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Changes in national self-image and the image of neighbourhood of expatriate Hungarians in the Romanian Old Kingdom¹

At the end of the 19th century, - due to the economic crisis and inappropriate social policy - hundreds of thousands were forced to leave the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The vast majority of Székely-Hungarians aimed at starting a new life in neighbouring Romania, rather than overseas.

This lecture is based on the throughout analysis of the settler foreigners, with special attention to their relationship with the rejective old home and their welcoming new country. The economic recession and the changes in law concerning market protection began at the turn of the century. Due to this, the policy of migration in Romania was not shaped by the economic pragmatism any longer, but rather by the traditional xenophobia. As an aftermath of this, migrants were to suffer discrimination. The conscious policy of Romania concerning migration aimed at taking an advantage of the situation: migrants have lost their citizenship by their settling down in Romania. In the meantime, the Hungarian government launched a campaign in 1901, aiming at maintaining national identity and resettling back those who left earlier. During the Balcan Wars, the Hungarian government and the press succeed in convincing the vast majority of Hungarians who had left, that their real home is Hungary, and this is important, even if they are living in somewhere else and they should go back home. However, an overt campaign organized by Bucharest had already been launched for Transylvania, and they attacked their ally in 1916. Despite to all of these, the Hungarian press of Romania did not depart from their mediator purpose: they aimed at proponing the reconciliation and alliance of the two neighbouring countries in the long-run. This reconciliation was fueled by the fact that both countries were existing in the 'Slavic and German-ring' and therefore both parties started to become more and more interdependent.

Key words: Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Old Romanian Kingdom, Hungarian-Romanian relations, migration, assimilation, Hungarian diasporas in Romania, Romanian irredentism, Hungarian press in Romania

¹ The notion of „Regát” (in Hungarian) or Regat in Romanian is used in both languages as the name of the two Romanian principalities, which were united in 1859/1861. This term is also applied in order to make a chronological differentiation from the notion of Great Romania that was established during the Paris Peace Conference and according to the terms of the Paris Peace Treaties (1919–1920).

After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, two generations of the Hungarian political elite has seen the reincarnation of the Empire of the Árpád dynasty in the 50 million Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy and being guided by great power illusions it was ever more inclined to ignore the aspirations of other nationalities, who were representing half of the population of their country. Although this attitude was not accompanied by economic discrimination, but because of the population boom that was apparent at the end of the century and due to the severe livelihood crisis in the unproductive peripheral areas, a high percentage of the ethnic groups was forced to leave the country. The intensive consumption of the growing economic goods by the hereditary aristocracy and the largely foreign-born economic elite has further aggravated the already complex national troubles.² However, the losers these cynical “social policy” were not only the other nationalities as Hungarians. About a third of the emigrants of the south-eastern part of the country’s workforce were Hungarians.³ Due to the pressures of the empires (and the phanariot rulers) the society of Wallachia and Moldova was getting to turn xenophobe⁴ and newcomers were received controversially. For example, a cross had to be placed instead of the usual star decorated tower on the Reformed Church build in the 1820s in Bucharest. Nevertheless, this phenomenon can also be interpreted as an exaggerated manifestation of gratitude for the princely patrons.⁵

In any case, the loyal attitude was not only promulgated by the Protestant presbytery, but also the editors of the first Hungarian weekly magazine were working with this programmatic formula.⁶ The political emigration of 1848/49 also greatly valued the hospitality of the two Romanian principalities, and has done a lot in order to alleviate the pigeonholed oppressor image and the rejection⁷ of Hungarians by their neighbours, which stereotype was also strengthened because of the civil war episodes of the War of Independence. The French press

² Especially by knowing the fact that during the 50 years of existence of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy, the Hungarian rate of the domestic GDP has tripled. Katus, László, *A modern Magyarország születése. Magyarország története 1711–1944*. Pécs, Kronosz Kiadó – Pécsi Történettudományért Kulturális Egyesület, 2012. 472.

³ The proportion of Romanians was by almost 60 %, and of the Saxons approximately by 10%. The report of Gyula Vargha, director of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office to Kálmán Széll prime minister. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (National Archives of Hungary) K 26 Ministerial documents, subsection number 548. nr. 1937./1901 item XXXI, radix 811. Hereinafter: National Archives of Hungary, MNL OL K 26 ME, subsection nr. 548. nr. 1937./1901, item XXXI, radix 811.

⁴ Fear was caused for example by the alleged propensity of domination of the Germans, who were ready to quit Russia. I am quoting the Romanian article: *Bukaresti Magyar Közlöny*, 6 October 1860. The editor of the Hungarian newspaper has had a more optimistic view about the situation: „we are affirming benevolently that we are not afraid about the degeneration of Romania, because our experience here is that no single nation has a major melting power. Here, German, Greek, Hebrew, Serbian, Roma and all others speaks the language of the homeland ...” *Bukaresti Magyar Közlöny*, 20 October 1860.

⁵ Suțu Alexandru and Ghika Grigore has also contributed to costs of the construction. Along with this, the unusual altar and biblical-themed oil paintings inside the Reformed Church are also indicators for the coercive reasons. Auner, Károly, *A romániai magyar telepék történelmi vázlata*. (Historical outline of Hungarian settlements of Romania), Temesvár, 1908, 69.

⁶ Although Ferenc Koós editor was not denying the frictions in the past, but he was also stressing the commonality of interests of the two nations by saying thank you to the hospitality of Romanians. *Bukaresti Magyar Közlöny*, 1 September, 1860.

⁷ A part of the press of Bucharest was spreading the idea that the Hungarians have already lost the appreciation of the West in 1848. The source of the quotation is the paper of the *Bukaresti Magyar Közlöny* issued in 24. November 1860. However, in contrast to the regrettable attack of the corps of volunteers of major Hatvani in Abrudbánya, which action interrupted the peace negotiations, there is the massacre of the Hungarian civilian population of Zalatna and Nagyenyed. See Hermann, Róbert, *Az abrudbányai tragédia 1849. Hatvani Imre szabadsapatvezér és a magyar-román megbékélés meghiúsulása 1849-ben*. Budapest, Heraldika Kiadó, 1999.

was a support in this direction as it was an important information source for Romanian news and there were articles on a regular basis about the heroism of Hungarian volunteers fighting on the side of Garibaldi. Thus, the Romanian papers could not accuse of partiality the Hungarian partner page.⁸ Moreover, the Romanian poet Bolliac Cezar encouraged the youth to follow the example of the Hungarian Legion.⁹ Others, however, saw this as a threat for the Romanians. According to a paper of Bucharest, „these Hungarians always want to conquer us, also this paper of them is nothing else as a political intrigue by which they want to incriminate us.” The answer of the Hungarian editor was that his mission is to conquer only the hearts of the Romanians.¹⁰ He tried to communicate and approach to the Romanians by the evocation of common struggles against the Turks by starting the article series (under the title of Romanian brothers) with the aim to discuss controversial issues.¹¹ The contemporary issue of the *Național* noted by the characterization of the soul of the Hungarian people, that the Hungarians are heated by sacred fire: „which would be an honour for any other nation as well”. However, according to the newspaper their "infernal plans" (namely, national oppression)¹² are guiding them to such actions, which „have not been committed by the wildest barbarians in the most barbaric centuries.”¹³ The physician Józsa Oroszhegyi was denying this. He pointed out that the Hungarian landlords exploited not only the Romanians over the centuries, but also the millions of Hungarian serfs. However, in 1848 they were able to give up voluntarily their privileges and to ensure full equality of rights for all the inhabitants of the country.¹⁴

The first constitution (1866) of the two Romanian principalities united in 1859/1861 did also not treat the immigrants according to unison standards. Whilst Romanian native speakers could gain citizenship immediately, the aliens have had to wait for decades.¹⁵

Along with this, the host country was not initially hostile to immigrants (who were of considerable benefit from an economic perspective). Some people made a bright career. Like the doctors, engineers, and artists¹⁶ also the Szekler maids who were coming here in masses to work were appreciated in the Romanian labour market, because of their good reputation to be

⁸ Also the paper named *Roman* (issued 10 October 1860.) quoted the case of the Hungarian courier, who just slaughtered four Neapolitan Bo(u)rbon mercenaries and two others were put to flight, as he himself was receiving several wounds. *Bukaresti Magyar Közlöny*, 20 October 1860.

⁹ *Bukaresti Magyar Közlöny*, 3 November 1860.

¹⁰ *Bukaresti Magyar Közlöny*, 25 August 1860.

¹¹ But the newspaper has had a subsection with the title of *Hungarian-Romanian relations* as well.

¹² Data of Hungary concerning assimilation issues are contradicting this claim. Accordingly, between 1850 and 1900 there were 309 Hungarian, 42 German and 11 in Serbian municipalities which were Romanianised. Whilst from Romanian villages were only turning 42 to be Hungarian, 13 to be German and 6 to Serbian, ultimately a number of 4 to other nationalities. Barna, Endre Középjaitai: *Románia nemzetiségi politikája és az oláhajkú magyar polgárok*. Kolozsvár, EMKE, 1908. 136–137.

¹³ *Național*, 1860. publication number 70. Source: *Bukaresti Magyar Közlöny*, 22 September 1860.

¹⁴ *Bukaresti Magyar Közlöny*, 17 November 1860.

¹⁵ The Basic Law excluded a priori the Jews and Muslims from the right to gain estate. Barna, Endre: *Románia nemzetiségi*, 81–82.

¹⁶ Mihály Dávid, the designer of the University of Bucharest, József Pernet lithographer, Károly Szathmáry-Papp and Ferenc Mándy painter, court photographer, dr. Lajos Fialla, the deputy president of the Romanian Red Cross etc.

clean hard-working and reliable.¹⁷ The fact that their integration was not easy can be concluded by reading the *Bukaresti Híradó* (1876-1885). The newspaper (as also those that were founded later) was launched with a dual mission as it was the public voice of Hungarian immigrants and it searched to solve conflicts between the two nations. There was a Romanian version of it (*Gazetta de Bucuresci*) as well, which was published for a few years. The new publication has declared war to misconceptions, the atmosphere of „suspiciousness” and „hostilities”.¹⁸ And the editor Lajos Vándory has reciprocally refused accusations concerning the national oppression of Transylvanian Romanians. And in the same way, he rejected the thesis of persecution of Hungarians [Csangos] in Romania.¹⁹

However, the roots of certain national conflicts were sometimes in international relations as at the time of the so-called “great Eastern crisis” between 1875 and 1878. The Hungarian newspaper praised the initially careful politics of Romania²⁰ in the Russian-Turkish conflict as the country was under Russian protectorate at the beginning of the century. And by making references to the Russian military intervention of 1849 in Hungary and to the crush of the Polish uprising in 1863 the article emphasized the vulnerability of the Romanians and it stressed their common fate with Hungarians.²¹ But after all, Romania intervened on the Russian side into the fights and after the victory of Plevna, he unilaterally declared its independence (1877).²² Right after the victory and a couple of months later, it was not advisable for Hungarians living in Bucharest to speak in their own language (because of the Turkish friendly policy of Budapest).²³ After receiving life-threatening messages, Vándory has had to temporarily flee from the country.²⁴ Later he was denounced because of incitement to nationalism and for high treason as well.²⁵ The editor has refused the accusation of high treason by referring²⁶ to his distinction that was awarded by Charles I. According to Vándory, this accusation can be addressed to those Romanian journalists in Transylvania, who want to shape Romanian-speaking Hungarian citizens to faithful adepts of a foreign country; while Hungarians of the Regat can be hardly accused by the same token.²⁷ The opinion of the honorary president of the Hungarian Association of Bucharest concerning the promotion of hostile resentment was similarly to that of Vándory: „certain intellectuals are filling the rows

¹⁷ As the Lóránt Hegedüs economist wrote: the Szekler maid is something like „a General a consumer product, like tea or coffee, which importation fluctuates according to demand.” Hegedüs, Lóránt, *A székelyek kivándorlása Romániába* (The emigration of the Szeklers to Romania.) Budapest, Franklin, 1902, 23.

¹⁸ For example, that the Romanians are only waiting for a chance to extend their political boundaries to the river of Tisza; or that the Hungarians are searching on the basis of former vassality rights to recover Wallachia, respectively the Szörényi Bánság. *Bukaresti Híradó*, 1 October 1876.

¹⁹ *Bukaresti Híradó*, 1 October 1876.

²⁰ *Bukaresti Híradó*, 20 February – 4 March 1877.

²¹ *Bukaresti Híradó*, 3, 15 April 1877. and *Bukaresti Híradó = Gazetta de Bucuresci*, 18 January 1880.

²² This will be also confirmed by the great power Congress of Berlin in 1878 with the recognition of the possession of the northern part of Dobrogea. However, Romania has had to give up the southern part of Bessarabia in the favor of its Russian ally and it has committed himself to accord citizenship to approximately 261,000 Jews and Muslims. Barna, Endre, *Románia nemzetiségi*, 81–82.

²³ Gábor Németh preceptor and journalist summed up these months as follows: „even in those difficult times as we hardly dared to speak Hungarian in the street.” *Bukaresti Magyar Közlöny*, 11. November 1884.

²⁴ *Bukaresti Híradó*, 9 August 1885.

²⁵ *Bukaresti Híradó*, 28 June 1885.

²⁶ The medal of the crown of Charles I was awarded to Vándory in 1881. *Bukaresti Híradó*, 5 July 1885.

²⁷ The answer of Vándory to the accusations of the *Románul*. *Bukaresti Híradó*, 5 July 1885.

of newspapers with negative messages about us. According to them, we are the uncultivated and intolerant barbarians of Europe.”²⁸

Nevertheless, there was another shadow on the distorted image of Hungarians. Due to the deteriorating price and wage conditions during the war many of them were now „Hungarians in starvation” and according to Vándory, they were not worthy of the hospitality of Romania.²⁹ The precarious livelihood conditions were mainly characteristic to the vulnerable maids whose majority was involved in prostitution.³⁰ However, the engineer Sándor Veress pointed out that the „hateful ridicule” by which the host nation judges about the cavalry of the „hungara’s” is not fair and the same is true for the slogan of „Attila’s degenerate descendants” by which watchwords, authors are aiming to characterise a whole nation.³¹ Conversely, certain Hungarian organizations³² that were led by uneducated and aspiring leaders, who were often quarrelling with each other³³ have deserved more criticism and mischievousness. These issues mostly resulting from religious conflicts sometimes ended in the Romanian courts.³⁴ In order to better protect the reputation of Hungarians, the proposal of Vándory was to limit the irresponsible emigration flow and the forced deportation (!) back home of those who were rubbing along in the foreign country.³⁵ However, the self-respecting Sekler bashfully tried to hide his material and moral slipping.³⁶ Anyhow how could she or he presented himself with his big shame in front of those who remained at home? The well-known disadvantages of its pride were not only pointed out sometimes by the Romanians, but with „pedagogical” intentions also by the Hungarian editors in Bucharest.³⁷ Nonetheless, in certain exceptional moments, the Hungarian diaspora was able to achieve the stage of objective disposition by addressing its real problems.³⁸ The engineer Sándor Veress, who was

²⁸ *Bukaresti Híradó*, 13, 25 February 1877.

²⁹ *Bukaresti Híradó*, 22 May – 3 June 1877.

³⁰ According to Veress, there were hardly any girls with pretty face among young maids because of the poverty and increased demand. *Bukaresti Híradó*, 3, 15 April 1877.

³¹ *Bukaresti Híradó*, 3, 15 April 1877.

³² The Romanian (Bucharest) and German media was picking up certain topics about the details of the discords among Hungarian leaders, for example the newspaper *Epoca*, 14. October 1899. Source: *Bukaresti Közlöny*, 17, 29 October 1899.

³³ According to Poliány, Zoltán, ... public associations were not created by public need or interest, but because of personal vanity, greed or religious reasons. The memoir of Poliány of 14. April 1904. National Archives of Hungary MNL OL K 26 ME subsection nr. 604. nr. 636./1904 item XVIII, radix 636. 6.

³⁴ „Here reigns perpetual friction (...) and pain, this hatred is based on religious intolerance (...) here in Bucharest ...” *Bukaresti Híradó*, 30 January [11. February] 1877. The protestant deacon and president of the association was regretting that the Hungarian Society of Bucharest has had no cases with authorities during its 42 years of existence. Therefore, it is necessary to clarify the new and shameful situation in front of the Romanian public. *Bukaresti Közlöny*, 17, 29 October 1899.

³⁵ *Bukaresti Híradó*, 1, 13 May 1877.

³⁶ Barabás, Endre: A székely kivándorlás és a Romániában élő magyarok helyzete. [The emigration of the Szeklers and the situation of Hungarians living in Romania] *Economic Review*, year 25, vols 25., January 1901, 427.

³⁷ Also József Feleky criticized the individualism of Szeklers and the dissensions of the Hungarian associations in Bucharest: „Unfortunately, solidarity, mutual support, care for each other and the subordination of personal interests to the public interest were never the virtue of Hungarians ...” *Bukaresti Magyar Hírlap*, 17 July 1918.

³⁸ The writing with the title *Hungarian diseases* can be also regarded as a successful self-portrait and it is designed with much courageous sincerity in which the author criticizes the proudness and headstrongness of self-appointed leaders of the Hungarian associations, at the same time, he also addresses the dangers of flattery and the issue of irresponsible credulity tied to the readiness to sacrifice the public interest: „... if they are telling to us some honey-glazed words in order to fell in a narcotizing deadly dream by giving us spiced pie, inebriating wine,

believing in the way of moral renewal has recommended the harder method to his compatriots: „If I put all my energy in order to be a more conscientious doctor, a more accurate engineer, a more diligent teacher, to become a more tireless and reliable merchant as the others (...) as the non-Hungarian neighbours”, then it serves the most to the individual and the esteem of its nation, which it represents.³⁹

Therefore, the rise and decline in moral things marked the Hungarian diaspora of Romania at the same time. During a few decades, this diaspora founded professional charitable and cultural societies in several Romanian cities.⁴⁰ The human capital, which was mainly composed by seasonal workers was quickly changing in the meantime. After the Hungarian-Romanian war of customs duties of the 1880/90-ies⁴¹ hundreds of Szekler and Saxon craftsmen have settled from the south-eastern part of the country to Romania, which was an effort to maintain their former consumer market. The young Romanian state welcomed the skilled foreign workforce, first of all in the professions of shortage and in this way many of the newcomer craftsmen have become headman.⁴² Moreover, in the midst of their financial gains, they were also arousing the good reputation of the receiving new homeland. (As the carriage manufacturers by World Exhibition in Paris in 1878.)⁴³ Nevertheless, the effects of the economic crisis were already prevalent on the turn of the century and therefore it resulted in a rapid deterioration of the living conditions. During these years the immigrant craftsmen have assured their professional followers, who were also competitors among each other. The economic policy of the government supplemented all this with market protection regulations.⁴⁴ The hard living conditions coerced masses on the

– well in that case, we are ready to do all possible things, but how is this otherwise? – Do not hurt the Hungarians!” *Romániai Hírlap*, 29 March 1908.

³⁹ *Bukaresti Híradó*, 13, 25 February 1877.

⁴⁰ The first Hungarian organization in Bucharest was a Protestant congregation and it was founded in 1815 on 14. May. There were built churches, schools, chapels and rectories in Pitești and Ploiești. School and rectory was constructed in the Moldavian Szászút, especively in Brăila and Galați the education could be started in the mother tongue of the children. Bányai, László, A bukaresti magyar egyházzól. *Az Ige* [Kovácsna] vol. 3. no. 20. 1992, 7. According to Nicolae Iorga, the modern „Hungarian” Catholic history of Ploiești began in 1829, and that of Turnu Severin, respectively of Szörénytorna in Hungarian has started in 1836. Auner, Károly, *A romániai magyar telepek történelmi vázlatá*, 72.

⁴¹ The Hungarian media of the Regat addressed the issues in a respectful tone, but the nationalist press in Hungary discussed the events in a quite supercilious manner. Romania was taking countermeasures due to the pressure and conflict generated by the Hungarian landlords. The Hungarian press wrote about Romania that it is „ungrateful” and there were also other derogatory words as „A pygmy among the European states showed its fist to the Austria-Hungarian Monarchy.” *Pesti Hírlap*, 15 May 1886.

⁴² In the 1880s a great number of Hungarians worked in the armaments factory, engineering works of Bucharest and as well as in the docks of port cities. There were entire Hungarian departments in the Mandrea shoe factories and even the headmen were Hungarians. Barabás, Endre, *A székely kivándorlás*, 436–437. In the light of these facts a newspaper in Budapest was formulating presumptuously by stating that the hardworking Szeklers „were making completely worthless the Romanian workers.” *Pesti Hírlap*, 30 October 1902.

⁴³ Ferenc Sántha carriage manufacturer has won the grand prize. However, the situation has changed radically on the turn of the century. Thus, the Romanian authorities were not allowing anymore to the Hungarian carriage manufacturers to present their products at the international market of France and the Romanian transportation and industrial trade show in 1895. Barabás, Endre, *A székely kivándorlás*, 430.

⁴⁴ Please see the laws concerning the industry (industrial act) of 1887, the regulations on this subject from 1894, and in particular the amendment to the law of 1912. Foreign workers were among the first by the dismissals in industrial plants and their proportion was tied to strict regulations. Barabás, Endre, *A székely kivándorlás*, 434.

margins of society.⁴⁵ The critical situation was aggravated by the inflexibility of the Hungarian legislation. Since after an absence of ten years, the expatriates have lost their Hungarian citizenship and men who were not free of military duty, they could expect severe punishment – as lawbreakers – at home. Thus, the consciously accepted dual identity⁴⁶ had been replaced with the purposelessness of belonging to nowhere and these Hungarians soon became to despised “bozgor” (which means homeless in Romania). Due to the living historical stereotypes and the one-sidedness of the media, the Romanian society has seen the immigrant Hungarians – by a significant proportional error – as the oppressors of their Transylvanian brothers.⁴⁷ Thus, it was a big satisfaction for him that one of the „leading nations” of the Monarchy was not seen any more as exploitative ruler but on the contrary, they were seen now as the slaves of the Romanians. Not even the view of the government circles in Budapest was very different of that presented in the above and certain politicians were building their opinions from their comfortable chairs by simply naming their compatriots with such an unfortunate fate as „scum”.⁴⁸ They were knowing nothing about their existential fights, homesickness and convoluted emotional-ideological ties.⁴⁹ Even one of the consular officials just only perceived a little piece of the bigger picture by noting that while the relationship between expatriates and the new homeland can be characterised by loyalty⁵⁰ and sometimes almost servile,⁵¹ in turn they are keeping distance towards the old

⁴⁵ A leány kereskedés elleni mozgalom. [The movement against girl trading] *Bukaresti Magyar Újság*, 10 August 1902. Mozgalom a hungarák érdekében. [Movement for the “hungara”-s.], *Bukaresti Magyar Újság*, 1 May 1908.

⁴⁶ The opinion of János Bálint the editor of the *Bukaresti Magyar Újság*, was the following: „... the purpose of our paper was to teach all Hungarians living here to really love two home countries at once. To tell what is our duty to the homeland that provided us civil rights and to our second home where we are gaining our existence. *Bukaresti Magyar Újság*, 26 January 1902.

⁴⁷ The Greek-Catholic and Orthodox Romanian Church enjoyed cultural autonomy. The number of Romanians in Hungary was less than the half of Romania's population, and yet they had several schools. Furthermore, dozens of newspapers, smaller banks, cultural organizations were in their possessions and by the proportion of more than 20% of Romanian-speaking settlements, they were officially allowed to use their native language by managing issues in public administration. All this affairs were regulated by a separate nationality law (Article XLIV. of 1868). Hanák, Péter (Chief Editor): *Magyarország története 1890-1918.* vol. 2 vols., [The history of Hungary from 1890 to 1918.] Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983. 1007. By contrast, in Bessarabia under Russian rule [today Moldavia] the Romanian majority has had neither autonomous church nor own schools where they could have used their mother tongue.

⁴⁸ The 16-page proposal from the Ministry of Culture to the Romanian action. Hungarian National Archive, MNL OL K 26 ME subsection nr. 548, nr. 2198/1901, item XXXI, radix 811. Later the expression was also taken over by the draftsmen of the prime minister. Please see: Formulation to Géza Fejérváry Interim Minister of Commerce. 27. November 1905. Hungarian National Archive, MNL OL K 26 ME subsection nr. 793, nr. 5139/1905, item XV. radix 1215.

⁴⁹ For example, they were often making pilgrimages to their old homeland by visiting the historical scenery of the War of Independence of 1848/49, namely to the Nyerges-tető (to name one), which was called the Hungarian Thermopylae. *Romániai Magyar Néplap* 24 1900. June and *Romániai Magyar Néplap*, 1 July 1900. At the same time, they were generously donating by natural disasters, for example for the injured parties of the floods from Szeged in 1879. *Bukaresti Híradó*, 19 July 1885. The same was true in the case of the Romanian mining disaster of Reșița, although most of the damaged from the homeland were of Romanian nationality. *Romániai Hírlap*, 14 January 1909, *Romániai Hírlap*, 11 February 1909.

⁵⁰ This pattern was offered by the Hungarian press in Bucharest, for example in the border dispute of Dobrogea or in the case of the violations concerning the Kuco-vlach minority of Macedonia as they were expressing their loyalty to the reviving country with the criticism of the Bulgarian attitude. *Romániai Magyar Néplap*, 2 September 1900. and 16 September 1900.

⁵¹ Also Vándory was mentioning as an example the radical policy of Romanians related to possessions, which aimed to improve the grave social problems. However, he was not able to see that the confiscation of the properties of the mainly Phanariot Greek church has nothing to do with social justice, but rather it can be

homeland.⁵² This was partly because they were reading Romanian newspapers and in the light of this, the quitted homeland appeared as weak and repulsive despite of its great power status. This is how expatriates could have seen their old homeland.⁵³ The commercial correspondent of the Hungarian government reported from Bucharest in 1901 the following: „...the Romanian press is almost constantly publishing false and manipulated news about Hungary...”⁵⁴ However, they were presenting the start of the Hungarian Newspaper of Bucharest in 1902 as the result of the proceedings of agents and perceived its foundation as an abuse of the freedom of the press. The new paper aimed to care for the Hungarian culture and to foster the reconciliation in the two nations, but the staff member of the *Apărarea Națională* (Institution of national security) named the editors of the new paper „wolves in sheep's clothing” whose dangerous initial plan is the disturbance of the identity of the Csangos of Moldova (a catholic minority with mixed Hungarian and Romanian identity issues).⁵⁵ But the Hungarian press was not tactful as well in the dispute. The Newspaper of Pest (*Pesti Hírlap*) attacked sharply (under the title „the Romanization of Hungarian schools”) not only the Romanian, but also the Hungarian government.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, it was really difficult to curb the sensation-hungry press on both sides of the border.⁵⁷

characterized as redistribution process that was happening in the spirit of a coherent national policy. *Bukaresti Híradó*, 19. January 1879.

⁵² Putnik, Béla: A magyar kivándorlók Galacson (Romániában) Hungarian emigrants in Galati (in Romania) *Közgazdasági Szemle*, 25, 26 vols., 1901, 827. Such issues as the political oppositionist attitude [those who emigrated were mostly sympathizing with the ideas of 1848 being in contradiction with the dualistic governments], the failures in the social care, and the unfriendly attitude of the German and Romanian consular officials towards the Hungarian customers have caused together the cool relationship of emigrants with the old homeland.

⁵³ Zoltán Poliány puts it shortly in his report of 118 pages as he wrote that the Hungarians who were growing up with the Romanian press have learned to hate their own homeland (p. 20). 14. April 1904. Hungarian National Archive MNL OL K 26 ME subsection nr. 604, nr. 636/1904, item XVIII, radix 636.

⁵⁴ The report of Rezső Márffy-Mantuano of 22. February 1901. Hungarian National Archive MNL OL K 26 ME subsection nr. 858 nr. 2274/1902, item XXII, radix 1496. Whilst in many cases, the Romanian postal service simply refused to deliver the newspapers that were in Hungarian-language to the subscribers. Barna, Endre, *Románia nemzetiségi*, 17–18. But the principle of freedom of the press was even more vulnerable in the Regat. Later Márffy was noting the following: „... the Romanian government or, if not the excited students are just simply banishing that kind of journalisms, which they didn't like.” Even the reporter of the *Pester Lloyd* in Bucharest received such threats. The report of Rezső Márffy-Mantuano of 19. December 1902. Hungarian National Archive MNL OL K 26 ME subsection nr. 858, nr. 638/1903, item XVIII, radix 405.

⁵⁵ Barna, Endre, *Románia nemzetiségi*, 18. At the same time, Hungary just renounced to support the Csangos, because authorities do not wanted to risk for about 50,000 Hungarian-speaking Romanian citizens the segregation danger of nearly 2,8 million Romanians in Hungary...

⁵⁶ *Pesti Hírlap*, 12 March 1905. Therefore, in order to avoid any further diplomatic conflicts, the Hungarian Prime Minister requested from the leading journalists the following: „they should not address at all the issues of the Hungarians of Romania.” The letter of the prime minister Kálmán Széll to Agenor Goluchowski (joint foreign minister), (Fair copy version.) Hungarian National Archive MNL OL K 26 ME subsection nr. 548, nr. 2418/1902, item XXII. radix 672.

⁵⁷ But such reports that were also a pretext for Romanian reprisals, were published on a regular basis in the national press. In its transcript of 29. November 1911, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary was forced to ask the Hungarian head of government to address again the leading journalist in order to skip even the good news related to Romanian affairs in the press, because by any further debates they were involuntarily offering material for the accusations concerning the subject matter of „Magyarization” that is quickly spreading in the foreign media as well. Under such conditions the Hungarian government was thinking about the introduction of prior censorship measures of the most active media organ, thus the *Budapesti Hírlap*. [The record is strikethrough with pencil.] Hungarian National Archive MNL OL K 26 ME subsection nr. 1082, nr. 6882/1911, item XX radix 456. Moreover, the Austro-Hungarian Legation felt obliged to distance himself from

Until the turn of the century, the situation was so worse that the editor of the Newspaper of Pest (Pesti Hírlap) was stating the following: in the Romanian old-kingdom, only the Jews are detested more as the Hungarians.⁵⁸ His statement is also supported by the hostile manifestations experienced by the rural missionary visits of the protestant deacon Újváry,⁵⁹ and by the basic rules of certain Romanian saving cooperatives, which were prohibiting (with the consent of the authorities for internal affairs) to accept Jews and Hungarians as members of the association.⁶⁰ There are other examples as well for discriminatory measures: those Hungarian craftsmen who did not use Romanian letters by writing their names on the sign boards of their company have had to face severe penalties.⁶¹ The impact of this kind of attitude was summed up on a calm factual basis by the eyewitness in the following way: the Hungarian workers of the paper factory of Bucharest – with the aim to maintain their jobs – were becoming Romanians.⁶² Nevertheless, the assimilation process has had its natural facets as well. Expatriates were often subordinating all their energies for career-building and to acquire more wealth.⁶³

At the same time, the worsening of the consciousness-degradation of expatriates and their quick assimilation has had a sobering effect on the Hungarian government, which in the spring of 1901 launched its „Operation of Romania”. It was a defensive, but simultaneously an active program that signaled a major turnaround in the Hungarian national policy line, because in order to protect their own “race power” it also considered the option of long-term

the claims of the *Bukaresti Hírlap* and their official statement was published in the newspaper named *Epoca*. Hungarian National Archive MNL OL K 26 ME subsection nr. 1082, nr. 7491/1911, item XX, radix 605.

⁵⁸ Please see in: „Romania and the Hungarians“, *Pesti Hírlap*, 30 October 1902. There were even previously indices for these developments: in 1894, members of the Association of Hungarian Songs and Art lovers who were making a (first May) picnic in the Teé Park suddenly were attacked by some Romanian students. The members of the association were beaten, their flag was torn apart to shreds and after that it was burned by the statue of Viteazul Mihai (Romanian historical hero). Moreover, the rampaging young men were throwing stones on the windows of the Austro-Hungarian embassy. Barabás, Endre, *A székely kivándorlás*, 448–449., and the memoir of Zoltán Poliány of 14. April 1904. 54. Hungarian National Archive MNL OL K 26 ME subsection nr. 604, nr. 636/1904, item XVIII, radix 636.

⁵⁹ In Craiova „the Romanian priests started a boycott from the pulpit against the aliens.” For instance in Câmpulung „They all bitterly lamented about the blatant dislike promulgated by the Romanian side, which was experienced at every step”, this situation stimulated the here living Hungarian Protestants to migrate into other regions. The letter of Újváry to the bishop György Bartók, 1905. Sept. 6. Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Levéltára, Archive of the Protestant Synod in Hungary. RZsL, 2. fond. Külügyi iratok [Foreign documents], box 51. 1085/1905.

⁶⁰ Please see the fund rules of the Saving and Credit Cooperative of Dîmbovița. A similar clause was in the statute of the Sperant(k?)a Bank (paragraph 12.). Hungarian National Archive MNL OL K 26 ME subsection nr. 548, nr. 4524/1902, item XXII.

⁶¹ The compulsory transcription of their original names into the Romanian language dealt a blow to the national identities of immigrants. Barabás, Endre, *A székely kivándorlás*, 434.

⁶² Barabás, Endre, *A székely kivándorlás*, 437.

⁶³ A Hungarian elementary teacher who lived in the Regat has written about the croissant and pretzels sellers of Hétfalu, who belonged to the Csango community and were growing up on the domestic Romanian countryside that they were talking among themselves in Romanian and in order to get better integrated in the Romanian society they were searching Romanian husbands for their daughters. Kertész, József: Tíz év a romániai magyar misszióban. [Ten years in the Hungarian mission from Romania.] Kolozsvár, Jenő Stiff and Partner, 1913, 18. The journalist was also referring to their case as he criticized their countrymen because they were denying their origins with the believe to have a better career: „Well it would be so nice if somebody would get to know that they have a ragged Ungur (means Hungarian in Romania) as their ancestor.” *Bukaresti Magyar Újság*, 26 January 1902.

repatriation of the expatriates. Until then, they were trying to protect them somehow from the effects of spontaneous and planned assimilation.⁶⁴

Simultaneously, Budapest encouraged its employees, especially the journalists to respect the Romanian laws and customs.⁶⁵ The practical effect of these precautions was observed on the international exhibition, which was organized for the honour of the fortieth imperial, and twenty-fifth royal jubilee of King Carol. Five Hungarian associations were building together their pavilion on the exhibition of 1906, which was an initiative of the editor Zoltán Poliány. The main building of the jubilee was decorated with the photo of the Romanian royal couple, Hungarian and Romanian national flags, various inscriptions and the main slogan was „Be a faithful denizen of your homeland, but ask for God's blessing to the land where you are earning your daily bread.” (All this was in sharp contrast with the behaviour of the Romanians of Hungary, who were also participating at the exposition.)⁶⁶ The short visit of the royal couple, who was received with the Romanian anthem has had indeed a very good influence to the assessment of the Hungarian expatriates in Romania.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, the tensions, which were coming from great politics have reversed the favourable trend. The controversial bill on education that was rejected in 1905 was again submitted to the Hungarian parliament. The purpose of this was the regulation of teachers' wages and the compulsory school education of the state language,⁶⁸ which was only spoken

⁶⁴ Until then (thus till the creation of a more favorable economic conditions) simultaneously they were supporting them with „church and school” and with scholarships from the kin-state, press material in Hungarian language, calendars, as for the scattered diaspora offered schools with additional building for the accommodation of the pupils etc. Please see Béla Makkai: „*Magyarok temetője*”, *Ó-Románia. A regáti magyarság a dualizmus kori nemzetpolitikában* [Old Romania, as a Hungarian „cemetery”. Hungarians of Regat on the horizon of the Hungarian national politics in the era of dualism.] (Manuscript) Makkai, Béla, *Végvár vagy hídfő? „Az idegenben élő magyarság nemzeti gondozása” Horvátországban és Bosznia–Hercegovinában (1904–1920)* [Bridgehead or border castle? „The national care for Hungarians living abroad” in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (1904–1920).] Budapest, Lucidus, 2003.

⁶⁵ As the journalist Zoltán Poliány was in a mission in Bucharest, he received the following strict and unequivocal instructions: „, You have to avoid all kind of tasteless hyper loyalty, behave responsibly and respect Romania and its institutions...” Pro domo. (Without date.); Hungarian National Archive, MNL OL K 26 ME subsection nr. 858, nr. 2981/1903, item XVIII, radix 405.

⁶⁶ The Romanians from the Hungarian parts were not using nor the Hungarian flag nor the photo of József Ferenc I. and not even the name of the country was appearing on the banners of the exhibition. While Romanians from Bukovina have had black-and-yellow flags of the Habsburgs, those of Serbia were appearing with Serbian flags and with the portrait of King Petar, those from Bessarabia were using inscriptions with Cyrillic letters and the portrait of Czar Nicholas the second, and finally the Aromanians and Kuco-vlachs were wearing Turkish fezzes by singing the Turkish anthem at the exposition. Barna, Endre, *Románia nemzetiségi*, 115–128, 140–161.

⁶⁷ *Bukaresti Magyar Újság*, 28 June 1906 Romániai Magyarok Nagy Képes Naptára [The Big Picture Calendar of the Hungarians of Romania] edited by Poliány was receiving the Grand Prix and the editor of the calendar obtained a golden pen from the Romanian king. The Hungarian associations that presented their products at the exposition have won a silver medal and certificate. *Bukaresti Magyar Újság*, 22 November 1906., Hencz, Hilda, *Magyarok román világban. A Kárpátokon kívüli román térségben élő magyarok és a Bukaresti magyar sajtó (1860–1941)* [Hungarians in the Romanian world. Hungarians living outside the Carpathian region and the Hungarian press in Bucharest] = Maghiarii în universul românesc. Maghiarii din spațiul extracarpatic românesc și presa maghiară bucureșteană (1860–1941). Carocom '94 Kft. Bukarest/București, 2009. 40.

⁶⁸ In 1910, a quarter of the citizens belonging to various ethnic groups, thus (22,5 %), and in the case of Romanians only 12,1 % was knowing the language of the Hungarian state. *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények, Új sorozat* 64 vols., Budapest, M. Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1920, 145, 164.

by a small part of the homeland nationalities.⁶⁹ The Lex Apponyi has triggered great indignation by the representatives of the two autonomous Romanian Churches on Hungarian territory. The churches were maintaining their own school system where Romanian was the main language of education. Besides the Romanian parliamentarians of Hungary,⁷⁰ who were joining the international protest campaign against the law, even the keen state Romania was taking actions.⁷¹ As a response to the disputed law, the Romanian educational authorities intended to increase (to triple) the number of Romanian language lessons for Hungarian citizens in the schools sustained by means of the Hungarian state⁷² and the textbooks for the general public used there were often prohibited in their original form and reedited.⁷³ The harassment of Hungarian schools is also less understandable because of the fact that the level of public education in Romania was greatly lower as of the Romanians in Hungary.⁷⁴ Moreover, even the constructions of new kindergartens were purposefully implemented in regions with various nationalities (Bulgarian, Turkish, Csango-Hungarian) and it was no secret that this happened with the intention of spreading the Romanian language.⁷⁵ It is also

⁶⁹The draft law, which was already submitted in 1905 by Albert Berzeviczy has been withdrawn because of the intensive protests against it.

⁷⁰In 1907 Vaida-Voevod Alexandru (later became prime minister of Romania and has fought for the autonomy of Transylvania) was reading the poem of his younger brother in the Hungarian parliament. *Bukaresti Magyar Újság*, 14 April 1907. The poem was formulated in the following style: „You are parasitizing on this homeland since ten damned centuries as bloodthirsty bugs [...] But everything, everything is in vain as you will perish, lawbreaking Asian scum ...“ Bíró, Sándor, *Kisebbségben és többségben: románok és magyarok. (1867–1940)* [In Minority and in the majority: Romanians and Hungarians. (1867–1940)], Bern, Európai Protestáns Magyar Szabadegyetem, 1989, 262.

⁷¹The students of Bucharest were holding protests against Hungary by supporting Vaida-Voevod. *Bukaresti Magyar Újság*, 13 June 1907.

⁷²They made mandatory the Romanian festive periods and the bilingual school accounting. While the Hungarian private schools in the Regat were not allowed to take up Hungarian pupils, who have lost their citizenship (but did not possessed either the Romanian citizenship). Could not offer valid certificates. The functioning of the private schools was regulated by the royal decree with the No. 3157 of 1896 June 28, which was also submitted as draft-law in 1905 by Haret Spiru, Minister of Religion and Public Education. However, due to the election defeat of the liberals, this was temporarily removed from the agenda. Barna, Endre, *Románia nemzetiségi*, 47–48.

⁷³Only in 1905 the following books were blacklisted: Boga, Károly, *Földrajz [Geography]*, dr. Török, István, *Magyarország története [The history of Hungary]*, Sebestyén, Gyula, *Magyar olvasókönyv [Hungarian reading book]*, dr. Gööz – Schön – Trajtler, *Magyar nemzeti olvasókönyv [Hungarian national reading book]*, *Bukaresti Magyar Újság*, 5 October 1905. An extreme example for prohibiting was in the case of a math book as the initiators of the prohibition were complaining because in the task the distance to be calculated was between two Hungarian cities, respectively Budapest and Pozsony [today named Bratislava]. Barna, Endre: *Románia nemzetiségi...*, 61.

⁷⁴In 1899 only 19.7% of the population over 15 years could read and write in Romania, but if one takes out the percentage of the foreigners from this aggregate (where this ratio was 53.0%), and the stateless persons (44.4%), than this indicator continues to deteriorate to (17,1 %). Barna, Endre, *Románia nemzetiségi...*, 74. Not even the half of those who achieved compulsory school age in a year was enrolled or taking part in public education (39.9%). Ibidem, 77. Whilst the Romanians of Hungary was allowed to maintain several thousand of religious schools, even the mother tongue was intensively used in education. In 1880 were functioning 2756 schools where the education was in Romanian and there were 394 Romanian-Hungarian bilingual schools in Hungary. This indicators were overstepping the number of schools of the motherland, whose population was double more populous; it is also fact that till 1913, this figure indicates a significant decrease: with 2170 Romanian-language schools. Hanák, Péter *Magyarország története*, 1007.

⁷⁵There have been set up 21 kindergartens by the ministerial decree (Minister of Culture) with No. 51.817 in 17-th September 1905, from which 4 nurseries were for the Serbs around Bucharest, 7 for the Csangos and a number of 10 for the Turks of the county of Tulcea. Barna, Endre, *Románia nemzetiségi*, 56. Even this sheer numbers are proving the use of nurseries for the homogenization of the population, because from the total of 168 such

worth to mention that the Romanian (ecclesiastical) authorities were issuing sometimes incorrectly by mistake, but sometimes also deliberately with wrong modifications the birth certificates of the Hungarian children (who were already born outside Hungary). In this way the Hungarian origin of the child was simply cashed for the public. Such measures were generating a schizophrenic situations in the consciousness of pupils but also challenged the self-esteem of their parents.⁷⁶

Nonetheless, the above mentioned problems were minor compared to the times as the Balkan War was breaking out in 1912, because the new conflict-ridden situation has caused much distress and attitude changes on a larger scale within the multi-ethnic society. The complications were growing after the acquisition of South Dobrogea in 1913 as Romania has started a major political campaign against the Monarchy, which has had strong anti-Hungarian implications as well. Although the country was a member of the Triple Alliance since 1883, after this success, (the acquisition of South Dobrogea) Romania was openly struggling for the possession of Transylvania.⁷⁷

After the outbreak of World War, the Romanian propaganda was trying to stigmatize the Hungarian people as one of the main cause of the war.⁷⁸ The Hungarian newspaper in turn was trying to strengthen the self-esteem of the expatriates by thematising the war and stressed that the heroic courage and humanity of the Hungarian soldier on the fronts is even greatly appreciated by the Serb and the Russian civilian population.⁷⁹ In contrast, Iorga Nicolae professor of history was portraying the warring “Hungarian type” by comprising it in the person of István Tisza, the Prime Minister of Hungary. Iorga gave the warrior the well-known heroic traits, but simultaneously loaded it’s portray with certain fatal and negative

institutions 133 were functioning on regions dominated by ethnic and national minorities. Kádár, Gyula, Tiszta Romániát! *Háromszék*, 20 July 2013.

⁷⁶ Modified data did not matched anymore with those that figured in the passports that were required in Hungarian schools. Usually the father's first name was used as surname. Of course this was in Romanian form. However, the Romanian school inspection demanded the records on this basis and the issuance of the notifications about half year studies was also happening according to official basic data. József Degenfeld, chairman of the secular convent attached and has send to Sándor Wekerle (Head of the Hungarian Government) the reports of Anna Kállayné Vadas from 1918 March 1 and March 26. Hungarian National Archive, MNL OL K 26 ME subsection nr. 1210, nr. 1531/1918, item XX, radix 157.

⁷⁷ One of the invocations of the Romanian newspaper named *Universul* was addressing the members of the army to buy maps of Transylvania, because they might need it in the near future ... Quotation: Map of Transylvania. *Romániai Magyar Újság*, 21 February 1915, Furthermore, according to data published during the Marghiloman-government about the affairs of the previous years, the Romanian governments were spending a total of 2,350.000 lei (that is, the same amount of Swiss francs) for the campaign for Transylvania. Also the Romanian leaders of Hungary were financed from this financial means. The *Gazeta Bucureștilor* was quoted by the *Bukaresti Magyar Hírlap*, issue of 22 July 1918. The Hungarian newspaper already stated by the New Year’s Eve of 1915, that „after the start of the war hatred against the Hungarians rose to the highest level.” *Romániai Magyar Újság*, 31 December 1915. „A few months ago there were a lot of street protests and the peoples who were gathered just marched through the streets by railing against the Hungarians and its allies. *Romániai Magyar Újság*, 2 January 1916.

⁷⁸ According to the *Adevărul*: „...there is no doubt that the war was provoked by Tisza and Emperor Wilhelm.” Quotation of the *Romániai Magyar Újság*, 21 February 1915. The Hungarian newspaper has used a counter expertise and quoted the Professor Constantin Stere, who was of Bessarabian origin as he saw the real danger for Romanians not in the Hungarian conduct, but in the Russian imperialist desire. *Romániai Magyar Újság*, 2 January 1916.

⁷⁹ *Romániai Magyar Újság*, 29 December 1915.

characteristics.⁸⁰ However, the Romanian press has concealed those news, which could have disperse this preconceived image about Hungarians.⁸¹

The constructive attitude of the newspaper came from the conciliation creed from which the chief editor was writing before the war in the following way: „We have to (...) do the first step. We are understanding the local conditions. Just enlighten our brothers from their mistakes and let's take action that the sons of the Romanian nation also get clarification. The current guilt filled atmosphere will stop in this way...”⁸² Nevertheless, such conciliatory voices fell on deaf ears in the storm of World War.

Encouraged by the successes of the Brusilov Offensive in August 1916, Romania was attacking his ally in its back and invaded the unguarded southern part of Transylvania. The Hungarian pastors, teachers were interned,⁸³ and the *Romániai Magyar Újság* has stopped its activity. The „untrustworthy” strangers⁸⁴ have suffered from the requisitions of the Romanian Army and their institutions were used for military purposes.⁸⁵ The density of vexations made many persons to apply for Romanian citizenship in order to assure their physical safety, and avoid expropriation.⁸⁶ Following the successful Danube counter-offensive of the Central Powers and the take-over of the Romanian capital,⁸⁷ it was published the short-lived Hungarian News of Bucharest and its editor, József Feleky gave as first the conciliatory

⁸⁰ He was described in this way: „Even God, who became Hungarian would not be able to stop that fanatic, blind and deaf human being, who is rushing rapturously on a straight road marked with the blood of his adversaries into the final destruction. ... Wants to win, dominate, command and wants to colonize.” He continues: “It is babysitting Károly Tisza [Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary] and it makes Psst! to Serbia as it would be his serf, Berchtold was sent to walk around and put his people in its place. Provokes the world.” *Universul*, 28. December 1915. *Romániai Magyar Újság*, 31 December 1915. The Secretary General of the irredentist Cultural league, Iorga who spoke well Hungarian forgets to mention that Tisza considered about the war that in the case of victory there would be only more ethnic inhabitants in the country, consequently the war is not in the interest of Hungary.

⁸¹ They did not reported about the happening as the staff of a Hungarian steamer saved 16 Romanian shipwrecked soldiers from the Danube by Galati. *Romániai Magyar Újság*, 31 October 1912. And the initiative of the Senior Fellow (Alpár Rejőd) of the Hungarian Newspaper of Romania found no followers, although he made a film about the bright development and European character of Romania on his own costs. (His work was also introduced to the audience in Budapest). Magyar ismertetés a román királyságról. *Romániai Magyar Újság*, 1912. March 28. és Előadás az Urániában Romániáról. *Romániai Magyar Újság*, 1912. May 19. His co-editor, the historian Géza Szöcs was trying to dispel the mist of ignorance and suspicion with several reasonable articles having the title „Historical truth and national chauvinism.” The series of articles has had more than 10 consecutive sections and see the fourth serial: *Romániai Magyar Újság*, 30 November 1911.

⁸² Mit tegyünk? [What should we do?] *Romániai Magyar Újság*, 17. October 1909.

⁸³ Report of the Presidium of the Convent about 1916 to the Prime Minister, Móric Esterházy, 16. May 1917. Hungarian National Archive, MNL OL K 26 ME subsection nr. 1185, nr. 2726/1917, item XIX, and the letter of the Presidium of the Convent of 16. May 1917 to the Universal Convent. Archive of the Protestant Synod in Hungary, RZsL, fond 2. Foreign documents, box 56, 1626/1917.

⁸⁴ The letter of Árpád Márton army chaplain of 1917. March. 19. to the Presidium of the Convent. Archive of the Protestant Synod in Hungary, RZsL, fond 2. Foreign documents, box 73, 1251/1917.

⁸⁵ Which have suffered severe damage. The letter of the director of Anna Kállayné Vadas from 8. July 1917. to the Presidium of the Convent. Archive of the Protestant Synod in Hungary, RZsL, fond 2. Foreign documents, box 73, 2697/1917.

⁸⁶ The report of Ágost Kuczka of 3. July 1916. about the catholic school year of 1914/15. Hungarian National Archive, MNL OL K 26 ME subsection nr. 1081, nr. 2559/1915, item XVIII.

⁸⁷ The preliminary peace was signed in 5. March 1918 in Buftea and the separate peace treaty was only closed on 7. May 1918 in Bucharest that also meant a breach of the confidentiality agreement with the Entente. Catherine Durandin, *A román nép története*. (The history of the Romanian people.) Budapest, Maecenas, 1998, 212.

password: „all treason” should be forgotten. However, he tied this to conditions,⁸⁸ and was pointing out in a supercilious tone the extremist character of the Transylvanian campaign of the Romanians. And the warnings of Hungarians of the Regat concerning its dangers were in vain. As he wrote, „the swaggering Romania triumphed over common sense and so the disaster has to be happened.” Simultaneously, the writer of the article expressed his hope that based on these lessons the common interests will shape the relationship between the two peoples in the future.⁸⁹

After the armistice of Padua, the tonality of the newspaper became calmer. This time, the editor was urging the historical reconciliation of the two neighbouring nations as they were interdependent in the Slavic sea and mentioned the possibility to create a strong Romanian-Hungarian coalition.⁹⁰

After the victory of the Entente, the self-defence reflexes were gaining much effect. The newspaper confronted its readers with the painful memories of internments, harassments and requisitions caused by war damages, and also with the Romanian hospitality and its promising equal treatment of the nation of majority, but all this proved to be wrong and remained just a myth.⁹¹ In line with this, there were left only two choices for the Hungarians of the Regat: In order to retain their own goods gained during several decades, they had to fully integrate in a Romania that was hardly tolerating strangers or in the light of the experiences of various harassments they could seek the protection of the motherland.⁹² Therefore, the majority was opting to return in the homeland and those who decided to remain were melted up dramatically and quickly during the monolithic nation-state building process of a multi-ethnic Greater Romania.⁹³

The victorious Entente has awarded even a bigger part as the territory of today’s Hungary to Romania from the dismembered Kingdom of Hungary. Unfortunately, in this way the relationship of the two neighbouring nations has reached a historical low point.

⁸⁸ He used the following formulation: „if all the origins of our national movement will be not externally instigated provocation ...”. But he was going even deeper by recognizing the line of the new frontier in the Carpathian Mountains respectively, till the watersheds in the valleys as the main basic condition. *Bukaresti Magyar Hírlap*, 5 May 1918. The special publication of the newspaper was dedicated to the issue of the signed peace treaty and according to the editor, the „new era” could only be successful if „this is based on the mutual respect of rights, the integrity of the borders and by keeping good neighborhood relations.” *Bukaresti Magyar Hírlap*, 7 May 1918.

⁸⁹ *Bukaresti Magyar Hírlap*, 8 September 1918.

⁹⁰ All this could happen on the sample of the confederative plans of Kossuth. The justifications used in the article are really interesting: „Our countries are side by side, the security issues towards East and Southeast and the commercial life are demanding that one should put aside the nowhere validated doctrines and ideas as we should give each other an opportunity and a way to a peaceful relationship and friendship, which should be long-lasting and should be developed efficiently.” Hungarian-Romanian fraternization. *Bukaresti Magyar Hírlap*, 6 October 1918.

⁹¹ *Bukaresti Magyar Hírlap*, 4 August 1918. The newspaper was showing lively interest for the affairs of interned and imprisoned Hungarians. Elsewhere, the newspaper reported about the failures that were threatening the nutritional and medical care of those interned and imprisoned. *Bukaresti Magyar Hírlap*, 1 September 1918.

⁹² This option was also presented in detail in the Hungarian newspaper. *Települjünk haza! [Repatriate!]* *Bukaresti Magyar Hírlap*, 30 June 1918.

⁹³ Such developments only underlined the former item of an eminent demographer, who named the Romanian Old-Kingdom „the century-long (and) big graveyard of the Hungarians”. Source: Thirring, Gusztáv, *A magyarországi kivándorlás és a külföldi magyarság*. [The Emigration of Hungary and Hungarians abroad.] Budapest, 1904, 6. Please also see Boia Lucian: *România elrománosodása*. [The Roumanianisation of Romania] Cluj-Napoca [Kolozsvár] Koinónia, 2015.

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National Identity and Modernity 1870-1945 : Latin America, Southern Europe, East Central Europe

Budapest, Párizs: Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem, L'Harmattan Kiadó, pp. 201-219.
(2019) (Collection Károli. Recueil d'etudes 2062-9850)