

**FEMININE PERSONALITIES IN THE SERVICE OF
THE GREAT UNION.
SIDONIA DOCAN – THE SECRETARY OF THE
ROMANIAN NATIONAL SENATE OF TRANSYLVANIA
(4 NOV. 1918 – 4 JAN. 1919)**

Abstract: Sidonia Docan (1868-1948) was the daughter of the Cluj-based lawyer Alexa Pop and of Ana, born Lemeny. In 1894 she married George I. Docan, a large landowner and cavalry lieutenant in reserve, the descendant of an ancient family of boyars in Moldova. She settled initially in Bârlad and, after her husband's death, she returned to Cluj. There, after the outbreak of the Great War, she organised the *Petran Ambulance*, a hospital for the wounded or sick Romanian military. For four years, as "head nurse of the Red Cross", she distinguished herself through medical activities and charity actions for relieving the sufferings of the wounded who were treated in hospitals in Cluj. On 4 November 1918 she was appointed secretary of the Romanian National Senate of Transylvania, the first democratic Romanian body from Cluj led by Dr. Amos Frâncu and then by Dr. Emil Hațieganu. She attended the National Assembly in Alba Iulia, as delegate of the Romanian Women's Association from Cluj. The notes she kept daily in this period constitute a precious document for understanding the process of self-determination of the Romanians in Cluj and its surrounding areas, in the difficult conditions generated by the existence of powerful hostile forces, as the city was positioned, up until 24 December 1918, beyond the demarcation line established arbitrarily by the Belgrade Convention.

Keywords: First World War, memoir literature, Cluj, the Great Union of 1918

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Sidonia Docan was born in Cluj, in a distinguished family, on 19 December 1868. Her father was the Cluj-based lawyer Alexa Pop and her mother, Ana (1843-1937), the niece of Bishop Lemeni, was an important representative of the feminist movement in Transylvania, as well as the first president of the "*St. Mary*" *Women's Association in Cluj* (1902-1921).² In her family, she benefited from a great education in the spirit of

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² See Lavinia Buda, *Reuniunea Sf. Maria a femeilor române greco-catolice din Cluj, o "reuniune mariană atipică"*, in *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Theologia Graeco-Catholica Varadiensis*, LVII, no. 2, 2012, pp. 5-22; Anca Doina Rădoi-Dâmboianu,

upholding the Romanian national values. Her family home became gradually, thanks to her parents' efforts, a meeting place of the Romanian intellectuals who were passing through Cluj and the place where the poet George Coșbuc recited his first poems.

In 1894 she married George I. Docan,³ a large landowner and cavalry lieutenant in reserve, the descendant of an ancient family of boyars in Moldova, and the couple settled in Bârlad, participating in the fashionable life of the city, where she charmed her audiences by the ease with which she played the violin.⁴ Throughout this period she kept in touch with her family, constantly supporting, with donations, Romanian charitable activities in favour of the *Romanian Women's Association*, an aspect that was often emphasised by the press of the time.⁵

Having become a widow in 1907, Sidonia Docan returned to Cluj and continued her charity work at the Romanian Women's Association here (fig. 1). After the outbreak of the First World War, she made direct contributions to the organisation of the first Romanian hospital (September 1914),⁶ a hospital for wounded or sick Romanian military called *Petran Ambulance*, (fig. 2) led by the physician Basil Bașotă.⁷ For four years, as "head nurse of the Red Cross", she distinguished herself through medical activities and charity actions for relieving the sufferings of the wounded who were treated in hospitals in Cluj. For "the excellent services rendered since the beginning of the war", in January 1916 she was decorated with the Red Cross Medal with a war decoration.⁸

In the autumn of 1918, after the collapse of the Monarchy, the atmosphere in Cluj became increasingly tense, considering the political-military situation in town, which had immediately led to the delimitation of camps. The refusal of the Romanian military from Cluj to take the oath before the Hungarian National Council by 2 November 1918, as demanded by the new government in Budapest, enhanced the state of tension existing among the Romanian troops that had been deployed in the barracks of the city and was the catalyst that led to the creation of the Romanian National

Mihai Dâmboianu, *Ioan Bran Pop de Leméni et Kozla - "Un stejar falnic bătrân"*, Brașov, 2014, pp. 217-227.

³ The wedding took place in Cluj on 9 January 1894, one of the godfathers of the young pair being Alexandru Bohățiel, captain supreme of Năsăud District.

⁴ *Familia*, no. 22, year XXXI, 28 May/9 June 1895.

⁵ *Unirea*, no. 19, 13 May 1905; *Răvașul*, year VII, 2 February 1909.

⁶ In September 1914, for the establishment of a Romanian hospital, *Petran Ambulance*, Sidonia Docan donated (on the list of "Economul" Bank) 15 pairs of socks, 15 scarves, 6 towels and 3 bedsheets; *Românul*, no. 196, 7/20 September 1914, p. 6.

⁷ Florea Marin, *Medicii și Marea Unire*, Târgu-Mureș, Editura Tipomur, 1993, pp. 70-71.

⁸ See the article *Samaritene române decorate*, in: *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, no. 4, 6/19 January 1916.

Senate, the first Romanian democratic body in Cluj, led by Dr. Amos Frâncu and then by Dr. Emil Hațieganu.⁹

The founding meeting of the Senate and of the Romanian National Guard was held in the building at 10 Union Square, on 3 November 1918 (**fig. 3 a-b**), and Sidonia Docan attended it. From her memories and those of another participant, the Greek-Catholic Archpriest of Cluj-Napoca, Dr. Elie Dăianu, we find that here, in a solemn atmosphere, the Romanian tricolour flag was hoisted for the first time publicly. The flag had been retrieved from a hiding place in Bob Church, located nearby, and carried triumphantly to the place where the Romanian assembly was held.¹⁰

Sidonia Docan began to write daily about the events in which she participated, starting from 18 October 1918. She referred to the historic moment when Dr. Alexandru Vaida Voevod presented the *Declaration of Self-Determination of the Romanians in Transylvania* in the Hungarian Parliament.

Her *Notes* constitute a precious document for understanding the process of self-determination of the Romanians in Cluj and its surrounding areas, in the difficult conditions generated by the existence of powerful hostile forces, as the city of Cluj, with a Hungarian majority population, was positioned, up until 24 December 1918, beyond the demarcation line established arbitrarily by the Belgrade Convention. (see **Annex I**). Thus, she made daily notes about the difficulties faced by the Romanians in Cluj, the challenges raised by the Hungarian authorities of the city, and the prompt reply of the Romanian intellectuals. These intellectuals, headed by lawyer Amos Frâncu, director of “Economul” Bank, began to organise themselves and to set up Romanian institutions designed to ensure the self-determination of the Romanians (national councils and guards). The Romanian National Senate of Transylvania had to work in difficult circumstances, its actions for the self-determination of the Romanians being regarded with distrust and even hostility by the representatives of the Hungarian National Council, established in Cluj on October 29, 1918. This council was headed by Professor Dr. István Apáthy, whose chauvinistic feelings against the Romanians were well-known in the intellectual circles of the Romanians in Cluj. The leadership of the Hungarian National Council also comprised Dr. Sándor Vincze and Jenő Janovics, acting as vice-presidents. The Council’s headquarters were located in the old Town Hall building and those of the Hungarian National Guard were in the current location at 4 Stefan cel Mare Square (**fig. 4**).

Because events were getting out of kilter, Dr. Amos Frâncu as President of the Romanian National Senate of Transylvania, signed and

⁹ Daniela Comșa, Eugenia Glodariu, Maria Magdalena Jude, *Clujenii și Marea Unire*, Cluj-Napoca, 1998, pp. 26-29.

¹⁰ Ilie Dăianu, *Toamna clujeană*, in: Constantin Dumitrescu, *Din lunga timpului bătaie. Anul 1918 în amintirile unor martori oculari*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Dacia, 1978, pp. 179-181.

released several manifestos and communiqués¹¹ – mentioned by Sidonia Docan in her *Notes* – which decreed the “civil and military organisation of the Romanians in Transylvania”. The Senate’s manifesto of November 2, 1918 stated that in order to “sustain public order”, there would be established the national guard and the civil guard, “both under the national flag, with Romanian as the language of command”. The Romanian bodies were not subject to the political authorities of other nationalities, but they could collaborate with them. It was now that the 52 localities of recruitment were set – the “garrisons” – corresponding to the 13 counties in Transylvania, where the guardsmen were supposed to gather under the leadership of the Romanian officers and to submit the following oath: “*I swear loyalty and allegiance to the Romanian National Council, as the representative of the Romanian Nation, and to its body, the Romanian National Senate of Transylvania. So help me God!*”. At the same time, there were laid down the means of armament, the per diem and the pay, outlining the fact that “on all celebratory occasions the national anthem *Awaken, Romanian* was to be sung”.¹² Also, the leaders of the Senate requested the Romanian banks to financially support the establishment of national guards across the entire province.¹³ The manifesto-proclamation was printed and sent out by special couriers to all the corners of Transylvania, in order to obtain endorsement for the decisions reached in Cluj and the recognition of the Senate as the authority for entire Transylvania. Some of them (as was the case of the student Emil Dandea)¹⁴ were dispatched to the northern parts and in the area of the Apuseni Mountains with the mission to organise other national councils and guards, in accordance with indications transmitted from Cluj.

In parallel with the huge effort of organising the Romanians in the territory, the Romanian National Senate established its headquarters in Cluj, on November 4, 1918, in the building of “Economul” Bank. In the new location, Sidonia Docan, appointed to the position of secretary, began a remarkable organisational activity together with the leadership of the National Senate (**fig. 5**). On November 12, 1918, the Romanian tricolour was hoisted for the first time on the pediment of the “Economul” Bank. The flag was sewn by Ana A. Popp and was handed over to the Senate leadership by a delegation of the *Romanian Women’s Association from Cluj*, headed by Nuțy Gherman.

¹¹ Cluj County Branch of the National Archives (hereinafter: SJCJAN), fund *National Guards of 1918*, doc. 32/1918.

¹² Marcel Știrban, *Cojocnenii la Alba Iulia. Documente. Oameni și locuri la 95 de ani de la Marea Unire. Din istoria României, 1918*, vol. X, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Napoca Star; Târgu Mureș, Editura Edu, 2013, pp. 127-129.

¹³ SJCJAN, fund *The Year 1918*, doc. 466/1918.

¹⁴ Ioan Silviu Nistor, *Emil A. Dandea în slujba înfăptuirii și consolidării Marii Uniri*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Sedan, 2000, pp. 16-20.

It is very likely that in those days, a panel with the emblem *THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL SENATE OF TRANSYLVANIA* was hung on the building of “Economul” Bank, framed by a tricolour band. This is one of the most important themed exhibits in the patrimony of the museum related to the year 1918. The panel was discovered by us in the deposit of the museum. It was inventoried and then restored by a specialised division (**fig. 6 a-b**).¹⁵ The story of this museum artefact deserves to be mentioned here briefly as a testimony to the rapid effort of organising the Romanians in Cluj in those days of great intensity, at the beginning of November 1918. Therefore, under the current layer of paint the specialists discovered the logo of the *PETTRAN AMBULANCE*, as proof of the fact that the panel with a wooden frame was originally located at the administrative headquarters of the Romanian hospital with the same name, a hospital set up for the wounded of war in the autumn of 1914, where, as seen above Sidonia Docan acted as head nurse for the Red Cross. To install and quickly organise the National Senate, it is obvious that as newly appointed secretary, she swiftly commissioned the *Grätz* painting workshop to repaint the old panel with the new logo of the Senate, which was subsequently placed on the building of “Economul” Bank with the “tricolour flag” donated by the Romanian women on 12 November 1918.

Further on, Sidonia Docan mentions receiving at the Senate the *Proclamation* of General Constantin Prezan, the Chief of Staff of the Romanian Army, addressed to the Romanians in Transylvania (20 November 1918). This document was released in order to calm down the population of the province, amidst the political and military events which were happening at a pace that was unprecedented and almost incomprehensible or unacceptable for those who were losing their privileged positions, by contrast with the enthusiasm of the Romanians, who after all those sacrifices belonged now to the camp of the victors (**fig. 7**). Also during this period, she noted the efforts made by the Senate for organising the sending to Alba Iulia of delegations representing as many localities in the county of Cluj and the surrounding area as possible: “*Tomorrow, on November 30, at 2 o’clock pm, the separate train leaves for Alba Iulia. In the assembly of 27 November, where they elected the delegates, they magnanimously included in circle II the Expresident (Dr. Amos Frâncu – our note*¹⁶*). I make and ceaselessly order tricolour flags.*

¹⁵ I must thank my colleague Sabin Grapini who restored this museum artefact, so that the panel can be displayed at the anniversary exhibition *The People of Cluj and the Great Union of 1918*, which will open at the museum on November 2, 2018.

¹⁶ Sidonia Docan remained a supporter of the lawyer Amos Frâncu even after his replacement as head of the Romanian National Senate in Cluj on November 15, 1918. She regretted his departure from the Senate leadership, considering that he had been slandered by his close associates when the Romanian National Council in Arad replaced him with Emil Hațieganu. See Ioan Clopoșel, *Revoluția din 1918 și Unirea Ardealului cu România*, Cluj, Editura Revistei Societatea de mâine, 1926, pp.105-106.

Villages after villages are coming to reclaim the flag for which they've had to suffer for so long, they want to see it fluttering from all the angles".

On the basis of the convening notice for the Assembly of Alba Iulia, the meetings for the election of delegates to the National Assembly took place in Cluj over the last ten days of the month of November, 1918. Delegates, both titulars and substitutes, were elected from the electoral circles, but also from various organisations and associations of women, teachers, youth, craftsmen. The election session was held on November 27 and several delegates received a mandate for participation in Alba Iulia : Dr. Emil Hațieganu, Dr. Nicodim Cristea, Dr. Elie Dăianu, Dr. Valentin Poruțiu, Dr. Augustine Pordea, Anton Mandeal, Petre Barițiu, Dr. Amos Frâncu, Dr. Ioan Giurgiu, Pavel Alb, Iuliu Muja, Iuliu Coroianu. On the same day, the *Romanian Women's Association* in Cluj appointed Maria R. Pop and Sidonia Docan as delegates to Alba Iulia on behalf of this organisation. In the county of Cojocna, following the meetings held in Gherla and Turda, the participation mandate for Alba Iulia was also granted to the following women: the teacher Livia Coroianu, from the Greek-Catholic Diocesan Pedagogical School for Girls from Gherla, the teacher Aurelia Suciuc from the "St. Mary" Romanian Greek-Catholic Women's Association in Gherla, the teacher Eugenia Mesaroșiu and. Ecaterina Moldovan from the Romanian Women's Reading Society in Turda.¹⁷

Saddened by the incident in the train station of Teiuș from 30 November 1918 and, at the same time, impressed by the numerous people present in the citadel of the Great Union, Sidonia Docan noted down the following: *"At 2 we're leaving, about 1,000 people. For these turbulent times the journey is fairly all right up to Teiuș, where they are shooting at our train, Ioan Arion drops dead, he was standing proudly next to the tricolour Big imbroglio, great sorrow in our souls. Leave happily, take the sacrifice to the place of salvation! In the morning, according to the ancient custom, a religious service before the gathering. Huge crowds, picturesque groups of peasants from all regions. With great excitement and satisfaction I am watching these proud and dignified figures, who have endured so many ordeals and fierce injustice, keeping calm and serene"*.

At Alba Iulia, on 1 December 1918, the 1,228 de jure or elected delegates (among whom were the 39 people from Cluj) decided the union of Transylvania with Romania in perpetuity. *The Resolution of Union*, read by Vasile Goldiș, was voted unanimously by the delegates. It was received with great enthusiasm by the more than 100,000 Romanians present at Alba Iulia on that historical day for the Romanian nation and its first point provided the following: *"The National Assembly of all the Romanians in*

¹⁷ D. Comșa, E. Glodariu, M. Jude, *op.cit.*, Annex B.

Transylvania, Banat and the Hungarian Country, assembled through their lawful representatives in Alba Iulia on the day of 18 November/1 December 1918, decrees the unification of those Romanians and of all the territories inhabited by them with Romania. The national assembly proclaims, above all, the inalienable right of the Romanian nation to the whole of Banat, between the rivers Murăș, the Tisza and the Danube”.

After returning from Alba Iulia, Sidonia Docan referred to in her *Notes* to the increasingly tense situation existing in the city and in the surroundings, remarking that immediately after the return of the delegates from Alba Iulia the threats against the Romanians in the city and especially against the leaders of the political body of the Romanian “Economul” Bank intensified: *“Apathy is fretting about, inciting the Szeklers! They claim we should take down the tricolour flag from the Senate. A conjuration for the removal of the Legion and the leaders of all that Romanianism stands for”.*

These threats were quite real, considering the daily challenges and the existing conflicting situation, which was doubled by the lawlessness and insubordination of the recruited Szeklers, quartered in the barracks of Cluj-Napoca. Thus, at a meeting of the Szekler officers from December 4, 1918, the president, Sub-Lieutenant Zágoni, adjutant of the commander of the Szekler battalion, proposed unequivocally blowing out “Economul” Bank, storming the headquarters of the Romanian National Guard, and slaughtering the Romanian population in the city.¹⁸

On December 12, 1918, Sidonia Docan noted that, under the command of their officers, the Szeklers chanted, in the streets of Cluj, chauvinistic songs that were insulting to the Romanians. She recalled the incident with victims from Someșeni and the “critical situation” in Sălaj, Aiton and Târgu Lăpuș, where the Szeklers were “shooting and tormenting people, if they are Romanian”.

In Cluj, a city that had a majority Hungarian population and was located beyond the demarcation line, major military units were deployed starting from mid-November 1918; such was the case of the “division of Szeklers” led by Colonel Károlyi Kratochwill. Also, the government in Budapest did not recognise the political and legal value of the *Resolution of Union* passed at Alba Iulia and sought to undermine, by every means, the activity of the Governing Council in Sibiu through the establishment in Cluj of a governmental Commissariat General for Eastern Hungary. On December 8, 1918, Professor István Apáthy was appointed as its leader. He was at the same time President of the Hungarian National Council of Transylvania. On December 22, 1918, he organised a people’s assembly in the central square of Cluj, attended by several thousand people, which was

¹⁸ *Anul 1918 în județul Bistrița-Năsăud. Contribuții documentare* (eds. A. Onofreiu, I. Pinteș, C. Vlașin), (hereinafter: *Anul 1918...*), Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega, 2018, doc. 121, pp. 206-207.

meant as a counter protest to the Assembly in Alba Iulia. Motion read by Dr. Sándor Vincze (Vice President of the Hungarian Council in Cluj) was voted during that protest. It provided for maintaining the political and economic unity of historical Hungary and the non-recognition of the Resolution of Union from Alba Iulia.¹⁹

The growing number of ethnic incidents and the hostile attitude of the “division of Szeklers” towards the Romanian population led Dr. Amos Frâncu to travel to Bistrița, where he met with Major Dumitru Coroamă, commander of the 2nd battalion of the 15th Regiment “Războieni”. Here, he requested the Romanian officer to present this serious situation to General Headquarters, demanding that the Romanian army should pass as quickly as possible the dividing line and advance along the Someș valley to Cluj.²⁰ A similar undertaking was made by Dr. Emil Hațieganu, president of the Romanian National Council in Cluj, who in a letter to the commander of the Romanian army in Bistrita informed him of the atrocities committed by the Hungarian soldiers against Romanians in Cluj (6 December 1918). In its preamble it, he wrote the following: *“The Romanian population of the County of Cojocna/Kolozs megye:/ and of the city of Cluj, its capital, has been – especially from December 1 onwards, a memorable day when the great national assembly of Romanians voted and decided the annexation of Romanians and of the territory inhabited by them to Romania – under the terror and brutality of the Hungarians. The wealth and life of the Romanians are in danger and at any time we can expect mass slaughter to be perpetrated by our age-old enemies [...] Consequently, to guarantee the wealth and life of the Romanians in Cluj, the centre of Hungarian chauvinism, and for the Romanian national*

¹⁹ On December 21, 1918, Ștefan Cicio-Pop, the chief of the Army and Public Security from the Governing Council in Sibiu communicated the following data about the situation in the city: *“In Cluj and around the city there are about 12,000 Szeklers armed with rifles, machine guns and about 4 batteries of artillery, then 2 armoured trains, which, after the occupation of Teiuș and Aiud, passed through Arad and Oradea on their way to Cluj. The authorities in Cluj received orders to surrender the city without resistance, but, at the same time, the President of the Hungarian Senate in Cluj, Vincze, made semi-official statements, from which we can infer that the authorities disclaimed any liability in case when the Szeklers, disgruntled by the new order, would - without asking for their superiors’ permission and even against the will of their leaders - start a killing spree in Cluj. Consequently, the occupation was to be conducted with great caution. We are also informed that in Cluj there were stores of food, many clothes, some in shops, some in private homes. Then, there were hospitals equipped with many pharmaceutical articles. Therefore, we believe the application the following procedure would be appropriate: the occupation should not be delayed, lest the Hungarians should have time to transport anything away from Cluj. To this end. Our council ordered that no coal should be given away from Petroșani”*. See Cornel Grad, *Contribuția armatei române la preluarea puterii politico-administrative în Transilvania. Primele măsuri (noiembrie 1918-aprilie 1920)*, in: *Revista de administrație publică și politici sociale*, no. 4 (5), December 2010, p. 66.

²⁰ SJCJAN, fund *The National Guards of 1918*, doc. 103/1928, f. 2-3.

*interests of the highest order, we implore you to give orders for Cluj to be occupied without delay by the Romanian army”.*²¹

It should be noted that, on December 12, 1918, at the request of General Constantin Prezan, the French General Henri Mathias Berthelot, chief of the French Military Mission in Romania and then commander of the Army of the Danube, gave his consent that the troops of the Romanian army could cross the demarcation line established arbitrarily by the Belgrade Convention, and could occupy strategic points beyond this line.²²

The fact that the Romanian army was approaching the city prompted the departure from Cluj of the regular troops of the Hungarian army that had been stationed in the barracks of the city. They walked towards the train station via the present-day King Ferdinand St., Where the headquarters of the Romanian National Council were located. The Romanian tricolour was hoisted on the pediment of that building. After a series of challenges, on December 19, 1918, during this evacuation of Hungarian troops from Cluj, there occurred the most serious incident which marked the Romanian community in the city, namely the armed attack on the headquarters of the Romanian National Council. The Romanian National Guard, located in the building of “Economul” Bank, was severely attacked by the soldiers of the Szekler battalion led by Captain Werböczi. In the ensuing gun battle, the young Octavian Petrovici was killed and five other Romanians were injured.

Impressed by the courage of the Romanian guardsmen, who had valiantly defended the flag, Sidonia Docan noted in her diary: *The day of 19 December is a day of assault on the Senate too. Werböczi’s Szekler battalion has attacked our guard. We have one dead man, Cornel Petrovici, and 5 wounded. The flag of the Romanian women on the front [of the building] is riddled with bullets, but persists and remains”.* On December 21, 1918, a young man of just 15 years of age was buried with military honours in the Central Cemetery and the Romanian National Council in Cluj declared him a “*martyr of the Romanian nation*”²³ (**fig. 8 a-b**).

One day later, the political body of the Romanians from Cluj launched a manifesto addressed to “*All the leaders and all the Romanian people in Cluj, around the city and in the Mountains of Gilău*”, announcing that, on December 24, 1918, the 13th Infantry Brigade led by General Anton Gherescu would enter Cluj and inviting the Romanians to welcome the royal army with tricolour flags²⁴ (**fig. 9**).

²¹ *Year 1918...*, doc. 124, pp. 209-212.

²² Constantin Kirişescu, *Istoria războiului pentru întregirea României 1916-1919*, second edition, Bucureşti, Editura Casa Şcoalelor, 1925, vol. III, pp. 390-391.

²³ SJCJAN, fund *The National Guards of 1918*, doc. 104/1927, f.1-2.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 72/1918.

On December 23, 1918, while the last military formations consisting mostly of recruited Szeklers were leaving the city, Dr. Octavian Utalea and Dr. Iulian Pop, representing the Romanian National Council, met in the train station of Apahida with General Anton Gherescu for preparing the entry of the Romanian army in Cluj. The meeting was also attended by a Hungarian delegation headed by the mayor Guztáv Haller, who protested against the entry of the Romanian army in Cluj. General Gherescu replied firmly that he was following orders received from the superior military authorities of the Entente, gave assurances that his intentions were peaceful, but he would repress any rebellion or disturbance of the public peace, demanded the removal of the armed Hungarian guards from the city and requested that several rooms at the New York Hotel (today, the Continental Hotel) should be made available for the accommodation of the Romanian officers.

On Tuesday, December 24, 1918, the Romanian army entered Cluj. It was a historic moment of great importance that put an end to the state of tension that had dominated the life of the city in those tumultuous days after the National Assembly in Alba Iulia. The event was recorded by Sidonia Docan, who wrote down the following on that day: *Young and old, everyone is running to Matthias Square to welcome the Romanian Army in Cluj. Is this not a dream? [...] The entry of the army, headed by Generals Neculcea and Gherescu, with a martial appearance, produces an indescribable emotion. Men are crying, women are crying, children, too, all are shaken by a holy emotion. Then they dance a hora around the square, around Matthias*".

The first subunits of the 7th Infantry Division that entered the city, coming from Apahida, were Regiments 15 and 16 Dorobanți, the first two batteries of the 4th Artillery Regiment Roman and the cavalry squadron of the division. At "the edge of Cluj, towards Someșeni", the files of the Romanian army were met by a delegation of the Romanian National Council in Cluj and Cojocna County, composed of Dr. Valentin Poruțiu (Vice President) and Dr. Alexandru Dragomir (head of the commissarial office). After a few greeting words, General Neculcea was invited into the automobile of the hosts but he turned down the offer and continued his way on foot, at the head of the military detachments. At the "old customs" of Cluj (in the area of Mărăști Square), the Romanian general was met by a Hungarian delegation led by the mayor of the city. The Romanian military marched down Magyar-utca (today 21 December 1989 Bld.), where they were cheered on by members of the Romanian National Guard, whose barracks were here.

On the whole route and in Union Square, the military were acclaimed by an impressive crowd of Romanians who had come to town at the call of the National Council. At 11 o'clock, in Union Square, as the brass band played its marches, the Romanian troops appeared, led by the

officer corps and the two generals. The Orthodox Archpriest Tului Roșescu, the Greek-Catholic chaplain Petru S. Simu, Dr. Amos Frâncu on behalf of the Romanian National Council, Dr. Iulian Pop on behalf of the National Guard, Mrs. Olivia Telia on behalf of the *Romanian Women's Association* and Dr. Emil A. Dandea on behalf of the Romanian academics of Cluj gave welcome speeches. These speeches, full of enthusiasm and joy, were answered by Generals Neculcea and Gherescu, each cheered on by the crowd of people who had filled the square. 4,000 soldiers, 70 officers and the artillery batteries, followed by the members of the National Guard, marched before the grand stand. The enthusiasm was high, the Romanian soldiers were acclaimed and a big hora was danced around the statue of Matthias Corvinus.

All these manifestations of joy, speeches and welcome greetings were published, the next day, in an “*occasional issue*” entitled *Cluj. A body of the Romanian National Council in Cluj and Cojocna County*”. Edited by Chaplain Dr. Nicodim Cristea, the newspaper published on the front page an extensive article entitled “*Welcome!*”, voicing the participants’ feelings of tremendous exhilaration at the arrival of the Romanian army.

On December 25, 1918 the New York Hotel hosted a “very animated” banquet, in the presence of 400 people, thrown in honour of the Romanian army (**fig. 10**). On this occasion, the choir of the officers from the Romanian guard, led by Dr. Y. C. Stanca sang *Awaken, Romanian!* Then the military band played the *Royal Anthem* and the *Marseillaise*, followed by ballads and national songs. Toasts were given in honour of King Ferdinand and Queen Marie (General Anton Gherescu), of the Romanian army (Archpriest Tului Roșescu), of Prime Minister Ionel Brătianu (Dr. Ioan Giurgiu), of the Entente and France (Dr. Elie Dăianu), of the American president W. Wilson (Dr. Nicodim Cristea), of Romanian women (General Gherescu), which was answered by Mrs. Olivia Telia, etc. At midnight French Captain Vienne from the mission of General Berthelot arrived here, most likely with the task to prepare the visit of the French general in Cluj. In the general acclaim of the participants, the welcoming speech was given in French by Mrs. Sidonia Docan and by Dr. Amos Frâncu.

Indeed, a week after the entry of the Romanian army, Cluj experienced a second moment of triumph, when the officials and the crowds of Romanians from the surrounding villages and from the area of the Apuseni Mountains welcomed the illustrious French General Henri Mathias Berthelot. His tour began on 25 December 1918, when he left Bucharest by train, and he visited several localities in the west and north of the country (Orșova, Timișoara, Arad, Oradea, Satu-Mare, Baia-Mare). General Berthelot arrived in Cluj on 31 December 1918, coming by train

from Bistrița, where the day before he visited the city escorted by a troop of young cavalry²⁵ (fig.11 a-c).

His warm reception on December 31, 1918, at the station, in the streets and in Matthias Corvinus Square, led General Neculcea to thank the participants through a proclamation: *“You have descended from the mountains and have come from the villages under our majestic tricolour, to welcome, in the city of Cluj, the capital of Transylvania, General Berthelot, the man who fought valiantly alongside us, for the fulfilment of our centuries-old ideal”*.

The atmosphere of enthusiasm for the French general, who will remain entrenched in history as a great friend of the Romanians, is also described in the *Notes* of Sidonia Docan, who, along with other officials, such as General Anton Gherescu and Dr. Amos Frâncu, welcomed him on the station platform in Cluj. She greeted him in French and gave him an “admirable bouquet with the inscription – *The Romanian ladies from Cluj, to the heroic General Berthelot*”. Further, referring to this historic moment, she wrote: *“The view that presents the mass of Romanian peasants, the women astride their horses at the exit from the station, with the numerous tricolour flags, the enthusiastic liveliness they experienced at seeing the general. Words cannot describe this. From the train station to the city there was a sea of excited people, who deeply impressed the illustrious guest also through their picturesque appearance”*. Also, the Romanian press widely reported about the receipt of the French guest in Cluj, the speeches that were given and the gifts that the Motzen had brought him on this occasion.²⁶ General Berthelot’s merits and effort for the accomplishment of Greater Romania were recognised in Cluj at that time also by assigning his name to a street (the present-day Constanța St.).

On 18-19 January 1919, under the protection of the Romanian army, the Romanian administration was established in Cluj, as a result of the departure from the stations of the former Hungarian officials. On January 15, 1919, after the incident at Crișeni (near Zalău),²⁷ commissioner István Apáthy was arrested by the Romanian army and the headquarters of the Commissariat General of Eastern Hungary from Cluj was put under seizure. The new prefects of the city and the county, previously appointed by the Governing Council – Dr. Valentin Poruțiu and

²⁵ Ioan Șerban, Constantin Stan, *Călătoria generalului Henri M Berthelot în Banat și Transilvania*, in *Apulum*, vol. 38/2, 2001, p. 175.

²⁶ See *Generalul Berthelot la Cluj*, in *Unirea*, no. 5, 11 January 1919.

²⁷ The armed attack in Crișeni (near Zalău) was committed by a group of Hungarian soldiers who had mined the railway line and attacked the train carrying Romanian army troops to the west. The attack ended with 6 dead, 13 wounded and 7 Romanian missing soldiers. The investigation that followed established beyond any doubt Apáthy’s involvement in this, after the discovery, in Zalău, of a telegram he had sent the Hungarian troops, urging them to resist the advance of the Romanian army. See Cornel Grad, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.

Simion Tămaş – took over their administrative functions, and thus “the First Council of Romanian Cluj” could be set up. The first appointed Romanian mayor was Dr. Iulian Pop, a close collaborator of Sidonia Docan, former commissioner of the Department of Economic and Financial Affairs of the Romanian National Council in Cluj. The fact that many members of the Council were co-opted in various administrative and municipal functions determined the official termination of its existence on January 31, 1919.

During those three months, the first Romanian democratic body from Cluj registered outstanding achievements, to which Sidonia Docan brought a remarkable contribution. This suite of events was designed to translate into practice the will to self-determination of the Romanians in Transylvania, in the spirit of the *Resolution of Union*. Thus, the Senate from Cluj immediately proclaimed the right of the Romanians in the city and the surroundings to self-determination, established itself as a department of the Central Romanian National Council in Arad, organised the national guard in the city and in the county and facilitated the participation of the 39 elected delegates in the National Assembly from Alba Iulia. In the citadel of the Great Union, through their voice, the people of Cluj gave expression to their adherence to the most important political event in the modern history of Romanians. Some of them were entrusted with high public posts in the Governing Council or in other bodies of the Romanian administration, which steered the destiny of the province in the first two years after the Union.

In 1919, among other outstanding merits of Sidonia Docan was the establishment of the Red Cross Society in Cluj (22 May 1919) as well as the organisation of the canteen for the Romanian military in transit through the railway station in Cluj. Regarding this last initiative, she noted that King Ferdinand himself brought public thanks to the Red Cross Society when he visited Cluj on August 2, 1919. Two days later, on August 4, 1919, she wrote the last entry in her memoirs: “*The Entry of the Romanian Army in Budapest. General Moşoiu leading. With great pride and holy emotion I am noting down this glorious event!*” (fig. 12).

In subsequent years, Sidonia Docan conducted a remarkable work of charity, as pointed out by the newspaper *Patria*, which, in an anniversary issue celebrating eighteen years since the Great Union,²⁸ portrayed her thus: “*Mrs. Sidonia G. I. Docan, president of the Red Cross, Cluj branch, is one of the daughters of the old family that stood at the forefront of the national and cultural movement, Alexă Pop, and widow of the Moldovan boyar G. Docan. She is a prominent figure of our lives. Her power of work, determination and intelligence have driven her to wonderful achievements in the society she leads with high competence*

²⁸ *Patria*, 1 December 1936, p. 3.

since its foundation in Cluj. We can justly say that there is no village, no hamlet where the name of Mrs. Docan is unknown. And it's because since the union she has been working as an inspector of the Ministry of Social Protection, leading and directing the dozens of visiting nurses in her care to the fulfilment of their calling, which is so necessary for the Romanian people. Her work deserves to be presented in many newspaper columns and not only in this small space".

List of illustrations:

Figure no. 1 – Sidonia Docan (1906)

Figure no. 2 – The Petran Ambulance, Cluj, 22 November 1914 - The Doina and Mihai Dâmboianu Collection, Braşov

Figure no. 3 a-b – Building where was held the founding meeting of the Romanian National Senate of Transylvania (today 10 Union Square)

Figure no. 4 – Headquarters of the Hungarian National Guard in Cluj (October-December 1918), (today 4 Stefan cel Mare Square)

Figure no. 5 – “Economul” Bank, the headquarters of the Romanian National Senate of Transylvania

Figure no. 6 a-b – Panel with the emblem of the ROMANIAN NATIONAL SENATE OF TRANSYLVANIA (before and after restoration)

Figure no. 7 – Proclamation of General Constantin Prezan (20 November 1918)

Figure no. 8 a-b – Former headquarters of the Senate of the Romanian National Senate (today 31 King Ferdinand St, at the corner with 11 Octavian Petrovici St)

Figure no. 9 – Manifesto of the Romanian National Council in Cluj (22 December 1918)

Figure no. 10 – Headquarters of the Command of the 7th Division of the Romanian army, 24 November 1918

Figure no. 11 a-c – Aspects of the visit of General Berthelot in Transylvania (December 1918 -January 1919)

Figure no. 12 – The celebration in Cluj of the day of the Romanian army's entry in Budapest (4 August 1919)

ANNEX I

[Sidonia Docan], *Daily Notes – from the autumn of 1918*²⁹

Copy Extract from the notes taken daily in the Romanian National Senate by the president's secretary, Sidonia Docan.

From the turmoil preceding the final denouement

[Year] 1918

18 October/Friday/

In the Parliament of Budapest Alex. Vaida Voevod is reading a declaration, on behalf of the Romanian people, leaving the doors [missing text]. Throughout the Country there's great longing for Peace and Independence – with a blast of impatient yearning for rebellion [sic].

28[October]

The dismantling of the Monarchy has begun! A heavy atmosphere. Who's to fight for Romania?! Who is to care for their fate and their future? This wretched people, hurled into all manner of dangers and sacrificed by all, other countries wish to rise to glory on its back, greatness and independence, [missing text].

30[October]

The revolution has been unleashed! Barbarian hordes have begun the destruction of the [missing text], the Hungarians have organised the "Nemzeti Tanács"³⁰ (National Council – our note) everywhere... Dr. Frâncu is struggling with the elements around him to lay the foundations and to ensure an indestructible protection for the Romanian cause! He is convening meetings, or sending couriers to the Matadors of the National Committee. Whence there comes no answer, no guidance! Don't they also have the feeling that it's now or never?!?

31[October]

Imperialist Austria is now a Republic! At long last, it crosses our mind that we ought to admit the state of affairs [sic], and to declare firmly what we want? Don't we have the guts or don't we know what's to be done?

And "ECONOMUL" Bank has been invited to join the "Nemzeti Tanács"! No! and no!

²⁹ Apud Cornel Tucă, *Activitatea Senatului Național Român (Cluj) oglindită în notițele Sidoniei Docan*, in *Buletinul Arhivelor Militare Române*, no. 43, 2009, pp. 26-31. This version of the *Notes* has been annotated and completed with information we have come across during our investigations.

³⁰ National Council (Hungarian)

Finally Dr. A. Frâncu realises that he should convene a meeting at “VATRA”³¹ for 5 p.m. Decisions must be made now or it will be too late [missing text].

Revolution! The soldiers are tearing off their badges, the streets are full of wild people, who want destruction, who are yelling, while down town, under “ECONOMUL” Bank, they are breaking the store windows with wooden bars, raising the place, plundering the clothes, destroying everything. You get terrified by the anger of the unleashed masses...at night, the streets are dark, no one dares to go out, there’s an order that the gates should be locked, stifled silence as before a blizzard [missing text].

1[November]

News about the assassination of Tisza!³² The fiercest enemy of the Romanians, the instigator of the War, with Wilhelm II. Three soldiers broke into his Palace in Pest and shot him without mercy, just like he sacrificed and massacred us.

Everywhere there are proclamations to the people in Hungarian and Romanian/ and aren’t the walls of Cluj going to waste?/ and in German, signed by Dr. Apathy, an infamous and impudent Jew.

A member of the National Committee passing through Cluj finally told us curtly to “Get organised!”, without further guidance.

Dr. Kertesz and Vincze invited to the National Hungarian Senate Dr. Frâncu and Dr. Păteanu, where after the formidable speech of Mr. Frâncu – when Apathy had turned as white as a sheet and could no longer refute the arguments presented to him, could not even dare stave off an energy they had not believed a Romanian mind could have – they gave in, recognising rights and the Romanian oath, they even promised cooperation in parallel, for fear of the Romanian masses, who would finally be able to rise [missing text].

1[November]

Yesterday’s meeting of “VATRA” could not be held, as all the doors were locked! Intrigue! Or Fear! Frâncu and Păteanu’s fury and despair were beyond words. Next, accurate information, experienced and written down by Dr. Păteanu, secretary of the Romanian National Senate.

In the city, dismay and great horror. Last night there was a rumour in the army that the Czechs had been advancing, and that they had marched even so far as Apahida. At the station they placed cannons and machine guns to prevent their entry into the city. Strict order to lock the gates. When I walk down the deserted, lightless streets, quickly, amidst a grim silence, I wonder, worried: will it be good or bad for us, Romanians? And will the world ever know what we have suffered, what sacrifices we have made? God help us! Then again, the spirits calm down when we hear,

³¹ A bank with Romanian capital set up in Cluj in 1907.

³² István Tisza (1861-1918), Prime Minister of Hungary in 1903-1905 and 1913-1918, active supporter of Austro-Hungarian dualism.

when they say that the French and the English will occupy Transylvania! This is also the news that appears in papers.

Dr. Frâncu has convened a Constituent meeting for Sunday, November 3. At long last!!!

3[November]

Sunday, 3 pm, under the Romanian tricolour flag, with delusional enthusiasm, with a fiery speech, at the “Circle of Hungarian Industrialists”, in Matthias Square, Dr. Frâncu, Dr. Păteanu, will secure our point of law, that solid plinth on which the Romanian National Senate was erected, leading to the accomplishment of Greater Romania! What only inexhaustible energy and undefeated courage could secure!

The Hungarian oath has ceased to be compulsory. The call to the ROMANIAN BROTHERS!

4[November]

The Romanian National Council [was] installed with telephones, ordinance at “ECONOMUL” Bank. I have been appointed Secretary.

Revolution! Our enemy have weapons, we nothing!

5[November]

Printed Manifesto addressed to the Romanians. The commander of the regiment [63] is Romanian, he is Captain Coțuțiu, telephone 955, in the Barracks from Magyar-ut/Calea Victoriei.

The Hungarians, very scared, come seeking salvation from the Romanian Senate, for the wrongs they committed fill them with the horror of a possible justified vengeance.

In the Romanian communes they attack the peaceful villagers, then ask for help for the “Wallachians” have risen. Their heinous atrocities keep being repeated!

Here, in the Senate, we are working day and night, feverishly, to avoid clashes and slaughter.

Consultations at General Commander Siegkeri³³ [sic] (Siegler – our note).

The Romanian Senate is sending Romanian officers and military support everywhere, to calm down the spirits; sub-commissariats are formed in villages.

7[November]

Talks with the Hungarian prefect and the general. The peasants, without distinction of nationality, retaliate against the official bodies for the wrongs they had endured.

The Minister of War, Bartha, has admitted the Romanian oath of allegiance for entire Transylvania and for the Romanians in Hungary.

Dr. Mihaly³⁴ agrees with everything the Romanian Senate has decided here. /Finally!/, when he saw that Dr. Frâncu has pulled the

³³ Konrad Siegler von Eberswald, infantry general and commander of the garrison in Cluj.

chestnuts out of the fire. The Hungarians are, directly, causing the revolution.

Lord, let justice win! How proud I am to be precisely in the midst of this activity where, with every fibre strained, our future is in the making. I can see with my eyes, I live with ceaseless excitement those grandiose days of struggle towards light and truth [missing text].

Rebellions everywhere! All the aristocrats are running to find shelter under the shield of the Romanian Senate!!! Big imbroglio, restricted movement, few trains, cars, few carriages. Superhuman efforts to maintain order and peace in the poor spirits, overwrought because of the injustices endured, carried to the extreme during the war, the forced abductions, the aid, the requisitioned food, etc. exasperated them. Officers, soldiers from Bukovina are arriving, staying and forming the Legion. One every day! Allegro feats, no respite and no rest. It has been decided to take over the entire administration. [Added on the margins, by hand, in black ink]: On 8 November, in the evening, 3,600 men³⁵ and 14 officers, led by Ditrich, committed the most gruesome murder in Beliș.

10[November]

The President is ill, enormous workload, responsibility, but the cause is sacred, he is all strained nerves [missing text].

10[November]

Big discussion concerning the outfit to be adopted, complicated circumstances. At night the fame of Romania's entry was spread around. Terrific excitement among us, great fear among the Hungarians.

5[November]

The tricolour flag of the "Romanian Women in Cluj" was delivered by a few female representatives. Just arrived in line – very appropriate speech by Mrs. Nuțy Gherman – the flag has been sewn by Miss Anna A. Popp, the president responds. Uplifting moments.

13[November]

Enormous workload, organisation, provisions for everything

14[November]

On the frontispiece of the Senate the flag donated by the Romanian women has been hoisted for the first time, the first march with Romanian tricolour little flags/sewn standing/by Miss Anna Popp. In the car: the President with Lt. Col. Hidu. My heart is jumping with pride in my chest. Beautiful time! And God with us! Official summons addressed to the Romanian National Council and the Hungarian National Council in Cluj, that at the intervention of deputy Urmanczy, Captain Ditrich with 60 people burned Romanians at the stake in Beliș.

³⁴ Teodor Mihali (1885-1934), a member of the Central Romanian National Council from Arad.

³⁵ The figure is wrongly transcribed.

Arad. Meeting of the ministers with the National Party, where Dr. I. Maniu declared that we want to get out of the Hungarian framework and to be independent. I also took the oath.

15[November]

It's snowing! If only this deluge of snow, which shut down the roads, were not detrimental to us.

I'm being asked, with no. 220/1918.c., signed by Dr. Frâncu, Dr. Hațiegan, Captain Cotuțiu to create the Romanian Red Cross without further delay.

Board meeting, friends are cooking something, they crawl like lizards, small at heart and in thought, even in very serious times like these.

16[November]

The President has abdicated [sic]! /He stayed at the helm 13 days and formed 13 legions!/
 I was sure that they would not rest until they removed him from the helm, although none of them would have been able to cope with the overwhelming events, they're afraid he's going to make the country too great, will fight for [sic] too many important rights!

And "His Holiness/ Dr. D'"³⁶ (Elie Dăianu – our note) was treacherous too. Not a word did he find to save the situation and his unjustly struck "friend", even though, with unquenchable energy, he devoted breath to a great cause! How petty and how wretched we are!

The president left blasé and enlisted as a simple worker, which offended those that remained, for this was a slap in their face.

17[November]

In Blaj, with great solemnity: taking the oath. The ex-President was to leave for Năsăud, but they were terrified and moved every stone to detain him. "No for my sake, without fear, lest I should strike an agreement with the Kingdom." Gosh, I'm very afraid that the cause might be imperilled when it's almost won so brilliantly. Envy, envy...

In the evening, big conference with the gentlemen who have come from the province, who, almost without exception, expressed their admiration, their gratitude for the one "who, by his speeches, lit off the spark that then illumined all spirits and broke the chains that we are no longer willing to carry". Especially Dr. Tripon and Dr. Pahole³⁷ insisted on clearing the misunderstanding, and even Dr. Dăianu raised his voice – driven by remorse perhaps? But Dr. Hațieganu would not relinquish the ground he had gained, his ambition, his aspirations took him far away, far away.

³⁶ Dr. Elie Dăianu (1868-1956), Greek-Catholic Archpriest of Cluj and a member of the Executive Committee of the Romanian National Senate of Transylvania.

³⁷ Gavril Tripon (1860-1930) was the president of the Romanian National Council of Bistrița County and the lawyer Vasile Pahone (1869-1931) was a member of this leadership body established on 4 November 1918.

The tricolour flag delivered to the First Command of the Romanian Transylvanian Legions, Commander Lt. Col. Hidu. Intrigues and veto and, in this sense, even from the ladies. What chicanery without judgment.

18[November]

Disarray and lack of energy at the leadership level, tiresome Bedlam. Nasty weather, frost, snow, just like at Christmas. Foreigners say, the Romanian Senate is just one head less than it was!

19[November]

It's snowing! Cold. Commissioner Dr. Hațiegan went to Arad, to the conference. What will the result of that be? How will they cement, heal the dissensions caused? My most solemn moments, when harmony and pride should prevail, that the possibility of absolute independence has been created, in a country that is now free. What ingratitude.

Last night there was an alarm caused by a machine gun in a hotel.

Secret documents, enclosed in the iron box in the great hall.

20[November]

The collapse of Haidudorog. The circulation of the Romanian national vicar, Mr. Marchiș.

In the Senate, no one here dares to make – nor does one know how to make – a prompt decision. The gentlemen senators seem a little embarrassed that I, a woman, witness these barren frettings. I draw the parallel between what was and what is, they would be satisfied if I left. But I'll stay and wait, with one great fear in my heart, lest everything should collapse.

I order buttons, flags, tricolour flags, IDs, I never cease writing things down. Foreigners say, the Romanian Senate is only one head less and what a difference...

21[November]

In writing I told my opinion both to Hațiegan and to Maj. Vidrighin.

The ex-President arrived for a few hours and the whole mechanism was set in motion, life stirring again in all those crest-fallen cats. They don't like him coming but, at the same time, they are glad that he tells them what has to be done!

22[November]

Liked the expression: Does the New Senate insist perhaps against my setting up the Red Cross! What inertia!

23[November]

Preparations are made for moving, the Senate will be installed elsewhere. I am clearly to understand that I am superfluous, but because I promised the ex-President to stay put, I turn a deaf ear, although it costs me; the lack of initiative and energy, the incapacity, narrow circles in which they keep returning, make me be afraid... may God allow the

Romanian soldiers to show up and set things right and I'm sure that the ex-President is watching.

24[November]

Envoys arriving at Blaj by plane, proclamations from the Chief of Staff, General Prezan. We launch a call to stop the excesses and attacks against the national tricolour insignia.

For December 1918 the decision is to hold an Assembly in Alba Iulia so that the people can express their will. Dr. Hațiegan departs on November 28, the ex-president on 29 November. If only he could smash the infamous, who are now calling him crazy, of all things!

25[November]

A lot of talking here, little has been done, they come in and get out as if this were a shopping venue, and in the main telephone room, my surprised question is answered by Dr. Hațiegan: we are "Democrats"...

28[November]

Colonel Sturdza³⁸ showed up at the Senate and tried to talk on the phone. Is he a traitor/or not? When will we see clearly, and know exactly? Lieutenant Peștean gave his uniform for safekeeping, locked in the iron box in Satu Mare.

29[November]

Tomorrow, November 30th, at 2 pm, the separate train leaves for Alba Iulia. In the Assembly of 27 November, where delegates were elected, they magnanimously put the ex-President in Circle II, in poll position.

I work; I ceaselessly order small flags, tricolour flags. Villages after villages come to reclaim the flag for which they have suffered so long, I want to see it fluttering in every corner of the land.

30[November]

Big wave, preparations for Alba Iulia. The special train that will set out, all trains following it from different directions. Nasty wet weather, but the spirits are lifted.

1[December]

At 2 we're leaving – about 1,000 people. For these turbulent times the journey is pretty all right up to Teiuș, where they are shooting at our train, Ioan Arion drops dead, he was standing proudly next to the tricolour. Big imbroglio, chagrin in our souls. Leave happily, take the sacrifice to the place of salvation!

In the morning, according to the ancient custom, a religious service before the gathering. Huge crowds, picturesque groups of peasants from all regions. With great excitement and satisfaction I am watching these proud and dignified figures, who have endured so many ordeals and fierce injustice, keeping calm and serene.

³⁸ Officer Alexandru D. Sturdza defected from the Romanian army in February 1917.

In the room, representatives of all the lands inhabited by Romanians, vibrant and alive. It's a pity, though, that the jealousy [sic] of the leaders shows in the composition of the list, where the names of the most important persons are missing. This has sparked a murmur of reproval and discontent among many groups in the room. I would gladly ignore these misplaced vanities, if only the destinies of the Nation were well steered.

2[December]

Large numbers of people from the villages; flowing, flowing, people holding flags, badges showing so that they can welcome the "brothers"!

3-5[December]

Here, in the Senate, our people keep debating and nothing is decided... By contrast, Apathy is fretting about, inciting the Szeklers! They claim we should take down the tricolour flag from the Senate. A conjuration for the eradication of the Legion and the leaders of all that Romanianism stands for.

6[December]

The brave Hungarians then run to us to protect them because "the Motzen are coming"! The shepherds, hearing that the Szeklers want to kill us, come to defend us, they won't budge, let people see who's the more valiant. Critical situation.

All kinds of rumours about the ex-President, put into circulation by "friends".

8[December]

Hațiegan "left for Sibiu for three weeks, he is to be substituted by Dr. Utalea.

10[December]

The Szeklers calmed down as soon as they heard that the Romanians are on the move. However, in Sălaj they steal, break in.... Downright embarrassing, to see in such critical times that we don't have people who can rise to the occasion. How many lives this indecision will cost. In Sălaj, Lăpuș, Aiton is shooting and tormenting people, suffice them to be Romanian.

11[December]

A bright point – The Proclamation of General Moșoiu. The news speaks of attacks, killings! The indecision, the procrastination grinds you down, an endless source of vexation.

12[December]

The Szeklers are singing in the streets, under the command of their officers, "Olah vert iszik, olah hust eszik a szakely baka", "The Szekler drinks Romanian blood and eats Romanian flesh", revealing the culture of a people who claim that they have the right to civilise and promote "freedom" throughout the world...

13[December]

Disheartening news and we are incapable of action. Today the military chancellery moved from the ground floor into the garrison from Magyar-u, Calea Victoriei.

The gentlemen senators are setting up the tables again, as a sign that the situation is difficult, that they don't know what they are doing, but at least they look busy. I don't know where the ex-President is. He can't be doing nothing to help!! When he knows how inactive people are here.

15[December]

Dr. Tripon informs us from Bistrița that the ex-President is there.

The Hungarians keep asking for our protection murdering our folks on the sly.

In Someșfalău (Someșeni – our note) 15 lads from the guard were engaged in crossfire shootings with 300 Szeklers! 1 dead, only 7 injured, bravo!

16[December]

Today, as they were marching to the station, the Szeklers fired again at the Flag hoisted at the Senate.

17[December]

Shootings at the parish gate [missing text].

The Romanians crossed the demarcation line.**11[December]**

Colonel Alimănășteanu is speaking from Sibiu, asking to be connected to the Hungarian Command, waiting to speak on the phone with Lt. Bereșteanu³⁹... Bravo, at last!

“Ellenzek”, in an article, acknowledges that the Romanians have the right to occupy Cluj and other locations. Apparent calm.

19[December]

Tumult, casualties at that station, shootings in the barracks. drunk, not drunk, 11 people gunned down, among the victims is one of theirs, Baron Zeyk, whom they killed in his home, shooting from the street through the window. The day of 19 December is a day of assault on the Senate. Werbőczy's Szekler battalion has attacked our guard. We have one dead man, Cornel Petrovici, and 5 wounded. The Romanian women's flag on the frontispiece, riddled with bullets, but persists and remains... From Nemzeti, the Hungarian Tanács has called: “ne tessék komolyan venni”! - “Don't make too much of this”. Do they think we are insane or are they just messing with us?!

In Gherla the social-democratic assembly. The Hungarians, the gendarmes are shooting, they have 9 dead, 46 wounded.

³⁹ Lieutenant-Colonel Gheorghe Bereșteanu was the liaison officer of the Great General Staff of the Romanian army at the Governing Council in Sibiu.

Colonel Telia is asking for linen and an ambulance. Now the Red Cross is no longer ridiculous, what senseless, reckless people, just like kids!

All this while, caravans of Germans have been heading for Gilău, loaded with all kinds of things. They steal, loot, “in the name of civilisation”, wherever they go.

If this is the atmosphere in which the free Romanians are marching to Cluj, these horrid clashes are the result of the education given in schools, journals, endlessly fuelled by threats and vile words.

20[December]

Today something else seems to be brewing, does yesterday's outcome not seem enough to them?! I receive instructions to no longer issue identification cards. The first who do not respect this decision are the senators themselves, who keep issuing them to the elected as they please.

21[December]

Romanian troops pass through Apahida and enter Dej triumphantly.

22[December]

The ex-President has arrived. Everyone here is scared. One can sense a force, energy in the midst of this terrible apathy!

23[December]

Notice from General Gherescu, that he is entering with the Romanian troops tomorrow! Bravo, bravissimo!

24[December]

“Big” Hungarian gathering, attended by no one!⁴⁰

The eve of Catholic Christmas, /Tuesday/.

Young and old, people are rushing to Matthias Square to welcome the Romanian army in Cluj. This isn't a dream. A small attack.

The official speech of Dr. A. Frâncu, the first president of the Romanian Senate, on behalf of the ladies /instead of A. Pop de Lemeny, president of the “St. Mary” Association / too old/ [the one who spoke was] the cashier, Mrs. Olivia Telia, Archpriests Tului Roșescu, Chaplain Simu, Dr. Dandea on behalf of the students. A banquet, for men only.

The entry of the army, headed by Generals Neculcea and Gherescu, with a martial appearance, produces an indescribable emotion. Men are crying, women are crying, children, too, all are shaken by a holy emotion. Then they dance a hora around the square, around Matthias.

25[December] /Wednesday/

The senate gives a “Banquet” at New York, 400 people, very animated. The French Captain Vienne, from the Berthelot mission, arrives at midnight, being carried in triumph through the hall. The master of

⁴⁰ The assembly of the Hungarians and Szeklers in Cluj took place on 22 December 1918.

ceremonies is Dr. Frâncu, Mrs. Docan and several other people speak French.

31[December]/Tuesday/

The reception of General Berthelot. Great reception at the station. Arranged by Dr. A. Frâncu, elegant, neat, impressive. Speeches: on behalf of the Senate, the first president, Dr. Frâncu, in French /political-historical content/ on behalf of the ladies: Sidonia Docan /in French/ offers [an] admirable bouquet with the inscription "From the Romanian Ladies from Cluj, to the heroic General Berthelot". Then an embroidery, a typical Romanian fabric by Miss Elena Hossu-Longin is gifted to him. In the name of the Motzen, elementary school teacher Costea from Gilău offers the sword of honour donated by Mr. Frâncu. The Motzen women, led by Zotiția Ciuta and dressed up in national costume, hand over the Alphorn of Pelaghia Roșu, also donated by Dr. Frâncu. Annette Tomuța [sings] a march she has composed and dedicates it to the general.

Then the Hungarians are received, coldly and curtly.

The view that presents the mass of Romanian peasants, the women astride their horses at the exit from the station, with the numerous tricolour flags, the enthusiastic liveliness they experienced at seeing the general. Words cannot describe this. From the train station to the city there was a sea of excited people, who deeply impressed the illustrious guest also through their picturesque appearance.

[YEAR] 1919

1 January

The ex-President, Dr. Frâncu, is giving a banquet in honour of the French Captain Vierne. Tea parties in his honour, one after another, thrown by the ladies from Cluj: Docan, Ranta, Poruțiu...

2[January]

Preparations to move the Senate, from "Economul", to the Prefecture of the city/ Dr. Valentin Poruțiu/: Victory! Bliss!

4[January]

I resign from the position of secretary of the Senate.

6[January]

Christmas Eve, celebration at the kiosk, cake for the soldiers. In the evening, Christmas tree, remembrance medals for the officers, banquet, dance at New York, liveliness...

15[January]

The arrest of Dr. Apathy.

16[January]

Sent to the Senate: the documents, the table, the seals that were in my keeping, through the maid Maria/from "Economul", picked up the package. for Mr. Feneșan at the Senate.

On the occasion of moving the Senate, they took, instead of the flag of the Senate, donated by Romanian Women from Cluj, that of the

Military Command. I complained several times in vain, this confusion has not been cleared.

16[January]

The Senate took over the Judiciary. The Hungarian officials [who] refused the oath have been replaced with Romanians.

20[January]

The interim Mayor, Dr. Iulian Pop, county prefect Dr. Simion Tămaş, subprefect Dr. Utalea.

22[January]

Unrest. The Hungarians are getting organised, rumour has it they are about to attack the Romanian Army. General strike: the mail, trains, offices, muffled seething.

24[January]

The reception of [French] General Pathé. A banquet organised by General Holban. Hostile demonstrations in the city, a few volleys fired in the air, the militia restored order, controlling the public in the evening and at night./ General Holban is not really good fit for Cluj.

25[January]

Shops closed, order again, tranquillity on the surface. An aggravating telegram from Mr. Apathy, intercepted in the original by the secret Chancellery.

General Pathé left for Csucsa, where things aren't going well, dead, wounded, tortures... Savages!

30[January]

From "Universul" a special envoy investigates interviews ex-President Dr. Frâncu about the very beginning of the Senate. How can one tell the "truth" when it casts a shadow over its second formation, not to mention publishing it in the journal. The moment hasn't come yet...

31[January]

The Romanian National Senate was dissolved, ending its mission, and the Romanians are occupying various dignities.

Friday. To the countryside, young and old.

10[February]

Sub-Lieutenant Jacob Grămadă, Mitucul – Drag in Chernivtsi.

Paul Fărcaş, the merchant of Deus, sends 2 letters full of gratitude and praise to "the first elected President of the People, Dr. Amos Frâncu.

15[February]

Ecrasite accident [sic] in Dej, many Romanian officers, among them the brave Major Coroamă, seriously injured, taken to the Clinic in Cluj.

2[March]

The arrival of the French Colonel Frousson for the case of Beliș-Josika Falva, where the Romanians were burned alive at the stake, with a barbarity worthy of the dark ages, by “Urmanczy”, owner, MP.

5[March]

Political and military news seems indeterminate, the Hungarians are spreading all kinds of lies, many murders, bloodshed on the territories that have not been occupied yet.

25[March]

The ex-President is leaving us for Chernivtsi, where a beautiful situation has been offered to him.

Whenever he's here, he always has to deal with complicated stuff, which no one else dares untangle.

April

Requiem for the victims of the occupation line.

1[May]

Both prefects consult with Dr. Frâncu, big complication with officials following the statements made by Dr. E. Hațiegan. The prefects have asked to have a message dispatched to General Berthelot.

10[May]

The first Te Deum in the square, both Romanian churches, and the parade of the troops led by Colonel Opreanu.

14[May]

[Missing text] Took over the National Theatre.

27[May]

The first entry of M. M. L. at Cluj. The 25th anniversary of the Memorandum trial. Soiree of the students, a speech on a historical topic by Dr. Frâncu. Fundraising for the statue of Michael the Brave: Mrs. Docan, Mrs. Păteanu, Miss Anna Popp. Table 4248 “Economul”/ 4068 crowns/ delivered the table to the “Fellowship of the Cross”.

28[May]

Propaganda for liberating the subjugated Romanians. Meetings.

The Students' League again with purpose from above, planned by Dr. Frâncu.

The meetings in the counties halted by Dr. V. Poruțiu, allowed only in Cluj and in Mănăstur.

1[June]

Much excitement among young people because the meetings have been stopped, appeals to the King.

9[June]

Dr. Frâncu organises and speaks in Șiria, then in Teiuș, Câmpeni.

21[June]

Abrud-Vidra, the house of Avram Iancu, arousing great enthusiasm.

29[June]

Constituent assembly for the “Fellowship of the Cross” in connection also with the Crown of the “Sisters of the Cross”. Shooting sports sections, etc.

12[July]

Frâncu departs, accompanied by Mrs. Docan, ex-secretary of the Senate, President of the Red Cross, Anna Popp, President of the “Crown of the Sisters of the Cross” from the Fellowship of the Cross, Lucia Mureșan and several other members to conclude the series of “Meetings at the statue of Tudor Vladimirescu in Târgu-Jiu”, where they are greeted with unbridled enthusiasm. On July 13, enthusiastic speeches are given.

17[July]

Received in audience by Their Majesties at Cotroceni, asked to stay for breakfast, I presented the crutch of Iancu and a historic painting of Avram Iancu’s oak from Țebea. The fighting on the Tisza, permanent contact with the Army.

2[August]

The visit of Their Majesties, coming from the Tisa, heartfelt thanks to the Canteen of the Red Cross at the station.

4[August]

The entry of the Romanian Army in Budapest. General Moșoiu leading. With great pride and holy emotion I am noting down this glorious event!

Set up Branch of the Romanian Red Cross in Cluj, on 22 May 1919.

At the request of Dr. Amos Frâncu, I gave him these documents, for his personal use.

1 March 1922

Sidonia G. I. Docan m.p.
Secretary of the President of the Romanian
National Senate

[Note]: During the Revolution of 1918.

1[December]

Departure to Alba-Iulia. On the road, at Teiuș, they fired at the train and hit Ioan Arion in the heart, as he was standing next to the tricolour flag that accompanied us.

19[December]

Attack on the Romanian National Senate. Student Cornel Petrovici killed, in Cluj, by Captain Werböczy’s Battalion of Szeklers.

At Criștiș: priest Ioan Opreș is shot by the gendarmes, right before the altar, in the church.

In Șiria: Virginia Dr. Hotăranu is killed treacherously with 37 bayonet wounds by the Szeklers, who cut off her head and put a pig’s head

in its place, a sign of pious civilisation on the part of those who claim to be disseminators of culture.

18[November]/evening/ the Beliș Case, commune of Motzen in Cojocna County/

Deputy Urmanczi Nandor, manufacturer, brought over, through “Pesti Hirlap”, a detachment of Hungarians under the command of Captain Ditrich, to take revenge on the Romanians, because Hungarian soldiers fleeing the front had devastated it. Upon the detachment’s arrival in the commune, women, old men and children came out to see what was happening. With 8 machine guns they mowed them down and 40 dead and severely wounded were rounded up and burned at the stake. Dr. Frâncu, Commander of the Guard in Cluj, sent a vigorous protest to Arad, Budapest and Paris. The Conference of Arad was dissolved. Thus, the last contact of the National Party with the Hungarians was interrupted.

A commission went to the scene of the place, and minutes were drawn up on November 14, 1918.

Urmanczy Factory has recently begun to make sheds and stables on the site of the bonfire from 1918, to prevent the erection of a monument.

Note of S. Docan, 1924



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3. a.



Fig. 3. b.



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6. a.



Fig. 6. b.

A. 116

MARELE CARTIER GENERAL

Români !

Din înalt ordin al M. S. Regelui Ferdinand I, în urma chemării Comitetului Național Român, armata noastră a trecut Carpații.

Pășind cu dragoste frățască pe pământul Transilvaniei oștirea română vine în numele unor sfinte drepturi naționale și omenești pentru a garanta libertatea deplină a tuturor.

Insuflețiți de aceste gânduri, asigurăm pe toți locuitorii pământului românesc până la Tisa și Dunăre, fără deosebire de neam și de lege, că vom păzi cu credință viața și avutul tuturor.

Indemnăm deci întreaga populație ca, sub pavăza oastei Române, să-și continue ocupațiile obișnuite, astfel ca viața normală în sate și orașe să nu sufere nici o tulburare.

Fiecărui locuitor i se va respecta libera exercitare a drepturilor sale cetățenești, dar în același timp se pune în vedere viitorul că orice încercare de a provoca dezordine, de a săvârși acte de violență sau de nesupunere, se va pedepsi cu toată severitatea.

Șeful stat-majorului general al armatei.

GENERAL PREZAN.

Fig. 7



Fig. 8. a.



Fig. 8. b.

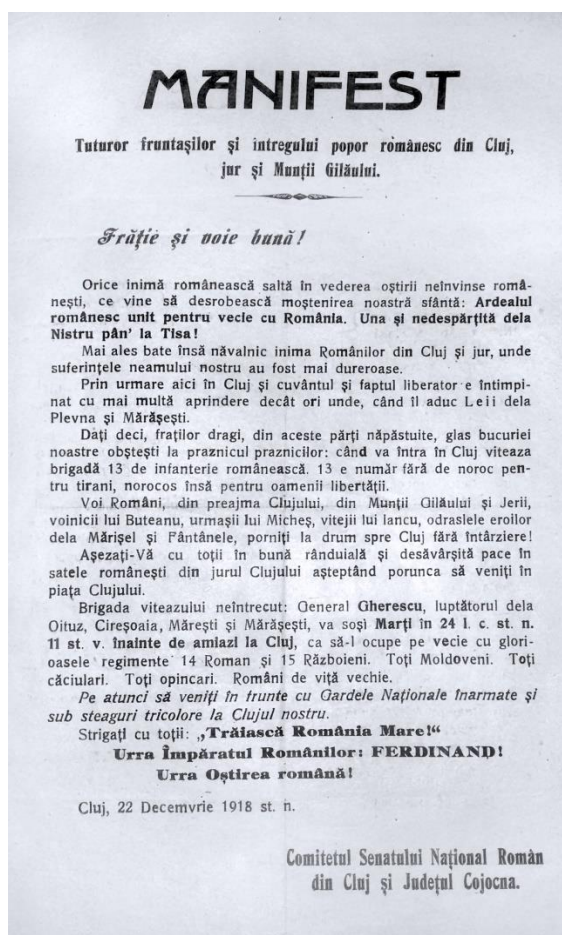


Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11. a.



Fig. 11. b.



Fig. 11. c.



Fig. 12