25th March 1925.

³ 20th February 1921. See also Chapter XXIII.

At the opening of Parliament in April 1922 there were six Hungarian members in the Senate—the two Roman Catholic Bishops, Count Majláth and Mgr Boromissza, the Presbyterian Bishop, Charles Nagy, and the Unitarian Bishop, Joseph Ferencz, all of whom were members, *ex officio*—and two elected senators, Prelate Páll and M. B. Fülöp. In the Second Chamber, M. G. Bernády—a former member of the Hungarian Parliament—was the only Hungarian deputy, but a few months later MM. J. Sándor and T. Zima were elected at by-elections, so that three Hungarian members represented in the Roumanian chamber 2,000,000 Hungarians.

The situation of the Hungarian members was extremely difficult in both Houses. The Roumanian members, with the exception of the Transylvanian ones, know very little about Transylvania and its special needs, and refuse to respect the sentiments of those who have just lost their country. They regard every demand, every complaint, as irredentism and an attack on Roumania and Roumanian institutions, which they must rebuff with hostility.

In a speech, made on 29th October 1924, M. J. Sándor gave a vivid description of the situation of a Minority member in the Roumanian Parliament :

“ On the occasion of the first speech from the Throne, I respectfully asked the Prime Minister why it did not contain a single word concerning the Minorities, and received the churlish answer : ‘ What Minorities ? There are no Minorities here, we are all equals.’ Equals, yes ! No sooner had I opened my mouth to speak than I was silenced, with the approval of the Prime Minister, in the name of that same equality. . . . Later, at the debates on the Constitution, a Liberal member came up to me while I was speaking, and stopped me, saying that the Liberals would ‘ kill ’ me if I expressed the opinions of the Hungarian Party in that place. In the debates on the Nationality Bill, the Minister of Justice treated me as though I were a leper, and if I had not been defended by M. Lupu I would have been beaten. An official of the House,

whose duty it was to protect the members, told me to my face that I was not a man but a devil. On 3rd March, when a Liberal member accused me of lying, the Speaker did not allow me to defend myself, and a former Deputy-Speaker came up to me and, after rudely insulting me, nearly knocked me down. . . ."

This is how the beautiful words of the Speaker have been translated into real life : " Everything possible has been done for the Minorities. They have equal rights with the Roumanians, an equal right to express their opinion."

It is to the credit of the Hungarian members that under these conditions they fulfil their duties with dignity.

After the opening of Parliament, Prelate J. Páll read the following declaration in the name of the Hungarian Minority : " As a senator elected by the Hungarian National Party, I declare that by entering the field of active politics, the Transylvanian Hungarians had given proof of their loyal sentiments. In consequence of the illegalities and corruption committed during the elections against the candidates of the Hungarian Party, an abstention from the sittings would be justified ; yet, while denying to this Parliament the constitutional right to exist, I shall, as far as is morally possible, endeavour to do my duty in it. By my presence and by fulfilling my duty I want to refute the unfounded rumours concerning the irredentism of the Transylvanian Hungarians. Apart from this, I demand in the name of the latter, as well as in my own, the rights secured to us by the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions and by the Minorities Treaty, concerning the protection of the Minorities. We demand these rights, not only so as to satisfy our racial, linguistic and economic interests, but also so as to be able to work seriously for the welfare of the Roumanian State."

Since these words were uttered the Hungarian members have exhausted themselves in again and again demanding the fulfilment of the obligations contracted in these Treaties, and in asking redress for spoliation and oppression.

Such is the situation of the Hungarian Minority in active political life.

Before the general elections in 1922 the Saxons made a pact with the Government, which promised them nine uncontested seats in return for their support. The pact was kept, in so far that the Saxons were successful in six constituencies. But in the subsequent years they had to feel the implacable persecution just as the Hungarians did.

In 1922, after the general elections, the editor of a Hungarian paper, *Ujság*, asked the opinion of a Transylvanian Minister in the Cabinet, M. N. Zigre, about the defeat of the Hungarian Party. The latter said that "the Government know very well that the Hungarians are not represented in Parliament in proportion to their number and importance. . . . But," he continued, "I may say that they did not show much foresight at their first *début* in political activity. As a Cabinet Minister, I am not entitled to talk about electoral tactics, but I am sure that if the Hungarians, instead of their undoubtedly sublime refusal to barter, had made a bargain with the Government they would now be in the same position as the Saxons."

In reality, the Saxons are by now in exactly the same position as the Hungarians.

CHAPTER XIX

THE SAXONS

THE Minority peoples in Europe belong mostly to races which form the ruling majority in one of the neighbouring states, from which they have been separated. This fact is the chief difficulty of the Minorities problem, because the loyalty demanded from them by the State into which they have been incorporated is strongly handicapped by the desire for reattachment—which they cannot suppress—towards the country in which their race is the ruling people, and to which they are bound by their past. In modern German political science they are called pseudo- or border-minorities.

Such considerations do not apply to the German Minorities in Roumania. They are far from their German brethren; countries and centuries divide them from the land in which their kinsfolk rule and which they left voluntarily; they cannot cherish the hope of being reunited with them, they are free from irredentist tendencies; they are the born Minority—the “*Schicksalsminderheit*,” destined by fate to be a Minority.

The Saxons are the descendants of those German settlers who, invited by the King of Hungary in the middle of the twelfth century, came from Flanders and Westphalia to settle in the south-eastern corner of Transylvania. They were asked to people the deserted district and to defend the Crown of Hungary, *ad retinendam coronam*, for which they received special privileges extending over local, financial and ecclesiastical administration, the legislation and the judiciary. Their local legislative body, presided over at first by their judge, of Nagyszeben, and later by their *graf*—the *comes Saxonum*—was independent of the

Hungarian Legislature. This large self-government was called the *Universitas Saxonum*—or the Community of the Saxons. They were one of the three political nations of Transylvania.

These spacious rights and privileges originated with the charter of the Hungarian king, Andreas, in 1224, and during seven centuries they were only once infringed—by Joseph II., the rationalist Emperor—but were soon restored again. Under this arrangement the Saxons maintained undisputed and intact their nationality, their language and culture. Although there were sometimes misunderstandings between Transylvanian Princes, or later between the Hungarian Governments and the Saxon people, the antagonism never grew into hostility. After the *Ausgleich* of Hungary with Austria, and the restoration of representative government, the Saxons were organized into a separate political party, which, however, never went into Opposition, but always supported the existing Government, and protected Saxon interests as the ally of the governing party. Their sane wisdom and high culture were a strong pillar of the Hungarian State, and the State was a solid basis for their cultural and racial development. During the Great War their leader and historian, Bishop Friedrich Teutsch, wrote: "Should Hungary be ruined, we should be annihilated and lost, both as a people and a Church; should our country be torn away from Hungary, our history of many centuries would be lost, as well as our future."¹

When the great change came, and the Roumanian army invaded the country, the Saxons recognized the union at a meeting held in Medgyes (Mediasch), on 8th January, before the Treaty of Trianon was even negotiated, and they submitted to Roumanian rule.

The explanation of this attitude was given with great frankness by Bishop Teutsch, in a new post-war edition of his big work on the *Church and Schools of the Transylvanian Saxons*, written in 1923, after four years of Roumanian rule:

"In December 1918," he wrote, "the Saxons were

¹ *Roumanian Days*, p. 22.

at a loss what to do. At first their attitude was to wait till the Peace Conference decided the fate of Transylvania. But the Roumanians were impatient: 'Are you friends or foes?' they asked. To declare themselves foes would have been madness. But the decisive factor was the circumstance that the old Hungary had ceased to exist, the King was deposed and revolution had broken out; nor could the Saxons disregard the fact that the Roumanians formed the majority of the population.

"Yet the decision was not easy, because the whole Saxon past and the roots of all their institutions lay in Old Hungary. The annexation of Transylvania by Roumania meant the breaking with the Occident and an approach to the Orient, which hides great dangers for their civilization.

"Still they could do nothing else; they had to make the Medgyes Declaration, although they knew that they would alienate the Hungarians—and although their souls were filled with anguish. The reasons of these sentiments were clear: they felt that the change would mean, not the end of Hungarian feudalism and the substitution for it of general freedom and equality, but only a turning of the previous servants into present-day rulers.

"Besides, the Saxons had been representatives of German civilization and now they became nationals of a State which belongs to the Entente. In their past their cultural relations were turned towards Hungary, which meant the West; now they would be directed towards Roumania, which means the East; until now they had been imbued with Western culture; in the future they would become Orientals in the shadow of French culture.

"The small Saxon nation is in the greatest peril that can befall a people—namely, that of being forced to break with the past."¹

In the south-western corner of the transferred Hungarian territory, called the Bánát, another German-

¹ Fr. Teutsch: *Kirche und Schule der Siebenbürger Sachsen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, pp. 245-251.

speaking Minority lives. They are the so-called Suabians, and were invited from Alsace and Württemberg to settle in the country after the expulsion of the Turks in the middle of the eighteenth century. They had not, like the Saxons, any special privileges in the past, yet they were always loyal subjects of the Hungarian Crown, and fought side by side with the Hungarians in the war of independence in 1848.

When the Roumanians came in, they were less precipitate in joining them than the Saxons. They had strong sympathies for the Hungarians and little liking for the Roumanians, whom they generally regarded as "an inferior and immoral race."¹

In July 1919, before the Suabians made their declaration of adherence, M. H. Anwender, later a member of the Roumanian Parliament, wrote: "The Suabians are still hesitating, although, after the declaration of the Saxons and the Serbs, their continued clinging to Hungary is both useless and hopeless." Still, he went on, this attitude was but natural, since of all the Minority peoples of Hungary "the Germans had been the least desirous for a shifting of the frontiers."²

It was only on 14th August 1919 that a Suabian delegation appeared before the Governing Council and declared that "as they learn from the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions that they will be allowed to live the life of a free nation," they recognize the annexation of the Bánát by Roumania.

Later in the autumn several meetings were held, both in Transylvania and in the other provinces, and a detailed programme was issued in Temesvár in the name of the German-speaking Minorities of the Regat, the Bánát, Bessarabia, the Bukovina and Transylvania, the first two articles of which were as follows:

"The fundamental Resolutions of Gyulafehérvár shall be extended to the whole territory of the State.

"A Constitution shall be framed, guaranteeing for ever to the Germans the right to organize themselves

¹ *Lugoscher Zeitung*, 30th April 1920.

² *Ibid.*, 30th July 1919.

politically as a united nation, so as to enable them to pursue their cultural, national and economic aspirations."¹

They further demanded the right to establish schools, and a territorial administrative division of the country according to the racial distribution of the population; the right to elect their own administrative officials, etc.

It is evident that the Germans believed in the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions and naïvely thought that they would be able to obtain an even larger autonomy than that secured in Article 11 of the Minorities Treaty. It was an error they were soon disabused of. Both the Transylvanian and the Regat Roumanians protested vigorously against any attempt to transform Roumania into "a federal state, like Switzerland."² There was no such wholesale dismissal of the Saxon officials as of the Hungarians; their schools were not closed like those of the other churches, but the corruption of the administration was felt by them just as strongly as by the Hungarians, and the interference of the authorities in their cultural and educational policy was just as intolerable.

The dissatisfaction of the Germans was manifest already in the autumn of 1919. "Many things that have been done must be altered," wrote the *Lugoscher Zeitung*,³ "if the Roumanians want to keep us as friends of their State."

In 1920 the *Deutsche Tagespost* complained in long articles of abuses and illegalities—that the authorities did not respect the laws or made use of them against the Saxons; that Saxon officials were being dismissed and replaced by Roumanians. A year later the grievances grew more numerous. "The constant infractions of the right to our language," wrote the *Kronstädter Zeitung*⁴ in a leading article; "the misery of the officials, the insecurity of our Church and schools, the unjust taxation, the miserable economic

¹ Published by the *Dacia*, 17th October 1919.

² *Patria*, 28rd October 1919, and Professor Jorga in his *Neamul Românesc*.

³ 15th November 1919.

⁴ 2nd September 1921.

conditions and the constant attacks of the Roumanian papers both in the Regat and in Transylvania, have produced an irritation in our people which must fill with anxiety every friend of our nation." The paper was suppressed for a time because it had called the leaders of the Roumanian army and administration "vagabonds."

Already the Saxon leaders saw that they had been cheated and that neither the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions nor the Minorities Treaty was being kept; and at a conference of the Germans of the whole of Greater Roumania, in Czernowitz, they demanded the "realization of their provisions" and the "solution of the Minorities Question in a Wilsonian spirit."

In February 1922, when M. Brătianu assumed the power and dissolved Parliament, the Saxons made an electoral pact with him, the entire text of which was never divulged. According to this pact the Government was not to hinder the election of Saxon candidates in constituencies with a Saxon majority, while in the constituencies with a Saxon minority the latter would support the candidate of the Liberal Party. "The Government," explained M. H. O. Roth, the leader of the party, in an article,¹ "has promised the realization of such vital interests, that the fight against them would have been tantamount to political passivity." He pointed out that it was chiefly in educational questions that the pact had secured great concessions, and that the right of criticizing the Government was entirely unimpaired. This practical side of the pact was supplemented by theoretical considerations. "It is an old rule of a sound Minority policy," M. Roth said, in January the following year, "not to mix in the struggles of the parties of the ruling race. We, as an age-old Minority, know this natural and unchangeable law of Minority policy."²

The Transylvanian Roumanians were indignant at this alliance with their greatest enemies. They saw in it a revival of the opportunist policy pursued by

¹ *Siebenbürgisch Deutsches Tagblatt*, 27th February 1922.

² *Ibid.*, 24th January 1923.

the Saxons during Hungarian rule. "By this electoral pact," a Transylvanian Roumanian paper¹ wrote, "the Saxons have shown themselves true to their traditions. They have been, are, and always will be with the Government, no matter of whom it is composed." Another paper quoted sneeringly the old dictum which ascribes to a Saxon member the ejaculation: "Show me the Government I won't support!"

But the scandalous proceedings during the elections also made the Saxons dubious. "What can we expect from the future of a State," wrote M. R. Brandsch, a Saxon Member, in the *Deutsche Tagespost*, "whose Government commits such scandals? We must be ashamed for the country in which the rights of the citizens can be soiled in such a manner."

The following years brought the same disappointments for the Saxons as for the Hungarian Minority. In less important questions they were in somewhat better case; personal persecutions and maltreatments were spared them; they were allowed their national flag, etc. But in the great, vital questions they were hit as hard as the Hungarians. The Roumanizing of the administration and the judiciary affected them just as much, and so did the Agrarian Reform.

In the early winter of 1923, when the draft Constitution was introduced, the Minorities policy of the Government was laid bare. On 17th January M. H. O. Roth made a powerful speech, in which he described the great disillusionment of his people since 1918:

"I can remember," he said, "the days when the Saxon National Council fixed the principles of the self-determination of our people. To-day we must smile at the ardour and faith with which we relied on them. Things have turned out differently. Soon after the formation of the new State, there was unfolded the old conception of the predominance of the majority race and the unitary national state. And to-day we are no further than fifty years ago: we must fight for the rights of the Saxon Minority in Roumania. It is true that the belief in Minority rights has since become

¹ *Gazeta Ardealului*, 24th February 1922.

implanted in the consciousness of mankind and has become a part of international law; but at present we must fight a heavy fight and our enemy is the entire Roumanian people."

As the chief problems to be solved by the new Constitution, M. Roth designated the language question, Church autonomy and the confessional schools.¹

In March the Central Committee of the Saxons protested against the draft Constitution "which does not contain the slightest guarantee for the protection of the rights and liberties of the Minorities." The Committee recalled the promises of the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions, which formed "the pillars of the decision of the Saxons in entering voluntarily into the life of the new State."

Their declarations and complaints had no influence whatever on the Roumanian statesmen. During the debates on the Constitution Bill not one of their amendments was accepted.

As time went on, the difficulties grew. The Agrarian Reform was carried out and the struggle for the denominational schools began; the teachers of the German schools were forced to learn Roumanian, and the introduction of the Roumanian language in the schools was demanded. The persecution of the denominational schools was strongest among the Suabian population, who are Roman Catholics.

The amicable feelings of 1918-1919, when the Saxon and the Roumanian leaders pretended to have fought side by side against Hungarian oppression in the past, gave way to acrimonious hostility. The unreal tone in which the mutual friendship of Saxons and Roumanians had been dwelt on, changed entirely in Press as well as Parliament. Writing about the past, the *Indreptarea* confessed that even during Hungarian rule there had always been a mute struggle going on between the two peoples. The Saxons, like the Hungarians, had had a cultural and economic supremacy, while the Roumanians had been agrarian proletarians. The latent struggle created a natural and constantly

¹ *Siebenbürgisch Deutsches Tagblatt*, 24th January 1923.

growing antipathy between the two peoples, and the Saxon antipathy had grown as they had seen their own existence menaced by the increasing numbers of the Roumanians. During Hungarian rule, the Saxons had been led by "a wild egotism"; and they are furiously hostile towards the Roumanians now because they have not only lost their political preponderance, but have also been reduced through the Agrarian Reform to an economic and agricultural inferiority, which they feel the more as the existence of their Church and schools and, ultimately, their own national existence are endangered thereby.¹

The truth of this statement was entirely realized by the Saxons. Looking back on the passing year, a Saxon paper² wrote the following gloomy words in November 1924:

"The execution of the Agrarian Reform brings such heavy losses for us that we do not know how we shall survive it. A feeling of despair has seized our people and our communities on seeing the possessions which their forefathers gathered by the work of long centuries dwindle away, and the soil being lost to them on which hundreds of Saxon families found their home and their livelihood in the past."

At the beginning of 1924 the attack of M. Angelescu on denominational education was becoming imminent, and the Government knew that it would provoke a strong resistance from the side of the Minorities. The ground had to be prepared, and this by making the Minorities unpopular and accusing them with subversive, anti-national tendencies. Senator Bianu, who was always willing to spread calumnies concerning the Minorities, was used as a tool.

On 20th February he made a speech in the Senate in which he fiercely attacked the German-speaking Minorities. He accused them in a general way of plotting against the consolidation of the Roumanian State, and enumerated a few facts which, according to him, corroborated his accusation. He said that this

¹ *Indreptarea*, 30th November 1923.

² *Siebenbürgisch Deutsches Tagblatt*, 9th November 1924.

attitude of the Saxons was proved by the fact that they have not introduced the Roumanian language into their schools; that they refuse to use the Roumanian flag; that a repatriated Saxon, Peter Jekel, had made an irredentist speech in Budapest, and so on.

That which seemed to have roused his indignation most was an article in *The Times* newspaper, written, as he alleged, by a Saxon, in which it was said that the word "Valach" had in the past signified in Transylvania "a herdsman, a woodcutter or a servant, and to-day it signifies the governing people. The ruling race tries to feel itself at home but in reality it does not succeed. . . ." The article was reprinted by the *Siebenbürgisch Deutsches Tagblatt*, and Senator Bianu was indignant that the paper did not contradict its statements concerning the dishonesty of the Roumanian administration, the prevalence of bakshish in the country and the unreliability of the tribunals.

In regard to the Suabians of the Bánát, M. Bianu read a passage of the *Schwäbisches Volksblatt* which showed clearly both the feelings of the Suabians and the cause of M. Bianu's resentment.

"The paper," he said, "in an article void of patriotism, claims the absolute domination of the Suabians in the Bánát. It says: 'We believed that the soil which we have tilled and transformed from a desert into arable land, and for which so many of our people have died, is our fatherland; but at present it is said that it belongs to other people because it was theirs a thousand years ago. No! We can no more be strangers in this land than God. Huns, Avares, Turks have been on this soil, but they have done nothing for it. We have transformed it into a country, and we shall never tolerate being treated like aliens in this land which is ours, and to which we are bound with our entire soul.'

"Thus the paper expresses the opinion," continued Senator Bianu, "that we Roumanians who to-day rule this German corner of the world will disappear like those ancient barbaric peoples."¹

¹ *Desbat, Senatului, 1923-1924, p. 640.*

Senator Bianu's speech roused some altercation in Press and Parliament. M. H. O. Roth denied the accusations and stated that the article in *The Times* was written not by a Saxon but by an English correspondent; and therewith the incident closed.

The years 1924 and 1925 brought the great reforms of the denominational schools and of the administration; none of them satisfied the Saxons and the Suabians; their fundamental rights, scholastic autonomy and the use of their language were menaced. They demanded "complete cultural autonomy" and the safeguarding of their confessional schools, a demand justified by the fact that the electoral pact of 1922 secured "the recognition of the denominational schools."¹

In the spring of 1925 the attacks against the Saxons were renewed. Not only the notorious Senator Bianu, but also a member of the high clergy, the Orthodox Bishop of Kolozsvár, Mgr Iván, directed a vehement attack against them. His accusations were the old story—that they refused to be assimilated, that they had not introduced Roumanian in their administration and schools—but the virulence of his speech was quite exceptional:

"They are one and all our enemies. That the Agrarian Reform has expropriated a few plots from the large property of the Saxon community, which they took from us by injustice; that a few acres have been taken from the Saxon Churches which had three to four thousand acres, and given to Roumanian peasants who were not able to keep even a goat—this is only a fraction of justice done to our own people, compared with the oppression to which they were subjected for centuries.

"It is inexplicable . . . and we see ourselves driven to ask whether we shall be able to collaborate fraternally with these elements, and to grant them the confidence and the rights which we have granted them hitherto."¹

¹ It was M. H. O. Roth who, in February 1925, revealed this provision of the pact.

² *Debat. Senatului*, 1924-1925, p. 920.

There is nothing more characteristic of the Minorities policy of Roumania than her attitude towards the Saxons, who lived and developed their racial peculiarities and culture during eight centuries under Hungarian rule, and had never been—since they could not be—irredentists. Unintelligible and senseless is this desire of the Roumanians to destroy this small Minority in their midst. The only explanation is that levelling tendency which tolerates no higher civilization, better institutions, higher cultural level.

We finish this chapter with a last quotation from a speech by the late Prime Minister, M. Brătianu :

“The Saxon people, a small Minority, had been able, by their faculties acquired in feudal times, in which they organized a veritable Republic among the Carpathians, to develop themselves and obtain privileges which were natural in those days; and to preserve them by force and energy even in times when they formed an anachronism in a modern civilization.

“They existed to the detriment of numerous peoples, chiefly to that of the oppressed Roumanians.

“It was not possible to keep up this injustice of the past and it is natural that in modern times one should have recourse to the distribution of the material and moral advantages also among the Roumanian people of the country who form its backbone and its foundation.”¹

It is the constantly recurring characteristic of Roumanian policy to destroy old institutions and civilizations with a view to bringing down the entire population to the same Balkan level.

¹ *Desbat. Senatului*, 1924-1925, p. 910.

CHAPTER XX

THE JEWS

DURING the debates on the Constitution, the Metropolitan Primate of Roumania, Mgr Miron Cristea, unctuously declared that the Roumanians "have always been the most tolerant people in the world," and, as an example, he mentioned the handful of Hussites who came to Moldavia in the fifteenth century, and were tolerated there. He dwelt on this single remote example of Roumanian tolerance, and passed over in silence the fate of those Roman Catholic Armenians to whom Voivod Stephen the Wicked had said: "Turn Roumanians and be baptized according to the Orthodox rite; if you accept the Greek creed I will give you rich emoluments"—but, as they preferred to cling to their old beliefs, had them burnt alive. "No Armenians shall remain in my country," he said. The Metropolitan was silent about the Jews, who came from Russia as the Hussites came from Bohemia and whose fate is much more closely connected with the question of Roumanian tolerance; and he failed to mention the present persecution of the Greek Catholics. The former events happened too long ago, the latter too recently, to be remembered.

For fifty years before the war the Jews of Roumania, although protected by the Berlin Congress, were looked on as leprous aliens, and suffered the most terrible persecutions. For fifty years European and American diplomacy and public opinion were beset by the problem of the Roumanian Jews, which gradually developed into a European scandal. Yet the Roumanians live in, and insist on, their illusion that they are a tolerant people, and obstinately maintain that they persecute neither the Jews nor the Minorities.

Before the Constitution of 1866 the Jews were regarded as foreigners, and had neither civil nor political rights; they could not own immovable property.

In 1866 the framers of the Constitution wished to introduce some alleviations, but the Roumanian population protested so violently—destroying the synagogues and pillaging the Jewish quarter in Bucarest—that the Government revoked their proposition, and Article 7 of the Constitution declared that “only aliens of Christian religion shall be able to acquire Roumanian citizenship.” At the same time, laws concerning Jewish disability were put in force again and scrupulously executed. The Jews could not own or lease landed property; they could not be innkeepers; Christians were not allowed to be servants in their houses, and Jews were prohibited from entering the houses of Christians. A Bill planned even to deprive them of their right of living in towns and of being merchants and artisans, without a special permit.

The whole of Europe was indignant on account of these affairs. In the English House of Commons Lord Stanley, answering a question of Sir Francis Goldsmid, said: “I can assure the honourable baronet that he cannot feel upon that subject more strongly than I do. I really think it is a question which concerns Christians even more than Jews, because if the suffering falls upon the Jew, the disgrace falls upon the Christian.”¹

The representatives of the foreign Powers in Bucarest protested against the persecutions, but the Roumanian Government simply denied them. The consuls of England, France, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Prussia and Greece made inquiries, and their report was concluded with the following words: “The signatories [of the Paris Treaty, which conceded the union of the two Roumanian provinces] state with regret that the so categorical denials of the Government are in flagrant contradiction with the facts revealed by the inquiry.” “The tactics of the Roumanian Government,” comments M. Fr. Rey, “were to profess

¹ *Parl. Debates*, 1868, excli., p. 1267.

its good will towards the Jews, protesting at the same time against foreign intervention.”¹

The situation remained unchanged: the persecutions continued, the Powers went on protesting, and the Government and Parliament continued to declare that there was no persecution in Roumania. When the Austro-Hungarian consul again presented a note to the Roumanian Government, a declaration was made in the Roumanian Parliament, according to which “the House rejects the unfounded accusations of Jewish persecutions and approves the conduct of the Government.”

During the Franco-Prussian War, European interest in the Roumanian Jewish question abated, and the persecutions continued uncontrolled. In 1872, a Jew having stolen a cross and some sacred vessels from the cathedral of Ismailia, they broke out with fresh fury. The culprits were brought before the Court: the Jews accused with the theft were heavily punished and the rioters discharged. The Powers were dismayed, and once more protested in Bucarest, but the Government put all the responsibility on the Jews, who were offending national pride by refusing to assimilate with the population, by seizing the whole commerce of the country, and by their constant appeals to Europe for help.

England tried several times to convince the Powers of the necessity of a collective *démarche*, but in the troubled years after the war she found no hearing. In 1876 the Alliance Israelite Universelle took up the matter at its Paris Conference, with the only result that a wholesale expulsion of the Jews from Roumania followed.

Such were the preliminaries of the Berlin Congress as regarded the Jews of Roumania.

When the question of the recognition of Roumania's independence came up at the Congress, M. Waddington, the French delegate, proposed that the recognition should be made conditional on Roumania's granting perfect religious freedom and liberty to all her

¹ Fr. Rey: *La question Israélite en Roumanie*, p. 15.

nationals, and, accordingly, this principle was embodied in Articles 43 and 44 of the Berlin Treaty. The Roumanians protested against this. "The recognition of the equality of the denominations seemed an unsupportable demand to Roumania," states M. Rey. But seeing that she could not hinder its embodiment in the Treaty, she hoped that at least the Powers would not demand its serious enforcement. In fact, Austria, Russia and Turkey recognized her independence even before the stipulations were enacted in her Constitution. But England, France, Germany and Italy were unyielding. For a long time Government and Parliament tried to evade their obligation in different drafts of the Constitution, but at last a text was voted by Parliament which satisfied the Powers. According to this, aliens without distinction of religion were to be allowed to acquire Roumanian nationality after having domicile in the country for ten years—but nationality would have to be granted individually, and in every case by a special law.

On 20th February 1880, England, France and Germany recognized Roumania's independence, "trusting that in the application of the provisions the Government will come closer and closer to the Liberalism which inspired the Powers."

The right of the Jews to equal treatment seemed to be secured.

But Roumania forgot her obligations almost at once. About a thousand Jews were nationalized in 1878-1879, since which time nationalization has been systematically refused. The Jews were treated as foreigners, as aliens of Jewish religion; but, as they had no native State from which they originated, they could not enjoy the protection of any foreign Power, as do other foreigners. When a general law was made or an order issued concerning aliens, it was the Jew who was meant—who could not appeal for assistance to a consul of his country. Thus, the aliens—*i.e.* the Jews—were not allowed to acquire immovable property in the towns; they had to pay for elementary education, which was gratuitous for the Roumanian

nationals; they were excluded from the secondary schools, or allowed to attend them only in small proportions. By Parliamentary Acts they were excluded from the service of the railways and of the *régie*; they could not be lawyers; they were prohibited from selling spirits and tobacco, or being moneylenders, pedlars or hawkers—which are the chief occupations of the Jews.

In March 1902 a Bill was passed which, on the basis of reciprocity, allowed to aliens only such occupations as were permitted in their own country. This was an impossible provision as regarded the Jews, and the Government declared that it would not be enforced against them. But, as is well known, the Roumanian authorities are not always of the same opinion as the Ministers, and under this Act thousands of Jews were deprived of their occupation. "This law," wrote a Jew, "has taken from us the last right remaining to us, the right to work, which is granted by nature to every human being."¹

These provisions made existence impossible for the Jews in Roumania, and emigration began on such a scale that Austria-Hungary, France, the United States and Canada protested against it. "One must protest against the treatment to which the Jews are subjected in Roumania," said a Note of the Government of the United States. "Our Government could not tacitly be an accomplice of this international injustice."²

The situation of the Jewish question before the war, as summed up by M. Rey, was the following:

"It is true that the modification of the Constitution, which was a consequence of the Treaty of Berlin, has permitted all foreigners, without distinction, to apply for nationalization; but Parliament has in this respect shown itself so parsimonious towards the Jews that their situation may be said not to have changed, unless it is for the worse.

"Roumania, the day after the Act which recognized

¹ F. Rey: *op. cit.*, p. 37.

² N. Leven: *Cinquante ans d'histoire*, Alliance Israelite Universelle, i., p. 339.

her independence, found herself faced by a very complicated problem : how to fulfil the obligations imposed on her by the Powers without relinquishing measures which she considered indispensable for the preservation of the national element. These two courses being irreconcilable, one had to be sacrificed, and it was the stipulations of the Berlin Treaty that the Roumanians relinquished, without, of course, renouncing the benefits of such clauses as were favourable to them.

"Article 44 of the Treaty has thus remained a dead letter, without being openly violated by Roumania ; she proceeded indirectly so as to avoid protests from the Powers towards which she had contracted the most solemn obligations. . . .

"The equality of treatment accorded to all foreigners, stipulated by the Treaty of Berlin, is only an apparent one. It is an indirect method employed by Roumania to reach the Jews ; it may be said without exaggeration that every time a law prescribes some new restriction against foreigners it is directed exclusively against the Jews. On them are concentrated all the rigours of the administration, while to the other foreigners are applied the Liberal principles proclaimed by the Constitution.

"It is undoubtedly a convenient system, since it has enabled Roumania to exercise a rigorous policy towards the Jews without appearing to do so ; but it has the disadvantage of being illogical. If the Roumanian Jews are regarded as foreigners in their own country, let them at least be accorded the same treatment that all foreigners receive, as demanded by the Treaty of Berlin. In every country military service is restricted to nationals. In Roumania, as elsewhere, foreigners are exempt from it ; but the Jews are liable to it. In the same way, while in the question of personal status foreigners are under their own national laws, it has been found necessary to apply to the Jews, in default of any other, the Roumanian personal status.

"Thus one sees the curious spectacle of persons who

are treated sometimes as foreigners, sometimes as nationals, by the authorities of their own country.”¹

In pre-war Europe the Jews were not regarded as a racial Minority or a “Nationality.” They were nationals of the State in which they lived—except in Russia and in Roumania, where their status can be best described as that of *persecuted aliens*.

During the peace negotiations a movement arose in certain Jewish quarters demanding their recognition as racial Minorities, but the question as regards Roumania was left open. A separate article concerning the Jews was inserted in the Roumanian Minorities Treaty, which, however, gives no clue whether they are to be regarded as Minorities or not. Yet the question has a particular importance in Roumania, as will be seen later on. Article 7 of the Minorities Treaty has the following text :

“Roumania undertakes to recognize as Roumanian nationals, *ipso facto*, and without the requirement of any formality, Jews inhabiting any Roumanian territory who do not possess another nationality.”

The fact that the Jewry in present Roumania is composed of various elements, who formerly lived under different dominations and had a different past and legal status, complicates the situation of the Jews in Roumania. In Bessarabia, where they were not recognized as nationals with equal rights with the Russians, the Jews eagerly embraced the idea that they should acquire the status of a racial Minority under international protection. The question was raised also in Parliament without finding a definite solution. The Government regard them as a Minority if necessary, and as Roumanians if that policy suits them better.

When, in 1920, a census was ordered in Transylvania, and the Government wished to hinder the Jews from declaring themselves members of the Hungarian Minority, an ordinance (No. 362,442) was issued which contained the following :

“It has come to our notice that a certain agitation

¹ Fr. Rey : *Op. cit.*, pp. 63-66.

is going on concerning the question of Jewish nationality, which in the past was wrongly treated as a creed. In view of the fact that, according to the Peace Treaties, the Jews form a racial Minority, all persons of the Mosaic creed must declare themselves as of Jewish nationality."

"Of course," was the *Keleti Ujság's* comment on the ordinance, "there never yet was a Peace Treaty which overthrew the principle that it is the concern of every man's own conscience to decide what nationality he will belong to."¹

The earlier school ordinances of the Government treated the Jews as Minorities and made the Hebrew language obligatory in the Jewish schools. But these ordinances referred only to Transylvania; in the Regat the Jews were never regarded as a Minority people, and later Acts declared them to be Roumanian nationals of Jewish language.

M. Leibu Tzierensohn, chief Rabbi of Bessarabia, maintained the thesis that the Jews are a separate Minority. If the Treaties had intended to make a difference between the Jews and the Minorities they would have mentioned the fact, argued Rabbi Tzierensohn. But this was flatly contradicted by Professor Jorga, who insisted that the clauses of the Minorities Treaty do not refer to the Jews. "They are *not* a Minority, *but* citizens of the State," is the rather queer wording in which he put it.² "Formerly all that the Jews wanted was to be Roumanian nationals," said M. J. Florescu in the House; "now they are not satisfied with that but want to be recognized as a Minority. It betrays their wish to form a State within the State."³

In Hungary the Jews regarded themselves, and were treated, as Hungarians of Jewish religion; they had equal rights and liberties with the Christian population, and the Roumanian *Voința* was right when it surmised that it would be difficult for "the Transylvanian Jews to forget the decisive rôle which they

¹ *Keleti Ujság*, 29th November 1920.

² *Desbat. Deput.*, 1923-1924, pp. 8207 and 240.

³ *Ibid.*, 1923-1924, p. 3459.

played in Hungary, from the Ministerial bench down to the village taproom."

When Transylvania became Roumanian territory, the overwhelming majority of the Jews regarded themselves as part of the Hungarian Minority. In a petition to the Roumanian Government in 1922 the Jewish community of Nagyvárad described their feelings thus:

"We are Roumanian nationals of Hungarian language and Jewish religion. Our mothers spoke to us in Hungarian, and our children learnt to speak in that language; this is a situation which, like a natural law, has no reasons and is immutable. We have inherited our Jewish religion from our fathers, and this also is an immutable fact.

"Yet we are Roumanian nationals. The history of two hundred years proves that the Jews have never been faithless to their country."

These manly words made no impression on the Roumanians; the old hatred very soon revived, and in 1922 the antisemite excesses began in the Regat. Their centres, as was told in Chapter XVII., were the universities. In November, Kolozsvár was the scene of such disgraceful excesses as had never been witnessed under Hungarian rule. The premises of the Liberal papers were attacked, shops were demolished, Jews maltreated, and the rabbi of the town was insulted; the disturbances rose to such dimensions that in the end the university had to be closed. All this, however, was no serious persecution, according to the Roumanians. "The troubles had never attained the proportions of a pogrom," remarks, consolingly, Miss Tichner, the Roumanian propaganda agent.¹

In the following year the persecutions continued with unabated vigour. The antisemite movement, which was previously restricted to the precincts of the universities, was carried into the street, and was followed by general antisemite riots. In February a big meeting was held in Bucarest, at which Professors Paulescu and Cuza made inflammatory speeches. The former complained that efforts are being made "to

¹ H. M. Tichner : *Roumania and her Religious Minorities*, p. 77.

force Roumania to respect the provisions of the degrading Saint-Germain Treaty," by enacting them in the Constitution. The meeting accepted a resolution demanding the re-establishment of the provisions of the 1866 Constitution, according to which only Christians could be nationalized; the expulsion of the Jews who had come to the country after 1924, their exclusion from the army, etc. It reiterated the demand for the introduction of the *numerus clausus*, and demanded that the Jewish medical students should procure for themselves Jewish corpses for dissection.¹

In December 1923 the present Home Secretary, O. Goga, gave a lecture in Kolozsvár on "Roumanian National Ideals." Among other things he said: "The sick body of the country is covered with parasites . . . they spread ideals which are incongruous with the spirit of the Roumanian people and which poison their souls. The Roumanian cultural movement is a protest against a course which, if allowed to develop freely, would strangle our national ideals."

The result of this speech was a renewal of the usual anti-Jewish riots. The students hindered the session of the conference of the journalists in Kolozsvár, and the buildings of the Jewish paper, *Uj Kelet*, were demolished. Jews were insulted and thrown into the pond in the park. On 15th May more than a hundred Jews were dragged out of the trains and beaten; both in Kolozsvár and in Nagyszeben, the windows of the synagogues were broken and Jewish tombstones demolished. On 22nd July a gendarme killed without palpable reason the talmudist, Bernhard Schön, the father of six children; in Marosvásárhely the funeral procession of Pinkas Farkas was pelted with stones and the rabbi wounded.

"A year has gone by filled with lamentation, tears and mourning," the *Uj Kelet*² concluded its chronicle of the year 1924.

Yet what wonder that such events could happen? On 4th August 1924 an article appeared in the

¹ See Chapter XVII., on the Universities.

² 29th September 1924.

semi-official Transylvanian paper of the Government, the *Infrățirea*, complaining of the number of Jews who had lately immigrated to Transylvania, and who were all Bolsheviki and spies, planning assaults and conspiracies. According to the paper they were plotting the annihilation of the entire Roumanian race: they had got possession of the restaurants, public-houses, grocers' and chemists' shops, and were putting poison into the foodstuffs, beverages and medicaments, so as to destroy the Roumanian people.

The fight against the Jews was carried also into the legislature. The few Jewish members brought the persecutions of their brethren before Parliament; but, the House being unsympathetic, they never received any satisfactory explanation. There is no political party in Roumania that has not an antisemitic tinge. On the occasion of the debate on the Constitution, M. Jon Florescu made a virulent speech against the Jews, accusing them of all the crimes and dishonesty of the world. He said that they are dissolving elements, revolutionaries, parasites and hotbeds of corruption; during the war they had either shirked or been the spies of the enemy.¹

Apart from the personal persecutions the gravest problem of the Jews is that of Education. It is here that the difficulty of the question as to whether they form a separate racial Minority or not comes in.

Under Hungarian rule the Jews in Transylvania had had only two secondary and thirty-two elementary schools in all; the Jewish children had attended the parish or denominational schools, whether Hungarian or Roumanian. "There was not a single case," wrote a Jew, "in which the Hungarian authorities hindered Jewish scholars from attending either a Roumanian or a Hungarian school. The most ideal freedom reigned for Roumanians as well as for Jews."²

After the Roumanian occupation, a Nationalist-Zionist Movement was started, which broke the unity

¹ Such accusations were refuted by Dr W. Filderman: *Adverbul asupra problemei evreștii din România*, 1925.

² *Magyar Kisebbség*, 1923, i., p. 60.

of the Transylvanian Jewry. The Nationalists wished to break with Hungarian culture and revive Jewish traditions, language and literature. An idealistic explanation was given to the movement by M. Leopold Fleischer, who stated that the greatest tragedy of the Jews was that through the constant change of nationality and language the development of Jewish culture had been broken. It can only be saved by the revival of the Hebrew language, for the attainment of which it is necessary that the Jews should be regarded as racial Minorities. The demand was formulated in 1920, and again in May 1924, by a small minority of the Transylvanian Jews, who constituted a Zionist Party called the Jewish National Union. The movement met with strong resistance on the part of the majority, but it was opportune to the Government, which hoped to alienate the Jews from the Hungarians.

In the summer of 1922 the Minister of Education ordered that the Jews should be prohibited from attending Christian denominational schools; they must go either to Jewish ones or to the Roumanian State schools; and the same rule was to be applied towards the baptized Jews, who were to be regarded as belonging to "the Jewish race of Christian denomination."

At the same time the General Director of Education ordered (under Nos. 5555—923 and 11,962—922) that, as Jews form a separate racial Minority, the language of instruction in their schools was in future to be Hebrew and Yiddish or Roumanian, but not Hungarian or German.

This was a great blow to the Jews. The teaching of Hebrew and Yiddish would be mere waste of time, since they are useless in everyday life. It was, moreover, impossible on account of the lack of school-books and teachers.

In Bessarabia, on the other hand, where a great proportion of the population is Jewish, and where Hebrew was introduced into the schools immediately after the annexation, the school authorities, never having received from the Government the authorization applied for to use their Hebrew school-books,

did so without permission, whereupon the Roumanian authorities prohibited their use on the plea that they had not been authorized, and that, moreover, the books contained matter dangerous to the unity of the State. M. Nathan Lerner, who mentioned the case in the House, observed that the Roumanian authorities, being ignorant of Hebrew, could hardly be competent judges of the contents of the books in question.¹

The case of Bessarabia shows that the question was not that of granting a Minority people the use of its own language—which in Bessarabia is Yiddish or Russian, and in Transylvania Hungarian—but that of forcing the Jewish children into Roumanian State schools, which confronted them with the almost insuperable difficulty of having, by order of the chief educational inspector, to attend lessons also on Saturdays. For consistency's sake, instruction in the Jewish schools was prohibited on Sundays. "It is quite impossible," said the Minister of Education, "that in a secondary school in which there are Christian Roumanians, Jews and Mohammedans, the Christians should be obliged to write and the Jews not; it is impossible that pupils asked to write a few lines on the board should be exempt from doing so, merely because they are Jews."² These provisions were altered in the winter of 1925, when M. Angelescu ordered that in districts where the Jews are in a majority instruction shall be suspended on Saturdays, and that Jewish scholars shall not be forced to attend Christian Bible teaching. The ordinance had no bearing on Transylvanian education, as the Jews nowhere form a majority in that country. The order was nothing, wrote *Uj Kelet*,³ but "a cruel play with words."

The closing of the Jewish schools was started quite soon, because the Jews could and would not introduce Hebrew or Roumanian; they clung to the Hungarian language as their mother-tongue. In September 1922

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1925-1926, p. 580.

² *Ibid.*, 1923-1924, p. 707.

³ 6th March 1925.

the Jewish commercial school in Kolozsvár was closed. At the end of 1923 the right of publicity of the *lycée* in Nagyvárad was withdrawn. In Hátszeg, where the schoolroom served also as a synagogue in which the thora and the gabella were kept, School Inspector Nicora closed and sealed up the schoolroom because a Hungarian map of Palestine had been found on its wall; consequently, not only the lessons but also Divine service had to be suspended.

The provisions of the Education Acts naturally affect the Jews also. But by the time of their framing the attitude of the Government had undergone a radical change. At the debates on the Private Educational Bill, in May 1925, M. Angelescu explained that he would not have the Jewish students of Transylvania attend Hungarian, or the Bessarabians Russian Minority schools; they must attend either their own or the Roumanian State schools. But as Hebrew is a dead language, and "the Jews have no national language," Article 35 of the Bill simply declares that "for the Jewish scholars the mother-tongue shall be the language of the State"—*i.e.* Roumanian. Hebrew must, however, be taught as a separate subject, and Bible instruction must be given in that language.

Overnight, as it were, the Jews had received a new mother-tongue. "What kind of mother-tongue can Roumanian be for the Jews," asked Rabbi Tzierelsohn, in the House, "when their mothers have no idea of it? When hundreds of thousands of Jewish mothers in Transylvania, Bessarabia and the Bukovina cannot speak it? Is not the mother-tongue part of a man's whole nature, or can it be tacked on to him by the provision of an Act created by the fancy of a Cabinet Minister?"¹ But the Minister was categorical, he declared that "Yiddish is no language; the language of education for the Jews will be Roumanian."²

It is clear that the provisions of the Acts will hit Jewish schooling as hard as the other denominations. M. Max Klein, Chairman of the Zionist Jewish National

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1925-1926, p. 359.

² *Desbat. Senat.*, 1923-1924, p. 707.

Union, may now realize that Zionism and the introduction of the Hebrew language have no value for Roumanian politics, and that even if the Jews abandoned their Hungarian past, their Jewish future is by no means secured. Interviewed by the *Temesvári Hírlap*,¹ he said that it was not pure pessimism which forced him to state that the mission and future of the Jewish schools were at an end; and that, as in the Roumanian State schools there was no place for Jewish children, they were doomed to be illiterates, so that the present Jewish intelligentsia would not be succeeded by a future generation. This statement showed the real situation of Jewish education.

During the university riots the students had repeatedly demanded the introduction of the so-called *numerus clausus*, which means that the Jews shall be allowed to attend the universities only in the proportion of their number to the entire population; but so far the Government has always refused this.

In reply to M. Stern, M. Angelescu declared, in January 1923, that the Government would never allow so retrograde a measure. "We can exclude from the university the foreigners and those whose matriculation was irregular, but we cannot make a difference between the citizens of different nationalities." This was pure hypocrisy, however. The Educational Department had ordered a strict scrutiny of the students' lists and the exclusion from the universities of all "alien" students and of all those whose "documents were not in order." In Kolozsvár, ninety-four names were struck from the *matriculas*; with a few exceptions, all Jews.

An even more efficient measure to exclude the Jews from the high schools is the *baccalaureate* examination. We have mentioned this already in connexion with the denominational schools. In 1925, 96.2 per cent. of the students failed in Kisheneff, where 50 per cent. of the population are Jews, and the percentage of the Jewish students must be much higher, as the Jews are eager to send their children to school.

But the most effective means for replacing the

¹ 10th May 1925.

numerus clausus are the students' riots and the expulsion of the Jewish students by the Roumanian ones. Hundreds of poor Roumanian Jews are studying at foreign universities because they do not dare to enter the precincts of the Roumanian universities. The number of the Jewish students attending the medical faculty of the Kolozsvár University shows, for example, the following changes ¹:

		Total	Of which Jews %	
In the school-year	1912-13	328	73	22·5
"	" 1921-22	764	279	37·96
"	" 1922-23	708	176	24·85
"	" 1923-24	536	78	16·41
"	" 1924-25	573	85	14·65
"	" 1925-26	477	27	5·66

Thus, without taking any illiberal measures, the Government and the students have solved the question.²

But the matter was not finished by forcing the Jewish students to leave the Roumanian universities, the antisemites being no less dissatisfied with this solution. The *Tara Noastră*, M. Goga's paper, published a list of the Roumanian students in Paris, and he himself wrote a commentary on it under the title: "The Great Shame." He states that in the whole list only 13 per cent. are racially Roumanians, and that the number of those who have nothing Roumanian about them but their passports is constantly increasing at the foreign universities.

"Aliens by origin and enemies by sentiment, these nomadic intellectuals are usually the most fervent propagandists for slandering us with stupid legends. They live in the *quartier Latin* as a separate caste, isolated from the real Roumanians. I hear that some of them are Bolsheviks and demand a plebiscite for Bessarabia, and there are some who, crowning themselves with a halo of martyrdom, send complaints to the papers about Roumanian barbarism. . . .

¹ *Uj Kelet*, 21st January 1927.

² An instructive speech concerning this question was made in the House by M. W. Pella, on 24th November 1923. *Desbat. Deput.*, 1923-1924, p. 240.

"Is there anybody," M. Goga asked, among other questions, "who believes that the cultural relations between France and Roumania can be maintained thus? Can the genius of Racine be installed between the Dnjestr and the Tisza, and the old magnetic influence of France upon the Latins of the Danube be maintained by the intermediary of Isaac Friedman and Smelca Rabin?"

"If our doubts as to this merit the grave epithet of antisemitism, well then, we are antisemites, because we shall never seek our ancestors on the Ukranian steppes, but are and remain what we have been—Roumanian admirers of France."¹

The Jewish communities addressed innumerable complaints and memoranda to the Government, to the King and to Parliament. They have to endure the same fate as the Minorities, and theirs is perhaps even more intolerable.

When in the spring of 1926 General Averescu came to power, the antisemites began to take an active part in politics.

In the autumn of 1925 Professor Cuza, the leader of the Antisemite Movement, had organized the "League of National Christian Defence," the L.A.N.C. (*Liga Apărării Naționale Creștine*), and at the general elections in May 1926 the League succeeded in having ten members elected to Parliament. It was an open secret that the new party enjoyed not only the indulgence but even the support of the Government.

In an interview, granted to a Transylvanian paper, Professor Cuza expounded the principles of their politics.

"I believe," he said, "in the *law of nations*, which dominates human society. This law, like a law of nature, forces the peoples to develop their own culture on their own territory. The origin of the Jewish problem is that the Jews do not respect this law. Its solution is—to force them to respect it.

"It is desirable that the Jews should do this from their own initiative; for if they do not do so, the

¹ *Tara Noastră*, 22nd November 1925.

Christian peoples are resolved to bring force to bear on them.

"Palestine does not belong to the Jews and will never belong to them. From a national aspect it belongs to the Arabs. A Jewish Palestine does not solve the question economically, because it cannot include the entire Jewry. From the religious aspect, the holy sepulchre and the other holy places are in Palestine and we cannot give them up to the Jews.

"The Jewish University on the Mount of Olives is an insult towards the Christians, and must disappear. Does anybody believe that the Christian peoples who fought seven crusades for the Holy Land will tolerate this university only because there was found a Balfour who, unhinged by the Old Testament and by the money of the Jews, gave them the Mount of Olives?

"*We shall not tolerate the Jews regarding themselves as a racial minority in Roumania.* They have seized, through corrupt methods, the sources of our national wealth and our towns. We must regain that wealth and re-Roumanianize our towns. The Jews cannot have a rôle in Roumanian politics. The solution of the Jewish problem demands that the Jews should find as soon as possible a territory where they can settle. This territory might be Uganda, which was once offered to them by the British Government."¹

This declaration found its sequel in the electoral manifesto of the L.A.N.C., which also throws some light on the Minorities policy of the party. It said :

"The Minorities living in our country belong to two categories : native and Jewish minorities.

"The Roumanians have the greatest willingness to grant their rights to the former, because they believe

¹ *Uj Kelet*, 11th November 1925. A strange feature of Professor Cuza's conception is his interpretation of Christ's advent and of Christianity. In his *The Teaching of Jesus, Judaism and Christian Theology*, he says that Jesus came to earth to fight against evil or Satan, which means the Jews. The God of Israel, El Shadal, is the same as Set, Seitan, Satan, the God of Evil, Darkness and Hatred, who is allied with the Jews. Through goodness and justice Jesus has overthrown the dogmas of Judaism : "His divine mission was to destroy the devilish teachings of the Jews."

that they already are, or will in a short time be, loyal citizens of the State.

"But the Jews, in consequence of their peculiar mentality, which is absolutely contrary to that of the Christian peoples—of their entire lack of patriotism and of their constant endeavour to subjugate the Christian peoples by acquiring all the material wealth and power possible—are the source of dangers which make it imperative to find an immediate solution for the problem."

In accordance with this programme, Professor Cuza declared in his first speech in the House that the first endeavour of the party was to abolish Article 133 of the Constitution, which permits the Jews to acquire Roumanian nationality. "Is it not a monstrosity," he asked, "that the Roumanian Constitution should secure rights to the Jews?"¹

In Roumania there is not a single political party which is not tainted with antisemitism. Pamphlets, Press articles, pseudo-scientific books, demand coercive measures against the Jews and their infiltration from the East. "Our country cannot be a *cloaca gentium*," wrote the *Patria*.²

It is affecting to read the complaints of a Jew to M. Leonard Paukerow, editor of the Bucarest *Adevărul*:

"We were good patriots, even chauvinists, in Hungary. We loved our country passionately, because it gave us every opportunity to develop our culture and our economic situation. The Hungarians respected us and our religion, and our children were ready for any sacrifice for our Hungarian fatherland. My son is buried at Doberdo."³

Having possessed all civic and political rights, and being the respected citizens of a country for which in return they have given up their lives, they have become the hunted prey of an intolerant population.

¹ *Debat. Deput.*, 1926, "Sesiunea extraordinară," p. 388.

² *Patria*, 8th December 1923.

³ *Adevărul*, 11th June 1924.

CHAPTER XXI

TRANSYLVANIA *VERSUS* THE OLD KINGDOM

DURING the "thousand-years-old struggle of the last seventy-five years," as the *Țara Noastră* put it, the Roumanian Nationalist leaders of Transylvania had fought for a hazy, undetermined goal, which changed according to the changes of the times.

In the sixties, Wallachia and Moldavia were united, and in 1881 the Roumanian kingdom was founded. A connexion was established between the Roumanians of Transylvania and the new kingdom, and a clandestine irredentism was created by the vicinity and the glamour of the neighbouring independent Roumanian state.

But, as M. Alex. Lapedatu, Professor of Roumanian history at the University of Kolozsvár, confessed: "The consciousness of national unity and political solidarity" of the Roumanians is a characteristic trait only of the twentieth century.¹ And even in this recent period it was undefined.

The difference between the State organization of Hungary and of the new Roumania was too great to allow a whole-hearted and sincere irredentism on the part of the Transylvanian Roumanians. The former had an old, unwritten Constitution, its administration was honest and exemplary, its judiciary impartial and fair; the laws, seemingly severe, were not enforced with rigour, but applied with a certain easy-going patriarchy. The Roumanians of Transylvania had been members of a mighty State, a great Power, the political centres of which were Vienna and Budapest, with their widespread political influence and the splendour of a brilliant social and political life.

¹ A. Lapedatu: "Desvoltarea istoriografei naționale," in the *Anuarul institutului de istorie națională*, 1921-1922, p. 7.

There was Transylvania, with Kolozsvár, its beautiful old capital, its great traditions of the Protestant princes and its memories of a heroic past; and, as a contrast, Bucarest, which, according to a German traveller, was, in 1861, still "a lump of villages heaped together."¹

Roumania had had but a scanty political history before the middle of the nineteenth century. She was a vassal province of the Turkish Sultans. In a lecture, given on 28th February 1926, M. Vintila Brătianu described the tardy political development of the Roumanian state:

"With us," he said, "mediæval times began when they came to an end in the other states. The Roumanian state had to free itself externally before it could transform the Fanariote and Russian rule into a national and democratic *régime*, in which the liberated energies of the people could be turned to account under the new conditions. . . .

"We were outside of the civilization of Europe."²

In fact she only became an independent state through the good graces of the Berlin Congress in 1878, and a kingdom in 1881. A brand-new paper Constitution had been framed in 1866, based on the achievements of Western democracy. But, as former chapters have shown, its provisions were never carried out: the administration remained corrupt, the judiciary unreliable. The public and political life of such a country could have no great attraction for those who had been accustomed to the atmosphere of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

This was further accentuated by the difference in the condition of the people of the two countries.

The national feeling of the Roumanians living in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was much stronger than that of the Regat people. Even the peasants have national pride and consciousness; their economic and financial position was also much better. "After the liberation of the serfs," said M. Grofşoreanu,

¹ Quoted by Professor Jorga, *Desbat. Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 3017.

² *Vîitorul*, 7th March 1926.

a Transylvanian Roumanian, in a speech made in the House, "the peasantry in Transylvania began to develop. They had land and healthy homes. They were culturally and economically, as the villages were financially, in a much better position than those of the Regat."¹ "Nor is the Roumanian kingdom so organized that it could enclose such civilized countries as Transylvania and the Bukovina," wrote the *Adevărul*, in 1912. "The Roumanians of those provinces would be unable to endure Roumanian administration even for six months."²

During the war the leaders of the Transylvanian Roumanians loudly protested their loyalty towards the Hungarian state; in memoranda, Press articles and parliamentary speeches, they declared themselves faithful citizens of Hungary and zealous supporters of the integrity of the Monarchy. Later, after the war, they boasted in Bucarest that all this had been sham and pretence. M. Vajda confessed that since 1907 they had "not made a single step or committed a single act without the advice of Bucarest."³ But it is known that in the autumn of 1918 the Roumanian leaders hesitated to the very last whether an unconditional union with Roumania was desirable or not. This is witnessed by the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions, which show their anxiety to secure an autonomous Government for Transylvania and the foundations of an honest and democratic administration for the future Greater Roumania.

These efforts proved vain; no echo came to the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions from beyond the Carpathians; the Transylvanian conception of a democratic state was drowned in the Roumanian system. "In the autumn of 1918 the democracy of Transylvania made a supreme effort to give freedom to the Roumanian people, and then vanished without a trace."⁴

This statement of the Roumanian paper, *Banatul*, was not entirely correct. From the first moment of

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 3546.

² *Adevărul*, 10th December 1912.

³ *Dacia*, 10th April 1922.

⁴ *Banatul*, 11th November 1919.

the union a desperate struggle was fought by the Transylvanian Roumanians against the policy of the Regat, and the fight is still going on. It is expressed by the word "regionalism," which means the endeavour towards the attainment of a certain amount of self-government and independence from the Regat and its corrupt administration; it means, as it was expressed in an article, that "the frontiers continue to play a rôle" between Transylvania and the Regat.¹

The first sign of the separatism of the Transylvanian Roumanians was their refusal to join any of the political parties of the Old Kingdom, and the formation of the Roumanian National Party of Transylvania. They also refused to accept as candidates for the parliamentary elections the leaders of the parties of Old Roumania. This, coupled with the fact that the Resolutions had secured a certain autonomy, so that many branches of the administration had been left in the hands of the Governing Council, gave a standing of its own to Transylvania.

But the antagonism was felt on both sides. In 1919 Brătianu took little notice of the Transylvanians. He did not allow them to have any real responsibility in his Government, but kept them, as Professor Jorga said in the House, in a glass show-case, the administration of the country being carried on by the same men and with the old methods, as if nothing had changed in Roumania.²

The oppressive political atmosphere of the Regat began to be felt when the Transylvanian offices were filled with inefficient persons from the Old Kingdom, the "Regateans," which word gradually became a term of abuse; when the corruption, both in the administration and in political life, assumed overwhelming proportions; when the railway and postal service became disorganized and unreliable, and the terrorism of the *siguranța*—the police forces—grew intolerable.

To all these causes of discontent personal an-

¹ *Tara Noastră*, 23rd November 1924, p. 1506.

² *Debat. Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 198

tagonism was added. The Transylvanians despised the Regat and its institutions. M. L. Goldiş called Roumania a "morass,"¹ and M. A. Vajda, the Roumanian army a "soldiery of weaklings."² "I have fought Budapest tigers," he said on one occasion, "I will not run away from Bucarest bugs."³ But they undervalued the forces of Bucarest and the statesmen of the Regat, who were not as contemptible as all that. M. Brătianu had shown consummate skill in using against M. Vajda, the Transylvanian, the fact that it had been his unpopular task to sign the Peace Treaties, which he, Brătianu, had, with a great display of patriotic fireworks, refused to do. The Transylvanian National Party has never been able to wipe this stain from its prestige; M. Vajda and the Transylvanians are regarded in the Regat as the persons who are responsible for the loss of a part of the Bánát and for the "humiliations" of the Minority Treaty.

What the Transylvanians thought and said about their compatriots of the Regat can best be seen from the Bucarest papers. The *România* wrote:

"These gentlemen, who in Gyulafehérvár wished to establish a union that was only apparent, who thought that by presenting a manifesto to the legislative body they could retain full autonomy for Transylvania—perceiving that they would be destroyed by the common will of the Roumanian people, and that their separatist ideas were reduced to ashes—have lost the most elementary feeling of loyalty, and are real obstacles to the consolidation of the country. These desperate apostles of a criminal idea scatter the dirtiest accusations against the leaders of the Old Kingdom. The Roumanians of the Regat are represented as a brood of miserable exploiters, pickpockets and adventurers. The political parties which have created modern Roumania, made possible her immense progress, and led the country to 1916, are a

¹ *Indrepturea*, 7th October 1921. A. Vajda mentioned this remark of M. Goldiş in the sitting of the House on 7th July 1926. *Debat. Deput.*, 1926, p. 293.

² "O armata de slabanog."—*Universul*, 8th October 1921.

³ *Epoca*, 19th January 1922.

gang of sneaks. In the eyes of these gentlemen, everything which is in, or comes from, the Regat is rottenness and filth.”¹

But the situation was not exhausted by these mutual calumnies.

At the end of 1921 M. A. Vajda repeatedly explained his attitude towards the policy of the Regat. He declared that his party was an adherent of “regionalism” and decentralization, and in an article in the *Patria* enumerated his wishes :

“(1) A democratic and constitutional Monarchy in the place of an absolutist rule.

“(2) Parliamentary, and not oligarchic, government.

“(3) Unity on the basis of decentralization—that is, ‘regionalism’—and not a despotic and forced centralization.”

Or, as M. Agerbiceanu said in the House : “We hate and combat a system which is a constitutional régime on paper, but an absolute government in reality.”

In M. Brătianu’s disgraceful elections in March 1922 the Transylvanians suffered a heavy defeat. The National Party was furious, and M. J. Maniu sent his famous telegram to the King. The elections seemed to have made an open breach between Transylvania and the Regat. At a meeting of the party the members decided to ask the King to reorganize the State according to the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions, and M. Sever Dan, member of Parliament, writing in the party’s organ, the *Patria*, asserted that the only solution of the conflict was separation, and the granting of a large autonomy to Transylvania.

The attitude of the Transylvanians made a great impression in Roumania. Their honesty stood in sharp contrast to the irresponsibility and brutality of the Government. M. Rădulescu Motru, Professor of Philosophy at the Bucarest University, wrote an open letter to M. Maniu, explaining that what the Regat
* Roumanians expected from the Transylvanians was not separatism, but the transformation of Roumania’s political life :

¹ *România*, 3rd March 1920.

"It is true that a European scandal has happened, but this scandal started fifty years ago when we began to lie to the world that we are Europeans. You are distressed about the elections; I am distressed about the long series of scandals which we have laid before the civilized world. We have not got the honesty to show what we are really like.

"... The world does not expect memoranda from you, but feats. We expected from the Transylvanian Roumanians the raising of our political life to a European level. We expected you with open arms, and you came as an enemy. The Roumanians of Transylvania must infuse a new life into the politics of the Old Kingdom."¹

A Cabinet Minister, M. Banu, said in Balázsfalva, a Transylvanian town: "It is not we who liberated you, but you who liberated us through the union. It has always been my opinion that we are less competent than the Transylvanians and that it is they who ought to govern us."²

But the hatred and enmity did not abate; on the contrary, it grew on both sides and found expression on every occasion.

In September 1922 the coronation of the King of the united Roumanias was held, with some lack of tact, in Transylvania, in the old Roman Catholic Cathedral of Gyulafehérvár.

The members of the National Party refused to take part in the celebrations. They issued a manifesto in which, after enumerating the illegal acts, the terrorism and corruption of the Brătianu Government, they declared that they, "the real representatives of Transylvania, could not attend the celebrations arranged by the present Government."³ The situation was aggravated by the fact that the Greek Catholic Roumanian clergy, in obedience to liturgical precepts, waited outside the church during the Orthodox service.

¹ In the *Idea Națională*, quoted by the *Keleti Újság*, 29th March 1922.

² *Lupta*, 18th May 1922.

³ The text of the manifesto was published by the *Adevărul*, on 11th May 1926.

The National Party is regarded more or less as the political organization of the Greek Catholics.

The Party refused also, for similar reasons, to attend the celebrations commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Avram Jancu, a rebel against the Hungarian State in 1848, and regarded by the Transylvanian Roumanians as one of their national heroes.

The Government was not slow to retaliate. In the summer of 1928, the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Bishop Şaguna, the first leader of the Transylvanian Roumanian Party, having come round, the National Party made great preparations for its celebration. But the Government took the arrangements into their own hands and simply struck the name of the present leader of the Party, M. J. Maniu, from the list of the speakers; thereupon the Party decided to take no part in the celebrations.

Meanwhile the administrative and economic situation of Transylvania went from bad to worse, and the disaffection among the Transylvanians became ever greater. M. Mihai Popovici complained in the House that Transylvania was treated like a mere colony and the Transylvanians like helots. Excluded from Parliament, suffering under the corrupt administration, and losing their confessional schools, the Roumanians began to regard themselves as being hardly better off than the Minorities. In a Parliamentary speech, M. A. Vajda speaks of the "Roumanian Minorities of Transylvania and the Bánát."¹ "What right have the Hungarians to complain," said the same M. Vajda, with some exaggeration, "when the fate of the Roumanians in Transylvania is much more grievous than that of the racial Minorities?"²

In an impressive speech, made in Buzeu to the Roumanians of Muntenia, he described the feelings of the Transylvanians towards the Regat:

"In the past, Roumania was for us the land of beautiful visions, of ideal liberty, where we went to

¹ *Debat Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 1270.

² *Adevărul*, 12th June 1928.

renew our forces for the national struggle. Since then Greater Roumania has come into existence. What a disappointment! We have awakened from our illusions, and discovered that we have become slaves. In Hungary we were not slaves. We could speak freely in the streets, in our houses, and in the Hungarian Parliament. To-day, those who form the worst elements in the Old Kingdom give us lessons in Roumanian patriotism. In Hungary we had the shield of the laws, which protected us Roumanians also. To-day we are treated like enemies, beyond the pale of the law. . . .

"What are we to do?"

"If we stay in Transylvania, we are called 'regionalists,' if we come here we are intruders."¹

M. J. U. Sorica, a Regat Liberal, was right in stating that there is a clash of standpoints and views between Transylvania and the Regat: "Two conceptions, two mentalities, confront one another," he said; "on the one hand are those who, living in Roumania, attending Roumanian schools and being under the influence of Roumanian culture, wish to introduce Roumanian enlightenment among the people; and on the other those who are imbued to the depth of their soul with Hungarian doctrines, and for whom everything which is Hungarian is good and everything which does not come from Hungary lacks merit."²

But the constant complaints and the vacillating policy of the National Party made no impression on the Bucarest Government. The Opposition parties, and first among them the National Party, withdrew from time to time from the Parliamentary sittings, but after a few weeks' abstention they always returned again. When, in the spring of 1923, the Constitution Bill was introduced, they declared that they could not take part in the debates of a House the origin of which was corruption and illegality. One party leader after the other stood up and declared his disillusionment of the new state. The Transylvanian, A. Vajda, used strong words against the Regat:

¹ *Adreșul*, 13th November 1923.

² *Desbat. Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 1220.

"We do not," he said, "want to be regarded as slaves in aggrandized Roumania; we cannot tolerate being treated in a manner which in civilized countries would not be permitted even towards the beasts. We want to be the free citizens of a free country.

"If the people cannot find a legal defence, either with the Government, or in the institutions of the State or with the King, it must have recourse to the last expedient: *vim vi repellere licet*." ¹

In November 1924 the semi-official paper of the Government, the *Viitorul*, published parts of a secret electoral manifesto of 1922, in which the National Party had declared war to the death between Transylvania and the Regat, "the name of which fills every Transylvanian with loathing." "Do not omit to underline," it advised, "the natural superiority of our people. The Transylvanians, to whatever class they may belong, are better Roumanians, more industrious, more cultivated, and have a deeper sense of justice, than the petty elements of the Regat—petty as much in their social and family relations as in their economic and political life. This is a sad but old fact, and must be repeated, because Transylvania can be fanaticized only in this way. . . . The psychology of the present situation is that Transylvania and the Regat stand pitted against each other." "Whither are we going?" asked the *Viitorul*.² "The National Party is not only filled with separatist tendencies, not only does it fail to contribute to the work of national union and consolidation, it works, on the contrary, for national dissolution."

On 24th December 1923, on the occasion of the debates on the budget, a Transylvanian, M. Lupaş, made a powerful speech against the policy of centralization of the Bucarest politicians. He contended that even the Roumanians of Moldavia were dissatisfied with the rule of Bucarest; how much more those of Transylvania, Bessarabia and the Bukovina? The chief cause of this was the terrible moral and political atmosphere

¹ *La lutte contre l'absolutisme en Roumanie*, p. 58.

² 26th and 27th November 1924, *Țara Noastră*, 23rd November 1924.

of Bucarest, which was "like a cancerous sore on the body of Roumania, whence the dangerous germs of the disease were spreading, ultimately to destroy the whole country. . . . The mentality and the intrigues peculiar to Bucarest, which tend to become permanent in the administration of the country, create in the transferred provinces such a dangerous spirit as puts the endeavours towards a national unity into a graver crisis than we have ever experienced."¹

The answer of the anti-regionalists to all this was a string of calumnies.

M. Vasile Popescu Pocuella declared, in the Senate, that "since the union they—the Transylvanian Roumanians—while speculating and enriching themselves, had done nothing but slander the new State, and encourage by their unpatriotic behaviour the enemies of the country."²

In a memorable sitting of the House, in February 1925, General Moşoiu, commander of the troops which had invaded Transylvania, speaking of the rôle of the Transylvanian Roumanians during the war, asked M. Vajda, with a certain innuendo, where he had been in 1916, when the Roumanian troops were annihilated in Transylvania. The answer was furnished by the *Viitorul*: "He was in Hungary exhorting the Transylvanian Roumanians to fight with the Hungarians against the Roumanian army . . . and after our defeat, and the occupation of Roumania by the Germans and Hungarians, he went to the Hungarian Government and asked them to annex Roumania and depose the dynasty."³

Twelve months earlier the same General characterized the members of the National Party as "no better than deserters from the war of liberation."⁴

The critics of the Party were, to a certain extent, justified in their strictures. It was rightly pointed out that its destructive opposition and constant dissatisfaction, coupled with a complete lack of constructive

¹ *Debat. Deput.*, 24th December 1923, p. 804.

² *Debat. Senat.*, 1924, p. 37.

³ *Viitorul*, 5th February 1925.

⁴ *Patria*, 5th March 1924.

policy, could not serve as the basis for a future administration. Professor Cuza defined its situation thus:

"The National Party," he said, "originated and received its name in the time of the struggles against foreign rule. In those days it was national *versus* foreign. It was in the nature of things that it should disappear when the goal was attained. It should have said: We have fought a glorious fight which God has crowned with success; we have fulfilled our mission and must now cease as a National Party; we must enter the political life of the United Kingdom.

"What has happened instead? The National Party has gone on existing and has directed all its activities against us. It invented the formula, 'Transylvania for the Transylvanians,' and 'we have become Regateans.'

"This is a mere figment, however. The past can have no representation in public life. There is no place for a 'National' Party against the Roumanians and there can be no 'Regionalist' Party in Roumania."¹

The matter cannot, however, be settled by mutual abuses; the disaffection of the Transylvanians is a fact, and in the autumn of 1924 it manifested itself by an unexpected event. In October the Transylvanian members of the Liberal Party in power assembled in Nagyvárad and drew up a memorandum to the Government, in which they described the grievous situation of Transylvania and demanded urgent reforms in the administration and in economic life. They protested against the charge of being "regionalists" and accused the Government of neglecting Transylvania and the Transylvanians. It is the "regionalism" of the Regat, they said, which causes the "regionalism" of Transylvania. They complained of the inferior officials sent from the Regat; of the gendarmery and police—both hateful institutions; and they demanded the reintroduction of the Hun-

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, "Sesiunea extraordinară," 1926, p. 383. This was the motive actuating those members and senators who left the National Party also in 1920 and joined Averescu's People's Party. Their manifesto, "Către poporul românesc din Transilvania," was published in the *Renasterea Română*, 3rd April 1920.

garian system, the reorganization of the post and the railways, and, above all, the implacable suppression of corruption.¹

Later, in January 1925, another representative body, the "Society of To-morrow," arranged meetings in Kolozsvár, at which the situation of Transylvania was discussed. All the speakers agreed that it was far from satisfactory. M. O. Goga himself, the strongest foe of "regionalism," declared that something must be done. Transylvania must have its representatives in the Government and the members of Parliament for Transylvania must be Transylvanians. What he thought of the administration was conveyed in the simple phrase, that if the carrying out of the new administrative reform was going to be entrusted to the present Civil Servants, it would be drowned in shame and filth.²

The political problem of the Transylvanian Roumanians is complicated by the religious one. We know that a relentless religious struggle is going on between the Orthodox and the Greek Catholic Churches. This religious antagonism is transplanted into politics. The Liberal Government made use of this antagonism as an instrument against the National Party. In January, just before the elections, M. G. G. Mărzescu, Minister of Justice, said at a political gathering that the aim of the Government was to create hostility between the Greek Catholic and the Orthodox Church, and to carry the electoral campaign on these lines. The seeds of such hostility were actually sown. M. D. Manu said, in the House, that in one constituency the Orthodox peasants refused to vote for M. Ghița Popp because, as they said, "he was Greek Catholic and they were Orthodox, of the same sort as the Prime Minister."³

In consequence of the fact that the Greek Catholics had been connected with the West, and had had a closer contact with Rome and Budapest, the majority of the

¹ *Adevărul*, 5th February 1925.

² *Tara Noastră*, 1925, No. 2.

³ *Debat Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 209.

members and leaders of the Transylvanian National Party, those who are the strongest "regionalists," are Greek Catholics, while those who are Orthodox have less sympathy with this movement. J. Maniu, the leader of the Party, A. Vajda, the late Prime Minister, also the two chairmen, the secretary of the Party and the chief editor of the *Patria*, are Greek Catholics and "regionalists," while MM. L. Goldiș, Goga, Lapedatu and the younger elements are Orthodox and more inclined to a friendly collaboration with the Orthodox Regat. The famous electoral manifesto of 1922 was voted by 75 per cent. of Greek Catholics and only 25 per cent. of Orthodox members of the Party.¹

This cannot be pure chance, and lately the Orthodox members of the Party have raised the accusation that the Party is the instrument of the Greek Catholic Church. Their smouldering dissatisfaction finally found expression in a memorandum addressed by M. L. Goldiș to M. Maniu.

He pointed out that it would be a fatal error to introduce Church differences into the Party, and to hurt the feelings of the Orthodox by favouring the Greek Catholics. "Our ancestors in Transylvania," wrote M. Goldiș, "took scrupulous care to avoid such a course, knowing that otherwise they would be unable to preserve the unity of the people." He said that the present conspicuous favouritism towards the Greek Catholics was alienating the Transylvanian Orthodox clergy, which was the most valuable element in the political struggle. He also pointed out a few blunders committed by the Greek Catholics and the Party, as, for example, the refusal of the Greek Catholic clergy to take part in the ceremonies incident to the crowning of the King, the failure to effect a fusion with the peasant party, etc., and finished with a categorical demand concerning the reorganization of the Party.²

The memorandum was printed in the *Țara Noastră*, and a fierce Press struggle blazed up in its wake. M. Bogdan-Duica, professor of the University in

¹ *Țara Noastră*, 23rd November 1924.

² *Ibid.*, January 1925, No. 8.

Kolozsvár, demanded the convocation of an Orthodox meeting at which the rôle of the two Churches should be defined and the political tyranny of the Greek Catholics exposed; he demanded that ways and means should be found to establish that "dominant" situation of the Orthodox also in political life which is secured to them in the ecclesiastical life of the country.¹

The Greek Catholics answered in their Bucarest paper, the *România*. The article contained a bitter reproach against Professor Bogdan-Duica that he was disseminating religious intolerance and introducing it into Transylvanian politics. He seemed to forget, the paper concluded, that there were also Minorities in the State and that the Roumanians must be united and not quarrelling.

It is unfortunate that immediately after the end of the Hungarian rule such fierce political and religious struggles should have blazed up in the midst of this "most tolerant people of the world." But it could not be otherwise. One could quote hundreds of statements pointing out the great difference between Transylvania and the Regat, the incomparable cultural and moral superiority of past Transylvania as compared with the present. "Balkanism" is the word which describes the situation into which Transylvania has been thrown, and it furnishes the cause of that "regionalism" which is wrongly regarded by most of the Regat Roumanians as only the inane vanity and frivolous self-admiration of a few leaders.

A critic of the Transylvanian Roumanians, M. Radu Dragnea, made the reproach to them that they are unable to understand the importance of the great transition; that is the reason why they have remained on the outer edge of the new Roumanian life and represent "a tragic inadaptable type in public life. . . . In a kind of splendid isolation they live a vegetative and sterile Romanism: in literature they have their Transylvanian authors, in scholarships their confessional historians and Transylvanian specialists, in

¹ *Aurora*, 25th January 1925.

politics their infallible Transylvanian M.P.'s." And in the language—M. Dragnea might have added—their peculiar Transylvanian vernacular, which makes them unable to understand the "Regatean" French-Roumanian. It is told by a Transylvanian lawyer that when in Kolozsvár a judge from the Regat passed sentence on a peasant from the mountains, and asked him whether he had understood it, the man answered hesitatingly: "No, sir, I understand only Roumanian."¹

It is this peculiar Transylvanian spirit, incomprehensible to most of the Regat statesmen, which makes the Transylvanian Roumanians another Minority in Greater Roumania.

Once in a while a Regat Roumanian grasps the fact that the various peoples of Transylvania are bound more closely to each other than the Roumanians of the different provinces. Professor Jorga, with deep understanding, wrote: "I shall believe no Transylvanian who says that he is a Hungarian, a Saxon or a Roumanian—they are all Transylvanians. Centuries ago Hungarians, Saxons and Roumanians assembled in the Transylvanian mountains and developed a special Transylvanian spirit, which has got to be preserved. . . . All the more so since, if we fail to preserve it, Hungarians and Roumanians, these two races so different from those which surround them, will go under in the tide of the German and Slav ocean."²

¹ *Cuvântul*, 30th January 1926.

² *Ellenzék*, 23rd February 1922.

CHAPTER XXII

ROUMANIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

ON 30th May 1919, the text of the Treaty with Austria was communicated to the Roumanian peace delegates in Paris. Article 5 of Section IV., Part III., contained the following provision :

“ Roumania accepts the embodiment in a Treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers of such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.”

Next day the Delegation answered with a Declaration in which there is quoted a letter from the first delegate, M. Brătianu, addressed on the 27th of the same month to M. Berthelot, President of the Minorities Committee.

The letter runs :

“ Roumania has granted complete equality of political and religious rights and liberties to all her nationals without distinction of race or religion. . . . The Government, in accord with the representatives of Transylvania, has decided to secure the rights and liberties of the Minorities in the entire kingdom by a large administrative decentralization, guaranteeing thereby the free development of their language and education and the exercise of their religion.”

M. Brătianu was referring to the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions, which, as is well known, he never recognized.

The contents of this letter were further developed by the Declaration, which is one of the most important documents for the understanding of Roumania's attitude towards the Minorities.

“ The above letter shows that Roumania has granted

extensive liberties to the racial and religious Minorities. Inspired by these principles, the delegates have voted in favour of the guarantees proposed for all the States which are members of the League, but beyond these general principles Roumania is not willing to sign any stipulations which would limit her rights as a Sovereign state. . . .

"Foreign intervention, even if it did not grant more liberties than those which the Roumanian State is decided to guarantee to all her nationals, would affect the work of fraternization which the Roumanian Government have set for their aim. On the one hand, certain Minorities would regard themselves as freed from all gratitude towards the State, which counts precisely on this sentiment as a bond between the races; and on the other, it would tend to create two categories of nationals in the same State—one relying on the solicitude of the State, the other hostile to it and trying to find protection beyond its frontiers.

"History shows that from this point of view the protection of the Minorities had contributed rather to the destruction than to the consolidation of a State."

In consequence of this standpoint the Roumanian delegates proposed to substitute the following text for Article 5 :

"Roumania grants to all the racial and religious Minorities which live on the territories within her new frontiers, rights equal to those enjoyed by the other Roumanian nationals."

This meant Roumania's refusal to accept the Minorities Treaty and the control of the League of Nations.

The Allied Powers refused to accept the Roumanian amendment, which would have altered entirely the lines of their policy and would have led automatically to the abandonment of the League of Nations as an instrument for the protection of the Minorities. Roumania was not the country to inspire confidence in the protection of her Minorities without international obligation.

The Brătianu Government took the consequences of this refusal: they declined to sign the Treaties, and

resigned. They were followed later on by the Vajda Government, which signed both the Austrian and the Minorities Treaties.

The distrust of the Allied Powers towards Roumania as regards the protection of her Minorities was so deep that they endeavoured to put her under a strong moral obligation, which endeavour found its expression in the Preamble of the Minorities Treaty.

The text of the original Preamble was :

"Whereas under Treaties to which the Principal Allied and Associated Powers are parties, large accessions of territory are being and will be made to the kingdom of Roumania ;

"Whereas the independence of the kingdom of Roumania was only recognized under certain conditions by the Congress of Berlin ; and

"Whereas on the other hand, the Principal Allied and Associated Powers are inclined to recognize the independence of the kingdom, both on her old and on her new territories ; and

"Whereas Roumania desires of her own free will to give full guarantees of liberty and justice to all inhabitants, both of the Old Kingdom of Roumania and of the territory added thereto, to whatever race, language or religion they may belong. . . .

"The Allied and Associated Powers which had been the signatories of the Berlin Treaty, taking into consideration the obligations which the Roumanian Government has undertaken by the present Treaty, recognize that Roumania is definitely freed from the conditions put by Article 44 of that Treaty for the recognition of her independence."¹

This text reveals the fact that in 1919 the Allied Powers did not regard Roumania as an independent State, but were inclined to "recognize her independence" and make large territorial accessions possible to her on condition that she secured the rights of the Minorities.

The Roumanian Government and their Press pro-

¹ House : *What Really Happened at Paris*, chapter ix. ; V. V. Tilea : *Acțiunea diplomatică a României* (Introduce).

bested furiously against these provisions. M. Brătianu and his papers, the *Viitorul*, the *Universul* and the rest, reiterated daily the arguments of the Roumanian Peace Delegation. The *Viitorul* turned venomously against the Supreme Council which "knowingly conceals the fact that forty-two years ago Roumania had entered on a war to gain her independence and had gained it with sacrifices which culminated in the victories of Plevna. Roumania has been an independent State for forty-one years. The Supreme Council pretends to forget that Roumania entered the Great War not to gain her independence, but to free her brethren who were in foreign slavery. Now the Council declares in a haughty tone that if Roumania accepts the obligations concerning the Minorities her independence will be recognized by the Allied Powers."¹

The Supreme Council was inflexible in the case of Article 5 of the Austrian Treaty, but dropped the allusions of the Preamble to the Berlin Congress and the independence of the State. The first and the last paragraphs remained, however, so that the stipulations of the Treaty regarding the Minorities constitute, not only obligations of international concern, but in their connexion with the territorial aggrandizement also a strong moral obligation.²

The Covenant declared that a State may become a member of the League "provided that it gives effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations." Roumania did the contrary; from the first moment she has effectively and unmistakably shown her unwillingness to observe them.

In his famous speech on 17th December 1919, on the occasion of M. Vajda's announcement of the signature of the Treaties, M. J. Brătianu explained the Roumanian standpoint. His arguments contain the foundations of Roumania's present policy towards the Minorities and the League of Nations. Referring to the Preamble of the Minorities Treaty, he said :

"Roumania was in effect independent already

¹ *Viitorul*, 28th November 1919.

² See Constantin Stere : *Ante-proiect de Constituție*, 1922, p. 12.

during the last decades of her vassalage; and, when the Supreme Council found it considerate to discuss Roumania's independence after 1879, I said: 'If her independence is to be questioned, then the natural course would be to re-establish the suzerainty of the Sultan, and not that of the president of whatsoever republic.'

"But, until this is done, we cannot allow any State to control our relations with our nationals:

"First, because when it comes to the question of independence, there are in our view no 'big states and little states'; and as regards the domestic relations between a State and its nationals we are just as independent as any big empire.

"Secondly, as regards the good relations between states: such intervention in the home affairs of a country would impose the duty on another State to intervene in certain cases against its will and to the detriment of the existing good relations.

"And thirdly, it is to the disadvantage of the Minorities themselves, whose interests it pretends to secure, because such an intervention would disturb the amicable and fraternal intercourse which must exist among the nationals of a State and which is more necessary to the members of the minority than to the majority.

"When the laws of a country give equal rights to all its nationals, the latter, whether they belong to the majority or to a minority, must recognize the State as their natural protector and only mainstay. But if the nationals of a State are divided into two categories, one of them will expect every help and assistance from its own State, while the other will look for it from some superior protector outside the State. . . .

"For this reason we cannot accept a Treaty which establishes a foreign control, and which, granting to some of our nationals the right to turn to foreign states against our country, puts us in an international inferiority, a situation incompatible with our dignity."¹

Put concisely, the Roumanian standpoint is that the system of the protection of the Minorities as an

¹ *Văitorul*, 24th December 1919.

international concern is a vexatious limitation of the sovereignty of the State incompatible with its independence, and the control of the League of Nations an intolerable interference in its domestic affairs which must be rejected.

It was soon discovered, however, that the situation created by the organization of the League of Nations is not so dangerous. In an article, entitled "After Two Years," the *Luptătorul* wrote, in July 1921 :

"Where is the great danger we feared two years ago ? The Minorities Treaties are not being enforced ; nobody respects them, they are simply disregarded.

"At first the Governments which were forced to accept them were alarmed. . . . In 1919 nobody could foresee what was going to happen. . . .

"They were naive souls who believed that the League of Nations would incommode them. Had they known that it would have neither reality nor power, and that humanity, indifferent and passive as usual, would tolerate every form of reaction and barbarism, they would not have been afraid of the Minorities Treaties and would have signed them unhesitatingly. Two years' experience has shown us that we have no reason whatever to fear them. What difference do they make ? In which country do discontented minorities dare to complain to the League of Nations and ask for its protection ? Anybody who did so, either on his own account or as a witness in a case which is disagreeable to the Government, might as well emigrate or make his will."¹

And it was not only irresponsible Press organs which wrote in this vein. In August 1923, a few weeks after the delegates of the League of Nations had been received with great solemnity by the Government, M. Duca, the Foreign Secretary of the same administration, published a famous article in the *Democrația*, under the title, "Some Paradoxes," which revealed his opinion of the Minorities and people of the *genre* of the League of Nations :

"The whole world proclaims the necessity for

¹ *Luptătorul*, 3rd July 1921.

peace. The natural course to peaceful consolidation would be not to encourage those who have every interest to frustrate it. Yet by a strange misunderstanding of realities, it is just the apostles of peace who use every means to encourage warlike and irredentist aspirations.

" . . . The whole world declares its wish to see consolidated the States which have emerged from the war. To attain this, reason would dictate not to foster the germs which are going to dissolve these new formations. Yet the apostles of consolidation make every effort to strengthen and develop these destructive germs. Whether they are called Bolshevism or Minorities, they can rely on the help of those great apostles of national consolidation.

"Was there ever seen a stranger thing than the indulgence of these circles for the red terror? . . . Massacred emperors, profaned churches, tortured priests, desecrated churchyards, closed universities, and the annihilation of the whole intelligentsia—a pretty social experience, truly!

"*Minorities, which make open irredentism, using the rights which have been granted them only to cast a gloom over the life of the State of which they form a part, and to prepare with foreign complicity the early hour of an imaginary vengeance—pretty concessions these to the modern State for the attaining of a higher life.*"¹

This attitude of the Roumanian Government found an unexpected support in the League of Nations and its functionaries.

In 1921 and 1922 four or five complaints were presented to the League, by the General Presbyterian Alliance, the Hungarian Government, the Siculo-Hungarian Association, etc., concerning the grievances of the Hungarian Minority; but as no member of the Council took them up, the cases were dropped. The only result was an outburst of the Roumanian Press against the Minorities "which arrogated to themselves the right to appeal to a Foreign Power (?)

¹ I. G. Duca: "Câteva paradoxuri," in the *Democrația*, August 1928.

whenever they believed themselves to be suffering under imaginary injustices.”¹

In 1923 an unexpected thing happened. In July a Delegation of the League of Nations was sent to Transylvania under the leadership of M. Eric Colban, chief secretary of the Minorities section. It was awaited with mixed feelings throughout the country. The Roumanian Press suggested that it was indelicate to send a delegation at a time when Roumania was governed by the same men who had refused to sign the Paris Treaty.² The Minorities hailed its arrival as the beginning of a new era. Both were deceived in their expectations.

The members of the Delegation arrived in Bucarest and were received by the Government. The then Minister of Arts and Cults, M. Banu, told them: “In Roumania all the denominations and their schools enjoy absolute freedom and self-government, and receive a subsidy.” Then, accompanied by high state functionaries, they made a tour in Transylvania, where they were received and entertained everywhere by the Roumanian authorities, without meeting or speaking with any members of the Minorities.

In Kolozsvár, however, an unexpected incident happened. The town gave a luncheon in honour of the Delegation to which the bishops of the three Hungarian denominations—the Roman Catholic, Presbyterian and Unitarian—and the chief Rabbi were also invited. Before lunch a letter was handed to M. Colban in which the bishops excused themselves from appearing at a lunch which “might be interpreted as an opportunity for the discussion of the situation and grievances of the religious Minorities.” Thereupon the Delegation granted an interview of two hours to the bishops and the leaders of the Hungarian Party, in the presence of the Roumanian officials, and therewith the matter ended.

The Minorities were immensely disappointed, naturally. “Two hours for the Minorities,” “Investigated

¹ *Viitorul*, 20th November 1922.

² *Presa*, 10th August 1923.

in our own Absence," etc., were some of the titles of articles in the Hungarian and Saxon papers.

But the Roumanian Press was jubilant. The *Țara Noastră* stated with great satisfaction that the impression created in Roumania was entirely different than had been anticipated.

"When the Delegation came," it wrote, "there was talk of *enquêtes*, meetings, the hearing of complaints. Nothing of the sort has happened.

"First, Roumania would never allow a review of the treatment of the Minorities by such visitors. The Minorities may turn to the League of Nations with as many complaints as they like, there is no Roumanian Government which will tolerate such an interference in the domestic affairs of the country. Nor was there any question of this. Those three members of the League of Nations did not come to us as a judicial commission, to listen to complaints, to hear witnesses, to write minutes for the purpose of passing future sentences. They had no mission to report on the condition of the Minorities, they only wished to see a few of our towns and to learn to know us better. The whole thing was just an agreeable visit, probably very instructive for the visitors, but one that cannot result—as was pretended—in a report laid on the platonic table of the League of Nations."

One might be inclined to think the above a satire on the tour of the Delegation; but it is nothing of the sort. The article is quite serious, and after stating that the question of the Minorities is one of the most dangerous problems of Europe, because every Minority is more or less irredentist, it goes on to say:

"All that the League of Nations undertook was to annihilate irredentist tendencies and to conduct into the proper channels the attempts of the Minorities to obtain foreign help. . . . The problem of the Minorities remains the domestic problem of every State, and any control would be humiliating and such as no State could endure." ⁴

¹ M. Nicoara: "Liga Națiunilor și minoritățile," in the *Țara Noastră*, 12th August 1928.

Press utterances of this nature found reinforcement in statements made by officials of the League.

The following year, in May 1924, M. Eric Colban held a lecture at the Roumanian University in Kolozsvár, in which, according to the Roumanian *Infrădîrea*, he said the following:

"The League of Nations was not founded with the aim of creating difficulties between the States and their Minorities; its task is only to direct the attention of the Governments of the various States to the provisions of the Peace Treaties concerning the treatment of the Minorities, and to control the observation of the respective clauses.

"According to the League of Nations, the best way to escape conflicts in connexion with Minorities questions is a *sincere collaboration between the Government and the League of Nations*."¹

Previously, in the autumn of 1923, Sir Eric Drummond was in Bucarest and made similar statements to an editor of the *Presa*. He said that the protection of the Minorities is based on equality, and pointed out that the duty of the League of Nations is to see not only that the provisions of the Treaties are respected, but also that the Minorities fulfil their duties towards their State.

Such declarations were very close to the conception entertained on this subject by the Roumanian Government. That, at least, was the impression created on the latter, and the result was that they pursued their oppressive policy with redoubled vigour. The

¹ The original text of this declaration, which was not contradicted, is the following:

"Societatea Naţiunilor n'a fost însă creată pentru a face dificultăţi statelor cu minorităţi, ei nu este ținută decât să îndice guvernelor diferitelor state directivele cari se desprind din clauzele tratatelor de pace cee privesc la tratamentul minorităţilor şi să controleze respectarea acestor clauze.

"Societatea Naţiunilor şi a dat seama, că pentru a evita orice fel de conflict, cea mai buna procedare în chestiunea minoritară este o colaborare sinceră între Guvernele statelor şi Societatea Naţiunilor."

With M. Colban held a lecture also in the Sociological Institute in Bucarest, which appeared in a volume published by the Institute, *Politica Externă a României*. This lecture contains not a single word concerning the Minorities.

destruction of confessional education was started after M. Colban's disastrous visit, and in December 1925, on the occasion of the debates on the private schools, M. Colban's words found an accurate echo in the Roumanian Parliament :

"The League of Nations," said M. Andrei Pora, "an emanation of all peoples, was not, and is not, founded on the principle of safeguarding the rights of the Minorities in the various States, but also, and first of all, on the principle of collaboration between all the States re-established on a national basis, with the aim of restoring the general peace and of remaking Europe after the war.

"Of course, besides this more important occupation, the League of Nations is anxious to solve in an amicable manner the small conflicts which may arise between a sovereign people and a racial Minority, but in its high functions it will never think of abandoning the national idea as the only solid basis on which one can build." ¹

The failure of the League Delegations rests on the fact that the delegates are regarded by Roumania as her guests, and that they regard themselves as the servants of the States which belong to the League—in this case, of Roumania—and, not being able to free themselves from the influence of the Government, receive information that is one-sided at best. After his visit in 1923, Sir Eric Drummond sent the following wire to the Government paper, *Viitorul*² : "The hospitality received in Roumania was as exemplary as the treatment of the Minorities is correct."

During its visit, the Colban Delegation was constantly accompanied by Roumanian officials. After its departure, the *Viitorul* wrote that M. Colban had recognized, on information received from the Government, that their measures concerning the language of instruction were in harmony with the provisions of the Paris Treaty. Revolted by such flagrant falsification of facts, M. Constantin Mille, the editor of the

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1925-1926, p. 368.

² 30th October 1923.

Roumanian *Lupta*, wrote an article entitled "National Lies":

"The representatives of the Roumanian Government had the shamelessness to lie to these gentlemen, who, out of politeness or shame, did not immediately produce the Treaty and the text of the ordinances to confute them. When they return to Geneva they will relate what they have seen and heard, and tell about the audacity with which the Roumanian Ministers had lied.

"Will not this procedure bring shame upon us, who have already a bad enough reputation abroad? The whole thing is all the more deplorable as the lies and illegalities of the Government fall back, not on them, but on the country."¹

Little is known of what the members of the Government said to the League officials, but there are printed declarations which throw sufficient light on the manner in which Roumanian Cabinet Ministers give information. One is embarrassed to decide whether they themselves believe the statements they seem to make in all seriousness. What is one to think, for instance, of M. Duka's declaration to the Anglo-American Delegation that "the most absolute respect is paid by the Government, in word and deed, to the principles of the League of Nations Covenant with regard to the rights of Minorities"? Or M. Angelescu's statement that "no properly conducted confessionnal school had been closed during the two and a half years while he had held office"? Or the Minister of Agriculture, M. Constantinescu, saying that "no race or institution had been favoured under the Agrarian Law, which affected everyone in the same manner, and was administered equally for the benefit of all"?

The example of the Government is followed by their functionaries.

Administrative officials and gendarmes simply deny facts repeated by priests and ministers. We will quote only a few instances. On the complaint of violence and corruption of the authorities, the Government

¹ Quoted by the *Ellenzék*, 11th August 1923.

makes the following general remark: "We may observe that the Roumanian Government never tolerated the public officials to abuse of their position and to commit illegal acts against the inhabitants of the country, of whatever religion or nationality, without inflicting proper punishment. In fact, it will be easy to find, from the following relation, that the charges brought against the Government officials are simple insinuations made in order to lead the Delegation into error." The following is a typical case. Four men in Gálfaľu told the delegates that they had been badly beaten by the gendarmes and then forced to sign a declaration that they had suffered no outrage. The Government's cynical answer is that the men had only been "examined," but "they were not beaten, as they own themselves."¹

In the Government's answer to the Siculo-Hungarian Society in 1923 we find the following:

"Through the vote of the Gyulafeľhervár Assembly Transylvania formed an integral part of the Roumanian kingdom since 1st December 1918." *De facto*, and legally, Transylvania became part of Roumania through the Treaty of Trianon.

"The Military Conventions recognized explicitly the sovereignty of Roumania on the occupied territories. In consequence, Roumania had a perfect right to demand the oath from the functionaries." There is no trace in the Military Conventions of any such recognition.²

The answer also pretends that according to the Transylvanian electoral law the voters must themselves see that they are registered as voters. In actual fact the law contains no such provision; the voters must be registered, *ex officio*.³

In the answer to the complaint of the Transylvanian Churches in 1925 we find the following statements:

"In the denominational schools, which are attended by pupils of different language than those of the

¹ *The Religious Minorities in Transylvania*, pp. 47, 50.

² See Chapter IV., p. 69.

³ See p. 279.

Roumanian race, the language of instruction is that of the mother-tongue of the pupils."

"The Hungarian Minority, although fewer in number in Transylvania now than under Hungarian rule, possesses more schools than before the war."

These last two remarks are typical in their hypocrisy.

It is true that the Hungarian Churches have established a few hundred denominational schools since the occupation, but only to replace more than fifteen hundred State schools which have been turned into Roumanian ones.

It is also true that in the Hungarian schools the language of instruction should be Hungarian—in theory. In practice, however, it is entirely crowded out by lessons held in the Roumanian language.¹

In 1925 there appeared the weighty denunciation of the Government's policy by the Anglo-American Delegation, and their charges were not weakened either by the simple denials of the interested authorities or by the pamphlet published by a certain Miss Henrietta Tichner, whose book is manifestly inspired by the Government. The complaints of the Hungarian Minority concerning the settlers and the Bill of Private Education were well founded, and caused a certain nervousness in Roumanian political circles. M. Petrescu Comnen, Roumanian Minister in Switzerland, came to Transylvania to collect proofs that "the Roumanian gendarmes do not murder people before the altar."²

On 7th April, M. Dumitru Lascu, a militant member of the House, put a series of questions to the Prime Minister, in the course of which he said :

"We have gained the reputation, in religious matters, of being the most intolerant people of the world. I ask you, Is there any State in Europe or America where there are more churches and denominations, with all their subversive tendencies, in full vigour and development, than in our country ? In which country do you see so many missions, commissions, delegations, organs of 'control,' of the League

¹ See Chapter XV.

² *Lupta*, 6th September 1925.

of Nations, the Alliance Israelite, of so many existing and fictitious religious organizations from England, America, Switzerland, the Scandinavian states, Palestine, and I don't know where, which all secure a free entrance on pretext of controlling and supervising us, and make fun of the sovereignty of our State?

"And the greatest paradox of all is our 'inalterable' alliance with 'our great Allies' who at the same time are the most fervent promoters of the revival of our enemies."¹

On the occasion of the debates on the Reform of the Administration Bill, the same man made a violent attack on the "ecclesiastic chiefs of the so-called 'Protestant and Papist Minorities'" for daring to complain to the League of Nations. The Minorities in Roumania have, he said, full liberty to declare their satisfaction or dissatisfaction in the Press, at public meetings and in Parliament, therefore, "they have absolutely no excuse for going abroad and proclaiming revolution on pretext of having been curtailed in their liberties."²

M. Petrescu Comnen thought he saw a way out.

At a meeting of the journalists of Bucarest, in July 1925, he said: "Lately the League of Nations has been inundated with the complaints of the *so-called* representatives of the Minorities."³ . . . In the face of this situation the time has come for us to chastise these defamers of our country, whether they live among us or in Hungary. We who respect the rights of the Minorities must look to it that we shall not be constantly attacked and calumniated."⁴

His proposal was hailed with delight by the Yellow Press of Roumania. But there were also papers which gave a lesson to the excellent diplomat on the protection of the Minorities. "Such retributive measures," wrote *Adevărul*, "against the Minorities are impossible;

¹ *Patria*, 10th April 1925.

² *Desbat. Deput.*, 1924-1925, p. 3635

³ He referred to the bishops of the Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and Unitarian Churches, who had presented a common complaint concerning the denominational schools.

⁴ *Universul*, 1st July 1925. (The italics are the paper's.)

first, because neither the Minorities Treaty, which is an integral part of the new legal system of Europe, nor the Covenant, permit them; secondly, because they would destroy the protection of the Minorities, if the latter's right to complain before the League was suppressed. . . . M. Petrescu should seek elsewhere for a remedy for our political methods towards the Minorities; if we allow them to enter our legislature, if we discuss with them our laws, and read their memoranda, if we grant them what is secured them by the Treaties, then they will not go to the League."¹

On the other hand, the Roumanian Government seemed gradually to have reached the insight that they would be unable to maintain their supreme contempt of the League, and that the time would soon be past when simple denials and oratorical phrases would be sufficient to tide matters over.

But the change from the complete abandonment of the Minorities to their efficacious protection would presuppose a change of attitude on the part of the League; the latter would have to detach itself from political considerations and be an intrepid and impartial judge of disputes arising between a Minority people and the Government of a victorious State.

It was a question of politics that the first complaints of the Transylvanian Hungarians never came up for discussion. Not one member of the League was willing to take them up and disturb thereby his country's good relations with the State complained against.

The complaint of the Hungarian optants, which was the first to come before the Council, was sacrificed to politics.²

The case of the Hungarian colonists has been told in Chapter IX.

The dispute arose out of the same question of law as in the case of the optants. The Council, while expressing its doubt whether the Agrarian Reform Act accorded with the Treaty, again evaded the decision, and accepted the offer of the Roumanian Government

¹ *Adevărul*, July 1925.

² See Chapter IX.

to pay to the settlers somewhat more than they originally intended.

Dr G. A. Klein, a Saxon jurist, writes in this connexion as follows :

"The Council has entirely misunderstood its task. Its decision could be one of two ; either that

"The expropriation of the settlers under Article 10 is not in conflict with the provisions of the Minorities Treaty, because it does not constitute an exceptional treatment to the detriment of the Minorities in comparison with the majority race ; Roumania's offer of an additional sum of 700,000 gold francs shows her good will, but is her own domestic business, with which the League as such has no concern : or that

"Article 10 conflicts with the Treaty concerning the equal treatment of all the Roumanian nationals ; in consequence of this, Roumania is not entitled to expropriate the land of the settlers. The offer of 700,000 francs by the Roumanian Government has no material connexion with the dispute, and will therefore not be discussed."¹

The complaint of the Hungarian Churches against the oppressive measures of the Private Education Bill reached the League in the spring of 1925. In the autumn, before it came up for discussion, the delegates of the Churches met M. Duca, the then Foreign Secretary, in Geneva, who promised redress for their grievances. The negotiations took place, but produced no result, and the Bill, which had in the meantime been withdrawn, was once more laid before the House and passed without any material modification. The Minority Churches again appealed to the League, but the Government reported that a compromise had been arrived at ; they fulfilled their promises, and the Churches were satisfied.²

The Saxon Minority has not yet appealed to the League, but the events of this last year made them also anxious. "As Saxons," wrote the *Kronstädter*

¹ G. A. Klein : "Die Klage der ungarischen Kolonisten beim Völkerbund," in the *Deutsche Politische Hefte*, 1925, pp. 11-12.

² *Az erdélyi román. kath. status igazgatótanácsának, 2487-2926 sz. jelentése*, p. 28.

Zeitung, in September 1925, "we are directly only interested in the School Question, but as a Minority the other questions also affect us, because they throw a clear light on the principles of the Minority policy of Roumania. What happened to a Presbyterian school to-day, may happen to-morrow to any other denomination, if it so pleases the Roumanian Government."¹ For the present, however, they would like the Hungarians to get the chestnuts out of the fire for them.

The protection of the Minorities in Roumania is fundamentally vitiated. The problem is not that of isolated infractions of the Treaties; not the question of the denominational schools, of the colonists, and of agrarian expropriation; but the large and complex question of the foundations of the rights of the Minorities. By refusing the enactment of their Treaty rights in the Constitution and granting an all-levelling equality to every national of the State, the foundations of a powerful Roumanizing policy have been laid.

The Roumanian attitude is an inherited evil.

Roumania protested against the Minorities Treaty in 1919 as she protested at the Berlin Congress in 1878, against Article 44; she refused to accept the new system of the protection of the Minorities as she refused the protection of the Jews fifty years ago; and she evades her obligations with the same practices and the same stubbornness in the twentieth century as she did in the nineteenth.

In 1881 M. Rosetti, one of the late Prime Ministers of the country, boasted that the Jewish Question had been solved "in direct contradiction to the spirit and the letter of the Berlin Treaty."

This fact must be clearly understood.

She was allowed to neglect the first step: the enactment of the provisions of the Minorities Treaty as fundamental law. The rest—the persecutions and the destruction of the institutions of the Minorities—followed as a matter of course. The case of the Jews in the past clearly showed where the road of Roumania would lead, but in 1919 no one cared to learn the

¹ *Kronstädter Zeitung*, 6th September 1925.

lessons of the past. An immense responsibility rests with the Allied Powers, who naïvely believed that on the condition of granting large territorial accessions, and of asking Roumania's signature to the Treaty, the fate of the Minorities on her territory was sufficiently secured.

An effective protection would be obtained only by returning to the root of the evil: by compelling Roumania to recognize that times have changed and that there is a difference between the protection of the Minorities in pre-war and post-war Europe.

But have the times really changed?

In December 1925, M. Mello Franco, permanent *rapporteur* on the Minorities questions, made, on the occasion of a proposal for the modification of the procedure, some "personal declarations." Among other things he said:

"It seems to me obvious that those who conceived this system of protection did not dream of creating within certain States a group of inhabitants who would regard themselves as permanently foreign to the general organization of the country. On the contrary, they wished the elements of the population contained in such a group to enjoy a status of legal protection which might ensure respect for the inviolability of the person under all its aspects and which might gradually prepare the way for conditions necessary for the establishment of a complete national unity."¹

This declaration was received with approval by the members of the Council, and so the rôle of the League of Nations as protector of the Minorities may be said to have come to an end.

It is "obvious" that the protection of the Minorities cannot mean what M. Mello Franco suggested, but must, on the contrary, mean that the 50,000,000 of Minority peoples living in the European states have a right to their racial, religious and linguistic peculiarities; that the State to which they belong has the duty to respect these, and the League of Nations

¹ *League of Nations Official Journal*, 1926, No. 2, p. 142.

the obligation to protect them with a view to their preservation. Protection cannot have destruction for its aim, and M. Mello Franco's declaration envisages the ultimate annihilation of the Minorities; for what else is it when he speaks of "conditions necessary for the establishment of a *complete national unity*"?

One phase of the Great War started on account of the alleged oppression of the Minorities; in Paris the most solemn obligations were incurred for the protection of the racial Minorities; and now all this is declared to be non-existent, and the necessity of the assimilation of the Minorities and of the creation of conditions for the foundation of unitary nationalist States is asserted. It is manifest that the greatest result which seemed to be attained by the Great War is destroyed if general recognition is granted to the declaration of M. Mello Franco, an absolute stranger, as regards the history, culture and significance of the Minorities.¹ The belief that the rights of the Minorities have been transferred to the domain of international law, and that they are secured by international control, becomes a mirage, a chimera, if the world still seeks its salvation, in spite of all the blood that has been shed, in nationalism and in the conception of the unitary State of past centuries.

¹ It is to be hoped that M. Mello Franco's opinion will not prevail. It has already been contradicted by Sir Willoughby Dickinson in his report, *L'avenir des minorités nationales et la Société des Nations*, 9th December 1925, and by M. Politis, an eminent member of the League, in an interview to the Transylvanian, Brassói Lapok, 17th January 1927.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE AVERESCU ELECTIONS

THE elections of the Brătianu Government took place at the beginning of March 1922, and thus the term of that Parliament was to end four years later at the beginning of the same month, in 1926. During those four years it was constantly rumoured that the Government was going out ; but the four years passed and it was just as strong as in the spring of 1922. Still, in the autumn of 1925 the news of its resignation took more positive form, and in the spring of 1926 it was a certainty that the Brătianu Government—though undefeated—was going voluntarily.

Just before the Parliament's close, however, they introduced a voluminous and important *Bill on the Election of the Members of Parliament and of the Senators*. The excuse for the delayed introduction of this Bill was that the Government had first to achieve the unification of the administration—but the Act concerning that question had already been passed a year before, in June 1925.

The Bill met with little resistance from the side of the united Opposition and with little serious criticism from the part of the Minorities. It was strongly supported by one Opposition party—General Averescu's People's Party—which was expected to succeed the retiring Liberal Government. It was said that the idea of the Bill was brought from Rome by General Averescu himself.

The principles of the Bill, which is a rather slavish copy of Mussolini's Electoral Law, were the following :

"Suffrage is universal and equal, all male adult persons being qualified ; voting is secret and obligatory. Every voter not under twenty-five years is qualified to be elected a member of the House, and, if not under

forty years, a senator. Membership lapses if the member or senator abandons the party on whose list he was elected.

"The senators are in part elected by the constituencies, county councils, chambers of commerce and industry, and the universities; but some are members of the Senate, *ex officio*—as, for example, the Crown Prince, metropolitans and bishops, late Speakers of both Houses, Members of Parliament and generals of the army with a certain time of service, etc.

"For the Second Chamber a proportional and Minority representation is introduced, and voting is made by the party-list system, every county being a constituency. The constituencies are entitled to elect members, in numbers varying according to their population. The elector votes not for single candidates but for the party list on which the candidates of his party, as many as the constituency is entitled to elect, are enrolled.

"Polling is done at polling stations, and must be finished in the course of one day. The counting of the votes is first done by the County Offices, which send the result to the Central Committee in Bucarest, composed of five judges of the different high courts.

"The establishment of the final result of the elections is a highly complicated procedure.¹

"The Committee settles first the percentage of the votes polled by each party, and declares that party which got the majority, or at least 40 per cent. of the votes, to be the *majority group*, while the other parties form the *minority groups*. If none of the parties has got at least 40 per cent. of the votes there is no majority group. Those party groups which polled less than 2 per cent. will be disregarded.

"The procedure for the distribution of the seats is the following:

"If any minority group has received in any constituency the majority of the votes cast, it receives seats corresponding to the percentage of these votes. Then, the votes for which the said party had already received

¹ For illustration of its working see pp. 397 and 398.

the seats, the annulled votes, and the votes polled by the parties which received less than 2 per cent., are deducted from the general number of votes, and the percentage of the votes polled by each party is definitely fixed. On the basis of these percentages the seats are distributed in the following manner :

"Half of the seats is given to the majority group and the other half is distributed among all the other parties, the majority group included, according to their percentage. If there is no majority group, the seats are distributed in proportion to the percentage of the votes.

"The individual seats are distributed according to the number of votes polled by the different parties in the various constituencies. The candidates who have not been returned are the *suppléants*."

The provisions of the Bill were not directed against the racial Minorities, but against every political minority. Its aim was to secure to the Parliamentary majority, even if it represented a minority in the country, a legal basis for securing an overwhelming preponderance over the Opposition.

The Government made no secret of this aim.

An official *communiqué* explained that, Parliamentary Governments being on the decline all over the world, the fever caused by the great historic changes can only be suppressed by laying the administration of the countries into the hands of strong, dictatorial Governments. A strong Opposition is not needed; it would only impair the quiet course of the administration.¹ The Parliamentary Committee recommended the Bill with similar arguments to the House. "In principle," its report said, "there is no difference between an absolute and a relative majority; from the logical point of view every majority is equal, and, once a majority exists, there is no reason why one should not give the same power and stability to a relative as to an absolute majority, and why a relative majority of 40 per cent. in office should not have the same power as an absolute one of 80 or 90 per cent."

¹ *Ujság*, 3rd March 1926.

"In real fact," the report¹ continues, "this has also hitherto been the endeavour, and the governing parties received more seats at the elections of 1919, 1920 and 1922 than they deserved according to their numerical proportion, but this result was arrived at by various methods of 'electoral geometry,'" and, the report might have added, of immense corruption and bribery. The Bill only wants to lend a legal basis to a political aim which was always pursued.

These theoretical explanations were supplemented by practical enlightenment from the Opposition People's Party.

Just before the debate on the Bill was commenced in the House, M. O. Goga, the then presumptive Home Secretary, wrote an article in his paper, the *Tara Noastră*, in which, after having complained of the moral and political decay of the last seven years, he wrote:

"The standard of political life is declining alarmingly; everywhere the doors are open for irresponsible demagogues, who transform the rights of the people into a trade, and Parliament into a cheap circus, from which they have banished good taste and all talent for organization. The Houses of Parliament are occupied by mere electoral agents, who have turned them into monuments of triviality.

"To combat this, there is only one means: the *principle of authority*, without which no Government can be imagined. Since the war all Governments suffer from a decline of their authority, which is caused by the tumultuous Opposition parties. The chief cause of impotence and failure is the tyranny of the Opposition, and if one follows this road the due respect of the masses for the State institutions will entirely vanish. The new Bill, based on universal franchise, which, as an acquired right, cannot be destroyed, tries to find the means for the securing of strong majorities for future Governments."²

This article of M. Goga was strongly criticized in

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1925-1926, "Legea electorală," p. 5.

² O. Goga: "Legea electorală," in the *Tara Noastră*, 4th March 1926.

the House by a Transylvanian Roumanian member, M. Junian, who made the reproach to the Government that, not content with the powers granted by the standing orders, and with destroying the principle of equal voting, they wish to secure omnipotence even to administrations which represent only a minority of the country. A committee in Bucarest, said M. H. O. Roth, is, by a simple declaration, to turn a minority into a majority, which will rule "in the name of the people."¹

The Bill contained originally a few provisions which were directed against the racial Minorities—as, for example, that which disqualified the officials who did not take the oath of allegiance. But such provisions were struck from the Bill.

One of its provisions, however, affects very unfavourably the Hungarian and German Minorities in Transylvania—namely, that which disenfranchises the boroughs and makes each county form a constituency. In consequence of this, the intelligent Hungarian and Saxon town population, with a high standard of political maturity, loses its representation, which is drowned by the votes of the unintelligent Roumanian peasants. It is another trait of the Roumanian endeavour to suppress the culture and influence of the more civilized racial Minorities.

The most interesting part of the debates was that which concerned the influence of the new electoral system on the future development of party politics.

According to this system the Minority groups, whether racial or political, receive only a fraction of the seats due to them according to the votes cast, because one half of the seats goes entirely to the majority group. This, it was maintained, will force the parties, chiefly the small ones, to make coalitions, and assert themselves through common lists. In view of the great dismemberment of the parties—in May 1926 twenty-five of them took part in the elections—there is no party in Roumania which would be strong enough to face alone elections that are uninfluenced;

¹ *Debat. Deput.*, 1925-1926, pp. 1890, 2106.

they all need aid, they must coalesce. This tendency of the Bill will—according to M. T. Constantinescu, the Minister who had the Bill in his charge—promote the unity and solidarity of Roumanian party politics.¹ Of course, in the opinion of the Opposition parties, this is precisely the great evil of the Bill, because, according to them, those alliances will not be based on principles, but on pacts; on concessions which will not be kept—in a word, they will be “dishonest coalitions,” as a Roumanian speaker expressed himself.

This will be—according to the Saxon member, M. H. O. Roth—also the fate of the Minority parties. “No one will have a right to be astonished,” he said, “if the Minorities try to secure in the future the advantages of a majority list. But,” he asked, “does this not mean the profound demoralization of the whole of political life, when before the racial Minorities are placed, by an electoral law, the alternative: either to conclude pacts, or be decimated?”²

As always, so also in this question, M. J. Maniu stated the Roumanian nationalist standpoint.

He declared that he and his party stand unswervingly on the basis of the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions, which secure adequate Parliamentary representation to each nation in proportion to its numerical strength. In consequence of the Bill, however, this principle will be destroyed.

“In the interests of the Roumanian race,” he said, “we must exercise a strong social, moral and cultural influence on the racial Minorities. But this Bill leads to the opposite direction.

“The influence of the Bill on the Minorities will be that they will be forced to coalesce in the whole country, and coalesce against us, whereby they will get a larger representation than they are entitled to according to their numerical, cultural and economic conditions. We said in Gyulafehérvár that the Minorities should have a representation equal to their real significance, but we never said that they should have one beyond their numerical and cultural strength.

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1925-1926, p. 2121.

² *Ibid.*, p. 2107.

"If, forced by the Bill, the Minorities unite in the whole country, and make an electoral pact and acquire the help of certain parties which in some political questions are in accord with them, they will have a much greater Parliamentary representation than they are entitled to, or than we can allow them.

"If, on the other hand, they do not coalesce, they will either have no legal representation, or they will be entirely shut out from the legislature.

"We desire neither the former nor the latter case."¹

Such was the opinion of those who criticized the Bill from the standpoint of Roumanian nationalism. It proved to be a wrong one.

We shall see that the Hungarian Party made a pact with the Government, but not with the purpose of attaining a stronger Parliamentary representation—it even renounced some seats—but of securing the Minority rights.

The House finished with the Bill in a few days; the Act was published on 27th March, and next day the Government resigned.

The change of Government was a typical Roumanian political event.

M. Brătianu had a large, compact majority in Parliament, possessed the full confidence of the Crown, and managed easily the discordant Opposition. Latterly, the results of the elections for the Chambers of Commerce and of the municipal elections were not quite satisfactory, and a few by-elections ended with the defeat of the Liberals; but Roumanian electioneering methods are not such as could bring great disappointments to a Government at general elections. M. Brătianu had at his disposal the organization of his party, every means of corruption, terror and bribery, and nothing would have hindered him from repeating the scandalous elections of 1922.

Nor did the past history of the Government demand their resignation.

Their administration was tyrannical, rough and corrupt to the utmost, and led by party politics: but

¹ *Desbat. Deput.*, 1925-1926, p. 2121.

this corresponded to Roumanian Governmental ethics. Their legislative activity was tremendous, they poured the Bills into the Legislature, and the majority accepted them regardless of their applicability and effect, or even their legality.

M. H. O. Roth called the resignation of M. Brătianu a political mystery. But so had been also that of the two former Governments—M. Vajda's and General Averescu's first administration. M. Vintila Brătianu, the brother of the Prime Minister, and his Minister of Finance, gave in an article some cabalistic explanation. He said that the cause of the renunciation of power by the Liberals was, on the one hand, "their discovery that the administration of the country must for a short time take another course, and, on the other, the relative situation of the Opposition parties."¹

In spite of this incomprehensible nonsense, the resignation of M. Brătianu followed the law governing the fate of all Roumanian Governments: they become exhausted in their corruption, nepotism and venality, they feel the disgust of the country towards their administration, and fall like a rotten apple, or a leech that has sucked itself full. In January 1922, when the first Averescu Government fell, M. V. Madgearu, one of the leaders of the Peasant Party, said to an outgoing Minister: "It was not we and the Liberals who caused the fall of the Government, but their own sins."² This was also the present case.

The Roumanian parties, although all of an insignificant minority compared with the outgoing Liberals, were ready to take possession of the Government: they had been waiting voraciously for the hour.

The Transylvanian National Party believed already in 1924 that its time had come; it was constantly negotiating with the various parties, and planned coalitions and fusions. Now it was more than convinced that the new administration would be formed out of its ranks, either alone or in coalition with the Peasant Party. Neither of the two parties were con-

¹ *Viitorul*, 11th April 1926.

² *Debat. Deput.*, 1926, "Sesiunea extraordinară," p. 114.

scious of the fact that both were heavily handicapped, the former by their regionalism and Greek Catholicism, and stupid opposition to all legislative work of the Liberals; the latter by their too strong radicalism. The Peasant Party was accused of entertaining relations with Moscow, and, besides, one of its leaders, M. Constantin Stere, had been charged with high treason at the time of the German occupation of the country.

These two were, however, the strongest Opposition parties of the Legislation; the National Party was represented by 66, the Peasant Party by 44 members, and the King actually applied to them. The leaders submitted their lists of ministers on 29th March, and next day, 30th March, at nine o'clock in the morning, the King called to him General Averescu, the leader of the People's Party, who had 6 members in the House, and entrusted him with the forming of the Government; three hours later, at twelve, the new Ministry was ready. The most surprising feature of the unexpected turn of events was that three of the new ministers, MM. Goldiș, Lupaș and Lapedatu, were members of the National Party, and that the two former had the day before been on the list of M. Maniu. No wonder that they were expelled from the party as traitors, as "shining examples of personal opportunism and political immorality." But they maintained that *they* were the real National Party, and organized another party of that name. They were the Greek Orthodox and anti-regionalist wing of the disrupted party. It seemed that the Transylvanian National Party had come to an end.

Public opinion took the crisis and its singular solution quietly. The Government of Averescu was regarded as the continuation of the former Government, and General Averescu as the substitute of M. Brătianu, who can reassume the administration whenever he will. According to the *Lupta* there is a written agreement between the two statesmen concerning this. "No constitutional rule permits," said the manifesto of the united National-Peasant bloc, "forming a Government from the weakest party of a country.

General Averescu's only title to do so is that he was during the past four years the appendage of the Liberal Party and now undertakes to continue their dictatorial administration."¹

Naturally, the disappointed parties received the new Government with fury, and declared a deadly war against it, which was inaugurated with an article in the *România*, entitled, "The Government of Thieves."²

The situation of the Hungarian Party had undergone a great change since the elections of 1922. The vigorous, but unsuccessful, fight of four long years was a good school for them.

Already, in 1923, they gained the conviction that, isolated as they were, their fight against the oppressive Minority policy of the Government was hopeless; practically excluded from the Legislation and the administration, they lost all their influence in the country. That was the reason why the Party concluded an agreement with the People's Party, in the autumn of 1923, which secured for them an adequate share in the administration and the redress of their grievances. The agreement is known as the Pact of Csucsá.

Two years later the Pact was abandoned by the Hungarians; but when General Averescu took office he again approached all the racial Minorities and the Hungarian Pact was renewed, though in a different form. It secured 14 seats in the House and 9 in the Senate for the Hungarians who undertook to vote with the Government lists. The People's Party promised to alleviate the situation of the Minorities: to regulate the condition of the officials who had not been reappointed; promised to allow every national to settle his own nationality, to choose the schools to which to send their children; to allow the Minorities to found schools and fix their language, etc.

These agreements, the Pact of Csucsá and its renewed form, are the historic documents to establish the grievances of the Hungarians which have always been denied by M. Brătianu and his ministers. The

¹ *Adevărul*, 18th April 1926.

² *România*, 10th April 1926.

denials, which were believed by the League of Nations, have now been openly cancelled by a Roumanian Government, since it has promised remedy of the denied wrongs.

The elections took approximately the same course as in 1922. The Civil Servants and the gendarmes did the same service to the People's Party as they had done to the Liberals, and the Opposition Press was just as full of infuriated articles as in the spring of 1922; and M. Lapedatu declared in the House—as did the Opposition in 1922—that “the illegal and corrupt practices of the Government have created such an atmosphere in the country as to deprive them of all moral authority.”¹

The basis of the malpractices was the supposed fear of the “subversive” and “destructive” elements who, according to a published order of the chief of the gendarmery, General Ștefanescu, “will use electioneering as suitable means for conspiracy against the safety of the State, the Crown and the Army.”²

To avoid this imaginary danger, the Civil Servants and the gendarmery hindered every form of canvassing, confiscated the literature of the Opposition parties, and prohibited the use of motor-cars, the holding of meetings, etc. Candidates and electoral agents were hindered in their movements, or tolerated only a few days or hours in their constituencies. Naturally, these rules were applied only against the Opposition; the Governmental group and the Christian National Party were allowed to do as much electioneering as they pleased.

In the county of Arad all traffic with motor-cars was suspended; it was forbidden to leave the town of Kolozsvár without the permit of the prefect. In Szatmár the holding of all meetings was forbidden, on the pretext that there was typhoid fever in the country, which was not true.

In Bacău an electoral agent, Costache Romașcanu,

¹ An endless list of electoral malpractices was enumerated in the House on the occasion of the verification of the elections.—*Debat. Deput.*, “Sesiunea extraordinară,” p. 5 *et seq.*

² *Adevărul*, 7th May 1926. Confidential Order No. 1260—926.

was arrested and tortured by the gendarmes, then, driven from village to village, was forced to shout : " This is what happens with Peasant Party electors."

In Dumitreşti a Greek Orthodox priest of seventy, named Jonescu, was dragged from the altar, his vestments and clothes stripped from his body, his beard torn, after which he was driven through the village to strike terror into the Opposition peasants.

The Government perpetrated also the same trick as the Liberals in 1922. M. V. Rădulescu produced in the House a leaflet printed by the Government and distributed by gendarmes among the peasants :

" Peasant brethren ! In the name of the National-Peasant *bloc* we invite you to vote with the circle. The King of the Liberals gave the power into the hands of General Averescu. The King is to-day the prisoner of the Liberals. Long live Prince Carol,¹ the nation's hope ! Down with the officials ! Down with the army ! *Vive* the revolution ! " ²

A chivalrous side of the Governmental terror was that it made no distinction between persons : prominent Opposition politicians, ex-Ministers and late Members of Parliament were hindered in their movements, arrested and beaten like simple agents and electors. A. Vajda, late Prime Minister, Pop Csicsó, M. Popovics, leading figures of Transylvanian politics, V. Brătianu, ex-Minister of Finance, Jon Florescu, ex-Minister of Justice, were forced to leave their constituencies. General Moşoiu fought a revolver fight in Nagyvárad with the gendarmes who tried to prevent his entering the town. M. Angelescu, the oppressor of the denominational schools, was escorted, together with his late chief of Cabinet, M. Remus Nistor, to Buzău, and the latter was beaten so cruelly that he fainted.³ Professor Haneş, candidate for Dâmboviţa, was arrested in Cioranu and deprived of his pocket-book containing 20,000 leus, on the pretext that the money was meant for electioneering purposes.

¹ The ex-Crown Prince, who renounced the throne.

² *Debat. Deput.*, " Sesiunea extraordinară," p. 44.

³ *Adevărul*, 27th May.

M. Argetoianu, Minister in General Averescu's previous Cabinet, protested, in a telegram to the Home Secretary, against his arrest; and M. Mihalache sent the following telegram to the King :

"Yesterday, on 21st May, a gendarme wounded me in Toploveni and when I wanted to return to my family I was arrested. God save Your Majesty.

J. MIHALACHE,

*Your Majesty's late Minister,
Knight of the Order of Michael the Brave."*

Amidst so many difficulties, the united National-Peasant *bloc* turned again, as in 1922, to the King, complaining of the corruption and the offences committed by order of the Government :

"In the electoral fight we are not met by our political opponents, but by soldiers and gendarmes. An order of the chief of the gendarmery puts us beyond the pale of the law, hinders us in making electoral propaganda, in distributing literature, in moving about in our constituencies.

"Villages and towns are isolated and full of soldiers, more so than in time of war, and army officers are forced to take part in the political propaganda. Our leaders are arrested, our candidates beaten, or even shot dead. . . .

"The electoral campaign is turned into a military attack."

The elections corresponded to this prelude.

On 25th May the elections for the Second Chamber, and on 28th May those for the Senate, took place. Candidates, agents, officials and soldiers did their duty; the electors went and voted where they were driven by the gendarmes.¹

The voters of the Opposition parties were forced to vote with the Government, or were not allowed to approach the polling centres; they were prohibited from leaving their villages, and thousands of them

¹ *Cuvântul*, 31st May 1926.

were arrested. Even ballot boxes were broken open and ballot papers falsified. In Vlasca the gendarmes, with the permission of the polling officers, entered the polling booths with the voters, and forced them to vote for the People's Party. In Cotești Buliman gendarmes dispersed the Opposition voters and caused such a revolt that the intervention of the soldiers became necessary.

As a curiosity it may be mentioned that in Kolozsvár a peculiar order was issued by the police prefect: the electors were ordered to vote at different hours of the day, according to their nationality: the officials between 8 and 10 in the morning, the Roumanians between 10 and 12, the Hungarians between 13 and 17, the Jews 17 and 19 and the "others" after 19.

The elections were sharply criticized by the Opposition. The methods of the Government—said Dr Lupu, in the House—were such that there are only two alternatives left for the political future of the peasants, "either to leave them, in their lack of all political interest, to become still more like the beasts of the field and sink ever deeper into slavery, or—revolution."¹

Most characteristic of Roumanian political morals was the attitude of the Liberals. They who had conducted the most corrupt and illegal elections in Roumania in 1922 now pretended to be scandalized over General Averescu's methods, which were an exact echo of their own. M. Duca, the late Foreign Minister, said in the House, with feigned indignation, that the Liberals did not care to criticize the individual elections, but the system, which was "without precedent in the annals of Roumanian Parliamentary elections. The liberties of the citizens, guaranteed by the Constitution, have been trampled on and the result of the appeal to the country has been perverted." He went on to speak of the terrorism of the officials, the immorality of the Pact with the Minorities, the adulterations of the results of the universal suffrage, and declared that his party would fight with all its

¹ *Dezbat. Deput.*, 1926, "Sesiunea extraordinară," p. 189.

strength "that such events should never occur again."¹

The result of the elections was published ten days later in the *Official Gazette*.²

The number of voters in the country was . 3,496,814
Actual number of votes cast was . . 2,622,565

From these received—

		<i>Per cent.</i>
People's Party	1,366,160	52.09
National-Peasant <i>bloc</i>	727,202	27.73
Liberals	192,399	7.34
Christian National Antisemites	124,778	4.76

The rest of the votes were polled by twenty-one party fractions, which received less than 2 per cent., and those votes were to be deducted from the total votes cast.

As the People's Party received more than 40 per cent., it was declared to be the *majority group*.

The procedure for the distribution of the seats was the following :

In eight constituencies the National-Peasant *bloc* received an absolute majority, and thus the corresponding seats, 23 in number, were allotted to it, and the votes—154,915—were deducted from the number of votes cast for this party. Then from the total number of votes cast the following deductions were made : the votes cast for the parties not attaining 2 per cent., the votes of the National-Peasant *bloc*, received in the above eight constituencies, and the annulled votes; and the total of the votes arrived at by these deductions was again distributed among the four parties, and their percentage fixed. Then the seats were distributed.

The country had to choose 387 members, out of which number 23 were already allotted to the National-Peasant *bloc*, so that there were 364 seats to be distributed. Half of this number, 182, went entirely to the majority group, and the other half was distributed

¹ *Desbat. Desput.*, "Sesiunea extraordinară," 1926, p. 5.

² *Monitorul Oficial*, No. 122, 4th June 1926.

among all the parties, the majority group included, according to their percentage.

The result was :

	<i>Per cent. of Votes cast</i>	<i>Number of Seats</i>	<i>Per cent. of Seats</i>
People's Party	52	182 + 110 = 292	75
National Peasant <i>bloc</i>	48	23 + 46 = 69	25
Liberals		16	
Christian National		10	

Thus the Government Party, which polled 52 per cent. of the total of the votes cast in the country, was awarded 75 per cent. of the seats, while the Opposition parties, which polled 48 per cent., will all together be represented by 25 per cent. of the members. According to the single-member system the Government Party might have claimed 202 seats and the Opposition, 185.

But the system destroys the equality of the franchise not only by this method of distribution, but also in other directions.

The number of electors who elect one member shows a great disparity among the different parties :

	<i>Electors</i>
Each member of the People's Party represents	4,688
Each member of the National-Peasant <i>bloc</i> represents	10,539
Each member of the Liberals represents	12,022
Each member of the Christian Nationals represents	12,477
According to the proportion of the votes cast in the whole country	6,773

An even greater injustice is represented by the fact that the parties which polled less than 2 per cent. of the votes in the country are not represented at all. For example, the Socialists polled 40,594 votes, but as the 2 per cent. of the total votes is about 50,000 the party obtained no representation whatever, whereas,

according to the above - quoted average of 6778 electors, they were entitled to at least five members.

From the point of view of the racial Minorities, it is more interesting to examine the influence of the new electoral law on their political significance.

In March the semi-official *Viitorul* wrote the following lines: "At future elections, whatever Government may lead the country, the fate of Roumania's policy—thanks to the new electoral law—will be decided by the Roumanians, and not by the aliens or the immigrated foreigners." The paper meant the racial Minorities and the Jews.

But the outcome of the May elections showed a different result.

According to Roumanian statistics, there are 1,353,000 Hungarians in Roumania, 20 per cent. of whom—about 270,000—are electors. The elections showed that generally 70 per cent. of the electors actually voted—*i.e.* about 190,000 Hungarians.

The corresponding figure for the German votes is 70,000, which would give a total of 260,000 Minority votes in Transylvania.

In consequence of the pact, the overwhelming majority of these votes was cast for the Government lists, so that it is safe to suppose that the Government received about 240,000 Minority votes, which is 57 per cent. of the total of the votes of 420,479 polled in Transylvania, and 17·57 per cent. of the votes polled in the entire country by the Government *bloc*. If these 17 per cent. are deducted from the percentage of the Government votes, which is 52, the result would be that the Government Party would not have attained the 40 per cent. standard which entitled it to be declared the majority group. On the other hand, if the Minorities in Transylvania had voted with the National-Peasant *bloc*, the latter's percentage of 27 would have increased by 17 per cent. and helped them to a majority of 44 per cent.—*i.e.* to the majority group.¹ "The

¹ These figures are taken from an article by Dr L. Fritz: "The Statistics of the Roumanian Parliamentary Elections in 1926, as regards Transylvania," in the July number of the *Magyar Kisebbség*.

fate of the Parliament was in the hands of the Minorities, they decided it, and—thanks to a stupid law—have the decisive influence over our Parliamentary majority in the future,”¹ wrote M. Branisteanu, in the *Dimineața*. His prophecy, written in March, in a criticism of the above-quoted article of the *Viitorul*, became true: “Supposing that only two Roumanian parties took part in the elections, even in that case the votes of the Minorities will be decisive of the result. The obtainment of the favour of the racial and religious Minorities will be an object of bargaining. Directly or indirectly, they will have the decisive influence in the country, in which a relative majority, representing scarcely one-third of the total votes, can receive 65 per cent. of the seats.”²

Notwithstanding all the terror and corruption, the National Party gained a pretty victory in Transylvania: the Transylvanian Roumanians rallied firmly round it, the Government received not more than 7 per cent. of their votes. The Goldiș fraction suffered a heavy defeat.

All the same, they were furious on account of the pact of the Minorities with another party than theirs, chiefly when it became manifest that the victory of the Government was due to their support. The mood and the feelings of the party were best represented by the brutal attacks of M. Vajda, the ex-Prime Minister. His articles and declarations were especially conspicuous for their unfairness and bad taste.

“During Hungarian rule,” he declared to an editor of the *Adevărul*, “I was elected in Árpás; now I have been hindered by the Roumanian gendarme from entering my constituency. It is no wonder that the Roumanian peasant says that his present rulers are worse than the Hungarians, because they make a laughing-stock of him. I do not know what I, ‘poor Valach,’ have done to become the prey of the Hungarian oligarchy also in Greater Roumania under the ægis of the Bucarest Government as formerly under that of the

¹ *Dimineața*, 31st May 1926.

² *Adevărul*, 3rd March 1926.

Budapest one. Before I leave my party, I shall turn Calvinist, take a Hungarian name, and, if Count Bethlen permits, join the Hungarian Party. Then perhaps the Roumanian Home Secretary will make a written pact with me also, the Roumanian gendarme will defend me too, and I shall not be a miserable Roumanian Minority in Greater Roumania.

"And if my expectations are not fulfilled, I shall appeal to the League of Nations."

On 4th June, a few days after the Parliamentary elections, a lamentable incident happened in the county of Hunyad, at the local elections; gendarmes fired into a tumultuous crowd of Roumanian peasants, and two of them were left dead. The case had not the remotest connexion with the attitude of the Hungarian Party, but M. Vajda thought it a good opportunity for pouring out his venomous hatred against the Minorities. In an article entitled, "Our Mourning," he wrote the following:

"There is lamentation in the country of Decebal, in the Hunyad of the Corvins. Roumanian gendarmes have killed Roumanian electors. They were killed because they wished to vote for the Roumanians. In Greater Roumania the Hungarians, Saxons, Jews and Gipsies are under the protection of the Roumanian gendarmes. They can vote for the Hungarians, because they are under the defence of the Roumanian gendarmes in the shade of the Hungarian tricolour.

"Since the elections were announced, the Roumanian candidates have been beyond the pale of the law. The Roumanian gendarmes hindered them from approaching the Roumanian electors. The Hungarian voter recited the *Talpra Magyar*,¹ and spoke of 'dismembered Hungary': the Roumanian gendarme stood at attention and blushed, but did his duty. 'By higher order.' Hundreds of thousands of Roumanian voters were driven by the order of the Government to the polling stations, which were placed in remote Hungarian villages. The gendarmes prevented them from taking shelter in the pouring rain; they could

¹ A Hungarian patriotic poem.

not use their political rights standing in the mud, surrounded by bayonets. The Roumanian gendarmes forced them to deliver up their ballot papers so that they should not be able to vote for the Roumanian candidates.

"Only those were real patriots, genuine Roumanians, who voted on the side of the Hungarians, Saxons, Jews, Gipsies and the 'others'; those who wished to vote for the Roumanians were regarded as 'wild Valachs,' as foes of King and fatherland. Naturally, since the Government would have been left in a Minority without the votes of the Hungarians, Saxons, Jews and Gipsies. The Government of Greater Roumania rests on a majority which was furnished by the Hungarians, Saxons, Jews and Gipsies.

"The Roumanian gendarmes beat the Roumanian inhabitants of entire villages, hundreds of Roumanians were arrested and tortured by them. On Ascension Day Roumanian military music was played from the tower of the Hungarian cathedral in Kolozsvár. The Hungarians were celebrating their victory with those Roumanian priests who tried to sow religious dissension among the Roumanians.

"Greater Roumania! It sounds like the mocking peals of the Hungarian bells.

"And yet all this was in vain. There are too many Roumanians in Decebal's Dacia. However many Roumanian voters the Roumanian gendarmes kept from the ballot boxes with rifle butts and bayonets, the Hungarian-Filderman-Goga-Goldiş-Saxon-Gipsy list suffered a defeat. Notwithstanding the fact that the Roumanian gendarme did his duty.

"And when the Roumanian gendarmes could not keep back the Roumanian masses, they gave a salvo. They shot the men from behind, from a distance of eighty to one hundred paces. The Roumanian gendarmes coloured with Roumanian blood Roumania's soil so that MM. Szele, Barabás, Tornyä, Count Bethlen, Baron Josika, Count Teleki and other saviours of the Government's majority should win."¹

¹ The article appeared in the Transylvanian *Patria*, but was reproduced by several Roumanian and Hungarian papers.

This article, in which, as M. Goga, the Home Secretary, said, "the red blood of the victims was turned into filthy black ink," is a paramount document of Roumania's cultural and political standard in the twentieth century: a Government which forces the electors by military to vote with their party; voters who are driven like a herd of cattle through mud and rain; gendarmes and soldiers who torture and shoot peaceful citizens from behind; and an ex-Prime Minister who has signed the Minorities Treaty, but, blinded with hatred, abuses small Minority peoples because they made, through dire necessity, an agreement with an opposite party. It is in such surroundings and with such men that the Minorities are obliged to make politics. There is no document in post-war Roumanian history which throws a more glaring light on the cultural and political abyss into which Transylvania was thrown by the Treaty of Trianon than this picture given by one of Roumania's late Prime Ministers.

Hatred and animosity are, however, no suitable means for influencing the political attitude of the Minorities. The cause of the symptom that they are forced to make agreements, and make them with those in power, is rooted in the Minority policy of the Roumanians themselves.

In January 1924, when rumours of the Pact of Csucsa became current, a liberal-minded paper, the *Adevărul*, wrote an article containing the following:

"The solution of the Minorities Question is not the problem of one party or one Minority, but of all of them. This being so, it is manifest that it cannot be solved according to the ephemeral interests of a party or the dubious interests of a few leaders of a Minority. Its serious solution can only be attained by a deliberate collaboration of all our political factors which give well-defined directions to the State as regards its attitude towards its nationals of different race, which must be followed by all parties and by all Governments.

"Every other attempt, especially by small agree-

ments behind the scenes when an election is pending, is dangerous and detrimental. The Minorities problem must not be drawn into the centre of frivolous party politics, and its solution must not be sought in public bargaining.”¹

These words express a great truth, and were often reiterated later, both in the Press and Parliament, but they remained empty phrases in Roumanian politics. Since 1918 there have been five Governments in Roumania and not one of them has done anything for the safeguarding of the Minority rights—on the contrary, they all suppressed and confiscated them.

That immoral Roumanian policy which accepted Article 44 of the Berlin Treaty, made the Gyulafehérvár Resolutions, signed the Minorities Treaty and speaks constantly of Roumanian tolerance—but in real fact forgets its own declarations, denies its own signature and intolerantly persecutes every race and every sect, whether Hungarian, Saxon or Bulgarian, whether Roman or Greek Catholic, Protestant, Jewish or Baptist; this policy forces the Minorities to barter with the sellers who sit in the outer hall of the temple of cultural Europe and buy power, paying with confiscated rights.

It was not seats that the Hungarian Party was after when it made the pact. According to the proportion of the Hungarian population it could claim thirty seats, and was satisfied with less than the half. It demanded the rights of its Minority people, which it could see recognized neither in the country nor in Geneva.

It is only when the rights of the Minorities will be recognized in Roumania as based on international treaties and not dependent on party politics; only when their protection will become, not a phrase but a reality, that they will be able to follow a policy which will serve both their own interests and those of Roumania.

¹ “Pactul dela Ciucea,” in the *Adevărul*, 18th January 1924.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE RESOLUTIONS OF GYULAFEHÉRVÁR

(I) The National Assembly of all the Roumanians of Hungary, Transylvania and the Bánát, uniting their rightful representatives on 1st December 1918, in Gyulafehérvár, declares the unification of all the Roumanians and of all the territories which are inhabited by Roumanians. The National Assembly declares above all their inalterable right over the whole territory of the Bánát between the rivers Maros, Tisza and Danube.

(II) The National Assembly secures temporary autonomy for the inhabitants of the above-mentioned territories until the meeting of a constituent assembly, elected on the basis of universal suffrage.

(III) In connexion with this the Assembly declares as fundamental principles of the new Roumanian State the following :

- (1) Complete national liberty for all the cohabiting peoples of Transylvania. Each people to educate, govern and judge itself in its own language through the medium of persons from its own midst. Every people to have the right of legislative representation and of taking part in the administration of the country in proportion to the number of the individuals of whom it is composed.
- (2) Equality and complete autonomous religious liberty for every denomination in the State.
- (3) Full realization of a pure democratic government in every branch of public life. Universal, direct, equal, proportional suffrage by ballot, extended to all persons of both sexes not under twenty-one years of age, at Parliamentary as well as municipal and local elections.
- (4) Complete liberty of the Press, of assembly and of association, and free propaganda for all forms of human thought.
- (5) Radical agrarian reform. To make a register of all landed property and chiefly of the large estates. It shall be made possible on the basis of these registers, by the abolishing of the entailed estates, and the right of diminishing in so far as is necessary the large ones, for the peasants to acquire at least so much land (arable land, pasture and forest) as they are able to farm with the members of their family. The guiding principle of this agrarian policy is to promote on the one hand social equalization, and, on the other, the increase of production.
- (6) To secure the same rights and advantages to the industrial workmen as are granted by the Legislations in the most progressive Western states.

(IV) The National Assembly expresses the desire that the Peace Conference will organize a community of the free nations in such a manner as to secure equal right and justice for the great nations and the small, so that in future war may be eliminated as a means for regulating international relations.

(IX) The National Assembly constitutes the Roumanian National Council as supreme administrator of the affairs of the Roumanians of Transylvania, the Bánát and Hungary, and authorizes it to represent the Roumanian nation.

APPENDIX B

TREATY BETWEEN THE PRINCIPAL ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS AND ROUMANIA

Signed 9th December 1919

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE BRITISH EMPIRE, FRANCE,
ITALY AND JAPAN,

The Principal Allied and Associated Powers, on the one hand; and
ROUMANIA, on the other hand,

Whereas under Treaties to which the Principal Allied and Associated Powers are parties large accessions of territory are being and will be made to the Kingdom of Roumania, and

Whereas Roumania desires of her own free will to give full guarantees of liberty and justice to all inhabitants both of the old Kingdom of Roumania and of the territory added thereto, to whatever race, language or religion they may belong, and ¹

Have, after examining the question together, agreed to conclude the present Treaty:

CHAPTER I

ARTICLE 1

Roumania undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this Chapter shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

ARTICLE 2

Roumania undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Roumania without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Roumania shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order and public morals.

ARTICLE 3

Subject to the special provisions of the Treaties mentioned below, Roumania admits and declares to be Roumanian nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality all persons habitually resident at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty within the whole territory of Roumania, including the extensions made by the Treaties of Peace with Austria and Hungary, or any other extensions which may hereafter be made, if such persons are not at that date nationals of a foreign State other than Austria or Hungary.

Nevertheless, Austrian and Hungarian nationals who are over eighteen

¹This word is an obvious error in the text.

years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said Treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must, within the succeeding twelve months, transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Roumanian territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connexion with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 4

Roumania admits and declares to be Roumanian nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality persons of Austrian¹ Hungarian nationality who were born in the territory transferred to Roumania by the Treaties of Peace with Austria and Hungary, or subsequently transferred to her, of parents habitually resident there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty they are not themselves habitually resident there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present Treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Roumanian authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Roumanian nationality, and they will then cease to be considered as Roumanian nationals. In this connexion a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

ARTICLE 5

Roumania undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the Treaties concluded or to be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with Austria or Hungary to choose whether or not they will acquire Roumanian nationality.

ARTICLE 6

All persons born in Roumanian territory who are not born nationals of another State shall *ipso facto* become Roumanian nationals.

ARTICLE 7

Roumania undertakes to recognize as Roumanian nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality Jews inhabiting any Roumanian territory who do not possess another nationality.

ARTICLE 8

All Roumanian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Roumanian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Roumanian national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the Press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Non-*linguistic* establishments by the Roumanian Government of adequate facilities shall be given to Roumanian

¹ The word "or" is evidently omitted here.

nationals of non-Roumanian speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

ARTICLE 9

Roumanian nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Roumanian nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 10

Roumania will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Roumanian nationals of other than Roumanian speech are resident adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Roumanian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Roumanian Government from making the teaching of the Roumanian language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Roumanian nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budget, for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

ARTICLE 11

Roumania agrees to accord to the communities of the Saxons and Czecklers in Transylvania local autonomy in regard to scholastic and religious matters, subject to the control of the Roumanian State.

ARTICLE 12

Roumania agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing Articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these Articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Roumania agrees that any Member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Roumania further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these Articles between the Roumanian Government and any one of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers or any other Power, a Member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Roumania hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant.

INDEX

- Ábrahám, S., 74
 Adamescu, Gh., 54
 Adatei, Japanese ambassador, 174
 Adliceliu, 508
 Agerbiceanu, 352
 Almajan, 301
 Andreas II., King of Hungary, 317
 Angelescu, Minister of Instruction, 38, 53, 233, 241, 262, 268, 270-272, 277, 278, 280, 281, 324, 340, 341, 342, 374, 394
 Antonescu, G., Professor, 140, 279
 Anwender, H., 319
 Apaffy, M., 14
 Apáthy, S., 68, 146, 147
 Argetoianu, 44, 395
 Aricescu, 14
 Atilla, King of the Huns, 11
 Averescu, General, 43, 44, 106, 107, 344, 383, 390-392, 396

 Bacalbaşa, C., 109-111, 162
 Bacila, 208
 Baciú, J., 282
 Bălan, Metropolitan, 183, 224, 228
 Balázs, A., Canon, 207, 210
 Balfour, Lord, 345
 Bănescu, Professor, 288
 Banu, Gh., 59, 182, 353, 370
 Barabás, B., 402
 Barabás, D., 114
 Barbul, J., 84
 Barbusse, H., 144
 Barnosch, V., 168
 Bartók, A., 190
 Bartolomeiu, Bishop, 183
 Báthory, S., Prince of Transylvania, 209, 284
 Batzaria, 181
 Beldiman, E., 112
 Bem, J., General, 88
 Bernády, G., 140, 261, 318
 Berthelot, 363
 Bethlen, G., Prince of Transylvania, 284
 Bethlen, Geo., Count, 401, 402
 Beţianu, P., 259
 Bianu, Senator, 83, 140, 141, 211, 212, 214, 324-326
 Binder, Senator, 181
 Birlea, V., 70
 Biró, 208
 Bluntschli, 34
 Bogdán, 184
 Bogdan Duica, Professor, 58
 Boeriu, 76
 Boila, R., Professor, 25, 32, 41, 42
 Bokor, M., clergyman, 150, 193, 245, 303, 304
 Bolfa, A., 108
 Boncea, G., 118
 Boromissza, Rom. Cath. bishop, 313
 Boscaiu, S., 274
 Botár, 208
 Brandsch, R., 322
 Branisteanu, 400
 Brătianu, Jon, sen., 111
 Brătianu, Jon, jun., 23, 24, 28, 34, 35, 36, 38, 82, 106, 107, 111, 183, 299, 307, 350-352, 363, 364, 366, 383, 389-392
 Brătianu, V., 50, 103, 161, 348, 390, 394
 Bratu, T., 46
 Braunias, C., 62
 Breazu, J., 226
 Brinzeu, N., 225, 229, 231
 Bruns, 156
 Bublea, S., 228
 Bujor, P., Professor, 291
 Burki, 103

 Camaimanu, J., 303
 Caracu, P., 53
 Carol, Crown Prince, 223
 Catargiu, L., 111
 Charles, King of Roumania, 21
 Cholnoky, E., 286
 Chiriţescu Arva, Professor, 165
 Ciato, L., 77, 106
 Cioc Haralambie, 109
 Clorogariu, R., Bishop, 203, 230
 Ciucean, N., 228

- Ciuhanda, Canon, 223
 Ciumasia, S., 276
 Ciurca, 305
 Clopoşel, J., 162, 260
 Codreanu, Z., 292
 Codrescu, E., 125
 Cojocaru, D., 202
 Colban, Eric, 370, 372, 373
 Conduli, V., 136
 Connert, Fr., 158, 249, 253, 260
 Constantin, J., 124
 Constantin, N., 116
 Constantinescu, Mitiţa, 157, 166
 Constantinescu, Minister of Agriculture, 158, 172, 182, 201, 374, 388
 Coroiu, P., 110
 Cosma, A., 219
 Costa Foru, 96, 143, 148-150
 Costea, J., 107, 310
 Cotruş, Professor, 310
 Cotrusca, T., 108
 Craciun, J., 160
 Creanga, J., 138, 280
 Cristea Miron, Metropolitan Primate, 182, 183, 328
 Csáky, J., 135
 Csécsy, Colonel, 147
 Cserey, Colonel, 147
 Csiky, S., 198
 Cupşa, 108
 Cuza, Professor, 292, 336, 344-346, 358
 Cziriák, J., 73

 Dan, S., 274, 352
 Dandea, E., 65
 Daşcovici, N., Professor, 38, 110
 Dávid, F., 88
 Deleu, 308
 Demetrescu, 308
 Dissescu, Professor, 32
 Djuvara, Professor, 24
 Dobrescu, 141
 Dragnea, Radu, 361, 362
 Dragomir, Silviu, Professor, 310
 Dragos, A., 181
 Drummond, Sir Eric, 373
 Drutzu, Ş., 68
 Duca, J. G., Foreign Minister, 115, 129, 300, 360, 374, 379, 396
 Dumitrescu, 255
 Dumitriu, Captain, 118
 Dumitriu, H., 124
 Eminescu, 280
 Farkas, Pinkász, 337
 Fellner, 150
 Ferdinand, King of Hungary, 14
 Ferdinand, King of Roumania, 66, 68
 Ferenc, A., 209
 Ferenc, J., Unitarian Bishop, 204, 313
 Ferenci, S., 208
 Filderman, W., 338
 Filipescu, N., 123-126
 Filippide, A., Professor, 18
 Fischer, G., 109
 Fleischer, L., 339
 Florean, 117
 Florescu, J., Minister of Justice, 137, 138, 140, 311, 335, 338, 394
 Franasovici, R., 122, 123, 124, 127
 Franchet d'Espercy, General, 66, 70
 Francis-Joseph, King of Hungary, 84, 88
 Fritz, L., 399
 Fülöp, B., 313
 Füzcsey, F., 150

 Gaál, A., 73
 Gaborian, J., 117
 Gânju, A., 227
 Garoflid, C., 165
 Gelu, 11
 Geller, A., 117
 Georgescu, H., 123
 Georgescu, J., 178, 231
 Georgescu, Stephanie, 271
 Gheorghiu, 108
 Ghibescu, 222
 Ghibu, O., Professor, 49, 51, 90, 184-186, 211, 212-216, 237, 253, 269, 272-274, 277, 285, 288
 Ghileşan, L., 104
 Ghiulea, N., Professor, 151
 Giurgiu, J., 228
 Goethe, 91
 Goga, O., Home Secretary, 27, 43, 44, 91, 157, 311, 312, 337, 343, 344, 359, 360, 386, 402, 403
 Gogol, 83
 Goldiş, L., 161, 250, 260, 262, 351, 360, 391, 400, 402
 Goldsmid, Sir Fr., 329
 Gonescu, T., 107
 Goodwin, Consul, 192
 Gorkij, N., 135

- Görög, J., 305
 Grandpierre, E., 73
 Grasser, K., 133
 Grofşoreanu, 348
 Groza, P., 76, 265
 Guiu, 76
 Gusti, Professor, 292
 Gutu, 108
 Gyárfás, E., 92, 163, 305, 311
- Haár, A., 73
 Halippa, Pan, 112
 Hancu, D., 274
 Haneş, Professor, 394
 Héjjas, I., 150
 Herbay, Mme, 77
 Herberger, J., 121-128
 Hirschler, J., 208, 211
 Homer, 91
 Hora, 62
 Hornyánszky, J., 73
 Horváth, J., 135
 House, Colonel, 365
 Hylan, G. F., 119
- Iconar, S., 116
 Istrati, N., 48
 Ivan, G., 76
 Ivan, Orthodox Bishop, 326
- Jacob, E., 159
 Jacob, J., Professor, 25, 26, 29
 Jacob, Joan, 158
 Jacob, S., 159
 Jacobescu, T., 45
 Jakabffy, E., 48, 49
 Jancu, Avram, 354
 Jancu, J., 228
 Janovics, E., 91
 Jekel, P., 325
 Jonescu, General, 85
 Jonescu, Orthodox Priest, 294
 Jonescu, Const. A., 136
 Jonescu, D., 124
 Jonescu, Professor, 275
 Jonescu Şişeşti, G., Professor, 164
 Jonescu, Take, 107
 Jonescu, Toma, 291
 Jorga, N., Professor, 81, 118, 187,
 219, 249, 290, 296, 303, 335,
 348, 350, 362
 Joseph, Emperor of Austria, 317
 Josika, J., Baron, 402
 Junian, 386
 Juveca, V., 160
- Kacsóh, L., 208
 Károlyi, M., Count, 66
 Katz, 76
 Kirîţescu, C., 276
 Kirîţescu, G., 21
 Kiss, A., 190
 Klein, G. A., 154, 156, 157, 378
 Klein, M., 341
 Kocsis, S., 118
 Kossuth, L., 18, 88
 Kovács, C., 114
 Kovaciu, 117
 Kreuter, F., 258
 Krişan, 193
 Kün, Count, 265
- Laczkó, A. and G., 147
 Ladislas, the Saint, 88, 89
 Lapedatu, 203, 215, 226, 360
 Lapedatu, A., Professor, 247
 Lapodat, Maria, 276
 Lascu, Dinu, 32, 33
 Lascu, Dumitriu, 376
 Lassalle, 18
 László, J., 121, 122
 Lázár, A., 140
 Lazăr, G., 16
 Lázár, N., 101
 Lecca, O. G., 13
 Lemeny, J., 51, 64
 Lerner, N., 340
 Lévy, Ch., 149
 Leven, N., 332
 Lewis II., King of Hungary, 14
 Luca, 159
 Lucaciu, L., 62
 Ludoşan, 110
 Lupaş, Professor, 12, 356
 Lupu, N., 144, 313, 396
- Macedon, L., 276
 Madách, E., 90
 Madgearu, V., 45, 104, 390
 Majláth, G., Count, Rom. Cath.
 Bishop, 208, 212, 245, 255, 313
 Major, P., 12, 17, 223
 Mangu, J., 59
 Maniu, J., 26, 40, 62, 70, 129-131,
 253, 308, 352, 354, 360, 388,
 391
 Manu, D., 163, 359
 Manu, Z., 226
 Manuila, 59
 Marian, 117
 Marcire, 73
 Mărădrescu, General, 128
 Marghescu, C., 109

- Marghiloman, 102
 Márki, A., 286
 Marmca, 85
 Martinovici, C., 48
 Martonne, E. de, Professor, 286
 Marx, K., 18
 Mârzescu, G. G., 39, 359
 Matei, J. D., 276
 Medgyaszay, M., 194
 Mello Franco, 381, 382
 Metes, P., 105
 Mihailescu, J., 108
 Mihailescu, S. C., 270
 Mihalache, J., 304
 Mihalovici, 117
 Mihályi, G., 160
 Mikle, V., 280
 Mille, C., 373
 Mocanu, 108
 Moldovan, 108
 Moldovan, Sc., 276
 Moldovan, L., 48, 268
 Moldovanu, V., 120, 121, 126,
 127, 128, 129
 Molnár, Mmc, 116
 Moşoiu, General, 306, 357, 394
 Muntean, R., 200
 Mureşan, G., 310

 Nagy, A., 304
 Nagy, Ch., Presbyterian Bishop,
 204, 313
 Nagy, J., 308
 Neagu, 88
 Neculcea, General, 146
 Negulescu, 285
 Nicoara, M., 371
 Nicora, 341
 Niculescu, Bishop, 225
 Nistor, R., 394
 Niţescu, V., 311
 Novicow, 261

 Odobescu, Professor, 270
 Olaraşu, 128
 Oniţa, I., 109
 Orbán, L., 190

 Pákey, L., 84
 Pál, G., 161
 Páll, J., Prelate, 313, 314
 Panait, E., 173
 Pantazi, Commodore, 119, 128
 Pap, J., 303
 Pap, F., 107
 Papp, A., 73
 Paukerow, L., 169, 346

 Paulescu, Professor, 336
 Paunescu, C. S., 218
 Péchy, L., 304
 Pella, V., 343
 Pellico, Silvio, 142
 Pesty, E., 180
 Petcuţa, 159
 Pethő, C., 190
 Petőfi, A., 88
 Petrichevich Horváth, E., Baron,
 79
 Petrescu Comnen, 376-378
 Pfeiffer, J., 209
 Pircea, 117
 Piso, 227
 Pistiner, J., 108, 253, 254
 Podár, 110
 Policrat, Senator, 212
 Politis, Professor, 382
 Polivanow, General, 47
 Pollák, 159
 Polony, Senator, 37, 92
 Pop-Csicsó, S., 67, 160, 161, 394
 Pop, S., Mme, 160
 Pop, S., 283
 Pop, Th., 276
 Pop, V., 276
 Popa, 74
 Popa Lisseanu, Professor, 282
 Popa Lisseanu, G., 250, 275
 Popescu, H., 108
 Popescu Pocutela, V., 357
 Popescu, Spiridon, 271
 Popovici, J., 235
 Popovici, M., 63, 294, 312, 354
 Popp, G., 92, 358
 Pora, A., 373
 Praporgescu, S., 134, 139, 141
 Prie, O., 235-238, 242, 272, 273
 Prónay, Colonel, 150
 Puricescu, 89
 Puşcariu, Sextil Professor, 287

 Rabin, Smelca, 344
 Rabu, T., 84
 Racine, 344
 Rădulescu, 140
 Rădulescu Motru, Professor, 110,
 167, 176, 352
 Rădulescu, V., 394
 Rafael, O., 108
 Rákóczi, F., Prince of Transyl-
 vania, 88
 Rákosy, C., 193
 Râmniceanu, V. P., 65
 Raucceanu, R., 65
 Rebreanu, L., 108

- Rednik, A. Th., Bishop, 224
 Reiner, F. J., Professor, 292
 Rey, F., 329, 331, 332, 334
 Rithly, 208
 Romaşan, J., 276
 Romaşanu Costache, 394
 Rosenberg, 73
 Rosenweig, 76
 Rosetti, 380
 Rostand, 90
 Roşu, V., 193
 Roth, H. O., 32, 33, 61, 82, 92,
 131, 253, 254, 321, 322, 326,
 387, 388, 390
 Saguna, Bishop, 354
 Sándor, J., Member of Parlia-
 ment, 92, 253, 304, 313
 Sándor, J., 193
 Sanmarco, Princess, 160
 Sanzian, J., 303
 Sassu, 303
 Saugnier, Colonel, 284
 Savin, J. G., 187, 218
 Schneller, S., Professor, 285
 Schön, B., 116
 Schullerus, A., 181
 Seton Watson, Professor, 12
 Sever, A., 303
 Shakespeare, 91
 Simionescu, D., 262
 Simionescu, J., 271
 Simonescu, C., 184
 Şincai, A., 222
 Sirianu, R., 55
 Slatineanu, Professor, 289
 Slavici, J., 142, 143
 Socaciu, J., 202
 Sokol, A., 303
 Sorbán, W., 98, 103
 Sorica, J. U., 355
 Sotiriu, M., 275
 Spatar, D., 117
 Spectator, 280
 Sporni, J., 208
 Stambulescu, J. N., 259
 Stanciu, Z., 276
 Stanley, Lord, 329
 Statileo, Bishop, 205
 Stefanescu, 107
 Stenczel, L., 208
 Stephen, the Saint, 89
 Stephen the Wicked, 328
 Stere, C., Professor, 97, 391
 Stern, M., 342
 Stoica, E., 74
 Stoica, E., 109
 Stoianescu, H., 123
 Stoicescu, A., 124
 Stolojan, D., 161
 Sturdza, 111
 Suciu, A., 107
 Suciu, A., 56
 Suciu, Bishop, 224, 225, 231
 Suciu, P., 16, 153, 154, 166, 168
 Sylvester, F., 303
 Szápáry, Count, 159
 Szapolyai, J., Prince of Transyl-
 vania, 14
 Szász, 193
 Székely, Mme, 76
 Szele, 402
 Szombaty-Szabó, S., 89
 Szóke, 73
 Szoverffy, S., 261
 Szvacšina, Mme, 73
 Tabán, G., 117
 Talaba, 108
 Talpeanu, 117
 Tamás, A., 147
 Tanase, 143, 144
 Tărau, G., 220
 Taslovanu, 104, 105
 Tataru, N., 118
 Temperley, J. W., 22, 47, 285
 Teleki, A., Count, 402
 Teodoru, G., 48
 Teutsch, Fr., Bishop, 317
 Thomas, P., Professor, 287
 Tichner, H., 192, 336, 376
 Tilea, V. V., 22, 365
 Titulescu, 31, 32, 173
 Todorov, 108
 Tokay, L., 72
 Toni, V. V., 103
 Törnya, J., 402
 Toth, Ch., 308
 Toth, G., Judge, 100
 Trajan, Roman Emperor, 12
 Trefan, L., 208
 Tripon, J., 161
 Tulbure, G., 93
 Tzirelsohn, L., Rabbi, 335, 341
 Urmössy, 190
 Vaitoianu, Arthur, 91, 99, 107,
 121, 122, 127, 129, 151, 301
 Vaitoianu, Alex., 122, 124, 125
 Vajda-Voivod, A., 23, 62, 268,
 280, 291, 310, 349, 351, 352,
 354, 355, 357, 360, 365, 366,
 390, 394, 400, 401

Vasiliu, D. B., 48, 57, 58, 60
Veliciu, 88
Vidran, P., 108
Vidughin, S., 108
Vlad, A., 161, 166, 265
Vornic, T., 241
Vulpia, 118
Vuruclaş, 87

Waddington, 330
Wass, B., Count, 304

Weiszlovits, G., 116
Willer, J., 304
Willoughby Dickinson, Sir, 382
Wlassitch, J., 84

Zachar, P., 73
Zichy, R., Count, 173
Zigie, N., 315
Zima, T., 313
Zoltan, A., 190

