

## CLUJ AND THE UNIVERSITY DURING WORLD WAR I

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**Abstract** In the last years, the research of the history of Ferenc József University of Cluj has seen a new upswing, mainly due to the cooperation between the research groups from the Universities of Szeged and Cluj. The author of this paper is a member of these research groups, who has been commissioned to research the interaction between the University and Cluj in the framework of the monograph of university history to be published in 2021. Given the fact that it is the centenary of World War I, the aim of this study is to analyse the effects of World War I on Cluj and the University as well. The target of the research is exploring and analysing new sources, since the studies on the history of the University dealing with this topic refer almost exclusively to the memories of Sándor Márki, and there are some cases when this source, too, is misinterpreted. At the same time, the so-far published works of the university history hardly ever refer to archival sources. This is mainly due to the fact that the misfortunes of these archival sources (fragments being located in the archives of three different states) made them inaccessible for researchers. The records of the University Council of the University of Cluj and the records of the Faculty of Humanities have been digitalised in cooperation with the University of Szeged, further processing of these may lead to uncovering new information.

**Keywords** Ferenc József University of Cluj, World War I, inflation, black market, general mobilization, refugees, Military Aid Committee, Relief Committee, female workers, Hungarian film industry, Jenő Janovics, Sándor Márki, Farkas Gyalui, Károly Lechner, István Győrffy, Árpád Buday

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During the past few years, the research on the history of Ferenc József University of Cluj has seen a new upswing, mainly due to the cooperation between the research groups from the Universities of Szeged and Cluj. The author of this paper is a member of these research groups, who has been commissioned to research the interaction between the University and Cluj in the framework of the monograph of university history to be published in 2021. Given the fact that it is the centenary of World War I, the aim of this study is to analyse the effects of World War I on Cluj and on the University as well. The target of the research is exploring and analysing new sources, since the studies on the history of the University dealing with this topic refer almost exclusively to the memories of Sándor Márki, and there are some cases when this source, too, is misinterpreted. At the same time, the so-far published works of the university history hardly ever refer to archival sources. This is mainly due to the fact that the misfortunes of these archival sources (fragments being located in the archives of three different states) made them inaccessible for researchers. The records of the University Council of the University of Cluj and the records of the Faculty of Humanities have been digitalised in cooperation with the University of Szeged, further processing of these may lead to uncovering new information.

The bourgeoisie of Cluj, just as the bourgeoisie of the other cities of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, or like the bourgeoisie from other cities from Europe, received the outbreak of World War I with great enthusiasm. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there was no television or radio, the entertainment facilities were more limited compared to today's, and the outbreak of a war was considered a world sensation, as it brought something new to the monotony of the daily routine, there was something to talk about, there was a reason for waiting for the fresh copies of the newspapers. To men, especially young officers, it opened the opportunity to advance rapidly in their military careers, and at the same time facing the life threats could bring them glory, increasing their chances of winning the hearts of young ladies. And naturally, everyone was certain of victory and of surviving the war. It is no wonder that on the day of the declaration of the war, on July 28, 1914, the unappeasable crowd flooding the streets of the city centre shouted "Long live the war! Abzug Serbia!". And at the time of the mobilisation, the toasts of the farewell feasts made in honour of the officer corps, boomed from the New York Café.<sup>1</sup>

However, a month before, there were no portents of the upcoming outbreak of a war in the near future. On a Sunday afternoon, July 28, 1914, the news of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand and his wife had reached Cluj. The black flag was set up at the town hall, and the paperboys halloing along the promenade could barely keep up with distributing the special issues.<sup>2</sup> In spite of the harrowing news, the MTK-KEAC (University Athletics Club of Cluj)

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<sup>1</sup> Ferenczi Szilárd, "A háttország megtévesztő nyugalma. Kolozsvár az első világháború idején." in *Certamen III., Előadások a Magyar Tudomány Napján az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület I. szaksztyályában*, Edited by Egyed Emese, Pakó László (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2015), 327.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 329.

football game still took place in the afternoon, resulting in the 4:0 victory of the MTK.<sup>3</sup> However, the theatre performance planned for that day was postponed, and the music and attraction shows were also banned for the whole day. For July 3, Endre Hadady, the chief of police ordered a shutdown to all shops (except for the pharmacies). Simultaneously with the funeral, on July 4, Saturday, at 11 a.m., a requiem was announced at St Michael's Cathedral in the main square.<sup>4</sup> Momentary panic emerged, as during July, a part of the bourgeoisie attempted to remove their savings from smaller banks; however, the majority returned their deposits in the following days.<sup>5</sup>

The declaration of war, as I have mentioned above, was welcomed with great enthusiasm by most of Cluj's bourgeoisie. On the day of the declaration of war, July 28, vice-mayor Béla Fekete-Nagy announced the citizens in a notice about censorship entering into force, and the war schedule was also announced. At the same time, the government appointed Miklós Betegh as Government Commissioner of Transylvania and Count Ödön Bethlen as Government Commissioner of Cluj and Cluj County.<sup>6</sup> Around 7 p.m., an enthusiastic celebrating crowd gathered on the main square shouting "Long live the war!", and they marched to Lieutenant Baron János Karg's house. The orchestras of the defence forces and the Austro-Hungarian army appeared, and ladies waving their kerchiefs in the windows raised the morale. The next couple of days, several crowd scenes were repeated in the main square, in front of Hotel New York, and in the railway station, where various ranking officers were escorted after the general mobilization. The perspective of an interstate retaliation created a genuine sense of community between the aristocrats and the common people, and vice versa. The Newspaper enthused: "There is something magical in this word: war! A novel stimulus, inhaled deeply by the children of our age."<sup>7</sup> Mass movements, equal in enthusiasm, but shrinking gradually, took place later on the streets of Cluj, for example, when Lemberg was retrieved at the end of June 1915.<sup>8</sup>

Soon, the inflation accompanying the war knocked on the doors of Cluj: on August 2, the price of bread jumped from 30 to 40 Pennies<sup>9</sup>, and the panicked population tried to pile up appropriate food stocks. The family of Farkas Gyalui<sup>10</sup> also did some shopping:

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<sup>3</sup> *Ujság* 1914. nr. 148. (June 29)

<sup>4</sup> *Ujság* 1914. nr. 151. (July 2)

<sup>5</sup> *Ujság* 1914. nr. 178. (July 28); Ferenczi, 329.

<sup>6</sup> Ferenczi, "A hátország megtévesztő nyugalma. Kolozsvár az első világháború idején." 329.

<sup>7</sup> *Ujság* 1914. nr. 178. (July 28)

<sup>8</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1915. nr. 144. (June 24)

<sup>9</sup> *Ujság* 1914. nr. 184. (August 4)

<sup>10</sup> Deputy director of the Central University Library of Cluj, titular professor. Gyalui Farkas, cultural and literary historian (1866-1952), titular director of the Central University Library between 1911 and 1919.

“We also bought flour, fat and sugar at home, and in the afternoon, I bought a whole sausage bar with Jenő (his son – author’s note), as big as a mast, prices can increase now.”<sup>11</sup>

Changes in basic food prices during the war years (K – krone):

	July 1914	July 1915	Maximum prices in 1917
Beef, 1 kg	1,56	5,20	8,00
Pork, 1 kg	2,12	4,60	6,70
Bacon, 1 kg	1,78	5,00	10,00
Fat, 1 kg	1,80	6,00	11,00
Chicken, 1 piece	2,60	6,20	3,60
Eggs, 100 pieces	5,50	14,00	32,00
Milk, 1 l	0,16	0,48	0,70
Butter, 1 kg	4,00	4,80	8,60
Potatoes, 1 kg	0,24	0,26	
Sugar, 1 kg	0,94	1,10	

Procuring flour and other staple foods was a significant hardship, since the majority of the grounds surrounding the city were pastures and meadows. The inferior Transylvanian railway network contributed to the problem, because it did not facilitate the importing in major quantities of cereal and flour from distant lands. In peacetime, this would not have been a problem, because the needs were met, but the first half of the war brought about an increased demand for foodstuff, because people tried to stock large quantities.<sup>12</sup> The significant increase in the numbers of the military and of the injured housed in the hospitals of Cluj also posed a problem, and in the winter, refugees from Bukovina abounded the city; several state institutes had also been relocated here (the Austrian state imperial government of Bukovina, the police directorate, the finance directorate, the railway management and other offices).<sup>13</sup> Supplies faltered, offers were low, demands were high, hence, an increase in prices came about. In a short time, state and city authorities were forced to maximize the prices, considering that the food shortage had caused abuses on the free market. The price-setting committee in Cluj usually set market prices for a month.<sup>14</sup> As I mentioned above, the greatest

<sup>11</sup> Gyalui Farkas, *Emlékirataim (1914-1921)*. (Kolozsvár: Művelődés Egyesület, 2013), 36.

<sup>12</sup> Ferenczi, "A hátország megtévesztő nyugalma. Kolozsvár az első világháború idején." 332.

<sup>13</sup> Dr. Segesváry Viktor, *Kolozsvár város a háború első évében*. Offprint of the Urban Review IX (1916). numbers 1-2. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Ferenczi, "A hátország megtévesztő nyugalma. Kolozsvár az első világháború idején." 333.

problems were flour and cereal. To eliminate the observed abuses, to grind at the lowest possible loss, and to properly distribute flour or bread, Governor Commissioner Count Ödön Bethlen personally intervened. In February 1915, the police raided and eliminated the criminal network of grain thieves; they arrested 13 carters that transported the treasury's grain to the mills and, while on the move, sold it to a trader, causing the mill owners 70,000-crown damage.<sup>15</sup> At the end of March, a decree was passed against the retainers of grain and flour stocks, the justification affirmed no less than: "every concealed kilogram is considered a sin against national force and the weakening of the nation's resilience. Every concealed kilogram will only strengthen our enemies."<sup>16</sup> In order to assess the private stocks, notification sheets have been distributed, the commissioning committee went from house to house.<sup>17</sup> On his tour of the capital, Governor Commissioner Count Ödön Bethlen acquired 233 wagons of wheat; the first 8 wagons arrived to Cluj's railway station at the end of March 1915. The first government-commissioned butchery opened at the same time with the consignment's arrival on Széchenyi Square by the Governor Commissioner, just as the first urban warehouse on Kötő (Ion Rațiu) Street, which was up to meet the partial needs of 1056 families offering maize, pasta, potatoes, sugar, and others at prices much lower than the market rate.<sup>18</sup> Over the years, several similar butchereries and emergency warehouses were opened in the city. The system operated on the basis of label books valid for a period of 20 weeks, on which the weekly quantities of different foodstuffs were marked.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, the black-market price of flour and grain soared terribly: the hundredweight of pure wheat ranged from 27 crowns to 80-100 crowns, the hundredweight of flour from 46 crowns to 80 crowns.<sup>20</sup>

The mills contracted by the city milled the amount of wheat received (the millers were acquitted from the front service), and the bakers agreed to bake 1 kilogram and 30 decagrams of bread from the combination of 50% of wheat and 50% of corn flour. Everyone was entitled to as much bread as the number of kilograms of flour on their flour voucher. The price of a kilogram of magisterial bread was initially set at 45 pennies.<sup>21</sup> From April 7 to July 31, 1915, 49,845 flour vouchers were distributed. These flour and bread vouchers were initially valid for four weeks, the unused vouchers were compulsorily destroyed, the remainder portions were not released.<sup>22</sup> However, according to the ministry's instructions, only the residents of the city were allowed to be served from the official flour, supplying the strangers and the so-called

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<sup>15</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1915. nr. 48. (Feb. 19)

<sup>16</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1915. nr. 89. (Apr. 7)

<sup>17</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1915. nr. 83. (March 30)

<sup>18</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1915. nr. 85. (Apr. 1)

<sup>19</sup> Segesváry, *Kolozsvár város a háború első évében*, 20.

<sup>20</sup> Ferenczi, "A hátország megtévesztő nyugalma. Kolozsvár az első világháború idején." 333.

<sup>21</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1915. nr. 88. (Apr. 4)

<sup>22</sup> Segesváry, *Kolozsvár város a háború első évében*, 19-20.

“luxury guests” was the task of the free trade. The rules were followed extremely strictly in Cluj, hence the Ganz company’s hired workers from Szamosköz were not granted official flour,<sup>23</sup> moreover, the Austrian and German citizens working or living in the city long-term would have rather been repatriated by some of the Independence party representatives, especially by the zoologist, István Apáthy, university professor.<sup>24</sup>

At first, the Government implemented a number of prohibitions and then a ticket system for several foodstuffs and consumer goods. From July 5, 1915, two days per week without meat (Tuesdays and Fridays) were ordered;<sup>25</sup> starting from December 11, the city prohibited baking crescents and buns,<sup>26</sup> and from January 29, 1916, bread tickets were introduced.<sup>27</sup> The ticket system was later extended to fat, milk, sugar, coffee, soap, rice, and butter.<sup>28</sup> In his memoir, Farkas Gyalui bitterly describes the abuses of goods traffic in the summer of 1916:

*“The war ... permitted anyone to sell something they managed to buy at the most expensive cost possible. If someone bought something, they wanted to gain as high a profit as they could on it by selling it to another merchant. By the time the thread, soap, milk, fruit, anything reached the consumer, its price soared from three hundred to one thousand percent. Price capping was the rise of prices, because the highest price was always set, and that was considered the minimum.”<sup>29</sup>*

Sustenance problems were aggravated in the fall of 1916 by the fact that Romania declared war on the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy on 27 August 1916, and the first Romanian troops crossed the border at Predeal on that same day. In the following weeks, more than 200,000 fleeing people set off on foot or by train or wagons towards Király-hágó (Pasul Craiului) from the border counties. The first ones arrived in Cluj by trains and some had brought furniture and even a cow along.<sup>30</sup> The flood of refugees hindered the city’s food supply even more, however, the breeding animals transported by the refugees (many of which were sold in Cluj, as it would have been difficult to carry them along forth) enriched the supply of meat with a significant and varied meat offer in Cluj. For example, beef was so abundant, that

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<sup>23</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1915. nr. 85. (Apr. 1)

<sup>24</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1915. nr. 96. (Apr. 16)

<sup>25</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1915. nr. 168. (July 6)

<sup>26</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1915. nr. 284. (Dec. 11)

<sup>27</sup> *Ujság* 1915. nr. 291. (nov. 16.)

<sup>28</sup> Ferenczi, "A hátország megtévesztő nyugalma. Kolozsvár az első világháború idején." 338.

<sup>29</sup> Gyalui, *Emlékirataim (1914-1921)*, 200.

<sup>30</sup> *Ujság* 1916. nr. 205. (Aug. 31)

it was marketed under the maximum price.<sup>31</sup> The Saxons and Romanians preferred to remain in Cluj, but about 206,000 Hungarians and Szeklers passed through the Király-hágó (Pasul Craiului).<sup>32</sup> The temporary accommodation of such masses posed a problem for the city administration; they solicited the population to volunteer in accepting people into their homes, but without great avail. Many spent the nights on the pavement, on the lawn of the promenade, on or under the wagons, the luckier ones received accommodation in the city or in the surrounding settlements.<sup>33</sup> A refugee agency was set up, they received flour and bread vouchers, food kitchens were set up at several points in the city, where people in need could dine for free in exchange for tickets, but some did not get their tickets until the closing hour because of the huge queues in front of the chief notary office.<sup>34</sup> The amounts of food and money necessary for meals were offered by individuals, institutions, factories and surrounding towns. The first steak-house was opened on September 1, at 11 a.m. next to the railway station,<sup>35</sup> followed by the courtyard of the Chancery on Király (Ion I. C. Brătianu) Street<sup>36</sup>, and later, soup-kitchens were opened on Tordai (Turzii) Road and in the Mendel beer garden on Szentegyház (Iuliu Maniu) Street. The city paid 2 crowns at Mendel's for every serving of food, and on September 8, about 2,000 refugees fared here.<sup>37</sup> Some wealthier refugees also arrived. They used hotel rooms and the hospitality of the cafés in the main square. The aristocrats and the women of the noble middle-class initiated collecting shoes, clothes; they raised money and divided it among the needy.<sup>38</sup> The massive refugee multitude caused more than just sustenance problems. People were bustling on the streets and squares, and traffic accidents were frequent.<sup>39</sup> Some refugees were robbed, cheated and even a looted corpse turned up in the Someş River.<sup>40</sup>

However, the war was also stimulating. Its main beneficiary was the service sector in Cluj. At the general meeting of the public administration on September 14, it was noted that the consumption of alcohol increased enormously since the mobilization.<sup>41</sup> The cafeteria's traffic flourished, battlefield reports were displayed and changed daily, maps hanging on the walls, flags signalled the movement of the troops, and the citizens argued, bet, played cards ...

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<sup>31</sup> *Ujság* 1916. nr. 210. (Sept. 5)

<sup>32</sup> Betegh Miklós, *Erdély a háborúban*. (Dicsőszentmárton: Erzsébet könyvnyomda, 1924), 81.

<sup>33</sup> *Ujság* 1916. nr. 205. (Aug. 31)

<sup>34</sup> *Ujság* 1916. nr. 214. (Sept. 9)

<sup>35</sup> *Ujság* 1916. nr. 207. (Sept. 2)

<sup>36</sup> *Ujság* 1916. nr. 214. (Sept. 9)

<sup>37</sup> *Ujság* 1916. nr. 214. (Sept. 9)

<sup>38</sup> *Ellenzék* 1916. nr. 203. (Sept. 6)

<sup>39</sup> *Ujság* 1916. nr. 210. (Sept. 5)

<sup>40</sup> *Ujság* 1916. nr. 222. (Sept. 17)

<sup>41</sup> *Ujság* 1914. nr. 224. (Sept. 15)

and drank. The service sector flourished visibly, as shown by the extended opening hours approved by the officials until 3 o'clock in the morning.<sup>42</sup> Coffee-house card playing was very popular. The transitory soldiers and *the citizens who lead a dangerous life* (military traffickers, nouveau-riche entrepreneurs, college students, artists, journalists) liked to play different Hungarian card games (márjás, kaláber), however, some preferred the banned *makaó, ferbli*, and *nasivasi*, and the cafés offered them a comfortable venue.<sup>43</sup> A separé for these purposes existed even in the city's most prestigious hotel, the New York. "*New York, if not the most modern, but the first hotel of Cluj, with a premier restaurant and café; recently, dirty card games take place in the restaurant's back room. However, this yields more than one hundred crowns per day.*"<sup>44</sup> As you can see, the number of gamblers had increased considerably, and the public added a new flag to the name of the city: formerly known as Treasure City, it became the Gambler City.<sup>45</sup> Despite the regular raids, the police did not manage to eliminate the illicit card games, so in order to reach a compromise, in 1917, gambling was legitimized by introducing a so-called "feasting tax" represented by a tax ticket, which, if presented at raids, allowed people to further enjoy one of the most exciting forms of the scarce entertainment of the age, and also, providing the city with some income.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, the number of illegal card players remained high.

We must not be surprised that the service sector in Cluj was flourishing during World War I, since the urban bourgeoisie had significantly less entertainment facilities available at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century than we have today. A war, moreover, a *World War*, was really considered a world sensation! A genuine thirst for news consumed the population of the city, despite the fact that the press underwent censorship, it served war propaganda, only presenting the news selectively. To satisfy this demand, the number of daily and weekly newspapers shot up, and in proportion, alcohol consumption rates increased too, including the high number of wine and gin mills; café life was booming. Two stages, two electric theatres and the Biasini Orpheum provided new shows each evening; the cafés advertised performances of various bands, and the production of silent films was flourishing.<sup>47</sup> According to Szilárd Ferenczi's study, in spite of the high black market traffic, some traders notified a part of their income to the tax offices, and compared to previous years, a larger number of traders became local representatives in the local board of directors under the name of "virilists". In his study, a numerical increase of merchants and cafeteria owners can be

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<sup>42</sup> Gyarmati Zsolt, *Nyilvánosság és magánélet a békeidők Kolozsvárán*. (Kolozsvár: Komp-Press, 2005), 92-93.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 103-104.

<sup>44</sup> *Kolozsvári Tükör* 1917. nr. 22. (Nov. 16)

<sup>45</sup> Ferenczi, "A háttország megtévesztő nyugalma. Kolozsvár az első világháború idején." 339.

<sup>46</sup> Gyarmati, *Nyilvánosság és magánélet a békeidők Kolozsvárán*, 105.

<sup>47</sup> Ferenczi, "A háttország megtévesztő nyugalma. Kolozsvár az első világháború idején." 328.

observed in 1917 compared to the last year of peace. The 10 merchants and 3 hosts registered in 1917 undoubtedly increased their wealth due to the “favourable” war conditions of the time.<sup>48</sup>

While some people became rich thanks to the war prosperity, most of the city’s population was impoverished, and more and more people became indigent. The hardest fate fell upon the families of the men that left for front service. Governor Commissioner Count Ödön Bethlen initiated the establishment of a City Military Aid Committee. In the following three days, the Military Aid Committee visited all 2.053 families which remained without one or two male family members due to the war and were in need of military aid, hence facilitating and speeding up the work of public authorities. In order to protect the interests of those entitled to assistance, the Military Aid Committee made sure that the money and consumer goods arrived to those in need. If the governmental military aid allocated for a family was too low, the Committee supplemented it with cash and firewood in accordance with its financial assets or paid an advance deposit of 6 to 10 crowns to the state aid. The Military Aid Committee allocated a total of 1,182 crowns and 28 Pennies, and 961 quintals of split firewood in a year, and 7,488 crowns advance for families in need. The number of families receiving governmental aids has grown to 4,047 in one year. The sum of aid per day varied between 28 Pennies and 4 crowns 80 Pennies.<sup>49</sup>

Governor Commissioner Count Ödön Bethlen also founded an aid committee for wartime to which citizens whose financial situation worsened during the war but were not entitled to receive state military aid (they did not have a family member on the warfront), could turn to. Within its framework, a so-called “food, wood and rent help” functioned – a soup-kitchen department, an employment recruitment department, a clothing department, a day care centre for children, and until June 1915, a lung patient care department. The sources of its income were self-taxing (the benefactors obliged themselves for 3 or 6 months), the income of theatrical performances and concerts, donations and collections. In the first year, 43,055 crowns came in, out of which about 41,533 crowns were distributed in the form of cash, food, and firewood. The recruitment department created work opportunities, for example, 40 families could produce 28,000 kg of noodles for the army until January 1915, when the aid committee became unable to obtain flour. In addition, in the military industry, more than 100 seamstresses were given short-term work: sewing military underwear, linen trousers and cloths.<sup>50</sup> In parallel, the Red Cross Association organized collecting, accepted donations that were distributed to the needy. In the first year of the war, the pay offices of the Relief Committee, the Aid Committee, and the Red Cross collected and distributed 295,634

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 338.

<sup>49</sup> Segesváry, *Kolozsvár város a háború első évében*, 5.; Ferenczi, "A hátország megtévesztő nyugalma. Kolozsvár az első világháború idején." 330.

<sup>50</sup> Ferenczi, "A hátország megtévesztő nyugalma. Kolozsvár az első világháború idején." 331.

crowns and 58 Pennies cash.<sup>51</sup> In parallel, on August 6, the Women's Association, the Government Commissioner's office, and the Association of Charity Societies from Cluj also announced a collection. The fashion of donation survived until the end of the war, especially for orphans and invalids, though in decreasing amounts. The "gold for iron" movement, which suggested offering jewels to those in need caused by the war and offered in return a ring of iron engraved with a "Pro Patria" label (later decorated with the portrait of the emperor), was fashionable and existed as a form of war propaganda. Some even perceived business opportunities in this. In Cluj, Sándor Benedek, a jeweller at Wesselényi Miklós (Regele Ferdinand) Street 13, offered a gold or silver lining at a reasonable price as the "*wearing an iron ring on a finger is dangerous because it rusts.*" His advertisement appeared in almost every newspaper in Cluj for a year.<sup>52</sup>

Due to the increasingly regressing financial conditions, the ratio of juvenile delinquency and robberies in general has risen.<sup>53</sup> The number of thefts escalated, unknown perpetrators occasionally looted the railroad and state military aid depots; it was confirmed that adolescents sometimes plundered the Széchenyi (Mihai Viteazul) Square market tents and official-owned gardens, and robbed the St. Peter Church's collection box.<sup>54</sup> The situation was intensified by the fact that the military aid also faltered. On April 16, 1918, a large crowd gathered for aid. When it turned out that only the advances (and not the total aid) were allocated by the military aid office, which was a small sum, the desperate women rebelled, broke the city hall's windows, one of them slit the throat of a policeman and kicked their peers, who in spite of the consensus, still accepted the aid. They then walked from the main square to Wesselényi (Regele Ferdinand) Street, and Forduló (Cotitã) Street, smashed the shop windows, and beat a couple of unsuspecting pedestrians, too.<sup>55</sup>

At the same time the city's population grew steadily, and the number of newly arrived settlers increased. In order to regulate the increased demand for housing, the high rent and the decreasing housing regime, in January 1918, the city authorities set up a housing office.<sup>56</sup> At the end of the war the city faced water shortage,<sup>57</sup> and in winter the cinemas were closed due to the lack of coal, and the price of gas went up also due to petroleum and coal shortage.<sup>58</sup> Power failure occurred frequently.<sup>59</sup> The shortage of wood was less severe, given

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<sup>51</sup> Segesváry, *Kolozsvár város a háború első évében*, 6.

<sup>52</sup> Ferenczi, "A hátország megtévesztő nyugalma. Kolozsvár az első világháború idején." 331.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 328.

<sup>54</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1915. nr. 122. (May 16)

<sup>55</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1918. nr. 91 (Apr. 18); *Ujság* 1918. nr. 94. (Apr. 18)

<sup>56</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1918. nr. 19. (Jan. 23)

<sup>57</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1918. nr. 7. (Jan. 9)

<sup>58</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1918. nr. 46. (Feb. 23)

<sup>59</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1918. nr. 32. (Feb. 7)

that there were sizable forests around Cluj, however, the inflation and the constant increase in the price of wood caused supply problems. For example, the price of beech wood went up from 9 crowns and 15 Pennies to 11 crowns per cubic meter in a mere half year, between July and December 1915,<sup>60</sup> which meant a 20% increase. At the same time, the price of oak ranged from 8 crowns and 40 Pennies to 10 crowns per cubic meter,<sup>61</sup> a 19% increase in just over half a year. In May 1916, the price of beech wood rose to 15 crowns per cubic meter, and the oak tree's to 14 crowns, which resulted in the dissatisfaction of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education.<sup>62</sup>

At the same time, as a result of the gradual departure of men to war, there was a shortage of manpower in the factories from Cluj. In some services, offices or industry, women took over men's jobs. In peacetime, the number of working-class-employees in Cluj was about 16,000, while in the second year of the war, merely 10,000, despite the fact that "female workers have visibly flooded the industry in the year of war."<sup>63</sup> Despite the fact that women received lower wages than men, they tried to seize every job opportunity. In 1914, out of the 12 chimney sweepers of the city, 7 were women.<sup>64</sup> Women did not only appear in factories: due to the decreasing number of post office employees, postmistresses were hired.<sup>65</sup> The first female coach driver in Cluj was Maria Papp, a twenty-five-year old woman. She was in the service of the carriage owner Márton Király, who had repeatedly addressed the city council for hiring female workers, until he was granted permission in the middle of February 1915.<sup>66</sup> The proportion of female staff in the cafés has increased; this is also related to the phenomenon of professional lechery, as underpaid waitresses were forced to get into prostitution. The waiters were bothered by them, but the guests did not care so much.<sup>67</sup> In any case, it can be stated that the war had a significant role in changing the social situation of women.

Another positive effect is the strengthening of the film industry in Cluj. Since the hostile English and French films were banned, and later the distribution of American films too, the Hungarian film industry boomed, and Cluj had a particularly important role in this. Some of the actors of the National Theatre were sent to war, but Jenő Janovics, theatre director and

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<sup>60</sup> The report of the university administrator to the president of the university, RNL KMI, fond 315, box 74, 117–1916.

<sup>61</sup> RNL KMI, fond 315, box 74, 117–1916.

<sup>62</sup> The Religion and Public Education Ministry's response regarding the wood price increase, RNL KMI, fond 315, box 74, 50.346–1916.

<sup>63</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1915. nr. 282. (Nov. 21)

<sup>64</sup> Ferenczi, "A hátország megtévesztő nyugalma. Kolozsvár az első világháború idején." 335.

<sup>65</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1916. nr. 243. (Sept. 5)

<sup>66</sup> *Ujság* 1915. nr. 40. (Feb. 15)

<sup>67</sup> Ferenczi, "A hátország megtévesztő nyugalma. Kolozsvár az első világháború idején." 336; Gyarmati, *Nyilvánosság és magánélet a békeidők Kolozsvárán*, 107–108.

owner of the *Proja*, *Corvin* and *Transsylvania* film factories enriched the Hungarian film industry with a unique, artistic savour by building on the local features and not imitating foreign films. In six years, from 1913 to 1918, more than 70 worldwide known silent films were made in Cluj.<sup>68</sup> Director Mihály Kertész (Michael Curtiz), later an American legend, began his career here, as well as Sándor Korda (Sir Alexander Korda), the founder of British film production.<sup>69</sup>

The outbreak of World War I did not only bring about major changes to the daily life and development of the city, but also to its university. 800<sup>70</sup> of the 2,320 university students at Ferenc József University, and a part of the university staff (e.g. 6 staff members of the Dermatology Clinic)<sup>71</sup> were immediately called to military service. Nobody demanded their release, but, later on, the military leadership still temporarily acquitted the most necessary forces from the military service. In the first year of the war, 40 teachers and school-teachers, 1,726 students, 340 in-hospital doctors, and 170 university staff members, altogether 2,236 men already served in the army and merely about a hundred were temporarily acquitted, usually just for the short period of time needed to finish their studies and get a degree. By as soon as January 1915, 11 university professors and university staff members have already fallen on the front.<sup>72</sup>

In the following years, the University of Cluj played a significant part in World War I: by the academic year 1915/16, 2,620 university members had already done their military service and the number of heroic deaths reached 159.<sup>73</sup> During the four years of the war, a total of 3,661 students entered military service, 193 of them died heroic deaths.<sup>74</sup> The conscriptions were otherwise ruthless: Farkas Gyalui and his son Jenő were recruited at the same time, a 50-year old and an 18-year old!

*“The elderly were recruited with the highest rigor, without selection, in about 80%, and so was I. The recruiting regiment doctor was from Marosvásárhely, he had obviously recognized me,*

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<sup>68</sup> Balogh Gyöngy and Zágonyi Bálint, *A kolozsvári filmgyártás képes története 1913-tól 1920-ig.* (Kolozsvár: Filmtett Egyesület and Magyar Nemzeti Filmarchívum, 2009), 5.

<sup>69</sup> Balogh and Zágonyi, *A kolozsvári filmgyártás képes története 1913-tól 1920-ig*, 6.

<sup>70</sup> Márki Sándor, *A m. kir. Ferencz József Tudományegyetem története 1872-1922.* (Szeged: Városi Nyomda, 1922), 97.

<sup>71</sup> Topolai Attila, *A szegedi bőrgyógyászati és allergológiai klinika története.* (Szeged: Kosmetológiai, Lézersebészeti és Fényterápiás Intézet Kht., 2008), 46.

<sup>72</sup> Gyalui Farkas, *Emlékirataim (1914-1921)* (Cluj-Napoca: Culture Association, 2013), 60.

<sup>73</sup> Márki, *A m. kir. Ferencz József Tudományegyetem története*, 103.

<sup>74</sup> Márki, *A m. kir. Ferencz József Tudományegyetem története*, 108; Gaál György. *Egyetem a Farkas utcában. A kolozsvári Ferenc József Tudományegyetem előzményei, korszakai és vonzatai* (Cluj-Napoca: Scientia Publishing House, 2012), 44.

*because he asked: Is there something wrong, teacher? Nothing, I answered. Suitable – he shouted. When Jenő was recruited and was found unsuitable, the colonel, the Committee Chairman snarled at him – Oh but his father was suitable.*"<sup>75</sup>

The director of the Central University Library was sworn in that very same day and was assigned to the 21<sup>st</sup> Infantry Regiment as a populist, but after a few days he was acquitted with the pleading of Sándor Márki, the former president of the university.

During World War I, the number of students in the university decreased sharply. In the 1916/17 academic year, only 420 students applied<sup>76</sup> to the whole university. That is merely 1/6<sup>th</sup> of the 1911/12 academic year's top score, 2,410 students. The proportion of women among the students increased to unprecedented levels: in 1916, out of the 420 students, 112 were women<sup>77</sup> – no less than 26.66% of the whole body of students, an incredible rate in that era. Due to the return of the former students from the war, in the 1918/19 academic year, the number of students rose again to 2,500. King Charles IV offered a 3-month leave to all those who spent 3-4 years on the battlefield.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Gyalui, *Emlékirataim*, 99-100.

<sup>76</sup> Makkai, László. "A kolozsvári m. kir. Ferenc József Tudományegyetem története 1872-1919." In *Erdély magyar egyeteme: az erdélyi egyetemi gondolat és a M. Kir. Ferenc József Tudományegyetem története*. Edited by Bisztray Gyula, Szabó T. Attila, Tamás Lajos. (Kolozsvár, 1941.), 186.

<sup>77</sup> Márki, A m. kir. *Ferencz József Tudományegyetem története*, 105.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>79</sup> We give the number of students who have returned from the battlefield during the third semester to continue their studies and the number of students who abandoned their examinations due to extraordinary war conditions, but returned to finish them.

Academic year	Semester	Faculty of Law	Faculty of Medicine	Faculty of Letters	Faculty of Natural Sciences	Pharmacist	Total
1912/13.	1.	1467	491	186	92	107	2343
	2.	1265	487	185	80	107	2124
1913/14.	1.	1352	559	189	87	115	2302
	2.	1202	530	178	84	125	2119
1914/15.	1.	698	279	142	65	32	1216
	2.	578	267	138	64	30	1077
1915/16.	1.	354	169	112	46	22	703
	2.	287	131	190	40	20	583
1916/17.	1.	188	108	89	23	12	420
	2.	175	123	85	25	16	424
1917/18.	1.	302	227	99	49	26	703
	2.	505	362	106	54	60	1087
	3. <sup>79</sup>	491	342	21	17	56	927

**The evolution of the number students of the University of Cluj from the academic year of 1912/13 to the 1918/19 academic year<sup>80</sup>**

The 1914/15 school year opened in the most difficult conditions, without any festive atmosphere: *“How could we wear habiliments,” said Sándor Márki, president of the University when closing the 1914/15. academic year. “Why should we wear a decorative sword when our sons and our students are dashing further and further in muddy or dusty, torn or bloody garments and the edge of their weapons is jagged in the fierce battle with the enemy? How can we distribute prizes for a quiet, peaceful work, when far away from us, in the Carpathians, the*

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<sup>80</sup> Minker Emil, *Szeged egyetemének elődei.* (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem, 2003), 82.

*Alps, the Danube, and the Adriatic Sea, a medal, a merit, an officer's or a sub-officer's star is offered for risking or offering one's life?"*<sup>81</sup>

The university tried to take part in the war effort too. From its budget for 1914, the university transferred almost 38,000 crown savings to the state treasury to implement the government's goals.<sup>82</sup> On August 7, 1914, 3% of the salaries of the remaining teachers were offered to help the families of those who were recruited,<sup>83</sup> some of them even worked for the recruited clinical auxiliaries, and others replaced their teacher colleagues so that the teaching and educating work would not be interrupted during the war. For example, the professors of the Faculty of Letters replaced the teaching staff recruited from the Reformed College free of charge.

However, one of the most pivotal contributions to the war effort was the medical care for wounded soldiers in university hospitals. At the end of August, the trains arrived with the first wounded, and the administrative committee of Cluj, famous for its clinics, as well as the large number of surgeons, faced a new problem: the military medical caring. It was almost natural to everyone that a city with such infrastructural capabilities would take considerable part in the care for the wounded. Most of the university clinics, the Karolina hospital, and the new Pasteur building<sup>84</sup> were declared military hospitals. The Mensa Academica, the Hunyadi House of Teachers, the St. Joseph Seminary, and the Reformed Theology also housed wounded soldiers. During the war, these hospitals initially operated with 1,000, and then with 1,500 beds.<sup>85</sup> At the same time, until 14 September 1914, 104 out of the remaining students enrolled as volunteer nurses in the various military hospitals.<sup>86</sup>

Not only the University buildings became military hospitals in Cluj, though, but all more or less suitable buildings. When Archduke Ferencz Salvator had visited Cluj in January 1915, the newspaper *Kolozsvári Hírlap* listed all the hospitals and temporary nursing buildings and the number of available beds. At this point, in January 1915, a total of 5,000 beds were available to wounded and sick people arriving from the frontline. At that moment, about 3,600 patients were hospitalized in these.<sup>87</sup> However, not only physically injured soldiers were

<sup>81</sup> Makkai, "A kolozsvári m. kir. Ferenc József Tudományegyetem története 1872-1919." 167.

<sup>82</sup> Márki Sándor, *A háború első éve a Kolozsvári M. Kir. Ferencz József Tudományegyetemen.* (Kolozsvár, 1915), 68-69.

<sup>83</sup> Márki Sándor, *A m. kir. Ferencz József Tudományegyetem története 1872-1922.* (Szeged: Városi Nyomda, 1922), 98.

<sup>84</sup> The simplified name of the Department of General Medicine and Medical Faculty at Ferenc József University. The construction was completed by 1914, but the building was impossible to be finished as it was originally conceived, since World War I broke out and it was turned into a military hospital.

<sup>85</sup> Gaál, *Egyetem a Farkas utcában*, 81.

<sup>86</sup> Márki, *A háború első éve a Kolozsvári M. Kir. Ferencz József Tudományegyetemen*, 12.

<sup>87</sup> *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 1915. nr. 12. (Jan. 13)

among the patients, but also many that had experienced severe psychological trauma and that needed specialized treatment. The University's neurology and psychiatry departments hosted this kind of patients. On March 22, 1915, professor dr. Károly Lechner, the director of the clinic, described the situation at the clinic:

*"In the first semester, lectures could not be held for the absence of the students. In the second half of the year, lectures are running smoothly, though with reduced audience ...*

*After all the medical staff had been recruited to the army except the teacher, the policlinic was abandoned. – The Neurology Department was emptied on August 1, 1914, and it was used solely for military purposes. – Since then, 32-35 neurotic soldiers, officers, and privates, are constantly being observed and nursed – Since the outbreak of war, there are constantly 30-35 soldiers at the psychiatry ward."<sup>88</sup>*

In his report to the dean's office, he also emphasizes that, with the exception of he himself, all medical staff is on the front, listing his colleagues' names and places of employment. Below he describes the efforts they made to fill these staff shortcomings:

*"The work of the medical staff who went to war is performed by Dr. Szabó Józsefné, née Gizella Kárpáti, a former assistant professor at the neuro-psychiatric clinic, who serves as physician on a daily allowance. – There are other charge-per-day physicians: Dr. Ernő Káhána medic, and Ferencz Porsche and Endre Varga, 5<sup>th</sup>-year medical students."<sup>89</sup>*

As you can see, half of the medical staff consisted of 5<sup>th</sup>-year students, which clearly showed the lack of personnel that existed at the hospitals in Cluj. Not to mention that hospital staff, apart from the students promoted to doctors, consisted almost without exception of university professors, who had to cover the hours of their colleagues at the university besides their own lectures and worked at one of the clinics, too. Nobody will be surprised by Dr. Károly Lechner's following statement that *"scientific work has, of course, been forced to be seized almost entirely starting from the outbreak of war."<sup>90</sup>*

And we have hardly discussed the working conditions yet. In the winter of 1917, the heavy wood and coal shortage seriously hindered the operation of the university. The unheated buildings had to be closed for a month.<sup>91</sup> The rooms of the Central University Library had to be closed a year earlier during the holidays, and after the beginning of teaching (January 7, 1917) they got instructions to open them to readers from 8 am to 1 pm.<sup>92</sup> However, due to

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<sup>88</sup> Károly Lechner's report about the changes that resulted from war conditions at the Hungarian Royal University and the Carolina National Hospital's neurology and psychiatry department. In: Hungarian Royal Statistical Office's Appeal and the Reports Received, RNL KMI, 315. fond, 70. box 1128–1914/15.

<sup>89</sup> RNL KMI, fond 315, box 70, 1128–1914/15.

<sup>90</sup> RNL KMI, fond 315, box 70, 1128–1914/15.

<sup>91</sup> Márki, A m. kir. Ferencz József Tudományegyetem története, 107.

<sup>92</sup> Instructions to the Director of the Central University Library, RNL KMI, fond 315, box 76, 734–1916/7.

the coal shortage, this was not possible, as the letter of the library director sent to the rector of the University stated.<sup>93</sup>

Not even the clinics got enough fuel.<sup>94</sup> The number of ambulant patients hospitalized in university clinics increased due to the war conditions, like the epidemiological spread of sexually transmitted diseases and various infectious diseases. Moreover, their work was inconvenienced by the fact that they did not have the money to renew their outdated equipment.<sup>95</sup>

In order to help the sustenance of sick soldiers, István Győrffy, a botanist professor, cultivated in the external part of the botanical garden on a 17,000 m<sup>2</sup> area, between April and August 1915, several tons of crops and fruit, a monetary value of 4,463 crowns and 80 Pennies altogether, which was offered as gift from the University to the Red Cross Hospital Committee. This is a detailed account of Sándor Márki's report:<sup>96</sup>

Denomination	Total			Estimated unit price (Penny)	Total estimated price	
	kg	piece	knot		crown	Penny
Apple	125	—	—	10	12	50
Potato	990	—	—	20	198	—
Beetroot	—	240	—	6	14	40
Pennyroyal	—	—	90	2	1	80
Onion	—	—	2020	10	202	—
Kohlrabi	—	21120	—	4	844	80
Dill	—	—	240	2	4	80
Cauliflower	—	364	—	25	91	—
Cabbage (head)	—	3900	—	10	390	—
Cabbage (leaf)	—	—	416	8	33	28
Corn	—	4600	—	4	184	—
Paprika	—	830	—	4	33	20
Tomato	220	—	—	20	44	—
Radish	—	—	554	10	55	40
Lettuce	—	16360	—	3	490	80
Sorrel	—	—	572	5	28	60
Spinach	—	—	238	10	23	80
Pumpkin	—	2075	—	40	830	—
Cucumber	—	8586	—	2	171	72

<sup>93</sup> Request for further closing of the Central University Library, RNL KMI, fond 315, box 76, 6–1917.

<sup>94</sup> Márki, A m. kir. Ferencz József Tudományegyetem története 1872-1922, 107.

<sup>95</sup> Topolai, A szegedi bőrgyógyászati és allergológiai klinika története, 43.

<sup>96</sup> Márki, A háborús első éve a Kolozsvári M. Kir. Ferencz József Tudományegyetemen, 199.

Bean	2435	—	—	20	487	—
Pea	354	—	—	30	106	20
Vegetable (for soup)	—	—	2165	10	216	50
Total	4124	38075	6295	—	4463	80

It is impossible to accurately determine the amount of fruit and vegetables donated, as most of the crops appear in number of pieces or in knots: only 5 of the 22 products shown in the report are measured in kg. The 21,120 kohlrabies or the 3,900 heads of cabbages etc. increase by several tons the amount of 4,124 kg contained in the document, which some researchers have taken over in their works (in fact, this is how it appears in Márki's report too, the mistake is only visible in the appendix<sup>97</sup>). Professor István Gyórfy remarks almost apologetically in a footnote, that *"only a small quantity of apples could be sent from the garden, only the amount that could not be marketed, since the 162,449/1913.IV.a. article of the ministerial decree says that the botanical garden must report the money gained from the sale of fruits."*<sup>98</sup>

However, the botanical garden of the University did not only contribute to food distribution, but also in the "improvement of the mood of the soldiers marching to the front or lying wounded in hospitals": *"We sent small bouquets tightened with a ribbon in national colours to officers and crews of the 21<sup>st</sup> Infantry Regiment to decorate their hats."*<sup>99</sup> Between 12 January and 15 May 1915, the botanical garden sent out a total of 6,208 bouquets and 150 laurel bouquets. The bouquets were made by Professor István Gyórfy's wife and her sister.<sup>100</sup> Additionally, 80 flowerpots were sent to the rooms of the wounded in the military hospitals, and 200 flowerpots were sold by one of the florists in favour of the Red Cross Society.<sup>101</sup> In order to improve the mood of the convalescents in the hospitals established at the university during wartime, university teachers held documentary, educational, patriotic lectures and readings on Sunday afternoons. In the first half of 1915, 14 university professors were present at such events with audiences of 100-150 soldiers. Soldiers were also allowed to see the collections of the university.<sup>102</sup>

As I have mentioned earlier, in the first days of the outbreak of the war, most of the university's facilities were seized for military hospitals, but after Romania's entry into war and the invasion of Transylvania by Romanian troops, additional buildings were occupied by the army. Some of the buildings of the university were temporarily occupied by Szekler refugees,

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 36, 199.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 199.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 37-38.

other buildings were occupied by the army headquarters. Otherwise every time the front line approached Cluj or even Transylvania, panic reigned in the city. In the autumn of 1914, a part of the frightened population, mainly women and girls, fled, due to the rumour of the Russians invading from Bukovina. Farkas Gyalui also seated his adult children on a crowded train and sent them – along with family possessions – to their relatives in Budapest. At the same time, he packed the most valuable pieces of the library in boxes in order to save them by sending them to Budapest.<sup>103</sup> Eventually this was not necessary, as in a few days the panic was over, and many of the refugees returned to Cluj. The Romanian invasion of 1916, however, caused a lot more horror. Farkas Gyalui was packing again: he packed the most precious publications from the library in 11 boxes and searched for half a wagon space to send them to Budapest. The train wagons, however, were overcrowded by refugees, so it seemed impossible to salvage the library material. The Governor Commissioner directed the cargo to Emil Lendvai, the director of the Transylvanian Bank, who reserved 5-6 cargo trucks for the transportation of his clients' and the bank's values. However, his request was rejected.

*"There," I said with anger, "there is place for the magnates' and the wealthy's silver spoons, and there is no place for the treasures of the Transylvanian Museum!"*<sup>104</sup>

On Sunday, September 3<sup>rd</sup>, they called him after all (on the Sundays, the library was closed) and asked him to be in front of the bank headquarters on the main square with the cargo in one hour. After several adventurous turns, Gyalui was able to find help and hire a coach and was fortunate enough to send a million crown's worth of boxes to Budapest, where they were safely stored in the Hungarian Commercial Bank's armoury from Pest.

Education at the University went on under increasingly inhuman circumstances. The heavy wood and coal shortages in the winter of 1917 hindered the functioning of the university. For the cheaper sustenance and clothing of the university staff, the university council formed a purchasing group on June 26, 1917, which provided his employees wood, Prussian and Hungarian charcoal, shoes at cheaper prices etc., and as much as possible, they provided supply for young people who were cut out of the Mensa and boarding schools.<sup>105</sup> Meanwhile, the university buildings were constantly damaged. Metal requisition began: in January 1917, a 160-member military unit arrived in Cluj, they dismantled the bells from the churches, which then were submitted to the military industry.<sup>106</sup> They also ordered the review of the metal stock of various institutions, including the university, and its delivery. Everything was surrendered, from the platinum stock of the physics laboratories to the copper door knobs and door mounts. Those buildings in which refugees and the army were accommodated were the most dilapidated: besides being marred, they were full of bedbugs. Soldiers did not only

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<sup>103</sup> Gyalui, *Emlékirataim (1914-1921)*, 51.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>105</sup> Márki, *A m. kir. Ferencz József Tudományegyetem története 1872-1922*, 107.

<sup>106</sup> *Újság* 1917. 8. sz. (jan. 10.)

damage the buildings, but sometimes they also looted the university buildings they occupied. Even the shoes used at parades kept by the university caretaker were stolen, despite the fact that they were guarded in a sealed cabinet.<sup>107</sup> But despite these constraints and miserable circumstances, there were still others who did not realize that this was a war that resorted to all the resources. For a planned study tour to Eurasia, university professor Árpád Buday requested 4,000 crowns and a leave on April 7, 1916 from the Ministry of Religion and Public Education.<sup>108</sup> This was a sizeable amount of money, especially in times of war. In comparison, for his trip to Debrecen and his three-day stay (May 1-3, 1916), dean Henrik Schmidt was issued 75 crowns.<sup>109</sup> Naturally, the Ministry of Religion and Public Education replied that “the request will only be negotiated after peace has been restored.”<sup>110</sup> This illustrates that the war did not equally affect the various employees of the university and the different social categories of the city. While some lived in deep poverty, others managed to maintain a relatively high standard of life. This was also visible in the income of the university staff. In May 1916, they announced an application for a public law professorship at the University of Law and Political Sciences with a payroll of 6,000 crowns per year, with a regular increase in personal allowance, with 1,800-2,500 crowns’ rent allowance, and 800 crowns for each five years of teaching.<sup>111</sup> This meant that there was a minimum of 8,000 crowns per year for a normal university teacher, but the amount would be doubled, depending on the years of teaching. We have a precise report, for example, of Dr. Lajos Karl’s income for 1914, which consisted of a 6,000-crown salary, 400 crowns’ personal allowance, 1,800 crowns’ rent allowance and he also received an 800-crown honorarium from the Teacher Training Institute,<sup>112</sup> hence, his income for that year was a total of 9,000 crowns. Still, a substitute university professor’s lecture (5 hours a week for a semester) resulted in an income of 1.800 crowns.<sup>113</sup> By contrast, the botanical garden’s keeper and the museum garden’s guard have received 75 crowns a month.<sup>114</sup> This meant barely 900 crowns a year, a tenth of the income of a beginner common public teacher. And if we look at the table just above, at how fast the food

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<sup>107</sup> Letter of complaint from the university administrator to the president of the university (Nov. 24, 1916), RNL KMI, fond 315, box 76, 293–1916.

<sup>108</sup> The response of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education to Árpád Buday’s request, RNL KMI, fond 315, box 74, 44575–1916.

<sup>109</sup> For dean Henrik Schmidt’s study tour to Debrecen, RNL KMI, fond 315, box 74, 191–1916.

<sup>110</sup> The response of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education to Árpád Buday’s request RNL KMI, fond 315, box 74, 44575–1916.

<sup>111</sup> Application for a teaching post at the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences of the University, RNL KMI, fond 315, box 74, 42882–1916.

<sup>112</sup> The payment of Dr. Lajos Karl’s income in 1914 RNL KMI, fond 315, box 55, 792–1914/15.

<sup>113</sup> Mihály Réz’s substitution honorarium, RNL KMI, fond 315, box 74, 42882–1916.

<sup>114</sup> Director István Györffy’s request to increase the salaries of the botanical garden’s and the museum’s keepers’, RNL KMI, fond 315, box 74, 105–1916.

prices soared, one can only imagine how a botanic garden's keeper and a university professor lived differently through the war years.

In conclusion, we can state that World War I had some positive effects on Cluj. Of these, I would like to highlight the social consequences of which the most important was the promotion of women's emancipation by the fact that more and more women found long-term job opportunities for themselves, hence entering areas that were banned from them: postmistresses, waitresses, coach drivers, chimney sweeps etc. Also, the number of women employed in industry is very significant. But the real breakthrough was that the proportion of women among university students soared to unprecedented heights. But at the same time, World War I also left serious cultural proceeds. As I have mentioned earlier, one of the most important of these was the prosperity of the film production.. Jenő Janovics, theatre director and owner of the *Proja*, *Corvin* and *Transsylvania* film factories enriched the Hungarian film industry with a unique, artistic savour by building on the local features and not imitating foreign films. In the years of the war, the press in Cluj had also boomed, even though many newspapers disappeared at the end of the war. Serious development can be identified in the field of trade and the service sector (restaurants, cafés etc.). From the point of view of the development of the university, besides the growing number of female students, the establishment of the Department of Orthopaedics is also outstanding. Despite the positive outcomes, the war had more negative consequences for the population of Cluj and the development of the university. The great number of war victims affected gravely both the city and the University. In addition to family tragedies, there was chronic labour force shortage in both the industrial, and the service sector of Cluj and at the university. There had been tremendous difficulties at the university, and more so, in the military hospitals operated by the university, and making the everyday life of the wounded more tolerable cost enormous efforts. Not only doctors and students of the medical school, but also professors and students of other faculties took part in these efforts, as I mentioned earlier, and through their donations, even the botanical garden contributed to the purpose. The inflation and the decline in living standards affected everyone, but it also enforced social links, since a number of helping and relief committees were set up, partly by authorities, and civil initiatives. For the cheaper sustenance and clothing of the university staff, the university council formed a purchasing group on June 26, 1917, which provided the employees wood, Prussian and Hungarian charcoal, shoes at cheaper prices etc., and as far as possible, they provided supply for young people who were cut out of the Mensa and boarding schools. At the same time, the rate of criminality grew, as some social categories living in great poverty became more and more desperate. Thus, unsurprisingly, the residents of Cluj, as well as the teachers and students of the university, anticipated the end of the war. They could not know it would not end the way they expected, nor did it depend on them...