

Brown, Arthur J.: A Visit to
the churches of Hungary
and Austria

New York, 1920

NY Times - July 21-1941

Dr. Arthur Brown in Hospital

The Rev. Dr. Arthur J. Brown, Secretary Emeritus of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, is in the New York Hospital recuperating from an operation performed a week ago. It is expected that he shortly will undergo another operation. Dr. Brown, who is in his eighty-fifth year, was reported yesterday to have been "considerably better." He served for thirty-six years as secretary of the board.

"Time" 1962
Dec. 14.

Celebrating his 106th birthday in Manhattan, the Rev. Dr. Arthur J. Brown, grand old man of Presbyterian missions, founder of the Protestant ecumenical movement, greeted his admirers with a twinkle and recalled a previous birthday at a school in West Brookfield, Mass. "One hundred years ago today," he said, "I faced an audience for the first time. Then, as now, I said,

*You'd hardly think that one my age
Would speak in public on the stage.*

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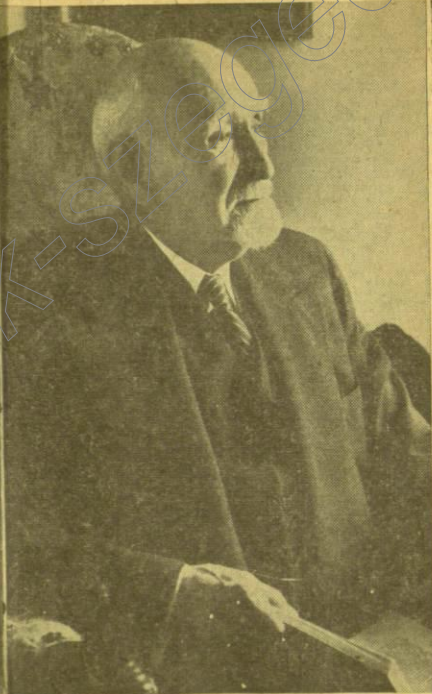
**'A Visit to
The Churches
of
Hungary & Austria
by
The Rev. Arthur J. Brown, DD, LL.D.
New York**



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1955
NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, DECEMBERS



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The New York Times

CLERGYMAN, 99, LOOKS TO FUTURE: The Rev. Dr. Arthur J. Brown, Presbyterian minister and missionary, shown yesterday in living room of home at 1235 Park Ave.

through the jungles of Thailand (Siam) and by coach to the palaces of Europe.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1923

100TH YEAR BEGUN BY MINISTER HERE

Dr. Arthur J. Brown, Long
Active in Mission Work,
Has Eyes on Future

By STANLEY ROWLAND JR.

With his "life toward evening, but eyes on the morning," an elder statesman of Protestantism entered his 100th year yesterday.

It is not that the Rev. Dr. Arthur J. Brown does not like to look back across the ninety-nine years since his birth in Holliston, Mass. But he is more concerned with today's events and the future.

He has given much of his life to promoting international understanding, he is an ardent supporter of the United Nations, and he is active on the executive committee of the Church Peace Union.

"Offered to resign, but they won't let me," he says. So he continues to help guide the union's work of fostering international friendship through religion.

A visitor to Dr. Brown's home yesterday at 1235 Park Avenue, at Ninety-sixth Street, found him seated in the living room by a window, glancing through one of the fifteen books he has written. One of these books has gone through twenty-three printings, has been published in French and German as well as English and is still considered a principal work in the field of missionary work.

A large, broad-shouldered man, Dr. Brown walked with agility. He is a little hard of hearing, but has keen eyesight. He speaks in a resonant voice about the missions of friendship that have taken him by elephant through the jungles of Thailand (Siam) and by coach to the palaces of Europe.

Decorated for Achievements

He was decorated by the Greek Government for his work with refugees there after World War I. In 1921 the Thai Government awarded him the Most Exalted Order of the White Elephant for his direction of Presbyterian medical and educational missions in that country.

There was also the time when his wife fell off a Siamese elephant. This happened, he recalled in one of his books, during a jungle journey with elephants that "had been used only for transporting freight and were not accustomed to carrying passengers, and they could not be induced to kneel for us."

Dr. Brown's wife Jennie died a decade ago. He had met her in Fond du Lac, Wis., where his mother had moved with the family after his father was killed in the Civil War. It was during one of his vacations from Wabash College that they met—"Summer, you know. Our parents thought we were too young to marry," Dr. Brown chuckled. But he waited until his graduation from Wabash and from Lane Theological Seminary in 1883.

He was pastor of the First Presbyterian Churches of Ripon, Wis., Oak Park, Ill., and Portland, Ore. From Oregon he was called to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in New York. He served on the board for thirty-four years until mandatory retirement at 70.

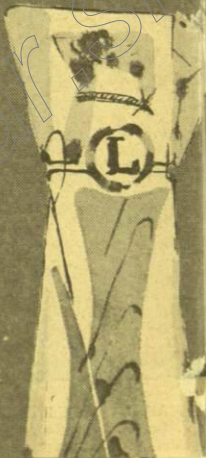
Organized World Parley

An ardent supporter of inter-church cooperation and the ecumenical movement, he helped organize and presided over the world missionary conference in New York near the turn of the century. In 1925 he was one of

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the four presidents of an international conference on the life and work of the church, held in Stockholm, Sweden.

One of Dr. Brown's major concerns today is the international situation. "Some Americans imagine that we must train more American young men to kill more Russian and Chinese young men, and in the effort be killed themselves." But all that force can do, Dr. Brown believes, is to "hold-the-line-until moral ideas take root. The church has moral ideas."

On a more personal plane, Dr. Brown said that every week someone asks him to what he ascribes his longevity. "I always reply, in the words of the psalmist, that the Lord hath not dealt with me after my sins."

MISSIONARY, AT 95, PINS HOPES ON U. N.

Dr. Arthur Brown Still Active
in Two Church Groups
Promoting Peace

For most of his long life the Rev. Dr. Arthur Judson Brown has been a missionary.

He was secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church for thirty-four years, and has been secretary emeritus for twenty-three. Now, as he approaches his ninety-sixth birthday on Dec. 2, Dr. Brown is a missionary for the United Nations.

"When I was 84," he recalled yesterday at his apartment, 1233 Park Avenue, "I retired from about three dozen organizations, remaining active in only two."

Dr. Brown still attends all meetings of these two, the Church Peace Union and the World Alli-

A Visit to The Churches of Hungary & Austria by (Rev. Arthur) Brown, DD, LL.D. New York

ance for Promoting International Friendship Through Religion, on both of which he is an executive committee member.

Centers Peace Hopes on U. N.

"The principal objective of these organizations these days," Dr. Brown explained, "is to promote support of the United Nations. We know the United Nations has defects, but it is the best available means to achieve peace now. Indeed, it is the only existing machinery for that purpose.

"There is a movement, centered in the Midwest and Southwest, to attack the United Nations. Senator John Bricker of Ohio has introduced a resolution in the Senate that would so weaken United States participation as virtually to destroy the United Nations.

"I pray for the life and health of General Eisenhower every day. All the more, because I see Senator Nixon, Representative Joe Martin and the reactionaries and isolationists in the Senate standing behind him."

Dr. Brown is in good health. He goes about his church business unaided, and keeps up his interest in current history, particularly Far Eastern affairs.

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In 1901 and 1902, and again in 1909, Dr. Brown made long and intensive tours of China, Japan, Korea and other parts of Asia. One of his fifteen books, "New Forces in Old China," was published in 1915 and reprinted in sixteen editions.

As he sauntered about his apartment, decorated with Chinese furniture, Indian figurines, Japanese tapestry and prints, and silverwork from Siam and Indo-China, Dr. Brown spoke of the present revolt against imperialism in the East.

Considers Far Eastern Policy

"There is a general feeling today that the white man must get out of the East and stay out," he said. "Our policy in the past has made any other course on our part unwelcome to the native peoples now. But it is difficult to see how we can get out at the moment.

"We are deeply involved in Korea, of course, where the trouble is that each side in the war is strong enough to hold what it occupies but neither side is strong enough to win all.

"In the meantime, the people of Asia want to run their own countries and lives for better or worse. It was apparent to me even fifty years ago that those vast, stagnant masses were rumbling and that an upheaval was in the making."

Nevertheless, Dr. Brown said he remained an "incorrigible optimist."

"There is a keener conscience, stronger protest against wrong, more resolute effort to overcome it, a wider philanthropy, and a truer understanding of human brotherhood today," he said. "And if your young people are rebellious, I thank God for it. We should be in a sorry state if your youth did not desire to do better than their elders."

Dr. Brown will celebrate his birthday quietly at home with his children and a few relatives and friends. His wife died in 1945. Four children survive: Miss Eleanor G. Brown, who lives with her father; Arthur J. Brown Jr. of 337 East Seventy-ninth Street; Elliott R. Brown of Epping, N. H., and Mrs. Harold Coe Stuart of Brookline, Mass.

The Executive Committee of the Western Section of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System, at its meeting March 23-24, 1920, unanimously took the following action on the report of its Committee on Work on the European Continent:

"As a result of the situation in Europe we would make the following recommendations:

"1. That this Western Section reiterates its action of last year praying the governments of Great Britain and the United States to bring about religious liberty in Rumania and Serbia; and if possible, the addition of an additional clause to the League of Nations requiring nations entering the League to grant religious liberty. It also joins with the action of the Eastern Section on religious liberty.

"2. That this Section appoint a Deputation to visit Hungary and the other countries of Central Europe to inquire into their condition and to encourage those brethren of our prayers and sympathy."

The Section elected as members of this Deputation the Rev. Arthur J. Brown, D.D., L.L.D., of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., the Rev. Samuel H. Chester, D.D., of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., the Rev. James I. Good, D.D., L.L.D., of the Reformed Church in the U. S., and the Rev. Principal Bruce Taylor, D.D., of the Presbyterian Church of Canada. In addition, the General Assembly's Committee on Aid of Protestant Churches in Europe, of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., appointed Dr.



Brown, the Rev. L. Harsanyi and the Rev. D. E. Lorenz, D.D., as "delegates to visit Hungary for the purpose of examining the condition of our Presbyterian and Reformed Churches as to their needs"; and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America commissioned all of these delegates, together with the Rev. Henry A. Atkinson, D.D., Secretary of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches, as "Friendly Visitors" to the churches of Europe in behalf of all the churches of America that are represented by the Federal Council. Principal Taylor was unable to make the trip and Dr. Chester's visit was to other countries, so that the Deputation to Hungary and Austria consisted of Drs. Atkinson, Brown, Good, Harsanyi, and Lorenz; Drs. Atkinson and Brown being accompanied by their wives. Some friends in America warned us that it would be difficult and perhaps hazardous to go to that part of Europe; that the only practicable train was controlled by the French Government for the use of military and civil officials; that if we expected to secure permission to travel upon it, we would have to apply two or three weeks in advance; and that if we succeeded in getting into Vienna and Budapest we might become involved in a revolution or an epidemic of typhus fever so that we could not get out. We make no claim to bravery, but we knew that our Protestant brethren in Austria and Hungary were in dire straits, and we deemed it a privilege as well as a duty to visit them to ascertain their condition from their own lips, and to bring them messages of comfort and cheer in behalf of the churches of America that we had the honour to represent.

And we had no trouble whatever. Not one of the alarming possibilities that were conjured up in advance occurred. When our Paris friend, M. Andre Monod, told an official of the French Government about our mission, we were promptly assigned comfortable compartments on the

Wagon Lits train from Paris to Vienna. The train left on time and arrived in Vienna in time, the dining car served tolerable meals, and, save from the annoyance of frontier examinations of passports and luggage, the journey was as comfortable as one from New York to St. Louis.

The problem of getting into Hungary was complicated by a boycott by the labor unions of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. They were at odds with the Hungarian labor unions, partly because they shared the nationalistic enmities of their respective countries, partly because they resented the independent conservatism of the Hungarian labor unions; and partly because their Jewish leaders were determined to punish Hungary for what they believed to be its persecution of the Jews. The power of the labor unions was so great and they had so many sympathizers in official circles that the Austrian government deemed it prudent to acquiesce in their demand that Hungary be boycotted. So we found that not only trade and financial relations but mail and telegraphic communication between Austria and Hungary were cut off, that nothing could get into Hungary overland and nothing get out of it.

Fortunately, the Danube River was open, as it is controlled by an International Commission, so that we had a wonderfully interesting ride from Vienna to Budapest and return on that glorious river. The current enabled us to make the trip down stream in thirteen hours, but it made our boat take twenty-four hours to get back. The steamers were comfortable, the weather was perfect, and it was a memorable experience to wind our way along that great river thoroughfare, almost every mile of which teemed with historic associations. Dr. James I. Good and the Rev. Dr. J. A. Morehead, the latter the European representative of the National Lutheran Council in America, had joined our party in Vienna, and a deputation of Hungarian friends, headed by Mr. John Pelenyi and Professor A. De Boer, LL.D., personally escorted us.

As they were familiar with all the interesting places en route, they made the trip most profitable as well as enjoyable.

We were met at the dock in Budapest by a delegation of a score of prominent Hungarians headed by Count Joseph Degenfeld, President of the General Conventus of the Hungarian Reformed Church, who gave us most cordial welcome and took us to the splendid Gellert Hotel. The American flag was flying over the entrance. The best rooms were assigned us, and throughout our stay every possible courtesy and honour were shown us. Automobiles were at our disposal at all hours and luncheons and dinners in honour of our deputation were attended by the most eminent men in the country. A public meeting of welcome was held in the great Calvin Reformed Church, which was crowded to the doors, and when we left the Church at the close of the service we found the street literally blocked by thousands of people who cheered the visiting Americans. Children presented flowers, and several old women with tear-wet faces grasped our hands as we slowly made our way to our automobiles, exclaiming: "May God bless the American Christians who have sent you to comfort us in our sorrows!" The leading religious paper of the Reformed Churches editorially wrote: "God has brought you. Thus we greet you in our midst on behalf of the Reformed Church of Budapest. Great needs and sorrows have moved our hearts to prayer. And our prayer is being answered—this is to us the significance of your visit. God has brought you. And great needs we have, apart from our sorrows. Shaken to the very foundations by the storms we passed through, our people have learned to look longingly for a Christian regeneration of national life. Tremendous demands are rising for an unparalleled activity of our Church. We need the guidance and the inspiration of such mighty sister-churches as yours. We prayed for an effective fellowship with you at

whose command there are such great resources of Christian experience and vitality. And you have come that we may enter upon such a fellowship."

The day before our departure, the Governor-Regent, Admiral Nicholas Horthy, an elder in the Reformed Church, gave a reception in honour of the deputation at the summer palace of the royal family at Godollo, about an hour's ride from Budapest in the special car that was provided for us. Here, in addition to the eminent men that we had already met, were the Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet, generals in the army, and other notable men and women, including the distinguished Count Albert Apponyi.

To how many Americans is Budapest anything more than a name? We confess that we were both surprised and delighted by the beauty of the location and the attractiveness of the city. It is one of the finest cities in the world, with well-paved streets, handsome business blocks and private residences, and palaces and other public buildings worth going far to see. The Cathedral, the royal palace, and the hall of agriculture are of noble proportions, while the Parliament Building by the river is one of the most stately and magnificent of the public buildings of Europe. Seen against the evening sky, as we first saw it as we slowly steamed to the dock near sunset, it makes one of the most impressive pictures imaginable, and the interior, as we visited it the following day, is in every way worthy of the splendid exterior. As for hotels, one of the two best hotels that we found in all Europe is in Budapest.

The population of the city prior to the Great War was 732,000, but during the War it increased very rapidly and it now numbers about 1,600,000 souls. The situation is strategic in its relation to the great natural thoroughfares by land and water and the natural tendencies of trade and population; but, like Vienna also, the

territory of which it is the metropolis has been so reduced by the Peace Treaty that a large part of the region that was formerly tributary to it has been cut off. Hungary today has only about 8,000,000 inhabitants and no commercial intercourse with adjacent countries. Manifestly such a limited area and population cannot support a city of 1,300,000 inhabitants. Unless the channels of trade with the surrounding region are reopened, Budapest will inevitably dwindle in population, though it will always be an important city and its great natural beauty and advantages can never be taken away from it.

The Hungarians are among the most intelligent and capable of the peoples of Europe. They point with pardonable pride to a long and noble history, with a long line of kings who are held in venerated remembrance, and with the national spirit which age and culture and power usually bring. After long and bitter struggles to retain its independence, it was subjugated by Austria and annexed to that empire. The Hungarians chafed under their subjection. They were too numerous and powerful to be ignored, and finally in 1867 the Austrian Government found it prudent to recognize Hungary as a co-ordinate part of the empire and to designate Budapest as a joint capital, where the Emperor of Austria, who had been crowned King of Hungary, was expected to reside a part of each year. While this arrangement was more satisfactory to the Hungarians, it was far from meeting their national aspirations, and, as Vienna resented the arrangement which compelled her to share royal honours with Budapest, the net result did not contribute to harmony. The tension between the Austrian and Hungarian elements in the empire was a standing cause of trouble. If it had not been for the skill of the old Emperor Francis Joseph, it is doubtful whether the two sections could have been held together as long as they were. Everybody expected that the empire would fall to pieces on his death, and that,

if the Austrians did not acquiesce, hostilities would ensue. This was the situation when the Great War broke upon the world in August, 1914. Perhaps Austria's willingness to join Germany in that War was influenced to some extent by the hope that a foreign war might save the empire from disintegration.

It is impossible to understand the plight of our brethern of the Reformed Churches in Hungary without taking into account the conditions that resulted from the War. The Peace Conference, in dividing up the Austrian Empire, recognized the independence of Hungary but stripped her of two-thirds of the territory which Hungary had always considered rightfully hers, giving a great slice with 1,080,000 Magyars to Czecho-Slovakia, another slice with many more Magyars to Serbia, and Transylvania and the Banat with a combined area of 32,802 square miles, or about the size of Ireland, to Rumania. This left to Hungary only a third of her former possessions and reduced her population from 20,744,000 to 8,000,000. The national aspirations of the Hungarians to be restored to their former dignity as a strong nation were doomed to bitter disappointment, and Hungary became one of the small and weak nations, hardly more than a principality, surrounded by hostile peoples, and with no outlet for her trade or manufactures.

Why was this done? All the reasons may not yet be known, but two are known, and both are vulnerable.

The first reason was that Hungary, like Germany and Austria, deserved severe punishment for having been in the War on the side of the Central Powers. The fact is, however, that the Hungarians did not want to go into the War. The decision was made by the Hapsburg monarchy and its coterie of autocratic militarists in Vienna. Only one Hungarian statesman was prominent there, Count Tisza, and it is now known that he strenuously opposed the declaration of war and held out against it to the very

last. A high official said to me: "Hungary was not consulted regarding the War. Our opinion was not asked. We were simply ordered to go in." Another high official said: "We were dragged into the war against our will. Many of our people did not know what it was all about." British prisoners of war gratefully testify to the generously considerate treatment that they received at the hands of the Hungarians. In no other hostile country were Allied captives so sympathetically cared for.

And yet the Peace Conference treated Hungary, which had never been a willing subject of Austria and which was awaiting a favorable opportunity to separate from her, as if she were one of the arch criminals of the War. It is one of the tragedies of that awful world catastrophe that the helpless Hungarian people, who were driven into the war by their Austrian masters, have been punished as if they were one of its prime movers. We should not forget, too, that other nations helped to force Hungary into subjection to Austria in 1849, and were deaf to the repeated appeals of the gallant Kossuth. The peoples of western Europe and of America should bear in mind these historical facts. Granting that the Hungarians fought on the wrong side and should not expect immunity from the consequences; that some of them did know what the War was about and fought with the conviction that Germany and Austria were right, nevertheless it is fair to visit upon the whole nation the wrath that is justly visited upon its alien rulers?

Another reason assigned for the strangling of Hungary leads into racial and nationalistic difficulties of baffling perplexity. For a considerable period after the War began, the Rumanian government held aloof. It saw clearly enough that, situated as it was between contending Powers, it would be drawn into the War sooner or later. It had little interest, however, in the issues for which the War was being waged and

the government waited to see to which side the scale of victory was likely to incline and which would pay the most for its assistance. The Rumanians wanted a great expansion of territory and population so that they could be raised from the ranks of the small and weak nations to those of real strength and influence. They therefore demanded as the price of their co-operation that the rich and populous province of Transylvania should be taken away from Hungary and given to them. Of course Germany would not consent to such a dismemberment of her Austrian ally, and of course also the Allied Powers would gladly do so. Rumania was not large, but she could bring a reinforcement that was not to be despised in such a desperate struggle. A bargain was struck. Rumania joined the Allies, and the Peace Conference paid the debt by wrenching Transylvania from Hungary and giving it to Rumania.

The excuse given was that this was in keeping with the principle of the self-determination of peoples, which President Wilson had promulgated, since a majority of the population of 2,678,367 was Rumanian. The Hungarians reply that, with the exception of the period from 1526 to 1699, during which it was independent, though even then recognizing the sovereignty of the Hungarian King, Transylvania had been an integral part of Hungary for a thousand years, having been occupied by the Mgyars in 1009; that while the population was a tomley mixture of Magyars, Germans, Saxons, Rumanians, and a few other miscellaneous elements, in the Danat also Serbs and Slovaks, the Magyars were as definitely the ruling class as white people are the ruling class in Georgia; that although the Rumanians were the most numerous single element, they were mostly peasants, 65.1 per cent being illiterates unable to read or write. The precise size of the Rumanian majority is a hotly disputed question, Rumanians claim sixty-five per cent of the total population. Hungarians declare

that this includes some Magyars; that the real Rumanian percentage is fifty-two per cent; that an overwhelming proportion of the culture, the intelligence and the business of Transylvania are Hungarian; that while some of the Rumanian residents demanded union with Rumania, others were content under Hungarian rule, feeling that they were better off than they would be under the more illiberal and reactionary Rumanian Government; and that if a plebiscite had been taken, enough of them would have voted with the Magyars and Saxons to give a majority for a continuance of union with Hungary. This, however, is conjecture. A plebiscite was not taken. The whole province was handed over to Rumania as per contract, and the Magyar Hungarians were given the alternative of taking the oath of allegiance to the new master within a year or leaving the country. The former alternative meant open renunciation of their ancestral associations and submission to what they regarded as gross injustice. The latter meant sacrificing their homes and property at forced sales to Rumanians and faring forth to begin life over again somewhere else. The Rumanians did not wait for the expiration of the year to bring pressure to bear, and the Hungarians were soon brought face to face with submission or expulsion.

This much talked of principle of self-determination has much to commend it; but has it any limitations? Most of its advocates apparently should be limited by the ability of a majority to govern a minority efficiently and justly, but that we should also take into account the right of a nation to resist dismemberment. If the principle of the Statute of limitations does not apply after centuries of ordered life, what modern nation could stand? If Hungary had no right to Transylvania, had the northern states in America any right to resist the secession of the southern states? Has Great Britain any right to prevent the separation of

Ireland? To understand the present situation in Transylvania let the reader imagine that Germany had won the War and had divided up the United States on the principle of self-determination, setting up a new Germany in Milwaukee because two-thirds of the population of that city are German, a Scandinavian nation in Minnesota, a new Ireland in eastern Massachusetts, some other nation in New York where 786 persons in every 1000 are of foreign birth or parentage, and a negro nation in the southern states where the negroes form a majority. Would Americans acquiesce? We know quite well that they would do precisely what the Hungarians are doing—boil with indignation and protest with all their might.

The Rumanian advocates stoutly defend the transfer. They assert that many of the Rumanians in Transylvania are the descendants of the ancient Dacians and therefore the original Transylvanians; that the Magyars never had any other title to Transylvania than that of force; that they were a haughty and domineering ruling class who treated the subject Rumanians as badly as the Rumanians are now treating them; that the Peace Treaty liberated a long oppressed majority; and that it created a greater Rumania by simply recognizing legitimate ethnological frontiers, and the right of the bulk of people to govern themselves. The Hungarians flatly deny some of these allegations, and to the others they reply: "Test them by a fair plebiscite and see. We are willing to abide by the result." Some careful observers believe that the only peaceable solution of the problem is for Transylvania to be made an independent principality under the supervision of the League of Nations. I am inclined to concur in this view; but it is certain that Roumania would not agree to such a reduction of her present possessions, and it is doubtful whether the Allies, having once pledged Transylvania to Rumania and received the benefit of the pledge, would feel dis-

posed to back out of their bargain. The alternative, however, is perennial trouble, another Balkan Pandora's box of danger to the peace of Europe and of the world.

Our special concern now, however, is not with the political adjustment but with the consequences to the Protestant churches. How many American Christians know that one of the large and influential Protestant bodies of Europe is in Hungary? Within the territorial limits of Hungary before the Great War there were 4,035,768 Protestants. Roman Catholics numbered 10,888,138 and Jews 932,458. The Hungarians were among the first to adopt the principles of the Reformation, and the diet of 1544 at Torda passed the first act in Europe for the defense of freedom of conscience. The partition of Hungary carried with it the partition of the Protestant churches so that the unity of Hungarian Protestantism has been destroyed. Some of the Protestants are now in Czecho-Slovakia, some in Jugo-Slovakia, some in Poland, some in the Ukraine, and some in Transylvania.

The most numerous of these separated bodies is in Transylvania. In three of the counties the Protestants form over fifty per cent of the population, in two others over forty per cent, and in two more over thirty per cent. In Transylvania as a whole, according to the census of 1910, there are 1,526,597 Protestants, of whom 1,044,623 are Reformed, 412,102 are Lutherans, and 69,872 Unitarians. The Reformed and the Unitarians are almost wholly Hungarians. The Lutherans are Germans. The Rumanians are Greek Catholics, only 34.9 per cent of whom can read and write, whereas 78.2 per cent of the Protestants can do so. These facts significantly testify to the superiority of Protestant culture. This superiority was marked in Transylvania. The vigorous spiritual life of the Protestant churches had created a considerable number of middle-schools. Most of these, especially those in Transylvania, were denominational. In the

26 eastern counties there were 25 such middle-schools. Eighteen were in Transylvania, some of them tracing their origin back several hundred years.

Much has been said about the persecution to which the Protestants of Transylvania have been subjected at the hands of the now dominant Rumanians. The Holy Orthodox, or Greek Catholic, Church, is the established Church of Rumania. Dissenters were not eligible to citizenship, were looked upon as of doubtful loyalty, and were subjected to various restrictions. The Rumanian officials carried these ideas with them into Transylvania. In their view, religion is a function of the State and all trustworthy subjects are supposed to belong to the State Church. The Rumanians deem amalgamation essential to their policy of Rumanianizing the country, and the Protestants decline to be amalgamated. In our lengthy conferences in Budapest with the Conventus of the Reformed Church and the bishop and clergy of the Lutheran Church, we found that their chief distress and appeal were for their afflicted brethren in Transylvania. Church schools have been closed; church work interfered with, pastors and teachers imprisoned and maltreated. I append a few extracts from documents that were placed in my hands.

"Bela Kosa, Calvinist clergyman of Szamosardo, was flogged so severely that he was crippled for life. George David, clergyman of Alsobolkeny, was stripped and flogged and stabbed with bayonets until he fainted, when he was restored to consciousness and flogged once more. Stephen Magyary, Calvinist minister of Akos, was flogged on a Sunday in front of his own church till the blood ran. Peter Bartha, minister of Mezozahony, was first flogged and then compelled to ring the bells of his own church for two hours. Nor was Joseph Bertalan, the seventy-two-year old Calvinist

minister of Aranyospolyan, spared, being imprisoned and maltreated. Joseph Keresztes, Calvinist minister of Torda, was made to clean the water closet while under arrest. Stephen Bene, Calvinist minister of Szekelydobo, was arrested, had a chain put around his neck, and was forced to dance like a bear in the street amid the mocking jeers of the Roumanian crowd. The clergymen, Julius Fuzessy of Verespatak, Ignatius Balogh of Szarazpatak, Sigismund Csulak of Erosd, and Charles Balla of Fogaras were flogged so severely that the two last named died of their wounds. The Unitarian clergymen Clemens Szekety and Geza Bartok, and the Roman Catholic priest of Brasso, Lewis Stenczel, were nearly starved in prison and constantly flogged. John Sporny, Roman Catholic priest of Gyulafehervar, was cruelly flogged because he did not make the sign of the cross according to the Greek Oriental rite. The Roman Catholic priest of Vulcan was forced with shots to wade through the icy water of the river Zsil; while the Lutheran minister of Lupeny was made to sit in the same river and compelled to shout: "Vivat Greater Roumania." Gaspar Botar, Roman Catholic priest of Szamos-Ujvar, has been imprisoned for a year, because in a sermon he spoke of the Virgin Mary as the Patron Saint of Hungary. Leonard Trefan, Franciscan monk of Kolozsvar, has also been a prisoner for the last twelve months.

Two rejoinders are made by the Rumanians and their defenders.

The first is, that Rumanians should not be regarded as religious persecutors because they deem membership in the established official Church as patriotic, and have not acquired that conception of the separation of Church and State and of freedom of worship which Anglo-

Saxons have secured at much cost and after centuries of effort.

The second rejoinder, which is the one chiefly emphasized, is that the persecutions are not religious but political because the Hungarians in Transylvania have refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Rumanian Government and in many cases have made their churches centers of sedition. It is claimed that in every case where a minister has been punished, it was not because he was a Protestant but because he was preaching resistance to the Rumanian authorities.

It is difficult to disentangle the true from the false in the conflicting reports and recriminations. Even Americans who have personally visited Transylvania widely differ in their conclusions. The Rev. Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, a member of our deputation who spent two weeks in Transylvania, became convinced that the political consideration was a real one, and that if the Hungarian Christians would take the oath of allegiance they would probably have no further trouble. On the other hand, the Rev. Dr. Sydney Bruce Snow, now pastor of the Church of the Messiah in Montreal, who spent three months investigating the conditions in Transylvania, returned with the emphatic conviction that the persecution is primarily religious and that its bloody ruthlessness has not been exaggerated.

Whether the motive be religious or political, it is incontestable that the Rumanians have cruelly maltreated the Hungarian Christians in Transylvania, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. The testimony is too complete, comes from too many sources, and from men of too unimpeachable character to be successfully challenged. Opinions differ as to the justice of that section of the Peace Treaty, but they can hardly differ as to the outrageousness of the brutality with which the conquering Rumanians have treated the Christians of Transylvania. Whether these devoted Christians ought to yield to Rumanian control is a question which is rather vehemently

debated. They feel that they have the same justification in protesting against Rumanian domination that the Dutch reformers had in resisting the tyranny of Philip II and the Duke of Alva, both of whom made the Rumanian excuse that they were acting in the interest of the State as well as of religion in suppressing seditious teachings.

The British Section of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches also sent a Commission "to visit churches and to inquire into conditions prevailing in Central Europe," consisting of Professor William A. Curtis, D.D., of the University of Edinburgh, the Rev. J. R. Fleming, Acting Secretary of the Alliance, and the Rev. J. MacDonald Webster, Secretary of the Colonial and Continental Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland. This Commission visited Hungary and Transylvania, and as only a few copies of its report have reached America, I quote its conclusions regarding the Transylvania situation:

"We heard both sides upon the Transylvanian question, and we listened to both in a spirit at once of sympathy and of critical detachment. We are sensible of the extreme complexity of the racial and religious problem in a region as divided, ethnically, culturally, and ecclesiastically, as any on earth.

We never forget that Rumania has been the Ally of the victorious Powers, and has suffered loss and hardship in common with its confederates, and we were consistently and insistently loyal to the Peace settlement, such as it is, in Central Europe. But we also remembered the ecclesiastical affinity and connection of the Hungarian Church with our Alliance, its long service to religion and to culture, its claims upon us for the protection of its rights and liberties, and the reality of the danger that its position and ideals should not be appreciated and understood.

" . . . It is our opinion that the appeal for inquiry made to us a year ago by the Hungarian Reformed Church has been justified by what we have seen and heard. We are satisfied that gross and grievous mismanagement has characterized the occupation and the administration of the Hungarian territory now ceded, and that vindictive race feeling has prompted and condoned a revolting policy of terrorism and outrage and dispossession and restraint, of which our Churches and ministers have been conspicuous victims, not, we believe, because they are Protestant or Presbyterian, but because they are Magyar by birth and education and are regarded as foci of disaffection. Scores of the ministers and office-bearers we examined had been beaten or imprisoned or threatened with death or violence. Men are imprisoned for months, untried and even uncharged, by uncontrolled and irresponsible officials and police. Appeals for justice have been habitually ignored or repelled and avenged by punishment, as insults to the good name of Roumania. Faithfulness to race and language is regarded as a political offense when exhibited by Magyars, though regarded as the glory of the Rumanian element when under Hungarian ascendancy. Church lands and forests, schools built by the Church and handed over under conditions to the Hungarian State for maintenance, have been confiscated without compensation in a fashion that even military conquest would not have justified. Church courts and committees have been and are still forbidden to meet, except in such cases as occurred in our own experience, when, for example, on September 23, the arbitrary sum of ninety-two lei or francs was exacted by the local authority for our evening religious meeting in

church, the receipt for which we have retained. At Bucharest such things were learned with incredulity, but when proved were reprobated and disowned with chagrin. At Kezdi Vasarhely during our short visit a horrible and unprovoked example of race brutality was perpetrated by a gendarme who had six or seven times been reported for outrage, but without result. The victim was a helpless lad of ten years of age, who was left in an almost dying condition, his head battered and his body a mass of shocking bruises. We thought it our duty to investigate the case in person, and to report it in Bucharest. Making every allowance for post-war feeling and for political fears and antipathies, and for the scarcity in Rumania of fit material for the delicate task of administering a new province, we were driven to the conviction that the Government has made no serious attempt to restrain and control its subordinates. Hitherto it has done absolutely nothing to win the loyalty of its Hungarian subjects or to prevent the formation of a Hungaria Irredenta, which is bound to menace the future peace of Central and South-Eastern Europe. Having regard to the terms of the Peace Treaty, we urged the responsible ministers to call together the Hungarian Church leaders, irrespective of creed, and to frame a policy based on loyalty and liberty through conference with them, taking the initiative in a magnanimous and statesmanlike spirit, ere it was too late, and we were able to assure them that such a procedure would be welcomed.

"We consider that the Rumanian Government owes it both to its Hungarian subjects and to its own reputation to make reparation for its initial error in exacting the oath of allegiance to the King of Rumania before the territory in question had been ceded

by the Council in Paris. As honorable men the officials and professors who were under allegiance to Hungary could take no such oath until the transference was accomplished. They declined and suffered exile and ruin. We listened to every extenuation urged by the authorities. We believe that they had reason to count upon Transylvania as their reward for their service to the Entente, but such secret knowledge was no justification for the precipitancy of their action, from which, we are certain, the calamitous situation now existing has sprung. A stain has been imposed from the very first upon the signal extension of the Rumanian kingdom. Unless the King and his Government address themselves to its removal, a certain nemesis awaits their country's future. We beg them to learn from experience elsewhere what may be accomplished by magnanimity and trust in similar circumstances. An example in point is the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, whose language has been respected, whose liberties have been conserved.

"The Alliance ought to know that explicit clauses were inserted in the Treaty with Rumania to prevent the creation of the situation which has arisen. We have to testify that they have been almost wholly and, as we found at Bucharest, deliberately disregarded. They were accepted with reluctance. They are resented by responsible statesmen as incompatible with Rumania's rights. The Entente is deeply concerned in this impasse. Without the clauses public opinion in the west would not have tolerated the cession. The repudiation of their solemn obligations can have no other effect than to cancel Rumania's treaty right to the region to which they apply. It is not necessarily a question of the return to Hungary of the whole area under consideration, or of a

great proportion of it. The population is too mixed. But by some method the Transylvanian region must be left to grope its way to a better order of things, unimpeded either by Hungarian or by Rumanian ambitions and intrigues, as a self-governing area, whether independent or not. After a preamble containing the words: 'Whereas Rumania is desirous of its own free will to give full guarantees of Liberty and Justice to all inhabitants both of the old kingdom of Rumania and the territories added thereto, to whatever race or religion they may belong,' . . . the minority provisions include the following:

Art 1. 'Rumania undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this chapter shall be recognized as fundamental laws and that no law, regulation, or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, or official action prevail over them.

Art. 2. 'Rumania undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Rumania, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion. All inhabitants of Rumania shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion, or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order and public morals.

Art. 3. 'Subject to the special provision of the Treaties mentioned below, Rumania admits and declares to be Rumanian nationals ipso facto, and without the requirement of any formality, all persons habitually resident at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty within the whole ter-

ritory of Rumania, including the extensions made by the Treaty of Peace with Austria and Hungary, or any other extensions which may hereafter be made, who are not at that date nationals of any other foreign state except Austria and Hungary. Nevertheless, Austrian and Hungarian nationals who are over eighteen years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said Treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must, except where it is otherwise provided in the Treaties of Peace with Austria and Hungary, transfer within the succeeding twelve months their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Rumanian territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

Art. 8. 'All Rumanian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights, without distinction as to race, language, or religion. Differences of religion, creed, or confession, shall not prejudice any Rumanian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil and political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions, and honours or the exercise of professions and industries. No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Rumanian national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Rumanian Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Rumanian nationals of non-Rumanian speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the Courts.

Art. 9. 'Rumanian nationals who belong to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security, in law, and in fact, as the other Rumanian nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage, and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools, and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.'

"Looking over these stipulations and promises in the light of our experience and investigation, we can hardly point to one of them which has been implemented. We consider that the time has come to secure something more substantial than paper guarantees. The undertakings given by Mr. Vajda-Voevod, while still Prime Minister, at the London Conference on January 20, 1920, have also come to nothing.

"We ask the Section to authorize us, in consultation with the Executive and Continental Committees, to make a formal appeal to the Rumanian Government for a new method and policy, to offer them our best offices as the friends of the Hungarian Reformed Church, to make use of such mediators as our journey has placed at our disposal, and to inform our Foreign Office and the Council of the League of Nations of the substance of this report supplemented by other relevant particulars and suggestions.

The correspondence will be laborious, but we shall not grudge a labour so incumbent on the Alliance, and so consonant with its mission in the world."

(Signed)

WILLIAM A. CURTIS,
J. R. FLEMING,
J. MACDONALD WEBSTER.

The "formal appeal to the Roumanian Government," referred to in the preceding paragraph, has since been issued and is as follows:

"The Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System in sending herewith a copy of the report of its commissioners desires to thank the Rumanian Government for the courtesy extended to its representatives, and to assure the Government of its sincere desire to promote peace and loyalty and mutual understanding in Transylvania.

"It believes that it is not yet too late for statesmanship to secure a happier relationship between the Rumanian Authorities and the Hungarian Reformed Church Ministers and people, grave and serious though the situation has become; and it makes a respectful but urgent appeal to the Government to take the initiative without delay.

"It has learned with profound sorrow and distress of the conditions which have prevailed and still continue after the termination of Martial Law in the ceded territories, by which in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust the life and work of the Reformed Church have been grievously hurt, the personal and official liberties of its office-bearers, Church Courts, Committees, and members restricted, its property and schools and colleges taken away or impaired, insults and bodily violence suffered in not a few cases by its people.

"The Alliance well understands the difficulties caused both to the Hungarian Church and to the Rumanian Government by natural race-

feeling and war-time enmity, and it is willing to believe that a correct and tolerant attitude has not been easy in such circumstances for the representatives of either. It is assured that the Reformed church is prepared to give loyal obedience to H. M., the King of Rumania, now that the territory has been ceded, provided that its liberties and rights are duly defined and secured; and it is also assured that the Rumanian Government is prepared to give complete and equal toleration to persons of all Creeds and Races, provided that loyalty is guaranteed on their part. The way is therefore open to new and stable relations between both, and the Alliance hereby on behalf of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Transylvania asks respectfully that the Rumanian Government should without delay summon the proper representatives of that Church to confer with them with a view to agreement on the basis of an honorable concordat or adjustment.

"The Alliance, to which the Hungarian Reformed Church belongs as a member, respectfully begs to ask whether the Rumanian Government is prepared to arrange for such a Conference, and at what date. Upon the answer, and upon the decision of the Rumanian Government its future action must depend. The report of its Commission which has to be published in the Alliance Quarterly in the beginning of February remains for the present a private document. The Alliance sincerely hopes that such remedial action will at once be taken.

"Among the immediate steps which the Alliance would urge upon the Rumanian Government, it would respectfully indicate the following:

"I. Loyal fulfillment of the Minority Clauses in the Peace Treaty.

"II. Amnesty and restoration and reparation for Hungarian Church Officials and members who declined to take the oath before the cession of Transyl-

vania, but who are now ready to pledge their loyalty.

"III. In accordance with the spirit of the Treaty restoration of, or adequate compensation for appropriated ecclesiastical property of all kinds,—buildings, lands, forests, etc.

"IV. Immediate liberty of communication, by post or by personal representatives, with other Churches and with the Alliance, and freedom for theological students and young ministers to attend foreign Universities and Colleges.

"V. Immediate removal of restrictions of every kind upon the freedom of Church Courts, Committees, and religious and charitable agencies to meet and transact their business.

"VI. On initiative by the Government, and as at our request, an immediate conference between the Rumanian Government and Hungarian Church Authorities of Transylvania. At such a conference the matter for first consideration would be the framing of a concordat based on Hungarian loyalty, and a recognition by the Government of the inherent liberties and autonomy of the Church according to universal Presbyterian usage—in particular freedom to appoint office-bearers, including Bishops or Superintendents, and to determine their number and their dioceses.

"VII. Facilities, if not already offered, for representatives of the Reformed Church in Rumanian Territory to attend the Conventus and Synod at Budapest in order to take such legal steps as may now be necessary in view of

the alteration of National boundaries.

"The Alliance also earnestly appeals to the Rumanian Government to participate in an international and interecclesiastical conference (if such can be arranged) on religious minorities, and their rights viewed as a common problem and obligation in the several countries of Central and Eastern Europe, a project which it has reason to believe is favorably entertained by leading men in Prague and Budapest and by British Diplomatic representatives in those cities, as well as by individual members of the Rumanian Government.

"The Alliance would welcome measures of reapproachment between various denominations of Christians in Rumania for future peace, and educational and social harmony, and would willingly co-operate to that end.

"The Alliance begs to assure the Rumanian Government of its sincere goodwill and of its readiness to give all such assistance in its power as belongs to its spiritual sphere as a federation of Christian Churches. It would appeal for a spirit of magnanimity, consideration and sympathy towards the new subjects of the Rumanian Crown. As Hungarians by race and Presbyterians in Church policy, they have been accepted; as such let them be treated.

"(Signed) J. R. FLEMING,
"Acting General Secretary,
Presbyterian Alliance."

44 Queen Street, Edinburgh,
December 17, 1920."

The report of the American Deputation was presented to the American Section of the Alliance at its meeting in February of this year, and the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1. "That the Western Section of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System would respectfully

overture the supreme judicatories of its constituent Churches to give earnest consideration at their spring meetings to the needs and opportunities of our brethren in the various Reformed and Presbyterian bodies on the continent of Europe.

"(a) We would call special attention to the desperate condition of many of the ministers of the Reformed Churches in Hungary, Transylvania, Poland, Lithuania and Jugo-Slavia who have been deprived of their means of support by the measures adopted by the governments under whose rule they have fallen since the war, and who for that reason, and also on account of the prevailing industrial conditions in those countries are destitute of both clothing and food.

"(b) We would also call attention to the great opportunities confronting our brethren in Czecho-Slovakia, where great numbers are coming out of the Romish Church, who could be reached by the evangelistic effort of the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren, if there were church building accommodations for the congregations that could be gathered and support for the ministers that would be required to preach to them.

2. "That the members of the Deputation appointed by the Section to visit the Protestant Churches of Europe during the past summer be appointed a Committee to arrange as far as possible for the presentation of these matters at the spring meetings of our various supreme judicatories by personal appeal, and that they be given authority to print one or more tracts on these subjects for distribution to the General Assemblies.

3. "That this Section suggests to the General Assemblies and General Synods of our constituent Churches for consideration, and, if deemed wise, for adoption, the following program:

(a) That the month of October next be designated as "Continental European Month," in which special efforts shall be made to provide for the immediate needs of the suffering brethren of our Reformed and Presbyterian churches in Europe, this however not to conflict with plans already made in any denomination for that object.

(b) That donations in clothing, unused or slightly worn, or whole cloth, linen (especially bed linen) and shoes be sent during that month to a depot or depots designated by the Committee appointed by our Alliance; also that food-drafts or money can be sent through this medium—all these to be sent direct to the following suffering Churches: Hungary, Transylvania, Vienna, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Germany, Poland and Lithuania—also money can be sent to France, Belgium and Italy, if desired.

(c) That the last Sunday in October (Reformation Day) be designated as a Day of Prayer in all our Churches for our oppressed and suffering brethren in Europe, and that on that day offerings be taken for this object unless this conflicts with any previous plan in any of the denominations.

(d) That the Deputation sent to Europe last summer, together with Rev. W. F. Fulton, D.D., Rev. C. S. Cleland, D.D., Rev. Rufus W. Miller, D.D., be a committee to prepare for carrying out this plan, and that to this committee be

added as advisory members, the chairmen of Committees on European Relief in each of our denominations, viz.:

Rev. Dr. Mendenhall, of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.

Rev. Dr. Vance, of the Presbyterian Church, U. S.

Rev. Dr. White, of the United Presbyterian Church.

Rev. Prof. Beller, of the Presbyterian Church of Canada.

Rev. Dr. Burrell, of the Reformed Church in America.

Rev. Dr. Good, of the Reformed Church in U. S.

(e) That if this plan is adopted by two or more Churches, this Committee herein appointed is empowered to open one or more depots for the reception and shipping of clothing, etc., to Europe, the expense of these to be divided among the contributing denominations in proportion to their communicant membership.

(f) That this Committee be authorized to send, before the month of October, an appeal to all the pastors in the denominations co-operating to participate in this program.

(g) That this Committee be authorized to raise such a preliminary fund from the different denominations as may be necessary to open these depots. After that, as the clothing comes in, the expense will be met by the charge of 25 cents per pound from each congregation sending clothing, as that has been found by the Lutherans to more than cover all overhead expenses.

(h) That this Committee be given power to take any other actions as they may find necessary to carry out

this plan and also add to their number when found necessary.

(i) Any of our denominations already having a plan to contribute money to the Continental Relief can adopt only the part of this plan that relates to clothing, etc. This program will immediately follow the coming Council of our Alliance at Pittsburgh next September, at which quite a number of the delegates from the Churches of Continental Europe will be present (some of whom may be utilized to aid this program) and yet will be early enough to get the clothing, etc., to the European Churches before the severe rigors of next winter come upon them.

4. "That the last summer's Deputation to Europe be authorized and instructed to prepare and send to the Rumanian Government a Protest and Appeal in behalf of the persecuted members of the Reformed Churches in Transylvania, this Protest and Appeal to be in harmony with the Appeal issued by the Commission appointed by the Eastern Section of the Alliance and like that Appeal to avoid identifying the Alliance with the political questions at issue between the Hungarian and Rumanian Governments regarding the civil allegiance of Transylvania. It shall deal with the restraints and persecutions to which the Reformed Churches are subjected, in clear violation not only of the principles of justice and humanity, but of the express terms of the minority clauses of the treaties, which Rumania solemnly promised to observe and which were essential conditions of the cession of Transylvania to Rumania. It is understood that the phraseology of the Protest and Appeal shall be approved by the Deputation and by the President and Secretary of the Western Section."

The Protest and Appeal authorized by Section 4 has been sent as follows:

"To His Majesty,

The King of Rumania.

"Your Majesty:

"The Western (American) Section of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches Throughout the World Holding the Presbyterian System, at its recent annual meeting, after receiving the report of the Deputation which it had appointed the preceding year to visit the Reformed Churches in Southeastern Europe, unanimously took the following action:

"That the last summer's Deputation to Europe be authorized and instructed to prepare and send to the Rumanian Government a Protest and Appeal in behalf of the persecuted members of the Reformed Churches of Transylvania, this Protest and Appeal to be in harmony with the appeal issued by the Commission appointed by the Eastern Section of the Alliance and like that Appeal to avoid identifying the Alliance with the political questions at issue between the Hungarian and Rumanian Governments regarding the civil allegiance of Transylvania. It shall deal with the restraints and persecutions to which the Reformed Churches are subjected, in clear violation not only of the principles of justice and humanity, but of the express terms of the minority clauses of the treaties, which Rumania solemnly promised to observe and which were essential conditions of the cession of Transylvania to Rumania."

"As the Appeal to the Rumanian Government issued December 17, 1920, by the Eastern (British) Section of the Alliance, over the signature of the Secretary, Mr. J. R. Fleming, of Edinburgh, Scotland, was sent

to Your Majesty at that time, and as an Appeal to the same effect was also sent February 23, 1921, by the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities over the signatures of its Chairman, Arthur J. Brown, and twenty-four other members of that Committee, through His Excellency Prince A. Bibesco, the Rumanian Minister in Washington, and was acknowledged by him in a letter dated March 29, we need not repeat the considerations that these two documents so effectively stated. It may, therefore, suffice to state that we are in full accord with the sentiments stated in those appeals and that we join them in expressing the earnest hope that the Rumanian Government will give the desired relief."

The Appeal of the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities, referred to in the preceding communication, was as follows:

AN APPEAL TO THE RUMANIAN GOVERNMENT

"By the treaty between the principal Allied and Associated Powers and Rumania it is provided that the stipulations regarding racial, religious and linguistic minorities shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. Mindful of these provisions the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities, instead of availing itself of the privileges thus granted to private as well as governmental groups by the treaties, prefers to address itself directly to the Rumanian Government in the hope and belief that the Government will, upon this presentation, carefully take up the matters suggested therein in a spirit of justice and goodwill.

"This Committee is composed of men who are members of all the chief religious faiths of America and in this way is broadly representative of the total organized religious life of the nation. It was formed at the earnest request of men and women in our own land who are closely related by

race, blood, marriage and religious faith, to members of the minority groups in many of the European countries. Every action of this Committee is therefore based not only upon a common interest in human suffering, but upon the personal ties between these minorities and many citizens of the United States. The especial attention of the Committee has been called to the situation in Transylvania where there have been transferred, by the Trianon Treaty, racial groups which make up a considerable portion of the community. Transylvania has a total population of 2,678,367 and according to the official figures furnished our committee, through a publication of the British Foreign Office, this population is divided as follows:

Magyars (including Szekels)-----	918,217
Germans -----	234,085
Rumanians -----	1,472,021
All others -----	54,044

"The religious affiliations according to the same authority are given as follows:

	Per Cent
Greek Oriental -----	56.6
Roman Catholic -----	14.
Unitarians -----	2.5
Reformed Churches -----	14.9
Lutherans -----	8.6
Jews -----	2.4

Unclassified less than 1 per cent.

"Here then is shown a minority made up of the Hungarians and the Saxons. These are represented in the Reformed Churches, the Lutheran Churches, the Roman Catholic Churches, the Unitarian Churches and the Jewish communities.

"This Committee has received a great deal of information which shows conclusively that there is not only a perplexing but a distressing state of affairs existing in this ceded territory which is now under the Rumanian flag. Among the most important documents we have received are: 1. A Publication of the British Foreign Office on Tran-

sylvania and the Banat. 2. Speech of Lord Bryce in the House of Lords, London, December 17, 1919. 3. Official documents of the Peace Conference. 4. Report of the Unitarian Commission to Transylvania. 5. Report of the Committee of the World Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System. 6. Report of the Commissioners of the Baptist World Alliance. 7. Report of the Commissioners representing the Lutheran Churches of the United States. 8. Report of a Commission appointed last summer by this Committee, which visited Hungary, Rumania and Transylvania.

"The Committee realized the close connection between race, nation, language and religion, and that it is almost impossible to separate one from the other in Transylvania. We are interested primarily in the question involved as viewed from the religious standpoint. However, we profoundly believe that anything in the nature of injustice, in whatever realm it be practiced, must be made right, and that the demand for the righting of wrong ultimately comes to a religious question. Therefore, this Committee feels that it is not transgressing the province of its own responsibilities in calling the attention of His Majesty the King of Rumania, and those who are associated with him in the government of Transylvania, to the serious situation that there exists, for we believe that wise statesmanship can secure a happier relationship between the local Rumanian authorities and the churches of the minority groups and their ministers and people.

"It is alleged, and we believe upon competent authority, that the Hungarian and Saxon communities in Transylvania are suffering grievous wrongs. There is throughout the country an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust, that in places is deepening into hatred. The ministers of the churches are hampered in their work, and the very life of the churches is in danger. The personal and official liberty of the officers of the churches, in the church courts, and in the schools connected

with the churches is restricted and, in many cases, has been entirely taken away. Some ministers and members of these churches are now in prison. Many of them have been flogged and often the causes of these ill treatments seem from the evidence at hand to have been not at all commensurate with the severity of the punishment. Almost all the homes and private property of these people have been commandeered. Property of their schools, their colleges, and, in some instances, their churches, have been taken from them. The destruction caused by the troops and by the local authorities to the church and school property has not been repaired. All of these allegations are of acts that are in complete disregard of the solemn provisions and promises guaranteed through the Minority Treaty signed December 10, 1919, by which Treaty the Rumanian Government made itself responsible for the protection of these minorities.

"This Committee is not unmindful of the difficulties encountered by the Rumanian Government caused by the relationship between the Hungarian churches and their close affiliation with the Hungarian Government. It is only natural that racial animosities and the enmity which is the heritage from the war should make it difficult for the Rumanian Government to exercise its proper authority without at the same time subjecting itself to criticism on the part of those who so ardently love the nation from which they have been severed by the fortunes of war. We can readily understand that an attitude of tolerance is not easy in such circumstances. We are assured by the representatives of the Hungarian and Saxon churches that the ministers and people of these churches are prepared to live as loyal subjects to His Majesty the King of Rumania, and that in return they expect to be treated with the same consideration as other Rumanian subjects. A way is therefore open for a new and stable relationship between the Rumanian authorities and the members of these Saxon and Hungarian churches.

"We respectfully ask therefore that the Rumanian Government bring together the representatives of these churches in Transylvania, together with the leaders of the Rumanian Church and Government, to confer with a view to securing a proper adjustment of the questions that are now a source of irritation. This Committee sincerely hopes and therefore urges that specific steps be taken which will guarantee to all the people of Transylvania:

"1. A strict fulfillment of all the clauses in the Treaties relating to the rights of religious minorities.

"2. Relief from oppression in such a center as Cluj caused by the quartering of Rumanian families and officials in the homes of the Hungarians without their consent and to their serious disadvantage.

"3. The restoration of church property confiscated by the State, and compensation for ecclesiastical property of all kinds used by the State; this to include lands, forests, buildings and equipments.

"4. The privilege of the churches to maintain their own schools, universities and colleges for the training of their teachers, their clergy, and their missionaries. Of course it is understood that such schools shall be subject to the requirements of the Rumanian Government and open for inspection and supervision by such properly accredited authorities as the Government may require and appoint.

"5. Liberty of communication by post, telegraph or telephone, and personal intercourse on the part of ministers and authorities of the Transylvania churches with churches, schools and universities in other lands, subject only to such requirements and restrictions as apply to other Rumanian citizens in whatever part of the Kingdom they may live.

"6. Removal of all discriminatory restrictions upon the freedom of the churches to maintain their work and religious agencies and to trans-

act their business on the same basis as that of the other churches of the Kingdom.

"7. The free use by these churches of their own language in public worship.

"8. Complete amnesty for all ministers, church officials, and members of the churches who have been arrested because of their unwillingness to accept Rumanian citizenship, but who are now willing to pledge their loyalty.

"9. A proper representation, in the government at Bucharest, of such officials of the Hungarian churches as may be elected, and which will place these churches on an equality with the other churches and religious agencies of the Rumanian Kingdom.

"This Committee assures the Rumanian Government of its goodwill and offers to the Government its good services and all assistance in its power to bring about such adjustments of these difficult questions respecting religious rights as will be just and equitable. We do not doubt that it is the earnest desire of the Rumanian Government to do justice to all the peoples in the wide areas which have been given to it, and through which it has now become a vastly greater nation than ever before in its history."

Signed by the following members of the Committee: Arthur J. Brown, Chairman, Henry A. Atkinson, Nehemiah Boynton, William J. Bryan, Henry Sloane Coffin, Samuel A. Eliot, Linley V. Gordon, Hamilton Holt, Frederick K. Knobel, Lauritz Larsen, J. H. Lathrop, Albert G. Lawson, Frederick Lynch, William F. McDowell, Charles S. Macfarland, Louis Marshall, William P. Merrill, Henry Morgenthau, Alton B. Parker, Joseph Schrembs, Oscar Straus, William Howard Taft, Worth M. Tippy, James J. Walsh, Stephen S. Wise.

Meantime, it is the unanimous opinion of our deputation, and of other American and British investigators, some of whom preceded and others followed us, that unless the Protestant churches in Transylvania have prompt assistance from the churches in America and Great Britain, they will

be crushed. One hundred thousand dollars are needed immediately for the maintenance of the Protestant churches and schools and the salaries of pastors and teachers who are now in utter destitution. If something of this kind is not done, there will be no Protestantism left in Transylvania within two years. It should be borne in mind that this is practically the last Protestant outpost of eastern Europe. Beyond it there is only a handful until we reach India. It would be an irreparable disaster to have that heroic outpost abandoned.

The Protestant churches of present-day Hungary are also in desperate need. Hungary's soil is fertile enough to enable her people to produce their own food, but here as everywhere else, prices are high, families that have money get more than their share of the available supply, and the poor suffer bitter want. The value of the currency has so depreciated and the cost of living has ^{so} increased that it is impossible for the pastors and teachers to live without outside assistance. A pastor's salary is 8,000 kronen. Before the war this was equivalent to \$1,600; now it means about forty dollars. A teacher in a church school receives 1,200 kronen, or less than six dollars. Prices have more than trebled, so that a year's salary will not buy a pair of shoes. How do they live? I do not know. Certain it is that they cannot go through another winter without generous assistance.

Any number of crowns that the impoverished congregations can provide does not suffice when the crown is worth only a half or two-thirds of a cent; and as for clothing, it is not to be had at any price. The Hungarians do not possess the raw materials for its manufacture and they cannot buy elsewhere with their almost worthless currency. There are, too, the care of widows and orphans, the maintenance of the theological seminary at Debretzen, and of the religious paper published at Budapest. Another hundred thousand dollars are urgently needed for these purposes until conditions become more normal.

An experience that we shall never forget was an inspection of the refugees in Budapest. They were Hungarians who had been driven out, some from Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slovakia, but most of them from Transylvania. They had come with only the scanty effects that they could hastily seize before they were expelled from their homes. They were huddled in freight cars in the railroad yards, and in a large school building which the authorities had hurriedly placed at their disposal. Food was scarce, clothing scarcer, and sanitation necessarily poor, and disease consequently inevitable. The men were anxious to work, but there was no work for them to do. They had no money, and were dependent upon charity. We talked with many of them, and were impressed by their intelligent and respectable appearance in spite of the conditions in which they were forced to live. Their condition was pitiable in the extreme.

The plight of the Reformed Churches in Austria, regarding which we made inquiries in Vienna both before and after our visit to Hungary, is distressing to the last degree. It was inevitable that the nation that had so much to do with precipitating the Great War and which stood with Germany to the end should suffer the full measure of consequences. And it is. The once proud empire has been reduced to the comparative handful of six million souls in a territory so limited and mountainous that it can produce only about half of the food that the people need. Of manufactures there are practically none, as Austria possesses neither the coal nor the raw materials for her mills, and her worthless currency, like Hungary's, will buy nothing in other countries. The glory of the capital, Vienna, has departed with the deposed Hapsburg dynasty; the people are in abject despair, dependent upon outside charity, a hopelessly pauper nation and breeding conditions which have led Mr. Herbert Hoover to characterize it as "the cancer of Europe." Even six millions of people can constitute a menace when they are in such a hopeless position as the Austrians

now are. Hunger begets desperation, and desperation readily begets lawlessness. That way Bolshevism lies.

The cursory visitor to Vienna, strolling about the principal streets and admiring the magnificent public buildings, may not at first realize these things. Here, as elsewhere, we found it necessary to be on our guard against conclusions based upon superficial impressions. The American who stops at the best hotel finds excellent meals. He strolls about the principal streets, looks into their attractive shop windows, sees well dressed and apparently healthy people, gazes upon the splendid public buildings, and is apt to conclude that conditions are not as bad as he had supposed. He forgets that as Vienna was not in the war zone, it was of course not injured by shot and shell, and that many people whom he sees in the shops, the hotel corridors, and on the fashionable avenues are visitors like himself and the comparatively small number of Austrians who cater to their wants.

But let him go to the poorer quarters of the city. Let him visit, as we did, the hospitals, the prisons and the soup kitchens. Let him watch the pitiful procession of little children who come for their one meal a day of soup and bread. Let him talk with Austrians, formerly well to do, and hear how they have to live—how impossible it is for them to secure sufficient nourishing food, partly because most of the staples, except vegetables, are rationed, and partly because high prices and depreciated currency make purchase difficult. It is easy for an American who can get thousands of kronen for a hundred dollar American draft to pay several hundred of them for a dinner; but how can an Austrian do so? Before the war the Austrian who had an income of 10,000 kronen was considered well off. Today that sum will not buy a suit of clothes, for prices have gone up as the crown has gone down.

We were reliably informed by physicians and relief workers that ninety-seven per cent of the children of Austria are under-nourished, and that

fifty-two per cent of these are badly under-nourished. There has been no milk for five years. Tuberculosis stalks throughout the land, almost unchecked, for its successful treatment requires a kind of nourishing food that cannot be secured by the masses of the people. When we were there, the people were eating up the summer's fruits and grains and vegetables; but at the present rate of consumption the entire supply will be exhausted by December, and then nothing remains but starvation, unless the generous people of other lands pour in enormous quantities of food.

As for clothing, little could be manufactured during the war, none has been manufactured since, and the clothing that the people have is about worn out. This involves no special hardship during the warm weather; but imagine what it will mean when the bitter cold of winter comes, especially as the rationed supplies of coal barely suffice for a little cooking and allow almost nothing for heating the houses. A responsible physician informed me that of one thousand babies born in the hospitals, the mothers of nine hundred and ninety had no clothing whatever for them, and that their little bodies had to be wrapped in old newspapers or gunny sacking. Austria's need of both food and clothing is really desperate.

One of the most pitiful places in the world is the children's hospital in Vienna. We shall never forget the day that we visited it. It occupied a number of plain barrack-like buildings that evidently had been hastily constructed; but it was clean and the physicians and nurses manifested a kindly sympathy for the children under their care that deeply touched us. Practically all of the little ones had rickets, and we saw that disease in all of its pathetic stages. It was difficult to control emotion, in looking upon a boy who appeared to be about six years of age, to be told that he was thirteen; a girl who looked four but who was eleven; hundreds of both sexes whose physical and mental growth had been so stunted by privation that their average development was from five to

seven years under normal. Will they ever regain the lost ground, I asked? "A few of the stronger ones probably will," was the reply, "but a large majority will not." The physician who showed us about the hospital was a Jew, and when I think of the love that he manifested for those little children with their gnarled and twisted limbs and piteous faces, when I recall how their faces brightened when he approached and how they put out their tiny, shrivelled arms to him, I felt that he must be very dear to Him who of old said: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me."

The moral, as well as psychological conditions are also what one might expect. A prominent American actively engaged in relief work in Austria, and all the intelligent Austrians with whom I conferred, united in lamenting the general loosening of morals. Rather than perish with hunger, starving men and children will try to steal the food which they cannot buy or earn. Many girls and women will sell themselves before they will die of want. There is little public sentiment against these things, for the people are becoming callous and desperate. The American official to whom I have referred told me that young American men coming to Vienna were apt to become so demoralized within six months that they had to be sent home, and that American girls should not come at all. It is difficult to maintain one's moral standards in an atmosphere of well-nigh universal immorality and dishonesty.

The corrective influence of the churches is so weak as to be well-nigh negligible. Austria was the favored child of the Papacy; but the Roman Catholic Church, like the State, has been crippled, and although still strong in numbers and with numerous and splendid churches, its spiritual power has sagged with the sagging life of the nation to a lower point than before the war. Jews appear numerous, but while a proportion are loyal to the faith of their fathers, many have gone over to practical atheism and radical socialism.

Protestantism was never strong in old Austria, only half a million at best; but so many of these lived in parts of the empire that the treaty of St. Germain has given to other nations that there are only 180,000 Protestants in the Austria of today. All affiliation between the sundered sections has been cut off religiously as well as politically, so that whatever degree of unity there was has been destroyed. Of the 180,000 that remain in Austria, about half are in Vienna, of whom 65,000 are Lutheran, 15,000 Reformed, 600 Free Church, and less than a hundred Methodist. They have a Federation, and its officers called a meeting to welcome and take counsel with us. The hall of the Y. M. C. A., in which it was held was crowded, floor, gallery and aisles. It was a moving experience to look into the worn and sad faces of that company of followers of Christ, most of them apparently from the humbler walks of life, and all of them impoverished and depressed. We said what we could to cheer them, but we went away with heavy hearts.

A pathetic illustration of the need is afforded by the Orphanage maintained by the Protestant churches of Vienna, through the Protestant Central Society of the Inner Mission, who self-sacrificingly contribute from their scanty resources to help orphans who would otherwise die of neglect and starvation. It occupies one of the buildings of the palace of a prince of the former Imperial House, now in exile. The managers of the Orphanage are very desirous of purchasing a desirable property across the street, which is now in the market and can be secured for a reasonable price. There is no money for this purpose, however, and until it becomes available, the present arrangement serves temporarily. And such children! Quiet and well-behaved, with bright, intelligent faces; winsome children to whom one's heart instinctively goes out. A young woman with one assistant is in charge. Because money is scarce and food dear, they cannot afford servants, so that these educated and refined young women do all

the work of the Orphanage themselves—the making of beds, the cooking, the serving of food, and the care of the children. As we looked into the spotlessly clean and well-kept rooms and saw on every side, as well as in the faces of the children, the evidences of thoughtful and loving care, we had a feeling that He who of old took the little children in his arms must be very near to that place.

As we went away I could not forbear asking the young lady in charge: "Can you manage to get enough for all these children to eat?" A wistfully tender look came into her face as she replied: "We give them all we have, but it is not enough. They cry for more. It is very hard. They are little children, and they do not understand."

They do not understand. Do you?

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