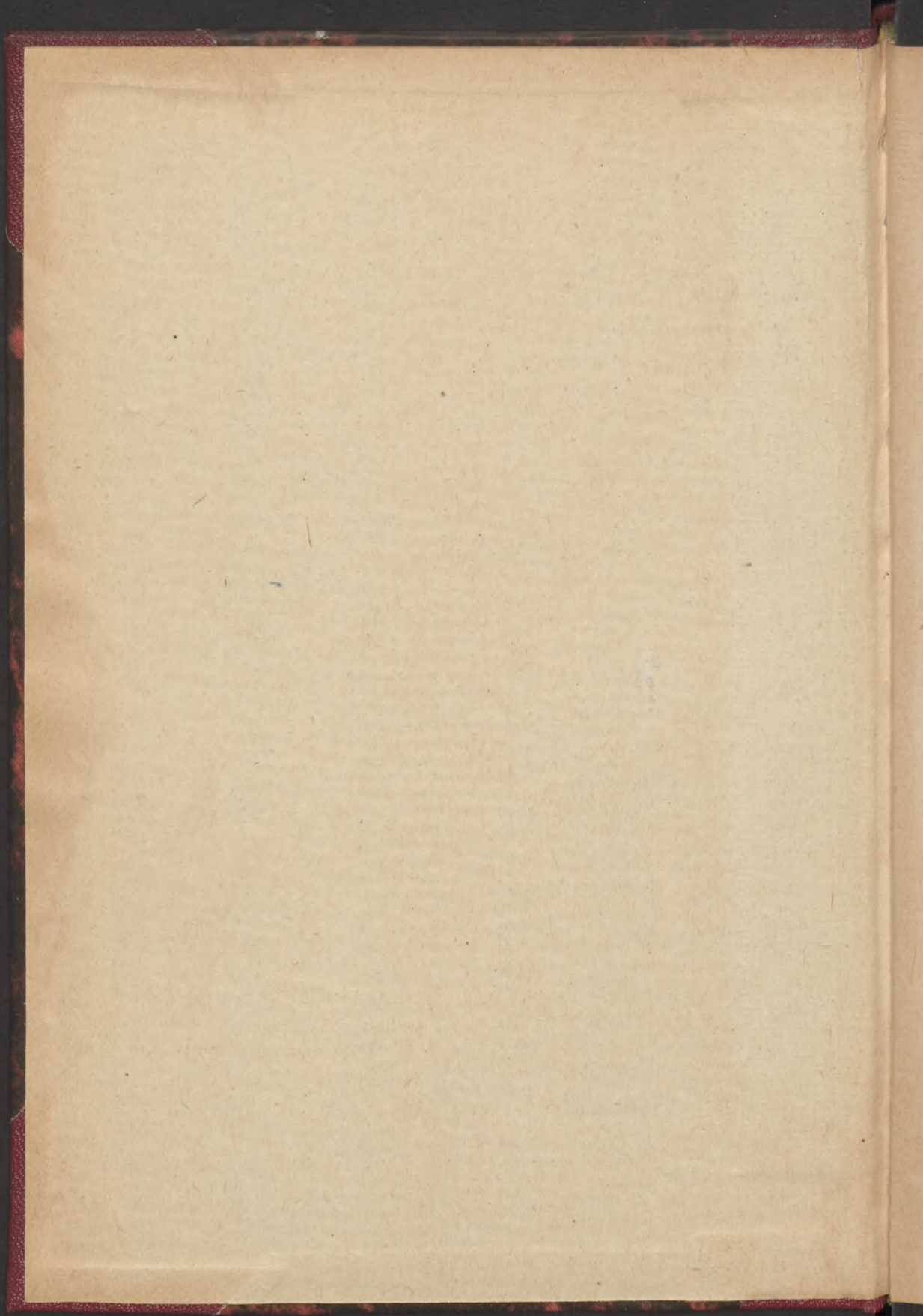
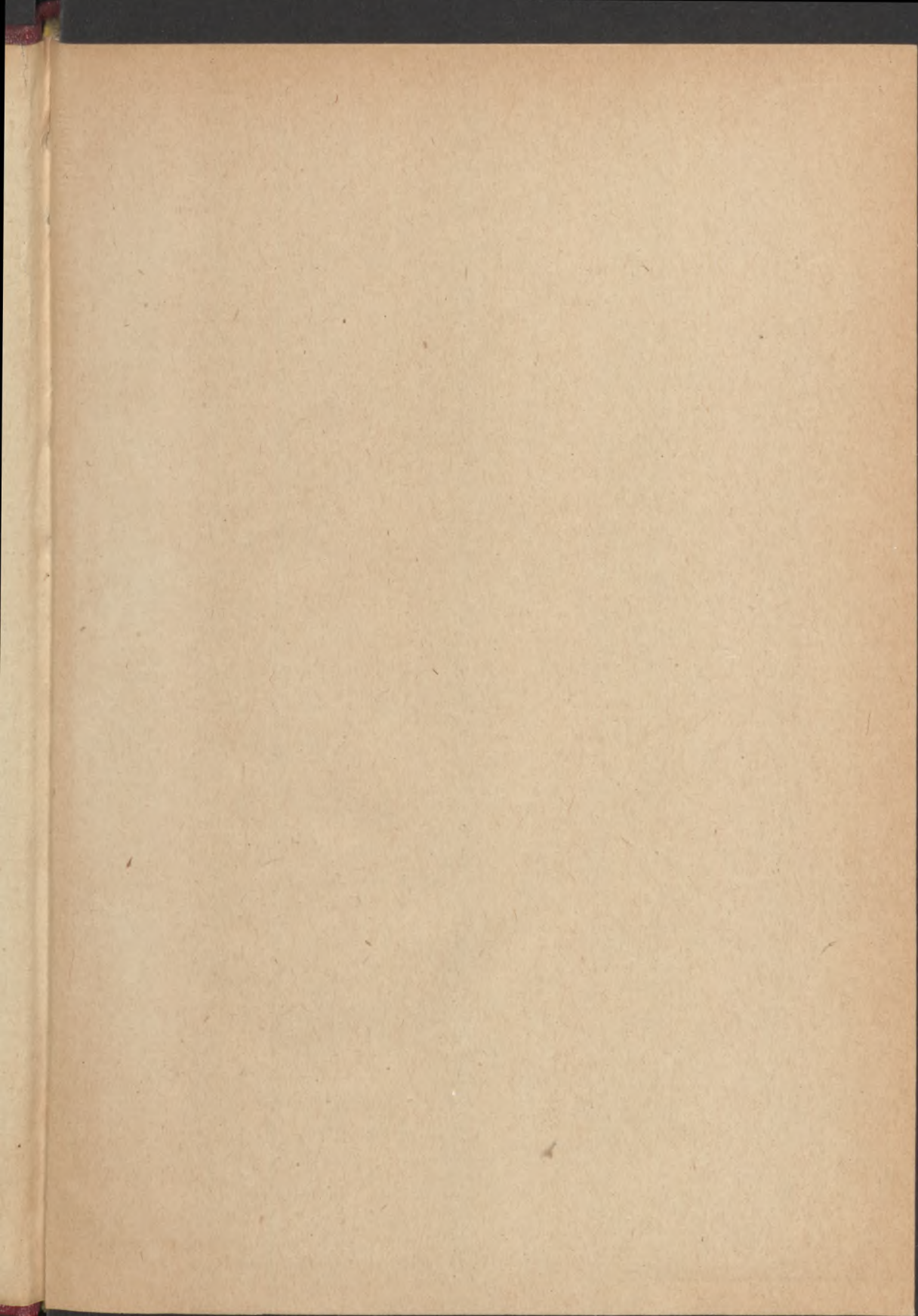


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Dr. ANDREW FALL

# HUNGARY'S RIGHT TO TRANSYLVANIA

BUDAPEST 1941

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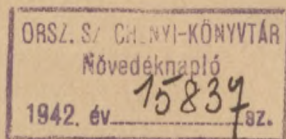


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## Preface.

The World War of 1914—1918 and the Peace Treaties concluding it not only ruined countries and their inhabitants, but also definitely prevented European co-operation, the collaboration of the nations, and besides checking progress, made prosperity impossible. In Europe hatred, hostility and the economic and cultural oppression of the vanquished nations became permanent factors. Centuries-old economic systems, highly developed civilizations, were destroyed; States that were geographically united, sound and capable of growth were cut up, and artificial, unviable, unsound ones built up on their ruins. These latter States never knew a moment's peace; they feared dissolution, destruction, and therefore hated their neighbours, oppressed the peoples of a higher level of culture placed under their rule, armed themselves to the teeth, and kept a stranglehold on the vanquished countries with a net-work of military alliances. From the Gulf of Finland to the Mediterranean 40 million people were cast into minority bondage, and whole provinces were degraded to the level of colonies. The Peace Dictates of Paris did not serve the cause of peace; they merely created misery, because they were unjust, because they were dictated by hatred and fear, and because they rewarded treachery and greed.

The greatest injustice was done to Hungary; her tragedy was the most bitter; the Hungarian nation was cruelly mutilated, about four million Magyars being torn away from the mother-country; the national idea was shaken to its foundations, the laws of geography, which produce communities of interests, were flouted, history was mocked, and the unity of a centuries-old nation destroyed.

For a thousand years Hungary had represented equilibrium, order, peace, and the defence of Europe. The new States, on the other hand, were hot-beds of danger, storm



centres constantly appealing to Europe for help and protection.

Two States in particular were a menace to order and civilization in Europe; Czecho-Slovakia, the starting-point of the second World War, and Greater Rumania, a patchwork State which had robbed all its neighbours and carved the largest slice out of Hungary's body, wresting from that country its most precious possession, Transylvania. Verdant and picturesque Transylvania became a Rumanian province, that Transylvania which had provided the Wallachians fleeing before the Turks with a refuge, a home, was centuries later wrested from the Realm of St. Stephen by their descendants. To Nagyvárad they might give the name of Oradea, to Kolozsvár that of Cluj, but though ancient names may be changed, history cannot. History cannot be wiped out with a stroke of the pen, nor can the spirit of the people be transformed by means of decrees.

For 20 years Hungary waited patiently and with dignity for the day of liberty and justice to dawn. Since the beginnings of history no country has ever been more unjustly treated than was Hungary, which for centuries had defended Western civilization against the encroaching East and the Balkans. For 20 years Hungary refrained from threats, did nothing to disturb the peace of Europe, but merely appealed for justice and urged peaceful revision. Her neighbours, however, who had gained illegal possession of Magyar areas — and here the Governments of Greater Rumania were the most obstinate — always refused to hear of a peaceful agreement, a just rearrangement, and would not even entertain the idea of treating the Magyar minorities in a humane way.

It was in vain that the people of Hungary and the Hungarian Government declared that revision would mean a policy of construction, while an adherence to the *status quo* would, sooner or later, lead to war.

The Government of Greater Rumania consistently rejected any attempt at an honest *rapprochement*; secure under the protection of their allies, they played a shilly-shallying game, and did their best to mislead the world with false historical theories. But the world was not to be misled by Rumania's stupid and double-faced policy, and European reorganization inevitably resulted in the liquidation of Greater Rumania. She



has lost Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina to Russia, and must restore Southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria and Northern Transylvania to Hungary. But this does not mean a definitive solution of the Hungarian-Rumanian dispute.

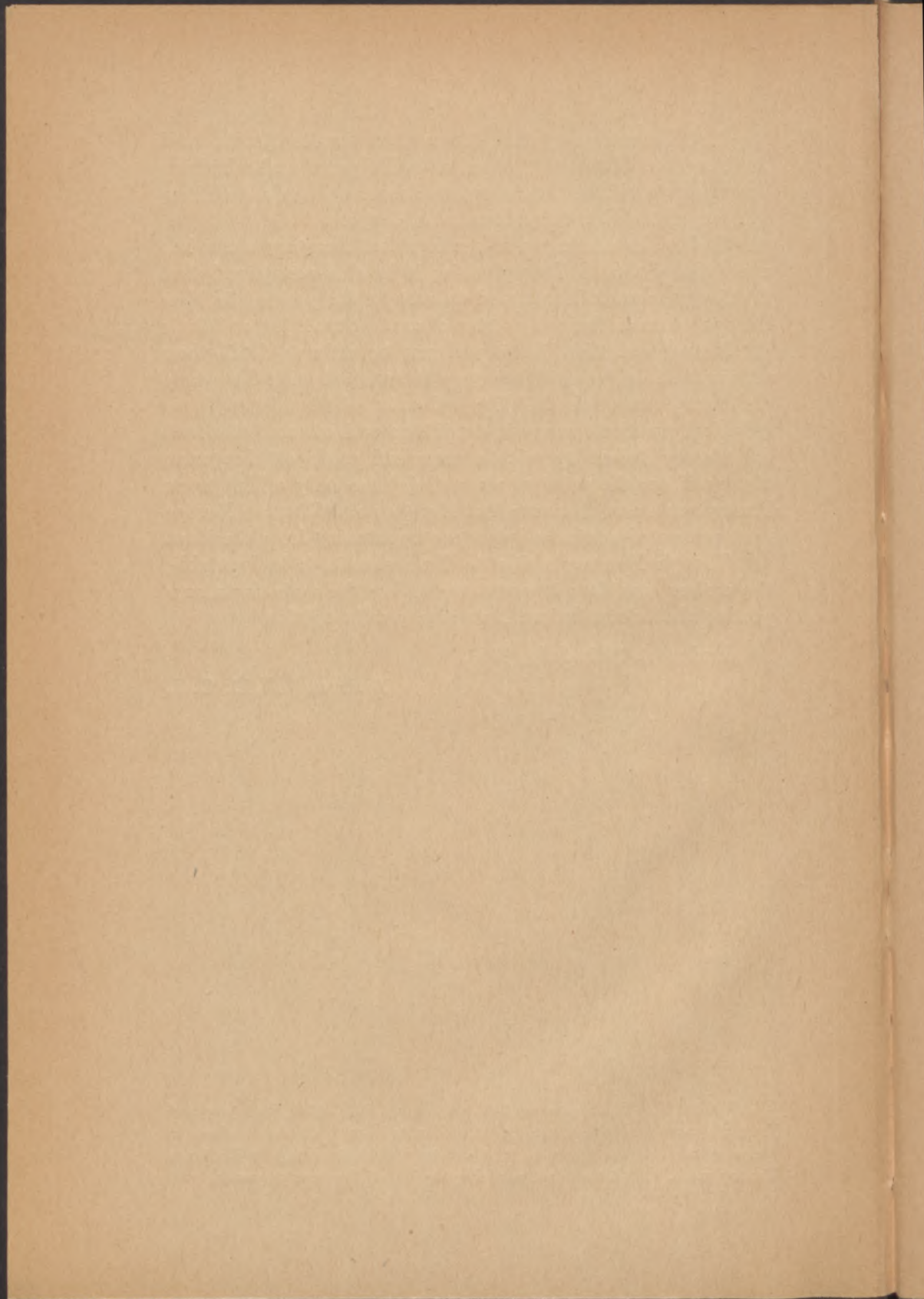
Today the whole world realizes that Hungary alone has a rightful claim to Transylvania; it is also recognized that the Magyars must be allowed to occupy the position in New Europe which is theirs by virtue of ancient tradition and their intellectual qualities. They will not be able to fulfil their mission in Europe until Hungary is reunited with the whole of Transylvania, of that Transylvania whose history, geographical position, economic conditions and cultural standard are closely linked up with a thousand years of Hungarian history. From the point of view of defence only a Hungarian Transylvania would ensure that Hungary and Western Europe were protected against all dangers threatening from the East.

Though Hungary's title to Transylvania is indisputable, the author considers it necessary to lay the main facts supporting that claim before European public opinion.<sup>1</sup>

Budapest, 20th July, 1940.

*Andrew Fall, D. C. L.*

<sup>1</sup> After this book was written, on August 30th, 1940, Hungary and Rumania accepted the award of the Vienna Court of Arbitration, in terms of which Rumania was required to restore to Hungary Northern Transylvania. On this subject see chapter VI. of the present work.





### Introduction.

The second Great War which began in the autumn of 1939 opened all those bleeding wounds which the Paris Treaties of Peace that ended the first Great War inflicted on the body of Europe. One of these festering sores was the Rumanian question. For under the Paris Treaties of Peace Rumania despoiled all her neighbours. From Russia she took Bessarabia, from Bulgaria Southern Dobrudja, and from Hungary Transylvania, together with a part of the Banate and the outlying peripheries of the Great Hungarian Plain. In addition she was given a slice of Austria — Bucovina. Her pre-War territory of an area of 137, 903 sq. kilometres was enlarged by the Paris Treaties to 295.049 sq. kilometres — that being an augmentation of 114%, the increase being 157.146 sq. kilometres. Her pre-War population of 6.966.000 souls was increased by the addition of the 8.736.000 inhabitants registered by the 1910 Census in the territories allotted to her, the latter including nearly 5.000.000 Magyars, Russians, Ruthenians, Germans, Bulgarians, Turks, Tatars and others of non-Rumanian nationality. This gigantic augmentation of population and territory set the dynasty and the successive Governments of Rumania superhuman tasks. The States concerned never renounced their claim to the three most valuable of the provinces thus acquired — Transylvania, Bessarabia and the Dobrudja.

*During the last twenty years Rumania insisted obstinately on her status quo policy, proving quite incapable of coming to terms with any of her neighbours on the basis of justice and equity. And she aggravated her relations with her neighbours still more by meting out the most inhuman treatment to the national minorities subjected to her rule. For that very reason, during the last twenty years the rela-*



tions between Rumania and her neighbours have always been strained; and this tension has been still further intensified during the present Great War. The great German and Italian victories have already begun the re-adjustment of Europe; and the unerring logic of historical justice was asserted when the dissolution of Greater Rumania began. Soviet Russia was the first claimant to appear on the scene when the liquidation of Rumania entered the phase of materialisation: on June 26th, the Bucharest Soviet Minister presented to the Rumanian Government a Note containing the Soviet Russian demands in which Russia insisted that Rumania should immediately evacuate Bessarabia and North Bucovina. The Rumanian Government accepted the terms of the ultimatum; and in a few days the Russian troops occupied the territories thus demanded. But that is not the final solution of the Rumanian question; for Bulgaria and Hungary both immediately put in their claims for territorial restitution.

*The Party most seriously concerned in the liquidation of Rumania is Hungary.* Under the Paris Treaties of Peace Rumania wrested from Hungary territory of an area of 103.000 sq. kilometres with a population of 5.200.000 souls. The territory severed from Hungary and given to Rumania alone represented 31.7% of the total area of the thousand-year-old Hungarian Kingdom, — an area exceeding that left in the possession of Hungary by the Peace Edict of Trianon. The territory in question was for a thousand years included in Hungary and complemented that country perfectly alike historically and geographically, economically and culturally; for that reason the public opinion of the whole world regards it as quite natural that the Hungarian people should now claim this territory on those grounds.



## I.

### Historical Development of Transylvania.

#### *1. Hungarian Transylvania before the Rout at Mohács*

The historical right of the Hungarian people to the possession of this territory is beyond dispute. The Magyars came to Europe towards the close of the IX. century, gradually occupying the territory comprised in pre-War Hungary. The Magyar conquerors of Hungary at the very outset took possession of the whole territory of Transylvania — occupying first the valleys watered by the rivers. At the time of the conquest of Hungary by the Magyars the population of Transylvania consisted — apart from the Széklers — of a few peoples of mixed origin possessing a Slav character. The Széklers are racially related to the Magyars; but originally they were a Turcoman people belonging to the Turanian cultural community with a separate organisation of its own which had entered its present home from the East prior to the occupation of Hungary by the Magyars, occupying both the eastern and the western slopes of the Carpathians. At the time of the Magyar conquest of Hungary they joined Prince Árpád's army, leading the van in the battles fought by that army. The line of the Carpathians held by the Széklers marked clearly the extent to which the sphere of interests of the Magyar conquerors spread eastwards; and though there may have been at this period also territories in Transylvania which were still uninhabited, there can be no question that the whole of that principality was under Magyar rule. This has been proved also by antiquarian researches. Towards the end of the XIX. and early in the present century very large numbers of Magyar weapons and articles of equipment



(sabres, stirrups, arrows, etc.) dating from the period of the Magyar conquest of Hungary were discovered in Transylvanian graves containing relics of burials of horsemen. *There are also records of the XI. and XII. centuries showing the continuity of the Magyar occupation of Transylvania.*

The work of populating the uninhabited parts was begun by King Géza II. in the middle of the XII. century, when the first group of Saxons from Flanders and the districts flanking the southern reaches of the Rhine were settled in the territory lying between Szászváros and the "Barcaság" district, another group being later settled in the environs of Beszterce. As is shown by the famous Charter (*Andreanum*) issued by Andrew II. in 1224, these Saxons were granted a far-reaching autonomy in respect both of civil and of church matters.

It was in the XI. and XII. centuries that large numbers of Petchenegs were settled in various parts of the country; thus, *inter alia*, also in Transylvania, on the northern slopes of the Persány Mountains and sporadically in Széklerland too.

From the middle of the XII. century Transylvania has therefore been inhabited by three separate „nations". The territories inhabited by the Magyars were formed into counties, which developed side by side with the administration of the other Magyar counties under the leadership of the royal reeve placed at their head who was given the name of "waywode" (voivode) and administered the territory subjected to his control in his capacity as royal officer. The Széklers enjoyed a far-reaching autonomy; the Székler "manors" formed nationality settlements with self-government in their internal affairs. The reeve of the Széklers (*Comes Siculorum*) was an official subordinate to the king. Autonomy was granted also to the Saxons who settled at a later period, this autonomy being exercised under the direction of a separate reeve (*Comes Saxonum*) who was also a royal official.

The peculiar structure of this machinery of government must be attributed to the conditions then prevailing and to the defensive organisation. In the regions adjacent to the frontiers, which were exposed to outside attacks endanger-



ing the security of this part of the country, the central power was assured more far-reaching rights and the inhabitants a greater number of privileges. That was why the tribal (clan) organisation of the Széklers was left untouched; in view of the necessity of providing for the defence of the frontiers the Saxons who settled in Transylvania later were also granted special privileges. But it would be a mistake to conclude from this machinery of government that either of these privileged nations constituted a State within the State; for the Hungarian Constitution acknowledged within the frontiers of the Hungarian State only one State — the Hungarian — as sovereign. In the middle of the XIII. century, after the Tatar invasion, the necessity of re-constructing the country and of defending the eastern frontiers made it imperative that the jurisdiction of the Transylvanian voivode should be extended; it was then that there developed the waywodeship as a legal authority which by royal mandate gradually became the representative of the power of the Crown in the whole territory of Transylvania. This was however exclusively a measure of government; it could indeed not have been anything else, seeing that Transylvania did not possess any separate political status as a State.

There was not a single trace of the Rumano-Wallachians in Transylvania prior to the Magyar occupation of Hungary; nor was there any trace of them in evidence in the territory of Hungary subsequently right down to the early years of the thirteenth century. Nor do we find any trace of them in the territories lying south and east of the Carpathians — in the Wallachia and Moldavia of later times, — where in the X. century and in the first half of the XI. century the Petchenegs and from the latter period onwards the Cumanians appeared on the scene. Rumanians first appeared in Transylvania early in the XIII. century. These Rumanians (or Wallachians) are spoken of as a nomadic, pastoral people which in its wanderings in the Balkans, on the southern and eastern slopes of the Carpathians, fed flocks of sheep and in the summer months ascended the mountains of Transylvania in order to drive the animals entrusted to its care to the Alpine pastures. Of the many thousands of documents dating from the period



between 1210 and 1294 there are only 16 altogether that make mention of Rumanians (*Wallachs, Olahi, Valachi, Blacchi*) and refer to certain Rumanian settlements. The most important of these documents is the ordinance issued in 1293 by King Andrew III. giving instructions that all the Wallachian immigrants (*universos oláchos*) shall be assembled on one of the royal domains, — that indicating that even at the end of the XIII. century the number of Wallachian (Rumanian) immigrants was so small that they could all be accomodated on a single estate.

The Wallachians who filtered into Transylvania at first lived on royal domains and paid taxes to the king; King Ladislas IV. was the first monarch to allow the Church and private landowners to settle on their estates Wallachians without being required to pay any fees to the king, — that meaning that they were allowed to retain their whole income for their own purposes. *These Wallachians were also not freemen, but were subject to the control of the landowners.* Not all Wallachians remained in a condition of subordination. From the XIV. century onwards — as a reward for their military and other services — a number of Wallachian "factors" were raised to noble rank by King Louis the Great and King Sigismund, though John Hunyadi (*the father of Matthias Corvinus*) was even more liberal in bestowing that privilege.

In the XIV. century the population of Transylvania was thinned by the devastations following on the Cumanian and Tatar inroads; and that principality was flooded by a fresh wave of Wallachian settlers, whose immigration was due to the headway being made in the Balkans by the Turkish Power. The Turkish danger was responsible also for the three nations of Transylvania — the Magyars, the Széklers and the Saxons — forming a union (*Unio trium nationum*) in 1437 for the purposes of defence against the danger threatening from without. This Union was renewed in 1438, in 1459, in 1506, in 1541, in 1567, in 1605, in 1607, in 1613, in 1630, in 1649, in 1691, in 1744 and in 1791, — that proving that these three nations formed the pivot of the public life of Transylvania.



## 2. *The Principality of Transylvania: Hungary's Border Fortress.*

*The Union of the three nations proved of peculiar value after the Rout at Mohács in 1526, when the Turks occupied a part of Hungary, and the Hungarian Kingdom was split into three parts. The most important role (from the Hungarian point of view) played at that period in the country thus divided into three parts was undoubtedly that played by the Principality of Transylvania.* The independent principality of Transylvania was established under the protectorate of the Turkish Sultan. It was however able to freely administer its internal affairs. The Transylvanian Estates were able freely to elect their Prince, who was confirmed in his dignity by the Sultan. The Constitution of Transylvania was a constitution of privileged Estates. Three Estates — the so-called "three nations", the Magyars (nobles), Széklers and Saxons — had control of the political power. The Wallachians had no part in the political power; and that circumstance was due to the political position (status) of the four nations of Transylvania. The Magyars and Széklers — the conquerors of the country — formed the governing and State-building element — the nobility; they were joined by the Saxons, who formed the burgher element. It was these three peoples that constituted the foundations of the political organisation of Transylvania; these three peoples were the three free nations each of which had a separate constitution of its own founded on a far-reaching autonomy and embracing an independent public administration and an independent administration of justice. In the earliest period under the kings and later on under their own princes these peoples formed a political unit — the Union of the three nations.

The development of the Churches shows a similar tendency.

Protestantism spread rapidly in Transylvania; and in the days of the independent princes practically the whole country became Protestant. The Diet of 1557 already declared a general liberty of conscience; and the Diet of 1571 established the status as legally accepted denomina-



tions of the Reformed, Lutheran, Roman Catholic and Unitarian Churches. These denominations lived side by side in peace and harmony, and when the whole of Europe was being devastated by religious wars, there were very few traces of religious persecution in evidence in Transylvania. *Transylvania became the classical home of political and religious liberty.*

In this political and religious development the Rumanians had no part. Being nomadic immigrants who had entered the country at a later period, they remained in the state of serfs, they had no political organisation of their own, did not belong to the "Union of nations", while their Church was not a „*recepta religio*". But the situation of the Rumanian peasant was the same as that of the Magyar peasant. People rose from their ranks too to the rank of noble if they deserved the privilege; and they were thus enabled to join the ranks of the Magyar nobility. Their status was based, not on distinction of nationality, but on distinction of class. The reason why they had no rights was not that they were Rumanians, but that they were serfs. It was to this political development that they owed their lack of political rights; and the non-recognition of their Church as an accepted denomination was the result of their lack of political rights.

*The principality of Transylvania pursued a policy, not of oppression, but of the furtherance of liberty and of possibilities of advance, towards all the nations alike.* This little country in many respects fulfilled the mission previously performed in political and cultural respects by the mighty Hungarian Empire of the Middle Ages. In the depth of their souls the Transylvanians never proved able to reconcile themselves to being under the protectorate of the Turks, the fetters of which they did everything in their power to remove. Situated between the two great antagonistic Powers (the German and Turkish Empires) the small principality of Transylvania was on the West politically under the overlordship of the Habsburg monarch who had obtained the Hungarian throne and on the East paid tribute to the Sublime Porte. Apart from these two formalities Transylvania preserved its own right of self-determination and defended the universal interests of the Hungarian nation. As contrasted



with the oppressed and persecuted Magyars living in the territories subjected to Habsburg and Turkish rule, the nations of Transylvania were able freely to live their own lives and to develop their own culture, and also to strengthen their own economic structure. It was Transylvania that preserved the independence of the Hungarian people through a century and a half of Turkish oppression; and the history of the Transylvanian principality provides some of the most glorious pages of Hungarian history.

*The princes of Transylvania pursued a Danubian and European policy and never for a moment allowed the unity of the Hungarian State to be obscured.* It was as King of Hungary and as the successor of John Szapolyai, that the first Prince of Transylvania, John Sigismund, obtained the dignity of Prince of Transylvania. The Transylvanian principality also consisted of three parts — of the territory circumscribed by the rivers Maros, Tisza and Danube, of the trans-Tisza counties, later on known as "Partium", and of Transylvania proper. Of the princes and statesmen of Transylvania the Báthorys, Rákóczis, Gábor Bethlen and Michael Teleki were nobles from the trans-Tisza region; this is also evidence that it was the principality of Transylvania that symbolised Hungarian resistance both to the Habsburgs and to the Turks and the grand Hungarian co-operation of forces to secure the restoration of the country split in three. The whole history of the principality of Transylvania proves that it concentrated its efforts on achieving this higher object. *It waged war with Turkey or against the oppressive policy of the Habsburgs as the interest of the Hungarian people demanded.*

The princes of Transylvania proved great also in the art of political organisation and in that of directing foreign policy. Gábor Bethlen stabilised the foundations of the Transylvania principality, while by his foreign policy he won glory the world over both for himself and for his country. He made an alliance with the enemies of the House of Habsburg and in the Thirty Years' War achieved brilliant successes in three campaigns. In the second and third campaigns he had as his allies England, Holland, Venice, Denmark and Brandenburg. By the Peaces of Nikolsburg,



Vienna and Pozsony he secured the safety of the Constitution of Hungary and the liberty of conscience of the Protestants of Hungary living under Habsburg rule. His religious policy was everywhere characterised by a spirit of tolerance.

Both Gábor Bethlen and the Transylvanian princes of later times showed considerable understanding for the cultural development of the Rumanians (Wallachians), furthering and encouraging that development in every respect. They strove to convert the Rumanians to the Protestant faith; but their endeavour failed. The last of the great princes of Transylvania was George Rákóczi II., who fell in battle. The weakness of the princes who succeeded him was the source of innumerable troubles; and Transylvania was ravaged at one time by German and at another by Turkish armies. Another great change in the life of the Transylvanian principality resulted from the decline of the power of the Turks and the united effort of the Christian world to overcome the Turkish Empire. On September 2nd., 1686, under the command of Charles of Lorraine and the Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian, the Christian forces recaptured the fortress of Buda from the Turks. *Soon afterwards the whole of Hungary and Transylvania too was liberated from the yoke of Turkish dominion.*

### 3. *The Period of Transformation and Liberty.*

The last Prince of Transylvania was Michael Apafy (1663—90); he proved to be incapable both as statesman and as ruler, so that his Chancellor, Michael Teleki, directed the public affairs of the country with practically plenipotentiary powers. Michael Teleki very soon realised that a decisive change had ensued in favour of the House of Habsburg in the Central European struggle between the Habsburgs and the Turks which had lasted for a century and a half. His sense of political realities made him without hesitation take the side of the Habsburg dynasty. After the recovery of Buda he allowed the Habsburg soldiers to enter the fortresses and castles of Transylvania on condition of the rights of the Estates being guaranteed.



*The Habsburgs refused to hear of the existence of an independent Transylvanian principality; but — as the wielders of the political power — they allowed the Transylvanians to retain their internal civil government within the framework of the Empire.* In the *Diploma Leopoldinum* (1691) the House of Habsburg also acknowledged that Transylvania had come under its rule, not by right of conquest, but as a dominion of the Hungarian Holy Crown. The ancient Constitution of the Estates was left untouched — that Constitution still continuing to be based upon the fundamental principle of the equality of rights of the three nations or Estates (the Magyar or noble, the Székler and the Saxon) and of the four accepted religions or Churches (Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, Unitarian). As supreme organ of civil government the Habsburgs established the "Gubernium" or Regency Council. The head of the Regency Council was the Governor (Gubernator). The Governor and the Members of the Governing Council (Regency) were appointed by the King on the nomination of the Diet from among the members of the three nations and of the four denominations respectively, the respective ratios being in proportion to the respective strengths of the nations and denominations. In the field of judicature the supreme forum in Transylvania was the King's Bench at Marosvásárhely. The commander-in-chief of the troops in Transylvania figured as the supreme forum of military administration. The composition of the Diet remained unchanged. The number of official delegates of the sovereign ("*regalists*") and of those who were *ex officio* Members of the Diet (high officials of the country) was considerably exceeded by that of the elected Members — representatives of the counties, "manors" and boroughs and towns.

Transylvania passed through a far-reaching political transformation. There was no longer that dissipation of the internal forces in evidence in the days of Bocskay, Bethlen and the Rákóczi. The House of Habsburg placed the government primarily in the hands of the Catholic Church, which had so far tried in vain to give voice to its grievances against the predominance of the Calvinists. The Habsburg Emperors also attempted to convert the Rumanians of Transylvania



to the Roman Catholic faith. This endeavour did indeed succeed to a certain extent, resulting in the establishment at the end of the seventeenth century of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church — a Transylvanian invention — and in the consequent contact with Rome of a section of the Rumanians and in their coming into immediate political touch with Vienna and Buda, both channels of intercourse bringing these elements nearer to the West. The establishment of the Greek Catholic Church was of decisive importance for the political and cultural development of the Rumanians of Transylvania. The Greek Catholic Bishop became Member of the Transylvanian Diet, where he was able to make his voice heard on behalf of the Rumanian Greek Catholic priests and of the Rumanian people. The cultural development of the Rumanians of Transylvania had begun already in the days of the Transylvanian princes; and from the first half of the XVIII. century that development made rapid strides. The Magyars in every respect encouraged and furthered the cultural advance of the Rumanian people.

A change in the relations between the peoples of Transylvania was brought by the XIX. century. From the point of view of the Hungarian State the relation between the ruling classes and the serfs — that meaning in reality the relation between the ruling Magyar race and the non-Magyar nationalities — found its solution through the liberation of the serfs in 1848. The Parliament of 1867 went farther still, acknowledging the non-Magyar nationalities and the Rumanian Churches and incorporating their rights in law. *The Nationality Act proved to be a model of legislation relating to the solution of this question.*

The Hungarian War of Independence of 1848—49 was therefore an effort, not only for the liberty and independence of the Magyar race, but for the cultural and social emancipation of the non-Magyar nationalities too. These nationalities achieved complete liberty and equality of rights; but Hungary also ensured the future integrity of her liberty and independence. The union of Hungary and Transylvania was effected already in 1865; and the Compromise of 1867 concluded between Hungary and the Habs-



burg dynasty laid the foundations of the free development of the Hungarian Kingdom.

*We have offered a rough outline of the historical and legal development of Transylvania.* This brief survey also suffices to demonstrate to our readers clearly the fact that Transylvania was for a thousand years an integral part of the Hungarian Kingdom and that the legal status of the several nations was the consequence of historical development and of local conditions. The organic connection between Transylvania and Hungary and the historical right of the Hungarian people to the possession of Transylvania cannot be made a matter of dispute, particularly in view of the fact, manifest even from the sketchy survey given here, that in the most critical days of the Hungarian Kingdom — as, for instance, during the century and a half of Turkish occupation — Transylvania was the last line of defence of the universal aspirations of the Hungarian people; and it was the Transylvanian principality that preserved intact Magyar life and the liberty and independence of the Hungarian people in the days of Turkish oppression.

#### *4. The Truth about the Evolution, of Rumania.*

There is no evidence suggesting that Rumania has any historical claim to this territory. In particular there is no historical justification for the vague and misty Daco-Rumanian theory which would have us believe that Transylvania was inhabited by Rumanians when the Magyars first entered the country, — these Rumanians being the descendants of the Roman soldiers and settlers of the Emperor Trajan who after the short-lived Roman occupation of the country remained in Transylvania, where they intermarried with the autochthonous Dacian inhabitants. *Hiding for a thousand years in the great mountains — we are told — these Rumanians suffered all the havoc wrought by the migration of the peoples and survived all the migrating peoples, which all disappeared from the province of Transylvania without leaving a single trace behind them, whereas the Rumanians remained and after the Magyar conquest of Hungary, in the XII. and XIII. centuries,*



*emerged from their hiding-places as a "Daco-Romanian" race which had for so many centuries preserved the ancient tongue and traditions of the Romans and is therefore entitled to formulate against the Hungarians a claim to the land of Transylvania.*

This is the so-called "Daco-Rumanian continuity" theory invented in 1800 by Peter Major, a Transylvanian, which has ever since been uncritically endorsed by most Rumanian historians. It is on this vague and misty theory that the Rumanians base their historical claim to Transylvania. The historical truth, however is, that the first historical records of Rumania and of the Rumanian people are extremely chaotic. It is nevertheless beyond dispute that the first settlement of the ancestors of the present Rumanian people were in the Balkan Peninsula, on the seaboard of Serbian Albania. From this region they moved inland to Balkan territories inhabited by Greeks and settled in Thessaly and Macedonia. It was from the Greeks that they received their name of "Blacchos" or "Vlacchos" — a word meaning shepherd. The Greeks forced the unreliable "Vlacchos" pastoral people to move on; and they withdrew to territories inhabited by Bulgars. With the help of the Wallachs the Bulgars rose in insurrection against Byzantium and in 1186 established the Bulgar-Wallach Empire. The Bulgar-Wallach symbiosis was short-lived; and the Wallachs wandered off northwards and gradually settled at the foot of the South-Eastern Carpathians — i. e. to the south of present-day Transylvania — and later on passed up into the region watered by the Pruth and the Sereth. In these territories the Wallachs lived at first together with the Petchenegs and then with the Cumanians, being generally subject to these peoples' overlordship. The Wallachs chose as their definitive place of settlement the territories lying to the south and east of the Carpathians. These territories were inhabited by the Petchenegs, a people racially akin to the Magyars, whose overlordship was followed by that of the Cumanians, the founders of Cumania, the empire of the Cumanians. In 1227 the Cumanians of Wallachia acknowledged the King of Hungary as their feudal lord; and King Béla IV. adopted the title of "King of Cumania".



The first Wallach "factorships" were established within the territory of Cumania — i. e. within territory subject to the sovereignty of the Hungarian King.

*It was out of the "factorships" established within a territory subject to the overlordship of the King of Hungary that — about 1290 — the Wallach waywodeship of Wallachia (Muntenia) was formed.* According to Rumanian historians, in 1325, in the region watered by the rivers Pruth and Sereth, there was in existence a Wallachian "factorship", from which there developed later, under most hazy circumstances, the waywodeship of Moldavia, which according to some Rumanian historians was established in 1349 and according to others in 1360.

The only thing that is beyond dispute is that the Wallach waywodeships of both Wallachia (Muntenia) and Moldavia were called into being — or rather their development as marches permitted — by the Hungarian kings. Both Wallach waywodeships were therefore feudal dependencies of the Hungarian kings — with short interruptions — right down to the period of the Turkish advance. On the field of Mohács in 1526 Hungary fell before the Turkish onset; and this catastrophe finally sealed the fate also of the two Wallach waywodeships. It was not until 1878 that the two Wallach waywodeships were freed from subjection to the Turkish Empire.

In 1861 — while still under Turkish rule — the two Rumanian principalities were united, and the united Rumanian State was established; the Berlin Congress acknowledged its independence, and in 1881 it became a kingdom. These data therefore prove beyond a doubt that the Wallachs (Rumanians) established their waywodeships under the overlordship of the Hungarian kings, that those waywodeships were for centuries feudal dependencies of the Hungarian Crown and that in consequence, far from the Rumanians being entitled to claim a historical right to Transylvania, it is Hungary that would be entitled to formulate a historical claim to the territory of pre-War Rumania. "*We must respect Hungarian history*" — was the observation made in 1924 in the Chamber by M. Ghibanescu, a Rumanian Deputy — "*in which our people too has its share, and the Hungarian kings,*



*to whom we owe our political, cultural and economic development".*

After the establishment of the Rumanian Kingdom, however, the irredentism of the Rumanians became intensified both in Hungary and in Rumania; in Hungary in secret, but in Rumania openly and undisguisedly. It is true, indeed, that the irredentism of the Rumanians of Hungary was never absolutely enthusiastic. Until the very last moment, in October, 1918, at Arad, and in December, at Gyulafehérvár, they hesitated to endorse unconditionally a union with the Kingdom of Rumania. Yet that union was effected. A freak of fortune and the arrogance of the victorious Great Powers tore from the body of the thousand-year-old Hungarian Kingdom Transylvania and without the justification of a historical right threw that province into the arms of the less highly cultured Rumanian people. However, there was no checking the greed of Rumania; and besides wresting Transylvania from Hungary she took Bucovina from Austria, Bessarabia from Russia and the Dobrudja from Bulgaria. Bessarabia and part of Bukovina she has already been compelled to restore; but her claim to Transylvania must be liquidated too, for Hungary is entitled to claim the restoration of that territory, not only by virtue of a historical right, but also on geographical, national defence, economic and cultural grounds, the legitimate character of her demand being unquestionable.



## II.

### Geopolitical Laws in Carpathian Basin.

Hungary's geographical claim to Transylvania is just as strong as is her historical claim to that country. The Hungarian Basin — or rather, the *Basin of the Carpathians* — is the pivot of political equilibrium in *Central Europe*. The *Basin of the Carpathian* is completely encircled by mountains — on the West by a spur of the *Eastern Alps*, on the north-west, north, north-east, east and south-east by the semi-circular belt of the Carpathians stretching right down to *Orsova*, where the *Danube* leaves the territory of Hungary, and on the south-west by the hills running NW—SW. of the northern part of the *Balkan Peninsula*. A cursory glance at the orographical map of *Europe* enables us at once to establish that the Basin of the *Carpathians* forms a geographical unit of the shape of an ellipse raised into striking prominence by the surrounding wreath of the *Carpathian* mountains. Prior to the first *Great War* there was no other State in *Europe* possessing natural frontiers so exactly coinciding with the political frontiers as those of Hungary. But the aspect presented by the hydrographical situation in the Basin of the Carpathians also reveals the existence of a striking unit. The watersheds are almost without exception the frontier mountains of the *Middle Danube Basin* running round the country. Within the natural frontiers we find a well-developed, uniform system of rivers all gravitating towards the same centre. The waters rising in the outlying regions all discharge into the *Danube* or the *Tisza*, while the latter river too joins the *Danube* before that mighty river leaves the *Hungarian Basin*. This geographical character has at all times also determined the economic life and the development of the peoples living in the Basin of the



*Carpathians*. The centre of that Basin is the Great Hungarian Plain (*Lowlands*), a territory possessing exceptionally fertile soil which ensures the livelihood of its large population — relatively dense in this area. This rich, abundantly productive territory forms the economic centre of gravity of the whole Basin. Organically connected with this territory are naturally the hilly and mountainous districts on the outskirts of the country where only mining and industry were able, here and there, to increase the density of population, the supply of cheap food to this part of the population being also the task of the Lowlands lying in the centre of the Basin. In return for articles of food the hilly and mountainous districts on the other hand supplied the inhabitants of the Lowlands with wood, salt, mining products and industrial products. *From the economic point of view the respective products of the Lowlands and the mountainous regions were of a happily complementary character; and it was this auspicious harmony of the economic life of the country that rendered possible in pre-War days the development of a tranquil and well-to-do bourgeoisie in the Basin of the Carpathians. And the Peace Edict of Trianon broke this ideal unit into fragments.*

Out of this geographically united Basin of the *Carpathians* the *Trianon Peace Edict* carved a slice of territory 103,000 square kilometres in area and allotted it to Rumania. The greatest crime committed by the persons responsible for the post-War adjustment was their defiance of geographical facts. This circumstance is illustrated most strikingly by the weakness of the geographical structure of the *Greater Rumania* formed after the *Great War*. This *Greater Rumania* consists of four separate pieces of territory neither of which is in itself a unit, — the older Rumanian territory known as the "*Regate*", and the areas acquired under the *Treaties of Peace*, *Bucovina*, *Bessarabia*, and the territories wrested from *Hungary*. Old *Rumania* itself comprises two geographical units — one being the fertile province of *Wallachia* lying between the *Southern Carpathians* and the *Danube*, which is watered by the rivers having their sources in the *Southern Carpathians*, and the other *Moldavia*, a province stretching from the *Eastern Carpathians* right down



to the river *Pruth*. These two divergent geographical units, each of which has had a separate historical past of its own, have been welded into one, solely and exclusively by the racial identity of their populations.

*Moldavia* is separated by the river *Pruth* from *Bessarabia*, the province wrested from *Russia* which stretches right as far as the Dniester. The province of *Bessarabia* is made inseparable from *Russia* by its historical past; while its geographical structure makes it complementary to the South Russian tableland. In 1910 the *Rumanians* living in *Bessarabia* represented altogether 47.6% of the total population of that province. This province has now been recovered by *Russia*, which has occupied *Bucovina* too. The latter province was allotted to Greater *Rumania* out of the territory of *Austria*; it has an area of 10,442 sq. kilometres and a population of 800,000 souls, the numbers of *Ruthenians* and *Rumanians* being equal while the ratio of persons of other nationalities is roughly 30%.

The province of *Dobrudja* which was wrested from *Bulgaria* is separated from *Rumania* by the lower bend of the *Danube*. This province belongs to *Bulgaria* alike by virtue of its historical development, its geographical structure and its economic conditions. *It was the southern part of this province that Rumania wrested from Bulgaria; and even according to the Rumanian Census of 1930 the ratio of Rumanians living in the province was only 41.7%.*

The acquisition of the territories wrested from *Hungary* completely changed the geographical structure of *Rumania*. The territories wrested from *Hungary* consist of three parts — of historical *Transylvania*, of the *Banate* and of outlying districts of the *Hungarian Lowlands*. The territories wrested from *Hungary* are divided from *Rumania* on the east by a series of wooded ridges of the *Carpathians* and on the south by a single branch of this range of mountains which, though only consisting of a single row of hills, shows imposingly huge dimensions. These high mountains are for the most part uninhabited. The only means of crossing the frontier wall are the passes situated at a great height. And there are very few passes too. The mighty *Carpathian*



mountains, therefore, instead of connecting the territory of the Transylvania torn from the body of *Hungary* by the Peace Treaties with the old *Kingdom of Rumania*, serve on the contrary as a dividing line effectually separating the two countries. Historical *Transylvania* itself is bounded by the *Eastern Carpathians*, the *South-Eastern Carpathians* and on the west by the Bihar range. The latter rises like some mighty, lofty island on the western fringe of the Transylvanian Basin; but it does not close that Basin, since it leaves open — on the north and the south — two gateways leading to the *Great Hungarian Plain (Lowlands)* through the valleys of the rivers *Szamos* and *Maros*. In historical Transylvania the centre of the territory enclosed by mountains is filled by a high plateaux or table-land. That historical Transylvania is from a geographical point of view a perfect complement to the *Basin of the Carpathians*, is shown, not only by the mighty watershed wall formed by the *Carpathians*, which completely separates Transylvania from *Rumania* proper, but also by the hydrographical structure of Transylvania; for — apart from two streams of minor importance — all the rivers of Transylvania flow down towards the Hungarian Lowlands and discharge into the *Tisza*. The distribution of population also shows the interdependence of this territory and the Carpathian Basin. The river valleys and the towns forming the centres of the Transylvanian Basin are inhabited by Magyars. In the north-east and south-east we find Saxon settlements. In most areas we find the various nationalities living promiscuously; in the eastern and south-eastern parts of Transylvania, on the other hand, in five counties we find a compact block of Széklers. Széklerland itself embraces an area of 18,768 square kilometres, that being almost one-third of the total area of historical Transylvania (62,229 sq. kilometres). *In this very large area in 1910 the number of inhabitants was 807,000, the number of Széklers (of Magyar race) being 547,000 — i. e. 67.8%. The number of Rumanians living in this area represents barely one-fourth of the total population.*

In addition to historical Transylvania, the treaties of peace allotted to *Greater Rumania* also that part of the outlying regions of the *Great Hungarian Plain* which flanks



the middle reaches of the three Körös rivers and the Szamos, together with a part of the Banate. This territory forms a broad strip of land running from north to south to the west of the Bihar range which is some 400 kilometres in length; it is entirely flat country and is complementary to the *Hungarian Lowlands*. There can be no doubt that this flat country is *Rumania's* worst frontier. Here there is not a single natural factor to support the configuration of the political frontier; the rivers and streams all run across it at right angles, the only marks of the political frontier line being the boundary stones placed in ploughed fields. This territory is very thickly populated. The inhabitants of this territory carried on the trade between the *Great Hungarian Plain* and the mountainous regions of *Transylvania*. The new frontier has, however, completely paralysed this trade — a circumstance that equally concerns the inhabitants of both regions. *The great bulk of the inhabitants of this flat country are Magyars: only in the southern districts — in the so-called Banate, which had to be settled afresh after the destruction wrought by the Turkish occupation of the country — do we find a mixed population.*

When we investigate the demographic conditions of the territory wrested from *Hungary* and allotted to *Rumania*, we find that *Magyars* are living in compact language blocks in the eastern part of *Transylvania* — in *Széklerland* —, the centre of that province and in the districts on the fringe of the *Great Hungarian Plain*. We find *Saxons* living in a compact language block in the south-eastern corner of *Transylvania* — in the so-called "*Barcza District*" — and in the east of *Transylvania*, in the environs of *Beszterce*; while we find *Swabians* living in a compact language area in the Banate. The *Rumanians* who filtered over the frontier from the *Old Kingdom (Regate)* settled first in the Alpine mountain regions immediately adjoining that kingdom. *Rumanians* are found living in compact masses in the south-eastern part of *Transylvania* — in the Counties of *Fogaras*, *Hunyad* and *Krassó-Szörény* — and in the north, in the County of *Máramaros*, the other great centre of *Rumanian* immigration. But even in these counties the population is not purely *Rumanian*, the *Rumanians* living here too, as in the



other areas, promiscuously with other peoples, in particular with Magyars, above all in the river valleys.

*The numerical distribution of the nationalities does not however reveal the part played by the Magyars in Transylvania.* The cultural superiority of the Magyars is reflected in the distribution of nationalities in the towns of Transylvania. The relevant figures too are evidence of the fact that the culture of *Transylvania* is *Hungarian*. However many *Rumanians* there may be living among the mountains, the figures showing the populations of the towns — the factors responsible for the direction of the cultural life — reveal very considerable majorities of *Magyars* even in the *Rumanian* language areas. This state of things — the presence everywhere of Magyar majorities — even the 1930 Rumanian Census proved unable to disguise. We now give our readers the demographical statistics of the Transylvanian towns possessing municipal rights: —

*Populations of Municipal Towns in Transylvania: Figures showing Distribution of Nationalities in 1910 and 1930 respectively.*

<i>Temesvár</i>	1910	1930
<i>total</i> population	72,555	91,580
Magyars	28,552	32,513
Germans	31,644	30,670
Rumanians	7,566	24,088
 <i>Nagyvárad</i>	 1910	 1930
<i>total</i> population	64,169	82,687
Magyars	58,421	55,039
Germans	1,416	1,118
Rumanians	3,604	20,914
 <i>Arad</i>	 1910	 1930
<i>total</i> population	63,166	77,181
Magyars	46,085	41,161
Germans	4,365	4,617
Rumanians	10,279	28,537



<i>Kolozsvár</i>	1910	1930
<i>total population</i>	60,808	100,844
Magyars	50,704	54,776
Germans	1,676	2,702
Rumanians	7,562	34,836

<i>Szatmárnémeti</i>	1910	1930
<i>total population</i>	34,892	51,495
Magyars	33,094	30,308
Germans	629	669
Rumanians	986	13,941

<i>Marosvásárhely</i>	1910	1930
<i>total population</i>	25,517	38,517
Magyars	22,790	25,359
Germans	606	735
Rumanians	1,717	9,493

The respective figures of the 1910 Hungarian and 1930 Rumanian Censuses show a shifting in the populations of these towns in favour of the Rumanians, a circumstance due to the fact that in the intervening period large masses of Rumanian officials from the Old Kingdom swarmed into the Hungarian towns of Transylvania. Yet even this immigration on a large scale of Rumanian officials has failed to change the Magyar character of these towns. And the same is true on the whole of the situation in all the towns of Transylvania.

*Distribution of Town Populations by Languages (Mother-Tongues) in 1910 and 1930 respectively in the territory of Great Transylvania.*

Mother-tongue	1910		1930	
	Number	Percentage (%) of total population	Number	Percentage (%) of total population
Hungarian	480,000	62.0	431,000	44.9
Rumanian	152,000	19.6	330,000	34.4
German	123,000	15.9	130,000	13.6
Others	19,000	2.5	69,000	7.1
<i>Total</i>	<i>774,000</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>960,000</i>	<i>100.0</i>



The geographical facts therefore connect the Greater Transylvania wrested from Hungary and allotted to Rumania in every respect, seeing that the *Carpathian* mountain chain completely separates Transylvania from *Greater Rumania*, this natural dividing line marking impossible any intensive economo-political intercourse between the two countries, while in respect of demographical data the nationality statistics of the towns in particular prove that the Magyars have for over a thousand years at all periods displayed a cultural superiority in Greater Transylvania.



### III.

#### **The Importance of the Carpathians as a Line of Defense.**

For a thousand years the Carpathians belonged to Hungary, and during this time, on their ridges, Hungary checked the advance all the dangers from the East threatening to destroy Western Europe. It was Hungary that held up the Tartars and Turks, and saved Europe from Pan-slav encroachment. But since the Carpathians have been wrested from Hungary and placed in Slav and Rumanian hands, they have ceased to represent the defence and safety of Western Europe, in fact their new masters look to the West to defend them. The danger of Pan Slavism, that is to say Bolshevism, still continues to menace Europe from beyond the Carpathians. And the new owners of those mountains, far from being capable of keeping that danger in check, are more apt to play into the hands of its leaders.

Had Russia been able during the World War to establish herself permanently on this side of the Carpathians, instead of merely occupying these regions for a short time, Pan-slavism would now be ruling over the Danube Basin, the Dardanelles, the Adriatic, the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal. But though Russia's strategy failed in the World War, the blind drafters of the Paris Peace Treaties paved the path for Pan Slavism by means of the Edict of Trianon. Through Trianon Pan Slavism may easily realize its centuries-old aims, and then will follow a terribly tragical period, for Hungary in the first place, but also for the whole of Europe, a period more woeful than the era of historical Pan Slavism. This disastrous development cannot be prevented unless the ramparts of the Carpathians are restored to Hungary by means of peaceful revision.



The exposure of the Danube Valley's line of defence, the Carpathians, to the danger of Panslavism was the greatest, and in its consequences the most fatal, blunder from the point of view of defence policy made by the drafters of the peace dictates. By assigning the key position to the Danube Valley, the bastion of the Carpathians, to the Czechs, who number something under 5 million, and to the Rumanians, the Paris Peace Treaties were guilty of the greatest sin against the peace of the world, in fact against the Slavs themselves who profited by it. The Carpathians, for whose possession 20 strong army divisions had fought for years during the World War, are the most natural and strongest line of defence for the Danube and the Danube regions. Only the most crass ignorance of defence policy could have left that natural bastion at the mercy of Panslavism.

The Danube — the only river in Europe that flows from West to East — by reason of the excellent facilities for navigation it affords, is the natural waterway between East and West, and the Danube Valley is one of the best land routes. The importance of the Danube as one of the main arteries of international communication will grow even greater as soon as the canal joining it to the Rhine is completed. Then there will be a splendid waterway across the Continent connecting the North Sea with the Mediterranean. In these circumstances it would be of the greatest importance that the Danube and the Danube Valley should be in the possession of Hungary, a country, that is to say, which belongs to the West, since its vital interests and the conditions governing its existence are identical with those of the Western countries, and not in the hands of a power group whose interests, with those of Panslavism, are separatistic and selfish.

Once before the Danube Valley was closed as an international route of communication, when the Turks were in possession of Central and Eastern Europe and were dreaming of the conquest of the whole Continent and world hegemony. That danger passed, — thanks primarily to the stubborn resistance offered by the Hungarian nation, — but in consequence of Trianon an equally great danger again threatens; for Trianon has given the Carpathians to Panslav Czechs and weak Rumanians, thus placing the whole Danube Valley at



their mercy. The aims of Pan Slavism are well known. They became evident during the World War when the Russian hosts numbering millions invaded Hungary with the intention of reaching their Slav brethern, the Serbs, by way of the Danube and connecting the gigantic empire of the Northern with the areas of the Southern Slavs, in order to realize Peter the Great's dream of a Russia ruling over the Dardanelles and the Adriatic. Thanks to the bravery and self-sacrifice of the defenders of the Carpathians, the Russian attacks were repulsed, but all this was powerless to prevent the Peace Treaties from opening the door for Pan Slavism by demolishing the Carpathian frontiers. This produced a situation favourable to Pan Slavism, which, should a likely occasion arise, may be able to close the Danube Valley; for without the Carpathians it is impossible to ensure that the Danube should remain a main artery of international communication. The masters of the Carpathians will always be the masters of the Danube Valley.

In possession of the Carpathians — the natural and best bastion of the Danube Valley — Hungary was able to prevent herself from being wholly inundated by the waves of Pan Slavism, and also managed to frustrate any attempt on the part of the Southern Slavs to join the mighty Russian Empire, which would have been a major disaster, not only for Hungary herself, but also for the whole of Western Europe. But if the Carpathians remain in Slav and Rumanian hands it may, should occasion arise, lead to the creation of a corridor between the Northern and Southern Slavs. As we know, an attempt to create this corridor by dividing Western Hungary between the Czechs and the Serbs was made. This was the one Czech demand that even the unilaterally informed Peace Conference found too excessive, better said, the one Czech demand that it acceded to in a round-about way by giving Western Hungary to Austria in the hope that later it would be easy for the Slavs to wrest it from that country. The first plan of a corridor failed, but when Trianon handed over Pozsony to the Czechs it gave them a bridgehead, and thus ensured to them the possibility of crossing the Danube, at the same time making it possible also for the Southern Slavs to use that town as a bridgehead and a line of advance towards



the North, so that Hungary was literally wedged in between the fangs of the Slav pincers.

Besides this the Carpathians are not only particularly suitable as a line of defence, but are also an excellent point of attack. In the World War, for instance, Falkenhayn and Arz used them as a mouse-trap, to the undoing of the three Rumanian armies that penetrated into Eastern Hungary by way of those mountains.

The Carpathians are a natural line of fortification separating the West from the East that from a strategical point of view far surpasses in value the artificial Maginot Line. They afford must greater protection against tanks, gas and air raids than the Maginot Line could. As regards reconnoitring, the well-wooded Carpathians provide much better cover for the movements of troops, rendered constantly necessary by attacks and counter-attacks, than do man-made fortifications. In the World War they proved a most excellent base of advance against Russia and Rumania, i. e. against the East. Before the World War nobody recognized the strategic importance of the Carpathians more clearly and definitely than General Czánt, whose books dealing with them were pioneer works in military literature. The most important of his relevant works are "*Alpinismus und Weltkrieg*", "*Hochgebirgsketten sind Friedenbastionen*" and "*Der Gebirgskrieg im Völkerringen*". It was he who showed the error of the idea that high mountains were of no use except as lines of march, and who predicted that the high Alps would become battle-fields. It was he who declared that from a geopolitical and strategic point of view high mountains were the most important factors in preserving peace; and who established the fact that the Carpathians were absolutely necessary to the defence of the Dardanelles, the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean.

To the East beyond the Carpathians, for about 100,000 kilometres till we reach Kamchatka, there are no mountain ranges. The 150 million people who inhabit this vast plain have no opportunity of learning the art of Alpine warfare. On the other hand, that during the World War the Austro-Hungarian and German forces were masters of the winter mountain ranges was due to their experience of mountaineering.



Thanks to this, the Carpathians in winter were actually the allies of the Central Powers and a death-trap to the Russian troops ignorant of the science of Alpine mountaineering, to whom the heights were a *terra incognita*. These odds in our favour no longer exist; since the Carpathians have passed into the hands of others it will be easier for the Northern and Southern Slavs to unite.

We know that the avowed aim of Panslavism is to gain possession of the Danube and the Mediterranean. Hungary's loss of the Carpathians is a direct encouragement to Russia to resume her traditional policy, and, as the protector of all Slavs, to make an attempt at establishing her rule over the Danube Valley, the Balkans and the Straits. The line of the Carpathians, the bastion of Western Europe, must be restored to Hungary, to which it always belonged and in whose possession it fulfilled its purpose for a thousand years. When the Carpathians are restored to Hungary, that is to say to Western Europe, Panslavism will be disarmed, for the experience of the World War proves that there is no danger of the Russian army ever being able to break through that line of defence. If the geographically ideal unity of the Carpathian Basin again becomes an economic and political unity, Hungary will be in a position to resume her role as the guardian of the West against all dangers threatening from the East. As for a thousand years she was the loyal, resolute, brave, and reliable defender of Western civilization and culture against Turk and Tartar, so in the future she will prove the indomitable guardian of European civilization against Red or White Panslavism.

For these reasons it is absolutely imperative, not only for Hungary, but also for Germany, Italy and the whole of Western Europe that Transylvania be restored to this country; for the defence of Europe against perils from the East is possible only if the Hungarian nation stands guard again on the ridges of the Carpathians, as it did for a thousand years in the past. (See Map 5.)



#### IV.

### Hungary an Indivisible Economic Unit.

#### 1. *Forcible Lowering of the Standard of Minority Life*

The *Hungary* of the period prior to the Great War of 1914—1918 — which had been welded into one unit for a thousand years by the laws of geographical cohesion — constituted a unit economically too. The corn-growing Lowlands and the smaller flat districts were ideally complemented by the mountainous regions rich in minerals and timber. The abundance of industrial raw materials available in the country neutralised *Hungary's* exclusively agrarian character and enabled her to initiate a large-scale policy for the promotion of industry in the outlying districts. As is well known, in these outlying districts possessing less fertile soil the inhabitants of which are poorer — in those very territories allotted to foreign States by the *Peace Edict of Trianon* — the *Hungarian State* very wisely resolved to undertake considerable investments. The sums spent in these regions on the building of roads, the establishment of factories and the foundation of cultural and economic institutions were considerably larger in proportion than those expended for similar purposes in the other parts of the country. This economic and cultural policy enabled the non-Magyar nationalities in *pre-War Hungary* to grow steadily in numbers and to increase their wealth and advance their culture. This healthy development was stopped by the *Peace Edict of Trianon*, which completely upset the economic order created in *Central and South-Eastern Europe* by centuries of development. The new order then ensuing in *Central and South-Eastern Europe* in many respects ran counter to the natural interests of the peoples concerned, who in consequence suffered from a lack of a number of the



indispensable conditions of economic development. The peace edicts cut the factories off from their natural raw materials, the producers from their markets; the landed proprietors from their labourers, — a circumstance that led to economic chaos. In the new States the inhabitants were compelled to lower their standard of cultural and economic life; and that led to continual discontent and dissatisfaction. This dissatisfaction was increased by the fact that in the States of the Danube Valley there was an unceasing conflict between the ruling classes and the national minorities, the latter having to carry on a struggle — still being fought — against the ruling majority to ensure the free use of their mother tongues, their political rights and their economic existence. This struggle is peculiarly intensive in the territory of the *Greater Transylvania* wrested from *Hungary* and allotted to *Rumania*, where the *Magyars* and *Saxons*, peoples with a higher standard of culture, have been subjected to the domination of the *Rumanians*, a people culturally inferior to them. The inseparability of *Greater Transylvania* and the *Hungarian Lowlands* is postulated both by historical, economic and cultural development and by geographical conditions; and it was this fact that created the interdependence of a thousand years which made this united country a land of prosperity. This territory was on a far higher level than the *Rumanian Kingdom* proper in respect alike of agrarian production, of industry, of commerce and of cultural and religious life. The *Rumanian* politicians were fully conscious of this difference of standards; and that is why they initiated a determined action for the purpose of bringing about the economic levelling of the several provinces and at the same time the *Rumanianization* of economic life. To endeavour to level the economic standard of life of the provinces would in itself have been perfectly judicious, had the factors responsible for the endeavour desired to attain that object by raising the standard of those parts of the country whose development was backward. But in that manner they would not have obtained immediate results; and the real endeavour of the *Rumanian* politicians was to *Rumanianize* the whole economic life of the country as rapidly as possible. They had to act without delay, for they



felt that the territories possessing a higher standard of culture would shake off Rumanian domination; *therefore it was declared that the economic life of the country must be Rumanian — Rumanian agriculture, Rumanian commerce, Rumanian industry, a Rumanian banking system, Rumanian capital, Rumanian workers in the industrial establishments — these were the aims, to culminate in a final, definitive and actual expropriation of the territories annexed to Rumania, together with the monopolisation of the towns, that inspired the Rumanian legislators and statesmen.* In their anxiety to realise these objects the Rumanian politicians shrank from nothing — not even from attempting to stop the development of the new provinces. Particular efforts were made to raise the standard of life of the provinces of Old Rumania, the provinces that had been newly acquired being at the same time neglected, so that their inhabitants suffered from all the oppressive maltreatment incidental to a hostile economic policy.

## 2. Anti-minority Land Reform and Settlement Policy

The work of economic levelling was furthered also by the *Land Reform* and the agrarian settlements. After the end of the *Great War* it became imperatively necessary that a radical land reform should be carried out in the territory of the new Rumania. The lot of the landless peasantry had become intolerable long before the outbreak of the *Great War* in the territory of the old Kingdom of *Rumania*. There could therefore not be any objection whatsoever to a judicious and just land reform scheme. But what interested the Rumanian politicians was not so much the lot of the Rumanian peasantry as the nationalist question; the land had to be taken from the Magyars and the other *non-Rumanian* nationals, that being the only way in which they could serve the selfish and exorbitant nationalist aims. This statement is borne out fully by the manner in which the Rumanian Land Reform was carried into effect. In *Transylvania*, for instance, a far larger proportion of the land suitable for agrarian cultivation was expropriated than in *Old Rumania (Regat)*, though the number and size of the



latifundia were relatively greater in the latter country than in the territory of *Transylvania*. In *Transylvania* the proportion of sound and viable medium-sized estates was a very favourable one; and in connection with the ratio of the area of latifundia it must not be forgotten that 52.8% of the whole area of the province consists of pasture-lands, meadows and forests, whereas in Rumania proper the ratio of territories of this character — which are for the most part managed jointly — is only 27.1%. And yet in the course of the *Land Reform Transylvania* received the harshest treatment. For the ratio of expropriation was highest in *Bessarabia* and *Transylvania*. Whereas the area of land expropriated in *Old Rumania* amounted altogether to 2,776,402 hectares — that being 37.96% of the total area of land suitable for agrarian cultivation —, the quota of land expropriated in *Transylvania* was 44.53% — 1,663,809 hectares.

In conformity with this discrimination there was naturally a considerable divergence in the distribution of land after the completion of the Land Reform in *Old Rumania* and the less favoured province of *Transylvania* respectively. The proportion of estates exceeding 50 hectares in area left after the *Land Reform* in the territory of *Old Rumania* was 23.7%, that left in *Transylvania* only 17.6%. The reason for this differentiation was that in *Transylvania* the latifundia were mostly in the hands of owners of *Magyar* nationality, who had to be ruined and their land transferred to *Rumanians*. And those responsible actually succeeded in realising their scheme; for in *Transylvania* the proportion of *Rumanians* receiving land was 73.4%, though, according to the 1930 *Rumanian Census*, they represent only 57.6% of the population of that province. On the other hand, however, only 16.26% of the *Magyars* of *Transylvania* were allotted land, the majority even of these successful *Magyar* claimants being given lots less than 1 hectare in area.

The anti-*Magyar* character of the *Rumanian agrarian reform* becomes still more evident when we remember that the actual value of the amounts paid in lieu of compensation for the land expropriated in *Transylvania* do not represent even 0.015% of the real pre-war value of the land thus



*sequestered*. A circumstance illustrating the different treatment meted out to the several provinces is that according to a report of the Bratianu Government the value of the bonds placed at the disposal of landowners subjected to expropriation in lieu of purchase price down to 1926 was 4,634.579,957 lei, whereas the amount represented by the bonds allotted in *Transylvania* during the same period was only 38.840,535 lei. This means, taking the average, that down to the point of time in question bonds of the value of 1670 lei had been paid for each hectare of land expropriated in *Old Rumania (Regate)*, whereas the average price paid down to that date for each hectare of land expropriated in *Transylvania* was only 23 lei (i. e. bonds of the nominal value of 23 lei).

Another economico-political action taken by *Greater Rumania* of just as eminent importance as the agrarian reform, was the system of settlements. Apart from the *Lower Danube* reaches *Rumania* does not possess any frontier region not inhabited by considerable blocks of non-Rumanian nationalities, who indeed in many places actually form a majority. Using the specious slogan of "*frontier defence*", the Rumanians endeavoured to break up these blocks — an endeavour most easily realisable by sequestering the lands of the minorities living in these frontier areas. It was considerations of the kind that gave origin to the Settlement Act of 1930, which established an autonomous Settlement Office to carry the new measures into effect. In the Preamble to the 1937/38 *Rumanian Budget* the number of families to be settled in this way was estimated at 36—40,000, the number of children allowable per family being fixed by the Minister of Agriculture at 2—6. *That means that the number of persons so far benefiting by the settlement action may be calculated at roughly 200,000.*

By means of the agrarian reform and the *Settlement Act* the *Magyars of Transylvania* were deprived of their land, many *Magyar* families being thereby made homeless. It is doubtful however whether these measures have really benefited the Rumanian people? From an economic point of view the action was certainly of little advantage for *Rumanian* families entirely unfamiliar with the art of



agrarian cultivation have been settled in districts inhabited by minorities skilled in that respect. The Rumanian authorities were unscrupulous enough to subordinate every other consideration to the demands of nationalism, not taking any measures to provide that the *Rumanians* benefiting by the land distribution and enjoying the advantages ensured to settlers should be given the support indispensably necessary to enable them to put their farms in working order. Large numbers of Rumanian settler families have remained without a roof over their heads, having preserved their character of semi-nomadic people and disposed of their assets in order to secure a subsistence — ending by losing houses and live stock and agricultural equipment and then lapsing into the lowest state of all, that of agricultural servants and herdsmen in the employ of members of autochthonous minorities. Many settler families have been reduced to a state of extreme destitution and want. We see, then, that the *Land Reform* and the *Settlement Act* have not benefited any of the peoples of Greater Transylvania — profiting neither *Magyars* nor *Rumanians* nor *Saxons*; while on the other hand they have created a state of utter chaos in the economic life of Transylvania.

### 3. *Measures to Prevent the Economic Prosperity of the Minorities*

*The Rumanian régime in Greater Transylvania has also brought industrial development to a standstill.* During the days when that province was under Hungarian rule Greater Transylvania was very highly developed industrially too. In the pre-War period the industry of Transylvania showed a rapid advance — an advance furthered by the utilisation of a source of energy — natural gas — discovered in the Transylvanian *Basin* just before the outbreak of the Great War. In addition the *Hungarian Government* elaborated far-reaching schemes for the utilisation for industrial purposes of the water power available. The change of rule checked this development. The greatest obstacle to the industrial development of *Transylvania* was that it had for its products no inland market capable of considerable absorption and



showing a highly developed taste. The standard of life of the agrarian classes of the provinces of *Old Rumania* was far below that of the population of the *Great Hungarian Lowlands*. Another obstacle hindering the development of Transylvanian industry was that after separation from Hungary it was left without capital. But nationalistic aspects also contributed to check the commercial and industrial development of Transylvania. The nationalisation of all commercial and industrial undertakings was ordained as early as 1922. It was then that a *Special Economic Committee* attached to the *Rumanian Ministry for Industry* was established, the work of this Committee being to supervise and submit an opinion relating to every new undertaking established, every increase of capital and every change of seat of operations. It was on the basis of the opinion of this Committee that the *Ministry* issued trade licences. The stipulations formulated by this Committee were the following: -- three-fourths of the *Boards of Directors and Auditors* of the undertakings must be Rumanians; two-thirds of the shares were to be allotted to Rumanians. We see, then, that very shortly after the establishment of Greater Rumania the *Rumanian Government* had already full particulars, not only of the foreign capital playing a rôle in the economic life of the country, but also of the capital owned by the minorities living in *Rumania*. *Rumanian* greed and excessive nationalism, however, carried the *Rumanian* authorities even farther; not content with their control of the economic life of the minorities, they endeavoured to bring about their complete ruin. It was *Alexander Vajda-Voivoda*, the one-time folk-tribune of the Rumanians of Hungary, who when he was in office as *Prime Minister of Rumania* initiated the open campaign against the minorities living in Rumania for the purpose of ruining them economically. Early in August, 1933, he addressed an order to all private undertakings forbidding them to employ persons belonging to non-Rumanian minorities in excess of the proportion of the population represented by the respective minorities. No measure was taken by the Premier to determine the method of ascertaining the respective proportions. In carrying out the ordinance his subordinates applied the ratios of population calculated



for the country as a whole, not taking any account of the fact that in certain counties the quota of Magyars represented 60—90% of the total population of the county in question. *Vajda's* action was fully approved of by the ultra-nationalist *Rumanian Press*. And propaganda did produce the desired results; for on July 16th, 1934, there was promulgated a Law in terms of which 80% of the workers and officials employed by private undertakings and 30% of the Boards of Directors and Auditors were to be persons of Rumanian nationality. The Law was put into force with draconian severity; nothing was gained by the movement initiated by the Saxons of Transylvania or by the formidable mass-demonstrations at *Nagyszeben*, *Segesvár*, *Beszterce*, *Szászsebes* and *Szászvár* which protested against the measures threatening with extinction the German people of *Rumania*.

Equally serious are the losses that have been inflicted on the inhabitants of the new territories by the one-sided financial and credit policy of the *Rumanian Government*, which has striven solely and exclusively to develop the *Old-Kingdom (Regate)*. The deterioration of the level of agriculture in Transylvania, the checking of the development of cattle breeding and mining and the ignoring of the interests of the industrial undertakings, were accompanied by a commercial and customs policy exclusively favouring the Regate and its interests. *The banks and other economic undertakings of the new provinces — in particular those of a minority character — received barely any support either from the State or from the National Bank.* Yet enormous importance attaches to support from those sources; for in Rumania, a country short of capital, in which rates of interest of 25—30% and not infrequently of even 40% were demanded in private dealings, the official discount rate of roughly 6% and the re-discount credit granted by the National Bank on these terms meant a veritable godsend to those who were allowed to avail themselves of them. The minority banking institutes in the new provinces were granted only a very small share of this national gift. Equally unfavourable was the treatment meted out to the co-operative societies of the new provinces in connection with the distribution of State credits. In



1930, for instance, the *Rumanian* co-operative societies in *Transylvania* received State credits of a total amount of 156 million lei, whereas the *Magyar* (*Hungarian*) societies were not granted a single leu under this head.

The most serious burden upon the minorities was that imposed by the *Rumanian* taxation policy. The minorities were left entirely at the mercy of the *Rumanian* authorities responsible for the assessment and exaction of taxes, whose procedure was characterised by arbitrary irresponsibility. As far back as 1921 Titulescu — then *Minister of Finance* — drafted and made *Parliament* vote a Law for the unification of the diverse systems of taxation in the Preamble to which the Minister himself pointed out that according to the conditions then in force a merchant living in the *Regate* had to pay a 1526 lei tax on an income of 31,000 lei, whereas a *Transylvanian* merchant earning the same income had to pay 8461 lei. In *Transylvania* the older categories of taxes were supplemented by the introduction of the categories of taxes in force in the *Regate* (*Old Rumania*), though nothing of the kind was done in the *Regate*, no categories of taxes in force in *Transylvania* being introduced in *Old Rumania*. The scale of taxation was also higher in the new provinces. The *Rumanians* of *Transylvania* themselves protested against this part of the country being treated as a colony and established the fact that 70% of the total expenditure of the State was paid by *Transylvania* in the form of direct and indirect taxes.

Even more striking is the difference made as between nationalities. In 1926, for instance, the quota of agrarian taxes falling to the share of each inhabitant of the villages in the purely *Magyar* County of *Csik* was 179 lei, that quota being in the similarly pure *Magyar* County of *Háromszék* 176 lei. In the predominantly *Rumanian* County of *Máramaros*, on the other hand, the quota per head paid by the village inhabitants under the head of agrarian taxes was only 35 lei. We find the same inequality of treatment also in connection with the assessment of the taxes payable by the industrial undertakings and by members of the liberal professions. In the County of *Csik* — a county inhabited exclusively by *Magyars* — the quota of taxes



falling to the share of each inhabitant in 1928 was 1600 lei, while that quota was only 675 lei in the *Country of Gorj* and only 310 lei in the *County of Valcea* in the *Regate (Old Rumania)*.

There are also special categories of taxes which are for the most part, or even exclusively, exacted only from the minority inhabitants. Thus in terms of Par. 24. of the Tax Act (No. 3248) of 1923 the counties and towns are entitled to impose a tax on business signs — the tax on signs written in Rumanian not to exceed 500 and that on signs written in foreign languages not to exceed 8000 lei. *Ordinance No. 291,889 ex 1935 of the Ministry for Commerce imposes a special impost of 12% (super-tax) on undertakings keeping their books in a non-Rumanian language.*

In their commercial and communications policy too the Rumanian Governments have always shown special consideration for the interests of *Old Rumania*. The commercial and customs treaties made by them always serve primarily the purpose of securing the products of the *Regate* advantageous marketing possibilities or protection and take less account of the requirements of the new provinces. This selfish policy has proved a source of trouble to the collieries and salt mines of Transylvania and has ruined the wood industry of *Széklerland*. The wood industry was an extremely important source of revenue in particular for the Magyar inhabitants of the Székler counties, it being quite impossible to live in the wooded and hilly *Carpathian* regions exclusively on agriculture and cattlebreeding. As a consequence of the injudicious foreign trade policy of *Rumania* and above all of her policy of isolation in dealings with *Hungary* there has been a decline in the *Rumanian* wood exports. This set-back has paralysed the wood industry and placed tens of thousands of Magyar families in a difficult situation.

The recovery of commerce has been impeded also by the circumstance that *Transylvania* is separated from *Old Rumania* by high mountains, which are an obstacle to the development of traffic.

The policy of economic levelling pursued by Greater Rumania has therefore merely succeeded in checking the economic development of Transylvania and the other



provinces allotted to that country by the peace treaties, while — as a consequence of the well-known corruption prevailing in Greater Rumania — it has not succeeded in raising the standard of life of the Rumanian peasantry. The populations of *Transylvania* — *Rumanians, Magyars and Germans* alike — have been reduced to a very critical situation both economically and culturally; and this crisis has become more and more grave every year of the Rumanian régime of two decades. The leaders of the Rumanians of Transylvania themselves have repeatedly protested energetically during the last twenty years against the selfish and corrupt policy of the *Old Kingdom*; while the whole of Europe has echoed continuously with complaints of the economic, cultural and political oppression and persecution of the *Magyars and Germans* of Greater Transylvania. *Hungary's* endeavours were concentrated on enhancing the economic welfare of the inhabitants of Greater Transylvania, those of Greater *Rumania* being on the other hand concentrated on exploiting that province. *Hungary* built roads, furthered the development of industry and commerce, created an agrarian culture and enabled all the nations living in *Greater Transylvania* to accumulate wealth; whereas *Greater Rumania* on the other hand, during its rule of twenty years, has checked sound economic development and plunged the population into destitution and misery. *The twenty years of Rumanian rule have therefore served to prove that Greater Transylvania is inseparable from Hungary, not only historically and geographically, but economically too.*



## V.

### Hungarian Culture — Rumanian Culture.

#### *1. Foreign Opinions About Rumania.*

The rearrangement of Central and South-Eastern Europe after the World War created a situation that, from a cultural point of view, will once be regarded as one of the saddest and most lamentable chapters in the history of mankind. With Greater Transylvania nationalities were attached to Rumania which before then had been themselves staple elements of the State, and were on a high level of culture. Transylvania had been the classical home of political and religious liberty, where with the support of its Hungarian princes Rumanian culture had developed splendidly. It is a well-established fact that Transylvania was the real cradle of Rumanian culture.

The work of breaking in the wild Rumanians to social and legal order, to a respect for the laws of the State, gave the Governments of the princes no little trouble. It was difficult to turn a semi-nomadic pastoral people into a settled, hard-working agricultural folk, willing to be educated; and what made it more difficult still was the circumstance that the Rumanians were inclined to be unruly and loose in their morals. Many authentic data prove that the Rumanians of Transylvania were hard to tame, and that the task of educating them and compelling them to respect law and order was a difficult one that never ceased to tax the powers of the Hungarian kings and Transylvanian princes.

After his second visit to Transylvania, Louis the Great, the finest Hungarian king of the XIV century, issued a decree regulating criminal procedure in that province. In it he says that the number of criminals in Transylvania had greatly increased, especially among the Wallachians



(Rumanians), who were disorderly; he therefore authorized the nobles to exterminate criminals in general and Wallachian criminals in particular.

That ever since their first appearance the Wallachians were regarded, not only in Hungary, but also everywhere else, as turbulent elements that had no respect for private property, social order and the laws of the land, is proved by the following. Pietro Duodo, a Venetian ambassador, on returning home from a journey through Hungary writes as follows about the Wallachians of Transylvania in his report dated 21st January 1599: "The Wallachians are the scum of the nations; they are a pastoral people and are very poorly clad. They fled here (to Transylvania Ed.) from Wallachia to escape the cruelties of their own Voivodes". In this report Pietro Duodo establishes not only the low moral standard of the Wallachians, but also — what is of even greater importance — the fact that they had fled to Transylvania from Wallachia, in other words, that they were not autochthonous inhabitants of Transylvania.

But Pietro Duodo was not the only foreigner who painted a depressing picture of the uncivilized and backward state of the Rumanian people. During the reign of Vasilie Lupu, a voivode of Moldavia, Paul, Deacon of Aleppo, who accompanied Macarius, the patriarch of Antioch on his travels through Europe, visited the Voivode's court. He wrote the tale of his journeyings in the Arabian language. The Arabian manuscript was translated into English by Belfour and published in London in 1836 under the title of "The travels of Macarius Patriarch of Antioch". In that work we read of the Rumanians of Moldavia that nowhere in the whole world had God Almighty created a more depraved people than the Moldavians, who were all murderers and robbers. Criminal records showed that during the reign of Vasile Beg over 40.000 thieves and robbers had been sentenced to death, although a death sentence was never passed for a first offence. There was no trace of propriety and virtue in the behaviour of the married women and girls. The people were only nominally Christians, and the first to set a bad example were the priests, who spent the whole night in the vilest debauchery or in a drunken condition. From this description



given by Paul, Deacon of Aleppo, we may gather an impression of the character of the whole Rumanian nation. Those of them who filtered into Transylvania brought with them the low standards and faults of character of the Wallachians of Moldavia and Wallachia. No wonder that historians writing of South Eastern Europe declare that Western civilization ceases on the eastern frontier of Transylvania.

The codex of XVI und XVII century Transylvanian laws, the so-called "*Approbaták és Compilaták*", states that the Wallachians of that province behaved almost with violence towards the other nationalities among which they lived. In 1550 a writer, George Reicherstorfer, says of them: — "Among these people (Magyars and Saxons, Ed.), in some lonely farms and villages, live the Wallachians. They are a very hardy race, who subsist on their flocks, but mainly on stolen cattle and horses. They wear rough, homespun garments made of goathair and do not conform to any man-made laws."

From 1722 to 1726 the Imperial Governor of present-day Lesser Wallachia (Oltenia) was a general called Count Königsegg. In 1725 he submitted a memorandum to King Charles III of Hungary in which he begged His Majesty to settle the Wallachians of Transylvania in Lesser Wallachia "because these Wallachians who have been engaged as cot- ters by the Saxons have so greatly increased that they now almost exceed the Saxons in number, besides which they are ruining the Saxons with their evil-doings, thievery, sorcery, and secret acts of incendiarism. It would therefore be very expedient to re-settle in their old home these people, who though subordinate to the Saxons do them more harm than good."

Forty-two years later, in 1767, Count Rialph Perlas, the then Governor of the Banate of Temes, suggested to Maria Theresa that the Rumanians should be removed from the vicinity of the new German settlements because "the German settlers tremble with horror at the idea of having to live on farms situated among the Wallachians. In the last war with the Turks it was experienced that the German populations of the Banate suffered more from the depredations of wandering



bands of Wallachians than from the Turks. Numerous German villages were sacked and burned down by them, many Germans were killed or carried off to be sold to the Turks. It is a point for consideration whether in the event of war the fortresses at Temesvár and Arad would not be safer if the areas between them were populated by loyal subjects, instead of by people to whom it is a matter of indifference whether they are ruled over by Christians or Turks, and who change their allegiance with every change of circumstances."

We might continue to enumerate countless similar opinions of the moral worthlessness and lack of character of the Rumanian people. It will, however, suffice to quote from a report drawn up by the Emperor Joseph II. This Joseph II is regarded by the Rumanian historians and politicians who preach the doctrine of Daco-Rumanian continuity as the friend and protector of the Rumanian people against the oppression and tyranny of the Magyar nobles. Strange to say, this pro-Rumanian Emperor paints a very dark picture of the Rumanians of the XVIII century. In 1768 he travelled through the Banate of Temes, and wrote a report of his journey to his mother, Maria Theresa. In it we read: — "Both the Serbs and the Wallachians blindly obey their priests, but they differ in that the obedience of the Wallachians is a servile obedience because of their indescribable ignorance and stupidity, whereas that of the Serbs — although they, too, are rather ignorant — is inspired by religious fervour. The parish priests, who are recruited from the uneducated peasantry, and can usually neither read nor write, are unable to preach the Gospel or understand the Holy Scriptures. It is impossible that such priests should be capable of training and educating the people. Besides this, elementary education and the teaching of the young are unknown either to the Serbs or the Wallachians. Not one in a thousand of them is able to read and write his own mother-tongue. The villages get certain better-educated priests to compose their petitions and complaints, and are compelled to entrust all their affairs to them, without being able to judge whether what the priests write is in accordance with their wishes or not. Catechising and preaching are unknown. Even the bishops themselves are only concerned with an endeavour to extort money, which





they squander on base pleasures. The weapon of excommunication has been greatly abused; in most cases excommunication is merely another name for blackmail."

## 2. *What the Magyars Have Done for the Rumanians.*

The Princes of Transylvania did all they could to draw the uncultured Rumanian herdsmen into the community of human civilization. One of the means employed by the Protestant Princes — *Gabriel Bethlen, George Rákóczi I* and *Michael Apafi* — to further this end, was an endeavour to convert the Rumanians to Protestantism. Although this attempt led to results of inestimable value for the Rumanians, in that it did away with the hegemony of the Slav language in their liturgy, introducing their own mother-tongue instead, and laid the foundations of their national literature, the Daco-Ruman school of historians would fain suggest that it was an arbitrary endeavour to deprive the Rumanians of their language and of the faith of their fathers and to Magyarize them. This endeavour of the Daco-Ruman school of historians is unjustified, particularly because it was not the Hungarian but the Rumanian language that *the Princes of Transylvania introduced into the liturgy of the Rumanian Church, thereby making the development of the Rumanian literary language possible.*

*The psyche of the Magyars is most clearly mirrored in the history of the evolution of Rumanian culture. That psyche shows its greatness, not by seeking to oppress other races, but by trying to raise them and win their friendship. The Princes of Transylvania were the first to promote the cultural development of the Rumanian people. Scarcely had the Hungarian Reformed Church been established in Transylvania when John Sigismund and the Transylvanian Diet appointed a bishop for the Rumanians, who, at the Synod held in 1567, ordained that Rumanian was henceforth to be the language of Divine Service instead of Serbian. Already in 1544 a Rumanian catechism had been printed at Szeben, and in 1559 John Benker, sheriff of Brassó, introduced Luther's Catechism into the Orthodox Rumanian Church there, subsequently setting up a Rumanian printing-press,*



where, under the management of Coresi, a student from *Tergovistye*, a beginning was made with the publishing of books in Rumanian. With the assistance of the Lutheran Saxons and Calvinist Magyars — in particular by order of a certain Magyar nobleman named Nicholas *Forró* — Coresi published the *Gospels* in 1561, the *Acts of the Apostles* in 1562 and the *Psalms* in 1571 — all in Rumanian. In 1581 Coresi received an order for a Rumanian edition of the Gospels from the then sheriff of Brassó, Luke *Hirscher*. In 1581 and 1582 the bishop of the Rumanian Calvinists, Michael *Torda*, published the "*Palia*", for a long time the only Rumanian translation of the Bible. The cost of its publication was borne by Francis *Gesztí*, Chief Constable of Déva. The translation was prepared by Tordai and several Rumanian priests — the prelates of Karansebes, Lugos and Hunyad. It was translated from Casper Heltai's Hungarian translation of the Bible, and often when the translators were at a loss for a proper expression in Rumanian, they simply used Heltai's Hungarian words and expressions.

The appearance of the "*Palia*" was an epoch-making event in the history of Rumanian culture. It was the Magyars of Transylvania that lent a helping hand to the more backward Rumanian people at this critical period. It was the Magyars that drew the latter into the sphere of universal European culture and taught them to read the Bible in their own mother-tongue. This was also the policy of the Transylvanian Princes of the seventeenth century: *Gabriel Bethlen* worked on a Rumanian translation of the Bible; *George Rákóczi* set up a Rumanian printing-press at *Gyulafehérvár*, published a *Calvinist catechism* in Rumanian, and when this was banned by the Orthodox Metropolitan of Jászvásár, the Orthodox Bishop of Transylvania took up cudgels in its defence. We thus see that it was the Magyars of Transylvania that rocked the cradle of Rumanian controversial and scientific literature.

At that time, in consequence of the system of "accepted" religions, each accepted denomination was subordinate to the Prince. This was particularly true of the Orthodox Church, which was merely a tolerated denomination, its bishops having to accept the conditions imposed by the



Prince — on the occasion of his confirming them in office — which stipulated the use of the Rumanian language in the churches and the elimination of the Slav liturgy. In 1641 George Rákóczi I ordered the Bishop of Bihar appointed by himself to *"preach to the poor Rumanians in their own mother-tongue, in order that they may be strengthened daily in profitable knowledge and in the faith and so be led day by day from the darkness of superstitious error into the light."* Later on, in 1643, George Rákóczi deposed one of the Rumanian bishops of the Greco-Serb ritual, who had been appointed by himself, and made it the duty of his successor to use and cause his priests to use the Rumanian language at Divine Service on Sundays and Feast-days and at all ceremonies. He also ordered him to see that his priests gave up their superstitious customs. These stipulations are to be found in all subsequent deeds of appointment issued by the Princes of Transylvania, each of which therefore enjoins the Rumanian bishops and priests to hold Divine Service in the Rumanian tongue and to teach their congregations to use that language. In particular *Michael Apafi* carried out an extensive Rumanian cultural programme; in 1686 he appointed *Vasilie Varlam* bishop of the Greeks and Rumanians with the injunction that he must maintain schools at his Residence in Gyulafehérvár as well as in Hunyad and Máramaros, where all the pupils should be taught to read and write in Rumanian. Advanced pupils were to be taught Latin, but no mention was made of Hungarian.

*Unbiassed Rumanian historians themselves do not deny that it was in Transylvania that, with the encouragement of the Hungarian Princes, the cultural and literary movement set in which was to oust the Serb language from ecclesiastical life and make Rumanian the language of the Church and of literature, thus outstripping the Rumanian culture of the two Rumanian principalities.*

The attempt of the Transylvanian Princes to spread the Reformation among the Rumanian population proved a failure; the elements of liberty and autonomy that are the characteristic features of Protestantism made no appeal to them. The endeavour of the Habsburgs to Catholicize them



was apparently more successful. *At the end of the seventeenth century the Greek Catholic Church was established; and these Greek Catholics were also pioneers of Rumanian culture.*

In 1754 a bishop of the Rumanian Church, *Peter Aron*, founded a seminary and a university with a high-grade college attached at Balázsfalva. The manuals used there were accepted as text-books in *Moldavia* and *Wallachia*. Thanks to the generosity of the Hungarian Princes and the brotherly assistance of the Magyars, Balázsfalva, that Magyar town of Transylvania, became the cradle of all Rumania's national culture at a time when even in the Churches of *Moldavia* and *Wallachia* the Rumanians were obliged to use the Greco-Slav language.

During the reign of the Emperor *Joseph II* Rumanian books were published in rapid succession at Balázsfalva and *Szeben*; and indeed even in *Buda*, the coronation town of the Hungarian kings, the University Press published Rumanian school-books and prayerbooks gratis, in order to supply the educational needs of the illiterate Rumanian population. Nothing better characterizes the solicitude of the Magyars than the fact that even today Rumania has no bigger and better pontifical than the twelve volumes published gratis at *Buda* by the Magyars for use in the Rumanian churches. It was *Samuel Klein* who elaborated the Latin construction of the Rumanian language (*Elementa linguae Daco-Romanae sive Valachicae*. Wien, 1780.). *George Sinkai* laid the foundations of the Daco-Roman theory (*Cronica Romanilor*. First edition published in *Jassy* in 1853, the second in 1886). *Peter Major* wrote its synthesis in his history of the Rumanians (*Istoria pentru inceputul Romanilor in Dacia*. *Buda*, 1812.). The first Rumanian periodical was launched in *Budapest* at the beginning of the last century, while the first and only Rumanian Encyclopaedia was published at *Nagyszeben* in *Transylvania*.

The big Rumanian cathedral whose beautiful internal columns with their ribbon ornamentation in the Rumanian national colours presented a gorgeous spectacle during the whole of the Hungarian era, was built at *Balázsfalva*.



The War of Independence in 1848—49 set free not only the Magyar serfs, but also all the non-Magyar nationalities in Hungary, assuring them full political, cultural and religious liberty. Great possibilities of cultural development presented themselves to the Rumanian of Transylvania; and they had every means offered them of availing themselves of those possibilities. The Rumanians themselves admit this. *Onosifor Ghibu*, professor of the Kolozsvár Rumanian University, tells us as much in his books written in 1915 (*Viata si organizatia bisericeasca si scolari in Transilvania si Ungaria* and *Scola romaneasca din Transilvania si Ungaria*). Ghibu cannot be accused of bias in favour of Hungary, for during the war he left his post of school-inspector in Transylvania and fled to Rumania, from whence he launched a violent campaign of propaganda against Hungary. As university professor in Kolozsvár his main activity has been to wrest from the Magyar minority Churches what cultural weapons were left to them, even going so far on his own initiative and responsibility as to cause all the property belonging to the Catholic Premonstratensian Order in Nagyvárad to be confiscated, that is to say transferred to the Rumanian State. Writing of the position of the Rumanians in Hungary, this same Ghibu says: — “As an autonomous body the Rumanian Greek Oriental Church of Hungary and Transylvania, by virtue of the rights ensured in Act IX of 1868, independently administers, directs and manages — subject to the full maintenance of the sovereign’s supreme control — its own ecclesiastical and educational affairs and trust funds in every important respect...” “School-inspectors have no immediate authority over our schools. — As regards the appointment of teachers, in the Brassó and Brad Rumanian Greek Oriental secondary schools they are appointed by the ephoria and their appointment is confirmed by the consistories; in the Greek Catholic lyceums they are appointed by the consistories, and in the Naszód lyceum by the Minister on the recommendation of the Committee of the Frontier March Endowment. In the rest of the denominational schools the teachers are appointed by the consistories, while teachers in the State schools are appointed by the Minister.” “The denominations simply announce the establish-



ment of their schools, they do not need to ask for permission. In terms of Act XXXVIII of 1868 parents are free to send their children to any school they choose." "The language of tuition and the curriculum are determined by the bodies maintaining the schools."

"The members of the Orthodox Rumanian Church numbered 1.875.000 in 1913. That Church receives an annual State grant of 179.000 crowns for the upkeep of consistories and theological seminaries; the sums received as congrua (State grants to supplement the stipends of the Orthodox priests) amount to 3.000.000 crowns per annum; the elementary schools receive a State grant of 1.500.000 crowns, and secondary school teachers enjoy one of 21.000 annually as a supplement to their salaries. The said Church maintains 1536 elementary schools with 1680 teachers, 6 secondary schools and one boarding-school."

"The Rumanian Greek Catholic Church has 1475 parishes with 1600 out-parishes and maintains 1146 elementary schools. It also receives congrua and other State grants in the same proportion as the Greek Oriental Church."

"In all Rumanian denominational schools the language of instruction is Rumanian."

"Act XVIII of 1879 made the teaching of Hungarian compulsory in denominational schools" (Before that time no Hungarian was taught in those schools.)

"Act XXVII of 1907 (Lex Apponyi) has made civil servants of the denominational teachers and forces them to take the Hungarian oath of allegiance. It prescribes 13 Hungarian lessons a week in schools with one class, and 39 in six-class schools. The State grants aid also to the denominational schools if they comply with the requirements of the Act (suitable premises, qualified teachers, progress in the Hungarian language, and patriotic principles), but in that case the curriculum for 5 subjects (Hungarian, history, geography, the elements of constitutional law and arithmetic) is prescribed by the State."

Regarding the interpretation of the Lex Apponyi the Rumanian Greek Oriental diocese of Transylvania issued an order (No. 11.410) on 30th September 1910, which ran as



follows: — "Attention is drawn to § 20 of Act XXVII of 1917, which by some is wrongly interpreted to mean that in the schools enjoying State grants arithmetic, history, the elements of constitutional law and geography must be taught in Hungarian, and that Hungarian schoolbooks must be used for this purpose. This interpretation is quite erroneous. In terms of § 18 of Act XXVII of 1917, the official language of instruction in the Rumanian Greek Oriental denominational schools is Rumanian. *In all denominational schools, whether they enjoy State grants or not, all subjects are to be taught only in Rumanian*, with the exception of Hungarian, in conjunction with which certain elements of arithmetic, history, and the elements of constitutional law must also be taught. All these elements to be taught in Hungarian will only be taught in that language after the pupils have mastered them in Rumanian, and may not be taught in Hungarian during the regular arithmetic, history, constitutional law and geography lessons — which must be given in Rumanian — but only during some of the many Hungarian lessons. The school-books are all in Rumanian. No bilingual books are permissible, for they merely serve to make teaching mechanical. Our schools are not bilingual ones; in terms of the Act they are "schools in which the language of instruction is Rumanian", and the books in use in them must also be written in Rumanian. The Act does not stipulate that all the schoolbooks used in our schools shall be approved by the Ministry; it merely prescribes that those used for teaching arithmetic, history, the elements of constitutional law and geography in schools enjoying State grants must be approved; in schools that do not enjoy State aid only the books used for teaching Hungarian must be approved."

From the above quotations from *Onisifor Ghibu's* books and the order issued by the Rumanian Greek Oriental diocese of Transylvania the following points may be established:

1. *Rumanian was the language of instruction in the Rumanian schools; arithmetic, history, geography and the elements of constitutional law were taught during the Hungarian lessons, not as separate subjects, merely as exercises*



in the Hungarian language. In practice this was effected as follows: all these subjects were first taught in Rumanian during the regular lessons and the material taught then was simply used for translation and composition exercises during the time set apart for the study of the Hungarian language.

2. *The Rumanians were free to establish schools. The Churches enjoyed extensive autonomy.*

3. *Denominational schools and priests enjoyed State grants.*

4. *The Churches were free to pursue all their activities, the Hungarian State imposing no restrictions on them.*

5. *The property of the denominational Churches was not interfered with by the State.*

6. *The bishops of the denominational Churches were members of the Hungarian Upper House.*

Thus in every respect historical Hungary always did her duty; she served the cause of civilisation and progress, making the economic and cultural development of her non-Magyar nationalities possible. The Hungarian Government and the institutions of the Hungarian State, as also Transylvania's own cultural institutions, raised the Rumanians of Transylvania to a level of civilization which, though it by no means attained the cultural standard of the Magyars and Saxons, was much higher than that of the Rumanians of Rumania. Proof of the truth of this statement is again supplied by Onosifor Ghibu, whose works (*Viata si organizatia bisericeasca si scolare in Transilvania si Ungaria, Bucharest 1915, p. 164* and *Scola romaneasca, 1915, p. 37*) deal with Rumanian education in Transylvania. From his statistics we learn that in 1914, during the Hungarian era, there was one purely Rumanian school to every 1016 inhabitants. To every 945 Greek Oriental inhabitants there was one Greek Oriental teacher, a large part of whose salary was paid by the Hungarian State; on the whole the State paid one-third of the total amount received in salaries by the Greek Oriental teachers. That same year there was only one elementary school to every 1418 inhabitants in Rumania (*Anuarul Statistik al Romaniei 1924, pp. 10 and 234*).



### 3. *What the Rumanians have done for the Magyars.*

Transylvania's cultural life, which for centuries had shown such splendid development, was ruined when the Edict of Trianon wrested that territory from Hungary and attached it to Rumania, a country on a much lower level of civilization. The cultural programme of Greater Rumania's successive Governments was to reduce everything to one level, and everything possible was done to lower the cultural standard of Transylvania to that of Rumania proper. The Gyulafehérvár assembly, at which the Rumanians of Transylvania announced their union with Rumania, demanded full national liberty for all the peoples of that country, equal rights and full religious liberty for every denomination, and democratic measures in every sphere of public life, — e. g. universal, uniform suffrage, also for women, with direct and secret ballot, liberty of the Press, the right to assemble and to form associations, and the free propagation of all human ideas. Besides this, a minority treaty guaranteed the rights of the minorities attached to Rumania. But the Rumanian Governments simply ignored both the Gyulafehérvár resolution and the Minority Treaty, so that twenty years of Rumanian rule has resulted in the total ruin of the cultural and religious life of the non-Rumanian nationalities in Transylvania.

The Rumanian Constitution promulgated in 1923 contains the following provisions re the liberty of religious practice.

"§ 22. Liberty of conscience is absolute.

"The State guarantees all religious denominations equal liberty and protection in so far as their practices do not constitute an offence against public order and morality and the Constitution of the State.

"The Greek Oriental (Orthodox) and Greek Catholic Churches are Rumanian Churches.

"The Greek Oriental Church being the religion of the great majority of the Rumanian people, it shall be the ruling Church in the Rumanian State. The Greek Catholic Church shall have precedence over the rest of the denominations."



This article contradicts itself when on the one hand it promises equal liberty and State protection to all religious denominations, and on the other makes an important distinction between denomination and denomination, placing the Orthodox Church in a dominant position and investing the Greek Catholic Church, as second in rank, with the right of precedence over all the rest of the denominations.

From the point of view of public law, therefore, the Rumanian Constitution creates a certain hierarchy among the churches at the head of which, and high above all the rest, stands the Orthodox Church as the established State Church; immediately below it follows the Rumanian Greek Catholic Church, whose most important privilege is that all its bishops are members *ex officio* of the legislative body; the rest of the denominations do not enjoy the same privileges as the Rumanian Churches, and are therefore in law in a much inferior position. Membership of the Senate is not ensured by virtue of office to every Catholic and Protestant bishop as it is to the Greek Catholic and Greek Oriental bishops, and as it was to all bishops without exception in pre-war Hungary.

In their intolerance the Rumanian Government and the Greek Oriental Church went so far as to commit wrongs against the Greek Catholic Church. The confiscation of Greek Catholic churches and their conveyance to the Greek Oriental Church was the order of the day, sometimes through the instrumentality of the administrative authorities, sometimes simply by means of frankly arbitrary action on the part of the Greek Orthodox clergy. In Pojana (County Hunyad) the Orthodox priest, with the help of his congregation, drove away the Greek Catholic priest and destroyed the Greek Catholic church. The Greek Catholic church of the Ruthenes of Sucava was taken from the Greek Catholics by a Cabinet Council decree and handed over to the Rumanian Greek Oriental Church. Because of this Russu, the Greek Catholic bishop of Máramaros, put a question in the Senate on 30th January 1937, but he was cried down and accused of Russian irredentism. If the Greek Catholics were treated like this, it is not difficult to imagine what happened to the rest of the religious denominations.



The Religion Act of 1928 contains provisions directed against the non-Rumanian Churches that reduce these old free Churches to the level of tolerated sects. That Act empowers the State to interfere with the administration and the economic and spiritual affairs of the several denominations, to make difficulties and even — as the Preamble to the Act boasts — to forbid them to accept gifts from their brethren in foreign lands, to restrict the generosity of their members, quash the judgments passed by the ecclesiastical courts, render doubtful their exclusive right to teach religion in the schools, and undermine their authority in respect of the question of Church taxes.

On 10th May 1927 the Rumanian Church concluded a Concordat with the Papal See. This agreement proved the source of a fresh series of disabilities for the Roman Catholic Church of Transylvania. It did away with the bishopric of Nagyvárad established by St. Ladislaus 800 years ago, attaching it to the diocese of Szatmár. The dioceses of Transylvania and Csanád established 900 years ago by St. Stephen, which number 350.000 and 450.000 members respectively, were placed under the Archbishopric of Bucharest, a new creation without historical traditions, alien in spirit and language, and with but some 10.000 odd members. The Concordat provides that the assets of the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Churches shall be administered jointly, an arrangement which the latter had refused to consider prior to the change of rule. It has also made teaching in Rumanian compulsory in the schools owned by religious orders, where from time immemorial Hungarian had been the medium of instruction.

The Protestant Churches of Transylvania found themselves in an equally difficult position. The autonomy of the Transylvanian Protestant Churches was the result of centuries of evolution, and no restriction had ever been placed on their activities by the Hungarian State. After the change of rule, however, Rumania — in accordance with the anti-autonomous spirit obtaining in Old Rumania — took legislative steps to hamper the work of all the Transylvanian Protestant Churches. Protestant congregations were kept under observation, even Divine Service was



controlled. One of the most important functions of the Protestant as well as of the Catholic Church was to establish and maintain schools. Their efforts to perform this task, however, are always being impeded by the Rumanian authorities, so that they are unable to fulfil their mission in this respect.

The Rumanian Administration aimed at ruining the minority Churches financially in order to weaken their activities by depriving them of their funds and thus prevent their establishing minority schools. This aim was effectively achieved under the pretext of a Land Reform. Of the 290.649 yokes owned by the four Roman Catholic dioceses no fewer than 277.645 (95.5%), were expropriated. The Protestant Churches lost 36.686 yokes (45.23% of their 81.106 yokes.). Together the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches lost 84.5% of their landed property.

But the confiscation of their estates was not the only means employed by the Rumanian Administration to make it impossible for the minority Churches to maintain denominational schools. Legislative methods were also used, despite the fact that Rumania had in Paris on 9th December 1919 signed a treaty framed to ensure the protection of minorities, § 9 of which expressly declared that the minorities were entitled to establish at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational institutes, and to administer and supervise them, with the right to use their own language and practice their own religion freely in them. In defiance of this provision Anghelescu's Ordinances Nos. 100.088 and 100.090 ex 1923 made the teaching of geography and history in Rumanian compulsory in the Magyar denominational schools. The spirit of these Ordinances also asserts itself in the Elementary Education Act of 1924, for the instructions issued re the execution of that law provide that in the first four classes of the seven-class elementary schools, besides Rumanian, geography, history and the elements of constitutional law must be taught in Rumanian, while in the three upper classes all subjects must be taught in that language, so that in point of fact the Act makes the teaching of all the



important elementary subjects in Rumanian compulsory even in the denominational schools.

An even more serious blow to minority education is the provision contained in § 7, which stipulates that all citizens of Rumanian origin who have "lost" (forgotten) their mother-tongue must send their children to Rumanian schools. This article was responsible for the notorious system of name-analysis. If the Rumanian administrative authorities decided that a child's name did not sound Hungarian, that child was not allowed to attend a Hungarian school. In practice, therefore, large numbers of pupils of Magyar origin whose parents professed to be Magyars were forced to attend the Rumanian schools against their will.

In the field of denominational education another severe blow was inflicted on the minorities by the Private Education Act of 1925, which degraded all non-State (denominational, parish, etc.) schools to the rank of private schools, made their establishment conditional on a licence from the Minister of Education and placed their activities under his control. This Act removed teachers' training colleges and universities from the category of private schools and made it impossible for anybody but the State to establish schools of that kind. In private schools only books approved by the Minister may be used for teaching, and intercourse with the authorities must take place in Rumanian. Those schools cannot issue certificates of the same validity as those of the State schools, but the Minister may give them a licence to do so. In this respect the law leaves the denominational schools at the mercy of arbitrary State interference; it has reduced the use of minority languages to a minimum, and in many cases has done away with it altogether. With the aid of name-analysis the Administration has driven the pupils away from the minority schools and made the existence of the latter dependent on the caprices of the Minister and the authorities. No wonder that even Rumanians have condemned these draconian measures. Writing of the Private Education Act in the "Adeverul" on 27th May 1925, a Rumanian secondary school teacher says: — "It contains provisions the like of which were unknown to the Rumanian schools in Transylvania during the old (Hungarian) régime.



Some of its provisions ignore all the principles of pedagogy, and their application means mental torture for minority children. Restrictions and prohibitions are so numerous that in certain parts one gathers the impression that one is reading a set of prison rules."

The organization of the Rumanian secondary schools and their examination system underwent a series of modifications between 1925. and 1934. Of these modifications the most notorious was the Higher Certificate Act of 1925, which substituted a so-called higher certificate examination for the old leaving certificate one. This examination has to be passed, not before the teachers of the pupils' own school, but before an *ad hoc* board of examiners appointed by the Minister, and at the headquarters of the district chief inspector of secondary schools. Each board consists of seven members, six of whom are teachers recruited from the higher section of State lyceums, while the seventh is the chairman of the board. Examinations are both *viva voce* and in writing, and the answers must be given in Rumanian. The subjects are the Rumanian language and literature, Rumanian geography, history and the elements of constitutional law, in other words, the so-called national subjects. Besides these, one modern language and two other subjects may be taught in their own mother-tongue. The first year after this Act was passed 516 pupils of Rumanian nationality and 431 Magyars were examined in Transylvania by eight boards. Of the former 188 (34.4%), of the latter 316 (73%) failed. These figures clearly illustrate the purpose of the Act, which confronts Magyar minority pupils with wellnigh insuperable difficulties.

We shall not discuss the rest of its provisions here; it must suffice to say that in 1934 Anghelescu again modified the Secondary Education Act. The instructions as to how it was to be interpreted, issued on 27th July 1934, deprived the minorities of the last vestiges of their right to use their own mother-tongues by forbidding the use of Hungarian as an auxiliary language at the higher certificate examinations.

The Rumanian Government has restricted the use of minority languages, not only in the schools, but also in public offices, public life and even in private intercourse,



and this persecution extends to other nationalities besides the Magyars. Dr. Hans Otto Roth, leader of the Parliamentary Group of the Germans of Transylvania, speaking in Parliament on 29th February 1936, said: — "The Saxons of Transylvania have been here for 800 years, and never before were they restricted in the free use of their mother-tongue."

Minority university students are compelled to study in Rumanian, for immediately after the change of rule the Rumanian Administration took forcible possession of the Kolozsvár Hungarian University, and Rumania refuses to naturalize the diplomas obtained at the universities in Hungary.

Another measure contributing to root out the Hungarian language and to further Rumanianization was the establishment of a so-called "cultural zone". Ordinance No. 40.771 of 1924 established this zone, which embraces the Magyar areas along the western frontier as well as the purely Magyar counties of Csík, Háromszék and Udvarhely. In this zone school-teachers have to work harder and therefore receive bigger salaries. This Ordinance was incorporated in the Elementary Education Act as § 159 thereof. The object served by the establishment of this cultural zone is as follows. Those teachers who enjoy special privileges have posts in State schools established in minority areas where, though the pupils are Magyars, the schools are Rumanian, and it is their duty to Rumanianize the Magyar children. Seeing that a sufficient number of efficient Rumanian teachers willing to undertake the unpleasant task of Rumanization was not to be found in Transylvania, the Government decoyed to those districts teachers from other parts of Rumania. Rumanian teachers, who often do not speak a single word of Hungarian, have been planted in purely Magyar regions. Rumanian educational circles themselves realize the absurdity of the situation. The supervisor of public education in County Marostorda stated in his report for the school-year 1924—1925 that the number of teachers in the county had risen by 50% in the course of one year, the explanation of this being that teachers from Old Rumania, if forced to accept posts in Transylvania,



chose the cultural zone. "The experience of the past year" — says the report — "shows that these appointments were a great mistake. Teachers who never heard a word of Hungarian in their lives and who do not understand the customs, much less the mentality, of the people among whom they have to work, have been sent to villages where, with the exception of the parish clerk and perhaps the gendarmes, not a soul can speak Rumanian. In consequence the conscientious among them feel like fish out of water; and, struggle as they may to make themselves understood by the children, their efforts are wasted. There is nothing to be done, for the children do not understand Rumanian... These teachers, who, representing universal national interests, should be the leaders of every movement, are stranded in those villages."

"At the time of the Czars" — so said Policar Betianu, a Bessarabian Member of the Rumanian Parliament, — "it was the custom that teachers sent to Siberia enjoyed special privileges. But Bessarabia is not Siberia."

Neither was Széklerland until it came under Rumanian rule.

In keeping with and as a fitting complement to these arbitrary measures in the sphere of education was the vandalism with which the monuments of many of Hungary's great historical figures and the creations of many eminent Hungarian artists were destroyed. On 13th May 1919 the poet Petöfi's statue was removed from its place in Marosvásárhely. On 18th August 1920 the statue of Louis Kossuth, the great hero of Hungarian independence, in Nagyszalonta was demolished. On 1st March 1921 the Hungarian inscription was removed from the house in Kolozsvár where King Matthias was born. That same year, on 25th March, Louis Kossuth's statue in Nagykároly was demolished; on 7th May Stephen Széchenyi's bust was removed from the well in Széchenyi Place in Kolozsvár; on 19th October the statue in Máramarossziget of a soldier of the War of Independence of '48 was destroyed. On 21st April 1923 the Town Council of Arad ordered the removal of the historical panels from the concert hall. On 7th January 1924 the Bocskai statue in Nyárádszereda was demolished. On 2nd July 1925 the



monument to the thirteen martyrs of Arad was destroyed by order of the Government. On 26th September, 1936, the statues of St. Stephen and St. Ladislas standing in the walls of Szatmár Cathedral were removed and broken to pieces. These were merely the more important statues destroyed. Civilized people will be at a loss to understand the meaning of this vandalism, but the Rumanians knew what they were about. The reason for these acts of vandalism is perfectly clear. For in Transylvania every historical monument, church and statue, every stick and stone, speaks of a thousand years of Hungarian history, of Hungarian culture and Hungarian civilization. The very tombstones in the churchyards proclaim that in its social machinery, in every phase of its economic life and in the free development of its culture, Transylvania was Hungarian. We shall seek in vain for traces of Rumanian historical remains in Transylvania. None are to be found ; therefore everything that recalled the age-old Hungarian past must be destroyed — and destroyed without mercy. The Magyar theatres had to be silenced, the Magyar Press muzzled, lest the sorrows of the Magyar people should find expression through them. One thing alone the Rumanians were powerless to suppress: Hungarian literature. The only gratifying sign during the past twenty years of Magyar suffering was the great strides made by Hungarian literature in Transylvania. The "Erdélyi Helikon" and the "Szépmíves Céh", two Hungarian literary societies, owe their prosperity and the undisturbed appearance of their publications to the fact that, carefully avoiding all delicate themes and all expressions that might be construed as having a political meaning, they have confined their activities to purely literary work.

Apart from literature, there is no sphere of Hungarian life in Transylvania with which the Rumanians have not interfered since that country came into their possession. We have seen how the minority Churches and schools were treated, and the sufferings of the Magyars have been equally bitter in the spheres of administration and jurisdiction. They have also been hampered and hindered in all their cultural and economic efforts, as well as in the exercise of their political rights. Volumes have been written by unbiassed



foreign authors about their trials, and for twenty years Europe has echoed with their complaints, so that we shall not go deeper into those questions here. It does not seem necessary to do so, for a nation that lays violent hands on the religious life of the minorities placed under its rule, forces its way into their churches, prevents their using their own language, ruins their schools, destroys their monuments and deprives them of the possibilities of economic prosperity, cannot be expected to respect the rights of the minorities in other matters either. During the past twenty years Greater Rumania has not respected the rights of any of her minorities. Her persecution of them has given rise to a spirit of rebellion in the areas acquired twenty years ago, and this proves that in her present dimensions Rumania is incapable of existing for long. She has not brought culture to the areas handed over to her; on the contrary, she has destroyed the high standard of culture she found there; she has not brought them economic prosperity, but has reduced the minorities to beggary. Rumanian policy, Rumanian administration and Rumanian jurisdiction, instead of winning the minorities over to the Pan-Rumanian idea, has merely alienated them. The twenty years of Greater Rumania's history have proved that the Rumanians are no state-building race and have therefore no title to rule over a people on a higher level of civilization than themselves.

#### *4. Rumanian Corruption.*

The Rumanians have, however, done something for the peoples placed under their rule: they have made them acquainted with the unfathomable depths of Rumanian corruption. The roots of this corruption must be sought for in the system of the Rumanian State. The whole machinery of the State turns on the persecution of the minorities, administration and jurisdiction oppress the minorities everywhere, and Rumanian citizens who belong to a minority cannot get the authorities to attend to their affairs except by bribing them. A system of baksheesh has therefore become an institution by the Rumanian political régime. In any case corruption and the countenancing thereof are deeply rooted



in the psyche of the Rumanian people. The greater number of officials and politicians who have been guilty of accepting bribes or embezzling public funds have never been arraigned in the courts of justice, or if they were, they escaped with a lenient sentence. This has been established, not by us, but by Rumanian politicians and newspapermen. The following cases will serve to illustrate the point.

In a question put in the Rumanian Parliament in the October of 1924, a member named Stefanescu amongst other things said: — "Because they are so vilely paid public officials have little choice; some of them, following the example of their superiors, cast aside all feelings of shame and their fear of punishment, and sell their honour for a song. They accept bribes, engage in shady business transactions, the higher positions they hold and the more they are exposed to political pressure, the bigger those transactions are."

An eminent Rumanian Pressman, Constantine Bacalbasa wrote as follows in the "Dimineața" of 9th September 1922: — "Ever since Greater Rumania was created no day, no hour or even minute passes without public officials, be they civilians or soldiers, subordinates or superiors, stealing, embezzling, committing burglary or some other kind of infamy. The whole country is a sink of iniquity, in which one never knows whose hand one should take; a den of villianry in which hundreds of thousands make their living by immoral practices, but in which it rarely happens that anybody is punished for his crimes."

In "The Minority Question in Greater Rumania", a work that appeared in 1924, the author, Dr. Ludovic Ciato, writes as follows: — "I think that the conception Balkanism is typical of two major vices, and these are vices that weigh on the conscience of our country (Rumania Ed.); the one is cruelty, the other baksheesh. These vices are like a chain on our necks and shackles on our feet hindering our progress on the path towards civilisation, towards Western culture. It is these vices that alienate our friends and increase the number of our enemies at home and abroad."

One of the March 1934 issues of the Bucharest "Universul" contains an article entitled "A Criminal Régime". It deals with the report on Rumanian's finances submitted



by foreign financial experts. The article quotes a passage from the report which say that the Rumanian annual Budget for 1932 omits to mention the 21,000,000,000 lei owing by the several Ministries, 18,000,000,000 of which ought to have been repaid by the men who embezzled it and against whom criminal proceedings had been instituted by the courts of justice. The "Universul" established the fact that foreign financial experts would be very much disappointed if they thought that those 18,000,000,000 lei would ever be paid back by the men who embezzled it.

The following is taken from the report submitted by university professor Dr. Leon, the Parliamentary *rapporteur* on the Rumanian Budget for 1934—1935: — "Disorder and disorganization are so great in our State that it was possible to embezzle over 3,500,000,000 lei in the course of a few weeks."

It is unnecessary to continue, for the corruptness of the system in force in Rumania is well known all the world over.



## VI. The Transylvanian Question and the Second Vienna Award.

The Second Vienna Award — made in August, 1940, — divided into two halves a territory which had never during the whole course of history been other than a single unit. Transylvania is a geographically well-defined regional unit of the Middle Danube Basin the exceptional unity of which is clearly marked by a mountain and water system of a pronouncedly independent character. When we survey the stormy history of this part of the country, we find that its fate has at all times been interwoven with that of the Great Lowlands of the Middle Danube Basin. So long as the medieval Hungarian Kingdom thrived and prospered in Pannonia, the glory of that Kingdom was shared by Transylvania. When the Hungarian Kingdom collapsed under the blows inflicted upon it by the Ottoman Power and the Great Lowlands were subjected to the rule of the Crescent, Transylvania was also compelled to acknowledge the overlordship of the Sultan. When the Habsburg kings of Hungary drove the Turks out of the country, Transylvania too became subject to the overlordship of the Habsburgs. The fate of Transylvania has therefore, as we see, at all times been identical with that of the Middle Danube Basin as a whole and has always shared fully in that fate.

Now for the first time in the course of history a frontier has been demarcated which, running from NW. to SE., divides into two halves a territory forming a unit geographically, geopolitically, economically and culturally too.

One of the Budapest dailies has interviewed Count Stephen Bethlen, former Prime Minister of Hungary, in the matter of the problems of a Transylvania divided territorially against itself. In his statement made on this occasion the former Hungarian Premier *inter alia* declared that "the difficulties in evidence as a consequence of the



division of Transylvania into two parts which affect Hungary and Rumania alike, cannot be eliminated except by means of a better understanding between these two States. The life of the Magyars in Northern Transylvania — particularly in Széklerland — is provisionally attended with difficulties due to the cutting in half of the railway lines. In many places Magyar towns have lost their hinterland, while there has been a shrinking of the labour market of the working classes."

Count Bethlen then proceeded to deal with the difficulties facing that part of Transylvania which has remained within the frontiers of Rumania: —

"On the other side too there are in evidence serious disadvantages arising as a consequence of the splitting up of Transylvania. Brassó and its environs — as also to a large extent Nagyszeben — lack the hands which formerly worked in their industrial establishments, and have been subsistence of their industry, commerce and mining. In many places there is a lack of raw materials, these having been formerly obtained from Northern Transylvania."

We see, therefore, that the Vienna Award has of necessity diverted the life of Transylvania into a channel so far unknown in the history of that territory; for that very reason it will be useful to deal exhaustively with the new situation arising as a consequence.

The area of the territory wrested from Hungary and allotted to Rumania by the Treaty of Trianon was roughly 102,000 sq. kilometres; of this area 43,500 sq. kilometres were restored to Hungary by the Vienne Award, the remaining 58,500 sq. kilometres being still left in the possession of Rumania. That means that some 40% of the disputed territory has been re-incorporated in Hungary and some 60% left in the hands of Rumania. According to the statistical data of the 1930 Rumanian Census the total number of inhabitants living within the whole area of Transylvania and Eastern Hungary was 5,548,363; of this number 2,392,603 have been re-incorporated in Hungary, while 3,217,988 have remained within Rumania. Whereas the number of inhabitants of Northern Transylvania



belonging to the Rumanian and German minorities is roughly 1,100,000, the number of inhabitants of Southern Transylvania (that part left in Rumanian hands) belonging to the Magyar-German minority is roughly 1,300,000.

Taking the economic side of the question, the part of this territory left in Rumanian hands is the more valuable one, — a circumstance proved by the fact that in respect of the mineral treasures of Greater Transylvania, only 30.2% of the gold production, only 4% of the iron production and only 10% of the coal production has been restored to Hungary, while 69.8% of the gold production, 96% of the iron production and 90% of the coal production has remained in the possession of Rumania. As concerns the coal output, even this ratio fails to reflect the real state of things, for the quality and calory value of the coal deposits in Northern Transylvania are far below those of the coal deposits of Southern Transylvania; the result being that the heating power of the coal of Northern Transylvania is only 7.9%, while that of the coal remaining in Rumanian hands represents 92.1%, of the aggregate calory value of the coal-fields of Greater Transylvania. Still greater is the disproportion in respect of natural gas: for practically the whole volume of the exceptionally rich natural gas deposits has been left in the possession of Rumania. The annual output of natural gas of the territory of Northern Transylvania is 1,200,000 cubic metres, while that of the natural gas fields in Southern Transylvania is 200,000,000 cubic metres; this meaning that 99.4% of the total production of natural gas in Transylvania has been left in Rumanian hands. Not much better is the situation with respect to the industrial ratios of the two parts of this territory: for the recovery of the areas of Northern Transylvania only restored to Hungary 35.2% of the industrial undertakings, only 28.5% of the workers employed in industry, only 21% of the capital invested and only 17.7% of the mechanical power. It is no exaggeration to say that on an average 75% of the economic treasures (resources) of Transylvania has remained in the possession of Rumania, only 25% having been restored to the mother-country.

The demarcation of the frontier cut in half territories



which for centuries had lived in the complete agreement incidental to economic interdependence. The frontier, for instance, runs at a distance of barely 5 kilometres south of the Capital of Transylvania, Kolozsvár, thereby depriving that large industrial, commercial and administrative centre (with a population of 110,000 souls) of its natural hinterland, — the region of Aranyosszék and the town of Torda and its environs respectively, which have always played the role of a suburb of the Transylvanian Capital. Marosvásárhely has suffered the same fate, being barely 10 kilometres distant from the new frontier, which cuts it off from the fertile region watered by the Küküllő rivers. But even greater difficulties have been caused by the circumstance that the frontier demarcated in Vienna cuts in two railway lines of vital importance. The first in importance of these lines is the main line between Budapest—Nagyvárad—Kolozsvár and Székelykocsárd, which links up the south-eastern part of Széklerland with the railway system of the mother-country. This trunk line of such vital importance has been cut in two between Kolozsvár and Nyárádtő by the new frontier, the result being that the whole south-eastern section has been left without any railway communication whatsoever. The frontier line also cuts through the line of the Marosludas—Budatelke—Sajómagyaros local railroad, which formerly connected the "Mezőség" (Savannah region) with the main line. Nevertheless, it is the south-eastern part of Széklerland that has suffered most seriously in respect of communications; for, apart from the fact that the whole territory has been left outside the network of railways of the mother-country, even its local railroads have been cut in two by the new frontier. The Balázsfalva—Parajd local railroad, for instance, which formerly provided for the traffic of County Udvarhely, has been left without any connection whatsoever. The same is true also of the Héja-falva—Székelyudvarhely branch line. As a consequence, the situation in respect of communications of Széklerland as a whole and in its several parts, is an exceptionally grave one; and the Hungarian Government will have to make enormous sacrifices to redress these grievances. Large-scale railway-building works are in progress which are calculated within



a few years to completely solve the communications problems of Széklerland.

The problems brought to the surface on both sides of the frontier by the Second Vienna Award are not by any means of an everyday character; for that very reason the solution of these problems cannot be accelerated except by the exercise of the greatest circumspection and goodwill. No words could more aptly illustrate this point than those used by the former Hungarian Premier, Count Stephen Bethlen, in the statement to the Press already referred to.

"There can be no doubt", said Bethlen, "that the Hungarian State and Government have done everything in their power to remedy these evils and to engineer an agreement with the Rumanian Government. By its correct procedure, its strict observance of the terms of the Vienna Award and the facilities accorded the Rumanian minority living in Northern Transylvania in cultural and other fields, that Government has shown that it is prepared to create a *modus vivendi* ensuring a peaceful symbiosis. So far, unfortunately there is no sign of any similar intention on the other side."

Then Count Bethlen continued as follows: —

"On our side there is a readiness to come to an agreement; but the fulfilment of that very desirable purpose does not depend upon us: it cannot possibly ensue until Rumania too realises the necessity and gives up playing *sullens*."

The adjustment of the Transylvanian question involves the solution of historical, geographical, economic and cultural problems alike. In order to ensure the symbiosis, the security and the tranquillity of the two peoples it is imperatively necessary that a definitive solution should be found, — a solution demanded equally imperatively by the postulates of the definitive order and peace of Europe.



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Map. No. 1.

**GREATER HUNGARY: A GEOGRAPHICAL UNIT**

Its territory before the Great War of 1914—18: 324,411 square kilometers

Number of inhabitants in 1910: 20,886,486



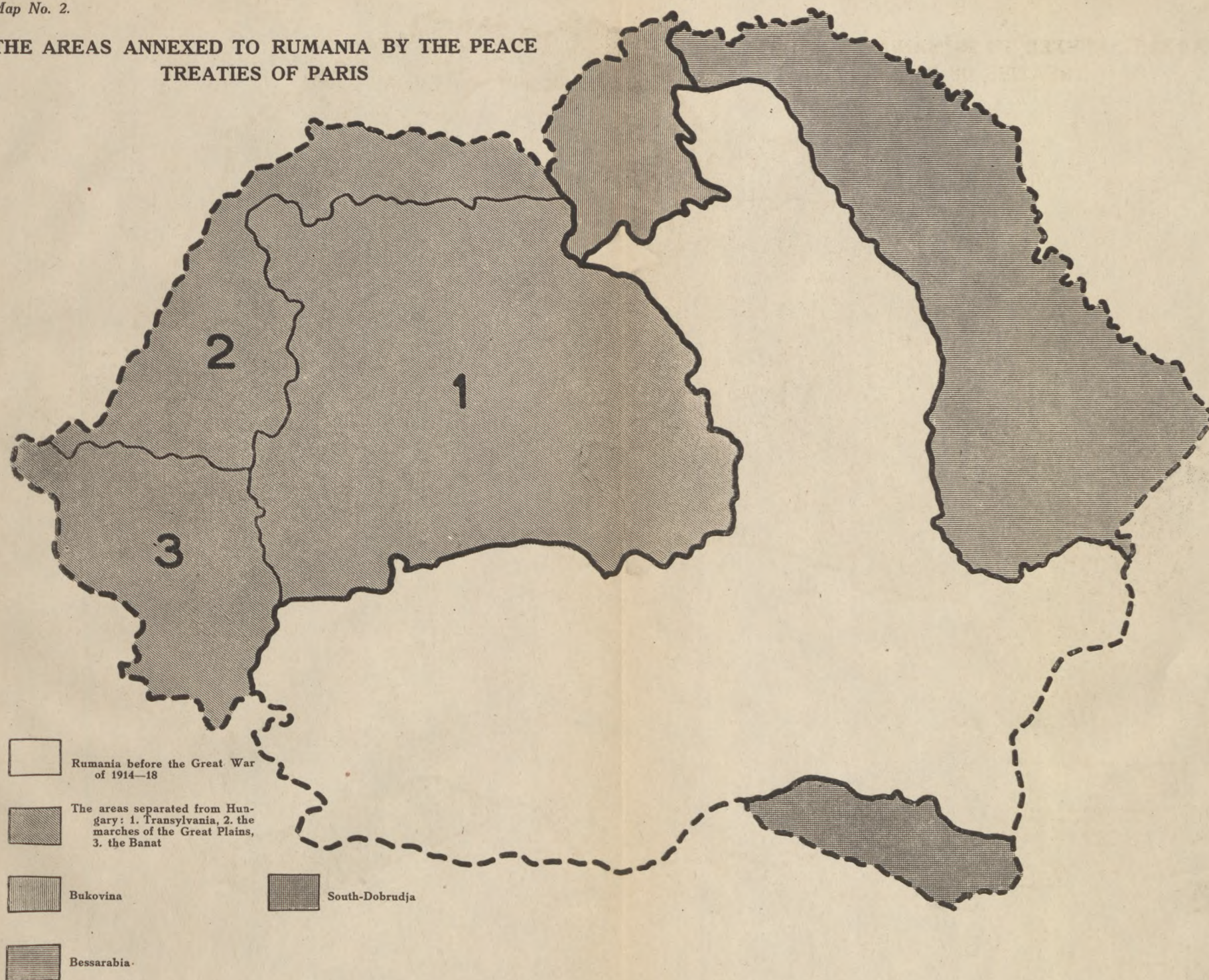






Map No. 2.

THE AREAS ANNEXED TO RUMANIA BY THE PEACE  
TREATIES OF PARIS









Map No. 3.

# OROGRAPHICAL CHART OF RUMANIA



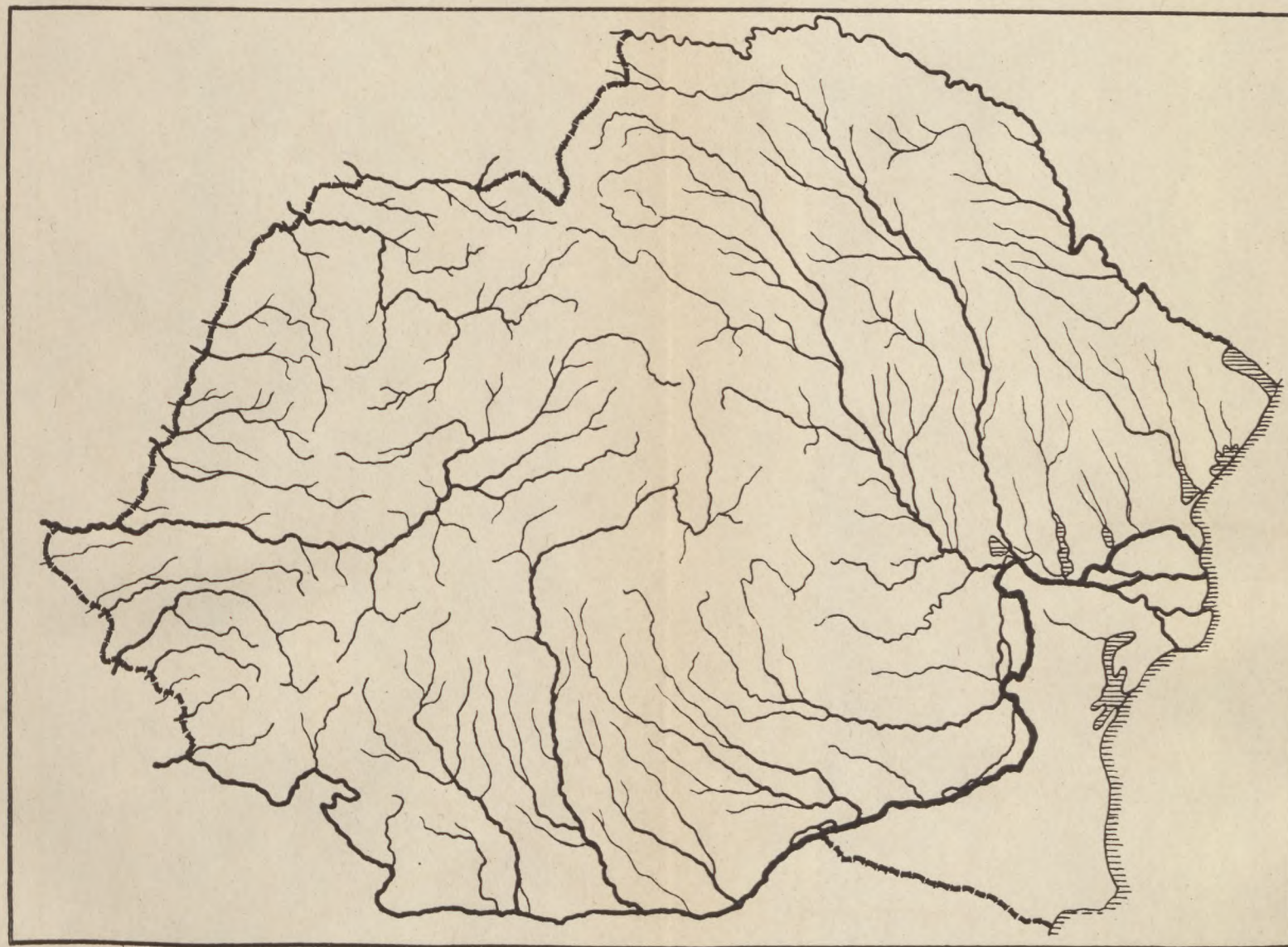






Map No. 4.

# HYDROGRAPHICAL CHART OF RUMANIA







2. 12. 11.



THE CARPATHIANS: THE BULWARK OF EUROPE









