

7<sup>th</sup> Annual South-East European  
Doctoral Student Conference

# Infusing Research and Knowledge in South-East Europe

Edited by:

K. Bratanis, D. Dranidis, P. Koktsidis, L. Lazouras, E. Nikolaidou



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# The Romanian Administrative Elite from Transylvania in the Liberal Period (1861-1867)

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**Abstract.** *The purpose of the essay is to analyze the structural evolution of the Romanian high civil servants corps from Transylvania during the liberal period of the Habsburg Monarchy (1861-1867). We intend to use a descriptive approach that will develop gradually into a 4-level investigation: 1<sup>st</sup>. the social background of the Romanian appointed high civil servants of Transylvania (social origin, intellectual training) 2<sup>nd</sup>. the recruitment mechanisms; 3<sup>rd</sup>. the administrative career of these officials, and 4<sup>th</sup>. their role in the shaping of a national political strategy for the Romanian national movement, in its attempts to establish itself among the other constitutionally recognized nations of Transylvania.*

**Keywords:** *Transylvania, elite, bureaucracy, Romanians, national movement*

## 1 Introduction

The years between 1861 and 1867 brought some of the most interesting events for the political history of the Romanians under the Habsburg rule. The Great Principality of Transylvania, as well as other parts of the Habsburg Empire, reached a new political and administrative stage: the so-called liberal period, which marked the reinstatement of its full historical autonomy. From the perspective of the Romanian national movement, this period was characterized by an increasingly dynamic political and national process of demand. The Romanians requested for themselves a juridical-constitutional status equal to that of Transylvania's other peoples, on the basis of an argumentation drawn from history, demography and finance. A fundamental part of this struggle was the necessity for the Romanians to install as many of their representatives as possible in the administrative, political and juridical structures of Transylvania, both at a central and at a local level, as far as these institutions had begun to coalesce around 1861. Consequently, the favourable context

enabled the number of Romanian civil servants to double by 1863, in comparison to the previous period (1848-1859), a fact that was easily noticed by contemporaries (Barițiu 1891, 156).

Given the historical premises, those who entered the Romanian bureaucratic elite became not only clerks, but also representatives of their nation and denominations. Thus, they became entangled with the whole national political movement, a situation which turned back on them after the 1867 *Ausgleich*. Despite all these, the short time period in which they functioned atop the provincial administration brought many positive consequences, both for the Romanian nation and for them personally.

## 2 Literature Review

The first Romanian historiographical texts on the 1861-1865 period date back to 1890-1910 (Barițiu 1889-1891, Păcățian 1904-1905) and they represent an attempt to justify the Romanians' struggle for political and national emancipation. These writings, based on memoirs and on the times' press, were written by semi-professionals, were ideologically engaged and characterized by an undeveloped critical spirit. The information they encompass are helpful, but many are incomplete or bring forward a unilateral perspective.

This trend carried on during the interwar period, the difference being that now, historians from the newly-formed Greater Romania attempted to justify the 19<sup>th</sup> century struggle for emancipation through the finality of the 1918 union.

In the Communist period, especially during the period of Communist Nationalism (1975-1989), studying the national movement became thorough, the liberal era, through its achievements, being regarded as an important moment of the political emancipation of the Romanians. The eulogistic presentation of the years 1861-1865 served as a comparison for the deprecation of the 1867 *Ausgleich*, which was regarded as the inception of the final stage of the Romanian nation's oppression. This dichotomic perspective was framed in a Marxist explanatory grid that emphasized the role of the Romanian bourgeoisie, backed up by the rural proletariat, on the historical stage (Netea 1974, Pascu 1978).

Unencumbered by the communist ideological impositions and limitations, the Romanian historiography concerning Transylvania began, after the 1990s, to focus on a series of subjects within the field of the history of elites. The intense contact with the western schools of thought allowed Romanian historians to widen their perspectives, and, as a result, to publish a series of works concerned with the different categories of the Romanian elite, especially for the period after 1867: the secular or ecclesiastical elite (Sigmirean 2000, 2007), the economic elite (Dobrescu 1996, 2006), or the political elite (Popovici 2010). As can be seen, many categories of the elite have not been discussed, among them the category of civil servants. Furthermore, while the abovementioned works are useful from the standpoint of their factual contributions, they lack a theoretical and methodological framework that could be applied to other elite categories.

The prosopographic study of the Romanian civil servants has also been neglected by the main authors who have dealt with the history of the liberal period (Retegan



1979, 2004; Suciú 2000). Renowned specialists in their field, the aforementioned authors created well-documented syntheses, with an obviously necessary general view, which encompassed several political actors. Their goal was to reconstruct the Transylvanian political scene in a positivist manner and to emphasize the power relations between the Romanians, Hungarians and Saxons, by using a political-national interpretation grid. They outlined the stages of administrative reorganization, the increase in number of the Romanian civil servants, as well as their presence in the different political decision-making structures of the Romanian national movement. However, the presence of conflicts arising from the failure of obtaining certain administrative offices has been omitted, despite the fact that it constitutes a part of the recruiting process of these civil servants. Furthermore, certain value judgments were made concerning the national activity of some and the lack of empathy of others with their nations' desiderata, without a proper emphasis of the dual character of their political-administrative position. Finally, a real evaluation of the role played by the Romanian civil servants in the designing of a Romanian political strategy was not provided.

Thus, the lack of studies strictly concerning the Romanian high civil servants in Transylvania can be easily noticed. Judit Pál's study (Pál 2008) comes closest to the intentions of the present paper, but her study is not concern only with the Romanians. The author's analysis of the Transylvanian Lord Lieutenants, the great majority of which were Hungarians, offers an extremely useful methodological framework, which can be applied, with few exceptions, to the analysis of the civil servant body during the liberal period.

### **3 Data and Methodology**

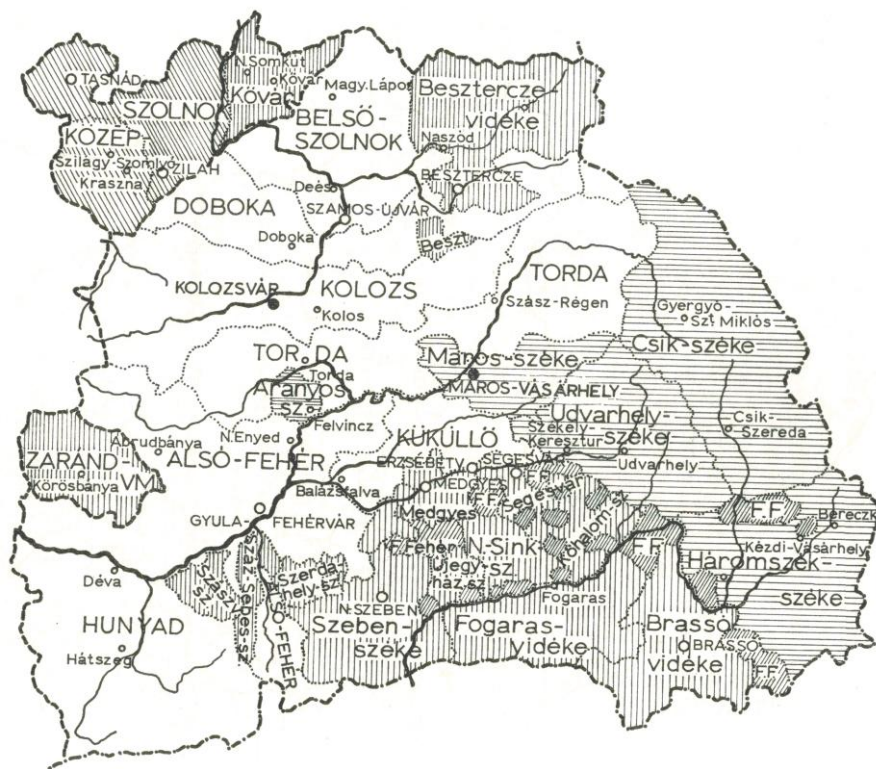
#### **3.1 Preliminaries and Sources**

First, we need to establish what Transylvania meant as an autonomous region in 1861. In December 1860, the former Great Principality of Transylvania lost some of its Western regions: Zarand and the Partium (Közep Szolnok and Kövár). As a consequence, the territorial composition of Transylvania that we take into consideration was the following: 8 counties (vármegye), 2 regions (vidék), 5 Szekler seats (szék) and the Saxon Settlement (Királyföld) (see below Figure 1).

Second, we need to circumscribe those categories of clerks that can be considered part of an elite layer, meaning the ones who occupied a position above the level of copyist (fogalmazó) at the Transylvanian Court Chancellery in Vienna and the Gubernium in Cluj. We shall also take into consideration the civil servants having the rank of assessor (ülnök) or higher at the High Court of Justice of Transylvania (Királyi Tábla) in Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş, the Appeal Court of Sibiu (Királyi Főbiztosság), and the later High Court of Justice (Királyi Legfőbb Törvényszék), founded in 1865. At local level, we are interested in the following high-ranking stations: Lord-Lieutenant, Captain-General or county administrator (főispán / főkapitány / főispáni helyettes), Vice-Lord-Lieutenant and Vice-Captain-General (alispánok / alkapitány), county notary public (főjegyző), and royal chief judge or

president of the county court of law (főbirák / törvényszék elnök). It should be stated that some of these previous functions meant, basically, the same thing, and their holders shared equal position (i.e. Lord-Lietenant and Captain-General), the difference being related to the old, late-medieval, administrative situation of the province.

**Figure 1:** The Province of Transylvania in 1860 (Toth 1973, 90)



As for our sources, the most important are the yearly-published directories of public employees, which are complete for this period of time (“Erdély Nagyfejedelemség Hivatali Tiszti Névtára”). Other relevant biographical information can be found in catalogues and encyclopaedias (mostly Diaconovich 1989-1904), but also in the Romanian journals from that period (“Telegraful Român”, “Gazeta Transilvaniei”). Finally, various history works, mostly biographical (Suciu 2000), as well as editions of published documents (Hitchins, Maior 1970; Pascu et alii 1973-1987; Retegan, Suciu et alii 2006) complete the framework of our research.

Given the vastness of the subject, we have decided to dwell only upon some aspects of the history of Romanian civil clerks from Transylvania, so as to provide the essential elements for understanding its evolution during the studied period. Thus, the main topics we intend to approach in the current paper are: the social-professional and educational background of the Romanian bureaucratic elite, its recruitment

procedures, the career evolution (*cursus honorum*) and, finally, the political involvement of these bureaucrats and their relation with the political activities of the Romanian national movement.

### **3.2 The social-professional and educational background of the Romanian high civil servants of Transylvania**

Very few of the Romanian officials came from families with a political or administrative tradition which span the length of several generations. Most of them were descendents of school teachers or priests, and had benefited from scholarships awarded by the Greek-Catholic or the Orthodox Churches, thus being the first in their families to reach such high social status. There were, however, exceptions: the representatives of noble families, or of merchants or gold mines owners' families from the mountain area of Transylvania.

This Romanian „power elite” (according to Mills' definition – Mills 2000) was formed by members who had the same educational roots, graduated the same Colleges and knew each other from school time (sometimes earlier, due to kinship), thus showing a superior cohesion level after being appointed in offices. The Transylvanian society in its whole could be considered, at that time (1861-1867), a status-based society (as Weber presents it) so this knowledge of each other was very important for them, for their self and group image, in order to make them develop a class conscience and, further on, Meissel's three “C”s: conscience, conspiracy, cohesion (Meisel 1962). Status was not only important to group cohesion and evolution, but also to individual development: from pecuniary aspects to marriage-related ones, status was essential for helping the members of the elite achieve “a good life” – in terms of material and social ideals.

We can assert that the emergence of this elite is a consequence of factors rooted back in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the most important being: the educational one, the economic one, the mental and demographic ones. The first three factors we mentioned are strongly interconnected: as a consequence of the expansion of education among the Romanian population in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, both a mental environment and an economic progress were created, that led to the awareness of the need to create administrative and political elites. The fourth factor, the demographic one, merely provided a larger selection base for the first three, thus ensuring, through intrinsic competition, the entry into the elite ranks of the best representatives of the Romanian nation.

From a geographical point of view, no specific area in Transylvania can be considered a priority “extraction area” for the future bureaucratic elite. Its members came from all Romanian inhabited areas and only few of them got to know each other before attending the same schools. Nonetheless, it is obvious that, in some of the cases, the socio-economic circumstances have influenced certain areas. So it is the case of Braşov and its surroundings, an area heavily populated by Romanians, bordering Wallachia, thus benefiting of both the ecclesiastic and intellectual influence of the Romanians south of the Carpathians, as well as of the increased economic potential of all border regions. Ioan knight of Puşcariu, Ioan Alduleanu and Ioan Bran of Lemény, some of the most important characters of the liberal period, originate from this region. Another such area was Sibiu and its surroundings, due to the influence of

the Orthodox Bishopric [latter Archbishopric]. The same stands for Blaj, the Greek-Catholic Archbishopric see. Cluj County (Cluj was the capital city) also brought up an important figure of that time: vice-governor Vasile Ladislau Pop. It can be stated that the proximity to cities, whether major centers (Cluj, Braşov, Sibiu) or boroughs (Abrud, Deva, Reghin, Blaj) contributed to the polarization of certain national energies and, in time, caused a stronger emergence of the bureaucratic elite members.

Regarding their studies, it is difficult to specify a single intellectual path for the entire category. For some, even the most basic biographical data is unavailable, for instance the year of birth. Either way, among the main secondary schools, one should count the following: the Greek-Catholic Gymnasium from Blaj, the Roman-Catholic Gymnasiums from Braşov and Sibiu, or the Royal Catholic Lyceum from Cluj. The lack of Romanian secondary schools (there was only one gymnasium, in Blaj) on the one hand and the multi-ethnic character of Transylvania on the other hand, determined the prospective elite members to attend educational institutions with Latin, Hungarian and German as teaching languages. This seemingly shortcoming must have become an advantage on the long term since, at a young age, they learned all the four languages used in the administration of the province. At the same time, access to secondary schools must have also been a screening filter for the less gifted pupils or for those whose parents did not have the needed financial possibilities. Last but not least, we can assess that secondary schools were the first stage of school crucible, the period during which the bureaucratic elite members-to-be got to know each other, to strike up friendships or enmities, to form their first impressions of one another. The most probatory case in this respect is that of the group of students from Blaj who got involved in the “Lemenian trial” (1843-1846) – a trial in which some of the students and teachers from the Greek-Catholic seminar in Blaj took a stand against the bishop Ioan Lemeni and several of his closest friends. Despite the fact that they lost the case and they were expelled or forced to retire, many of them will become after 1848, and latter during the liberal period, administrative clerks in Transylvania, while maintaining the good relations they welded during their studies (Deteşan 2008).

A major characteristic of almost all Romanian civil servants is the completion of their studies at the Tabula Regia in Marosvásárhely, a genuine cradle for all high civil servants of Transylvania irrespective of their ethnic origin. Some of them also acquired diplomas at some prestigious universities in Europe. Abroad studies did not necessarily imply success for those who completed them, but there are at least three examples indicating that obtaining a degree at a prestigious university helped those who wanted to reach the higher bureaucracy. Iosif Hodoş, Vice-Lord-Lieutenant of Zarand, obtained his PhD in law at Padova (Chiorean 1996), Dimitrie Moldovan, secretary of the Transylvanian Aulic Chancellery from Vienna, attended polytechnic studies in the capital city of the empire, where Vasile Ladislau Popp, vice-governor of Transylvania, completed his university studies. They are, however, exceptions, for most of the future Romanian clerks of the years 1861-1867 completed their education at provincial law academies. These institutions offered a diploma which subsequently granted them both the possibility to obtain a job in bureaucracy and the necessary relations to acquire the law practice certificate. This is the case of: Ioan Alduleanu, Ioan knight of Puşcariu, Nicolae Gaetan, Ioan Bran de Lemeny, Ilie Măcelariu (Suciu 2000; Josan 1997).

Therefore, it is obvious that, if after 1860, university studies in European centers became almost mandatory for those who wanted to join the elite ranks, officials trained between 1835 and 1855 did not feel this need, partly because they could advance on the social and professional ladder without university studies. In conclusion, we can affirm that the Romanian bureaucratic elite from Transylvania in the period 1861-1865 was, as a whole, at the lower limit of what could be called university training, the target being to graduate two years of law studies and to start the bureaucratic career as soon as possible, rather than to enrich the study resume.

### **3.3 The recruitment of the Romanian high civil servants of Transylvania**

This subchapter aims to provide a succinct description of the recruiting mechanisms. It must be stated that, although during the entire liberal period the Romanian public opinion requested that all Romanian civil servants go through a national filter in order to ensure that they would represent Romanian interests at a bureaucratic level, it was not the Romanian nation which elected its administrative representatives. Instead, the Transylvanian Gubernium made the nominations, and the Aulic Chancellery in Vienna approved them in the name of the Emperor. Thus, the appointments were mostly directly made, without the approval of the nation from which the civil servants descended, in accordance with certain meritocratic principles or at least on the basis of a loyalty towards those who made the appointment. In some cases the proposals of the representatives of the Romanian nation were also considered, but in general the State was the one to choose its future employees.

In reaching a decision on the election of the civil servants, the overall political situation played an utterly important role. After a decade of military and militarized administration, the early liberal period was regarded as a favourable moment to revive the old practice of assigning a job, based on kinship and favoritism. This situation is perfectly emphasized by one of the Romanian higher civil servants, Ioan knight of Pușcariu, in his memoirs, when he recounts the explanation of Count György Haller regarding the refusal of the capitancy of Cetatea de Baltă County because it was not possible to satisfy "...about two hundred aspirants who were hungry for 20 years. It would have been woe to me, if I had not provided bread to all of them" (Pușcariu 1913, 84).

Furthermore, when the question of representing the Romanian nation at the administrative level arose, national affiliation became, in turn, a criterion for office appointment. Since December 21<sup>st</sup> 1860, an imperial rescript required to take "into respectful account the nations and denominations from the Great Principality of Transylvania, that formerly weren't represented or were not enough represented" ("Gazeta Transylvaniei" 1860, no. 61). In these circumstances, the only representative national institutions (the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic churches) felt the urge to become involved, through their hierarchs, in advancing proposals of civil servants. They tried to promote well-prepared people, able to defend the rights of the Romanian nation, while, at the same time, being loyal to their faith and the private interest of one or another of the churches. Hereabout, it should also be highlighted the political way in which the Romanian leaders understood the bureaucratic apparatus, this unclear perspective being perpetuated throughout the liberal periods (see below 3.5).

Notwithstanding, even within the nation, among denominations, there have been strong struggles for offices. At a collective level, the two religious leaders (who still adhered to a pre-modern type of thought) insisted upon the maintaining of a confessional balance within the Romanian civil servants. For example, when, in 1860, the Orthodoxes found out that the authorities wanted to appoint two Greek-Catholics as Aulic councilors, they attacked the one who was politically insecure (Gheorghe Anghel) in order to obtain his replacement with an Orthodox (Retegan, Suciú et alii 2006, 331-333). Then, in 1861, when the two denominations had to submit lists of proposals to the Viennese authorities in order to choose the future Romanian royalist MPs and civil servants, a flagrant imbalance between Orthodoxes and Greek-Catholics was created. Albeit the Romanians tried to obey certain principles (priority to the higher offices for the senior civil servants, priority for those who made a radical display for the national cause), old habits such as nepotism and favoritism were also present: for example, the grandchildren of the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan (Iosif and Dionisie Șterca-Șuluțiu) were proposed for key positions, including that of Lord-Lieutenant.

It should be noted that, in addition to the lists of favourites, there were also lists of undesirable persons. Those Romanian officials who were considered not to have fought enough for the national cause were mentioned by name and their replacement was asked for. This was the case, among others, for Ioan Alduleanu, Paul Dunca, Alexandru Lazăr, Augustin Láday, Ladislau Hosszu and others, some of them with high ranks in the Transylvanian Gubernium or in the county administration. It is obvious that they preferred to plead in the spirit of of the Austrian bureaucracy rather than in the Romanian National spirit (Retegan, Suciú et alii 2006, 583-588).

At an individual level, the competition became manifest through the exposing of certain pecuniary interests. For many Romanians, the civil servant office was the sole and best source of income to ensure an above-average standard of living. For this reason there have been cases where some candidates were subjected to personal denigration campaigns, orchestrated by their opponents. This was the case of Dimitrie Moldovan, who was about to become Aulic secretary at the Transylvanian Chancellery in Vienna, but was forced to face the powerful intrigues developed by Ioan Bran of Lemény. The latter turned for support to the Bishop A. Șaguna, who personally corresponded with the Austrian Ministry of Interior to impose his favourite. Eventually, the two endeavors failed, and D. Moldovan became Aulic secretary.

To summarize, between 1861 and 1867 there were two ways of access to the provincial bureaucracy in Transylvania for the Romanian clerks. The first one was their direct hiring by the authorities, and the second one was their positioning on the lists of proposals from the nation (represented by the Romanian churches). It is obvious that, in both cases, beyond their experience, skills and personal relationships played an important role, whether developed through the State or through the churches networks.

The former were certainly stronger and ensured a faster advancement, but sometimes involved neglecting the claims of the “nation”, or of the church, and could result, ultimately, with the official label of “national renegade”. The latter, the placement on the lists with national proposals, was also linked to good relationships with one or another of the churches and to the personal visibility inside the national

movement. Besides, where, as previously asserted, most candidates had about the same education level, it was natural that favoritisms and personal influence became key factors in finding a bureaucratic post. As far as the Romanian clerks from the liberal period are regarded, we can not say that their family relationships have been able to create benefits beyond their political and national community. Nonetheless, it must be stated that, for the studied period, we have only found few cases where kinship or affinity relationships were a real advantage in the bureaucratic advancement (even the above-mentioned grandchildren of the Metropolitan Șulufiu did not obtain the desired offices). Most of the Romanian civil servants were the first in their family to reach such social ranks and had not yet built all the necessary kinship networks. Hence, the professional integration was due to other types of channels (national radicalism, fidelity to one or another camp), not to kinship.

### **3.4 Patterns of administrative career within the Romanian high civil servants of Transylvania**

Most of the Romanian officials in office in 1860 were people who took advantage of the political events of 1848-1849 and, especially, of the neo-absolutist period (1850-1860). They were granted administrative positions during a militarized regime, when the Hungarian political elite partly withdrew from administration or was purged since in 1848 had risen against the emperor. The positions they held in the years 1850-1860 were minor and personnel rotation was quite customary.

The perspective opened by the changes in 1860-1861 allowed those in office to advance and those outside the system to try to reach positions which granted further promotion. In terms of offices, those who reached the top hierarchy were few in number and, as previously mentioned, were among those whose bureaucratic experience was doubled, in many cases, by solid education. Among them, we can mention:

- Vasile Ladislau Popp, Aulic councilor (1861) and vice-president of the Transylvanian Gubernium (1862-1865),
- Dimitrie Moldovan, Aulic councilor (1862-1865),
- Alexandru Lazăr, councilor to the Transylvanian Gubernium (1861-1866),
- Petru Anca, Vice-Lord-Lieutenant of Dăbâca county (1861-1866),
- Mihail Orbonaș, assessor of the Imperial Court of Transylvania (1861-1866)

The inception of the civil servant's career varied, some officials reaching high positions quite quickly, while others remained to occupy less-important ones. Generally, those who reached offices in the central administration of the province seemed to be tempted to maintain their position, a matter perfectly explicable both by material advantages as well as by a more pleasant social environment in the provincial capital: the city of Cluj. Among those who reached the county and local administration there was a large fluctuation which can be explained both by the desire for advancement, and the geographical distance between the employment area and the stable residence. It was perfectly normal for a future clerk not to refuse a job in the state apparatus, even if it implied relocation to another county, and on the other hand, it was equally normal that at least some of those relocated to try to resettle to their

county of origin or to move into more favourable counties for themselves and their families. So far, there are no studies devoted to the geographical fluctuation of the civil servants, but the evolution of this process can be easily traced in the clerk's calendars of the time ("Erdély Nagyfejedelemség Hivatali Tiszti Névtára").

As far as the preservation of office is concerned, the situation was more complicated. Some of them were very longevous, as Alexandru Bohățiel who remained Captain-General of Năsăud from 1861 until 1875 (Buhățel 2009). Likewise, other lower-level officials (Ioan Pinciu) continued their career in the Hungarian state apparatus during the dualist period. Despite the fact that they were called "renegades" and the historiography has neglected their activity after 1867, their social position remained clearly superior to the majority of their conationals.

Others, however, preserved their offices for very short periods of time. Individuals like Ion Rațiu or Ioan P. Maior have chosen to make no political or national compromises, resigning quickly from their offices as Vice-Lord-Lieutenants of Turda County. They were among the few who have allowed themselves such a gesture, given that the first was already a successful lawyer in the area and the other came from a family of well-known Romanian traders. Ioan P. Maior was also the father-in-law of Vasile Ladislau Popp. Most of the civil servants avoided such extreme gestures, their own existence and their family's being in a close interdependence with the sinecure. In other cases (for example Ioan Alduleanu), the short periods they spent in various offices were due to constant advancement, the increased frequency of the bureaucratic positions representing, in fact, an advantage.

After concluding the 1867 Compromise, a large part of the Romanian officials were either changed or retired, being replaced by Hungarian ones. This process should not be regarded solely from a national perspective, but also from a social and political one. Politically, the new Hungarian clerks played key-roles in the elective process (Seton-Watson 1911), helping to maintain a favourable majority in Parliament for the deakist government. Socially, after half a decade of passivity, the financial situation of the Hungarian officials was of such nature that its reintegration into administration was a necessity. Nevertheless, there were also Romanian officials whose careers continued after 1867 (V.L. Popp, I. Pinciu). Their previous experience and their loyalty to the principles of bureaucracy at the expense of national political involvement contributed to this fact.

### **3.5 The Romanian high civil servants and the Romanian national movement of Transylvania**

As previously stated, this issue was most ardently debated in the Romanian historiography (Retegan 1979, 2004, Suciu 2000). The contributions of this study will therefore be limited to the general analysis of the degree of participation that these civil servants had in the main decision-making organisms of the Romanian nation: the national conferences from Sibiu (1861 and 1863) and the Permanent Committee elected at these events. At both conferences, an equal number of Greek-Catolics and Orthodoxes attended (50 in 1861 and 75 in 1863), some appointed by the hierarchs of the two denominations, some assigned at local level. In 1861, 10 (50%) out of the 20



members of the Permanent Committee were clerks, while in 1863, 18 (62%) out of the 29 members (Popovici 2010a). The growth between the two years represents a proof of the greater role the officials gained in the national movement, role that will increase with the elections for the 1863-1864 Sibiu Diet. Most Romanian MPs in this regional Parliament were clerks, this pointing out the interdependence between bureaucracy and politics in Transylvania between 1861 and 1867.

The civil servants' role was vital in politics, considering that they had access to the electoral lists and, according to these lists, the tactics for elections in each college were established. This issue is well captured by D. Moldovan in one of his letters to G. Barițiu (1863): "Now, let's see how can we be reelected with a plurality. This is the way I evaluated and I also wrote to Axenti, Bishop Șuluț, Fetti, and Pop in Sebeș and I am going to write to Bishop Șaguna, I then, ordered, my brother in Deva: 10 brave Romanians make up a committee, they win the whole catalog of contributions with even more than 8 fl.[the census for becoming elector], if not else with money. There we will see who is an entitled voter. Every fellow from those 10 wins other 10-20 prominent Romanians. The latter win a brother, nephew, the father-in-law of his child, etc., etc." (Pascu et alii 1981-V, 155). As a result, the Romanian clerks got involved both in organizing the elections and in the representative activity itself as well.

We must state from the start that the involvement of the Romanian civil servants in the electoral campaign was not at all highly active: there were no electoral programs, no promises were made and no speeches were given. Out of this perspective, the campaign went on quietly. A whole lot of the candidates were elected without any problems, the candidacies set by the "intelligence" being validated by the voters. Generally, the elections of MPs for the Sibiu Diet lacked the violent convulsions this kind of events manifested in Hungary. No violence occurred, no murders or fights between rival factions. However, methods of electoral fraud were present in each electoral college. Starting with official forms (partial registering of the voters, retaining electors from reaching the polling centers, the erroneous recording of the vote, the incorrect counting of the voting options in favour of some candidates) and carrying on with unofficial forms (electoral bribery, intimidation) they spread all throughout Transylvania, being widely reported by the press. The Romanian officials' role was to compensate, as much as possible, the Hungarians' eagerness to gain an overwhelming majority by illegal practices and to ensure the proper course of the electoral proceedings in the colleges where Romanians ran for office. They weren't successful everywhere, yet 48 Romanian MPs were elected in the Diet, out of whom 42 (70%) were members of the bureaucratic apparatus (Retegan 1979, 78 sqq).

During the Diet's sessions, these 42 civil servants have greatly contributed to the elaboration of the legislation recognizing the rights of the Romanian nation and the use of Romanian language in administration and justice. Their legislative expertise weighted heavily, proving to be essential in the fast elaboration of the new laws and in their voting.

After the Sibiu Diet was prorogued by the Emperor, in 1865, a new Transylvanian Diet was summoned in Cluj. In this new Diet, the number of Romanians was greatly reduced, most of them being regime loyal clerks appointed as "royalists" (\*\*\* 1866). The Diet in Cluj decided the annexation of Transylvania to Hungary, thus abolishing the autonomy of the province and anticipating the changes to come in 1867. Some of

the officials in the Sibiu Diet were later retired and became supporters of the Romanian passivity policy: not taking part in elections as a protest against the abolition of Transylvania's autonomy.

It can be noted that, between 1861 and 1867, the civil servants were the best represented socio-professional category, both in the internal structures of the Romanian national movement and also in the representative structures of the province. Their political role is evident and, given the premises, could not have been avoided: besides the clergy, the civil servants represented the most extensive elitist walk of life of the Romanian nation, being, naturally, its political representatives. However, this involvement would cost many of them after 1867, when the Hungarian authorities lost confidence in them.

## 4 Conclusions

This brief foray into the history of the Romanian civil servants from the 1861-1867 period binds us to stating some general conclusions on the subject.

It is obvious that, as far as the Romanian nation in Transylvania is concerned, the civil servants in the studied period represented one of the most important elitist categories, with great influence among their conationals, and also with great political authority. Socio-professionally speaking, the extraction stratum of most of the Romanian civil servants was the humble clergy and the rural intellectuals, which made them truly the first generation of elite. For the same reason, their professional path was less influenced by family relationships and more by the relationships they were able to build throughout their career, based on their fidelity and their competences. Few of the Romanian officials of the liberal period were university graduates, most of them having completed their education in Transylvanian law academies.

The recruitment of the civil servants was made directly by the Viennese authorities, yet there were notable attempts of the Romanian churches, as representatives of the nation, to impose certain favorites. The proposals of the Romanians were sometimes successful, but the final decisions were taken in Vienna. The internal struggles for the key positions were also present, since inter-denominational and inter-personal competition was quite strong.

Once they entered the bureaucratic system, the Romanian civil servants had to comply with two directions: one coming from the State which hired them, asking them to behave strictly bureaucratic, and the other coming from the churches which proposed them for office, expecting them to work in the interest of the nation. The stability of the civil servants seems to have been higher at the central level and lower below the county level. The career of many officials was interrupted by the implementation of dualism in 1867, yet there were also persons considered reliable by the new regime, whom thus kept their offices.

As far as the involvement of the clerks in the national movement is regarded, the statistical calculations have shown that they represent approximately 60-70% of the Romanian political elite, having, on the other hand, the advantage of an excellent law expertise. It should be emphasized, at this point, the duality of their political-national

position: as civil servants they were employed in an administration subordinated to the interests and the needs of the Monarch, though some of them took their quality as representatives of their nation in various administrative structures very seriously and did their best to gain their conationals an advantage. The apex of the political influence of the Romanian civil servants was represented by the 1863-1864 Diet. Subsequently, due to the political changes atop the Monarchy, the Romanian officials ended up losing all the gains of previous years.

As for future research paths, we stress the need to create a prosopography of the whole body of Romanian civil servants in Transylvania between 1861 and 1867, both for a better understanding of their political and social role, and because they represented the walk of life for the extraction of many of the future Romanian political elite members.

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## **Press**

“Erdély Nagyfejedelemség Hivatali Tiszti Névtára”

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