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OF THE WORLD WAR

JAMES T. SHOTWELL, LL.D.

General Editor

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DAVID MITRANY, PH.D.

Editor

THE
LAND & THE PEASANT
IN RUMANIA

THE
WAR AND AGRARIAN REFORM
(1917-21)

BY
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TO THE MEMORY
OF
PROFESSOR L. T. HOBHOUSE
1864-1929

EDITOR'S PREFACE

IN the autumn of 1914, when the scientific study of the effects of war upon modern life passed suddenly from theory to history, the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace proposed to adjust the programme of its researches to the new and altered problems which the War presented. The existing programme, which had been prepared as the result of a conference of economists held at Berne in 1911, and which dealt with the facts then at hand, had just begun to show the quality of its contributions; but for many reasons it could no longer be followed out. A plan was therefore drawn up at the request of the Director of the Division, in which it was proposed, by means of an historical survey, to attempt to measure the economic cost of the War and the displacement which it was causing in the processes of civilization. Such an 'Economic and Social History of the World War', it was felt, if undertaken by men of judicial temper and adequate training, might ultimately, by reason of its scientific obligations to truth, furnish data for the forming of sound public opinion, and thus contribute fundamentally towards the aims of an institution dedicated to the cause of international peace.

The need for such an analysis, conceived and executed in the spirit of historical research, was increasingly obvious as the War developed, releasing complex forces of national life not only for the vast process of destruction but also for the stimulation of new capacities for production. This new economic activity, which under normal conditions of peace might have been a gain to society, and the surprising capacity exhibited by the belligerent nations for enduring long and increasing loss—often while presenting the outward semblance of new prosperity—made necessary a reconsideration of the whole field of war economics. A double

obligation was therefore placed upon the Division of Economics and History. It was obliged to concentrate its work upon the problem thus presented, and to study it as a whole; in other words, to apply to it the tests and disciplines of history. Just as the War itself was a single event, though penetrating by seemingly unconnected ways to the remotest parts of the world, so the analysis of it must be developed according to a plan at once all-embracing and yet adjustable to the practical limits of the available data.

During the actual progress of the War, however, the execution of this plan for a scientific and objective study of war economics proved impossible in any large and authoritative way. Incidental studies and surveys of portions of the field could be made and were made under the direction of the Division, but it was impossible to undertake a general history for obvious reasons. In the first place, an authoritative statement of the resources of belligerents bore directly on the conduct of armies in the field. The result was to remove as far as possible from scrutiny those data of the economic life of the countries at war which would ordinarily, in time of peace, be readily available for investigation. In addition to this difficulty of consulting documents, collaborators competent to deal with them were for the most part called into national service in the belligerent countries and so were unavailable for research. The plan for a war history was therefore postponed until conditions should arise which would make possible not only access to essential documents but also the co-operation of economists, historians, and men of affairs in the nations chiefly concerned, whose joint work would not be misunderstood either in purpose or in content.

Upon the termination of the War the Endowment once more took up the original plan, and it was found with but slight modification to be applicable to the situation. Work was begun in the summer and autumn of 1919. In the first place

a final conference of the Advisory Board of Economists of the Division of Economics and History was held in Paris, which limited itself to planning a series of short preliminary surveys of special fields. Since, however, the purely preliminary character of such studies was further emphasized by the fact that they were directed more especially towards those problems which were then fronting Europe as questions of urgency, it was considered best not to treat them as part of the general survey but rather as of contemporary value in the period of war settlement. It was clear that not only could no general programme be laid down *a priori* by this conference as a whole, but that a new and more highly specialized research organization than that already existing would be needed to undertake the Economic and Social History of the War, one based more upon national grounds in the first instance and less upon purely international co-operation. Until the facts of national history could be ascertained, it would be impossible to proceed with comparative analysis; and the different national histories were themselves of almost baffling intricacy and variety. Consequently the former European Committee of Research was dissolved, and in its place it was decided to erect an Editorial Board in each of the larger countries and to nominate special editors in the smaller ones, who should concentrate, for the present at least, upon their own economic and social war history.

The nomination of these boards by the General Editor was the first step taken in every country where the work has begun. And if any justification was needed for the plan of the Endowment, it at once may be found in the lists of those, distinguished in scholarship or in public affairs, who have accepted the responsibility of editorship. This responsibility is by no means light, involving, as it does, the adaptation of the general editorial plan to the varying demands of national circumstances or methods of work; and the measure of success attained is due to the generous and earnest co-operation of those in charge in each country.

Once the editorial organization was established there could be little doubt as to the first step which should be taken in each instance toward the actual preparation of the history. Without documents there can be no history. The essential records of the War, local as well as central, have therefore to be preserved and to be made available for research in so far as is compatible with public interest. But this archival task is a very great one, belonging of right to the governments and other owners of historical sources and not to the historian or economist who proposes to use them. It is an obligation of ownership ; for all such documents are public trust. The collaborators on this section of the war history, therefore, working within their own field as researchers, could only survey the situation as they found it and report their findings in the form of guides or manuals ; and perhaps, by stimulating a comparison of methods, help to further the adoption of those found to be most practical. In every country, therefore, this was the point of departure for actual work ; although special monographs have not been written in every instance.

This first stage of the work upon the war history, dealing with little more than the externals of archives, seemed for a while to exhaust the possibilities of research. And had the plan of the history been limited to research based upon official documents little more could have been done, for once documents have been labelled 'secret' few government officials can be found with sufficient courage or initiative to break open the seal. Thus vast masses of source material essential for the historian were effectively placed beyond his reach, although much of it was quite harmless from any point of view. While war conditions thus continued to hamper research, and were likely to do so for many years to come, some alternative had to be found.

Fortunately, such an alternative was at hand in the narrative, amply supported by documentary evidence, of those who had played some part in the conduct of affairs during the War, or who,

as close observers in privileged positions, were able to record from first- or at least second-hand knowledge the economic history of different phases of the Great War, and of its effect upon society. Thus a series of monographs was planned consisting for the most part of unofficial yet authoritative statements, descriptive or historical, which may best be described as about half-way between memoirs and blue-books. These monographs make up the main body of the work assigned so far. They are not limited to contemporary, war-time studies ; for the economic history of the war must deal with a longer period than that of the actual fighting. It must cover the years of ' deflation ' as well, at least sufficiently to secure some fairer measure of the economic displacement than is possible in purely contemporary judgements.

With this phase of the work the editorial problems assumed a new aspect. The series of monographs had to be planned primarily with regard to the availability of contributors, rather than of source material as in the case of most histories ; for the contributors themselves controlled the sources. This in turn involved a new attitude towards those two ideals which historians have sought to emphasize, consistency and objectivity. In order to bring out the chief contribution of each writer it was impossible to keep within narrowly logical outlines ; facts would have to be repeated in different settings and seen from different angles, and sections included which do not lie within the strict limits of history ; and absolute objectivity could not be obtained in every part. Under the stress of controversy or apology, partial views would here and there find their expression. But these views are in some instances an intrinsic part of the history itself, contemporary measurements of facts as significant as the facts with which they deal. Moreover, the work as a whole is planned to furnish its own corrective ; and where it does not, others will.

In addition to this monographic treatment of source material, a number of studies by specialists is already in preparation,

dealing with technical or limited subjects, historical or statistical. These monographs also partake to some extent of the nature of first-hand material, registering as they do the data of history close enough to the source to permit verification in ways impossible later. But they also belong to that constructive process by which history passes from analysis to synthesis. The process is a long and difficult one, however, and work upon it has only just begun. To quote an apt characterization, in the first stages of a history like this one is only 'picking cotton'. The tangled threads of events have still to be woven into the pattern of history; and for this creative and constructive work different plans and organizations may be needed.

In a work which is the product of so complex and varied co-operation as this, it is impossible to indicate in any but a most general way the apportionment of responsibility of editors and authors for the contents of the different monographs. For the plan of the History as a whole and its effective execution the General Editor is responsible; but the arrangement of the detailed programmes of study has been largely the work of the different Editorial Boards and divisional Editors, who have also read the manuscripts prepared under their direction. The acceptance of a monograph in this series, however, does not commit the editors to the opinions or conclusions of the authors. Like other editors, they are asked to vouch for the scientific merit, the appropriateness and usefulness of the volumes admitted to the series; but the authors are naturally free to make their individual contributions in their own way. In like manner the publication of the monographs does not commit the Endowment to agreement with any specific conclusions which may be expressed therein. The responsibility of the Endowment is to History itself—an obligation not to avoid but to secure and preserve variant narratives and points of view, in so far as they are essential for the understanding of the War as a whole.

The present volume calls for special editorial comment. There are two ways to deal with the problems covered by the Economic and Social History of the World War. There is, on the one hand, the close analysis of the immediate effects, the treatment of events in their own setting without regard to their historical antecedents or their effects upon the subsequent developments of economic or social life; on the other hand, there is the purely historical treatment which places the events of the War in the long perspective of national development and follows the story through slow and complicated processes of recovery. The Economic and Social History of the World War contains both types of analysis; the strictly limited study of war-time phenomena, and the surveys which present not only the detail of contemporary happenings but an interpretation of their meaning. This study is of the latter type. And the fact that it is largely a pioneer exploration in an area as yet not well defined in either theory or practice has made it necessary to describe the historical background of the problem in almost as great detail as the problem itself. Mr. Mitrany has in a truly scientific spirit attempted to deal with the agrarian problem of south-eastern Europe as it has shaped itself under varying pressures of war and politics. It is a large canvas which has here been filled with the figures of those inarticulate masses of men and women to whose fate the historian has been as often indifferent as the politician has been unjust. At last, in this volume, the Rumanian peasant speaks for himself to the whole world. And his plea for social, economic, and political justice is, in its very nature, a force which makes for peace. There is, therefore, an added reason for including in this series the volume which makes this appeal intelligible to English readers.

J. T. S.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The agrarian reform described in this volume was a result of the World War, in the same sense as was the Russian Revolution. The slow action of centuries created the conditions which made such an outcome possible, and the shock of the Great War shattered the social structure of eastern Europe at its weakest joint. In the potency of their contribution to that effect War and history perhaps had an equal share. Inevitably, however, there is more to be told about the slow work of history than about the stark blow of the War. For the proper understanding of the reform this study, therefore, had to go beyond the limits of the War years. Its real meaning could not have been made clear without projecting the reform against its historical background, especially as writers on south-eastern Europe have been so engrossed with its politics hitherto as to give scant attention to social history. For the same reason the study had to take in a number of post-war years; the application of the reform itself took a number of years to complete, and its effects, to be measured with any solidity, had to be observed over as long a period as possible. This method imposed itself—paradoxical though it may sound—just because in this case the effect of the War was so deep. Where the War merely caused some transient body to be set up, like the Allied Shipping Board, or some existing practice to be temporarily suspended, like the parliamentary control of expenditure, its effect was simple, direct and co-extensive in time, and could be placed nicely within the framework of the War. But such limits would have been altogether artificial and distorting for the description of an effect which has revolutionized the whole social progress of a nation.

The point is still more evident when one considers not effects but causes of war. Special war boards and exceptional war rules have no place in the latter category at all. They are merely adjuncts in the conduct of war, but are neither produced by, nor do they revise, the issues which underlie the conflict. Not so

with the social foundations of States. They are both the warp, as causes, and the weft, as effects, from which is woven the progress of the nations through war and peace. If it is certain that without the War those sweeping social changes would not have occurred, who could tell if the War itself would have happened, were eastern Europe to have had a different social history?

There are two aspects of this study on which it might be as well to say a word here. One is the mood of the historical part of the narrative. The picture drawn in that part is so dark, almost without any half-lights, that it may possibly strike the general reader as biased. Yet it is just as likely, I fear, that those who have been spectators of the unbridled manner in which the Rumanian peasant's power of work and gentleness of temper were abused before the War, may rather reproach me with appearing to make light of a great wrong, by speaking of it in too measured tones.

The second point concerns the statistical and sociological material used in this study. In a letter to his friend Suvorin, written in the 'nineties, Chekhov complained that 'in Russia there is a terrible dearth of facts and a terrible abundance of speculations of all sorts'. Since that time the zemstvo workers have provided Russia with the most elaborate agrarian statistics and social studies of any country, the United States excepted. But Chekhov's remark applies with distressing accuracy to Rumania. Her agrarian and social statistics have never yet been taken seriously by those responsible for the budget of the statistical services. I am conscious, therefore, of many shortcomings, which might have been made good if the means at the disposal of the officials concerned had been equal to their ability and goodwill.

Research for this study having stretched over a number of years, with several spells of work in the field, it will be evident that I have received information and assistance from many more people than I could publicly thank here. The kindness of

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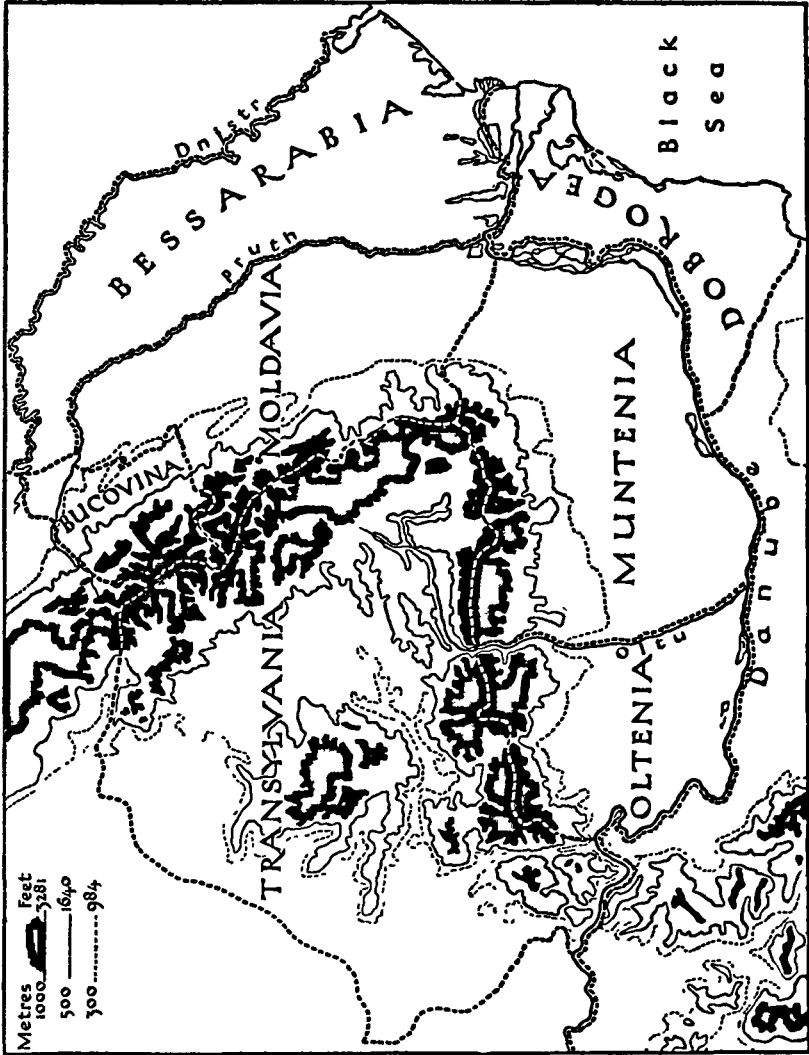
members of the former Rumanian Government—M. Vintilă Brătianu, M. I. Duca, M. C. Argentoianu, and M. G. Cipăianu—as well as of the present Minister of Agriculture, M. I. Mihalache, made it possible for me to obtain help from departments already overburdened with work. I owe immense gratitude for their unstinted help to my friend General Radu Rosetti, son of the distinguished historian of the agrarian question, to Dr. Gr. Antipa, Director of the Natural Science Museum, and to Professor G. Ionescu-Sisești, Director of the Institute of Agronomic Research. I am deeply indebted to the indefatigable general secretary of the Rumanian Academy, Professor I. Bianu, and to the staff of the Academy's reading room, for much courtesy and help; and likewise to Dr. Gheron Netta, Director of the Rumanian Economic Institute, and his assistants. I have received much encouragement from my friend Professor Dimitrie Gusti, President of the Rumanian Social Institute. Professor Al. Nasta, Director of the Central Resettlement Office, and his assistant M. N. Chițoiu, have given me all the aid in their power. I have received also most willing help from MM. P. Rosiade, I. Lupan, and E. Filotti, of the Ministry of Agriculture; and from MM. E. Marian and F. Kémeny, technical experts to the 'Sămânța' company. My friend M. Emanoil Bucuța never failed to reply to a letter and to give all the help he could, as did also my friend M. Aureliu Popescu, now Commercial Attaché in Paris, and M. I. Coler, editorial secretary of the *Adevărul*.

In this country I have received from Mr. C. S. Orwin, Director of the Oxford Institute of Agricultural Economics, valuable advice for the solution of certain difficulties in the translation of technical terms, and he has also been kind enough to read in proof the chapters on Production. Dr. G. Pavlovsky has prepared the Index.

D. M.

KINGSTON BLOUNT, OXFORD.

December 1929.



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EXPLANATORY NOTES

1. *Geographical Names.*

Geographical names are used here in accordance with Rumanian custom. The province generally called Wallachia is always referred to in Rumanian as *Muntenia*, and this form is adopted in the following pages.

Muntenia included Oltenia. Moldavia included Bucovina until 1774, and Bessarabia until 1812, and again between 1856 and 1878.

Dobrogea is here used in its Rumanian form, and not in the more habitual corrupt forms, Dobrudsha or Dobrudja, with the Turkish termination. It was acquired by Rumania in 1878, and its southern part, known as the Quadrilateral, from Bulgaria, in 1913.

For the sake of convenience, all the new territory beyond the Carpathians, acquired by Rumania after the War, is referred to as Transylvania, though it includes part of the Banat (of Temesvár) as well as the provinces known as Crişana and Maramureş.

2. *Technical Terms.*

The reader who may have occasion to refer to the original sources will find in them two terms which do not appear in these pages, and which have no equivalent in English usage:

Improprietărire, in Rumanian, designates the opposite operation to expropriation, i. e. the parcelling out among the peasants of the land taken over from the landowners; both operations were carried out by the State, on a national scale. To render the word into English as 'impropriation' would have been to give an altogether new sense to an old term: 'to impropriate' meaning in English 'to put the possessions of the Church into the hands of laicks' (Dr. Johnson). Therefore, *improprietărire* has been rendered here as 'resettlement', by analogy with the 'closer settlement' used to describe the action of public authorities which acquire large or medium-sized farms and split them into smallholdings.

Comasare, in Rumanian, describes an operation which has no parallel in English agrarian history, namely, the gathering together, by exchange or reallocation, of a peasant holding which had consisted of several inclosed but widely separated fields (and not, be it noted, the transition from strip farming in open fields to 'inclosed' farming). *Comasare* is not necessarily accompanied by an increase in the size of the holdings, and therefore 'consolidation' appeared the most suitable way of describing it.

3. *Pronunciation.*

Below are given the English equivalents of accents and cedillas used in Rumanian orthography:

â, î = have no equivalent in English—slightly sharper than *ă*.

ă, ȃ = like the *e* in father.

ș = *sh* (as in *shout*).

ț = *ts* or *tz* (as in *tsar*).

c = *tsh*, before *i* and *e* (but = *k* before *a*, *o*, *u* and consonants.)

g = *dj* (as in *gentle*) when followed by *e* or *i*, otherwise as in *garden*.

u = *oo* in *mood*.

4. *Weights and Measures.*

Quintals and *tons* in the following pages are always used in their metric values;

Chilă (from the Turkish *kilô*) is an old corn measure, equal to 679 268 litres in Muntenia and 430 litres in Moldavia;

falce (from *falcem*—literally the quantity of grass mown, in a given space of time) = 80 *prăjini* = 1.43 ha. (approximately one and a half hectares);

pogon (from the Russian) = 5012 sq. m. (approximately half a hectare),

desyatın (Russian) = 1.09 hectares = 2.7 acres;

jugar (from *jugerum*), used in Austria and Hungary (*katastral joch*) = 5754 sq. m. (slightly over 1 3 acres);

hectare = 2.471 acres (approximately 2.5 acres).

APPENDIX I

TRADITIONAL FORMS OF JOINT LANDHOLDING IN RUMANIA

RUMANIA still contains a number of villages whose inhabitants have a common title to the land, in accordance with old-established if varying rules.

The typical old Rumanian village rested on a threefold unity: (a) A unity of blood-relationship, the village having been generally established by an ancestor of the actual inhabitants, called *moşneni* in Muntenia and *răzeşi* in Moldavia.¹ It carried his name, with the suffix *eşti* or *eni* (Olăneşti, Topolov-eni, &c.). (b) A unity of property, the title to the land being held in common. The arable strips were in private possession and remained by inheritance in the same family. But the possessor's private rights were not absolute. He could sell only with the consent of his relatives and neighbours, who had the first refusal. A deed of sale always stated that 'This sale has been made with the knowledge of my kinsmen and neighbours . . .'; otherwise the sale could be attacked. (c) A fiscal unity. The main tax, the *bir*, was paid on the *cislă* system (Serb. *cislo*, number). The tax was imposed upon the village as a whole, and the village elders then apportioned it among the villagers, according to each family's capacity to pay.

The unfree villages, inhabited by *rumâni* or *vecini*, had only the fiscal unity, but no unity of either blood-relationship or of ownership. Therefore such villages had a less stable existence. M. Radu Rosetti estimates that 20,000 villages have disappeared in Moldavia alone from the time of the foundation of the Principalities till the coming of the Organic Statutes.

In the yeoman villages grazing (*islaz*) and woodland (*branişte*) were common land; each villager had a right of use, not determined, and when a stranger was admitted to share in that right, the whole village took part in the action. Arable land (*şarină*) was in the private possession of each family. But the village community had a title to it in so far as the land of a family which died out returned to the common patrimony, and as the holdings could be sold only to members of the village clan. In spite of that restriction, yeoman land increasingly passed into the hands of the boiars. Whole villages sold their freedom away to the local boiar, when they were in distress, and the boiar found means to penetrate even into the other yeoman villages. They could not buy *răzeş* land, but their way was to get one of the villagers to make them a gift of his holding, thus preventing the donor's family from making use of their right of *protimesis*²; and having thus become themselves

¹ *Moşnean* from *moş*=ancestor; *răzeş* from the Magyar *rész*=partner.

² The term is of Byzantine origin and is commonly used by Rumanian writers to indicate this traditional restriction on an individual's right to dispose of his land, but M. Fotino, e g, disputes that this Rumanian custom is of Byzantine origin.

members of the village, they were afterwards entitled to purchase land from the other villagers.

In an attempt to stop such abuses Al. Mavrocordat decreed in October 1785 that gifts of land were permissible only 'between relations and people of the same standing, or by the wealthy, if they so liked, to the poor, and by any one to the holy monasteries', but not by the poor to the rich. The decree was to have retroactive force. (Poni, *Statistica Răzeșilor*, p. 76.) Later Mihaiu Sturdza so interpreted the decree as virtually to cancel it, being himself interested in a transaction of that kind.

Declarations made before the Popular Assembly of 1817 show that the great majority of the inhabitants owning land could not produce documents to prove that they had received land through gifts from the Princes, and these were precisely the small owners, the *răzeși*. (Philippe, *Incercări asupra stărei sociale . . .*, pp. 53-4). Even in the boiar villages a small class of men was found who by good luck or obstinate resistance had been able to keep their yeoman land. They were called *călărași* (*cal* = horse), because in return for being exempted from taxation they served in time of war as cavalry men, with their own horses. Cantemir, in his *History*, speaks of them, but he deals only with Moldavia, and it is difficult to know whether they also existed in Muntenia. (Philippe, *op. cit.*, p. 81). The persistence of such yeomen in the midst of boiar villages must be taken as a proof that the other villagers had once enjoyed the same status. (The tradition has continued to the present day in the regiments of *călărași*; they are recruited from men who bring their own horses and supply fodder for them at short periods of training, over a number of years, and in return are exempted from the continuous compulsory military service, which in the cavalry lasts three years.)

The dispossession of the *răzeși* reached its climax between 1830 and 1850, after the Principalities had regained national autonomy. Article 391, Ch. viii of the Organic Statutes, was meant to check that abuse, but it remained a dead letter. In 1857 the *răzeși* deputies in the Moldavian *divan ad hoc* submitted a proposal that the *divan* should appoint from among its rural members a commission of eighteen, which should inquire into the whole question, with power to cancel arrangements made in violation of the Organic Statute and other ordinances. But the majority of the *divan* rejected the proposal. (Poni, *op. cit.*, p. 94.)

In the yeoman villages which have continued to exist the system of land tenure is essentially the same as of old. In most of them land is held under two forms: common ownership (*devălmășie*), in the case of woodland and grazing, and *răzășie*, which is merely a common title, in the case of arable land, clearings, gardens, vineyards and farm-yards, that is, all the land which human labour has improved and kept in condition. The basis of the first is always the same, that of the second varies in details from place to place. The transition from *devălmășie* to *răzășie* may happen in a number of ways. Individual villagers may clear a piece of

forest or of waste. Or, secondly, the villagers may deliberately divide among themselves the grazing land, in the same way as was done with arable land; this is usual when pasture is changed into meadow. All the taxpayers are entitled to a share. After haymaking the land is opened indiscriminately to all the village cattle, so that in fact there is a seasonal return to common ownership and use. Finally, the transition may take place as a result of a gift of an individual holding, from the common land, to a villager who has rendered the village some special service or who is poor.

Răzăşie is a form of landholding half-way between common and individual property. The villagers form together a *ceată*, i. e. a group or clan, and every *cetaş* (also *obştean* or *răzeş*) holds a distinct strip of land, called *delnişte* (also *opcine* or *obştine*). The title of ownership is vested in the family,¹ not in one of its individual members, and the proof of blood-relationship is valid in law in support of a claim to a share of the village land. The extent of the share is measured after the number of descendants. Originally a group of *răzeşi* inhabited the same village, and the title of co-ownership rested on the possession of house and yard within the village boundaries, in the *vatra satului* (the village hearth). In Bucovina and Maramureş there are still districts where the sale of house and yard entails the sale of the title to the village estate.

M. Garoflid estimated in 1908 the area covered by *răzeş* property at 1,500,000 ha., i. e. 37 per cent. of the properties below 100 ha. But the bulk of *răzeş* land is forest and mountain pastures, not arable. The poor mountain slopes, so difficult of access, did not exercise the same attraction upon the boiars; and perhaps the populations concerned also received more protection because they inhabited frontier regions. At any rate, they have remained sole owners of the mountains.

This is the case, e. g., in the highland district of Vrancea.² The forest is joint property, and every villager has an equal right to the timber, (though on rare occasions there are villagers with several 'rights'), but exploitation is individual. This applies also to grazing. As neither demand any preliminary individual effort and care, there is no inducement for private possession. In these cases there is no right of family inheritance, nor much weight laid on blood relationship. The sale of any part of the common forest requires the decision of the village meeting, which appoints special delegates with power to conclude the transaction. Taxes were distributed among the villagers by the same method of proportional assessment as of old; and in 1808, when some of the mountains had to be

¹ M. Georges Fotino points out that in Rumania this family property may be inherited by women also; this is essentially different from the Slav institution, from which the Rumanian is generally assumed to derive. (*Contribution à l'Étude...* p. 117.)

² The information relating to Vrancea is from notes prepared by M. Henri Stahl during a sociological inquiry in the summer of 1927, under the guidance of Professor Dumitrie Gusti, who kindly allowed me to see the MS.

bought back from the boiar Roznovanu, the money was collected on the *cislă* system, the mountains being afterwards partitioned among the several villages in proportion to their contribution.

Until 1818 that system of common ownership extended in Vrancea to a whole district, the villages forming a union. From that date the villages proceeded to a voluntary division of their joint property, and only the common properties of individual villages survive.

One remnant of that district commonalty is the joint ownership of the salt mines which are to be found all over Vrancea, and from which salt may be extracted by any inhabitant of the district without any payment whatever. When a decision of some importance is to be taken, each village assembly elects one delegate; the delegates meet and decide the issue, the decision being then submitted by each delegate to his own village.

New villages grow in time round the old settlements, the surplus population emigrating in search of arable land, or setting up new communities on the edge of the common forest and in the midst of the pastures. Sometimes neighbouring villages stretch out until they touch each other, in which case they collect the taxes together and hold the mountains jointly.

If the highland *răzeși* escaped the covetousness of the boiars, they have in our time to withstand the intrusion of capitalist companies interested in the exploitation of timber. The well-to-do peasants cannot resist the temptation offered by these companies, and since the beginning of the century, therefore, the process which led to the division between villages of their joint property has developed into a tendency to divide up the property of a village among its individual members, with the more astute villagers securing the lion's share. Most village commons have in that way been split up. It would seem that this was done under the impulse of some momentary trend, as many villages have since endeavoured as well as they could to re-create a common grazing. But in these cases each peasant's contribution in land remains nominally his private property, with at any time a theoretical right to enclose it. It is a common formed by mutual agreement, not inherited as such by the village as a whole.

Throughout the process of enclosure, the *răzeși* have fought for their rights with an obstinacy which has become legendary. In earlier times, disputes within the village group were rare and were settled by the village meeting or elders; the villagers were united by a sense of kinship and by the fact that each used only what he needed. But when outsiders began to intrude and deprive the *răzeși* of their ancient rights, there began 'almost everywhere the long series of *răzeși* lawsuits, which in many parts form the history of large property'. (Rădulescu, *Viața Juridică* . . p. 33.) Some of the lawsuits lasted tens of years, impoverishing the villagers, but they refused to give in. One could see groups of villagers, with their food in a bag, spending weeks on the road and about the Courts

in the defence of their property—'the *răzeși* with a scrap of land and a sack-full of documents', as the popular saying goes; and many of the lawsuits are not ended.

• That the obliteration of *răzeși* rights went hand in hand with the development of corn-growing in Rumania, appears clearly from the fact that the process was most active after the opening of the Black Sea to international shipping (1829), as well as from the distribution of the present *răzeși*. According to the census of 1912, there were 1,272,519 families in the rural communes of the Old Kingdom (Dobrogea excluded); of the heads of families, 334,234 or 26·2 per cent. were *răzeși*. About 60,000 of them no longer had any land at all. The *răzeși* were distributed as follows: 19·33 per cent. in the highland districts, 63·34 per cent. in the hills and 17·33 per cent. in the plain, their proportion decreasing with the altitude of the land, almost none being left in the corn-lands along the Danube. (Poni, *op. cit.*, p. 12.)

APPENDIX II

'MÉTAYAGE' IN RUMANIAN AGRICULTURE

THE development of corn-growing can be dated in Rumania from the opening of the Black Sea to foreign shipping, in 1829, though its main impetus came from the circumstances connected with the Crimean War. Till the middle of the last century Rumanian agriculture was predominantly pastoral, and cattle-rearing was almost completely in the hands of the peasants. In the second place, the beginnings of economic development coincided with the beginnings of political independence; the small landed upper-class was absorbed in public life, and could devote neither time nor money to agricultural pursuits. They wished merely to derive from their estates a revenue with as little personal trouble as possible, and this, together with the fact that the peasants possessed most of the working animals and implements, caused the expansion in corn-growing to be based largely on the métayage system. There was in that respect, however, a marked difference between Rumania's several provinces. In Moldavia, for historical reasons, the peasants were poorer and less well provided with animals and implements, and the same reasons had attracted to that province a more numerous moneyed element of foreign origin. Therefore corn-growing was generally carried on in Moldavia by tenants of very large estates on their own account, the peasants' wages as well as the rent owed by them being calculated on a money basis. In Muntenia and Oltenia the peasants had a better supply of live and dead stock, and in those two provinces métayage was in consequence widespread before the War.

Métayage (*dîjmă*) was practised in Rumania under two forms. One of them was the customary form of a sharing of the produce (*dîjmă dea-valma*), the landlord giving the land and the peasant raising the crop; a second more peculiar form rested on a division of the surface to be cultivated (*dîjmă la tarla*), the peasant receiving a piece of land for his own use in return for an obligation to cultivate another piece of land for the owner. Less frequent was a combination of these two forms, a division of the produce and, in addition, certain labour obligations for the peasant (*ruşfet*). In general, métayage was resorted to by the landlords only on the poorer soil and for the raising of the less valuable cereal crops, especially maize, which required more labour and cleaned the ground in preparation for wheat. Even in Moldavia that part of the estate which was yearly rented by the peasants had to be laid under maize. During the last twenty years large-scale farming had spread in Muntenia and Oltenia also, but it never covered as much as half of the estate. Large property occupied half of the arable land, but it owned merely one-tenth of the live and dead stock.

M. Garoflid wrote in 1908 that since 1880 the landlord's share had risen in most districts, but especially in the rich cornlands, from $1/5$ to $1/2$; there were occasional variations, either in the share of the landlord or of the peasant, in accordance with the density of the population and the local demand for land. But the *métayage* agreements did not rest on a simple sharing of the land or of the harvest; they always contained many other points relating to money loans and their repayment, to grazing, to payments in kind with produce other than that raised in *métayage*, &c., &c. The more complicated the contract, the wider was the possibility of abuse, especially as few landlords kept proper books. Frequently the division of the harvest was delayed and did not take place until the peasants had entered into an agreement for the following year.

The legislation of 1908 endeavoured to check such abuses by means of various provisions concerning the measurement of the land and the division of the harvest, the nature of the contracts and the manner of their registration, &c. Above all, it prohibited altogether *métayage* on the *tarla* system, that is on the basis of a division of the land. The landlords were accused of keeping for themselves the best and giving to the peasants the worst land, and also of forcing the peasants to work during the most propitious time on the landlord's part. There is no doubt that this prohibition was often circumvented by means of a double contract, one providing for the letting of land to the peasants and the other for the tilling of the landlord's share. The system thus approached closely to that customary in Moldavia, where the peasants were let a portion of land in return for an obligation to labour on the estate.

M. Garoflid (*Chestia Agrară*, pp. 100-18) considered that the *tarla* system really favoured the peasant. The landlord was forced to let him labour whether the crop made it worth while or not, and at the end of the year the peasant was thus in any circumstances acquitted of his obligations. Under the *deavarma* system the landlord or tenant was unable to introduce a sound crop-rotation, to use expensive seed or manures; and if the harvest failed, the peasant risked being left in the end with a debt for seed, &c. The more general view, however, was that in the second system the chances and risks were shared equally by both parties, and that it tended to make the landlords take some interest in the kind of seed the peasants used and in the way they tilled the soil.

M. Garoflid's conclusion was that the restrictions of the 1908 law would have the effect merely of causing only the least fertile soil to be cultivated in *métayage*, and only those crops which either demanded much labour or fetched a low price in the market. Otherwise landlords and tenants would find it more profitable to enter into money contracts with the peasants. The main advantage which landowners and their tenants had derived from the *métayage* system, besides the fact that it required no capital investments and no personal efforts, was that under it all the

loss resulting from farming at a great distance fell upon the peasants. Many landowners, therefore, were willing to see the system extended, by means of legal provisions, and thereby secure their revenue while canalizing the peasants' land hunger. After the rising of 1907 a number of schemes were put forward by influential landowners, aiming in essence at the same result. They proposed that a limit should be set by law—some of them put it at 250 ha.—beyond which the land of every estate should have to be let to the peasants in *métayage*. (Garoflid, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 65.) In effect that would have signified a return to the feudal tithe-system, with the difference that the peasants would have had to give one-half or more of the produce instead of one-tenth.

The post-war reforms have instead partitioned the great estates in a large measure among the peasants. But *métayage* has not disappeared; on the contrary, it is now found even in the provinces in which it had been almost unknown. Both the landowners and the peasants have an interest in its continuation. In many cases what is left of an estate can no longer support a family of intellectuals or of *rentiers*; they follow other occupations and therefore tend to let their land be worked in *métayage*. The uncertainty of the labour-supply has strengthened that tendency. Even some of the holdings distributed at the reform, to officials, &c., are worked in that way. On the other hand, the reform has been unable to give land to all the peasants. Some of them have received none at all, while others not sufficient to employ all their labour, and these men are so anxious to cultivate as much land as they possibly can that they are greatly dissatisfied if an estate which formerly had been worked in *métayage* is now farmed by the owner himself. Further, the depreciation and fluctuations of the currency have caused the peasants often to prefer a *métayage* arrangement to money contracts.

As a consequence *métayage* has spread to Moldavia, and even to Transylvania, where before it was rarely met with. A second change is that *métayage* arrangements are now made not only between large owners and peasants, but also between the peasants themselves. (G. Ionescu-Sisești, *Structure Agraire et Production Agricole*, pp. 22-9.) As land was distributed on the basis of social considerations, some peasants have received more than they have means to cultivate, while others have been left with more dead and live stock than they can employ on their own holdings. Not being able to rent additional land from the reduced large estates, they are willing to work in *métayage* the holdings of small owners who, for one reason or another, cannot farm themselves.

The Ministry of Agriculture carried out in 1922 an inquiry which established that in the Old Kingdom *métayage* was to be found everywhere; in Transylvania it was altogether absent from only one county, and in Bessarabia and Bucovina from only two counties. The following figures were obtained in a somewhat rough and ready fashion, and were

considered by M. Ionescu-Sisești (*op. cit.*, p. 24) to be below the actual state of things:

	Area cultivated in métayage Hectares	Percentage of total cultivated area per cent.
Moldavia .	76,742	5 9
Muntenia	478,932	20 6
Oltenia	54,439	6 0
Dobrogea . .	37,070	4 7
Bessarabia	88,580	3 5
Bucovina . .	28,697	12 3
Transylvania . .	382,707	16 4
Total	1,147,167	11 0

In Moldavia métayage was hardly ever resorted to before the reform. In Dobrogea medium-sized property predominates. In Oltenia there has been a great decrease after the reform, peasants and large owners having in that province been more active in adapting their farming to the new conditions. The high percentages in Bucovina and Transylvania were no doubt due to the fact that the application of the reform was not yet terminated. In Bessarabia the reform had been more radical, so that each landowner knew from the outset that he would not be allowed to retain more than 100 ha. M. Sisești considered that in 1922 an area equal to about one-half of the above total was worked on the basis of money contracts, with the equipment of the peasants, which were closely allied to métayage. The remainder of the land, covered mainly by small and medium-sized holdings, was worked by its owners themselves.

Most of the métayage arrangements involved in the above table were based on a partition of the harvest. In ten departments the inquiry found a revival of the *tarla* system, which could not be prohibited, the 1908 laws having become inoperative after the reform; M. Ionescu-Sisești estimated that it did not represent more than 1/11 of the area worked in métayage.

In the *deavalma* métayage agreements are made yearly, one to three months before the beginning of the work. The surface cultivated in métayage changes from year to year, to suit the crop rotation of the large owner or tenant. The harvest is usually divided on a half-and-half basis, the seed being retained by the party which supplied it. Conditions vary with population; and in parts which have suffered much through the War, the agreement is more favourable to the peasant. In Dobrogea there were parts where the landowner received only one-third or even one-fourth of the harvest, the *métayer* being obliged to clear the land which had remained uncultivated during the War; the landowner received one-half only if he supplied the working animals and implements. Likewise in Bucovina the landowner takes one-third or one-half if he first has the land ploughed and cleared on his own account. In the other provinces

the landowner takes one-third, two-fifths or one-half of the harvest if he gives merely the land; but one-half, three-fifths or two-thirds if he gives the land already ploughed or ploughed and sown. Cases have been recorded, however, when the landowner gave merely the land and received three-fifths of the harvest or two-thirds, where the demand for land was great. The conditions of sharing vary also with the nature of the crop and the amount of labour it requires.

Generally the value of those labours represents the rental value of the area worked in métayage; but frequently the labours are worth more than the money rental (Ionescu-Siseşti, *op. cit.*, p. 27). Métayage, therefore, is in favour of the landowner when he gets one-half of the harvest, and even more so if he gets a larger share; which explains why the system is still in such great favour. In certain parts most of the métayage agreements were between smallholders, one party being unable to work the holding it had received. The peasants only sell their land in extreme circumstances.

Before the reform the bulk of the peasants depended on the large owners and tenants for land, and they had to accept such conditions as were offered them. Socially, métayage represented the transition from serfdom to yeoman farming; and technically, it was a half-way house to farming on a large scale by the owner or an entrepreneur. The large owner or tenant had an interest in seeing that cultivation was carried on under the best possible conditions that could be obtained without capital investments and expert direction. After the reform, the peasants have generally been in a better position for bargaining, and the tendency among them is to develop intensive methods and crops, which will leave less scope for métayage. That is also the line which large cultivation is likely to follow; the relatively small areas left to the former large owners no longer lend themselves to haphazard extensive cultivation. Only intensive farming, with paid labourers, under the active direction of the owner or tenant, is likely to be profitable on what is left of the large estates.

APPENDIX III

FINANCIAL ACCOUNTS OF THE REFORM ON JANUARY 14, 1929

A EXPROPRIATED ESTATES FOR WHICH PAYMENT HAS BEEN CLAIMED

Province	Number of estates	Expropriated area Hectares	Value of mortgages with the Rural Credit Institute taken over by State Lei	Total payments assumed by State Lei	Average payment per ha Lei
1 Old Kingdom					
First expropriation	4,441	1,944,971	461,997,258	5,342,719,216	2,747
Second "	1,448	147,751	9,325,999	381,083,944	2,580
2 Bessarabia	2,984	1,073,539	73,598,442 ¹	973,680,587	908
3 Bucovina	370	54,990	—	345,796,863	6,288
4 Transylvania	2,259	785,429	—	814,918,362	1,038
Total	11,502	4,006,680	544,921,699	7,858,198,972	1,961

¹ Mortgages with Russian Banks

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B. BONDS ISSUED UNTIL JUNE 28, 1929

		Lei
5% Redeemable bonds	:	5,591,183,500
5% Perpetual bonds	:	585,526,700
Total	.	6,176,710,200

C. AMOUNTS DEBITED TO THE PEASANTS

Province	Area Hectares	Number of recipients	Surveying expenses Lei	Cost of Holdings Lei	Total price Lei	Average price per ha Lei
1. Old Kingdom						
First expropriation	1,427,265	422,220	121,133,755	2,348,121,047	2,469,254,802	1,730
Second	359,857	—	79,530,956	484,074,059	563,605,015	1,566
2. Bessarabia	997,893	435,145	76,810,228	800,799,085	877,609,313	879
3. Bucovina	45,165	18,435	5,466,842	38,519,982	43,986,824	985
4. Transylvania	61,318	39,752	9,711,529	129,937,591	139,649,120	2,278
Total	2,891,498	915,552	292,653,810	3,801,451,784	4,094,105,074	1,415

D. PAYMENTS MADE BY THE PEASANTS DURING 1922-8

Budget Year	Estimates	Budgetary Revenue ¹ (over 18 months)	Surplus Revenue ²	Total
1922	—	230,031,426	—	230,031,426
1923	187,500,000	493,779,592	—	493,779,592
1924	290,000,000	495,536,952 ³	—	495,536,952
1925	240,000,000	180,356,536	106,233,875	286,590,411
1926	240,000,000	166,207,785	210,773,241	376,981,026
1927	240,000,000	168,677,526	142,625,288	311,302,814
1928	250,000,000	132,943,604 ⁴	60,697,211 ⁴	202,640,815
Total	1,447,500,000	1,867,533,421	529,329,615	2,396,863,036

¹ Payment of amounts actually debited to the peasants.

² Payments in advance, beyond the amounts debited till then. This surplus was handed over to the National Bank, for account of the Treasury; it is now being deposited with the Savings Office (*Casa de Depuneri și Economii*).

³ Receipts from January 1, 1928 to April 30, 1929.

⁴ Receipts from January 1, 1929 to April 30, 1929.

The first three tables are compiled from figures supplied by the Directorate of Land Mortgage in the Ministry of Agriculture. No explanation was given for the relatively high compensation apparently paid to landowners in Bucovina, nor for the fact that the Transylvanian peasants, according to these figures, were made to pay for the land they received twice as much as the State paid to the expropriated owners. In Bessarabia, it seems, the peasants bear nearly the whole cost of compensation.

The fourth table was obtained from the Ministry of Finance. The peasants have paid off from their debt four hundred millions more than the State expected, and in addition have made advance payments of over half-a-milliard lei; altogether they have paid nearly one milliard lei more than was budgeted. Payments fell off sharply after 1924, as conditions in agriculture became worse.

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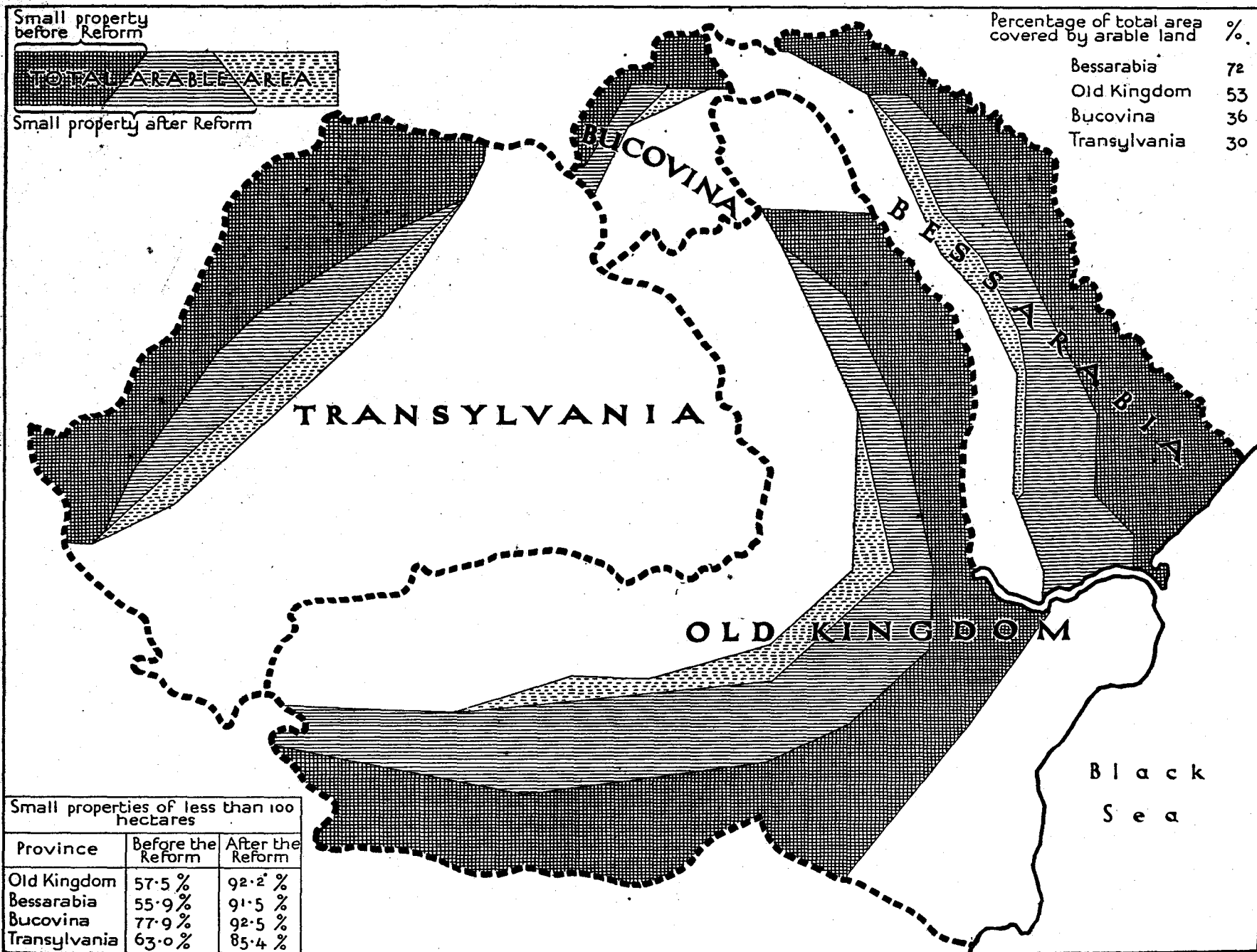
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