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Economic Nationalism in Transylvania¹

While state-level economic nationalism is well known in historiography, the economic component of regional national movements received less attention.² This paper presents the main features of the economic nationalism promoted by the national entities from Transylvania via their cooperative movements. After a short chronological presentation, I will focus on features common or mutually adopted by Saxons, Romanians and Hungarians from Transylvania before World War I. This comparative presentation was inspired by the synchronic and diachronic opinions of different ethnic cooperative leaders who regarded each other's economic programs and strategies as paradigms.³

¹ The author would like to thank the *Habsburg-kori Kutatások Közalapítvány* [Public Foundation for Habsburg Studies] and the Habsburg Történeti Intézet [Institute for Habsburg History] for the scholarship granted in 2003 and the seminars that contributed to enlarge his research on nationality cooperative movements from Austria-Hungary.

² Nakano, Takeshi: Theorising economic nationalism. *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 10, Nr. 3, 2004. 211–229. Helleiner, Eric: Economic Nationalism as a Challenge to Economic Liberalism? Lessons from the 19th century. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 46, Nr. 3, 2002. 307–329.

³ Gyárfás Elemér: Az erdélyi románok hitelszervezetei. [The credit institutes of Transylvanian Romanians] *Magyar Kisebbség*, 1924. 71–79. Jakabffy Elemér: A román példa. [The Romanian example] *Magyar Kisebbség*, 1922. 6–20. Before proceeding to the presentation of my own researches, I would like to mention those historians who contributed to the research of the history of national movements, political and economic modernization of Transylvanian nationalities. Ábrahám Barna published recently a book on Romanian embourgeoisement: Ábrahám Barna: Az erdélyi románság polgárosodása. [The embourgeoisement of Transylvanian Romanians in the second half of the 19th century]. Csíkszereda: Pro-Print, 2004. Egy Gábor published several articles on the Saxons from Transylvania. Egy Gábor: Tradíció és alkalmazkodás: az erdélyi szászok politikai kultúrája a dualizmus idején [Tradition and adjustment: The Political Culture of the Transylvanian Saxons during the years of Dualism]. *Múltunk*, Nr. 2, 2003. 112–158. Vasile Dobrescu, Mihai Drecin, Lucian Dronca published monographs on Romanian rural elite and financial institutes. Dobrescu, Vasile: *Sistemul de credit românesc din Transilvania 1872–1918* [The Romanian Credit System from Transylvania]. Târgu-Mureș, 1999. Francois Bocholier

Terminology

I will use the term ‘policy’ in order to denote countrywide, government-led policies. I reserve the term ‘economic program’ for actions led by peripheral national entities (‘nationalities’ and national minorities), based on articulated intellectual–political manifestos (programs, articles, statutes) intended to be put in practice for the benefit of the national entity. The aim-group of economic programs included only an ethnic national entity represented as a ‘community’.⁴ The national movements from Austria-Hungary had a strong economic component. Influenced by the national economic school of Friedrich List, national elites intended to delimit the area of a ‘Nationalökonomie’ as an entity different from that of the (‘multinational’) state.⁵ While the state had clear, objective, definitional criteria (borders, tariffs and customs, authorities), peripheral, national entities had none. Instead they had to (re)construct a ‘national community’ with a ‘national economy’, on a ‘national territory’.⁶ Economic nationalism started to play an important role in the process of nation building combined with political modernization. As Albin Braf, professor at Prague University in 1904, formulated, those nations that had already passed through the phase of cultural revival and political institutionalization were entering into the phase of constituting their own national economies.⁷ Thus, this process can be analyzed on the basis of Hroch’s and Smith’s typology.⁸ According to them, the attributes of

researches the Transylvanian Romanian and Hungarian elites. Francois Bocholier: Az erdélyi elit a regionális identitástudat és a nemzeti érzelmek erősödése között. [The Transylvanian elite between regional sense of identity and consolidation of national feelings] *Pro Minoritate*, Nr. 1, 2004. 37–57. Szász Zoltán and Bárdi Nándor presented the inter-ethnic relationship between Hungarians and Romanians, government and nationalities, as well as their ‘switch of roles’. Szász, Zoltán: Vom Staatsvolk zur Minderheit. Die Ungarn in Siebenbürgen während der Zwischenkriegszeit. *Minderheit und Nationalstaat. Siebenbürgen seit dem ersten Weltkrieg*. Wien: Böhlau, 1995. 87–97. Bárdi Nándor: Az erdélyi magyar érdekek megjelenítése az 1910-es években. [The representation of Transylvanian Hungarian interests] *Magyar Kisebbség*, No. 2–3, 2003. 93–105. The studies of Romsics Ignác, Szarka László, Joachim von Puttkammer are also essential in the historiography of the nationality problem in Austria-Hungary.

⁴ Hroch, Miroslav: *Social Conditions of national Revival in Europe. A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*. Cambridge, 1985.

⁵ List, Friedrich: *The National System of Political Economy*. London, 1904.

⁶ Balawyder, Aloysius (ed.): *Cooperative Movements in Eastern Europe*. Nova Scotia: St. Francis Xavier Univ. 1980.

⁷ Albrecht, Catherine: The Rhetoric of Economic Nationalism in the Bohemian Boycott Campaigns of the Late Habsburg Monarchy. *Austrian History Yearbook*. Vol. 32, 2001. 47–67.

⁸ Smith, Anthony D.: *Nationalism. Theory, Ideology, History*. Polity, Blackwell, 2001.

a nation include a 'single economy' and national intelligentsia played a role in constructing the idea of a national economy. The Transylvanian national entities, too, made efforts to attain the goals of their formulated national programs: national autonomy and a proper national economy. Cooperatives functioned as diffusion channels of national emancipation and economic modernization, and enhanced the communication of the national elite with the masses. The elite institutionalized the solidarity of national organizations and made use of their links with their external homelands and international forums both on political and economic-financial terrain.

The role of cooperatives in national economies

The impulse for autonomous national economies had its roots in political emancipation programs and strategies of non-dominant national entities. Politics, the electoral system, and administrative political self-government were the terrain where nationalities felt negative discrimination and frustrations. On the contrary, economic policy driven by 'laissez-faire liberalism' and state 'non-interventionism' proved to be a favorable playing field for economic competition and permitted self-organization of 'non-dominant nations'.⁹ According to the provisions of the Nationalities Act adopted in 1868, all nationalities had the right to establish state-controlled associations, and raise funds and invest them to promote their own schools, language, art, science, literature, economic life, industry and commerce.¹⁰

Economic programs were to materialize via proper, institutional-organizational systems claiming to have a national character. In Western Europe, in the cadres of a more industrialized and urban milieu, associations and cooperatives institutionalized mainly along ideological cleavages.¹¹ In East-Central Europe, in the context of multinational states, the main cleavages were ethno-national, determining the national character of institutionalization.¹² Cooperatives played the most important role in implementing economic pro-

⁹ Good, David F.: The state and economic development in Central and Eastern Europe. In Teichova, Alice – Matis, Herbert (ed.): *Nation, State and the Economy in History*. Cambridge University Press, 2003. 159–179.

¹⁰ Niederhauser Emil: Peoples and Nations in the Habsburg Monarchy. In Glatz, Ferenc (ed.): *Hungarians and their neighbors*. New York: Columbia Press, 1995. 10.

¹¹ Fairbairn, Brett: Social Bases of Co-operation: Historical Examples and Contemporary Questions. In Fulton, M.E. (ed.): *Co-operative Organizations and Canadian Society: Popular Institutions and the Dilemmas of Change* University of Toronto Press, 1990. 63–76.

¹² Gyáni, Gábor: Middle Class and Bürgertum in Hungary. In Löwe, Heinz D – Tontsch, Günther H – Troebst, Stefan (eds.): *Minderheiten, Regionalbewußtsein und Zentralismus in Ostmitteleuropa*. Wien: Bohlau, 2000.

grams throughout Europe due to their wide acceptance among majority populations, nationalities, and state-authorities. Having the largest social basis (membership) among mass-organizations, cooperative movements gained political interest once electoral reforms came upon the political agenda.¹³ Cooperatives movement integrated ordinary people into the public sphere by granting them voting rights long before the general electoral reform instituted a universal vote.¹⁴

The national elites proved to be sensitive to the opportunities offered by the cooperative movement as a channel for reaching the masses.¹⁵ National intelligentsia coordinated the national program, being present in almost all areas of national, public life and the institutional system and held the monopoly of leading the cooperative movement.¹⁶ Cooperatives were usually promoted by or inside the elder institutions (agricultural organizations or financial institutes, churches, cultural associations, political elite and intelligentsia); thus they reproduced and diffused the national ideology of parent institutes. National intelligentsia and press deliberately encouraged the autonomy of national organizations, sometimes to the point of boycott, but rarely the segregation. Banks and cooperative centers, those intermediary institutions that used the economic and social benefits accorded by rural cooperatives in regaining rural masses, became a dissemination channel not only of economic modernization, but also of political and cultural ideas. Even if Hungary did not introduce universal suffrage, national leaders and government considered cooperatives an excellent channel of political influence and mass-mobilization. This aspect of cooperatives became highly politicized around the turn of the century and intensified after nationality politicians abandoned political passivism for activism.¹⁷

¹³ Bruckmüller, Ernst: *Landwirtschaftliche Organisationen und gesellschaftliche Modernisierung. Vereine, Genossenschaften und politische Mobilisierung der Landwirtschafts Österreichs vom Vormärz bis 1914*. Salzburg, 1977.

¹⁴ Gerő, András: *Az elsöprő kisebbség*. [The overwhelming minority] Budapest: Gondolat, 1988. 12, 16–21. 23–24; Miskolczy Ambrus, Szász Zoltán (eds.): *Erdély története*. Vol. III. [History of Transylvania] Budapest, 1986. 1632.

¹⁵ Kirschbaum, J.M.: The Cooperative Movement in Slovakia, 1845–1948. In Balawyder (ed.): *idem, 23–48. Cujes, Rudolf. Slovenia: Land of Cooperators*. Willowdale, Ont., 1985.

¹⁶ Hagen, William W: National Solidarity and Organic Work in Prussian Poland, 1815–1914. *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 44, 1972, 38–64.

¹⁷ *Erdély története*. Vol. III., *ibidem*, 1642–1646. Béla Köpeczy (ed.): *History of Transylvania* Budapest, 1994. 584–585.

The ethnic public: target group of national economy

Friedrich List delimited the ‘nation’ as the target group of economic policy. Since the Czechs, the Romanians, the Serbians had a clear sense of national identity early at the half of the 19th century, enshrined in national programs (1848, 1861); their national economy was inherently coterminous with the area of national community or territory.¹⁸

The correspondence of the first Romanian bank-directors and the minutes of administrative boards prove that financial institutions and cooperatives were to be restricted to co-ethnics. The language of press organs also excluded other language-speakers, while delimited the target-group of potential shareholders, cooperative members. The organizing committee of the biggest Romanian bank, the *Albina Credit and Savings Institute*, published articles advertising their initiative to constitute a ‘Romanian bank’ exclusively on the pages of Romanian newspapers. The target-group of potential shareholders and proprietors was clearly defined in the title of the announcement for share-subscription: “To the Honored Romanian Public”.¹⁹ The announcement continued as follows:

“We /the organizing committee/ call the attention of the honored Romanian public to this announce of vital interest for the entire ‘Romanianship’, the announcement for the share-subscription of the Albina Institute for Credit and Savings. It will contribute to the multiplication of the economic force of all strata: poor and wealthy, worker and craftsman. It is obvious that the Romanian intelligentsia, especially the intellectuals and schoolmasters from villages to enlighten the people about the aim of this institute, about the majestic idea of its founders.”

Besides the general duties of combating usury by offering cheaper agricultural credit, the project emphasized national motives too: “It would be a sin against the principle of self-conservation, if we would neglect the terrain of national economy.”²⁰

Other foundations also had national attributes and motivations. Visarion Roman, executive director of the Albina, considered cooperative credit unions promoted by Albina, the capillary vessels of banks reaching the masses and

¹⁸ Sked, Alan: *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire 1815–1918*. Longman, 1993.

¹⁹ *Gazeta Transilvaniei* Nr. 53, 1871. *Telegraful Român*, Nr. 63, 20 august, 1871.

²⁰ *Compas românesc. Anuar financiar pe 1893/1894*. [Romanian Compass. Financial Annual]. II.year. Sibiu, 1.

channeling savings towards, and credit from, the bank.²¹ The Albina explicitly formulated the program of promoting the constitution of credit cooperatives in Romanian villages.²² In order to disseminate the know-how of founding credit unions, the director and the administrative board of the Albina kept up continuous correspondence with important villagers, mostly priests and schoolmasters, who became the local agents of the bank.²³

The wave of co-operatives founded by Albina lasted only a short time as the rural population didn't have a well-developed sense of saving, and wasn't yet prepared for market-production and being highly self-sufficient. Instead of promoting new credit unions, the banks began consolidating existing credit unions.²⁴ Despite its ephemeral success, the principles of credit union networking did inspire other Romanian bank-strategies, too, aiming to "gain control over a region and re-gain the Romanian public from the sphere of influence of non-Romanian finances".²⁵

The Albina encouraged the establishment of other Romanian banks and cooperatives in towns massively populated by Romanians by delegating its functionaries and share-packages in new, Romanian banks. The number of Romanian banks skyrocketed in the second half of the eighties partly because of financial conjuncture, partly as a reaction to the constitution of the Transylvanian Hungarian Cultural Association (Erdélyi Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület – abbreviated EMKE) adept of magyarization.²⁶

The Romanian banks, sustained by wealthy Romanians, reassessed their national function. A secret invitation to a confidential conference for the establishment of a Romanian credit institute, for example, expressed: "it is imperative to constitute in Orăștie (Szászváros, Broos) a Romanian national

²¹ Romanian National Archives DJAN Cluj – Visarion Roman's personal fond (Fond 230-VII/132).

²² *Federațiunea*. Pesta, an. V, Nr. 33. 1872. 2.

²³ Romanian National Archives DJAN Cluj – Visarion Roman's personal fond (Fond 230-II/49).

²⁴ Petra, Nicolae: *Băncile române din Ardeal*. [The Romanian Banks from Transylvania]. 1936. 22.

²⁵ Lapedatu, Al.: „*Ardeleana*” institut de credit și economii 1885–1910. [Ardeleana, institute for credit and savings] Sibiu, 1912. 58, 60.

²⁶ In 1885, Transylvanian Hungarian elite with the help of government-subsidies created EMKE; 1% of the county budget was transferred to EMKE. But, because EMKE was active in magyarization, these public subsidies provoked the indignation of Romanian political elite. *Az EMKE megalakulása és negyedszázados működése, 1885–1910*. [The establishment and the activity of the Transylvanian Hungarian Cultural Association] Kolozsvár, 1910. Szarka László: *Szlovák nemzeti fejlődés – Magyar nemzetiségi politika 1867–1918*. [Slovakian national development – Hungarian nationality policy 1867–1918]. Pozsony, 1995. 138, 142, 146, 177, 188–189.

credit institute; it should satisfy the need of capital at our people, and should free them from the alien influence and economic slavery, from the shameful role to be always the debtor of alien capital".²⁷

Cooperatives for credit and savings were mentioned in several statutes of regional banks, some of them constituting special funds for the promotion of cooperatives. As Ioan Miħu, the director of the Ardeleana Bank from Orăștie, formulated in the revisited statutes, the network of cooperatives enlarged the financial basis (the possibilities of allocation) and warrant of the bank. At the same time, "they had the duty to regain the Romanian peasants out of the sphere of influence of Hungarian and Saxon banks".²⁸

Concerning density and geographic saturation, financial statistics ('Romanian Compass') remarked that from 1892–1894, each important Romanian center (market town) had established its own Romanian bank – in total 45 institutes.²⁹ A decade later, Hungarian authorities and ministries were concerned about this 'dense net of Romanian banks'.³⁰ Reserving the credit unions for peasantry, the Romanian middle-class developed its financial network mostly in the form of banks.³¹ In 1892, there were 40, and in 1900, 73 Romanian banks in Transylvania.³² Between 1901 and 1914, Romanians established, in total, 175 financial institutes, 102 joint stock banks and 73 credit unions. In 1914, there were total 221 Romanian banks and credit cooperatives in Transylvania.³³

Coordination and mutual support among national economic institutions

Prior to World War I, the Albina functioned as a peak institute promoting the constitution of new banks by subscription of important stocks and informally coordinated their activity and was present in several other banks' administrative boards. The Furnica, from Fogaras, was founded on the initiative of the Albina director, Visarion Roman in 1883. These two institutes had interlocking directorates: Partenie Cosma was director of both banks, and

²⁷ Lapedatu, Al., idem, 161.

²⁸ Lapedatu, Al., idem, 44–45. Statutes. 191–194. Referee on the motives of creating rural Savings cooperatives.

²⁹ *Compas românesc. Anuar financiar pe 1893/1894*. [Romanian Compass. Financial Annual]. Sibiu, 1894. 72.

³⁰ MOL K 26. 603.cs. 1904 -XIV-741. 64–68.

³¹ Ábrahám Barna: The Idea of Independent Romanian National Economy in Transylvania. In Trencsény, Balázs et al. (eds): *Nation-Building and Contested Identities. Romanian and Hungarian Case Studies*. Budapest–Iași, 2001. 209–226.

³² Petra, idem, 22.

³³ Petra, idem, 22. 22–42.

the bookkeeper of the Albina was on the Supervisory board at Furnica. The establishment of young banks and cooperatives were greatly aided by subscriptions made by big Romanian banks as ‘incubator institutes’: Albina, Ardeleana, Victoria, Economul were major stockholders in the banks or branches throughout their county or sub-region.

A strong hierarchy of Romanian banks developed with Albina at the top and a few, regional, bigger banks in the middle. These regional banks played an active economical and political role in the county by assisting smaller Romanian banks (morally and financially), and a network of credit unions. A clear geography of Romanian financial institutes was drawn in a short time. The main banks delimited their territories, the Ardeleana, for example, shared Hunyad county with the Hunedoara Bank, by setting boundaries north and south to Maros River. Ardeleana conserved its influence over its network of rural credit unions by retaining half of their capital, and controlling them with her agents.³⁴

Revisers at the Albina were delegated to audit the balances of partner institutes.³⁵ Coordination thus started informally on the basis of monitoring and mutual information warranted by personal unions and interconnections. Romanian banks established their own statistical annual (*Romanian Compass*) since 1893. It published the data and balances, as well as articles on general finances, audit, and legislature concerning economic and financial activities.

In order to give an institutionalized form to the informal coordination, Parteniu Cosma, the director of the Albina Bank, invited all Romanian Bank directors to coordinate their activities. A conference of bank directors called the “Delegation of banks” reunited every two years since 1898, where Romanian bank-directors and representatives of credit and savings cooperatives discussed actual financial problems, and adopted common strategies.³⁶

The director conferences that started in 1898, and continued in 1901, 1903, 1905, received a permanent status with the establishment of “*Solidaritatea*” (Solidarity, Association of financial Institutes) in 1907. This bank union integrated all Romanian financial institutions, especially the banks, rendering audit and financial services to its 68 members (banks and cooperatives).³⁷ The Romanians took advantage of the right to autonomous

³⁴ Lapedatu, Al., idem, 161.

³⁵ Lapedatu, Al., idem, 165; Petra, dem, 66–67.

³⁶ O conferință a băncilor române. [A conference of Romanian Banks] *Anuar financiar și economic pe 1898*. [Financial and Economic Annual] Sibiu, 1899.

³⁷ Petra, idem, 95.

self-control prescribed by the Austrian and Hungarian laws that made annual control compulsory in 1903.³⁸ They followed the paradigm of the Saxon financial institutes, which established their Revisionsverband der Provinzkreditanstalten early in 1903.³⁹ The directors of the Saxon and Romanian peak financial institute, Karl Wolff and Parteniu Cosma were in the same time elected at the head of their national bank union. Both unions were registered as cooperatives and formulated analogous goals in their statutes: periodical and professional auditing, consulting of member institutions by common specialists (revisers), and development of strong connections between the member institutions. Savings banks, individually, and jointly, via their union, were actors in implementing national economic programs and implicitly promoters of cooperative movement.

The reorientation of target group towards peasantry and rural cooperatives

After having developed a strong network of joint stock banks, urban middle class, some Romanian and Saxon intellectuals reoriented their interest towards peasantry that was confronted with the severe consequences of the agricultural crisis of 1880s and 1890s. This reorientation was not only motivated by social and political interest, but also by industrial and financial reasons. Mortgage institutes and savings banks tried to increase their sphere of influence (placements, savings) using the cooperative network, while industries were also interested in enlarging the uphill basin of raw material production and the downhill market for consumer goods. The leader of the Saxon cooperative movement, Karl Wolff expressed the interrelatedness of interests among nationality institutions early in 1885, when he started the cooperative propaganda as the director of the Hermannstädter Allgemeine Sparkassa (1885–1919), Siebenbürger Vereinsbank and Revisionsverband. From 1886 until 1928, he was the leader of the cooperative movement, as the president (Anwalt) of the Verband Raiffeisenschen Genossenschaften established in 1886. Drotleff, Dieter: *Taten und Gestalten. Bilder aus der Vergangenheit der Rumäniendeutschen. II. Band.* Hermannstadt: Hora, 2002. 106–110.

As the leader of the Saxon Popular Party, he also won the majority of Saxon deputies and personalities for the political program (*Volksprogramm*) of

³⁸ A Solidaritatea pénzintézetek szövetsége mint szövetkezetnek alapszabályai. [The Statutes of Solidaritatea] Nagyszeben, 1901.

³⁹ Rösler, Rudolf: *Die Kreditorganisation der Sachsen in Siebenbürgen.* Hermannstadt: Krafft, 1914.

⁴⁰ Wolff was the president of the Saxon Popular Party, director of the Hermannstädter Allgemeine Sparkassa (1885–1919), Siebenbürger Vereinsbank and Revisionsverband. From 1886 until 1928, he was the leader of the cooperative movement, as the president (Anwalt) of the Verband Raiffeisenschen Genossenschaften established in 1886. Drotleff, Dieter: *Taten und Gestalten. Bilder aus der Vergangenheit der Rumäniendeutschen. II. Band.* Hermannstadt: Hora, 2002. 106–110.

institution-building and socially sensitive politics (*Aufbauarbeit*).⁴¹ The fifth paragraph of the political program adopted at the Second Saxon National Assembly in 1890 formulated the political responsibility for promoting modernization, urbanization, the development of cooperative movement, crafts and industries.⁴²

The good sense of political compromise and personal relationship with government could help implementing economic programs by integration in the general economic policy. The political realism of Wolff for example was manifested in the fact that he made wise compromises with the government on the terrain of rhetorical nationalism in order to gain practical advantages (for example, the development of rail routes in Saxon regions). Criticized by rhetorically oriented, nationalist Saxon politicians, he insisted that institutionalization and modernization was a more efficient and stable way of nation building, one superior to symbolic nationalism. Wolff and liberal Saxons had good relations with the Ministry of Agriculture, count Andrés Bethlen, himself an adept of political conciliation with the Saxons.⁴³

Being the director of the Hermannstädter Allgemeine Sparkasse,⁴⁴ Wolff searched for an institutionalized answer to the current economic problems of rural population. The Savings Bank inaugurated an active financial and economic investment strategy, including widening savings and financial placement areas. The directory board of the savings bank decided to promote Raiffeisen rural cooperatives. Personal credit was introduced to rural populations through Raiffeisen savings and credit cooperatives. The Savings bank was to be called the mother-institute ('Mutter-anstalt') of Saxon co-operatives. According to the press-articles and statutes, co-operatives were designed to safeguard the rural population from usury, but also to advance economic prosperity and such social and national goals as the defense of Saxon properties and settlement.

Because the Romanian elite was in defensive against the political attacks of the Hungarian nationalist press, the Romanian political programs did not explicitly articulate the promotion of cooperative movement, rather they expressed the general need of modernization. The Romanian press and the pro-

⁴¹ Wagner, Ernst (ed.): *Quellen zur Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen 1191–1975*. Wien: Böhlau, 1976. 242–245; *Hermannstädter Zeitung*. Nr. 140. 19 June, 1890.

⁴² Heimberger Filip: *Cooperăția săsească tip Raiffeisen din Transilvania* [The Raiffeisen type Saxon cooperatives in Transylvania] Cluj, 1939. 30.

⁴³ Göllner, Carl (ed.): *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen 1848–1918*. Wien, 1988.

⁴⁴ Wolff, Karl: *Die Geschichte der Hermannstädter Allgemeine Sparkassa während der ersten fünfzig Jahre ihres Bestandes (von 1841 bis 1891)*. Jubiläums Festschrift. Hermannstadt, 1891.

grams of Romanian agricultural and cultural association instead were more active in cooperative movement and rural modernization. The low level of market integration of Romanian peasantry disfavored Romanians in cooperative movement. Those regions (Szeben county) flourished that were close to bigger consumer (urban or industrial) centers or were traditionally wealthier (Banat, Krassó, Beszterce county) in economics and national culture (Fogaras, Hunyad county).⁴⁵

Partnership of agricultural and cooperative organizations

On July 19, 1886, the Raiffeisen credit co-operatives elected Wolff president (Anwalt) of their cooperative union, *Verband Raiffeisenschen Genossenschaften als Genossenschaft*.⁴⁶ Due to the personal union between the Verband and the Sparkasse, the latter remained their refinancing source, while the staff of the savings bank for some years also carried out the yearly auditing.⁴⁷ The cooperative union organized a yearly Congress (*Verbandstag*), with representatives of basic cooperatives, representatives of the Savings bank, and the Consumer Cooperative Center (1906) participating.⁴⁸

Aside from the personal union and interlocking of staff between the cooperative union and the savings bank, the Verband cooperated closely with other Saxon institutions as well. The Saxon agricultural association (Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Landwirtschaftsverein) cooperated in the field of agricultural modernization and the development of the dairy-industry, as well as in training and propaganda. According to the agreement among the two organizations, both decided to co-operate closely on different levels in order to realize a share of labor: the organization of credit cooperatives was consigned to the Verband, while dairy cooperatives were promoted in common.⁴⁹ At the highest level of leadership, one representative of the agricultural association was elected to the Administrative Board (Anwaltschaft) of the Verband, while the representative of cooperatives became a member on the directory board of the Landwirtschaftsverein. These personal unions, along with the mutual representation of leaders on each other's boards, aimed explicitly at a more effi-

⁴⁵ Drecin, M.: *Economul – Instituție națională a românilor din Nordul Transilvaniei*. [Economul – National institute of Romanians from North-Transylvania] *Istorie financiar bancară*. [Financial-bank history] Vol. I. 94.

⁴⁶ Schuller, Georg Adolf: *Festschrift aus Anlass der 25. Jahreswende seit Gründung der ersten Raiffeisengenossenschaften in Siebenbürger Sachsenlande (1885–1910)*. Hermannstadt, 1910.

⁴⁷ Idem

⁴⁸ Wehenkel, Günther.: *Deutsches Genossenschaftswesen in Rumänien*. Stuttgart, 1929.

⁴⁹ *Neunzehnter Verbandstag der ländlichen Spar- und Vorschußvereine und Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften*. Hermannstadt, 1905. 8. (hereinafter Verbandstag...)

cient labor sharing, and avoiding duplication. Between 1905 and 1910 the *Landwirtschaftliche Blätter* became the common review of both organizations.⁵⁰ Members of basic, organizational circles (Bezirksvereine, Ortsvereine, respectively Spar- und Vorschussvereine) were encouraged to become members in both organizations. Mutual support, joint programs, economic actions, festivals and assemblies were encouraged as well. Basic co-operatives were encouraged to create micro-partnerships based on geographical proximity or common interest (common purchase, promotion of interests, etc.). The cooperatives were grouped in 25 circles (Kreise), with 2–10 cooperative societies each.⁵¹

Beginning in 1887 with its first general assembly, the cooperative union published the minutes of general assemblies in a special brochure, which contained the yearly report (*Jahresbericht*), statistics, balances, and speeches. Celebrating 25 years since the establishment of first Saxon cooperatives and 25 years of Wolff's directorship at the head of the Hermannstädter Allgemeine Sparkasse 1910 was a jubilee year, both for the cooperatives and their mother-institute, the Savings bank. Several jubilee-festivals were held and two jubilee volumes edited. This year marked also the success of cooperative movement; statistics registered the qualitative and quantitative results: saturation of the 'Vereinsgebiet' (the area of the cooperative union), density of cooperative network. Saxons celebrated that they had the best indicators compared to Hungarian and one of the best compared to Germany's average. More than one third of Saxon population (15883 cooperative members computed as heads of families, total 79415 persons) was related to 206 Saxon cooperatives.⁵²

The Romanian agricultural association and the Cultural Society as promoters of Romanian rural cooperatives

While the Saxon cooperative movement was characterized by continuity, the Hungarian cooperatives were promoted autonomously by the capital county credit cooperative (Pest megyei Hitelszövetkezet). Since 1898, the cooperatives affiliated to the Hungarian Central Credit Cooperative Society benefited of state-subsidies and facilities, and in Transylvania a special department of the Ministry of Agriculture promoted cooperatives in favor of Hungarian speaking communities.⁵³ The tutelage of the cooperative central insti-

⁵⁰ *Landwirtschaftliche Blätter*. Organ der Siebenbürgisch-Sächsisches Landwirtschaftsverband und des Verbandes Raiffeisenschen Genossenschaften als Genossenschaft 1905–1910.

⁵¹ Kreiseinteilung der Raiffeisenverbandes. *Siebenbürger Raiffeisenbote*. Vol. 2, Nr. 22, 1911. 149–151.

⁵² Wehenkel, 24ter Verbandstag, 1910. 70–76.

⁵³ *Rural credit and cooperation in Hungary*. Budapest, 1913.

tute made nationality cooperatives suspicious against state-control, thus they refused to join it. Saxon cooperatives overtly manifested against state influence in public meetings.⁵⁴

The Romanian cooperative movement was less continuous. The Romanian Association for Agriculture, respectively the Literary and Cultural Society of the Romanian People of Transylvania launched the second, respectively the third wave of Romanian cooperatives. Established in 1888, the Romanian Association for Agriculture from Sibiu County initiated the modernization of agriculture through education and training, distribution of quality-seeds and breeding animal, as well as the promotion of agricultural associations, and Raiffeisen-type co-operatives for savings and credit.⁵⁵ Under its guidance 72 Raiffeisen cooperatives with unlimited liability were organized in two decades (1893–1914) throughout Transylvania in Romanian villages.⁵⁶ Based on personal unions among the cooperative leadership, on a side and the administration of the agricultural association, on the other side, they established their own financial and coordinating organs.⁵⁷ They were refinanced and controlled by the Săliște Savings Bank and its reviser. On April 26, 1914, they formed their own cooperative union, the *Înfrățirea* (“Brotherhood”) Alliance of Rural Credit Cooperatives.⁵⁸

The “Asociațiunea Transilvană pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român” (Literary and Cultural Society of the Romanian People of Transylvania, abbreviated to ASTRA) inaugurated the third wave of Romanian cooperatives. The ASTRA, founded in 1861, reunited Romanian intelligentsia and became an important factor in the diffusion of Romanian national culture. On the field of economics, it organized ‘national fairs and exhibitions’ in 1862, 1881 and 1905 which left a lasting political impact. ASTRA had a wide network of regional and local departments where economic, cultural and national lectures were held. These decentralized, national cells played a role in the diffusion of national ideas among the Romanian peasantry. The ‘Economic department’ of the ASTRA, under the presidency of

⁵⁴ Neunter Verbandstag... 1895.

⁵⁵ Boia, Lucian: *Eugen Brote*. Bucharest, 1977. Matlekovits Sándor: *Magyarország közgazdasági és közművelődési állapota ezeréves fennállásakor*. II.k. [The economic and cultural state of Hungary] Budapest, 1898. 485–492.

⁵⁶ Centrala Cooperativelor. [The center of cooperatives] *Revista Economică*. 1914. 30, 198, 213, 242, 248, 263.

⁵⁷ *Tovărășia*, Nr. 1, 1911. 3–4.

⁵⁸ *Chestiunea centralei Cooperativelor*. [The problem of the cooperative center] *Revista Economică*. 1914. 30; *Magyar Compass*, 1917–1918. [Hungarian Compass] Budapest, 1918.

Cosma (in the same time president of the Romanian National Party since 1881, director of Albina since 1885, and president of Solidaritatea), morally supported the cooperative movement, but in fact had done little until 1912. After a scholarship was offered by a wealthy Romanian, for the study of different models of co-operative systems, the ASTRA launched the cooperative propaganda. Vasile Osvadă, to whom the scholarship was consigned, had a great deal of experience with cooperatives being the editor of the cooperative, associative review, *Tovărășia* for five years (1906–1911). The results of his study on cooperative systems from Austria-Hungary (e.g. Bukowina) and Romania were presented to the Central Committee of ASTRA and published in its official review, the *Transilvania*.⁵⁹ His report also contained a project on the development of the Romanian cooperative movement in Transylvania. He presented cooperatives as complementary institutions to well-established, Romanian banks. This idea was based on the statutes of the venerable Albina, which from its birth supported the idea of cooperation. The paradigmatic cooperative systems were presented with an accent on promoter-organizations, and the diffusion of ideas ('propaganda') via the press, brochures and itinerant teachers. His project was concentrated around propaganda, coordination and control, and the refinancing of cooperatives. On the basis of his experience, Osvadă asked for the moral and financial support of the three main components (the cultural, financial and ecclesiastical) of the Romanian institutional system for the promotion of cooperatives- referring to them as the protectors of the Romanian cooperative movement. On the basis of other nationalities' (Slovakian, Serbian, Suabian, Romanian from Bukowina) experience, he favored the autonomy of movements against state-support or influence.⁶⁰

Based on Osvadă's project, ASTRA launched the third wave of Romanian cooperative movement. ASTRA had strong relations with local political and economic leaders. In 1912, the Association had 74 local 'departments' disposed proportionally on the map, in almost all of the most important Romanian centers.⁶¹ Its decentralized network proved to be an important, institutional channel activated during the third wave of the Romanian cooperative movement and coordinated by the Association, which offered its official organ, *Transilvania*, for cooperative, propaganda articles. 80 ASTRA-depart-

⁵⁹ Osvadă: Mișcarea cooperatistă. [The Cooperative Movement. Report] *Transilvania*, Nr. 1, 1912. 1–38.

⁶⁰ Osvadă, *idem*, 14.

⁶¹ *Transilvania*, 1912. 352–353.

ments received the type-statutes and propaganda brochures and, 25, model, credit cooperatives conceived as diffusion cells for other cooperative-initiatives in the county, were organized by the itinerant cooperative teacher.

Even if several influential persons were mutually represented in the Agricultural Association, the *Solidaritatea* and the cooperative staff of the ASTRA, there remained a continuous dispute over the leadership of Romanian cooperative movement, that hid the plurality of economic and political interests among Romanian intelligentsia. The Agricultural Association took over the initiative by establishing the Romanian cooperative union in 1914. In 1915 there were already 73 Romanian cooperatives with 7593 members.⁶² Romanians also had 150 joint stock financial institutes and 24 commercial societies.⁶³

The statistics of national economy and the symbolic representation of the national economy

An important attribute of a national economy was its accountability: statistics ('compass'), maps, and balances. In 1893, the first 'Romanian Compass' (statistical annual) appeared edited by the cashier of the Albina, Petra-Petrescu. The annual compass published the current balances and nomenclature of the administrative and supervisory boards of Romanian banks and cooperatives. In its second year, the compass gave a short historical presentation of each institute, emphasizing the role of local Romanian intelligentsia and middle class in the constitution of capital. Literates, politicians, schoolmasters, teachers and priests, lawyers and craftsmen were the majority among the functionaries.⁶⁴

Other, symbolic representations of national, cultural and economic autonomy included fairs and jubilee festivals, books, and exhibitions. National fairs manifested the national pride, and offered an opportunity to gather and represent all components of the national entity. National fairs were held in 1861 at the establishment of the ASTRA, in 1881 (the same year as the constitution of Romanian Royalty), and in 1905, the year of the activists' electoral success.⁶⁵

⁶² *Tovărășia*, Nr. 1, 1911. 3–4. Statistica băncilor din Ungaria. [The Statistics of Banks in Hungary] *Revista economică*, Nr. 1, 1899. 29–31. Însoțirile de credit. [Credit cooperatives] *Revista economică*, Nr. 1, 1899. 15.

⁶³ *Anuarul Băncilor Române*. [Annual of Romanian Banks] 1915. 265–264.

⁶⁴ *Compas românesc. Anuar financiar pe 1893/1894*. [Romanian Compass. Financial Annual]. II. year. Sibiu, 29.

⁶⁵ Ábrahám, dem, 31–33.

Bank directors participating at the Delegation of Banks were leaders of cultural society as well, and as a consequence the annual congress of the ASTRA was usually held in common with the directors' conference.⁶⁶

Jubilees played an important role in the communicative memory of the Romanian generation. The first directors' conference celebrated 25th anniversary of the Albina Bank. Its cashier, Petra-Petrescu, editor of the Romanian statistical annuals, published a jubilee monograph of the paradigmatic credit institute.⁶⁷ Another book was published presenting *The Romanian Banks from Transylvania and Hungary*.⁶⁸ Next year, the secretary of the Albina and of the ASTRA edited the first *Romanian Encyclopedia*.⁶⁹ The encyclopedia was awarded a gold medal at the Scientific Exhibition held in Bucharest, in 1903. The attention of Romania as a benevolent external homeland was accompanied by the mutual diffusion of cooperative organizational models, for example from Transylvania towards Bukowina and Romania. The series of jubilee volumes continued with the 25th anniversary of the Ardeleana in 1910.⁷⁰ In the same year, the Saxons organized the jubilee festival and edited two volumes celebrating 25 years under the directorship of Karl Wolff, and 25 years since the establishment of the first Saxon, Raiffeisen cooperatives and Saxon cooperative union. Transylvanian Hungarians also celebrated that year, the 25th anniversary of the constitution of the Transylvanian Hungarian Cultural Association with a jubilee volume.⁷¹ While the nationalities proudly published statistics and balances of their economic success, Hungarian public opinion lamented the failure of forced magyarization, and the lack of economic pragmatism of the EMKE. It was obvious that there was a continuous competition among national programs and nation building strategies. Their success massively depended on social acceptance, popularity and pragmatism.

The eponyms of Romanian banks were also related to communicational memory and collective identity. Some names as the Albina (bee) and Furnica

⁶⁶ HNA K26–1904–XIV–152. 58–61. The minutes of the third conference of Romanian bank directors (1903).

⁶⁷ Petra-Petrescu, Nicolae: *Monografia Albinei*. [The Monograph of the Albina] Sibiu, 1897.

⁶⁸ *Băncile române din Transilvania și Ungaria* [The Romanian Banks from Transylvania and Hungary]. Written by Constantin Popp, functionary at the Albina central at Sibiu; Sibiu, 1897.

⁶⁹ *Enciclopedia Română*. [Romanian Encyclopedia]. 3 volumes. Edited by C. Diaconovich, published by the ASTRA. Sibiu: W. Krafft, 1904. Diaconovich, was a professor at Bucharest University and a member of the Romanian Academy (Visarion Roman and Lăpedatu were also members of the Romanian Academy). Boia, idem.

⁷⁰ Lăpedatu, Al., idem.

⁷¹ *Az EMKE megalakulása és negyedszázados működése, 1885–1910*. [The establishment and the activity of the Transylvanian Hungarian Cultural Association] Kolozsvár, 1910.

(ant) expressed the perseverance and diligence of these insects. Other names were related to concepts taken from the cooperative vocabulary (help, fraternity, thrift), and several were influenced by historical myths and Latin origins of Romanians (Iulia, Ulpia, Decebal) or patriotism (Patria: native land, Victoria: victory, Concordia, Minerva). The majority of names had geographical origins, reproducing mountain, river, town, county, and ethnographic regional names. The most expressive were the names of the Solidaritatea (Solidarity) and Înfrățirea (Fraternity) bank and cooperative unions. The titles of annuals – *Romanian Compass*, *Annual of Romanian Banks* – clearly expressed the ethnic affiliation of institutions. ‘Transylvania’ was a brand name taken by all national entities. The official organ of the Romanian Cultural Society had the title ‘*Transilvania*’ since 1861. The Saxon insurance company (Transylvania Versicherungsanstalt A.G.), the Hungarian Transylvania Bank (1872) and the Ardeleana (the Transylvanian 1885) are illustrative in the sense that Transylvania as a historical and political entity was a common ideal and eponym for Romanians, Saxons and Hungarians. The net of Romanian banks and cooperatives (most of them having feminine names) thus realized a psycho-geography of the ‘national economy’. Hungarian and Saxonian institutes were less innovative in name-giving compared to ideological Romanian denominations.

The economic nationalist press and the role of external homelands

Romanian politicians and economists from Transylvania stood on the basis of the federalization of the Monarchy and the idea of an independent Romanian National economy inside Austria-Hungary.⁷² Activist nationality intelligentsia even encouraged deliberate segregation, or more appropriately the ‘self-organization of a proper economy’.⁷³

The director of the Agricola Bank from Vajdahunyad (Hunedoara), Vasile Osvadă published the economic review *Tovărășia* (Associationship), as a supplement of the activist political journal *Libertatea* (freedom). Since its first issue, the review expressed a strong, economic, nationalist program. The first article *Ținta noastră* (Our aim) formulated the “program to be followed by us, Romanians, primarily in the consolidation and development of our national economy”. This program was motivated to affirm the idea of competition with other nations. “Because we Romanians want to live and be-

⁷² *Tovărășia*, Nr. 4. 27–28. *Neatârarea economiei*. [The Independence of the Economy] See more on this in Ábrahám Barna, idem, 209–226.

⁷³ Ábrahám Barna, idem, 209–226.

come strong factors in the fight of life, our sacred duty is to wake up economically and to be prepared for the economic actions. A people that want to live and realize its ideals must have its strong weapons of the economic wealth". All components of the economic and national institutional system were called to cooperate to attain the wealth of the nation. His review promoted the development of associative and cooperative life, and the solidarity of all components of the national economy.⁷⁴ Without a doubt, "pioneers" were key people capable of organizing their village, or at least of influencing the opinion of the village community. Romanian intellectuals highlighted the role of "our functionaries", and the value of village "pioneers".⁷⁵ His review introduced new themes and notions inspired by other nationalities' experiences in economy and politics.

Several articles written by Osvadă are illustrative in this sense. The "Romanian to Romanian" article summoned Romanian consumers to devote themselves to the Romanian shops by boycotting the non-Romanian shop in the village.⁷⁶ Economic organizational patriotism was encouraged in articles and statistics presenting the Romanian institutional system from Austria-Hungary: the Romanian villages, the Romanian territory, "our banks", commercial firms, "our insurance company", our cooperatives and the agricultural, professional associations.⁷⁷ Romanians were called to support these institutions wholeheartedly. As the article "The nationalism in economy" proved, the Romanian intelligentsia intended to boycott any cooperation with Hungarians.⁷⁸ According to Osvadă's theory, influenced by Friedrich List and other Romanian nationalists (Eugen Brote), "different cultural factors had their own laws and interest, and were incompatible inside mixed associations. Instead, the state should promote the well being of all of its cultural factors, thus allowing all nations of the country to give rise to the country's power." His articles were consequent in distinguishing the notions of state and nations. He never used national for countrywide institutes, reserving it to genuine cultural nations. He noted that Romanian public opinion

⁷⁴ Funcționarii noștri. *Tovărășia*, 1906. 6.

⁷⁵ Organizația noastră economică. [Our Economic Organizational System] *Tovărășia*, Nr. 1, 1906. 4-5.

⁷⁶ Român la Român. [Romanian to Romanian] *Tovărășia*, Nr. 1. 1907. 3.

⁷⁷ Organizația noastră economică. [Our economic institutional system] *Tovărășia*, Nr. 1, 1906. 4-5.

⁷⁸ Naționalismul în economic. [The nationalism in economy] *Tovărășia*, Nr. 2, 1911. 3. Boycott movements from Austria-Hungary are presented by Albrecht, Catherine: Pride in Production: The Jubilee Exhibition of 1891 and Economic Competition between Czechs and Germans in Bohemia. *Austrian History Yearbook*. Vol. 24, 1993. 101-118. Judson, Pieter M.: Not Another Square Foot! German Liberalism and the Rhetoric of National Ownership in Nineteenth Century Austria. *Austrian History Yearbook*. Vol. 26, 1995. 83-97.

and press always emphasized the self-organization of Romanians. He was convinced that “each people had the right for organizing its economic life on national basis. The state should help the initiatives of each people of the country, because only in that way, built on national foundations would strong cultural factors develop and contribute to the wealth of the whole country.” Instead of cooperation with other nations, the article prescribed self-help and self-organization: “we (Romanians) must organize the economic life *through us* and for us.”⁷⁹

Saxons were also adepts of self-help and independency. When, following Karl Wolff’s presentation of the “autonomous land-estate policy” of Saxons at the first congress of the Alliance of Cooperatives in Hungary,⁸⁰ the Hungarian Government expressed its intention to found a common settlement-bank with Saxons against Romanians, the Saxon leaders refused.⁸¹ They wanted to carry on their own “land-estate battle” and their autonomy to place subsidies in exclusively in favor of their own national community. After constructing, regaining and controlling the own resources of the nation, elites had to allocate these resources efficiently. New concepts, as ‘national property’, ‘land-estate policies’ and ‘self-assessment’ came to the agenda, as a defensive response to the Hungarian government led settlements and magyarization.⁸²

The relationship of nationalities with their external homelands was important both culturally and economically. Slovenian and Slovakian politicians and intellectuals were socialized and trained at Bohemian Czech universities and high schools. The German area, at its turn, was a source of financial know-how both for Saxon and Romanian intelligentsia from Transylvania. In the same time, prominent Romanian economists and cooperators often participate in the creation of new financial institutes (National Savings Bank) at Bucharest or cooperative congresses held in Romania. Many Transylvanian Romanian intellectuals were elected members in the Romanian Academy. External homelands as a consequence offered alternative paradigms, upward mobility or even diplomatic support for national emancipation.⁸³

⁷⁹ „Să ne cunoaștem”. [Let us know ourselves] *Tovărășia*, Nr. 4. 1906. 26. and Nr. 5. 1906. 34.

⁸⁰ A Magyarországi Szövetkezettek Szövetsége első kongresszusa. Budapest, 1910. [The first congress of the Alliance of Cooperatives from Hungary] Kongreß der ungarländischen Genossenschaften als Genossenschaft. *Siebenbürger Raiffeisenbote*, Nr. 1, 1910. 7.

⁸¹ Romsics Ignác: Az agrárkérdés nemzeti-nemzetiségi aspektusa 1890–1918 között. [The national-nationality aspects of the agrarian issue during 1890–1918] *Forrás*, Nr. 1, 1986, 26–30.

⁸² *Erhaltung und Vermehrung von liegendem Besitz durch Raiffeisenvereine*. *Siebenbürger Raiffeisenbote* 1910. Nr. 3. 21–22; Bárdi Nándor, idem.

⁸³ Galánthay (ed.): *Nagy Magyar Compass*. [Big Hungarian Compass] Budapest, 1912/13; 1917/18.

Nevertheless, Romanian economists were members of the financial elite of Austria-Hungary. Their articles appeared in the financial and economic press (*Magyar Pénzügy*) from Budapest (Popp Constantin, Ion I. Lăpedatu), Vienna and Bucharest. They often worked at the banks in these capital-cities.⁸⁴ Both as bank-directors and nationality politicians they had cordial relations with other nationality intelligentsia of the Monarchy (Czechs, Slovaks, and Serbs), especially after 1895 and 1905 when nationalities formed the Club of Nationalities in the Hungarian Parliament, and acted in solidarity in the legislature. The bigger Romanian banks (Albina, Victoria, Ardeleana) had financial relations with the Czech and Slovak Banks.⁸⁵

In World War I, during the Romanian offensive against Hungary, several Romanian bank-functionaries left Austria-Hungary and expatriated to Romania.⁸⁶ The Albina also played an important role in the process of transferring the administration of Transylvania into the hands of the Romanian National 'Ruling Council': the Banks not only financed it, but offered its offices in Sibiu as headquarters to the Council.⁸⁷

The results and national efficiency of nationality cooperatives

Contemporaries regarded the density of the co-operative network as a sign of efficiency. The political effectiveness of nationality cooperative movement has to be considered even more important than quantitative success. Even if not as dense as the Saxon cooperative network, the institutional system of Romanian banks and cooperatives, together with the media and cultural organs they sustained, achieved a Romanian public sphere, which permitted the continuous flow of ideas and programs upward and downward from elite to masses. Functions and voting rights exercised in cooperatives and general assemblies, educated and trained future, active citizens. These community members received a chance to enter the census by acquiring land-estate parcels or higher income via the cooperatives. Relying on human relations and cultural resources was one of the innovations practiced by

⁸⁴ Drecin, Mihai – Dronca, Lucian: Relația dintre bănci și cooperăția românească de credit din Transilvania (1867–1918). [The relationship of Romanian banks and cooperatives in Transylvania]. In: Văcărel, Iulian (ed.): *In memoriam Gromoslav Mladenatz. Teoria și mișcarea cooperatistă în secolul XX. Studii*. [The cooperative theory and movement in the 20th century]. Bucharest, 2002. 115–123.

⁸⁵ Boia, Lucian: *Relationships between Romanians, Czechs and Slovaks, 1848–1914*. Bucharest, 1977.

⁸⁶ MOL K 26. 527.cs. 1901. XXX.

⁸⁷ Gyárfás Elemér: Az erdélyi románok hitelszervezetei. *Magyar Kisebbség*, 1924. 71–79. Iancu, Gheorghe: *The Ruling Council 1918–1920*. Cluj, 1995.

nationality banks and cooperative networks. By according subsidies and becoming involved in communal programs, they gained the affection and devotion of the ethnic national public.

Some nationalities in Austria-Hungary recognized the importance of the economy in the national question much earlier than state authorities.⁸⁸ While the nationalities developed a sense of immunity and reaction against bureaucratic assimilation by organizing their proper institutions, Diaspora Hungarians entered in a phase of spontaneous assimilation being dispersed among the nationalities. As the ministerial reports confessed, the bureaucratic policies forcing cultural assimilation proved to be less efficient compared to the self-defense of nationalities via economic institutions.⁸⁹ Economy started to play an important role in the life of nationalities, which based their political programs on strong economic institutions.⁹⁰ Only a few Hungarian politicians recognized the failure of grammatical assimilation and the higher efficiency of economic affiliation to a nationally institutionalized community.⁹¹ In inter-war Romania, after a historic switch of roles, the Hungarian minority from Transylvania realized this, trying to replicate some features of these two diachronic models of interactive economic nation-building.⁹²

The paper illustrated two conscious nation building strategies articulated in political manifestos and realized in entrepreneurial statutes and economic programs. The length of the paper did not permit to develop the aspects of national property defense and self-assessment components of economic nationalism.⁹³ Only the interactive side of economic programs was emphasized, without accentuating the policies of government and central cooperative institutes, better known in historiography.⁹⁴ The paper rather focused on the efficient share of labor and coordination inside a national entity through the constitution of personal unions, interlocking directorates, com-

⁸⁸ Băncile din Ardeal. [The Banks from Transylvania] *Tovărășia*, Nr. 11–12, 1906. 84–85.

⁸⁹ MOL K26–603.cs. 1904-XIV-152.

⁹⁰ MOL K26–603.cs. 1904-XIV-741. 24–29.

⁹¹ *Magyar pénzügy* [Hungarian Finances]. 1903. august 6. and 1903. august 13. Băncile din Ardeal. [The Banks from Transylvania] *Tovărășia* Nr. 11–12, 1906. 84–85.

⁹² Bárdi Nándor: A romániai magyarság kisebbségpolitikai stratégiái a két világháború között. [Political strategies of the Hungarian minority in Romania between the two World Wars] *Regio*, Nr. 2, 1997. 32–67.

⁹³ Hunyadi Attila: Romániai magyar gazdaságpolitika 1918–1940 [Hungarian Economic Policy in Romania 1918–1940]. *Magyar Kisebbség*. 2000. 2. 322–341; Hunyadi Attila: Nemzetépítés és szövetkezeti politika. [Nation building and cooperative policy] *Székelyföld*, Nr. 5, 2002. 81–129.

⁹⁴ Szász Zoltán: Banking and nationality in Hungary, 1867–1914. In Teichova, Alice (ed.): *Universal Banking in the Twentieth century* Aldershot. 1994. 32–43.

mon media organs, joint propaganda, fairs and festivals, since these factors seemed to constitute the components of 'interactive nationalism'.⁹⁵ While they reassured the collaboration of institutions inside a national group, they were also serving to prevent the transgression of ethnic borders. The main functions were to be autonomous and national economy was to be coterminous with the boundaries of the national entity. Self-image opposed to the image of the other designed these imagined boundaries.⁹⁶ Jubilees, fairs were components of the communicative memories reassessing national collective identity. All these were not accidental, but voluntarily created and articulated (*mémoire volontaire*) by the intelligentsia. Since national and political conflicts tended to overlap economic concurrence, economy, commodities and finances were voluntarily ethicized.⁹⁷ Symbolic economic nationalism became inherent with institutionalized nation building.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Brubaker, Rogers: Nationalizing states in the old 'New Europe' and the new. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 19. Nr. 2, 1996.

⁹⁶ Weber, Max: *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. Tübingen, 1947. 221.

⁹⁷ Good, David F.: National Bias in the Austrian Capital Market before World War I. *Explorations in Economic History*, Vol. 14, 1977. 141–166.

⁹⁸ Halbwachs. Maurice: *La mémoire collective*. Paris, 1950; Nora, Pierre: *Les lieux de mémoire II: La Nation*. Paris, 1986.