

Unitarian landowners have been ruined by the Land Reform. 2,118,570 cadastral yokes of land have been taken from the Hungarian proprietors, for the most part without their receiving any equivalent value for it.

With these measures and others like them Rumania has brought the Hungarians in Transylvania to poverty, with a view to being able to more easily break their racial resistance. The impoverishment and destitution of our Unitarian adherents has been felt keenly by the Church. The dispoiled Unitarians cannot possibly lend financial support to the Church and its cultural institutions.

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About the middle of September, 1935, the Rev Alfred Hall, Unitarian clergyman and President of the Unitarian World Alliance, arrived at Bőllön (County of Háromszék) to visit his brethren there and their minister, who had been at Oxford University with him. The Unitarian inhabitants of the place, to show their brotherly love, decorated his car in the manse garden with flowers, among which there were also red and white ones and green leaves (red, white and green are the Hungarian colours). Immediately the Rumanian gendarmes appeared and ordered the flowers to be removed. Then, armed, they followed Mr. Hall into the church and asked for his papers.

Since the change of State foreign Unitarian brethren of ours have visited Transylvania more than once, and have reported what they saw and heard there to those who sent them, especially in England and America. Without being asked by any one of the Hungarian Unitarians to do so, and moved only by a love of justice, they have drawn the attention of foreign opinion to the miserable lot of the Hungarian denominations in Transylvania. To this the Rumanian authorities have always retorted with an assault on the Unitarian Church and its members. Many of the people who had intercourse with our foreign brethren were arrested and persecuted after the strangers had left.

The Bill of the new Rumanian Criminal Codex classifies as a criminal act the uttering of any statement that may throw an unfavorable light on the state of affairs in Rumania, even if in substance the statement is entirely in keeping with the truth.

It would be easy to enumerate *ad infinitum* the grave injustices with which the Rumanian Government, flouting the human rights guaranteed in the international treaties, creates a situation in Transylvania at once impossible and intolerable. If the Rumanian Government continues to pursue its present policy, and if the Great Powers do not make haste to enforce the minority rights guaranteed by themselves, an ancient outpost of western civilization will fall in ruins with the decay of the Unitarian Church in Transylvania.

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NATIONALITY CONDITIONS IN RUMANIA

by

Dr. Andrew R. Szeben

Present-day Rumania has an area of 295,049 sq. kilometres and — according to the data of the 1930 Census — a population of 18,052,896. The country comprises nine historical provinces differing from one another very materially in respect of geographical position, history and the ethnical composition of their respective populations.

I.

Geographically speaking, the orographic and hydrographic conditions are of decisive importance. The centre of the country is traversed by the high, wooded and uninhabited chains of the Carpathians running in a semi-circle, which completely separate Transylvania, which belongs to the Danube Basin system, and the former Hungarian Banat from the great Lowlands of Eastern Europe, from the table-land of Podolia and from the low-lying regions of the Lower Danube, which latter are not so much Balkan as East European steppe-regions in respect of their natural conditions. The crest of the Carpathians running in parallel curves at heights ranging from 1500 to 2500 metres a very decided dividing line in respect alike of natural

conditions and of economic and anthropological peculiarities and has at all times proved an efficient and stable political frontier. During the seventeen years of her conversion into a big Power Rumania has also failed utterly to put an end to the peculiar legal, administrative and economic systems characterising the several historical provinces; the result being that even today there are 5—6 different systems of law in force in Rumania the arbitrary unification of which could never be effected without great difficulties and enormous losses.

A peculiar point about the hydrography of Rumania is that the rivers radiate from the centre towards the periphery — a phenomenon which would only be a favourable one if the political, economic and population density nucleus were in the centre of the country too. However, seeing that the political centre (Bucharest) is situated at a point in the periphery, while the economic staples are scattered all over the territory of the country and happen to be entirely absent from centre and the population density nucleuses are also on the periphery, the centrifugal course of the rivers acts as a separating force upsetting the balance of a

country which is otherwise a perfect oval, and makes the spheres of gravitation of the several districts diverge in different directions.

It is due to these natural circumstances that the historical rôles and the historical lot of the nine provinces forming present-day Rumania have been entirely different in character. As a consequence the respective composition of the population is different in each case, — though the nationality statistics of today are not calculated to show these differences, which are often of a very fine nature. The area and population respectively of these nine provinces in 1930 was as follows (the names of the provinces are given in their Rumanian forms):

Name of Province	Area (in sq. kilometres)	Number of Inhabitants in 1930	Density of Population
Banatul	18,715	941,521	50.3
Besarabia	44,422	2,863,409	64.5
Bucovina	10,442	853,524	81.7
Crisana-			
Maramures	21,338	1,390,243	65.2
Dobrogea	23,262	811,332	34.9
Moldova	38,058	2,427,498	67.8
Muntenia	52,505	4,028,303	76.7
Oltenia	24,078	1,519,389	63.1
Transylvania	62,229	3,217,677	51.7
Rumania [total]	295,049	18,052,896	61.2

Muntenia and *Moldova* are the ancient Rumanian provinces. Both became independent woywodeships about the middle of the fourteenth century; but that independence was not a political one. The woywodes of *Muntenia* were vassals of the King of Hungary until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Turks took possession of the province. *Moldova* did not become a Turkish fief until early in the sixteenth century; though until then it had acknowledged the suzerainty of either the Hungarian or the Polish king. When the European Empire of the Turks began to decline in power, a struggle for the overlordship of these territories began between that Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, until finally the two Rumanian principalities united; and they gradually (1862—78) succeeded in securing their independence.

The small Rumanian principality, which in 1881 was raised to the rank of a kingdom, comprised a third province too — that of *Oltenia* — in addition to *Muntenia* and *Moldova*. This province of *Oltenia*, situated in the angle enclosed by the Lower Danube, the Olt and the Southern Carpathians, was one of the strongest frontier provinces of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary and was then known as the Szörény Banat. In the sixteenth century this province too was conquered by the Turks. After the expulsion of the Turks the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy maintained its claim to the province; and it was not until 1772 that it renounced that claim — in exchange for *Bucovina*. Until the Great War these three provinces and the *Dobrudja* region annexed to that country in 1878

constituted the Kingdom of Rumania — forming the territory which today is often spoken of as the "Regat" (Older Rumania).

II.

If we wish to examine the population of Rumania and her several provinces from the point of view of the distribution of nationalities, we find ourselves confronted with the gravest difficulties. Seemingly that during the Great War the various provinces formed parts of five different countries, we have not at our disposal statistical data collected by the same methods at any given period prior to that War. Therefore, in respect of the pre-War figures we are dependent upon the data collected by the several countries at different periods and by different methods of grouping which can often be ascertained only by approximative estimates. The figures of pre-War days given below have been taken from the statistical works of Elemér *Jakabffy*¹ and Wilhelm *Winkler*.²

Unfortunately we are still entirely without any detailed data relating to post-War the distribution of the nationalities living in present-day Rumania. Since the creation of New Rumania there has only been one regular Census — that of 1930 — embracing the whole territory of the country. In 1920 a Census was so full of errors that its publication gave rise to a painful scandal. In 1927 a Census comprising the whole country was taken; but the results of this Census too were so full of errors that the idea of publishing them had to be abandoned. Only a few data taken at random were made public in various periodicals by leading officials of the Rumanian Statistical Bureau. (Rumania has indeed been unfortunate in her Censuses. The agricultural establishments Census of 1930 was also such a failure that the elaboration of the material had to be suspended owing to the evident and glaring "howlers" made when collecting the data).

Finally, in 1930, after a long period of preparation, Rumania's first really serious Census was taken; though seeing that, though the Census Directorate has since 1930 been working with a staff of 260 employees on the elaboration of the material, and though the American Rockefeller Foundation placed at the disposal of the Directorate 11 calculating machines, 7 perforating machines and an electric sorting and paging machine, all that had been published by the end of February, 1936, was a tiny "Indicator" relating to the results of the 1930 Census which however contains no information respecting the distribution of the population by nationalities or by denominations — there must be something wrong with the work of elaboration. All that is known to us of the nationality results of the 1930 Rumanian Census in the preliminary material published in

¹ *Jakabffy, Elemér*: "Erdély statisztikája" (Statistics of Transylvania), Lugos. 1923, p. 143.

² *Winkler, Wilhelm*: "Statistisches Handbuch der europäischen Nationalitäten" (Statistical Handbook of the Nationalities of Europe), Vienna, 1931, p. 248.

a few articles³ written and a few addresses given by the management of the Census Institute (dr. Manuila Sabin). We have used this material when giving the data for 1930.

The "Regat" comprises 46.7% of the whole territory of present-day Rumania, — that meaning that the peace treaties which ended the Great War more than doubled Rumania's area of territory. The population of Older Rumania (the "Regat") may be described as fairly homogeneous from the nationality point of view. The pre-War data were as follows:

Nationality	Number of Inhabitants	Quota of Total Number
Rumanians	6,546,424	90.5%
Jews	241,088	3.3%
Magyars	147,429	2.0%
Germans	27,062	0.4%
Russians	42,293	0.6%
Bulgarians	60,212	0.8%
Turko-Tartars	42,248	0.6%
Gipsies	83,000	1.1%
Serbo-Croatians	4,570	0.1%
Others	40,594	0.6%

We have no reliable "preliminary" data for 1930 either.

The nationality distribution of the population of the provinces annexed to Rumania after the Great War offers a much more variegated aspect. Of these provinces *Bucovina* formerly belonged to Austria. The Austrian statistics for 1910 give the following data relating to the nationality distribution of the inhabitants of that province:

Nationality	Number of Inhabitants	Quota of Total Number
Rumanians	273,254	34.2%
Magyars	10,391	1.3%
Germans	68,075	8.5%
Jews	88,666	11.0%
Russo-Ukrainians	305,101	38.1%
Poles	35,033	4.4%
Sundry Nationalities	19,578	2.5%
Total Population	800,098	100.0%

We have no reliable data for 1930 in respect of *Bucovina* either.

Bessarabia was severed from Russia and annexed to Rumania, — before 1812, it is true, the greater part of this province formed part of the Principality of *Moldova*. According to the Russian

³ Sabin, Manuila: "Les problèmes démographiques en Transylvanie" (in the "Revue de Transylvanie", 1934, No. 1.). — "România și revisionismul" (in "Archiva pentru Stilinto și Reforma Sociala", 1934, Nos. 1—2.). — Cf. Silviu, Dragomir: "La Transylvanie roumaine et ses minorités ethniques", Bucharest, 1934, o. 281.

pre-War statistics the nationality distribution of the population of *Bessarabia* 1910 was as follows:

Nationality	Number of Inhabitants	Quota of Total Number
Rumanians	1,162,015	47.6%
Russo-Ukrainians	678,655	27.8%
Jews	288,062	11.8%
Bulgarians	129,384	5.3%
Germans	75,677	3.1%
Others	107,413	4.4%
Total	2,441,206	100.0%

The distribution of nationalities in this province in 1930 is given by Manuila Sabin as follows:

Rumanians	57.8%
Russians	22.2%
Ukrainians	10.3%
Jews	7.6%
Bulgarians	6.0%
Germans	2.8%
Others	4.3% ⁴

Dobruja has been mentioned when speaking of the provinces of the "Regat", seeing that the greater part of this province was annexed to Rumania as far back as 1878; but, since certain other sections of this province were added to the territory of that country in the Balkan War and after the Great War, we offer a separate statement showing the distribution by nationalities of the population of this province.

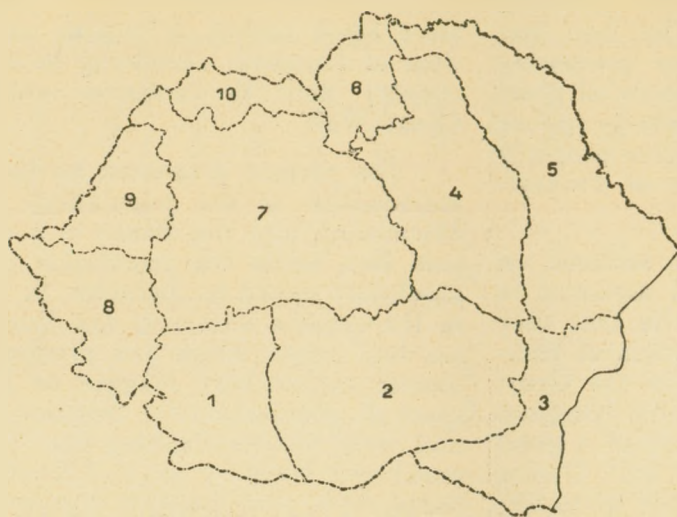
In 1930 the Rumanian statisticians⁵ gave the following figures relative to the distribution by nationalities of the population of *Dobruja*:

Nationality	Quota of Total Population
Rumanians	41.7%
Bulgarians	24.3%
Turks and Tartars	20.8%
Russians	4.2%
Others	9.0%

Besides the six provinces dealt with above in detail there are three other provinces — *Transylvania*, the *Körös—Mármaros District (Murmuresh)* and the *Banat* — which were severed from Hungary and annexed to Rumania after the Great War. Of these only *Transylvania* can be regarded as a separate province with characteristics of its own in respect both of its natural conditions and its history; whereas, *Marmuresh* and the *Banat* are

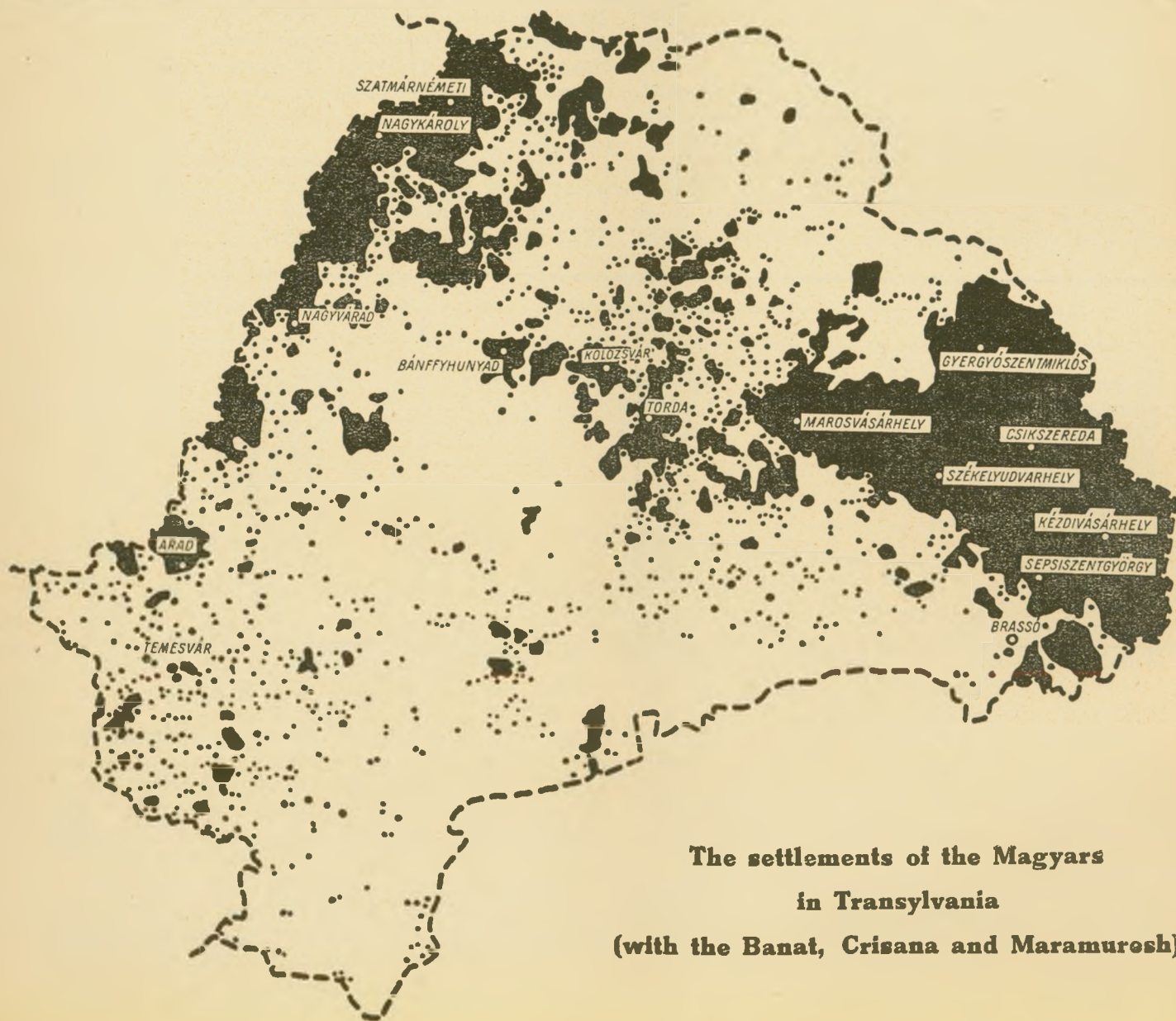
⁴ "Archiva pentru Stilinta si Reforma Sociala", 1934, Nos. 1—2. p. 65.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 22.



Sketch of the provinces
of Rumania

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Oltenia or Little Walachia | 6. Bukovina |
| 2. Muntenia or Great Walachia | 7. Transylvania |
| 3. Dobruja | 8. Banat |
| 4. Moldavia | 9. Crisana |
| 5. Bessarabia | 10. Maramuresh |



The settlements of the Magyars
in Transylvania
(with the Banat, Crisana and Maramurosh)

only sections of the buffer territories between the Great Hungarian Lowlands and the mountain districts flanking those Lowlands. The fact that these territories are not regarded as possessing a uniform character or an independence of their own, is shown by their being also popularly spoken of as forming — together with the region properly known by that name — the province of Transylvania.

As concerns the history of the sections of territory severed from Hungary and annexed to Rumania, it will suffice to note briefly that they constituted organic parts of the Kingdom of Hungary from the tenth century down to the Great War. The only break in the unity of that Kingdom was that due to the Turkish occupation of a great part of Hungary for a century and a half. During this period (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) Transylvania was an independent Hungarian principality, while the Marmuresh of today formed a buffer territory between that principality and the Turkish Empire and between the former and the Dismembered Hungary of those days. The region known today as the Banat was subjected to Ottoman rule and was one of the districts most completely devastated by the Turco-Tartar campaigns. Very much in the history and the present conditions of this region was and is the result of the devastation then wrought, for the original population was almost completely wiped out of existence, the bulk of the present population being descendants of settlers introduced there at different periods since the beginning of the eighteenth century. That is why the population of this region is so mixed and heterogeneous in respect of origin,

race, language, culture and customs. After being liberated from the Turkish yoke these territories were again united as organic parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, remaining in union with that country until the collapse which followed the Great War.

The picture presented by the distribution by nationalities of the populations of Transylvania, Marmuresh and the Banat is a rather variegated one. But, while the population of the Banate is absolutely mixed in character, in Transylvania and in the regions adjoining the Hungarian Lowlands we find areas which are predominantly (in fact almost exclusively) Magyar or Rumanian in respect of population. For instance, the flat districts and river valleys flanking the frontier of Dismembered Hungary we find the towns of Transylvania very pronouncedly Hungarian (Magyar) in character, the population of the so-called "Széklerland" being also purely Hungarian — this territory (15,000 sq. kilometres) occupying roughly 24% of the total area (62,000 sq. kilometres) of Transylvania. We find a predominantly Rumanian population in the hilly districts, in places suitable for deforestation and for sheepfarming. In Transylvania there are also strips of territory with predominantly German populations; and in a few towns also (Nagyszeben, Besztercze, Brassó, Temesvár) Germans constitute one of the leading elements.

The distribution by nationalities of the population of the former Hungarian territories now forming Rumanian provinces was as follows in 1910 and in 1930 respectively:

Nationality	No. of Inhabitants in 1910	%	No. of Inhabitants in 1930	%
Rumanians	2,819,405	53.9	3,206,261	57.8
Hungarians (Magyars)	1,663,576	31.8	1,353,675	24.4
Germans	556,944	10.6	543,622	9.8
Jews	.	.	178,421	3.2
Bulgarians	.	.	11,380	0.2
Ruthenians	10,484	0.2	38,576	0.7
Slovaks	31,629	0.6	46,161	0.8
Serbians	56,131	1.1	43,454	0.8
Croatians	1,979	0.0	.	.
Gipsies	.	.	107,749	2.0
Others	96,157	1.8	15,951	0.3
Total	5,236,305	100.00	5,543,250	100.00

To sum up the nationality conditions prevailing today in Rumanian, we find that the Rumanians really form an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants only in the historical Rumanian provinces (Moldova and Muntenia) and in Oltenia, these being the only provinces from which the Rumanians could form a really "national" State. In the other provinces the number of Rumanians amounts to only about 50% of the total population; though the Rumanian Census of 1930 left no stone unturned to increase that quota at all costs. The other fact which strikes us when we investi-

gate the nationality conditions of Rumania is that the bulk of the non-Rumanian inhabitants living in Rumania are found as majorities in compact and coherent areas. Some of these compact and coherent non-Rumanian language areas are situated on the frontiers of Rumania. Indeed, present-day Rumania possesses only a single frontier line inhabited by a purely Rumanian population — that on the south flanking the Lower Danube. The western frontier of that country is flanked by large areas with a considerable majority of Hungarian inhabitants; while in

Distribution of Nationalities in New Provinces of Rumania in 1910 and 1930.

NATIONALITY	In Territories Severed from Hungary				In Other New Provinces				Total for New Provinces			
	1910	%	1930	%	1910	%	1930	%	1910	%	1930	%
Rumanians	2,819,405	53.9	3,206,261	57.8	1,442,162	41.2	2,391,121	52.8	4,261,567	48.8	5,597,382	55.5
Hungarians (Magyars)	1,663,576	31.8	1,353,675	24.4	10,454	0.3	11,096	0.3	1,674,030	19.2	1,364,771	13.5
Germans	556,944	10.6	543,622	9.8	144,375	4.1	151,869	3.4	701,319	8.0	695,491	6.9
Jews	.	.	178,421	3.2	377,366	10.8	310,651	6.9	377,366	4.3	489,072	4.9
Ruthenians	10,484	0.2	36,576	0.7	985,801	28.2	533,067	11.8	996,285	11.4	569,643	5.7
Russians	.	.	.	.			354,778	7.8			354,778	3.5
Bulgarians	.	.	11,380	0.2	257,516	7.4	368,959	8.1	257,516	2.9	380,339	3.8
Turks and Tartars	.	.	.	.	180,127	5.1	168,757	3.7	180,127	2.1	168,757	1.7
Poles	.	.	.	.	35,033	1.0	36,701	0.8	35,033	0.4	36,701	0.4
Czechs and Slovaks	31,629	0.6	46,161	0.8	1,005	0.0	854	0.0	32,634	0.4	47,015	0.5
Serbians	46,131	1.1	43,454	0.8	367	0.0	.	.	58,447	0.7	43,454	0.4
Croatians	1,979	0.0	.	.			.	.			.
Gipsies	.	.	107,749	2.0	11,026	0.3	4,268	0.1	11,026	0.1	112,017	1.1
Others	96,157	1.8	15,951	0.3	56,540	1.6	196,144	4.3	152,697	1.7	212,095	2.1
Total	5,236,305	100.0	5,543,250	100.0	3,501,772	100.0	4,528,265	100.0	8,738,077	100.0	10,071,515	100.0

the south-west we find districts which are Hungarian, German and Serbian in nationality, Ruthenians and Ukrainians living in the north, Ukrainians and Ruthenians in the east; and in the south-east, just above the estuary of the Danube, the frontier is formed by large Russian, Turkish and German areas, while in Dobruja, below the mouth of Danube, we find majorities of Bulgarians and Turks.

The table annexed (see page 21) offers a summary survey of the general distribution of nationalities in the new provinces of Rumania in the years 1910 and 1930 respectively.

We have already shown the nationality conditions prevailing in the "Regat" in 1910; we cannot show those for the year 1930 — chiefly because the provincial data for 1930 made public by

the Rumanian statisticians do not comprise data relating to the whole country. For instance, their figures show that the new territories annexed to Rumania after the Great War contain altogether more Russians and Bulgarians than are to be found in the whole territory of Rumania, — though according to earlier statistical data there are some 40,000 Russians and some 60,000 Bulgarians living also in the "Regat". According to the said statistics there are 131,468 more Russians and 1,884 more Bulgarians living in the annexed territories than in the whole territory of the country.

The table given below shows the figures relating to the whole territory of present-day Rumania:

Nationality	No. of Inhabitants in 1910	%	No. of Inhabitants in 1930	%
	(referring to whole territory of present-day Rumania)			
Rumanians	10,807,991	67.6	13,196,667	73.1
Hungarians (Magyars)	1,821,459	11.4	1,387,668	7.7
Germans	728,381	4.6	774,932	4.3
Jews	618,454	3.9	828,997	4.6
Ruthenians	1,038,578	6.5	468,563	2.6
Russians			324,390	1.8
Bulgarians	317,728	2.0	378,455	2.1
Turks and Tartars	222,375	1.4	234,281	1.3
Gipsies	94,026	0.6	107,749	0.6
Serbians	63,047	0.4	43,454	0.2
Croats			.	.
Poles	35,033	0.2	.	.
Czechs and Slovaks	32,634	0.2	46,161	0.3
Others	193,291	1.2	261,579	1.4
Total	15,972,997	100.00	18,052,896	100.00

In many cases there are striking divergences between the data for 1910 and those for 1930. In this connection we must not forget that the interval between the two points of time was not characterised by the normal development of population of a normal period of 20 years, for it was during these twenty years that the Great War was fought and the migrations *en masses* that followed took place. Yet even the intervention of these two important groups of events fails to account for the measure of the changes in evidence in many places; the only moments according some sort of explanation of this anomaly are the divergence of the systems of collecting the data and the strenuous efforts made by new Rumania to

leave no stone unturned to assume the appearance of a genuine "national" State brought into being on the basis of the so-called "nationality principle", — on paper at least, if not feasible in reality. However, these statistical tricks cannot alter the facts that 1. a large proportion (some third or fourth) of the population of Rumania is not Rumanian, — 2. the absolute number of the inhabitants belonging to the minority nationalities ranges between 5 and 6 millions, and 3. a large proportion of the national minorities are living as majorities in compact masses in territories of considerable size — in particular in the frontier districts.